

**H.H. THE RAJAH'S COLLEGE (AUTO),  
PUDUKKOTTAI - 622001**

**Department of History**

**II MA HISTORY**

**HISTORY OF INDIA FROM 1707 TO 1947 C.E**

**THIRD SEMESTER**

**18PHS7**

## MA HISTORY

**SEMESTER : III**

**SUB CODE : 18PHS7**

**CORE COURSE : CCVIII**

**CREDIT : 5**

### **HISTORY OF INDIA FROM 1707 TO 1947 C.E**

#### **Objectives**

- To understand the colonial hegemony in India
- To Inculcate the knowledge of solidarity shown by Indians against British government
- To know about the social reform sense through the historical process.
- To know the effect of the British rule in India.
- To know the educational developments and introduction of Press in India.
- To understand the industrial and agricultural bases set by the British for further developments

#### **UNIT – I Decline of Mughals and Establishment of British Rule in India**

Sources – Decline of Mughal Empire – Later Mughals – Rise of Marathas – Ascendancy under the Peshwas – Establishment of British Rule – the French and the British rivalry – Mysore – Marathas Confederacy – Punjab Sikhs – Afghans.

#### **UNIT – II Structure of British Raj upto 1857**

Colonial Economy – Rein of Rural Economy – Industrial Development – Zamindari system – Ryotwari – Mahalwari system – Subsidiary Alliances – Policy on Non intervention – Doctrine of Lapse – 1857 Revolt – Re-organization in 1858.

#### **UNIT – III Social and cultural impact of colonial rule**

Social reforms – English Education – Press – Christian Missionaries – Communication – Public services – Viceroyalty – Canning to Curzon.

## **UNIT – IV India towards Freedom**

Phase I 1885-1905 – Policy of mendicancy – Phase II 1905-1919 – Moderates – Extremists – terrorists – Home Rule Movement – Jallianwala Bagh – Phase III 1920-1947 – Gandhian Era – Swaraj party – simon commission – Jinnah’s 14 points – Partition – Independence.

## **UNIT – V Constitutional Development from 1773 to 1947**

Regulating Act of 1773 – Charter Acts – Queen Proclamation – Minto-Morley reforms – Montague Chelmsford reforms – govt. of India Act of 1935 – The Indian Independence Act of 1947.

### **Outcomes**

- Encourage students to do research on national issues
- Study the developments made by the British in India.
- Understand the economic policies carried out in India.
- Develop the skill of viewing the national movement from the Subaltern perspective

### **Books for Reference :**

1. R.Sathianathier : A Political and Cultural History of India Vol-III
2. R.C.Majumdar, Raychoudhury and Datta : Advanced History of India
3. P.E.Robert : History of British India
4. H.H.Sinha : Rise of Peshwas
5. R.C.Dutt : Economic History of India Vol.I
6. Tara Chand : History of the Freedom Movement in India Vol.I
7. Schweinitz : The Rise and Fall of British India

## UNIT -I

# Decline of Mughals and Establishment of British Rule in India

## Sources for the History of Modern India

An abundance of historical material is available for studying India from the mid-18th century to the mid-20th century. In constructing the history of modern India, priority needs to be given to archives. **Archives** refer to a collection of historical records and documents, usually primary source documents, i.e., those documents that have been created as a necessary part of some activity—administrative, legal, social or commercial. They are unique/original documents, not consciously written or created to convey information to a future generation. An important part of archives relating to modern India are the official records, i.e., the papers of government agencies at various levels.

The records of the East India Company provide a detailed account of trading conditions during the period 1600-1857. When the British crown took over the administration it also kept a large variety and volume of official records. These records help historians to trace every important development stage-by-stage and follow the processes of decision-making and the psychology of the policy-makers. The records of the other European East India companies (the Portuguese, Dutch and French) are also useful for constructing the history of the 17th and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries. They are primarily important from the point of view of economic history, but much can be gathered from them about the political set-up as well. There are also many contemporary and semi contemporary works such as memoirs, biographies and travel accounts which give us interesting as well as useful glimpses into the history of the 18th and early 19th centuries. Newspapers and journals made their appearance in the later part of the 18th century, and they provide very valuable information on almost all aspects of the Indian society, especially in the 19th and 20th centuries. Other sources of modern Indian history include oral evidence, creative literature and paintings.

### Archival Materials

There are four categories of official records (i) central government archives, (ii) state government archives, (iii) records of intermediate and subordinate authorities, and (iv) judicial records. Apart from these, there are private archives and archival sources available abroad.

### Central Government Archives

The National Archives of India, located in New Delhi, contains most of the archives of the Government of India. These provide authentic and reliable source materials on varied aspects of modern Indian history. The records with the National Archives come under various groups, representing different branches of the secretariat at different stages of its development. This happened as the work of the East India Company was distributed among various branches—public or general, revenue, political, military, secret,

commercial, judicial, education, etc.—and a separate set of records was kept for each of these branches or departments.

### **Archives of the State Governments**

The source material in the state archives comprise the records of (i) the former British Indian provinces, (ii) the erstwhile princely states which were incorporated in the Indian Union after 1947, and (iii) the foreign administrations other than those of the British. Apart from these, the records of those Indian powers which were taken over by the British, for instance, the archives of the Kingdom of Lahore (popularly known as *Khalsa Darbar* records from 1800 to 1849), are important source material.

### **Archives of Three Presidencies**

The early records of Fort Williams (Bengal Presidency) were lost during the sack of Calcutta in 1756, but the archives of the Bengal presidency after the British victory at Plassey have survived more or less in a complete series, which are partly available in the National Archives of India and partly in the State Archives of West Bengal. The records of the Madras Presidency begin from AD 1670 and include records of the Governor and Council of Fort St. George. In these records there is plenty of information bearing on the rise of the English East India Company as a political power in the south and in the Deccan, including the Anglo-French struggle and the English conflicts with other Indian powers. The archives of Bombay Presidency, housed in the Maharashtra Secretariat Record Office, Mumbai, are extremely useful in studying the history of Western India—Maharashtra, Gujarat, Sindh and the Kannada-speaking districts of the erstwhile Bombay Presidency which were incorporated in Mysore in 1956.

### **Archives of Other European Powers**

The archives related to the Portuguese preserved in Goa, mainly belonging to the period from 1700 to 1900, are valuable for the history of Portuguese possessions in India. The orders and dispatches from Lisbon received in Goa and the responses and reports dispatched from India to Portugal constitute the most significant historical material among the Portuguese archives. The 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 by the French authorities before they relinquished these settlements. The archives of the Danish possessions were also transferred to Copenhagen when the Danes sold Tranquebar and Serampore to the English East India Company in 1845. The remaining Danish records, mainly relating to Tranquebar (1777-1845), are now housed in the Madras Record Office.

## **Judicial Records**

Housed in the Madras Record Office, the archives of the Mayor's Court at Fort St. George, beginning from AD 1689, are the earliest available judicial archives. The pre-Plassey records of the Mayor's Court at Fort Williams have been lost, but those for the years 1757-73 are kept in the record room of the Calcutta High Court, along with the archives of the Supreme Court of Bengal (1774-1861). Similarly, the records of the Mayor's Court at Bombay established in 1728 are available in the Maharashtra Secretariat Record Office which also has the custody of the archives of the Bombay Recorder's Court and the Supreme Court. Apart from containing the proceedings and minutes, this category of records contains copies of wills, probates, and letters of administration which are useful for genealogical studies and for investigations pertaining to the state of society and economic conditions in the respective regions.

## **Published Archives**

The most significant archival publications are the Parliamentary Papers which include many excerpts from the records of the East India Company and the Government of India under the Crown. The reports of the parliamentary select committees; various royal commissions constituted on specific subjects like education, civil reforms and famines, and the parliamentary debates on the Indian empire are indispensable. The proceedings of the Indian and provincial legislatures, the weekly gazettes published by the central and the provincial governments and collections of laws and regulations issued from time to time also serve as useful source material for historical research.

## **Private Archives**

Private archives comprise papers and documents of individuals and families of note, who played a significant role in the development of modern India. The papers of eminent leaders of the nationalist movement and the records of organizations like the Indian National Congress are housed in the Nehru Memorial Museum and Library in New Delhi. The archives of banks, business houses and chambers of commerce are extremely helpful in the study of economic changes.

## **Foreign Repositories**

A vast body of historical material related to the history of modern India is available in the repositories of erstwhile imperialist powers, who ruled in different parts of the Indian subcontinent as well as in some other countries. In England, the India Office Records, London and the records kept in the British Museum are very valuable.

## **Biographies, Memoirs and Travel Accounts**

Many travellers, traders, missionaries and civil servants who came to India, have left accounts of their experiences and their impressions of various parts of India. An important group among these writers was that of the missionaries who wrote to encourage their respective societies to send more missionaries to India for the purpose of evangelising its inhabitants. In this genre, Bishop Heber's *Journal* and Abbe Dubois's *Hindu Manners and Customs*, provide useful information on the socio-economic life of India during the period of decline of the Indian powers and the rise of the British. Some of the famous British travellers who wrote travel accounts were—George Forster, Benjamin Heyne, 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*), and John Butler (*Travels and Adventures in the Province of Assam*). Famous non-British travellers who wrote about India include 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*), and William Moorcroft. These travel accounts are indispensable and generally reliable sources for constructing the history of modern India, especially as they supplement the official papers.

## **Newspapers and Journals**

Newspapers and journals of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, published in English as well as in the different vernacular languages, form an important and authentic source of information for the construction of the history of modern India. The first attempts to publish newspapers in India were made by the disgruntled employees of the English East India Company who sought to expose the malpractices of private trade. For instance, in 1776, William Bolts, being censured by the Court of Directors for private trading, resigned from the Company and announced his intention to publish a newspaper. The official response to Bolts' scheme was strong and his plan ended before materialising. In 1780, James Augustus Hickey published the first newspaper in India entitled *The Bengal Gazette* or *Calcutta General Advertiser*. Hickey's press was seized within two years, owing to his outspoken criticism of government officials. Afterwards, many publications appeared such as *The Calcutta Gazette* (1784), *The Madras Courier* (1788) and *The Bombay Herald* (1789). The newspapers and journals of the early period primarily aimed at catering to the intellectual entertainment of the Europeans and Anglo-Indians.

From the second half of the 19th century, many powerful newspapers appeared, edited/published by distinguished and fearless journalists. Interestingly, nearly one-third of the founding fathers of the Indian National Congress in 1885 were journalists. Some of their publications were: *The Hindu* and *Swadesamitran* under the editorship of G. Subramaniya Iyer, *Kesari* and *Mahratta* under Bal Gangadhar Tilak, *Bengalee* under Surendranath Banerjea, *Amrita Bazaar Patrika* under Sisir Kumar Ghosh and Motilal Ghosh, *Sudharak* under Gopal Krishna Gokhale, *Indian Mirror* under N.N. Sen, *Voice of*

*India* under Dadabhai Naoroji, *Hindustan* and *Advocate* under G.P. Varma. The *Tribune* and *Akhbar-i-Am* in Punjab, *Indu Prakash*, *Dnyan Prakash*, *Kal* and *Gujarati* in Bombay, and *Som Prakash Banganivasi* and *Sadharani* in Bengal were other noted newspapers of the time. Indian nationalists and revolutionaries living abroad published newspapers and journals—*Indian Sociologist* (London, Shyamji Krishnavarma), *Bande Matram* (Paris, Madam Cama), *Talwar* (Berlin, Virendranath Chattopadhyay), and *Ghadar* (San Francisco, Lala Hardayal)—to infuse a feeling of nationalism among Indians living abroad.

### **Oral Evidence**

Oral history refers to the construction of history with the help of non-written sources, for instance, personal reminiscence. Oral sources allow historians to broaden the boundaries of their discipline and corroborate their findings from other sources of history. However, many historians remain sceptical of the veracity of oral history.

### **Painting**

Some information on the socio-economic, political and cultural life during the colonial period can be obtained from the paintings of that period. The Company Paintings, also referred as 'Patna Kalam' emerged under the patronage of the East India Company. They picturise the people and scenes as they existed at the time. Trades, festivals, dances and the attire of people are visible in these works. Company paintings continued to be popular in the 19th century until the introduction of photography in India in the 1840s.

The pictorial images produced by the British and Indians—paintings, pencil drawings, etchings, posters, cartoons and bazaar prints—are especially important records of the great revolt of 1857. The British pictures offer images that were meant to provoke a range of different emotions and reactions. Some of them commemorate the British heroes who saved the English and repressed the rebels. *Relief of Lucknow*, painted by Thomas Jones Barker in 1859, is one such example. Another painting of this period, *In Memoriam* by Joseph Noel Paton, recorded in painting two years of the revolt of 1857.

In the last decades of the nineteenth century, a new art movement emerged which received its primary stimulus from the growing nationalism in India. Artists like Nandalal Bose and Raja Ravi Varma were representatives of this new trend. In the rise of the Bengal School led by Abanindranath Tagore (nephew of Rabindranath Tagore), E.B. Havell (who joined the art school in Calcutta as principal) and Ananda Kentish Coomaraswamy (son of an important Tamil political leader in Sri Lanka) played a vital role.



# Causes of Decline of Mughal Empire

## Introduction

- Beginning of the decline of the Mughal Empire can be traced to the strong rule of Aurangzeb.
- Aurangzeb inherited a large empire, yet he adopted a policy of extending it further to the farthest geographical limits in the south at the great expense of men and materials.

## Political Cause

- In reality, the existing means of communication and the economic and political structure of the country made it difficult to establish a stable centralized administration over all parts of the country.
- Aurangzeb's objective of unifying the entire country under one central political authority was, though justifiable in theory, not easy in practice.
- Aurangzeb's futile but arduous campaign against the Marathas extended over many years; it drained the resources of his Empire and ruined the trade and industry of the Deccan.
- Aurangzeb's absence from the north for over 25 years and his failure to subdue the Marathas led to deterioration in administration; this undermined the prestige of the Empire and its army.
- In the 18<sup>th</sup> century, Maratha's expansion in the north weakened central authority still further.
- Alliance with the Rajput rajas with the consequent military support was one of the main pillars of Mughal strength in the past, but Aurangzeb's conflict with some of the Rajput states also had serious consequences.
- Aurangzeb himself had in the beginning adhered to the Rajput alliance by raising Jaswant Singh of Kamer and Jai Singh of Amber to the highest of ranks. But his short-sighted attempt later to reduce the strength of the Rajput rajas and extend the imperial sway over their lands led to the withdrawal of their loyalty from the Mughal throne.
- The strength of Aurangzeb's administration was challenged at its very nerve center around Delhi by Satnam, the Jat, and the Sikh uprisings. All of them were to a considerable extent the result of the oppression of the Mughal revenue officials over the peasantry.
- They showed that the peasantry was deeply dissatisfied with feudal oppression by *Zamindars*, nobles, and the state.

## Religious Cause

- Aurangzeb's religious orthodoxy and his policy towards the Hindu rulers seriously damaged the stability of the Mughal Empire.
- The Mughal state in the days of Akbar, Jahangir, and Shahjahan was basically a secular state. Its stability was essentially founded on the policy of noninterference with the religious beliefs and customs of the people, fostering friendly relations between Hindus and Muslims.
- Aurangzeb made an attempt to reverse the secular policy by imposing the *jizyah* (tax imposed on non-Muslim people), destroying many of the Hindu temples in the north, and putting certain restrictions on the Hindus.
- The *jizyah* was abolished within a few years of Aurangzeb's death. Amicable relations with the Rajput and other Hindu nobles and chiefs were soon restored.
- Both the Hindu and the Muslim nobles, *zamindars*, and chiefs ruthlessly oppressed and exploited the common people irrespective of their religion.

## Wars of Succession and Civil Wars

- Aurangzeb left the Empire with many problems unsolved, the situation was further worsened by the ruinous wars of succession, which followed his death.
- In the absence of any fixed rule of succession, the Mughal dynasty was always plagued after the death of a king by a civil war between the princes.
- The wars of succession became extremely fierce and destructive during the 18<sup>th</sup> century and resulted in great loss of life and property. Thousands of trained soldiers and hundreds of capable military commanders and efficient and tried officials were killed. Moreover, these civil wars loosened the administrative fabric of the Empire.
- Aurangzeb was neither weak nor degenerate. He possessed great ability and capacity for work. He was free of vices common among kings and lived a simple and austere life.
- Aurangzeb undermined the great empire of his forefathers not because he lacked character or ability but because he lacked political, social, and economic insight. It was not his personality, but his policies that were out of joint.
- The weakness of the king could have been successfully overcome and covered up by an alert, efficient, and loyal nobility. But the character of the nobility had also deteriorated. Many nobles lived extravagantly and beyond their means. Many of them became easy-loving and fond of excessive luxury.
- Many of the emperors neglected even the art of fighting.
- Earlier, many able persons from the lower classes had been able to rise to the ranks of nobility, thus infusing fresh blood into it. Later, the existing families of nobles began to monopolize all offices, barring the way to fresh comers.
- Not all the nobles, however, become weak and inefficient. A large number of energetic and able officials and brave and brilliant military commanders came into prominence during the 18<sup>th</sup> century, but most of them did not benefit the Empire

because they used their talents to promote their own interests and to fight each other rather than to serve the state and society.

- The major weakness of the Mughal nobility during the 18<sup>th</sup> century lay, not in the decline in the average ability of the nobles or their moral decay, but in their selfishness and lack of devotion to the state and this, in turn, gave birth to corruption in administration and mutual bickering.
- In order to increase emperors' power, prestige, and income, the nobles formed groups and factions against each other and even against the king. In their struggle for power, they took recourse to force, fraud, and treachery.
- The mutual quarrels exhausted the Empire, affected its cohesion, led to its dismemberment, and, in the end, made it an easy prey to foreign conquerors.
- A basic cause of the downfall of the Mughal Empire was that it could no longer satisfy the minimum needs of its population.
- The condition of the Indian peasant gradually worsened during the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries. Nobles made heavy demands on the peasants and cruelly oppressed them, often in violation of official regulations.
- Many ruined peasants formed roving bands of robbers and adventurers, often under the leadership of the *zamindars*, and thus undermined law and order and the efficiency of the Mughal administration.
- During the 18<sup>th</sup> century, the Mughal army lacked discipline and fighting morale. Lack of finance made it difficult to maintain a large number of army. Its soldiers and officers were not paid for many months, and, since they were mere mercenaries, they were constantly disaffected and often verged on a mutiny.
- The civil wars resulted in the death of many brilliant commanders and brave and experienced soldiers. Thus, the army, the ultimate sanction of an empire, and the pride of the Great Mughals, was so weakened that it could no longer curb the ambitious chiefs and nobles or defend the Empire from foreign aggression.

## **Foreign Invasion**

- A series of foreign invasions affected Mughal Empire very badly. Attacks by Nadir Shah and Ahmad Shah Abdali, which were themselves the consequences of the weakness of the Empire, drained the Empire of its wealth, ruined its trade and industry in the North, and almost destroyed its military power.
- The emergence of the British challenge took away the last hope of the revival of the crisis-ridden Empire.

## Later Mughal

- The Great Mughal Empire declined and disintegrated during the first half of the 18th century.
- The Mughal Emperors lost their power and glory and their empire shrank to a few square miles around Delhi.
- In the end, in 1803, Delhi itself was occupied by the British army and the proud of Mughal Emperor was reduced to the status of a mere pensioner of a foreign power.
- The decline of Mughal Empire reveals some of the defects and weaknesses of India's medieval social, economic, and political structure which were responsible for the eventual subjugation of the country by the English East India Company.
- The unity and stability of the Empire had been shaken up during the long and strong reign of Aurangzeb; yet in spite of his many harmful policies, the Mughal administration was still quite efficient and the Mughal army quite strong at the time of his death in 1707.
- For better understanding (of the decline of Mughal Empire), the subsequent chapters (kept under the following headings) describe feeble Mughal Emperors, their weaknesses, and faulty activities –
  - Bahadur Shah I
  - Jahandar Shah
  - Farrukh Siyar
  - Muhammad Shah
  - Nadir Shah's Outbreak
  - Ahmad Shah Abdali

## Bahadur Shah I

- On Aurangzeb's death, his three sons fought among themselves for the throne. The 65-year old Bahadur Shah emerged victorious. He was learned, dignified, and deserving.
- Bahadur Shah followed a policy of compromise and conciliation, and there was evidence of the reversal of some of the narrow-minded policies and measures adopted by Aurangzeb. He adopted a more tolerant attitude towards the Hindu chiefs and rajas.
- There was no destruction of temples in Bahadur Shah's reign. In the beginning, he made an attempt to gain greater control over the regional states through the conciliation; however, dissensions developed among the regional kingdoms (including Rajput, Marathas, etc.); resultantly, they fought among themselves as well as against Mughal Emperor.

- Bahadur Shah had tried to conciliate the rebellious Sikhs by making peace with Guru Gobind Singh and giving him a high *mansab* (rank). But after the death of the Guru, the Sikhs once again raised the banner of revolt in Punjab under the leadership of Banda Bahadur. The Emperor decided to take strong measures and himself led a campaign against the rebels, soon controlled practically the entire territory between the Sutlej and the Yamuna, and reached the close neighborhood of Delhi.
- Bahadur Shah conciliated Chatarsal (the Bundela chief, who remained a loyal feudatory) and the *Jat* chief Churaman, who joined him in the campaign against Banda Bahadur.
- In spite of hard efforts of Bahadur Shah, there was further deterioration in the field of administration in Bahadur Shah's reign. The position of state finances worsened as a result of his reckless grants and promotions.
- During Bahadur Shah's reign, the remnants of the Royal treasure, amounting to some total 13 crores of rupees in 1707, were exhausted.
- Bahadur Shah was examining towards a solution of the problems besetting the Empire. He might have revived the Imperial fortunes, but unfortunately, his death in 1712 plunged the Empire once again into civil war.

## **Jahandar Shah**

After Bahadur Shah's death, a new element entered Mughal politics i.e. the succeeding wars of succession. While previously the contest for the power had been between royal princes only, and the nobles had hardly any interference to the throne; now ambitious nobles became direct contenders for the power and used princes as mere pawns to capture the seats of authority.

- In the civil war, one of Bahadur Shah's weak sons, Jahandar Shah, won because he was supported by Zulfiqar Khan, the most powerful noble of the time.
- Jahandar Shah was a weak and degenerate prince who was wholly devoted to pleasure. He lacked good manners, dignity, and decency.
- During Jahandar Shah's reign, the administration was virtually in the hands of the extremely capable and energetic Zulfiqar Khan, who was his *wazir*.
- Zulfiqar Khan believed that it was necessary to establish friendly relations with the Rajput rajas and the Maratha *Sardars* and to conciliate the Hindu chieftains necessary to strengthen his own position at the Court and to save the Empire. Therefore, he swiftly reversed the policies of Aurangzeb and abolished the hated *jzyah* (tax).
- Jai Singh of Amber was given the title of Mira Raja Saint and appointed Governor of Malwa; Ajit Singh of Marwar was awarded the title of Maharaja and appointed Governor of Gujarat.

- Zulfiqar Khan made an attempt to secure the finances of the Empire by checking the reckless growth of *jagirs* and offices. He also tried to compel the (nobles) to maintain their official quota of troops.
- An evil tendency encouraged by him was that of '*ijara*' or revenue-farming. Instead of collecting land revenue at a fixed rate as under Todar Mal's land revenue settlement, the Government began to contract with revenue farmers and middlemen to pay the Government a fixed amount of money while they were left free to collect whatever they could from the peasant. This encouraged the oppression of the peasant.
- Many jealous nobles secretly worked against Zulfiqar Khan. Worse still, the Emperor did not give him his trust and cooperation in full measure. The Emperor's ears were poisoned against Zulfiqar Khan by unscrupulous favorites. He was told that his *wazir* was becoming too powerful and ambitious and might even overthrow the Emperor himself.
- The cowardly Emperor could not dismiss the powerful *wazir* (Zulfiqar Khan), but he began to intrigue against him secretly.

## **Farrukh Siyar**

- Jahandar Shah's inglorious reign came to an early end in January 1713 when he was defeated at Agra by his nephew Farrukh Siyar.
- Farrukh Siyar owed his victory to the Sayyid brothers, Abdullah Khan and Husain Ali Khan Baraha, who were therefore given the offices of *wazir* and *nur bakshi* respectively
- The Sayyid brothers soon acquired dominant control over the affairs of the state and Farrukh Siyar lacked the capacity to rule. He was coward, cruel, undependable, and faithless. Moreover, he allowed himself to be influenced by worthless favorites and flatterers.
- In spite of his weaknesses, Farrukh Siyar was not willing to give the Sayyid brothers a free hand but wanted to exercise personal authority.
- The Sayyid brothers were convinced that administration could be carried on properly, the decay of the Empire checked, and their own position safeguarded only if they wielded real authority and the Emperor merely reigned without ruling.
- There was a prolonged struggle for power between the Emperor Farrukh Siyar and his *wazir* and *mir bakshi*.
- Year after year the ungrateful Emperor intrigued to overthrow the two brothers, but he failed repeatedly. In the end of 1719, the Sayyid brothers deposed Farrukh Siyar and killed him.
- In Farrukh Siyar place, they raised to the throne in quick succession two young princes' namely Rafi-ul Darjat and Rafi ud-Daulah (cousins of Farrukh Siyar), but

they died soon. The Sayyid brothers now made Muhammad Shah the Emperor of India.

- The three successors of Farrukh Siyar were mere puppets in the hands of the Saiyids Even their personal liberty to meet people and to move around was restricted. Thus, from 1713 until 1720, when they were overthrown, the Sayyid brothers wielded the administrative power of the state.
- The Sayyid brothers made a rigorous effort to control rebellions and to save the Empire from administrative disintegration. They failed in these tasks mainly because they were faced with constant political rivalry, quarrels, and conspiracies at the court.
- The everlasting friction in the ruling circles disorganized and even paralyzed administration at all levels and spread lawlessness and disorder everywhere.
- The financial position of the state deteriorated rapidly as *zamindars* and rebellious elements refused to pay land revenue, officials misappropriated state revenues, and central income declined because of the spread of revenue farming.
- The salaries of officials and soldiers could not be paid regularly and soldiers became undisciplined and even mutinous.
- Many nobles were jealous of the 'growing power' of the Sayyid brothers. The deposition and murder of Farrukh Siyar frightened many of them: if the Emperor could be killed, what safety was there for mere nobles?
- Moreover, the murder of the Emperor created a wave of public revulsion against the two brothers. They were looked down upon as traitors.
- Many of the nobles of Aurangzeb's reign also disliked the Sayyid alliance with the Rajput and the Maratha chiefs and their liberal policy towards the Hindus.
- Many nobles declared that the Sayyids were following anti-Mughal and anti-Islamic policies. They thus tried to arouse the fanatical sections of the Muslim nobility against the Sayyid brothers.
- The anti- Sayyid nobles were supported by Emperor Muhammad Shah who wanted to free himself from the control of the two brothers.
- In 1720, Haidar Khan killed Hussain Ali khan on 9 October 1720, the younger of the two brothers. Abdullah Khan tried to fight, back but was defeated near Agra. Thus ended the domination of the Mughal Empire by the Sayyid brothers (they were known in Indian history as 'king makers').

## Muhammad Shah

Muhammad Shah's long reign of nearly 30 years (1719-1748) was the last chance of saving the Empire. But Muhammad Shah was not the man of the moment. He was weak-minded and frivolous and over-fond of a life of ease and luxury.

- Muhammad Shah neglected the affairs of state. Instead of giving full support to knowledgeable *wazirs* such as Nizam-ul-Mulk, he fell under the evil influence of corrupt and worthless flatterers and intrigued against his own ministers. He even shared in the bribes taken by his favorite courtiers.
- Disgusted with the fickle-mindedness and suspicious nature of the Emperor and the constant quarrels at the court, Nizam-ul-Mulk, the most powerful noble of the time, decided to follow his own ambition. He had become the *wazir* in 1722 and had made a vigorous attempt to reform the administration.
- Nizam-ul-Mulk decided to leave the Emperor and his Empire to their fate and to strike out on his own. He relinquished his office in October 1724 and marched south to found the state of Hyderabad in the Deccan. "His departure was symbolic of the flight of loyalty and virtue from the Empire."
- After the withdrawal of Nizam-ul-Mulk, many other *zamindars*, *rajas*, and *nawabs* of many states raised the banner of rebellion and independence. For example Bengal, Hyderabad, Avadh, Punjab, and Maratha.

## Nadir Shah's Outbreak

- In 1738-39, Nadir Shah descended upon the plains of northern India.
- Nadir Shah was attracted to India by the fabulous wealth for which it was always famous. The visible weakness of the Mughal Empire made such spoliation possible.
- Nadir Shah marched on to Delhi and the Emperor Muhammad Shah was taken as prisoner.
- A terrible massacre of the citizens of the imperial capital was ordered by Nadir Shah as a reprisal against the killing of some of his soldiers.
- The greedy invader Nadir Shah took possession of the royal treasury and other royal property, levied tribute on the leading nobles, and plundered Delhi.
- Nadir Shah's total plunder has been estimated about 70 crores of rupees. This enabled him to exempt taxation of his own Kingdom for three years.
- Nadir Shah also carried away the famous *Koh-i-nur* diamond and the Jewelstudded Peacock Throne of Shahjahan.



- Nadir Shah compelled Muhammad Shah to cede to him all the provinces of the Empire falling west of the river Indus.
- Nadir Shah's Invasion inflicted immense damage on the Mughal Empire. It caused an irreparable loss of prestige and exposed the hidden weaknesses of the Empire to the Maratha *Sardars* and the foreign trading companies.
- The invasion ruined imperial finances and adversely affected the economic life of the country. The impoverished nobles began to rack-rent and oppress the peasantry even more in an effort to recover their lost fortunes
- The loss of Kabul and the areas to the west of the Indus once again opened the Empire to the threat of invasions from the North-West. A vital line of defense had disappeared.

### **Ahmed Shah Abdali**

- After Muhammad Shah's death in 1748, bitter struggles, and even civil war broke out among unscrupulous and power hungry nobles. Furthermore, as a result of the weakening of the north-western defenses, the Empire was devastated by the repeated invasions of Ahmed Shah Abdali, one of Nadir Shah's ablest generals, who had succeeded in establishing his authority over Afghanistan after his master's death.
- Abdali repeatedly invaded and plundered northern India right down to Delhi and Mathura between 1748 and 1767.
- In 1761, Abdali defeated the Maratha in the Third Battle of Panipat and thus gave a big blow to their ambition of controlling the Mughal Emperor and thereby dominating the country.
- After defeating Mughal and Maratha, Abdali did not, however, found a new Afghan kingdom in India. He and his successors could not even retain the Punjab which they soon lost to the Sikh chiefs.
- As a result of the invasions of Nadir Shah Abdali and the suicidal internal feuds of the Mughal nobility, the Mughal Empire had (by 1761) ceased to exist in practice as an all-India Empire.
- Mughal Empire narrowed merely as the Kingdom of Delhi. Delhi itself was a scene of 'daily riot and tumult'.
- Shah Alam II, who ascended the throne in 1759, spent the initial years as an Emperor wandering from place to place far away from his capital, for he lived in mortal fear of his own war.
- Shah Alam II was a man of some ability and ample courage. But the Empire was by now beyond redemption.
- In 1764, Shah Alam II joined Mir Qasim of Bengal and Shuja-ud-Daula of Avadh in declaring war upon the English East India Company.
- Defeated by the British at the Battle of Buxar (October 1764), Shah Alam II lived for several years at Allahabad as a pensioner of the East India Company.

- Shah Alam II left the British shelter in 1772 and returned to Delhi under the protective arm of the Marathas.
- The British occupied Delhi in 1803 and since that time to till 1857, when the Mughal dynasty was finally extinguished, the Mughal Emperors merely served as a political front for the English.

## **Maratha Power Rise and Fall of Marth Empire**

- The most important challenge to the decaying Mughal power came from the Maratha Kingdom, which was the most powerful of the Succession states. In fact, it alone possessed the strength to fill the political vacuum created by the disintegration of the Mughal Empire.
- The Maratha Kingdom produced a number of brilliant commanders and statesmen needed for the task. But the Maratha *Sardars* lacked unity, and they lacked the outlook and program, which were necessary for founding an all-India empire.
- Shahu, the grandson of Shivaji, had been a prisoner in the hands of Aurangzeb since 1689.
- Aurangzeb had treated Shahu and his mother with great dignity, honor, and consideration, paying full attention to their religious, caste, and other needs, hoping perhaps to arrive at a political agreement with Shahu.
- Shahu was released in 1707 after Aurangzeb's death.
- A civil war broke out between Shahu at Satara and his aunt Tara Bai at Kolhapur who had carried out an anti-Mughal struggle since 1700 in the name of her son Shivaji II after the death of her husband Raja Ram.
- Maratha *Sardars*, each one of whom had a large following of soldiers loyal to themselves alone began to side with one or the other contender for power.
- Maratha *Sardars* used this opportunity to increase their power and influence by bargaining with the two contenders for power. Several of them even intrigued with the Mughal viceroys of the Deccan.

## **Balaji Vishwanath**

- Arising out of the conflict between Shahu and his rival at Kolhapur, a new system of Maratha government was evolved under the leadership of Balaji Vishwanath, the *Peshwa* of King Shahu.
- The period of *Peshwa* domination in Maratha history was the most remarkable in which the Maratha state was transformed into an empire.
- Balaji Vishwanath, a Brahmin, started life as a petty revenue official and then rose step by step as an official.

- Balaji Vishwanath rendered Shahu loyal and useful service in suppressing his enemies. He excelled in diplomacy and won over many of the big Maratha Sardars.
- In 1713, Shahu made him his *Peshwa* or the *mulk pradhan* (chief minister).
- Balaji Vishwanath gradually consolidated Shahu's hold and his own over Maratha *Sardars* and over most of Maharashtra except for the region south of Kolhapur where Raja Ram's descendants ruled.
- The *Peshwa* concentrated power in his office and eclipsed the other ministers and seniors.
- Balaji Vishwanath took full advantage of the internal conflicts of the Mughal officials to increase Maratha power.
- Balaji Vishwanath had induced Zulfiqar Khan to pay the *chauth* and *sardeshmukhi* of the Deccan.
- All the territories that had earlier formed Shivaji's kingdom were restored to Shahu who was also assigned the *chauth* and *sardeshmukhi* of the six provinces of the Deccan.
- In 1719, Balaji Vishwanath, at the head of a Maratha force, accompanied Saiyid Hussain Ali Khan to Delhi and helped the Saiyid brothers in overthrowing Farrukh Siyar.
- At Delhi, Balaji Vishwanath and the other Maratha *Sardars* witnessed at first hand the weakness of the Empire and were filled with the ambition of expansion in the North.

## **Baji Rao I**

- Balaji Vishwanath died in 1720 and his 20-year old son Baji Rao I succeeded as *Peshwa*. In spite of his youth, Baji Rao I was a bold and brilliant commander and an ambitious and clever statesman.
- Baji Rao has been described as "the greatest exponent of guerrilla tactics after Shivaji".
- Led by Baji Rao, the Marathas waged numerous campaigns against the Mughal Empire trying to compel the Mughal officials first to give them the right to collect the *chauth* of vast areas and then to cede these areas to the Maratha kingdom.
- By 1740, when Baji Rao died, the Maratha had won control over Malwa, Gujarat, and parts of Bundelkhand. The Maratha families of *Gaekwad*, *Holkar*, *Sindhia*, and *Bhonsle* came into prominence during this period.
- Baji Rao died in April 1740. In the short period of 20 years, he had changed the character of the Maratha state. From the kingdom of Maharashtra it had been transformed into an Empire expanding in the North (as shown in the map below).

## Balaji Baji Rao

- Baji Rao's 18-year old son Balaji Baji Rao (also known as Nana Saheb) was the *Peshwa* from 1740 to 1761. He was as able as his father though less energetic.
- King Shahu died in 1749 and by his will left all management of state affairs in the *Peshwa's* hands.
- The office of the *Peshwa* had already become hereditary and the *Peshwa* was the *de facto* ruler of the state. Now *Peshwa* became the official head of the administration and, as a symbol of this fact, shifted the government to Poona, his headquarters.
- Balaji Baji Rao followed in the footsteps of his father and further extended the Empire in different directions taking Maratha power to its height. Maratha armies now overran the whole of India.
- Maratha control over Malwa, Gujarat, and Bundelkhand was consolidated.
- Bengal was repeatedly invaded and, in 1751, the *Nawab* of Bengal had to cede Orissa.
- In the South, the state of Mysore and other minor principalities were forced to pay tribute.
- In 1760, the *Nizam* of Hyderabad was defeated at Udgir and was compelled to cede vast territories yielding an annual revenue of Rs. 62 lakhs.
- Later, the arrival of Ahmad Shah Abdali and his alliance with the major kingdoms of North India (including an alliance with Najib-ud-daulah of Rohilkhand; Shuja-ud-daulah of Avadh, etc.) led to third battle of *Panipat* (on January 14, 1761).
- The Maratha army did not get any alliance and support resultantly was completely routed out in the third battle of *Panipat*.
- The *Peshwa's* son, Vishwas Rao, Sadashiv Rao Bhau and numerous other Maratha commanders perished on the battle field as did nearly 28,000 soldiers. Those who fled were pursued by the Afghan cavalry and robbed and plundered by the *Jats*, *Ahirs*, and *Gujars* of the *Panipat* region.
- The *Peshwa*, who was marching north to render help to his cousin, was stunned by the tragic news (i.e. defeat at *Panipat*). Already seriously ill, his end was hastened and he died in Jun 1761.
- The Maratha defeat at *Panipat* was a disaster for them. They lost the cream of their army and their political prestige suffered a big blow.
- Afghans did not get benefit from their victory. They could not even hold the Punjab. In fact, the Third Battle of *Panipat* did not decide who was to rule India, but rather who was not. The way was, therefore, cleared for the rise of the British power in India.
- The 17-year old Madhav Rao became the *Peshwa* in 1761. He was a talented Soldier and statesman.
- Within the short period of 11 years, Madhav Rao restored the lost fortunes of the Maratha Empire. He defeated the *Nizam*, compelled Haidar Ali of Mysore to pay

tribute, and reasserted control over North India by defeating the *Rohelas* and subjugating the Rajput states and *Jat* chiefs.

