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MODERN HISTORY

SHORT NOTES

(PT + MAINS)

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For Index - Check spectrum book

Chapter-1
Sources for the History of Modern India
Short Notes (Prelims Perspective)
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Archive materials-

- **Central government-**
  - ✓ National Archives of India, located in New Delhi
  - ✓ James Rennell as the first Surveyor General of Bengal in 1767
- **State government-records comprise of**

✓ Former British Indian provinces
✓ princely states which were incorporated in the Indian Union after 1947
✓ the foreign administrations

- ✓ Kingdom of Lahore popularly known as Khalsa Darbar
- ✓ Pre-British public archives in India is the Peshwa Daftar-maratha kingdom housed in the Alienation Office, Pune.
- ✓ Rajasthan State Archives at Bikaner-history of princely states
- ✓ the history of Dogra rule from 1846 in Jammu and Kashmir-housed at jammu
- ✓ Gwalior, Indore, Bhopal and Rewa, all archives in Madhya Pradesh,
- ✓ Travancore and Cochin in Kerala, Mysore in Karnataka and Kolhapur in Maharashtra.

- **Three presidencies-**

Archives of Bombay Presidency, housed in the Maharashtra Secretariat Record Office, Mumbai, are extremely useful in studying the history of Western India

- **Other European rulers-**

✓ Dutch records of Cochin and Malabar are in the Madras Record Office and those of Chinsura in the state archives of West Bengal
✓ The French archives of Chandernagore and Pondicherry (now Puducherry)
✓ were taken to Paris
✓ The archives of the Danish possessions were also transferred to Copenhagen when the Dutch sold Tranquebar and Serampore to the English East India Company in 1845.
✓ The remaining Danish records relating to Tranqueba housed in the Madras Record Office

- **Judicial records-**
  - ✓ The records of the Mayor's Court at Bombay established in 1728 are available in the Maharashtra Secretariat Record Office
- **Published records-**
- **Private archives-**

✓ Indian National Congress 's records are housed in the Nehru Memorial Museum and Library in New Delhi

- **Foreign repositories-**
  - ✓ The Archives Nationale, Paris, and the Archives of the French Ministries of Foreign Affairs, Colonies and War, have records that throw light on the history of French possessions
  - ✓ The British Museum possesses collections of papers of British viceroys, secretaries of states and other high ranked civil and military officials who were posted in India
  - ✓ The records of the Dutch East India Company is available in Rijksarchief, The Hague, and that of the Danish and Portuguese are kept in Copenhagen and Lisbon, respectively.

- **Biographies,memoirs and travel accounts-**

Abbe Dubois-Hindu Manners and Customs

British travellers

- ✓ James Burnes -Narrative of a Visit to the Court of Sinde
- ✓ Alexander Burnes -Travels Into Bokhara

- ✓ C.J.C. Davidson-Diary of the Travels and Adventures in Upper India
- ✓ John Butler -Travels and Adventures in the Province of Assam

Non-British travellers

- ✓ Victor Jacquemont-Letters from India describing a journey in the British Dominions of India, Tibet, Lahore and Cashmere during the years 1828-1829—1831
- ✓ Baron Charles -Travels in Kashmir and the Punjab

➢ **Newspapers and journals-**

- first newspaper in India entitled The Bengal Gazette or Calcutta General Advertiser Calcutta gazette-1784
- Madras courier-1788
- Bombay herald-1789
- The Hindu and Swadesamitran -G. Subramaniya Iyer,
- Kesari and Mahratta -Bal Gangadhar Tilak,
- Bengalee -Surendranath Banerjea
- Amrita Bazaar Patrika - Sisir Kumar Ghosh and Motilal Ghosh,
- Sudharak -Gopal Krishna Gokhale,
- Indian Mirror - N.N. Sen,
- Voice of India - Dadabhai Naoroji,
- Hindustan and Advocate - G.P. Varma.
- The Tribune and Akhbar-i-Am in Punjab,
- Indu Prakash, Dnyan Prakash, Kal and Gujarati in Bombay,
- Som Prakash Banganivasi and Sadharani in Bengal
- Indian nationalists and revolutionaries living abroad published newspapers and journals—

- ✓ Indian Sociologist (London, Shyamji Krishnavarma),
  - Bande Matram (Paris, Madam Cama),
  - Talwar (Berlin, Virendranath Chattopadhyay)
  - Ghadar (San Francisco, Lala Hardayal)

➢ **Oral evidence-**

➢ **Creative literature-**

- ✓ Bankim Chandra Chatterji (1838-94)- Anand Math-sanyasi revolt of 1760 (1882),Rajasimha-his last work
- ✓ Icharam Suryaram Desai-Hind ane Britanica-gujarati
- ✓ Girija Devi and Ramatirtha Thammal, who wrote Mohanra Rajani (1931) and Dasikalin Mosa Valai (1936) respectively-tamil
- ✓ G.V. Krishna Rao's Kilubommalu (The Puppets, 1956)-telugu
- ✓ Vaikom Muhammad Basheer (1910-1994) -Balyakala Sakhi (The Childhood Friends,1944)
- ✓ Thakazhi Siva Sankara- Tottiyude Makan (Son of a Scavenger, 1948) and Chemmin (Shrimps, 1956)- malayalam

➢ **Painting-**

- ✓ Company Paintings, also referred as 'Patna Kalam'
- ✓ Focused on street and bazar paintings shows british heroism and british sufferings in india.
- ✓ Relief of Lucknow, painted by Thomas Jones Barker in 1859
- ✓ In Memoriam by Joseph Noel Paton, recorded in painting two years of the revolt of 1857
- ✓ Kalighat painting fore in Calcutta
- ✓ Abaindranath tagore started Bengal school of painting

FORTS-

- ✓ FORT WILLIAMS-BENGAL
- ✓ FORT St. GEORGE-MADRAS
- ✓ FORT St. ANGELO-MALABAR

Chapter-2

Major Approaches to the History of Modern India

Short notes (prelims perspective)

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Approaches-

1. Colonial approach-

2 senses-

- ✓ I-The history of the colonial countries
- ✓ II-Works which were influenced by the colonial ideology of domination
- Certain characteristics common to most of the works of these historians are the following:

(i) 'Orientalist' representation of India;
(ii) The opinion that the British brought unity to India;
(iii) The notions of Social Darwinism—the English considered themselves superior to the 'natives' and the fittest to rule;
(iv) India viewed as a stagnant society which required guidance from the British (White Man's burden); and
(v) Establishing Pax Britannica to bring law and order and peace to a bickering society.

2. Nationalist approach-

- Economists-Dada bhai Naroji, MG Ranade, GV Joshi, RC Dutta.
- Nationalists-Jawaharlal Nehru, GK Gokhale, RC Majumdar, AC mazumdar,Pattabi Sittaramayya

3. Marxist approach-

- Contradiction between interests of colonial masters and subject people and also internal contradiction between the subject people
- Rajni Palme Dutta's -India Today (first published in 1940 in England, was later published in India in 1947)
- A.R. Desai's -Social Background of Indian Nationalism.(was first published in 1948)
- R.P. Dutt's-paradigm

Criticism to R.P. Dutta -Sumit Sarkar- considers Dutta's paradigm as a "simplistic version of the Marxian class approach". He looks at the nationalist leaders in the light of intelligentsia which acts as a "kind of proxy for as yet passive social forces with which it had little organic connection".

4. Subaltern approach-

- Contradiction between interests of elites and subaltern from 1980s.
- Criticizing INC and Nationalist elite leaders
- School of thought began- Ranjit guha

5. Communalist approach-

- Interests were mutually different and antagonistic to each other of permanent hostile groups e.g- Hindus and Muslims

6. Cambridge school-

- Fundamental contradiction under colonial rule was among the Indians themselves.
- It takes the mind or ideals out of human behaviour and reduces nationalism to 'animal politics'

7. Liberal and neo-liberal interpretations-

- **Economic exploitation of the colonies was not beneficial to the British people as a whole.**
- **India was seen as a source of raw materials and markets so lot of investments in India was done and not in Britain.**
- **Hence delayed development of new small industries in Britain.**

8. Feminists approach-

- **Womens role in independence movements. Social atrocities, deniel of ownership**
- **The High Caste Hindu Woman (1887) by Pandita Ramabai,**
- **Mother India (1927) by Katherine Mayo**

CHAPTER-3

Advent of the Europeans in India

Short Notes (Prelims + Mains)

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1.The Portuguese in India-1498

- **Quest for and Discovery of a Sea Route to India**

✓ In 1453, Constantinople fell to the Ottoman Turks
✓ Red Sea trade route was a state monopoly from which Islamic rulers earned tremendous revenues.
✓ land routes to India were also controlled by the Arabs.
✓ Fifteenth-century-spirit of the Renaissance in Europe.
✓ Prosperity also grew and with it the demand for oriental luxury goods also increased.
✓ Prince Henry of Portugal, who was nicknamed the 'Navigator'
✓ **Treaty of Tordesillas** (1494), rulers of Portugal and Spain divided non-Christian world between them by an imaginary line in the Atlantic, some 1,300 miles west of the Cape Verde Islands.
✓ Portugal could claim and occupy everything to the east of the line while Spain could claim everything to the west.

- **From Trading to Ruling**

1.Vasco Da Gama

✓ Arrival of Vasco Da Gama, led by a Gujarati pilot named Abdul Majid, at Calicut in May 1498.
✓ Ruler of Calicut -Zamorin (Samuthiri)-1498
✓ Arab traders, who had a good business on the Malabar coast
✓ Participants in the Indian Ocean —Indians, Arabs, Africans from the east coast, Chinese, Javanese
✓ **Pedro Alvarez Cabral** to trade for spices, negotiating and establishing a factory at Calicut, where he arrived in September 1500.
✓ Vasco da Gama set up a trading factory at **Cannanore**
✓ Calicut, Cannanore and Cochin became the important trade centres of the Portuguese.

1.Francisco De Almeida

✓ In 1505, the King of Portugal appointed a governor in India-Francisco De Almeida
✓ Built fortresses at Anjadiva, Cochin, Cannanore and Kilwa
✓ Policy was known as the **Blue Water Policy** (*cartaze system*).

1.Alfonso de Albuquerque

✓ Real founder of the Portuguese power in the East
✓ Portuguese strongholds in East Africa, off the Red Sea, at Ormuz; in Malabar; and at Malacca.
✓ **Sultan of Bijapur** became the first bit of Indian territory to be under the Europeans

1.Nino da Cunha

- ✓ November 1529
- ✓ Headquarters shifted from Cochin to Goa
- ✓ Bahadur Shah of Gujarat promised them a base in Diu.
- ✓ Humayun withdrew from Gujarat in 1536.

❖ **Favorable Conditions for Portuguese**

- ✓ Gujarat, ruled by the powerful Mahmud Begarha (1458-1511)
- ✓ The Portuguese had cannons placed on their ships.

❖ **Portuguese State**

- ✓ Sixty miles of coast around Goa
- ✓ The Portuguese established military posts and settlements on the east coast at San Thome (in Chennai) and Nagapatnam (in Andhra)
- ✓ Treaties were signed between Goa and the Deccan sultans in 1570
- ✓ The Portuguese always had a role to play in the successive battles for the balance of power between Vijayanagara and the Deccan sultans, between the Deccanis and the Mughals, and between the Mughals and the Marathas.

❖ **Portuguese Administration in India**

- ✓ The Vedor da Fazenda, responsible for revenues and the cargoes and dispatch of fleets.

❖ **Religious Policy of the Portuguese**

- ✓ Intolerant towards the Muslims
- ✓ Zeal to promote christainity.

❖ **Portuguese Lose Favor with the Mughals**

- ✓ 1608, Captain William Hawkins with his ship Hector reached Surat. Jahangir appointed him as a mansabdar of 400 at a salary of Rs 30,000.
- ✓ In November 1612, the English ship *Dragon* under Captain Best along with a little ship, the *Osiander,* successfully fought a Portuguese fleet.

❖ **Capture of Hooghly-**

- ✓ On the basis of an imperial farman circa 1579, the Portuguese had settled down on a river bank which was a short distance from Satgaon in Bengal and later migrated to Hooghly.
- ✓ On June 24, 1632-Hooghly was seized.
- ✓ Bengal governor- Qasim Khan

❖ **Decline of the Portuguese**

- ✓ Emergence of powerful dynasties in Egypt, Persia and North India and the rise of the turbulent Marathas as their immediate neighbours.
- ✓ Religious policies of the Portuguese gave rise to political fears.
- ✓ Dishonest trade practices
- ✓ Earned notoriety as sea pirates
- ✓ Goa which remained with the Portuguese had lost its importance as a port after the fall of the Vijayanagara empire
- ✓ **Marathas invaded Goa-1683**
- ✓ Rise of dutuch and English commercial ambitions.
- ✓ Diversion to the west due to the discovery of Brazil.

❖ **Significance of the Portuguese**

- ✓ Marked the emergence of naval power
- ✓ Portuguese ships carried cannon
- ✓ An important military contribution made by the Portuguese onshore was the system of drilling groups of infantry, on the Spanish model, introduced in the 1630
- ✓ Masters of improved techniques at sea

1. The Dutch-1596

- ✓ Cornelis de Houtman was the first Dutchman to reach Sumatra and Bantam in 1596.

❖ **Dutch Settlements**

- ✓ The Dutch founded their **first factory in Masulipatnam** (in Andhra) in 1605
- ✓ Captured Nagapatam near Madras (Chennai) from the Portuguese and made it their main stronghold in South India.
- ✓ The Dutch established factories on the Coromandel coast, in Gujarat, Uttar Pradesh, Bengal and Bihar.
- ✓ In 1609, they opened a factory in Pulicat, north of Madras. Their other principal factories in India were at Surat (1616), Bimlipatam (1641), Karaikal (1645), Chinsura (1653), Baranagar, Kasimbazar (near Murshidabad), Balasore, Patna, Nagapatam(1658) and Cochin (1663).
- ✓ They carried indigo manufactured in the Yamuna valley and Central India, textiles and silk from Bengal, Gujarat and the Coromandel, saltpetre from Bihar and opium and rice from the Ganga valley.

❖ **Anglo-Dutch Rivalry**

- ✓ Serious challenge to the commercial interests of the Dutch by the English.
- ✓ The climax of the enmity between the Dutch and the English in the East was reached at Amboyna (a place in present-day Indonesia, which the Dutch had captured from the Portuguese in 1605) where they massacred ten Englishmen and nine Japanese in 1623.
- ✓ 1667- Dutch retired from India and moved to Indonesia.
- ✓ They monopolised the trade in black pepper and spices. The most important Indian commodities the Dutch traded in were silk, cotton, indigo,rice and opium.

❖ **Decline of the Dutch in India**

- ✓ The Dutch got drawn into the trade of the Malay Archipelago
- ✓ Third Anglo-Dutch War (1672-74)
- ✓ The retaliation by the English resulted in the defeat of the Dutch, in the battle of Hooghly (November 1759)
- ✓ Their concerns were trade.
- ✓ Commercial interest lay in the Spice Islands of Indonesia
- ✓ Battle of bidara-1759 the English defeated Dutch.

2. The English-1599

❖ **Charter of Queen Elizabeth I**

- ✓ Francis Drake's voyage around the world in 1580 and theEnglish victory over the Spanish Armada in 1588
- ✓ In 1599 'Merchant Adventurers' formed a company
- ✓ On December 31, 1600, Queen Elizabeth I issued a charter with rights of exclusive trading to the company named the 'Governor and Company of Merchants of London trading into the East Indies'.

Progress of the English Company

❖ **Foothold in West and South**

- ✓ In 1611, the English had started trading at **Masulipatnam** on the south-eastern coast of India and later established a factory there in 1616.
- ✓ Establish a factory at Surat under Thomas Aldworth-1613
- ✓ In 1615, Sir Thomas Roe came as an accredited ambassador of James I to the court of Jahangir.
- ✓ Secure permission to set up factories at Agra,Ahmedabad and Broach.
- ✓ Bombay had been gifted to King Charles II by the King of Portugal as dowry when Charles married the Portuguese princess Catherine in 1662. Bombay was given over to the East India Company on an annual payment of ten pounds only in 1668.
- ✓ Bombay was made the headquarters by shifting the seat of the Western Presidency from Surat to Bombay in 1687.
- ✓ Golden Farman' issued by the Sultan of Golconda in 1632. On a payment of 500 pagodas a year, they earned the privilege of trading freely in the ports of Golconda.

- ✓ The British merchant Francis Day, in 1639 received from the ruler of Chandragiri permission to build a fortified factory at Madras which later became the Fort St. George and replaced Masulipatnam as the headquarters of the English settlements in south India.
- ✓ English extended their trading activities to the east and started factories at Hariharpur in the Mahanadi delta and at Balasore (in Odisha) in 1633.

❖ **Foothold in Bengal**

- ✓ Shah Shuja, the *subahdar* of Bengal in 1651, allowed the English to trade in Bengal in return for an annual payment of Rs 3,000.
- ✓ Factories in Bengal were started at Hooghly (1651) and other places like Kasimbazar, Patna and Rajmahal.
- ✓ William Hedges, the first agent and governor of the Company in Bengal
- ✓ Shayista Khan, the Mughal governor of Bengal in August 1682
- ✓ The English retaliated by capturing the imperial forts at Thana (modern Garden Reach), raiding Hijli in east Midnapur and storming the Mughal fortifications at Balasore.
- ✓ English factory was established on February 10, 1691, the day an imperial farman was issued permitting the English to "continue contentedly their trade in Bengal" on payment of Rs 3000 a year in lieu of all dues.
- ✓ In 1698, the English succeeded in getting the permission to buy the zamindari of the three villages of Sutanuti, Gobindapur and Kalikata (Kalighat) on payment of Rs 1,200.
- ✓ The fortified settlement was named **Fort William** in the year 1700 when it also became the seat of the eastern presidency (Calcutta) with Sir Charles Eyre as its first president.

❖ **Farrukhsiyar's Farmans-**

- ✓ Farrukhsiyar secured three famous *farmans* (magna carta), in Bengal, Gujarat and Hyderabad-1715
- ✓ Company's Exports and imports are exempted for custom duties except annual payment of 3000 rupees in Bengal.
- ✓ Issues of dastaks for transportation.
- ✓ East India Company was exempted from the levy of all duties in surat on annual payment of 10000.
- ✓ The coins of the Company minted at Bombay were to have currency throughout the Mughal empire
- Sir William Norris as its ambassador to the court of Aurangzeb (January 1701-April 1702)
- Under pressure from the Crown and the Parliament, the two companies were amalgamated in 1708 under the title of 'United Company of Merchants of England Trading to the East Indies'.

3. The French-1667

❖ **Foundation of French Centres in India-**

- ✓ Louis XIV, the king's famous minister Colbert laid the foundation of the *Compagnie des Indes Orientales* (French East India Company) in 1664The *Compagnie des Indes Orientales* was granted a 50-year monopoly.
- ✓ In 1667, Francois Caron headed an expedition to India, setting up a factory in **Surat**. Mercara, a Persian who accompanied Caron,
- ✓ Founded another French factory in Masulipatnam in 1669
- ✓ In 1673 established a township at Chandernagore near Calcutta.

❖ **Pondicherry—Nerve Centre of French Power in India**

- ✓ In 1673, Sher Khan Lodi, the governor of Valikondapuram (under the Bijapur Sultan)
- ✓ Francois Martin, the director of the Masulipatnam factory.
- ✓ Pondicherry was founded in 1674. And Caron became the French governor.
- ✓ Mahe, Karaikal, Balasore and Qasim Bazar were a few important trading centres of the French East India Company.

❖ **Early Setbacks to the French East India Company-**

- ✓ The Dutch captured Pondicherry in 1693

- ✓ **Treaty of Ryswick** concluded in September 1697 restored Pondicherry to the French, the Dutch garrison held on to it for two more years.
- ✓ Francois Martin died on December 31, 1706.
- ✓ In 1720, the French company was reorganised as the 'Perpetual Company of the Indies'.

❖ The Anglo-French Struggle for Supremacy: the Carnatic Wars

- **Background of Rivalry**

✓ It began with the outbreak of the Austrian War of Succession and ended with the conclusion of the Seven Years War.

❖ First Carnatic War (1740-48)

✓ Carnatic-Coromandel coast and its hinterland
✓ Extension of the Anglo-French War caused by the Austrian War of Succession.
✓ France retaliated by seizing Madras in 1746, Thus began the first Carnatic War.
✓ ***Treaty of Aix-La Chapelle*** was signed bringing the Austrian War of Succession to a conclusion.- Madras was handed back to the English, and the French, got their territories in North America.
✓ The First Carnatic War is remembered for the Battle of St. Thome (in Madras) on the banks of the River Adyar fought between the French forces and the forces of Anwar-ud-din, the Nawab of Carnatic, to whom the English appealed for help.

❖ Second Carnatic War (1749-54)

✓ The background for the Second Carnatic War was provided by rivalry in India.
✓ The opportunity was provided by the death of Nizam-ul-Mulk, the founder of the independent kingdom of Hyderabad, in 1748, and the release of Chanda Sahib, the son-in-law of Dost Ali, the Nawab of Carnatic, by the Marathas.
✓ The French supported the claims of Muzaffar Jang and Chanda Sahib in the Deccan and Carnatic, respectively, while the English sided with Nasir Jang and Anwar-ud-din.
✓ The combined armies of Muzaffar Jang, Chanda Sahib and the French defeated and killed Anwarud- din at the Battle of Ambur (near Vellore) in 1749.
✓ Muzaffar Jang became the subahdar of Deccan, and Dupleix was appointed governor of all the Mughal territories to the south of the River Krishna.
✓ In August 1751, with only a force of 210 men Robert Clive attacked and captured Arcot.

❖ Third Carnatic War (1758-63)

✓ In 1758, the French army under Count de Lally captured the English forts of St. David and Vizianagaram in 1758.
✓ ***Battle of Wandiwash*** The decisive battle of the Third Carnatic War was won by the English on January 22, 1760 at Wandiwash (or Vandavasi) in Tamil Nadu.
✓ ***Treaty of Peace of Paris*** (1763) restored to the French their factories in India
✓ Dutch had already been defeated in the Battle of Bidara in 1759.
✓ The victory at Wandiwash left the English East India Company with no European rival in India.

❖ Causes for the English Success and the French Failure

✓ The English company was a private enterprise—With less governmental control over it, The French company, on the other hand, was a State concern. It was controlled and regulated by the French government.
✓ The English navy was superior to the French navy
✓ The English held three important places, namely, Calcutta, Bombay and Madras whereas the French had only Pondicherry.
✓ The French subordinated their commercial interest to territorial ambition, which made the French company short of funds.
✓ The superiority of the commanders in the British camp

4. The Danes-1620

✓ Founded a factory at **Tranquebar** near Tanjore, on the eastern coast of India. Their principal settlement was at Serampore near Calcutta.

Why the English Succeeded against Other European Powers ?

- **Structure and Nature of the Trading Companies** →English East India Company was controlled by a board of directors whose members were elected annually.
- **Naval Superiority**→ The Royal Navy of Britain was not only the largest; it was most advanced of its times.The victory against the Spanish Armada and against the French at Trafalgar had put the Royal Navy at the peak of the European naval forces.
- **Industrial Revolution** → The industrial revolution reached other European nations late and this helped England to maintain its hegemony.
- **Military Skill and Discipline** →British soldiers were a disciplined lot and well trained.
- **Stable Government**
- **Lesser Zeal for Religion**
- **Use of Debt Market** →The **world's first central bank—*the Bank of England***—was established to sell government debt to the money markets on the promise of a decent return on Britain's defeating rival countries

CHAPTER-4

INDIA ON THE EVE OF BRITISH CONQUEST

Short Notes (Prelims + Mains)

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- The reign of Aurangzeb (1658-1707) proved to signify the beginning of the end of Mughal rule in India.
- Muhammad Shah ruled for a long spell of 29 years (1719-48)

1. Challenges before the Mughals

I.External Challenges

✓ The northwestern borders had been neglected by the later Mughals
✓ **Nadir Shah**, the Persian emperor, attacked India in 1738-39, conquered Lahore and defeated the Mughal army at Karnal on February 13, 1739.
✓ Apart from the Peacock Throne and the *Kohinoor* diamond, seventy crore rupees were collected
✓ **Ahmad Shah Abdali** successor of Nadir Shah, In 1757, Abdali captured Delhi
✓ In 1758, Najib-ud-Daula(Mir Bakhshi of the empire and 'supreme agent' of Abdali) was expelled from Delhi by the Maratha chief, Raghunath Rao, who also captured Punjab.
✓ In 1761, Abdali defeated the Marathas in the ***Third Battle of Panipat*.**

I. Weak Rulers after Aurangzeb—An Internal Challenge

Bahadur Shah I (1709–March 1712)

✓ Aurangzeb, became the emperor, taking the title Bahadur Shah.
✓ Khafi Khan gave the title of Shah-i-Bekhabar to Bahadur Shah.
✓ Adopted a pacific policy with the Marathas, the Rajputs and the Jats.
✓ Bahadur Shah I died in February 1712.

Jahandar Shah (March 1712-February 1713)

✓ He introduced *izara* system to improve the financial condition of the empire. Jahandar Shah abolished Jaziya.

Farrukhsiyar (1713-1719)

✓ He followed a policy of religious tolerance by abolishing Jaziya and pilgrimage tax.

- ✓ **In 1717-gave farmans to british.**
- ✓ In 1719, the Sayyid brothers, with the help of Peshwa Balaji Vishwanath, dethroned Farrukhsiyar, he was blinded and killed.(1st ever in Mughal history that emperor was killed by nobles)

Rafi-ud-Darajat (February 28 to June 4, 1719)

Rafi-ud-Daula (June 6 to September 17, 1719)

- ✓ Sayyid brothers gave the title **Shah Jahan II**

Muhammad Shah (1719-48)

- ✓ Raushan Akhtar – given title Muhammad shah and Rangeela
- ✓ In 1724, Nizam-ul-Mulk became the *wazir* and founded the independent state of Hyderabad.
- ✓ In 1739, Nadir Shah defeated the Mughals in the **Battle of Karnal**

Ahmad Shah (1748-1754)

- ✓ Udham Bai, the 'Queen Mother'. Udham Bai, given the title of Qibla-i-Alam,

Alamgir II (1754-1758)

- ✓ Ahmed Shah Abdali, the Iranian invader, reached Delhi in January 1757. During his reign, the **Battle of Plassey** was fought in June 1757.

Shahjehan III (1758-1759)

Shah Alam II (1759-1806)

- ✓ His reign saw two decisive battles—the **Third Battle of Panipat** (1761) and the **Battle of Buxar** (1764).
- ✓ **Treaty of Allahabad** (August 1765), he was taken under the East India Company's protection and resided at Allahabad. He also issued a *farman* granting to the Company in perpetuity the Diwani (the right to collect revenue) of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa.

Akbar II (1806-37)

- ✓ He gave the title of Raja to Rammohan Rai. In 1835, the coins bearing the names of Mughal emperors were stopped.

Bahadur Shah II (1837-1857)

- ✓ Bahadur Shah Zafar-the last Mughal emperor.
- ✓ Captured by the English and sent to Rangoon where he died in 1862.
- ✓ Mughal Empire came to an end on November 1, 1858 with the declaration of Queen Victoria

Causes of Decline of Mughal Empire

- ✓ Empire-related or Mughal-centric view sees the causes of the decline within the structure and functioning of the empire itself.
- ✓ region related view finds the causes of Mughal decline in the turmoil and instability in the different parts of the empire.
- ✓ emperors who came after Aurangzeb proved to be incapable, weak and licentious monarchs who hastened the process of disintegration of the empire and, finally, its collapse.
- ✓ Major factors which contributed to the downfall :-

- **Shifting Allegiance of Zamindars**

- ✓ The zamindars were hereditary owners of their lands who enjoyed certain privileges on hereditary basis, and were variously known as *rais, rajas, thakurs, khuts* or *deshmukhs*.
- ✓ They helped in the collection of revenue and in local administration and increased during Aurangzeb's reign.

- **Jagirdari Crisis**
  - ✓ Mughal rule has often been defined as "the rule of the nobility"
  - ✓ Divisiveness among the nobility on the basis of religion,homeland and tribe.

- ✓ Mutual rivalry,jealousy and contest for power among the various groups during the rule of the later Mughals (in the absence of a strong central leadership) contributed to the decline of the empire.

- **Rise of Regional Aspirations**

✓ The Rajput struggle against the empire and the growing ambition and power of the Marathas, thus, adversely affected the Mughal.

- **Economic and Administrative Problems**

✓ The expenditure of the state much exceeded its income.

- **Rise of Regional States**

✓ **Successor States-**The Mughal provinces that turned into states after breaking away from the empire. Awadh, Bengal and Hyderabad.

✓ **Independent Kingdoms-**These states came into existence primarily due to the destabilisation of the Mughal control over the provinces,.Mysore, Kerala and the Rajput states.

✓ **The New States** These were the states set up by the rebels against the Mughal empire.Maratha, the Sikh and the Jat states.

- **Survey of Regional Kingdoms**

✓ **Hyderabad-**

- The founder of the Asaf-Jah house of Hyderabad was Kilich Khan, popularly known as Nizam-ul-Mulk.
- The idea of an independent state in the Deccan- Zulfikar Khan.
- He killed Mubariz Khan in the Battle of Shakr-Kheda (1724). full-fledged viceroy of the Deccan.
- In 1725, he became the viceroy and conferred on himself the title of **Asaf-Jah.**

✓ **Awadh**

- The founder of the independent principality of Awadh was Saadat Khan, popularly known as Burhan-ul-Mulk.
- He was succeeded by Safdar Jang as the Nawab of Awadh

✓ **Bengal**

- Murshid Kuli Khan was the founder of the independent state of Bengal.
- Succeeded in 1727 by his son Shujaud- din. His successor, Sarfaraz Khan, was killed in 1740 by Alivardi Khan, the deputy governor of Bihar at Gheria.

The Rajputs

❖ **Mysore**

- This territory located at the junction of the Eastern and Western Ghats was ruled by the Wodeyars.
- Mysore state was brought under the rule of Haider Ali

❖ **Kerala**

- Martanda Varma established an independent state of Kerala with Travancore as his capital. He extended the boundaries of his state from Kanyakumari to Cochin.

❖ **The Jats**

- Churaman and Badan Singh succeeded in setting up the Jat state of Bharatpur. But it was under Suraj Mal that Jat power reached its zenith.
- State included territories from Ganga in the east to Chambal in the south and included the *Subahs* of Agra, Mathura, Meerut and Aligarh.
- The Jat state suffered a decline after the death of Suraj Mal in 1763.

❖ **The Sikhs**

- Guru Gobind Singh transformed the Sikhs into a militant sect in defence of their religion and liberties.

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- Banda Bahadur, later assumed the leadership of the Sikhs in 1708.
- 12 *misls* or confederacies which exercised control over different parts of the kingdom.
- The credit for establishing a strong kingdom of Punjab goes to Ranjit Singh. He was the son of Mahan Singh, the leader of the Sukarchakiya *misl.* Ranjit Singh brought under control the area extending from the Sutlej to the Jhelum. He conquered Lahore in 1799 and Amritsar in 1802.
- The **Treaty of Amritsar** with the British, Ranjit Singh acknowledged the British right over the cis- Sutlej territories.
- The **Tripartite Treaty in 1838** with Shah Shuja and the English Company whereby he agreed to provide passage to the British troops through Punjab with a view to placing Shah Shuja on the throne of Kabul.
- Ranjit Singh died in 1839

❖ **The Marathas.**

- Under the capable leadership of the Peshwas, the Marathas uprooted the Mughal authority from Malwa and Gujarat and established their rule.
- Their authority was challenged by Ahmed Shah Abdali in the **Third Battle of Panipat (1761).**

❖ **Rohilakhand and Farukhabad**

- The states of Rohilakhand and the kingdom of the Bangash Pathans were a fall out of the Afghan migration into India.
- Ali Muhammad Khan set the petty kingdom, Rohilakhand.
- This wasthe area of the Himalayan foothills between Kumaon in the north and the Ganga in the south.
- Mohammad Khan Bangash, an Afghan, set up an independent kingdom to the east of Delhi in the area around Farrukhabad

✓ **Nature and Limitations of Regional States**

❖ The polity that emerged in these states was regional in character, and functional with the collaborative support of the different local groups like the zamindars, merchants, local nobles and chieftains.

❖ The provincial rulers failed to develop a system based on sound financial, administrative and military organisation.

❖ The jagirdari crisis intensified as income from agriculture declined, and the number of contenders for a share of the surplus multiplied.

Socio-Economic Conditions

- **Agriculture-**Though agriculture was technically backward, it was worked by the hard labour of peasants.
- **Trade and Industry-**India was known as a sink of precious metals.

✓ **Items of Import** From the ***Persian Gulf Region*—** pearls, raw silk, wool, dates, dried fruits, and rose water; from ***Arabia*—**coffee, gold, drugs, and honey; from ***China*—** tea, sugar, porcelain, and silk; from ***Tibet*—**gold, musk, and woollen cloth; from ***Africa*—**ivory and drugs; from ***Europe*—** woollen cloth, copper, iron, lead and paper.

Items of Export Cotton textiles, raw silk and silk fabrics, hardware, indigo, saltpetre, opium, rice, wheat, sugapepper and other spices, precious stones, and drugs.

- **Important Centres of Textile Industry** Dacca, Murshidabad, Patna, Surat, Ahmedabad, Broach, Chanderi, Burhanpur, Jaunpur, Varanasi, Lucknow, Agra, Multan, Lahore, Masulipatnam, Aurangabad, Chicacole, Vishakhapatnam, Bangalore, Coimbatore, Madurai, etc.; Kashmir was a centre of woollen manufactures.

- **Ship-building Industry** Maharashtra, the Andhra region and Bengal were the leaders in ship-building. Indian shipping also flourished on the Kerala coast at Calicut and Quilon.The Zamorin of Calicut used the Muslim Kunjali Maraikkars
- **Status of Education**

✓ The Hindu and Muslim elementary schools were called *pathshalas* and *maktabs* respectively. The education was confined to reading, writing, and arithmetic.

✓ *Chatuspathis* or *Tols*, as they were called in Bihar and Bengal, were the centres of higher education. Some of the famous centres for Sanskrit education were Kasi (Varanasi), Tirhut (Mithila), Nadia and Utkala. *Madrasahs* were the institutions of higher learning for Persian and Arabic. Azimabad (Patna) was a famous centre for Persian education.

Societal Set-up

- **Many Castes, Many Sects**

✓ The family system was primarily **patriarchal** and caste was the central feature of the social life of the Hindus.

✓ The *sharif* Muslims consisting of nobles, scholars, priests and army affairs often looked down upon the *ajlaf* Muslims or the lower class Muslims.

- **Position of Women in Society**

✓ Upper class women remained at home, lower class women worked in fields and outside their homes supplementing the family income.

✓ ***purdah, sati,* child marriage, polygamy** did exist which hindered the progress of women.

- **Menace of slavery**

✓ Higher classes of Rajputs, Khatris and Kayasthas kept women slave for domestic work.

Development in Art, Architecture and Culture

✓ At Lucknow, Asaf-ud-Daula built the *bada Imambara* in 1784.

✓ Sawai Jai Singh built the pink city of Jaipur and five astronomical observatives at Delhi, Jaipur, Benares, Mathura and Ujjain. He also prepared a set of time-tables called *Jij Muhammad-shahi,* to help the people in the study of astronomy.

✓ In the south, in Kerala, the Padmanabhapuram Palace, famous for its architecture and mural paintings.

✓ Kanchan Nambiar was a noted Malayalam poet.

✓ The Tamil language was enriched by *sittar* poetry. Tayumanavar (1706-44), one of the best exponents of *sittar* poetry, protested against the abuses of temple-rule and the caste system.

✓ *Heer Ranjha,* the romantic epic in Punjabi literature, was composed by Warris Shah. In Sindhi literature, Shah Abdul Latif composed *Risalo,* a collection of poems.

Chapter-5

Expansion and Consolidation of British Power in India

Short notes

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1. The British Imperial History

- **The 'first empire' stretching across the Atlantic towards America and the West Indies, and the 'second empire' beginning around 1783 (Peace of Paris) and swinging towards the East—Asia and Africa.**
- **The imperial history of Britain started with the conquest of Ireland in the sixteenth century.**

2. Was the British Conquest Accidental or Intentional?

- **John Seeley leads the group which says that the British conquest of India was made blindly, unintentionally and accidentally, and in a "fit of absent-mindedness".**

- School of opinion argues that the British came to trade in India and had no desire to acquire territories or to squander their profits on war waged for territorial expansion.
- The English, it is argued, were unwillingly drawn into the political turmoil created by the Indians themselves, and were almost forced to acquire territories.
- The other group says that the British came to India with the clear intention of establishing a large and powerful empire,
- A desire for quick profits, personal ambitions of individuals, plain avarice and effects of political developments in Europe were some of the factors.
- B.L. Grover writes: "Lord Wellesley resorted to aggressive application of the subsidiary alliance system to extend British dominion in India as a defensive counter measure against the imperialistic designs of France and Russia.

3. When did the British Period Begin in India?

- Some historians regard the year 1740, when the Anglo-French struggle for supremacy in India began in the wake of the War of Austrian Succession in Europe, as the beginning of the British period.
- Some see the year 1757, when the British defeated the Nawab of Bengal at Plassey, as the designated date.
- Others regard 1761, the year of the Third Battle of Panipat when the Marathas were defeated by Ahmad Shah Abdali, as the beginning of this phase of Indian history.

4. Causes of British Success in India

- **Superior Arms, Military and Strategy**
  - ✓ The firearms used by the English, which included muskets and cannons, were better than the Indian arms both in speed of firing and in range.
- **Better Military Discipline and Regular Salary**
  - ✓ A regular system of payment of salaries and a strict regime of discipline were the means by which the English Company ensured that the officers and the troops were loyal.
- **Civil Discipline and Fair Selection System**
  - ✓ The Company officers and troops were given charge on the basis of their reliability and skill and not on hereditary or caste and clan ties.
- **Brilliant Leadership and Support of Second Line Leaders**
  - ✓ Clive, Warren Hastings, Elphinstone, Munro, Marquess of Dalhousie, etc., displayed rare qualities of leadership. The English also had the advantage of a long list of secondary leaders like Sir Eyre Coote, Lord Lake and Arthur Wellesley who fought not for the leader but for the cause and the glory of their country.
- **Strong Financial Backup**
  - ✓ The income of the Company was adequate enough to pay its shareholders handsome dividends as also to finance the English wars in India.
- **Nationalist Pride**
  - ✓ The lack of materialistic vision among Indians was also a reason for the success of the English Company.

5. British Conquest of Bengal

- **Bengal on the Eve of British Conquest**
  - ✓ Bengal, the richest province of the Mughal Empire included present day Bangladesh, and its Nawab had authority over the region constituting present day states of Bihar and Odisha.
  - ✓ Exports from Bengal to Europe consisted of raw products such as saltpetre, rice, indigo, pepper, sugar, silk, cotton textiles, handicrafts, etc.

- ✓ The Company paid a sum of Rs 3,000 (£ 350) per annum to the Mughal emperor who allowed them to trade freely in Bengal. In contrast, the Company's exports from Bengal were worth more than £ 50,000 per annum. The region of Bengal was fortunate enough to escape these challenges.
- ✓ The population of Calcutta rose from 15,000 (in 1706) to 100,000 (in 1750) and other cities like Dacca and Murshidabad became highly populous.
- ✓ Between 1757 and 1765, the power gradually got transferred from the Nawabs of Bengal to the British

- **Alivardi Khan and the English**
  - ✓ In 1741, Alivardi Khan, the Deputy Governor of Bihar, killed the Nawab of Bengal Sarfaraz Khan in a battle and certified his own position as the new Subahdar of Bengal.
  - ✓ He died in April 1756 and was succeeded by hisgrandson, Siraj-ud-daula.
- **Challenges Before Siraj-ud-daula**
  - ✓ Internal rivals were added the threat to Siraj's position from the ever-growing commercial activity of the English company.

➢ **The Battle of Plassey**

- ✓ Black Hole Tragedy'. Siraj-ud-daula is believed to have imprisoned 146 English persons who were lodged in a very tiny room due to which 123 of them died of suffocation.
- ✓ The Battle-The arrival of a strong force under the command of Robert Clive forged a secret alliance with the traitors of the nawab—Mir Jafar, Rai Durlabh, Jagat Seth (an influential banker of Bengal) and Omichand.
- ✓ Under the deal, Mir Jafar was to be made the nawab who in turn would reward the Company for its services. So the English victory in the Battle of Plassey (June 23, 1757) was decided before the battle was even fought.
- ✓ Siraj-ud-daula was captured and murdered by the order of Mir Jafar's son, Miran. Mir Jafar became the Nawab of Bengal. He gave large sums of money plus the *zamindari* of 24 *parganas* to the English.
- ✓ The Battle of Plassey had political significance for it laid the foundation of the British empire in India; it has been rightly regarded as the starting point of British rule in India.
- ✓ The battle established the military supremacy of the English in Bengal.

- **Mir Kasim and the Treaty of 1760-**
  - ✓ Mir Kasim, the son-in-law of MirJafar, and the Company was signed in 1760.
  - ✓ Important features of the treaty were as follows:
    - i. Mir Kasim agreed to cede to the Company the districts of Burdwan, Midnapur and Chittagong.
    - ii. The Company would get half of the share in *chunam* trade of Sylhet.
    - iii. Mir Kasim agreed to pay off the outstanding dues to the Company.
    - iv. Mir Kasim promised to pay a sum of rupees five lakh towards financing the Company's war efforts in southern India.
    - v. It was agreed that Mir Kasim's enemies were theCompany's enemies, and his friends, the Company's friends.
    - vi. It was agreed that tenants of the nawab's territory would not be allowed to settle in the lands of the Company, and vice-versa.
  - ✓ A pension of Rs 1,500 per annum was fixed for Mir Jafar. Mir Kasim shifted the capital from Murshidabad to Munger in Bihar. The move was taken to allow a safe distance from the Company at Calcutta.
  - ✓ His other important steps were reorganising the bureaucracy.

➢ **The Battle of Buxar**

- ✓ By an imperial *farman,* the English company had obtained the right to trade in Bengal without paying transit dues or tolls.
- ✓ The combined armies of Mir Kasim, the Nawab of Awadh and Shah Alam II were defeated by the English forces under Major Hector Munro at Buxar on October 22, 1764 in aclosely contested battle.
- ✓ The victory made the English a great power in northern India and contenders for the supremacy over the whole country.
- ✓ After the battle, Mir Jafar, who was made Nawab in 1763 agreed to hand over the districts of Midnapore, Burdwan and Chittagong to the English for the maintenance of their army.

➢ **The Treaty of Allahabad**

- ✓ Robert Clive concluded two important treaties at Allahabad in August 1765—one with the Nawab of Awadh and the other with the Mughal Emperor, Shah Alam II.
- ✓ **Nawab Shuja-ud-Daula agreed to:**
  - i. surrender Allahabad and Kara to Emperor Shah Alam II;
  - ii. pay Rs 50 lakh to the Company as war indemnity and
  - iii. give Balwant Singh, *Zamindar* of Banaras, fullpossession of his estate.
- ✓ **Shah Alam II agreed to:**
  - i. reside at Allahabad, to be ceded to him by the Nawab of Awadh, under the Company's protection;
  - ii. issue a *farman* granting the *diwani* of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa to the East India Company in lieu of an annual payment of Rs 26 lakh; and
  - iii. a provision of Rs 53 lakh to the Company in return for *nizamat* functions (military defence, police, and administration of justice) of the said provinces.

- **Dual Government in Bengal (1765-72)**
  - ✓ Robert Clive introduced the dual system of government, i.e., the rule of the two—the Company and the Nawab—in Bengal in which both the *diwani*, i.e., collecting revenues, and *nizamat*, i.e., police and judicial functions, came under the control of the Company.
  - ✓ The Company exercised *diwani* rights as the diwan and the *nizamat* rights through its right to nominate the deputy subahdar. The Company acquired the *diwani* functions from the emperor and *nizamat* functions from the subahdar of Bengal.
  - ✓ The dual system led to an administrative breakdown and proved disastrous for the people of Bengal.

6. Mysore's Resistance to the Company-

- **The Wodeyar / Mysore Dynasty-**
  - ✓ The battle of Talikota (1565) gave a deadly blow to the great kingdom of Vijayanagara.
  - ✓ In 1612 a Hindu kingdom under the Wodeyars emerged in the region of Mysore.
  - ✓ Chikka Krishnaraja Wodeyar II ruled from 1734 to 1766.
  - ✓ Mysore emerged as a formidable power under the leadership of Haidar Ali and Tipu Sultan.
- **Rise of Haidar Ali-**
  - ✓ Haidar Ali became the *de facto* ruler of Mysore in 1761. He realized that the French-trained Nizami army could be silenced only by an effective artillery.
  - ✓ Haidar Ali took the help of the French to set up an arms factory at Dindigul (now in Tamil Nadu), and also introduced Western methods of training for his army.
  - ✓ With his superior military skill he captured Dod Ballapur, Sera, Bednur and Hoskote in 1761- 63, and brought to submission the troublesome Poligars of South India (in what is now Tamil Nadu).

- ✓ Recovering from their defeat at Panipat, the Marathas under Madhavrao attacked Mysore, and defeated Haidar Ali in 1764, 1766, and 1771. And recovered all the territories during 1774-76.

- **First Anglo-Mysore War (1767-69)**
  - ✓ The Nizam, the Marathas, and the English allied together against Haidar Ali.
  - ✓ English conclude a treaty with Haidar on April 4, 1769—*Treaty of Madras*.
  - ✓ The treaty provided for the exchange of prisoners and mutual restitution of conquests.
  - ✓ Haidar Ali was promised the help of the English in case he was attacked by any other power.
- **Second Anglo-Mysore War (1780-84)**
  - ✓ Haidar considered the English attempt to capture Mahe a direct challenge to his authority.
  - ✓ Haidar forged an anti-English alliance with the Marathas and the Nizam.
  - ✓ He followed it up by an attack in the Carnatic, capturing Arcot, and defeating the English army under Colonel Baillie in 1781.
  - ✓ Haidar faced the English boldly only to suffer a defeat at Porto Novo in November 1781.
  - ✓ Fed up with an inconclusive war, both sides opted for peace, negotiating the Treaty of Mangalore (March, 1784) under which each party gave back the territories it had taken from the other.
  - ✓ Haidar Ali died of cancer on December 7, 1782.
- **Third Anglo-Mysore War**
  - ✓ In April 1790, Tipu declared war against Travancore for the restoration of his rights. In 1790, Tipu defeated the English under General Meadows.
  - ✓ In 1791, Cornwallis took the leadership and at the head of a large army marched through Ambur and Vellore to Bangalore (capturedin March 1791) and from there to Seringapatam.
  - ✓ Treaty of Seringapatam- Under this treaty of 1792, nearly half of the Mysorean territory was taken over by the victors. Baramahal, Dindigul and Malabar went to the English, while the Marathas got the regions surrounding the Tungabhadra and its tributaries and the Nizam acquired the areas from the Krishna to beyond the Pennar. Besides, a war damage of three crore rupees was also taken from Tipu.
- **Fourth Anglo-Mysore War**
  - ✓ In 1798, Lord Wellesley succeeded Sir John Shore as the new Governor General.
  - ✓ The war began on April 17, 1799 and ended on May 4, 1799 with the fall of Seringapatam.
  - ✓ Tipu was defeated first by English General Stuart and then by General Harris.
  - ✓ The English were again helped by the Marathas and the Nizam. The Marathas had been promised half of the territory of Tipu and the Nizam had already signed the Subsidiary Alliance.
- **Mysore After Tipu**
  - ✓ Wellesley offered Soonda and Harponelly districts of Mysore Kingdom to the Marathas, which the latter refused.
  - ✓ The Nizam was given the districts of Gooty and Gurramkonda.
  - ✓ The English took possession of Kanara, Wynad, Coimbatore, Dwaraporam and Seringapatam.
  - ✓ The new state of Mysore was handed over to the old Hindu dynasty (Wodeyars) under a minor ruler Krishnaraja III, who accepted the subsidiary alliance.
  - ✓ In 1831 William Bentinck took control of Mysore on grounds of misgovernance.
  - ✓ In 1881 Lord Ripon restored the kingdom to its ruler.

