PG HT S2 05 (DSC5)

TWO YEAR MASTER'S DEGREE COURSE

(CBCS in Accordance with NEP-2020)

SEMESTER-II

POLITICAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE HISTORY OF INDIA- II

(THE COLONIAL PERIOD)

HISTORY

Surya Kumar Bhuyan School of Social Sciences
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COURSE INTRODUCTION

This is the fifth Core Course in the Second Semester of MA Programme in History. The title of this course is Political and Adminitsrative History of India- II (The Colonial Period). The cournse contains a total of 15 units. The course is designed to make the learners familiar with the historical events that constitutes Modern India. The Course begins with the arrival of the East India Company and takes you through the long journey of India going through various changes in its political landscsape till the time of its Independence .

The first and the second unit titled *Early Euroepan Settlements in India and Establishment of East India Company's Rule in Bengal* respectively throws light on the arrival of a mercantile Company and its transformation to a powerful force as it establsihes its control in Bengal.

The third, fourth, fifth and sixth unit titled *Expansion and Consolidation of Colonial Rule, Parliamentary Interventions druing Company Rule, Frontier Policies and Instruments of Expansion and Revolt of 1857* discusses the conflicts (internal and external) that resulted of the ambitious aspirations of the British to increase their territorial gains in India. While the Wars brought gains for the British, at the same time they were cautious in their dealings and hence regulations were passed to bring order and stability in the land.

The seventh, eight and the ninth unit titled *Post 1857 Development, Cultural Encounter and Social religious Movements and Economy and Popular Resistance* discusses the changes brought in the administration of the Company and the subsequent impact on the society, polity and economy of the land leading to dissent among the Indians.

The tenth and eleventh unit titled *Rise of Indian Nationalism and* Indian National Congress and Revolutionary Nationalism discusses the rise of nationalism amidst the formation of the Congress at the national level. These Units explains the growth of a radical form of nationalism.

The twelfth unit titled *Gandhian Phase of Indian National Movement* discusses the role of Gandhi through the years from his arrival till the late 1930s.

The thirteennth unit titled *Political Developments during World War II* discusess the role of Subhas Chandra Bose, INA amd the British intervention during the World War II to appease the Indians.

The forteenth unit titled *Communimalism and Left Politics in India* traces the development of Communalism and its implications. It also highlights the emergence of Left politics, socialist ideas in India.

The fifteenth unit *Constitutional Development d*iscusses the various Missions that were created to resolve the issue of India's indepence. The Unit discuss the Partition and the making of the Constitution of India.

While going through this paper, you will notice that some boxes are put in the left hand or right hand side of the text. These boxes are meant to serve the purpose of in-text glossary for you. Again, you may find some boxes marked with: "LET US KNOW". These boxes will provide you with some additional interesting and relevant information. The boxes marked with "ACTIVITY" will help you in making your learning more active and efficient. And, at the end of each section, you will get "CHECK YOUR PROGRESS" questions. These have been designed to self-check your progress of study. It will be better if you solve the problems put in these boxes immediately after you go through the sections of the units and then match your answers with "ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS" given at the end of each unit.

UNIT 1 : EARLY EUROPEAN SETTLEMENTS IN INDIA UNIT STRUCTURE

UNIT STRUCTURE

1.1 Learning Objectives

1.2 Introduction

1.3 Arrival of the Early Europeans in India

- The Portuguese
- The Dutch and other European Powers

1.4 Anglo-French Rivalry

1.5 Let Us Sum Up

1.6 Further Readings

1.7 Answers To Check Your Progress

1.8 Model Questions

1.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will able to-

- explain the arrival of European powers in India, like the Portugal, the Dutch, the French, the English amongst others,
- discuss the rivalry among the European powers and more specifically the two dominant powers – the English and the French, and
- discuss the consequences of the rivalry among the European powers and how it shaped the course of Indian history.

1.2 INTRODUCTION

Dear learners, this is the first unit of this Course. In this unit, we will make an attempt at understanding how the major European powers made inroads to India and the consequences of their arrival. It was the arrival of the Portuguese navigator, Vasco-da-Gama in 1498 that laid the path for other explorers and navigators to come to India and eventually establish their commercial enterprise.

We will discuss more in details below.

1.3 ARRIVAL OF THE EARLY EUROPEANS IN INDIA

From time immemorial, India has maintained commercial ties with European countries, as it was renowned for its wealth and prosperity across the continent. European nations have consistently demonstrated a keen interest in trading with India. Throughout the Middle Ages, trade between Europe and India followed various routes. One such route traversed the Persian Gulf by sea, continuing overland through Iraq and Turkey, and then by sea to Venice. Another route involved sailing via the Red Sea, followed by overland travel to Alexandria, and then by sea to Venice and Genoa. A third route extended overland through the passes of India's North East Frontier, Central Asia, and Russia to reach the Baltic. Arab merchants and sailors, sourcing goods from Asia, facilitated trade between India and Europe, with transactions passing through numerous intermediaries. Notably, the spice trade proved highly profitable. However, this trade encountered challenges during the later Middle Ages. The conquest of Asia Minor and Constantinople by the Turks in 1453, along with the expansion of Turkish influence into Europe and the conflicts between Christians and Muslims, disrupted the established trading routes. Additionally, Italian opposition hindered the entry of Western European merchants into Indian trade via traditional land and sea routes. Nevertheless, due to the high demand for Indian spices in Europe, European merchants began seeking new and safer direct sea routes to India. Concurrently, the fifteenth-century Renaissance fostered a spirit of adventure and enterprise among Europeans, leading to new geographical discoveries and perilous voyages across uncharted seas. We shall now discuss the European countries that spearheaded the exploration of new sea routes and successfully reached India. The first were the Portuguese. Let us know more about this.

- **The Portuguese**

As 'direct contacts between Asians and Europeans had been mainly confined to the Middle East, the perception of Europe alternated between peaceful co-existence and hostile confrontation'. But with the Portuguese expansion towards the Far East, the trading world became aware of the

European presence.

The Portuguese had been trying to control the spice trade by sailing across the ocean, but they had met with failures. In the year 1500, Portugal had gained a significant advantage against other trading countries, with the discovery of this new route. However, the effect of the trade route discovery had huge impact as it meant that Portugal would be able to control the spice trade. This was bad news for the other mercantile nations.

The Portuguese established their mastery over the coastal areas by dint of their artillery and it soon captivated the Indians. Also, the Asians lagged behind in terms of innovation and mastery over naval system. After Vasco Da Gama, cabral came. Vasco- Da-Gama arrived in India again in 1502. He erected a factory at Cochin and returned to Lisbon in 1505. The King of Portugal appointed a Viceroy named Francisco De Almeida and with his appointment the expansion policy of the Portuguese became clear. He defeated the Zamorin 1506 and compelled the ruler of Ceylon to pay him a tribute of cinnamon and elephants. In the spring of 1509, Almeida defeated the combined fleets of Egyptians, the Zamorian and the King of Gujarat at Diu. This victory turned 'the Indian ocean for the next century into a Portuguese Sea'

Alfonso de Albuquesrque was the second viceroy of the Portuguese in India. He occupied Goa in 1510 and made it the seat of Portuguese authority. Albuquerque was the real founder of Portuguese power in India. He tried to establish friendly relations with the Hindu rulers In the course of time, the Portuguese established their settlements in Diu, Daman, Salsette, Bassein, Chaul, Hoogly, Ceylon. They also possessed Goa, Malacca and Hurmuz. The Portuguese in the Cambay area married the native women. However, while the rivalry of Portuguese with the other European countries pushed them to a precarious situation, but in Asia and specifically in India the Portuguese had monopoly over the market. This prosperity did not last for long and Portuguese had to bow out. Some of the important causes are-

Firstly Albuquerque was an able Governor and he was the real founder of the Portuguese possessions in India but unfortunately his

successors were not very able and competent. They therefore, could not con- solidate to what he gained. Secondly, Portuguese also did not follow policy of religious toleration. Their policy of intoleration earned hatred of them. Thirdly their trading method was piratical. Fourthly, Portuguese officers were very corrupt with the result that the administration became inefficient and weak. Fifthly, after the discovery of Brazil by the Portuguese, the colonising activities of Portugal to India gradually began to decline. Lastly, they failed to compete successfully with other European companies. Thus, the Portuguese, who had got their foothold on the soil of India at a very early stage, had to disappear from the scene.

- **The Dutch**

Like the Portuguese at sea, the Dutch too were one of the foremost maritime power of Europe which had the desired to trade with India. By 1956, the Dutch navigators rounded the Cape of Good Hope and reached Sumatea and Banton. In 1602 the Dutch states general sanctioned the formation of the United East India company for carrying on trade with India. They had to face sharp opposition from the Portuguese in the beginning and finally the Dutch emerged successful and captured a number of Places from the rivals. The main aim of the Dutch company was to import spices from India and for the whole of the 17th Century they were the Chief spice traders from the East to West. The Dutch established thier factories at different places in India. The most notable of those places were Musalipattam, Surat, Karikal, Chinsura, Nagaptam, Cassimbazar, Balasore,Patna and Cochin. Besides spices, they were making hectic business in Silk, Cotton, goods, rice, Indigo and opium. In the long struggle between the English and Dutch the English became victorious and the Dutch power began to decline.

- **The Danes**

The people of Denmark or Danes also came to India towards the later part of 17th Century. They made Serampur in Bengal as the Chief Centre of thier trade activities. They were very weak than other European and with foundation of the British Empire, the Danish hope to thrive ended power.

- **The English**

Like other Europeans, Englishmen also were desires of getting the things produced in India and the far east. The English were also afraid of Challenging the naval supremacy of Spain and Portugal but the successful sea voyage of the English navigators round the world in 1580, and the victory over the 'invincible Spanish Armada' finally emboldened the English to undertake trading voyages to the East. After their victory over the Spanish Armada in 1588, their desire to trade directly began to increase. In 1600 Queen Elizabeth granted a charter to the Governor and Company of merchants of London trading into the East Indies. The Charter was given for 15 years and the same could be cancelled after giving a notice of two years. It was in 1608 that the first attempt was made to establish factories in India. The company sent Captain Hawkins to India and he reached the court of Jahangir in 1609. He was received favourably at the court and the English were given the permission to settle at Surat. However, the concession was cancelled on account of Portuguese influence at the Mughal Court. In 1612 Captain Best defeated the Portuguese in Surat. The result was that the English Company got the permission to set up a factory at Surat in 1615, Sir Thomas Roe was sent to the court of Jahangir by James I, king of England. He was successful in securing certain trading concessions for the English Company from the Mughal Emperor. In 1622, the English captured Ormuz from the Portuguese. In 1640, Fort St. George was built at Madras. In 1633, factories were set up at Balasore and Hariharpur. In 1651, a factory was set up at Hooghly. In 1661, London Company got the island of Bombay from Charles II at a nominal rent.

Job Charnok had been trying to establish a settlement on the present site of Calcutta since 1686 but had to abandon his project on account of the outbreak of hostilities with Aurangzeb. But after the conclusion of the peace, he was permitted to establish a factory at Sutanati in 1690. In 1696, occurred the rebellion of Sova Sing, a Zamindar of Burdwan. It caused great panic and as a measure of security the English were permitted to fortify their new factory. in 1698 two years later they were permitted to purchase the village of Sutanati, Kalikata and Gobindapur, which later developed into the great

city of Calcutta. Thus, the city of Calcutta began to grow. In 1700 the forfeited factory was named Fort William after King William III of England and it became the seat of a President and a Council. In 1714 an embassy was sent to Delhi led by John Surman. In 1717 he secured from Farrukhsiyar a Farman granting substantial concessions to the company. This Farman has been described as the Magna Carta of the Company. The concessions obtained by Surman added to the power and prosperity of the English East India Company in Hyderabad, madras, Surat and Bombay.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q 1: Captain Hawkins arrived in India during the reign of which Mughal Emperor?

.....

Q 2: Give reasonsfor the declineofPortuguesepowerinIndia.

.....

Q 3: Name the second Viceroy of the Portuguese.

.....

Q 4: Why is the Farman granted by Farukhsiyar termed as the Magna Carta of the East India Company?

.....

1.4 ANGLO-FRENCH RIVALRY

As part of their strategy for making their global presence felt, the French took the same path as their European counterpart. It was under the patronage of a French Minister Jean Baptiste Colbert and the King of France Louis XIV, a company was established and started for India under Francois Caron. Caron founded the French factory in India at Surat. In 1669, another French factory was established at Masulipattam. Caron was called back in 1672 and his place was taken by Francis Martin, Martin was one of the real founders of the French Company in India. In 1674 the French secured from the ruler of Bijapur not only the site of Pondicherry but also assistance in developing it. Pondicherry became the seat of the French establishment in India. The French had also their settlements at Chandranagar, Balasore

and Qasim Bazar. On the Malabar coast, the French got Mahe in 1725. In 1739, they got the Karikal on the Coromandal coast. Till 1740, the French activities were primarily commercial but like the other Europeans, they too had built fortified settlements and developed ambitious dreams under the Governorship of Dupleix. The execution of this dream brought French in a direct conflict with England. Due to their clashing trade influence in India and the political rivalry in Europe, clashes and conflicts between the Portuguese and the English began in India. These conflicts resulted in three Carnatic Wars.



Map of India (1765) Source: Kenneth M (2015)

The First Carnatic war was an extension of the Anglo-French War in Europe. The Austrian War of succession broke out in March 1740.In this war England and France were fighting on opposite sides and their hostilities in Europe very soon reached the soil of India as well. As the war progressed in Europe, in due course, the English and the French also began preparations for the unavoidable conflict in India. It may be noted here that Dupleix, the

French Governor of Pondicherry had proposed initially that the English and the French should maintain neutrality in India but this proposal was ultimately turned down by the authorities in England.

In 1745, the English navy captured the French ships on the south-east coast of India and threatened to invade Pondicherry but with the arrival of a French naval force from Mauritius under the command of La Bourbonnais, the English navy had to retreat and left for Hugli. The French Governor Dupleix besieged Madras and after a week's resistance, the English surrendered to the French.

The English next sought the Protection on Anwar-ud-din- Khan, the Nawab of Carnatic, who was legally subordinate to the Mughal subadar of Deccan but was practically an independent ruler, even though earlier they had not withdrawn the siege of the French ships in defiance of the Nawab's direction. However, to rescue the English at Madras, the Nawab sent his army against the French. The Nawab's army, 10000 in number, was decisively defeated by a small French force, consisting of only 230 Europeans and 700 Indians. The French won because of their advanced equipment's, miliary skill and better organization. In June 1748, a large squadron proceeded from England to India. To avenge the capture of Madras, the English laid siege to Pondicherry at sea as well as on land. The English attempt to capture Pondicherry did not succeed. The French displayed an exemplary show of power and tactic against the English. In the meantime, however hostilities between the English and French ended in India as a result of the cessation of the Austrian War of Succession in Europe. According to the terms of the treaty Aix-la-Chappelle (1748), English got Madras back from the French.

The peace concluded to conclude the First Carnatic War was very short lived. Both the English and the French were now confident that they could defeat the Indian princes. Both were also sure that they were superior to each other and desired to test their strength at the earliest possible opportunity. It was at this time that war of succession started in Hyderabad. Nizam Asaf Jah died in 1748 and claimants to his throne were his son Nasir Jung and his grandson Muzaffar Jung. More or less at the same time there

started a dispute over Nawabship in the Carnatic. Here the claimants were Nawab Anwar-ud-din and Chanda Sahib. These events offered a perfect opportunity to both the Companies to fish in trouble waters. He decided to support the cause of Muzaffar Jung in Hyderabad and Chanda Sahib in Carnatic. This forced Nasir Jung and Anwar-ud-din to take the help of the Britishers.

In 1749, Anwar-ud-Din was defeated and killed and they brought Chanda Sahib to the throne of Carnatic. In Hyderabad, with the help of the British Company Nasir Jung could imprison Muzzaffar Jung but at this stage Nasir Jung was killed by his own soldiers thus leaving the gaddi open for Muzzafar Jung. He was taken to Pondicherry where he was crowned. French Commander Bussy was sent to escort the Nawab to Hyderabad, but on the way Muzzafar Jung was killed in an encounter. After his death, Bussy tactfully placed Nizam Asaf Jah's third son Salabat Jung to the throne. Bussey himself stayed in Deccan for several years.

This move of Bussey very much enhanced French prestige which was intolerable for the English. Salabat Jung handed over the Northern Circars to the French. The Company was undergoing a critical time at this point and Clive was sent to restore its lost prestige. It was Clive's strategic plan that re-divert the whole situation. He besieged the capital of Carnatic, Arcot while Chanda Sahib was busy in Trichinopoly besieging Muhammad Ali. Raza Khan, the son of Chanda Sahib rushed back to Arcot to recapture it, but Clive was successful in holding Arcot and with the arrival of additional reinforcements, Raza Khan had to give up. Clive marched to Trichinopoly and forced Chanda Sahib to raise the siege of Trichinopoly. He put his candidate Muhammad Ali as the Nawab of Carnatic. Clive defeated Chanda Sahib in 1752 and during his flight, Chanda Sahib was caught and killed. Thus, by his bravery and statesmanship Clive could regain the lost prestige of the Company. Dupleix planned on to regain the prestige of French Company but in 1754 he was called back to France and thus nothing could be done. In 1755 Godheau was sent as French Governor in India. He concluded a peace treaty with British East India Company. In 1755 was concluded the Treaty of Pondicherry where the French acknowledged

Muhammad Ali as the Nawab of Carnatic and Nizam Salabat Jung, as that of Hyderabad. The English agreed the supremacy of the French over Northern Circars. Both also agreed to return each other's territories and not to interfere in the internal affairs of the Indian princes.

Though the second Carnatic War ended in 1755 A.D. but both the parties were still unsatisfied. It was in this atmosphere that the Seven Years' War broke out in Europe. This brought the two powers face to face again for a fresh conflict.

Count de Lally was sent as the French Governor in India with the clear instruction to wipe out the Britishers in India. As soon as he came to India in 1758, he captured Fort St. George and decided to attack Madras. But by this time the English had won name and fame by winning the Battle of Plassey in 1757 A.D. But Lally proceeded further, he asked Admiral De-Ache, the naval Commander, to give him naval protection which he refused to do. Lally then made a political and military blunder. He called Bussey from Deccan. Taking advantage of the situation Clive sent his armies to Deccan which captured Northern Circars. Nawab Salabat Jung immediately changed sides and joined the English. Lally then attacked Madras but failed to take that also. He was defeated in the Battle of Wandiwash (1760) by Sir Eyre Coote, the English general and Bussey was made prisoner. In 1761 the English armies conquered Pondicherry, Karikal and many other French possessions. In 1763, Seven Years' War came to an end in Europe by the Treaty of Paris. The French agreed not to keep their troops in Bengal. Their territories were returned to them with the understanding that these will not be fortified again. This war brought an end to the Anglo-French rivalry in India. The English now became undisputed masters of India. The French completely withdrew from Bengal. They lost the right to fortify their possessions. They were reduced merely to the position of a trader. The English became the masters of Deccan.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q 5: The Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle concluded which Carnatic War?

.....

Q 6: The French gained the Northern Circars from whom?

.....

Q 7: Who succeeded Dupleix in India?

.....

Q 8: What led to the third Carnatic War?

.....



1.5 LET US SUM UP

After going through this Unit, you have learnt that, the Europeans came to India mainly for commercial purpose but they developed ambitious plans resulting in conflicts and rivalry. This rivalry was the root cause behind the unending series of Wars between the two dominant powers- the English and the French. The outcome of the Ear decided their fate and the beginning of a new history.



1.6 FURTHER READINGS

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1.7 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans to Q No 1: Jahangir.

Ans to Q No 2: Corruption was rampant.

Ans to Q No 3: Dom Francisco the Almeida.

Ans to Q No 4: The Farman gave trading privileges, including exemption from customs duties, the right to mint coins, and the right to build fortifications.