- In 1771, the Marathas brought back to Delhi Emperor Shah Alam who now became their pensioner.
- Once again, however, a blow fell on the Marathas for Madhav Rao died of consumption in 1772.
- The Maratha Empire was now in a state of confusion. At Poona there was a struggle for power between Reghunath Rao, the younger brother of Balaji Baji Rao, and Narayan Rao, the younger brother of Madhav Rao.
- Narayan Rao was killed in 1773. He was succeeded by his posthumous son, Sawai Madhav Rao.
- Out of frustration, Raghunath Rao approached to the British and tried to capture power with their help. This resulted in the First Anglo-Maratha War.
- Sawai Madhav Rao died in 1795 and was succeeded by the utterly worthless Baji Rao II, son of Raghunath Rao.
- The British had by now decided to put on end to the Maratha challenge to their supremacy in India.
- The British divided the mutually-warring Maratha *Sardars* through clever diplomacy and then overpowered them in separate battles during the second Maratha War, 1803-1805, and the Third Maratha War, 1816-1819.
- While other Maratha mates were permitted to remain as subsidiary states, the house of the *Peshwas* was extinguished.

## **East India Company (1600-1744)**

The English East Company had very humble beginnings in India. Surat was the center of its trade till 1687.

### **The Beginning and Growth of East India Company**

- By 1623, English East India Company had established factories at Surat, Broach, Ahmedabad, Agra, and Masulipatam.
- From the very beginning, the English trading company tried to combine trade and diplomacy with war and control of the territory where their factories were situated.
- In 1625, the East India Company's authorities at Surat made an attempt to fortify their factory, but the chiefs of the English factory were immediately imprisoned and put in irons by the local authorities of the Mughal Empire.
- The Company's English rivals made piratical attacks on Mughal shipping, the Mughal authorities imprisoned the President of the Company in retaliation at Surat and members of his Council and released them only on payment of £18,000.
- Conditions in the South India were more favorable to the English, as they did not have to face a strong Indian Government there.
- The English opened their first factory in the South at *Masulipatam* in 1611. But they soon shifted the center of their activity to Madras the lease of which was granted to them by the local king in 1639.

- The English built a small fort around their factory called Fort St. George in Madras (shown in the image given below).
- By the end of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, the English Company was claiming full sovereignty over Madras and was ready to fight in, defence of the claim. Interestingly enough, from the very beginning, English Company of profit seeking merchants was also determined to make Indians pay for the conquest of their own country.
- In Eastern India, the English Company had opened its first factories in Orissa in 1633.
- English Company was given permission to trade at Hugli in Bengal. It soon opened factories at Patna, Balasore, Dacca, and other places in Bengal and Bihar.
- Englishmen's easy success in trade and in establishing independent and fortified settlements at Madras and at Bombay, and the preoccupation of Aurangzeb with the anti-Maratha campaigns led the English to abandon the role of humble petitioners.
- English Company now dreamt of establishing political power in India, which would enable them to compel the Mughals to allow them a free hand in trade, to force Indians to sell cheap and buy costly goods.
- Hostilities between the English and the Mughal Emperor broke out in 1686, after the former had sacked Hugli and declared war on the Emperor. But the English had seriously miscalculated the situation and underestimated Mughal strength.
- The Mughal Empire under Aurangzeb was even now more than a match for the petty forces of the East India Company. The war proved disastrous to the English.
- The English were driven out of their factories in Bengal and compelled to seek protection in a fever-stricken island at the mouth of the Ganga.
- Their factories at Surat, Masulipatam, and Vishikhatam were seized and their fort at Bombay besieged.
- Having discovered that they were not yet strong enough to fight with the Mughal power, the English once again became humble petitioners and submitted "that the ill crimes they have done may be pardoned."
- Once again they relied on flattery and humble entreaties to get trading concessions from the Mughal Emperor. The Mughal authorities readily pardoned the English folly as they had no means of knowing that these harmless-looking foreign traders would one day pose a serious threat to the country.
- English, though weak on land, were, because of their naval supremacy, capable of completely ruining Indian trade and shipping to Iran, West Asia, Northern and Eastern Africa, and East Asia.
- Aurangzeb therefore permitted them to resume trade on payment of Rs. 150,000 as compensation.
- In 1691, the Company was granted exemption from the payment of custom duties in Bengal in return for Rs. 3,000 a year.
- In 1698, the Company acquired the zamindari of the three villages *Sutanati*, *Kalikata*, and *Govindpur* where the English built Fort William around its factory. These villages soon grew into a city, which came to be known as Calcutta (now Kolkata).
- During the first half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, Bengal was ruled by strong *Nawabs* namely Murshid Quli Khan and Alivardi Khan.
- *Nawabs* of Bengal exercised strict control over the English traders and prevented them from misusing their privileges. Nor did they allow them to strengthen fortifications at Calcutta or to rule the city independently.

- British settlements in Madras, Bombay, and Calcutta became the nuclei of flourishing cities. Large numbers of Indian merchants and bankers were attracted to these cities.
- People attracted towards Madras, Bombay, and Calcutta partly due to the new commercial opportunities available in these cities and partly due to the unsettled condition and insecurity outside them, caused by the break-up of the Mughal Empire.
- By the middle of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, the population of Madras had increased to 300,000, of Calcutta 200,000, and of Bombay to 70,000. It should also be noted that these three cities contained fortified English settlements; they also had immediate access to the sea where English naval power remained far superior to that of the Indians.
- In case of conflict with any Indian authority, the English could always escape from these cities to the sea. And when a suitable opportunity arose for them to take advantage of the political disorders in the country, they could use these strategic cities as spring-boards for the conquest of India.

## **The British Conquest of India**

### **The British Occupation of Bengal**

- The beginning of British political influence over India may be traced to the battle of Plassey in 1757, when the English East India Company's forces defeated Siraj-ud-Daulah, the *Nawab* of Bengal.
- As result of the Battle of Plassey, the English proclaimed Mir Jafar the *Nawab* of Bengal and set out to gather the reward i.e. the company was granted undisputed right to free trade in Bengal, Bihar, and Orissa.
- The East Company received the zamindari of the 24 Parganas near Calcutta. Mir Jafar paid a sum of Rs 17,700,000 as compensation for the attack on Calcutta and the traders of the city.
- The battle of Plassey was of immense historical importance, as it paved the way for the British mastery on Bengal and eventually on the whole of India.
- The victory of Plassey enabled the Company and its servants to amass untold wealth at the cost of the helpless people of Bengal.
- Mir Qasim realized that if these abuses continued he could never hope to make Bengal strong or free himself of the Company's control. He therefore took the drastic step of abolishing all duties on internal trade.
- Mir Qasim was defeated in a series of battles in 1763 and fled to Avadh where he formed an alliance with Shuja-ud-Daulah, the *Nawab* of Avadh, and Shah Alam II, the fugitive Mughal Emperor.
- The three allies clashed with the Company's army at Buxar on 22 October 1764 and were thoroughly defeated.
- The result of Buxar battle firmly established the British as masters of Bengal, Bihar, and Orissa and placed Avadh at their mercy.

## Dual Administrative System in Bengal

- The East India Company became the real master of Bengal from 1765. Its army was in sole control of its defence and the supreme political power was in its hands.
  - The *Nawab* of Bengal became dependent for his internal and external security on the British.
  - The virtual unity of the two branches of Government under British control was signified by the fact that the same person acted in Bengal as the Deputy *Diwan* on behalf of the Company and as Deputy *Subedar* on behalf of the Nawab. This arrangement is known in history as the Dual or Double Government.
  - Dual system of administration of Bengal held a great advantage for the British: they had power without the responsibility.
  - British controlled the finances of Bengal and its army directly and its administration indirectly.
  - The *Nawab* and his officials had the responsibility of administration, but not the power to discharge it.
  - The consequences of double government for the people of Bengal were disastrous: neither the Company nor the *Nawab* cared for their welfare.
  - In 1770, Bengal suffered from a famine which in its effects proved one of the most terrible famines known in human history.
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- Bengal famine killed millions of people and nearly one-third of Bengal's population fell victim to its ravages. Though the famine was due to failure of rains, but its effects were heightened by the Company's policies.

## Anglo-French Struggle in South India

- In Southern India, however, conditions were gradually becoming favorable to foreign adventurers, as the central authority had disappeared there after the death of Aurangzeb (1707) and Nizam-ul-Mulk Asaf Jah (1748).
- The Maratha chiefs regularly invaded Hyderabad and the rest of the South for collecting *Chauth* (tax).
- The absence of central power gave the foreigners an opportunity to expand their political influence and control over the affairs of the South Indian states.
- For nearly 20 years from 1744 to 1763, the French and the English were to wage a bitter war for control over the trade, wealth, and territory of India.
- The French East India Company was founded in 1664. It made rapid progress and it was reorganized in the 1720's and soon began to catch up with the English Company.
- It was firmly established at Chandernagore near Calcutta and Pondicherry on the East Coast.



- The French Company had some other factories at several ports on the East and the West coasts. It had also acquired control over the islands of Mauritius and Reunion in the Indian Ocean.
- The French East India Company was heavily dependent on the French Government, which helped it by giving it treasury grants, subsidies, and loan, etc.
- The French East India Company was largely controlled by the Government, which appointed its directors after 1723.
- The French state of the time was autocratic, semi-feudal, and unpopular and sniffled from corruption, inefficiency, and instability.
- Instead of being forward-looking, it was decadent, bound by tradition, and in general unsuited to the times. Control by such a state could not but be injurious to the interests of the Company.
- In 1742, war broke out in Europe between France and England. One of the major causes of the war was rivalry over colonies in America. Another was their trade rivalry in India. This rivalry was intensified by the knowledge that the Mughal Empire was disintegrating and so the prize of trade or territory was likely to be much bigger than in the past.
- Anglo-French conflict in India lasted for nearly 20 years and led to the establishment of British power in India.
- The English Company was the wealthier of the two because of its superiority in trade. It also possessed naval superiority.
- In 1745, the English navy captured French ships off the South-east coast of India and threatened Pondicherry.

## Dupleix

- Dupleix, the French Governor-General at Pondicherry, was a statesman of genius and imagination. Under his brilliant leadership, the French retaliated and occupied Madras in 1746.
- After defeated by France, the British appealed to the *Nawab* of Carnatic (in whose territory Madras was situated), to save their settlement from the French.
- The *Nawab* sent an army against the French to stop the two foreign trading companies from fighting on his soil. And so the 10,000 strong armies of the *Nawab* clashed with a small French force, consisting of 230 Europeans and 700 Indian soldiers trained along Western lines, at St. Thorne on the banks of the Adyar River.
- The *Nawab* was decisively defeated. This battle revealed the immense superiority of Western armies over Indian armies because of their better equipment and organization.
- In 1748, the general war between England and France ended and, as a part of the peace settlement, Madras was restored to the English.

- In the Carnatic, Chanda Sahib began to conspire against the *Nawab*, Anwaruddin, while in Hyderabad the death of Asaf Jah (Nizam-ul-Mulk), was followed by civil war between his son Nash Jang and his grandson Muzaffar Jang.
- Dupleix seized concluded a secret treaty with Chanda Sahib and Muzaffar Jang to help them with his well-trained French and Indian forces.
- In 1749, the three allies defeated and killed Anwaruddin in a battle at Ambur.
- Carnatic passed under the dominion of Chanda Sahib who rewarded the French with a grant of 80 villages around Pondicherry.
- In Hyderabad, the French were successful. Nasir Jung was killed and Muzaffar Jang became the *Nizam* or Viceroy of the Deccan.
- Muzaffar Jang rewarded the French Company by giving territories near Pondicherry as well as the famous town of Masulipatam.
- Dupleix stationed his best officer, Bussy, at Hyderabad with a French army. While the ostensible purpose of this arrangement was to protect the *Nizam* from enemies, it was really aimed at maintaining French influence at his court.
- While Muzaffar Jang was marching towards his capital, he was accidentally killed. Bussy immediately raised Salabat Jang, the third son of Nizam-ul-Mulk, to the throne.
- Salabat Jang, in return, granted the French the area in Andhra known as the Northern Sarkars, consisting of the four districts of Mustafanagar, Ellore, Rajahmundry, and Chicacole.
- The French had started out by trying to win Indian states as friends; they had ended by making them clients or satellites. But the English had not been silent spectators of their rival's successes. To offset French influence and to increase their own, they (British) had been intriguing with Nasir Jung and Muhammad Ali.
- In 1750, British decided to throw their entire strength behind Muhammad Ali.
- Robert Clive, a young clerk in the Company's service, proposed that French pressure on Muhammad Ali, besieged at Trichinopoly, could be released by attacking Arcot, the capital of Carnatic. The proposal accepted and Clive assaulted and occupied Arcot with only 200 English and 300 Indian Soldiers.
- Dupleix made strenuous attempts to reverse the tide of French misfortunes. But he was given little support by the French Government or even by the higher authorities of the French East India Company.
- In the end, the French Government, weary of the heavy expense of the war in India and fearing the loss of its American colonies, initiated peace negotiations and agreed in 1754 to the English demand for the recall of Dupleix from India.
- The temporary peace between the two Companies (British and France) ended in 1756 when another war between England and France broke out.
- The French Government made a determined attempt to oust the English from India and sent a strong force headed by Count de Lally, it was all in vain.
- The French fleet was driven off Indian waters and the French forces in the Carnatic were defeated.

- The English replaced the French as the *Nizam's* protectors and secured from him Muslipatam and the Northern Sarkar.
- The decisive battle was fought at Wandiwash on 22 January 1760 when the English General Eyre Coot defeated Lally. The war ended in 1763 with the signing of the Treaty of Paris.
- The French factories in India were restored but they could no longer be fortified or even adequately garrisoned with troops. They could serve only as centers of trade; and now the French lived in India under British protection.

### **South Indian States in 18th Century**

- The rulers of the South Indian states established law and order and viable economic and administrative states. They curbed with varying degrees of success.
- The politics of South Indian states were invariably non-communal or secular. The motivations of their rulers were being similar in economic and political terms.
- The rulers of South Indian states did not discriminate on religious grounds in public appointment; civil or military; nor did the rebels against their authority pay much attention to the religion of the rulers.
- None of the South Indian states, however, succeeded in arresting the economic crisis. The *zamindars* and *jagirdars*, whose had number constantly increased, continued to fight over a declining income from agriculture, while the condition of the peasantry continued to deteriorate.
- While the South Indian states prevented any breakdown of internal trade and even tried to promote foreign trade, they did nothing to modernize the basic industrial and commercial structure of their states.
- Following were the important states of South India in 18<sup>th</sup> century –

### **Hyderabad and the Carnatic**

- The state of Hyderabad was founded by Nizam-ul-Mulk Asaf Jah in 1724. He was one of the leading nobles of the post-Aurangzeb era.
- Asaf Jah never openly declared his independence in front of the Central Government, but in practice, he acted like an independent ruler. He waged wars, concluded peace, conferred titles, and gave jaws and offices without reference to Delhi.
- Asaf Jah followed a tolerant policy towards the Hindus. For example, a Hindu, Purim Chand, was his Dewan. He consolidated his power by establishing an orderly administration in Deccan.
- After the death of Asaf Jah (in 1748), Hyderabad fell prey to the same disruptive forces as were operating at Delhi.
- The Carnatic was one of the *subahs* of the Mughal Deccan and as such came under the *Nizam* of Hyderabad's authority. But just as in practice the *Nizam* had become

independent of Delhi, so also the Deputy Governor of the Carnatic, known as the *Nawab* of Carnatic, had freed himself from the control of the Viceroy of Deccan and made his office hereditary.

## Mysore

- Next to Hyderabad, the most important power that emerged in South India was Mysore under Haidar Ali. The kingdom of Mysore had prescribed its precarious independence ever since the end of the Vijayanagar Empire.
- Haidar Ali born in 1721, in an obscure family, started his career as a petty officer in the Mysore army. Though uneducated, he possessed a keen intellect and was a man of great energy and daring and determination. He was also a brilliant commander and shrewd diplomat.
- Cleverly using the opportunities that came his way, Haidar Ali gradually rose in the Mysore army. He soon recognized the advantages of western military training and applied it to the troops under his own command.
- In 1761, Haidar Ali overthrew Nanjaraj and established his authority over the Mysore state. He took over Mysore when it was weak and divided state and soon made it one of the leading Indian powers
- Haidar Ali extended full control over the rebellious poligars (*zamindars*) and conquered the territories of *Bidnur*, *Sunda*, *Sera*, *Canara*, and *Malabar*.
- Haidar Ali practiced religious toleration and his first Dewan and many other officials were Hindus.
- Almost from the beginning of the establishment of his power, Haidar Ali was engaged in wars with the Maratha *Sardars*, the *Nizam*, and the British forces.
- In 1769, Haidar Ali repeatedly defeated the British forces and reached the walls of Madras. He died in 1782 in the course of the second Anglo-Mysore War and was succeeded by his son Tipu.
- Sultan Tipu, who ruled Mysore until his death at the hands of the British in 1799, was a man of complex character. He was, for one an innovator.
  
- Tipu Sultan's desire to change with the times was symbolized in the Introduction of a new calendar, a new system of coinage, and new scales of weights and measures.
- Tipu Sultan's personal library contained books on such diverse subjects as religion, history, military science, medicine, and mathematics. He showed a keen interest in the French Revolution.
- Tipu Sultan planted a 'Tree of Liberty' at *Sringapatam* and he became a member of a Jacobin club.
- Tipu Sultan tried to do away with the custom of giving *jagirs*, and thus increased the state income. He also made an attempt to reduce the hereditary possessions of the poligars.

- Tipu Sultan's land revenue was as high as that of other contemporary rulers— it ranged up to 1/3rd of the gross produce. But he checked the collection of illegal ceases, and he was liberal in granting remissions.
- Tipu Sultan's infantry was armed with muskets and bayonets in fashion, which were, however, manufactured in Mysore.
- Tipu Sultan made an effort to build a modern navy after 1796. For this purpose, two dockyards, the models of the ships being supplied.
- Tipu Sultan was recklessly brave and, as a commander was, however, hasty in action and unstable in nature.
- Tipu Sultan stood forth as a foe for the rising English power. The English, in turn, too as his most dangerous enemy in India.
- Tipu Sultan gave money for the construction of goddess *Sarda* in the *Shringeri* Temple in 1791. He regularly gave gifts to as well to several other temples.
- In 1799, while fighting the Fourth Anglo-Mysore War, Tipu Sultan died.

## **Kerala**

- At the beginning of the 18th century, Kerala was divided into a large number of feudal chiefs and rajas.
- The kingdom of Travancore rose into prominence after 1729 under King Martanda Varma, one of the leading statesmen of the 18th century.
- Martanda Varma organized a strong army on the western model with the help of European officers and armed it with modern weapons. He also constructed a modern arsenal.
- Martanda Varma used his new army to expand northwards and the boundaries of Travancore soon extended from Kanyakumari to Cochin.
- Martanda Varma undertook many irrigation works, built roads and canals for communication, and gave active encouragement to foreign trade.
- By 1763, all the petty principalities of Kerala had been absorbed or subordinated by the three big states of Cochin, Travancore, and Calicut.
- Haidar Ali began his invasion of Kerala in 1766 and in the end annexed northern Kerala up to Cochin, including the territories of the *Zamorin* of Calicut.
- Trivandrum, the capital of Travancore, became a famous center of Sanskrit scholarship during the second half of the 18th century.
- Rama Varma, the successor of Martanda Varma, was himself a poet, a scholar, a musician, a renowned actor, and a man of great culture. He conversed fluently in English, took a keen interest in European affairs. He regularly used to read newspapers and journals published in London, Calcutta, and Madras.

## North Indian States in 18th Century

### Avadh

- The founder of the autonomous kingdom of Avadh was Saadat Khan Burhanul-Mulk who was appointed as Governor of Avadh in 1722. He was an extremely bold, energetic, iron-willed, and intelligent person.
- At the time of Burhan-ul-Mulk's appointment, rebellious *zamindars* had raised their heads everywhere in the province. They refused to pay the land tax, organized their own private armies, erected forts, and defied the Imperial Government.
- For years, Burhan-ul-Mulk had to wage war upon them. He succeeded in suppressing lawlessness and disciplining the big *zamindars* and thus, increasing the financial resources of his government.
- Burhan-ul-Mulk also carried out a fresh revenue settlement in 1723, as he was asked to improve the peasant condition by protecting them from oppression by the big *zamindars*.
- Like the Bengal *Nawabs*, Burhan-ul-Mulk too did not discriminate between Hindus and Muslims. Many of his commanders and high officials were Hindus and he 'curbed refractory *zamindars*, chiefs, and nobles irrespective of their religion. His troops were well-paid, well-armed, and Well-trained.
- Before his death in 1739, Burhan-ul-Mulk had become virtually independent and had made the province a hereditary possession.
- Burhan-ul-Mulk was succeeded by his nephew Safdar Jang, who was simultaneously appointed the *wazir* of the Empire in 1748 and granted in addition the province of Allahabad.
- Safdar Jang suppressed rebellious *zamindars* and made an alliance with the Maratha *Sardars* so that his dominion was saved from their incursions.
- Safdar Jang gave a long period of peace to the people of Avadh and Allahabad before his death in 1754.

### The Rajput States

- Many Rajput states took advantage of the growing weakness of Mughal power to virtually free themselves from central control while at the same time increasing their influence in the rest of the Empire.
- In the reigns of Farrukh Siyar and Muhammad Shah, the rulers of Amber and Marwar were appointed governors of important Mughal provinces such as Agra, Gujarat, and Malwa.
- The internal politics of Agra, Gujarat, Malwa, etc. were often characterized by the same type of corruption, intrigue, and treachery as prevailed at the Mughal court.

- Ajit Singh of Marwar was killed by his own son.
- The most outstanding Rajput ruler of the 18th century was Raja Sawai Jai Singh of Amber (1681-1743).
- Raja Sawai Jai Singh was a distinguished statesman, law-maker, and reformer. But most of all he shone as a man of science in an age when Indians were oblivious of scientific progress.
- Raja Sawai Jai Singh founded the city of Jaipur in the territory taken from the *Jats* and made it a great seat of science and art.
- Jaipur was built upon strictly scientific principles and according to a regular plan. Its broad streets are intersected at right angles.
- Jai Singh was a great astronomer. He erected observatories with accurate and advanced instruments, some of his inventions can be still observed at Delhi, Jaipur, Ujjain, Varanasi, and Mathura. His astronomical observations were remarkably accurate.
- Jai Singh drew up a set of tables, entitled *Zij-i Muhammadshahi*, to enable people to make astronomical observations. He had Euclid's "Elements of Geometry", translated into Sanskrit as also several works on trigonometry, and Napier's work on the construction and use of logarithms.
- Jai Singh was also a social reformer. He tried to enforce a law to reduce the lavish expenditure which a Rajput had to incur on a daughter's wedding and which often led to infanticide.
- This remarkable prince ruled Jaipur for nearly 44 years from 1699 to 1743.

## The Jats

- The *Jats*, a caste of agriculturists, lived in the region around Delhi, Agra, and Mathura.
- Repression by Mughal officials drove the *Jat* peasants around Mathura to revolt. They revolted under the leadership of their *Jat Zamindars* in 1669 and then again in 1688.
- *Jats'* revolts were crushed, but the area remained disturbed. After the death of Aurangzeb, they created disturbances all around Delhi. Though originally a peasant uprising, the *Jat* revolt, led by *zamindars*, soon became predatory.
- *Jats* plundered all and sundry, the rich and the poor, the *jagirdars* and the peasants, the Hindus and the Muslims.
- The *Jat* state of Bharatpur was set up by Churaman and Badan Singh.
- The *Jat* power reached its highest glory under Suraj Mal, who ruled from 1756 to 1763 and who was an extremely able administrator and soldier and a very wise statesman.
- Suraj Mal extended his authority over a large area, which extended from the Ganga in the East to Chambal in the South, the *Subah* of Agra in the West to the *Subah* of Delhi in the North. His state included among others the districts of Agra, Mathura, Meerut, and Aligarh.

- After the death of Suraj Mal in 1763, the Jat state declined and was split up among petty *zamindars* most of whom lived by plunder.

### **Bangash and Rohelas**

- Muhammad Khan Bangash, an Afghan adventurer, established his control over the territory around *Farrukhabad*, between what are now Aligarh and Kanpur, during the reigns of Farrukh Siyar and Muhammad Shah.
- Similarly, during the breakdown of administration following Nadir Shah's invasion, Ali Muhammad Khan carved out a separate principality, known as Rohilkhand, at the foothills of the Himalayas between the Ganga in the south and the Kumaon hills in the north with its capital first at Aolan in Bareilly and later at Rampur.
- The Rohelas clashed constantly with Avadh, Delhi, and the Jats.

### **The Sikhs**

- Founded at the end of the 15<sup>th</sup> century by Guru Nanak, the Sikh religion spread among the *Jat* peasantry and other lower castes of Punjab.
- The transformation of the Sikhs into a militant, fighting community was begun by Guru Hargobind (1606-1645).
- It was, however, under the leadership of Guru Gobind Singh (1664-1708), the tenth and the last Guru of the Sikhs, that Sikhs became a political and military force.
- From 1699 onwards, Guru Gobind Singh waged constant war against the armies of Aurangzeb and the hill rajas.
- After Aurangzeb's death Guru Gobind Singh joined Bahadur Shah's camp as a noble of the rank of 5,000 *Jat* at and 5,000 *sawar* and accompanied him to the Deccan where he was treacherously murdered by one of his *Pathan* employees.
- After Guru Gobind Singh's death, the institution of *Guruship* came to an end and the leadership of the Sikhs passed to his trusted disciple Banda Singh, who is more widely known as Banda Bahadur.
- Banda rallied together the Sikh peasants of the Punjab and carried on a vigorous though unequal struggle against the Mughal army for eight years. He was captured in 1715 and put to death.
- Banda Bahadur's death gave a set-back to the territorial ambitions of the Sikhs and their power declined.



## Punjab

- At the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, Ranjit Singh, chief of the *Sukerchakia Misl* rose into prominence. A strong and courageous soldier, an efficient administrator, and a skillful diplomat, he was a born leader of men.
- Ranjit Singh captured Lahore in 1799 and Amritsar in 1802. He soon brought all Sikh chiefs west of the Sutlej River under his control and established his own kingdom in the Punjab.
- Ranjit Singh conquered Kashmir, Peshawar, and Multan. The old Sikh chiefs were transformed into big *zamindars* and *jagirdars*.
- Ranjit Singh did not make any change in the system of land revenue promulgated earlier by the Mughals. The amount of land revenue was calculated on the basis of 50 per cent of the gross produce.
- Ranjit Singh built up a powerful, disciplined, and well-equipped army along European lines with the help of European instructors. His new army was not confined to the Sikhs. He also recruited Gurkhas, Biharis, Oriyas, Pathans, Dogras, and Punjabi Muslims.
- Ranjit Singh set up the modern foundries to manufacture cannon at Lahore and employed Muslim gunners to man them. It is said that he possessed the second best army in Asia, the first was the army of the English East India Company

## Bengal

- Taking advantage of the growing weakness of the central authority, two men of exceptional ability, Murshid Quli Khan and Alivardi Khan, made Bengal virtually independent. Even though Murshid Quli Khan was made Governor of Bengal as late as 1717, he had been its effective ruler since 1700, when he was appointed its Dewan.
- Murshid Quli Khan soon freed himself from central control though he sent regular tribute to the Emperor. He established peace by freeing Bengal of internal and external danger.
- The only three major uprisings during Murshid Quli Khan's rule were –
  - By Sitaram Ray,
  - By Udai Narayan, and
  - By Ghulam Muhammad.
- Later Shujat Khan, and Najat Khan also rebelled during the Murshid Quli Khan's reign.
- Murshid Quli Khan died in 1727, and his son-in-law Shuja-ud-din ruled Bengal till 1739. In that year, Alivardi Khan deposed and killed Shuja-ud-din's son, Sarfaraz Khan, and made himself the Nawab.

## UNIT -II

### Structure of British Raj upto 1857

#### Economic Conditions in 18th Century

- India of the 18<sup>th</sup> century failed to make progress economically, socially, or culturally at a pace, which would have saved the country from collapse.
- The increasing revenue demands of the state, the oppression of the officials, the greed and rapacity of the nobles, revenue-farmers, and *zamindars*, the marches and countermarches of the rival armies, and the depredations of the numerous adventurers roaming the land during the first half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century made the life of the people quite despicable.
- India of those days, was also a land of contrasts. Extreme poverty existed side by side with extreme rich and luxury. On the one hand, there were the rich and powerful nobles steeped in luxury and comfort; on the other, backward, oppressed, and impoverished peasants living at the bare subsistence level and having to bear all sorts of injustices and inequities.
- Even so, the life of the Indian masses was by and large better at this time than it was after over 100 years of British rule at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

#### Agriculture

- Indian agriculture during the 18<sup>th</sup> century was technically backward and stagnant. The techniques of production had remained stationary for centuries.
- The peasants tried to make up for technical backwardness by working very hard. They, In fact, performed miracles of production; moreover, they did not usually suffer from shortage of land. But, unfortunately, they seldom reaped the fruits of their labor.
- Even though it was peasants' produce that supported the rest of the society, their own reward was miserably inadequate.

#### Trade

- Even though the Indian villages were largely self-sufficient and imported little from outside and the means of communication were backward, extensive trade within the country and between India and other countries of Asia and Europe was earned on under the Mughals.

India imported –

- pearls, raw silk, wool, dates, dried fruits, and rose water from the Persian Gulf region;
- coffee, gold, drugs, and honey from Arabia;
- tea, sugar, porcelain, and silk from China;
- gold, musk and woolen cloth from Tibet;
- tin from Singapore;

- spices, perfumes, attack, and sugar from the Indonesian islands;
- ivory and drugs from Africa; and
- woolen cloth, metals such as copper, iron, and lead, and paper from Europe.
- India's most important article of export was cotton textiles, which were famous all over the world for their excellence and were in demand everywhere.
- India also exported raw silk and silk fabrics, hardware, indigo, saltpeter, opium, rice, wheat, sugar, pepper and other spices, precious stones, and drugs.
- Constant warfare and disruption of law and order, in many areas during the 18<sup>th</sup> century, banned the country's internal trade and disrupted its foreign trade to some extent and in some directions.
- Many trading centers were looted by the Indians as well as by foreign invaders. Many of the trade routes were infested with organized bands of robbers, and traders and their caravans were regularly looted.
- The road between the two imperial cities, Delhi and Agra, was made unsafe by the marauders. With the rise of autonomous provincial regimes and innumerable local chiefs, the number of custom houses or *chowkies* grew by leaps and bounds.
- Every petty or large ruler tried to increase his income by imposing heavy customs duties on goods entering or passing through his territories.
- The impoverishment of the nobles, who were the largest consumers of luxury products in which trade was conducted, also injured internal trade.
- Many prosperous cities, centers of flourishing industry, were sacked and devastated.
  - Delhi was plundered by Nadir Shah;
  - Lahore, Delhi, and Mathura by Ahmad Shah Abdali;
  - Agra by the *Jats*;
  - Surat and other cities of Gujarat and the Deccan by Maratha chiefs;
  - Sarhind by the Sikhs, and so on.
- The decline of internal and foreign trade also hit the industries hard in some parts of the country. Nevertheless, some industries in other parts of the country gained as a result of expansion in trade with Europe due to the activities of the European trading companies.

The important centers of textile industry were –

- Dacca and Murshidabad in Bengal;
- Patna in Bihar;
- Surat, Ahmedabad, and Broach in Gujarat;
- Chanderi in Madhya Pradesh
- Burhanpur in Maharashtra;
- Jaunpur, Varanasi, Lucknow, and Agra in U.P.;
- Multan and Lahore in Punjab;
- Masulipatam, Aurangabad, Chicacole, and Vishakhapatnam in Andhra;
- Bangalore in Mysore; and
- Coimbatore and Madurai in Madras.

- Kashmir was a center of woolen manufactures.

Ship-building industry flourished in Maharashtra, Andhra, and Bengal.

## **British Economic Policies**

- From 1600 to 1757, the East India Company's role in India, was that of a trading corporation, which brought goods or precious metals into India and exchanged them for Indian goods like textiles, spices, etc., which it sold abroad.
- British's profits came primarily from the sale of Indian goods abroad. It tried constantly to open new markets for Indian goods in Britain and other countries. Thereby, it increased the export of Indian manufactures and thus encouraged their production. This is the reason why the Indian rulers tolerated and even encouraged the establishment of the Company's factories in India.
- By 1720, laws had been passed forbidding the wear or use of printed or dyed cotton cloth in the UK.
- Other European countries, except Holland, also either prohibited the import of Indian cloth or imposed heavy import duties. In spite of these laws, however, Indian silk and cotton textiles still held their importance in foreign markets, until the middle of the 18<sup>th</sup> century when the English textile industry began to develop on the basis of new and advance technology.
- After the Battle of Plassey in 1757, the pattern of the Company's commercial relations with India underwent a qualitative change. Now the Company could use its political control over Bengal to push its Indian trade.
- The Company used its political power to dictate terms to the weavers of Bengal who were forced to sell their products at a cheaper and dictated price, even at a loss. Moreover, their labor was no longer free. Many of them were compelled to work for the Company for low wages and were forbidden to work for Indian merchants.
- The British Company eliminated its rival traders, both Indian and foreign, and prevented them from offering higher wages or prices to the Bengal handicraftsmen.
- The servants of the Company monopolized the sale of raw cotton and made the Bengal weaver pay exorbitant prices for it. Thus, the weaver lost by both ways, as a buyer as well as a seller. On the contrary, Indian textiles had to pay heavy duties on catering England.

## **The Industrial Revolution (in Britain)**

- The real blow on Indian handicrafts fell after 1813 when they lost not only their foreign markets but, what was of much greater importance, their market in India itself.
- Between the second half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century and the first few decades of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, Britain underwent profound social and economic transformation. British

industry developed and expanded rapidly on the basis of modern machines, the factory system, and capitalism.

- The Industrial Revolution transformed British society in a fundamental manner. It led to rapid economic development, which is the foundation of today's high standard of living in Britain as well as in Europe, the Soviet Union, the U.S.A., Canada, Australia, and Japan.
- Britain became increasingly urbanized as a result of the Industrial Revolution. More and more men began to live in factory towns.
- In 1750, Britain had only two cities with more than 50,000 inhabitants; in 1851, their number was 29.
- Two entirely new classes of society were born i.e.
  - The industrial capitalists, who owned the factories, and
  - The workers who hired out as the labors on daily wages.
- While the industrial capitalist class developed rapidly, enjoying unprecedented prosperity, the workers — the laboring poor in the beginning reaped a harvest of sorrow.
- Instead of exporting manufactured goods, India was now forced to export raw materials like raw cotton and raw silk, which British industries needed urgently, or plantation products like indigo and tea, or food grains, which were in short supply in Britain.
- The British also promoted the sale of Indian opium in China even though the Chinese put a ban on it because of its poisonous and other harmful qualities. But the trade yielded large profits to British merchants and fat revenues to the Company-cannoned administration of India.
- Interestingly enough, the import of opium into Britain was strictly banned. Thus, the commercial policy of the East India Company after 1913 was guided by the needs of British industry. Its main aim was to transform India into a consumer of British manufactures and a supplier of raw materials.