7. Anglo-Maratha Struggle for Supremacy

- **Rise of the Marathas**
  - ✓ Bajirao I (1720-40), considered greatest of all the Peshwas, had started a confederacy of rapidly expanding Maratha power, and to some extent appease the kshatriya section of the Marathas (Peshwas were brahmins) led by the *senapati* Dabodi.
  - ✓ The Maratha families which emerged prominent were—(i) the Gaekwad of Baroda, (ii) the Bhonsle of Nagpur, (iii) the Holkars of Indore, (iv) the Sindhias of Gwalior, and (v) the Peshwa of Poona.
  - ✓ The defeat at Panipat and later the death of the young Peshwa, Madhavrao I, in 1772, weakened the control of the Peshwas over the confederacy.
- **Entry of the English into Maratha Politics**
  - ✓ The English in Bombay wanted to establish a government on the lines of the arrangement made by Clive in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa.
- **First Anglo-Maratha War (1775-82)-**
  - ✓ After the death of Madhavrao in 1772, his brother Narayanrao succeeded him as the fifth peshwa.
  - ✓ Treaties of Surat and Purandhar Raghunathrao, unwilling to give up his position in power, sought help from the English at Bombay and signed the *Treaty of Surat* in 1775.
  - ✓ Under the treaty, Raghunathrao ceded the territories of Salsette and Bassein to the English along with a portion of the revenues from Surat and Bharuch districts. In return, the English were to provide Raghunathrao with 2,500 soldiers.
  - ✓ The British Calcutta Council, condemned the Treaty of Surat (1775) and sent Colonel Upton to Pune to annul it and make a new treaty (*Treaty of Purandhar*, 1776) with the regency renouncing Raghunath and promising him a pension. The Bombay government rejected this and gave refuge to Raghunath.
  - ✓ In 1777, Nana Phadnavis violated his treaty with the Calcutta Council by granting the French a port on the west coast.
  - ✓ Mahadji lured the English army into the ghats (mountain passes) near Talegaon and trapped the English from all sides and attacked the English supply base at Khopali. The Marathas also utilised a scorched earth policy, burning farmland and poisoning wells.
  - ✓ As The English surrendered by mid-January 1779 and signed the *Treaty of Wadgaon* that forced the Bombay government to relinquish all territories acquired by the English since 1775.
  - ✓ Treaty of Salbai (1782): End of the First Phase of the Struggle Warren Hastings, the Governor-General in Bengal, rejected the Treaty of Wadgaon and under Colonel Goddard who captured Ahmedabad in February 1779, and Bassein in December 1780.
  - ✓ Another Bengal detachment led by Captain Popham captured Gwalior in August 1780. In February 1781 the English, under General Camac, finally defeated Sindhia at Sipri.
  - ✓ Sindhia proposed a new treaty between the Peshwa and the English, and the Treaty of Salbai was signed in May 1782; it was ratified by Hastings in June 1782 and by Phadnavis in February 1783.
  - ✓ The treaty guaranteed peace between thetwo sides for twenty years.
  - ✓ **The main provisions of the Treaty of Salbai were:**
    - i. Salsette should continue in the possession of the English.
    - ii. The whole of the territory conquered since the Treaty of Purandhar (1776) including Bassein should be restored to the Marathas.

iii. In Gujarat, Fateh Singh Gaekwad should remain in possession of the territory which he had before the war and should serve the Peshwa as before.
iv. The English should not offer any further support to Raghunathrao and the Peshwa should grant him a maintenance allowance.
v. Haidar Ali should return all the territory taken from the English and the Nawab of Arcot.
vi. The English should enjoy the privileges at trade as before.
vii. The Peshwa should not support any other European nation.
viii. The Peshwa and the English should undertake that their several allies should remain at peace with one another.
ix. Mahadji Sindhia should be the mutual guarantor for the proper observance of the terms of the treaty.

- **Second Anglo Maratha War (1803-1805)**
  - ✓ The death of Nana Phadnavis in 1800 gave the British an added advantage.
  - ✓ On October 25, 1802, Jaswant defeated the armies of the Peshwa and Sindhia decisively at Hadaspar near Poona and placed Vinayakrao, son of Amritrao, on the Peshwa's seat.
  - ✓ A terrified Bajirao II fled to Bassein on December 31, 1802,
  - ✓ Treaty of Bassein (1802) Under the treaty, the Peshwa agreed:
    i. to receive from the Company a native infantry (consisting of not less than 6,000 troops), with the usual proportion of field artillery and European artillery men attached, to be permanently stationed in his territories;
    ii. to cede to the Company territories yielding an income of Rs 26 lakh;
    iii. to surrender the city of Surat;
    iv. to give up all claims for *chauth* on the Nizam's dominions;
    v. to accept the Company's arbitration in all differences between him and the Nizam or the Gaekwad;
    vi. not to keep in his employment Europeans of any nation at war with the English; and
    vii. to subject his relations with other states to the control of the English.
    viii. (i) Defeat of Bhonsle (December 17, 1803, *Treaty of Devgaon*); (ii) Defeat of Sindhia (December 30, 1803, *Treaty of Surajianjangaon*); and (iii) Defeat of Holkar (1806, *Treaty of Rajpurghat*).
  - ✓ Treaty was signed by a Peshwa who lacked political authority, but the gains made by the English were immense.
  - ✓ The treaty "gave the English the key to India,"
- **Third Anglo-Maratha War (1817-19)**
  - ✓ By the Charter Act of 1813, the East India Company's monopoly of trade in China (except tea) ended
  - ✓ Bajirao II made a last bid in 1817 by rallying together the Maratha chiefs against the English in course of the Third Anglo-Maratha War.
  - ✓ The Peshwa attacked the British Residency at Poona. Appa Sahib of Nagpur attacked the residency at Nagpur.
  - ✓ The Peshwa was defeated at Khirki, Bhonsle at Sitabuldi, and Holkar at Mahidpur.
  - ✓ Important treaties were signed. These were:
    i. June 1817, *Treaty of Poona*, with Peshwa.
    ii. November 1817, *Treaty of Gwalior*, with Sindhia.
    iii. January 1818, *Treaty of Mandasor*, with Holkar. In June 1818,

- ✓ The Peshwa finally surrendered and the Maratha confederacy was dissolved. The peshwaship was abolished. Peshwa Bajirao became a British retainer at Bithur near Kanpur.
- ✓ Pratap Singh made ruler of Satara, formed out of the Peshwa's dominions.

- **Why the Marathas Lost**
  - ✓ Inept Leadership-the later Maratha leaders Bajirao II, Daulatrao Sindhia and Jaswantrao Holkar were worthless and selfish leaders.
  - ✓ Defective Nature of Maratha State- The cohesion of the people of the Maratha state was not organic but artificial and accidental, and hence precarious.
  - ✓ Loose Political Set-up-The lack of a cooperative spirit among the Maratha chiefs proved detrimental to the Maratha state.
  - ✓ Inferior Military System Though full of personal prowess and valour, the Marathas were inferior to the English in organisation of the forces, in war weapons, in disciplined action and in effective leadership.
  - ✓ Unstable Economic Policy The Maratha leadership failed to evolve a stable economic policy
  - ✓ Superior English Diplomacy and Espionage The English had better diplomatic skill to win allies and isolate the enemy.
  - ✓ Progressive English Outlook The English were rejuvenated by the forces of Renaissance The English attacked a 'divided house' which started crumbling after a few pushes.

8. Conquest of Sindh-

- **Rise of Talpuras Amirs-**
  - ✓ Prior to the rule of Talpuras Amirs, Sindh was ruled by the Kallora chiefs.
  - ✓ In 1758, an English factory was built at Thatta, owing to a *parwana* given by the Kallora prince, Ghulam Shah. In 1761, Ghulam Shah, on the arrival of an English resident in his court, not only ratified the earlier treaty, but also excluded other Europeans from trading there.
  - ✓ This advantage was enjoyed by the English upto 1775
  - ✓ In the 1770s, a Baluch tribe called Talpuras, descended from the hills and settled in the plains of Sindh.
  - ✓ In 1783, the Talpuras, under the leadership of Mir Fath (Fatah) Ali Khan, established complete hold over Sindh
  - ✓ They conquered Amarkot from the Raja of Jodhpur, Karachi from the chief of Luz, Shaikarpur and Bukkar from the Afghans.
- **Gradual Ascendancy over Sindh-**
  - ✓ Under the influence of Tipu Sultan and the jealousy of the local traders, aided by the anti-British party at Hyderabad (Sindh), the amir in October 1800, ordered the British agent to quit Sindh within ten days.
  - ✓ Treaty of 'Eternal Friendship'-
    - i. Metcalfe was sent to Lahore, Elphinstone to Kabul and Malcolm to Teheran.
    - ii. After professing eternal friendship, both sides agreed to exclude the French from Sindh and to exchange agents at each other's court.
    - iii. The treaty was renewed in 1820 with the addition of an article excluding the Americans andresolving some border disputes on the side of Kachch after the final defeat of the Maratha confederacy in 1818.
  - ✓ Treaty of 1832-In 1832, William Bentinck sent Colonel Pottinger to Sindh to sign a treaty with the Amirs. The provisions of the treaty were as follows:

i. Free passage through Sindh would be allowed to the English traders and travellers and the use of Indus for trading purposes; however, no warships would ply, nor any materials for war would be carried.
ii. No English merchant would settle down in Sindh, and passports would be needed for travellers.
iii. Tariff rates could be altered by the Amirs if found high and no military dues or tolls would be demanded.
iv. The Amirs would work with the Raja of Jodhpur to put down the robbers of Kachch.
v. The old treaties were confirmed and the parties would not be jealous of each other.

- ✓ Lord Auckland and Sindh-Lord Auckland, who became the Governor-General in 1836,
- ✓ Tripartite Treaty of 1838- the Company persuaded Ranjit Singh to sign a tripartite treaty in June 1838 agreeing to British mediation in his disputes with the Amirs, and then made Emperor Shah Shuja give up his sovereign rights on Sindh, provided the arrears of tribute were paid.
- ✓ Sindh Accepts Subsidiary Alliance (1839)- B.L. Grover writes: "Under threat of superior force, the Amirs accepted a treaty in February 1839 by which a British subsidiary force had to be stationed at Shikarpur and Bukkar and the Amirsof Sindh were to pay Rs 3 lakh annually for the maintenance of the Company's troops".
- ✓ Capitulation of Sindh -The first Anglo-Afghan War (1839-42), fought on the soil of Sindh.The whole of Sindh capitulated within a short time, and the Amirs were made captives and banished from Sindh. In 1843, under Governor-General Ellenborough, Sindh was merged into the British Empire and Charles Napier was appointed its first governor.

- **Criticisms of the Conquest of Sindh-**
  - ✓ In the instance of the First Afghan War, the English suffered terribly at the hands of the Afghans with a corresponding loss of prestige.
  - ✓ To compensate for this, they annexed Sindh which prompted Elphinstone to comment: "Coming from Afghanistan it put one in mind of a bully who has been knocked in the street and went home to beat his wife in revenge."

9. Conquest of Punjab

- **Consolidation of Punjab under the Sikhs-**
  - ✓ In 1715, Banda Bahadur was defeated by Farrukhsiyar and put to death in 1716. Thus the Shikh polity, once again, became leaderless and later got divided into two groups—*Bandai* (liberal) and *Tat Khalsa* (Orthodox).
  - ✓ In 1784 Kapur Singh Faizullapuria organised the Sikhs under *Dal Khalsa,* with the objective of uniting followers of Sikhism, politically, culturally and economically.
  - ✓ The whole body of the Khalsa was formed into two sections— *Budha Dal,* the army of the veterans, and *Taruna Dal,* the army of the young. The Sikhs consolidated in *mislsMisl* is an Arabic word which means equal or alike. Another meaning of *Misl* is State.
- **Sukarchakiya Misl and Ranjit Singh**
  - ✓ At the time of the birth of Ranjit Singh (November 2, 1780), there were 12 important *misls—Ahluwaliya, Bhangi, Dallewalia, Faizullapuria, Kanhaiya, Krorasinghia, Nakkai, Nishaniya, Phulakiya, Ramgarhiya Sukharchakiya,* and *Shaheed*.
  - ✓ The central administration of a *misl* was based on *Gurumatta Sangh*

- ✓ In 1799, Ranjit Singh was appointed as the governor of Lahore by Zaman Shah, the ruler of Afghanistan.
- ✓ In 1805, Ranjit Singh acquired Jammu and Amritsar and thus the political capital (Lahore) and religious capital (Amritsar) of Punjab came under the rule of Ranjit Singh.

- **Ranjit Singh and the English-**
  - ✓ The Napoleonic danger receded and the English became more assertive, Ranjit Singh agreed to sign the Treaty of Amritsar (April 25, 1809) with the Company.
- **Treaty of Amritsar-**
  - ✓ It checked one of the most cherished ambitions of Ranjit Singh to extend his rule over the entire Sikh nation by accepting the river Sutlej as the boundary line for his dominions and the Company's.
  - ✓ Now he directed his energies towards the west and captured Multan (1818), Kashmir (1819) and Peshawar (1834). In June 1838, Ranjit Singh was compelled by political compulsions to sign the Tripartite Treaty with the English
- **Punjab After Ranjit Singh**
  - ✓ Beginning of Court Factions-Discontent was growing among the troops as a result of irregularity of payment. The appointment of unworthy officers led to indiscipline. These marches resulted in commotion and economic dislocation in Punjab.
  - ✓ Rani Jindal and Daleep Singh-Daleep Singh, a minor son of Ranjit Singh,was proclaimed the Maharaja with Rani Jindan as regent and Hira Singh Dogra as wazir.
- **First Anglo-Sikh War (1845-46)**
  - ✓ The causes were as follows:
    (i) the anarchy in the Lahore kingdom following the death of Maharaja Ranjit Singh resulting in a power struggle for domination between the court at Lahore and the ever powerful and increasingly local army;
    (ii) suspicions amongst the Sikh army arising from English military campaigns to achieve the annexation of Gwalior and Sindh in 1841 and the campaign in Afghanistan in 1842; and
    (iii) the increase in the number of English troops being stationed near the border with the Lahore kingdom.
  - ✓ The war began in December 1845 with 20,000 to 30,000 troops in the British side, while the Sikhs had about 50,000 men.
  - ✓ Treachery of Lal Singh and Teja Singh caused five successive defeats to the Sikhs at Mudki (December 18, 1845), Ferozeshah (December 21-22, 1845), Buddelwal, Aliwal (January 28, 1846), and at Sobraon (February 10, 1846). Lahore fell to the British forces on February 20, 1846 without a fight.
  - ✓ Treaty of Lahore (March 8, 1846) The end of the first Anglo-Sikh War forced the Sikhs to sign a humiliating treaty on March 8, 1846. The main features of the Treaty of Lahore were as follows:
    i. War indemnity of more than 1 crore of rupees was to be given to the English.
    ii. The Jalandhar Doab (between the Beas and the Sutlej) was annexed to the Company's dominions.
    iii. A British resident was to be established at Lahore under Henry Lawrence.
    iv. The strength of the Sikh army was reduced.
    v. Daleep Singh was recognised as the ruler under Rani Jindan as regent and Lal Singh as wazir.

vi. Since, the Sikhs were not able to pay the entire war indemnity, Kashmir including Jammu was sold to Gulab Singh and he was required to pay Rupees 75 lakh to the Company as the price.

vii. The transfer of Kashmir to Gulab Singh was formalised by a separate treaty on March 16, 1846.

- ✓ Treaty of Bhairowal -The Sikhs were not satisfied with the Treaty of Lahore over the issue of Kashmir, so they rebelled. In December, 1846, the Treaty of Bhairowal was signed. According to the provisions of this treaty, Rani Jindan was removed as regent and a council of regency for Punjab was set up. The council consisted of 8 Sikh *sardars* presided over by the English Resident, Henry Lawrence.

- **Second Anglo-Sikh War (1848-49)-**
  - ✓ Sher Singh was sent to suppress the revolt, but he himself joined Mulraj, leading to a mass uprising in Multan. This could be considered as the immediate cause of the war.
  - ✓ Three important battles were fought before the final annexation of Punjab. These three battles were: (i) Battle of Ramnagar, led by Sir Hugh Gough, the commander-in-chief of the Company. (ii) Battle of Chillhanwala, January, 1849. (iii) Battle of Gujarat, February 21, 1849; the Sikh army surrendered at Rawalpindi, and their Afghan allies were chased out of India.
  - ✓ At the end of the war came:
    - i. surrender of the Sikh army and Sher Singh in 1849;
    - ii. annexation of Punjab; and for his services the Earl of Dalhousie was given the thanks of the British Parliament and a promotion in the peerage, as Marquess;
    - iii. setting up of a three-member board to govern Punjab, comprising of the Lawrence brothers (Henry and John) and Charles Mansel.
  - ✓ In 1853 John Lawrence became the first chief commissioner.
- Significance of the Anglo-Sikh Wars-The Anglo-Sikh wars gave the two sides a mutual respect for each other's fighting prowess.

10. Extension of British Paramountcy Through Administrative Policy-

- The process of imperial expansion and consolidation of British paramountcy was carried on by the Company during the 1757-1857 period through a two-fold method: (a) policy of annexation by conquest or war; and (b) policy of annexation by diplomacy and administrative mechanisms.
- The Policy of Ring-Fence-
  - ✓ Warren Hastings followed a policy of ring-fence which aimed at creating buffer zones to defend the Company's frontiers.
  - ✓ This policy of Warren Hastings was reflected in his war against the Marathas and Mysore.
  - ✓ The states brought under the ring-fence system were assured of military assistance against external aggression—but at their own expense.
  - ✓ Wellesley's policy of subsidiary alliance was, in fact, an extension of the ring-fence system which sought to reduce the Indian states into a position of dependence on the British government.
- **Subsidiary Alliance-**
  - ✓ The subsidiary alliance system was used by Lord Wellesley, who was governor-general from 1798-1805
  - ✓ Under the system, the allying Indian state's ruler was compelled to accept the permanent stationing of a British force within his territory and to pay a subsidy for its maintenance.

- ✓ The Indian ruler had to agree to the posting of a British resident in his court. Under the system, the Indian ruler could not employ any European in his service without the prior approval of the British.
- ✓ Nor could he negotiate with any other Indian ruler without consulting the governor-general. In return for all this, the British would defend the ruler from his enemies and adopt a policy of noninterference in the internal matters of the allied state.
- ✓ Evolution and Perfection-It was probably Dupleix, who first gave on hire (so to say) European troops to Indian rulers to fight their wars.
- ✓ The first Indian state to fall into this protection trap (which anticipated the subsidiary alliance system) was Awadh which in 1765 signed a treaty under which the Company pledged to defend the frontiers of Awadh
- ✓ It was in 1787 that the Company insisted that the subsidiary state should not have foreign relations. This was included in the treaty with the Nawab of Carnatic which Cornwallis
  signed in February 1787.
- ✓ Stages of Application of Subsidiary Alliance-
  - i. The first stage, the Company offered to help a friendly Indian state with its troops to fight any war the state might be engaged in.
  - ii. The second stage consisted of making a common cause with the Indian state now made friendly and taking the field with its own soldiers and those of the state.
  - iii. The third stage when the Indian ally was asked not for men but for money. The Company promised that it would recruit, train, and maintain a fixed number of soldiers under British officers, and that the contingent would be available to the ruler for his personal and family's protection as also for keeping out aggressors, all for a fixed sum of money.
  - iv. In the fourth or the last stage, the money or the protection feewas fixed, usually at a high level; when the state failed to pay the money in time, it was asked to cede certain parts of its territories to the Company in lieu of payment.
- ✓ States which Accepted Alliance-The Indian princes who accepted the subsidiary system were: the Nizam of Hyderabad (September 1798 and 1800), the ruler of Mysore (1799), the ruler of Tanjore (October 1799), the Nawab of Awadh (November 1801), the Peshwa (December 1801), the Bhonsle Raja of Berar (December 1803), the Sindhia (February 1804), the Rajput states of Jodhpur, Jaipur, Macheri, Bundi and the ruler of Bharatpur (1818). The Holkars were the last Maratha confederation to accept the Subsidiary Alliance in 1818.

- **Doctrine of Lapse**
  - ✓ In simple terms, the doctrine stated that the adopted son could be the heir to his foster father's private property, but not the state; it was for the paramount power (the British) to decide whether to bestow the state on the adopted son or to annex it.
  - ✓ Though this policy is attributed to Lord Dalhousie (1848-56), he was not its originator.
  - ✓ Seven states were annexed under the Doctrine of Lapse:-Satara (1848), Jhansi and Nagpur (1854). The other small states included Jaitpur (Bundelkhand), Sambhalpur (Orissa), and Baghat (Madhya Pradesh).
  - ✓ Lord Dalhousie annexed Awadh in 1856

11. Relations of British India with Neighbouring Countries

- **Anglo-Bhutanese Relations-**

- ✓ In 1865, the Bhutanese were forced to surrender the passes in return for an annual subsidy.
- ✓ It was the surrendered district which became a productive area with tea gardens.

- **Anglo-Nepalese Relations-**
  - ✓ In 1801, the English annexed Gorakhpur which brought the Gorkhas' boundary and the Company's boundary together.
  - ✓ The conflict started due to the Gorkhas' capture of Butwal and Sheoraj in the period of Lord Hastings (1813-23).
  - ✓ The war, ended in the Treaty of Sagauli,1816 which was in favour of the British.As per the treaty,
    - i. Nepal accepted a British resident.
    - ii. Nepal ceded the districts of Garhwal and Kumaon, and abandoned claims to Terai.
    - iii. Nepal also withdrew from Sikkim.
  - ✓ This agreement brought many advantages to the British—
    - i. the British empire now reached the Himalayas;
    - ii. it got better facilities for trade with Central Asia;
    - iii. it acquired sites for hill stations, such as Shimla, Mussoorie and Nainital; and
    - iv. the Gorkhas joined the British Indian Army in large numbers.
- **Anglo-Burmese Relations-**
  - ✓ The expansionist urges of the British, fuelled by the lure of the forest resources of Burma, market for British manufactures in Burma
  - ✓ First Burma War (1824-26)-The first war with Burma was fought when the Burmese expansion westwards and occupation of Arakan and Manipur, and the threat to Assam and the Brahmaputra Valley. The British expeditionary forces occupied Rangoon in May 1824 and reached within 72 km of the capital at Ava. Peace was established in 1826 with the Treaty of Yandabo which provided that the Government of Burma
    - i. pay rupees one crore as war compensation;
    - ii. cede its coastal provinces of Arakan and Tenasserim;
    - iii. abandon claims on Assam, Cachar and Jaintia;
    - iv. recognise Manipur as an independent state; negotiate a commercial treaty with Britain; and
    - v. accept a British resident at Ava, while posting a Burmese envoy at Calcutta.
  - ✓ Second Burma War (1852)-The second war was the result of the British commercial need and the imperialist policy of Lord Dalhousie. The British merchants were keen to get hold of timber resources of upper Burma and also sought further inroads into the Burmese market.
  - ✓ Third Burma War (1885)- A humiliating fine had been imposed on a British timber company by Thibaw. Dufferin ordered the invasion and final annexation of upper Burma in 1885.
- **Anglo-Tibetan Relations-**
  - ✓ Tibet was ruled by a theocracy of Buddhist monks (lamas) under nominal suzerainty of China.
  - ✓ Treaty of Lhasa (1904) Younghusband dictated terms to the Tibetan officials which provided that—
    - i. Tibet would pay an indemnity of Rs 75 lakh at the rate of one lakh rupees per annum;
    - ii. as a security for payment, the Indian Government would occupy the Chumbi Valley (territory between Bhutan and Sikkim) for 75 years;

iii. Tibet would respect the frontier of Sikkim;
iv. Trade marts would be opened at Yatung, Gyantse, Gartok; and
v. Tibet would not grant any concession for railways, roads, telegraph, etc., to any foreign state, but give Great Britain some control over foreign affairs of Tibet.
vi. The treaty was revised reducing the indemnity from Rs 75 lakh to Rs 25 lakh and providing for evacuation of Chumbi valley after three years

- ✓ Significance-Only China gained in the end out of the whole affair because the Anglo-Russian convention of 1907.

- **Anglo-Afghan Relations-**
  - ✓ Treaty of Turkomanchai (1828)
  - ✓ Passes of the north-west seemed to hold the key to enter India. The need was felt for Afghanistan to be under control of a ruler friendly to the British.
  - ✓ Forward Policy of Auckland Auckland who came to India as the governor-general in 1836, advocated a forward policy. This implied that the Company government in India itself had to take initiatives to protect the boundary of British India
  - ✓ A Tripartite Treaty (1838) was entered into by the British,Sikhs and Shah Shuja The treaty provided that—
    i. Shah Shuja be enthroned with the armed help of the Sikhs, the Company remaining in the background, 'jingling the money-bag';
    ii. Shah Shuja conduct foreign affairs with the advice of the Sikhs and the British;
    iii. Shah Shuja give up his sovereign rights over Amirs of Sindh in return for a large sum of money;
    iv. Shah Shuja recognise the Sikh ruler, Maharaja Ranjit Singh's claims over the Afghan territories on the right bank of the River Indus.
  - ✓ First Anglo-Afghan War (1839-1842) the British decided to go ahead with their forward policy. This resulted in the First Afghan War (1839-The British intention was to establish a permanent barrier against schemes of aggression from the north-west. The British were compelled to sign a treaty (1841) with the Afghan chiefs by which they agreed to evacuate Afghanistan and restore Dost Mohammed. The First Afghan War cost India one-and-a-half crore rupees and nearly 20,000 men.
  - ✓ John Lawrence and the Policy of Masterly Inactivity-Lawrence's policy rested on the fulfilment of two conditions—(i) that the peace at the frontier was notdisturbed, and (ii) that no candidate in civil war sought foreign help.
  - ✓ Lytton and the Policy of Proud Reserve-Lytton, a nominee of the Conservative government under Benjamin Disraeli (1874-80), became the Viceroy of India in 1876. He started a new foreign policy of 'proud reserve', which was aimed at having scientific frontiers and safeguarding 'spheres of influence'
  - ✓ Second Anglo-Afghan War (1870-80)- Sher Ali fled in face of the British invasion, and the Treaty of Gandamak (May 1879) was signed with Yakub Khan, the eldest son of Sher Ali. Treaty of Gandamak (May 1879) The treaty signed after the Second-Anglo Afghan War provided that:
    i. the Amir conduct his foreign policy with the advice of Government of India;
    ii. a permanent British resident be stationed at Kabul; and
    iii. the Government of India give Amir all support against foreign aggression, and an annual subsidy.

- **British India and the North-West Frontier-**
  - ✓ A compromise was finally reached by drawing a boundary line known as Durand Line between Afghan and British territories.

- ✓ **Curzon, the viceroy between 1899 and 1905, followed a policy of withdrawal and concentration.**
- ✓ **He created the North-West Frontier Province (NWFP) directly under the Government of India.**
- ✓ **In January 1932, it was announced that the NWFP was to be constituted as a governor's province.**
- ✓ **Since 1947,the province belongs to Pakistan.**

Chapter-6
People's Resistance Against
British Before 1857
Short Notes
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➢ People's Resistance: Meaning

- The peasants, artisans, tribals, ruling classes (active or dispossessed), military personnel (those under the Company as well as the demobilised soldiers of ex-rulers), religious leaders (Hindu and Muslim), etc., fought for the protection of their interests, at times separately and at times together.
- The agitation in Benares in 1810 against a house tax imposed by the colonial government, the Surat riots in 1814 against the salt duty, the rising in Bareilly in 1816 against police tax and municipal taxes, are some examples of urban movements.
- According to Bipin Chandra, people's resistance took three broad forms: **civil rebellions**, **tribal uprisings** and **peasant movements**. **Military revolts** as a form of people's resistance, which involved Indians employed in the Company's forces is also considered.

➢ Genesis of People's Resistance

- **Causative Factors for People's Uprisings**-The major factors responsible for the people's resentment and uprisings against the Company rule are as follows.
  - i. Colonial land revenue settlements, heavy burden of new taxes, eviction of peasants from their lands, and encroachments on tribal lands. Exploitation in rural society coupled with the growth of intermediary revenue collectors, tenants and moneylenders.
  - ii. Expansion of revenue administration over tribal lands leading to the loss of tribal people's hold over agricultural and forest land.
  - iii. Promotion of British manufactured goods, heavy duties on Indian industries, especially export duties, leading to devastation of Indian handloom and handicraft industries.
  - iv. Destruction of indigenous industry leading to migration of workers from industry to agriculture, increasing the pressure on land/agriculture.

➢ Civil Uprisings-The word 'civil' encompasses everything which is not related to defence/military

- **Major Causes of Civil Uprisings**
  - i. Under the Company rule, there were rapid changes in the economy, administration and land revenue system that went against the people.
  - ii. Several zamindars and *poligars* who had lost control over their land and its revenues due to the colonial rule, had personal scores to settle with the new rulers.
  - iii. The ego of traditional zamindars and *poligars* washurt due to being sidelined in rank by government officials and a new class comprising of merchants and money-lender.
  - iv. The ruin of Indian handicraft industries due to colonial policies impoverished millions of artisans whose misery was further compounded by the disappearance of their traditional patrons and buyers—princes, chieftains, and *zamindars.*

v. The priestly classes instigated hatred and rebellion against alien rule, because the religious preachers, priests, pundits, maulvis, etc., had been dependent on the traditional landed and bureaucratic elite. The fall of zamindars and feudal lords directly affected the priestly class.

vi. The foreign character of the British rulers, who always remained alien to this land, and their contemptuous treatment of the native people hurt the pride of the latter.

- **General Characteristics of Civil Uprisings**-represented common conditions, though separated in time and place.
- **Important Civil Uprisings**-

i. Sanyasi Revolt (1763-1800)-

- ✓ A group of sanyasis in Eastern India to fight the British yokeThey raided Company factories and the treasuries, and fought the Company's forces.
- ✓ Sometimes referred to as the Fakir Rebellion.
- ✓ Majnum Shah (or Majnu Shah), Chirag Ali, Musa Shah, Bhawani Pathak and Debi Chaudhurani were important leaders.
- ✓ Debi Chaudhurani's participation recognizes the women's role in early resistances against the British.
- ✓ *Anandamath,* a semi-historical novel by Bankim Chandra Chattopadhyay, is based on the Sanyasi Revolt.
- ✓ Bankim Chandra also wrote a novel, *Devi Chaudhurani,*

ii. Revolt in Midnapore and Dhalbhum (1766-74)

- ✓ The English took hold of Midnapore in 1760.
- ✓ The zamindars of Dhalbhum, Manbhum, Raipur, Panchet, Jhatibuni, Karnagarh, and Bagri, living in the vast tract of Jungle Mahals of west and north-west Midnapore—were ultimately dispossessed of their zamindaries by 1800s.
- ✓ The important leaders of the uprisings were Damodar Singh and Jagannath Dhal.

iii. Revolt of Moamarias (1769-99)-

- ✓ The revolt of the Moamarias in 1769 was a potent challenge to the authority of Ahom kings of Assam.
- ✓ The Moamarias were low-caste peasants who followed the teachings of Aniruddhadeva (1553-1624).
- ✓ Their revolts weakened the Ahoms and opened the doors for others to attack the region, for instance, in 1792, the King of Darrang (Krishnanarayan), assisted by his band of *burkandazes* (the demobilised soldiers of the Muslim armies and zamindars) revolted. The Moamarias made Bhatiapar their headquarters. Rangpur (now in Bangladesh) and Jorhat were the most affected region.

iv. Civil Uprisings in Gorakhpur, Basti and Bahraich (1781)

- ✓ Warren Hastings made a plan to earn money by involving English officers as *izaradars* (revenue farmers) in Awadh..
- ✓ Hannay secured the izara of Gorakhpur and Bahraich to the amount of 22 lakh rupees for one year.
- ✓ The zamindars and cultivators rose against the unbearable exactions in 1781.

v. Revolt of Raja of Vizianagaram (1794)

- ✓ In 1758, a treaty was made between the English and Ananda Gajapatiraju, the ruler of Vizianagaram, to jointly oust the French from the Northern Circars.
- ✓ The East India Company went on to demand a tribute of three lakh rupees from Vizayaramaraju, the Raja of Vizianagaram.
- ✓ This angered the raja as there were no dues to be paid to the Company supported by his subjects rose up in revolt.

vi. Revolt of Dhundia in Bednur (1799-1800)

- ✓ Dhundia Wagh, a local Maratha leader, who was converted to Islam by Tipu Sultan and put into jail
- ✓ Dhundia organised a force which consisted of anti-British elements, and carved out a small territory for himself.
- ✓ A defeat by the English in August 1799 forced him to take refuge in Maratha region.
- ✓ In September 1800, he was killed while fighting against the British forces under Wellesley.

vii. Resistance of Kerala Varma Pazhassi Raja (1797; 1800-05)

- ✓ Kerala Varma Pazhassi Raja, popularly known as *Kerala Simham* (Lion of Kerala) or 'Pyche raja', was the de facto head of Kottayam (Cotiote) in Malabar region.
- ✓ Kerala Varma fought against the British between 1793 and 1805. The English appointed Vira Varma, the uncle of Pazhassi Raja, as the Raja of Kottayam. The new raja, to meet the revenue target fixed by the Company, levied exorbitant rates of tax on the peasants.
- ✓ This led to a massresistance by the peasants under the leadership of Pazhassi Raja in 1793. Pazhassi Raja fought bravely using guerilla warfare, and in 1797 a peace treaty was madeIn November 1805, the *Kerala Simham* died in a gun-fight at Mavila Todu near present day Kerala- Karnataka border.

viii. Civil Rebellion in Awadh (1799)

- ✓ Wazir Ali Khan, the fourth Nawab of Awadh, with the help of the British, had ascended the throne in September 1797.
- ✓ In January 1799, he killed a British resident, Geogre Frederik Cherry, who had invited him to lunch. Wazir Ali's guards killed two other Europeans and even attacked the Magistrate of Benares.
- ✓ The whole incident became famous as the **Massacre of Benares**. After surrender in December 1799, wazir ali was placed in confinement at Fort William, Calcutta.

ix. Uprisings in Ganjam and Gumsur (1800, 1835-37)

- ✓ Strikara Bhanj, a zamindar of Gumsur in Ganjam district, refused to pay revenues in 1797. In 1800, he openly rebelled and defied the public authorities. Dhananjaya rebelled against the English but was forced to surrender in June 1815.
- ✓ Dhananjay Bhanj rose in rebellion for the second time when the British forces occupied Gumsur and Kolaida in November 1835.
- ✓ The revolt greatly reduced the government's authorityThe struggle lasted till February 1837, when Doora Bisayi, a formidable leader, was arrested.

x. Uprisings in Palamau (1800-02)

- ✓ In 1800, Bhukhan Singh, a Chero chief, rose in rebellion. Colonel Jones camped for two years in Palamau and Sarguja to suppress the rebellion.

xi. Poligars' Revolt (1795-1805)

- ✓ The poligars (or palayakkarargal) of South India gave a stiff resistance to the British between 1795 and 1805.
- ✓ The main centres of these strong uprisings were Tinneveli (or Thirunelveli), Ramanathapuram, Sivaganga, Sivagiri, Madurai, and North Arcot.
- ✓ The problem started in 1781, when the Nawab of Arcot gave the management and control of Tinneveli and the Carnatic Provinces to the East India Company.

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- ✓ The first revolt of the poligars against the Company was basically over taxation, but had a larger political dimension in that the English considered and treated the poligars as enemies.
- ✓ **Kattabomman Nayakan**, the poligar of Panjalankurichi, led the insurrection between 1795 and 1799. Company forces were defeated by Veerapandiya Kattabomman, a price was put on the latter's head.
- ✓ This led to greater rebellion by the poligars. The second phase, started in February 1801The fugitives led by Oomathurai, brother of Kattabomman, who fled to Sivaganga in Ramnad joined the rebellion of the 'Marudus' led by Marathu Pandian which was suppressed in October 1801.
- ✓ Between 1803 and 1805, the poligars of North Arcot rose in rebellion, when they were deprived of their right to collect the *kaval* fees. By February 1805, the rebels were suppressed.

xii. Uprising in Bhiwani (1809)

- ✓ In 1809, the Jats of Haryana broke into rebellion.

xiii. Diwan Velu Thampi's Revolt (1808-1809)

- ✓ The highhanded attitude of the Company compelled Prime Minister (or Dalawa) Velu Thampi to rise against the Company, assisted by the Nair troops.
- ✓ Velu Thampi addressed a gathering in Kundara, openly calling for taking up arms against the British to oust them from the native soil.
- ✓ This was later known as the **Kundara Proclamation**.

xiv. Disturbances in Bundelkhand (1808-12)

- ✓ The vast province of Bundelkhand, conquered by the British during the Second Anglo-Maratha Wars (1803-05), was put within the Presidency of Bengal.
- ✓ The first major resistance came from Lakshaman Dawa, the killadar (fort commander) of Ajaygarh fort. Lakshman was permitted to retain the fort as a temporary arrangement for two years ending in 1808.
- ✓ The next resistance came from killadar of Kalanjar, Darya Singh, which was suppressed in January 1812.
- ✓ The most serious threat came from Gopal Singh. To put a stop to these disturbances, the British had to adopt a policy of binding down the hereditary chieftains of Bundelkhand by a series of contractual obligations—*Ikarnamahs.*

xv. Parlakimedi Outbreak (1813-34)

- ✓ When the Company acquired Ganjam, Narayan Deo was the raja of Parlakimedi, whose resistance forced the British to dispatch an army under Colonel Peach.

xvi. Kutch or Cutch Rebellion (1816-1832)

- ✓ There was a treaty between the British and Maharaja Bharamal II of Kutch in 1816, by which power was vested in the throne.
- ✓ The British interfered in the internal feuds of the Kutch and, in 1819, Raja Bharmal II raised Arab and African troops with the firm intention of removing the British from his territory.
- ✓ A British resident governed the areas as the *de facto* ruler with the help of a regency council.

xvii. Rising at Bareilly (1816)

- ✓ The immediate cause of upsurge was the imposition of the police tax which aroused the burning indignation of the citizens.
- ✓ Several armed Muslims from Pilibhit, Shahjahanpur and Rampur rose in rebellion for thedefence of the faith and the Mufti.

xviii. Upsurge in Hathras (1817)

- ✓ Due to progressively increasing high revenues, Dayaram constantly failed to pay arrears and even committed many acts of hostility by giving harbour to government fugitives.
- ✓ So, the Company with a large army attacked Hathras in February 1817.

xix. Paika Rebellion (1817)

- ✓ The Paiks of Odisha were the traditional landed militia ('foot soldiers' literally) and enjoyed rent free land tenures for their military service and policing functions on a hereditary basis.
- ✓ The English Company's conquest of Odisha in 1803, and the dethronement of the Raja of Khurda.
- ✓ Bakshi Jagabandhu Bidyadhar had been the military chief of the forces of the Raja of Khurda.
- ✓ In 1814, Jagabandhu's ancestral estate of Killa Rorang was taken over by the Company, reducing him to penury.
- ✓ The spark waslighted by the arrival of a body of Khonds from Gumsur into the Khurda territory in March 1817. With active support of Mukunda Deva, the last Raja of Khurda, and other zamindars of the region, Bakshi Jagabandhu Bidyadhar led a sundry army of Paikas forcing the East India Company forces to retreat for a time.
- ✓ The rebellion came to be known as the Paika Bidroh (rebellion). The Paik Rebellion succeeded in getting large remissions of arrears, reductions in assessments, suspension of the sale of the estates of defaulters at discretion, a new settlement on fixed tenures and other adjuncts of a liberal governance.

xx. Waghera Rising (1818-1820)

- ✓ Resentment against the alien rule coupled with the exactions of the Gaekwad of Baroda supported by the British government compelled the Waghera chiefs of Okha Mandal to take up arms.
- ✓ The Wagheras carried out inroads into British territory during 1818-19. A peace treaty was signed in November 1820.

xxi. Ahom Revolt (1828)

- ✓ After the First Burma War (1824-26). instead of withdrawing, the British attempted to incorporate the Ahoms' territories in the Company's dominion.
- ✓ This sparked off a rebellion in 1828 under the leadership of Gomdhar Konwar, an Ahom prince, alongwith compatriots.
- ✓ Finally, the Company decided to follow a conciliatory policy and handed over Upper Assam.

xxii. Surat Salt Agitations (1840s)

- ✓ A strong anti-British sentiment resulted in attacks by the local Surat population on the Europeans in 1844 over the issue of the government's step to raise the salt duty from 50 paise to one rupee.

xxiii. Kolhapur and Savantvadi Revolts

- ✓ Facing the spectre of unemployment, the Gadkaris rose in revolt and occupied the Samangarh and Bhudargarh forts.Similarly, the simmering discontent caused a revolt in Savantvadi areas.

xxiv. Wahabi Movement

- ✓ The Wahabi Movement was essentially an Islamic revivalist movement founded by Syed Ahmed of Rai Bareilly who was inspired by the teachings of Abdul Wahab (1703-87) of Saudi Arabia and Shah Waliullah of Delhi.

- ✓ After the defeat of the Sikh ruler and incorporation of Punjab into the East India Company's dominion in 1849, the English dominion in India became the sole target of the Wahabis' attacks.
- ✓ Wahabis played an important role in spreading anti- British sentiments. A series of military operations by the British in the 1860s on the Wahabi base in Sithana and various court cases of sedition on the Wahabis weakened the Wahabi resistance.

xxv. Kuka Movement

- ✓ The Kuka Movement was founded in 1840 by Bhagat Jawahar Mal (also called Sian Saheb) in western Punjab.
- ✓ Its basic tenets were abolition of caste and similar discriminations among Sikhs, discouraging the consumption of meat and alcohol and drugs, permission for intermarriages, widow remarriage, and encouraging women to step out of seclusion.
- ✓ On the political side, the Kukas wanted to remove the British and restore Sikh rule over Punjab; they advocated wearing hand-woven clothes and boycott of English laws and education and products.
- ✓ So, the concepts of Swadeshi and non-cooperation were propagated by the Kukas.

➢ **Peasant Movements with Religious Overtones**-The peasant movements in India till the outbreak of the Revolt of 1857(and in its immediate aftermath) are given below.

i. Narkelberia Uprising-

- ✓ Mir Nithar Ali (1782-1831) or Titu Mir inspired the Muslim tenants in West Bengal to rise against landlords, mainly Hindu, who imposed a beard-tax on the Faraizis, and British indigo planters.
- ✓ Often considered the first armed peasant uprising against the British later merged into the Wahabi movement.

ii. The Pagal Panthis

- ✓ The Pagal Panthi, a semi-religious group mainly constituting the Hajong and Garo tribes of Mymensingh district (earlier in Bengal), was founded by Karam Shah.
- ✓ The tribal peasants organised themselvesto fight the oppression of the zamindars. From 1825 to 1835, the Pagal Panthis refused to pay rent above a certain limit

iii. Faraizi Revolt

- ✓ 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.
- ✓ Shariat-Allah son of Dadu Mian (1819-60) organised his followers with an aim to expel the English intruders from Bengal.
- ✓ The sect also supported the cause of the tenants against the zamindars.

iv. Moplah Uprisings

- ✓ 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. Twenty-two rebellions took place between 1836 and 1854.

v. Peasants' Role in the 1857 Revolt

- ✓ The peasants united with the local feudal leaders in many places to fight against foreign rule. After the revolt, the plight of the peasants worsened with the British Government's decision to gain the support of the landed classes while ignoring the peasants.

➢ **Tribal Revolts**-Tribal movements under British rule were the most frequent, militant and violent of all movements.

- **Different Causes for Mainland and North-Eastern Tribal Revolts-**
  - **i.** The mainland tribal rebellions were sparked off by athe tribal lands or forests.

ii. The land settlements of the British affected the joint ownership tradition
iii. As agriculture was extended in a settled form by the Company government, the tribals lost their land, Shifting cultivation in forests was curbed and this added to the tribals' problems.
iv. Exploitation by the police, traders and money-lenders.
v. Some general laws were also abhorred for their intrusive nature
vi. The British entered the north-eastern areas much later than the non-frontier tribal areas.
vii. The frontier tribal revolts under the British continued for a longer time than the non-frontier tribal movements.

- **Characteristics of Tribal Revolts-**
  i. Tribal identity or ethnic ties lay behind the solidarity shown by these groups.
  ii. The resentment against the imposition of laws by the 'foreign government' that was seen as an effort at destroying the tribals' traditional socioeconomic framework.
  iii. Many uprisings were led by messiah-like figures who encouraged their people to revolt
  iv. The tribal uprisings were doomed from the beginning, given the outdated arms
- **Important Tribal Movements of Mainland-**The frontier tribal areas, were concentrated in central India, the west-central region and the south.

i. Pahariyas' Rebellion

- ✓ The British expansion on their territory led to an uprising by the martial Pahariyas of the Raj Mahal Hills in 1778.
- ✓ The British were forced to usher in peace by declaring their territory as damni-kol area.

ii. Chuar Uprising

- ✓ Famine, enhanced land revenue demands and economic distress goaded the Chuar aboriginal tribesmen of the Jungle Mahal of Midnapore district and also of the Bankura district (in Bengal) to take up arms.
- ✓ The uprising lasted from 1766 to 1772 and then, again surfaced between 1795 and 1816.
- ✓ The Chuars were prominent in Manbhum and Barabhum, especially in the hills between Barabhum and Ghatsila.

iii. Kol Mutiny (1831)

- ✓ The Kols, alongwith other tribes, are inhabitants of Chhotanagpur. This covered Ranchi, Singhbhum, Hazaribagh, Palamau and the western parts of Manbhum.
- ✓ The trouble in 1831 started with large-scale transfers of land from Kol headmen to outsiders. The British judicial and revenue policies badly affected the traditional social conditions of the Kols. The Kols resented this and in 1831, under the leadership of Buddho Bhagat,

iv. Ho and Munda Uprisings (1820-1837)

- ✓ The Raja of Parahat organised his Ho tribals to revolt against the occupation of Singhbhum (now in Jharkhand).
- ✓ The revolt continued till 1827 when the Ho tribals were forced to submit. in 1831organised a rebellion, joined by the Mundas of Chotanagpur, to protest against the newly introduced farming revenue policy and the entry of Bengalis into their region.

v. The Santhal Rebellion (1855-56)

- ✓ Continued oppression of the Santhals, an agricultural people, who had fled to settle in the plains of the Rajmahal hills (Bihar) led to the Santhal rebellion against the zamindars.
- ✓ The rebellion turned into an anti-British movement. Under Sidhu and Kanhu, two brothers, the Santhals proclaimed an end to Company rule, and declared the area between Bhagalpur and Rajmahal as autonomous.

vi. Khond Uprisings (1837-1856)

- ✓ From 1837 to 1856, the Khonds of the hilly tracts extending from Odisha to the Srikakulam and Visakhapatnam districts of Andhra Pradesh revolted against Company rule.

vii. Koya Revolts

- ✓ The Koyas of the eastern Godavari track (modern Andhra), joined by Khonda Sara chiefs, rebelled in 1803, 1840, 1845, 1858, 1861 and 1862.
- ✓ Their complaints were oppression by police and moneylenders, new regulations and denial of their customary rights over forest areas.

viii. Bhil Revolts

- ✓ The Bhils who lived in the Western Ghats controlled the mountain passes between the north and the Deccan.
- ✓ They revolted against Company rule in 1817-19, as they had to face famine, economic distress and misgovernment.

ix. Koli Risings

- ✓ The Kolis living in the neighbourhood of Bhils rose up in rebellion against the Company's rule in 1829, 1839 and again during 1844-48.

x. Ramosi Risings

- ✓ The Ramosis, the hill tribes of the Western Ghats, had not reconciled to British rule and the British pattern of administration.
- ✓ They rose under Chittur Singh in 1822 and plundered the country around Satara.

- **Tribal Movements of the North-East**-Some famous tribal movements of the north-east frontier region have been given below.

i. Khasi Uprising-

- ✓ The Khasis, Garos, Khamptis and the Singphos organized themselves under Tirath Singh to drive away the strangers from the Brahmaputra Valley.
- ✓ The uprising developed into a popular revolt against British rule in the area.

ii. Singphos Rebellion

- ✓ The rebellion of the Singphos in Assam in early 1830 was immediately quelled.
- ✓ Chief Nirang Phidu led an uprising in 1843, which involved an attack on the British garrison and the death of many soldiers.
- ✓ Some of the smaller movements were those of the Mishmis (in 1836); the Khampti rebellion in Assam between 1839 and 1842; the Lushais' revolt in 1842 and 1844.