Ans to Q No 5: First Carnatic War.

Ans to Q No 6: Salabat Jung.

Ans to Q No 7: Godheau.

Ans to Q No 8: The outbreak of the Seven Years War in Europe.



1.8 MODEL QUESTIONS

A. Very Short questions (Answer each question whithin 50 words)

Q 1: In which year Vasco da Gama arrive in India?

Q 2: State one cause of the second Carnatic War.

Q 3: Who was Almeida?

B. Short questions (Answer each question in about 150 words)

Q 1: Write a short note on the Portuguese establishments in India.

Q 2: State in brief the factors that led to the Carnatic Wars.

Q 3: Explain the condition of India prior to the coming of the Europeans.

C. Long Questions (Answer each questions in about 300-500 words)

Q 1: Explain the consequences of the Anglo-French rivalry?

Q 2: Analyse the impact of the arrival of the Europeans in India?

Q 3: Discuss the factors that led to the success of the English East India Company.

*** ***** ***

UNIT 2 : ESTABLISHMENT OF EAST INDIA COMPANY'S RULE IN BENGAL

UNIT STRUCTURE

2.1 Learning Objectives

2.2 Introduction

2.3 Battle of Plassey

- 2.3.1 Early English Contact with Bengal
- 2.3.2 Circumstance Leading to the Battle of Plassey
- 2.3.3 Outcome of the Battle of Plassey

2.4 Battle of Buxar

- 2.4.1 Background of the Battle of Buxar
- 2.4.2 Significance of the Battle of Buxar

2.5 Dual Government

- 2.5.1 Nature of Governance
- 2.5.2 Consequences of Dual Government

2.6 Permanent Settlement

- 2.6.1 Features of the Permanent Settlement
- 2.6.2 Effects of thePermanent Settlement

2.7 Let Us Sum Up

2.8 Further Readings

2.9 Answers To Check Your Progress

2.10 Model Questions

1.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will able to-

- discuss about the Battle of Plassey and its eventful impact,
- examine how the Battle of Buxar was decisive one in the context of Indian history,
- assess the dual system of administration in Bengal,
- explain the system of Permanent Settlement.

2.2 INTRODUCTION

In the previous unit, you have learnt how the different European countries like Portugal, Netherland, France, and England entered India with their respective imperial motives. For this they initially established their factory settlements in small areas, mostly coastal ones.The factory settlements were basically the trading posts where goods were purchased and stored. But gradually it became centers of political and economic activitiespursued towards fulfilling the imperial goals. These countrieseven got engaged in battles to establish their supremacy.

In this race for establishing commercial as well as political control over India, England left behind the other colonial powers by gradually occupying most part of the country. The imperial campaign of England in India was led by a joint-stockcompany formed in 1599 CE by a group of English merchants, known as the 'Merchant Adventurers' to trade with the Eastern countries. This company was granted a RoyalCharter byElizabeth-I, the then Queen of Englandon 31 December 1600CE with the monopoly of trade in the East.The company came to be popularly known as the East India Company. From the beginning, the Company had connections with the English monarchy as Queen Elizabeth-I was herself one of the shareholders.This Company continued its control over the occupied Indian territory till 1857CE until the English Crown took over the control directly into its hands.In this unit, we are going to study in detail how this English East India Company established its predominance over Bengal.

2.3 BATTLE OF PLASSEY

The Battle of Plassey (Palashi in Bengali) fought on 23 June 1757 CE between the then Nawab of Bengal, Siraj-Ud-Daulah and the forces of the East India Company led by Colonel Robert Clive was rather a mere skirmish. It was the victory of diplomacy rather than armed strength that this battle witnessed. Yet, the significance of this battle cannot be undermined in the context of Indian history. But before going in detail about the circumstances that led into this battle and its result, let's discuss in the next sub-section how the Company made its early establishment in Bengal.

2.3.1 Early English Contact with Bengal

Bengal has always been considered as one of the prosperous provincesof India. The rich resources and trade prospect there had been the main reason behind the attraction of the foreign trading companies towards the province. Looking at the prosperous condition of Bengal, the French traveler Francois Bernier who visited the Mughal Empire in India commented in his work *Travels in the Mughal Empire* that:

> "The rich exuberance of the country has given rise to a proverb in common use among the Portuguese; English and Dutch that the kingdom of Bengal has a hundred gates open for entrance, but not one for departure."

During the onset of imperialism in India, Bengalwas a part of the Mughal Empire and later itcomprised also of the present-day Bihar and Orissa. It was at Balasore in Orissa that the East India Companyin 1633CEopened its factory settlement, first of this kind in eastern India. Then in the year 1651CE, the Company was given permission by Shah Shuja, then Governor of Bengal and son of Mughal Emperor Shah Jahan to trade at Hugli in Bengal. Soon after Company opened factories atQasimbazar, Patna, Dacca, and other places in the Bengal province.

By this time, the Company without facing much opposition had considerably strengthened its position in the Madras and Bombay because of its costal location and absence of strong Indian ruling authority in that region. Meanwhile, the Mughal authority was busy in dealing with the Marathas. Under such a situation, with already having an initial success in Bengal,the Company made an ambitious desireto have an independent settlement in the province. From the position of being a petitioner to the Mughal authority, they tried to challenge their authority in Bengal.

With this desire in view, the Company attempted to fortify their establishments at Hugli. But Shaista Khan, the then Mughal

Governor of Bengal prevented it. This act of prevention infuriated the Company authority to such an extent that they in 1686 CEdeclared a war against the Mughal Emperor, Aurangzeb. But the Company forces had no match with the Mughal forces and had to taste defeat with disastrous consequences. They were driven out of their factory settlements in Bengal.Their other factory settlements at Surat, Masaulipatam and Visakhapatnam were also besieged.

This was a huge setback for the Company which forced them to revert to their old policy of placing petition before the Mughal authority. They asked for pardoning their mistakes and expressed its willingness to carry out their commercial activities under the protection of the Indian rulers. The Mughal authority allowed the Company to continue with its trading activities, but on the repayment of huge indemnity amounting to Rs. 1,50,000 and return of all Indian (Mughal) warships captured during the war. At that time, the foreign trade run by the Company was found to be beneficial for the Indian artisans and merchants as well as was enriching the royal treasury.

In 1690CE Aurangzeb through a *Farman* provided the Company with a right to carry on duty-free trade in Bengal for an annual payment of Rs. 3,000. The same year the foundation of Calcutta was also laid by the Company and fortifications started there in 1696CE. Two years later in 1698 CE the Company even received from the Mughal Emperor the zamindari rights over three villages of Kalikata, Sutanuti and Gobindapur over which the city of Calcutta eventually was formed. The death of Aurangzeb in 1707 CE for a while provided a halt to the changing fortunes of the Company in Bengal. But the issue of another*Farman* in 1717 CE by the then Mughal Emperor Farruksiyar formalized the earlier provisions enjoyed by the Company in Bengal with more new privileges. It was this '*Farman* of 1717' which created tensions between the Company and the Nawab of Bengal.

The death of Aurangzeb limited the authority of Mughal power which resulted in the rise of some independent powers. One such

power arose in Bengal under Murshid Quli Khan, who was initially appointed only as a *Diwan* of Bengal with the responsibility of collecting the revenue. But after the death of Aurangzeb, being astute in revenue administration he took the advantage of the prevailing uncertainty in the Mughal kingdom to his favour by also assuming the responsibility of *Nizamat* (judicial)administration of Bengal as its *Subhedar* (Governor).

Murshid Quli then in 1717 CE combined the separate offices of *Diwani* and *Nizamat*into one and styled himself as the 'Nawab of Bengal', an independent authority with nominal allegiance to the Mughal authority. With becoming the independent ruler of Bengal, Murshid Qulirefused to provide the Company with the facilities hitherto enjoyed in Mughal Bengal. However, the same year through the '*Farman* of 1717' Farruksiyar allowed the Company to carryon dutyfree trade in Bengal in addition to take on rent thirty-eight villages around Calcutta and to use the royal mint.

But Murshid Quli did not allow the Mughal *Farman* to operate in independent Bengal on the ground that there will be misuse of *dastaks* or free passes by the Company officials for monetary benefits and it will also cover their personal trading activities. These would badly affect his revenue income.Further, Murshid Quli did not provide the necessary permission to the Company to buy the thirty-eight villages around Calcutta and to avail the minting privileges. This high-handed authoritative nature of the Nawab of Bengal was disliked by the Company authority which marked the beginning of the tussle between them.

This tussle continued in Nawab Murshid Quli's time. After his death in 1727CE as per his wish his grandson, Sarfaraz Khan became the new Nawab. But only for a while as father of Sarfaraz Khan and son-in-law of Murshid Quli, Shuja-Ud-Din Muhammad Khan seized the power as the new Nawab and remained in the post until his death in 1739CE. Nawab Shuja-Ud-Din kept the English Company and other European companies trading in Bengal in check.

At one instance, he forced the chief of the English factory at Qasimbazar to pay three lakhs of rupees as fine for disobeying the *Faujdar* of Hugli.

After the death of Nawab Shuja-Ud-Din in 1739CE, his son Sarfaraz Khan once again became the Nawab. But in the year 1740CE, Alivardi Khan, the*Naib Subhedar* of Patna killed Nawab Shuja-Ud-Din in a battle and became the Nawab. Alivardi Khanas the Nawab had to face frequent Maratha attacks under their chief Raghuji Bhonsle and ultimately had to surrender Orissa to the Marathas alongwith agreeing to pay them twelve lakhs of rupees annually as *Chauth* (a tax). Other than this he too successfully faced the revolt of his successor and grandson Siraj-Ud-Daulah and Afghan nobles. Even then he kept the Europeans trading companies in Bengal in check showing his authority at times, but never made undue interference in their trading activities. During the Anglo-French rivalry in the Carnatic, Alivardi Khan allows neither the English nor the French to extend their rivalry into Bengal by strictly ordering them to stop all kind of fortifications in his dominion. His argument was 'why the English and French being merchants need fortress when they are under my protection'.

In April 1756CE, Siraj-Ud-Daulah became the Nawab of Bengal at a very young age as his maternal grandfather Alivardi Khan died without any direct male heir. It was during his reign over Bengal that the relationship with the Company deteriorated to such a level that it eventually led to the Battle of Plassey which we are going to deal in the next sub-section.

2.3.2 Circumstance Leading to the Battle of Plassey

The ascendancy of Siraj-Ud-Daulah as the Nawab of Bengal was not liked by many as there were other rival claimants. Most notable amongst them were his cousin Shaukat Jung, Nawab of Purnea; his maternal aunt Ghasiti Begum; and Mir Jafar, the commander-in-chief of his army. As such to secure his position,

Siraj sacked all the wealth of Ghasiti Begum to cripple her of the power financed by her wealth. Then Mir Jafar was replaced with his trusted military official Mir Madan as the commander-in-chief. Another trusted person Mohan Lal was made the 'Peshkar', a postequivalent in rank to that of a Prime Minister.

With the new Nawab being busy in securing his position, the English East India Company was strengthening its fortifications in Fort William at Calcutta owing possible French menace which enraged the Nawab. The Company too started to rampantly misuse the power of issuing *dastaks* affecting the revenue income of the Bengal Government. Further, the Company provided asylum to some of the political offenders of Bengal and was believed to be providing indirectly support to the claims ofGhasiti Begum. Siraj asked the Company authorities to stop its fortifications, misuse of *dastaks* and to not provide asylum to the political offenders. But no heed was paid to his request. Rather, his messenger Narayan Das was misbehaved by the Company authorities at Calcutta.

This highhandedness of the English was beyond the tolerance of Siraj who in June 1756CE attacked and captured the English Factory at Qasimbazar. Then he moved towards Calcutta, attacked theFort William,and captured it. Calcutta came under the control of the Nawab who renamed it as Alinagar and placed the charge of its administration in the hands of Manik Chand. He then returned to his capital Murshidabad without making any attempt to capture Company Governor Roger Drake and other key officials who fled away to Fulta. Elevated by his success, Siraj instead of pressing the Company forces totally outside his province rather devoted his time in attacking, defeating, and killing Shaukat Jangin the Battle of Manihari inOctober 1756CE.



LET US KNOW

Black Hole Incident

The 'Black Hole Incident' is a controversial event, a darker side of the Indian history related with the occupation of Fort William by the Nawab Siraj-Ud-Daulah of Bengal. It is believed that after the surrender of the fort by the English before the Nawab, the surrendered officials as well as soldiers were taken by the Bengal officials to a dark small cell in the fort measuring eighteen feet long and fourteen feet ten inches wide. The cell had only two small holes barricaded with bars for entering light and air other than the small door for entering. All total 146 people comprising of 1 woman and 145 men that included 12 wounded officials were forcibly kept inside the dark small cell for a night. The next morning only 23 of them survived and remaining 123 died of suffocation.

This horrific act is refuted by modern day scholars as not being the actual incident, rather a technique of the Company to portray the young Nawab Siraj-Ud-Daulah as a cruel ruler. Whatever might be the case Siraj-Ud-Daulah was not directly involved with it as his officials did the act. The actual incident might be minor one as figure of dead people varies from record to record on this event.

In the meantime, the loss of Calcutta alarmed the Company administration who sent reinforcements from Madras under Colonel Robert Clive and Admiral Watson. The Company forces reached Bengal in December 1756CE and recaptured Calcutta in January 1757 CE by bribing Manik Chand who only offered a show of resistance before surrender. On hearing about it, Siraj immediately marched towards Calcutta with the aim of driving the English from there. But a surprise attack by Robert Clive on Bengal army after crossing the river Hooghly forced the Nawab to change his decision for a peaceful settlement. Accordingly on 9 February 1757CE the 'Treaty of Alinagar' was signed by which former privileges of trade was restored back;permission for fortification of Calcutta was

granted; and compensation was provided for the lossesto the Company. Even the Company was allowed to coin their own money.

But Robert Clive, also a shrewd diplomat was not satisfied with this as he knew that young Siraj would make the early possible attempt to reinstate his authority over the Company in Bengal.Hence, immediately Clive in March 1757 CE captured Chandernagore, the French settlement in Bengal with formal permission from Siraj who was bound to provide it after the signing of the treaty. After alienating Siraj from future French assistance, Clive hatched secret conspiracy with the dissatisfied officials of the Nawab like Rai Durlabh, Mir Jafar, and Jagat Seth amongst others who were also looking for an opportunity to dethrone the Nawab. Finally, in May 1757CE Clive made a secret agreement with the conspirators under which Mir Jafar was to be made the new Nawab and in return the Company was to be provided with confirmation of all the privileges that they have been enjoying in Bengal and millions of rupees as compensation.

With the stage been all set for war Robert Clive decided to launch an attack upon Nawab Siraj-Ud-Daulah. As a pretext for it, he sent a letter to Siraj accusing him of violating the recently concluded treaty with the Company and marched towards Murshidabad without waiting for a reply from the side of the Nawab. On hearing about the advancement of Company troops, Siraj too move forward with his army without being aware of the conspiracy hatched by Clive in association with his officials. Both the armies met at Plassey, a mango grove located a distance of 22 miles away from Murshidabad.

The offensive was started by the Company forces and from the side of Nawab only his trusted official Mir Madan and Mohan Lal fought with the soldiers under them. All other commanders of Bengal army like Mir Jafar and Rai Durlabh remained aloof from actual fighting. Rather, these commanders advised Siraj to leave the battlefield by entrusting them with the responsibility of fighting with

the English to which the Nawab agreed. After he left and his two trusted commanders died fighting with the Company troops, the battle was over. On his return journey Siraj was caught mid-way by Miran, son of Mir Jafar and was put to death. Without any serious clash of arms, the Company forces won the battle with tact and diplomacy.

2.3.2 Outcome of the Battle of Plassey

The magnitude of fight in the Battle of Plassey might be negligible but the outcome of this battle was decisive one. It opened before the Company a flood gate of imperial ambition which achieved its ultimate success through a torturous process of diplomacy and war in the near future. The Company made its foothold stronger than ever before in the richest province of India, Bengal. The confidence and authority of the English East India Company boosted to such a level that it emerged as the foremost contender amongst the European companies for establishing an all-India Empire.

The success at Plassey led to the accumulation of a large amount of wealth not only by the Company but also by its officials as well as soldiers which can be considered as the beginning of the 'Drain of Wealth' from India to England. The first installment of wealth paid to the Company after Plassey amounted to aroundeight lakh euros which all were coined in Silver. This treasure was brought from Murshidabad to Calcutta in a fleet which consisted of more than hundred boats. With this enormous wealth, the Company emerged victorious in the Carnatic Wars establishing their mastery in the Deccan or Southern India and extended its influence over Northern India.

Mir Jafar became the new Nawab of Bengal on 25 June 1757 CE. He immediately rewarded the Company for its services with the grant of *zamindari* of the 24 Pargana. All French settlements in Bengal were handed over to the Company. The Company was compensated heavily for the losses that they suffered earlier during

Siraj-Ud-Daulah'scapture of Calcutta. As the amount was enormous, it was promised to be paid in installments.The Company and its officials were given free access to issue *dastaks* and even use it for their personal trade. Besides as a personal gift Clive was given an amount of around 2, 34,000 Euros, while around 50 lakh rupees was given as reward to other army and naval officials.

But soon Mir Jafar realized that his position was that of a mere puppet in the hands of the Company. Mr. Watts was already stationed at Murshidabad as the English resident.There was continuous interference and dominance of the Company officials in the affairs of administration.Their ever-increasing demand for presents and bribes emptied his treasury. Even after sitting on the throne as Nawab forthree years, Mir Jafar was unable to pay the Company the amount that he promised to pay in installments as per the agreement with Robert Clive. Financial pressure was mounting to such a level that the forces of the Nawab were not getting regularly paid, creating resentment amongst them. An English force of 6000 was also to be maintained by the Nawab in Bengal for his protection.

Some of the Zamindars likeRaja Ram Sinha of Midnapore and Hizir Ali Khan of Purnea refused to accept Mir Jafar as their supreme authority. The Nawab also doubted the loyalty of some of his officials like Diwan Rai Durlabh and Ram Narayan, the Deputy *Subhedar* of Bihar. But could do nothing as theybothmaintained cordial relationship with the Company authority.The Mughal Prince Ali Gauhar (later Mughal Emperor Shah AlamII), eldest son of the then Mughal Emperor Alamgir-II in 1759 and 1760 CE attacked Bengal twice to assert his authority over the area. But his attacks were repulsed by the Bengal army with the Company's assistance.

The Dutch in 1759 CE too tried to attack Bengal and it is believed by the Company that Mir Jafar had secretly intrigued with the Dutch to oust the English. As such, Clive asked Mir Jafarto send his son Miran to disburse away the Dutch to which the Nawab did not comply immediately. Later, the Nawab decided to send his

son against the Dutch to disperse them. But before Miran, Clive himself marched against the Dutch and defeated them at Bedara on 25 November 1759 CE. The Dutch army was completely routed, and they sued to for peace. This victory further strengthened the East India Company's authority in Bengal.

In the year 1760 CE, Miran died suddenly which gave a setback to Mir Jafar as he was his heir apparent. After this incident Mir Qasim, son-in-law of the Nawab and *Faujdar* of Rangpur having immense wealth tried to stake his claim as the next Nawab. The Company authorities were also gradually becoming unhappy with Mir Jafar as he was not able to provide them with the riches of Bengal as was expected from him. An understanding was made betweenHenry Vansittart, the then Company's Governor of Bengal and Mir Qasim by which the later promised to provide the Company a firm friendship along with grants, rewards and presents if he was made the Deputy Nawab of Bengal.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q 1: Who was Shaista Khan?

.....

Q 2: Which place was renamed as Alinagar?

.....

Q 3: Where is Plassey located?

.....

Q 4: Who killed Siraj-Ud-Daulah?

.....

Q 5: Who was Mr. Watts?

.....

Q 6: When did Mir Qasim laid his claim over the throne of Nawab of Bengal?

.....