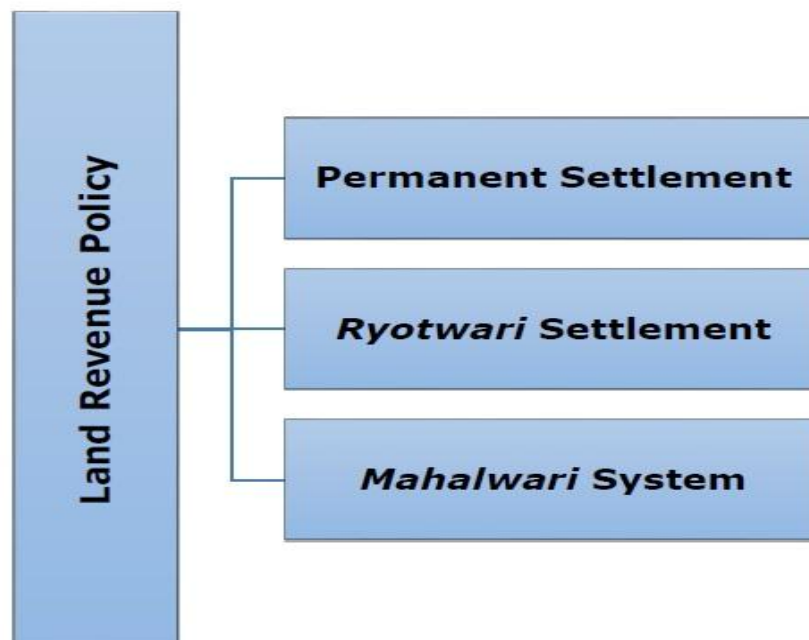
## **The Drain of Wealth**

- The British exported to Britain part of India's wealth and resources for which India got no adequate economic or material return.
- This 'Economic Drain' was peculiar to British rule. Even the worst of previous Indian governments had spent the revenue they extracted from the people inside the country.
- The British, consequently, spent a large part of the taxes and income they derived from Indian people not in India, but in their home country.
- The drain of wealth from Bengal began in 1757 when the Company's servants began to carry home immense fortunes extorted from Indian rulers, *zamindars*, merchants, and from other common people.
- They sent home nearly £ 6 million between 1758 and 1765. This amount was more than four times the total land revenue collection of the *Nawab* of Bengal in 1765.

- In 1765, the Company acquired the *dewani* of Bengal and thus gained control over its revenues.
- The Company, even more than its servants, soon directly organized the drain. It began to purchase Indian goods out of the revenue of Bengal and to export them. These purchases were known as 'investments' Thus, through 'Investments', Bengal's revenue was sent to England.

## Land Revenue Policy

- The Indian peasants had been forced to bear, the main burden of providing money for the trade and profits of the Company, the cost of administration, and the wars of British expansion in India. In fact, the British could not have conquered such a vast country as India if they had not taxed him heavily.
- The Indian state had since times immemorial taken a part of the agriculture produce as land revenue. It had been done so either directly through its servants or indirectly through intermediaries, such as zamindars, revenue-farmers, etc., who collected the land revenue from the cultivator and kept a part of it as their commission.
- The intermediaries were primarily collectors of land revenue, although they did sometimes own some land in the area from which they collected revenue.
- The Land Revenue Policy in India can be studied into three following heads –



## The Permanent Settlement

- In 1773, the British Company decided to manage the land revenues directly.
- Warren Hastings auctioned the right to collect revenue to the highest bidders. But his experiment did not succeed.
- The amount of land revenue was pushed high by zamindars and other Speculators bidding against each other; however, the actual collection varied from year to year and seldom came up to official expectations. This introduced instability in the Company's revenues at a time when the Company was hard pressed for money.
- Neither the *ryot* nor the zamindar would do anything to improve cultivation when they did not know what the next year's assessment would be or who would be the next year's revenue collector.
- The idea of fixing the land revenue at a permanent amount was introduced. Finally, after prolonged discussion and debate, the Permanent Settlement was introduced in Bengal and Bihar in 1793 by Lord Cornwallis.
- Permanent Settlement had some special features i.e.
  - The zamindars and revenue collectors were converted into so many landlords. They were not only to act as agents of the Government in collecting land revenue from the *ryot*, but also to become the owners of the entire land (over which they were collecting revenue). Their right of ownership was made hereditary and transferable.
  - On the other hand, the cultivators were reduced to the low status of mere tenants and were deprived of long-standing rights to the soil and other customary rights.
  - The use of the pasture and forest lands, irrigation canals, fisheries, and homestead plots and protection against enhancement of rent were some of the cultivators' rights which were sacrificed.
  - In fact the tenancy of Bengal was left entirely at the mercy of the zamindars. This was done so that the zamindars might be able to pay in time the exorbitant land revenue demand of the Company.
  - The zamindars were to give 10/11<sup>th</sup> of the rental they derived from the peasantry to the state, keeping only 1/11<sup>th</sup> for themselves. But the sums to be paid by them as land revenue were fixed in perpetuity.
  - At the same time, the zamindar had to pay his revenue rigidly on the due date even if the crop had failed for some reason; otherwise his lands were to be sold.
  - John Shore, the man who planned the Permanent Settlement and later succeeded Cornwallis as Governor-General, calculated that if the gross produce of Bengal be taken as 100, the Government claimed 45, zamindars and other intermediaries below them received 15, and only 40 remained with the actual cultivator.

## Benefits of Permanent Settlement

Before 1793, the Company was troubled by fluctuations in its chief source of income, i.e. the land revenue. The Permanent Settlement guaranteed the stability of income.

- The Permanent Settlement enabled the Company to maximize its income as land revenue was now fixed higher than it had ever been in the past.
- Collection of revenue through a small number of zamindars seemed to be much simpler and cheaper than the process of dealing with lakhs of cultivators.
- The Permanent Settlement was expected to increase agricultural production.
- Since the land revenue would not be increased in future even if the zamindar's income went up, the latter would be inspired to extend cultivation and improve agricultural productivity.

## Ryotwari Settlement

- The establishment of British rule in South and South-Western India brought new problems of land settlement. The officials believed that in these regions there were no zamindars with large estates with whom settlement of land revenue could be made and that the introduction of zamindari system would upset the existing state of affairs.
- Many Madras officials led by Reed and Munro recommended that settlement should therefore be made directly with the actual cultivators.
- The system they proposed, is known as the *Ryotwari* Settlement, under which the cultivator was to be recognized as the owner of his plot of land subject to the payment of land revenue.
- The supporters of the *Ryotwari* Settlement claimed that it was a continuation of the state of affairs that had existed in the past.
- Munro said: "*It is the system which has always prevailed in India*".
- The Ryotwari Settlement was introduced in parts of the Madras and Bombay Presidencies in the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century.
- The settlement under the Ryotwari system was not made permanent. It was revised periodically after 20 to 30 years when the revenue demand was usually raised.

## Mahalwari System

- A modified version of the zamindari settlement, introduced in the Gangetic valley, the North-West Provinces, parts of Central India, and Punjab, was known as the *Mahalwari* System.
- The revenue settlement was to be made village by village or estate (*mahal*) by estate with landlords or heads of families who collectively claimed to be the landlords of the village or the estate.



- In Punjab, a modified *Mahalwari* System known as the village system was introduced. In *Mahalwari* areas also, the land revenue was periodically revised.
- Both the Zamindari and the Ryotwari systems, departed fundamentally from the traditional land systems of the country.
- The British created a new form of private property in land in such a way that the benefit of the innovation did not go to the cultivators.
- All over the country, the land was now made salable, mortgagable, and alienable. This was done primarily to protect the Government's revenue.
- If land had not been made transferable or salable, the Government would find it very difficult to realize revenue from a cultivator who had no savings or possessions out of which to pay it.
- The British by making land a commodity which could be freely bought and sold introduced a fundamental change in the existing land systems of the country. The stability and the continuity of the Indian villages were shaken, in fact, the entire structure of the rural society began to break up.

## **Economic Impact of British Rule**

- There was hardly any aspect of the Indian economy that was not changed for better or for worse during the entire period of British rule down to 1947.

## **Disruption of Traditional Economy**

- The economic policies followed by the British led to the rapid transformation of Indian's economy into a colonial economy whose nature and structure were determined by the needs of the British economy that totally disrupted the traditional structure of the Indian economy.

## **Ruin of Artisans and Craftsmen**

- There was a sudden and quick collapse of the urban handicrafts, which had for centuries made India's name a byword in the markets of the entire civilized world.
- Indian goods made with primitive techniques could not compete with goods produced on a mass scale by powerful steam-operated machines.
- The development of railways enabled British manufactures to reach and uproot the traditional industries in the remotest villages of the country.
- The gradual destruction of rural crafts broke up the union between agricultural and domestic industry in the countryside and thus contributed to the destruction of the self-sufficient village economy.
- In the very beginning of British rule in Bengal, the policy of Clive and Warren Hastings of extracting the largest possible land revenue had led to such devastation that even Cornwallis complained that one-third of Bengal had been transformed into "*a jungle inhabited only by wild beasts.*"

- Over a period of time, the British rule introduced the concept of transferability of land; likewise, the British revenue system enabled the money-lender or the rich peasant to take possession of land.
- The process of transfer of land from cultivators was intensified during periods of scarcity and famines.
- By the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the money-lender had become a major curse of the countryside and an important cause of the growing poverty of the rural people.
- In 1911, the total rural debt was estimated at Rs 300 crores and by 1937, it was 1,800 crores.
- The pressure of taxation and growing poverty pushed the cultivators into debt, which in turn increased their poverty.
- The growing commercialization of agriculture also helped the money-lendercum-merchant to exploit the cultivator.
- The Permanent Settlement in North Madras and the *Ryotwari* Settlement in the rest of Madras were equally harsh.

## **Stagnation and Deterioration of Agriculture**

Following were the major reasons for stagnation and deterioration of agriculture –

- Overcrowding of agriculture;
- Excessive land revenue demand;
- Growth of landlordism;
- Increasing indebtedness; and
- The growing impoverishment of the cultivators.
- Indigo manufacture was introduced in India at the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century and flourished in Bengal and Bihar.
- Indigo planters gained notoriety for their oppression over the peasants who were compelled by them to cultivate indigo. This oppression was vividly portrayed by the famous Bengali writer Dinbandhu Mitra in his play “*Neel Darpan*” in 1860.
- The invention of a synthetic dye gave a big blow to the indigo industry and it gradually declined.

## **Poverty and Famines**

- The poverty of the people found its culmination in a series of famines which ravaged all parts of India in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century.
- The first of these famines occurred in Western U.P. in 1860-61 and cost over 2 lakh lives.
- In 1865-66, a famine engulfed Orissa, Bengal, Bihar, and Madras and took a toll of nearly 20 lakh lives; Orissa alone lost 10 lakh people.
- Perhaps the worst famine in Indian history till then occurred in 1876-78 in Madras, Mysore, Hyderabad, Maharashtra, Western U. P., and Punjab

- Madras lost nearly 35 lakhs,
- Maharashtra lost 8 lakh people,
- Mysore lost nearly 20 per cent of its population, and
- U. P. lost over 12 lakhs.
- The famine of 1896-97 affected over 9.5 crore people of whom nearly 45 lakhs died. The famine of 1899-1900 followed quickly and caused widespread distress.
- In spite of official efforts to save lives through the provision of famine relief, over 25 lakh people died.
- Apart from these major famines, many other local famines and scarcities occurred. William Digby, a British writer, has calculated that, in all, over 28,825,000 people died during famines from 1854 to 1901.
- Another famine in 1943 carried away nearly 3 million people in Bengal.
- These famines and the high losses of life in them indicate the extent to which poverty and starvation had taken root in India.

## **Consolidation of British Power**

- To consolidate its power, the British completed the task of conquering the whole of India from 1818 to 1857.

## **Conquest of Sindh**

- The conquest of Sindh occurred as a result of the growing Anglo-Russian rivalry in Europe and Asia and the consequent British fears that Russia might attack India through Afghanistan or Persia.
- To counter Russia, the British Government decided to increase its influence in Afghanistan and Persia. It further felt that this policy could be success, fully pursued only if Sindh was brought under British control. The commercial possibilities of the river Sindh were an additional attraction.
- The roads and rivers of Sindh were opened to British trade by a treaty in 1832.
- The chiefs of Sindh, known as *Amirs* were forced to sign a Subsidiary Treaty in 1839. And finally, in spite of previous assurances that its territorial integrity would be respected, Sindh was annexed in 1843 after a brief campaign by Sir Charles Napier.

## **Conquest of Punjab**

- The death of Maharaja Ranjit Singh in June 1839 was followed by political instability and rapid changes of government in the Punjab. Selfish and corrupt leaders came to the front. Ultimately, power fell into the hands of the brave and patriotic but utterly indisciplined army.

- The political instability in Punjab led the British to look greedily across the Sutlej upon the land of the five rivers even though they had signed a treaty of perpetual friendship with Ranjit Singh in 1809.
- The British officials increasingly talked of having to wage a campaign in the Punjab.
- The Punjab army let itself be provoked by the warlike actions of the British and their intrigues with the corrupt chiefs of the Punjab.
- In November 1844, Major Broadfoot, who was known to be hostile to the Sikhs, was appointed the British agent in Ludhiana.
- Broadfoot repeatedly indulged in hostile actions and gave provocations. The corrupt chiefs and officials found that the army would sooner or later deprive them of their power, position, and possessions. Therefore, they conceived the idea of saving themselves by embroiling the army in a war with the British.
- In the autumn of 1845, news reached that boats designed to form bridges had been dispatched from Bombay to Ferozepur on the Sutlej.
- The Punjab Army, now convinced that the British were determined to occupy the Punjab, took counter measures.
- When it heard in December that Lord Gough, the Commander-in-Chief, and Lord Harding, the Governor-General, were marching towards Ferozepur, the Punjab army decided to strike.
- The war between the two was thus declared on 13 December 1845. The danger from the foreigner immediately united the Hindus, the Muslims, and the Sikhs.
- The Punjab army fought heroically and with exemplary courage. But some of its leaders had already turned traitors. The Prime Minister, Raja Lal Singh, and the Commander-in-Chief, Misar Tej Singh, were secretly corresponding with the enemy.
- The Punjab Army was forced to concede defeat and to sign the humiliating Treaty of Lahore on 8 March 1846.
- The British annexed the Jalandhar Doab and handed over Jammu and Kashmir to Raja Gulab Singh Dogra for a cash payment of five million rupees.
- The Punjab army was reduced to 20,000 infantry and 12,000 cavalries and a strong British force was stationed at Lahore.
- Later, on 16 December 1846, another treaty was signed giving the British Resident at Lahore full authority on over all matters in every department of the state. Moreover, the British were permitted to station their troops in any part of the state.
- In 1848, freedom loving Punjabis rose up in through numerous local revolts. Two of the prominent revolts were led by Mulraj at Multan and Chattar Singh Attariwala near Lahore.
- The Punjabis were once again decisively defeated. Lord Dalhousie seized this opportunity to annex the Punjab. Thus, the last independent state of India was absorbed in the British Empire of India.

## Lord Dalhousie (1848-1856)

- Lord Dalhousie came to India as the Governor-General in 1848. He was from the beginning determined to extend direct British rule over as large area as possible.
- Dalhousie had declared that "the extinction of all native states of India is just a question of time". The ostensible reason for this policy was his belief that British administration was far superior to the corrupt and oppressive administration of the native rulers.
- The underlying motive of Dalhousie's policy was the expansion of British exports to India.
- Dalhousie, in common with other aggressive imperialists, believed that British exports to the native states of India were suffering because of the maladministration of these states by their Indian rulers.

## Doctrine of Lapse

- The chief instrument through which Lord Dalhousie implemented his policy of annexation was the 'Doctrine of Lapse.'
- Under the Doctrine of Lapse, when the ruler of a protected state died without a natural heir, his/her state was not to pass to an adopted heir as sanctioned by the age-old tradition of the country. Instead, it was to be annexed to the British dominions unless the adoption had been clearly approved earlier by the British authorities.
- Many states, including Satara in 1848 and Nagpur and Jhansi in 1854, were annexed by applying this doctrine.
- Dalhousie also refused to recognize the titles of many ex-rulers or to pay their pensions. Thus, the titles of the *Nawabs* of Carnatic and of Surat and the *Raja* of Tanjore were extinguished.
- After the death of the ex-Peshwa Baji Rao II, who had been made the Raja of Bithur, Dalhousie refused to extend his pay or pension to his adopted son, Nana Saheb.
- Lord Dalhousie was keen on annexing the kingdom of Avadh. But the task presented certain difficulties. For one, the *Nawabs* of Avadh had been British allies since the Battle of Buxer. Moreover, they had been most obedient to the British over the years.
- The Nawab of Avadh had many heirs and could not therefore be covered by the Doctrine of Lapse. Some other pretext had to be found for depriving him of his dominions.
- Lord Dalhousie hit upon the idea of alleviating the plight of the people of Avadh. Nawab Wajid Ali Shah was accused of having misgoverned his state and of refusing to introduce reforms. His state was therefore annexed in 1856.

- Undoubtedly, the degeneration of the administration of Avadh was a painful reality for its people.
- The *Nawabs* of Avadh, like other princes of the day, were selfish rulers absorbed in self-indulgence who cared little for good administration for the welfare of the people. However, the responsibility for this state of affairs was in part that of the British who had at least since, 1801 controlled and indirectly governed Avadh.
- In reality, it was the immense potential of Avadh as a market for Manchester goods which excited Dalhousie's greed and aroused his 'philanthropic' feelings.
- For similar reasons, to satisfy Britain's growing demand for raw cotton, Dalhousie took away the cotton-producing province of Berar from the *Nizam* in 1853.

## **The Revolt of 1857**

- In 1857, a Revolt broke out in Northern and Central India and nearly swept away British rule.
- The Revolt began with a mutiny of the *sepoys*, or the Indian soldiers of the Company's army, but soon engulfed wide regions and people. Millions of peasants, artisans, and soldiers fought heroically for over a year and by their courage and sacrifice wrote a glorious chapter in the history of the Indian people.
- The Revolt of 1857 was much more than a mere product of *sepoy* discontent. It was, in reality, a product of the accumulated grievances of the people against the Company's administration and of their dislike for the foreign regime.

The major causes of 1857 Revolt can be studied under the following heads –

### **Economic Cause**

- Perhaps the most important cause of the people's discontent was the economic exploitation of the country by the British and the complete destruction of its traditional economic fabric.

### **Socio-Political Cause**

- Other general causes of revolt were the British land revenue policies and the systems of law and administration. In particular, a large number of peasant proprietors lost their lands to traders and most of the lenders found themselves hopelessly burdened under debt.
- The common people were hard hit by the prevalence of corruption at the lower levels of administration. The police, petty officials, and lower (law) courts were notoriously corrupt.
- The middle and upper classes of Indian society, particularly in the North, were hard hit by their exclusion from the well-paid higher posts in the administration.

- Displacement of Indian rulers by the East India Company meant the sudden withdrawal of the patronage and the impoverishment of those who had depended upon it.
- Religious preachers, *pandits*, and *maulavis*, who felt that their entire future was threatened, were to play an important role in spreading hatred against the foreign rule.
- The British remained perpetual foreigners in the country. For one, there was no social link or communication between them and the Indians.
- Unlike foreign conquerors before them, they did not mix socially even with the upper classes of Indians; instead, they had a feeling of racial superiority and treated Indians with contempt and arrogance.
- The British did not come to settle in India and to make it their home. Their main objective was to enrich themselves and then go back to Britain along with Indian wealth.
- Munshi Mohanlal of Delhi, who remained loyal to the British during the Revolt, wrote that even "*those who had grown rich under British rule showed hidden delight at British reverses.*" Another loyalist, Moinuddin Hasan Khan, pointed out that the people looked upon the British as "*foreign trespassers.*"
- The British army suffered major reverses in the First Afghan War (1838-42) and the Punjab Wars (1845-49), and the Crimean War (1854-56).
- In 1855-56, the *Santhal* tribesmen of Bihar and Bengal rose up armed with axes and bows and arrows and revealed the potentialities of a popular uprising by temporarily sweeping away British rule from their area.
- The British ultimately won these wars and suppressed the *Santhal* uprising; however, the disasters British suffered in major battles revealed that the British army could be defeated by determined fighting, even by an Asian army.
- The annexation of Avadh by Lord Dalhousie in 1856 was widely resented in India in general and in Avadh in particular. It created an atmosphere of rebellion in Avadh and in the Company's army.
- Dalhousie's action angered the Company's *sepoys*, as most of them came from Avadh.
- The annexations rule of Dalhousie, created panic among rulers of the native states. They now discovered that their most groveling loyalty to the British had failed to satisfy the British greed for territory.
- This policy of annexation was, for example, directly responsible for making Nana Sahib, the Rani of Jhansi, and Bahadur Shah their staunch enemies.
- Nana Sahib was the adopted son of Baji Rao II, the last *Peshwa*. The British refused to grant Nana Sahib the pension they were paying to Baji Rao II, who died in 1818.
- The British insistence on the annexation of Jhansi incensed the proud of Rani Lakshmibai who wanted her adopted son to succeed her deceased husband.

- The house of the Mughals was humiliated when Dalhousie announced in 1849 that the Successor to Bahadur Shah would have to abandon the historic Red Fort and move to a humbler residence at the *Qutab* on the outskirts of Delhi.
- In 1856, Canning announced that after Bahadur Shah's death, the Mughals would lose the title of kings and would be known as mere princes.

## Religious Cause

- An important role in turning the people against British rule was played by their fear that it endangered their religion. This fear was largely due to the activities of the Christian missionaries who were "to be seen everywhere — in the schools, in the hospitals, in the prisons and at the market place."
- The missionaries tried to convert people and made violent and vulgar public attacks on Hinduism and Islam. They openly ridiculed and denounced the long cherished customs and traditions of the people.
- In 1850, the Government enacted a law, which enabled a convert to Christianity to inherit his ancestral property.
- Religious sentiments were also hurt by the official policy of taxing lands belonging to temples and mosques and to their priests or the charitable institutions which had been exempted from taxation by previous Indian rulers.
- The many Brahmin and Muslim families dependent on the religious activities were aroused to fury, and they began to propagate that the British were trying to undermine the religions of India.
- The *sepoys* also had religious or caste grievances of their own. The Indians of those days were very strict in observing caste rules, etc.
- The military authorities forbade the *sepoys* to wear caste and sectarian marks, beards, or turbans.
- In 1856, an Act was passed under which every new recruit undertook to serve even overseas, if required. This hurt the *sepoys'* sentiments as, according to the current religious belief of the Hindus, travel across the sea was forbidden and led to less of caste.

## Historical Cause

- The *sepoys* also had numerous other grievances against their employers. They were treated with contempt by their British officers.
- The *sepoys'* dissatisfaction was because of the recent order that they would not be given the Foreign Service allowance (*batta*) when serving in Sindh or in the Punjab. This order resulted in a big cut in the salaries of a large number of them.
- The dissatisfaction of the *sepoys* had, in fact, a long history. A *sepoy* mutiny had broken out in Bengal as early as 1764. The authorities had suppressed it by blowing away 30 *sepoys*.
- In 1806, the *sepoys* at Vellore mutinied but were crushed with terrible violence.



- In 1824, the 47<sup>th</sup> Regiment of *sepoys* at Barrackpore refused to go to Burma by the sea-route. The Regiment was disbanded, its unarmed men were fired upon by artillery, and the leaders of the *sepoys* were hanged.
- In 1844, seven battalions revolted on the question of salaries and *batta*.
- The *sepoys* in Afghanistan were on the verge of revolt during the Afghan War. Two *subedars*, a Muslim and a Hindu, were shot dead for giving expression to the discontent in the army.

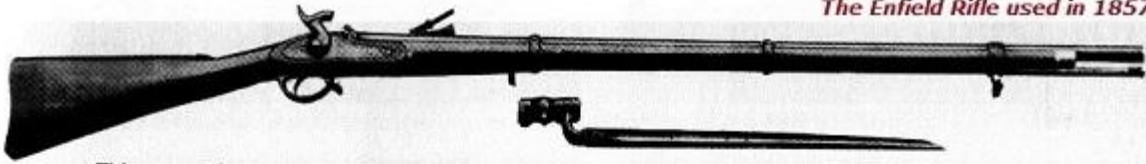
### **Beginning of Revolt - Views**

- It is not yet clear whether the Revolt of 1857 was spontaneous, un-planned, or the result of a careful and secret organization.
- The revolts have left behind no records. As they worked illegally, they perhaps kept no records.
- The British suppressed any favorable mention of the Revolt, and took strong action against anyone who tried to present their side of the story.
- A group of historians and writers has asserted that the Revolt was the result of a widespread and well-organized conspiracy. They pointed to the circulation of *chapattis* and red lotuses, propaganda by wandering *sanyasis*, *faqirs*, and *madaris*.
- The historians say that many of the Indian regiments were carefully linked in a secret organization which had fixed 31 May 1857 as the day when all of them were to revolt.
- It is also said that Nana Sahib and Maulvi Ahmed Shah of Faizabad were playing leading roles in this conspiracy.
- Some other writers equally forcefully deny that any careful planning went into the making of the Revolt. They point out that not a scrap of paper was discovered before or after the Revolt indicating an organized conspiracy, nor did a single witness come forward to make such a claim.
- The truth perhaps lies somewhere between these two extreme views. It seems likely that there was an organized conspiracy to revolt but that the organization had not progressed sufficiently when the Revolt broke out accidentally.

### **Immediate Cause of Revolt**

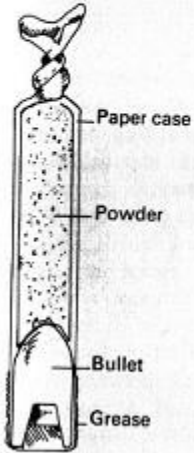
- By 1857, the material for a mass upheaval was ready, only a spark was needed to set it afire.
- The new Enfield rifle had been introduced in the army. Its cartridges had a greased paper cover whose end had to be bitten off before the cartridge was loaded into the rifle.

The Enfield Rifle used in 1857



This percussion-lock rifle was produced in the British Ordnance Factory at Enfield near London. It came into use in the British army in 1853. Shortly afterwards it was sent out for trials for the Company army in India. The 'rifling' on the inside of the barrel made the shot more accurate and gave the weapon a greater range. It was an enormous improvement on the Brown Bess smooth-bore flintlock musket which had been the standard weapon of all British forces since the early eighteenth century.

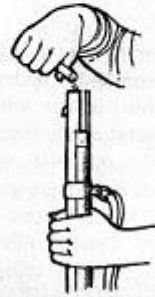
A greased cartridge



How it was loaded



1. The soldier tears open the end of the cartridge with his teeth.



2. He pours the powder down the muzzle of his rifle. Then he thrusts the bullet, still wrapped in the cartridge paper which makes it a tight fit, into the muzzle.



3. He takes his ramrod from its slot beneath the rifle barrel, and rams paper, bullet and powder to the bottom of the barrel.

Source: guns.com

- The grease was in some instances composed of beef and pig fat. The *sepoys*, Hindu as well as Muslim, were enraged, as the use of the greased cartridges would endanger their religion.
- Many of the *sepoys*, believed that the Government was deliberately trying to destroy their religion.

## Diffusion of 1857 Revolt

- The Revolt began at Meerut, 36 miles from Delhi, on 10 May 1857 and then gathering force rapidly spread across Northern India. It 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.
- Even before the outbreak at Meerut, Mangal Pande had become a martyr at Barrackpore.
- Mangal Pande, a young soldier, was hanged on 29 March 1857 for revolting single-handed and attacking his superior officers. This and many similar incidents were a sign that discontent and rebellion were brewing among the *sepoys*, and then came the explosion at Meerut.

- On 24 April 1857, ninety men of the 3rd Native Cavalry refused to accept the greased cartridges. On 9 May 1857, eighty five of them were dismissed, sentenced to 10 years' imprisonment, and put into fetters. This sparked off a general mutiny among the Indian soldiers stationed at Meerut.
- The very next day, on 10 May, *sepoys* released their imprisoned comrades, killed their officers, and unfurled the banner of revolt. As if drawn by a magnet they set off for Delhi after sunset.
- When the Meerut soldiers appeared in Delhi the next morning, the local infantry joined them, killed their own European officers, and seized the city.
- The rebellious soldiers proclaimed the aged and powerless Bahadur Shah the Emperor of India.
- Delhi was soon to become the center of the Great Revolt and Bahadur Shah its great symbol.
- Bahadur Shah, in turn, under the instigation and perhaps the pressure of the *sepoys*, soon wrote letters to all the chiefs and rulers of India urging them to organize a confederacy of Indian states to fight and replace the British regime.
- The entire Bengal Army soon rose in revolt which spread quickly. Avadh, Rohilkhand, the Bundelkhand, Central India, large parts of Bihar, and the East Punjab, all shook off British authority.
- In many of the princely states, rulers remained loyal to their British overlord but the soldiers revolted or remained on the brink of revolt.
- More than 20,000 of Gwalior's troops went over to Tantia Tope and the Rani of Jhansi.
- Many small chiefs of Rajasthan and Maharashtra, revolted with the support of the people, who were quite hostile to the British. Local rebellions also occurred in Hyderabad and Bengal.
- The tremendous sweep and breadth of the Revolt were matched by its depth. Everywhere in Northern and Central India, the mutiny of the *sepoys* was followed by popular revolts of the civilian population.
- After the *sepoys* had destroyed British authority, the common people was up in arms often fighting with spears and axes, bows and arrows, *lathis* and scythes, and crude muskets.
- It was the wide participation to the Revolt by the peasantry and the artisans which gave it real strength as well as the character of a popular revolt, especially in the areas at present included in Uttar Pradesh and Bihar.
- The popular character of the Revolt of 1857 also became evident when the British tried to smash it. They had to wage a vigorous and ruthless war not only against the rebellious *sepoys* but also against the people of Avadh, NorthWestern Provinces and Agra, Central India, and Western Bihar, burning entire villages and massacring villagers and urban people.
- The *sepoys* and the people fought staunchly and valiantly up to the very end. They were defeated but their spirit remained unbroken.

- Much of the strength of the Revolt of 1857 lay in Hindu-Muslim unity. Among the soldiers and the people as well as among the leaders there was complete cooperation as between Hindus and Muslims.
- In fact, the events of 1857 clearly bring out that the people and politics of India were not basically communal in medieval times and before 1858.

## Centers of 1857 Revolt

- The storm-centers of the Revolt of 1857 were –
  - Delhi,
  - Kanpur,
  - Lucknow,
  - Jhansi, and
  - Arrah in Bihar.

### Delhi

- At Delhi, the nominal and symbolic; leadership belonged to the Emperor Bahadur Shah, but the real command lay with a Court of Soldiers headed by General Bakht Khan who had led the revolt of the Bareilly troops and brought them to Delhi.
- In the British army, Bakht Khan was an ordinary *subedar* of artillery.
- Bakht Khan represented the popular and plebian element at the headquarters of the Revolt.
- After the British occupation of Delhi in September 1857, Bakht Khan went to Lucknow and continued to fight the British till he died in a battle on 13 May 1859.
- The Emperor Bahadur Shah was perhaps the weakest link in the chain of leadership of the Revolt.

### Kanpur

- At Kanpur, the Revolt was led by Nana Sahib, the adopted son of Baji Rao II, the last Peshwa.
- Nana Sahib expelled the English from Kanpur with the help of the *sepoys* and proclaimed himself the Peshwa. At the same time, he acknowledged Bahadur Shah as the Emperor of India and declared himself to be his Governor.
- The chief burden of fighting on behalf of Nana Sahib fell on the shoulders of Tantia Tope, one of his most loyal servants.
- Tantia Tope has won immortal fame by his patriotism, determined fighting, and skillful guerrilla operations.
- Azimullah was another loyal servant of Nana Sahib. He was an expert in political propaganda.
- Unfortunately, Nana Sahib tarnished his (Azimullah's) brave record by deceitfully killing the garrison at Kanpur after he had agreed to give them safe conduct.

## **Lucknow**

- The revolt at Lucknow was led by the Begum of Avadh who had proclaimed her young son, Birjis Kadr, as the Nawab of Avadh.

## **Jhansi**

- One of the great leaders of the Revolt of 1857 and perhaps one of the greatest heroines of Indian history, was the young Rani Lakshmibai of Jhansi.
- The young Rani joined the rebels when the British refused to acknowledge her right to adopt an heir to the Jhansi *gaddi* (throne) annexed her state, and threatened to treat her as an instigator of the rebellion of the *sepoys* at Jhansi.
- Rani captured Gwalior with the help of Tantia Tope and her trusted Afghan guards.
- Maharaja Sindhia, loyal to the British, made an attempt to fight the Rani but most of his troops deserted to her.
- The brave Rani died fighting on 17 June 1858.

## **Arrah (Bihar)**

- Kunwar Singh, a ruined and discontented zamindar of Jagdishpur near Arrah, was the chief organizer of the Revolt in Bihar.
- Though nearly 80 years old, Kunwar Singh was perhaps the most outstanding military leader and strategist of the Revolt.
- Kunwar Singh fought with the British in Bihar, and, later joined hands with Nana Sahib's forces; he also campaigned in Avadh and Central India.
- Racing back home, Kunwar Singh treated the British forts near Arrah. But this proved to be his last battle. He had sustained a fatal wound in the fighting. He died on 27 April 1858 in his ancestral house in the village of Jagdishpur.
- Maulavi Ahmadullah of Faizabad was another outstanding leader of the Revolt. He was a native of Madras where he had started preaching armed rebellion.
- In January 1857, Maulavi Ahmadullah moved towards the North to Faizabad where he fought a largescale battle against a company of British troops sent to stop him from preaching sedition.
- When the general Revolt broke out in May, Maulavi Ahmadullah emerged as one of its acknowledged leaders in Avadh. After the defeat at Lucknow, he led the rebellion in Rohilkhand where he was treacherously killed by the Raja of Puwain who was received Rs 50,000 as a reward by the British.

## Outcome of 1857 Revolt

- The Revolt was suppressed. Sheer courage could not win against a powerful and determined enemy who planned its every step.
- The rebels were dealt an early blow when the British captured Delhi on 20 September 1857 after prolonged and bitter fighting.
- The aged Emperor Bahadur Shah was taken prisoner. The Royal Princes were captured and butchered on the spot. The Emperor was tried and exiled to Rangoon where he died in 1862.
- John Lawrence, Outran, Havelock, Neil, Campbell, and Hugh Rose were some of the British commanders who earned military fame in the course of the revolt.
- One by one, all the great leaders of the Revolt fell. Nana Sahib was defeated at Kanpur. Defiant to the very end and refusing to surrender, he escaped to Nepal early in 1859, never to be heard of again.
- Tantia Tope escaped into the jungles of Central India where he carried on bitter and brilliant guerrilla warfare until April 1859 when he was betrayed by a zamindar friend and captured while asleep. He was put to death after a hurried trial on 15 April 1859.
- The Rani Jhansi had died on the field of battle earlier on 17 June 1858.
- By 1859, Kunwar Singh, Bakht Khan, Khan Bahadur Khan of Bareilly, Rao Sahib brother of Nana Sahib, and Maulavi Ahmadullah were all dead, while the Begum of Avadh was compelled to hide in Nepal.
- By the end of 1859, British authority over India was fully reestablished, but the Revolt had not been in vain. It was the first great struggle of the Indian people for freedom from British imperialism. It paved the way for the rise of the modern national movement.

## Weaknesses of Revolt

- Indian *sepoys* and people were short of modern weapons and other materials of war. Most of them fought with such ancient weapons as pikes and swords.
- Indian *sepoys* and other revolt participants were also poorly organized. There was communication gap and they lacked consensus.
- The rebel units did not have a common plan of action, or authoritative heads, or centralized leadership.
- The *sepoys* were brave and selfless but they were also ill-disciplined. Sometimes they behaved more like a riotous mob than a disciplined army.
- The uprisings in different parts of the country were completely uncoordinated.
- Once the Indian people overthrew British power from an area, they did not know what sort of power to create in its place.

- They failed to evolve unity of action. They were suspicious and jealous of one another and often indulged in suicidal quarrels. For example, the Begum of Avadh quarreled with Maulavi Ahmadullah and the Mughal princes with the *sepoy*-generals.
- The peasants destroyed revenue records and money-lenders' books, and overthrown the new zamindars, became passive not knowing what to do next.
- Modern nationalism was yet unknown in India. Patriotism meant love of one's small locality or region or at most one's state.
- In fact, the Revolt of 1857 played an important role in bringing the Indian people together and imparting to them the consciousness of belonging to one country.

### **Criticism of 1857 Revolt**

- Even though spread over a vast territory and widely popular among the people, the Revolt of 1857 could not embrace the entire country or all the groups and classes of Indian society.
- Most rulers of the Indian states and the big zamindars, selfish to the core and fearful of British might, refused to join in.
- On the contrary, the Sindhia of Gwalior, the Holkar of Indore, the Nizam of Hyderabad, the Raja of Jodhpur and other Rajput rulers, the Nawab of Bhopal, the rulers of Patiala, Nabha, Jind, and Kashmir, the Ranas of Nepal, and many other ruling chiefs, and a large number of big zamindars gave active help to the British in suppressing the Revolt. In fact, no more than one per cent of the chiefs of India joined the Revolt.
- Governor-General Canning later remarked that these rulers and chiefs "acted as the breakwaters to the storm which would have otherwise swept us in one great wave."
- Madras, Bombay, Bengal, and the Western Punjab remained undisturbed, even though the popular feeling in these provinces favored the rebels.
- Except for the discontented and the dispossessed zamindars, the middle and upper classes were mostly critical of the rebels; most of the propertied classes were either cool towards them or actively hostile to them.
- The money-lenders were the chief targets of the villagers' attacks. They were, therefore, naturally hostile to the Revolt.
- The merchants too gradually became unfriendly. The rebels were compelled to impose heavy taxation on them in order to finance the war or to seize their stocks of foodstuffs to feed the army
- The merchants often hid their wealth and goods and refused to give free supplies to the rebels.
- The big merchants or Bombay, Calcutta, and Madras supported the British because their main profits came from foreign trade and economic connections with the British merchants.