➢ **Sepoy Mutinies-**

- **Causes-**

i. discrimination in payment and promotions;
ii. mistreatment of the sepoys by the British officials;
iii. refusal of the government to pay foreign service allowance while fighting in remote regions;
iv. religious objections of the high caste Hindu sepoys to Lord Canning's General Service Enlistment Act (1856)

- ***EXAMPLES OF CONFLICTS-***
  - ✓ In 1806, the replacement of the turban by a leather cockade caused a mutiny at Vellore.
  - ✓ In 1844, there was a mutinous outbreak of the Bengal army sepoys for being sent to far away Sind and
  - ✓ In 1824 the sepoys at Barrackpore rose in revolt when they were asked to go to Burma because crossing the sea would mean loss of caste.
- **Important Mutinies-**The most important mutinies which broke out during the pre- 1857 period are the following:
  - **i.** The mutiny of the sepoys in Bengal in 1764.
  - **ii.** The Vellore mutiny of 1806 when the sepoys protested against interference in their social and religious practices and raised a banner of revolt unfurling the flag of the ruler of Mysore.
  - **iii.** The mutiny of the sepoys of the 47th Native Infantry Unit in 1824.
  - **iv.** The revolt of the Grenadier Company in Assam in 1825.
  - **v.** The mutiny of an Indian regiment at Sholapur in 1838.
  - **vi.** The mutinies of the 34th Native Infantry (N.I.), the 22nd N.I., the 66th N.I. and the 37th N.I. in 1844, 1849, 1850 and 1852 respectively.

➢ **Weaknesses of People's Uprisings-**

- **i.** These uprisings drew a large number of participants, localised and occurred at different times in different regions.
- **ii.** They mostly arose out of local grievances.
- **iii.** The leadership was semi-feudal in character, backward looking, traditional in outlook and their resistance did not offer alternatives to the existing social set-up.
- **iv.** If many of these revolts seemed similar to one another in wanting to oust the alien rule, it was because they were protesting against conditions that were common to them.
- **v.** These rebellions were centuries-old in form and ideological / cultural content.
- **vi.** Those who were not so uncooperative or obstinate were pacified through concessions by the authorities.
- **vii.** The methods and arms used by the fighters in these uprisings were practically obsolete compared to the weapons and strategy—as well as deception and chicanery—employed by their opponents

CHAPTER-7
The Revolt of 1857
Short notes (prelims perspective)
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1. Simmering Discontent-

- The simmering discontent burst in the form of a violent storm in 1857 which shook the British empire in India to its very foundations.

2. The 1857 Revolt: the Major Causes-

- **Economic Causes-**
  - **i.** The colonial policies of the East India Company destroyed the traditional economic fabric of the Indian society.
  - **ii.** British rule also meant misery to the artisans and handicrafts people.
  - **iii.** The annexation of Indian states by the Company cut off their major source of patronage

iv. The Indian trade and mercantile class was deliberately crippled by the British who imposed high tariff duties on Indian-made goods.
v. At the same time, the import of British goods into India attracted low tariffs, thus encouraging their entry into India.
vi. Free Trade and refusal to impose protective duties against machine-made goods from Britain simply killed Indian manufacture.
vii. Zamindars, the traditional landed aristocracy, often saw their land rights forfeited with frequent use of a *quo warranto* by the administration.
EXAMPLE- In Awadh, the storm centre of the revolt, 21,000 taluqdars had their estates confiscated and suddenly found themselves without a source of income, "unable to work, ashamed to beg, condemned to penury".
viii. The ruin of Indian industry increased the pressure on agriculture and land.

- **Political Causes-**
  i. The East India Company's greedy policy of aggrandizement accompanied by broken pledges and promises resulted in contempt for the Company and loss of political prestige, besides causing suspicion in the minds of almost all the ruling princes in India, through policies as of 'Effective Control', 'Subsidiary Alliance' and 'Doctrine of Lapse'.
  ii. The collapse of rulers—the erstwhile aristocracy—also adversely affected those sections of the Indian society.
- **Administrative Causes-**
  i. Rampant corruption in the Company's administration, especially among the police, petty officials and lower law courts, was a major cause of discontent.
- **Socio-Religious Causes**
  i. Racial overtones and a superiority complex characterised the British administrative attitude towards the native Indian population.
  ii. The government's decision to tax mosque and temple lands and making laws such as the Religious Disabilities Act, 1856
- **Influence of Outside Events-**
  i. The revolt of 1857 coincided with certain outside events in which the British suffered serious losses—the First Afghan War (1838-42), Punjab Wars (1845-49), and the Crimean Wars (1854-56).
- **Discontent Among Sepoys-**
  i. The conditions of service in the Company's Army and cantonments increasingly came into conflict with the religious beliefs and prejudices of the sepoys.
  ii. In 1856, Lord Canning's government passed the General Service Enlistment Act which decreed that all future recruits to the Bengal Army would have to give an undertaking to serve anywhere their services might be required by the government. This caused resentment.
  iii. Immediate cause of the sepoys' dissatisfaction was the order that they would not be given the foreign service allowance (*bhatta*) when serving in Sindh or in Punjab.
  iv. History of revolts in the British Indian Army—in Bengal (1764), Vellore (1806), Barrackpore (1825) and during the Afghan Wars (1838-42).

3. Beginning and Spread of the Revolt-

- **The Spark-**
  i. The reports about the mixing of bone dust in *atta* (flour) and the introduction of the Enfield rifle enhanced the sepoys' growing disaffection with the government.

ii. The greased wrapping paper of the cartridge of the new rifle had to be bitten off before loading and the grease was reportedly made of beef and pig fat.

- **Starts at Meerut-**
  i. The revolt began at Meerut, 58 km from Delhi, on May 10, 1857 and then, gathering force rapidly, soon embraced a vast area from the Punjab in the north and the Narmada in the south to Bihar in the east and Rajputana in the west.
  ii. Sepoy of the 34th Native Infantry, **Mangal Pande**, went a step further and fired at the sergeant major of his unit at Barrackpore.
  iii. On April 24, ninety men of the 3rd Native Cavalry refused to accept the greased cartridges.
  iv. On May 9, eighty-five of them were dismissed, sentenced to 10 years' imprisonment and put in fetters.
  v. On May 10, they released their imprisoned comrades, killed their officers and unfurled the banner of revolt.
- **Choice of Bahadur Shah as Symbolic Head-**
  i. This spontaneous raising of the last Mughal king to the leadership of the country was a recognition of the fact that the long reign of Mughal dynasty had become the traditional symbol of India's political unity.
  ii. The broad outlook of the rebels was not influenced by religious identity but by the perception of the British as the common enemy.
  iii. The entire Bengal Army soon rose in revolt which spread quickly. Awadh, Rohilkhand, the Doab, Bundelkhand, central India, large parts of Bihar and East Punjab shook off British authority.
- **Civilians Join-**
  i. The revolt of the sepoys was accompanied by a rebellion of the civil population, particularly in the north-western provinces and Awadh. the peasants and petty zamindars took advantage of the revolt to destroy the money-lenders' account books and debt records.
- **Storm Centres and Leaders of the Revolt-**
  i. At Delhi the real command lay with a court of soldiers headed by **General Bakht Khan** Sir Hugh Wheeler, commanding the station, surrendered on June 27, 1857 and was killed on the same day.
  ii. Nana Saheb expelled the English from Kanpur, proclaimed himself the peshwa, acknowledged Bahadur Shah as the Emperor of India and declared himself to be his governor.
  iii. **Begum Hazrat Mahal** took over the reigns at Lucknow where the rebellion broke out on June 4, 1857 and popular sympathy was overwhelmingly in favour of the deposed nawab.In March 1858, the city was finally recovered by the British.
  iv. At Bareilly, **Khan Bahadur**, a descendant of the former ruler of Rohilkhand,not enthusiastic about the pension being granted by the British, he organized an army of 40,000 soldiers and offered stiff resistance tothe British.
  v. In Bihar, the revolt was led by **Kunwar Singh**, the zamindar of Jagdishpur. He unhesitatingly joined the sepoys when they reached Arrah from Dinapore (Danapur).
  vi. **Maulvi Ahmadullah** of Faizabad fought a stiff battle against the British troops. He emerged as one of the revolt's acknowledged leaders once it broke out in Awadh in May 1857.
  vii. **Rani Laxmibai**, who assumed the leadership of the sepoys at Jhansi. The Rani of Jhansi and Tantia Tope marched towards Gwalior.Gwalior was recaptured by the English in June 1858.
  viii. **Shah Mal**, a local villager in Pargana Baraut (Baghpat, Uttar Pradesh) organised the headmen and peasants of 84 villages (referred as chaurasi desh), marching at night from

village to village, urging people to rebel against the British hegemony. Shah Mal's body was cut into pieces and his head displayed on July 21, 1857.

4. Suppression of the Revolt-

i. The revolt was finally suppressed. The British captured Delhi on September 20, 1857 Thus the great House of Mughals was finally and completely extinguished.
ii. Sir Colin Campbell occupied Kanpur on December 6, 1857.
iii. Tantia Tope was captured while asleep in April 1859 and put to death. The Rani of Jhansi had died on the battlefield earlier in June 1858. Jhansi was recaptured by Sir Hugh Rose.
iv. **The British Resistance**
    a) Delhi - Lieutenant Willoughby, John Nicholson, Lieutenant Hudson
    b) Kanpur - Sir Hugh Wheeler, Sir Colin Campbell
    c) Lucknow - Henry Lawrence, Brigadier Inglis, Henry Havelock, James Outram, Sir Colin Campbell
    d) Jhansi - Sir Hugh Rose
    e) Benaras - Colonel James Neill

5. Why the Revolt Failed

- **All-India participation was absent-**
  i. Limited territorial spread was one factor; there was no all- India veneer about the revolt.
- **All classes did not join-**
  i. Big zamindars acted as "break-waters to storm"; even Awadh taluqdars backed off once promises of land restitution were spelt out.
  ii. Educated Indians viewed this revolt as backward looking, supportive of the feudal order and as a reaction of traditional conservative forces to modernity.
  iii. Rulers who did not participate included the Sindhia of Gwalior, the Holkar of Indore, the rulers of Patiala, Sindh and other Sikh chieftains and the Maharaja of Kashmir.
- **Poor Arms and Equipment-**
  i. The Indian soldiers were poorly equipped materially, fighting generally with swords and spears and very few guns and muskets.
- **Uncoordinated and Poorly Organised**
  i. The revolt was poorly organised with no coordination or central leadership.
  ii. The principal rebel leaders—Nana Saheb, Tantia Tope, Kunwar Singh, Laxmibai.
  iii. The mutineers lacked a clear understanding of colonial rule; nor did they have a forward looking programme, a coherent ideology, a political perspective or a societal alternative.

6. Hindu-Muslim Unity Factor-

i. According to Maulana Azad, "Two facts stand out clearly in the midst of the tangled story of the Rising of 1857. The first is the remarkable sense of unity among the Hindus and the Muslims of India in this period. The other is the deep loyalty which the people felt for the Mughal Crown."
ii. Thus, the events of 1857 demonstrated that the people and politics of India were not basically communal or sectarian before 1858.

7. Nature of the Revolt-

i. It was a mere 'Sepoy Mutiny' to some British historians—"a wholly unpatriotic and selfish Sepoy Mutiny with no native leadership and no popular support", said Sir John Seeley.
ii. Dr K. Datta considers the revolt of 1857 to have been "in the main a military outbreak, which was taken advantage of by certain discontented princes and landlords, whose interests had been affected by the new political order". It was "never all-Indian in character, but was localised, restricted and poorly organised". Further, says Datta, the movement was marked by absence of cohesion and unity of purpose among the various sections of the rebels.

iii. A "planned war of national independence", by V.D. Savarkar in his book, *The Indian War of Independence, 1857*. Savarkar called the revolt the first war of Indian independence.
iv. Dr S.N. Sen in his *Eighteen Fifty- Seven* considers the revolt as having begun as a fight for religion but ending as a war of independence.
v. Dr R.C. Majumdar, however, considers it as neither the first, nor national, nor a war of independence as large parts of the country remained unaffected According to some Marxist historians, the 1857 revolt was "the struggle of the soldier-peasant democratic combine against foreign as well as feudal bondage".
vi. Jawaharlal Nehru considered the Revolt of 1857 as essentially a feudal uprising though there were some nationalistic elements in it (*Discovery of India*).
vii. M.N. Roy felt the Revolt was a last ditch stand of feudalism against commercial capitalism.
viii. R.P. Dutt also saw the significance of the Revolt of the peasantry against foreign domination It had seeds of nationalism and anti-imperialism but the concept of common nationality and nationhood was not inherent to the revolt of 1857.
ix. S.B. Chaudhuri observes, the revolt was "the first combined attempt of many classes of people to challenge a foreign power. This is a real, if remote, approach to the freedom movement of India of a later age".

8. Consequences

i. The revolt of 1857 marks a turning point in the history of India. It led to far-reaching changes in the system of administration and the policies of the British government.
ii. The British Parliament, on August 2, 1858, passed an Act for the Better Government of India. The Act declared Queen Victoria as the sovereign of British India and provided for the appointment of a Secretary of State for India
iii. The assumption of the Government of India by the sovereign of Great Britain was announced by Lord Canning at a durbar at Allahabad in the 'Queen's Proclamation' issued on November 1, 1858.
iv. The proclamation also promised equal and impartial protection under law to all Indians, besides equal opportunities in government services irrespective of race or creed. It was also promised that old Indian rights, customs and practices would be given due regard while framing and administering the law.
v. The Army Amalgamation Scheme, 1861 moved the Company's European troops to the services of the Crown.
vi. 'Conservative brand of liberalism', as it was called by Thomas Metcalf—had the solid support of the conservative and aristocratic classes of England who espoused the complete non-interference in the traditional structure of Indian society.The Indian economy was fully exploited without fear.
vii. In accordance with Queen's Proclamation of 1858, the Indian Civil Service Act of 1861 was passed, which was to give an impression that under the Queen all were equal, irrespective of race or creed.
viii. Racial hatred and suspicion between the Indians and the English was probably the worst legacy of the revolt. The complete structure of the Indian government was remodelled and based on the notion of a master race—justifying the philosophy of the 'Whiteman's burden'.

9. Significance of the Revolt-

i. It brought out in the open grievances of people and the sepoys, which were seen to be genuine.

Space for Your Notes

CHAPTER-8

Socio-Religious Reform Movements: General Features

Spectrum- Modern History (Short Notes - Prelims Perspective)

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Factors Giving Rise to Desire for Reform-

I. **Impact of British Rule-** It came at a time when India, in contrast to an enlightened Europe of the eighteenth century affected in every aspect by science and scientific outlook, presented the picture of a stagnant civilisation and a static and decadent society.

II. **Social Conditions Ripe for Reform-**

- **Religious and Social Ills-** Indian society in the nineteenth century was caught in a vicious web created by religious superstitions and social obscurantism. Hinduism had become steeped in magic and superstition.
- **Depressing Position of Women-** Attempts to kill female infants at birth were not unusual. Child marriage was another bane of society. The practice of polygamy prevailed and in Bengal, under Kulinism, even old men took very young girls as wives, sati which Raja Rammohan Roy described as a "murder according to every *shastra*".
- **The Caste Problem-**This entailed a system of segregation, hierarchically ordained on the basis of ritual status. Under a rigid caste system, social mobility was checked, social divisions grew,and individual initiative was thwarted.
- **Opposition to Western Culture**-Faced with the challenge of the intrusion of colonial culture and ideology, an attempt to reinvigorate traditional institutions and to realise the potential of traditional culture developed during the nineteenth century.

III. **New Awareness among Enlightened Indians-** The impact of modern Western culture and consciousness of defeat by a foreign power gave birth to a new awakening. Factors such as growth of nationalist sentiments, emergence of new economic forces, spread of education, impact of modern Western ideas and culture and increased awareness of the world strengthened the resolve to reform.

IV. **Social and Ideological Bases of Reform**

- **Middle Class Base-** There was a significant contrast between the broadly middle class ideals derived from a growing awareness of contemporary developments in the West, and a predominantly non-middle class social base. The intelligentsia of nineteenth century India roots lay in government service or the professions of law, education,

journalism or medicine—with which was often combined some connection with land in the form of the intermediate tenures.

- **The Intellectual Criteria-**
  - ✓ Raja Rammohan Roy firmly believed in the principle of causality linking the whole phenomenal universe and demonstrability as the sole criterion of truth.
  - ✓ Akshay Kumar Dutt, while declaring that "rationalism is our only preceptor", held that all natural and social phenomena could be analysed and understood by purely mechanical processes.
  - ✓ According to Swami Vivekananda, the same method of investigation which applies to sciences should be the basis on which religion must justify itself.
  - ✓ The evolution of an alternative cultural-ideological system and the regeneration of traditional institutions were two concerns of these movements. These concerns were manifest in the attempts to reconstruct traditional knowledge, the use and development of vernacular languages, creation of an alternative system of education, defence of religion, efforts to regenerate Indian art and literature, the emphasis on Indian dress and food, attempts to revitalise the Indian systems of medicine and to research the pre-colonial technology for its potential.
- **Two Streams-**
  - ✓ The reform movements could broadly be classified into two categories—the reformist movements like the Brahmo Samaj, the Prarthana Samaj, the Aligarh Movement, and the revivalist movements like Arya Samaj and the Deoband movement.
  - ✓ The only difference between one reform movement and the other lay in the degree to which it relied on tradition or on reason and conscience.

V. Direction of Social Reform-

- The humanistic ideals of social equality and the equal worth of all individuals which inspired the newly educated middle class influenced the field of social reform in a major way.
- The social reform movements were linked to the religious reforms primarily because nearly all social ills like untouchability and gender-based inequity derived legitimacy from religion in one way or the other.
- Organisations such as the Social Conference, Servants of India Society and the Christian missionaries were instrumental in social reform along with many enlightened individuals like Jyotiba Phule, Gopalhari Deshmukh, K.T. Telang, B.M. Malabari, D.K. Karve, Sri Narayana Guru, E.V. Ramaswami Naicker and B.R. Ambedkar.
- **Fight for Betterment of Position of Women**
  - ✓ The improvement of the status of women in the society was considered to be vital, and socialreformers worked towards this since a radical change in the domestic sphere—where initial socialisation of the individual takes place and where a crucial role is played by women— was the need of the hour.

Steps taken to Ameliorate Women's Position

- ✓ **Abolition of Sati-**
  a. Influenced by the frontal attack launched by the enlightened Indian reformers led by Raja Rammohan Roy, the government declared the practice of *sati* illegal and punishable by criminal courts as culpable homicide.

b. The regulation of 1829 (*Regulation XVII, A.D. 1829 of the Bengal Code*) was applicable in the first instance to Bengal Presidency

✓ **Preventing Female Infanticide-**

a. The practice of murdering female infants immediately after their birth was a common practice among upper class Bengalis and Rajputs who considered females to be an economic burden.
b. The Bengal regulations of 1795 and 1804 declared infanticide illegal and equivalent to murder.
c. An Act passed in 1870 made it compulsory for parents to register the birth of all babies

✓ **Widow Remarriage**

a. The Brahmo Samaj had the issue of widow remarriage high on its agenda and did much to popularise it due to the efforts of Pandit Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar (1820-91), that the Hindu Widows' Remarriage Act, 1856, was passed;
b. Jagannath Shankar Seth and Bhau Daji were among the active promoters of girls' schools in Maharashtra.
c. Vishnu Shastri Pandit founded the Widow Remarriage Association in the 1850s.
d. Karsondas Mulji who started the *Satya Prakash* in Gujarati in 1852 to advocate widow remarriage.
e. Similar efforts were made by Professor D.K. Karve in western India and by Veerasalingam Pantulu in Madras. Karve himself married a widow in 1893.
f. The right of widows to remarriage was also advocated by B.M. Malabari, Narmad (Narmadashankar Labhshankar Dave), Justice Govind Mahadeo Ranade and K. Natarajan among others.

✓ **Controlling Child Marriage**

a. The Native Marriage Act (or Civil Marriage Act), 1872 signified legislative action in prohibiting child marriage.
b. The relentless efforts of a Parsi reformer, B.M. Malabari, were rewarded by the enactment of the Age of Consent Act (1891) which forbade the marriage of girls below the age of 12.
c. The Sarda Act (1930) further pushed up the marriage age to 18 and 14 for boys and girls, respectively.
d. In free India, the Child Marriage Restraint (Amendment) Act, 1978 raised the age of marriage for girls from 15 to 18 years and for boys from 18 to 21.

✓ **Education of Women**

a. The Christian missionaries were the first to set up the Calcutta Female Juvenile Society in 1819.
b. The Bethune School, founded by J.E.D. Bethune, president of the Council of Education in Calcutta in 1849 was the first fruit of the powerful movement for women's education that arose in the 1840s and 1850s.
c. Pandit Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar was associated with no less than 35 girls' schools in Bengal and is considered one of the pioneers of women's education.

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d. Charles Wood's Despatch on Education (1854) laid great stress on the need for female education.
e. In 1914, the Women's Medical Service did a lot of work in training nurses and mid-wives.
f. The Indian Women's University set up by Professor D.K. Karve in 1916 was one of the outstanding institutions imparting education to women. In the same year Lady Hardinge Medical College was opened in Delhi.
g. Health facilities began to be provided to women with the opening of Dufferin Hospitals in the 1880s.
h. Sarojini Naidu went on to become the president of the Indian National Congress (1925) and later the governor of the United Provinces (1947-49).

✓ **Women's Organisations**

a. In 1910, Sarla Devi Chaudhurani convened the first meeting of the *Bharat Stree Mahamandal* in Allahabad. Considered as the first major Indian women's organisation set up by a woman, its objectives included promotion of education for women, abolition of the *purdah* system and improvement in the socio-economic and political status of woman all over India. Sarla Devi believed that the man working for women's upliftment lived 'underthe shade of Manu'.
b. Ramabai Ranade founded the Ladies Social Conference (Bharat Mahila Parishad), under the parent organization National Social Conference, in 1904 in Bombay.
c. Pandita Ramabai Saraswati founded the Arya Mahila Samaj to serve the cause of women. She pleaded for improvement in the educational syllabus of Indian women before the English Education Commission which was referred to Queen Victoria. This resulted in medical education for women which started in Lady Dufferin College.
d. Later Ramabai Ranade established a branch of Arya Mahila Samaj in Bombay.
e. In 1925, the National Council of Women in India, a national branch of the International Council of Women, was formed. Mehribai Tata played a vital role in its formation and advancement.
f. Other women who held important positions on the executive committee of the council included Cornelia Sarabji, India's first lady barrister; Tarabai Premchand, wife of a wealthy banker; Shaffi Tyabji, a member of one of Mumbai's leading Muslim families; and Maharani Sucharu Devi, daughter of Keshab Chandra Sen.
g. The All India Women's Conference (AIWC), founded by Margaret Cousins in 1927, was perhaps the first women'sorganisation with an egalitarian approach. Its first conference was held at Ferguson College, Pune. Its objectives were to work for a society based on principles of social justice, integrity, equal rights and opportunities; and to secure for every human being, the essentials of life, not determined by accident of birth or sex but by planned social distribution.
h. Sarda Act (1929), Hindu Women's Right to Property Act (1937), Factory Act (1947), Hindu Marriage and Divorce Act (1954), Special Marriage Act (1954), Hindu Minority and Guardianship Act (1956), Hindu Adoption and Maintenance Act (1956), the Suppression of Immoral

Traffic in Women Act (1958), Maternity Benefits Act (1961), Dowry Prohibition Act (1961) and Equal Remuneration Act (1958, 1976).

- **Struggle Against Caste-Based Exploitation-**The worst-hit by the discriminatory institution of caste were the 'untouchables' or the scheduled castes/Dalits

✓ **Factors that Helped to Mitigate Caste-based Discrimination**

a. British rule, perhaps without intention, created certain conditions that undermined caste consciousness to an extent.
b. The social reform movements also strove to undermine caste-based exploitation.
c. The national movement took inspiration from the principles of liberty and equality against the forces which tended to divide the society.Gandhi, in 1932, founded the All India Harijan Sangh.
d. With increasing opportunities of education and general awakening, there were stirrings among the lower castes themselves.
e. The struggle of the depressed classes led to the provision of special representation for these classes in the Government of India Act, 1935.
f. Sri Narayana Guru in Keralacoined the slogan "one religion, one caste, one God for mankind", which his disciple Sahadaran Ayyapan changed into "no religion, no caste, no God for mankind".
g. Dr Bhimrao Ambedkar led the Mahad Satyagraha in March 1927 to challenge the regressive customs of the caste Hindus. Dr Ambedkar established the Bahishkrit Hitakarini Sabha in 1924 to highlight the difficulties and grievances of the dalits before the government. Its motto was: 'Educate, Agitate and Organise'.
h. The Constitution of free India has made equality and non-discrimination on basis of caste imperative.

CHAPTER-9

A General Survey of Socio- Cultural Reform Movements

SHORT NOTES (PRELIMS + MAINS)

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1. Socio-Cultural Reform Movements and their Leaders-

I. Raja Rammohan Roy and Brahmo Samaj

- Raja Rammohan Roy (1772-1833), often called the the father of Indian Renaissance and the maker of Modern India, He wrote *Gift to Monotheists* (1809) and translated into Bengali the *Vedas* and the five *Upanishads* to prove his conviction that ancient Hindu texts support monotheism.
- In 1814, he set up the **Atmiya Sabha** (or Society of Friends) in Calcutta. He declared that *Vedanta* is based on reason and that, if reason demanded it, even a departure from the scriptures is justified.
- In his *Precepts of Jesus* (1820), he tried to separate the moral and philosophical message of the New Testament Raja Rammohan Roy founded the **Brahmo Sabha** in August 1828; it was later renamed **Brahmo Samaj**.
- The Samaj was committed to "the worship and adoration of the Eternal, Unsearchable, Immutable Being who is the Author and Preserver of the Universe" the Samaj's opposition to idolatry and meaningless rituals.
- The long-term agenda of the Brahmo Samaj—to purify Hinduism and to preach monotheism—was based on the twin pillars of reason and the *Vedas* and *Upanishads.*

- Roy's progressive ideas met with strong opposition from orthodox elements like Raja Radhakant Deb who organised the Dharma Sabha to counter Brahmo Samaj propaganda.
- Roy's death in 1833 was a setback for the Samaj's mission. The features of Brahmo Samaj may be summed thus—
    i. it denounced polytheism and idol worship;
    ii. it discarded faith in divine *avataras* (incarnations);
    iii. it denied that any scripture could enjoy the status of ultimate authority transcending human reason and conscience;
    iv. it took no definite stand on the doctrine of *karma* and transmigration of soul and left it to individual Brahmos to believe either way;
    v. it criticised the caste system.

Raja Rammohan Roy's Efforts at Social Reform-

- Rammohan was a determined crusader against the inhuman practice of *sati*. He started his anti-sati struggle in 1818
- His efforts were rewarded by the Government Regulation in 1829 which declared the practice of *sati* a crime. Roy attacked polygamy and the degraded state of widows and demanded the right of inheritance and property for women.
- He supported David Hare's efforts to found the Hindu College in 1817, while Roy's English school taught mechanics and Voltaire's philosophy. In 1825, he established a Vedanta college where courses in both Indian learning and Western social and physical sciences were offered.
- Rammohan was a gifted linguist Roy condemned oppressive practices of Bengali zamindars and demanded fixation of maximum rents. He also demanded abolition of taxes on taxfree lands.
- Roy had David Hare, Alexander Duff, Debendranath Tagore, P.K. Tagore, Chandrashekhar Deb and Tarachand Chakraborty as his associates.

Debendranath Tagore and Brahmo Samaj-

- Maharishi Debendranath Tagore (1817-1905), father of Rabindranath Tagore joined the Samaj in 1842.
- Tagore headed the **Tattvabodhini Sabha** (founded in 1839) which, along with its organ *Tattvabodhini Patrika* in Bengali, was devoted to the systematic study of India's past with a rational outlook and to the propagation of Rammohan's ideas the Brahmo Samaj came to include prominent followers of Rammohan, the Derozians and independent thinkers such as Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar and Ashwini Kumar Datta.
- Tagore worked on two fronts: within Hinduism, the Brahmo Samaj was a reformist movement; outside, it resolutely opposed the Christian missionaries for their criticism of Hinduism and their attempts at conversion.

Keshab Chandra Sen and the Brahmo Samaj

- The Brahmo Samaj experienced another phase of energy, when Keshab Chandra Sen (1838-1884) was made the *acharya* by Debendranath Tagore soon after the former joined the Samaj in 1858.
- Keshab (also spelt Keshub) was instrumental in popularising the movement, and branches of the Samaj were opened outside Bengal—in the United Provinces, Punjab, Bombay, Madras and other towns.
- Keshab Chandra Sen was dismissed from the office of *acharya* in 1865. Keshab and his followers founded the Brahmo Samaj of India in 1866, while Debendranath Tagore's Samaj came to be known as the Adi Brahmo Samaj.
- After 1878, the disgusted followers of Keshab set up a new organisation, the **Sadharan Brahmo Samaj**. The Sadharan Brahmo Samaj was started by Ananda Mohan Bose, Shibchandra Deb and Umesh Chandra Datta. A number of Brahmo centres were opened in Madras province.
- In Punjab, the Dayal Singh Trust sought to implant Brahmo ideas by the opening of Dayal Singh College at Lahore in 1910.

Significance of the Brahmo Samaj

- It condemned the prevailing Hindu prejudice against going abroad. It worked for a respectable status for women in society—condemned *sati*, worked for abolition of *purdah* system, discouraged child marriage and polygamy, crusaded for widow remarriage and for provisions of educational facilities.
- It also attacked casteism and untouchability though in these matters it attained only limited success.

II. Prarthana Samaj

- In 1867, Keshab Chandra Sen helped Atmaram Pandurang found the Prarthana Samaj in Bombay.
- A precursor of the Prarthana Samaj was the Paramahansa Sabha, something like a secret society to spread liberal ideas and encourage the breakdown of caste and communal barriers.
- Mahadeo Govind Ranade (1842-1901), joined the samaj in 1870, Other leaders of the samaj were R.G. Bhandarkar (1837- 1925) and N.G. Chandavarkar (1855-1923). The Prarthana Sabha was very attached to the bhakti cult of Maharashtra.
- There was a four-point social agenda also: (i) disapproval of caste system, (ii) women's education, (iii) widow remarriage, and (iv) raising the age of marriage for both males and females. Dhondo Keshav Karve and Vishnu Shastri were champions of social reform with Ranade.

III. Young Bengal Movement and Henry Vivian Derozio

- 'Young Bengal Movement'- late 1820s and early 1830s.A young Anglo-Indian, Henry Vivian Derozio (1809-31), who taught at the Hindu College from 1826 to 1831, was the leader and inspirer of this progressive trend.
- The main reason for their limited success was the prevailing social conditions at that time, which were not ripe for the adoption of radical ideas.
- The Derozians lacked any real link with the masses; for instance, they failed to take up the peasants' cause.Their radicalism was bookish in character.
- Despite their limitations, the Derozians carried forward Rammohan Roy's tradition of public education on social, economic and political questions. For instance, they demanded induction of Indians in higher grades of services, protection of ryots from oppressive zamindars, better treatment to Indian labour abroad in British colonies, revision of the Company's charter, freedom of press and trial by jury.
- Surendranath Banerjea was to describe the Derozians as "the pioneers of the modern civilisation of Bengal, the conscript fathers of our race whose virtues will excite veneration and whose failings will be treated with gentlest consideration".

IV. Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar-

- Vidyasagar's ideas were a happy blend of Indian and Western thought. He believed in high moral values, was a deep humanist and was generous to the poor.
- Vidyasagar started a movement in support of widow remarriage which resulted in legalisation of widow remarriage. He was also a crusader against child marriage and polygamy. He did much for the cause of women's education.
- As government inspector of schools, he helped organise thirtyfive girls' schools many of which he ran at his own expense.

V. Balshastri Jambhekar

- Balshastri Jambhekar (1812-1846) was a pioneer of social reform through journalism in Bombay; he attacked brahminical orthodoxy and tried to reform popular Hinduism. He startedthe newspaper *Darpan* in 1832.
- Known as the father of Marathi journalism. In 1840, he started *Digdarshan* which published articles on scientific subjects as well as history.
- Jambhekar founded the Bombay Native General Library and started the Native Improvement Society of which an offshoot was the Students Literary and Scientific Library.

- He was the first professor of Hindi at the Elphinston College, besides being a director of the Colaba Observatory.

VI. Paramahansa Mandali

- Founded in 1849 in Maharashtra, the founders of the Paramahansa Mandali—Dadoba Pandurang, Mehtaji Durgaram and others—began as a secret society that worked to reform Hindu religion and society in general.
- The ideology of the society was closely linked to that of the Manav Dharma Sabha.

VII. Satyashodhak Samaj and Jyotiba or Jyotirao Phule

- Jyotiba Phule (1827-1890), organized a powerful movement against upper caste domination and brahminical supremacy. Phule founded the Satyashodhak Samaj (Truth Seekers' Society) in 1873, with the leadership of the samaj coming from the backward classes
- The main aims of the movement were (i) social service, and (ii) spread of education among women and lower caste people.
- Phule's works, *Sarvajanik Satyadharma* and *Gulamgiri,* became sources of inspiration for the common masses. Phule used the symbol of Rajah Bali as opposed to the brahmins' symbol of Rama. Phule was awarded the title 'Mahatma' for his social reform work.

VIII. Gopalhari Deshmukh 'Lokahitawadi'

- Gopalhari Deshmukh (1823-1892) was a social reformer and rationalist from Maharashtra.
- He wrote for a weekly *Prabhakar* under the pen name of *Lokahitawadi* on social reform issues.
- He said, "If religion does not sanction social reform, then change religion."
- He started a weekly, *Hitechhu,* and also played a leading role in founding the periodicals, *Gyan Prakash, Indu Prakash* and *Lokahitawadi.*

IX. Gopal Ganesh Agarkar

- Gopal Ganesh Agarkar (1856-1895) was an educationist and social reformer from Maharashtra. He criticised the blind dependenceon tradition and false glorification of the past.
- He was also the first editor of *Kesari,* the journal started by Lokmanya Tilak. Later, he started his own periodical, *Sudharak,* which spoke against untouchability and the caste system.

X. The Servants of India Society

- Gopal Krishna Gokhale (1866-1915), a liberal leader of the Indian National Congress, founded the Servants of India Society in 1905 with the help of M.G. Ranade.
- The aim of the society was to train national missionaries for the service of India; to promote, by all constitutional means, the true interests of the Indian people; and to prepare a cadre of selfless workers who were to devote their lives to the cause of the country in a religious spirit.
- In 1911, the *Hitavada* began to be published to project the views of the society. After Gokhale's death (1915), Srinivasa Shastri took over as president

XI. Social Service League

- Narayan Malhar Joshi founded the Social Service League in Bombay with an aim to secure for the masses better and reasonable conditions of life and work.
- Joshi also founded the All India Trade Union Congress (1920).

XII. The Ramakrishna Movement and Swami Vivekananda

- The teachings of **Ramakrishna Paramahamsa** (1836-1886) ound many followers. He is considered to have attained the highest spiritual experience available to Hindus.
- Two objectives of the Ramakrishna movement were—(i) to bring into existence a band of monks dedicated to a life of renunciation and practical spirituality, from among whom teachers and workers would be sent out to spread the universal message of Vedanta as illustrated in the life of Ramakrishna, and (ii) in conjunction with lay disciples to carry on preaching, philanthropic and charitable works, looking upon all men, women and children, irrespective of caste, creed or colour, as veritable manifestations of the Divine.

- Paramahamsa himself laid the foundations of the Ramakrishna Math as a nucleus to fulfil the first objective. The second objective was taken up by Swami Vivekananda after Ramakrishna's death when he founded the Ramakrishna Mission in 1897.
- The headquarters of the Ramakrishna Math and Mission are at Belur near Calcutta.

Swami Vivekananda

- Narendranath Datta (1862-1902), who later came to be known as **Swami Vivekananda** spread Ramakrishna's message
- His mission was to bridge the gulf between *paramartha* (service) and *vyavahara* (behaviour), and between spirituality and day-to-day life. Vivekananda believed in the fundamental oneness of God and said, "For our own motherland a junction of the two great systems, Hinduism and Islam, is the only hope."
- At the **Parliament of Religions held at Chicago in 1893**, Swami Vivekananda made a great impression on people by his learned interpretations. In 1897 he founded the Ramakrishna Mission. Vivekananda was a great humanist and used the Ramakrishna Mission for humanitarian relief and social work.
- The Mission stands for religious and social reform. Vivekananda advocated the doctrine of service

XIII. Dayananda Saraswati and Arya Samaj

- Its founder, Dayananda Saraswati or Mulshankar (1824-1883) The first Arya Samaj unit was formally set up by him at Bombay in 1875 and later the headquarters of the Samaj were established at Lahore.
- Dayananda's views were published in his famous work, *Satyarth Prakash* (The True Exposition). He took inspiration from the Vedas and considered them to be 'India's Rock of Ages', the infallible and the true original seed of Hinduism. He gave the slogan "Back to the *Vedas*".
- Dayananda had received education on Vedanta from a blind teacher named Swami Virajananda in Mathura. Swami Dayananda once lamented the Hindu race as "the children of children".
- The nucleus for this movement was provided by the Dayananda Anglo-Vedic (D.A.V.) schools, established first at Lahore in 1886, which sought to emphasise the importance of Western education.
- Swami Shraddhanand started the Gurukul at Hardwar in 1902 to impart education in the traditional framework.
- **The ten guiding principles of the Arya Samaj are**— (i) God is the primary source of all true knowledge; (ii) God, as all-truth, all-knowledge, almighty, immortal, creator of Universe, is alone worthy of worship; (iii) the Vedas are thebooks of true knowledge; (iv) an Arya should always be ready to accept truth and abandon untruth; (v) *dharma*, that is, due consideration of right and wrong, should be the guiding principle of all actions; (vi) the principal aim of the Samaj is to promote world's well-being in the material, spiritual and social sense; (vii) everybody should be treated with love and justice; (viii) ignorance is to be dispelled and knowledge increased; (ix) one's own progress should depend on uplift of all others; (x) social well-being of mankind is to be placed above an individual's well-being.
- The work of the Swami after his death was carried forward by Lala Hansraj, Pandit Gurudutt,Lala Lajpat Rai and Swami Shraddhanand, among others.

XIV. Seva Sadan

- A Parsi social reformer, Behramji M. Malabari (1853- 1912), founded the Seva Sadan in 1908 along with a friend, Diwan Dayaram Gidumal.
- It was his efforts that led to the Age of Consent Act regulating the age of consent for females,

XV. Dev Samaj

- Founded in 1887 at Lahore by Shiv Narayan Agnihotri (1850- 1927) Its teachings were compiled in a book, *Deva Shastra.* Agnihotri spoke against child marriage.

XVI. Dharma Sabha

- Radhakant Deb founded this sabha in 1830. An orthodox society, it stood for the preservation of the *status quo*

XVII. Bharat Dharma Mahamandala

- Other organisations created to defend orthodox Hinduism were the Sanatana Dharma Sabha (1895), the Dharma Maha Parishad in South India, and Dharma Mahamandali in Bengal. These organisations combined in 1902 to form the single organisation of Bharat Dharma Mahamandala, with headquarters at Varanasi.
- This organization sought to introduce proper management of Hindu religious institutions, open Hindu educational institutions, etc. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya was a prominent figure in this movement.

XVIII. Radhaswami Movement

- Tulsi Ramknown as Shiv Dayal Saheb, founded this movement in 1861. The Radhaswamis believe in one supreme being, supremacy of the *guru*, a company of pious people (*satsang*), and a simple social life.

XIX. Sree Narayana Guru Dharma Paripalana (SNDP) Movement

- The SNDP movement was an example of a regional movement born out of conflict between the depressed classes and upper castes.
- It was started by Sree Narayana Guru Swamy (1856- 1928) among the Ezhavas of KeralaThe Ezhavas were the single largest caste group in Kerala constituting 26 per cent of the total population.
- Narayana Guru, took a stone from the Neyyar river and installed it as a Sivalinga at Aruvippuram on Sivaratri in 1888. The movement (**Aruvippuram movement**) drew the famous poet Kumaran Asan as a disciple of Narayana Guru.
- In 1889, the Aruvippuram Kshetra Yogam was formed.Thus the Aruvippuram Sree Narayana Guru Dharma Paripalana Yogam (in short SNDP) was registered in 1903 under the Indian Companies Act, with Narayana Guru as its permanent chairman, and Kumaran Asan as the generalsecretary.
- On the wall of the Aruvippuram temple he got inscribed the words, “Devoid of dividing walls of caste or race, or hatred of rival faith, we all live here in brotherhood.”
- The SNDP Yogam took up several issues for the Ezhavas, such as (i) right of admission to public schools, (ii) recruitment to government services, (iii) access to roads and entry to temples, and (iv) political representation.

XX. Vokkaliga Sangha

- The Vokkaliga Sangha in Mysore launched an anti-brahmin movement in 1905.

XXI. Justice Movement

- This movement in Madras Presidency was started by C.N. Mudaliar, T.M. Nair and P. Tyagaraja In 1917, Madras Presidency Association was formed

XXII. Self-Respect Movement

- This movement was started by E.V. Ramaswamy Naicker, a Balija Naidu, in the mid-1920s

XXIII. Temple Entry Movement

- In the meanwhile, Vaikom, in the northern part of Travancore, became a centre of agitation for temple entry.
- In 1924, the Vaikom Satyagraha led by K.P. Kesava, was launched in Kerala demanding. Again in 1931 when the Civil Disobedience Movement was suspended, temple entry movement was organised in Kerala. on November 12, 1936, the Maharaja of Travancore issued proclamation throwing open all government-controlled temples to all Hindus.
- A similar step was taken by the C. Rajagopalachari administration in Madras in 1938.

XXIV. Indian Social Conference

- Founded by M.G. Ranade and Raghunath Rao, the Indian Social Conference met annually from its first session in Madras in 1887

- The conference advocate inter-caste marriages, opposed polygamy and *kulinism*. Itlaunched the 'Pledge Movement' to inspire people to take a pledge against child marriage.

XXV. Wahabi/Walliullah Movement

- The teachings of Abdul Wahab of Arabia and the preachings of Shah Walliullah (1702-1763) inspired this essentially revivalist response to Western influences and the degeneration which had set in among Indian Muslims and called for a return to the true spirit of Islam.
- Two-fold ideals of this movement: (i) desirability of harmony among the four schools of Muslim jurisprudence which haddivided the Indian Muslims (he sought to integrate the best elements of the four schools); (ii) recognition of the role of individual conscience in religion where conflicting interpretations were derived from the *Quran* and the *Hadis*
- The Wahabi Movement fizzled out in the face of British military might in the 1870s.

XXVI. Titu Mir's Movement

- Mir Nithar Ali, popularly known as Titu Mir, was a disciple of Sayyid Ahmed Barelvi, the founder of the Wahabi Movement.
- Titu Mir adopted Wahabism and advocated the Sharia.

XXVII. Faraizi Movement

- The movement, also called the Fara'idi Movement because of its emphasis on the Islamic pillars of faith, was founded by Haji Shariatullah in 1818.
- The movement survived merely as a religious movement without political overtones after the death of Dudu Mian in 1862.

XXVIII. Ahmadiyya Movement

- Ahmadiyya forms a sect of Islam which originated from India. It was founded by Mirza Ghulam Ahmad in 1889.
- The Ahmadiyya community is the only Islamic sect to believe that the Messiah had come in the person of Mirza Ghulam Ahmad to end religious wars

XXIX. Sir Syed Ahmed Khan and the Aligarh Movement

- A section of Muslims led by Syed Ahmed Khan (1817-1898) stimulate a process of growth among Indian Muslims through better education and employment opportunities.
- After retirement in 1876, he became a member of the Imperial Legislative Council in 1878.
- His loyalty earned him a knighthood in 1888. Hetranslated into Urdu and started the Mohammedan Anglo-Oriental College (later, the AligarhMuslim University) at Aligarh in 1875
- He believed in the fundamental underlying unity of religions or 'practical morality'. Syed's progressive social ideas were propagated through his magazine *Tahdhib-ul-Akhlaq* (Improvement of Manners and Morals).
- It aimed at spreading (i) modern education among Indian Muslims without weakening their allegiance to Islam; (ii) social reforms among Muslims relating to *purdah,* polygamy, widow remarriage, women's education, slavery, divorce, etc.

XXX. The Deoband School (Darul Uloom)

- The Deoband Movement was organised by the orthodox section among the Muslim ulema
- The Deoband Movement was begun at the Darul Uloom (or Islamic academic centre), Deoband, in Saharanpur district (United Provinces) in 1866 by Mohammad Qasim Nanotavi (1832-80) and Rashid Ahmed Gangohi (1828-1905) to train religious leaders for the Muslim community.
- The aim of the Deoband Movement was moral and religious regeneration of the Muslim communitythe Nadwatal.
- Ulama and Darul Uloom in Lucknow in 1894-96 was founded.

XXXI. Parsi Reform Movements

- The Rahnumai Mazdayasnan Sabha (Religious Reform Association) was founded in 1851 by a group of English educated Parsis for the "regeneration of the social conditions of the Parsis and the restoration of the Zoroastrian religion to its pristine purity".

- The movement had Naoroji Furdonji, Dadabhai Naoroji, K.R. Cama and S.S. Bengalee as its leaders.The message of reform was spread by the newspaper *Rast Goftar* (Truth-Teller).

XXXII. Sikh Reform Movements

- The **Singh Sabha Movement** was founded at Amritsar in 1873 with a two-fold objective—(i) to make available modern western education to the Sikhs, and (ii) to counter the proselytising activities of Christian missionaries as well as the Brahmo Samajists, Arya Samajists and Muslim maulvis
- The **Akali movement** (also known as Gurudwara Reform Movement) was an offshoot of the Singh Sabha Movement. It aimed at liberating the Sikh gurudwaras from the controlof corrupt Udasi mahants
- The government tried its repressive policies against the non-violent non-cooperation satyagraha launched by the Akalis in 1921, but had to bow before popular demands; it passed the Sikh Gurudwaras Act in 1922 (amended in 1925) which gave the control of gurudwaras to the Sikh masses to be administered through Shiromani Gurudwara Prabandhak Committee (SGPC) as the apex body..

XXXIII. The Theosophical Movement

- A group of westerners led by Madame H.P. Blavatsky (1831- 1891) and Colonel M.S. Olcott, who were inspired by Indian thought and culture, founded the Theosophical Society in New York City, United States in 1875.
- In 1882, they shifted their headquarters to Adyar, on the outskirts of Madras (at that time) in India. The society believed that a special relationship could be established between a person's soul and God
- In India, the movement became somewhat popular with the election of Annie Besant (1847-1933) as its president after the death of Olcott in 1907.
- Annie Besant had cometo India in 1893. She laid the foundation of the Central Hindu College in Benaras in 1898.The college became the nucleus for the formation of Benaras Hindu University in 1916.

2. Significance of Reform Movements

- **Positive Aspects-**
  - liberation of the individual from the conformity born out of fear and from uncritical submission to exploitation by the priests and other classes.
  - simplification of rituals made worship a more personal experience. translation of religious texts into vernacular languages,
  - emphasis on an individual's right to interpret the scriptures
  - emphasised the human intellect's capacity to think and reason.
  - enabled their followers to meet the official taunt that their religions and society were decadent and inferior.
  - served the purpose of reducing the sense of humiliation which the conquest by a foreign power had produced
  - Promoting a modern, this-worldly, secular and rational outlook was a major contribution of these reform movements.
  - a basic change in the notions of 'pollution and purity'.
- **Negative Aspects-**

- had a narrow social base, namely the educated and urban middle classes, while the needs of the vast masses of peasantry and the urban poor were ignored.
- The tendency of reformers to appeal to the greatness of the past and to rely on scriptural authority encouraged mysticisman

- Insufficient emphasis on other aspects of culture—art, architecture, literature, music, science and technology.

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Chapter-10 (Short Notes)

Beginning of Modern Nationalism in India

Factors in the Growth of Modern Nationalism-

1. Worldwide upsurge of the concepts of nationalism and right of self-determination initiated by the French Revolution.
2. Indian Renaissance.
3. Offshoot of modernisation initiated by the British in India.
4. Strong reaction to British imperialist policies in India.

I. Understanding of Contradictions in Indian and Colonial Interests

1. colonial rule was the major cause of India's economic backwardness and that the interests of the Indians involved the interests of all sections and classes.
2. The nationalist movement arose to take up the challenge of these contradictions.