With the conspiracy being already hatched against him and his army being in defiant mood, Nawab Mir Jafar himself decided to step down from his post instead of being in his position at the mercy of his son-in-law. But he asked the Company to provide him with sufficient allowance to maintain a safe and secured life. The demand of Mir Jafar was accepted by the Company and on 20 October 1760 CE Mir Qasim was instated as the new Nawab of Bengal. Two days later Mir Jafar left for Calcutta to reside there under English protection. But by the year 1763 CE relation between Mir Qasim and Company deteriorated leading to the outbreak of the Battle of Buxar in 1764 CE. Regarding this we will study in the next section.

2.4 BATTLE OF BUXAR

The Battle of Buxar was fought on 22 October 1764 CE between the English East India Company forces led by Major Hector Munroe and the combined army of Mir Qasim, Nawab Shuja-Ud-Daulah of Oudh, and Mughal Emperor Shah AlamII. Buxar is located in the western part of Bihar, then a part of the Bengal province. The magnitude of the battle was bigger than of the skirmish at Plassey with greater significance as its outcome. We are going to discuss in the next two sub-sections the sequence of events which created the background for the Battle of Buxar and the significance that lies in the outcome of this battle.

2.4.1 Background of the Battle of Buxar

Like Mir Jafar, his son-in-law Mir Qasim too had made great promises to the English to sit on the throne of Nawab of Bengal with their assistance. Already mention has been made in the last sub-section about an understanding made between him and the Company's Bengal GovernorHenry Vansittart. As per this understanding, Mir Qasim concluded an agreement with the Company on 27 September 1760 CE by which he after becoming Nawab of Bengal agreed to provide the Company with the three districts of Burdwan, Midnapur and Chittagong; half of the share in

the trade of Sylhet; to pay five lakhs of rupees to the Company for financing their war efforts in the Carnatic; and agreeing to consider its other friends as friends and enemies as enemies. The Company too agreed to not allow the tenants of Nawab's territory to settle down in the lands under their authority.

The agreement was fulfilled once Mir Qasim became the Nawab. But thereafter, the new Nawab brought in certain administrative, financial, and military reforms to strengthen his position and hold over the Bengal administration. Mir Qasim was very assertive as a ruler and was not interested in becoming a mere puppet in the hands of the Company. He resented the strict control that the Company exercised in the affairs of administration as well as in the trading activities of the Indian merchants. The misuse of *Farman* by the Company officials was well realised by him.

To relieve himself from the direct interference and supervision of the Company, Mir Qasim shifted his capital from Murshidabad to Monghyr in Biharwhich was also a central location for administering the whole province. He then punished all the corrupted officials of the time of Mir Jafar and confiscated their properties which fetched a good income to the Bengal treasury. He increased the rates of land revenue and introduced some new taxes. Harsh measures were adopted for the regular collection of taxes. Strict measures were taken against the zamindars of Bengal and Bihar who tried to defy his authority. Other officers like Ramnarayan, Deputy *Subhedar* of Bihar and Azam Ahmad Khan, Raja of Birbhum were also effectively dealt with for disrespecting Nawab's authority.

With the capital being shifted to Monghyr, Mir Qasim established a factory there for production of firelocks and guns. Steps were also taken to reorganize the Bengal army in the model of European army. Several European adventurers like Reinhard, Marcat Gentil, Aratoon, etc were admitted into the Bengal army.Gurgin Khan, a person from Armenia was made the commander-in-chief of the army. Actually, Mir Qasim though had the Company support wanted

a strong army of his own to safeguard his position against Mughal Prince Ali Gauhar who was still in Bihar. The Nawab also had the desire to expand his territory northward in the direction of Nepal.

Gradually with the reforms being made, Mir Qasim tried to assert his authority as the Nawab by questioning the trading facilities freely enjoying by Company in Bengal, specially the misuse of *dastaks* as it was creating lots of problem for the Indian traders and incurring loss for the Bengal treasury. He tried to regulate the inland duties. An agreement was reached between the Nawab and Governor Vansittart at Monghyr regarding duties to be paid by the Company's and Indian merchants. But the members of the Calcutta Council refused to accept this agreement as most of them were personally involved in the inland trade of Bengal. They rather anticipated for a clash with the Nawab and his disposition as it will provide them with an opportunity to receive present from the new Nawab.

With the agreement being not materialized by the Company, Mir Qasim abolished all inland duties thereby placing the Indian merchants at the same footing with the English. This order proved beneficial for the merchants of Indian community, but the English became hostile. Infact Ellis, the Company Chief at Patna did attack Patna being offended at the Deputy *Subhedar* of Bihar. However, the attack was repulsed. Immediately the Nawab launched complaint against Ellis to the Company authority and asked them to recall him from Patna. But no heed was paid to this complaint of the Nawab.

Rather, with a heavy list of demands the Company authority sent a mission under Hay to Monghyr. But Nawab Mir Qasim refused to accept any demands and kept Hay in confinement with the message of releasing him only after one of his officials kept in captivity at Calcutta by the Company was released. At this attitude of the Nawab, the Calcutta Council decided to remove him from his post and place once again Mir Jafar as the Nawab. Major Adams marched against the Nawab towards Monghyr. The Nawab was too

advised by his commander-in-chief,Gurgin Khan to start the war as it would restore his dignity and power.

Mir Qasim too moved out of his capital and fought with the Company army at several places like Katwah, Girla, Suti and Udayanala between June to September 1763 CE. But he was defeated in all the encounters, and he moved towards Patna killing Gurgin Khan on the way considering him to be a traitor. On reaching Patna he killed Ellis and other Indian and English prisoners there. Thereafter, he sent a letter for assistance to Nawab Shuja-Ud-Daulah of Awadh and marched towards Awadhto secure that assistance so that he could secure his lost position in Bengal by defeating the Company forces. Amidst this war between the forces Mir Qasim and Major Adams, Mir Jafar was once again placed by the Company authority in July 1763 CE as the Nawab of Bengal for the second time.

Mir Qasim after reaching Awadh successfully persuaded Shuja-ud-Daulah who was also the *Wazir* or Prime Minister of the then Mughal Emperor Shah Alam II to help him and also to secure for him the assistance of the Mughal Emperor. An alliance was formed between them and their combined forces numbering in between 40,000 to 60,000 marched towards the province of Bengal and met the English forces numbering around 7,000 under Major Munroe at Buxar. A closely contested battle took place there with heavy casualties in both the sides but the English forces emerged victorious showing their superior military skills. Mir Qasim fled away, while Shuja-ud-Daulah and Shah Alam II entered into an understanding with the Company authority to secure their position.

2.4.2 Significance of the Battle of Buxar

The victory at the Battle of Buxar completed the East India Company's quest for political supremacy not only in Bengal but also in Northern India which had begun with the Battle of Plassey. The Nawab of Awadh was turned into a sub-ordinate ally and the titular

Mughal Emperor Shah AlamII became a pensioner. The whole territory of Northern India up to Allahabad was under the Company with the doors of Delhi open for them. With already achieving victory at the Carnatic Wars, the Marathas and Afghans were then the only formidable force in front of the Company to deal with.

The Company authority to deal with the victorious yet decisive situation once again sent Robert Clive to India as the Governor of Bengal towards the end of 1764 CE as he was recalled to England in February 1760 CE. It was because Clive excelled both in military technique and diplomacy. Clive made a masterstroke by entering into two separate agreements with Shuja-ud-Daulah and Shah AlamII. Awadh now an English friendly province was made a buffer between the Company territories and the Marathas. In Bengal Clive initiated the 'Dual System' of administration regarding which we will deal in the next section.

The two separate agreements were concluded by Clive with Shuja-ud-Daulah and Shah AlamII at Allahabad in August 1765 CE and are known as the 'Treaties of Allahabad'. The first treaty was with the Nawab of Awadh by which he agreed to pay rupees 50 lakhs to the Company as the war indemnity; to meet the cost of maintenance of the English troops to be stationed within his territory for the defense of his frontier; to the cessation of the Kara and Allahabad; retention of Chunar by the English; and to the retention of the zamindari of Banaras by the family of Balwant Singh under English protection but formally under Awadh's subordination. On its part the Company promised to protect the Nawab from all sorts of attacks and restored back all his territories exceptKara and Allahabad.

By the treaty with the Mughal EmperorShah AlamII, Kara and Allahabad were given to him by the Company; full assurance of future protection was given to him, and he was to reside thereafter at Allahabad; and the annual tribute to be paid to him by the Company was fixed at rupees 26 lakhs. In return Shah AlamII provided through

a *Farman* to the Company the *Diwani* or revenue collection rights over Bengal, Bihar, and Orissa. The Company's control over the whole Province of Bengal thus became extensive and legalized.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q 7: Who was Henry Vansittart?

.....

Q 8: Towhich place did Mir Qasim shift his capital?

.....

Q 9: Who was made the commander-in-chief of army by Mir Qasim?

.....

Q 10: When Robert Clive came back from England?

.....

2.5 DUAL GOVERNMENT

With the overwhelming success at Buxar, the EnglishEast India Company became the real master of Bengal. The Nawab of Bengal merely remained a puppet with both *Diwani* and *Nizamat*functions being undertaken by the Company on the behalf of Nawab. In February 1765 CE Mir Jafar died and his minor son Najm-Ud-Daulah was allowed to succeed as the Nawab of Bengal on the condition that he surrenders the *Nizamat*functions to the Company authority for which he will be provided with an annual fixed amount of 53 lakhs. This amount was later on reduced to rupees 32 lakhs.Thereafter by the second Treaty of Allahabad in August 1765 CE as already mentioned above the *Diwani* rights of Bengal Province were also secured from the Mughal Emperor Shah Alam II. In this way, the Company secured the dual rights of administration of Bengal but maintained it through Indian hands. This system of administration continued till 1772 CE and was known as the Dual Government. Now, we will discuss in the next two sub-sections how this system actually functioned and its consequences.

2.5.1 Nature of Governance

Under the 'Dual System of Administration' in Bengal the power was vested in the hands of the English East India Company, but the governance was conductedby the Indian officials. The Indian officials had the responsibility without power, while the Company officials had the power but no responsibility. Clive the mastermind behind formulating this system of administration left nothing for the Nawab of Bengal except the name and shadow of authority. This shadow of authority was very much essential as the common people of Bengal believed that the administration of Bengal was in the hands of their Nawab. Had Company assumed direct control there was a possibility of revolt by the Indian subjects.

Besides in 1765 CE the Company because of certain technicalities in spite of securing the*Diwani* and *Nizamat*functions was in a position to take on directly the administrative responsibilities in Bengal. The very formulation of this Company as mentioned earlier was for only trading activities. The acquisition of a province and its full political authority created lot of hue and cry in the English politics. There arouse questions regarding the relationship of these newly acquired territories in India by the Company with the English Monarchy. The Parliament considered on interfering in the affairs of the Company.

On its part the Company did not have adequate number of civil officials to effectively run the work of administration. The then existing civil officials were also ignorant of Indian practices, languages, and customs. As other European Companies like the French, Portuguese, Dutch, and Danes were also trading in Bengal, they might dislike the direct assumption of political authority by an English Company in Bengal.This in turn might affect the diplomatic relation of these European countries with England and they might constitute an anti-British front.These European Companies might also show reluctance to pay their taxes on the assets that they have

secured from the previous Nawab's of Bengal had the English East India Company directly run the administration.

With such considerations at stake, Robert Clive as the Company's Governor of Bengal appointed two Deputy *Diwans*, Mohammad Reza Khan for Bengal and Raja Shitab Roy for Bihar. Mohammad Reza Khan was also entrusted with the additional responsibility of *Nizamat*administration as the Deputy *Nazim*. This was because the then Nawab of BengalNajm-Ud-Daulah was minor. The two *Diwans* looked after the revenue administration and implementation of civil laws. The Deputy *Nazim* looked after the maintenance of law and order as well as the discharge of duties related to criminal justice. In case of any problem the supreme power for providing decisions in both *Diwani* and *Nizamat*administration rest with the Company authority. The actual Nawab had nothing to do with the administration under this Dual Government which made his existence a namesake designation.

2.5.2 Consequences of Dual Government

The Dual Government in Bengal did not prove to be a long lasting arrangement. Within five years of its functioning, Warren Hastings who succeeded Robert Clive as the Governor of Bengal abolished the system in 1772 CEimmediately after taking the charge. But by then a great damage was done to the most prosperous province of India. Instead of bringing any benefit, happiness, and prosperity amongst the people of Bengal, this system of double governance created a state of anarchy, exploitation, and corruption in the province.

Whole administrative system in the Bengal Province under the Dual Government totally broke down. From top to bottom every official was dishonest and corrupt. The Nawab and his officials in the real sense did not have the power to enforce law and order as well as to provide justice. While the Company and its servants having power renouncedall their responsibility towards administration. These

English officials even did not take accountability for the outcome of any administrative decision taken by the Bengal Government as if they did not have any involvement there. Under such a situation, in the Bengal countryside, the dacoits roamed freely, and the *Sanyasi* raiders created havoc making the government machinery a mockery.

Bengal once considered as a granary of India witnessed a devastating famine in 1770 CE which led to untold miseries and heavy toll of life. This famine was the outcome of the gradual declination that set in the agricultural sector of Bengal under the 'Dual Government'. Rather than improvement of agriculture sole attention was diverted towards revenue maximization with the land revenue collection rights being given to the highest bidder. These bidders were at times business minded people who had no attachment with agriculture. They appointed tax collectors who had to collect the taxes as far as they can leading to collection of excessive taxes from the peasants. As such the Bengal peasantry suffered from over assessment, harshness of collection and worst exactions. Unable to survive under such conditions, the peasants left their land and ran away to jungles or join the hands of the robbers to survive with their families.

Even during the time of famine, the land revenue collection continued with harshness and the Company continued its trade on the essential foodstuffs adding to the misery of the people affected by hunger. Infact over the trade and commerce in Bengal, the control of the Company was so overwhelming that the local traders were on the condition of being ruined like the peasants. Full monopoly of the Company traders was there with the power of using *dastaks*.Robert Clive himself stated that "the Company merchants traded not only as merchants, but as sovereigns taking the bread out of the mouth of several thousands of Indian merchants and reducing them to beggary". The Company officials too carried out their own personal trade making huge profits. This individual trade activity benefitted them personally but incurred huge losses for the

Company.

Negative impact of the Dual Government was also felt in the silk industry of Bengal. The silk fabrics of Bengal used to compete with the silk fabrics manufactured in England in the English market. As such the Company authorities adopted their political power to discourage the silk industry in Bengal. The Directors of the Company from England in 1769 CE ordered the Bengal authority to encourage the manufacture of raw silk and discourage the weaving of silk fabrics. The silk weavers were forced to work only in the silk factories of the Company. The silk rearers and winders were also not provided good price for their produced raw silk by the Company agents. With no hope of survival under English atrocities the persons associated with silk industry left their profession.

With agriculture, trade and commerce, and industry being badly affected by the policies of the Company under the system of Dual Government, a moral degradation set in the society of Bengal. The incentive to work was no longer there amongst the people of Bengal. These people realised the fact that more they work in their sector and earn profit more they have to pay taxes. Hence, the people who continued with their respective professions laboured only that much which was barely necessary to meet the basic needs of their family. This aversion towards work for betterment and progress was very much detrimental towards the progress of the Bengal province.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q. 11: Who was the Deputy *Diwan* for Bihar?

.....

Q. 12: In which year the system of Dual Government was abolished in Bengal?

.....

Q. 13: Who succeeded Robert Clive as the Governor of Bengal?

.....

2.6 PERMANENT SETTLEMENT

With the abolition of the Dual Government in Bengal, the Company directly took over the administration of Bengal into their own hands in 1772 CE. Warren Hastings dismissed the two Deputy *Diwans* and the entire revenue or *Diwani* management was reorganized. The treasury was shifted from Murshidabad to Calcutta. *Nizamat* functions were too undertaken by the Company for which judicial reforms were taken. In 1775 CE the office of the Nawab was also abolished. However, the Nawab still a minor was provided with an allowance of rupees 16 lakhs annually. Till 1785 CE Warren Hastings remained in his office which after the passing of the Regulating Act in 1773 CE came to be known as the Governor General of India with having authority also over the Bombay and Madras Presidency.

During his tenure of 13 years Warren Hastings did lot of reforms in the revenue, judicial and commercial sector of the Bengal Presidency to get it out of its worst position during the period of Dual Government. After Hastings left for England, John MacPherson temporarily remained in the post of the Governor General of India for a year. Thereafter Charles Cornwallis took over the charge in 1786 CE and remained in that position till 1793 CE for a period of 7 years. It was Cornwallis who formulated the system of 'Permanent Settlement' in the Bengal province in 1793 CE as a part of his revenue reforms. Regarding the features of this Permanent Settlement and its effects we will discuss in the last two sub-sections of this unit.

2.6.1 Features of the Permanent Settlement

India being primarily an agricultural country land revenue used to be always considered as the most important source of revenue collection. With the English East India Company becoming a political power from a commercial house, revenue collection became a very important task for them as monetary benefit was there and was also an important part of administration. Zamindari, Ryotwari and Mahalwari were the most popular form of land revenue

settlement during the English rule in India. The 'Permanent Settlement' falls under the category of the Zamindari system of revenue settlement.

Cornwallis himself belonged to the English landed aristocracy. His appointment was made as the Governor General of India at that crucial juncture of Company administration in India with the direction and desire that a satisfactory revenue settlement system was devised in the Bengal Province which would secure the interest of the Company as well as of the farmers. After assuming office, taking stock of Indian revenue management, and discussion with John Shore, President of the Board of Revenue and James Grant, the record keeper, Cornwallis decided to make the settlement of revenue with the zamindars as the servants of the Company lacked experience to make a direct settlement with the farmers and the system of farming estates to the highest bidder has already proved to be a disaster.

Further, Cornwallis believed that the designation zamindar itself suggests that the particular class was traditionally associated with land either as owner subjected to annual payment of land revenue to the state or as the rent collecting agent with land belonging to the state. In 1790 CE the zamindars were recognised as the owners of the land and settlement was made with them initially for ten years. The state demand was fixed at 89 % and 11 % was left for the zamindars as their share. The basis for this revenue collection for the entire ten years will be on the actual collections for the year 1790-91.

Cornwallisactually wanted to make this settlement permanent as he believed that the current period of settlement, i.e. ten years would be too limited for the zamindars to introduced in any far-reaching improvement in the land under their authority. But John Shore pressed for ten years settlement and Court of Directors asked Cornwallis to act accordingly. However, after repeated request by Cornwallis, the Court of Directors finally realised the view put forward

by him and in 1793 CE, the decennial settlement was made permanent.

Under this system of Permanent Settlement, the zamindars were declared as the legal owners of the land from which they had to collect revenue and pay the fixed amount on the due date before the sunset. This law was popularly known as the 'Sunset Law'.Failing to do so, land was to be confiscated from them and was to be auctioned off to a new bidder. The farmers had no rights over their land and were reduced to the status of a mere tenant. They were to cultivate the land and pay the revenue to their respective zamindars. However, the rate of revenue that a zamindar would collect from the farmers was never fixed and it varied from area to area resulting in enormous exactions from the farmers.

2.6.2 Effects of thePermanent Settlement

The system of Permanent Settlement in the beginning looked to be a beneficial one as far as the interest of the English East India Company was concerned. Hence, in 1795 CE this system was extended to Banaras and to Northern Circars in the Madras Province in 1802 CE. First and foremost,this land revenue settlement ensured to the Company exchequer a fixed revenue irrespective of climatic conditions and without spending any time, labour, and money for periodic assessment of revenue and its collection. The Company was sure of a fixed income from the land and could hence plan beforehand the expenditures to be made out of it.

For the English, this system of settlement created a class of loyal Indians in the form of zamindars who became defenders of the Company administration as their very position depended on the existence of the English rule. The zamindars under the Permanent Settlement werecreated out of the previous revenue farmers and agents like the *banias* and *gomasthas*who already maintained a good relationship with the Company for their personal benefits. A class of landed aristocracy was thus created who assumed a kind

of leadership in their respective areas favouring the English rule.