- The zamindars of Bengal also remained loyal to the British. They were after all a creation of the British.
- The modern educated Indians also did not support the Revolt. They were repelled by the rebels' appeals to superstitions and their opposition to progressive social measures.
- The educated Indians wanted to end the backwardness of the country. They mistakenly believed that British rule would help them accomplish these tasks of modernization while the rebels would take the country backward.
- The revolutionaries of 1857 proved to be more farsighted in this respect; they had a better, instinctive understanding of the evils of foreign rule and of the necessity to get rid of it.
- On the other hand, they did not realize, as did the educated intelligentsia, that the country had fallen prey to foreigners precisely because it had stuck to rotten and outmoded customs, traditions, and institutions.
- In any case, it cannot be said that the educated Indians were anti-national or loyal to a foreign regime. As events after 1858 were to show, they were soon to lead a powerful and modern national movement against British rule.

## **Administrative Changes After 1858**

- The Revolt of 1857 gave a severe jolt to the British administration in India and made its reorganization inevitable.
- An Act of Parliament in 1858 transferred the power to govern from the East India Company to the British Crown.
- While authority over India had previously been wielded by the Directors of the Company and the Board of Control, now this power was to be exercised by a Secretary of State for India aided by a Council.
- The Secretary of State was a member of the British Cabinet and as such was responsible to Parliament. Thus the ultimate power over India remained with British Parliament.
- By 1869, the Council was completely subordinated to the Secretary of State. Most of the members of the India Council were retired British-Indian officials.
- Under the Act, a government was to be carried on as before by the Governor-General who was also given the title of Viceroy or Crown's personal representative.
- Viceroy was paid two and a half lakhs of rupees a year in addition to his other allowances.
- With the passage of time, the Viceroy was increasingly reduced to a subordinate status in relation to the British Government in matters of policy as well as the execution of policy.



- As a result of the Regulating Act, Pitt's India Act, and the later Charter Acts the Government of India was being effectively controlled from London.
- Instructions from London took a few weeks to arrive and the Government of India had often to take important policy decisions in a hurry. Control by the authorities in London was therefore often more in the nature of *post facto* evaluation and criticism than of actual direction.
- By 1870, a submarine cable had been laid through the Red Sea between England and India. Orders from London could now reach India in a matter of hours.
- The Secretary of State could now control the minutest details of administration and do so constantly every hour of the day.
- No Indian had a voice in the India Council or the British Cabinet or Parliament. Indians could hardly even approach such distant masters.
- In a given condition, Indian opinion had even less impact on government policy than before. On the other hand, British industrialists, merchants, and bankers increased their Influence over the Government of India.
- In India, the Act of 1858 provided that the Governor-General would have an Executive Council whose members were to act as heads of different departments and as his official advisers.
- The position of the members of the Council was similar to that of Cabinet ministers. Originally there were five members of this Council but by 1918, there were six ordinary members, apart from the Commander-in-Chief who headed the Army Department.
- The Council discussed all important matters and decided them by a majority vote; but the Governor-General had the power to override any important decision of the Council. In fact, gradually all power was concentrated in the Governor-General's hands.
- The Indian Councils Act of 1861 enlarged the Governor-General's Council for the purpose of making laws in which capacity it was known as the Imperial Legislative Council.
- The Governor-General was authorized to add to his Executive Council between six and twelve members of whom at least half had to be non-officials who could be Indian or English.
- The Imperial Legislative Council possessed no real powers and should not be seen as a sort of elementary or weak parliament. It was merely an advisory body. It could not discuss any important measure, and no financial measures at all, without the previous approval of the Government
- The Imperial Legislative Council had no control over the budget. It could not discuss the notions of the administration; the members could not even ask questions about them. The Legislative Council had no control over the executive.
- No bill passed by Legislative Council could become an Act until it was approved by the Governor-General.

- The Secretary of State could disallow any of its Acts. Thus, the only important function of the Legislative Council was to ditto official measures and give them the appearance of having been passed by a legislative body.
- The Indian members of the Legislative Council were few in number and were not elected by the Indian people, but rather were nominated by the GovernorGeneral whose choice invariably fell on princes and their ministers, big zamindars, big merchants, or retired senior government officials.
- For the better understanding, we can study the major administrative changes under the following heads –
  - Provincial Administration
  - Local Bodies
  - Change in Army
  - Public Services
  - Relations with Princely States
  - Administrative Policies and
  - Extreme Backwardness of Social Services
- All these headings have been described briefly in subsequent chapters (with the same headings).

## UNIT - III

# Social and cultural impact of colonial rule

### Social and Cultural Awakening

- Western conquest exposed the weakness and decay of Indian society. Hence, thoughtful Indians began to look for the defects of their society and for the ways and means of removing them.

### Raja Ram Mohan Roy

- The central figure in the awakening was Ram Mohan Roy, who is rightly regarded as the first great leader of modern India.
- Ram Mohan Roy was pained by the stagnation and corruption of the contemporary Indian society, which was at that time dominated by caste and convention. Popular religion was full of superstitions and was exploited by ignorant and corrupt priests.
- The upper classes were selfish and often sacrificed social interest to their own narrow interests.
- Ram Mohan Roy possessed great love and respect for the traditional philosophic systems of the East; but, at the same time, he believed that Western culture alone would help to regenerate Indian society.
- In particular, Ram Mohan Roy wanted his countrymen to accept the rational and scientific approach and the principle of human dignity and social equality of all men and women. He was also in favor of the introduction of modern capitalism and industry in the country.
- Ram Mohan Roy represented a synthesis of the thought of East and West. He was a learned scholar who knew more than dozen languages including Sanskrit, Persian, Arabic, English, French, Latin, Greek, and Hebrew.
- As a young man, Ram Mohan Roy had studied Sanskrit literature and Hindu philosophy at Varanasi and Koran and Persian and Arabic literature at Patna.
- Ram Mohan Roy was also well-acquainted with Jainism and other religious movements and sects of India.
- Ram Mohan Roy made an intensive study of Western thought and culture. Only to study the Bible in the original form, he learnt Greek and Hebrew.
- In 1809, Ram Mohan Roy wrote his famous work *Gift to Monotheists* in Persian. In this work, he put forward weighty arguments against belief in many gods and for the worship of a single God.
- Ram Mohan Roy settled in Calcutta in 1814 and soon attracted a band of young men with whose cooperation he started the *Atmiya Sabha*.

- In particular, Ram Mohan Roy vigorously opposed worship of idols, rigidity of caste, and prevalence of meaningless religious rituals. He condemned the priestly class for encouraging and inculcating these practices.
- Roy held that all the principal ancient texts of the Hindus preached monotheism or worship of one God.
- Roy published the Bengali translation of the Vedas and of five of the principal Upanishads to prove his point. He also wrote a series of tracts and pamphlets in defence of monotheism.
- In 1820, Roy published his *Precepts of Jesus* in which he tried to separate the moral and philosophic message of the New Testament, which he praised, from its miracle stories.
- Roy wanted the high-moral message of Christ to be incorporated in Hinduism. This earned for him the hostility of the missionaries.
- Roy vigorously defended Hindu religion and philosophy from the ignorant attacks of the missionaries. At the same time, he adopted an extremely friendly attitude towards other religions.
- Roy believed that basically all religions preach a common message and that their followers are all brothers under the skin.
- In 1829, Roy founded a new religious society, the *Brahma Sabha*, later known as the *Brahmo Samaj*, whose purpose was to purify Hinduism and to preach theism or the worship of one God. The new society was to be based on the twin pillars of reason and the Vedas and Upanishads.
- The *Brahmo Samaj* laid emphasis on human dignity, opposed idolatry, and criticized such social evils as the practice of *Sati*.
- Ram Mohan Roy was one of the earliest propagators of modern education, which he looked upon as a major instrument for the spread of modern ideas in the country.
- In 1817, David Hare, who had come to India in 1800 as a watchmaker, but who spent his entire life in the promotion of modern education in the country, founded the famous Hindu College.
- Ram Mohan Roy gave most enthusiastic assistance to Hare in his educational projects.
- Roy maintained at his own cost an English school in Calcutta from 1817 in which, among other subjects, mechanics and the philosophy of Voltaire were taught.
- In 1825, Roy established a *Vadanta* College in which courses both in Indian learning and in Western social and physical sciences were offered.
- Ram Mohan Roy represented the first glimmerings of the rise of national consciousness in India.
- In particular, Roy opposed the rigidities of the caste system, which he declared, “*has been the source of want of unity among us.*” He believed that the caste system was double evil: it created inequality and it divided people and deprived them of patriotic feeling.

- Ram Mohan Roy was pioneer of Indian journalism. He brought out journals in Bengali, Persian, Hindi, and English to spread scientific literary, and political knowledge among the people, to educate public opinion on topics of current interest, and to represent popular demands and grievances before the Government.
- Roy was also the initiator of public agitation on political questions in the country.
- Roy condemned the oppressive practices of the Bengal Zamindars, which had reduced the peasants to a miserable condition.
- Roy demanded that the maximum rents paid by the actual cultivators of land should be permanently fixed so that they too would enjoy the benefits of the Permanent Settlement of 1793.
- Roy also protested against the attempts to impose taxes on tax-free lands.
- Roy demanded the abolition of the Company's trading rights and the removal of heavy export duties on Indian goods.
- Roy raised the demands for the Indianization of the superior services, separation of the executive and the judiciary, trial by jury, and judicial equality between Indians and Europeans.
- Ram Mohan Roy took a keen interest in international events and everywhere he supported the cause of liberty, democracy, and nationalism and opposed injustice, oppression, and tyranny in every form.
- Roy condemned the miserable condition of Ireland under the oppressive regime of absentee landlordism. He publicly declared that he would emigrate from the British Empire if Parliament failed to pass the Reform Bill.
- After 1843, the Brahmo tradition founded by Raja Ram Mohan Roy was carried forward by Devendranath Tagore and after 1866 by Keshub Chandra Sen.
- Devendranath Tagore repudiated the doctrine that the Vedic scriptures were infallible.
- The Brahmo Samaj made an effort to reform Hindu religion by removing abuses, by basing it on the worship of one God and on the teachings of the Vedas and Upanishads, and by incorporating the best aspects of modern western thought.
- The Brahmo Samaj denied the need for a priestly class for interpreting religious writings. Every individual had the right and the capacity to decide with the help of his own intellect what was right and what was wrong in a religious book or principle.
- The Brahmos were basically opposed to idolatry and superstitious practices and rituals, in fact, the entire *Brahmanical* system; they could worship one God without the mediation of the priest.
- The Brahmos were also great social reformers. They actively opposed the caste system and child-marriage; and supported the general uplift of women, including widow remarriage, and the spread of modern education to men and women.
- The Brahmo Samaj was weakened by internal dissensions in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

## Henry Vivian Derozio

- A radical trend arose among the Bengali intellectuals during the late 1820s and the 1830s. This trend was more modern than Roy's ideology and is known as the "Young Bengal Movement."
- The leader and inspirer of Young Bengal Movement was the young Anglo-Indian Henry Vivian Derozio, who was born in 1809 and who taught at Hindu College from 1826 to 1831.
- Derozio possessed a dazzling intellect and followed the most radical views of the time. He was inspired by the great French Revolution.
- Derozio and his famous followers, known as the *Derozians* and Young Bengal, were fiery patriots. Perhaps, he was the first nationalist poet of modern India.
- Derozio was removed from the Hindu College in 1831 because of his radicalism and died of cholera soon after at the young age of 22.
- Even so, the Derozians carried forward Ram Mohan Roy's tradition of educating the people in social, economic, and political questions through newspapers, pamphlets, and public associations.
- Surendranath Banerjee, the famous leader of the nationalist movement, described the Derozians as "*the pioneers of the modern civilization of Bengal, the conscript fathers of our race whose virtues will excite veneration and whose failings will be treated with gentlest consideration.*"

## Tatvabodhini Sabha

- In 1839, Debendranath Tagore, father of Rabindranath Tagore, founded the *Tatvabodhini Sabha* to propagate Ram Mohan Roy's ideas.
- The *Tatvabodhini Sabha* and its organ the *Tatvabodhini Patrika* promoted a systematic study of India's past in the Bengali language.
- In 1843, Debendranath Tagore reorganized the *Brahmo Samaj* and put new life into it.
- The *Samaj* actively supported the movement for widow remarriage, abolition of polygamy, Women's education, improvement of the *ryot's* condition, etc.

## Pandit Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar

- Born in 1820 in a very poor family, Vidyasagar struggled through hardship to educate himself and in the end, became the principal of the Sanskrit College (in 1851).
- Though Vidyasagar was a great Sanskrit scholar, his mind was open to the Western thought, and he came to represent a happy blend of Indian and Western culture.
- Vidyasagar resigned from government service, as he would not tolerate undue official interference.

- Vidyasagar's generosity to the poor was fabulous. He seldom possessed a warm coat that he invariably gave it to the first naked beggar he met on the street.
- Vidyasagar evolved a new technique of teaching Sanskrit. He wrote a Bengali primer which is used till this day. By his writings, he helped in the evolution of a modern prose style in Bengali.
- Vidyasagar opened the gates of the Sanskrit college to non-Brahmin students as well.
- To free Sanskrit studies from the harmful effects of self-imposed isolation, Vidyasagar introduced the study of Western thought in the Sanskrit College. He also helped to establish a college, which is now named after him.
- He raised his powerful voice, backed by the weight of immense traditional learning, in favor of widow remarriage in 1855.
- The first lawful Hindu widow remarriage among the upper castes in India was celebrated in Calcutta on 7 December 1856 under the inspiration and supervision of Vidyasagar.
- In 1850, Vidyasagar protested against child-marriage. All his life, he campaigned against polygamy.
- As a Government Inspector of Schools, Vidyasagar organized thirty five girls' schools, many of which he ran at his own expense.
- The Bethune School, founded in Calcutta in 1849, was the first fruit of the powerful movement for women's education that arose in the 1840s and 1850s.
- As Secretary to the Bethune School, Vidyasagar was one of the innovators of higher education for women.
- In 1848, several educated young men formed the Students' Literary and Scientific Society, which had two branches, the Gujarati and the Marathi (*Dnyan Prasarak Mandlis*).

## **Jotiba Phule**

- In 1851, Jotiba Phule and his wife started a girls' school at Poona and soon many other schools came up.
- Phule was also a pioneer of the widow remarriage movement in Maharashtra.
- Vishnu Shastri Pundit founded the Widow Remarriage Association in the 1850s.
- Karsandas Mulji started a weekly paper in Gujarati called "the Satya Prakash" in 1852 to advocate widow remarriage.
- An outstanding champion of a new learning and social reform in Maharashtra was Gopal Hari Deshmukh who became famous by the penname of '*Lokahitawadi*.'
- Deshmukh advocated the reorganization of Indian society on rational principles and modern humanistic and secular values.
- Dadabhahi Naoroji was another leading social reformer of Bombay. He was one of the founders of an association to reform the Zoroastrian religion and the Parsi Law Association which agitated for the grant of a legal status to women and for uniform laws of inheritance and marriage for the *Parsis*.

- Many Indians realized that social and religious reformation was an essential condition for the all-round development of the country on modern lines and for the growth of national unity and solidarity.
- After 1858, the earlier reforming tendency was broadened. The work of earlier reformers, like Raja Ram Mohan Roy and Pandit Vidyasagar, was carried further by major movements of religious and social reform.

## **Religious Reforms**

- Filled with the desire to adapt their society to the requirements of the modern world of science, democracy, and nationalism, and determined to let no obstacles stand in the way, thoughtful Indians set out to reform their traditional religions.

## **Religious Reform in Maharashtra**

- Religious reform was begun in Bombay in 1840 by the Parmahans Mandali, Which aimed at fighting idolatry and the caste system.
- The earliest religious reformer in Western India perhaps was Gopal Hari Deshmukh, known popularly as '*Lokahitwadi*'. He wrote in Marathi, made powerful rationalist attacks on Hindu orthodoxy, and preached religious and social equality.
- Later the *Prarthana Samaj* was started with the aim of reforming Hindu religious thought and practice in the light of modern knowledge.
- It preached the worship of one God and tried to free religion of caste orthodoxy and priestly domination.
- Two of its great leaders were R.G. Bhandarkar, the famous Sanskrit scholar and historian, and Mahadev Govind Ranade (1842-1901).
- Prarthana Samaj was powerfully influenced by the Brahmo Samaj. Its activities also spread to South India as a result of the efforts of the Telugu reformer, Viresalingam.

## **Theosophical Society**

- The Theosophical Society was founded in the United States by Madam H.P. Blavatsky and Colonel H.S. Olcott, who later came to India and founded the headquarters of the Society at Adyar near Madras in 1886.
- The Theosophist movement soon grew in India as a result of the leadership given to Mrs. Annie Besant who had come to India in 1893.
- The Theosophists advocated the revival and strengthening of the ancient religion of Hinduism, Zoroastrianism, and Buddhism.
- The Theosophists recognized the doctrine of the transmigration of the soul. They also preached the universal brotherhood of man.



- It was a movement led by westerners who glorified Indian religions and philosophical tradition.
- Theosophical movement helped Indians to recover their self-confidence, even though it tended to give them a sense of false pride in their past greatness.
- One of Mrs. Besant's many achievements in India was the establishment of the Central Hindu School at Banaras which was later developed by Madan Mohan Malaviya into the Banaras Hindu University.

### **Religious Reform among Muslims**

- The Mohammedan Literary Society was founded at Calcutta in 1863. This Society promoted discussion of religious, social, and political questions in the light of modern ideas and encouraged upper and middle class Muslims to take to western education.

### **Religious Reform among Parsis**

- In 1851, the Rehnumai Mazdayasan Sabha or Religious Reform Association was started by Naoroji Furdonji, Dadabhai Naoroji, S.S. Bengalee, and others.
- Religious Reform Association campaigned against the entrenched orthodoxy in the religious field and initiated the modernization of Parsi social customs regarding the education of women, marriage, and the social position of women in general.

### **Religious Reform among Sikhs**

- Religious reform among the Sikhs was begun at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century when the Khalsa College was started at Amritsar.
- In 1920, the Akali Movement rose in Punjab. The main aim of the Akalis was to purify the management of the *gurudwaras* or Sikh shrines.
- These *gurudwaras* had been heavily endowed with land and money by devout Sikhs. But they had come to be managed autocratically by corrupt and selfish *mahants*.
- The Sikh masses led by the Akalis started in 1921 a powerful Satyagraha against the *mahants* and the Government which came to their aid.
- The Akalis soon forced the Government to pass a new Sikh Gurudwaras Act in 1922, which was later amended in 1925.

### **Ramakrishana and Vivekananda**

- Ramakrishna Parmhansa (1834-1886) was a saintly person who sought religious salvation in the traditional ways of renunciation, meditation, and devotion (*bhakti*).

- Parmhansa, again and again, emphasized that there were many roads to God and salvation and that service of man was service of God, for man was the embodiment of God.
- Swami Vivekananda (1863-1902), a disciple of Ramakrishan Parmhansa popularized his religious message and tried to put it in a form that would suit the needs of contemporary Indian society.
- Swami Vivekananda said, “*Knowledge unaccompanied by action in the actual world in which we lived was useless.*”
- In 1898, Swami Vivekananda wrote – “*For our own motherland a junction of the two great systems, Hinduism and Islam ... is the only hope.*”
- Vivekananda condemned the caste system and the current Hindu emphasis on rituals, ceremonies, and superstitions, and urged the people to imbibe the spirit of liberty, equality, and free thinking.
- To the educated Indians, Swami Vivekananda said, “*So long as the millions live in hunger and ignorance, I hold everyman a traitor who having been educated at their expense, pays not the least heed to them.*”
- In 1896, Vivekananda founded the *Ramakrishna* Mission to carry on humanitarian relief and social work.
- The Mission had many branches in different parts of the country and carried on social service by opening schools, hospitals, and dispensaries, orphanages, libraries, etc.

### **Swami Dayanand (Arya Samaj)**

- Arya Samaj was founded in 1875 by Swami Dayanand Saraswati (1824-1883).
- Swami Dayanand believed that selfish and ignorant priests had perverted Hindu religion with the aid of the *Puranas*, which he said were full of false teachings.
- Swami Dayanand rejected all later religious thought if it conflicted with the Vedas. His total dependence on the Vedas and their infallibility gave his teachings an orthodox coloring.
- Swami Dayanand was opposed to idolatry, ritual, and priesthood and particularly to the prevalent caste practices and popular Hinduism as preached by *brahmins*.
- Some of Swami Dayanand's followers later started a network of schools and colleges in the country to impart education on western lines; Lala Hansraj played a leading part in this effort.
- On the other hand, in 1902, Swami Shradhananda started the Gurukul near Hardwar to propagate the most traditional ideals of education.

## **Sayyid Ahmad Khan (Aligarh School)**

- The Mohammedan Literary Society was founded at Calcutta in 1863. This Society promoted discussion of religious, social, and political questions in the light of modern ideas and encouraged upper and middle class Muslims to take to western education.
- The most important reformer among the Muslims was Sayyid Ahmad Khan (1817-1898). He was tremendously impressed by modern scientific thought and worked all his life to reconcile it with Islam.
- Sayyid Ahmad Khan, first of all, declared that the Quran alone was the authoritative work for Islam and all other Islamic writings were secondary.
- Sayyid Ahmad Khan urged the people to develop a critical approach and freedom of thought. He said, "*so long as freedom of thought is not developed, there can be no civilized life.*"
- He also warned against fanaticism, narrow-mindedness, and exclusiveness, and urged students and others to be broadminded and tolerant. A closed mind, he said, was the hallmark of social and intellectual backwardness.
- Therefore promotion of modern education remained his first task throughout his life. As an official, he founded schools in many towns and had many western books translated into Urdu.
- In 1875, Sayyid Ahmad Khan founded the Mohammedan Anglo-Oriental College at Aligarh as a center for spreading western sciences and culture. Later, this College grew into the Aligarh Muslim University.
- Sayyid Ahmad Khan was a great believer in religious toleration. He believed that all religions had a certain underlying unity, which could be called practical morality. Believing that a person's religion was his or her private affair, he roundly condemned any sign of religious bigotry in personal relations. He was also opposed to communal friction. He appealed to Hindus and Muslims to unite.
- Sayyid Ahmad Khan wrote in favor of raising the women's status in society and advocated removal of purdah and spread of education among women. He also condemned the customs of polygamy and easy divorce.
- Sayyid Ahmad Khan was helped by a band of loyal followers who are collectively described as the Aligarh School.

## **Muhammad Iqbal**

- One of the greatest poets of modern India, Muhammad Iqbal (1876- 1938) also profoundly influenced by his poetry, the philosophical and religious outlook of the younger generation of Muslims as well as of Hindus.
- Iqbal was basically a humanist. In fact, he raised human action to the status of a prime virtue.

## **Women's Emancipation**

- Based on the various religious practices and the personal laws, it was assumed that the status of women was inferior to that of men.
- After 1880s, when Dufferin hospitals, named after Lady Dufferin (wife of the Viceroy), were started, efforts were made make modern medicine and child delivery techniques available to Indian Women.
- Sarojini Naidu, the famous poetess, became the President of the National Congress in 1925.
- In 1937, several women became ministers or parliamentary secretaries.
- All India Women's Conference founded in 1927.
- Women's struggle for equality took a big step forward after the independence.
- Articles 14 and 15 of the Indian Constitution (1950) guaranteed the complete equality of men and women.
- The Hindu Succession Act of 1956 made the daughter an equal co-heir with the son.
- The Hindu Marriage Act of 1955 permitted dissolution of marriage on specific grounds.
- Monogamy has been made mandatory for men as well as women.
- The Constitution gives women equal right to work and to get employment in State agencies.
- The Directive Principles of the Constitution lay down the principle of equal pay for equal work for both men and women.

## **Development of Education**

### **Under Company Rule**

For the first 60 years of its dominion in India, the East India Company, a trading and profit-making concern, took no interest in the promotion of education. Some minor exceptions were efforts by individuals—

- The Calcutta Madrasah was established by Warren Hastings in 1781 for the study of Muslim law and related subjects.
- The 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).

The Calcutta Madrasah and the Sanskrit College were designed to provide a regular supply of qualified Indians to help the administration of law in the Company's court, and the knowledge of classical languages and vernaculars was useful in correspondence with Indian states. Enlightened Indians and missionaries started exerting

pressure on the Government to promote modern, secular, Western education, as they thought that Western education was the remedy for social, economic and political ills of the country. Missionaries thought that modern education would destroy the faith of Indians in their own religions and they would take to Christianity. Serampore missionaries were, in particular, very enthusiastic about spread of education.

### **A Humble beginning by Charter Act of 1813**

The Charter Act of 1813 incorporated the principle of encouraging learned Indians and promoting knowledge of modern sciences in the country. The Act directed the Company to sanction one lakh rupees annually for this purpose. However, even this petty amount was not made available till 1823, mainly because of the controversy raged on the question of the direction that this expenditure should take. Meanwhile, 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**

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.

Even the Anglicists were divided over the question of medium of instruction—one faction was for English language as the medium, while the other faction was for Indian languages (vernaculars) for the purpose. Unfortunately there was a great deal of confusion over English and vernacular languages as media of instruction and as objects of study.

### **Lord Macaulay's Minute (1835)**

The famous Lord Macaulay's Minute settled the row in favour of Anglicists—the limited government resources were to be devoted to teaching of Western sciences and literature through the medium of English language alone. Lord Macaulay held the view that “Indian learning was inferior to European learning”—which was true as far as physical and social sciences in the contemporary stage were concerned.

The government soon made English as the medium of instruction in its schools and colleges and opened a few English schools and colleges instead of a large number of elementary schools, thus neglecting mass education. The 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’.

Modern ideas, if not education, did filter down to the masses, though not in a form desired by the rulers, but through political parties, press, pamphlets, public platforms, etc. Modern education only helped this process by making available the basic literature on physical and social sciences to nationalists, thus stimulating their capacity to make social analysis—otherwise the content, structure and curricula of modern education served colonial interests.

### **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. In these village schools, useful subjects such as mensuration and agriculture sciences were taught. The purpose was to train personnel for the newly set up Revenue and Public Works Department.

### **Wood’s Despatch (1854)**

In 1854, Charles Wood prepared a despatch on an educational system for India. Considered the “Magna Carta of English Education in India”, this document was the first comprehensive plan for the spread of education in India.

1. It asked the government of India to assume responsibility for education of the masses, thus repudiating the ‘downward filtration theory’, at least on paper.
2. 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.
3. It recommended English as the medium of instruction for higher studies and vernaculars at school level.
4. It laid stress on female and vocational education, and on teachers’ training.
5. It laid down that the education imparted in government institutions should be secular.
6. 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. Bethune was the president of the Council of Education. Mostly due to Bethune’s efforts, girls’ schools were set up on a sound footing and brought under government’s grants-in-aid and inspection system. An Agriculture Institute at Pusa (Bihar) and an Engineering Institute at Roorkee were started. The ideals and methods of Wood’s Despatch dominated the field for five decades which

saw rapid westernisation of education system in India, with educational institutions run by European headmasters and principals. Missionary enterprises played their own part. Gradually, private Indian effort appeared in the field.

## **After the Crown Took Over**

### **Hunter Education Commission (1882-83)**

Earlier schemes had neglected primary and secondary education. When education was shifted to provinces in 1870, primary and secondary education further suffered because the provinces already had limited resources at their disposal. In 1882, the Government appointed a commission under the chairmanship of W.W. Hunter to review the progress of education in the country since the Despatch of 1854. The Hunter Commission mostly confined its recommendations to primary and secondary education. The commission—

- (i) emphasised that state's special care is required for extension and improvement of primary education, and that primary education should be imparted through vernacular.
- (ii) recommended transfer of control of primary education to newly set up district and municipal boards.
- (iii) recommended that secondary (High School) education should have two divisions—
  - literary—leading up to university.
  - vocational—for commercial careers.
- (iv) drew attention to inadequate facilities for female education, especially outside presidency towns and made recommendations for its spread.

The next two decades saw rapid growth and expansion of secondary and collegiate education with the participation of Indians. Also, more teaching-cum-examining universities were set up like the Punjab University (1882) and the Allahabad University (1887).

### **Indian Universities Act, 1904**

The dawn of 20th century saw political unrest. The official view was that under private management the quality of education had deteriorated and educational institutions acted as factories producing political revolutionaries. Nationalists accepted the decline in quality but accused the Government of not doing anything to eradicate illiteracy.

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. The commission precluded from reporting on primary or secondary education.

Based on its recommendations, the Indian Universities Act was passed in 1904. As per the Act,

- (i) universities were to give more attention to study and research;
- (ii) the number of fellows of a university and their period in office were reduced and most fellows were to be nominated by the Government;
- (iii) Government was to have powers to veto universities' senate regulations and could amend these regulations or pass regulations on its own;
- (iv) conditions were to be made stricter for affiliation of private colleges; and
- (v) five lakh rupees were to be sanctioned per annum for five years for improvement of higher education and universities.

Curzon justified greater control over universities in the name of quality and efficiency, but actually sought to restrict education and to discipline the educated towards loyalty to the Government.

The nationalists saw in it an attempt to strengthen imperialism and to sabotage nationalist feelings. Gokhale called it a “retrograde measure”.

### **Government Resolution on Education Policy—1913**

In 1906, the progressive state of Baroda introduced compulsory primary education throughout its territories. National leaders urged the government to do so for British India (Gokhale made a powerful advocacy for it in the Legislative Assembly).

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. Private efforts were to be encouraged for this and the quality of secondary schools was to be improved.

A university, it was decided, was to be established in each province and teaching activities of universities were to be encouraged.

### **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. It reviewed the entire field from school education to university education.

It held the view that, for the improvement of university education, improvement of secondary education was a necessary pre-condition. Its observations were as follows:

1. 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

- (a) prepare students for university stage;



- (b) relieve universities of a large number of below university standard students; and
- (c) provide collegiate education to those not planning to go through university stage.

A separate board of secondary and intermediate education should be set up for administration and control of secondary and intermediate education.

2. There should be less rigidity in framing university regulations.
3. A university should function as centralised, unitary residential-teaching autonomous body, rather than as scattered, affiliated colleges.
4. Female education, applied scientific and technological education, teachers' training including those for professional and vocational colleges should be extended.

In the period from 1916 to 1921 seven new universities came up at Mysore, Patna, Benaras, Aligarh, Dacca, Lucknow and Osmania.

In 1920, the Government recommended Saddler report to the provincial governments.

### **Education Under Dyarchy**

Under Montagu-Chelmsford reforms education was shifted to provincial ministries and the government stopped taking direct interest in educational matters, while government grants, liberally sanctioned since 1902, were now stopped. Financial difficulties prevented any substantial expansion but still education grew, especially under philanthropic efforts.

### **Hartog Committee (1929)**

An increase in number of schools and colleges had led to deterioration of education standards. The Hartog Committee was set up to report on development of education. Its main recommendations were as follows.

1. Emphasis should be given to primary education but there need be no hasty expansion or compulsion in education.
2. Only deserving students should go in for high school and intermediate stage, while average students should be diverted to vocational courses after VIII standard.
3. 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—

1. pre-primary education for 3-6 years age group; free, Wardha Scheme of Basic Education (1937) The Congress had organised a National Conference on Education in October 1937 in Wardha. In the light of the resolutions passed there, Zakir Hussain committee formulated a detailed national scheme for basic education. The main principle behind this scheme was 'learning through activity'. It was based on Gandhi's ideas published in a series of articles in the weekly Harijan. Gandhi thought that Western education had created a gulf between the educated few and the masses and had also made the educated elite ineffective. The scheme had the following provisions.

- (i) Inclusion of a basic handicraft in the syllabus.
- (ii) First seven years of schooling to be an integral part of a free and compulsory nationwide education system (through mother tongue).
- (iii) Teaching to be in Hindi from class II to VII and in English only after class VIII.
- (iv) Ways to be devised to establish contact with the community around schools through service.
- (v) A suitable technique to be devised with a view to implementing the main idea of basic education—educating the child through the medium of productive activity of a suitable handicraft.

The system, rather than being a methodology for education, was an expression of an idea for a new life and a new society. The basic premise was that only through such a scheme could India be an independent and non-violent society. This scheme was child-centred and cooperative.

There was not much development of this idea, because of the start of the Second World War and the resignation of the Congress ministries (October 1939). 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.

2. adequate technical, commercial and arts education.
3. abolition of intermediate course.
4. liquidation of adult illiteracy in 20 years.
5. stress on teachers' training, physical education, education for the physically and mentally handicapped.

The objective was to create within 40 years, the same level of educational attainment as prevailed in England. Although a bold and comprehensive scheme, it proposed no methodology for implementation. Also, the ideal of England's achievements may not have suited Indian conditions.

## **Development of Vernacular Education**

During the early 19th century vernacular education was in a sorry state of affairs. It was mostly dependent on contributions from wealthy zamindars.

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), as the lieutenant-governor there, 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:

1. Improvement of standards
2. Supervision by government agency
3. Normal schools to train teachers

These gave impetus to the cause of vernacular education 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.

## **Development of Technical Education**

The Engineering College at Roorkee was set up in 1847; the Calcutta College of Engineering came up in 1856. In 1858, Overseers' School at Poona was raised to the status of Poona College of Engineering and affiliated to Bombay University. Guindy College of Engineering was affiliated to Madras University. Medical training started with establishment of a medical college in Calcutta in 1835. Lord Curzon did much to broaden the whole basis of professional courses—medicine, agriculture, engineering, veterinary sciences, etc. He established an agriculture college at Pusa which acted as a parent institution of similar institutions in other provinces.

1. 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—

- agitation in favour of modern education by enlightened Indians, Christian missionaries and humanitarian officials;
- the need to ensure a cheap supply of educated Indians to man an increasing number of subordinate posts in administration and in British business concerns—thus there was an emphasis on English medium as the language of administration and of education;
- the hope that educated Indians would help expand market for British manufactures in India;
- an expectation that Western education would reconcile Indians to British rule, particularly as it glorified British conquerors and their administration.

The British thus wanted to use modern education to strengthen the foundations of their political authority in India.

2. Traditional system of Indian learning gradually declined for want of support, and specially after 1844 when it was declared that applicants for government employment should possess knowledge of English.
3. 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.
4. Since education was to be paid for, it became a monopoly of upper and richer classes and city dwellers.
5. 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.
6. Scientific and technical education was by and large neglected. By 1857 there were only three medical colleges at Calcutta, Bombay and Madras, and only one good engineering college at Roorkee which was open only to Europeans and Eurasians.

### **Development of Indian Press**

James Augustus Hickey in 1780 started The Bengal Gazette or Calcutta General Advertiser, the first newspaper in India, which was seized in 1872 because of its outspoken criticism of the Government. Later more newspapers/journals came up—The Bengal Journal, The Calcutta Chronicle, The Madras Courier, The Bombay Herald. The Company's officers were worried that these newspapers might reach London and expose their misdeeds. Thus they saw the need for curbs on the press.

### **Early Regulations Censorship of Press Act, 1799**

Lord Wellesley enacted this, anticipating French invasion of India. It imposed almost wartime press restrictions including pre-censorship. These restrictions were relaxed under Lord Hastings, who had progressive views, and in 1818, precensorship was dispensed with.

### **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. Later on, the Act was extended to cover journals, pamphlets and books. These restrictions were directed chiefly against Indian language newspapers or those edited by Indians. Rammohan Roy's Mirat-ul-Akbar had to stop publication.

### **Press Act of 1835 or Metcalfe Act**

Metcalfe (governor-general—1835-36) repealed the obnoxious 1823 ordinance and earned the epithet, "liberator of the Indian press". The new Press Act (1835) required a printer/publisher to give a precise account of premises of a publication and cease functioning, if required by a similar declaration. The result of a liberal press policy was a rapid growth of newspapers.

### **Licensing Act, 1857**

Due to the emergency caused by the 1857 revolt, this Act imposed licensing restrictions in addition to the already existing registration procedure laid down by Metcalfe Act and the government reserved the right to stop publication and circulation of any book, newspaper or printed matter.

### **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 Right from the early nineteenth century, defence of civil liberties, including the freedom of the press, had been high on nationalist agenda. As early as 1824, Raja Rammohan Roy had protested against a resolution restricting the freedom of the press.

The early phase of nationalist movement from around 1870 to 1918 focussed more on political propaganda and education, formation and propagation of nationalist ideology and arousing, training, mobilisation and consolidation of public opinion, than on mass agitation or active mobilisation of masses through open meetings. For this purpose the press proved a crucial tool in the hands of the nationalists.

The Indian National Congress in its early days relied solely on the press to propagate its resolutions and proceedings. Many newspapers emerged during these years under distinguished and fearless journalists. These included The Hindu and Swadesamitran under G. Subramaniya Aiyar, The Bengalee under Surendranath Banerjea, Voice of India under Dadabhai Naoroji, Amrita Bazar Patrika under Sisir Kumar Ghosh and Motilal Ghosh, Indian Mirror under N.N. Sen, Kesari (in Marathi) and Maharatta (in English) under Balgangadhar Tilak, Sudharak under Gopal Ganesh

Agarkar, and Hindustan and Advocate under G.P. Verma. Other main newspapers included, Tribune and Akbhar-i-am in Punjab, Gujarati, Indu Prakash, Dhyan Prakash and Kal in Bombay and Som Prakash, Banganivasi and Sadharani in Bengal. These newspapers were not established as profitmaking business ventures but were seen as rendering national and public service. In fact, these newspapers had a wide reach and they stimulated a library movement. Their impact was not limited to cities and towns; these newspapers reached the remote villages, where each news item and editorial would be read and discussed thoroughly in the 'local libraries' which would gather around a single newspaper. In this way, these libraries served the purpose of not only political education but also of political participation. In these newspapers, government Acts and policies were put to critical scrutiny. They acted as an institution of opposition to the government.