II. Political, Administrative and Economic Unification of the Country

1. The British rule in the Indian subcontinent extended from the Himalayas in the north to the Cape Comorin in the south and from Assam in the east to Khyber Pass in the west.
2. While Indian provinces were under 'direct' British rule, the princely states were under 'indirect' British rule.
3. The necessities of administrative convenience, considerations of military defence and the urge for economic penetration and commercial exploitation (all in British interests) were the driving forces behind the planned development of modern means of transport and communication
4. This process of unification had a two-fold effect:
    - The economic fate of the people of different regions got linked together; for instance, failure of crops in one region affected the prices and supply in another region.
    - Modern means of transport and communication brought people, especially the leaders, from different regions together. This was important for the exchange of political ideas and for mobilisation and organisation of public opinion on political and economic issues.

III. Western Thought and Education-

1. The introduction of a modern system of education afforded opportunities for assimilation of modern Western ideas.
2. The liberal and radical thought of European writers like Milton, Shelley, John Stuart Mill, Rousseau, Paine, Spencer and Voltaire helped many Indians imbibe modern rational, secular, democratic and nationalist ideas.

IV. Role of Press and Literature

1. In 1877, there were about 169 newspapers published in vernacular languages and their circulation reached the neighbourhood of 1,00,000.
2. The press while criticising official policies, on the one hand, urged the people to unite, on the other.

V. Rediscovery of India's Past

1. The historical researches by European scholars, such as Max Mueller, Monier Williams, Roth and Sassoon, and by Indian scholars such as R.G. Bhandarkar, R.L. Mitra and later Swami Vivekananda, created an entirely new picture of India's past.

VI. Progressive Character of Socio-religious Reform Movements

1. These reform movements sought to remove social evils which divided the Indian society

VII. Rise of Middle Class Intelligentsia

1. According to Percival Spear, "The new middle class was a well-integrated all-India class with varied background but a common foreground of knowledge, ideas and values.... It was a minority of Indian society, but a dynamic minority.... It had a sense of unity of purpose and of hope."

VIII. Impact of Contemporary Movements in the World

1. Rise of a number of nations in particular deeply influenced the nationalist ranks.

IX. Reactionary Policies and Racial Arrogance of Rulers

1. Lytton's reactionary policies such as reduction of maximum age limit for the I.C.S. examination from 21 years to 19 years (1876), the grand Delhi Durbar of 1877 when the country was in the severe grip of famine, the Vernacular Press Act (1878) and the Arms Act (1878) provoked a storm of opposition in the country.
2. Ripon had to modify the bill, thus almost defeating the original purpose, because of the stiff opposition from the European community.

X. Political Associations Before the Indian National Congress

1. Through long petitions to the British Parliament most of them demanded—administrative reforms,association of Indians with the administration, and spread of education.
2. **Political Associations in Bengal**
   - **The Bangabhasha Prakasika Sabha** was formed in 1836 by associates of Raja Rammohan Roy.
   - **The Zamindari Association**, more popularly known as the '**Landholders' Society**', was founded to safeguard the interests of the landlords.
   - **The Bengal British India Society** was founded in 1843 In 1851, both the Landholders' Society and the Bengal British India Society merged into the **British Indian Association**.
   - **The East India Association** was organised by Dadabhai Naoroji in 1866 in London
   - **The Indian League** was started in 1875 by Sisir Kumar Ghosh
   - **The Indian Association of Calcutta** (also known as the **Indian National Association**) superseded the Indian League and was founded in 1876 by younger nationalists of Bengal led by Surendranath Banerjea and Ananda Mohan Bose It protested against the reduction of age limit in 1877 for candidates of the Indian Civil Service examination.
   - The association sponsored an all India conference which first took place in Calcutta on December 28 to 30, 1883. It later merged with the Indian National Congress in 1886.
3. **Political Associations in Bombay**
   - **The Poona Sarvajanik Sabha** was founded in 1867 by Mahadeo Govind Ranade
   - **The Bombay Presidency Association** was started by Badruddin Tyabji, Pherozshah Mehta and K.T. Telang in 1885.
4. **Political Associations in Madras**
   - **The Madras Mahajan Sabha** was founded in 1884 by M. Viraraghavachari, B. Subramaniya Aiyer and P. Anandacharlu.

XI. Pre-Congress Campaigns-

1. for imposition of import duty on cotton (1875)
2. for Indianisation of government service (1878-79)
3. against Lytton's Afghan adventure
4. against Arms Act (1878)
5. against Vernacular Press Act (1878)
6. for right to join volunteer corps
7. against plantation labour and against Inland Emigration Act
8. in support of Ilbert Bill

9. for an All India Fund for Political Agitation
10. campaign in Britain to vote for pro-India party
11. against reduction in maximum age for appearing in Indian Civil Service

Chapter-11

Indian National Congress: Foundation and the Moderate Phase

SHORT NOTES (PRELIMS + MAINS)

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1. Foundation of Indian National Congress

- The final shape to the establishment of an all-India organisation idea was given by A.O. Hume, whoorganised the first session of the Indian National Congress at Gokuldas Tejpal Sanskrit College in Bombay in December 1885.
- Two sessions of the Indian National Conference had been held in 1883 and 1885, Surendranath Banerjea and Ananda Mohan Bose were the main architects of the Indian National Conference.
- The first session of the Indian National Congress was attended by 72 delegates and presided over by Womesh Chandra Bonnerjee.
- Kadambini Ganguly, the first woman graduate of Calcutta University, addressed the Congress session.

Was It a Safety Valve?

- Hume formed the Congress with the idea that it would prove to be a 'safety valve' for releasing the growing discontent of the Indians.
- Even the Marxist historian's 'conspiracy theory' was an offspring of the 'safety valve' notion.
- R.P. Dutt opined that the Indian National Congress was born out of a conspiracy to abort a popular uprising in India and the bourgeois leaders were a party to it.
- Bipan Chandra observes, the early Congress leaders used Hume as a 'lightning conductor'to bring togetherthe nationalistic forces even if under the guise of a 'safety valve'.

Aims and Objectives of the Congress-The main aims of the Indian National Congress in the initial stage were to—

- found a democratic, nationalist movement;
- politicise and politically educate people;
- establish the headquarters for a movement;
- promote friendly relations among nationalist political workers from different parts of the country;
- develop and propagate an anti-colonial nationalist ideology;
- formulate and present popular demands before the government with a view to unifying the people over a common economic and political programme;
- develop and consolidate a feeling of national unity among people irrespective of religion, caste or province.
- carefully promote and nurture Indian nationhood.

2. Era of Modernates (1885-1905)

Important Leaders-The national leaders like Dadabhai Naoroji, Pherozshah Mehta, D.E. Wacha, W.C. Bonnerjea, S.N. Banerjea

Moderate Approach

- They worked on a two-pronged methodology—one, create a strong public opinion to arouse consciousness and national spirit and then educate and unite people on common political questions; and two, persuade the British Government and British public opinion to introduce reforms in India on the lines laid out by the nationalists.

- A British committee of the Indian National Congress was established in London in 1899 which had *India* as its organ.

3. Contributions of Moderate Nationalists

Economic Critique of British Imperialism

- The early nationalists, led by Dadabhai Naoroji, R.C. Dutt, Dinshaw Wacha and others, carefully analysed the political economy of British rule in India, and put forward the "drain theory" to explain British exploitation of India.
- They opposed the transformation of a basically self-sufficient Indian economy into a colonial economy

Constitutional Reforms and Propaganda in Legislature-From 1885 to 1892, the nationalist demands for constitutional reforms were centred around—

- 1. expansion of councils—i.e., greater participation of Indians in councils; and
- 2. reform of councils—i.e., more powers to councils, especially greater control over finances. They gave the slogan—"No taxation without representation".

Campaign for General Administrative Reforms-The Moderates campaigned on the following grounds

i. Indianisation of government service
ii. Call for separation of judicial from executive functions.
iii. Criticism of an oppressive and tyrannical bureaucracy and an expensive and time-consuming judicial system.
iv. Criticism of an aggressive foreign policy which resulted in annexation of Burma, attack on Afghanistan and suppression of tribals in the North-West—all costing heavily for the Indian treasury.
v. Call for increase in expenditure on welfare (i.e., health, sanitation), education—especially elementary and technical—irrigation works and improvement of agriculture, agricultural banks for cultivators, etc.
vi. Demand for better treatment for Indian labour abroad in other British colonies, where they faced oppression and racial discrimination.

Protection of Civil Rights- Through an incessant campaign, the nationalists were able to spread modern democratic ideas, and soon the defence of civil rights became an integral part of the freedom struggle.

4. An Evaluation of the Early Nationalists-

i. They represented the most progressive forces of the time.
ii. They were able to create a wide national awakening of all Indians having common interests and the need to rally around a common programme against a common enemy, and above all, the feeling of belonging to one nation.
iii. They trained people in political work and popularized modern ideas.
iv. They exposed the basically exploitative character of colonial rule, thus undermining its moral foundations.
v. Their political work was based on hard realities, and not on shallow sentiments, religion, etc.
vi. They were able to establish the basic political truth that India should be ruled in the interest of Indians.
vii. They created a solid base for a more vigorous, militant, mass-based national movement in the years that followed.
viii. They failed to widen their democratic base and the scope of their demands.

Role of Masses-

The moderate phase of the national movement had a narrow social base and the masses played a passive role. This was because the early nationalists lacked political faith in the masses; they felt that there were numerous divisions and subdivisions in the Indian society, and the masses were generally ignorant and had conservative ideas and thoughts.

Attitude of the Government

The government resorted to open condemnation of the Congress, calling the nationalists "seditious brahmins", "disloyal babus", etc. Dufferin called the Congress "a factory of sedition". Later, the government adopted a 'divide and rule' policy towards the Congress.

CHAPTER-12

Era of Militant Nationalism-(1905-1909)

SHORT NOTES (PRELIMS + MAINS)

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1. Growth of Militant Nationalism-

➢ Why Militant Nationalism Grew-

1. **Recognition of the True Nature of British Rule**
   - 1892— The Indian Councils Act was criticised by nationalists as it failed to satisfy them.
   - 1897— The Natu brothers were deported without trial and Tilak and others, imprisoned on charges of sedition.
   - 1898— Repressive laws under IPC Section 124 A were further amplified with new provisions under IPC Section 156 A
   - 1899— Number of Indian members in Calcutta Corporation were reduced.
   - 1904— Official Secrets Act curbed freedom of press.
   - 1904— Indian Universities Act ensured greater government control over universities
2. **Growth of Confidence and Self-Respect**
3. **Growth of Education International Influences-** The defeat of the Italian army by Ethiopians (1896), the Boer wars (1899- 1902) where the British faced reverses and Japan's victory over Russia (1905) demolished myths of European invincibility.
4. **Reaction to Increasing Westernisation Dissatisfaction with Achievements of Moderates-** They were strongly critical of the methods of peaceful and constitutional agitation, popularly known as the "Three 'P's"—prayer, petition and protest—and described these methods as 'political mendicancy'.
5. **Reactionary Policies of Curzon-** Administrative measures adopted during curzon's rule—the Official Secrets Act, the Indian Universities Act, the Calcutta Corporation Act and, above all, the partition of Bengal—left no doubt in Indian minds about the basically reactionary nature of British rule in India.
6. **Existence of a Militant School of Thought-** The basic tenets of this school of thought were:
   - hatred for foreign rule; since no hope could be derived from it, Indians should work out their own salvation;
   - swaraj to be the goal of national movement;
   - direct political action required; belief in capacity of the masses to challenge the authority;
   - personal sacrifices required and a true nationalist to be always ready for it.
7. **Emergence of a Trained Leadership**

2. The Swadeshi and Boycott Movement

The Swadeshi Movement had its genesis in the anti-partition movement which was started to oppose the British decision to partition Bengal.

➢ Partition of Bengal to Divide People

i. The British government's decision to partition Bengal had been made public in December 1903.

ii. The idea was to have two provinces: Bengal comprising Western Bengal as well as the provinces of Bihar and Orissa, and Eastern Bengal and Assam.
iii. Bengal retained Calcutta as its capital, while Dacca became the capital of Eastern Bengal.

➢ **Anti-Partition Campaign Under Moderates (1903-05)**

i. The methods adopted were petitions to the government, public meetings, memoranda, and propaganda through pamphlets and newspapers such as *Hitabadi, Sanjibani* and *Bengalee*.
ii. Their 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.
iii. The government announced partition of Bengal in July 1905. On August 7, 1905, with the passage of the Boycott Resolution in a massive meeting held in the Calcutta Townhall, the formal proclamation of Swadeshi Movement was made.
iv. October 16, 1905, the day the partition formally came into force, was observed as a day of mourning throughout Bengal. *'Amar Sonar Bangla*', the national anthem of present-day Bangladesh, was composed by Rabindranath Tagore

➢ **The Congress's Position**

i. The Indian National Congress, meeting in 1905 under the presidentship of Gokhale, resolved to (i) condemn the partition of Bengal and the reactionary policies of Curzon, and (ii) support the anti-partition and Swadeshi Movement of Bengal.
ii. A big step forward was taken at the Congress session held at Calcutta (1906) under the presidentship of Dadabhai Naoroji, where it was declared that the goal of the Indian National Congress was "self-government or Swaraj.

3. The Movement under Extremist Leadership-

There were three reasons for this:

- The Moderate-led movement had failed to yield results.
- The divisive tactics of the governments of both the Bengals had embittered the nationalists.
- The government had resorted to suppressive measures,

➢ **The Extremist Programme-**

i. Extremists gave a call for passive resistance in addition to swadeshi and boycott The purpose, as Aurobindo put it, was to "make the administration under present conditions impossible by an organised refusal to do anything which will help either the British commerce in the exploitation of the country or British officialdom in the administration of it". "Political freedom is the life breath of a nation," declared Aurobindo.

➢ **New Forms of Struggle**

i. Boycott of Foreign Goods
ii. Public Meetings and Processions
iii. Corps of Volunteers or 'Samitis'-Samitis such as the Swadesh Bandhab Samiti of Ashwini Kumar Dutta (in Barisal) emerged as a very popular and powerful means of mass mobilisation. In Tirunelveli, Tamil Nadu, V.O. Chidambaram Pillai, Subramania Siva and some lawyers formed the Swadeshi Sangam which inspired the local masses.
iv. Imaginative use of Traditional Popular Festivals and Melas
v. Emphasis given to Self-Reliance
vi. Programme of Swadeshi or National Education-Bengal National College, inspired by Tagore's Shantiniketan, was set up with Aurobindo Ghosh as its principal. On August 15, 1906, the National Council of Education was set up to organise a system of education— literary, scientific and technical—on national lines and under national control.
vii. Swadeshi or Indigenous Enterprises V.O. Chidambaram Pillai's venture into a national shipbuilding enterprise—Swadeshi Steam Navigation Company—at Tuticorin

viii. Impact in the Cultural Sphere In Tamil Nadu, Subramania Bharati wrote *Sudesha Geetham.* In painting, Abanindranath Tagore broke the domination of Victorian naturalism over the Indian art scene and took inspiration from Ajanta, Mughal and Rajput paintings. Nandalal Bose, who left a major imprint on Indian art, was the first recipient of a scholarship offered by the Indian Society of Oriental Art, founded in 1907.

- **Extent of Mass Participation**
  i. Student participation was visible in Bengal, Maharashtra, especially in Poona, and in many parts of the South—Guntur, Madras, Salem.
  ii. Women play a significant role in the national movement.
  iii. The nature of the Swadeshi Movement, with leaders evoking Hindu festivals and goddesses for inspiration, tended to exclude the Muslims. In September 1905, more than 250 Bengali clerks of the Burn Company, Howrah, walked out in protest against a derogatory work regulation.
  iv. In July 1906, a strike of workers in the East Indian Railway, resulted in the formation of a Railwaymen's Union.
  v. Between 1906 and 1908, strikes in the jute mills were very frequent, Subramania Siva and Chidambaram Pillai led strikes in Tuticorin and Tirunelveli in a foreign-owned cotton mill. In Rawalpindi (Punjab), the arsenal and railway workers went on strike
- **All India Aspect**
  Movements in support of Bengal's unity and the swadeshi and boycott agitation were organised in many parts of the country.

4. **Annulment of Partition**

The annulment came as a rude shock to the Muslim political elite. It was also decided to shift the capital to Delhi

5. **Evaluation of the Swadeshi Movement**

- **The Movement Fizzles Out-** There was severe government repression.
  i. The movement failed to create an effective organization or a party structure. It threw up an entire gamut of techniques that later came to be associated with Gandhian politics—noncooperation, passive resistance, filling of British jails, social reform and constructive work—but failed to give these techniques a disciplined focus.
  ii. The movement was rendered leaderless with most of the leaders either arrested or deported by 1908 and with Aurobindo Ghosh and Bipin Chandra Pal retiring from active politics.
  iii. Internal squabbles among leaders, magnified by the Surat split (1907), did much harm to the movement.
  iv. The movement aroused the people but did not know how to tap the newly released energy or how to find new forms to give expression to popular resentment. The movement largely remained confined to the upper and middle classes and zamindars, and failed to reach the masses—especially the peasantry.
  v. Non-cooperation and passive resistance remained mere ideas.
  vi. It is difficult to sustain a mass-based movement at a high pitch for too long.
- **Movement a Turning Point-**
  i. It proved to be a "leap forward" in more ways than one. Hitherto untouched sections—students, women, workers, some sections of urban and rural population—participated. All the major trends of the national movement, from conservative moderation to political extremism, from revolutionary activities to incipient socialism, from petitions and prayers to passive resistance and non-cooperation, emerged during the Swadeshi Movement.
  ii. The richness of the movement was not confined to the political sphere, but encompassed art, literature, science and industry also.

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iii. People were aroused from slumber and now they learned to take bold political positions and participate in new forms of political work.
iv. The swadeshi campaign undermined the hegemony of colonial ideas and institutions.
v. The future struggle was to draw heavily from the experience gained.

Moderate Methods Give Way to Extremist Modes

i. Moderates had outlived their utility and their politics of petitions and speeches had become obsolete.
ii. Their failure to get the support of the younger generation for their style of politics. Their failure to work among the masses had meant that their ideas did not take root among the masses.
iii. The Extremist ideology and its functioning also lacked consistency. Its advocates ranged from open members and secret sympathisers to those opposed to any kind of political violence.

6. The Surat Split

The Congress split at Surat came in December 1907,

- **Run-up to Surat**
  i. In December 1905, at the Benaras session of the Indian National Congress presided over by Gokhale.
  ii. A relatively mild resolution condemning the partition of Bengal and the reactionary policies of Curzon and supporting the swadeshi and boycott programme in Bengal was passed.
  iii. The Calcutta session of the Congress in December 1906
  iv. **Moderates** wanted to restrict the Boycott Movement to Bengal and to a boycott of foreign cloth and liquor.**Extremists** wanted to take the movement to all parts of the country and include within its ambit all forms of association
- **Split Takes Place-**
  i. The split became inevitable, and the Congress was now dominated by the Moderates who lost no time in reiterating Congress' commitment to the goal of self-government within the British Empire and to the use of constitutional methods only to achieve this goal.
- **Government Repression-**
  i. The Seditious Meetings Act, 1907;
  ii. Indian Newspapers (Incitement to Offences) Act, 1908;
  iii. Criminal Law Amendment Act, 1908; and
  iv. The Indian Press Act, 1910.

  Tilak, the main Extremist leader, was tried in 1909 for sedition for what he had written in 1908 in his *Kesari* about a bomb thrown by Bengal revolutionaries in Muzaffarpur

7. The Government Strategy

i. In the government's view, the Moderates still represented an anti-imperialist force consisting of basically patriotic and liberal intellectuals..
ii. The policy was to be of 'rallying them' (John Morley— the secretary of state) or the policy of 'carrot and stick'.
iii. It may be described as a three-pronged approach of repression conciliation- suppression.
iv. In the first stage, the Extremists were to be repressed mildly
v. In the second stage, the Moderates were to be placated through some concessions
vi. The Surat split suggested that the policy of carrot and stick had brought rich dividends to the British India government.

8. Morley-Minto Reforms—1909-

i. In October 1906, a group of Muslim elites called the **Simla Deputation**, led by the Agha Khan, met Lord Minto and demanded separate electorates for the Muslims

ii. The same group quickly took over the Muslim League, initially floated by Nawab Salimullah of Dacca along with Nawabs Mohsin-ul-Mulk and Waqar-ul- Mulk in December 1906.

- **The Reforms**
  i. The **Morley- Minto (or Minto-Morley) Reforms** that translated into the **Indian Councils Act of 1909**.
  ii. The elective principle was recognised for the nonofficial membership of the councils in India. Indians were allowed to participate in the election of various legislative councils, though on the basis of class and community.
  iii. For the first time, separate electorates for Muslims for election to the central council was established—a most detrimental step for India.
  iv. The number of elected members in the Imperial Legislative Council and the Provincial Legislative Councils was increased. In the provincial councils, non-official majority was introduced, but since some of these non-officials were nominated and not elected, the overall non-elected majority remained.
  v. According to Sumit Sarkar, in the Imperial Legislative Council, of the total 69 members, 37 were to be the officials and of the 32 non-officials, 5 were to be nominated. Of the 27 elected non-officials, 8 seats were reserved for the Muslims under separate electorates (only Muslims could vote here for the Muslim candidates), while 4 seats were reserved for the British capitalists, 2 for the landlords and 13 seats came under general electorate.
  vi. The elected members were to be indirectly elected. The local bodies were to elect an electoral college, which in turn would elect members of provincial legislatures, who in turn would elect members of the central legislature.
  vii. Besides separate electorates for the Muslims, representation in excess of the strength of their population was accorded to the Muslims. Also, the income qualification for Muslim voters was kept lower than that for Hindus.
  viii. Powers of legislatures—both at the centre and inprovinces—were enlarged and the legislatures could now pass resolutions (which may or may not be accepted), ask questions and supplementaries, vote separate items in the budget though the budget as a whole could not be voted upon.
  ix. One Indian was to be appointed to the viceroy's executive council (Satyendra Sinha was the first Indian to be appointed in 1909).

- **Evaluation-**
  i. Lord Morley said, "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."
  ii. The system of election was too indirect and it gave the impression of "infiltration of legislators through a number of sieves".
  iii. What the reforms of 1909 gave to the people of the country was a shadow rather than substance.
  iv. The people had demanded self-government but what they were given was 'benevolent despotism'.

CHAPTER-13
First Phase of Revolutionary Activities (1907-1917)
SHORT NOTES (PRELIMS + MAINS)
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I. Why the Surge of Revolutionary Activities

- ✓ first phase acquired a more activist form as a fallout of the Swadeshi and Boycott Movement and continued till 1917.
- ✓ second phase started as a fallout of the Non-Cooperation Movement.

II. The Revolutionary Programme

- ✓ revolutionaries opted to follow in the footsteps of Russian nihilists or the Irish nationalists.This methodology involved individual heroic actions.

III. A Survey of Revolutionary Activities

✓ Bengal

i. first revolutionary groups were organised in 1902 in Midnapore (under Jnanendranath Basu) and in Calcutta (the **Anushilan Samiti** founded by Promotha Mitter, and including Jatindranath Banerjee, Barindra Kumar Ghosh and others.)

ii. In April 1906, an inner circle within Anushilan (Barindra Kumar Ghosh, Bhupendranath Dutta) started the weekly *Yugantar* and conducted a few abortive 'actions'.

iii. After severe police brutalities on participants of the Barisal Conference (April 1906), the *Yugantar* wrote: "The remedy lies with the people. The 30 crore people inhabiting India must raise their 60 crore hands to stop this curse of oppression. Force must be stopped by force."

iv. Rashbehari Bose and Sachin Sanyal had organised secret society covering far-flung areas of Punjab, Delhi and United Provinces while some others like Hemachandra Kanungo went abroad for military and political training.

v. In 1907, an abortive attempt was made by the *Yugantar* group on the life of a very unpopular British official, Sir Fuller (the first Lt. Governor of the new province of Eastern Bengal and Assam).

vi. In December 1907, there were attempts to derail the train on which the lieutenant-governor, Sri Andrew Fraser.

vii. In 1908, Prafulla Chaki and Khudiram Bose threw a bomb at a carriage The whole Anushilan group was arrested including the Ghosh brothers, Aurobindo and Barindra, who were tried in the **Alipore conspiracy case**, variously called Manicktolla bomb conspiracy or Muraripukur conspiracy.

viii. In February 1909, the public prosecutor was shot dead in Calcutta and in February 1910, a deputy superintendent of police met the same fate while leaving the Calcutta High Court.

ix. In 1908, Barrah dacoity was organised by Dacca Anushilan under Pulin Das to raise funds for revolutionary activities.

x. Jatin Mukherjee was shot and died a hero's death in Balasore on the Orissa coast in September 1915. "We shall die to awaken the nation", was the call of Bagha Jatin.

xi. newspapers and journals advocating revolutionary activity included *Sandhya* and *Yugantar* in Bengal, and *Kal* in Maharashtra.

✓ Maharashtra

i. first of the revolutionary activities in Maharashtra was the organisation of the **Ramosi Peasant Force** by Vasudev Balwant Phadke

ii. In 1879 Tilak propagated a spirit of militant nationalism, including use of violence, through Ganapati and Shivaji festivals and his journals *Kesari* and *Maharatta*. Two of his disciples—the Chapekar brothers, Damodar and Balkrishna—murdered the Plague Commissioner of Poona, Rand, and one Lt. Ayerst in 1897.

iii. Savarkar and his brother organised **Mitra Mela**, a secret society, in 1899 which merged with **Abhinav Bharat** (after Mazzinni's 'Young Italy') in 1904. Soon Nasik, Poona and Bombay emerged as centres of bomb manufacture.

✓ Punjab

i. Lala Lajpat Rai who brought out *Punjabee* (with its motto of self-help at any cost) and Ajit Singh (Bhagat Singh's uncle) who organised the extremist **Anjuman-i-Mohisban-i-Watan** in Lahore with its journal, *Bharat Mata.*

✓ **Revolutionary Activities Abroad**

i. Shyamji Krishnavarma had started in London in 1905 an Indian Home Rule Society—'India House'—as a centre for Indian students, a scholarship scheme to bring radical youth from India, and a journal *The Indian Sociologist.*

ii. Madanlal Dhingra from this circle assassinated the India office bureaucrat Curzon-Wyllie in 1909. New centres emerged on the continent—Paris and Geneva

iii. **The Ghadr**

- Ghadr Party was a revolutionary group organised around a weekly newspaper *The Ghadr* with its headquarters at San Francisco and branches along the US coast and in the Far East.
- These revolutionaries included mainly ex-soldiers and peasants who had migrated from the Punjab to the USA and Canada in search of better employment opportunities.
- To carry out revolutionary activities, the earlier activists had set up a 'Swadesh Sevak Home' at Vancouver and 'United India House' at Seattle. Finally in 1913, the Ghadr was established.
- Their plans were encouraged by two events in 1914—the *Komagata Maru* incident and the outbreak of the First World War.
- **Komagata Maru Incident and the Ghadr** *Komagata Maru* was the name of a ship which was carrying 370 passengers, mainly Sikh and Punjabi Muslim would-be immigrants, from Singapore to Vancouver.
- ship finally anchored at Calcutta in September 1914. The inmates refused to board the Punjab bound train. In the ensuing conflict with the police at Budge Budge near Calcutta, 22 persons died.
- Ghadrites fixed February 21, 1915 as the date for an armed revolt in Ferozepur, Lahore and Rawalpindi garrisons. The authorities took immediate action, aided by the Defence of India Rules, 1915.
- British met the wartime threat with a formidable battery of repressive measures—the most intensive since 1857—and above all by the Defence of India Act passed in March 1915 primarily to smash the Ghadr movement.
- **Evaluation of Ghadr** The achievement of the Ghadr movement lay in the realm of ideology. It preached militant nationalism with a completely secular approach.

iv. **Revolutionaries in Europe**

- **Berlin Committee for Indian Independence** was established in 1915 by Virendranath Chattopadhyay, Bhupendranath Dutta, Lala Hardayal and others with the help of the German foreign office under 'Zimmerman 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.
- One mission under Raja Mahendra Pratap Singh, Barkatullah and Obaidullah Sindhi went to Kabul to organise a 'provisional Indian government' there with the help of the crown prince, Amanullah.

v. **Mutiny in Singapore**

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- most notable was in Singapore on February 15, 1915 by Punjabi Muslim 5th Light Infantry and the 36th Sikh battalion under Jamadar Chisti Khan, Jamadar Abdul Gani and Subedar Daud Khan.
- It was crushed after a fierce battle in which many were killed.

IV. Decline

✓ There was a temporary respite in revolutionary activity after the First World War because the release of prisoners held under the Defence of India Rules cooled down passions a bit; there was an atmosphere of conciliation after Montagu's August 1917 statement.

CHAPTER-14

First World War and Nationalist Response

SHORT NOTES (PRELIMS + MAINS)

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- In First World War (1914-1919), Britain allied with France, Russia, USA, Italy and Japan against Germany, Austria-Hungary and Turkey.
- nationalist response to British participation in the First World War was three-fold:
  a) Moderates supported the empire in the war as a matter of duty;
  b) Extremists, including Tilak (who was released in June 1914), supported the war efforts in the mistaken belief that Britain would repay India's loyalty with gratitude in the form of self government; and
  c) revolutionaries decided to utilise the opportunity to wage a war on British rule and liberate the country.
- revolutionary activity was carried out through the Ghadr Party in North America, Berlin Committee in Europe and some scattered mutinies by Indian soldiers, such as the one in Singapore.

I. Home Rule League Movement

- Two Indian Home Rule Leagues were organised on the lines of the Irish Home Rule Leagues and they represented the emergence of a new trend of aggressive politics. Annie Besant and Tilak were the pioneers of this new trend.
- **Factors Leading to the Movement**-Some of the factors leading to the formation of the Home Rule Movement were as follows.
  a) A section of the nationalists felt that popular pressure was required to attain concessions from the government.
  b) Moderates were disillusioned with the Morley- Minto reforms.
  c) People were feeling the burden of wartime miseries caused by high taxation and a rise in prices, and were ready to participate in any aggressive movement of protest.
  d) The war, being fought among the major imperialist powers of the day and backed by naked propaganda against each other, exposed the myth of white superiority.
  e) Tilak was ready to assume leadership after his release in June 1914, and had made conciliatory gestures— to the government reassuring it of his loyalty and to the Moderates that he wanted, like the Irish Home Rulers, a reform of the administration and not an overthrow of the government. He also admitted that the acts of violence had only served to retard the pace of political progress in India. He urged all Indians to assist the British government in its hour of crisis.
  f) Annie Besant, the Irish theosophist based in India since 1896, had decided to enlarge the sphere of her activities to include the building of a movement for home rule on the lines of the Irish Home Rule Leagues.

- **The Leagues-**
  a) By early 1915, Annie Besant had launched a campaign to demand self-government for India after the war on the lines of white colonies. She campaigned through her newspapers, *New India* and *Commonweal,* and through public meetings and conferences.
  b) **Tilak's League-**Tilak set up his Home Rule League in April 1916 and it was restricted to Maharashtra (excluding Bombay city), Karnataka, Central Provinces and Berar.
  c) **Besant's League-**Annie Besant set up her league in September 1916 in Madras and covered the rest of India (including Bombay city). It had 200 branches
- **The Home Rule League Programme-**
  a) League campaign aimed to convey to the common man the message of home rule as self-government. The Russian Revolution of 1917 proved to be an added advantage for the Home Rule campaign.
  b) Home Rule agitation was later joined by Motilal Nehru, Jawaharlal Nehru, Bhulabhai Desai, Chittaranjan Das, Madan Mohan Malaviya, Mohammad Ali Jinnah, Tej Bahadur Sapru and Lala Lajpat Rai.
- **Government Attitude**
  a) Tilak was barred from entering the Punjab and Delhi. In June 1917, Annie Besant and her associates, B.P. Wadia and George Arundale, were arrested.
  b) Montagu, the Secretary of State for India, commented that "Shiva ...cut his wife into fifty-two pieces only to discover that he had fifty-two wives. This is what happens to the Government of India when it interns Mrs Besant."
- **Why the Agitation Faded Out by 1919**
  a) There was a lack of effective organisation.
  b) Communal riots were witnessed during 1917-18.
  c) Moderates who had joined the Congress after Annie Besant's arrest were pacified by talk of reforms and Besant's release.
  d) Talk of passive resistance by the Extremists kept the Moderates away from activity from September 1918 onwards.
  e) Montagu-Chelmsford reforms which became known in July 1918 further divided the nationalist ranks.
  f) Tilak had to go abroad (September 1918) in connection with a case while Annie Besant vacillated over her response to the reforms and the techniques of passiveresistance.
- **Positive Gains**
  a) movement shifted the emphasis from the educated elite to the masses and permanently deflected the movement from the course mapped by the Moderates.
  b) It created an organisational link between the town and the country, which was to prove crucial in later years when the national movement entered its mass phase in a true sense.
  c) It created a generation of ardent nationalists.
  d) It prepared the masses for politics of the Gandhian style.
  e) August 1917 declaration of Montagu and the Montford reforms were influenced by the Home Rule agitation.
  f) efforts of Tilak and Annie Besant towards the Moderate-Extremist reunion at Lucknow (1916) revived the Congress as an effective instrument of Indian nationalism.
  g) home rule movement lent a new dimension and a sense of urgency to the national movement.

II. Lucknow Session of the Indian National Congress (1916)

- **Readmission of Extremists to Congress**
  a) Lucknow session of the Indian National Congress, presided over by a Moderate, Ambika Charan Majumdar. Various factors facilitated this reunion:

- ✓ Old controversies had become meaningless now.
- ✓ Both the Moderates and the Extremists realised that the split had led to political inactivity.
- ✓ Annie Besant and Tilak had made vigorous efforts for the reunion.
- ✓ death of two Moderates, Gokhale and Pherozshah Mehta, who had led the Moderate opposition to the Extremists, facilitated the reunion.

Lucknow Pact between Congress and Muslim League

a) Development to take place at Lucknow was the coming together of the Muslim League and the Congress and the presentation of common demands by them to the government.

b) **Why the Change in the League's Altitude**

- ✓ Britain's refusal to help Turkey in its wars in the Balkans (1912-13) and with Italy (during 1911) had angered the Muslims
- ✓ Annulment of partition of Bengal in 1911 had annoyed those sections of the Muslims who had supported the partition.
- ✓ refusal of the British government in India to set up a university at Aligarh with powers to affiliate colleges all over India also alienated some Muslims.
- ✓ younger League members were turning to bolder nationalist politics and were trying to outgrow the limited political outlook of the Aligarh school. The Calcutta session of the Muslim League (1912) had committed the League to "working with other groups for a system of self government suited to India, provided it did not come in conflict with its basic objective of protection of interests of the Indian Muslims".Thus, the goal of self-government similar to that of the Congress brought both sides closer.
- ✓ Younger Muslims were infuriated by the government repression during the First World War. Maulana Azad's *Al Hilal* and Mohammad Ali's *Comrade* faced suppression while the leaders such as Ali brothers, Maulana Azad and Hasrat Mohani faced internment. This generated anti-imperialist sentiments among the 'Young Party'.

c) **The Nature of the Pact-**The joint demands were—

- ✓ Government should declare that it would confer self government on Indians at an early date.
- ✓ representative assemblies at the central as well as provincial level should be further expanded with an elected majority and more powers given to them. The term of the legislative council should be five years.
- ✓ salaries of the Secretary of State for India should be paid by the British treasury and not drawn from Indian funds.
- ✓ Half the members of the viceroy's and provincial governors' executive councils should be Indians.

d) **Critical Comments**

- ✓ Lucknow Pact demands were thus just a significantly expanded version of the Morley-Minto reforms. This was a major landmark in the evolution of the two-nation theory by the Muslim League.
- ✓ government decided to placate the nationalists by declaring its intention to grant self-government to Indians in times to come, as contained in Montagu's August 1917 declaration.

III. Montagu's Statement of August 1917

Secretary of State for India, Edwin Samuel Montagu, made a statement on August 20, 1917 in the British House of Commons in what has come to be known as the **August Declaration of 1917**.

- statement said: "The government policy is of an increasing participation of Indians in every branch of administration and gradual development of self governing institutions with a view to the progressive realization of responsible government in India as an integral part of the British Empire."
- reforms were not intended to give self-government to India.
- **Indian Objections**
    a) objections of the Indian leaders to Montagu's statement were two-fold—
        - ✓ No specific time frame was given.
        - ✓ government alone was to decide the nature and the timing of advance towards a responsible government, and the Indians were resentful that the British

CHAPTER-15
Emergence of Gandhi
SHORT NOTES (PRELIMS + MAINS)
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- The Indian struggle against imperialism took a decisive turn towards a broad-based popular struggle with the emergence of Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi on the Indian political scene.

I. Why Nationalist Resurgence Now-

- **Post-War Economic Hardships**
    a) **Industry-**First, an increase in prices, then a recession coupled with increased foreign investment brought many industries to the brink of closure and loss.
    b) **Workers and Artisans-** This section of the populace faced unemployment and bore the brunt of high prices.
    c) **Peasantry-** Faced with high taxation and poverty, the peasants waited for a lead to protest.
    d) **Soldiers-** Soldiers who returned from battlefields abroad gave an idea of their experience to the rural folk.
    e) **Educated Urban Classes** This section was facing unemployment as well as suffering from an acute awareness of racism in the attitude of the British.
- **Expectations of Political Gains for Cooperation in the War**
    a) After the war, there were high expectations of political gains from the British government and this too contributed towards the charged atmosphere in the country.
- **Nationalist Disillusionment with Imperialism Worldwide**
    a) The Paris Peace Conference and other peace treaties that the imperialist powers had no intention of loosening their hold over the colonies; in fact they went on to divide the colonies of the vanquished powers among themselves.
- **Impact of Russian Revolution (November 7, 1917)**
    a) The Bolshevik Party of workers overthrew the Czarist regime and founded the first socialist state, the Soviet Union, under the leadership of Vladimir Ilyich Ulyanov or Lenin.
    b) The Soviet Union unilaterally renounced the Czarist imperialist rights in China and the rest of Asia, gave rights of self determination to former Czarist colonies in Asia and gave equal status to the Asian nationalities within its borders.

II. Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms and Government of India Act, 1919-

- The carrot was represented by the insubstantial Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms, while measures such as the Rowlatt Act represented the stick.
- In line with the government policy contained in Montagu's statement of August 1917, the government announced further constitutional reforms in July 1918, known as Montagu-Chelmsford or Montford Reforms. Based on these, the **Government of India Act, 1919** was enacted.

- **Main Features**
  - **a) Provincial Government—Introduction of Dyarchy**
    - ✓ **Executive**
      i. Dyarchy, i.e., rule of two—executive councillors and popular ministers—was introduced. The governor was to be the executive head in the province.
      ii. Subjects were divided into two lists: 'reserved' and 'transferred' subjects. The reserved subjects were to be administered by the governor through his executive council of bureaucrats, and the transferred subjects were to be administered by ministers nominated from among the elected members of the legislative council.
      iii. The ministers were to be responsible to the legislature and had to resign if a no-confidence motion was passed against them by the legislature, while the executive councillors were not to be responsible to the legislature.
      iv. In case of failure of constitutional machinery in the province the governor could take over the administration of transferred subjects also.
      v. The secretary of state for India and the governor general could interfere in respect of reserved subjects while in respect of the transferred subjects, the scope for their interference was restricted.
    - ✓ **Legislature**
      i. Provincial legislative councils were further expanded and 70 per cent of the members were to be elected.
      ii. The system of communal and class electorates was further consolidated.
      iii. Women were also given the right to vote.
      iv. The legislative councils could initiate legislation but the governor's assent was required. The governor could veto bills and issue ordinances.
      v. The legislative councils could reject the budget but the governor could restore it, if necessary.
      vi. The legislators enjoyed freedom of speech.
  - **b) Central Government—Still Without Responsible Government**
    - ✓ **Executive**
      i. The governor-general was to be the chief executive authority.
      ii. There were to be two lists for administration— central and provincial.
      iii. In the viceroy's executive council of eight, three were to be Indians.
      iv. The governor-general retained full control over the reserved subjects in the provinces.
      v. The governor-general could restore cuts in grants, certify bills rejected by the central legislature and issue ordinances.
    - ✓ **Legislature**
      i. A bicameral arrangement was introduced. The lower house or Central Legislative Assembly would consist of 145 members and the upper house or Council of State would have 60 members.
      ii. The Council of State had a tenure of 5 years and had only male members, while the Central Legislative Assembly had a tenure of 3 years.
      iii. The legislators could ask questions and supplementaries, pass adjournment motions and vote a part of the budget, but 75 per cent of the budget was still not votable.

On the home government (in Britain) front, the Government of India Act, 1919 made an important change—the Secretary of State for India was henceforth to be paid out of the British exchequer.

- **Drawbacks**
  a) Franchise was very limited. The electorate was extended to some one-and-a-half million for the central legislature, while the population of India was around 260 million, as per one estimate.

b) At the centre, the legislature had no control over the viceroy and his executive council.
c) Division of subjects was not satisfactory at the centre.
d) Allocation of seats for central legislature to the provinces was based on 'importance' of provinces—for instance, Punjab's military importance and Bombay's commercial importance.
e) At the level of provinces, division of subjects and parallel administration of two parts was irrational and, hence, unworkable. Subjects like irrigation, finance, police, press and justice were 'reserved'.
f) The provincial ministers had no control over finances and over the bureaucrats; this would lead to constant friction between the two. Ministers were often not consulted on important matters too; in fact, they could be overruled by the governor on any matter that the latter considered special.

Congress's Reaction

a) The Congress met in a special session in August 1918 at Bombay under Hasan Imam's presidency and declared the reforms to be "disappointing" and "unsatisfactory"
b) The Montford reforms were termed "unworthy and disappointing—a sunless dawn" by Tilak, even as Annie Besant found them "unworthy of England to offer and India to accept".

III. Making of Gandhi-

Early Career and Experiments with Truth in South Africa-

a) Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi was born on October 2, 1869 in Porbandar in the princely state of Kathiawar in Gujarat. Having studied law in England, Gandhi, in 1898, went to South Africa. He stayed there till 1914 after which he returned to India.
b) The Indians in South Africa consisted of three categories—one, the indentured Indian labour; two, the merchants; and three,the ex-indentured labourers.
c) **Moderate Phase of Struggle (1894-1906)**-To unite different sections of Indians, Gandhiset up the Natal Indian Congress and started a paper *Indian Opinion.*
d) **Phase of Passive Resistance or Satyagraha (1906-1914)**-The second phase, which began in 1906, was characterized by the use of the method of passive resistance or civil disobedience, which Gandhi named *satyagraha*.
e) **Satyagraha against Registration Certificates (1906)-** Gandhi formed the Passive Resistance Association to conduct the campaign of defying the law and suffering all the penalties. Thus was born *satyagraha* or devotion to truth, the technique of resisting adversaries without violence.
f) **Campaign against Restrictions on Indian Migration**-The earlier campaign was widened to include protest against a new legislation imposing restrictions on Indian migration.
g) **Campaign against Poll Tax and Invalidation of Indian Marriages-**
h) **Protest against Transvaal Immigration Act**-The Indians protested the Transvaal Immigration Act, by illegally migrating from Natal into Transvaal. Even the viceroy, Lord Hardinge, condemned the repression and called for an impartial enquiry.
i) **Compromise Solution**

Gandhi's Experience in South Africa

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

Gandhi's Technique of Satyagraha

Gandhi evolved the technique of Satyagraha during his stay in South Africa. It was based on truth and non-violence.

a) A satyagrahi was not to submit to what he considered as wrong, but was to always remain truthful, non-violent and fearless.
b) A satyagrahi works on the principles of withdrawal of cooperation and boycott. Methods of satyagraha include non-payment of taxes, and declining honours and positions of authority.
c) A satyagrahi should be ready to accept suffering in his struggle against the wrong-doer. This suffering was to be a part of his love for truth.
d) While carrying out his struggle against the wrong-doer, a true satyagrahi would have no ill feeling for the wrong-doer; hatred would be alien to his nature.
e) A true satyagrahi would never bow before the evil, whatever the consequence.
f) Only the brave and strong could practise satyagraha;

IV. Gandhi in India-

Gandhi returned to India in January 1915. During 1917 and 1918, Gandhi was involved in three struggles—in Champaran, Ahmedabad and Kheda—before he launched the Rowlatt Satyagraha.

Champaran Satyagraha (1917)—First Civil Disobedience

a) The European planters had been forcing the peasants to grow indigo on 3/20 part of the total land (called *tinkathia* system). The peasants were forced to sell the produce at prices fixed by the Europeans.
b) When Gandhi, joined now by Rajendra Prasad, Mazharul- Haq, Mahadeo Desai, Narhari Parekh, and J.B. Kripalani, reached Champaran to probe into the matter, the authorities ordered him to leave the area at once.
c) This passive resistance or civil disobedience of an unjust order was a novel method at that time. The government appointed a committee to go into the matter and nominated Gandhi as a member.
d) Gandhi was able to convince the authorities that the *tinkathia* system should be abolished and that the peasants should be compensated for the illegal dues extracted from them.
e) As a compromise with the planters, he agreed that only 25 per cent of the money taken should be compensated.

Ahmedabad Mill Strike (1918)— First Hunger Strike

a) In March 1918, Gandhi intervened in a dispute between cotton mill owners of Ahmedabad and the workers over the issue of discontinuation of the plague bonus.
b) The workers of the mill turned to Anusuya Sarabhai for help in fighting for justice. Anusuya Sarabhai was a social worker who was also the sister of Ambalal Sarabhai, one of the mill owners and the president of the Ahmedabad Mill Owners Association (founded in 1891 to develop the textile industry in Ahmedabad).
c) Gandhi asked the workers to go on a strike and demand a 35 per cent increase in wages instead of 50 per cent.

Kheda Satyagraha (1918)—First Non- Cooperation

a) Because of drought in 1918, the crops failed in Kheda district of Gujarat. According to the Revenue Code, if the yield was less than one-fourth the normal produce, the farmers were entitled to remission.
b) Gandhi asked the farmers not to pay the taxes. Patel along with his colleagues organized the tax revolt which the different ethnic and caste communities of Kheda supported.

Gains from Champaran, Ahmedabad and Kheda

a) Gandhi demonstrated to the people the efficacy of his technique of satyagraha.
b) He found his feet among the masses and came to have a surer understanding of the strengths and weaknesses of the masses.
c) He acquired respect and commitment of many.

V. Rowlatt Act, Satyagraha, Jallianwala Bagh Massacre-

1. The Rowlatt Act-

- Two bills were introduced in the Imperial Legislative Council. One of them was dropped, but the other—an extension to the Defence of India Regulations Act 1915—was passed in March 1919.
- It was what was officially called the Anarchical and Revolutionary Crimes Act, but popularly known as the Rowlatt Act. It was based on the recommendations made by the Rowlatt Commission, headed by the British judge, Sir Sidney Rowlatt, to investigate the 'seditious conspiracy' of the Indian people.
- The act allowed political activists to be tried without juries or even imprisoned without trial. It allowed arrest of Indians without warrant on the mere suspicion of 'treason'.
- The law of *habeas corpus*, the basis of civil liberty, was sought to be suspended. The object of the government was to replace the repressive provisions of the wartime Defence of India Act (1915) by a permanent law.

2. Satyagraha Against the Rowlatt Act— First Mass Strike

Gandhi called the Rowlatt Act the "Black Act".There was a radical change in the situation by now.

- The masses had found a direction; now they could 'act' instead of just giving verbal expression to their grievances.
- From now onwards, peasants, artisans and the urban poor were to play an increasingly important part in the struggle.
- Orientation of the national movement turned to the masses permanently.

Satyagraha was to be launched on April 6, 1919 but before it could be launched, there were large-scale violent, anti-British demonstrations.