It was expected from this landed aristocracy that they would encourage improvement in the field of agriculture as was done by the English landlords ushering agricultural revolution in England in the first half of the 18th century. The Indian zamindars would bring more land under cultivation by reclaiming the wastelands; soil quality will be improved by use of manure, etc; new methods of cultivation like rotation of crops; etc. This will make the zamindars prosperous and the peasants will be contented as well as resourceful. But in practice nothing as such happened and improvement in agriculture still remained a distant dream.

Rather, there emerged a class of 'absentee landlords' who had no interest towards improvement of agriculture and were keen only towards revenue maximization. This situation arouses as initially many zamindars who entered into the Permanent Settlement failed to pay their due revenues on time as per the Sunset Law and to lose their rights over the land. These confiscated lands were then auctioned off and the new zamindars used to bought it only for financial benefits. These new landlords or zamindars lived in urban areas and appointed people on their behalf for looking after their zamindari. They did not connect themselves with the land and their absence led to the emergence of intermediaries often increasing the revenue amount and problem for the farmers.

The farmers were the worst sufferers under this Permanent Settlement system with losing their very basic rights over their land and becoming mere tenants. The problem does not end there. With no fixation of revenue to be collected from them by the zamindars or their agents, these farmers had to pay revenue at exorbitant rates. The exploitation for revenue collection at times led to litigations. The Company authority paid no heed to the atrocities on the peasants as they were interested only on getting their fixed revenue. Often under the pressure of revenue the peasants either had to leave agriculture or resort to money lending resulting to rural indebtedness.

Once entering a debt, it was impossible for a farmer to come out of it.

In the long run with a gradual rise in agricultural production and price of the products, the fixed rate of revenue under the Permanent Settlement proved to be a loss for the Company. For a fixed and stable income, they were deprived of their due share in the ever increasing revenue from the land. More areas gradually came under this system even outside the Bengal Province.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q. 14: Who was John Mac Pherson?

.....

Q. 15: Name the most popular form of land revenue settlement during the English rule in India.

.....

Q. 16: In which year the system of Permanent Settlement was introduced in Bengal?

.....



2.7 LET US SUM UP

After going through this unit, you have learnt about:

- how in the early part of the 17th century the English East India Company made its entry into Bengal which was then a Province under the Mughal Empire and tried to establish themselves there.
- the weakening of the Mughal authority and establishment of independent authority in Bengal under the Nawab in the early 18th century and the beginning of clash of interests between the Bengal authority and the Company mainly related to commercial activities.
- the misuse of *Farman* provided to the Company by the Mughal Emperor's for carrying on trading activities in Bengal and increase of armed position in Bengal by the Company authority which eventually

deteriorated their relationships with the Nawab's of Bengal and led to the outbreak of the Battle of Plassey (1757 CE).

- how the victory of the Company forces in the Battle of Plassey made the Nawab's of Bengal mere puppets in the hands of the Company authority. One puppet Nawab Mir Jafar was replaced by another puppet Nawab Mir Qasim.
- when Mir Qasim tried to assert his authority in Bengal and made alliance with the Nawab of Awadh and the then Mughal Emperor to fight against the Company to oust them from Bengal, he was again replaced by Mir Jafar.
- how the combined forces of the three Indian rulers were defeated by the Company in the Battle of Buxar (1764 CE) and the Company became not only the master of Bengal, but also of Northern India.
- in Bengal, the Company in spite of becoming the main authority did not rule directly. Rather they introduced a Dual System of administration in which the Company handed over the duty of governance to the Nawab and his officials.
- the introduction of the system of Permanent Settlement in Bengal for the continuous flow of a fixed amount of land revenue on a regular basis which initially proved beneficial for the Company but later on incurred losses.



2.8 FURTHER READINGS

1) Bandyopadhyay, Sekhar, (2006), From *Plassey to Partition: A History of Modern India*, Orient Longman, New Delhi.

2) Metcalf, Barbara D. &Metcalf, Thomas R., (2006), *A Concise History of Modern India*, Cambridge University Press, New York.

3) Rothermund, Dietmar, (2003), *An Economic History of India From Pre-Colonial Times to 1991*, Routledge Publications, London.

4) Grover, B.L. & Grover, S., (2004), *A New Look At Modern Indian History From 1707 to the Modern Times*, S. Chand & Company Ltd., New Delhi.

2.9 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans to Q No 1: The Mughal Governor of Bengal.

Ans to Q No 2: Calcutta.

Ans to Q No 3: Plassey was then a mango grove located a distance of 22 miles away from Murshidabad.

Ans to Q No 4: Miran, son of Mir Jafar.

Ans to Q No 5: The English resident atMurshidabad.

Ans to Q No 6: After the death of Miran, son of Nawab Mir Jafarand the heir apparent that Mir Qasim did lay his claim over the throne of Nawab of Bengal as he was the son-in-law of Mir Jafar.

Ans to Q No 7: Governor of Bengal of the English East India Company.

Ans to Q No 8: Mir Qasim shifted his capital to Monghyr in Bihar.

Ans to Q No 9: Gurgin Khan, a person from Armenia was made the commander-in-chief of the army by Mir Qasim.

Ans to Q No 10: Towards the end of 1764 CE.

Ans to Q No 11: Raja Shitab Roy.

Ans to Q No 12: In 1772 CE.

Ans to Q No 13: Warren Hastings.

Ans to Q No 14: Governor General of India from 1785-86 CE.

Ans to Q No 15: Zamindari, Ryotwari and Mahalwari.

Ans to Q No 16: In 1793 CE.

2.10 MODEL QUESTIONS

A) Very Short Questions

Q 1: Name the first Nawab of Bengal.

Q 2: Name the two trusted officials of Nawab Siraj-Ud-Daulah.

Q 3: Who commanded the forces of the English East India Company in

the Battle of Buxar?

Q 4: By what name Mughal Emperor Shah Alam II was earlier known as?

Q 5: Who succeeded Mir Jafar on his death as the Nawab of Bengal?

Q 6: Under the system of Permanent Settlement what percentage of revenue the zamindars were allowed to keep for themselves?

B) Short Questions

Write short Notes:

i) Alivardi Khan

ii) Robert Clive

iii) Mir Jafar

iv) Mir Qasim

v) Condition of Bengal during the Dual Administration

vi) Charles Cornwallis

C) Long Questions

Q 1: Write a note on the early British inroads into the Province of Bengal.

Q 2: Narrate the circumstances that led to the outbreak of the Battle of Plassey.

Q 3: How the outcome of the Battle of Plassey affected the fortunes of English East India Company in India?

Q 4: Examine the sequence of events that led to the Battle of Buxar and its significance in the context of Indian history.

Q 5: Discuss the functioning of the Dual Government in Bengal.

Q 6: Explain the system of Permanent Settlement and its effects in India.

*** ***** ***

UNIT 3 : EXPANSION AND CONSOLIDATION OF COLONIAL RULE

UNIT STRUCTURE

31. Learning Objectives

3.2 Introduction

3.3 Expansionist Policy

- Anglo-Mysore Wars
- Anglo-Maratha Wars
- Anglo-Sikh Relations
- Carnatic Wars
- Anglo-Nepal War (1814-1818)

3.4 Consolidation of Power-

- Hastings and Indian States
- The Pindaris
- New Administrative Order – Economic Policies

3.5 Let Us Sum Up

3.6 Further Readings

3.7 Answers to Check Your Progress

3.8 Model Questions

3.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will able to-

- explain the transformation of a mercantile Company to a political power,
- discuss the expansionist policies of the East India Company,
- analyse the developments leading to the rise of the Company through the various Wars and diplomacies,
- analyse the policies laid by the Company for theconsolidation of their power and the establishment of a new Adminitrative structure.

3.2 INTRODUCTION

Dear Learners, in the previous Unit, we discussed the establishment of English supremacy in Bengal post the Battle of Plassey and Buxar. In this Unit, we will briefly make attempts at understanding the gradual rise of the English East India Company and their policy for both expansion as well as consolidation. While their expansionist policies were solely driven by the fact of eliminating their European counterparts and taking control over the native territories, their consolidation policies attempt at restructuring the administrative edifice of the country at that point of time.

3.3 EXPANSIONIST POLICIES

- **Anglo-Mysore Wars**

Originally, Mysore was a small Hindu kingdom situated in southern India and had been under the rule of the Wodeyar family since the 14th century. Initially, it operated as a vassal state of the Vijayanagar Empire. However, following the decline of the Vijayanagar Empire, Mysore gained independence. It was under the leadership of Haider Ali and his son Tipu Sultan that Mysore reached its zenith of military power. The Anglo-Mysore Wars is a testament to the indomitable spirit of these two leaders against the English power.

The first Anglo-Mysore War took place between 1767-1769. The British formed an alliance with the Nizam, which angered Hyder Ali, who was on bad terms with the Nizam. The Marathas were also roped in against Hyder Ali. The British forces, led by Colonel Smith, joined the Nizam in invading Mysore in August 1767. Despite facing a dire situation, Hyder Ali managed to win over the Marathas by offering them a significant sum of money and also convinced the Nizam to switch sides. This left the British isolated. Although the British fought bravely, they faced formidable opposition from Hyder Ali and his son, Tipu Sultan. Tipu Sultan even managed to advance near Madras and plunder its outskirts, prompting the Madras authorities to seek peace. Hyder Ali essentially dictated the terms of the peace treaty (Treaty of Madras), which was signed on April 4, 1769,

showcasing his strategic and diplomatic prowess. The treaty provided for mutual aid in case either party was attacked by a third power, which favored Hyder Ali due to the threat posed by the Marathas.

The Second Anglo-Mysore War began in 1780, when Hyder Ali advanced into the plains of the Carnatic,defeating an English detachment under Colonel Baillie and seized Arcot. Despite initial victories, the English gradually gained ground, capturing key locations such as Nagapatam and Trincomali. Hyder Ali suffered defeats at the battles of Pollilur and Sholingarh. However, despite some successes against English forces, including the defeat of Colonel Braithwaite's troops, Hyder Ali's death in 1782 shifted the leadership to his son, Tipu Sultan, who continued the war effort but faced pressure from Colonel Fullarton's attack on Seringapatam, leading him to the sign the Treaty of Mangalore in 1784. This treaty concluded the war, based on the exchange of captured territories and prisoners of war.

The third Anglo-Mysore was the result of the distrust between Tipu Sultan and the English. While Tipu Sultan sought alliance from the French, the English improved their relation with the Nizam and the Marathas. It was the attack on Travancore that led to the declaration of the War. The Treaty of Seringapatam (1792) saw the end of the third Anglo-Mysore War. However, Tipu Sultan lost much of his territories and also had to pay a huge war indemnity.

The humiliation suffered in 1792 was not forgotten by Tipu Sultan. The two powers soon met in the battle field when Tipu Sultan rejected to accept the Subsidiary Alliance of Lord Wellesley. Armies were sent against Tipu Sultan, who fought till his last breath. His death brought an end to the long Anglo-Mysore Wars and established the supremacy of the English. The French influence suffered a major setback too.

- **Anglo-Maratha Wars**

The Marathas rose to prominence as successors to the Mughal Empire in both Northern and Southern India, holding sway for around a century. Shivaji, united the Maratha factions into a formidable force, challenging the authority of the mighty Mughal Emperor and the English. Despite setbacks following Shivaji's death, subsequent leaders like Baji

Rao-I and his successors expanded Maratha influence. However, the decisive defeat of the Marathas in the Third Battle of Panipat in 1761 weakened their power, particularly under the leadership of Balaji Baji Rao. As internal conflicts plagued the Maratha Empire in the late 18thcentury, the British capitalized on the opportunity to intervene in Maratha affairs. Viewing the Marathas as a rival to their own ambitions for dominance in India, the British engaged in several wars against the Marathas, who resisted British suzerainty, leading to prolonged conflicts between the two powers.

The First Anglo-Maratha War was the direct result of fight for the throne. Raghunath Rao had usurped the 'gaddi' which did not sit well with the other Maratha chiefs led by Nana Farnavis. This led to Raghoba or Raghunath Rao from seeking help from the English. The English forces moved with their forces towards Poona but they were unable to meet the strength of the Maratha forces. The treaty of Salbai brought the War to an end in 1782. The treaty realized the claim of Madhav Rao II to the throne. Raghoba was to receive pension and the English gained the island of Salisette.

The root cause of the Second Anglo-Maratha War lay in the Treaty of Bassein (1802) where the Peshwa accepted the paramountcy of the English. The terms of the treaty were humiliating to the Maratha pride. The other Maratha chiefs were greatly annoyed by the treaty. Scindhia and Bhonsale combined their strength. Holkar and Scindhia also patched up their difference in their struggle against the English. The War led to disastrous results as the Maratha power was weakened. Bhonsle and Scindhia, the two great Maratha chiefs were compelled to accept the supremacy of the English by signing the Treaty of Devgaon (1803) and the Treaty of Surji Arjungaon (1803). The English expanded their territories further.

The third Anglo-Mysore War was waged against Jaswant Rao Holkar who refused to accept the Subsidiary Alliance of the English. The English could not bring down Holkar and concessions were made to him and also to Scindhi and Bhonsle.



LET US KNOW

The Subsidiary Alliance-whereby the native rulers who sought English protection must agree to disband a proportion of their forces and leave the defence of their states to the Company and, at the same time, pay for the troops thus provided by cash subsidies or assignments of territory.

It was an indirect form of Company control over the native states and regional powers. This policy led to the deeper involvement of the British in the internal affairs of the Indian princely states.

The fourth and final Anglo-Maratha War (1817-1818) saw the abolishment of the office of the Peshwa symbolizing the fall of the Marathas. In this way the English destroyed the independence of Maratha and established British supremacy over their vast territories. The wars marked the complete collapse of the Maratha power, thereby criminating the most powerful rival of the English.

- **Anglo-Sikh Relation**

The rise of Sikh power in Punjab began amidst the decline of Mughal authority. Following invasions by Nadir Shah and Ahmad Shah Abdali, Punjab descended into chaos. Abdali claimed dominion over Punjab, but his successors failed to maintain control, leaving the region lawless. In this vacuum, Sikh misls, including the influential Sukarchakyia misl, emerged under chieftains like Ranjit Singh. Born in 1780, Singh assumed leadership after the death of his father, Mahan Singh. He consolidated power, gaining prominence through alliances and strategic maneuvers. Singh's pivotal moment came in 1798 when he offered crucial support to Zaman Shah Abdali, who granted him authority over Lahore. Singh seized the opportunity, establishing his kingdom in central Punjab. He further solidified his rule by capturing Amritsar and subjugating other Sikh misls. His ambition expanded to unifying all Sikh territories, leading him into conflict with the British. Despite organizing expeditions to assert control over Malwa, Singh ultimately found himself in confrontation with the British, marking a crucial turning point in Punjab's history.

During Ranjit Singh's time, Anglo-Sikh relations evolved through significant events. In 1800, the British initiated contact with Singh due to fears of an Afghan invasion by Zaman Shah and Singh's ambitions in the Malwa territories. This led to a temporary alliance to deter the Afghan threat. In 1806, Singh signed the Treaty of Lahore with General Lake, pledging to expel Jaswant Rao Holkar from Amritsar in exchange for British recognition of his dominions' territorial integrity. However, Singh's subsequent expeditions into Malwa caused concern among the Cis-Sutlej Sikh states, prompting British intervention. Lord Minto dispatched Charles Metcalfe to negotiate a treaty, but talks failed due to Singh's demand for British neutrality in Sikh-Afghan conflicts and recognition of his sovereignty over Punjab, including Malwa. As Napoleonic threats waned, British forces moved to protect the Cis-Sutlej states, leading to the Treaty of Amritsar in 1809, wherein Singh agreed to British protection of these states in exchange for peace. This marked a shift in Anglo-Sikh relations towards British assertion of power over Punjab's border regions.

The Treaty of Amritsar was important from the point of view of Anglo-Sikh relations. It primarily checked the cherished ambitions of Ranjit Singh. As the river Sutlej became the natural boundary between the British and the ruler of Lahore, which brought the British close to the Lahore Kingdom. Besides, the Treaty gave the Company a degree of control over Ranjit Singh's relations with the neighbouring states of Sindh, Bahawalpur and Afghanistan.

Despite minor disagreements, relations between Ranjit Singh and the British remained generally amicable. In October 1831, William Bentinck's meeting with Ranjit Singh at Rupar reaffirmed mutual friendship, although Bentinck rejected Singh's proposals for Sind's partition. Singh expressed concern over the British's commercial treaty with the Amir of Hyderabad, suspecting ulterior motives. However, he lacked the ability to act on his suspicions. With fears of Russian advances into Afghanistan, the British sought Singh's cooperation in installing Shah Shuja as Kabul's ruler instead of Dost Mohammad. Threats from the British agent Macnaghten forced Singh to sign the Tripartite Treaty in June 1838, despite his refusal to grant

passage to British troops through his dominions. This highlights the complex interplay of diplomacy and strategic interests between Singh's Sikh Empire and British colonial ambitions, with Singh balancing his concerns against the rising British power in the region.

- **Carnatic Wars**

The Carnatic Wars were a series of military conflicts fought between the British East India Company and the French East India Company, primarily in the Carnatic region of southern India, during the 18th century. These wars had a significant impact on the Anglo-French relations in India.

The Carnatic Wars intensified the rivalry between the British and the French for dominance in India. Both powers sought to expand their territorial control and increase their influence over local rulers. The Carnatic Wars intensified the rivalry between the British and the French for dominance in India. Both powers sought to expand their territorial control and increase their influence over local rulers.Both the British and the French formed alliances with Indian rulers to bolster their military strength. These alliances often shifted, with Indian princes siding with either the British or the French based on their own interests.Control over the Carnatic region was strategically important due to its economic wealth and geopolitical location. The region was a key center of trade and agriculture, making it desirable for both the British and the French.The Carnatic Wars were part of the broader conflict between Britain and France known as the Seven Years' War (1756-1763). The outcome of the Carnatic Wars influenced the balance of power between these European rivals not only in India but also globally.The Carnatic Wars left a lasting impact on Anglo-French relations in India, contributing to a long history of competition and conflict between the two colonial powers. This rivalry continued well into the 19th century until the British ultimately emerged as the dominant colonial power in India after the defeat of the French in the Napoleonic Wars.

- **Anglo-Nepal War (1814-1818)**

During his tenure as Governor-General of India, Warren Hastings faced a significant challenge in the form of the Gurkha War with Nepal. The Gurkhas, hailing from the western Himalayas, had expanded their control

over Nepal since 1768 and began encroaching further into neighboring territories. Their ambitions collided with Britishinterests, particularly as they sought to expand towards the Bengal and Oudh frontiers. The conflict escalated in May 1814 when Nepalese troops attacked Butwal and Sheoraj, resulting in casualties among British officers. This provoked Hastings, who saw it as a challenge to British authority. He launched a coordinated attack along the entire frontier from the Sutlej to the Kosi, deploying four army groups under different Generals. Despite initial successes, including the capture of Dehar and Kalunga, the British faced setbacks, notably the death of General Gillespie during the assault on Kalunga. Other columns suffered heavy losses in subsequent engagements at Jaitak. However, General Ochterlony's cautious maneuvers gradually gained ground, culminating in the defeat of the Nepalese at Makwanpur in February 1816. Following this decisive victory, negotiations led to the Treaty of Sagauli in March 1816. The treaty saw the Gurkhas ceding territories including Garhwal and Kumaon to the British, accepting a British resident in Kathmandu, and withdrawing from Sikkim. This marked the extension of British territory to the north-west frontier, facilitating the establishment of hill stations like Simla and opening communication routes to Central Asia. The treaty also established friendly relations between Nepal and the British, albeit with occasional tensions. Gurkhas, renowned for their military prowess, later served as mercenaries for the British army, solidifying the ties between the two powers. Additionally, a separate treaty with the Raja of Sikkim further secured the eastern frontier of Nepal, contributing to regional stability.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q 1: Whose claim to the throne was recognized by the Treaty of Salbai?