The government on its part had enacted many strident laws, such as Section 124 A of the Indian Penal Code which provided that anyone trying to cause disaffection against the British Government in India was to be transported for life or for any term or imprisoned up to three years. But the nationalist-minded journalists had evolved many clever stratagems to subvert these legal hurdles. For instance, writings hostile to the government used to be prefaced with sentiments of loyalty to the government or critical writings of socialists or Irish nationalists from newspapers in England used to be quoted. This was a difficult task which required an intelligent mix of simplicity with subtlety.

The national movement, from its very beginning, stood for the freedom of press. The Indian newspapers became highly critical of Lord Lytton's administration especially regarding its inhuman treatment to victims of the famine of 1876-77. The Government struck back with the Vernacular Press Act, 1878. Vernacular Press Act, 1878 A bitter legacy of the 1857 revolt was the racial bitterness between the ruler and the ruled. After 1858, the European press always rallied behind the government in political controversies while the vernacular press was critical of the government. There was a strong public opinion against the imperialistic policies of Lytton, compounded by terrible famine (1876-77), on the one hand, and lavish expenditure on the imperial Delhi Durbar, on the other.

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.

1. 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 would be fore feited if the regulation were contravened, and press equipment could be seized if the offence re-occurred.

2. The magistrate's action was final and no appeal could be made in a court of law.
3. A vernacular newspaper could get exemption from the operation of the Act by submitting proofs to a government censor.

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. Under VPA, proceedings were instituted against Som Prakash, Bharat Mihir, Dacca Prakash and Samachar. (Incidentally, the Amrita Bazar Patrika turned overnight into an English newspaper to escape the VPA.) Later, the pre-censorship clause was repealed, and a press commissioner was appointed to supply authentic and accurate news to the press.

There was strong opposition to the Act and finally Ripon repealed it in 1882. In 1883, Surendranath Banerjea became the first Indian journalist to be imprisoned. In an angry editorial in The Bengalee Banerjea had criticised a judge of Calcutta High Court for being insensitive to the religious sentiments of Bengalis in one of his judgements. Bal Gangadhar Tilak is most frequently associated with the nationalist fight for the freedom of press. Tilak had been building up anti-imperialist sentiments among the public through Ganapati festivals (started in 1893), Shivaji festivals (started in 1896) and through his newspapers Kesari and Maharatta. He was among the first to advocate bringing the lower middle classes, the peasants, artisans and workers into the Congress fold. In 1896, he organised an all Maharashtra campaign for boycott of foreign cloth in opposition to imposition of excise duty on cotton. In 1896-97 he initiated a no-tax campaign in Maharashtra, urging farmers to withhold the payment of revenue if their crop had failed. In 1897, plague occurred in Poona. Although Tilak supported government measures to check plague, there was large-scale popular resentment against heartless and harsh methods such as segregation and house searches. The popular unrest resulted in murder of the chairman of the Plague Committee in Poona by the Chapekar brothers. The government policies on tariff, currency and famine were also behind this popular resentment.

The government had been looking for an opportunity to check this militant trend and hostility in the press. They decided to make Tilak a victim to set an example to the public. Tilak was arrested after the murder of Rand on the basis of the publication of a poem, 'Shivaji's Utterances', in Kesari, and a speech which Tilak had delivered at the Shivaji festival, justifying Afzal Khan's murder by Shivaji. Tilak's defence of Shivaji's killing of Afzal Khan was portrayed by the prosecution as an incitement to kill British officials. Tilak was held guilty and awarded rigorous imprisonment of eighteen months. Simultaneously several other editors in Bombay presidency were tried and given similar

harsh sentences. There were widespread protests against these measures. Overnight Tilak became a national hero and was given the title of ‘Lokmanya’ (respected and honoured by the people)—a new leader who preached with his deeds.

In 1898, the government amended Section 124A and added another Section 153A which made it a criminal offence for anyone to bring into contempt the Government of India or to create hatred among different classes, that is, vis-avis the English in India. This also led to nation-wide protests. During Swadeshi and Boycott Movements and due to rise of militant nationalist trends, several repressive laws were passed.

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.

Tilak as the leader of militant nationalists was tried on charges of sedition and transported to Mandalay (Burma) for six years. This led to countrywide protests. In Bombay, textile workers and railway workshop workers took on the Army in streets and went on strike for days. Lenin hailed this as the entrance of the Indian working class on the political stage.

### **Indian Press Act, 1910**

This Act revived the worst features of the VPA—local government was empowered to demand a security at registration from the printer/publisher and forfeit/deregister if it was an offending newspaper, and the printer of a newspaper was required to submit two copies of each issue to local government free of charge. During and After the First World War Defence of India Rules were imposed for repression of political agitation and free public criticism during the First World War. In 1921, on the recommendations of a Press Committee chaired by Tej Bahadur Sapru, the Press Acts of 1908 and 1910 were repealed.

### **Indian Press (Emergency Powers) Act, 1931**

This Act gave sweeping powers to provincial governments to suppress propaganda for Civil Disobedience Movement. It was further amplified in 1932 to include all activities calculated to undermine government authority

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. At one time, publication of all news related to Congress activity was declared illegal.



## **CHRISTIAN MISSIONARIES IN BRITISH INDIA**

Generally, a missionary movement presupposes a group of people who take it as their religious duty to spread their religion to other parts of the World. It is the religious thought and the passion to make more and more people aware of their religious superiority or to make others conform to the same belief that a missionary movement is organised, as was the case of the missionaries sent by Ashoka to Ceylon and other territories. However sometimes, the religion itself impresses upon its followers to spread its teachings, as illustrated by Christianity and Buddhism. The role of Christian Missionaries, as in India, was predominantly reflected during the British rule. However, as it is always witnessed, the missionary movement in India was a typical example of the conflict between the existing and the superimposing religion.

While the Indian were dominated by the Hindu spirit (though to some extent, the influenced of Buddhism also prevailed), the State support (though recognised much later), that the missionaries received, signifies to a considerable extent the differences that can arise on account of duplicity of thought and beliefs. Also, the Indian case is also a striking elucidation of how far followers of one religion can go to impose their beliefs. Thus one of the main attacks made upon the Missionaries is that the missionaries were a part of British conspiracy, to reinforce religiously, what had been done militarily. The two parties to the conflict, one led by Mr. Arun Shourie, states that the plans of Macaluary and Charles Grant, aimed at creating a class of persons, Indian in blood and colour, but English in taste, in opinions, in morals and in intellect who would almost cease to regard the British as foreigners. They aimed towards the Indian youth, who were brought up at seminaries, turned with contempt from the barbarous despotisms under the burden of which his ancestors groaned, so as to prospect for improving his national institutions, by following the English model. Thus they aimed not only on the creation of a political dominion but also wanted India as a spiritual follower.

## **ADVENT OF MISSIONARY MOVEMENT IN INDIA**

It was during the 1770s and 1780s that several Englishmen, such as Edmund and Burke, argued that the East India Company's power could not be justified unless it were exercised with morality and subject to Parliament's control. But there efforts were not paid heed to. Then Charles Grant, a junior officer in British East India Company, along with his two friends drafted the original proposal for mission in 1786-87, in their personal capacity, and campaigned for it for decades at their own expense. Grant sought only for an official endorsement of the East India Company for his proposal to start a missionary endeavour. He neither sought for Company's money nor its manpower. He himself offered support to one of the missionaries from his personal capacity. Yet he was only given a hearing to Lord Cornwallis. However, though Lord Cornwallis assured him that he would not oppose the move for missions, he could not, as the Governor General, give

his active support. Grant was therefore forced to go to the Christian leaders in England, who were big enough to influence the Government or big enough to fight the Company.

At that time, the only missionary-minded Christian figure in England, who had the status to bypass the East India Company and influence the Government itself, was John Wesley, the founder of Methodism. Refusing permission to John Wesley to open mission would thus have been politically incorrect for the British. Besides him, the only Christian politician, then, who had the stamina to fight for a moral cause, was William Wilberforce. In 1793, Wilberforce studied Grant's Book, which went beyond Burke's argument and Wilberforce, consulting with the Speaker of the House of Commons, the Archbishop of Canterbury and Henry Dundas moved the famous Resolution on Missions, which were drafted by Grant himself. This first resolution referred to ministers of religion and chaplains being sent out to minister to Europeans in India. These clauses were passed in the Committee of the House and then in the House itself on May 14, 1793. Three days later, 'the missionary clauses' were accepted by the Committee, which sought to empower the East India Company to send out schoolmasters, and other approved persons, for the religious and moral improvement of the inhabitants of the British Dominions in India. However, on the third reading of the Bill, the Clauses were rejected and the Court of Proprietors of East India Stock had a special Meeting and passed a resolution against the Missionary Clause.

Thus it can be found that while it is often accused that the Missionaries came to spread Christianity and are thus opposed because of it, there was also a counter force, in the form of the Company and few other influential people in England, who made an attempt to stop the promotion of Missionary movement in India as they feared that it would lead to the awakening of the Indian Hindoo, and ultimately it would be the Company's interest that would suffer. Any rise in character of the natives could be so lament so as to lead to a most serious and fatal disaster.

The battle for Missions heated up again in 1813, when the Company's Charter came up for renewal. The situation was vastly different this time. Grant had grown in stature and influence, and had won himself a seat in Parliament. William Carey's work had earned immense respect for missions, in Bengal as well as in England. Also, his struggle against the inhumanity of sati and the Company's cowardice in not banning such an inhuman practice had become well known. It had therefore become harder to maintain that Indians should not be challenged to critically examine their beliefs and practices and missionaries should not be allowed to teach Indians to distinguish true faith from superstition.

The book titled 'Two Discourses and a Sermon to which are Added Christian Researches in Asia', written by Claudius Buchanan, the Vice-Provost of the College of

Fort William in Calcutta, contained the first hand report of the Jaggannath festival in Puri, which described the horrors of a festival and a temple which were administered by a Christian Company. This report triggered off a chorus of protest, which lasted long but failed to impress for the next five decades. There was a great unrest in the British Parliament, in the year 1813, when the issue of permission to start missionary movement in India was asked. While the Anglo Indian Community led the opposition to the Missionary Clauses, the chief ammunition for the opponents of mission was provided by the Vellore Mutiny, which began on July 10, 1806, being instigated by the sons of Tipu Sultan, who were allowed to live at Vellore after being defeated by the British forces.

This Mutiny followed a lot of events creating unrest in Britain as well as in India and ended with the Governor General of Madras Presidency, William Bentick being recalled back to London. Then came the Charter of 1853, which declared a renewed commitment of Educational responsibility of the Company. This provision led to the famous Educational Dispatch of 1854, drafted by the Committee chaired by Sir Charles Wood, a devout Evangelical who was also an 'undercover' missionary. This fact was summed up by the 1858 Proclamation of Queen which said that 'it should breathe feelings of generosity, benevolence and religious feelings, pointing out the privileges which the Indians will receive in being placed on an equality with the subjects of the British Crown.

When the Charter of East India Company came up for renewal several prisoners, who had been in India, several officials of the Company argued that the restrictions on the missionaries should continue: the Indian are civilized enough and do not need the missionaries. But the missionaries and their political supporters had prepared a formidable attack. Indians are in the darkest plight, they argued. Indians can be converted to Christianity, they reiterated. The conversion of India to Christianity will spell temporal benefits to the heathens. Far from the unsettling it, the conversion of the heathens to Christianity will further consolidate the empire.

## **MAJOR MISSIONARY FUNCTIONARIES**

William Carey, the pioneer of the modern Missionary movement of the West, started out his missionary career in Bengal, lived in the wild, in a hut made of his own hands. He witnessed his children dying and his wife go insane but never chose to return to England. He translated and published copies of Bible into various Oriental languages and they were taught in schools all over. Wrote and published grammars and dictionaries, began translating and publishing literary and scientific works in these languages. Education was taken up for women at their homes and to the outcasts, often in the face of fierce opposition from vested interests and from traditionalists. This introduced the literature of freedom available in English language in order to liberate the India soul.

Henry Martyn, a great linguist made Urdu a literary language capable of replacing Persian as the Court language of India at lower levels. Modern Hindi also grew out of the work done by him along with the effort of Gilbert of the Fort William College at Calcutta. Charles Grant, started demanding religious freedom for India in 1793. He championed missions as a means of educating India, used the Parliament (as a member) to force his company to reinvest a part of its own profits for educating Indians. He further wrote, "Missions would bless India with English, technology and economic prosperity" and wanted missionaries to give to India that source of a definition of duty and the power to choose it, which would enable the Indians to confront the British forces. Charles Trevelehan, along Joshua Marshman, was a moving force behind the 1835 Charter of the East India Company that led to the 1854 educational dispatch and to the establishment of the first university in India. Duff started his experiments with English and founded in 1818, the Serampore College, the first vernacular college in India. He also saw the beginning of the Modern Indian Press, with the launching of Friend of India in English, Sumachar Darpan in Bengali and the short lived Dig Darshan in Hindi. Thus the birth of Free Press, thus, was a non-official and noncommercial initiative.

## **EDUCATIONAL REFORMS**

1. It was the missionaries alone, who penetrated the remote rural areas, understood the plight of the poor and exposed the callousness of imperial administration. Struggling against the Permanent Settlement Act of 1793, they protested against the injustices and shortcomings of the British Government, while simultaneously also opposing the oppressiveness of Indian Culture.

2. The Hunter report, given by W.W. Hunter in 1882 gave the working of the Royal Commission of Education and gave a detailed description of the works of the Missionaries in India, made in the prospect of educational reforms.

3. 'Women's Liberation' was a high priority for the missionary movement in all the three Presidencies, and were initiated and led by Christian missionaries.

Before the dispatch of 1854, Boarding Schools were maintained from an early period by the Church of England Societies in Tinevelly, but they were almost exclusively attended by the daughters of converts of to Christianity. The first direct effort at educating Hindu girls of the higher classes was made at Madras in 1841 by the Missionaries of Scottish Church, an attempt that had to struggle against many obstacles. In 1845, the first girls' school, partly under private management, was opened at Madras. In 1854, as per the Hunter's report, the estimate of the girl students in various schools in Madras, in various schools conducted by the missionaries, was 7,000. Under the American Missionary Society, about 400 girls were receiving instruction in Schools in 1829 and the school multiplied its operations by opening five sister undertaking in 1840 in the neighborhoods of Poona by the society.

4. Also, while in the process of educating Indian folks, they took great care that the schools were not filled with upper-caste students but the low caste-back grounds, were concentrated upon. During the operations of the Board of Education, vernacular schools were springing from all sides while at the same time the indigenous schools were being inspected and encouraged.

5. In Madras, upto 1854 the only attempt that proved to successful to the missionaries was the Madras High School, opened in 1841, conducted by Mr. E.B. Powell, which was preserved and later came to be known as Presidency College. The Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge had opened a school for natives, now known as St.Peter's College at Tanjore. The Missionaries of the American Board opened a number of primary schools in Madura District in 1834, where English was taught. The Church Missionary Society established its college at Masulipatam in 1841. It was estimated that in 1854, about 30,000 boys were being educated in schools conducted by missionary societies, and 3,000 were obtaining at least the elements of a liberal education in English.

6. The American Missionary Society opened a school for native girls in Western India. The most successful operations were conducted at Ahmedabad in the Deccan. The Scottish Church worked chiefly in Bombay and the Konkan; the London Missionary Society selected Surat and other towns in Gujarat as its first field of labour. However, the Church Missionary Society covered a much wider level and was engaged in the work of education in the Poona and Nasik district of the Deccan, at Thana and Bassein in the Konkan and even in the distant province of Sind. The Irish Presbyterian Missionary Society opened both the schools in English and in vernacular languages and took over the charge of Gujarat Schools from the London Missionary Society. Thus in every province of the Bombay Presidency, missionaries were at work and its operations were not confined to elementary education while they included schools both for boys and girls. This success gave the Board of Education of 1840 the impulse in its operations.

7. Historian Michael Edwardes writes, "In South India, a monthly magazine in Tamil was started by missionaries in 1831. Most of the papers and periodicals in existence in South India in 1858 had, in fact, been founded by missionaries."

## Transport & Communication

- Up to the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the means of transport in India were backward. They were confined to bullock-cart, camel, and packhorse.
- The British rulers soon realized that a cheap and easy system of transport was a necessity if British manufactures were to flow into India on a large scale and her raw materials secured for British industries.
- The British rulers introduced steamships on the rivers and set about improving the roads.

- Work on the Grand Trunk Road from Calcutta to Delhi began in 1839 and completed in the 1850's. Efforts were also made to link by road the major cities, ports, and markets of the country.

## Development of Railway

- The first railway engine designed by George Stephenson was put on the rail in England in 1814. Railways developed rapidly during the 1830s and 1840s.
- The earliest suggestion to build a railway in India was made in Madras in 1831. But the wagons of this railway were to be drawn by horses.
- Construction of steam-driven railways in India was first proposed in 1834 in England. It was given strong political support by England's railway promoters, financiers, and mercantile houses trading with India, and textile manufacturers.
- It was decided that the Indian railways were to be constructed and operated by private companies who were guaranteed a minimum of five per cent return on their capital by the Government of India.
- The first railway line running from Bombay to Thane was opened to traffic in 1853.
- Lord Dalhousie, who became Governor-General of India in 1849, was an ardent advocate of rapid railway construction.
- Dalhousie proposed a network of four main trunk lines which would link the interior of the country with the big ports and inter-connect the different parts of the country.
- By the end of 1869, more than 4,000 miles of railways had been built by the guaranteed companies; but this system proved very costly and slow, and so in 1869 the Government of India decided to build new railways as state enterprises. But the speed of railway extension still did not satisfy officials in India and businessmen in Britain.
- After 1880, railways were built through private enterprises as well as state agency.
- By 1905, nearly 28,000 miles of railways had been built. The railway lines were laid primarily with a view to link India's raw material producing areas in the interior with the ports of export.
- The needs of Indian industries regarding their markets and their sources of raw materials were neglected. Moreover, the railway rates were fixed in a manner so as to favor imports and exports and to discriminate against internal movement of goods.
- Several railway lines in Burma and North-Western India were built at high cost to serve British imperial interests.

## Postal and Telegraph System

- The British also established an efficient and modern postal system and introduced the telegraph.
- The first telegraph line from Calcutta to Agra was opened in 1853.

- Lord Dalhousie introduced postage stamps. Previously cash payment had to be made when a letter was posted. He also cut down postal rates and charged a uniform rates.

## Public Service

- All positions of power and responsibility in the administration were occupied by the members of the Indian Civil Service who were recruited through an annual open competitive examination held in London.
- Indians also could sit in this examination. Satyendranath Tagore, brother of Rabindranath Tagore, was the first Indian civil servant.
- Almost every year, thereafter, one or two Indians joined the coveted ranks of the Civil Service, but their number was negligible compared to the English entrants.
- **In practice, the doors of the Civil Service remained barred to Indians because –**
  - The competitive examination was held in faraway London;
  - It was conducted through the medium of the alien English language;
  - It was based on Classical Greek and Latin learning, which could be acquired only after a prolonged and costly course of studies in England; and
  - The maximum age for entry into the Civil Service was gradually reduced from twenty-three in 1859 to nineteen in 1878.
- In other departments of administration such as: Police, Public Works Department, and Railways the superior and highly paid posts were reserved for British citizens.
- The rulers of India believed it to be an essential condition for the maintenance of British supremacy in India.
- The Viceroy, Lord Lansdowne, stressed "the absolute necessity of keeping the government of this widespread Empire in European hands, if that Empire is to be maintained."
- The Indians, in the civil services, functioned as agents of British rule and loyally served Britain's imperial purposes.
- Under Indian pressure, the different administrative services were gradually Indianised after 1918, but the positions of control and authority were still kept in British hands. Moreover, the people soon discovered that Indianisation of these services had not put any part of political power in their hands.

## Backwardness of Social Services

- The Government of India spent most of its income on the army and wars and the administrative services and starved the social services.
- In 1886, of its total net revenue of nearly Rs. 47 crores, the Governmental India spent nearly 19.41 crores on the army and 17 crores on civil administration but

less than 2 crores on education, medicine, and public health and only 65 lakhs on irrigation.

- The few halting steps that were taken in the direction of providing services like sanitation, water supply, and public health were usually confined to urban areas, and that too to the so called civil lines of British or modern parts of the cities.

## Labor Legislation

- In the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the condition of workers in modern factories and plantations was miserable. They had to work between 12 and 16 hours a day and there was no weekly day of rest.
- Women and children worked the same long hours as men. The wages were extremely low, ranging from Rs. 4 to 20 per month.
- The factories were over-crowded, badly lighted and aired, and completely unhygienic. Work on machines was hazardous, and accidents very common.
- The Government of India, which was generally pro-capitalist, took some half-hearted and 'totally inadequate steps to mitigate the sorry state of affairs in the modern factories; many of the factories were owned by the Indians.
- The manufacturers of Britain put constant pressure on it to pass factory laws. They were afraid that cheap labor would enable Indian manufacturers to outsell them in the Indian market.
- The first Indian Factory Act was passed in 1881. The Act dealt primarily with the problem of child labor.
- The Factory Act of 1881 laid down that the child below 7 could not work in factories, while the children between 7 and 12 would not work for more than 9 hours a day. Children would also get four holidays in a month.
- The Act also provided for the proper fencing around the dangerous machinery.
- The second Indian Factory Act was passed in 1891, it provided for a weekly holiday for all workers.
- Working hours for women were fixed at 11 per day while daily hours of work for children were reduced to 7. Hours of work for men were still left unregulated.
- Neither of the two Acts applied to British-owned tea and coffee plantations. On the contrary, the Government gave every help to the foreign planters to exploit their workers in a most ruthless manner.

## **LORD CANNING (1856-57)**

The most significant event during his administration was the outbreak of the Sepoy Revolt of 1857. He suppressed it and the Parliamentary Act of 1858.

By the Proclamation of the Queen, the East India Company's rule ended and the Crown of England took over the government of India. Though he meted out punishment to those who had taken part in the uprising, yet he avoided indiscriminate vengeance on the Indians as far as possible and thus earned the title of 'Clemency Canning'. He restored



law and order in an effective way and introduced a new system of administration. In April 1859 he received thanks of both Houses of Parliament for his great services during the mutiny.

He reorganized the British Indian army and restored financial stability by introducing income tax, a uniform tariff of ten percent and a convertible paper currency. To remove certain grievances of the cultivators of Bengal under the Permanent Settlement passed the

Bengal Rent Act in 1859 to give better security to the tenants. The British started tea and coffee plantations. The recommendations of Charles Wood on education made in 1854 were given effect and the three universities of Calcutta, Bombay and Madras were founded in 1857. He appointed a commission to enquire into the grievances of the peasants of Bengal and Bihar against the European Indigo-planters.

It is important for Civil Services aspirants to have a good understanding of the events that took place under Lord Canning, who became the first Viceroy of India, under the Government of India Act, 1858. The events that immediately preceded the appointment of Lord Canning as Governor-General of India, and his tenure in general, is important for an IAS aspirant in both the Civil Services (Prelims) and Civil Services (Mains) Examination. British rule in India under Lord Canning came during a time when tensions between the ruling elite and the Indian people reached its lowest ebb, which ultimately resulted in the revolt of 1857. This period in Indian history is very important to civil services aspirants, as it had a profound impact on Indian history, and influenced the course of her freedom struggle.

- I. He implemented many reforms in India, and as a Viceroy, he abolished the ‘Doctrine of Lapse’, and read the Queens Proclamation Act, on 1st Nov 1858 from Allahabad, in which it was said that the Queen of England is the Queen of India and many declarations of the Queen were thus formulated in India.
- II. Also, the council of the Viceroy was extended, and now onwards, this council was known as the Imperial Legislative Council’. The members of the Legislative council were allocated portfolios, i.e. different departments to handle. This was known as the ‘Canning model of Business’.
- III. To this extent, Canning was an innovator and a consolidator of British rule over India. The Secretary of State became the highest governing body of India in London.
- IV. The last President of the Board of Control, ‘Sir Charles Wood’, became the first Secretary of State for India. Thus the structure of the Government had changed, but the function of the Government had remained almost the same.
- V. Lord Canning also abolished the ‘Doctrine of Lapse’, and from now Indian princes were allowed to adopt a successor in order to carry forward their rule. This decision was taken keeping in mind that in the revolt of 1857, many rulers of the

native Indian states participated because they were not allowed to adopt their heirs.

VI. Thus the British governing system wanted to pacify the ruling elite of India.

### **LORD LYTTON (1876-80)**

British poet and diplomat Edward Robert Bulwer-Lytton (1831–91) was viceroy of India between 1876 and 1880. He was appointed by Prime Minister Benjamin Disraeli, a Conservative, at a time of intense competition between Britain and Russia over control of Central Asia. During his viceroyalty Lytton worked to improve the Indian administration and supervised his government's much-criticized response to the Great Famine of 1876–78. Lytton was also widely criticized for his assertive, —forward policy toward Afghanistan, which in the view of his detractors was responsible for provoking the Second Anglo-Afghan War (1878–80). Presented here is *The History of Lord Lytton's Indian Administration, 1876 to 1880*, a narrative of Lytton's viceroyalty, compiled by his daughter, Lady Betty Balfour, from private and official documents. Lytton had requested in his will that his wife —endeavour to obtain the assistance of some statesman or writer to produce a complete record of his administration. The family first chose Lytton's close friend and colleague Sir John Strachey to write it, but when Strachey's health made it impossible for him to continue the work the task fell to Lytton's daughter. Published in 1899, the book is a straightforward account of the events of Lytton's administration, presented in chronological order. It is comprised of 12 chapters, and covers such issues as the Delhi Assemblage of 1877 that proclaimed Queen Victoria as Empress of India, the frontier negotiations of 1877, the famine of 1876–78, the 1878 Russian mission to Kabul, and the negotiations conducted and treaties concluded with the rulers of Afghanistan. One chapter is devoted to Lytton's controversial Vernacular Press Act, which restricted the freedom of India's non-English newspapers. The book concludes with a fold-out map of India and surrounding territories, which shows the land gained from Afghanistan by British India after 1786. Lady Betty Balfour later became known for her support of the suffrage movement and female education.

He was a nominee of the conservative government of Benjamin Disraeli. He was very reactionary and repressive in Indian affairs passed the Vernacular Press Act, Arms Act etc.

### **The Royal Titles Act 1876 and great famine of 1876-78.**

The British passed the royal titles act, investing Queen Victoria with the title of Kaisar-i-Hind or Queen Empress of India. A magnificent durbar was held on Delhi on January 1, 1877, to proclaim it to the people and the chief of India. Millions of rupees were spent on this show, while countless number of Indian people were dying of starvation and hunger due to a severe famine ranging in different parts of India. But this durbar proved to be a blessing in arousing national consciousness.

## **The vernacular press act 1878.**

On the account of widespread famine and government's apathy to people's sufferings there was several agrarian from gang robberies and attacks on moneylenders, which were highlighted by the vernacular press. To gag the press, the vernacular press act was passed which empowered a magistrate to call upon the printer and publisher of any vernacular newspaper to enter into an undertaking not to publish anything likely to create disaffection against the government. This act was nicknamed the gagging act.

## **The arms act 1878.**

This act made it a criminal offence to keep, hearing traffic in arms without license. The act was mainly resented on the ground that it smacked of racial discrimination because the European, Anglo- Indians and some other categories of government officials were escaped from the operation of this act

## **The Statutory Civil Services.**

The charter act of 1833 had provided for the holding of a competitive examination in London for recruitment to higher service under the company. The British bureaucracy in India was opposed to the entry of Indians into the civil services. Lord Lytton was also of the same and wanted to close the doors of covenanted service to the Indian altogether. Having failed to do so, he took steps calculated to discourage Indians from competing for the said examination by lowering the maximum age from 21 to 19 years. "Throughout this was regarded as a deliberate attempt to blast the prospects of Indian candidates for the Indian Civil Services"

## **Second afghan war, 1878**

Lytton provoked a senseless war with the Afghan with a view to establish a scientific frontier towards north -west. This wild adventure proved to be a failure, while the government squandered millions extorted from the poor Indians.

## **LORD RIPON (1880-84)**

Lord Ripon was a staunch Liberal democrat with faith in selfgovernment. He was appointed as the Viceroy of India by Gladstone, the Liberal Party Prime Minister of England. Ripon was instructed to reverse the Afghan policy of Lytton.

Lord Ripon was a staunch Liberal democrat with faith in selfgovernment. He was appointed as the Viceroy of India by Gladstone, the Liberal Party Prime Minister of England. Ripon was instructed to reverse the Afghan policy of Lytton. Therefore, as soon

as he came to India, peace was made with Afghanistan without affecting the British prestige. The proposal of appointing a Resident in Kabul was dropped. He was also responsible for the rendition of Mysore to its Hindu ruler. Moreover, he repealed the Vernacular Press Act and earned much among Indians. Then, he devoted himself to task of liberalising the Indian administration.

### **Introduction of Local Self-Government (1882)**

Ripon believed that self-government is the highest and noblest principles of politics. Therefore, Ripon helped the growth of local bodies like the Municipal Committees in towns and the local boards in taluks and villages. The powers of municipalities were increased. Their chairmen were to be non-officials. They were entrusted the care of local amenities, sanitation, drainage and water-supply and also primary education. District and taluk boards were created. It was insisted that the majority of the members of these boards should be elected nonofficials. The local bodies were given executive powers with financial resources of their own. It was perhaps the desire of Ripon that power in India should be gradually transferred to the educated Indians. He also insisted on the election of local bodies as against selection by the government. In all these measures, Ripon's concern was not so much for efficiency in administration. Instead, Ripon diffused the administration and brought the government closer to the people. This was his most important achievement. It was Ripon who laid the foundations of the system which functions today.

### **Educational Reforms**

Like Lord William Bentinck, Lord Ripon was a champion of education of the Indians. Ripon wanted to review the working of the educational system on the basis of the recommendations of the Wood's Despatch. For further improvement of the system Ripon appointed a Commission in 1882 under the chairmanship of Sir William Hunter. The Commission came to be known as the Hunter Commission. The Commission recommended for the expansion and improvement of the elementary education of the masses. The Commission suggested two channels for the secondary education-one was literary education leading up to the Entrance Examination of the university and the other preparing the students for a vocational career. The Commission noted the poor status of women education. It encouraged the local bodies in the villages and towns to manage the elementary education. This had resulted in the extraordinary rise in the number of educational institutions in India.

## **First Factory Act (1881)**

Lord Ripon introduced the Factory Act of 1881 to improve the service condition of the factory workers in India. The Act banned the appointment of children below the age of seven in factories. It reduced the working hours for children. It made compulsory for all dangerous machines in the factories to be properly fenced to ensure security to the workers.

## **Ilbert Bill Agitation (1884)**

Lord Ripon wanted to remove two kinds of law that had been prevalent in India. According to the system of law, a European could be tried only by a European Judge or a European Magistrate. The disqualification was unjust and it was sought to cast a needless discredit and dishonour upon the Indian-born members of the judiciary. C.P. Ilbert, Law Member, introduced a bill in 1883 to abolish this discrimination in judiciary. But Europeans opposed this Bill strongly. They even raised a fund of one lakh fifty thousand rupees and established an organisation called the Defence Association. They also suggested that it was better to end the English rule in India than to allow the English to be subjected to the Indian Judges and Magistrates. The press in England joined the issue. Hence, Ripon amended the bill to satisfy the English in India and England. The Ilbert Bill controversy helped the cause of Indian nationalism. The Ilbert Bill Controversy is a high watermark in the history of Indian National Movement. Ripon was totally disillusioned and heartbroken and he tendered his resignation and left for England. The immediate result of this awakening of India was the birth of the Indian National Congress in 1885, the very next year of Ripon's departure.

## **Estimate of Lord Ripon**

Lord Ripon was the most popular Viceroy that England ever sent to India. The Indians by and large hailed him as 'Ripon the Good', because he was the only Viceroy who handled the Indian problems with compassion and sympathy. His attempt to remove racial distinction in the judiciary, the repeal of the Vernacular Press Act, the rendition of Mysore and the introduction of the Local-Self Government increased his popularity among Indians. His resignation was deeply regretted by Indians who cherished his memory with gratitude.

## **CURZON**

George Nathaniel Curzon, 1st Marquess Curzon of Kedleston, KG, GCSI, GCIE, PC, FBA (11 January 1859–20 March 1925), who was styled as Lord Curzon of Kedleston between 1898 and 1911, and as Earl Curzon of Kedleston between 1911 and 1921, and was known commonly as Lord Curzon, was a British Conservative statesman who served as Viceroy of India from 1899 to 1905, during which time he created the

territory of Eastern Bengal and Assam, and as Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs from 1919 to 1924.

Despite his illustrious success as both Viceroy and Foreign Secretary, especially at the recent Conference of Lausanne, in 1923 Curzon was denied the office of Prime Minister. This was partly because Curzon was a member of the House of Lords, and partly because Lord Davidson to whom Baldwin was loyal and Sir Charles Waterhouse falsely claimed to Lord Stamfordham that the resigned Prime Minister Bonar Law had recommended that George V appoint Baldwin, not Curzon, as his successor. Curzon had been the candidate for Prime Minister preferred by the 4th Marquess of Salisbury, the son of the former Prime Minister, the 3rd Marquess.

Winston S. Churchill, one of Curzon's main rivals, accurately contended that Curzon "sow[ed] gratitude and resentment along his path with equally lavish hands". However, even contemporaries who envied Curzon, such as Stanley Baldwin, conceded that Curzon was, in the words of his biographer Leonard Mosley, 'a devoted and indefatigable public servant, dedicated to the idea of Empire'. Sir David Gilmour, in his biography *Curzon: Imperial Statesman* (1994), contends that the insuperable extent of Curzon's efforts for the British Empire was forever unrecompensed by the British polity subsequent to his retirement from the office of Viceroy of India, including after his brilliance as Foreign Secretary at the Conference of Lausanne.

Lord Curzon, in full George Nathaniel Curzon, Marquess Curzon, also called (1898–1911) Baron Curzon of Kedleston or (1911–21) Earl Curzon of Kedleston, (born January 11, 1859, Kedleston Hall, Derbyshire, England died March 20, 1925, London), British statesman, viceroy of India (1898–1905), and foreign secretary (1919–24) who during his terms in office played a major role in British policy making.

## **Early Life**

Curzon was the eldest son of the 4th Baron Scarsdale, rector of Kedleston, Derbyshire. His early development was strongly influenced by the benign neglect of his parents and the dominating character of his governess (whom he termed —a brutal and vindictive tyrant!) and of his first preparatory schoolmaster (a firm believer in corporal punishment). At Eton, where he proved a wayward and emotional pupil, he clashed with his tutors but developed an extraordinary gift for assimilating the contents of books; by studying hard in private, he surprised everyone by winning more prizes (for French, Italian, and history, among other subjects) than had ever been carried off before.

Just before entering Oxford in 1878, he was struck down by a devastating pain in his back, the aftermath of a riding accident of four years previous. He refused to accept

medical advice to rest and instead donned a leather harness, which he wore for the rest of his life. The back pain was to plague him from that time on, robbing him of sleep, forcing him to take drugs, and often making him querulous and unbalanced at some of the most vital moments in his career and in the affairs of the British Empire. It should be added that the pain sharpened his mind and never kept him from achieving remarkable feats of physical and mental endurance.

Curzon was elected president of the Oxford Union in 1880 and made a fellow of All Souls College in 1883. He had a gift for making friends in high places, and this was apt to be resented by his contemporaries.

About this time a verse was circulated at Oxford of which he was to write later: —Never has more harm been done to one single individual than that accursed doggerel has done to me. It went as follows: (Blenheim is the residence of the dukes of Marlborough.) Two years later he was dining even more frequently at Hatfield House, ancestral home of Lord Salisbury, Conservative leader in the House of Lords, for whom he was now doing research and drafting speeches. His reward was Salisbury's recommendation of Curzon to the Tories of Southport, Lancashire, who agreed to adopt him as their candidate at the next election. It was a safe Tory seat, and in 1886 Curzon became a Member of Parliament for the first time. With Salisbury's approval he neglected his parliamentary duties to embark on a world tour and came back infatuated with Asia. From this and subsequent journeys emerged three books: *Russia in Central Asia* (1889); *Persia and the Persian Question* (1892), by far the most successful of his works; and *Problems of the Far East* (1894).