3. Jallianwala Bagh Massacre (April 13, 1919)

- On April 9, two nationalist leaders, Saifuddin Kitchlew and Dr Satyapal, were arrested by the British officials without any provocation except that they had addressed protest meetings, and taken to some unknown destination.
- This caused resentment among the Indian protestors who came out in thousands on April 10 to show their solidarity with their leaders. Soon the protests turned violent because the police resorted to firing in which some of the protestors were killed.
- By then the city had returned to calm and the protests that were being held were peaceful. Dyer, however, issued a proclamation on April 13 (which was also *Baisakhi*) forbidding people from leaving the city without a pass and from organising demonstrations or processions, or assembling in groups of more than three.
- On *Baisakhi* day, a large crowd of people mostly from neighbouring villages, unaware of the prohibitory orders in the city, gathered in the Jallianwala Bagh, a popular place for public events, to celebrate the *Baisakhi* festival.
- The troops surrounded the gathering under orders from General Dyer and blocked the only exit point and opened fire on the unarmed crowd.
- According to official British Indian sources, 379 were identified dead, and approximately 1,100 were wounded. Indian National Congress, on the other hand, estimated more than 1,500 were injured, and approximately 1,000 were killed. But it is precisely known that 1650 bullets were fired into the crowd.
- Gandhi gave up the title of Kaiser-i-Hind, bestowed by the British for his work during the Boer War. Gandhi was overwhelmed by the atmosphere of total violence and withdrew the movement on April 18, 1919.
- According to the historian, A.P.J Taylor, the Jallianwala Bagh massacre was the "decisive moment when Indians were
alienated from British rule".

VI. The Hunter Committee of Inquiry-

- On October 14, 1919, the Government of India announced the formation of the **Disorders Inquiry Committee**, which came to be more widely and variously known as the **Hunter Committee/Commission**
- The purpose of the commission was to "investigate the recent disturbances in Bombay, Delhi and Punjab, about their causes, and the measures taken to cope with them".

- There were three Indians among the members, namely, Sir Chimanlal Harilal Setalvad, Vice-Chancellor of Bombay University and advocate of the Bombay High Court; Pandit Jagat Narayan, lawyer and Member of the Legislative Council of the United Provinces; and Sardar Sahibzada Sultan Ahmad Khan, lawyer from Gwalior State.
- Dyer is reported to have explained his sense of honour by saying, "I think it quite possible that I could have dispersed the crowd without firing but they would have come back again and laughed, and I would have made, what I consider, a fool of myself."
- The government had passed an Indemnity Act for the protection of its officers. The "white washing bill" as the Indemnity Act was called, was severely criticised by Motilal Nehru and others.
- In the House of Commons, Churchill (no lover of Indians) condemned what had happened at Amritsar. He called it "monstrous".
- A former prime minister of Britain, H.H. Asquith called it "one of the worst outrages in the whole of our history".
- The honouring of Dyer by the priests of Sri Darbar Sahib, Amritsar, was one of the reasons behind the intensification of the demand.
- **Congress View-**The Indian National Congress appointed its own non-official Committee and put forward its own view.

CHAPTER-16

Non-Cooperation Movement and Khilafat Aandolan

SHORT NOTES (PRELIMS + MAINS)

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- During 1919-22, the British were opposed through two mass movements—the Khilafat and Non Cooperation

I. Background-

- background to the two movements was provided by a series of events after the First World War. year 1919, in particular, saw a strong feeling of discontent among all sections of Indians for various reasons:
  a) economic situation of the country in the post- War years had become alarming with a rise in prices of commodities, decrease in production of Indian industries, increase in burden of taxes and rents etc.
  b) Rowlatt Act, the imposition of martial law in Punjab and the Jallianwalla Bagh massacre exposed the brutal and uncivilised face of the foreign rule. The Hunter Committee on the Punjab atrocities proved to be an eyewash. In fact, the House of Lords (of the British Parliament) endorsed General Dyer's action and the British public showed solidarity with General Dyer by helping *The Morning Post* collect 30,000 pounds for him.
  c) Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms with their ill conceived scheme of dyarchy failed to satisfy the rising demand of the Indians for self-government.
- post-First World War period also saw the preparation of the ground for common political action by Hindus and Muslims—
  a) Lucknow Pact (1916) had stimulated Congress-Muslim League cooperation;
  b) Rowlatt Act agitation brought Hindus and Muslims, and also other sections of the society, together; and
  c) radical nationalist Muslims had now become more influential than the conservative Aligarh school elements who had dominated the League earlier.

II. The Khilafat Issue-

- In India, too, Muslims demanded from the British
  - that the Khalifa's control over Muslim sacred places should be retained, and

- the Khalifa should be left with sufficient territories after territorial arrangements. In early 1919, a Khilafat Committee was formed.

- **Development of the Khalifat-Non-Cooperation Programme-**At All India Khilafat Conference held in Delhi in November 1919, a call was made for the boycott of British goods. Gandhi, who was the president of the All India Khilafat Committee, saw in the issue a platform from which mass and united noncooperation could be declared against the Government.
- **Congress Stand on Khilafat Question-**The Congress felt inclined to support a non-cooperation programme on the Khilafat question because—
  a) it was felt that this was a golden opportunity to cement Hindu-Muslim unity and to bring Muslim masses into the national movement; now different sections of society could come into the national movement by fighting for their own rights and realising that the colonial rule was opposed to them;
  b) Congress was losing faith in constitutional struggle, especially after the Punjab incidents and the blatantly partisan Hunter Committee Report;
  c) Congress was aware that the masses were eager to give expression to their discontent.
- **Muslim League Support to Congress-**The Muslim League also decided to give full support to the Congress and its agitation on political questions.

III. The Non-Cooperation Khilafat Movement-

- **February 1920** In early 1920, a joint Hindu-Muslim deputation was sent to the viceroy to seek redress of grievances on the issue of Khilafat. In February 1920, Gandhi announced that the issues of the Punjab wrongs and constitutional advance had been overshadowed by the Khilafat question
- **May 1920** Treaty of Sevres with Turkey, signed in May 1920, completely dismembered Turkey.
- **June 1920** An all-party conference at Allahabad approved a programme of boycott
- **August 31, 1920** The Khilafat Committee started a campaign of non-cooperation and the movement was formally launched.
- **September 1920** At a special session in Calcutta, the Congress approved a non-cooperation programme till the Punjab and Khilafat wrongs were removed and swaraj was established. The programme was to include—
  a) boycott of government schools and colleges;
  b) boycott of law courts and dispensation of justice through panchayats instead;
  c) boycott of legislative councils;
  d) boycott of foreign cloth and use of khadi instead; also practice of hand-spinning to be done;
  e) renunciation of government honours and titles; the second phase could include mass civil disobedience including resignation from government service, and non-payment of taxes.
- **December 1920** At the Nagpur session of the Indian National Congress—
  a) programme of non-cooperation was endorsed.
  b) important change was made in the Congress creed: now, instead of having the attainment of self-government through constitutional means as its goal, the Congress decided to have the attainment of swaraj through peaceful and legitimate means, thus committing itself to an extraconstitutional mass struggle.
  c) Some important organisational changes were made: a **congress working committee** (CWC) of 15 members was set up to lead the Congress from now onwards; **provincial congress committees** on linguistic basis were organised; ward committees was organised; and entry fee was reduced to four annas.
  d) Gandhi declared that if the non-cooperation programme was implemented completely, swaraj would be ushered in within a year.
  e) Surendranath Banerjea founded the **Indian National Liberal Federation** and played a minor role in national politics henceforward.
- **Spread of the Movement**

a) Gandhi accompanied by the Ali brothers undertook a nationwide tour. Educational institutions were organised under the leadership of Acharya Narendra Dev, C.R. Das, Lala Lajpat Rai, Zakir Hussain, Subhash Bose (who became the principal of **National College** at Calcutta) and included **Jamia Millia** at Aligarh, Kashi Vidyapeeth, **Gujarat Vidyapeeth** and **Bihar Vidyapeeth**.
b) A no-tax movement against union board taxes in Midnapore (Bengal) and in Guntur (Andhra) was going on.
c) In Assam, strikes in tea plantations, steamer services and Assam-Bengal Railways had been organised. J.M. Sengupta was a prominent leader in these strikes.
d) In November 1921, the visit of the Prince of Wales to India invited strikes and demonstrations.The spirit of defiance and unrest gave rise to many local struggles such as Awadh Kisan Movement (UP), Eka Movement (UP), Mappila Revolt (Malabar) and the Sikh agitation for the removal of *mahants* in Punjab.

- **People's Response**
  a) **Middle Class-**People from the middle classes led the movement at the beginning but later they showed a lot of reservations about Gandhi's programme.
  b) **Business Class-** The economic boycott received support from the Indian business group because they had benefited from the nationalists' emphasis on the use of swadeshi.
  c) **Peasants-**Peasants' participation was massive.
  d) **Students-**Students became active volunteers of the movement
  e) **Women-**Women gave up *purdah* and offered their ornaments for the Tilak Fund.
  f) **Hindu-Muslim Unity-**The massive participation of Muslims and the maintenance of communal unity, despite the events like Moppila Uprisings, were great achievements.
- **Government Response**
  a) Talks between Gandhi and Reading, the viceroy, broke down in May 1921Gandhi realised that the government was trying to drive a wedge between him and the Khilafat leaders and refused to fall into the trap.
- **The Last Phase of the Movement**
  a) Gandhi was now under increasing pressure from the Congress rank and file to start the civil disobedience programme. The Ahmedabad session in 1921appointed Gandhi the sole authority on the issue.
  b) On February 1, 1922 Gandhi threatened to launch civil disobedience from Bardoli (Gujarat) if (i) political prisoners were not released, and (ii) press controls were not removed.
  c) **Chauri Chaura Incident-**Chauri-Chaura (Gorakhpur district in United Provinces) has found a place in history books due to an incident of violence on February 5, 1922 which was to prompt Gandhi to withdraw the movement.
  d) Congress Working Committee met at Bardoli in February 1922 and resolved to stop all activity that led to breaking of the law and to get down to constructive work
  e) In March 1922, Gandhi was arrested and sentenced to six years in jail. He made the occasion memorable by a magnificent court speech: "I am here, therefore, to invite and submit cheerfully to the highest penalty that can be inflicted upon me for what in law is deliberate crime, and what appears to me to be the highest duty of a citizen."

IV. Why Gandhi Withdrew the Movement-

- movement was also showing signs of fatigue. In November 1922, the people of Turkey rose under Mustafa Kamal Pasha and deprived the sultan of political power. In 1924, the caliphate was abolished.

V. Evaluation of Khilafat Non-Cooperation Movement-

- movement brought the urban Muslims into the national movement, but at the same time it communalised the national politics, to an extent.
- With the Non-Cooperation Movement, nationalist sentiments reached every nook and corner of the country and politicised every strata of population

CHAPTER-17
Emergence of Swarajists, Socialist Ideas, Revolutionary Activities and Other New Forces
SHORT NOTES (PRELIMS + MAINS)
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I. Swarajists and No-Changers

- **Genesis of Congress-Khilafat Swarajya Party**
  a) Those advocating entry into legislative councils came to be known as the 'Swarajists', while the other school of thought led by C. Rajagopalachari, Vallabhbhai Patel, Rajendra Prasad and M.A. Ansari came to be known as the 'Nochangers'.
  b) 'No-changers' opposed council entry, advocated concentration on constructive work, and continuation of boycott and non-cooperation, and quiet preparation for resumption of the suspended civil disobedience programme.
  c) Congress and announced the formation of **Congress-Khilafat Swarajya Party** or simply Swarajist Party, with C.R. Das as the president and Motilal Nehru as one of the secretaries.
- **Swarajists' Arguments**-The Swarajists had their reasons for advocating the entry into the councils.
  a) Entering the councils would not negate the noncooperation programme; in fact, it would be like carrying on the movement through other means—opening a new front.
  b) In a time of political vacuum, council work would serve to enthuse the masses and keep up their morale. Entry of nationalists would deter the government from stuffing the councils with undesirable elements who may be used to provide legitimacy to government measures.
  c) councils could be used as an arena of political struggle; there was no intention to use the councils as organs for gradual transformation of colonial rule.
- **No-Changers' Arguments**
  a) No-Changers argued that parliamentary work would lead to neglect of constructive work, loss of revolutionary zeal and to political corruption.
- **Agree to Disagree**-
  a) Both sides also realised the significance of putting up a united front to get a mass movement to force the government to introduce reforms, and both sides accepted the necessity of Gandhi's leadership of a united nationalist front.
  b) Keeping these factors in mind, a compromise was reached at a meeting in Delhi in September 1923. The elections to the newly constituted Central Legislative Assembly and to provincial assemblies were to be held in November 1923.
- **The Swarajist Manifesto for Elections**-Released in October 1923, the Swarajist manifesto took a strong anti-imperialist line. The points put forward were as follows.
  a) guiding motive of the British in governing India lay in selfish interests of their own country;
  b) so-called reforms were only a blind to further the said interests under the pretence of granting a responsible government, the real objective being to continue exploitation of the unlimited resources of the country by keeping Indians permanently in a subservient position to Britain;
  c) Swarajists would present the nationalist demand of self-government in councils;
  d) If this demand was rejected, they would adopt a policy of uniform, continuous and consistent obstruction within the councils to make governance through councils impossible;
  e) Councils would thus be wrecked from within by creating deadlocks on every measure.
- **Gandhi's Attitude**-Gandhi was initially opposed to the Swarajist proposal of council entry. But after his release from prison on health grounds in February 1924, he gradually moved towards a reconciliation with the Swarajists.
  a) He felt public opposition to the programme of council entry would be counter-productive.

b) In the November 1923 elections, the Swarajists had managed to win 42 out of 141 elected seats and a clear majority in the provincial assembly of Central Provinces.
c) There was a government crackdown on revolutionary terrorists and the Swarajists towards the end of 1924;
d) Both sides came to an agreement in 1924

- **Swarajist Activity in Councils-**
  a) Swarajists lost the support of many Muslims when the party did not support the tenants' cause against the zamindars in Bengal
  b) **Responsivists** among Swarajists—Lala Lajpat Rai, Madan Mohan Malaviya and N.C. Kelkar—advocated cooperation with the government and holding of office wherever possible.
  c) Thus, the main leadership of the Swarajist Party reiterated faith in mass civil disobedience and withdrew from legislatures in March 1926,
  d) In 1930, the Swarajists finally walked out as a result of the Lahore Congress resolution on *purna swaraj* and the beginning of the Civil Disobedience Movement.
- **Achievements**
  a) With coalition partners, they out-voted the government several times, even on matters relating to budgetary grants, and passed adjournment motions.
  b) They agitated through powerful speeches on self government, civil liberties and industrialisation.
  c) Vithalbhai Patel was elected speaker of Central Legislative Assembly in 1925.
  d) A noteworthy achievement was the defeat of the Public Safety Bill in 1928 which was aimed at empowering the Government to deport undesirable and subversive foreigners.
  e) By their activities, they filled the political vacuum at a time when the national movement was recouping its strength.
  f) They exposed the hollowness of the Montford scheme.
  g) They demonstrated that the councils could be used creatively.
- **Drawbacks**
  a) Swarajists lacked a policy to coordinate their militancy inside legislatures with the mass struggle outside. They relied totally on newspaper reporting to communicate with the public.
  b) An obstructionist strategy had its limitations.
  c) They could not carry on with their coalition partners very far because of conflicting ideas, which further limited their effectiveness.
  d) They failed to resist the perks and privileges of power and office.
  e) They failed to support the peasants' cause in Bengal and lost support among Muslim members who were propeasant.
- **Constructive Work by No-Changers-**The No-Changers devoted themselves to constructive work that connected them to the different sections of the masses.
  a) Ashrams sprang up where young men and women worked among tribals and lower castes, and popularised the use of charkha and khadi.
  b) National schools and colleges were set up where students were trained in a non-colonial ideological framework.
  c) Significant work was done for Hindu-Muslim unity, removing untouchability, boycott of foreign cloth and liquor, and for flood relief.
  d) The constructive workers served as the backbone of civil disobedience as active organisers.
- **A Critique of Constructive Work-**
  a) National education benefited the urban lower middle classes and the rich peasants only.
  b) Popularisation of khadi was an uphill task since it was costlier than the imported cloth.

II. Emergence of New Forces: Socialistic Ideas, Youth Power, Trade Unionism-

- **Spread of Marxist and Socialist Ideas-**

a) TheIdeas of Marx and Socialist thinkers inspired manyyoung nationalists, inspired by the Soviet Revolution and dissatisfied with Gandhian ideas and political programme, began advocating radical solutions for economic, political and social ills of the country. These younger nationalists—
   - ✓ were critical of both Swarajists and No-Changers;
   - ✓ advocated a more consistent anti-imperialist line in the form of a slogan for *purna swarajya* (complete independence);
   - ✓ were influenced by an awareness, stressed the need to combine nationalism and antiimperialism with social justice and simultaneously raised the question of internal class oppression by capitalists and landlords.

b) Communist Party of India (CPI) was formed in 1920 in Tashkent (now, the capital of Uzbekistan) by M.N. Roy, Abani Mukherji and others after the second Congress of Commintern. M.N. Roy was also the first to be elected to the leadership of Commintern.

c) In 1924, many communists—S.A. Dange, Muzaffar Ahmed, Shaukat Usmani, Nalini Gupta—were jailed in the Kanpur Bolshevik Conspiracy Case.

d) In 1925, the Indian Communist Conference at Kanpur formalised the foundation of the CPI.

e) In 1929, the government crackdown on communists resulted in the arrest and trial of 31 leading communists, trade unionists and left-wing leaders; they were tried at Meerut in the famous-**Meerut conspiracy case**.

- **Activism of Indian Youth**
  a) All over, students' leagues were being established and students' conferences were being held. In 1928, Jawaharlal Nehru presided over the All Bengal Students' Conference.
- **Peasants' Agitations**
  a) peasant agitations took place in the Rampa region of Andhra, in Rajasthan, in ryotwari areas of Bombay and Madras. In Gujarat, the Bardoli Satyagraha was led by Vallabhbhai Patel (1928).
- **Growth of Trade Unionism**
  a) trade union movement was led by All India Trade Union Congress (AITUC) founded in 1920. Lala Lajpat Rai was its first president and Dewan Chaman Lal its general secretary.
  b) major strikes during the 1920s included those in Kharagpur Railway Workshops,Tata Iron and Steel Works (Jamshedpur), Bombay Textile Mills (this involved 1,50,000 workers and went on for 5 months), and Buckingham Carnatic Mills.
  c) In 1923, the first May Day was celebrated in India in Madras.
- **Caste Movements**-These movements could be divisive, conservative and at times potentially radical, and included:
  a) Justice Party (Madras)
  b) Self-respect movement (1925) under "Periyar"—E.V. Ramaswamy Naicker (Madras)
  c) Satyashodhak activists in Satara (Maharashtra)
  d) Bhaskar Rao Jadhav (Maharashtra)
  e) Mahars under Ambedkar (Maharashtra)
  f) Radical Ezhavas under K. Aiyappan and C. Kesavan in Kerala
  g) Yadavs in Bihar for improvement in social status
  h) Unionist Party under Fazl-i-Hussain (Punjab).
- **Revolutionary Activity with a Turn towards Socialism**-This line was adopted by those dissatisfied with the nationalist strategy of the political struggle with its emphasis on nonviolence.Two strands developed—
  a) Hindustan Republican Association (H.R.A.)—in Punjab-UP-Bihar
  b) *Yugantar,* Anushilan groups and later Chittagong Revolt Group under Surya Sen—in Bengal

III. Revolutionary Activity During the 1920s

- **Why Attraction for Revolutionary Activity after Non-Cooperation Movement-**Two separate strands of revolutionary groups emerged during this period—one operating in Punjab-UP-Bihar and the other in Bengal.
- **Major Influences**
  a) Upsurge of working class trade unionism after the War; the revolutionaries wanted to harness the revolutionary potential of the new emergent class for nationalist revolution.
  b) Russian Revolution (1917) and the success of the young Soviet state in consolidating itself.
  c) Newly sprouting communist groups with their emphasis on Marxism, socialism and the proletariat.
  d) Journals publishing memoirs and articles extolling the self-sacrifice of revolutionaries, such as *Atmasakti, Sarathi* and *Bijoli*.
  e) Novels and books such as *Bandi Jiwan* by Sachin Sanyal and *Pather Dabi* by Sharatchandra Chatterjee (a government ban only enhanced its popularity).
- **In Punjab-United Provinces-Bihar**
  a) revolutionary activity in this region was dominated by the **Hindustan Republican Association/Army** or HRA (later renamed **Hindustan Socialist Republican Association** or HSRA). The HRA was founded in October 1924 in Kanpur
  b) **Kakori Robbery (August 1925)-**The most important action of the HRA was the Kakori robbery. men held up the 8-Down train at Kakori, an obscure village near Lucknow, and looted its official railway cash.
  c) **HSRA-**Determined to overcome the Kakori setback, the younger revolutionaries, inspired by socialist ideas, set out to reorganize Hindustan Republic Association at a historic meeting in the ruins of Ferozshah Kotla in Delhi (September 1928).
  d) **Saunders' Murder (Lahore, December 1928)-**The death of Sher-i-Punjab Lala Lajpat Rai due to lathi blows received during a lathi- charge on an anti-Simon Commission procession (October 1928) led them once again to take to individual assassination.
  e) **Bomb in the Central Legislative Assembly(April 1929)-** Bhagat Singh and Batukeshwar Dutt were asked to throw a bomb in the Central Legislative Assembly on April 8, 1929 to protest against the passage of the Public Safety Bill and Trade Disputes Bill aimed at curtailing civil liberties of citizens in general and workers in particular.
  f) **Action against the Revolutionaries-**Bhagat Singh, Sukhdev and Rajguru were tried in the Lahore conspiracy case. Jatin Das became the first martyr on the 64th day of his fast. Azad was involved in a bid to blow up Viceroy Irwin's train near Delhi in December 1929. During 1930 there were a series of violent actions in Punjab and towns of United Provinces (26 incidents in 1930 in Punjab alone). Azad died in a police encounter in a park in Allahabad in February 1931. Bhagat Singh, Sukhdev and Rajguru were hanged on March 23, 1931.
- **In Bengal-**
  a) After Das's death (1925), the Bengal Congress broke up into two factions—one led by J.M. Sengupta (Anushilan group joined forces with him) and the other led by Subhash Bose (Yugantar group backed him). The actions of the reorganised groups included an assassination attempt on the notorious Calcutta Police Commissioner, Charles Tegart (another man named Day got killed) by Gopinath Saha in 1924.
  b) **Chittagong Armoury Raid (April 1930)-** Surya Sen decided to organise an armed rebellion along with his associates—Anant Singh, Ganesh Ghosh and Lokenath Baul—to show that it was possible to challenge the armed might of the mighty British Empire. The raid was conducted in April 1930 and involved 65 activists under the banner of **Indian Republican Army—Chittagong Branch**. Surya Sen was arrested in February 1933 and hanged in January 1934
  c) **Aspects of the New Phase of Revolutionary Movement in Bengal-**Some noteworthy aspects were as follows.

- ✓ There was a large-scale participation of young women especially under Surya Sen. Prominent women revolutionaries in Bengal during this phase included **Pritilata Waddedar**, who died conducting a raid; **Kalpana Dutt** who was arrested and tried along with Surya Sen and given a life sentence; **Santi Ghosh** and **Suniti Chandheri**, school girls of Comilla, who shot dead the district magistrate. (December 1931); and **Bina Das** who fired point blank at the governor while receiving her degree at the convocation (February 1932).
- ✓ There was an emphasis on group action aimed at organs of the colonial State, instead of individual action. The objective was to set an example before the youth and to demoralise the bureaucracy.
- ✓ Some of the earlier tendency towards Hindu religiosity was shed, and there were no more rituals like oath-taking, and this facilitated participation by Muslims. Surya Sen had Muslims such as Satar, Mir Ahmed, Fakir Ahmed Mian and Tunu Mian in his group.
- ✓ There were some drawbacks too:
  - ❖ The movement retained some conservative elements.
  - ❖ It failed to evolve broader socio-economic goals.
  - ❖ Those working with Swarajists failed to support the cause of Muslim peasantry against zamindars in Bengal.

Official Reaction

a) There was panic at first and then severe government repression. Armed with 20 repressive Acts, the government let loose the police on the revolutionaries.

Ideological Rethinking

a) A real breakthrough was made by Bhagat Singh and his comrades in terms of revolutionary ideology, forms of revolutionary struggle and the goals of revolution.
b) famous statement of the revolutionary position is contained in the book *The Philosophy of the Bomb* written by Bhagwaticharan Vohra. In other words, revolution could only be "by the masses, for the masses".
c) That is why Bhagat Singh helped establish the Punjab Naujawan Bharat Sabha (1926) as an open wing of revolutionaries to carry out political work

Redefining Revolution

a) Revolution was no longer equated with militancy and violence. Its objective was to be national liberation
b) Bhagat Singh said in the court, "Revolution does not necessarily involve sanguinary strife, nor is there a place in it for personal vendetta. It is not the cult of bomb and pistol. By revolution we mean the present order of things, which is based on manifest injustice, must change."
c) He defined socialism scientifically as abolition of capitalism and class domination.

CHAPTER-18

Simon Commission and the Nehru Report

SHORT NOTES (PRELIMS + MAINS)

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I. Appointment of the Indian Statutory Commission-

- An all-white, seven-member Indian Statutory Commission, popularly known as the Simon Commission (after the name of its chairman, Sir John Simon), was set up by the British government under Stanley Baldwin's prime ministership on November 8, 1927.
- The Lee Commission went into the Raj's failure to recruit enough British officers; the Mudiman Commission looked into the deadlock within the diarchic dispensation; and the Linlithgow Commission inquired into the crisis of Indian agriculture.

- **Indian Response-**The Indian response to the Simon Commission was immediate and nearly unanimous.
  a) **Congress Response-**The Congress session in Madras (December 1927) meeting under the presidency of M.A. Ansari decided to boycott the commission "at every stage and in every form".
  b) **Other Groups-**Those who decided to support the Congress call of boycott of the Simon Commission included the liberals of the Hindu Mahasabha and the majority faction of the Muslim League under Jinnah. The Muslim league had two sessions in 1927 – one under Jinnah at Calcutta where it was decided to oppose the Simon Commission, and another at Lahore under Muhammad Shafi, who supported the government.
  c) **Public Response-**The commission landed in Bombay on February 3, 1928. Wherever the commission went, there were black flag demonstrations, *hartals* and slogans of 'Simon Go Back'.
- **Police Repression-**The police came down heavily on demonstrators; there were Lathi charges not sparing even the senior leaders. Lala Lajpat Rai received severe blows on his chest in October 1928 which proved fatal and he died on November 17, 1928.
- **Impact of Appointment of Simon Commission on the National Movement-**The impact of the appointment of the Simon Commission on Indian politics was two-fold:
  a) It gave a stimulus to radical forces demanding not just complete independence but major socio-economic reforms on socialist lines. When the Simon Commission was announced, the Congress, which did not have any active programme in hand, got an issue on which it could once again forge mass action.
  b) The challenge of Lord Birkenhead to Indian politicians to produce an agreed constitution was accepted by various political sections, and thus prospects for Indian unity seemed bright at that point of time.
- **The Simon Commission Recommendations-**
  a) The Simon Commission published a two-volume report in May 1930. It proposed the abolition of dyarchy and the establishment of representative government in the provinces which should be given autonomy
  b) The report rejected parliamentary responsibility at the centre. It suggested that a Consultative Council of Greater India should be established which should include representatives of both the British provinces as well as princely states.
  c) It suggested that the North-West Frontier Province and Baluchistan should get local legislatures. It recommended that Sindh should be separated from Bombay, and Burma should be separated from India.

II. Nehru Report-

- As an answer to Lord Birkenhead's challenge, an All Parties Conference met in February 1928 and appointed a subcommittee under the chairmanship of Motilal Nehru to draft a constitution. This was the first major attempt by the Indians to draft a constitutional framework for the country.
- The report was finalised by August 1928. The recommendations of the Nehru Committee were unanimous except in one respect—while the majority favoured the "dominion status" as the basis of the Constitution, a section of it wanted "complete independence" as the basis
- **Main Recommendations-**
  a) Dominion status on lines of self-governing dominions as the form of government desired by Indians
  b) Rejection of separate electorates which had been the basis of constitutional reforms so far; instead, a demand for joint electorates with reservation of seats for Muslims at the Centre and in provinces where they were in minority in proportion to the Muslim population there with right to contest additional seats.
  c) Linguistic provinces.
  d) Nineteen fundamental rights including equal rights for women, right to form unions, and universal adult suffrage.

e) Responsible government at the Centre and in provinces—
   - ✓ The Indian Parliament at the Centre to consist of a 500-member House of Representatives elected on the basis of adult suffrage, a 200-member Senate to be elected by provincial councils; the House of Representatives to have a tenure of 5 years and the Senate, one of 7 years; the central government to be headed by a governor-general, appointed by the British government but paid out of Indian revenues, who would act on the advice of the central executive council responsible to the Parliament.
   - ✓ Provincial councils to have a 5-year tenure, headed by a governor acting on the advice of the provincial executive council.

f) Full protection to cultural and religious interests of Muslims.
g) Complete dissociation of State from religion.

- **The Muslim and Hindu Communal Responses**
  a) **Delhi Proposals of Muslim League**-proposals, which were accepted by the Madras session of the Congress (December 1927), came to be known as the '**Delhi Proposals'**. These were:
     - ✓ joint electorates in place of separate electorates with reserved seats for Muslims;
     - ✓ one-third representation to Muslims in Central Legislative Assembly;
     - ✓ representation to Muslims in Punjab and Bengal in proportion to their population;
     - ✓ formation of three new Muslim majority provinces— Sindh, Baluchistan and North-West Frontier Province.

  b) **Hindu Mahasabha Demands**-The Hindu Mahasabha was vehemently opposed to the proposals for creating new Muslim-majority provinces and reservation of seats for Muslims majorities in Punjab and Bengal
  c) **Compromises**-The concessions made in the Nehru Report to Hindu communalists included the following:
     - ✓ Joint electorates proposed everywhere but reservation for Muslims only where in minority;
     - ✓ Sindh to be detached from Bombay only after dominion status was granted and subject to weightage given to Hindu minority in Sindh;
     - ✓ Political structure proposed broadly unitary, as residual powers rested with the centre.

- **Amendments Proposed by Jinnah**-At the All Parties Conference held at Calcutta in December 1928 to consider the Nehru Report, Jinnah, on behalf of the Muslim League, proposed three amendments to the report:
  a) one-third representation to Muslims in the central legislature;
  b) reservation to Muslims in Bengal and Punjab legislatures proportionate to their population, till adult suffrage was established; and
  c) residual powers to provinces.

- **Jinnah's Fourteen Points-**
  a) Federal Constitution with residual powers to provinces.
  b) Provincial autonomy.
  c) No constitutional amendment by the centre without the concurrence of the states constituting the Indian federation.
  d) 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.
  e) Adequate representation to Muslims in the services and in self-governing bodies.
  f) One-third Muslim representation in the central legislature.
  g) In any cabinet at the centre or in the provinces, onethird to be Muslims.
  h) Separate electorates.
  i) 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 interests.

j) Any territorial redistribution not to affect the Muslim majority in Punjab, Bengal and NWFP.
k) Separation of Sindh from Bombay.
l) Constitutional reforms in the NWFP and Baluchistan.
m) Full religious freedom to all communities.
n) Protection of Muslim rights in religion, culture, education and language.

- **Nehru Report Found Unsatisfactory-**Not only were the Muslim League, the Hindu Mahasabha and the Sikh communalists unhappy about the Nehru ReportNehru and Subhash Bose rejected the Congress' modified goal and jointly set up the **Independence for India League**.

CHAPTER-19

Civil Disobedience Movement and Round Table Conferences

SHORT NOTES (PRELIMS + MAINS)

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I. The Run-up to Civil Disobedience Movement-

- **Calcutta Session of Congress**
  a) It was at the Calcutta session of the Congress in December 1928 that the Nehru Report was approved
  b) Congress decided that if the government did not accept a constitution based on dominion status by the end of the year, the Congress would not only demand complete independence but would also launch a civil disobedience movement to attain its goal.
- **Political Activity during 1929**
  a) Gandhi travelled incessantly during 1929 preparing people for direct political action. The Congress Working Committee (CWC) organized a Foreign Cloth Boycott Committee. Gandhi initiated the campaign in March 1929 in Calcutta and was arrested.
  b) This was followed by bonfires of foreign cloth all over the country. Other developments which kept the political temperature high during 1929 included the Meerut Conspiracy Case (March), bomb explosion in Central Legislative Assembly by Bhagat Singh and B.K. Dutt (April) and the coming to power of the minority Labour government led by Ramsay MacDonald in England in May.
- **Irwin's Declaration (October 31, 1929)**
  a) declaration by Lord Irwin was made. It was the combined effort of the Labour government and a Conservative viceroy. The purpose behind the declaration was to "restore faith in the ultimate purpose of British policy".
  b) declaration was made in the form of an official communique in the Indian Gazette on October 31, 1929. Lord Irwin also promised a Round Table Conference after the Simon Commission submitted its report.
- **Delhi Manifesto-**Leaders issued a 'Delhi Manifesto' which put forward certain conditions for attending the Round Table Conference:
  a) that the purpose of the Round Table Conference should be not to determine whether or when dominion status was to be reached but to formulate a constitution for implementation of the dominion status and the basic principle of dominion status should be immediately accepted;
  b) that the Congress should have majority representation at the conference; and
  c) there should be a general amnesty for political prisoners and a policy of conciliation.

  Viceroy Irwin rejected the demands put forward in the Delhi Manifesto. The stage for confrontation was to begin now.
- **Lahore Congress and Purna Swaraj-**

a) Jawaharlal Nehru was nominated the president for the Lahore session of the Congress (December 1929) mainly due to Gandhi's backing (15 out of 18 Provincial Congress Committees had opposed Nehru). Nehru was chosen
   - ✓ because of the appositeness of the occasion and
   - ✓ to acknowledge the upsurge of youth which had made the anti-Simon campaign a huge success.

b) following major decisions were taken at the Lahore session-
   - ✓ Round Table Conference was to be boycotted.
   - ✓ Complete independence was declared as the aim of the Congress.
   - ✓ Congress Working Committee was authorised to launch a programme of civil disobedience including non-payment of taxes and all members of legislatures were asked to resign their seats.

c) January 26, 1930 was fixed as the first Independence (*Swarajya*) Day, to be celebrated everywhere.

- **December 31, 1929**
  a) At midnight on the banks of River Ravi, the newly adopted tricolour flag of freedom was hoisted by Jawaharlal Nehru amidst slogans of *Inquilab Zindabad.*
- **January 26, 1930: the Independence Pledge**-This pledge, which is supposed to have been drafted by Gandhi, made the following points:
  a) It is the inalienable right of Indians to have freedom.
  b) British Government in India has not only deprived us of freedom and exploited us, but has also ruined us economically, politically, culturally and spiritually. India must therefore sever the British connection and attain *purna swaraj* or complete independence.
  c) We are being economically ruined by high revenue, destruction of village industries with no substitutions made, while customs, currency and exchange rate are manipulated to our disadvantage.
  d) No real political powers are given—rights of free association are denied to us and all administrative talent in us is killed.
  e) Culturally, the system of education has torn us from our moorings.
  f) Spiritually, compulsory disarmament has made us unmanly.
  g) We hold it a crime against man and God to submit any longer to British rule.
  h) We will prepare for complete independence by withdrawing, as far as possible, all voluntary association from the British government and will prepare for civil disobedience through non-payment of taxes. By this an end of this inhuman rule is assured.
  i) We will carry out the Congress instructions for purpose of establishing *purna swaraj*.

II. Civil Disobedience Movement—the Salt Satyagraha and Other Upsurges-

- **Gandhi's Eleven Demands**-Gandhi gave an ultimatum of January 31, 1930 to accept or reject these demands.
  a) **Issues of General Interest**
     1) Reduce expenditure on Army and civil services by 50 per cent.
     2) Introduce total prohibition.
     3) Carry out reforms in Criminal Investigation Department (CID).
     4) Change Arms Act allowing popular control of issue of fire arms licences.
     5) Release political prisoners.
     6) Accept Postal Reservation Bill.

  b) Specific Bourgeois Demands
     7) Reduce rupee-sterling exchange ratio to 1:4
     8) Introduce textile protection.
     9) Reserve coastal shipping for Indians.

c) Specific Peasant Demands

10) Reduce land revenue by 50 per cent.

11) Abolish salt tax and government's salt monopoly.

With no positive response by February-end, Gandhi had decided to make salt the central formula for the movement

- **Why Salt was Chosen as the Important Theme**
  a) Salt in a flash linked the ideal of Swaraj
  b) Salt afforded a very small but psychologically important income.
- **Dandi March (March 12-April 6, 1930)-**On March 2, 1930, Gandhi informed the viceroy of his plan of action. According to this plan Gandhi, along with a band of seventy-eight members of Sabarmati Ashram, was to march from his headquarters in Ahmedabad through the villages of Gujarat for 240 miles. Gandhi gave the following directions for future action.
  a) Wherever possible civil disobedience of the salt law should be started.
  b) Foreign liquor and cloth shops can be picketed.
  c) We can refuse to pay taxes if we have the requisite strength.
  d) Lawyers can give up practice.
  e) Public can boycott law courts by refraining from litigation.
  f) Government servants can resign from their posts.
  g) All these should be subject to one condition—truth and non-violence as means to attain swaraj should be faithfully adhered to.
  h) Local leaders should be obeyed after Gandhi's arrest.

  The historic march, marking the launch of the Civil Disobedience Movement, began on March 12, and Gandhi broke the salt law by picking up a lump of salt at Dandi on April 6.
- **Spread of Salt Disobedience-**
  a) Nehru's arrest in April 1930 for defiance of the salt law evoked huge demonstrations in Madras, Calcutta and Karachi. Gandhi's arrest came on May 4, 1930 when he had announced that he would lead a raid on Dharasana Salt Works on the west coast.
  b) After Gandhi's arrest, the CWC sanctioned:
     - ✓ non-payment of revenue in ryotwari areas;
     - ✓ no-chowkidara-tax campaign in zamindari areas; and
     - ✓ violation of forest laws in the Central Provinces.

  c) **Satyagraha at Different Places**
     - ✓ **Tamil Nadu-** In April 1930, C. Rajagopalachariorganised a march from Thiruchirapallito Vedaranniyam on the Tanjore (or Thanjavur) coast to break the salt law.
     - ✓ **Malabar-** K. Kelappan, a Nair Congress leader famed for the *Vaikom Satyagraha*, organised salt marches.
     - ✓ **Andhra Region-** District salt marches were organized in east and west Godavari, Krishna and Guntur.
     - ✓ **Orissa-**Under Gopalbandhu Chaudhuri, a Gandhian leader, salt satyagraha proved effective in the coastal regions of Balasore, Cuttack and Puri districts.
     - ✓ **Assam-**The civil disobedience failed to regain the heights attained in 1921-22 due to divisive issues
     - ✓ **Bengal-**During the same period, Surya Sen's Chittagong revolt group carried out a raid on two armouries and declared the establishment of a provisional government.
     - ✓ **Bihar-** Champaran and Saran were the first two districts to start salt satyagraha. In Patna, Nakhas Pond was chosen as a site to make salt and break the salt law under Ambika Kant Sinha. The tribal belt of Chhotanagpur (now in Jharkhand), saw instances of lower-class militancy.

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- ✓ **Peshawar-**Gaffar Khan, also called **Badshah Khan** and **Frontier Gandhi**, had started the first Push to political monthly *Pukhtoon* and had organised a volunteer brigade 'Khudai Khidmatgars', popularly known as the 'Red-Shirts',
- ✓ **Sholapur-** This industrial town of southern Maharashtra saw the fiercest response to Gandhi's arrest. Textile workers went on a strike from May 7
- ✓ **Dharasana-** On May 21, 1930, Sarojini Naidu, Imam Sahib and Manilal (Gandhi's son) took up the unfinished task of leading a raid on the Dharasana Salt Works.
- ✓ **Gujarat-** The impact was felt in Anand, Borsad and Nadiad areas in Kheda district, Bardoli in Surat district andJambusar in Bharuch district
- ✓ **Maharashtra, Karnataka, Central Provinces-** These areas saw defiance of forest laws
- ✓ **United Provinces-** A no-revenue campaign was organised; a call was given to zamindars to refuse to pay revenue to the government. The activity picked up speed in October 1930, especially in Agra and Rai Bareilly.
- ✓ **Manipur and Nagaland-** These areas took a brave part in the movement. **Rani Gaidinliu**, a Naga spiritual leader, who followed her cousin Haipou Jadonang, born in what is now the state of Manipur, raised the banner of revolt against foreign rule.

d) **Forms of Mobilisation-**Mobilisation of masses was also carried out through *prabhat pheries, vanar senas, manjari senas,* secret *patrikas* and magic lantern shows.

Impact of Agitation

a) Imports of foreign cloth and other items fell.
b) Government suffered a loss of income from liquor, excise and land revenue.
c) Elections to Legislative Assembly were largely boycotted.

Extent of Mass Participation

a) **Women-** Gandhi had specially asked women to play a leading part in the movement.
b) **Students-**students and youth played the most prominent part in the boycott of foreign cloth and liquor.
c) **Muslims-** The Muslim participation was nowhere near the 1920-22 level because of appeals by Muslim leaders to stay away from the movement
d) **Merchants and Petty Traders-**They were very enthusiastic. Traders' associations and commercial bodies were active in implementing the boycott, especially in Tamil Nadu and Punjab.
e) **Tribals-** Tribals were active participants in Central Provinces, Maharashtra and Karnataka.
f) **Workers-** The workers participated in Bombay, Calcutta, Madras, Sholapur, etc.
g) **Peasants-** were active in the United Provinces, Bihar and Gujarat.

Government Response—Efforts for Truce

a) It faced the classic dilemma of 'damned if you do, damned if you don't', if force was applied, the Congress cried 'repression', and if little action taken, the Congress cried 'victory'.
b) In **July 1930-** the viceroy, Lord Irwin, suggested a round table conference and reiterated the goal of dominion status.
c) In **August 1930-**The Nehrus and Gandhi unequivocally reiterated the demands of:
   - ✓ right of secession from Britain;
   - ✓ complete national government with control over defence and finance; and
   - ✓ an independent tribunal to settle Britain's financial claims.

Gandhi-Irwin Pact

a) A pact was signed between the viceroy, representing the British Indian Government, and Gandhi, representing the Indian people, in Delhi on February 14, 1931**.** This **Delhi Pact**, also known as the **Gandhi-Irwin Pact**, placed the Congress on an equal footing with the government.
b) Irwin on behalf of the government agreed on—
   - ✓ immediate release of all political prisoners not convicted of violence;
   - ✓ remission of all fines not yet collected;

- ✓ return of all lands not yet sold to third parties;
- ✓ lenient treatment to those government servants who had resigned;
- ✓ right to make salt in coastal villages for personal consumption (not for sale);
- ✓ right to peaceful and non-aggressive picketing; and
- ✓ withdrawal of emergency ordinances.

c) viceroy, however, turned down two of Gandhi's demands—
- ✓ public inquiry into police excesses, and
- ✓ commutation of Bhagat Singh and his comrades' death sentence to life sentence.

d) Gandhi on behalf of the Congress agreed—
- ✓ to suspend the civil disobedience movement, and
- ✓ to participate in the next Round Table Conference on the constitutional question around the three lynch-pins of federation, Indian responsibility, and reservations and safeguards that may be necessary in India's interests.

Evaluation of Civil Disobedience Movement

a) **Was Gandhi-Irwin Pact a Retreat?**

Gandhi-Irwin Pact was not a retreat, because:
- ✓ mass movements are necessarily short-lived;
- ✓ capacity of the masses to make sacrifices, unlike that of the activists, is limited; and
- ✓ there were signs of exhaustion after September 1930, especially among shopkeepers and merchants, who had participated so enthusiastically.

b) **Comparison to Non-Cooperation Movement-**There were certain aspects in which the Civil Disobedience Movement differed from the Non-Cooperation Movement.
- ✓ stated objective this time was complete independence and not just remedying two specific wrongs and a vaguely-worded swaraj.
- ✓ The methods involved violation of law from the very beginning and not just non-cooperation with foreign rule.
- ✓ There was a decline in forms of protests involving the intelligentsia, such as lawyers giving up practice, students giving up government schools to join national schools and colleges.
- ✓ Muslim participation was nowhere near that in the Non-Cooperation Movement level.
- ✓ No major labour upsurge coincided with the movement.
- ✓ massive participation of peasants and business groups compensated for decline of other features.
- ✓ number of those imprisoned was about three times more this time.
- ✓ Congress was organisationally stronger.

III. Karachi Congress Session—1931-

In March 1931, a special session of the Congress was held at Karachi to endorse the Gandhi-Irwin Pact.

Congress Resolutions at Karachi

a) While disapproving of and dissociating itself from political violence, the Congress admired the 'bravery' and 'sacrifice' of the three martyrs.

b) Delhi Pact or Gandhi-Irwin Pact was endorsed.

c) goal of purna swaraj was reiterated. Two resolutions were adopted which made the session particularly memorable.
- ✓ **Resolution on Fundamental Rights** guaranteed—
  - i. free speech and free press
  - ii. right to form associations
  - iii. right to assemble
  - iv. universal adult franchise
  - v. equal legal rights irrespective of caste, creed and sex

vi. neutrality of state in religious matters
vii. free and compulsory primary education
viii. protection to culture, language, script of minorities and linguistic groups

- ✓ **Resolution on National Economic Programme** included—
  i. substantial reduction in rent and revenue in the case of landholders and peasants
  ii. exemption from rent for uneconomic holdings
  iii. relief from agricultural indebtedness control of usury
  iv. better conditions of work including a living wage, limited hours of work and protection of women workers in the industrial sector
  v. right to workers and peasants to form unions
  vi. state ownership and control of key industries, mines and means of transport.

IV. The Round Table Conferences-

First Round Table Conference

a) first Round Table Conference was held in London between November 1930 and January 1931. It was opened officially by King George V on November 12, 1930 and chaired by Ramsay MacDonald.

b) **Outcome-** Nothing much was achieved at the conference. It was generally agreed that India was to develop into a federation

Second Round Table Conference

a) second Round Table Conference was held in London from September 7, 1931 to December 1, 1931. The **Indian National Congress** nominated Gandhi as its sole representative .Not much was expected from the conference because of the following reasons.

- ✓ By this time, Lord Irwin had been replaced by Lord Willingdon as viceroy in India. Just before the conference began, the Labour government in England had been replaced by a National Government.
- ✓ Right Wing or Conservatives in Britain led by Churchill strongly objected to the British government negotiating with the Congress on an equal basis. They, instead, demanded a strong government in India. The Prime Minister, Ramsay MacDonald headed the Conservative dominated cabinet with a weak and reactionary secretary of state for India, Samuel Hoare.
- ✓ At the conference, Gandhi claimed to represent all people of India against imperialism. The other delegates, however, did not share this view.
- ✓ Gandhi pointed out that there was a need of a partnership between Britain and India on the basis of equality. He put forward the demand for the immediate establishment of a responsible government at the centre as well as in the provinces.
- ✓ session soon got deadlocked on the question of the minorities. All these came together in a 'Minorities' Pact'.
- ✓ princes were also not too enthusiastic about a federation.

b) **Outcome-** lack of agreement among the many delegate groups meant that no substantial results regarding India's constitutional future would come out of the conference.

c) session ended with MacDonald's announcement of:

- ✓ two Mulsim majority provinces—North-West Frontier Province (NWFP) and Sindh;
- ✓ the setting up of an Indian Consultative Committee;
- ✓ setting up of three expert committees—finance, franchise and states; and
- ✓ the prospect of a unilateral British Communal Award if Indians failed to agree.

Third Round Table Conference

a) third Round Table Conference, held between November 17, 1932 and December 24, 1932, was not attended by the Indian National Congress and Gandhi.

b) recommendations were published in a White Paper in March 1933 and debated in the British Parliament afterwards. A Joint Select Committee was formed to analyse the recommendations and formulate a new Act for India, and that committee produced a draft Bill in February 1935 which was enforced as the Government of India Act of 1935 in July 1935.

V. Civil Disobedience Resumed-

- On the failure of the second Round Table Conference, the Congress Working Committee decided on December 29, 1931 to resume the civil disobedience movement.
- **During Truce Period (March-December 1931)**
  a) In the United Provinces, the Congress had been leading a movement for rent reduction and against summary evictions.
  b) In the NWFP, severe repression had been unleashed against the Khudai Khidmatgars
  c) In Bengal, draconian ordinances and mass detentions had been used in the name of fighting terrorism.
  d) In September 1931, there was a firing incident on political prisoners in Hijli Jail.
- **Changed Government Attitude After Second RTC**-There were three main considerations in British policy:
  a) Gandhi would not be permitted to build up the tempo for a mass movement again.
  b) Goodwill of the Congress was not required, but the confidence of those who supported the British against the Congress—government functionaries, loyalists, etc.—was very essential.
  c) national movement would not be allowed to consolidate itself in rural areas.
- **Government Action**-A series of repressive ordinances were issued which ushered in a virtual martial law, though under civilian control, or a 'Civil Martial Law'.
- **Popular Response**-People responded with anger. Though unprepared, the response was massive.
- Finally in April 1934, Gandhi decided to withdraw the civil disobedience movement.