.....

Q 2: Which two powers faced each other in the Carnatic Wars?

.....

Q 3: Which factor determined the Anglo-Sikh relations?

.....

1.4 CONSOLIDATION OF POWER

- **Hastings and Indian States**

Warren Hastings (1772-1785) felt the clear need to re-define relations with the Nawab of Oudh for the fear that the latter might join the Marathas. Hastings personally proceeded to Banaras and concluded the Treaty of Banaras (1773) with the Nawab. By this treaty, Allahabad was handed over to the Nawab for Rs. 50 lakhs. Further, a secret clause provided that in case the Nawab asked for the help of the Company's troops against the Rohillas he would pay a further sum of Rs. 40 lakhs to the Company. During his term, he also had to deal with Haider Ali and Tipu Sultan. The treaty of Mangalore brough the Second Anglo-Mysore War to an end and Warren Hastings was able to save the English prestige.

After arriving at Calcutta on October 13th, 1813 the Marquess of Hastings took strong measures against the Indian states and his political outlook was different than his predecessors. The policy of non-intervention followed by his predecessors were detrimental to the interest of the Company. As a soldier and statesman he adopted diplomatic and military attainments against the Indian states. He proposed to end the anomalous and unsatisfactory state of affairs in India and decided to maintain peace in the country. He decided to resort strong measures in those states for the protection of British subjects and allies from the inroads of freebooters,whose created hostilities from his predecessors. He did not believe in an expensive system of defence against these states, but desired for their complete suppression. Hastings expected that such states as which had not become predatory,peace will be maintained by forming alliances with them, which will remove the hostility. Hastings these policies were showed against the Pindari raids, and Marathas. He took strong action against the Pindaris during his tenure and freed the country from lawlessness and robbery. From 1816 to 1818, the Company hunted down the Pindaris and with the death of their leaders, peace was restored. Hastings believed that if Company was to become the arbiter of the destiny of India, the independent Maratha rulers like the Sindhia, the Bhonsle and Holkar must be destroyed. During his

time, the final Anglo-Maratha was fought and he was successful in bringing down the mighty Marathas. Many states in Central India and Rajputana were brought under the British influence.

- **New Administrative Order and New Economic Policies**

Post Clive, the Company were determined to establish their supremacy all over India, and hence their expansionist policies throw much light on their ambition. However, at the same time, they were equally cautious as to not cause unwanted attention from the native powers lest they face a difficult situation. The English also at the same time took steps to consolidate their power by developing an efficient administrative structure.

Warren Hastings appointment opens a new chapter in the history of the East India Company. He had to face the administrative challenges of newly acquired Bengal province. He tried to rid the Company of corrupt practices. The Dual System was brought to an end. English Collectors were appointed in every district to be helped by native officers. A Board of Trade was established to buy quality goods. The practice of selling 'dastaks' were prohibited. In 1773, the British Parliament passed the Regulating Act which made changes in the constitution of the Company and also in the government of its territories. The Company had remained not only a trading body but it had also acquired large possessions in India and had become a political power. So the British government found it necessary to control its administration.Similarly, the Pitts India Act was passed in 1784.We will discuss more in the next Unit.

Under Cornwallis we see changes leading toreorganizing of the administrative system in India. In 1787 the Collectors in-charge of the districts were made judges of Diwani Adalats, they were given more magisterial powers and empowered to try criminal cases with certain limits. Regarding criminal administration also further changes were made during 1790-92. The District Faujdari Adalats presided over by Indian judges were replaced by four circuit courts. These circuit courts were presided over by European covenanted servants who decided cases with the help of Qazis and Muftis. Further, the Sadr Nizamat Adalat was replaced by a similar court set up at Calcutta comprising the Governor-General and members of the Supreme

Council assisted by the Chief Qazi and two Muftis

His judicial reforms took the final shape by 1793 and were embodied in the famous Cornwallis Code. The new reforms were based on the principle of separation of powers. Cornwallis sought to separate the revenue administration from the administration of justice. The Collector was the head of revenue department in a district and also enjoyed extensive judicial and magisterial powers. The Cornwallis Code divested the Collector of all judicial and magisterial powers and left him with the duty of administration of revenue. The distinction between revenue and civil cases was abolished and the new Diwani Courts were competent to try all civil cases. At the lowest level of the ladder were the Munsiffs' Courts presided over by Indian officers and competent to decide cases involving disputes up to 50 rupees. Next came the courts of Registrars presided over by European officers which tried cases UP to 200 rupees. Appeals from both these courts lay to the District of City Courts. District Judges presided over District Courts and decided civil suits with the assistance of Indians well-versed in law. Above the District Courts were the four Provincial Courts of Appeal at Calcutta, Murshidabad, Dacca and Patna. These courts were also to supervise the working of District Courts and on the basis of their report the Sadr Diwani Adalat could suspend the District Judges. In certain cases it had original jurisdiction also. These courts presided over by English Judges heard appeals in suits involving disputes up to 1,000 rupees. Next in order of gradation came the Sadr Diwani Adalat at Calcutta presided over by the Governor-General and his Council which heard appeals from Provincial Courts in cases involving over 1,000 rupees. Appeals lay to the King-in-Council in disputes involving more than £ 5,000. Regulations also laid down the procedure to be followed in these courts and also the qualifications of Indian officers attached to these courts. The Mohammedan law was administered in respect to Muslims and Hindu law in respect to Hindus. Even the European subjects in the districts were made amenable to the jurisdiction of the local civil courts. Europeans intending to reside in the districts away from Calcutta were not given licenses until they agreed to submit themselves to the jurisdiction of the district civil courts. Further,

Government servants were made answerable before the civil courts forthe acts done by them in their official capacity. Thus, Cornwallis proclaimed the principle of Sovereignty of Law in India. In the field of criminal administration, the District judge was given magisterial powers to order the arrest of criminals and disturbers of peace. The provincial circuit courts of appeal which heard appeals in civil cases also worked as criminal circuit courts. The judges of these circuit courts toured their divisions twice a year and decided criminal cases with the assistance of Indian Qazis and Muftis. These courts could pass sentences of death or life imprisonment subject to the confirmation of the Sadr Nizamat Adalat which was the highest court of appeal in criminal cases. The Governor-General enjoyed the general power of pardon or commutation of punishment.If Warren Hastings had asserted the right of the Company's government to interfere with the administration of law, Cornwallis maintained that the Company had the right to reform the criminal law itself. The Mohammedans take their criminal law to be divinely ordained. During the time of Cornwallis certain criminal law were regularised by a Parliamentary Act of 1797. In December 1790 a rule was framed for the guidance of Mohammedan law officers that in all trials of murder they were to be guided by the intention of the murderer either evident or fairly inferable. Again, the usual punishment of amputation of limbs of body was replaced by temporary hard labour or fine and imprisonment according to circumstances of the case. Regulation IX of 1793 amended the law of evidence by providing that'the religious persuasions of witnesses shall not be considered as a bar to the conviction or condemnation of a prisoner'. Thus, non-Muslims could give testimony against Muslims in criminal cases-not permitted so far according to the Muslim law of evidence.

To supplement and implement the judicial reforms, important changes were introduced in the police administration. The Regulation of 1791 defined the powers of the Police Superintendent. To induce the police officials to act honestly and with promptitude Cornwallis raised the salaries of all police officers and offered good rewards for the discovery and arrests of burglars and murderers.

- **Economic or Revenue Reforms**

The system of land revenue administration initiated by the Company in the initial stage was nothingthan experimental. In 1772 Warren Hastings made a five-year settlement of land revenue by giving it to the highest bidder. In 1773 changes were made in the machinery of collection and named the system as quinquennial settlement. The Collectors who had been found to be corrupt and indulged in private trade were replaced by Indian Diwans in the districts. Six provincial Councils were set up to supervise the work of Indian Diwans. The overall charge rested with the Committee of Revenue at Calcutta. Hastings desired to ultimately centralise all functions into the hands of the committee at Calcutta. However, this settlement was a failure and the peasants were the worst sufferers. Most for the revenue-farmers were mere speculators, had no permanent interest in the land and therefore tried to extort the maximum sum from the cultivators by way of land revenue. The officers of the East India Company themselves participated in the bidding. Further, the land had been over-assessed and the state's demand fixed very high. Added to it was the harshness in the method of revenue collection.The result was that many revenue contractors fell in heavy arrears, many had to be arrested for default and the farmers deserted the land. After the expiry of the quinquennial settlement in 1776, Warren Hastings reverted to the system of annual settlement on the basis of open auction to the highest bidder. Preference was given to the zamindars in making the settlement.

Some changes were made in the machinery of collection in 1781. The Provincial Councils were abolished. The Collectors were re-appointed in the districts but were to have no power in the settlement of revenue. The entire work of supervision was concentrated in the hands of the Committee of Revenue at Calcutta.

It was Cornwallis who reorganised the Revenue Department and introduced the Permanent Settlement in Bengal. In 1787 the province of Bengal was divided into fiscal areas and each placed under aCollector. The number of Collectorships was reduced from 36 to 23. The old Committee of Revenue was renamed as the Board of Revenue and charged with the duty

of superintending the work of the Collectors. Till the year 1790 the old system of annual settlements was continued. In 1790 Cornwallis with the approval of the Court of Directors decided to recognise the zamindars as the owners of land subject to the annual payment of land revenue to the state. A ten-year settlement was made with the zamindars in 1790. In 1973 the decennial settlement was declared permanent and the zamindars and their legitimate successors were allowed to hold their estates at that very assessed rate for ever. The state demand was fixed

Financially, the Permanent Settlement secured a fixed and stable income for the state. Further, it saved the Government the expenses that had to be spent in making periodical assessments and settlements. Economically, it was claimed that the Permanent Settlements would encourage agricultural enterprise and prosperity, waste land would be reclaimed and the soil under cultivation would be improved; the zamindars would introduce new methods of cultivation like better rotation of crops, use of manure etc. Thus, the Settlement would create conditions for the development of the fullest power of the soil. This in turn would create a contented and resourceful peasantry. Politically, Cornwallis expected that the Permanent Settlement should create a class of loyal zamindars who would be prepared to defend the Company at all costs because their rights were guaranteed by the Company.

The Permanent Settlement of 1793 in Bengal, while providing fixed incomes, had significant flaws. It locked revenue rates, hindering state's share from new lands and stalling economic progress. Landlords focused on extracting rents rather than land improvement, leaving cultivators in fear of eviction and disincentivizing land enhancement. Absentee landlords drained rural wealth into cities, creating numerous intermediaries, worsening tenant exploitation. Politically, it favored the British administration and landlords, alienating the masses. Socially, it oppressed peasants, surrendering their rights to landlords who exploited them. Despite tenancy legislation attempts, peasants remained vulnerable, often ejected due to population pressure, rendering them akin to serfs.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q 4: Which treaty brough the Second Anglo-Mysore War to an end?

.....

Q 5: Who introduced the Permanent Settlement in Bengal?

.....

Q 6: When was the Pitts India Act passed?

.....



3.5 LET US SUM UP

After going through this Unit, you will be able to –

- Explain the policies that enabled the English to expand their territories while engaging in numerous Wars
- Explain the role of the Company in consolidating their power through structural reforms in the administration.
- Discuss the changes in the economic front, through revenue settlement policies.



3.6 FURTHER READINGS

1) P. Lawson. (1993). *The East India Company: A History*. London: Longmans

2) R. Barnett (2002). *Rethinking Early Modern India*. Manohar, New Delhi

3) Majumdar, R.C. Ray Choudhury, H.C. Dutta, K, (1996) *An Advanced History of India, New Delhi*, Macmillan India Ltd

4) Grover, B.L. Mehta, Alaka (2011) *A New look at Modern Indian History,* NewDelhi, C. Chand & Company Ltd.

3.7 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans to Q No 1: Madhav Rao II

Ans to Q No 2: France and England

Ans to Q No 3: Fear of an Afghan invasion

Ans to Q No 4: The treaty of Mangalore

Ans to Q No 5: Lord Cornwallis

Ans to Q No 6: 1784

3.8 MODEL QUESTIONS

A) Very Short Questions (Answer each question within 50 words)

Q 1: Who were the Pindaris?

Q 2: When was the Treaty of Sagauli signed?

Q 3: Who abolished the Dual System?

B) Short Questions (Answer each question within 100 words)

Q 1: State the role of the Company in the affairs of Punjab.

Q 2: Write a short note on – Permanent Settlement.

Q 3: Write a short note on – Subsidiary Alliance.

C) Long Questions (Answer each question in about 300-500 words)

Q 1: Explain the expansionist policy of the English in the case of Mysore and its consequences.

Q 2: Discuss the results of the Anglo-Maratha Wars.

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UNIT 4 : PARLIAMENTARY INTERVENTIONS DURING COMPANY RULE

UNIT STRUCTURE

4.1 Learning Objectives

4.2 Introduction

4.3 Regulating Acts

- The Regulating Act of 1772
- Pitts India Act 1784

4.4 Charter Acts

- Charter Act of 1793
- Charter Act of 1813
- Charter Act of 1833
- Charter Act of 1853

4.5 Let Us Sum Up

4.6 Further Readings

4.7 Answers To Check Your Progress

4.8 Model Questions

4.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will able to-

- explain the Regulating Acts passed in 1773 and the Pitt's India Act of 1784,
- discuss the implications of these Acts on the administration of the land,
- discuss the Charter Acts that were renewed every 20 years and the provisions of the Acts leading to significant changes in the country.

4.2 INTRODUCTION

Dear Learner, in the previous Unit, we discussed the expansionist policies of the Company followed by the consolidation of their power to bring stability and order in the land.

In this Unit, we shall discuss the Charters Acts and the Regulating Acts passed to give shape to the Company administration in India. These Acts played a foundational role in the history of the constitutional development in India.

4.3 REGULATING ACTS

The Regulating Acts were passed by the British Parliament over due course of time at regular intervals with the objective to bring stability in the administrative business of the Company.

- **The Regulating Act of 1773**

In 1773, the British Parliament passed the Regulating Act which made changes in the in the governance of its territories. The Company had amassed large territorial possessions in India and had become a political power. So, the British government found it necessary to control its administration.

The acquisition of Diwani of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa by the Company led to corruption. The servants of the Company amassed huge wealth by private trade and corrupt practices. The Company paid huge amount of money to the British government but in 1765 the financial position of the Company had deteriorated to such an extent that the Company had to ask for loan. This gave the British Parliament an opportunity to step in and regulate

the affairs of Company in India by passing the Regulating Act in 1773.

The main provisions of the Regulating Act were as under-

- The Governor of Bengal was henceforth to be known as the Governor General of Bengal and Warren Hastings was the first Governor General of Bengal.
- The Act provided for the formation of a council of four members to
- assist the Governor General.
- In case of differences of opinion in the council, the decision of majority of the present members was to prevail.
- The presidencies of Bombay and Madras were subordinate to the

Governor General.

- The numbers of members of Court of Directors was raised to 24 and were to be elected for four years.
- The Board of Directors was required to lay before the Secretary of State everything dealing with civil and military administration of the Company.
- The Act sought to establish a Supreme Court at Calcutta.
- The Company's servants were prohibited from receiving bribes, presents etc. from the native princes and people.

The Regulating Act despite all its shortcomings was a measure of great constitutional significances. It was the first in the series of Acts of the British Parliament that altered the structure of the British government in India. The Act recognised the fact that the East India Company was not merely a trading body. In fact, it had emerged as a territorial power and had assumed the responsibility for the administration of a vast country. It aimed at improving the tone of the Company's administration through the control of British Parliament. The Governor General and the Council were required to be obedient to the Court of Directors.

- **Pitts India Act 1784**

The Regulating Act proved to be failure as it had many shortcomings. The Governor General was powerless in dealing with his own Council. He was not given the power of veto and could be over-ruled by a majority of his Council. The Governor General had no effective control over the internal policies of the Governors of Bombay and Madras. Again after the loss of British colonies in America in 1783, the British Government feared that it might lose the Indian possessions. So the British government felt the necessity of putting some more checks on the powers of the East India Company. The main provisions of the Pitt's India Act 1784 were as follows-

- The Act established a Board of Control comprising six members out of which two were to be British Cabinet minister.
- The Board of Control was to direct, superintend and control all civil and military affairs of the Company.
- The Act greatly increased the powers of the Governor General. He

had now complete control over all the military and civil administration of the Company in India.

- The presidencies of Madras and Bombay were also subordinated to the control of the Governor General and his Council.
- The Directors of the Company were empowered to appoint all officers of the Company, but the British Crown had the right to recall or remove of them.

The Pitt's India Act was a great landmark in the constitutional history of India.

- The Act practically placed the Company and its officers under the control of the British Parliament.
- The Act considerably strengthened the position of the Governor General in his relations with the presidencies. It specifically laid down that disobedience on the part of the Presidencies would result in their suspension.
- The Act introduced a new principle in the Company's relations with the native princes. The Company was not to interfere in the affairs of the native states for the extension of its dominions in India.
- The Act established the general framework in which the Government of India was carried on till 1857.

Despite these merits of the Act, there were some defects in it. The Act established two centres of power namely, the Board of Control and the Board of Directors. There were possibilities of conflicts between these two authorities.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q 1: Name the first Governor General of Bengal.

.....

Q 2: The members of Court of Directors were to be appointed for how many years?

.....

Q 3: The presidencies of Madras and Bombay were subordinate to whose control?

.....

4.4 CHARTER ACTS

Charters granting legal authority to trading companies were crucial in establishing common law in colonies from the 17th to mid-19th centuries. These documents not only outlined common law principles deemed applicable abroad but also reflected the unique relationship between the Crown and entities like the East India Company. This relationship showcased the intertwined interests of commerce and governance. The Crown granted the Company legal powers to operate overseas, incorporating aspects of common law into their charters. However, it also highlighted the complex dynamics between imperial authority, commercial interests, and legal governance in the colonial context. The monopoly of trade had been granted to the East India Company under the Regulating Act, 1773 for twenty years and it had to be renewed in 1793. Hence the trading right of the Company was renewed for further 20 years in 1793.

- **Charter Act of 1793**

By this Act, the trading monopoly of the Company was extended for another period of twenty years. The British Charter Act of 1793 marked a significant milestone in the evolution of British governance in India, laying the foundation for subsequent reforms and interventions. This legislation allowed the British East India Company to maintain its control over British territories in India for the next two decades, ensuring the continuity of its trade operations. However, it also introduced several crucial changes aimed at improving the Company's governance and addressing concerns about its aggressive policies.

One of the key provisions of the 1793 Act was the assertion that all political and administrative functions of the Company would henceforth be conducted on behalf of the British government. This represented a significant shift towards greater oversight and control by the British authorities over the Company's operations in India.

Moreover, the Act granted the Governor-General of Bengal exemplary powers, enabling them to override the decisions of the Council in certain situations. Additionally, the Governor-General was granted authority

over the governors of Madras and Bombay, consolidating power within the Bengal Presidency.

Furthermore, the composition of the Board of Control, which oversaw the Company's activities, was altered to include a President and two junior members, who were required to be members of the Privy Council. This change aimed to enhance the accountability and effectiveness of the Board in regulating the Company's affairs.

Financial reforms were also introduced, with dividends of the Company being permitted to be raised by 10%, and the salaries of employees and the Board of Control being charged to the Company. Additionally, after expenses, the Company was obligated to pay the British government Rs. 5 lakhs annually from Indian revenue, further integrating Company finances with state finances.

The 1793 Charter Act introduced a limited concession regarding private trade between Britain and India. This concession permitted private traders in Britain to utilize a specified amount of the British East India Company's (EIC) shipping capacity, amounting to 3,000 tons, for engaging in private trade with India. However, this private trade was subject to strict control by the East India Company, both in terms of shipping arrangements and the sale of goods.