### **Rise to Political Eminence**

On November 10, 1891, Curzon took his first step up the political ladder by accepting Salisbury's invitation to become under secretary of state for India in the Tory government. The financial worries that beset him at the time (for he had developed extravagant tastes) were solved when he married Mary Victoria Leiter, daughter of Adolphus (Levi) Leiter, a Chicago millionaire. The marriage took place in Washington, D.C., on April 22, 1895, and the union involved marriage settlements of several millions of dollars. There was also a present from Lord Salisbury: the newly married couple returned from their honeymoon to find him waiting with an offer to Curzon of the job of under secretary of state, Salisbury having just been appointed foreign secretary. Curzon accepted on the condition that he was also to be made a privy councillor, and on June 29, 1895, he was duly sworn in by Queen Victoria at Windsor Castle. From this moment his rise to political eminence was swift.

## **Viceroy of India (1899–1905)**

Curzo procession to Sanchi Tope, 28 November 1899. Curzon and Madho Rao Scindia, Maharaja of Gwalior, pose with hunted tigers, 1901. Curzon and his wife and staff on tour of the Persian Gulf in 1903. In January 1899 he was appointed Viceroy of India. He was created a Peer of Ireland as Baron Curzon of Kedleston, in the County of Derby, on his appointment. This peerage was created in the Peerage of Ireland (the last so created) so that he would be free, until his father's death, to re-enter the House of Commons on his return to Britain. Reaching India shortly after the suppression of the frontier risings of 1897–98, he paid special attention to the independent tribes of the north-west frontier, inaugurated a new province called the North West Frontier Province, and pursued a policy of forceful control mingled with conciliation. The only major armed outbreak on this frontier during the period of his administration was the Mahsud–Waziri campaign of 1901.

In the context of the Great Game between the British and Russian Empires for control of Central Asia, he held deep mistrust of Russian intentions. This led him to encourage British trade in Persia, and he paid a visit to the Persian Gulf in 1903. Curzon argued for an exclusive British presence in the Gulf, a policy originally proposed by John Malcolm. The British government was already making agreements with local sheiks/tribal leaders along the Persian Gulf coast to this end. Curzon had convinced his government to establish Britain as the unofficial protector of Kuwait with the Anglo-Kuwaiti Agreement of 1899. The Lansdowne Declaration in 1903 stated that the British would counter any other European power's attempt to establish a military presence in the Gulf. Only four years later this position was abandoned and the Persian Gulf declared a neutral zone in the Anglo-Russian Agreement of 1907, prompted in part by the high economic cost of defending India from Russian advances.

At the end of 1903, Curzon sent a British expedition to Tibet under Francis Younghusband, ostensibly to forestall a Russian advance. After bloody conflicts with Tibet's poorly armed defenders, the mission penetrated to Lhasa, where a treaty was signed in September 1904. No Russian presence was found in Lhasa.

During his tenure, Curzon undertook the restoration of the Taj Mahal and expressed satisfaction that he had done so. Within India, Curzon appointed a number of commissions to inquire into education, irrigation, police and other branches of administration, on whose reports legislation was based during his second term of office as viceroy. Reappointed Governor-General in August 1904, he presided over the 1905 partition of Bengal, which roused such bitter opposition among the people of the province that it was later revoked (1911).



## **Indian Army**

Curzon also took an active interest in military matters. In 1901, he founded the Imperial Cadet Corps, or ICC. The ICC was a corps d'elite, designed to give Indian princes and aristocrats military training, after which a few would be given officer commissions in the Indian Army. But these commissions were "special commissions" which did not empower their holders to command any troops. Predictably, this was a major stumbling block to the ICC's success, as it caused much resentment among former cadets. Though the ICC closed in 1914, it was a crucial stage in the drive to Indianise the Indian Army's officer Corps, which was haltingly begun in 1917.

Military organisation proved to be the final issue faced by Curzon in India. It often involved petty issues that had much to do with clashes of personality: Curzon once wrote on a document "I rise from the perusal of these papers filled with the sense of the ineptitude of my military advisers", and once wrote to the Commander-in-Chief in India, Kitchener, advising him that signing himself "Kitchener of Khartoum" took up too much time and space, which Kitchener thought petty (Curzon simply signed himself "Curzon" as if he were a hereditary peer, although he later took to signing himself "Curzon of Kedleston"). A difference of opinion with Kitchener, regarding the status of the military member of the council in India (who controlled army supply and logistics, which Kitchener wanted under his own control), led to a controversy in which Curzon failed to obtain the support of the home government. He resigned in August 1905 and returned to England.

## **Last Years**

There were disappointments in politics too. Curzon had decided that the one lesson he must learn from his bitter experience in India was: never to resign. But in his case, it was a poor one. In the postwar government led by Lloyd George, he was appointed foreign secretary, a position for which he was eminently fitted. But time and again he was overruled or pushed aside by his boisterous leader, and his carefully planned policies thwarted. It was a time when resignation might well have gained him the overwhelming support of the Tories (who despised the Liberal coalition leader, Lloyd George) and taken him to the top.

Instead, he clung to office, and it was not until Tories took over in 1922 that he came into possession of the full powers of his office. He served with distinction until 1923, painstakingly dealing with the chaotic problems of postwar Europe and the Near East. When the Tory Prime Minister Bonar Law, a dying man, prepared to relinquish office, Curzon had good reason to believe that his efforts would be rewarded by the premiership that he felt he so richly deserved. It was not to be. Backstairs political intrigue (and the fear that a premier in the House of Lords would be —out of touch!) resulted in the appointment of a House of Commons man, Stanley Baldwin, as prime

minister. It was a bitter blow to Curzon's hopes, but he insisted on presiding at the meeting at which Baldwin was elected to the job for which he was so much better equipped. He hung on to his job as foreign secretary until 1924, when Baldwin replaced him with Austen Chamberlain.

He had been created a marquess in 1921, and more than ever he hoped for a son to inherit his title, but in this too he was to be frustrated. On March 9, 1925, he was operated on for an internal condition, and he died of complications less than two weeks later. With him died his marquessate and his earldom. The viscountcy subsequently passed to his nephew and the barony of Ravensdale to his eldest daughter, Lady Irene Curzon.

## UNIT - IV

### India towards Freedom

#### Nationalist Movement (1858-1905)

- The second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century witnessed the full flowering of the national political consciousness and the growth of an organized national movement in India.
- In December 1885, the Indian National Congress was established under whose leadership, Indians waged a prolonged and courageous struggle for independence from foreign rule, which India finally won on 15 August 1947.

#### Consequence of Foreign Domination

- The modern Indian nationalism arose to meet the challenges of foreign domination.
- It was British rule and its direct and indirect consequences, which provided the material, moral, and intellectual conditions for the development of a national movement in India.
- The Indians realized gradually that their interests were being sacrificed to those of Lancashire manufacturers and other dominant British interests.
- The foundations of the Indian nationalist movement lay in the fact that increasingly British rule became the major cause of India's economic backwardness. It became the major barrier to India's further economic, social, cultural, intellectual, and political development.
- The peasants saw that the Government took away a large part of his produce as land revenue; that the Government and its machinery – the police, the courts, the officials – favored and protected the zamindars and landlords, who rack-rented them, and the merchants and money-lenders, who cheated and exploited him in diverse way and who took away their land.
- The artisans or handicraftsmen saw that the foreign regime had helped foreign competition to ruin them and had done nothing to rehabilitate them.
- All these three classes of Indian society—the peasants, the artisans, and the workers, constituting the overwhelming majority of Indian population — discovered that they had no political rights or powers, and that virtually nothing was being done for their intellectual or cultural improvement.
- Education did not percolate down to them. There were hardly any schools in villages and the few that were there were poorly run.
- Economic exploitation by Britain was swelling India's poverty. They began to complain of the extreme costliness of the Indian administration, of the excessive burden of taxation especially on the peasantry, of the destruction of India's indigenous industries, of official attempts to check the growth of modern industries through a pro-British tariff policy, of the neglect of nation-building and welfare activities such as education, irrigation, sanitation, and health services.

- The Indian intelligentsia suffered from growing unemployment. The few Indians who were educated were not able to find employment and even those who did find jobs discovered that most of the better paid jobs were reserved for the English middle and upper classes, who looked upon India as a special pasture for their sons.
- The educated Indians found that the economic and cultural development of the country and its freedom from foreign control alone could provide them with better employment opportunities.
- Instead, the Government and its bureaucracy favored foreign capitalists who came to India with their vast resources and appropriated the limited industrial field.
- The Indian capitalists were particularly opposed to the strong competition from foreign capitalists. In the 1940's, many of the Indian industrialists demanded that "all British investments in India be repatriated."
- In 1945, M.A. Master, President of the Indian Merchants' Chamber warned: "*India would prefer to go without industrial development rather than allow the creation of new East India Companies in this country, which would not only militate against her economic independence, but would also effectively prevent her from acquiring her political freedom.*"
- The Indian capitalists, therefore, realized that there existed a contradiction between imperialism and their own independent growth, and that only a national government would create conditions for the rapid development of Indian trade and industries.

#### Administrative and Economic Unification of India

- The British had gradually introduced a uniform and modern system of government throughout the country and thus unified it administratively.
- The destruction of the rural and local self-sufficient economy and the introduction of modern trade and industries on an all-India scale had increasingly made India's economic life a single whole and inter-linked the economic fate of people living in different parts of the country. For example, if famine or scarcity occurred in one part of India, prices and availability of foodstuffs were affected in all other parts of the country.
- Introduction of the railways, telegraphs, and a unified postal system had brought the different parts of the country together and promoted mutual contact among the people, especially among the leaders.
- The anti-imperialist feeling was itself a factor in the unification of the country and the emergence of a common national outlook.

#### Western Thought and Education

- As a result of the spread of modern western education and thought during the 19<sup>th</sup> century, a large number of Indians imbibed a modern rational, secular, democratic, and nationalist political outlook.
- The Indians began to study, admire, and emulate the contemporary nationalist movements of the European nations. Rousseau, Paine, John Stuart Mill, and other western thinkers became their political guides, while Martini, Garibaldi, and Irish nationalist leaders became their political heroes.
- The educated Indians were the first to feel the humiliation of foreign subjection. By becoming modern in their thinking, they also acquired the ability to study the evil effects of the foreign rule. They were inspired by the dream of a modern, strong, prosperous, and

united India. In a course of time, the best among them became the leaders and organizers of the national movement.

- In fact, in the schools and colleges, the authorities tried to inculcate notions of docility and servility to foreign rule. Nationalist ideas were a part of the general spread of modern ideas.
- Modern education also created a certain uniformity and community of outlook and interests among the educated Indians. The English language played an important role in this respect. It became the medium for the spread of modern ideas. It also became the medium of communication and exchange of idea, between educated Indians from different linguistic regions of the country.
- Political leaders like Dadabhai Naoroji, Sayyid Ahmed Khan, Justice Ranade, Tilak, and Gandhiji agitated for a bigger role for the Indian languages in the educational system.

### Role of the Press and Literature

- The chief instrument through which the nationalist-minded Indians spread the message of patriotism and modern economic, social, and political ideas and created an all-India consciousness was the press.
- In their columns, the official policies were constantly criticized; the Indian point of view was put forward; the people were asked to unite and work for national welfare; and ideas of self-government, democracy, industrialization, etc., were popularized among the people.
- Some of the prominent nationalist newspapers of the period were the *Hindu Patriot*, the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, the *Indian Mirror*, the *Bengalee*, the *Som Prakash* and the *Sanjivani* in Bengal; the *Rast Goftar*, the *Native Opinion*, the *Indu Prakash*, the *Mahratta*, and the *Kesari* (in Bombay); the *Hindu*, the *Swadesamitran*, the *Andhra Prakasika*, and the *Kerala Patrika* (in Madras); the *Advocate*, the *Hindustani*, and the *Azad* (in U. P.); and the *Tribune*, the *AkhbarI-Am*, and the *Koh-i-Noor* (in Punjab).
- National literature in the form of novels, essays, and patriotic poetry also played an important role in arousing the national consciousness.
- Bankim Chandra Chatterjee and Rabindranath Tagore in Bengali, Lakshminath Bezbarua in Assamese; Vishnu Shastri Chiplunkar in Marathi, Subramanya Bharati in Tamil; Bharatendu Harishchandra in Hindi; and Altaf Husain Hah in Urdu were some of the prominent nationalist writers of the period.

### Rediscovery of India's Past

- Many Indians had fallen so low as to have lost confidence in their own capacity for self-government.
- Many British officials and writers of the time constantly advanced the thesis that Indians had never been able to rule themselves in the past that Hindus and Muslims had always fought one another, that Indians were destined to be ruled by foreigners, that their religion and social life were degraded and uncivilized making them unfit for democracy or even self-government.
- Many of the nationalist leaders tried to arouse the self-confidence and selfrespect of the people by countering this propaganda. They pointed to the cultural heritage of India with pride and referred the critics to the political achievements of rulers like Asoka, Chandragupta Vikramaditya, and Akbar.

- Unfortunately, some of the nationalists went to the other extreme and began to glorify India's past uncritically ignoring its weakness and backwardness. Great harm was done, in particular, by the tendency to look up only to the heritage of ancient India while ignoring the equally great achievements of the medieval period.
- The ignorance of medieval period encouraged the growth of communal sentiments among the Hindus and the counter tendency among the Muslims of looking to the history of the Arabs and the Turks for cultural and historical inspiration.
- In meeting the challenge of cultural imperialism of the West, many Indians tended to ignore the fact that in many respects, the people of India were culturally backward.
- A false sense of pride and smugness was produced, which tended to prevail Indians from looking critically at their society.
- The growth of communal sentiments weakened the struggle against social and cultural backwardness, and led many Indians to turn away from healthy and fresh tendencies and ideas from other people.

### Racial Arrogance of Rulers

- An important factor in the growth of national sentiments in India was the tone of racial superiority adopted by many Englishmen while dealing with Indians.
- Many Englishmen openly insulted even educated Indians. A particularly odious and frequent form taken by racial arrogance was the failure of justice whenever an Englishman was involved in a dispute with an Indian.
- The Indian newspapers often published instances in which an Englishmen had hit and killed an Indian but escaped very lightly. This was not only because of conscious partiality by the judges and administrators but even more because of racial prejudice.
- Racial arrogance branded all Indians irrespective of their caste, religion, province, or class with the badge of inferiority.
- The Indians were kept out of exclusively European clubs and were often not permitted to travel in the same compartment in a train with the European passengers. This made them conscious of national humiliation.

### Immediate Factors

- By the 1870's, it was evident that Indian nationalism had gathered enough strength and momentum to appear as a major force on the Indian political scene. However, it required the reactionary regime of Lord Lytton to give it visible form and the controversy around the Ilbert Bill gave it an organized form.
- During Lytton's viceroyalty from 1876-80, most of the import duties on British textile imports were removed to please the textile manufacturers of Britain. This action was interpreted by Indians as proof of the British desire to ruin the small but growing textile industry of India. It created a wave of anger in the country and led to widespread nationalist agitation.
- The Second War against Afghanistan aroused vehement agitation against the heavy cost of this imperialist war, which the Indian Treasury was made to bear.
- The Arms Act of 1878, which disarmed the people, appeared to them as an effort to emasculate the entire nation.
- The Vernacular Press Act of 1878 was condemned by the politically conscious Indians as an attempt to suppress the growing nationalist criticism of the alien government.

- The holding of the imperial Durbar at Delhi in 1877 at a time when the country was suffering from a terrible famine led people to believe that their rulers cared very little even for their lives.
- In 1878, the government announced new regulations reducing the maximum age limit for sitting in the Indian Civil Service Examination from 21 years to 19.
- Already Indian students had found it difficult to compete with English boys since the examination was conducted in England and through English medium. The new regulations further reduced their chances of entering the Civil Service.
- The Indians now realized that the British had no intention of relaxing their near-total monopoly of the higher grades of services in the administration.
- Lytton's viceroyalty helped to intensify discontent against foreign rule.
- In 1883, Ripon who succeeded Lytton as the Viceroy, tried to pass a law to enable Indian district magistrates and session judges to trial Europeans in criminal cases.
- Under the existing law, even Indian members of the Indian Civil Service were not authorized to try Europeans in their courts.
- The Europeans in India organized a vehement agitation against this Bill, which came to be known as Ilbert Bill (after Ilbert, the Law Member).
- The Ilbert Bill poured abuse on Indians and their culture and character. They declared that even the most highly educated among the Indians were unfit to trial a European.

## Predecessors of INC

- The Indian National Congress (INC), founded in December 1885, was the first organized expression of the Indian National Movement on an all-India scale. It had, however, many predecessors.

## Major Public Associations

Following are the important public associations, established before the Indian National Congress –

The Landholders' Society – founded in 1837, it was an association of the landlords of Bengal, Bihar, and Orissa. Its purpose was to promote the class interests of the landlords.

The Bengal British Indian Society – founded in 1843, it was organized to protect and promote general public interests.

- In 1851, the Landholders' Society and the Bengal British Indian Society merged to form the British India Association.
- The Madras Native Association and the Bombay Association were established in 1852.
- The Scientific Society founded by Sayyid Ahmad Khan, were established in different towns of the country.

- All the above-discussed associations were dominated by wealthy and aristocratic elements — called in those days’ prominent persons and were provincial or local in character.
- The members of public associations worked for reform of administration, association of Indians with the administration, and spread of education, and sent long petitions, putting forward Indian demands, to the British Parliament.
- In 1866, Dadabhai Naoroji organized the East India Association in London to discuss the Indian question and to influence British public men to promote Indian welfare. Later he organized branches of the Association in prominent Indian cities.
- Born in 1825, Dadabhai Naoroji devoted his entire life to the national movement and soon came to be known as the 'Grand Old Man of India.'
- Dadabhai Naoroji was the first economic thinker of India. In his writings on economics, he showed that the basic cause of India’s poverty lay in the British exploitation of India and the drain of its wealth.
- Dadabhai was honored by being thrice elected president of the Indian National Congress.

### Surendranath Banerjea

- Surendranath Banerjea was a brilliant writer and orator. He was unjustly turned out of the Indian Civil Service as his superiors could not tolerate the presence of an independent-minded Indian in the ranks of this service.
- Banerjea began his public career in 1875 by delivering brilliant addresses on nationalist topics to the students of Calcutta.
- Led by Surendranath and Anandamohan Bose, the younger nationalists of Bengal founded the Indian Association in July 1876.
- The Indian Association set before itself the aims of creating a strong public opinion in the country on political questions and the unification of the Indian people on a common political program.
- In order to attract large numbers of people to its banner, the Indian Association fixed a low membership fee for the poorer classes.
- The first major issue that the Indian Association took up for agitation was the reform of the Civil Service regulations and the raising of the age limit for its examination.
- Surendranath Banerjea toured different parts of the country during 1877-78 in an effort to create an all-India public opinion on this question.
- The Indian Association also carried out agitation against the Arms Act and the Vernacular Press Act and in favor of protection of the tenants from oppression by the reminders.
- During 1883-85, the Indian Association organized popular demonstrations of thousands of peasants to get the Rent Bill changed in favor of the tenants.
- The Indian Association agitated for better conditions of work for the workers in the English-owned tea plantations.
- Many branches of the Indian Association were opened in the towns and villages of Bengal and also in many towns outside Bengal.
- Some other Important Public Associations were –



- Justice Ranade and others organized the Poona Sarvajanik Sabha in the 1870's.
- The Madras Mahajan Sabha was started in 1881 and the Bombay Presidency Association in 1885.
- The most important of the pre-Congress nationalist organizations was the Indian Association of Calcutta.
- The Poona Sarvajanik Sabha brought out a quarterly journal under the guidance of Justice Ranade. This journal became the intellectual guide of new India, particularly on economic questions.
- These organizations were mainly devoted to criticism of important administrative and legislative measures.

## Indian National Congress

- A. O. Hume, a retired English Civil Servant along with prominent Indian leaders founded all-India organization namely the “Indian National Congress.”
- The first session of the Indian National Congress was held at Bombay in December 1885. It was presided by W. C. Bonnerjee and attended by 72 delegates.

## Aims of INC

- The aims of the National Congress were declared to be –
  - Promotion of friendly relations among nationalist political workers residing in different parts of the country;
  - Development and consolidation of the feeling of national unity irrespective of caste, religion, or province;
  - Formulation of popular demands and their presentation before the Government; and
  - Training and organization of public opinion in the country.
- One of the main aims of Hume in helping to found the National Congress was to provide an outlet i.e. 'a safety valve'—to the increasing popular discontent against British rule.
- In 1879, Wasudeo Balwant Phadke, a clerk in the commissariat department, had gathered a band of Ramoshi peasants and started an armed uprising in Maharashtra. Though this crude and an ill-prepared attempt was easily crushed, it was a portent of events to come.
- Hume as well as other English officials and statesmen were afraid that the educated Indians might provide leadership to the masses and organize a powerful rebellion against the foreign government. As Hume put it: "*A safety valve for the escape of great and growing forces generated by our own action was urgently needed.*"
- Hume believed that the National Congress would provide a peaceful and constitutional outlet to the discontent among the educated Indians and would thus help to avoid the outbreak of a popular revolt.
- The National Congress represented the urge of the politically conscious Indians to set up a national organization to work for their political and economic advancement.

- In any case, the Indian leaders, who cooperated with Hume in starting this National Congress, were patriotic men of high character who willingly accepted Hume's help as they did not want to arouse official hostility towards their efforts at so early stage of political activity.
- Surendranath Banerjea and many other leaders of Bengal had not attended the first session of the National Congress as they were busy with the Second National Conference at Calcutta.
- In 1886, Surendranath Banerjea and other leaders of Bengal merged their forces with those of the National Congress whose second session met in Calcutta in December 1886 under the president-ship of Dadabhai Naoroji.
- From the Calcutta session, the National Congress became 'the whole country's Congress'. Its delegates, numbering 436, were elected by different local organizations and groups.
- The National Congress met every year in December, in a different part of the country.
- The number of its delegates soon increased to thousands. Its delegates consisted mostly of lawyers, journalists, traders, industrialists, teachers, and landlords.
- In 1890, Kadambini Ganguli, the first woman graduate of Calcutta University addressed the Congress session.
- This was symbolic of the fact that India's straggle for freedom would raise Indian women from the degraded position to which they had been reduced for centuries past.
- Some of the great presidents of the National Congress during its early years were Dadabhai Naoroji, Badruddin Tyabji, Pherozeshah Mehta, P. Ananda Charlu, Surendranath Banerjea, Ramesh Chandra Dutt, Ananda Mohan Bose, and Gopal Krishna Gokhale.

## INC & Reforms

- Reforms after the Indian National Congress can be studied under **the following heads** –
  - Constitutional Reforms
  - Economic Reforms
  - Administrative Reforms
  - Methods of Political Work

Let's discuss each one of them separately in brief –

## Constitutional Reforms

- From 1885 to 1892, the nationalist leaders demanded the expansion and reform of the Legislative Councils. They demanded membership of the councils for elected representatives of the people and also an increase in the powers of the councils.
- The British Government was forced by their agitation to pass the Indian Councils Act of 1892. By this Act, the number of members of the Imperial Legislative Council as well as of the provincial councils was increased.
- Some of the members of Councils could be elected indirectly by Indians, but the officials' majority remained as it is.

- The Councils were also given the right to discuss the annual budgets though they could not vote on them.
- The nationalists were totally dissatisfied with the Act of 1892 and declared it to be a hoax. They demanded a larger share for Indians in the councils as also wider powers for them. In particular, they demanded Indian control over the public purse and raised the slogan that had earlier become the national cry of the American people during their War of Independence: '*No taxation without representation.*'
- By the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the nationalist leaders advanced further and put forward the claim for *Swarajya* or self-government within the British Empire on the model of self-governing colonies like Australia and Canada.
- This demand was made from the Congress platform by Gokhale in 1905 and by Dadabhai Naoroji in 1906.

## Economic Reforms

- Dadabhai Naoroji declared as early as 1881 that British rule was "*an everlasting, increasing, and every day increasing foreign invasion*" that was "*utterly, though gradually, destroying the country.*"
- The nationalists blamed the British for the destruction of India's indigenous Industries. The chief remedy they suggested for the removal of India's poverty was the rapid development of modern industries.
- The Indian people made a great effort to popularize the idea of *swadeshi* or the use of Indian goods and the boycott of British goods as a means of promoting Indian industries.
- Students in Poona and in other towns of Maharashtra publicly burnt foreign clothes in 1896 as part of the larger *swadeshi* campaign.
- Indians agitated for improvement in the work conditions of the plantation laborers.
- The nationalists declared high taxation to be one of the causes of India's poverty and demanded abolition of the salt tax and reduction of land revenue.
- The nationalists condemned the high military expenditure of the Government of India and demanded its reduction.

## Administrative Reforms

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

- Opposed the official policy of disarming the people;
- Asked the government to trust the people and grant them the right to bear arms and thus defend themselves and their country in times of need;
- Urged the government to undertake and develop welfare activities of the state;
- Demanded greater facilities for technical and higher education;
- Urged the development of agricultural banks to save the peasant from the clutches of the money-lender; and
- Demanded extension of medical and health facilities and improvement of the police system to make it honest, efficient, and popular.

## Methods of Political Work

- The Indian national movement up to 1905 was dominated by leaders who have often been described as moderate nationalists or Moderates.
- The political methods of the Moderates can be summed up briefly as constitutional agitation within the four walls of the law and slow orderly political progress.
- Moderates believed that if public opinion was created and organized and popular demands presented to the authorities through petitions, meetings, resolutions, and speeches, the authorities would concede these demands gradually and step by step.
- In 1889, the British Committee started a journal called '*India*.'
- Dadabhai Naoroji spent a major part of his life and income in England in popularizing India's case among England's people.
- Moderates genuinely believed that the continuation of India's political connection with Britain was in the interests of India at that stage of history. They, therefore, planned not to expel the British but to transform British rule to approximate to national rule.
- Later, when Moderates took note of the evils of British rule and the failure of the government to accept nationalist demands for reform, many of them stopped talking of loyalty to British rule and started demanding selfgovernment for India.
- From the beginning, many nationalist leaders had no faith in the good intentions of the British. They believed in depending on political action by, and the strength of the Indian people themselves.
- Tilak and numerous other leaders and newspaper editors represented the trend, that later came to be known as Extremists or radical nationalists.

## Attitude of the Government

- The British authorities were from the beginning hostile to the rising nationalist movement and had become suspicious of the National Congress.
- The British officials branded the nationalist leaders as 'disloyal *babus*', 'seditious *brahmins*' and 'violent *villains*'.
- As the British became apparent that the National Congress would not become a tool in the hands of the authorities, but rather it was gradually becoming a focus of Indian nationalism. British officials now began to criticize and condemn the National Congress and other Rationalist spokesmen openly.
- In 1887, Dufferin attacked the National Congress in a public speech and ridiculed it as representing only 'a microscopic minority of the people.'

- In 1900; Lord Curzon announced to the Secretary of State, that "*the Congress is tottering to its fall, and one of my great ambitions, while in India, is to assist it to a peaceful demise*".
- The British authorities also pushed further the policy of 'divide and rule.' They encouraged Sayyid Ahmed Khan, Raja Shiva Prasad of Benaras, and other proBritish individuals to start an anti-Congress movement.
- Some critics say that the nationalist movement and the National Congress did not achieve much success in their early phase; however, it established the political truth that India must be ruled in the interests of the Indians and made the issue of nationalism a dominant one in Indian life.

## Nationalist Movement (1905-1918)

### Introduction

- The Indian national movement in its early days had increasingly made a large number of people conscious of the evils of foreign domination and of the need for fostering patriotism. It had imparted the necessary political training to the educated Indians.
- There was a strong demand for more vigorous political action and methods than those of meetings, petitions, memorials, and speeches in the legislative councils.

### Recognition of True Nature of British Rule

- The politics of the moderate nationalists were founded on the belief that British rule could be reformed from within. But the spread of knowledge regarding political and economic questions gradually undermined this belief.
- The nationalist writers and agitators blamed British rule for the poverty of the people. Politically conscious Indians were convinced that the purpose of British rule was to exploit India economically, that is, to enrich England at the cost of India.
- The nationalists realized that India could make little progress in the economic field unless British imperialism was replaced by a government controlled and run by the Indian people.
- In 1898, a law was passed making it an offence to excite "feelings of disaffection" towards the foreign government.
- In 1899, the number of Indian members in the Calcutta Corporation was reduced.
- In 1904, the Indian Official Secrets Act was passed restricting the freedom of the press.
- The Nathu brothers were deported in 1897 without trial; even the charges against them were not made public.
- In 1897, Lokamanya Tilak and other newspaper editors were sentenced to long terms of imprisonment for arousing the people against the foreign government.
- The moderate leader Gokhale complained that "the bureaucracy was growing frankly selfish and openly hostile to national aspirations."
- The Indian Universities Act of 1904 was seen by the nationalists as an attempt to bring Indian universities under tighter official control and to check the growth of higher education.

- Gradually, an increasing number of Indians were getting convinced that selfgovernment was essential for the sake of the economic, political, and cultural progress of the country and that political enslavement meant stunting the growth of the Indian people.

## Growth of Self-respect and Self-confidence

- By the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the Indian nationalists had grown in selfrespect and self-confidence. They had acquired faith in their capacity to govern themselves and in the future development of their country.
- Tilak and Bipin Chandra Pal preached the message of self-respect and asked the nationalists to rely on the character and capacities of the Indian people.
- The nationalists taught the people that the remedy to their sad condition lay in their own hands and that they should, therefore, become fearless and strong.
- Swami Vivekananda, though not a political leader, again and again, drove home the message that *“If there is a sin in the world it is weakness; avoid all weakness, weakness is sin, weakness is death... and here is the test of truth – anything that makes you weak physically, intellectually and spiritually, reject as poison, there is no life in it, it cannot be true.”*
- Swami Vivekananda wrote that *“The only hope of India is from the masses. The upper classes are physically and morally dead.”*
- The educated Indians became the best propagators and followers of militant nationalism both because they were low-paid or unemployed and because they were educated in modern thought and politics and European and world history.

## Existence of Militant Nationalist School of Thought

- From almost the beginning of the national movement a school of militant nationalism had existed in the country. This school was represented by leaders like Rajnarain Bose and Ashwini Kumar Dutt in Bengal and Vishnu Shastri Chiplunkar in Maharashtra.
- The most outstanding representative of militant school was Bal Gangadhar Tilak later popularly known as Lokamanya Tilak.
- Tilak was born in 1856. From the day of his graduation from the Bombay University, he devoted his entire life to the service of the country.
- From 1889, Tilak edited the *Kesari* and preached nationalism in its columns and taught people to become courageous, self-reliant, and selfless fighters in the cause of India's independence.
- In 1893, Tilak started using the traditional religious *Ganpati* festival to propagate nationalist ideas through songs and speeches, and in 1895, he started the *Shivaji* festival to stimulate nationalism among young Maharashtrians by holding up the example of *Shivaji* for emulation.
- During 1896-1897, Tilak initiated a ‘no-tax’ campaign in Maharashtra. He asked the famine-stricken peasants of Maharashtra to withhold payment of land revenue if their crops had failed.
- Tilak set a real example of boldness and sacrifice when the authorities arrested him in 1897 on the charge of spreading hatred and disaffection against the government. He

refused to apologize to the government and was sentenced to 18 months rigorous imprisonment.

## Partition of Bengal

- The conditions for the emergence of militant nationalism had developed when in 1905 the partition of Bengal was announced.
- On 20 July 1905, Lord Curzon issued an order dividing the province of Bengal into two parts i.e. Eastern Bengal and Assam with a population of 31 million and the rest of Bengal with a population of 54 million, of whom 18 million were Bengalis and 36 million were Biharis and Oriyas.



- The Indian National Congress and the nationalists of Bengal firmly opposed the partition.
- The Anti-Partition Movement was initiated on 7 August 1905. On that day, a massive demonstration against the partition was organized in the Town Hall in Calcutta.
- The partition took effect on 16 October 1905. The leaders of the protest movement declared it to be a day of national mourning throughout Bengal.

## Swadeshi and Boycott

- Mass meetings were held all over Bengal where Swadeshi or use of Indian goods and boycott of British goods were proclaimed and pledged. At many places, public tannings of foreign cloth were organized and shops selling foreign cloth were picketed.
- The Swadeshi movement gave a great deal of encouragement to Indian industries. Many textile mills, soap and match factories, handloom weaving concerns, national banks, and insurance companies were opened.
- The Swadeshi movement had several consequences in the realm of culture. There was a flowering of nationalist poetry, prose, and journalism.

- National educational institutions where literary, technical, or physical education was imparted were opened by nationalists who regarded the existing system of education as denationalizing and, in any case, inadequate.
- On 15 August 1906, a National Council of Education was set up. A National College with Aurobindo Ghose as principal was started in Calcutta.

## Role of Students, Women, Muslims, and Masses

- A noticeable part in the Swadeshi agitation was played by the students of Bengal. They practiced and propagated swadeshi and took the lead in organizing picketing of shops selling foreign cloth. They were perhaps the main creators of the swadeshi spirit in Bengal.
- The government made every attempt to suppress the students. Orders were issued to penalize those schools and colleges whose students took an active part in the Swadeshi agitation: their grants-in-aid and other privileges were to be withdrawn.
- Many students were fined, expelled from schools and colleges, arrested, and some time beaten by the police. However, students refused to be cowed down.
- The traditionally home-centered women of the urban middle classes joined processions and picketing. Likewise, from this time, students were taken an active part in the nationalist movement.
- Many prominent Muslims joined the Swadeshi movement including Abdul Rasul, the famous barrister, Liaquat Husain, the popular agitator, and Guznavi, the businessman.
- Tilak quickly observed that with the inauguration of this movement in Bengal, a new chapter in the history of Indian nationalism had opened i.e. the challenge and an opportunity to lead a popular struggle against the British Raj and to unite the entire country in one bond of common sympathy.
- The Governments of the two Bengals, particularly of East Bengal made active efforts to divide Hindus and Muslims. Seeds of Hindu-Muslim disunity in Bengal politics were perhaps sown at this time, which embittered the nationalists.
- As the consequences of Swadeshi movement –
  - Shouting of '*Bande Mataram*' in public streets in East Bengal was banned;
  - Public meetings were restricted and sometimes forbidden;
  - Laws controlling the press were enacted;
  - Swadeshi workers were prosecuted and imprisoned for the long periods;
  - Many students were given corporal punishment;
  - Prosecutions against a large number of nationalist newspapers were launched and freedom of the press was completely suppressed;
  - Military police was stationed in many towns where it clashed with the people;
  - In December 1908, nine Bengal leaders, including the venerable Krishna Kumar Mitra and Ashwini Kumar Dutt were deported;
  - Earlier in 1907, Lala Lajpat Rai and Ajit Singh had been deported; and
  - In 1908, the great Tilak was again arrested and given the savage sentence of 6 years imprisonment.



## Growth of Revolutionary Terrorism

- Government repression and frustration caused by the failure of the political struggle ultimately resulted in revolutionary terrorism.
- The *Yugantar* wrote on 22 April 1906 after the Barisal Conference: "*The remedy lies with the people themselves. The 30 crores of people inhabiting India must raise their 60 crores of hands to stop this curse of oppression. Force must be stopped by force.*"
- The revolutionary young men did not try to generate a mass revolution. Instead, they decided to copy the methods of the Irish terrorists and the Russian Nihilists, that is, to assassinate unpopular officials.
- In 1897, the Chapekar brothers assassinated two unpopular British officials at Poona.
- In 1904, V.D. Savarkar had organized the *Abhinava Bharat*, a secret society of revolutionaries.
- After 1905, several newspapers had begun to advocate revolutionary terrorism. The *Sandhya* and the *Yugantar* in Bengal and the *Kal* in Maharashtra were the most prominent among them.
- In April 1908, Khudiram Bose and Prafulla Chaki threw a bomb at a carriage, which they believed was occupied by Kingsford, the unpopular Judge at Muzzaffarpur. Prafulla Chaki shot himself dead while Khudiram Bose was hanged.
- Many secret societies of terrorist youth came into existence. The most famous of these was the Anushilan Samiti whose Dacca section alone had 500 branches.
- Soon terrorist societies became active in the rest of the country also. They became so bold as to throw a bomb at the Viceroy, Lord Harding, while he was riding on an elephant in a state procession at Delhi. The Viceroy was wounded.
- The terrorists also established centers of activity abroad. In London, the lead was taken by Shyamji Krishnavarma, V.D. Savarkar, and Har Dayal, while in Europe Madam Cama and Ajit Singh were the prominent leaders.
- The terrorists did make a valuable contribution to the growth of nationalism in India

## Indian National Congress (1905-1914)

- After Bengal partition, all sections of the National Congress united in opposing the partition and supported the Swadeshi and Boycott movement of Bengal.
- There was much public debate and disagreement between the moderate and the militant nationalists. While the latter wanted to extend the mass movement in Bengal as well as in the rest of the country, the Moderates wanted to confine the movement to Bengal and even there to limit it to Swadeshi and Boycott.
- There was a tussle between the militant nationalists and moderates for the president-ship of the National Congress. In the end, Dadabhai Naoroji, respected by all nationalists as a great patriot, was chosen as a compromise.
- Dadabhai electrified the nationalist ranks by openly declaring in his presidential address that the goal of the Indian national movement was 'self-government' or Swaraj, like that of the United Kingdom or the colonies.