VI. Communal Award and Poona Pact-

- Communal Award was announced by the British prime minister, Ramsay MacDonald, on August 16, 1932. Ramsay MacDonald, who had chaired the committee on minorities, offered to mediate on the condition that the other members of the committee supported his decision. And, the outcome of this mediation was the Communal Award.
- **Main Provisions of the Communal Award**
  a) an arrangement for the depressed classes was to be made for a period of 20 years.
  b) In the provincial legislatures, the seats were to be distributed on communal basis.
  c) existing seats of the provincial legislatures were to be doubled.
  d) Muslims, wherever they were in minority, were to be granted a weightage.
  e) Except in the North West Frontier Province, 3 per cent seats were to be reserved for women in all provinces.
  f) depressed classes to be declared/accorded the status of minority.
  g) depressed classes were to get 'double vote', one to be used through separate electorates and the other to be used in the general electorates.
  h) In the province of Bombay, 7 seats were to be allocated for the Marathas.
- **Congress Stand**-Though opposed to separate electorates, the Congress was not in favour of changing the Communal Award without the consent of the minorities.
- **Gandhi's Response**-Gandhi saw the Communal Award as an attack on Indian unity and nationalism. And to press his demands, he went on an indefinite fast on September 20, 1932.
- **Poona Pact**-Signed by B.R. Ambedkar on behalf of the depressed classes on September 24, 1932, the Poona Pact abandoned the idea of separate electorates for the depressed classes.
- The seats reserved for the depressed classes were increased from 71 to 147 in provincial legislatures and to 18 per cent of the total in the Central Legislature.
- The Poona Pact was accepted by the government as an amendment to the Communal Award.

- **Impact of Poona Pact on Dalits-**
    a) Pact made the depressed classes political tools which could be used by the majoritarian caste Hindu organisations.
    b) It made the depressed classes leaderless as the true representatives of the classes were unable to win against the stooges who were chosen and supported by the caste Hindu organisations.
    c) This led to the depressed classes to submit to the status quo in political, ideological and cultural fields and not being able to develop independent and genuine leadership to fight the Brahminical order.
    d) It subordinated the depressed classes into being part of the Hindu social order by denying them a separate and distinct existence.
    e) Poona Pact perhaps put obstructions in the way of an ideal society based on equality, liberty, fraternity and justice.
    f) By denying to recognise the Dalits as a separate and distinct element in the national life, it pre-empted the rights and safeguards for the Dalits in the Constitution of independent India.
- **Joint Electorates and Its Impact on Depressed Classes-**The provisions of the joint electorate gave the Hindu majority the virtual right to nominate members of the scheduled castes who were prepared to be the tools of the Hindu majority. The working committee of the federation, thus, demanded for the restoration of the system of separate electorates, and nullification of the system of joint electorates and reserved seats.

VII. Gandhi's Harijan Campaign and thoughts on Caste-

- Gandhi gave up all his other preoccupations and launched a whirlwind campaign against untouchability—first from jail and then, after his release in August 1933, from outside jail.
- While in jail, he set up the All India Anti-Untouchability League in September 1932 and started the weekly *Harijan* in January 1933. Starting from Wardha, he conducted a Harijan tour of the country in the period from November 1933 to July 1934, covering 20,000 km, collecting money for his newly set up Harijan Sevak Sangh, and propagating removal of untouchability in all its forms.
- He undertook two fasts—on May 8 and August 16, 1934Gandhi was attacked by orthodox and reactionary elements. The government obliged them by defeating the Temple Entry Bill in August 1934.
- Throughout his Harijan tour, social work and fasts, Gandhi stressed on certain themes:
    a) He put forward a damning indictment of Hindu society for the kind of oppression practised on Harijans.
    b) He called for total eradication of untouchability symbolised by his plea to throw open temples to the untouchables.
    c) He stressed the need for caste Hindus to do 'penance' for untold miseries inflicted on Harijans. He said, "Hinduism dies if untouchability lives, untouchability has to die if Hinduism is to live."
    d) His entire campaign was based on principles of humanism and reason. He said that the *Shastras* do not sanction untouchability, and if they did, they should be ignored as it was against human dignity.
- Gandhi felt that whatever the limitations and defects of the *varnashram* system, there was nothing sinful about it.
- Untouchability, Gandhi felt, was a product of distinctions of high and low and not of the caste system itself.
- **Impact of the Campaign-**Gandhi repeatedly described the campaign as being primarily meant to purify Hinduism and Hindu society.

VIII. Ideological Differences and Similarities between Gandhi and Ambedkar*-

- Gandhi, the principal architect of the Indian freedom struggle, and B.R. Ambedkar, the principal architect of the Constitution of independent India

- burning of foreign cloth by Gandhi and the burning of *Manusmriti* by Ambedkar are not to be seen as mere acts of sentiment. Rather, foreign cloth and *Manusmriti* represented the bondage and slavery for India.
- Gandhi believed that freedom was never to be bestowed but to be wrested from the authority by the people who desire it, whereas Ambedkar expected bestowing of freedom by the imperial rulers.
- Ambedkar advocated parliamentary system of government for independent India, but Gandhi had very little respect for the parliamentary system of governance.
- Gandhi believed that democracy tends to get converted into mass democracy with a propensity for domination by leaders. Ambedkar was inclined towards mass democracy as it could act as a pressure on the government with the advancement of the oppressed people.
- Ambedkar's politics tended to highlight the aspect of Indian disunity whereas the Gandhian politics tried to show the aspect of Indian unity.
- According to Ambedkar absolute sovereign power of the State would annihilate the spirit and personality of an individual. Gandhi, in fact, believed in least governance being the best governance.
- Gandhi and Ambedkar differed greatly in their views concerning mechanisation of production and utilisation of heavy machinery.
- To Gandhi, untouchability was one of the many problems confronted by Indian society. To Ambedkar, untouchability was the major problem that captured his sole attention.
- Ambedkar wanted to solve the problem of untouchability through laws and constitutional methods, whereas Gandhi treated untouchability as a moral stigma and wanted it to be erased by acts of atonement.

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CHAPTER-20

Debates on the Future Strategy after Civil Disobedience Movement

SHORT NOTES (PRELIMS + MAINS)

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- Following the withdrawal of the Civil Disobedience Movement, there was a two-stage debate on the future strategy of nationalists

I. The First Stage Debate-

- Three perspectives were as follows.
  a) There should be constructive work on Gandhian lines.

b) There should be a constitutional struggle and participation in elections to the Central Legislature. They argued that:
   - ✓ in a period of political apathy, elections and council work could be utilised to keep up the political interest and morale of the people;
   - ✓ participation in elections and council work did not amount to faith in constitutional politics;
   - ✓ another political front would help build up Congress and prepare the masses for the next phase;
   - ✓ this approach would give the Congress a certain amount of prestige and confidence, and a strong presence in councils would serve as an equivalent to the movement.

c) A strong leftist trend within the Congress, represented by Nehru, was critical of both constructive work and council entry in place of the suspended civil disobedience movement as that would sidetrack political mass action and divert attention from the main issue of the struggle against colonialism.

- **Nehru's Vision-**
  a) Nehru said, "The basic goal before Indian people as before people of the world is abolition of capitalism and establishment of socialism."
- **Nehru's Opposition to Struggle-Truce-Struggle Strategy**
  a) Congressmen led by Gandhi believed that a mass phase of movement (struggle phase) had to be followed by a phase of reprieve (truce phase) before the next stage of mass struggle could be taken up. The truce period, it was argued, would enable the masses to recoup their strength to fight and also give the government a chance to respond to the demands of the nationalists. This was the struggletruce- struggle or S-T-S strategy.
  b) Against an S-T-S strategy, Nehru suggested a Struggle-Victory (S-V) strategy.
- **Finally, Yes to Council Entry-**
  a) In May 1934, the All India Congress Committee (AICC) met at Patna to set up a Parliamentary Board to fight elections under the aegis of the Congress itself.
  b) In the elections to the Central Legislative Assembly held in November 1934, the Congress captured 45 out of 75 seats reserved for Indians.

II. Government of India Act, 1935-

Amidst the struggle of 1932, the Third RTC was held in November, again without Congress participation. The discussions led to the formulation of the Act of 1935.

- **Main Features-**
  a) **An All India Federation-**
     - ✓ federation's formation was conditional on the fulfilment of: (i) states with allotment of 52 seats in the proposed Council of States should agree to join the federation; and (ii) aggregate population of states in the above category should be 50 per cent of the total population of all Indian states.
     - ✓ Since these conditions were not fulfilled the central government carried on upto 1946 as per the provisions of Government of India Act, 1919.

  b) **Federal Level:**
     - ✓ ***Executive***
       1. The governor-general was the pivot of the entire Constitution.
       2. Subjects to be administered were divided into reserved and transferred subjects.
       3. Governor-general could act in his individual judgement in the discharge of his special responsibilities for the security and tranquillity of India.
     - ✓ ***Legislature***
       1. bicameral legislature was to have an upper house (Council of States) and a lower house (Federal Assembly). The Council of States was to be a 260-member House. The Federal Assembly was to be a 375-member house

2. Oddly enough, election to the Council of States was direct and that to the Federal Assembly, indirect
3. Council of States was to be a permanent body with one-third members retiring every third year. The duration of the assembly was to be 5 years.
4. three lists for legislation purposes were to be federal, provincial and concurrent.
5. Members of Federal Assembly could move a vote of no-confidence against ministers. Council of States could not move a vote of no-confidence.
6. system of religion-based and class-based electorates was further extended.
7. 80 per cent of the budget was non-votable.
8. Governor-general had residuary powers.

c) **Provincial Autonomy**

- ✓ Provincial autonomy replaced dyarchy.
- ✓ Provinces were granted autonomy and separate legal identity.
- ✓ Provinces were freed from "the superintendence, direction" of the secretary of state and governor-general. Provinces henceforth derived their legal authority directly from the British Crown.
- ✓ Provinces were given independent financial powers and resources. Provincial governments could borrow money on their own security.
- ✓ ***Executive***
    1. Governor was to be the Crown's nominee and representative to exercise authority on the king's behalf in a province.
    2. Governor was to have special powers regarding minorities, rights of civil servants, law and order, British business interests, partially excluded areas, princely states, etc.
    3. Governor could take over and indefinitely run administration.
- ✓ ***Legislature***
    1. Separate electorates based on Communal Award were to be made operational. All members were to be directly elected. Franchise was extended; women got the right on the same basis as men.
    2. Ministers were to administer all provincial subjects in a council of ministers headed by a premier.
    3. Ministers were made answerable to and removable by the adverse vote of the legislature.
    4. Provincial legislature could legislate on subjects in provincial and concurrent lists.
    5. 40 per cent of the budget was still not votable.
    6. Governor could (a) refuse assent to a bill, (b) promulgate ordinances, (c) enact governor's Acts.

- **Evaluation of the Act**
    a) Numerous 'safeguards' and 'special responsibilities' of the governor-general worked as brakes in the proper functioning of the Act.
    b) In provinces, the governor still had extensive powers.
    c) The Act enfranchised 14 per cent of British Indian population.
    d) extension of the system of communal electorates and representation of various interests promoted separatist tendencies which culminated in partition of India.
    e) The Act provided a rigid constitution with no possibility of internal growth. Right of amendment was reserved with the British Parliament.
- **The Long-Term British Strategy**
    a) Suppression could only be a short-term tactic. In the long run, the strategy was to weaken the national movement and integrate large segments of the movement into colonial, constitutional and administrative structure.

b) Reforms would revive the political standing of constitutionalist liberals and moderates who had lost public support during the Civil Disobedience Movement.
c) Repression earlier and reforms now would convince a large section of Congressmen of the ineffectiveness of an extra-legal struggle.
d) Once Congressmen tasted power, they would be reluctant to go back to politics of sacrifice.
e) Reforms could be used to create dissensions within Congress—right wing to be placated through constitutional concessions and radical leftists to be crushed through police measures.
f) Provincial autonomy would create powerful provincial leaders who would gradually become autonomous centres of political power.

- **Nationalists' Response-**The 1935 Act was condemned by nearly all sections and unanimously rejected by the Congress.

III. The Second Stage Debate-

- **Divided Opinion-**
  a) **Jawaharlal Nehru, Subhash Bose, and Congress socialists and communists** were opposed to office acceptance and thereby in the working of the 1935 Act because they argued that it would negate the rejection of the Act by the nationalists.
  b) As a counter-strategy, the leftists proposed entry into the councils with an aim to create deadlocks, thus making the working of the Act impossible
  c) **proponents of office acceptance** argued that they were equally committed to combating the 1935 Act, but work in legislatures was to be only a short-term tactic
- **Gandhi's Position-**
  a) Gandhi opposed office acceptance in the CWC meetings but by the beginning of 1936, he was willing to give a trial to the formation of Congress ministries.
  b) In February 1937, elections to the provincial assemblies were held.
  c) Elections were held in eleven provinces—Madras, Central Provinces, Bihar, Orissa, United Provinces, Bombay Presidency, Assam, NWFP, Bengal, Punjab and Sindh.
- **Congress Manifesto for Elections-**The Congress manifesto reaffirmed total rejection of the 1935 Act.
- **Congress' Performance-**
  a) Congress won 716 out of 1,161 seats it contested. It got a majority in all provinces, except in Bengal, Assam, Punjab, Sindh and the NWFP

CHAPTER-21
Congress Rule in Provinces
SHORT NOTES (PRELIMS + MAINS)
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- Congress ministries were formed in Bombay, Madras, Central Provinces, Orissa, United Provinces, Bihar and later in the NWFP and Assam also.

I. Gandhi's Advice-
Gandhi advised Congressmen to hold these offices lightly and not tightly. The offices were to be seen as 'crowns of thorns'

II. Work under Congress Ministries-

- **Civil Liberties-**
  1. Laws giving emergency powers were repealed.
  2. Ban on illegal organisations, and on certain books and journals was lifted.
  3. Press restrictions were lifted.
  4. Newspapers were taken out of black lists.

5. Confiscated arms and arms licences were restored.
6. Police powers were curbed and the CID stopped shadowing politicians.
7. Political prisoners and revolutionaries were released, and deportation and internment orders were revoked.
8. In Bombay lands confiscated by the government during the Civil Disobedience Movement were restored.
9. Pensions of officials associated with the Civil Disobedience Movement were restored.

- **Agrarian Reforms**
  1. The ministries did not have adequate powers.
  2. There were inadequate financial resources as a lion's share was appropriated by the Government of India.
  3. Strategy of class adjustments was another hurdle since zamindars, etc., had to be conciliated and neutralised.
  4. There was constraint of time since the logic of Congress politics was confrontation and not cooperation with colonialism.
  5. War clouds had started hovering around 1938.
  6. The reactionary second chamber (Legislative Council) dominated by landlords, moneylenders and capitalists in United Provinces, Bihar, Bombay, Madras and Assam had to be conciliated as its support was necessary for legislations.
  7. The agrarian structure was too complex.
- **Attitude Towards Labour-** The basic approach was to advance workers' interests while promoting industrial peace. The ministries took recourse to Section 144 and arrested the leaders.
- **Social Welfare Reforms-**
  1. Prohibition imposed in certain areas.
  2. Measures for welfare of Harijans taken.
  3. Attention given to primary, technical and higher education and to public health and sanitation.
  4. Encouragement given to khadi through subsidies and other measures.
  5. Prison reforms undertaken.
  6. Encouragement given to indigenous enterprises.
  7. Efforts taken to develop planning through National Planning Committee set up under Congress president Subhash Bose in 1938.
- **Extra-Parliamentary Mass Activity of Congress-**
  1. launching of mass literacy campaigns,
  2. setting up of Congress police stations and panchayats,
  3. Congress Grievance Committees presenting mass petitions to government, and
  4. states peoples' movements.

III. Evaluation-

- The 28-month Congress rule was also significant for the following reasons.
  1. The 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 co-opted.
  3. The ministries were able to control communal riots.
  4. The morale of the bureaucracy came down.
  5. Council work helped neutralise many erstwhile hostile 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.
8. The Congress ministries resigned in October 1939 after the outbreak of the Second World War.

- The Congress victory resulted in what appeared to be an anti-labour shift in Congress attitudes that led to the Bombay Traders Disputes Act in 1938.

CHAPTER-22

Nationalist Response in the Wake of World War II

SHORT NOTES (PRELIMS + MAINS)

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I. Congress Crisis on Method of Struggle-

- **Haripura and Tripuri Sessions: Subhash Bose's Views**
  a) Subhash Chandra Bose was president of the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee.
- **Haripura**
  a) At the Congress meeting in Haripura, Gujarat, in February 1938, Bose was unanimously elected president of the session.
- **1939: Subhash Wins but Congress Faces Internal Strife**
  a) 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.
  b) Subhash Bose won the ealection by 1580 votes against 1377
- **Tripuri**
  a) In March 1939 the Congress session took place at Tripuri, in the Central Provinces (near Jabalpur in present Madhya Pradesh).
  b) The working committee, the ruling body of the Congress, is not elected, but nominated by the president; the election of the president is thus a constitutional opportunity through which the membership expressed the nature of the leadership of the Congress.
  c) A resolution was moved by Govind Ballabh Pant, reaffirming faith in Gandhian policies and asking Bose to nominate the working committee "in accordance with the wishes of Gandhiji", and it was passed without opposition from the socialists or the communists.
  d) Gandhi was not willing to lead a Congress struggle based on the radical lines preferred by Bose, even as Bose was not willing to compromise on his ideas. They preferred a united Congress led by Gandhi, as the national struggle was of utmost importance
  e) Bose resigned from the president's post in April 1939.

II. Gandhi and Bose: Ideological Differences-

- **Non-Violence versus Militant Approach-**Gandhi was a firm believer in ahimsa and satyagraha, the nonviolent way to gain any goal. Bose believed that Gandhi's strategy based on the ideology of non-violence would be inadequate for securing India's independence.
- **Means and Ends-**Bose had his eye on the result of the action. Gandhi felt that the non-violent way of protest that he propagated could not be practised unless the means and ends were equally good.
- **Form of Government-**Bose veered towards the idea that, at least in the beginning, a democratic system would not be adequate for the process of nation rebuilding and the eradication of poverty and social inequality.
- Gandhi's ideas on government can be found in the *Hind Swaraj* (1909); it was "the nearest he came to producing a sustained work of political theory."
- **Militarism-**Subhas Bose was deeply attracted to military discipline and was thankful for the basic training he received in the University Unit of the India Defence Force.

- Gandhi was against the military on the whole. His *Ramrajya*, being built on the concept of truth and nonviolence and self-regulation
- **Ideas on Economy-**Gandhi's concept of Swaraj had its own brand of economic vision. He wanted a decentralised economy without state control. Bose considered economic freedom to be the essence of social and political freedom.
- He was all in favour of modernisation which was necessarily to be brought about by industrialisation. Bose classified industry into three categories: heavy, medium, and cottage. Heavy industries, he said, form the backbone of the national economy.
- **Religion-**Gandhi was primarily a man of religion. Truth and non-violence were the two principles that helped Gandhi in evolving a comprehensive view of religion that went beyond narrow sectarianism. Subhash Bose believed in Upanishadic teachings.
- He revered the Bhagavad Gita and was inspired by Vivekananda. He was also inspired by the India of the past as reinterpreted by thinkers.
- He named his force Azad Hind Fauz, and there were many non-Hindus in that army and who were close to him. INA was to be a mixture of various religions, races, and castes with total social equality of all soldiers.
- **Caste and Untouchability-**Gandhi's goals for society were mainly three: eradicating untouchability, maintaining the varna distinctions of the caste system and strengthening tolerance, modesty and religiosity in India.
- Bose looked forward to an India changed by a socialist revolution that would bring to an end the traditional social hierarchy with its caste system; in its place would come an egalitarian, casteless and classless society. Subhas Bose completely rejected social inequality and the caste system.
- **Women-**In Gandhi's words, "To call women the weaker sex is a libel; it is man's injustice to women." Subhash Bose had a more robust view of women. Bose considered women to be the equals of men, and thus they should be prepared to fight and sacrifice for the freedom of India. In 1943, he called on women to serve as soldiers in the Indian National Army.
- This was a most radical view. He formed a women's regiment in the INA in 1943, named the Rani of Jhansi Regiment.
- **Education-**Gandhi was against the English system of education as also against the use of English as a medium of instruction. He wanted education to be in the vernacular. He advocated free and compulsory education for all-boys and girls between 7 and 14 years.
- Subhash Bose was for higher education, especially in the technical and scientific fields, as he wanted an industrial India.

III. Second World War and Nationalistic Response-

- On September 1, 1939, Germany attacked Poland – the action that led to the Second World War. On September 3, 1939, Britain declared war against Germany
- **Congress Offer to Viceroy-**The Indian offer to cooperate in the war effort had two basic conditions:
    a) After the war, a constituent assembly should be convened to determine political structure of a free India.
    b) Immediately, some form of a genuinely responsible government should be established at the Centre.
    The offer was rejected by Linlithgow, the viceroy.
- **CWC Meeting at Wardha**
    a) official Congress position was adopted at the Wardha session of the Congress Working Committee
    b) **Gandhi**, who had all sympathy for Britain in this war because of his total dislike of the fascist ideology, advocated an unconditional support to the Allied powers.

c) **Subhas Bose and other socialists**- In their opinion, the war was being fought by imperialists on both sides; each side wanted to protect its colonial possessions and gain more territories to colonise, so neither side should be supported by the nationalists.
d) **Jawaharlal Nehru** was not ready to accept the opinion of either Gandhi or of the socialists.
e) **The CWC resolution** condemned Fascist aggression. It said that

- India could not be party to a war being fought, on the face of it, for democratic freedom, while that freedom was being denied to India;
- if Britain was fighting for democracy and freedom, it should be proved by ending imperialism in its colonies and establishing full democracy in India;
- government should declare its war aims soon and, also, as to how the principles of democracy were to be applied to India after the war.

IV. Government Attitude and Congress Ministries' Resignation-

- Viceroy Linlithgow, in his statement, made on October 17, 1939, tried to use the Muslim League and the princes against the Congress. The government
  a) refused to define British war aims beyond stating that Britain was resisting aggression;
  b) said it would, as part of future arrangement, consult "representatives of several communities, parties and interests in India, and the Indian princes" as to how the Act of 1935 might be modified;
  c) said it would immediately set up a "consultative committee" whose advice could be sought whenever required.
- **Government's Hidden Agenda-**Linlithgow's statement was not an aberration, but a part of general British policy—"to take advantage of the war to regain the lost ground from the Congress" In May 1940, a top secret Draft Revolutionary Movement Ordinance had been prepared, aimed at launching crippling pre-emptive strikes on the Congress.
- **Congress Ministries Decide to Resign-**On October 23, 1939, the CWC meeting
  a) rejected the viceregal statement as a reiteration of the old imperialist policy;
  b) decided not to support the war; and
  c) called upon the Congress ministries to resign in the provinces.
- **Debate on the Question of Immediate Mass Satyagraha-**Gandhi and his supporters were not in favour of an immediate struggle because they felt that the
  a) allied cause was just;
  b) communal sensitiveness and lack of Hindu-Muslim unity could result in communal riots;
  c) Congress organisation was in shambles and the atmosphere was not conducive for a mass struggle; and
  d) masses were not ready for a struggle. The **Ramgarh session** of the Congress was held in March 1940 with Maulana Abul Kalam Azad in the president's chair. All agreed that a battle must be waged but there was disagreement over the form.
- **Pakistan Resolution—Lahore (March 1940)-**The Muslim League passed a resolution calling for "grouping of geographically contiguous areas where Muslims are in majority (North-West, East) into independent states.

V. August Offer-

- Linlithgow announced the August Offer (August 1940) which proposed:
  a) dominion status as the objective for India;
  b) expansion of viceroy's executive council which would have a majority of Indians
  c) setting up of 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; and

d) no future constitution to be adopted without the consent of minorities.

- **Responses-**The Congress rejected the August Offer. The Muslim League welcomed the veto assurance given to the League
- **Evaluation-**In July 1941, the viceroy's executive council was enlarged to give the Indians a majority of 8 out of 12 for the first time, but the British remained in charge of defence, finance and home.

VI. Individual Satyagrahas-

- 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 issued ordinance after ordinance taking away the freedom of speech and that of the press and the right to organise associations.
- The aims of launching individual satyagraha were—
- 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; and
- to give another opportunity to the government to accept Congress' demands peacefully.
- If the government did not arrest the satyagrahi, he or she would not only repeat it but move into villages and start a march towards Delhi, thus precipitating a movement which came to be known as the 'Delhi Chalo Movement'.
- Vinoba Bhave was the first to offer the satyagraha and Nehru, the second. By May 1941, 25,000 people had been convicted for individual civil disobedience.

VII. Gandhi Designates Nehru as his Successor-

- CWC overrode Gandhi's and Nehru's objections and passed a resolution offering to cooperate with the government in the defence of India, if
  - (i) full independence was given after the war, and
  - (ii) substance of power was transferred immediately.
- Nehru and Gandhi differed in temperament and attitudes towards modernity, religion, God, State and industrialisation. Despite having so many differences, Nehru revered Gandhi, and Gandhi, in turn, believed in Nehru more than his own sons.
- Both teacher and disciple had fundamental similarities—patriotism in an inclusive sense, i.e., they identified with India as a whole rather than with a particular caste, language, region or religion. Both believed in non-violence and democratic form of government.
- Rajmohan Gandhi, in his book, *The Good Boatman,* writes that Gandhi preferred Nehru to the alternatives because he most reliably reflected the pluralist, inclusive idea of India that the Mahatma himself stood for.

VIII. Cripps Mission-

- In March 1942, a mission headed by Stafford Cripps was sent to India with constitutional proposals to seek Indian support for the war.
- **Why Cripps Mission was Sent**
  a) Because of the reverses suffered by Britain in South- East Asia, the Japanese threat to invade India seemed real now and Indian support became crucial. There was pressure on Britain from the Allies (USA, USSR, China) to seek Indian cooperation.
  b) Indian nationalists had agreed to support the Allied cause if substantial power was transferred immediately and complete independence given after the war.
- **Main Proposals-**The main proposals of the mission were as follows.
  a) An Indian Union with a dominion status would be set up; it would be free to decide its relations with the Commonwealth and free to participate in the United Nations and other international bodies.

b) After the end of the war, a constituent assembly would be convened to frame a new constitution. Members of this assembly would be partly elected by the provincial assemblies through proportional representation and partly nominated by the princes.
c) British government would accept the new constitution subject to two conditions:
   - any province not willing to join the Union could have a separate constitution and form a separate Union, and
   - the new constitution making body and the British government would negotiate a treaty to effect the transfer of power and to safeguard racial and religious minorities.
d) In the meantime, defence of India would remain in British hands and the governor-general's powers would remain intact.

- **Departures from the Past and Implications-**The proposals differed from those offered in the past in many respects—
  a) The making of the constitution was to be solely in Indian hands now (and not 'mainly' in Indian hands—as contained in the August Offer).
  b) A concrete plan was provided for the constituent assembly.
  c) Option was available to any province to have a separate constitution—a blueprint for India's partition. Free India could withdraw from the Commonwealth.
  d) Indians were allowed a large share in the administration in the interim period.
- **Why Cripps Mission Failed-**Various parties and groups had objections to the proposals on different points—
  a) Congress objected to:
     - ✓ offer of dominion status instead of a provision for complete independence;
     - ✓ representation of the princely states by nominees and not by elected representatives;
     - ✓ right to provinces to secede as this went against the principle of national unity; and
     - ✓ absence of any plan for immediate transfer of power and absence of any real share in defence; the governor-general's supremacy had been retained, and the demand that the governor-general be only the constitutional head had not been accepted.
  b) Nehru and Maulana Azad were the official negotiators for the Congress.
  c) Muslim League
     - ✓ criticised the idea of a single Indian Union;
     - ✓ did not like the machinery for the creation of a constituent assembly and the procedure to decide on the accession of provinces to the Union; and
     - ✓ thought that the proposals denied the Muslims the right to self-determination and the creation of Pakistan.

CHAPTER-23

Quit India Movement, Demand for Pakistan, and the INA

SHORT NOTES (PRELIMS + MAINS)

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I. Quit India Movement

- CWC meeting at Wardha (July 14, 1942) accepted the idea of a struggle.
- **Why Start a Struggle Now-**The reasons were several—
  1. failure of the Cripps Mission to solve the constitutional deadlock
  2. There was popular discontent because of rising prices and shortage of rice, salt, etc., and because of factors such as commandeering of boats in Bengal and Orissa.
  3. There were fears of Britain following a scorched earth policy in Assam, Bengal and Orissa against possible Japanese advance.

4. News of reverses suffered by the British in South- East Asia and an imminent British collapse enhanced popular willingness to give expression to discontent.
5. The Japanese troops were approaching the borders of India. Popular faith in the stability of British rule was so low that people were withdrawing deposits from banks and post offices.
6. British behaviour towards the Indian subjects in South-East Asia exposed the racist attitude of the rulers.
7. leadership wanted to condition the masses for a possible Japanese invasion.

- **The 'Quit India' Resolution**-Quit India Resolution was ratified at the Congress meeting at Gowalia Tank, Bombay, on August 8, 1942. The meeting also resolved to
  1. demand an immediate end to British rule in India.
  2. declare commitment of free India to defend itself against all types of Fascism and imperialism.
  3. form a provisional Government of India after British withdrawal.
  4. sanction a civil disobedience movement against British rule.
- **Gandhi's General Instructions to Different Sections-**
  1. **Government servants**: Do not resign but declare your allegiance to the Congress.
  2. **Soldiers**: Do not leave the Army but do not fire on compatriots.
  3. **Students**: If confident, leave studies.
  4. **Peasants**: If zamindars are anti-government, pay mutually agreed rent, and if zamindars are pro-government, do not pay rent.
  5. **Princes**: Support the masses and accept sovereignty of your people.
  6. **Princely states' people**: Support the ruler only if he is anti-government and declare yourselves to be a part of the Indian nation.
- **Spread of the Movement**
  1. Congress Working Committee, the All India Congress Committee and the Provincial Congress Committees were declared unlawful associations under the Criminal Law Amendment Act of 1908.
  2. **Public on Rampage-**The general public attacked symbols of authority, and hoisted national flags forcibly on public buildings.
  3. **Underground Activity-**Many nationalists went underground and took to subversive activities. The participants in these activities were the Socialists, Forward Bloc members, Gandhi ashramites, revolutionary nationalists and local organisations
  4. **Parallel Governments-**Parallel governments were established at many places:
     - Ballia (in August 1942 for a week)—under Chittu Pandey.
     - Tamluk (Midnapore, from December 1942 to September 1944)—*Jatiya Sarkar*
     - Satara (mid-1943 to 1945)—named "Prati Sarkar", was organised
- **Extent of Mass Participation-**
  1. **Youth**, especially the students of schools and colleges, remained in the forefront.
  2. **Women**, especially school and college girls, actively participated, and included Aruna Asaf Ali, Sucheta Kripalani and Usha Mehta.
  3. **Workers** went on strikes and faced repression.
  4. **Peasants** of all strata were at the heart of the movement. Even some zamindars participated.
  5. **Government officials**, especially those belonging to lower levels in police and administration, participated resulting in erosion of government loyalty.
  6. **Muslims** helped by giving shelter to underground activists. There were no communal clashes during the movement.
  7. The **Communists** did not join the movement; in the wake of Russia (where the communists were in power) being attacked by Nazi Germany, the communists began to support the British war against Germany and the 'Imperialist War' became the 'People's War'.
  8. **The Muslim League** opposed the movement, fearing that if the British left India at that time, the minorities would be oppressed by the Hindus.

9. **The Hindu Mahasabha** boycotted the movement.
10. The **Princely states** showed a low-key response.

- **Government Repression**-Although martial law was not applied, the repression was severe.
- **Estimate**
  1. Left without leaders, there was no restraint and violence became common.
  2. Main storm centres of the movement were in eastern United Provinces, Bihar, Midnapore, Maharashtra, Karnataka.
  3. Students, workers and peasants were the backbone of the movement while the upper classes and the bureaucracy remained largely loyal.
  4. Loyalty to government suffered considerable erosion.
  5. movement established the truth that it was no longer possible to rule India without the wishes of Indians.
  6. element of spontaneity was higher than before, although a certain degree of popular initiative had been sanctioned by the leadership itself, subject to limitations of the instructions.
  7. 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.
  8. 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.
- **Gandhi Fasts**-In February 1943, Gandhi started a fast as an answer to an exhortation by the government to condemn violence; the fast was directed against the violence of the State. The fast achieved the following—
  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. Gandhi got the better of his opponents and refused to oblige by dying.

On **March 23, 1943** Pakistan Day was observed

II. Famine of 1943

- horror and inconveniences of war were increased by the famine of 1943. The worst-affected areas were south-west Bengal.
- The fundamental causes of the famine were as follows
  1. The need to feed a vast Army diverted foodstuffs.
  2. Rice imports from Burma and South-East Asia had been stopped.
  3. The famine got aggravated by gross mismanagement and deliberate profiteering; rationing methods were belated and were confined to big cities.

III. Rajagopalachari Formula

- **The Formula**- C. Rajagopalachari (CR), the veteran Congress leader, prepared a formula for Congress-League cooperation in 1944. The main points in the CR Plan were:
  1. Muslim League to endorse Congress demand for independence.
  2. League to cooperate with Congress in forming a provisional government at centre.
  3. After the end of the war, the entire population of Muslim majority areas in the North-West and North-East India to decide by a plebiscite, whether or not to form a separate sovereign state.
  4. In case of acceptance of partition, agreement to be made jointly for safeguarding defence, commerce, communications, etc.
  5. above terms to be operative only if England transferred full powers to India.

- **Objections-** Jinnah wanted the Congress to accept the two-nation theory. Hindu leaders led by Vir Savarkar condemned the CR Plan.

IV. Desai-Liaqat Pact-

- Bhulabhai Desai, met Liaqat Ali Khan and both of them came up with the draft proposal for the formation of an interim government at the centre, consisting of—
  1. an equal number of persons nominated by the Congress and the League in the central legislature.
  2. 20% reserved seats for minorities.

V. Wavell Plan-

- **Why the Government was Keen on a Solution Now**
  1. general election in England was scheduled for mid-1945. The Conservatives wanted to be seen as sincere on reaching a solution.
  2. There was pressure from the Allies to seek further Indian cooperation in the war.
  3. government wanted to divert Indian energies into channels more profitable for the British.
- **The Plan**-A conference was convened by the viceroy, Lord Wavell, at Shimla in June 1945. The main proposals of the Wavell Plan were as follows.
  1. With the exception of the governor-general and the commander-in-chief, all members of the executive council were to be Indians.
  2. Caste Hindus and Muslims were to have equal representation.
  3. reconstructed council was to function as an interim government within the framework of the 1935 Act (i.e. not responsible to the Central Assembly).
  4. governor-general was to exercise his veto on the advice of ministers.
  5. Representatives of different parties were to submit a joint list to the viceroy for nominations to the executive council. If a joint list was not possible, then separate lists were to be submitted.
  6. Possibilities were to be kept open for negotiations on a new constitution once the war was finally won.
- **Muslim League's Stand-** The League claimed some kind of veto in the council with decisions opposed to Muslims needing a two-thirds majority for approval.
- **Congress Stand**-The Congress objected to the plan as "an attempt to reduce the Congress to the status of a purely caste Hindu party and insisted on its right to include members of all communities among its nominees".
- **Wavell's Mistake-**Wavell announced a breakdown of talks thus giving the League a virtual veto.

VI. The Indian National Army and Subhash Bose-

- Subhash Chandra Bose was an intrepid man. He passed the **Indian Civil Services examination securing fourth position** but resigned from the service in 1921 to join the struggle for freedom
- His political guru was Chittaranjan Das. He became mayor of Calcutta in 1923.
- In March 1940, Bose convened an Anti-Compromise Conference at Ramgarh; it was a joint effort of the Forward Bloc and the Kisan Sabha.
- Bose came to be called 'Netaji' by the people of Germany. He gave the famous slogan, 'Jai Hind' from the Free India Centre, Germany. He began regular broadcasts from Berlin radio in January 1942, which enthused Indians.
- **Origin and First Phase of the Indian National Army-(INA)**
  1. idea of creating an army out of the Indian prisoners of war (POWs) was originally that of Mohan Singh The Japanese handed over the Indian prisoners of war to Mohan Singh who tried to recruit them into an Indian National Army.
  2. INA got a boost with the outbreak of the Quit India Movement in India. In September 1942, the first division of the INA was formed with 16,300 men.

3. The second phase began with the arrival of Subhash Bose in Singapore. But before that in June 1943, Subhash Chandra Bose (under pseudo name Abid Hussain) reached Tokyo; met the Japanese prime minister, Tojo.
4. In Japan, Rashbehari Bose eventually became a naturalized citizen He founded the Indian Club of Tokyo, and gave lectures on the evils of Western imperialism.
5. Subhash Bose became Supreme Commander of the INA on August 25. On October 21, 1943, Subhash Bose formed the Provisional Government for Free India at Singapore with H.C. Chatterjee (Finance portfolio), M.A. Aiyar (Broadcasting), Lakshmi Swaminathan (Women Department), etc. The famous slogan—"Give me blood, I will give you freedom" was given in Malaya The INA headquarters was shifted to Rangoon (in Burma) in January 1944, and the army recruits were to march from there with the war cry "Chalo Delhi!" on their lips.
6. On November 6, 1943, Andaman and Nicobar islands was given by the Japanese army to the INA; the islands were renamed as Shahid Dweep and Swaraj Dweep respectively. On July 6, 1944, Subhas Bose addressed Mahatma Gandhi as 'Father of Nation'—from the Azad Hind Radio (the first person to call Gandhi, 'Father of Nation').
7. Azad Hind Fauz crossed the Burma border, and stood on Indian soil on March 18, 1944. The INA units subsequently advanced up to Kohima and Imphal. On April 14, Colonel Malik of the Bahadur Group hoisted the INA flag for the first time on the Indian mainland at Moirang, in Manipur (where the INA Memorial Complex stands today) to enthusiastic cries of "Jai Hind" and "Netaji Zindabad". On August 15, 1945 the surrender of Japan in the Second World War took place and with this the INA also surrendered.
8. On August 18, 1945, reportedly, Subhash Bose died mysteriously in an air-crash at Taipei (Taiwan).

CHAPTER-24
Post-War National Scenario
SHORT NOTES (PRELIMS + MAINS)
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I. Two Strands of National Upsurge-

- Two basic strands of national upsurge can be identified during the last two years of British rule—
  a) tortuous negotiations involving the government, Congress and Muslim League, increasingly accompanied by communal violence and culminating in freedom and the partition.
  b) sporadic, localised and often extremely militant and united mass action by workers, peasants and states' peoples which took the form of a countrywide strike wave. This kind of activity was occasioned by the INA Release Movement,Royal Indian Navy (RIN) revolt, Tebhaga movement, Worli revolt, Punjab Kisan Morchas, Travancore peoples' struggle (especially the Punnapra-Vayalar episode) and the Telangana peasant revolt.
- Wavell Plan backed by the Conservative government in Britain failed to break the constitutional deadlock. In July 1945, Labour Party formed the government in Britain. In August 1945, elections to central and provincial assemblies were announced. In September 1945, it was announced that a constituent assembly would be convened after the elections
- **Why a Change in Government's Attitude**
  a) end of the War resulted in a change in balance of global power—the UK was no more a big power while the USA and USSR emerged as superpowers, both of which favoured freedom for India.
  b) new Labour government was more sympathetic to Indian demands.
  c) Throughout Europe, there was a wave of socialist radical governments.
  d) British soldiers were weary and tired and the British economy lay shattered.
  e) There was an anti-imperialist wave in South-East Asia—in Vietnam and Indonesia—resisting efforts to replant French and Dutch rule there.

f) Officials feared another Congress revolt, a revival of the 1942 situation but much more dangerous because of a likely combination of attacks on communications, agrarian revolts, labour trouble, army disaffection joined by government officials and the police in the presence of INA men with some military experience.

g) Elections were inevitable once the war ended since the last elections had been held in 1934 for the Centre and in 1937 for the provinces.

II. Congress Election Campaign and INA Trials-

- Elections were held in the winter of 1945-46.
- **Election Campaign for Nationalistic Aims-**The most significant feature of the election campaign was that it sought to mobilise the Indians against the British The election campaign expressed the nationalist sentiments against the state repression of the 1942 Quit India upsurge. This was done by glorifying martyrs and condemning officials.
- **Congress Support for INA Prisoners**
  a) At the first post-War Congress session in September 1945 at Bombay, a strong resolution was adopted declaring Congress support for the INA cause.
  b) Defence of INA prisoners in the court was organized by Bhulabhai Desai, Tej Bahadur Sapru, Kailash Nath Katju, Jawaharlal Nehru and Asaf Ali.
  c) INA Relief and Enquiry Committee distributed small sums of money and food, and helped arrange employment for the affected.
  d) Fund collection was organised.
- **The INA Agitation—A Landmark on Many Counts**
  a) celebrations of INA Day (November 12, 1945) and INA week (November 5-11).
  b) nerve centres of the agitation were Delhi, Bombay, Calcutta, Madras, United Provinces towns and Punjab, the campaign spread to distant places such as Coorg, Baluchistan and Assam. The forms of participation included fund contributions made by many people

III. Three Upsurges—Winter of 1945-46-

- There were three major upsurges—
  a) November 21, 1945—in Calcutta over the INA trials.
  b) February 11, 1946—in Calcutta against the seven year sentence to INA officer Rashid Ali.
  c) February 18, 1946—in Bombay, strike by the Royal Indian Navy ratings.
- **Three-Stage Pattern-**
  a) **Stage I. When a Group Defies Authority and is Repressed-**
    - ✓ In the first instance of this stage (November 21, 1945), a student procession had joined up with the League and the Congress, tied flags as a symbol of anti-imperialist unity, marched to Dalhousie Square—the seat of government in Calcutta.
    - ✓ In the next step (February 11, 1946), the protest was led by Muslim League students in which some Congress and communist students' organisations joined. Some arrests provoked the students to defy Section 144.
    - ✓ **Rebellion by Naval Ratings-** On February 18, 1946 some 1100 Royal Indian Navy (RIN) ratings of *HMIS Talwar* went on a strike to protest against racial discrimination, unpalatable food, abuse by superior officers, arrest of a rating for scrawling 'Quit India' on *HMIS Talwar,* INA trials And use of Indian troops in Indonesia, demanding their withdrawal.

  b) **Stage II. When the City People Join In-**This phase was marked by a virulent anti-British mood resulting in the virtual paralysis of Calcutta and Bombay.

  c) **Stage III. When People in Other Parts of the Country Express Sympathy and Solidarity-**While the students boycotted classes and organised hartals and processions to express sympathy with other students and the ratings, there were sympathetic strikes
- **Evaluation of Potential and Impact of the Three Upsurges**

a) Fearless action by the masses was an expression of militancy in the popular mind.
b) Revolt in the armed forces had a great liberating effect on the minds of people.
c) RIN revolt was seen as an event marking the end of British rule.

These upsurges prompted the British to extend some concessions:

a) On December 1, 1946, the government announced that only those INA members accused of murder or brutal treatment of fellow prisoners would be brought to trial.
b) Imprisonment sentences passed against the first batch were remitted in January 1947.
c) Indian soldiers were withdrawn from Indo-China and Indonesia by February 1947.
d) decision to send a parliamentary delegation to India (November 1946) was taken.
e) decision to send Cabinet Mission was taken in January 1946.

- **Congress Strategy-**The leftists claim that the Congress indifference to the revolutionary situation arose because of two considerations— that the situation would go out of its control and that a disciplined armed forces were vital in a free India.

IV. Election Results

- **Performance of the Congress**
  a) It got 91 per cent of non-Muslim votes.
  b) It captured 57 out of 102 seats in the Central Assembly.
  c) In the provincial elections, it got a majority in most provinces except in Bengal, Sindh and Punjab. The Congress majority provinces included the NWFP and Assam which were being claimed for Pakistan.
- **Muslim League's Performance**
  a) It got 86.6 per cent of the Muslim votes.
  b) It captured the 30 reserved seats in the Central Assembly.
  c) In the provincial elections, it got a majority in Bengal and Sindh.
  d) Unlike in 1937, now the League clearly established itself as the dominant party among Muslims.
  e) **In Punjab** A Unionist-Congress-Akali coalition under Khizr Hayat Khan assumed power.
- **Significant Features of Elections-** elections witnessed communal voting in contrast to the strong anti-British unity shown in various upsurges due to
  a) separate electorates; and
  b) limited franchise—for the provinces, less than 10 per cent of the population could vote and for the Central Assembly.

V. The Cabinet Mission-

- Attlee government announced in February 1946 the decision to send a high-powered mission of three British cabinet members
- **Why British Withdrawal Seemed Imminent Now**
  a) success of nationalist forces in the struggle for hegemony was fairly evident by the end of the War. Nationalism had penetrated into hitherto untouched sections and areas.
  b) There was a demonstration in favour of nationalism among the bureaucracy and the loyalist sections; because the paucity of European ICS recruits and a policy of Indianisation had ended the British domination of the ICS and by 1939, there existed a British-Indian parity.
  c) British strategy of conciliation and repression had its limitations and contradictions.
     - ✓ After the Cripps' Offer there was little left to offer for conciliation except full freedom.
     - ✓ When non-violent resistance was repressed with force, the naked force behind the government stood exposed, while if the government did not clamp down on 'sedition' or made offers for truce, it was seen to be unable to wield authority, and its prestige suffered.
     - ✓ Efforts to woo the Congress dismayed the loyalists. This policy of an unclear mix presented a dilemma for the services, who nevertheless had to implement it. The

prospect of Congress ministries coming to power in the provinces further compounded this dilemma.

d) Constitutionalism or Congress Raj had proved to be a big morale-booster and helped in deeper penetration of patriotic sentiments among the masses.
e) Demands of leniency for INA prisoners from within the Army and the revolt of the RIN ratings had raised fears that the armed forces may not be as reliable if the Congress started a 1942-type mass movement, this time aided by the provincial ministries.
f) only alternative to an all-out repression of a mass movement was an entirely official rule which seemed impossible now because the necessary numbers and efficient officials were not available.
g) government realised that a settlement was necessary for burying the ghost of a mass movement and for good future Indo-British relations

- **On the Eve of Cabinet Mission Plan-** The Congress demanded that power be transferred to one centre and that minorities' demands be worked out in a framework ranging from autonomy to Muslim-majority provinces to self-determination or secession from the Indian Union—but, only after the British left.
- **Cabinet Mission Arrives-**The Cabinet Mission reached Delhi on March 24, 1946. It had prolonged discussions with Indian leaders of all parties and groups on the issues of(i) interim government; and (ii) principles and procedures for framing a new constitution giving freedom to India.
- **Cabinet Mission Plan—Main Points**
  a) Rejection of the demand for a full-fledged Pakistan,
  b) Grouping of existing provincial assemblies into three sections:Section-A: Madras, Bombay, Central Provinces, United Provinces, Bihar and Orissa (Hindu-majority provinces) Section-B: Punjab, North-West Frontier Province and Sindh (Muslim-majority provinces) Section-C: Bengal and Assam (Muslim-majority provinces).
  c) Three-tier executive and legislature at provincial, section and union levels.
  d) A constituent assembly was to be elected by provincial assemblies by proportional representation. This constituent assembly would be a 389-member body.
  e) In the constituent assembly, members from groups A, B and C were to sit separately to decide the constitution for provinces and if possible, for the groups also. Then, the whole constituent assembly would sit together to formulate the union constitution.
  f) A common centre would control defence, communication and external affairs. A federal structure was envisaged for India.
  g) Communal questions in the central legislature were to be decided by a simple majority of both communities present and voting.
  h) Provinces were to have full autonomy and residual powers.
  i) Princely states were no longer to be under paramountcy of the British government. They would be free to enter into an arrangement with successor governments or the British government.
  j) After the first general elections, a province was to be free to come out of a group and after 10 years, a province was to be free to call for a reconsideration of the group or the union constitution.
  k) Meanwhile, an interim government was to be formed from the constituent assembly.
- **Different Interpretations of the Grouping Clause**
  a) **Congress***:* To the Congress, the Cabinet Mission Plan was against the creation of Pakistan since grouping was optional; one constituent assembly was envisaged; and the League no longer had a veto.
  b) **Muslim League***:* The Muslim League believed Pakistan to be implied in compulsory grouping.
- **Main Objections**
  a) **Congress**
     - ✓ Provinces should not have to wait till the first general elections to come out of a group. They should have the option of not joining a group in the first place.