The Act also initiated a separation of revenue administration functions from judicial functions, leading to the disappearance of revenue courts. This restructuring aimed to streamline governance and improve the efficiency of the legal system in India.

In terms of appointments, the Charter Act of 1793 provided that all vacancies occurring in any of the civil offices in India, below that of the rank of the Member of Council, should be filled up from among the civil servants of the Company. The eligibility criteria of three years residence in India was laid down for the post with a salary of more than £ 500 per annum. Promotional policy based on seniority was also introduced. However, the civil servants continued to be paid on the basis of commission on the amount of revenue collections which was about 1% in Cornwallis' time. Duties of different departments were defined.

The local body in India acquired a statutory base in 1793, when municipal administration was established in the presidency towns of Madras, Calcutta and Bombay by the Charter Act of 1793.

The Charter Act of 1793 failed to bring about significant changes, yet it had profound implications for the growth of central power in India under British rule. Empowering the Governor General in Council to frame regulations for provincial courts and councils marked a pivotal shift towards government by written laws. These regulations extended to the rights, persons, and property of Indian subjects, laying the foundation for a legal framework in British India. Additionally, the Act imposed the financial burden of the salaries and expenses of the Board of Control and its staff on Indian revenues, further consolidating British control over economic resources. However, the Act aimed at constitutional reforms and confirmed previous laws. It set a precedent for government by written laws and regulations, replacing the personal rule of previous rulers. In essence, the Charter Act of 1793 facilitated the transition towards centralized governance in India, laying the groundwork for subsequent legal and administrative reforms under British colonial rule.

- **Charter Act of 1813**

The Charter Act of 1813 broke the monopoly of trade enjoyed by the East India Company (E.I.C) with India. The act opened trade between Britain, India, and South-east Asia to merchants outside London and the E.I.C. The value of trade tremendously increased. Indian industries received a setback. The company's monopoly of trade with China was extended for another 20 years. In case of vacancies in the offices of Governors, and the Commander in Chief were to be filled by the Court of Directors with the approval of His Majesty in writing and counter-signatures of the President of the Board of Control. The Company could make laws, regulations and articles of war for Indian troops and provide for the holding of Court martial. The powers of the Board of Control was defined and enlarged. The local Governments of India could impose taxes on people and punish for its defaulters but subject to the jurisdiction of Supreme Court. The Act made provision for the training of the civil and military servants of the Company.

The college at Hailebury and military school at Adiscombe were 25 to be maintained and brought under the authority of the Board of Control. The Colleges at Calcutta and Madras were also to work according to the regulations of the Board of Control. The Act provided for the administration of justice in cases in which Britishers and Indians were involved. Special penalties were provided for theft, forgery and coinage offences. The Act also created a Supreme Court in Bombay in place of the old Recorder's Court. Courts in India were granted more authority over European British subjects, ensuring equitable justice and legal accountability for all residents. The Act provided for the appointment of a bishop and three Arch-Deacons for the religious welfare of the Europeans in India. The English Mission started school and preached Christianity. Provision for education was worth mentioning. As a result of this act, more Englishmen came to India and European culture began to flow into India. The Company was made more subservient to the Crown and Parliament.

In terms of Education, the Charter Act of 1813 marked a significant development. By 1813, most members in Parliament supported the movement of Christian Missionaries and views of Charles Grant. Missionaries successfully advocated for the appointment of a Bishop for British India, headquartered in Calcutta, facilitating the organization and expansion of Christian institutions and communities. As a result three articles were added in the Charter Act of 1813 under Section 43 of this Act. By this Act, a sum of not less than one lac of rupees each year was to be set apart for the (i) revival and improvement of literature (ii) encouragement of the learned natives of India. The Act stressed on the introduction and promotion of a knowledge of science among the inhabitants of the British territories in India. This provision underscored the importance of education in colonial governance and laid the foundation for future educational initiatives in the region.

However, the Act did not define the nature and medium of instruction. The Company had various opinions regarding the term 'literature' and 'learned natives'. As a result, the East India company could not chalk out any definite education policy about the disbursement of the sum of Rupees

One lakh allotted for education for the next 20 years. As result of the Act, a great influx of Christian missionaries began in India and the pace of propagating Christianity and education increased. The foundation for the development of a well organised modern education system was laid. Missionaries of any European country will have full freedom to visit India to propagate Christanity and to expand education there.

The Act of 1813 increased the strength of the Crown and Board of Control. The sovereignty of the British Crown on Indian territories was clearly established.

- **The Charter Act of 1833**

This Act was the final step towards centralization in British India.

- The Charter Act of 1833 granted a lease to the Company for further twenty years.
- The Act abolished slavery and brought about the centralization of the legislative and executive branches, which resulted in several modifications to the Indian Constitution.
- An important turning point in the history of contemporary India was the Charter Act of 1833

Provisions of this Act were

- It made the Governor-General of Bengal as the Governor-General of India and vested in him all civil and military powers. Thus, the act created, for the first time, a Government of India having authority over the entire territorial area possessed by the British in India. Lord William Bentick was the first governor-general of India.
- It took away the legislative authority from the governors of Madras and Bombay. For the entirety of British India, the Governor-General of India was granted exclusive legislative authority. The laws made under the previous acts were called as Regulations while laws made under this act were called as Acts.
- It put an end to the East India Company's commercial operations and reduced it to an entirely administrative organization. The agreement stated that the company held its Indian holdings 'in trust for His Majesty, His heirs and successors.'

- The 1833 Charter Act sought to establish an open competition system for choosing civil servants and guaranteed that Indians would not be denied any position, office, or job under the Company. Nevertheless, the Court of Directors' objection resulted in the negation of this provision.
- All restrictions on European immigration into India and acquisition of land and property in India removed.
- A Law Commission was constituted for codification of laws.
- The debts of the company were taken over by the Indian government which agreed to pay its shareholders a 10.5% dividend on their capital out of the Indian revenues for the next 40 years.
- No person shall be excluded from consideration for any position in the company's employment on the basis of caste, colour, creed, or place of birth, according to Section 87 of the Act.
- The Indians were given the chance to work for the company by means of the Charter Act of 1833.
- The merit became the basis for employment in government services and the religion, birth place are not be the criteria.
- **THE Charter Act of 1853**

The British Parliament passed a number of Charter Acts between 1793 and 1853, this being the final one. It was a key turning point in the constitution.

- The Charter Act of 1853 renewed the powers of the company but did not mention the specific time period.
- It allowed the company to retain the possession of the Indians territories in trust of Her Majesty.
- It also provided the scope for thorough revisions of the existing legislative procedure.

Provisions of this act were

- It divided the Governor-General's Council's legislative and executive branches for the first time. It allowed for the council to have six more members, known as legislative councilors. Stated differently, it instituted an independent legislative body for the Governor-General, thereafter

christened the Indian (Central) Legislative body. Following the same rules as the British Parliament, this legislative branch of the council operated as a miniature parliament. Thus, legislation, for the first time, was treated as a special function of the government, requiring special machinery and special process.

- Reduced the number of Board of Directors from 24 to 18 and 6 out of them were nominated.
- It instituted an open competitive method for hiring and choosing public personnel. Thus, the Indians were likewise granted access to the covenanted civil service. As a result, in 1854, the Macaulay Committee—also known as the Committee on the Indian Civil Service was established.
- It prolonged the Company's dominion and permitted it to hold onto Indian lands in trust for the British Crown. However, in contrast to the preceding Charters, it did not define any certain time frame. This demonstrated unequivocally that Parliament could end the Company's rule whenever it pleased.
- It introduced, for the first time, local representation in the Indian (Central) Legislative Council. Of the six new a legislative member of the governor general's council, four members were appointed by the local (provincial) governments of Madras, Bombay, Bengal and Agra.
- The Act separated, for the first time, the legislative and executive functions of the Governor General's Council.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q 4: By which Charter Act was themunicipal administration was established in the presidency towns of Madras, Calcutta and Bombay?

.....

Q 5: How much money was allotted for education of the natives by the Charter Act of 1813?

.....



4.5 LET US SUM UP

After going through this Unit, you will be able to-

- Discuss the motives of the British Parliament behind the passing of the Regulating Acts,
- Explain the Acts and its provisions passed by the British Parliament post the Battle of Plassey,
- Analyse the significance of the Regulating Acts and Charter Acts on the constitutional development in India.



4.6 FURTHER READINGS

1) Sekhar Bandhopadhyay: From Plassey to Partition: A History of Modern India.
2) B. L. Grover; S. Grover: A New Look of Modern Indian History.
3) Percival Spear: The Oxford History of Modern India (1740-1975).
4) R.C. Majumdar: (Volume-I / Volume-II) British Paramountcy and Indian Renaissance.



4.7 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans to Q No 1: Warren Hastings.

Ans to Q No 2: Four.

Ans to Q No 3: The Governor General and his Council.

Ans to Q No 4: The Charter Act of 1793.

Ans to Q No 5: Rupees 1 lakh.



4.8 MODEL QUESTIONS

A) Very Short Questions (Answer each question within 50 words)

Q 1: By which Act was the Supreme Court established at Calcutta?

Q 2: Who was Charles Grant?

B) Short Questions (Answer each question within 150 words)

Q 1: Write a short note on the Regulating Act of 1773.

Q 2: State the main provisions of the Charter Act of 1853.

B) Long Questions (Answer each question within 300-450 words)

Q 1: Discuss the Pitts India Act of 1784 and its significance.

Q 2: Discuss the feature of the Charter Acts of 1813?

Q 3: Explain the significance of the Charter Act of 1833.

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UNIT 5 : FRONTIER POLICIES

UNIT STRUCTURE

5.1 Learning Objectives

5.2 Introduction

5.3 Afghan Policies

5.4 Britishpolicy towards Sind

- Auckland's Policy towards Sind
- Ellenborough and the annexation of Sind

5.5 Anglo-Burmese War

5.6 Let Us Sum Up

5.7 Further Readings

5.8 Answers To Check Your Progress

5.9 Model Questions

5.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will able to-

- explain the British policy towards the neighboring countries,
- discuss the Afghan policy of the British and its implication,
- discuss the British policy towards Sind and the consequences,
- discuss the conflict of the British with the Burmese and its effect on the political condition of the region.

5.2 INTRODUCTION

Dear Learners, in the previous Unit, we discussed the provision of the Regulating Acts and the different Charter Acts passed from time to time. It was clear that the Acts were clearly meant to regulate the activities of the Company in India.

In this Unit, we will be discussing the frontier polices of the English and what shaped their attitude towards their frontier neighbours and the consequences. The British policy towards Afghanistan, Sind and Burma are the main focus in this Unit. Lets try to understand more on this.

5.3 AFGHAN POLICIES

The British policy towards Afghanistan was driven by the fear of a Russian attack on India through Persian and Afghanistan. Hence the British wanted to establish a permanent barrier against such schemes of aggression. The first Anglo-Afghan War broke out during the time of Lord Aukland. However, the war continued only to end during the time of Lord Ellenborough.

Afghanistan during this time, was ruled by Dost Muhammad who had a hard time dealing with enemies both internal and external. While Ranjit Singh had taken away Peshawar from him in 1834, the Persians were the gates of Afghanistan ready to barge in. Pressed by hard times, Dost Muhammad sent a letter to Lord Auckland extending his friendship in return of British help in recovering Peshawar. The latter declined. However, by 1837, Persia had started making inroads in Afghanistan and a Russian envoy was sent to Dost Muhammad. Lord Auckland grew wary of the situation and immediately sent a mission under Alexander Burns to Afghanistan. HoiweHowever, dost Muhammad agreed to break off any ties with Russia and Persia on condition that the British help him recover Peshawar. As Lord Auckland was not ready for it, the British mission came back empty handed. However, Lord Auckland had other plans. He planned to put Shah Shuja on the throne of Kabul and accordingly a Tripartite Treaty was signed between Maharaja Ranjit Singh, Shah Shuja and the British. By the Treaty, it was agreed that Shah Shuja was to be placed on the throne and in return he would agree to the consent of the British for establishing any foreign relations. Peshawar was to remain with Punjab. In 1838, the first Afghan war was declared. Despite the absence of any provocation from Afghanistan or Persia or Russia, the war was fought. The British expedition was successful. Dost Muhammad was imprisoned. Shah Shuja was placed on the throne of Kabul. British forces were stationed in crucial places within Afghanistan. However, this victory was short lived as circumstances changed. With the death of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, the Sikhs withdrew from Afghanistan. Shah Shuja was not accepted by the mass and the British

presence in Afghanistan had started creating suspicion leading to a revolt under the leadership of Akbar Khan, son of Dost Muhammad. The merciless killing of the British soldiers and officials led to the British to call back the English forces to India. Lord Auklands restless decision resulted in a huge loss and ultimately, he was called back. Lord Ellenborough succeeded him. He was able to avenge the disaster and bring an end to the war. Dost Muhammad became the Amir of Afghanistan. The British loss was hue in terms of money and man. But more than that, it was the reputation of being invincible that became apparent by this war. Lord Aukland's policy was highly criticized as a great blunder.

In 1863, Dost Muhammad died and there was an internal strife for succession. The then Viceroy, Sir John Lawrence followed the policy of Non-intervention and declared to accept the successful candidate as the ruler. This policy of neutrality was criticized. Lord Mayo who succeeded Sir John followed the same policy though he did try to win over the new ruler Sher Ali by holding a grand Durbar. In 1873, Russia was advancing in Central India and Sher Ali sought the military help of the British but the refusal hurt Sher Ali who now looked for friendship with Russia.

It was Lord Lytton who gave away with the policy of 'masterly inactivity' and rather followed the 'Forward Policy'. It was during his time that the Second Afghan War was fought. Sher Ali's open invitation to the Russian Mission in 1878 enraged the British. The fear of Afghanistan drifting to the Russian side led to Lord Lytton sending a mission under Sir Neville Chamberlain. While Sher Ali expected Russian help, but he the denial of any help left him helpless against the British. It was during the time of Lord Ripon that the Second Anglo-Afghan War was brought to an end. A new Treaty of Gandamak was signed by which Abdur Rehman was recognized as the ruler of Afghanistan. The British received the districts of Kurram, Sibi and Pishin. The English promised help against any foreign powers while the Amir agreed to consult the British for establishing any foreign relations. In 1892, a mission under Sir Mortimer Durand was sent to Afghanistan to demarcate the Indo-Afghan border and the boundary line came to be known as the Durand Line.

- **Auckland's Policy towards Sind**

The problem of defence for the English was the fear of Russia (the rivalry of English in Europe and Asia) that brought into direct contact and clash with Sind. Due to this fear during the time of Lord Auckland (1837-42), Afghan war (1839) was fought, which invested Sindhu with great political importance as the route from Kandahar via Quetta and Bolan Pass to India passed through the territories of Sind. The commercial possibilities of the river Sind were also attracted the English for its annexation. The Conquest of Sind (1843) was completed during the time of Lord Ellenborough (1842-43). It is perhaps the one of many unjust annexations of Indian territories by the British.

Strategically Sind is located in a suitable place and British attempted to safeguard this area from any foreign attack. When Napoleon Bonapart, French ruler (1804-1814) emerged in Europe, Lord Minto (1807-13) to safeguard the area for the fear of Napoleon, send Missions to Kabul, Persia, Lahore, and Sind. A Treaty of Eternal Friendship was signed with the Amirs of Sind in 1809. By this treaty the Amirs agreed to not allow the French to settle in Sind. In 1820, the treaty was renewed. Meanwhile Ranjit Singh, the Sikh King (1797-1839), strengthened the Sikh community and brought his dominions to the frontier of Sind but failed to occupy the Sind. At that time, due to the Ranjit Singh's strong position British Government did not have any special interest in Sind. From the very beginning, British realized the important of the Sindhu as a channel of commerce. In 1630, when Mughal's ruled in India, East India Company got firman (It was called as a megnacarta of trade, which gave various trading facilities) from them for trade in Sind and established factories. After Burnes mission, Lt. Col Pottinger, the British Resident in Cutch of Sind was directed to open negotiations with them for the conclusion of a commercial treaty. The Amirs of Sind were suspicious of the proposed commercial treaty, which to them aimed at gaining political supremacy. The Amirs of Hyderabad and Khairpur were forced to conclude a new treaty in 1822. By this treaty, the rivers and roads of Sind were open to British merchants and traders, but English merchant cannot settle in Sind and travelers and visitors were required to

have passports. Besides, tariff rates were to be announced, no military dues or tolls to be demanded and the Amirs reserved the rights to alter the tariff. A supplementary treaty settled the details of tariff rates in 1834. Again, the old treaties of friendship were confirmed and Colonel Pottinger was stationed as the Company's political agent in Sind.

Auckland's policy towards Sind was based on a defensive theory. Auckland looked upon Sind as the larger problem of the defense of India against Russian designs. Auckland believe that due to the weak of Amirs of Sind, Russia might attack Sind. To counter Russian plans, he wanted to establish influence over the Afghans and Sind. A necessary preliminary step was taken by the Auckland towards British designs in Afghanistan. To control Sind, Auckland waited for a pretext. When Ranjit Singh invaded the Sind, British got the pretext to protect Sind from the Sikhs. Lord Auckland decided to fully exploit the situation to their advantage. Auckland therefore instructed Colonel Pottinger, (Agent for the affairs of Sind) to impress upon the Amirs of Sind. The Amirs reluctantly signed a new treaty in 1838. The terms of the treaty were:

- The Amirs accepted the Company's mediation in their dispute with the Sikhs
- Amirs accepted a British resident at Hyderabad who could move freely with the escort of British troops.
- The cost of troops would be borne by the Amirs themselves.

After that, Auckland to solve the Afghan problem effectively and to counter the Russian influence wanted a line of operations against Afghanistan through Sind. With this in mind English in June 1838, signed a Tripartite Treaty with Ranjit Singh, Shah Suja (Ruler of Kabul). According to the Treaty:

- Ranjit Singh accepted British mediation in his dispute with the Amirs of Sind. Shah Shuja agreed to relinquish his sovereign rights on Sind on condition of receiving the arrears of tribute.
- Amirs of Sind pay to Shah Shuja a sum of money. At first money was fixed as twenty lakhs and then raised to twenty-five lakhs of rupees. It was mentionable that as regards the payment, it was a legacy of old

days when Sind was part of Durani kingdom of Afghanistan. But the payment was never paid except when the rulers of Kabul was strong enough to enforce payment and the Amirs were no mood to pay anything.

- The troops of the British and Shah Suja were to pass through the territories of the Amirs of Sind.

The treaty showed Auckland's motive to protect the Sind from Russian invasion. Without the consent or even knowledge of the Amirs of Sind, Auckland imposed it. The clauses clearly violated the treaty signed between the British and the Amirs in 1838.The Amirs produced documentary evidence to show that Shah himself had exempted them from all claims. But to obtain finances for the Afghan War and secure territories in Sind in order to establish a line of operations against Afghanistan through Sind Auckland interfered upon the Sind. Auckland, in 1839, compelled the Amirs to accept a treaty by which it was decided that:

- British subsidiary force was to be stationed at Shikarpur and Bukkar, maintained the Amirs expense
- The Amirs were to refrain from having any negotiations with foreign states without the knowledge of the Company.
- They were also to furnish an auxiliary force for the Afghan War if called upon to do so.
- The British in return promised protection and non-interference in the internal affairs of Sind.

During the time of Lord Auckland because of such treaties signed with the different Amirs, Sind was practically under British protection and the Confederacy of the Amirs was virtually dissolved. The navigation of the Sindhu was rendered free of all tolls and to guarantee all this, a British force was to be maintained to the west of the Sindhu. But the most important consequence was to use the words of Auckland: Sind is placed formally under British protection and brought within the circle of our Indian relations." This statement reveals the fulfillment of British motives in establishing relations in Sind viz, the consolidation of British influence and the extension of the general benefits of commerce throughout Afghanistan, the ultimate

goal of British policy in the north-east for the fear of Russian advance. It was clearly an unjust and oppressive action against the Amirs for whom the British professed great friendship and who had not done any harm to them.