- The split between the two came at the Surat session of the National Congress in December 1907: The moderate leaders having captured the machinery of the Congress excluded the militant elements from it.
- In the long run, the split did not prove useful to either party. The moderate leaders lost touch with the younger generation of nationalists.
- The British Government played the game of 'Divide and Rule' and tried to win over moderate nationalist opinion so that the militant nationalists could be isolated and suppressed.
- To appease the moderate nationalists it announced constitutional concessions through the Indian Councils Act of 1909, which are known as the Morley-Minto Reforms of 1909.
- In 1911, the Government also announced the cancellation of the partition of Bengal. Western and eastern Bengals were to be reunited while a new province consisting of Bihar and Orissa was to be created.
- In 1911, the seat of the Central Government was moved from Calcutta to Delhi
- The Morley-Minto Reforms Increased the number of elected members in the Imperial Legislative Council and the provincial councils. But most of the elected members were elected indirectly, by the provincial councils in the case of the Imperial Council and by municipal committees and district boards in the case of provincial councils. Some of the elected seats were reserved for landlords and British capitalists in India.
- Out of the 68 members of the Imperial Legislative Council, 36 were officials and 5 were nominated non-officials.
- Of the 27 elected members, 6 were to represent the big landlords and 2 the British capitalists.
- The reformed councils still enjoyed no real power, being merely advisory bodies. The reforms in no way changed the undemocratic and foreign character of British rule or the fact of foreign economic exploitation of the country.
- The Reforms also introduced the system of separate electorates under which all Muslims were grouped in separate constituencies from which Muslims alone could be elected. This was done for the sake of protecting the Muslim minority. But in reality, this was a part of the policy of dividing Hindus and Muslims and thus maintaining British supremacy in India.
- The system of separate electorates was based on the idea that the political and economic interests of Hindus and Muslims were separate. This notion was unscientific because religions cannot be the basis of political and economic interests or of political groupings.
- The moderate nationalists did not fully support the Morley-Minto Reforms. They soon realized that the Reforms had really not granted much.

## Nationalists and World War I

- In June 1914, the First World War broke out between Great Britain, France, Italy, Russia, Japan, and the United States of America on one side and Germany, Austria-Hungary, and Turkey on the other.
- In the beginning, the Indian nationalist leaders, including Lokamanya Tilak, who had been released in June 1914, decided to support the war effort of the British Government.

- The nationalists adopted an actively pro-British attitude mainly in the mistaken belief that grateful Britain would repay India's loyalty with gratitude and enable India to take a long step forward on the road to self-government.

## **Muslim League & Growth of Communalism**

- Modern political consciousness was late in developing among the Muslims. As nationalism spread among the Hindus and Parsees of the lower middle class, it failed to grow equally rapidly among the Muslims of the same class.
- After the suppression of the 1857 Revolt, the British officials had taken a particularly vindictive attitude towards the Muslims, hanging 27,000 Muslims in Delhi alone.
- To check the growth of a united national feeling in the country, the British decided to follow more actively the policy of 'Divide and Rule' and to divide the people along religious lines. They encourage communal and separatist tendencies in Indian politics.
- The British promoted provincialism by talking of Bengali domination. They tried to utilize the caste structure to turn the non-Brahmins against Brahmins and the lower castes against the higher castes.
- In U.P. and Bihar, where Hindus and Muslims had always lived in peace, the British actively encouraged the movement to replace Urdu as a court language by Hindi.
- Sayyid Ahmad Khan laid the foundations of Muslim communalism when in the 1880's he gave up his earlier views and declared that the political interests of Hindus and Muslims were not the same but different and even divergent.
- Sayyid Ahmad Khan preached complete obedience to British rule. When the Indian National Congress was founded in 1885, he decided to oppose it and tried to organize along with Raja Shiva Prasad of Varanasi a movement of loyalty to British rule.
- Sayyid Ahmad Khan urged the Muslims not to listen to Badruddin Tyabji's appeal to join the National Congress.
- Sayyid Ahmed Khan and others raised the demand for special treatment for the Muslims in the matter of government services.
- Bombay was the only province where the Muslims had taken to commerce and education quite early; and the Nationalist Congress included in its ranks such brilliant Muslims as Badruddin Tyabji, R.M. Sayani, A. Bhhimji, and the young barrister Muhammad Ali Jinnah.
- In his presidential address to the National Congress of 1886, Dadabhai had given the clear assurance that the Congress would take up only national questions and would not deal with religious and social matters.
- In 1889, the Congress adopted the principle that it would not take up any proposal which was considered harmful to the Muslims by a majority of the Muslim delegates to the Congress.
- Many Hindus began to talk of Hindu nationalism and many Muslims of Muslim nationalism.
- The politically immature people failed to realize that their economic, educational, and cultural difficulties were the result of common subjection to foreign rule and of economic backwardness and that only through common effort they could free their country, develop

it economically, and thus solve the underlying common problems, such as unemployment and poverty.

- In 1906, the All India Muslim League was founded under the leadership of the Aga Khan, the Nawab of Dacca, and Nawab Mohsin-ul-Mulk.
- The Muslim League supported the partition of Bengal and demanded special safeguards for the Muslims in government services.
- To increase its usefulness, the British also encouraged the Muslim League to approach the Muslim masses and to assume their leadership.
- The educated Muslim young men were, in particular, attracted by radical nationalist ideas.
- The militant nationalist Ahrar movement was founded at this time under the leadership of Maulana Mohammed Ali, Hakim Ajmal Khan, Hann Imam, Maulana Zafar Ali Khan, and Mazhar-ut-Haq. These young men disliked the loyalist politics of the Aligarh school and the big nawabs and zamindars. Moved by modern ideas of self-government, they advocated active participation in the militant nationalist movement.
- Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Maulana Mohammed Ali and other young men preached a message of courage and fearlessness and said that there was no conflict between Islam and nationalism.

## Home Rule Leagues

- Two Home Rule Leagues were started in 1915-16, one under the leadership of Annie Besant, and S. Subramaniya Iyer.
- The two Home Rule Leagues carried out intense propaganda all over the country in favor of the demand for the grant of Home Rule or self-government to India after the War.
- It was during Home Rule agitation, Tilak gave the popular slogan i.e. "*Home Rule is my birth-right, and I will have it.*"
- The war period also witnessed the growth of the revolutionary movement, as the terrorist groups spread from Bengal and Maharashtra to the whole of northern India.
- Indian revolutionary in the United States of America and Canada had established the "*Ghadar* (Rebellion) Party in 1913."
- Most of the members of *Ghadar* Party were Sikh peasants and soldiers, but their leaders were mostly educated Hindus or Muslims.
- *Ghadar* Party had active members in some other countries as well including Mexico, Japan, China, Philippines, Malaya, Singapore, Thailand, East and South Africa.
- The *Ghadar* Party was pledged to wage a revolutionary war against the British in India.
- As soon as the First World War I broke out in 1914, the *Ghadarites* decided to send arms and men to India to start an uprising with the help of soldiers and local revolutionaries.
- Several thousand men volunteered to come back to India. Millions of dollars were contributed to pay for their expenses. Many gave their life-long savings and sold their lands and other property.
- The *Ghadarites* also contacted Indian soldiers in the Far East, South-East Asia, and all over India and persuaded several regiments to rebel.

- 21 February 1915 was fixed as the date for an armed revolt in the Punjab. Unfortunately, the British authorities came to know of *Ghadarites*' plans and took immediate action.
- The rebellious regiments were disbanded and their leaders were either imprisoned or hanged. For example, 12 men of the 23rd Cavalry were executed. The leaders and members of the *Ghadar* Party in the Punjab were arrested on a mass scale.
- 42 of arrested men were hanged, 114 were transported for life, and 93 were sentenced to long terms of imprisonment.
- Many of the *Ghadarites*, after their release, founded the *Kirti* and Communist movements in the Punjab. Some of the prominent *Ghadar* leaders were: Baba Gurmukh Singh, Kartar Singh Saraba, Sohan Singh Bhakna, Rahmat Ali Shah, Bhai Parmanand, and Mohammad Barkatullah.
- Inspired by the *Ghadar* Party, 700 men of the 5th Light Infantry at Singapore revolted under the leadership of Jamadar Chisti Khan and Subedar Dundey Khan. They were crushed after a bitter battle in which many died. Thirty-seven others were publicly executed, while 41 were transported for life.
- In 1915, during an unsuccessful revolutionary attempt, Jatin Mukerjee popularly known as 'Bagha Jatin' died while fighting a battle with the police at Balasore.
- Rash Bihari Bose, Raja Mahendra Pratap, Lala Hardayal, Abdul Rahim, Maulana Obaidullah Sindhi, Champak Raman Pillai, Sardar Singh Rana, and Madam Cama were some of the prominent Indians who carried on revolutionary activities and propaganda outside India.

## Congress Lucknow Session

- The nationalists soon saw that disunity in their ranks was injuring their cause and that they must put up a united front.
- Urge for the unity produced two historic developments at the Lucknow Session of the Indian national Congress in 1916: i.e.
  - The two wings i.e. Indian National Congress and Muslim League united, as their split had not benefited either group; and
  - The Congress and the All Indian Muslim league put up a common political demands.
- An important role in bringing the moderates and extremists together was played by Lokamanya Tilak.
- The British felt necessary to appease the nationalists; therefore, they heavily relied on repression to quieten the nationalist agitation. Large numbers of radical nationalists and revolutionaries had been jailed or interned under the notorious Defence of India Act and other similar regulations.

# Struggle for Swaraj

## Introduction

- To win popular support for their war effort, the Allied nations – Britain, the United States, France, Italy, and Japan, promised a new era of democracy and national self-determination to all the peoples of the world; but after their victory, they showed little willingness to end the colonial system.
- Nationalism had gathered its forces and the nationalists were expecting major political gains after the war; and they were willing to fight back if their expectations were thwarted.
- The economic situation in the post-war years had taken a turn for the worse. There was first a rise in prices and then a depression in economic activity.
- The Indian industries, which had prospered during the war because foreign imports of manufactured goods had ceased, now faced losses and closure.
- The Indian industrialists wanted protection of their industries through imposition of high customs duties and grant of government aid; they realized that a strong nationalist movement and an independent Indian Government alone could secure their demands.
- The workers, facing unemployment and high prices and living in great poverty, also turned actively towards the nationalist movement.
- Indian Soldiers, returned with their triumphs from Africa, Asia, and Europe, imparted some of their confidence and their knowledge of the wide world to the rural areas.
- The peasantry, groaning under deepening poverty and high taxation, was waiting for a lead. On the other hand, the urban educated Indians were dissented because of increasing unemployment.
- A major impetus to the national movements was given by the impact of the Russian Revolution.
- On 7 November 1917, the Bolshevik (Communist) Party, led by V.I. Lenin, overthrew the Czarist regime in Russia and declared the formation of the first socialist state, the Soviet Union, in the history of the world.
- The Russian Revolution gave people self-confidence and indicated to the leaders of the national movement that they should rely on the strength of the common people.
- The Government, aware of the rising tide of nationalist and anti-government sentiments, once again decided to follow the policy of the 'carrot and the stick,' in other words, of concessions and repression.

## The Rowlatt Act

- In March 1919, the British Government passed the Rowlett Act even though every single Indian member of the Central Legislative Council opposed it. Three of them, Mohammed Ali Jinnah, Madan Mohan Malaviya, and Mazhar-ul-Huq resigned their membership of the Council.
- This Act authorized the Government to imprison any person without trial and conviction in a court of law.

- The Act would thus also enable the Government to suspend the right of Habeas Corpus which had been the foundation of civil liberties in Britain.
- The Rowlett Act came like a sudden blow. To the people of India, promised extension of democracy during the war, the government step appeared to be a cruel joke.
- People felt humiliated and were filled with anger. Unrest spread in the country and a powerful agitation against the Act arose.
- During this agitation, Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi, took command of the nationalist movement.
- Gandhiji planned for a “*Satyagraha*” against the Rowlatt Act. In 1919, a *Satyagraha Sabha* was formed and 6 April was fixed as the date to launch *Satyagraha*.

## Mahatma Gandhi Assumes Leadership

- Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi was born on 2 October 1869 at *Porbandar* in Gujarat.
- After attaining his legal education in Britain, Gandhiji went to South Africa to practice law.
- Imbued with a high sense of justice, Gandhiji was revolted by the injustice, discrimination, and degradation to which Indians had to submit in the South African colonies.
- Indian laborers who had gone to South Africa, and the merchants who followed were denied the right to vote. They had to register and pay a poll-tax. They could not reside except in prescribed locations, which were insanitary and congested.
- In some of the South African colonies, the Asians, also the Africans, could not stay out of door after 9 p.m.; nor could they use public footpaths.
- Gandhi soon became the leader of the struggle against these conditions and during 1893-94 was engaged in a heroic though unequal struggle against the racist authorities of South Africa.
- It was during this long struggle lasting nearly two decades that Gandhiji evolved the technique of *Satyagraha* based on truth and non-violence.
- The ideal *satyagrahi* was to be truthful and perfectly peaceful, but at the same time, Gandhiji would refuse to submit to what he considered wrong. He would accept suffering willingly in the course of struggle against the wrong-doer. This struggle was to be part of his love of truth.
- In a famous article in his weekly journal, *Young India*, published in 1920, Gandhiji wrote that "*Non-violence is the law of our species, as violence is the law of the brute*", but that "*where there is only a choice between cowardice and violence, I would advise violence* ....."
- Gandhiji returned to India in 1915 at the age of 46. He was keen to serve his country and his people.
- In 1916, Gandhi founded the Sabarmati Ashram at Ahmedabad where his friends and followers were to learn and, practice the ideals of truth and nonviolence.

## Champaran Satyagraha (1917)

- Gandhi's first great experiment in Satyagraha came in 1917 in *Champaran*, a district in Bihar.
- In Champaran, the peasants of the indigo plantations were excessively oppressed by the European planters. They were compelled to grow indigo on at least 3/20<sup>th</sup> of their land and to sell it at prices fixed by the planters.
- Similar conditions had prevailed earlier in Bengal, but as a result of a major uprising during 1859-61 the peasants there had won their freedom from the indigo planters.
- Having heard of Gandhi's campaigns in South Africa, several peasants of Champaran invited him to come and help them.
- Accompanied by Baba Rajendra Prasad, Mazhar-ul-Huq, J. B. Kripalani, and Mahadev Desai, Gandhiji reached Champaran in 1917 and began to conduct a detailed inquiry into the condition of the peasants.
- The infuriated district officials ordered him to leave Champaran, but he defied the order and was willing to face trial and imprisonment. This forced the Government to cancel its earlier order and to appoint a committee of inquiry on which Gandhi served as a member.
- Ultimately, the disabilities from which the peasantry was suffering were reduced and Gandhi had won his first battle of civil disobedience in India.

## Ahmedabad Mill Strike

- In 1918, Mahatma Gandhi intervened in a dispute between the workers and mill owners of Ahmedabad.
- Gandhiji undertook a fast unto death to force a compromise. The mill owners relented on the fourth day and agreed to give the workers 35 per cent increase in wages.
- Gandhiji also supported the peasants of *Khaira* in Gujarat in their struggle against the collection of land revenue when their crops had failed.
- Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel left his lucrative practice at the Bar at this time to help Gandhiji.
- These experiences (discussed above) brought Gandhiji in close contact with the masses whose interests he actively exposed all his life.
- Gandhiji was the first Indian nationalist leader who identified his life and his manner of living with the life of the common people.
- **The following issues were very close to Gandhi's heart –**
  - Hindu-Muslim unity;
  - The fight against untouchability; and
  - The raising of the social status of women in the country.

## Satyagraha Against Rowlett Act

- Along with other nationalists, Gandhiji was also aroused by the Rowlett Act.
- In February 1919, he founded the Satyagraha Sabha whose members took a pledge to disobey the Act.
- Gandhiji asked the nationalist workers to go to the villages. That is where India lives, he said.



- Gandhiji increasingly turned the face of nationalism towards the common man and the symbol of this transformation was to be null, or hand-spun and handwoven cloth, which soon became the uniform of the nationalists.
- Gandhiji emphasized on the dignity of labor and the value of self-reliance. India's salvation would come, he said, when the masses were wakened from their sleep and became active in politics.
- March and April 1919 witnessed a remarkable political awakening in India. There were *hartals* (strikes) and demonstrations. The slogans of Hindu-Muslim unity filled the air. The entire country was electrified. The Indian people were no longer willing to submit to the degradation of foreign rule.

## Jallianwalla Bagh Massacre

- Gandhiji gave a call for a mighty *hartal* on 6 April 1919. The people responded with unprecedented enthusiasm.
- The Government decided to meet the popular protest with repression, particularly in the Punjab.
- An unarmed but large crowd had gathered on 13 April 1919 at *Jallianwalla Bagh* to protest against the arrest of their popular leaders, Dr. Saifuddin Kitchlew and Dr. Satyapal.
- Jallianwala Bagh (located in Amritsar, Punjab) was a large open space which was enclosed on three sides by buildings and had only one exit.
- General Dyer surrounded the Bagh (garden) with his army until closed the exit with his troops, and then ordered his men to shoot onto the trapped crowd.
- They fired till their ammunition was exhausted. Thousands were killed and wounded.
- After this massacre, martial law was proclaimed throughout the Punjab and the people were submitted to most uncivilized atrocities.

## Khilafat & Non-Cooperation Movement

- The politically-conscious Muslims were critical of the treatment meted out to the Ottoman (or Turkish) Empire by Britain and its allies who had partitioned it and taken away Thrace from Turkey proper.
- This was in violation of the earlier pledge of the British Premier, Lloyd George, who had declared: "*Nor are we fighting to deprive Turkey of the rich and renowned lands of Asia Minor and Thrace which are predominantly Turkish in race.*"
- The Muslims also felt that the position of the *Sultan* of Turkey, who was also regarded by many as the *Caliph* or the religious head of the Muslims, should not be undermined.
- A *Khilafat* Committee was soon formed under the leadership of the Ali brothers, Maulana Azad, Hakim Ajmal Khan, and Hasrat Mohani, and a countrywide agitation was organized.
- The All-India *Khilafat* Conference held at Delhi in November 1919, decided to withdraw all cooperation from the Government if their demands were not met.

- The Muslim League, now under the leadership of nationalists, gave full support to the National Congress and its agitation on political issues.
- The Congress leaders, including Lokamanya Tilak and Mahatma Gandhi, viewed the Khilafat agitation as a golden opportunity for cementing Hindu-Muslim unity and bringing the Muslim masses into the national movement.
- The Congress leaders realized that different sections of the people—Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs and Christians, capitalists and workers, peasants and artisans, women and youth, and tribes and peoples of different regions—would come into the national movement through the experience of fighting for their own different demands and seeing that the alien regime stood in opposition to them.
- In June 1920, an all-party conference met at Allahabad and approved a program of boycott of schools, colleges, and law courts.
- The *Khilafat* Committee launched a non-cooperation movement on 31 August 1920.
- The Congress met in special session in September 1920 at Calcutta. Only a few weeks earlier it had suffered a grievous loss—Lokamanya Tilak had passed away on 1 August at the age of 64.
- The Congress supported Gandhi's plan for non-cooperation with the Government till the Punjab and *Khilafat* wrongs were removed and Swaraj established.
- “The British people will have to beware,” declared Gandhiji at Nagpur, that if they do not want to do justice, it will be the bounden duty of every Indian to destroy the Empire.
- The Nagpur session also made changes in the constitution of the Congress. Provincial Congress Committees were reorganized on the basis of linguistic areas.
- Congress membership was thrown open to all men and women of the age of 21 or more on payment of 4 *annas* as annual subscription. However, in 1921, the age limit for membership was reduced to 18.
- The years 1921 and 1922 witnessed an unprecedented movement of the Indian people. Thousands of students left government schools and colleges and joined national schools and colleges.
- Hundreds of lawyers, including Chittaranjan Das (popularly known as *Deshbandhu*), Motilal Nehru, and Rajendra Prasad, gave up their legal practice.
- The *Tilak Swarajya* Fund was started to finance the non-cooperation movement and within six months, over crore of rupees were subscribed.
- Women showed great enthusiasm and freely offered their jewelry.
- Huge bonfires of foreign cloth were organized all over the land.
- *Khadi* soon became a symbol of freedom.
- In July 1921, the All-India *Khilafat* Committee passed a resolution declaring that no Muslim should serve in the British Indian army.
- In September, the Ali brothers were arrested for 'sedition'. Immediately, Gandhiji gave a call for repetition of this resolution at hundreds of meetings.
- Fifty members of the All India Congress Committee issued a similar declaration that no Indian should serve the government which degraded India socially, economically, and politically.
- By the end of 1921, all important nationalist leaders, except Gandhiji, were behind the bar along with 3,000 others.

- In November 1921, huge demonstrations greeted the Prince of Wales, heir to the British throne, during his tour of India. He had been asked by the Government to come to India to encourage loyalty among the people and the princes.
- In Bombay, the Government tried to suppress the demonstration by killing 53 persons and wounding about 400 or more.
- The annual session of the Congress, meeting at Ahmedabad in December 1921, passed a resolution affirming "the fixed determination of the Congress to continue the program of non-violent non-cooperation with greater vigor than hitherto ...till the Punjab and *Khilafat* wrongs were redressed and *Swarajya* is established."
- The resolution urged all Indians, and in particular students, "quietly and without any demonstration to offer themselves for arrest by belonging to the volunteer organizations."
- All such Satyagrahis were to take a pledge to "remain non-violent in word and deed to promote unity among Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs, Parsis, Christians, and Jews, and to practice swadeshi and wear only khadi.
- In Malabar (Northern Kerala), the *Moplahs*, or Muslim peasants, created a powerful anti-zamindar movement.
- The Viceroy wrote to the Secretary of State in February 1919 that "The lower classes in the towns have been seriously affected by the non-cooperation movement.
- On 1 February 1922, Mahatma Gandhi announced that he would start mass civil disobedience, including non-payment of taxes, unless within seven days the political prisoners were released and the press freed from government control.

## Withdrawal of Civil Disobedience Movement

- On 5 February 1922, a Congress procession of 3,000 peasants at *Chauri Chaura*, a village in the Gorakhpur District of U.P., was fired upon by the police. The angry crowd attacked and burnt the police station causing the death of 22 policemen.
- Gandhiji took a very serious view of *Chauri Chaura* incident. It convinced him that the nationalist workers had not yet properly understood nor learnt the practice of non-violence without which, he was convinced, civil disobedience could not be a success.
- Apart from the fact that Gandhiji would have nothing to do with violence, he also perhaps believed that the British would be able to crush easily a violent movement, for people had not yet built up enough strength and stamina to resist government repression.
- Gandhiji, therefore, decided to suspend the nationalist campaign. The Congress Working Committee met at Bardoli in Gujarat on 12 February and passed a resolution stopping all activities, which would lead to breaking of laws.
- The Bardoli resolution stunned the country and had a mixed reception among the nationalists, while some had implicit faith in Gandhiji, others resented this decision to retreat.
- The first non-cooperation and civil disobedience movement virtually came to an end.
- The Government arrested Mahatma Gandhiji on 10 March and charged him with spreading disaffection against the Government. Gandhiji was sentenced to six years imprisonment.

## End of Khilafat Agitation

- Very soon the *Khilafat*, question also lost relevance. The people of Turkey rose up under the leadership of Mustafa Kamal Pasha and, in November 1922, deprived the Sultan of his political power.
- Kamal Pasha took many measures to modernize Turkey and to make it a secular state. He abolished the Caliphate (or the institution of the Caliph) and separated the state from religion by eliminating Islam from the Constitution.
- Kamal Pasha nationalized education, granted women extensive rights, introduced legal codes based on European models, and took steps to develop agriculture and to introduce modern industries. All these steps broke the back of the Khilafat agitation.
- In December 1922, Chittaranjan Das and Motilal Nehru formed the Congress-*Khilafat* Swaraj Party; Das as president and Motilal Nehru as one of the secretaries.
- The communal elements took advantage of the situation to propagate their views and after 1923, the country was repeatedly plunged into communal riots.
- The Muslim League and the Hindu *Mahasabha*, which was founded in December 1917, once again became active. The result was that the growing feeling that all people were Indians first received a set-back.
- The *Swarajist* Party, whose main leaders, Motilal Nehru and Das, were staunch nationalists, was split by communalism.
- A group known as “*responsivists*” including Madan Mohan Malviya, Lala Lajpat Rai, and N. C. Kelkar, offered cooperation to the Government so that the so-called Hindu interests might be safeguarded.
- In September 1924, Gandhiji went on 21 days fast at Maulana Mohammed Ali’s house in Delhi to do penance for the inhumanity revealed in the communal riots. But his efforts were of little avail.

## Second Non-Cooperation Movement

### Introduction

- Socialist and Communist groups came into existence in the 1920s. M. N. Roy became the first Indian elected to the leadership of the Communist International.
- In 1924, the Government arrested Muzaffer Ahmed and S. A. Dange, accused them of spreading Communist ideas, and filed a case against them along the others involved in the Kanpur Conspiracy case.
- In 1928, under the leadership of Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, the peasants organized a “No Tax Campaign” and won their demand.
- The trade unionism had grown during the early 1920s under the leadership of the All India Trade Union Congress.
- All India Trade Union Congress was established in October 1920 at Bombay.

## Resurgence of Terrorist Movement

- The failure of the first non-cooperation movement had led to the revival of the terrorist movement. Therefore, after an All India Conference, the Hindustan Republican Association was founded in October 1924 to organize an armed revolution.
- The terrorists soon came under the influence of socialist ideas; in 1928, under the leadership of Chandra Shekhar Azad, changed the title of the organization from the “Hindustan Republican Association” to the “Hindustan Socialist Republican Association.”
- Bhagat Singh and B.K. Dutt threw a bomb in the Central Legislative Assembly on 8 April 1929 to protest against the passage of the Public Safety Bill, which would have reduced civil liberties.
- The bomb did not harm anyone, as it had been deliberately made harmless. The aim was not to kill but, as a terrorist leaflet put it, “to make the deaf hear.”
- Bhagat Singh and B. K. Dutt could have easily escaped after throwing the bomb, but they deliberately chose to be arrested for they wanted to make use of the court as a forum for revolutionary propaganda.
- In April 1930, a raid was manipulated on the government armory at Chittagong under the leadership of Surya Sen.
- The remarkable aspect of the terrorist movement in Bengal was the participation of young women.
- To protest against the horrible conditions in the prisons, Jatin Das sat on hunger strike; as a result of which, he attained martyrdom after 63 days of epic fast.
- In spite of huge protests, Bhagat Singh, Sukhdev, and Rajguru were executed on 23 March 1931.
- In February, 1931, Chandra Shekhar Azad was killed in a shooting encounter with the police in a public park; later this park renamed as Azad Park (located at Allahabad in Uttar Pradesh).
- Surya Sen was arrested in February 1933 and hanged soon after.
- In March 1929, thirty-one prominent trade union and communist leaders (including three Englishmen) were arrested and after a trial (known as Meerut Conspiracy Case) lasting four years, sentenced for long periods of imprisonment.

## Boycott of Simon Commission

- In November 1927, the British Government appointed the Indian Statutory Commission to work on the constitutional reform, named as ‘Simon Commission,’ after the name of its Chairman John Simon.
- All members of the Simon Commission were Englishmen, which was unanimously protested by all Indians.
- At its Madras Session in 1927, presided over by Dr. Ansari, the National Congress decided to boycott the Simon Commission “at every stage and in every form.”
- On February 3, 1928, the day the Simon Commission reached Bombay, an all India strike was proclaimed. Wherever the Commission went, it was greeted with strikes and black-flag demonstrations under the slogan ‘Simon Go Back.’

## Nehru Report

- An All Parties Conference was convened for the purpose first at Delhi and then at Poona. The Conference appointed a sub-committee headed by Motilal Nehru and included among its members Ali Imam, Tej Bahadur Sapru, and Subhash Bose.
- In August 1928, the sub-committee submitted its report known as the “Nehru Report.”
- The Nehru Report recommended that
  - The attainment of Dominion Status should be considered the "next immediate step;"
  - India should be a federation built on the basis of linguistic provinces and provincial autonomy;
  - The executive should be fully responsible to the legislature;
  - The elections should be by joint electorates and on the basis of adult suffrage; and
  - The seats in the legislatures should be reserved for religious minorities for a period of 10 years.
- Unfortunately, the All Party Convention, held at Calcutta in December 1928, failed to pass the Nehru Report.
- Objections were raised by some of the communal-minded leaders belonging to the Muslim League, the Hindu *Mahasabha* and the Sikh League.
- The Muslim League was itself split on the issue along nationalist and communal lines. Mohammed Ali Jinnah put forth his "fourteen points" demands at this time, claiming, among other things –
  - Separate electorates;
  - One third of the seats in the central legislature for the Muslims;
  - Reservation of seats for the Muslims in Bengal and the Punjab in proportion to population; and
  - The vesting of residual powers in the provinces.
- The Hindu *Mahasabha* denounced the Nehru Report as pro-Muslim. Thus the prospects of national unity were foiled by communal groups.

## Civil Disobedience Movement II

- Gandhiji came back to active politics and attended the Calcutta session of the Congress in December 1928.
- Jawaharlal Nehru was now made the President of the Congress at the historic Lahore session of 1929. This event had its romantic side, as son had succeeded his father (i.e. Motilal Nehru, father of Jawaharlal Nehru was President of the Congress in 1928).
- The Lahore session of the Congress gave voice to the new, militant spirit. It passed a resolution declaring *Poorna Swaraj* (Full Independence) to be the Congress objective.
- On December 31, 1929, a newly adopted tri-color flag of freedom hoisted and 26 January, 1930 was fixed as the first Independence Day, which was to be so celebrated every year with the people taking the pledge that it was “*a crime against man and God to submit any longer*” to British rule.

## Second Civil Disobedience Movement

- The Second Civil Disobedience Movement was started by Gandhiji on March 12, 1930 with his famous *Dandi March*.
- Together with 78 chosen followers, Gandhiji walked nearly 200 miles from Sabarmati Ashram to *Dandi*, a village on the Gujarat sea-coast. Here Gandhiji and his followers made salt in violation of the salt laws.
- The act of making salt was a symbol of the Indian people's refusal to live under British-made laws or under the British rule.
- The movement now spread rapidly. Everywhere in the country, people joined strikes, demonstrations, and the campaign to boycott foreign goods and to refuse to pay taxes.
- The movement reached the extreme north-western corner of India and stirred the brave and hardy *Pathans*.
- Under the leadership of Khan Abdul Ghaffer Khan, popularly known as "the Frontier Gandhi", the Pathans organized the society of *Khudai Khidmatgars* (or Servants of God), known popularly as Red Shirts.
- Nagaland produced a brave heroine i.e. Rani Gaidinliu who at the age of 13 responded to the call of Gandhiji and the Congress and raised the banner of rebellion against foreign rule.
- The young Rani was captured in 1932 and sentenced to life imprisonment. She wasted her bright youthful years in the dark cells of various Assam jails, to be released only in 1947 by the Government of free India.
- The British Government summoned in London in 1930, the first Round Table Conference of Indian leaders and spokesmen of the British Government to discuss the Simon Commission Report. But the National Congress boycotted the Conference and its proceedings proved abortive.
- Lord Irwin and Gandhi negotiated a settlement in March 1931. The Government agreed to release those political prisoners who had remained non-violent, while the Congress suspended the Civil Disobedience Movement and agreed to take part in the Second Round Table Conference.
- The Karachi Session of Congress is also notable for a resolution on Fundamental Rights and the National Economic Program. The resolution guaranteed basic civil and political rights to the people.
- Gandhiji went to England in September 1931 to attend the Second Round Table Conference. But in spite of his powerful advocacy, the British Government refused to concede the basic nationalist demand for freedom on the basis of the immediate grant of Dominion Status. On his return, the Congress resumed the Civil Disobedience Movement.
- Just after the signing of the Gandhi-Irwin Pact, a crowd had been fired in East Godavari, in Andhra Pradesh, and four persons were killed simply because the people had put up Gandhi's portrait.
- After the failure of the Round Table Conference, Gandhiji and other (cadets of the Congress were again arrested and the Congress declared illegal.
- The Civil Disobedience Movement gradually waned and political enthusiasm and exhilaration gave way to frustration and depression.

- The Congress officially suspended the movement in May 1933 and withdrew it in May 1934. Gandhi once again withdrew from active politics.
- The Third Round Table Conference met in London in November 1932, without the leaders of the Congress.

## Congress Ministries

- The important features of Congress Ministries after 1937 election were –
  - The Congress ministers reduced their own salaries drastically to Rs. 500 per month;
  - Most of them travelled in the second or third class railway compartments;
  - They set up new standards of honesty and public service;
  - They paid greater attention to primary, technical, and higher education and public health;
  - They helped the peasant by passing anti-usury and tenancy legislation;
  - They promoted civil liberties. Political prisoners were released;
  - There was "relaxation of police and secret service raj;"
  - Freedom of the press was enhanced; and
  - Trade unions felt freer and were able to win wage increases for workers.
  - The period between 1935 and 1939 witnessed several other important political developments which, in a way, marked a new turn in the nationalist movement and the Congress.

## Growth of Socialist Ideas

- The decade of 1930s witnessed the rapid growth of socialist ideas within and outside the Congress.
- In 1929, there was a great economic slump or depression in the United States, which gradually spread to the rest of the world resulting in economic distress and unemployment on a large scale (across the world). But the economic situation in the Soviet Union was just the opposite. There was not only no slump, but the years between 1929 and 1936 witnessed the successful completion of the first two Five Year Plans, which increased the Soviet industrial production by more than four times.
- The world depression, thus, brought the capitalist system into disrepute and drew attention towards Marxism, socialism, and economic planning. Consequently, socialist ideas began to attract more and more people, especially the young, the workers, and the peasants.
- The economic depression also worsened the conditions of the peasants and workers in India. The prices of agricultural products dropped by over 50 per cent by the end of 1932.
- The employers tried to reduce wages. The peasants all over the country began to demand land reforms, reduction of land revenue and rent, and relief from indebtedness.
- Workers in the factories and plantations increasingly demanded better conditions of work and recognition of their trade union rights. Consequently, there was rapid growth of trade unions in the cities and the *Kisan Sabhas* (peasants' unions) in many areas, particularly in Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Tamil Nadu, Andhra Pradesh, Kerala, and Punjab.
- The first all-India peasant organization, the All-India *Kisan Sabha* was formed in 1936. The peasants also began to take a more active part in the national movement.



- In his presidential address to the Lucknow Congress in 1936, Nehru urged the Congress to accept socialism as its goal and to bring itself closer to the peasantry and the working class.
- In 1938, Subhash Chandra Bose had been re-elected as the president of the Congress even though Gandhi had opposed him. However, an opposition by Gandhi and his supporters in the Congress Working Committee compelled Bose to resign from the President-ship of the Congress in 1939.

## Congress and World Affairs

- During the period of 1935-1939, Congress actively participated for the development of world affairs. It had gradually developed a foreign policy based on opposition to the spread of imperialism.
- In February 1927, Jawaharlal Nehru on behalf of the National Congress attended the Congress of oppressed nationalities at Brussels organized by political exiles and revolutionaries from the countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America, suffering from economic or political imperialism.
- In 1927, the Madras session of the National Congress warned the Government that the people of India would not support Britain in any war undertaken with its imperialist aims.

## Princely States' Struggle

- Popular struggles by the princely states were waged in many of the states including Rajkot, Jaipur, Kashmir, Hyderabad, Travancore, etc.
- People of many of the princely states now began to organize movements for democratic rights and popular governments.
- All India States' People's Conference had already been founded in December 1927 to coordinate political activities in the different states.
- In the Government of India Act of 1935, the proposed federal structure was so planned as to check the forces of nationalism. It was provided that the princes would get 2/5<sup>th</sup> of the seats in the Upper House and 1/3<sup>rd</sup> of the seats in the Lower House.
- The *Nizam* of Hyderabad declared that the popular agitation was anti-Muslim; the Maharaja of Kashmir branded it as anti-Hindu; while the Maharaja of Travancore claimed that Christians were behind the popular agitation.
- The National Congress supported the states' people's struggle and urged the princes to introduce democratic representative government and to grant fundamental civil rights.
- In 1938, when the Congress defined its goal of independence it included the independence of the princely states.
- In 1939, Jawaharlal Nehru became the President of the All India States' People's Conference. The States' people's movement awakened the national consciousness among the people of the states. It also spread a new consciousness of unity all over India.

## Growth of Communalism

- In 1940, the Muslim League passed a resolution demanding partition of the country and the creation of a state to be called Pakistan after independence.
- The Muslim League propaganda gained by the existence of such communal bodies among the Hindus as the Hindu Mahasabha.
- The Hindu communalists echoed the Muslim communalists by declaring that the Hindus were a distinct nation and that India was the land of the Hindus. Thus they too accepted the two-nation theory.
- The Hindu communalists actively opposed the policy of giving adequate safeguards to the minorities so as to remove their fears of domination by the majority.

## National Movement During World War II

- The Second World War broke out in September 1939 when Nazi (Germany) invaded Poland in pursuance of Hitler's scheme of German expansion.
- The Government of India immediately joined the war without consulting the National Congress or the elected members of the central legislature.
- The Congress leaders demanded that India must be declared free or at least effective power put in Indian hands before it could actively participate in the war. The British Government refused to accept this demand the Congress ordered its ministries to resign.
- In October 1940, Gandhi gave the call for a limited *Satyagraha* by a few selected individuals.
- By March 1942, Japan quickly overran the Philippines, Indo-China, Indonesia, Malaya, and Burma and occupied Rangoon. This brought the war to India's door-step.
- The British Government now desperately wanted the active cooperation of Indians in the war effort.