- ✓ Compulsory grouping contradicts the oft-repeated insistence on provincial autonomy.
- ✓ Absence of provision for elected members from the princely states in the constituent assembly was not acceptable.

b) **League**

- ✓ Grouping should be compulsory with sections B and C developing into solid entities with a view to future secession into Pakistan.

- **Acceptance and Rejection**
  a) Muslim League on June 6 and the Congress on June 24, 1946 accepted the long-term plan put forward by the Cabinet Mission.
  b) **July 1946** Elections were held in provincial assemblies for the Constituent Assembly.
  c) **July 10, 1946** Nehru stated, "We are not bound by a single thing except that we have decided to go into the Constituent Assembly. The big probability is that there would be no grouping as NWFP and Assam would have objections to joining sections B and C."
  d) **July 29, 1946** The League withdrew its acceptance of the long-term plan in response to Nehru's statement and gave a call for **"direct action"** from August 16 to achieve Pakistan.

VI. Communal Holocaust and the Interim Government-

- From August 16, 1946, the Indian scene was rapidly transformed. There were communal riots on an unprecedented scale, which left around several thousands dead. The worst-hit areas were Calcutta, Bombay, Noakhali, Bihar and Garhmukteshwar (United Provinces).
- **Changed Government Priorities-**Wavell was now eager to somehow get the Congress into the Interim Government, even if the League stayed out
- **Interim Government-**Fearing mass action by the Congress, a Congress-dominated Interim Government headed by Nehru was sworn in onSeptember 2, 1946Wavell quietly brought the Muslim League into the Interim Government on October 26, 1946. The League was allowed to join
  a) without giving up the 'direct action';
  b) despite its rejection of the Cabinet Mission's long term and short-term plans; and
  c) despite insistence on compulsory grouping with decisions being taken by a majority vote by a section as a whole
- **Obstructionist Approach and Ulterior Motives of League-**The League did not attend the Constituent Assembly which had its first meeting on December 9, 1946. Consequently, the Assembly had to confine itself to passing a general 'Objectives Resolution' drafted by Jawaharlal Nehru. In February 1947, nine Congress members of the cabinet wrote to the viceroy demanding the resignation of League members and threatening the withdrawal of their own nominees.

VII. Birth and Spread of Communalism in India-

- **Characteristic Features of Indian Communalism-**Communalism (more accurately 'sectarianism') is basically an ideology, which gives more importance to one's own ethnic/religious group rather than to the wider society as a whole, evolved through three broad stages in India.
  a) **Communal Nationalism:** the notion that since a group or a section of people belong to a particular religious community, their secular interests are the same, i.e., even those matters which have got nothing to do with religion affect all of them equally.
  b) **Liberal Communalism:** the notion that since two religious communities have different religious interests, they have different interests in the secular sphere also (i.e., in economic, political and cultural spheres).
  c) **Extreme Communalism:** the notion that not only do different religious communities have different interests, but also that these interests are incompatible, i.e., two communities cannot co-exist because the interests of one community come into conflict with those of the other.
- **Reasons for Growth of Communalism**
  a) Socio-economic Reasons
  b) British Policy of Divide and Rule

c) Communalism in History Writing
d) Side-effects of Socio-religious Reform Movements-Reform movements such as the Wahabi Movement among Muslims and Shuddhi among Hindus with their militant overtones made the role of religion more vulnerable to communalism.
e) Side-effects of Militant Nationalism Communal Reaction by Majority Community-The Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS) was established in 1925

- **Evolution of the Two-Nation Theory**-The development of the two-nation theory over the years is as follows:

a) **1887**: Syed Ahmed Khan appealed to the educated Muslims to stay away from the Congress, although some Muslims did join the Congress.
b) **1906**: Agha Khan led a Muslim delegation (called the Shimla delegation) to the viceroy, Lord Minto, to demand separate electorates for Muslims at all levels
c) **1909**: Separate electorates were awarded under Morley-Minto Reforms. Punjab Hindu Sabha was founded by U.N. Mukherji and Lal Chand.
d) **1915**: First session of All India Hindu Mahasabha was held under the aegis of the Maharaja of Kasim Bazar.
e) **1912-24**: During this period, the Muslim League was dominated by younger Muslim nationalists, but their nationalism was inspired by a communal view of political questions.
f) **1916**: The Congress accepted the Muslim League demand of separate electorates and the Congress and the League presented joint demands to the government.
g) **1920-22**: Muslims participated in the Rowlatt and Khilafat Non-Cooperation agitations but there was a communal element in the political outlook of the Muslims.
h) **1920s**: The shadow of communal riots loomed large over the country.
i) **1928**: The Nehru Report on constitutional reforms assuggested by the Congress was opposed by Muslim hardliners and the Sikh League.
j) By negotiating with the Muslim League, the Congress made a number of mistakes:
    1. It gave legitimacy to the politics of the League, thus giving recognition to the division of society into separate communities with separate interests.
    2. It undermined the role of secular, nationalist Muslims.
    3. Concessions to one community prompted other communities to demand similar concessions.
    4. Launching an all-out attack on communalism became difficult.
k) **1930-34**: Some Muslim groups, such as the Jamaati- ulema-i-Hind, State of Kashmir and Khudai Khidmatgars participated in the Civil Disobedience Movement but overall the participation of Muslims was nowhereattended all three of them.
l) **1932**: The Communal Award accepted all Muslim communal demands contained in the 14 points.
m) **After 1937**: After the Muslim League performed badly in the 1937 provincial elections, it decided to resort to extreme communalism. There were several reasons for the advent of extreme communalism.
    1. With increasing radicalisation, the reactionary elements searched for a social base through channels of communalism.
    2. The colonial administration had exhausted all other means to divide nationalists.
    3. Earlier failures to challenge communal tendencies had emboldened the communal forces.
n) **1937-39**: Jinnah blocked all avenues for conciliation by forwarding the impossible demand that the Congress should declare itself a Hindu organisation and recognise the Muslim League as the sole representative of the Indian Muslims.
o) **March 24, 1940**: The 'Pakistan Resolution' was passed at the Lahore session of the Muslim League
p) **During Second World War** The British India Government gave a virtual veto to the League on political settlement.

CHAPTER-25
Independence with Partition
SHORT NOTES (PRELIMS + MAINS)
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I. Attlee's Statement of February 20, 1947-

- **Main Points of Attlee's Statement**
  a) deadline of June 30, 1948 was fixed for transfer of power even if the Indian politicians had not agreed by that time on the constitution.
  b) British would relinquish power either to some form of central government or in some areas to the existing provincial governments if the constituent assembly was not fully representative, i.e., if the Muslim majority provinces did not join.
  c) British powers and obligations *vis-a-vis* the princely states would lapse with transfer of power, but these would not be transferred to any successor government in British India.
  d) Mountbatten would replace Wavell as the viceroy. The statement contained clear hints of partition and even Balkanisation of the country into numerous states and was, in essence, a reversion of the Cripps Offer.
- **Why a Date Fixed by Government for Withdrawal**
  a) government hoped that a fixed date would shock the parties into an agreement on the main question.
  b) government was keen to avert the developing constitutional crisis.
  c) government hoped to convince the Indians of British sincerity.
  d) truth in Wavell's assessment could no longer be denied.
- **Congress Stand**-provision of transfer of power to more than one centre was acceptable to Congress because it meant that the existing assembly could go ahead and frame a constitution for the areas represented by it, and it offered a way out of the existing deadlock.

II. Independence and Partition-

- On **March 10, 1947**, Nehru stated that the Cabinet Mission's was the best solution if carried out; the only real alternative was the partition of Punjab and Bengal. In **April 1947**, the Congress president, Kripalani, communicated to the viceroy
- **Mountbatten as the Viceroy**-Mountbatten proved more firm and quick in taking decisions than his predecessors because he was informally given more powers to decide things on the spot. His task was to explore the options of unity and division till October 1947 and then advise the British government on the form of transfer of power.
- **Mountbatten Plan, June 3, 1947**
  a) Punjab and Bengal Legislative Assemblies would meet in two groups, Hindus and Muslims, to vote for partition. If a simple majority of either group voted for partition, then these provinces would be partitioned.
  b) In case of partition, two dominions and two constituent assemblies would be created.
  c) Sindh would take its own decision.
  d) Referendums in NWFP and Sylhet district of Bengal would decide the fate of these areas.
  e) Since the Congress had conceded a unified India, all their other points would be met, namely,
     1. independence for princely states ruled out—they would join either India or Pakistan;
     2. independence for Bengal ruled out;
     3. accession of Hyderabad to Pakistan ruled out;
     4. freedom to come on August 15, 1947; and
     5. a boundary commission to be set up if partition was to be effected.
  f) **Why Congress Accepted Dominion Status**

1. it would ensure a peaceful and quick transfer of power;
2. it was more important for the Congress to assume authority to check the explosive situation; and
3. it would allow for some much needed continuity in the bureaucracy and the army.

g) **Rationale for an Early Date (August 15, 1947)** -The plan was put into effect without the slightest delay. The legislative assemblies of Bengal and Punjab decided in favour of partition of these two provinces. Thus, East Bengal and West Punjab joined Pakistan; West Bengal and East Punjab remained with the Indian Union.

- **Indian Independence Act-**On July 5, 1947 the British Parliament passed the Indian Independence Act which was based on the Mountbatten Plan, and the Act got royal assent on June 18, 1947.

✓ Act was implemented on August 15, 1947.
✓ Act provided for the creation of two independent dominions of India and Pakistan with effect from August 15, 1947.
✓ As per the provisions of the Indian Independence Act, 1947, Pakistan became independent on August 14 while India got its freedom on August 15, 1947.
✓ Jinnah became the first Governor-General of Pakistan.
✓ India, however, decided to request Lord Mountbatten to continue as the Governor-General of India.

- **Problems of Early withdrawal-**breakneck speed of events under Mountbatten caused anomalies in arranging the details of partition and totally failed to prevent the Punjab massacre, because
  a) there were no transitional institutional structures within which partition problems could be tackled;
  b) Mountbatten had hoped to be the common Governor- General of India and Pakistan, thus providing the necessary link, but Jinnah wanted the position for himself in Pakistan;
  c) there was a delay in announcing the Boundary Commission Award (under Radcliffe); though the award was ready by August 12, 1947 Mountbatten decided to make it public after August 15 so that the British could escape all responsibility of disturbances.

- **Integration of States-**
  a) In July 1947, Vallabhbhai Patel took charge of the new States Department. Under Patel, the incorporation of Indian states took place in two phases with a skillful combination of baits and threats of mass pressure in both.
  b) **Phase I** By August 15, 1947, all states except Kashmir, Hyderabad and Junagarh had signed an instrument of accession with the Indian government
  c) **Phase II** second phase involved a much more difficult process of 'integration' of states with neighbouring provinces or into new units

III. Inevitability of Partition-

- **Why Congress Accepted Partition**
  a) Congress was only accepting the inevitable due to the long-term failure to draw the Muslim masses into the national movement. The Congress had a two fold task—(i) structuring diverse classes, communities, groups and regions into a nation, and (ii) securing independence for this nation.
  b) Only an immediate transfer of power could forestall the spread of 'direct action' and communal violence. The virtual collapse of the Interim Government also made the notion of Pakistan appear unavoidable.
  c) partition plan ruled out independence for the princely states which could have been a greater danger to Indian unity as it would have meant Balkanisation of the country.
  d) Acceptance of partition was only a final act of the process of step-by-step concessions to the League's championing of a separate Muslim state.
  e) when CWC resolution stated that Punjab (and by implication, Bengal) must be partitioned if the country was divided and With the 3rd June Plan, Congress accepted partition.

f) While loudly asserting the sovereignty of the Constituent Assembly, the Congress quietly accepted compulsory grouping and accepted the partition most of all because it could not stop the communal riots.

- **Gandhi's Helplessness**-Gandhi felt helpless because there had been a communalization of the people. He had no option but to accept partition because the people wanted it.

Space for Your Notes

CHAPTER-26
Constitutional, Administrative and Judicial Developments
SHORT NOTES (PRELIMS + MAINS)

I. Constitutional Development between 1773 and 1858-

- After Battle of Buxar (1764), East India Company got the Diwani (right to collect revenue) of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa.

✓ **1767-**The first intervention in Indian affairs by the British government came in 1767.

✓ **1765-72-**This period was characterised by—

a) rampant corruption among servants of the Company who made full use of private trading to enrich themselves;
b) excessive revenue collection and oppression of peasantry;
c) Company's bankruptcy, while the servants were flourishing.

- **The Regulating Act of 1773**

a) British government's involvement in Indian affairs in the effort to control and regulate the functioning of the East India Company. It recognised that the Company's role in India extended beyond mere trade to administrative and political fields, and introduced the element of centralized administration.
b) directors of the Company were required to submit all correspondence regarding revenue affairs and civil and military administration to the government.
c) In Bengal, the administration was to be carried out by governor-general and a council consisting of 4 members, representing civil and military government. They were required to function according to the majority rule.
d) A Supreme Court of judicature was to be established in Bengal with original and appellate jurisdictions where all subjects could seek redressal. In practice, however, theSupreme Court had a debatable jurisdiction *vis-a-vis* the council which created various problems.
e) governor-general could exercise some powers over Bombay and Madras—again, a vague provision which created many problems.
f) ***Amendments (1781)***
   - ✓ jurisdiction of the Supreme Court was defined—within Calcutta, it was to administer the personal law of the defendant.
   - ✓ servants of the government were immune if they did anything while discharging their duties.
   - ✓ Social and religious usages of the subjects were to be honoured.

- **Pitt's India Act of 1784**

a) Company became a subordinate department of the State. The Company's territories in India were termed 'British possessions'.
b) A Board of Control consisting of the chancellor of exchequer, a secretary of state and four members of the Privy Council (to be appointed by the Crown) were to exercise control over the

Company's civil, military and revenue affairs. All dispatches were to be approved by the board. Thus a dual system of control was set up.

c) In India, the governor-general was to have a council of three (including the commander-in-chief), and the presidencies of Bombay and Madras were made subordinate to the governor-general.

d) A general prohibition was placed on aggressive wars and treaties (breached often).

The Act of 1786

a) Cornwallis wanted to have the powers of both the governor-general and the commander-in-chief. The new Act conceded this demand and also gave him the power.

b) Cornwallis was allowed to override the council's decision if he owned the responsibility for the decision. Later, this provision was extended to all the governors general.

The Charter Act of 1793

a) The Act renewed the Company's commercial privileges for next 20 years.

b) The Company, after paying the necessary expenses, interest, dividends, salaries, etc., from the Indian revenues, was to pay 5 lakh pounds annually to the British government.

c) The royal approval was mandated for the appointment of the governor-general, the governors, and the commander in- chief.

d) Senior officials of the Company were debarred from leaving India without permission—doing so was treated as resignation.

e) The Company was empowered to give licences to individuals as well as the Company's employees to trade in India. The licences, known as 'privilege' or 'country trade', paved the way for shipments of opium to China.

f) The revenue administration was separated from the judiciary functions and this led to disappearing of the *Maal Adalats*.

g) The Home Government members were to be paid out of Indian revenues which continued up to 1919.

The Charter Act of 1813

a) The Company's monopoly over trade in India ended, but the Company retained the trade with China and the trade in tea.

b) The Company's shareholders were given a 10.5 per cent dividend on the revenue of India. The Company was to retain the possession of territories and the revenue for 20 years more, without prejudice to the sovereignty of the Crown.

c) Powers of the Board of Control were further enlarged.

d) A sum of one lakh rupees was to be set aside for the revival, promotion and encouragement of literature, learning and science among the natives of India, every year.

e) The regulations made by the Councils of Madras, Bombay and Calcutta were now required to be laid before the British Parliament. The constitutional position of the British territories in India was thus explicitly defined for the first time.

f) Separate accounts were to be kept regarding commercial transactions and territorial revenues. The power of superintendence and direction of the Board of Control was not only defined but also enlarged considerably.

g) Christian missionaries were also permitted to come to India and preach their religion.

The Charter Act of 1833

a) lease of 20 years to the Company was further extended. Territories of India were to be governed in the name of the Crown.

b) Company's monopoly over trade with China and in tea also ended.

c) All restrictions on European immigration and the acquisition of property in India were lifted.

d) In India, a financial, legislative and administrative centralisation of the government was envisaged:

- ✓ governor-general was given the power to superintend, control and direct all civil and military affairs of the Company.
- ✓ Bengal, Madras, Bombay and all other territories were placed under complete control of the governor-general.
- ✓ All revenues were to be raised under the authority of the governor-general who would have complete control over the expenditure too.
- ✓ Governments of Madras and Bombay were drastically deprived of their legislative powers and left with a right of proposing to the governor-general the projects of law which they thought to be expedient.

e) A law member was added to the governor-general's council for professional advice on law-making.
f) Indian laws were to be codified and consolidated.
g) No Indian citizen was to be denied employment under the Company on the basis of religion, colour, birth, descent, etc
h) administration was urged to take steps to ameliorate the conditions of slaves and to ultimately abolish slavery. (Slavery was abolished in 1843.)

The Charter Act of 1853

a) Company was to continue possession of territories unless the Parliament provided otherwise.
b) strength of the Court of Directors was reduced to 18.
c) Company's patronage over the services was dissolved—the services were now thrown open to a competitive examination.
d) law member became the full member of the governor-general's executive council.
e) separation of the executive and legislative functions of the Government of British India progressed with the inclusion of six additional members for legislative purposes

The Act for Better Government of India, 1858

a) India was to be governed by and in the name of the Crown through a secretary of state and a council of 15. The initiative and the final decision was to be with the secretary of state and the council was to be just advisory in nature.
b) Governor-general became the viceroy

II. Developments after 1858 till Independence-

Indian Councils Act, 1861

a) The 1861 Act marked an advance in that the principle of representatives of non-officials in legislative bodies became accepted; laws were to be made after due deliberation, and as pieces of legislation they could be changed only by the same deliberative process.
b) The portfolio system introduced by Lord Canning laid the foundations of cabinet government in India, each branch of the administration having its official head and spokesman in the government, who was responsible for its administration.
c) The Act by vesting legislative powers in the Governments of Bombay and Madras and by making provision for the institution of similar legislative councils in other provinces laid the foundations of legislative devolution.

Indian Councils Act, 1892

a) In 1885, the Indian National Congress was founded. The Congress saw reform of the councils as the "root of all other reforms". It was in response to the Congress demand that the legislative councils be expanded that the number of non-official members was increased both in the central (Imperial) and provincial legislative councils by the Indian Councils Act, 1892.
b) Legislative Council of the Governor-General was enlarged.
c) universities, district boards, municipalities, *zamindars,* trade bodies and chambers of commerce were empowered to recommend members to the provincial councils. Thus was introduced the principle of representation.

d) Though the term 'election' was firmly avoided in the Act, an element of indirect election was accepted in the selection of some of the non-official members.
e) members of the legislatures were now entitled to express their views upon financial statements which were henceforth to be made on the floor of the legislatures.
f) could also put questions within certain limits to the executive on matters of public interest after giving six days' notice.

- **Indian Councils Act, 1909**
  a) Popularly known as the ***Morley-Minto Reforms***, the Act made the first attempt to bring in a representative and popular element in the governance of the country.
  b) strength of the Imperial Legislative Council was increased.
  c) With regard to the central government, an Indian member was taken for the first time in the Executive Council of the Governor-General
  d) members of the Provincial Executive Council were increased.
  e) powers of the legislative councils, both central and provincial, were increased.
- **Government of India Act, 1919**
  a) This Act was based on what are popularly known as the ***Montague-Chelmsford Reforms***.
  b) Under the 1919 Act, the Indian Legislative Council at the Centre was replaced by a bicameral system consisting of a Council of State (Upper House) and a Legislative Assembly (Lower House). Each house was to have a majority of members who were directly elected. So, direct election was introduced, though the franchise was much restricted being based on qualifications of property, tax or education.
  c) principle of communal representation was extended with separate electorates for Sikhs, Christians and Anglo-Indians, besides Muslims.
  d) Act introduced dyarchy in the provinces, which indeed was a substantial step towards transfer of power to the Indian people.
  e) provincial legislature was to consist of one house only (legislative council).
  f) Act separated for the first time the provincial and central budgets, with provincial legislatures being authorised to make their budgets.
  g) A High Commissioner for India was appointed, who was to hold his office in London for six years and whose duty was to look after Indian trade in Europe.
  h) Secretary of State for India who used to get his pay from the Indian revenue was now to be paid by the British Exchequer, thus undoing an injustice in the Charter Act of 1793.
  i) Though Indian leaders for the first time got some administrative experience in a constitutional set-up under this Act.
- **Simon Commission**
  a) 1919 Act had provided that a Royal Commission would be appointed ten years after the Act to report on its working. Three Round Table Conferences were called by the British government to consider the proposals. Subsequently, a **White Paper on Constitutional Reforms** was published by the British government in March 1933
- **Government of India Act, 1935**
  a) Act, with 451 clauses and 15 schedules, contemplated the establishment of an All-India Federation in which Governors' Provinces and the Chief Commissioners' Provinces and those Indian states which might accede to be united were to be included.
  b) Dyarchy, rejected by the Simon Commission, was provided for in the Federal Executive.
  c) Federal Legislature was to have two chambers (bicameral)—the Council of States and the Federal Legislative Assembly. The Council of States (the Upper House) was to be a permanent body.
  d) There was a provision for joint sitting in cases of deadlock between the houses. There were to be three subjectlists— the ***Federal Legislative List,*** the ***Provincial Legislative List*** and the

Concurrent Legislative List. ***Residuary, legislative powers*** were subject to the discretion of the governor-general.

e) Dyarchy in the provinces was abolished and provinces were given autonomy
f) Provincial legislatures were further expanded. Bicameral legislatures were provided in the six provinces of Madras, Bombay, Bengal, United Provinces, Bihar and Assam, with other five provinces retaining unicameral legislatures.
g) principles of 'communal electorates' and 'weightage' were further extended to depressed classes, women and labour.
h) Franchise was extended, with about 10 per cent of the total population getting the right to vote.
i) Act also provided for a Federal Court (which was established in 1937), with original and appellate powers, to interpret the 1935 Act and settle inter-state disputes, but the Privy Council in London was to dominate this court.
j) India Council of the Secretary of State was abolished.
k) All-India Federation as visualised in the Act never came into being because of the opposition from different parties of India. The British government decided to introduce the provincial autonomy on April 1, 1937, but the Central government continued to be governed in accordance with the 1919 Act, with minor amendments. The operative part of the Act of 1935 remained in force till August 15, 1947.

III. Evolution of Civil Services in India-

- **Cornwallis' Role**-Cornwallis (governor-general, 1786-93) was the first to bring into existence and organise the civil services. He tried to check corruption through—
  a) raising the civil servants' salary,
  b) strict enforcement of rules against private trade,
  c) debarring civil servants from taking presents, bribes etc.,
  d) enforcing promotions through seniority.
- **Wellesley's Role-**In **1800**, Wellesley (governor-general, 1798-1805) set up the Fort William College for training of new recruits. In **1806** Wellesley's college was disapproved by the Court of Directors and instead the East India College was set up at Haileybury in England to impart two years' training to the recruits.
- **Charter Act of 1853-** The reasons for exclusion of Indians were—
  a) belief that only the English could establish administrative services serving British interests;
  b) belief that the Indians were incapable, untrustworthy and insensitive to the British interests;
  c) fact there was high competition among the Europeans themselves for lucrative posts, so why offer them to the Indians.
- **Indian Civil Service Act, 1861-** The maximum permissible age was gradually reduced from 23 (in 1859) to 22 (in 1860) to 21 (in 1866) and to 19 (1878). In **1863**, Satyendra Nath Tagore became the first Indian to qualify for the Indian Civil Service.
- **Statutory Civil Service-**In **1878-79**, Lytton introduced the Statutory Civil Service consisting of one-sixth of covenanted posts to be filled by Indians
- **Congress Demand and Aitchison Committee**
  a) **The Indian National Congress** raised the demand, after it was set up in 1885, for
     ✓ lowering of age limit for recruitment, and
     ✓ holding the examination simultaneously in India and Britain.
  b) The **Aitchison Committee on Public Services (1886)**, set up by Dufferin, recommended—
     ✓ dropping of the terms 'covenanted' and 'uncovenanted';
     ✓ classification of the civil service into Imperial Indian Civil Service (examination in England), Provincial Civil Service (examination in India) and Subordinate Civil Service (examination in India); and,
     ✓ raising the age limit to 23.

- ✓ In **1893**, the House of Commons in England passed a resolution supporting holding of simultaneous examination in India and England; but the resolution was never implemented.

- **Montford Reforms (1919)**-The Montford reforms—
  a) stated a realistic policy recommended holding of simultaneous examination in India and England.
  b) recommended that one-third of recruitments be made in India itself—to be raised annually by 1.5 per cent.
- **Lee Commission (1924)**-The Lee Commission recommended that—
  a) secretary of state should continue to recruit the ICS, the Irrigation branch of the Service of Engineers, the Indian Forest Service, etc.;
  b) recruitments for the transferred fields like education and civil medical service be made by provincial governments;
  c) direct recruitment to ICS on basis of 50:50 parity between the Europeans and the Indians be reached in 15 years;
  d) a Public Service Commission be immediately established
- **Government of India Act, 1935**-1935 Act recommended the establishment of a Federal Public Service Commission and Provincial Public Service Commission under their spheres.
- **Evaluation of Civil Services under British Rule**-This was done in mainly two ways. Firstly the maximum age for appearing at the examination was reduced from twenty-three in 1859 to nineteen in 1878 under Lytton. Secondly, all key positions of power and authority and those which were well-paid were occupied by the Europeans.

IV. Evolution of Police System in Modern India-

- Watch guards since time immemorial protecting villages at night. Under the Mughal rule there were the *faujdars* and *amils*. The *kotwal* was responsible for maintenance of law and order in the cities. In Bengal, Bihar and Orissa between 1765 and 1772 the zamindars were expected to maintain the staff including *thanedars* In 1775, *faujdar thanas* were established
- **1791** Cornwallis organised a regular police force to maintain law and order by going back to and modernising the old Indian system of *thanas* (circles) in a district under a *daroga* (an Indian) and a superintendent of police (SP)**.1808** Mayo appointed an SP for each division helped by a number of spies (*goyendas*)
- recommendations of the **Police Commission (1860)** led to the Indian Police Act, 1861. The commission recommended—
  a) a system of civil constabulary—maintaining the village set-up in the present form (a village watchman maintained by the village) but in direct relationship with the rest of the constabulary.
  b) inspector-general as the head in a province, deputy inspector-general as the head in a range, and SP as the head in a district.
- **1902** The Police Commission recommended the establishment of CID

V. Military Under the British-

- Prior to the revolt of 1857, there were two separate sets of military forces under the British control, which operated in India. The first set of units, known as the Queen's army, were the serving troops on duty in India. The other was the Company's troops—a mixture of European regiments of Britons and Native regiments recruited locally from India but with British officers. The Queen's army was part of Crown's military force.
- On the whole, the British Indian Army remained a costly military machine.

VI. Development of Judiciary in British India-

- beginning of a common law system, based on recorded judicial precedents, can be traced to the establishment of 'Mayor's Courts' in Madras, Bombay and Calcutta in 1726 by the East India Company.
- **Reforms under Warren Hastings (1772-1785)-**
    a) District Diwani Adalats were established in districts to try civil disputes. These *adalats* were placed under the collector and had Hindu law applicable for Hindus and the Muslim law for Muslims. The appeal from District Diwani Adalats lay to the Sadar Diwani Adalat which functioned under a president and two members of the Supreme Council.
    b) District Fauzdari Adalats were set up to try criminal disputes and were placed under an Indian officer assisted by *qazis* and *muftis.* These *adalats* also were under the general supervision of the collector. Muslim law was administered in Fauzdari Adalats.
    c) Under the Regulating Act of 1773, a Supreme Court was established at Calcutta which was competent to try all British subjects within Calcutta and the subordinate factories, including Indians and Europeans. It had original and appellate jurisdictions. Often, the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court clashed with that of other courts.
- **Reforms under Cornwallis (1786-1793)— Separation of Powers**
    a) Circuit courts were established at Calcutta, Dacca, Murshidabad and Patna. These circuit courts had European judges and were to act as courts of appeal for both civil and criminal cases.
    b) Sadar Nizamat Adalat was shifted to Calcutta and was put under the governor-general and members of the Supreme Council assisted by the chief *qazi* and the chief *mufti.* The District Diwani Adalat was now designated as the District, City or the Zila Court and placed under a district judge. The collector was now responsible only for the revenue administration with no magisterial functions.
    c) A gradation of civil courts was established (for both Hindu and Muslim laws)—
        - ✓ Munsiff's Court under Indian officers,
        - ✓ Registrar's Court under a European judge,
        - ✓ District Court under the district judge,
        - ✓ Four Circuit Courts as provincial courts of appeal,
        - ✓ Sadar Diwani Adalat at Calcutta, and
        - ✓ King-in-Council for appeals of 5000 pounds and above.
    d) The Cornwallis Code was laid out—
        - ✓ There was a separation of revenue and justice administration.
        - ✓ European subjects were also brought under jurisdiction.
        - ✓ Government officials were answerable to the civil courts for actions done in their official capacity.
        - ✓ principle of sovereignty of law was established.
- **Reforms under William Bentinck (1828-1833)**
    a) four Circuit Courts were abolished and their functions transferred to collectors under the supervision of the commissioner of revenue and circuit.
    b) Sadar Diwani Adalat and a Sadar Nizamat Adalat were set up at Allahabad for the convenience of the people of Upper Provinces.
    c) Till now, Persian was the official language in courts. Now, the suitor had the option to use Persian or a vernacular language, while in the Supreme Court, English language replaced Persian.
- **1833** : A Law Commission was set up under Macaulay for codification of Indian laws. As a result, a Civil Procedure Code (1859), an Indian Penal Code (1860) and a Criminal Procedure Code (1861) were prepared.
- **Later Developments**
    a) **1860** : It was provided that the Europeans can claim no special privileges except in criminal cases, and no judge of an Indian origin could try them.

b) **1865** : Supreme Court and the Sadar Adalats were merged into three High Courts at Calcutta, Bombay and Madras.

c) **1935** : Government of India Act provided for a Federal Court (set up in 1937) which could settle disputes between governments and could hear limited appeals from the High Courts.

- **Evaluation**

a) Positive Aspects of Judiciary under the British

- ✓ rule of law was established.
- ✓ codified laws replaced the religious and personal laws of the rulers.
- ✓ Even European subjects were brought under the jurisdiction, although in criminal cases, they could be tried by European judges only.
- ✓ Government servants were made answerable to the civil courts.

b) The Negative Aspects

- ✓ judicial system became more and more complicated and expensive. The rich could manipulate the system.
- ✓ There was ample scope for false evidence, deceit and chicanery.
- ✓ Dragged out litigation meant delayed justice.
- ✓ Courts became overburdened as litigation increased.
- ✓ Often, the European judges were not familiar with the Indian usage and traditions.

VII. Major Changes in Administrative Structure after 1857-

- **Genesis of Administrative Changes: New Stage of Colonialism**-There was a renewed upsurge of imperial control and imperialist ideology which was reflected in the reactionary policies during the vice-royalties of Lytton, Dufferin, Lansdowne, Elgin and, above all, Curzon. The changes in the governmental structure and policies in India were to shape the destiny of modern India in many ways.

VIII. Administration: Central, Provincial, Local-

- **Central Government**

a) **Act for Better Government of India**, 1858 transferred the power to govern from the East India Company to the British Crown.

b) By **Indian Councils Act, 1861**, a fifth member, who was to be a jurist, was added to viceroy's executive council. The legislative council so constituted possessed no real powers and was merely advisory in nature. Its weaknesses were as follows—

- ✓ It could not discuss important matters, and no financial matters at all without previous approval of the Government.
- ✓ It had no control over the budget.
- ✓ It could not discuss executive action.
- ✓ Final passing of the bill needed the viceroy's approval.
- ✓ Even if approved by the viceroy, the secretary of state could disallow a legislation.
- ✓ Indians associated as non-officials were members of elite sections only—princes, landlords, *diwans,* etc.—and were not representative of the Indian opinion.
- ✓ viceroy could issue ordinances (of 6 months validity) in case of emergency.

- **Provincial Government**-The Indian Councils Act, 1861 returned the legislative powers to provinces of Madras and Bombay which had been taken away in 1833.
- **Local Bodies**-There were many factors which made it necessary for the British government in India to work towards establishing local bodies.

a) Financial difficulties faced by the Government, due to over centralisation, made decentralisation imperative.

b) It became necessary that modern advances in civic amenities in Europe be transplanted in India considering India's increasing economic contacts with Europe.

c) rising tide of nationalism had improvement in basic facilities as a point on its agenda.

d) A section of British policy-makers saw association of Indians with the administration in some form or the other, without undermining the British supremacy in India, as an instrument to check the increasing politicisation of Indians.
e) utilisation of local taxes for local welfare could be used to counter any public criticism of British reluctance to draw upon an already overburdened treasury or to tax the rich upper classes.

- important stages in the evolution of local government can be identified as follows.
  a) **Between 1864 and 1868-**Local bodies were first formed
  b) **Mayo's Resolution of 1870-**Financial decentralisation was a legislative devolution inaugurated by the Indian Councils Act of 1861. Apart from the annual grant from imperial Government, the provincial governments were authorised to resort to local taxation to balance their budgets.
  c) **Ripon's Resolution of 1882** Lord Ripon is called **father of local self-government in Indi**a. The main points of the resolution were as follows.
     - ✓ Development of local bodies advocated to improve the administration and as an instrument of political and popular education;
     - ✓ Policy of administrating local affairs through urban and rural local bodies charged with definite duties and entrusted with suitable sources of revenues;
     - ✓ Non-officials to be in majority in these bodies, who could be elected if the officials thought that it was possible to introduce elections;
     - ✓ Non-officials to act as chairpersons to these bodies;
     - ✓ Official interference to be reduced to the minimum and to be exercised to revise and check the acts of local bodies, but not to dictate policies;
     - ✓ Official executive sanction required in certain cases, such as raising of loans, alienation of municipal property, imposition of new taxes, undertaking works costing more than a prescribed sum, framing rules and bye-laws, etc. The existing local bodies had various drawbacks.
     - ✓ elected members were in a minority in all district boards and in many of the municipalities;
     - ✓ franchise was very limited;
     - ✓ District boards continued to be headed by district officials, though non-officials gradually came to head the municipalities;
     - ✓ Government retained strict control, and it could suspend or supersede these bodies at will.
  d) **Royal Commission on Decentralisation (1908)** -The commission made the following recommendations.
     - ✓ It emphasised that village panchayats should be entrusted with more powers like judicial jurisdiction in petty cases, incurring expenditure on minor village works, village schools, small fuel and fodder reserves, etc. The panchayats should be given adequate sources of income.
     - ✓ It emphasised the importance of sub-district boards to be established in every *taluka* or *tehsil*, with separate spheres of duties and separate sources of revenue for subdistrict boards and the district boards.
     - ✓ It urged the withdrawal of existing restrictions on their powers of taxation, and also, the stoppage of regular grants-in-aid from provincial governments except for undertaking large projects.
     - ✓ municipalities might undertake the responsibility for primary education and, if willing, for middle vernacular schools, otherwise the Government should relieve them of any charges in regard to secondary education, hospitals, relief, police, veterinary works, etc.
  e) **The Government of India Resolution of 1915-**This resolution contained the official views on the recommendations of the Decentralisation Commission

f) **The Resolution of May 1918-** This resolution reviewed the entire question of local selfgovernment in the light of the announcement of August 20, 1917
g) **Under Dyarchy-** Local self-government was made a 'transferred' subject under popular ministerial control by Government of India Act, 1919, and each province was allowed to develop local self institutions according to provincial needs and requirements.
h) **The Government of India Act, 1935 and After** The provincial autonomy ushered in by the Government of India Act, 1935 gave further impetus to the development of local self-governing institutions in India.

CHAPTER-27
Survey of British Policies in India
SHORT NOTES (PRELIMS + MAINS)
www.DesireIAS.com

I. Administrative Policies-

- **Divide and Rule-**Determined to avoid a united mass action challenging their authority, the British rulers in India decided to practice a naked policy of divide and rule.
- **Hostility Towards Educated Indians-**At a time when the nationalist movement was born (Indian National Congress was founded in 1885), the British interpreted the moves as a challenge to their authority and adopted a hostile attitude to such leadership.
- **Attitude Towards the Zamindars-**In their pursuit of reactionary policies and hope to expand their social base, the British looked for alliances with the most reactionary of social groups—the princes, zamindars, etc.
- **Attitude Towards Social Reforms-**Having decided to side with the reactionary elements of Indian society, the British withdrew support to social reforms,
- **Underdeveloped Social Services-** A disproportionately large expenditure on army and civil administration and the cost of wars left little to be spent on social services
- **Labour Legislations-**The **Indian Factory Act, 1881** dealt primarily with the problem of child labour (between 7 and 12 years of age). Its significant provisions were:
  a) employment of children under 7 years of age prohibited,
  b) working hours restricted to 9 hours per day for children,
  c) children to get four holidays in a month,
  d) hazardous machinery to be properly fenced off.

  The **Indian Factory Act, 1891**
  a) increased the minimum age (from 7 to 9 years) and the maximum (from 12 to 14 years) for children,
  b) reduced maximum working hours for children to 7 hours a day,
  c) fixed maximum working hours for women at 11 hours per day with an one-and-a-half hour interval (working hours for men were left unregulated),
  d) provided weekly holiday for all.
- **Restrictions on Freedom of the Press-** Lytton, fearing an increased influence of the nationalist press on public opinion, imposed restrictions on Indian language press through the infamous Vernacular Press Act, 1878. This Act had to be repealed under public protest in 1882.
- **White Racism-**The notion of white superiority was maintained very carefully by the colonial rulers by systematically excluding the Indians from higher grades of services—both civil and military.

II. British Social and Cultural Policy in India-

- emergence of new interests and ideas in Britain of the nineteenth century in the wake of significant changes in Europe during the 18th and the 19th centuries. Some of these changes were—
  a) **Industrial Revolution** which began in the 18th century and resulted in the growth of industrial capitalism. The rising industrial interests wanted to make India a big market for their goods and therefore required partial modernisation and transformation of Indian society.
  b) **Intellectual Revolution** which gave rise to new attitudes of mind, manners, and morals.
  c) **French Revolution** which with its message of liberty, equality and fraternity, unleashed the forces of democracy and nationalism.
- **Characteristics of New Thought-**Some of the characteristics of the new wave of thought were—
  a) **Rationalism** which advocated faith in reason and a scientific attitude.
  b) **Humanism** which advocated the love of man. These ideals gave rise to liberalism, socialism and individualism.
  c) **Doctrine of Progress** according to which nothing is static and all societies must change with time.
- **Schools of Thought**
  a) **Conservatives** advocated introduction of as few changes as possible.
  b) **Paternalistic Imperialists** were sharply critical of Indian society and culture and used to justify economic and political enslavement of India.
  c) **Radicals** went beyond the narrow criticism and imperialistic outlook of the Conservatives and the Imperialists and applied advanced humanistic and rational thought to the Indian situation.
- **Indian Renaissance-**There were many Indians who instigated social reform and caused legislations to be brought about so as to control and eradicate social evils imbedded in so-called tradition.
- **Dilemma Before the Government-**The government feared that too much modernisation might generate forces hostile to their interests
- **Role of Christian Missionaries-**The missionaries regarded Christianity to be a superior religion and wanted to spread it in India through westernization. Towards this end, the Christian missionaries
  a) supported the Radicals whose scientific approach, they believed, would undermine the native culture and beliefs;
  b) supported the Imperialists since law and order and the British supremacy were essential for their propaganda; and
  c) sought business and the capitalist support holding out the hope to them that the Christian converts would be better customers of their goods.
- **British Retreat**-The Indians proved to be apt pupils and shifted rapidly towards modernisation of their society and assertion of their culture.

III. British Policy Towards Princely States-

- subordination of princely states to British authority was completed when the fiction of Indian states standing in a status of equality with the Crown as independent, sovereign states ended with the Queen adopting the title of *Kaiser-i- Hind* (Queen Empress of India) in 1876, to emphasise British sovereignty over entire India.

IV. British Foreign Policy in India-

- pursuance of a foreign policyled to India's conflicts with neighbouring countries. These conflicts arose due to various reasons. Firstly, political and administrative consolidation of the country. Secondly, the British Government had as its major aims in Asia and Africa—
  a) protection of the invaluable Indian empire;
  b) expansion of British commercial and economic interests;
  c) keeping other European imperialist powers, whose colonial interests came in conflict with those of the British, at an arm's length in Asia and Africa.

CHAPTER-28
Economic Impact of British Rule in India
SHORT NOTES (PRELIMS + MAINS)
www.DesireIAS.com

I. Deindustrialisation—Ruin of Artisans and Handicraftsmen

- **One-Way Free Trade-** Cheap and machine-made imports flooded the Indian market after the Charter Act of 1813 allowing one-way free trade for the British citizens. Tariffs of nearly 80 per cent were imposed on Indian textiles so that Indian cloth could no longer be cheap.
- **No Steps towards Modern Industrialisation-**The loss of traditional livelihood was not accompanied by a process of industrialisation in India
- **Ruralisation-** The feature of deindustrialisation was the decline of many cities and a process of ruralisation of India

II. Impoverishment of Peasantry-Transferability of land was one feature of the new settlement which caused great insecurity to the tenants who lost all their traditional rights in land. The peasant turned out to be the ultimate sufferer under the triple burden of the Government, zamindar and moneylender.

III. Emergence of Intermediaries, Absentee Landlordism, Ruin of Old Zamindars-The new zamindars, with increased powers but with little or no avenues for new investments, resorted to land grabbing and sub-infeudation. Increase in number of intermediaries to be paid gave rise to absentee landlordism and increased the burden on the peasant.

IV. Stagnation and Deterioration of Agriculture- The cultivator had neither the means nor any incentive to invest in agriculture.

V. Famine and Poverty-Regular recurrence of famines became a common feature of daily existence in India.

VI. Commercialisation of Indian Agriculture- Commercial crops like cotton, jute, groundnut, oilseeds, sugarcane, tobacco, etc., were more remunerative than food grains. Again, the cultivation of crops like condiments, spices, fruits and vegetables could cater to a wider market. The commercialisation trend reached the highest level of development in the plantation sector, i.e., in tea, coffee, rubber, indigo, etc., which was mostly owned by Europeans and the produce was for sale in a wider market.

VII. Destruction of Industry and Late Development of Modern Industry

- Indian industry was steadily destroyed. The destruction of textile competition of India is a glaring example of the deindustrialization of India.
- A thriving ship-building industry was crushed. Surat and Malabar on the western coast and Bengal and Masulipatnam on the eastern coast were known for their ship-building industries.
- Indian traders, moneylenders and bankers had amassed some wealth as junior partners of English merchant capitalists in India. Their role fitted in the British scheme of colonial exploitation. The Indian moneylender provided loans to hardpressed agriculturists and thus facilitated the state collection of revenue.
- The first cotton textile mill was set up in 1853 in Bombay by Cowasjee Nanabhoy and the first jute mill came up in 1855 in Rishra (Bengal). The industrial development was characterised by a lopsided pattern—core and heavy industries and power generation were neglected and some regions were favoured more than the others—causing regional disparities

VIII. Nationalist Critique of Colonial Economy-

- Dadabhai Naoroji, the 'Grand Old Man of India', who after a brilliant analysis of the colonial economy put forward the theory of economic drain in *Poverty and UnBritish Rule in India.*
- The essence of nineteenth century colonialism, they said, lay in the transformation of India into a supplier of foodstuffs and raw-materials to the metropolis, a market for metropolitan manufacturers and a field for investment of British capital.

- **British Policies Making India Poor-** The problem of poverty was seen as a problem of raising productive capacity and energy of the people or as a problem of national development, thus making poverty a national issue.
- **Growth of Trade and Railways to Help Britain-**The development of railways, they argued, was not coordinated with India's industrial needs and it ushered in a commercial rather than an industrial revolution. The net effect of the railways was to enable foreign goods to outsell indigenous products.
- **One-Way Free Trade and Tariff Policy-**The nationalists claimed that one-way free trade was ruining Indian handicrafts industry, exposing it to premature, unequal and unfair competition
- **Effect of Economic Drain-**According to nationalist estimates, the economic drain at that time was—
  a) more than the total land revenue, or
  b) half the total government revenue, or
  c) one third of the total savings

IX. Economic Issue a Stimulant to National Unrest-

The nationalist agitation on economic issues served to undermine the ideological hegemony of alien rulers over Indian minds that the foreign rule was in the interest of Indians, thus exposing the myth of its moral foundations.

X. Stages of Colonialism in India

- **First Stage**
  a) The Period of Merchant Capital (Mercantilism), often described as the Period of Monopoly Trade and DirectAppropriation (or the Period of East India Company's Domination, 1757-1813), was based on two basic objectives— (i) to acquire a monopoly of trade with India, against other English or European merchants or trading companies as well as against the Indian merchants; (ii) to directly appropriate or take over governmental revenues through control over State power.
  b) The only changes made were: (i) in military organisation and technology which native rulers were also introducing in their armed forces, and (ii) in administration at the top of the structure of revenue collection so that it could become more efficient and smooth.
  c) In this phase there was large scale drain of wealth from India which constituted 2-3 per cent of Britain's national income at the time.
- **Second Stage -**Owing to its mode of exploitation being trade, this stage is also termed as Colonialism of Free Trade. In this phase the following dominant features were visible:
  a) India's colonial economy was integrated with the British and world capitalist economy.
  b) Free entry was also granted to the British capitalists to develop tea, coffee and indigo plantations, trade, transport, mining and modern industries in India.
  c) The Permanent Settlement and the Ryotwari system in agriculture were introduced to transform traditional agrarian structure into a capitalist one.
  d) Administration was made more comprehensive and included villages and outlying areas of the country.
  e) Personal law was largely left untouched since it did not affect colonial transformation of the economy.
  f) Modern education was introduced to provide cheap manpower to the vastly expanded administration. It was also aimed at transforming India's society and culture for two reasons: (a) create an overall atmosphere of change and development and, (b) give birth to a culture of loyalty to the rulers.
  g) The taxation and the burden on peasant rose sharply due to economic transformation and costly administration (civil as well as military).
  h) India absorbed 10 to 12 per cent of British exports and nearly 20 per cent of Britain's textile exports.
  i) Indian army was used for British expansion of colonialism in Asia and Africa.

- **Third Stage-**The third stage is often described as the Era of Foreign Investments and International Competition for Colonies. These changes were as follows.
  a) Britain's industrial supremacy was challenged by several countries of Europe, the United States and Japan.
  b) As a result of the application of scientific knowledge to industry, the pace of industrialisation increased sharply.

The British thus tried to justify their rule over Indians for centuries to come—all in the name of civilising a barbaric people—"the White Man's burden".