- **Ellenborough and the annexation of Sind**

In 1842, Lord Ellenborough succeeded Auckland as the Governor General. It was Ellenboroughwho gave the final touch to the plan of Auckland. After Auckland's policy became unsuccessful in Afghan war, Lord Ellenborough proved to be even more unscrupulous in dealing with the Amirs of Sind. He wanted to avenge the humiliation by annexing Sind on any pretext. Ellenborough labored hard to regain the prestige of English through the annexation of Sind. As the first step, Ellenborough in September 1842, Major James Qutramwas replaced by Charles Napier as Company's Resident in Sind. Napier was given full civil and military authority and placed in charge of all troops of upper and lower Sind. Napier was determined to annex Sind and therefore announced several charges against the Amirs. Amir Rustum of Khairpur was charged for entering into secret intercourse with foreign states by violating the treaty with British , mal treatment of British public servants; obstructing the navigation of the Indus, illegal imprisonment of British subjects etc. Against Nasir Khan of Hyderabad the charges were- assembling of troops to attack Sher Mohammad of Mirpur, which was under British arbitration, after British fail in Afghanistan delaying of transfer of Shikarpur to British, preventing his subjects from settling and trading in the British cantonment at Karachi etc. Above all these two Amirs were charged for secret offensive and defensive alliance against the Company. Based on the reports of Napier, Ellenborough proposed a new treaty to the Amirs and Qutram was sent, as Commissioner to Sind to negotiate the details. Napier demanded from the Amirs:

- The right to mint coins
- To supply coal to the British steamers passing through the river Indus.
- To surrender the Thatta, Sakkar,Bakhar,Karachi,Rohri etc.

The Amirs naturally looked upon this provision as a complete surrender of their natural rights, but Amirs accepted the above mentioned terms. However, Napier suspected that the Amirs were preparing for war.

Meanwhile a succession dispute took place Khairpur of Sind, which gave Napier the opportunity to interfere. Napier supported the claims of Ali Murad, brother of the old Mir Rustum in preference to the claims of Mir Rustom's sons. Napier's intension was to have only one governing chief in each province, instead of many, which would simplify the Company's political dealings with the princes. Mir Rustum, however abdicated in favour of his son and took to flight. From the flight of Mir Rustum may be dated the commencement of the Sindian war. The Amirs of Upper Sind fled to the desert, but Napier was suspecting about the Lower Sind. Napier had begun military operations against Sind even without any declaration of war. He attacked the fortress of Imangarh in January 1843, situated in the heart of the desert. In February 1843, Napier defeated a Baluchi army at Miani and won another victory at Dabo, six miles from Hydarabad. By April, the whole of Sind was reduced to submission. The Amirs were made captives and some were banished from Sind. Napier accepted $70,000 as a sort of booty from the plunder of Sind and Sir Napier was appointed as the first governor of Sind. The annexation of Sind has met with universal condemnation at the hands of both Politicians and Historians. Historian Ramsay Muir writes- "Sind is the only British acquisition in India of which it may fairly be said that it was not necessitated by circumstances;and that it was therefore an act of aggression."



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q 1: State the fear that drove the Anglo-Afghan relations.

.....

Q 2: Name the officer who replaced James Qutram as the Company Resident in Sind.

.....

Q 3: What was the result of the first Anglo-Afghan War?

.....

5.5 ANGLO-BURMESE WAR

Prior to the intervention of the British, the Burmese attacked Assam taking advantage of the anarchical condition and military weakness of Ahom monarchy at the instance of Badan Chandra Barphukan, yet the Burmese invasions of Assam were guided by their imperialist policy of expansion towards the East. Towards the close of the 18th century, Burma under rule of Al-ang Paya (1733-60) emerged as a strong kingdom. During the reign of his son Badawpaya (1772-92), Burma began to follow an imperialistic policy. Its imperialistic design began to materialize in full scale when Burma occupied Upper and Lower Burma, conquered Arakan and occupied Manipur. In order to lay their hands to the rich province of Bengal, the Burmese began to make frequent inroads into the territory of Bengal. The British Government initially only observed the situation and took no action against the Burmese. They were in favour of mutual settlement through negotiations. But the Burmese were not in favour of such negotiations. In November 1823, a serious situation developed when Burma occupied the island of Shahpuri on the Chittagong frontier. In the North-East frontier, the Burmese occupied Manipur in 1819 after ousting its Rajah Gambhir Singh. There were danger signals on the Sylhet frontier. Manipur was already in the hands of the Burmese and the Burmese now threatened to attack Cachar and came very close to the frontier of the British India province of Bengal. Meanwhile, David Scott had been appointed as the agent to the Governor General on the North-East frontier in addition to his post of Civil Commissioner of Rangpur. Early in February, 1824 he informed the supreme government in detail about the Burmese threat to Bengal. According to him the Burmese army might use any one of the three possible routes to invade Bengal. The routes, according to Scott, were from Manipur through Tipperah and Cachar; from Assam by Cachar and Jaintia; from Assam through the Brahmaputra. He wrote that it would be most difficult for the British to prevent the Burmese war boats if they chose the third route. He, thus, strongly favoured British intervention in Assam in order to drive out the Burmese. At the recommendation of David Scott, the Governor General Lord Amherst

(1823-28) declared war against king of Ava (Amarapura) on March 5, 1824. Thus began the First Anglo-Burmese War. The expulsion of the Burmese from Assam was regarded as one of the main objectives of the War. Let us now briefly discuss the course of the first Anglo-Burmese War. The war was fought in three sectors- Assam, Arakan and Rangoon. The British force in Assam was placed under the command of Lieutenant Colonel George Mac Moraine. He died of cholera in May 1824 and was succeeded by Lieutenant Colonel Alfred Richards. David Scot maintained a close relation with the commander and provided all necessary help from outside. In the Brahmaputra Valley, the war began early in March 1824.The British force left Goalpara on 13th March and arrived in Guwahati on 28th March. The British under Captain Sneyd captured Guwahati quite easily without bloodshed as the Burmese had already evacuated it. Thus, in less than a month Guwahati, Raha and Nowgong fell into the hands of the British. Due to the onset of monsoon the hostilities were suspended but operations were renewed in November again. The Burmese now made a hasty retreat to Upper Assam and fell back upon the fort of Rangpur. The Burmese could not face the British due to lack of reinforcement, internal dissensions and due to lack of food supply. Thus, they were compelled to leave Rangpur in March 1825 and the Brahmaputra Valley was freed from Burmese occupation. According to A.C.Banerjee, the occupation of Rangpur practically completed the British conquest of Assam. The war in Arakan and Rangoon continued for several months. By January, 1826 the expulsion of the Burmese from Manipur was complete. The campaign in Arakan ended in April 1825. According to A.C. Banerjee, the campaign of Burma proper, which started auspiciously for the British with the occupation of Rangoon in May 1824 and the death of Mingimaha Bandula in April, 1825, came to a close in February 1826 when the main British army under General Sir Archibald Campbell reached Yandaboo, a village, within four days march from Ava. The Burmese were no longer in a position to offer any resistance and sued for peace. Thus, on 24 February, 1826, the Treaty of Yandaboo was signed between the Burmese Government at Ava and the British East India Company, terminating the first Anglo-Burmese War We have discussed so

far the background of the Burmese invasion of Assam and the circumstances that led to British intervention. However, the real motive of this Anglo-Burmese rivalry and the British intervention of Assam were the imperialistic and colonial aspirations of both the parties. Hence, after the Burmese invasion of Assam, the British began their campaign against the Burmese (The First Burmese War, 1824-26). First, Lower Assam was freed, and then the British defeated the Burmese in Upper Assam leading to the signing of the Treaty of Yandaboo. The Treaty of Yandaboo was signed between the Burmese and the British on February 24, 1826. This treaty constituted an important landmark in the history of Assam. The treaty brought an end to the 600 years of Ahom rule in Assam and it marked the beginning of the rule of the British East India Company in Assam. By Article 2 of the Treaty of Yandaboo, the king of Burma renounced all claims upon, and agreed to abstain from all future interference with, the principality of Assam and its dependencies, and also with the contiguous petty States of Cachar and Jayantia. With regard to Manipur it was stipulated that should Gambhir Singh desire to return to that country, he should be recognized by the king of Ava as the Rajah there of. The result of the first Anglo-Burmese War proved to be a turning point in the history of Assam. The British, who had occupied the land during the course of the war, took advantage of the same dissensions amongst the princes and the nobles of Assam and the general distraction of the people and kept it under their own occupation, by right of conquest from the Burmese (and not from Assamese), contrary to the earlier promise they made at the beginning of the war that they would restore the old native government in it after the war was over. Thus, after the Treaty of Yandaboo, Assam went under the British rule within a short period of time. The Second Anglo-Burmese War took place in 1852 during the time of Lord Dalhousie. The causes for the War were the ill-treatment of the English merchants in Burma and the fear of Burma falling under the influence of any hostile European power, as France was extending her influence in the Eastern seas. The English under the General Goodwin occupied Rangoon, Prome and several other rich provinces, one among which was Pegu. All these territories were merged together to create a new province of Lower

Burma with Rangoon as its capital after the victory of the English in the War.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q 4: Who was the Governor General who declared war against the Burmese?

.....

Q 5: When was the Treaty of Yandaboo signed?

.....

Q 6: Who succeeded Auckland as Governor General?

.....



5.6 LET US SUM UP

After going through this Unit, you have learnt that-

- The fear of foreign influence and commercial interest shaped the British attitude towards the neighboring countries,
- The English fought Wars that could have been avoided,
- The consequences of the Wars brought huge gains to the English.



5.7 FURTHER READINGS

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2) C.A. Bayly. (1989). *Imperial Meridian: The British Empire and the World 1780-1830*. Longman, US.

3) Bandopadhyay, Sekhar. (2004). *From Plassey to Partition: A History of Modern India*. Orient Blackswan, New Delhi.

4) J. M. Ward (1976). *Colonial Self-Government: The British Experience 1759-1856*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

5.8 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans to Q No 1: Fear of Russian attack.

Ans to Q No 2: Charles Napier.

Ans to Q No 3: Dost Muhammad became the Amir of Afghanistan.

Ans to Q No 4: Lord Amherst.

Ans to Q No 5: 1826.

Ans to Q No 6: Lord Ellenborough.

5.9 MODEL QUESTIONS

A) Very Short Questions (Answer each question within 50 words)

Q 1: Who was Napier?

Q 2: When was Sind annexed?

Q 3: When was Lower Burma created?

B) Short Questions (Answer each question within 150 words)

Q 1: Write a short note on- the Treaty of Yandaboo.

Q 2: State the motive behind the British policy towards the Afghans.

A) Long Questions (Answer each question within 300-450 words)

Q 1: Who was Mingimaha Bandula?

Q 2: Analyse the British relation with Sind and explain its significance.

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UNIT 6 : INSTRUMENTS OF EXPANSION AND REVOLT OF 1857

UNIT STRUCTURE

6.1 Learning Objectives

6.2 Introduction

6.3 Instruments of Expansion

- Subsidiary Alliance
- Doctrine of Lapse
- The Army

6.4 The Revolt of 1857

- Causes
- Consequences

6.5 Let Us Sum Up

6.6 Further Readings

6.7 Answers To Check Your Progress

6.8 Model Questions

6.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will able to-

- explain the various instruments of expansion used by the British for territorial increase,
- explain the Subsidiary Alliance and the Doctrine of Lapse policy in details,
- Discuss the status of the Army under the Company regime,
- Analyse the Revolt of 1857 and its implication.

6.2 INTRODUCTION

Dear Learners, in the previous Unit, we discussed the frontier policies of the Company with regard to Afghanistan, Burma and Sind. In this Unit, we will be discussing the tools of expansion used by the Company to extend its territorial gains and the mechanism through which it aimed for self-

aggrandizement. The Unit also gives you an explanation of the event of 1857 and its implications.

6.3 INSTRUMENTS OF EXPANSION

- **Subsidiary Alliance**

Wellesley by nature was an expansionist governor general. To achieve this aim he adopted the policy of conquest and annexation of Indian States. He adopted a new policy of expansion known as Subsidiary Alliance to expand the British territory. According to this new expansionist policy, any native state which wanted British protection to secure their territory from their enemies or restoration of internal peace and order could make an alliance with the British. For that purpose, the British maintained their army in that state at the cost of the native state. The native state could pay these expanses either in cash or in terms of some territory of the kingdom. The state entering into this alliance lost its independence and gradually came under the political control of the British as it was backed by military assistance.

The main features of this Alliance were-

- Any native ruler who entered into a Subsidiary Alliance with the Company (East India Company) will have to recognise the Company as a paramount power.
- A British resident was posted at the court of the allying state, to watch over the activities of the ruler who entered into a subsidiary alliance. It was through him the relationship between the Company and native state was maintained.
- The allying state was refrained from negotiating with any other foreign power without the permission of the Governor General.
- The Company undertook to defend the native ruler from both external as well as internal enemies for which the ruler had to bear the expenses .Nizam of Hyderabad was the first Indian ruler to accept the Subsidiary alliance in 1798 and came under British protection. Later Mysore, Oudh and the Maratha states came under the umbrella of British protection by this alliance. Wellesley had to wage war against the

Maratha chiefs to force them to make subsidiary alliances with the British.

Subsidiary Alliance was extremely advantageous to the British. A large number of Indian states entered into this alliance and thus Company became paramount power in a large part of India. The British could maintain a huge army by this alliance without bearing any expenditure. British controlled the administration of their allies through their residents. As the states allying with the British were not allowed to maintain any relation with any other foreign power, the influence of any foreign power came to an end. Another great advantage of this system to the British was that in case the state could not pay the expanses of the army stationed in its state, the British could annex some territories to their empire.

From the above discussion it is become clear that the Subsidiary alliance was great advantageous to the British but it was very harmful to the native state that entered into the alliance. The Subsidiary alliance weakened the power of the native rulers. By signing the subsidiary alliance, the native rulers practically lost their independence. The native rulers became dependent upon the British army for the protection of their territory. As a result they disbanded their own armies. Lakhs of soldiers and officers were deprived of their livelihood. These unemployed soldiers resorted to dacoities, loots and plunder.The payment of the subsidiary expenses to the British invariably ruined the economy of the allying state.

- **Doctrine of Lapse**

Lord Dalhousie is known in Indian history as an ardent imperialist and ruthless expansionist for his 'Doctrine of Lapse' and other methods which he adopted for territorial acquisitions. Between 1818 and 1848, the East India Company continued annexing territory by various means. The pace of British annexation picked up considerably after Lord Dalhousie became governor-general in 1848. In addition to fighting the second Sikh war in Punjab, Lord Dalhousie also annexed areas by taking over territories due to nonpayment of debts (Berar), accusing the native rulers of "misrule" (Oudh), and, most controversial, refusing to recognize adoptions and annexing areas where the native ruler died without a natural heir (the so-

called policy of lapse). Those states that were not conquered outright or "annexed," "lapsed" to the Company.

The most controversial annexationist policy of the British regime was the Doctrine of Lapse. This policy determined the British relation with the native princely states. It proclaimed that, although an adopted son could inherit the personal property of his father, the sovereignty of the state would pass to the Company. The Company would act as trustee for the Crown. Thus, the rule of succession favoured only the biological son as the natural heir, as per the policy, and any adopted child would be considered illegitimate. As successions in India were "confused" at best, this doctrine proved a valuable means of acquiring territory.

One of the primary impacts of the Doctrine of Lapse was its role in facilitating the expansion of British control over Indian territories. According to historian Bipan Chandra, Dalhousie's policy of annexation through lapse allowed the British East India Company to aggressively acquire princely states that lacked a natural heir or a legitimate successor. This led to the annexation of several states such as Satara, Jaitpur, Sambalpur, and Udaipur, thereby expanding the Company's territorial holdings. The implementation of the Doctrine of Lapse thus contributed to the consolidation of British authority in India, strengthening its position as the dominant colonial power. However, the Doctrine of Lapse also generated significant resentment and opposition among Indian rulers and the populace, as noted by historian R.C. Majumdar. Indian rulers viewed the annexation of their states under the pretext of lapse as a violation of their sovereignty and traditional succession practices. Furthermore, the annexation of states like Oudh, which had a legitimate ruler but was accused of mismanagement, contributed to widespread discontent among the local population. Historian Sumit Sarkar highlights that the annexation of Oudh, in particular, led to the alienation of the local elites and sparked widespread protests against British rule. The resentment and opposition triggered by the Doctrine of Lapse ultimately culminated in unrest and rebellion against British rule. According to historian V.D. Savarkar, the annexation of states through lapse, along with other grievances such as economic exploitation and cultural interference,

contributed to the outbreak of the Indian Rebellion of 1857. The rebellion, also known as the Sepoy Mutiny, saw widespread uprisings against British authority across India, with Indian soldiers (sepoys) and civilian populations joining forces to challenge colonial rule. The revolt, though ultimately suppressed by the British, marked a significant turning point in Indian history and paved the way for the eventual end of British colonial rule in India.

In summary, the Doctrine of Lapse had dual consequences for the political landscape of India. While it enabled the British East India Company to expand its control over Indian territories and strengthen its position as the dominant colonial power, it also fueled resentment and opposition among Indian rulers and the populace, leading to unrest and rebellion against British rule. This complex legacy of the Doctrine of Lapse underscores its importance in shaping the trajectory of British colonialism in India and its impact on Indian society and politics.

- **The Army**

As the role of the East India Company changed from a commercial enterprise to a political power, certain predictable reforms were undertaken. One of the major areas of reform was the Army. Given the expansionist agenda of the Company after the Battle of Plassey (1757), and the frontier policy driven by the fear from Russia and France, the Company needed a strong army. The numbers of men in the army were inadequate to meet the aspirations of a growing appetite of the Company. The following statement reflects the problem of the Company Army.

"*In 1778, there were 10,926 European soldiers in India which included officers which made up of 13% of the army along with 70,093 natives serving both armies*". (Arthur N. Gilbert)

Additionally, the size of the Company army was a political issue. While its role in establishing British control in India was recognized, it was independent of the regular army. Even the recruitment process for the Company Army was corrupt and dubious. There was no provision of training or retaining the new recruits. Deserters were not punished in the absence of military law. The whole system was in chaos.

The historical narrative of the East India Company's administration

in India reveals recurrent instances of civil-military discord, occasionally manifesting in quasi-mutinous behavior among European officers. These conflicts were primarily fueled by the profit-oriented objectives of the Company conflicting with the army's aspirations for enhanced fiscal remuneration. However, a more nuanced analysis uncovers a multifaceted interplay of factors. In the early 19th century, the emergence of the Anglo-Indian bureaucratic class, epitomized by figures such as Thomas Munro and Mountstuart Elphinstone, introduced a novel dimension to civil-military dynamics. This bureaucratic cohort, characterized by its military ethos, endeavored to assert its authority within British India, eliciting opposition from the Company's board of directors. This transition towards a militarized mode of governance enabled officers to justify their personal agendas under the pretext of national interest. Nevertheless, this militaristic paradigm was distinctly contextualized within the milieu of 19th-century British India and diverged significantly from militarism observed in other contexts.

There were efforts to professionalize the officer corps, improve recruitment and training practices, and modernize military infrastructure. However, these reforms were often hindered by financial constraints and resistance from vested interests within the Company. The Company's commercial imperatives sometimes conflicted with the need for a well-equipped and disciplined army. This tension was exacerbated by the decentralized nature of the Company's administration and the competing interests of its shareholders. The East India Company made significant strides in reforming its army during the period under study. He highlights the establishment of military colleges, the introduction of standardized training programs, and the adoption of modern military tactics as evidence of the Company's commitment to improving its military capabilities. But there were limitations of these reforms and the enduring influence of commercial considerations on the Company's military policy. He argues that while the East India Company succeeded in modernizing its army to some extent, its military establishment remained deeply entwined with its commercial interests throughout the period under examination.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q 1: The Subsidiary Alliance was introduced by .....