## Cripps Mission

- To secure this cooperation, British Government sent to India a mission headed by a Cabinet Minister, Sir Stafford Cripps in March 1942.
- Cripps declared that the aim of British policy in India was "the earliest possible realization of self-government in India," but detailed negotiations between the British Government and the Congress leaders broke down, as the British Government refused to accept the Congress demand for the immediate transfer of effective power to Indians.

## Quit India Movement

- The All India Congress Committee met at Bombay on August 8, 1942. It passed the famous 'Quit India' Resolution and proposed the starting of a non-violent mass struggle under Gandhiji's leadership to achieve this aim.

- Early in the morning of August 9, Gandhiji and other Congress leaders were arrested and the Congress was once again declared illegal.
- The news of these arrests left the country aghast, and a spontaneous movement of protest arose everywhere, giving expression to the pent up anger of the people.
- All over the country there were strikes in factories, schools and colleges, and demonstrations which were *lathi*-charged and fired upon.
- The Government on its part went all out to crush the 1942 movement. Its repression knew no bounds. The press was completely muzzled. The demonstrating crowds were machine-gunned and even bombed from the air.
- In the end, the Government succeeded in crushing the movement. The Revolt of 1942, as it has been termed, was in fact short-lived.
- After the suppression of the Revolt of 1942, there was hardly any political activity inside the country till the war ended in 1945.
- The established leaders of the national movement were behind the bars, and no new leaders arose to take their place or to give a new lead to the country.
- In 1943, Bengal was plunged into the worst famine in recent history. Within a few months over three million people died because of starvation. There was deep anger among the people for the Government could have pre-vented the famine from taking such a heavy toll of life.

## Azad Hind Fauj

- The national movement, however, found a new expression outside the country's frontiers. Subhas Chandra Bose had escaped from India in March 1941, went to the Soviet Union for help. But when the Soviet Union joined the allies in June 1941, he went to Germany.
- In February 1943, Bose left for Japan to organize an armed struggle against British rule with Japanese help.
- In Singapore, Bose formed the *Azad Hind Fauj* (Indian National Army or INA) to conduct a military campaign for the liberation of India. He was assisted by Rash Behari Bose, an old terrorist revolutionary.
- Before the arrival of Subhash Bose, steps towards the organization of the INA had been taken by General Mohan Singh (at that time, he was a captain of the British Indian army).
- Subhash Bose, who was now called Netaji by the soldiers of the INA, gave his followers the battle cry of '*Jai Hind*'.
- The INA joined the Japanese army in its march on India from Burma. Inspired by the aim of freeing their homeland, the soldiers and officers of the INA hoped to enter India as its liberators with Subhash Bose at the head of the Provisional Government of Free India.
- With the collapse of Japan in the War during 1944-45, the INA too met defeat, and Subhash Bose was died in an airplane accident on his way to Tokyo.

## Modern Indian History - Post-War Struggle

- The Revolt of 1942 and INA had revealed the heroism and determination of the Indian people.
- The new struggle took the form of a massive movement against the trial of the soldiers and officers of the INA.
- The Government decided to put on trial in the Red Fort at Delhi to Generals Shah Nawaz, Gurdial Singh Dhillon, and Prem Sehgal of the INA, who had earlier been officers in the British Indian Army.
- On the other hand, the Indian people welcomed INA soldiers as national heroes. Huge popular demonstrations demanding their release were held all over the country.
- This British Government was this time in no position to ignore Indian opinion; even though the Court Martial held the INA prisoners guilty, the Government felt it expedient to set free.
- The changed attitude of the British Government is explained by the following factors –
  - The war had changed the balance of power in the world; United States of America and the Soviet Union emerged as the big powers and both supported India's demand for freedom;
  - Even though Britain was on the winning side in the war, its economic and military power was shattered;
  - Having fought and shed their blood for nearly six years (i.e. World War II), they had no desire to spend many more years away from home in India suppressing the Indian people's struggle for freedom;
  - The British Indian Government could no longer rely on the Indian personnel of its civil administration and armed forces to suppress the national movement. One of the most significant examples was the famous revolt of the Indian naval ratings at Bombay in February 1946. The ratings had fought a seven-hour battle with the army and navy and had surrendered only when asked to do so by the national leaders;
  - The confident and determined mood of the Indian people were now evident that they would no longer in mood to tolerate the humiliation of foreign rule; and
  - There was large-scale labor unrest and mass strikes all over the country.

## Cabinet Mission

- The British Government, therefore, sent Cabinet Mission in March 1946 to negotiate with the Indian leaders; the terms for the transfer of power to Indians.
- The Cabinet Mission proposed a two-tiered federal plan, which was expected to maintain national unity while conceding the largest measure of regional autonomy.
- There was to be a federation of the provinces and the states, with the federal center controlling only defence, foreign affairs, and communications.
- Both the National Congress and the Muslim League accepted this plan. But the two could not agree on the plan for an interim government, which would convene a constituent assembly to frame a constitution for the free, federal India.

- The National Congress and the Muslim League also put differing interpretations on the Cabinet Mission scheme to which they had agreed earlier.
- In September 1946, Interim Cabinet, headed by Jawaharlal Nehru, was formed by the Congress.
- The Muslim League joined the Cabinet in October after some hesitation; but it decided to boycott the constituent assembly.

## Clement Attlee's Declaration & Independence

- On February 20, 1947, Clement Attlee, British Premier, declared that the British would quit India in June 1948.
- The ecstasy of coming independence was marred by the large-scale communal riots during and after August 1946. The Hindu and Muslim communalists blamed each other for starting the heinous killings and competed with each other in cruelty.
- Lord Louis Mountbatten, who had come to India as Viceroy in March 1947, worked out a compromise after long discussions with the leaders of the Congress and the Muslim League: the country was to be free but not united.
- India would be partitioned and a new state of Pakistan would be created along with a free India.
- The nationalist leaders agreed to the partition of India in order to avoid the large-scale blood bath that communal riots threatened. But they did not accept the two-nation theory.
- The nationalist leaders did not agree to hand over one-third of the country to the Muslim League as the latter wanted and as the proportion of the Muslims in Indian population would have indicated.
- The national congress agreed to the separation of only those areas where the influence of the Muslim League was predominant.
- In the North Western Frontier Province, and the Sylhet district of Assam where the influence of the League was doubtful, a plebiscite was held.
- The Indian nationalists accepted the partition not because there were two nations in India - a Hindu nation and a Muslim nation, but because of the historical development of communalism, both Hindu and Muslim. In last 70 years, the communalism had created a situation where the alternative to partition was mass killing of lakhs of innocent people in senseless and barbaric communal riots.
- The announcement that India and Pakistan would be free was made on 3 June 1947.
- On 15 August 1947, India celebrated with joy its first day of freedom.
- After the independence, the princely states were given the choice of joining either of the new states (i.e. India or Pakistan).
- Under the pressure of the popular states' people's movements and guided by the masterful diplomacy of Sardar Patel (the Home Minister), most of the princely states acceded to India.
- The *Nawab* of Junagadh, the *Nizam* of Hyderabad, and the *Maharaja* of Jammu and Kashmir held back for some time.

- The *Nawab* of Junagadh, a small state on the coast of Kathiawar, announced accession to Pakistan even though the people of the state desired to join India. In the end, Indian troops occupied the state and a plebiscite was held, which went in favor of joining India.
- The *Nizam* of Hyderabad made an attempt to claim an Independent status, but was forced to accede in 1948 after an internal revolt had broken out in its Telengana area and then Indian troops had marched into Hyderabad.
- The Maharaja of Kashmir also delayed accession to India or Pakistan even though the popular forces led by the National Conference wanted accession to India. However, he acceded to India in October 1947 after *Pathans* and irregular armed forces of Pakistan invaded Kashmir.

## UNIT -V

### Constitutional Development from 1773 to 1947

#### **The Regulating Act 1773**

The Regulating Act 1773 Regulating Act, 1773 The territorial acquisitions of the East India Company produced a startling effect in England. The public in General clamoured for a n immediate Parliamentary intervention. Two parliamentary Committees were appointed to enquire into the affairs of East India Company.

- a) The servants of the Company were concentrating on their private trade. The trade of the Company was being neglected.
- b) The Company has almost forgotten about trade and was progressively thinking in terms of conquering more and more land. This needed large armies. Hence more expenditure.
- c) This greed for land very often brought the Company in armed conflict with native powers. This meant a heavy loss to the Company.

#### **Change in the texture of the Company**

The employees of the Company were given low salaries but they were allowed to carry on private trade. The result was that the employees concentrated on their private trade and become rich. The Company's trade started dwindling.

#### **Pitiable condition of the People**

The guiding principle for the employees of the Company was to make money. The effect of this anarchical tendency was that people of India were the entire sufferers. The famine of 1770 further aggravated the situation and the people started groaning aloud.

#### **Defective Dual Government in Bengal**

During the famine of 1770 grains were hoarded by the Company's employees and they exploited the situation to the fullest extent and sold them at staggering prices. Obviously the servants of the Company became rich as they wanted but the people were completely broken. Then Clive's experiment of Dual Government in Bengal brought havoc.

## **PROVISIONS OF THE REGULATING ACT**

### **Provisions for India**

(i) The Governor of Bengal was made the Governor-General. The entire civil and military administration of Bengal was given to the Governor-General. Provision was made for an executive council of four members to assist and help the Governor-General.

The Act mentioned the names of the First Governor-General and the members of his Executive Council. It said Warren Hastings would be the First Governor-General of Bengal.

The four executive councilors mentioned in the Act were Philip Francis, Clavering, Monson and Barwell.

(ii) Their term of office was five years but they could be removed from office earlier by the British Monarch, if the Court of Directors recommended such an action.

(iii) The Governor-General could not take a decision on any matter independently. He had to act on the advice of the Councillors. Decisions were taken in the Council by majority vote. In case of a tie the Governor-General was given a casting vote. But he could not over-rule his Council.

(iv) The Presidencies of Madras and Bombay were made subordinate to Bengal. The Governors-in-Council of Bombay and Madras had to follow the instructions of the Governor-General-in-Council. The Governor-General could direct control and superintend the two Presidencies. These Presidencies could neither declare war nor conclude peace with any power without the sanction of the Governor-General-in-Council.

(v) The employees of the Company were forbidden to accept any bribes or gifts from any body. If it was a serious matter they could be sent back of England, as a matter of punishment.

(vi) The Governor-General-in-Council could make rules and regulations and issue ordinances for the good government of the Company's territories. These rules, regulations and advice were to be registered with the Supreme Court of India, which was created by the Act. Without registration these rules and regulations had no effect or meaning.

### **Supreme Court**

i) A Supreme Court was established by the Regulating Act, The Supreme Court was given jurisdiction over all the British subjects living in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. The Supreme Court was empowered to try ecclesiastical, admiralty, civil and criminal cases. The cases were decided on the basis of judgement of the Jury. The Supreme Court had original as well as appellate jurisdiction. The Supreme Court was to be a Court of Record. Any contempt or disrespect shown to its orders would be a punishable offence.

ii) The Governor-General, the members of the Executive Council, the Judges, Collectors, Inspectors, their agents or servants all were forbidden to carry on private trade of any



description. No gifts would be accepted by these officers from the Indian Princes or people.

### **Provisions for Home Authorities**

Before the passage of the Regulating Act the Directors of the Company were elected for a short term of one year. Directors of the Company were elected by the Court of Proprietors. This system was extremely defective. The Directors were busy throughout their term of one year either obliging their supporters of the previous election or preparing others for the coming election. The Regulating Act did a good job by making the Court of Directors a permanent body.

The Act required the Governor-General of Bengal and the Governors of the Presidencies of Bombay and Madras to pay due obedience to the orders of the Directors in London.

It was the first measure by which a European government assumed the responsibility for governing territories acquired by it outside Europe and inhabited by civilized people.

The Act also attempted to eradicate corruption and bribery by making several provisions. One among them was the establishment of the Supreme Court. This Court could punish offenders. Acceptance of gifts and presents etc was forbidden.

### **Demerits or Defects of the Act**

The Regulating Act was full of grave defects.

- (i) The jurisdiction and powers of the Supreme Court were not properly defined. The results were very ugly. One often witnessed dirty conflicts of jurisdiction between the Supreme Court and other Courts of Calcutta.
- (ii) The Regulating Act did not specify the jurisdiction and power of the Governor-General-in-Council or the Judges of the Supreme Court.
- (iii) The relations between the Supreme Court and other courts of the Company were not specified.
- (iv) The Presidencies of Madras and Bombay were subordinated to Bengal and the Governor-General-in-Council was given power to superintend and control the management and government of the two Presidencies.

### **Defects of Act**

#### **1. No Veto power to the Governor-General**

The act granted no veto power to the Governor-General. He was to act according to the advice of the majority in the council. Since he could not veto the decision of his councilors, he was thus powerless before his colleagues. We know that till up to 1776 Warren Hastings was invariably out-voted and over-ruled by the majority of the

Councillors who were against him. Consequently, Warren Hastings had a difficult time when he came face to face with his councillors.

## **2. Appointment of hostile Councillors**

Another flaw associated with the above defect was that three of the Councillors, Francis, Monson and Clavering named by the Parliament were entirely unfit for the job. Such a batch of Councillors still weakened the position of the Governor-General who was already suffering from constitutional impotency.

## **3. Provisions of Supreme Court Obscure and defective**

In the second place, the provisions relating to the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court were "Obscure and defective". They said nothing about the jurisdiction of the Court, the law it had to administer and its relation to the Governor - General - in-Council. The fundamental questions lacked clarity and precision. For instance, the Act did not clearly say as to who were to be the British subject within the meaning of the Charter of the Supreme court.

## **4. The Sphere of law that the Court was to administer was equally undefined**

The court did not know whether it was to administer native law or English law. Even the Chief justice was baffled by this anomaly. Similarly, relations between the court and the Council were not clearly defined. It was not clear how far the Supreme Court could question the legality of the orders issued by the Governor-General-in-Council.

## **5. No Supreme legislative authority**

The act provided no supreme legislative authority nearer than England to mediate in the dispute of these two bodies and to mark the proper sphere of the Executive and Judicial Departments. The vagueness of the clauses was further increased owing to the fact that the regulations of Bengal made by the Council were subject to the court.

## **6) Inadequate Control of Governor-General over the presidencies**

In the third place, the inadequate control of the Governor-General over the presidencies was glaring defect of the Act. The authority of the Governor-General in Council over the Presidencies was not fully effective due to the exceptions in the Act. Presidencies acted at their own discretion on the plea of emergency and thus started wars and made alliances without reference to the Governor-General in Council as was done by the Bombay Government and Madras Council in the case of Marathas and Haider Ali, respectively.

## **7. The Parliamentary Control over the Company was also insufficient**

The Act no doubt provided that copies of all civil and military despatches received by the Directors from Governor-in-Council in India were to be forwarded within a fortnight to certain members of the English Ministry, but it set up no effective machinery to study and scrutinize those reports. Thus the Parliamentary control over the Company was ineffective.

## **Pitt's India Act, 1784**

In 1784, Pitt the Younger, the Prime Minister of England, soon after the assumption of his office introduced a bill for the better control of the Indian administration by England. The Bill was passed and came to be known as the Pitt's India Act.

### **Causes**

There were many causes responsible for the passage of this Act. 1) In the regulating Act of 1773 there were many glaring defects which were necessary to be reformed by the British Parliament if the administration of the company was to run on some sound footing in India. 2) In 1783, the different American colonies became quite independent of the British control and naturally the English were worried that such an example will be followed by India. So it was thought proper to exercise more control over the affairs of the East India Company in India.

### **Main provisions**

The political and commercial activities of the company were now separated. The commercial functions were allowed to be performed by the Board of Directors, but for the supervision, direction and control of the Indian Government a Board of Control was set up in England. Bombay and Madras were now definitely subordinated to the Governor General and his Council. Act provided for the establishment of a special Court for the better trial of the Company's officials in England for offences committed by them in India.

Warren Hastings fought many undesired wars, so in order to prevent the succeeding Governor-General from copying the examples of Warren Hastings the Act laid down that henceforth the Governor-General should take the permission of the Board of Control before making peace or declaring any war. Thus the Pitt's India Act laid emphasis on the policy of non intervention.

### **Importance**

Pitt's India Act is quite an important legislation because by it the real power in India passed from the Directors to the British Parliament. The Board of Directors now remained as a mere shadow of its former existence. In actual practice the Board of Control, appointed by the British Parliament came to supersede both the court of proprietors and the Board of Directors. It could inspect the files of the Company and issue instructions accordingly which the Directors of the Company had to carry out. Moreover, the Pitt's India Act proved quite permanent and subjected with little material changes till 1858. In that year some changes were no doubt made as a result of the great Rising of 1857 but still its fundamental principles remained almost the same.

## **Charter Act of 1793**

The English East India Company was given a new charter in 1793. Act of 1793 is a very long one. It repeated many old laws and consolidated existing one. However, it did not make any alternations.

### **Provisions of the Charter Act of 1793**

1. The Governor – General and the Governors were given the power of over-ride their councils. The power had been given specially to Corn Wallis in 1786.
2. The control of Governor-General over the presidencies of Madras and Bombay was insisted. It was laid down that when the Governor-General went to a presidency he superseded the Governor.
3. Governor General was given the power to appoint vice-president of his executive council from the members of the council. The vice-president was to act in place of Governor General when the latter was absent from Bengal.
4. The Commander-in-Chief was not to be a member of the council of the GovernorGeneral unless he was specially appointed to be a member by the court of Directors.
5. The admiralty jurisdiction of Calcutta Supreme Court was extended to the high seas.
6. It was provided that the payment of the members and the staff of the Board of Control should be made out of the Indian revenues. This system continued upto 1919.
7. It was provided that the two junior members of the Board of control need not be privy councilors.
8. The character of the company was renewed for 20 years 3000 tons

### **Charter Act of 1813**

Since this Act was operative for twenty years i.e., up to 1993. The British Parliament passed the Character Act 1813 which was an improvement upon the previous charter Act of 1793. The main provisions of the Character Act of 1893 were as follows.

1. In its essential provisions, the powers of the Board of Control to superintend, control and direct the affairs of India were clearly defind and greatly enlarged.
2. The Company’s powers of patronage were reduced.
3. The Court of Directors was to make appointment to the offices of Governor-General, Commander-in-chief, Governor, ect. Subject to the approval of the kind of England and their orders to this affect had to be counter singed by the Board of Control.
4. No Changes were made in the Company’s constitution and the grant of its territorial acquisition in India with the attended revenues was extended for another twenty years.
5. The British Crown’s sovereignty over the Company’s territorial acquisitions was explicitly proclaimed.

6. The most important provision was concerned with the trade. The Company's tea trade with China was reserved for it, but trade monopoly with India was completely abolished and the private merchants of England were permitted to develop free trading contacts with India.
7. The British merchants and missionaries were given fully liberty to settle in India after securing licences for the purpose from the Directors of the Company.
8. The company was required to appoint one Bishop at Calcutta with three Archdeacons to work under him.

### **Significance of the Charter Act of 1813**

- a. The Act clearly proclaimed the Sovereignty of the Crown over the Company's territories in India. The Powers of the Board of Control being considerably enlarged.
- b. The abolition of the Company's trade monopoly was not less significant. British private merchants were allowed to go and settle in India and thus to introduce a severe competition in trade which was, prior to this entirely in the Company's hands.
- c) The Christian Missionaries of England were allowed to come freely and settle in this country. This had wholesome effect, in a sense that a large number of missionary schools and colleges were opened for the education of the Indians.
- d. The Provisions for setting apart one lakh of rupees for the development of education in India was a welcome development. It laid the foundation of the English system of education in India which threw open progressive English literature on liberty and equality for the Indian mind to inculcate.

### **Circumstance leading to the Charter Act of 1833**

- a) The Act of 1813 renewed the Charter of the East India Company for another twenty years. This period expired in 1833 and now the Charter had to be extended. Between 1813 and 1833, there had been a great change. The great Industrial revolution had taken place and it swept the medieval industrial system. The classes of labourers and capitalists emerged. The cheap products of the new machines and their export to foreign lands enabled the people to travel widely and broaden their outlook. Money flowed in, prosperity grew, thus giving birth to a new spirit of independence. Workers claimed better working conditions, capitalists tried to suppress them, a new class of intelligentsia developed to help the class of workers. New literature came into being and the cry for liberty and equality choiced from every direction. The Tory party had been defeated in the House of Commons in 1830 and King William IV had to accept Grey, the Whig leader, as this new Prime Minister, Macaulay became the secretary of the Board of Control and James Mill influence the public opinion inside and outside the British parliament.
- b) The triumph of the whigs in Parliament opened the way for triumph of the liberal principles. It was really the triumph of the rights of man. The parliamentary Reform Act

was passed in 1832 which regenerated the spirit of liberalism in its four-fold strength. The dignity of man was recognized and the principle of *laissez faire* came to the fore.

c) In short, the old spirit of conservatism and exploitation had weakened and a new spirit of liberalism grew and a compromise between these two was struck. It was in these circumstances that the demand for the renewal of the Charter came before the British Parliament. There were some who attacked bitterly the way the destiny of millions of Indians people was being controlled by a jointstock company.

### **Provisions of the Charter Act of 1833**

1. Commercial functions of the Company were taken away and the Company henceforth, was to remain in India only as a political functionary.
2. President of the Board of Control now became the Minister for India affairs.
3. Patronage of the Directors of the Company was restricted.
4. The licensing system was abolished and now any English man could go and settle in India. He could acquire property and carry on trade in India.
5. The Provisions regarding the central government were however, most important . For the first time, the Governor-General of Bengal became the Governor-General of India. The powers and prerogatives of the Governor-General were now tremendously increased.
6. The charter Act added a new member to the Executive council of the Governor-General known as the law member. His work was purely legislative. He attended the meetings of the Executive Council of the Governor- General by special invitation. He was not given any vote.
7. The number of members of the council of Governors of Bombay and Madras was reduced to two.

### **The provision of the Charter Act of 1853**

The British Parliament appointed two committees in 1852 to enquire into the matter and on the basis of their reports, the Charter Act of 1853 was shaped.

1. The Act provided that the salaries of the members of the Board of control, Secretary and the other officers would be fixed by her Majesty's Government but would be charged on Indian revenues.
2. The Company was granted to hold the revenue and the territories of India in trust for Her Majesty, her heirs and successors not for 20 years this time but until the parliament would other wise provide.
3. The number of Court of Directors was reduced from 24 to 18 and 6 of these were to be nominated by the Crown.
4. The Court of Directors were dispossessed of their power of patronage.
5. The service were thrown open to competition in which no discrimination of religion, caste or creed was to be made.

6. In India this Charter Act carried the separation of the legislative from the executive functions a step further.
7. The law member was made a full member of the Governor-General's executive council. He was to assist the Governor-General in the enactment of legislation.
8. The Governor-General's consent was necessary for all legislative proposals.
9. The Chief justice of the Supreme court of Calcutta was to be an exofficio member of this council.

### **The Indian Council Act of 1861**

- a) The Act introduced certain changes in the Viceroy's Executive Council. According to the Charter Act of 1853, a legal Member had been added to the Viceroy's Executive Council.
- b) The Act empowered the Secretary to State to appoint the Commander in Chief as an extraordinary member of the Council.
- c) One of the five members of the Council was to be a Military Member who would be a distinguished soldier. The other two were to be civil servants. The fourth was to be financial expert, while the fifth was to be legal member.
- d) The power of the Governor-General were increased and he was now authorized the act alone in all matters except that of making laws.
- e) The most important matters were placed before the Governor-General and if any different of opinion appeared, those were considered by the whole council.

#### **Legislative Provisions**

- a) The Executive Council of the Governor-General was to be strengthened by the addition of not less than 6 and not more than 12 members nominated by the Governor-General for the purpose of legislation.
- b) The function of this Council was strictly limited to legislation and the Act expressly forbade the transaction of any other business.
- c) No law could be enacted which infringed the authority of Home government or violated the provisions of certain Acts made by the British Parliament.
- d) The Governor-General was vested authority to veto any law passed by the Council.
- e) In case of emergency the Governor-General was empowered to issue ordinances which were as valid as the laws.
- f) The assent of the Governor-General was made necessary to every Act passed by the Council. Indian councils act of 1892 The Circumstances which necessitated the passage of the Council's Act of 1892 deserve special attention. The Councils Act 1861 has established Legislative Councils but these Councils failed to satisfy the Indian

aspirations. The power of the existing legislative councils were so limited that their laws represented nothing better than government orders. The new universities played their role and brought the Indians closer to the Western liberal through; while the repressive governmental policy played its part and tried to repress this surging spirit, thereby energizing it yet more Lord Lyttom's regime brought things to a breaking point, but he could not suppress the longing for the freedom of thought. The Indian National Congress founded in 1885 as a result of the efforts of A.O. Hume, grew very popular, In its very first session of 1885, its passed a resolution called for the expansion of the Supreme Legislative Council by addition to it of elected members.

The Provisions of the Indian Councils Act of Central Legislative

- a) With regard to the Supreme or Central Legislative Council, the Act provided that the number of the additional members would be raised to minimum of 10 and a maximum of 16. Subject to the approval of the Secretary of State for India.
- b) The functions of the Council were enlarged. It was now permitted to discuss the budget under certain restrictions.
- c) The members could ask questions to the government on matters of public interest.
- d) In Provincial Councils also, the number of additional members was enlarged. In the Legislative Councils of Bombay and Madras

## **MINTO-MORLEY REFORMS 1909**

While the Extremists were facing ruthless repression the Moderates were rewarded with constitutional reforms. On the occasion of the 50th anniversary of Queen Victoria's Proclamation of 1858. The Madras Congress Convention adopted a resolution commending the reforms. The Congress conveyed to Lord Morley, and Lord Minto, the Viceroy, its most sincere thanks for their reform proposals. These reform proposals were embodied in the Indian Council's Act of 1909, better known as the Morley-Minto Reforms.

### **The Reforms**

1. The Act enlarged the membership of the Central Legislature as well as the Provincial Legislature Councils.
2. The membership of the Governors' Executive Councils of Bengal, Madras and Bombay was also raised.
3. The Government was empowered to constitute Councils for the Lieutenant-Governors as well.
4. The functions of the Central and State Legislatures were also substantially increased.
5. Separate constituencies were to be created for the Muslims and a fixed number seats were reserved for them in the Councils as well as in public services. In effect, the



Morley-Minto Reforms were commendable compromise between bureaucracy and democracy

### **Defects**

1. The Reforms suffered from many defects. The Act failed to establish parliamentary government in India. The franchise was neither uniform nor broad-based.
2. It failed “to check the propaganda for self-government”. The greatest defect of the Act was the introduction of the separate communal electorates for the Muslims.
3. The communal seeds sown by the Reforms germinated in course of time and ultimately led to the creation of Pakistan as a separate state. Failure of Reform The Morley-Minto Reforms failed to fulfil the aspiration of Indians. Even the Moderates were disillusioned. The Congress was up against the grant of special communal representation to the Muslims.

### **MONTFORD REFORMS 1919**

Indians were deeply disappointed at the treatment given to them disregarding their war time services. It was at that time E.S. Montague, Secretary of State for India, made an historic declaration on 20th August 1917. The Montford Scheme was published on 8th July 1918. The Government of India Act was enacted on 23rd December 1919 on the basis of the Montford Scheme. Main Provisions The Government of India Act of 1919, also known as the Montague-Chelmsford or Montford Reforms. The Montford formulae enunciated the following policy initiatives: 1) There should be, to the extent possible, complete popular control in local bodies, independent of outside control; 2) The Government of India must remain wholly responsible to Parliament; 3) Early steps towards the realization of responsible government should be taken in the provinces. This will involve the largest measure of independence-legislative, administrative, and financial powers of the Government of India. This clear-cut division of Central subjects and state subjects was intended to ensure state autonomy to a limited extent; and 4) The control of British Parliament and the Secretary of State over the Government of India and provincial governments were to be relaxed. In effect, the Act introduced Dyarchy in Governor’s Provinces.

### **DYARCHY**

Provincial Dyarchy The most significant of the provisions of the Act of 1919 were those which related to the Provincial Administration. The Act marked the beginning of responsible government, by introducing, what is called, Dyarchy in the Provincial sphere. The word Dyarchy simply means double government or rule by two authorities. Governmental powers were divided into Central and Provincial Lists. The Provincial List was further divided into the „Reserved“ and the „Transferred“ Subjects. Reserved Subjects These subjects were kept under the control of the Governor. The Reserved Subjects include Police; Administration of Justice; Land Revenue; Irrigation and Canals; Famine Relief; Control of Newspapers, press and books; Borrowing; Forests; Prisons and

Reformatories; Settlement of labour disputes etc., These were called „Nation building“ departments. Transferred Subjects Transferred Subjects were those which required more local knowledge and experience.

The Transferred Subjects included Education; Public Works; Agriculture and Fisheries; Local Self-Government; Excise; Public Health; Sanitation and Medical Administration; and the Development of Industries and Industrial Research. Provincial Executive Provincial Executive consisted of the Governor and his councilors. The members of the Executive Council were appointed by the Crown on the recommendation of the Governor. As they were the ex-officio members, the Councilors were not removable by the Legislature. The Governor was given extensive powers to discharge his duties. The Governor-in-Council administered the Reserved Subjects. Governor and His Ministers Governor and His Ministers administered the Transferred Subjects. The Ministers were selected by the Governor to hold office during his pleasure. They were selected from among the non-official members of the Legislature. The maximum number of Ministers to be appointed by the Governor was not uniform between the Provinces. Provincial Legislature Provincial Legislature was unicameral. Known as the Legislative Council, it was entrusted with increased functions and powers. Its size was expanded though its total membership varied from Province to Province. Of its total strength at least 70% were to be elected; not more than 20% were to be the nominated officials; and the remaining were to be nominated non-officials. Direct election was introduced to elect the members to the Legislative Council. Working of Dyarchy Diarchy was introduced on 1st April 1921 in eight Governor's Provinces, viz., Madras, Bengal, Bombay, U.P., the Punjab, Bihar, C.P., and Assam. Subsequently, it was extended to Burma and N.W.F.P. The system of Dyarchy worked in the Provinces from 1920 to 1937. Elections to the first Council were held in 1920-21.

As part of the Non-Co-operation Movement, the Congress boycotted the elections. However, the Liberals co-operated with the Government and entered the Legislative Council as well as the Governor's Executive Council. The „Pro-Changers“ or the Swarajists made an astonishing success in the election of 1923. They entered the Councils with a view to wreck the constitution from within. The „Walk-in“ and „Walk-out“ strategy of the Swarajists harped on the goal of „no Dyarchy but Swaraj“ as against the Imperialist principle of „no anarchy but autocracy“. Inside the Council the Swarajists criticized the Ministers and their so called „Transferred Subjects“.

### **Pros and Cons Achievements**

The Dyarchy system of Provincial Government had the following achievements to its credit.

1. By participating in the process of administration the Indian legislators were well acquainted with the art and craft of Parliamentary Practice.
2. Dyarchy served as a training ground to Indian politicians. They had the first hand training in passing laws.

3. Dyarchy served as a bridge between autocracy and responsible government. It speeded up the process of Provincial Autonomy.
4. The Swarajists exposed the antinational policies of the Government without fear or favour. They also expounded the national cause of the Congress.
5. For the first time the British bureaucracy were obliged to work under the Ministers in the Transferred Departments.

### **Failures**

1. The very principle of administrative dichotomy was defective, unnatural and unscientific.
2. The Governor was the pivot on which the system of Dyarchy revolved. Being the Kingpin of the new set-up the Minister had to depend on his tender mercies. In practice, the Ministers were reduced to an unenviable position of advisors to the Governor.
3. The Ministers were expected to serve two masters, viz., the Legislative Council and the Governor. The Ministers found it impossible to ride on two horses at the same time.
4. The permanent civil servants remained powerful.
5. The Swarajists were determined not to work but to wreck Dyarchy. It exposed the hollowness of the Reforms.

## **THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA ACT OF 1935**

The Government of India Act of 1935 was the crowning climax of a prolonged process of constitution making that had commenced in 1927 with the appointment of the Simon Commission. Main Provisions

The following were the main provisions of the Act of 1935:

- 1) The Act provided for an All-India Federation. It was to comprise of the British Indian Provinces and the Indian States;
- 2) The Act introduced Dyarchy at the Centre abolishing Provincial Dyarchy;
- 3) The Federal Legislature was to consist of two Houses-Council of States and Federal Assembly;
- 4) Provision was made for a Federal Court to interpret the controversial clauses of the Act and to settle disputes arising among the constituent units and between a unit and the Federal Government;
- 5) The Governmental subjects were divided into 3 lists, viz, the Federal List consisting of subjects of All-India importance; the Provincial List containing subjects pertaining to provincial interests, and the Concurrent List with subjects requiring uniformity of treatment;

6) Provision was made for electoral safeguards and reservations for the minorities. Working of Provincial Autonomy The Government of India Act was introduced and passed in the British Parliament.

In 1935, it received its royal assent in August 1935. Its electoral provisions were introduced in July 3, 1936 and the general election was conducted in the winter of 1936 and 1937, and it was enforced in August 15, 1947. As a consequence, of the general election, the Congress ministry came to power in Madras, C.P, U.P., Bihar, Orissa, N.W.F.P and Assam. The league formed ministries in Sind and Bengal. In Bombay and Punjab congress coalition ministries were formed. Before the congress ministries assumed power, they insisted on clear assurance of non-interference of the Governors. They did a lot in the next two years. The gap between congress and the Muslim League widened. The Muslims propagated very badly of the congress ministeries. In 1939, the second World War broke out. The Government of India declared war on behalf of the British Government against the axis powers. The Viceroy acted without the prior consultation with the congress ministers. Later the Congress ministries once again came to power soon after the end of the Second World War. Thus the provincial autonomy was in function upto 15th August 1947

#### **Defects of the Act as 1935**

1. The Federation according to the Act of 1935 was ill conceived and illogical.
2. There were elaborate safeguards for the powers of Governor-General and the Governors. On the protect of special responsibilities like depending the rights of the minorities, they arrested the growth of nationalism.
3. It introduced diarchy in the centre, where as it abolished the same constitutional set up in the province.
4. It established constitutional dependency on the British parliament for the amendment of the Act.
5. It elaborately extended the communal electorates. 6. It refused to grant the right of self-determination

**The Indian Independence Act, 1947.** The British Government went ahead with its promised legislation, the Indian Independence Bill was introduced in Parliament on July 4, 1947, and the Indian Independence Act was enacted after a fortnight on July 18. The Act did not provide for any new constitution of India. It was only an Act “to enable the representatives of India and Pakistan to frame their own constitutions and to provide for the exceedingly difficult period of transition.” In other words, the Act merely formalized and gave legal effect to the promise made by Lord Mountbatten in his 3rd June Plan.

The Act provided for the Partition of India and the establishment of the two Dominions (India and Pakistan) from the appointed date *viz.*, August 15, 1947 and for the legislative supremacy of these Dominions. The British Government divested itself of all powers and control over the affairs of the Dominions after the 15th of August. Pending the adoption of a new constitution for each Dominion, the existing Constituent Assembly would be Dominion Legislature, and either Dominion and every Province would be governed by the provisions of the Government of India Act, 1935. Each Dominion was empowered to modify this Act, through its Governor-General up to March 31, 1948, and thereafter by its Constituent Assembly.

The King's right to veto laws or to reserve them for His Majesty's pleasure was given up and each new Governor-General was given the right to assent in His Majesty's name to any Bill Passed by the Dominion legislature of his country. The Act also terminated the suzerainty and paramountcy of the British Crown over the Indian States and all treaties, agreements, etc., between the two were to lapse on August 15. But existing arrangements between these States and the Government of India were to continue pending detailed negotiations between these States and the new Dominions. Similarly, agreements with the tribes of the North West Frontier of Indian were to be negotiated by the successor Dominion. The office of the Secretary of State for India was abolished and his work was to be taken over by the Secretary for Commonwealth Affairs. As a mark of transfer of power to Indian hands, the words "Emperor of India" and "India Imperator" were dropped from the Royal style and titles. Both the Dominions would have full powers and right to go out of the British Commonwealth of Nations should they so desire.

In short, the Act converted India from a dependency of the Crown into two independent Dominions within the British Commonwealth of Nations. The word 'independent' emphasised freedom from control of the British Parliament and Whitehall.

Truly did Mr. Attlee say during the second reading of the Indian Independence Bill in the House of Commons: "It is the culminating point in a long course of events... the Act of 1935, the Declaration at the time of the Cripps Mission, the visit of my Right Hon. Friends to India last year, are all steps in the road that led up eventually to the proposals that I announced to the House on 3rd June last. This bill is designed to implement those proposals."

The Indian Independence Act, 1947, was the swan song of the British power as far as India was concerned and was acclaimed as "the noblest and greatest law ever enacted by the British Parliament." The Act of 1947 not only closed a chapter, it also at the same time opened a new and glorious chapter of free India.