CHAPTER-29
Development of Indian Press
SHORT NOTES (PRELIMS + MAINS)
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- James Augustus Hickey in 1780 started *The Bengal Gazette* or *Calcutta General Advertiser,* the first newspaper in India, which was seized in 1872. More newspapers/journals came up—*The Bengal Journal, The Calcutta Chronicle, The Madras Courier, The Bombay Herald.*
- **Early Regulations**
  a) **Censorship of Press Act, 1799-**Lord Wellesley enacted this, anticipating French invasion of India. It imposed almost wartime press restrictions including pre-censorship.
  b) **Licensing Regulations, 1823-**The acting governor-general, John Adams, who had reactionary views, enacted these. According to these regulations, starting or using a press without licence was a penal offence. Rammohan Roy's *Mirat-ul-Akbar* had to stop publication.
  c) **Press Act of 1835 or Metcalfe Act-**Metcalfe (governor-general—1835-36*)* repealed the obnoxious 1823 ordinanceThe new Press Act (1835) required a printer/publisher to give a precise account of premises of a publication
  d) **Licensing Act, 1857-**Due to the emergency caused by the 1857 revolt, this Act imposed licensing restrictions
  e) **Registration Act, 1867-**This replaced Metcalfe's Act of 1835 and was of a regulatory, not restrictive, nature. As per the Act, (i) every book/ newspaper was required to print the name of the printer and the publisher and the place of the publication*;* and (ii) a copy was to be submitted to the local government within one month of the publication of a book.
- **Struggle by Early Nationalists to Secure Press Freedom-** Raja Rammohan Roy had protested against a resolution restricting the freedom of the press.
  - ✓ The Hindu and Swadesamitran - G. Subramaniya Aiyar,
  - ✓ The Bengalee -Surendranath Banerjea
  - ✓ Voice of India-Dadabhai Naoroji,
  - ✓ Amrita Bazar Patrika -Sisir Kumar Ghosh and Motilal Ghosh,
  - ✓ Indian Mirror -N.N. Sen,
  - ✓ Kesari (in Marathi) and Maharatta (in English)- Balgangadhar Tilak,
  - ✓ Sudharak - Gopal Krishna Gokhale,
  - ✓ Hindustan and Advocate - G.P. Verma.
  - ✓ Tribune and Akbhar-i-am in Punjab,
  - ✓ Gujarati, Indu Prakash, Dhyan Prakash and Kal in Bombay
  - ✓ Som Prakash, Banganivasi and Sadharani in Bengal.
- **Vernacular Press Act, 1878-**
  a) The Vernacular Press Act (VPA) was designed to 'better control' the vernacular press and effectively punish and repress seditious writing. The provisions of the Act included the following.

- ✓ The district magistrate was empowered to call upon the printer and publisher of any vernacular newspaper to enter into a bond with the government undertaking not to cause disaffection against the government or antipathy between persons of different religions, caste, race through published material; the printer and publisher could also be required to deposit security which could be forefeited if the regulation were contravened, and press equipment could be seized if the offence re-occurred.
- ✓ The magistrate's action was final and no appeal could be made in a court of law.
- ✓ A vernacular newspaper could get exemption from the operation of the Act by submitting proofs to a government censor.

b) The Act came to be nicknamed "the gagging Act". The worst features of this Act were—(i) discrimination between English and vernacular press, (ii) no right of appeal

c) In 1883, **Surendranath Banerjea became the first Indian journalist to be imprisoned**.

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

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

- **During and After the First World War-**

a) In 1921, on the recommendations of a Press Committee chaired by Tej Bahadur Sapru, the Press Acts of 1908 and 1910 were repealed.

b) **Indian Press (Emergency Powers) Act, 1931** This Act gave sweeping powers to provincial governments to suppress propaganda for Civil Disobedience Movement.

- **During the Second World War**-Under the Defence of India Rules, pre-censorship was imposed and amendments made in Press Emergency Act and Official Secrets Act.

CHAPTER-30
Development of Education
SHORT NOTES (PRELIMS + MAINS)

I. Under Company Rule-

- ✓ Calcutta Madrasah was established by Warren Hastings in 1781 for the study of Muslim law and related subjects.
- ✓ Sanskrit College was established by Jonathan Duncan, the resident, at Benaras in 1791 for study of Hindu law and philosophy.
- ✓ Fort William College was set up by Wellesley in 1800 for training of civil servants of the Company in languages and customs of Indians (closed in 1802).
- ✓ **A Humble beginning by Charter Act of 1813**-Efforts of enlightened Indians such as Raja Rammohan Roy bore fruit and a grant was sanctioned for Calcutta College set up in 1817 by educated Bengalis, imparting English education in Western humanities and sciences. The government also set up three Sanskrit colleges at Calcutta, Delhi and Agra.
- ✓ **Orientalist-Anglicist Controversy**-
  - a) Within the General Committee on Public Instruction, the Anglicists argued that the government spending on education should be exclusively for modern studies. The Orientalists said while Western sciences and literature should be taught to prepare students to take up jobs, emphasis should be placed on expansion of traditional Indian learning.
  - b) British planned to educate a small section of upper and middle classes, thus creating a class "Indian in blood and colour but English in tastes, in opinions, in morals and in intellect" who

would act as interpreters between the government and masses and would enrich the vernaculars by which knowledge of Western sciences and literature would reach the masses. This was called the '**downward filtration theory**'.

- ✓ **Efforts of Thomson-**James Thomson, lieutenant-governor of NW Provinces (1843- 53), developed a comprehensive scheme of village education through the medium of vernacular languages.
- ✓ **Wood's Despatch (1854)**
  a) It asked the government of India to assume responsibility for education of the masses, thus repudiating the 'downward filtration theory', at least on paper.
  b) It systematised the hierarchy from vernacular primary schools in villages at bottom, followed by Anglo-Vernacular High Schools and an affiliated college at the district level, and affiliating universities in the presidency towns of Calcutta, Bombay and Madras.
  c) It recommended English as the medium of instruction for higher studies and vernaculars at school level.
  d) It laid stress on female and vocational education, and on teachers' training.
  e) It laid down that the education imparted in government institutions should be secular.
  f) It recommended a system of grants-in-aid to encourage private enterprise.
- ✓ **Developments-**In 1857, universities at Calcutta, Bombay and Madras were set up and later, departments of education were set up in all provinces. The Bethune School founded by J.E.D. Bethune at Calcutta (1849) was the first fruit of a powerful movement for education of women which arose in 1840s and 1850s.

II. After the Crown Took Over

- ✓ **Hunter Education Commission (1882-83)-**The commission—
  a) emphasised that state's special care is required for extension and improvement of primary education, and that primary education should be imparted through vernacular.
  b) recommended transfer of control of primary education to newly set up district and municipal boards.
  c) recommended that secondary (High School) education should have two divisions—
     - ❖ literary—leading up to university.
     - ❖ vocational—for commercial careers.
  d) drew attention to inadequate facilities for female education, especially outside presidency towns and made recommendations for its spread.
  e) More teaching-cum-examining universities were set up like the Punjab University (1882) and the Allahabad University (1887).
- ✓ **Indian Universities Act, 1904-**In 1902, **Raleigh Commission** was set up to go into conditions and prospects of universities in India and to suggest measures for improvement in their constitution and working. Based on its recommendations, the Indian Universities Act was passed in 1904. As per the Act,
  a) universities were to give more attention to study and research;
  b) number of fellows of a university and their period in office were reduced and most fellows were to be nominated by the Government;
  c) Government was to have powers to veto universities' senate regulations and could amend these regulations or pass regulations on its own;
  d) conditions were to be made stricter for affiliation of private colleges; and
  e) five lakh rupees were to be sanctioned per annum for five years for improvement of higher education and universities.
- ✓ **Government Resolution on Education Policy—1913-**In 1906, the progressive state of Baroda introduced compulsory primary education throughout its territories. In its 1913 Resolution on Education Policy, the government refused to take up the responsibility of compulsory education, but

accepted the policy of removal of illiteracy and urged provincial governments to take early steps to provide free elementary education to the poorer and more backward sections.

- ✓ **Saddler University Commission (1917-19)** The commission was set up to study and report on problems of Calcutta University but its recommendations were applicable more or less to other universities also. Its observations were as follows:
    a) School course should cover 12 years. Students should enter university after an intermediate stage (rather than matric) for a three-year degree course in university. This was done to
        - ❖ prepare students for university stage;
        - ❖ relieve universities of a large number of below university standard students; and
        - ❖ provide collegiate education to those not planning to go through university stage.
    b) There should be less rigidity in framing university regulations.
    c) A university should function as centralised, unitary residential-teaching autonomous body, rather than as scattered, affiliated colleges.
    d) Female education, applied scientific and technological education, teachers' training including those for professional and vocational colleges should be extended.
- ✓ **Education Under Dyarchy-** Under Montagu-Chelmsford reforms education was shifted to provincial ministries and the government stopped taking direct interest in educational matters
- ✓ **Hartog Committee (1929)**- Its main recommendations were as follows.
    a) Emphasis should be given to primary education but there need be no hasty expansion or compulsion in education.
    b) Only deserving students should go in for high school and intermediate stage, while average students should be diverted to vocational courses after VIII standard.
    c) For improvements in standards of university education, admissions should be restricted.
- ✓ **Sergeant Plan of Education-**The Sergeant Plan (Sergeant was the educational advisor to the Government) was worked out by the Central Advisory Board of Education in 1944. It recommended—
    a) pre-primary education for 3-6 years age group; free, universal and compulsory elementary education for 6-11 years age group; high school education for 11- 17 years age group for selected children, and a university course of 3 years after higher secondary; high schools to be of two types: (i) academic and (ii) technical and vocational.
    b) adequate technical, commercial and arts education.
    c) abolition of intermediate course.
    d) liquidation of adult illiteracy in 20 years.
    e) stress on teachers' training, physical education, education for the physically and mentally handicapped.

III. Development of Vernacular Education-

- ✓ **1835, 1836, 1838** : William Adam's reports on vernacular education in Bengal and Bihar pointed out defects in the system of vernacular education.
- ✓ **1843-53** : James Jonathan's experiments in North-West Provinces (UP),included opening one government school as model school in each tehsildari and a normal school for teachers' training for vernacular schools.
- ✓ **1853** : In a famous minute, Lord Dalhousie expressed strong opinion in favour of vernacular education.
- ✓ **1854** : Wood's Despatch made the following provisions for vernacular education:
    a) Improvement of standards
    b) Supervision by government agency
    c) Normal schools to train teachers
- ✓ **1854-71** : The government paid some attention to secondary and vernacular education. The number of vernacular schools increased by more than five-fold.

- ✓ **1882** : The Hunter Commission held that State should make special efforts for extension and improvement of vernacular education. Mass education was to be seen as instructing masses through vernaculars.
- ✓ **1904** : Education policy put special emphasis on vernacular education and increased grants for it.
- ✓ **1929** : Hartog Committee presented a gloomy picture of primary education.
- ✓ **1937** : These schools received encouragement from Congress ministries.

IV. Development of Technical Education-

Engineering College at Roorkee was set up in 1847,Calcutta College of Engineering came up in 1856.

V. Evaluation of British Policy on Education-

- ✓ Even the inadequate measures the government took for the expansion of modern education were guided by concerns other than philanthropic. The government measures for promotion of education were influenced by—
  - a) agitation in favour of modern education by enlightened Indians, Christian missionaries and humanitarian officials;
  - b) need to ensure a cheap supply of educated Indians to man an increasing number of subordinate posts in administration and in British business concerns
  - c) hope that educated Indians would help expand market for British manufactures in India;
  - d) an expectation that Western education would reconcile Indians to British rule, particularly as it glorified British conquerors and their administration.
- ✓ Traditional system of Indian learning gradually declined for want of support
- ✓ Mass education was neglected leading to widespread illiteracy (1911—84 per cent and in 1921—92 per cent) which created a wide linguistic and cultural gulf between the educated few and the masses.
- ✓ Since education was to be paid for, it became a monopoly of upper and richer classes and city dwellers.
- ✓ There was an almost total neglect of women's education because (i) the Government did not want to arouse wrath of orthodox sections; and (ii) it had no immediate utility for the colonial rule.
- ✓ Scientific and technical education was by and large neglected.

CHAPTER-31
Peasant Movements 1857-1947

I. Peasantry Under Colonialism- peasants suffered from high rents, illegal levies, arbitrary evictions and unpaid labour in zamindari areas. In Ryotwari areas, the government itself levied heavy land revenue.

II. A Survey of Early Peasant Movements

- **Indigo Revolt (1859-60)**-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.
- Government appointed an indigo commission to inquire into the problem of indigo cultivation. **Pabna Agrarian Leagues**-Large parts of Eastern Bengal witnessed agrarian unrest caused by oppressive practices of the zamindars.

✓ zamindars resorted to enhanced rents beyond legal limits and prevented the tenants from acquiring occupancy rights under Act X of 1859.

- **Deccan Riots-** ryots of Deccan region of western India suffered heavy taxation under the Ryotwari system. The conditions had worsened due to a crash in cotton prices after the end of the American Civil War in 1864, the Government's decision to raise the land revenue by 50% in 1867, and a succession of bad harvests.

III. Changed Nature of Peasant Movements after 1857

- ✓ Peasants emerged as the main force in agrarian movements, fighting directly for their own demands.
- ✓ demands were centred almost wholly on economic issues.
- ✓ movements were directed against the immediate enemies of the peasant—foreign planters and indigenous zamindars and moneylenders.
- ✓ struggles were directed towards specific and limited objectives and redressal of particular grievances.
- ✓ Colonialism was not the target of these movements.
- ✓ It was not the objective of these movements to end the system of subordination or exploitation of the peasants.
- ✓ Territorial reach was limited.
- ✓ There was no continuity of struggle or long-term organisation.
- ✓ peasants developed a strong awareness of their legal rights and asserted them in and outside the courts.

IV. Weaknesses

- a lack of an adequate understanding of colonialism.
- 19th-century peasants did not possess a new ideology and a new social, economic and political programme.
- These struggles, however militant, occurred within the framework of the old societal order lacking a positive conception of an alternative society

V. Later Movements

- **The Kisan Sabha Movement-**
- was set up in 1918 by Gauri Shankar Mishra and Indra Narayan Dwivedi. districts of Rai Bareilly, Faizabad and Sultanpur.
- movement declined soon, partly due to government repression and partly because of the passing of the Awadh Rent (Amendment) Act.
- **Eka Movement**

a) issues involved were:

- ✓ (i) high rents—50 per cent higher than the recorded rates; (ii) oppression of *thikadars* in charge of revenue collection; and (iii) practice of share-rents.

b) meetings of the Eka or the Unity Movement involved a symbolic religious ritual in which the assembled peasants vowed that they would

- ✓ pay only the recorded rent but would pay it on time;
- ✓ not leave when evicted;
- ✓ refuse to do forced labour;
- ✓ give no help to criminals;
- ✓ abide by panchayat decisions.

- **Mappila Revolt-** Mappilas were the Muslim tenants inhabiting the Malabar region. The communalisation of the rebellion completed the isolation of the Mappilas from the Khilafat-Non-Cooperation Movement. By December 1921, all resistance had come to a stop.
- **Bardoli Satyagraha-** Bardoli *taluqa* in Surat district had witnessed intense politicisation after the coming of Gandhi on the national political scene.

- ✓ movement sparked off in January 1926 when the authorities decided to increase the land revenue by 30 per cent.

- women of Bardoli gaveVallabhbhai Patelthe title of “Sardar”. In February 1926, Vallabhbhai Patel was called to lead the movement.
- **The All India Kisan Congress/Sabha-**This sabha was founded in Lucknow in April 1936 with Swami Sahjanand Saraswati as the president and N.G. Ranga as the general secretary.
- **Under Congress Ministries-**The period 1937-39 was the high watermark of the peasant movements and activity under the Congress provincial rule.

VI. Peasant Activity in Provinces

- **Kerala-**One significant campaign by the peasants was in 1938 for the amendment of the Malabar Tenancy Act, 1929.
- **Andhra-**This region had already witnessed a decline in the prestige of zamindars after their defeat by Congressmen in elections. Anti-zamindar movements were going on in some places.
- **Bihar-** Provincial Kisan Sabha developed a rift with the Congress over the '*bakasht* land' issue because of an unfavourable government resolution which was not acceptable to the sabha. The movement died out by August 1939.
- **Punjab-** A new direction to the movement was given by the Punjab Kisan Committee in 1937. The main targets of the movement were the landlords of western Punjab who dominated the unionist ministry.

✓ Peasant activity was also organised in Bengal (Burdwan and 24 Parganas), Assam (Surma Valley), Orissa, Central Provinces and NWFP.

- **During the War-** Because of a pro-War line adopted by the communists, the AIKS was split on communist and non-communist lines
- **Post-War Phase**
  a) **Tebhaga Movement** - storm centre of the movement was north Bengal, principally among Rajbanshis—a low caste of tribal origin. Muslims also participated in large numbers.
  b) **Telangana Movement-** This was the biggest peasant guerrilla war of modern Indian history affecting 3000 villages and 3 million population. The Telangana movement had many positive achievement to its credit.
     - ✓ In the villages controlled by guerrillas, *vethi* and forced labour disappeared.
     - ✓ Agricultural wages were raised.
     - ✓ Illegally seized lands were restored.
     - ✓ Steps were taken to fix ceilings and redistribute lands.
     - ✓ Measures were taken to improve irrigation and fight cholera.
     - ✓ An improvement in the condition of women was witnessed.

VII. The autocratic-feudal regime of India's biggest princely state was shaken up, clearing the way for the formation of Andhra Pradesh on linguistic lines.

VIII. **Balance-Sheet of Peasant Movements-** These movements created an atmosphere for post independence agrarian reforms

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CHAPTER-32
The Movement of the Working Class
SHORT NOTES (PRELIMS + MAINS)
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I. Early Efforts-

- early nationalists, especially the Moderates,
  a) were indifferent to the labour's cause;
  b) differentiated between the labour in the Indian owned factories and those in the British-owned factories;
  c) believed that labour legislations would affect the competitive edge enjoyed by the Indian-owned industries;
  d) did not want a division in the movement on the basis of classes;
  e) did not support the Factory Acts of 1881 and 1891 for these reasons.
- **1870** Sasipada Banerjea started a workingmen's club and newspaper *Bharat Shramjeevi*.
- **1878** Sorabjee Shapoorji Bengalee tried to get a bill, providing better working conditions to labour, passed in the Bombay Legislative Council.
- **1880** Narain Meghajee Lokhanday started the newspaper *Deenbandhu* and set up the Bombay Mill and Millhands Association.
- **1899** The first strike by the Great Indian Peninsular Railways took place, and it got widespread support. Tilak's *Kesari* and *Maharatta* had been campaigning for the strike for months.

II. During Swadeshi Upsurge-Workers participated in wider political issues.

III. During the First World War and After-

- **The AITUC-**The All India Trade Union Congress was founded on October 31, 1920. Lajpat Rai was the first to link capitalism with imperialism— "imperialism and militarism are the twin children of capitalism".
- **The Trade Union Act, 1926-**The Trade Union Act, 1926
  a) recognised trade unions as legal associations;
  b) laid down conditions for registration and regulation of trade union activities;
  c) secured immunity, both civil and criminal, for trade unions from prosecution for legitimate activities, but put some restrictions on their political activities.
- **Late 1920s-**The TDA,1929
  a) made compulsory the appointment of Courts of Inquiry and Consultation Boards for settling industrial disputes;
  b) made illegal the strikes in public utility services like posts, railways, water and electricity, unless each individual worker planning to go on strike gave an advance notice of one month to the administration;
  c) forbade trade union activity of coercive or purely political nature and even sympathetic strikes.
- **Meerut Conspiracy Case (1929)**
- **Under Congress Ministries-**During the 1937 elections, the AITUC had supported the Congress candidates.

IV. During and After the Second World War-Initially, the workers opposed the War but after 1941 when Russia joined the war on behalf of the Allies

V. After Independence-The working class movement got polarised on the basis of political ideologies.

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CHAPTER-33
Challenges Before the New-born Nation
SHORT NOTES (PRELIMS + MAINS)

I. First Day of Independent India-

- On August 15, 1947, Jawaharlal Nehru, as Prime Minister of India, hoisted the Indian national flag above the Lahori Gate of Red Fort in Delhi.
- **First Cabinet After Independence-**Independent India, however, had to face several challenges- **Immediate Challenges, Medium Term Challenges and Long Term Challenges.**
- Independence Act had laid the procedure for the resolution of three major problems—

✓ (i) the settlement of boundaries between the two nations;
✓ (ii) the division of apparatus and personnel of Indian Civil Services and some other services
✓ (iii) division of military assets and formations.

II. Radcliffe's Boundary Award and the Communal Riots-

- West Punjab which went to Pakistan received 62,000 square miles of territory and 15.7 million people (census 1941), of whom 11.85 million were Muslims. (Numbers not important, just analysis number yourself only)
- East Punjab (India's share) received 37,000 square miles of land area, with a population of 12.6 million, of whom 4.37 million were Muslims.
- West Bengal became part of India with a territory of 28,000 square miles, and a population of 21.2 million, of whom 5.3 million were Muslims
- East Bengal, which constituted East Pakistan, got 49,400 square miles of territory and 39.10 million people

- **Challenges before the Boundary Commission-** Boundary Commission consisted of two Muslims and two non-Muslim judges in each case, and worked under serious constraints.
- **Regions Most Affected by Riots-** regions through which the Radcliffe line was drawn became most violent and maximum number of murders, rapes and abduction of women and children took place.

III. Challenges Associated with Division of Resources-

- **Division of Civil Government-**To resolve the division of civil government amicably, a partition council, presided over by the governor-general and consisting of two representatives each of India and Pakistan, was set up. All civil servants were offered to give their option about the Dominion they wanted to serve.
- **Division of Finances-** Pakistan wanted a one-fourth share of the total cash balances, but India had to point out that only a small portion of the cash balances represented the real cash needs of the undivided India and the rest was maintained only as an anti-inflationary mechanism.
- **Division of Defence Personnel and Equipment-**For a smooth division of the armed forces and their plants, machinery, equipment and stores, a joint defence council, headed by Auchinleck as its Supreme Commander, was set up. the British troops started to leave India from August 17, 1947 and the process was completed by February 1948.

IV. Assassination of Gandhi-
On the evening of January 30, 1948, as he carried on his usual prayer meeting at Birla mansion (New Delhi), Mahatma Gandhi was shot dead by Nathuram Godse. Communalism and misinterpretation of nationalism were two fundamental factors under whose influence Godse killed Gandhi.

V. Rehabilitation and Resettlement of Refugees-

- people displaced by partition were 'refugees' in the sense that they had not left their homes voluntarily. Indian government established an emergency committee of the cabinet to deal with the crisis in Delhi, and a Ministry of Relief and Rehabilitation to look after the refugees.

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- **East Punjab**-For urban refugees, the government started industrial and vocational training schemes, and even grants were given to start small businesses or industries. rural refugees were given land, agricultural loans and housing subsidies.
- **Bengal**-problem was much more prolonged and complicated in Bengal.
- **Delhi Pact on Minorities**-To resolve the problems of refugees and restore communal peace in the two countries, especially in Bengal (East Pakistan as well as West Bengal), the Indian prime minister, Jawaharlal Nehru and the Pakistani prime minister, Liaquat Ali Khan, signed an agreement on April 8, 1950.

- The agreement, known as the Delhi Pact on Minorities or Liaquat- Nehru Pact, envisaged the appointment of ministers from minority communities in both Pakistan and India at both central and provincial levels. Under the pact, minority commissions were to be set up, together with the Commissions of Inquiry to look into the probable causes behind the communal riots on both sides of border
  - **Centres of Refugee Settlements in India**-In Delhi, Lajpat Nagar, Rajinder Nagar (All coaching wala shop here ☺), Punjabi Bagh, Nizamuddin East and Kingsway Camp were some areas developed into housing complexes to settle the refugees permanently.
  - **Communists and Independence**-In December 1947, the Communist Party of India (CPI) had denounced the Indian independence as 'fake' The Communist insurgency spread to other parts of India especially in West Bengal which saw the revival of the Tebhaga Movement and an urban insurgency in Calcutta.
  - **Why Communists were Skeptical about Independence?**
    a) They believed that a policy of class struggle and armed insurgency against the State run by the Congress, alleged as collaborationist bourgeoisie, was necessary to shift the attention of the masses from the politics of communal hatred that shrouded the country after partition.
    b) late 1940s and the early 1950s witnessed communist successes in Asian countries like China, Malaya, Indonesia, the Philippines and Burma (Myanmar).
    c) According to Ramachandra Guha, the CPI leadership, encouraged by the initial successes of the Telangana movement, misconceived the 'scattered disillusionment with the Congress as revolutionary potential, and thought this as the 'beginning of Red India'.
  - **Shift from Antagonistic Strategy to Constitutional Democracy**-communist movement remained localised in Hyderabad and West Bengal.
- The government also decided to take stern action; while in the Hyderabad region the Indian armed forces continued its 'police action', in West Bengal the CPI was banned in March 1948 and in January, a security act was passed to imprison the communist leaders without trial.
- decided to withdraw the Telangana movement and forge an inclusive front of the peasants, workers and middle classes.

CHAPTER-34
The Indian States
SHORT NOTES (PRELIMS + MAINS)

I. **The Company's Struggle for Equality from a Position of Subordination (1740-1765)-** Starting with Anglo-French rivalry with the coming of Dupleix in 1751, East India Company asserted political identity with capture of Arcot (1751).
- ✓ With Battle of Plassey in 1757, East India Company acquired political power next only to the Bengal nawabs.
- ✓ In 1765 with the acquisition of the Diwani of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, the East India Company became a significant political power.

II. **Policy of Ring Fence (1765-1813)-**This policy was reflected in Warren Hastings' wars against the Marathas and Mysore.
- ✓ Wellesley's policy of subsidiary alliance was an extension of ring fence—which sought to reduce states to a position of dependence on British Government in India.

III. **Policy of Subordinate Isolation (1813-1857)-**states surrendered all forms of external sovereignty but retained sovereignty in internal administration.
- ✓ British Residents were transformed from diplomatic agents of a foreign power to executive and controlling officers of a superior government.
- ✓ This policy of annexation culminated in usurpation of eight states by Dalhousie

IV. **Policy of Subordinate Union (1857-1935)-**
- ✓ year 1858 saw the assumption of direct responsibility by the Crown.
- ✓ After 1858, the fiction of authority of the Mughal emperor ended; sanction for all matters of succession was required from the Crown since the Crown stood forth as the unquestioned ruler and the paramount power.

Curzon's Approach-Curzon stretched the interpretation of old treaties to mean that the princes, in their capacity as servants of people, were supposed to work side-by-side with the governor-general in the scheme of Indian government.

Post-1905-According to the recommendations of the Montford Reforms (1921), a Chamber of Princes (Narendra Mandal) was set up as a consultative and advisory body having no say in the internal affairs of individual states and having no powers to discuss matters For the purpose of the chamber the Indian states were divided into three categories—

- 1. Directly represented—109
- 2. Represented through representatives—127
- 3. Recognised as feudal holdings or *jagirs.*

Butler Committee- Butler Committee (1927) was set up to examine the nature of relationship between the princely states and government. It gave the following recommendations—

- 1. Paramountcy must remain supreme and must fulfil its obligations, adopting and defining itself according to the shifting necessities of time and progressive development of states.
- 2. States should not be handed over to an Indian Government in British India, responsible to an Indian legislature, without the consent of states.

V. **Policy of Equal Federation (1935-1947): A Non-Starter-**The Government of India Act, 1935 proposed a Federal Assembly with 125 out of 375 seats for the princes and the Council of States with 104 out of 160 seats for the princes.

VI. **Integration and Merger**

After World War II began and a position of non-cooperation was adopted by the Congress, the British government tried to break the deadlock through the Cripps Mission (1942), Wavell Plan (1945), Cabinet Mission (1946) and Attlee's statement (February 1947).

Sardar Patel, who was in charge of the states' ministry in the interim cabinet, helped by V.P. Menon, the secretary in the ministry, appealed to the patriotic feeling of rulers to join the Indian dominion in matters of defence, communication and external affairs. By August 15, 1947, 136 states had joined the Indian Union but others remained precariously outside.

Plebiscite and Army Action
- ✓ **Junagarh-**Muslim Nawab wanted to join Pakistan but a Hindu majority population wanted to join the Indian Union.
- ✓ **Hyderabad-**Hyderabad wanted a sovereign status. It signed a Standstill Agreement with India in November 1947.
- ✓ **Kashmir-** state of Jammu and Kashmir had a Hindu prince and a Muslim majority population. prince envisaged a sovereign status for the state and was reluctant to accede to either of the

dominions. special status of Jammu and Kashmir was recognised under Article 370 of the Indian Constitution which implied a limited jurisdiction of the Indian Union over the state as compared to other states.

- **Gradual Integration-**

- problem now was two-fold—
  - ✓ (i) of transforming the states into viable administrative units
  - ✓ (ii) of absorbing them into the constitutional units.
    - **This was sought to be solved by—**
      1. incorporating smaller states (216 such states) into contiguous provinces and listed in Part A; for instance, 39 states of Orissa and Chhattisgarh were incorporated into Central Provinces, Orissa. Gujarat states were incorporated into Bombay;
      2. making some states as centrally administered for strategic or special reasons, listed in Part-C (61 states)— Himachal Pradesh, Vindhya Pradesh, Manipur, Tripura, Bhopal, etc.;
      3. creating five unions—United States of Kathiawar, United States of Matsya, Patiala and East Punjab States Union, Rajasthan, and United States of Travancore-Cochin (later Kerala).

CHAPTER-35

Making of the Constitution for India

SHORT NOTES (PRELIMS + MAINS)

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- Indian Constitution, which came into effect on January 26, 1950, has the distinction of being the longest in the world in terms of its length, content and complexity owing to country's size and diversity.

I. Background

- Constitution of India was framed between December 1946 and December 1949, its roots deep lie in the Indian national movement against the colonial rule as well as in the movements for responsible and constitutional government in the princely states.
- In the modern sense, there appeared the Constitution of India Bill, also known as the Home Rule Bill in 1895, which envisaged basic human rights. The Bill had its first reading in the House of Commons in December 1925.
- After the Non-Cooperation Movement, Motilal Nehru in February 1924 introduced in the Central Legislative Assembly a resolution that gave due regard to minority rights and interests and came to be known as the **National Demand**.
- Nehru Report, submitted on August 1928, was an outline of a draft constitution for India. The idea that India's Constitution should be framed via a Constituent Assembly elected for this very purpose and based on widest possible franchise gained support.
- Although, M.N. Roy had made such a suggestion earlier, Jawaharlal Nehru was the first national leader to enunciate the idea in 1933.
- In September 1945, the newly elected Labour government in England announced that it planned to create a constituent assembly in India. On March 15, 1946, the **Cabinet Mission** came to India and, in the course of its stay, recommended the forming of (a) the Constituent Assembly, and (b) an interim government.

II. Constituent Assembly

- **Formation-**It was decided that the Constituent Assembly was to be elected indirectly by the Provincial Assemblies. They were to be elected by the representatives of each community in their

respective legislative assemblies by the method of proportional representation with single transferable vote.

- ✓ Constituent Assembly opened on December 9, 1946 in the Constitution Hall—now the Central Hall of Parliament House at New Delhi. Jawaharlal Nehru moved the historic Objectives Resolution on 13 December1946.

- **Two Constituent Assemblies: India and Pakistan-**On June 26, 1947, Lord Mountbatten, the Governor-General, announced the setting up of a separate Constituent Assembly for Pakistan.
  - ✓ Indian Independence Act, 1947, passed with surprising speed, came into force on July 18, 1947.
  - ✓ Indian Independence Act, 1947 declared the Constituent Assembly of India to be a fully sovereign body and on the midnight of August 14-15, 1947, the Assembly assumed full powers of the governance of the country.
- **Evaluation of the Assembly for India-**Constituent Assembly was indirectly elected by the provincial assemblies which themselves were elected on the basis of a limited franchise established by the Government of India Act of 1935.
  - ✓ **After Independence-**Now the work of Constituent Assembly was organised into five stages: **first**—committees were required to present reports on basic issues;
  - ✓ **second**—Benegal Narsing Rau prepared an initial draft on the basis of the reports of these committees and on his own research into the constitutions of other countries;
  - ✓ **third**—the drafting committee, under the chairmanship of Dr B.R. Ambedkar, presented a detailed draft constitution which was published for public discussion and comments,
  - ✓ **fourth**—draft constitution was debated and amendments proposed;
  - ✓ **fifth**—Constitution of India was adopted.
- **Work : Committees and Consensus-**
  a) When the Constituent Assembly first met on December 9, 1946, J.B. Kripalani, the then Congress president, proposed the name of Dr Sachhidanand Sinha, the oldest member of the Assembly, for the post of the provisional president. Later, on December 11, Dr Rajendra Prasad was elected as the President of the Constituent Assembly.
  b) In the light of their comments and criticism, the Drafting Committee prepared a second draft which consisted of 315 Articles and 9 Schedules. This second draft was placed before the Constituent Assembly on February 21, 1948. The draft was then considered clause by clause by the Assembly. The third reading commenced on November 14 and was finished on November 26, 1949.
  c) Preamble was adopted last. It had taken 2 years, 11 months and 18 days to complete the task. As many as 7000 odd amendments had been proposed and nearly 2500 were actually discussed before the draft constitution was accepted.
  d) On November 26, 1949, the people of India in the Constituent Assembly adopted, enacted and gave to themselves the Constitution of the Sovereign Democratic Republic of India. Dr Rajendra Prasad as president of the assembly signed the document. The members of the Constituent Assembly appended their signatures to it on January 24, 1950—the last day of the Assembly. In all, 284 members actually signed the Constitution.
  e) Constituent Assembly, besides drafting the Constitution of India, adopted the National Flag on July 22, 1947, and adopted the National Anthem and National Song on January 24, 1950—the last day of its session.

- At independence, India was a member of 51 international organisations and a signatory to 600 odd treaties.
- In the 1920s, it was a founding member of the League of Nations, the International Labour Organisation, and the International Court of Justice.
- It participated in the Washington Conference on Naval Armaments in 1921-22.

1880 to First World War: Anti- Imperialism and Pan-Asian Feeling

a) British undertook a number of expansionist expeditions which were opposed by the nationalists. These expeditions included—
   - ✓ Second Afghan War (1878-80);
   - ✓ dispatch of troops by England in 1882, to suppress the nationalist uprising by Col. Arabi in Egypt;
   - ✓ annexation of Burma in 1885;
   - ✓ invasion of Tibet under Curzon in 1903; and
   - ✓ a number of annexations during the 1890s in the north-west to stop the Russian advance. The nationalists supported the tribal resistance to these adventures by the British.

b) So, the emerging themes during 1880-1914 were—
   - ✓ solidarity with other colonies fighting for freedom, such as Russia, Ireland, Egypt, Turkey, Ethiopia, Sudan, Burma and Afghanistan;
   - ✓ pan-Asian feeling reflected in—
     i. condemnation of annexation of Burma in 1885,
     ii. inspiration from Japan as an example of industrial development,
     iii. condemnation of the participation of Japan in the international suppression of the I-Ho-Tuan uprising (1895),
     iv. condemnation of the imperialist efforts to divide China,
     v. defeat of the Czarist Russia by Japan which exploded the myth of European superiority,
     vi. Congress support for Burma's freedom.

World War I-In 1925, the Congress condemned the dispatch of Indian Army to suppress the Chinese nationalist army under Sun- Yat-Sen.

1920s and 1930s—Identifying with Socialists- In 1927, Nehru attended the Congress of Oppressed Nationalists at Brussels on behalf of the Indian National Congress.

After 1936—Anti-Fascism-In 1939, at the Tripuri session, the Congress dissociated itself from the British policy which supported fascism in Europe.

After Independence-

a) Nehru is often called the architect of independent India's foreign policy. In his address to the Constituent Assembly on December 4, 1947, Nehru laid the foundations of India's foreign policy.
b) main challenge to Nehru was to evolve a policy that could help India compete on the world arena with the modern states, and for that, he realised, a drastic socioeconomic and technological transformation of the country was required.
c) His objective was to transform India without becoming dependent on any particular country or group of countries to the extent of losing independence of thought or policy.
d) **Panchsheel and Non-Alignment-**Panchsheel and Non-Alignment are the foundations of India's foreign policy.
   - ✓ **Panchsheel-**It was on April 29, 1954, that Panchsheel, or the Five Principles of Peaceful Co-existence, were first formally enunciated in the Agreement on Trade and Intercourse between the Tibet region of China and India.
   - ✓ The two governments had resolved to enter into the agreement on the basis of five principles, namely,

- (i) Mutual respect for each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty
- (ii) Mutual non-aggression
- (iii) Mutual non-interference
- (iv) Equality and mutual benefit
- (v) Peaceful co-existence.
    - ✓ Panchsheel was incorporated into the Ten Principles of International Peace and Cooperation put forward in the Declaration issued by the April 1955 Bandung Conference of 29 Afro-Asian countries.
    - ✓ And in 1961, the Conference of Non-Aligned Nations in Belgrade accepted Panchsheel as the basic principles at the centre of the Non-Aligned Movement.
    - ✓ **Non-Alignment-** term 'non-alignment' got currency in the post-**Bandung Conference** (1955).
    - ✓ In the conference of non-aligned powers—**the first non-aligned movement or NAM summit**—held in Belgrade in 1961 and attended by 36 Mediterranean and Afro-Asian powers, Jawaharlal Nehru explained the essence of non-alignment.
    - ✓ Non-alignment is the characteristic feature of India's foreign policy.
    - ✓ India was one of the founder-members of NAM.
    - ✓ Non-alignment as one of the principles of India's foreign policy attempts to promote international peace, disarmament and territorial independence.
    - ✓ It aims at democratisation of international relations by putting an end to imperialism and hegemony and establishing a just and equal world order.

CHAPTER-37

First General Elections

SHORT NOTES (PRELIMS + MAINS

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- provisions of the Constitution relating to citizenship and Article 324 (the Election Commission) were brought into force on November 26, 1949, while the rest of the Constitution came into force on January 26, 1950.
- **Groundwork for the Elections**
    a) **The Election Commission-**office of the Election Commission had been set up in a small way on January 25, 1950.
    b) The first Chief Election Commissioner of India was Sukumar Sen, an ICS officer, who assumed office on March 21, 1950.
    c) The Election Commission of India is a permanent constitutional body, established in accordance with the Constitution. Under Article 324, the Election Commission of India has been vested with the power of the superintendence, direction and control of the entire process for conduct of elections
    d) **Legislation for Polls-**first of the measures was the Representation of the People Act, 1950, which provided for the qualifications of voters and matters connected with the preparation and publication of electoral rolls.
- The second legislation was the Representation of the People Act, 1951, which laid down other provisions.
- **Independent India Goes to the Polls for the First Time-**
    a) The elections were held based on universal adult franchise, with all those twenty-one years of age or older having the right to vote.
    b) **Challenges-**Many eligible voters could not be included in the electoral rolls despite much effort on the part of the Election Commission because of
        - (i) ignorance and apathy of the common voter,

- (ii) lack of adequate organisation and experience on the part of the political parties, and
- (iii) inexperience and poor organisation of the governmental machinery in some of the states.

- **Parties in the Fray for the Lok Sabha-**There were 53 political parties participating in the first general elections for the Lok Sabha seats. These included the 14 national parties, according to the report by the Election Commission of India. Besides, there were the independents.
- **Conduct of Elections-** In the first general elections of the nation, there were three types of constituencies. Indelible ink was introduced as a precautionary step. A mark was put on the voter's finger as he/she went in to vote so as to prevent impersonation.

✓ The first-past-the-post system was the mode, so of the many candidates, whoever got the plurality or the largest number of votes would be elected.

- **Results-Lok Sabha-** The Indian National Congress contested 472 seats and won 364, a stupendous majority of the seats to the Lok Sabha.
    - **State Leislatures-** In the state legislature elections, too, the Indian National Congress swept the polls.

CHAPTER-38

Developments under Nehru's Leadership (1947-64)

SHORT NOTES (PRELIMS + MAINS

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I. Political Developments

a) Debate Over National Language-The Language Committee of Constituent Assembly decided that the Hindi in Devanagari script was to be the 'official' language, but transition to Hindi would be gradual. The language issue was further clarified by Parliament in 1963 through the Official Languages Act which stated that Hindi was to become the official language in India from 1965.

b) Linguistic Reorganisation of the States-The Congress in its 1920's session in Nagpur had made efforts to recognise regional linguistic identities and divided India into 21 linguistic units for its organisational set up. In December 1948, to pacify the vocal votaries of linguistic states, the Congress appointed a committee (JVP), with Jawaharlal Nehru, Vallabhbhai Patel and Pattabhi Sitaramayya as its members. Its report which is known as the **JVP Report**—also went against the creation of linguistic states in the interests of national unity. The government conceded the demand for a separate state of Andhra, which finally came into existence on October 1, 1953 with the region being separated from the Tamil speaking Madras state. In November 1956, the States Reorganisation Act was passed which provided for fourteen states and six centrally administered territories

c) Growth of other Political Parties

✓ **The Socialist Party-**Formed in 1934 as Congress Socialist Party (SP), with its own constitution, membership, discipline and ideology, it remained within the Congress Party till March 1948. In September 1952, the CSP merged with the Kisan Mazdoor Praja Party (KMPP) to form a new party—**Praja Socialist Party (PSP)**.

✓ **Praja Socialist Party-** In September 1952, the Socialist Party and the KMPP merged to form Praja Socialist Party (PSP), with J.B. Kripalani as the chairman and Ashoka Mehta as the general secretary. Rammanohar Lohia's approach. Lohia believed in a position of equidistance from both the Congress and the Communists, and supported the organisation of militant mass movements.

✓ **The Communist Party**-The official stand take by the Communist Party of India towards the changing sociopolitical dynamics went through alterations. It first accepted India's independent foreign policy though it still considered the government to be an agent of

imperialism. **Split in CPI**-In 1964, the party got divided into, **CPI**—representing the earlier 'right' and 'centrist' trends, and **CPM** or the Communist Party (Marxist)—representing the earlier 'left' trend.

- ✓ **Bharatiya Jan Sangh**-The Bharatiya Jan Sangh, founded on October 21, 1951, was based on right wing ideology.
- ✓ **The Swatantra Party-** Founded in August 1959, the Swatantra Party was a nonsocialist, constitutionalist and secular conservative party. The social base of the party was narrow and consisted of: (i) a section of industrialists and business class, discontented with government control, quotas and licences and fearful ofnationalisation; (ii) landlords, jagirdars and princes, annoyed due to loss of fiefdoms, social power and status, and deteriorating economic conditions; (iii) ex-landlord-turnedcapitalist farmers and rich and middle peasants, who had welcomed the abolition of landlordism but were fearful of losing part of their land; and (iv) a few retired civil servants.
- ✓ **Communal and Regional Parties**-The Hindu Mahasabha, which was founded in 1915 at Haridwar by Madan Mohan Malaviya, gradually disappeared from the political scene after 1952 and lost its support base to the Bharatiya Jana Sangh. The Muslim League, owing to its association with the demand for Pakistan, lay dormant and many of its leaders joined the Congress Party and other parties. Later, it revived in parts of Tamil Nadu and in Kerala and was to become coalition partners of the Congress, CPI and CPM in coming years. The Akali Dal gave way to Shiromani Akali Dal and remained limited to Punjab.The other regional parties came into prominence

d) **An Undemocratic Deed**-Trouble began with the introduction of the Education Bill which was, in actuality, a progressive measure. Nehru, though he had little objection to the education bill, maintained a neutral front in public. In the end, he succumbed to pressure from within and outside his party and advised the dismissal of the EMS government and imposition of President's Rule in Kerala in July 1959. A democratically elected government was thus, for the first time in independent India, dismissed under emergency powers.

II. Concept of Planning for Economic Development-

a) The **Planning Commission,** an extra-constitutional body, was set up in March 1950 by a simple resolution of the Government of India. The National Development Council (NDC), which was to give final approval to the plans, was established on August 6, 1952.
b) The **First FiveYear Plan** (1951-1956), based on Harrod-Domar model, sought to get the nation's economy out of the cycle of poverty. It addressed, mainly, the agrarian sector including investments in dams and irrigation.
c) The **Second Plan**, drafted under the leadership of P.C. Mahalanobis, stressed on heavy industries.
d) The **Third Plan** was not significantly different from the Second.
e) Under the guidance of Nehru, who believed in 'democratic socialism', India opted for a **'mixed economy'**, i.e., elements from the capitalist model and socialist model were taken and mixed together.

III. Progress of Science and Technology-

To emphasise the value of science and scientific research, Nehru himself assumed the chairmanship of the Council of Scientific and Industrial Research (CSIR). Some of the strides taken in this direction, are given below.

- ✓ In January 1947, to promote self-sustaining, scientific and technological growth, the National Physical Laboratory— India's first national laboratory—was set up; which was followed by the setting up of a network of seventeen national laboratories, focusing on different areas of research.
- ✓ In 1952, the first of the five institutes of technology, patterned after the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, was set up at Kharagpur.

- ✓ The Atomic Energy Commission, headed by Homi J. Bhabha, was set up in August 1948. Nehru personally encouraged Bhabha to do his best. In 1954, the government created a separate Department of Atomic Energy with Homi Bhabha as secretary. In August 1956, India's first nuclear reactor in Trombay (Asia's first also), became critical.
- ✓ In 1962, the Indian National Committee for Space Research (INCOSPAR), together with a Rocket Launching Facility at Thumba (TERLS), was established.
- ✓ Steps were taken to increase India's capacity in production of defence equipment.
- ✓ A change over to decimal coinage and a metric system of weights and measures, in line with international standards, was made in phases between 1955 and 1962.

IV. Social Developments-

a) **Developments in Education-**In 1951 only 16.6 per cent of the total population was literate and the percentage was much lower in rural areas. In 1949, the Indian University Education Commission, under the chairmanship of Dr. S. Radhakrishnan was set up. On the recommendation of the commission, the University Grants Commission (UGC) was set up in 1953, and University Grants Commission Act was passed in 1956. To assist and advise the Central and state governments on academic matters related to school education, the National council of Educational Research and Training (NCERT) was established in September 1961 as a literary, scientific and charitable society.

b) **Social Change Under Nehru-**In 1955, the government passed the Anti-Untouchability Law, making the practice of untouchability punishable and a cognisable offence. For women's equal rights in the society, the Hindu Code Bill was moved in Parliament in 1951.

V. Foreign Policy-

The basic principles of India's foreign policy, during Nehruvian Era, broadly revolved around the premises given below.

a) Disapproval of participation in any military alliance either bilaterally or multilaterally.
b) An independent foreign policy not tied to any of the two contending power blocs, though this was not a synonym for a neutral foreign policy.
c) A policy of friendship with every country, whether of the American bloc or of the Soviet bloc.
d) An active anti-colonial policy which supported decolonisation in Asian-African-Latin American countries.
e) Open support to the policy of anti-apartheid.
f) Promotion of disarmament as the key to world peace.

VI. Relations with Neighbours-

a) India and Pakistan-

- ✓ **Kashmir Issue-**Pakistan refused to accept Kashmir's accession to India on October 26, 1947. In response to the Pakistan-sponsored tribal attack, India, supported by the local population under Sheikh Abdullah, undertook a swift military action. But, unfortunately, before the task of rescuing the territory could be accomplished, a complaint was lodged by Nehru with the Security Council in January 1948. This resulted in a ceasefire on January 1, 1949.
- ✓ **Indus River Water Dispute-**Equitable sharing of the waters of the Indus system had been an issue of discord since partition. The partition gave India 5 million of the 28 million acres of land irrigated by the Indus. So, under the guidance of the World Bank, aninterim agreement on canal waters was signed on April 17, 1959. Subsequently, a comprehensive agreement between the two countries, was signed on September 19, 1960 in Karachi.

b) India and China

- ✓ **Developments in Tibet and Panchsheel-**To maintain peace, Nehru in 1954 concluded an agreement with China, which formalised the Chinese occupation of Tibet. The agreement is popularly known as **Panchsheel**.

- ✓ **Sino-India War, 1962-** In October 1962, China attacked India in NEFA (Arunachal Pradesh) and Ladakh. Thus, a war between the two countries started, which ended in a military debacle for India. The Western powers—the USA as well as Britain—pledged support to India and were already flying arms to India. In November 1962, China made a unilateral declaration of its withdrawal. **Consequences of Sino-Indian War-**(i) The war gave a big blow to the self-respect of India. (ii) The policy of non-alignment came under question. (iii) The Congress lost three parliamentary by-elections in a row and Nehru had to face the first no-confidence motion of his life. (iv) The Third Five-Year Plan was badly affected as resources were diverted for defence. (v) India's foreign policy took a change, as the US and the UK had responded positively in the crisis, they were to be considered in future. US intelligence agencies developed links in the name of countering the Chinese threat and even planted a nuclear-powered device in the Himalayas. (vi) Pakistan, encouraged by the Indian debacle in the war, was to attack India in 1965, covertly helped by China.

c) **India and Nepal-**The geographical location of Nepal has made it inseparable from India from the point of view of India's external security. Being conscious of this factor, India signed a treaty with Nepal in July 1950 by which it recognised Nepal's sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence.

d) **India and Bhutan-**In August 1949, the two countries signed a treaty for perpetual peace and friendship. India undertook to exercise non-interference in the internal administration of Bhutan, while Bhutan agreed to be guided by the advice of government of India in regard to its external relations.

e) **India and Sri Lanka-**The Indian government, considering the ethnic disputes in Sri Lanka to be an internal matter of that country, remained friendly towards Sri Lanka.

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