Q 2: On what ground was Oudh annexed?

.....

Q 3: The Doctrine of Lapse was introduced during whose Governor Generalship?

.....

6.4 THE REVOLT OF 1857

The 1857 revolt, a pivotal event in Indian history, saw widespread discontent among Indian soldiers and civilians against British rule. Initially sparked by Sepoy mutiny, it quickly evolved into a nationwide uprising involving various sections of society. Grievances included poor working conditions and fear of religious conversion. Sepoys were driven more by religious concerns than nationalist sentiment. The revolt's scale and intensity shocked British authorities. It transformed from a mere mutiny to a broader national revolt, fueled by deep-seated resentment towards British rule. The widespread animosity towards the British is reflected in contemporary accounts, depicting a profound hostility towards colonial authority.

- **Causes**

The 1857 revolt, while originating as a military uprising, stemmed from deep-rooted discontent with British rule. Beginning with the capture of Bengal after the Battle of Plassey in 1757, British policies led to widespread resentment among peasants, artisans, and traders. This discontent created fertile ground for rebellion by 1857. The population, spanning Hindus, Muslims, princes, and commoners, was plagued by a sense of unease and apprehension. The revolt, a culmination of simmering grievances, nearly toppled British rule, highlighting the profound discontent and unrest prevalent across Indian society.

The British policy of annexing native Indian territories which saw an increase since 1800 was to be blames for the Revolt. The Subsidiary Alliance

policy was detrimental to the interest of the native rulers. Dalhousie's annexation policy, notably through the Doctrine of Lapse, profoundly disrupted India's political landscape, sparking widespread discontent. His actions included the annexation of Satara in 1858, Jaitpur, Sambalpur, Baghat, Udaipur, Jhansi, and Nagpur between 1849 and 1854. The removal of the Nawab of Oudh and the proposal to displace Mughal Emperor Bahadur Shah II deeply unsettled Muslims, while the annexation of Hindu states alarmed the Hindu populace. Abolishing titles and pensions, particularly denying Nana Saheb's pension, wounded Hindu sentiments. The annexations also impacted dependents relying on princely patronage. For instance, Oudh's annexation alienated loyal sepoys and increased taxation burdened their families, fueling resentment. Moreover, the increase of taxation in these states rudely affected the families of the sepoys, which was another reason for their resentment.

The religious dynamics underlying the Revolt of 1857 hold significant importance in Indian history. Christian missionaries' activities often clashed with traditional socio-religious practices, fostering a belief among Indians that British rule aimed at converting them to Christianity. This sentiment extended to Indian sepoys, integral parts of society, who feared religious conversion when deployed in distant lands like Burma, Afghanistan, and China. Earlier incidents, such as the 1824 Barrackpur mutiny and protests during the Afghan campaign in 1839, underscored these concerns. Additionally, British socio-religious reforms, including the abolition of Sati and support for widow remarriage, elicited suspicion and fear. Taxation on religious institutions further fueled resentment, aligning civilian and military sentiments against perceived threats to their religious beliefs.

The impact of British rule on India's economy was profound, characterized by disruptive changes that led to widespread resentment among the populace. Central to this discontent was the economic exploitation perpetuated by British policies, particularly the decimation of indigenous industries and handicrafts due to Britain's one-sided free trade agenda. While this policy enriched the East India Company, it plunged Indian communities into poverty. The British land revenue settlements further

exacerbated economic hardships. The introduction of the Permanent Settlement in Bengal, along with the Ryotwari and Mahalwari systems elsewhere, dispossessed peasants of their lands, transferring ownership to Zamindars and money lenders. Consequently, farmers lost their traditional rights and became mere tenants, fueling their resentment. The Ryotwari System, in particular, led to farmers losing their lands to money lenders, intensifying agrarian grievances. The plight of the peasantry was compounded by frequent famines, with twelve major and numerous minor famines occurring between 1770 and 1857 in Bengal and neighboring regions. The British legal and administrative systems also contributed to the economic distress, as corruption within the administration favored money lenders over peasants. Police, officials, and lower courts often sided with money lenders, leaving peasants exploited and vulnerable to becoming bonded laborers if they sought legal recourse. Additionally, the introduction of the zamindari or permanent settlement displaced old zamindars, leading to the emergence of a new class of absentee landlords. This shift in landownership further marginalized peasants and craftsmen. Lower administrative officials formed mutually beneficial relationships with these new landlords, reinforcing support for movements aimed at liberating them from British rule. In summary, British economic policies, including free trade practices and land revenue settlements, devastated traditional livelihoods, impoverished peasants, and craftsmen, leading to widespread economic distress. Corruption within the legal and administrative systems further exacerbated the plight of the peasantry, fostering resentment and fueling support for movements aimed at ending British colonial rule.

The initial ignition of the Revolt of 1857 was ignited by the sepoys of the Company's disciplined army, who were essentially peasants in military attire. Hailing from agrarian backgrounds, these sepoys harbored strong sentiments toward the farming community, as their families relied on agriculture for sustenance and were adversely affected by the stringent revenue policies imposed by the British. They harbored resentment towards the discriminatory practices in terms of payment and promotions within the army. Indian sepoys were systematically denied equal pay and promotion

opportunities compared to their European counterparts, which significantly dampened their morale. The derogatory treatment they endured from European officers, added insult to injury. Additionally, the enactment of the General Service Enlistment Act by Lord Canning in 1856, which mandated all recruits to serve both within and outside India, including overseas deployments, elicited widespread resentment among sepoys who perceived it as a threat to their religious beliefs. Despite demonstrating bravery and combat prowess, Indian sepoys were consistently denied promotions beyond the rank of Subedar. The annexation of Oudh further exacerbated tensions, particularly among sepoys originating from the Nawab's territory. Many of these sepoys had enjoyed certain privileges under the previous Nawabi rule, which were disregarded by the new British administration. These cumulative grievances fueled disaffection among the sepoys, culminating in several instances of mutiny prior to the outbreak of the Revolt in 1857.

In an atmosphere of mounting discontent, the introduction of the new Enfield rifle precipitated matters. The cartridges used in this rifle were greased with beef and cow fat and required biting before they could be used. Though the British authority denied this fact of greased cartridges, sepoys were quite confident about their allegations and doubt. This matter affected not only the caste ridden Hindus but also the Muslim in the army. Now they had a firm belief that the government was deliberately trying to destroy their religion. This led to the mutiny of Mangal Pandey, a sepoy of the native infantry stationed at Barrackpur on 29th March 1857. He attacked his senior officer Lieutenant Baugh and severely wounded him. Thus the resentment of the sepoys expressed itself just before the beginning of the Revolt. The revolt of 1857 began on 10 May, 1857 with the mutiny of the Sepoys at Meerut (in present Uttar Pradesh) but soon it engulfed wide regions and the people. In fact the participation of the feudal lords, native rulers, etc. increased the intensity of the Revolt and it was no longer confined to the sepoys alone.

At Lucknow, Begum Hazrat Mahal, the widow of Nawab Wazid Ali Shah raised the banner of rebellion. At Kanpur, Nana Sahib, the adopted son of the last Peshwa Baji Rao II, living in exile, revolted along with his

lieutenant Tantia Topi. In Bihar, Raja Kunwar Singh, a zamindar of Arah became the oldest rebel leader aged 80 years. He provided greatest support to other rebel leaders. Rani Laxmibai, widow of Raja Gangadhar Rao of Jhansi, raised the banner of rebellion. She was the bravest leader of the rebellion who fought like a true heroine. Though she was killed by the British army, Sir Hugh Rose, the commander of the British army who defeated her called her the bravest and greatest of the rebel leaders. In Assam also the message of the Revolt of 1857 was carried by Maniram Dewan, an Assamese noble and ex-chief Executive or Dewan of the Assam Tea Company.

- **Consequences**

The Rebellion of 1857, although brief, met with a swift and decisive response from the British forces, drawn from various regions of India. In July 1857, British troops successfully seized Kanpur and Bitnur, where Nana Saheb had established his base. Nana Saheb's subsequent flight to Nepal marked the end of his resistance. By September 1857, Delhi had also fallen to the British, with General John Nicholson leading the recapture. The Mughal Emperor Bahadur Shah Zafar, who had been proclaimed Emperor by the rebels, was apprehended by the British. In a harrowing turn of events, Bahadur Shah witnessed the execution of his three sons on the orders of Lieutenant Hudson before being court-martialed, sentenced to life imprisonment, and ultimately exiled to Burma (Myanmar). Lucknow was reclaimed by British forces in March 1858, prompting the flight of Begum Hazrat Mahal to Nepal. Sir Hugh Rose's recapture of Jhansi on April 4, 1858, forced Rani Laxmibai to seek refuge in Gwalior. Despite her efforts to rally support, Laxmibai met her demise near Gwalior on June 17, 1858, in a clash with British forces. Tantia Topi, the last significant rebel leader, continued to defy the British until his capture in 1859, after being betrayed by a Zamindar. He was subsequently tried and executed on April 15, 1859, effectively signaling the suppression of the revolt by early 1859.

The failure of the revolt can be attributed to several factors. Firstly, it lacked widespread support, with significant segments of society, including zamindars, princes, merchants, and intellectuals, abstaining from

participation. Even among the sepoys, not all regiments joined the rebellion. Geographically, the revolt remained confined to a limited area of North India, with other regions largely unaware of the events unfolding. The absence of cohesive and effective leadership further hampered the rebellion's prospects. Internal divisions among rebel leaders and sepoys undermined unity and coordination, leading to disorganization and a lack of direction. Additionally, the rebellion suffered from poor organization, with a lack of strategic planning and unity of action among the rebels. The British, leveraging advancements in communication technology such as railways, postal services, and telegraphs, swiftly countered the uprising, while their superior weaponry further tilted the odds in their favor. The rebel leaders underestimated the strength of the British Empire, and despite their efforts, British rule remained largely unaffected in areas where military contingents were stationed. Ultimately, the rebels proved no match for the formidable British forces, leading to the eventual quashing of the rebellion.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q 4: When was the General Service Enlistment Act enacted?

.....

Q 5: State one reason for the failure of the Revolt of 1857.

.....

Q 6: When did Rani of Jhansi die?

.....



6.5 LET US SUM UP

After going through this Unit, you have learnt that the British followed an aggressive policy of annexations in their quest to expand their territorial possessions. The two main policies discussed here were the Subsidiary Alliance of Lord Wellesley and the Doctrine of Lapse introduced by Lord Dalhousie. Both these policies enhanced the territorial gain of the Company.

However, the gain came at a cost of a revolt. The Revolt of 1857 was a culmination of many factors. It demonstrated the resentment of the natives against the Company. Though the revolt was crushed, yet it left a deep impression in the minds of the Company as well as the natives.



6.6 FURTHER READINGS

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5) Gilbert, Arthur N. (1975). Recruitment and Reform in the East India Company Army, 1760-1800 in *Journal of British Studies*. Vol. 15, No. 1. Pp. 89-111
6) Peers, Douglas M. (1990). Between Mars and Mammon; The East India Company and Efforts to Reform Its Army, 1796-1832 in *The Historical Journal*. Vol. 33, No. 2. Pp. 385-401



6.7 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans to Q No 1: Lord Wellesley

Ans to Q No 2: Mismanagement of the state

Ans to Q No 3: Lord Dalhousie

Ans to Q No 4: 1856

Ans to Q No 5: Lack of unity.

Ans to Q No 6: 1858



6.8 MODEL QUESTIONS

A) VERY SHORT QUESTIONS (Answer each question in about 50 words)

Q 1: Name a princely state that was annexed by the Doctrine of Lapse.

Q 2: State one feature of the Subsidiary Alliance.

B) SHORT QUESTIONS (Answer each question in about 150 words)

Q 1: Write a short note on-

- Lord Wellesley
- Religious cause of the Revolt of 1857
- Tantia Tope
- The Army under the East India Company

C) LONG QUESTIONS (Answer each question in about 300-500 words)

Q 1: Discuss the causes and consequences of the Revolt of 1857.

Q 2: Analyse the expansionist policy of the British.

*** ***** ***

UNIT 7 : POST 1857 DEVELOPMENT

UNIT STRUCTURE

7.1 Learning Objectives

7.2 Introduction

7.3 Queen's Proclamation

7.4 Indian Council's Act 1862

7.5 Policy towards Indian states and Indian Princes

7.6 Foreign Policy

- War with Bhutan
- Afghan Policy and lord Lytton's Forward Policy- The Treaty of Gandamak (1879), Durand Agreement
- The Anglo-Burmese War

7.7 Reforms

- Lord Mayo and his Reforms
- Lord Lytton and his internal Reforms
- Liberal reforms under Lord Ripon

7.8 Let Us Sum Up

7.9 Further Readings

7.10 Answers to Check you Progress

7.11 Model Questions

7.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will able to-

- explain the political development post 1857 through an understanding of the provisions of the Queen's Proclamation and the Indian Council's Act of 1861,
- discuss the political dynamics between the British and the princely native rulers and the frontier countries, in the context of a changed environment of 1858, and
- analyse the reforms initiated by the British in an attempt to appease the mass and at the same time strengthening their hold in India.

7.2 INTRODUCTION

Dear Learners, in the previous Unit, we discussed the Expansionist policies of the British and the Revolt of 1857. In this Unit, we will discuss the political changes that set in after the 1857 Revolt.

The Indian Mutiny spurred British attention towards India, leading to reforms. In 1858, the Government of India Act was passed, shifting authority from the East India Company to the Crown. The Act established a Secretary of State for India, assisted by an Indian Council, albeit advisory. The Secretary held significant power, overriding Council decisions if necessary. Revenues were managed for Indian governance, with expenditures subject to Council approval. However, criticisms emerged, highlighting the ornamental role of the Council, lack of Indian representation, and discretionary power of the Secretary over revenue matters, financed by Indian revenues.

7.3 QUEEN'S PROCLAMATION

The Proclamation marks the beginning of a new era. The Proclamation of Queen Victoria of England was an important step in the constitutional changes in India. In a Durbar held at Allahabad, Lord Canning, the first Viceroy of India read out the Queen's Proclamation to the princes and people of India.By this Act, Charles Canning was appointed as the first Governor General and Viceroy. It was also declared that the treaties and engagements made by the native princes with the Company or the Crown would be maintained. The Proclamation also announced that there would no further extension of the present territorial possession and will not sanction any encroachment on those of others. The new Government sought to bring in peace and good government. It was also declared that the new Government would not impose their belief on their subjects. The Proclamation also assured that no one would be favoured, molested etc on the basis of their faith or religion. Law shall be equal for all and there would be no discrimination. By the proclamation, Indians would be eligible for the Imperial services. The Government also declared that the ancient customs

and tradition of India would be given due respect while administering and framing the law. The Queen's Proclamation also declared an unconditional pardon and amnesty to those who were found severely guilty during the Revolt of 185

The proclamation was important in many respects because it laid the foundation of a new policy in India.

7.4 INDIAN COUNCIL'S ACT 1861

The events of 1857 brought into light the defects of the administrative machinery. The change in the machinery was felt necessary due to the huge gap between the ruler and the ruled that caused the Mutiny. The Act marks an important step in the Constitutional history of India as making a beginning in representative institutions and legislative devolution. It came into force at the close of the year as Indian Councils Act of 1861. The major suggestions were:

- The Governor Generals Executive Council had an addition of a fifth member.
- The Governor General could act alone and appoint a President to preside the Council in his absence. However, in the matter of law, he could not act alone.
- The Act empowered the Governor General to make rules which could be deemed as acts and orders of the Governor General in Council, if acts or orders are passed in accordance to the rules.
- Portfolio system was established by which each member was given the charge of more than one department.
- The Viceroy had the veto power.
- As for the legislations, the Governor Generals Council was expanded by not less than 6 and not exceeding 12 members nominated by the Governor General for two years.
- Of these additional members, not less than half were to be non-officials, who have to be Europeans or Indians. This Council with additional members formed the Legislature for India.

- The function of the Council was limited to legislation. Legislation affecting the revenue, religion, military forces and relations with foreignpower and states required the prior sanction of the Governor General.
- The Governor General was empowered to sanction the validity of law. He could reject or revoke a law made by Provincial Governments. He could issue ordinances in emergency which would have the power of law for six months unless disallowed by the Secretary of State.
- The Central Legislature could make laws for any part of India.
- The Act of 1861 also set up Councils at the Central and Provincial level for publicity, information and discussion. The Councils acted as an outlet of the Government had no power to call for information on other subjects or impugn the acts of the administration.
- The legislative powers of the Bombay and Madras Government was restored and the Governor's Council was expanded to not more than eight and not less than four members, half of which were to be non-officials.
- The Governor General also established similar councils (with limited powers) in North West Provinces, Punjab and in Bengal. The sanction of the Governor General was necessary to introduce legislation on certain subjects. And all act to become law required the assent of the Governor General and the Governor.

Thus, the Act of 1861 gave immense power to the Governor General over the Legislative, while the Legislative Councils, both at the Centre and provincial, had limited powers in the law making process. This Act did not give power to the Legislative and hence, the Executive was supreme. It could not discuss any important bill without the prior approval of the Governor General. The Act provided the people with an opportunity to address their grievance. However, it must be noted that the non-official members were nominated by the Viceroy and not elected by the people.

The Indian Councils Act of 1861 holds significance in Indian constitutional history for two primary reasons. Firstly, it permitted the Governor-General or Viceroy to involve the local populace in legislative

processes. Secondly, it reinstated legislative authority to the Governments of Bombay and Madras, and established provisions for creating similar legislative councils in other provinces, thereby laying the groundwork for sound principles of Indian governance. The introduction of the portfolio system, assigning each member of the Viceroy's Executive Council to oversee a specific department, demonstrated goodwill towards native constituents. However, it also initiated decentralization in administration and provided a structural framework for the Government, laying the groundwork for India's future federal structure.

7.5 POLICY TOWARDS INDIAN STATES AND INDIAN PRINCES

Before the transfer of governance to the Crown, the relationships between Indian states and the British Government lacked uniformity and clarity. The Court of Directors' adoption of a policy of direct accession of territory in 1841 triggered the immediate consequence of the 1857 revolt. However, upon the Crown assuming governance, a significant shift occurred in the policy towards Indian states. While pre-1857 treaties remained valid, the end of the annexation policy possibly stemmed from the loyal stance of ruling princes during the revolt. With the Crown's administration, sovereign princes became subjects of the British Crown, termed as feudatories and vassals by British officials. This marked the legal establishment of British paramountcy, which Indian princes acknowledged.

7.6 FOREIGN POLICY

- **War with Bhutan**

During the time of Sir John Lawrence, the Bhutanese led frequent raids in the Indian territory. To deal with this menace, Mr. Ashley Eden was sent to negotiate terms with Bhutan. But Mr. Eden ended up returning with a humiliating Treaty. This enraged the Viceroy who ordered a march into the Bhutanese territory. Despite the harsh terrain and the climate, the British endured and were victorious in their campaign. The Bhutanese accepted

defeat and ceded the district of Duar to the British in lieu of some subsidy.

- **Afghan Policy and lord Lytton's Forward Policy- The Treaty of Gandamak (1879), Durand Agreement**

It was Lord Lytton who gave away with the policy of 'masterly inactivity' and rather followed the 'Forward Policy'. It was during his time that the Second Afghan War was fought. Sher Ali's open invitation to the Russian Mission in 1878 enraged the British. The fear of Afghanistan drifting to the Russian side led to Lord Lytton sending a mission under Sir Neville Chamberlain. While Sher Ali expected Russian help, but he the denial of any help left him helpless against the British. It was during the time of Lord Ripon that the Second Anglo-Afghan War was brought to an end. A new Treaty of Gandamak was signed by which Abdur Rehman was recognized as the ruler of Afghanistan. The British received the districts of Kurram, Sibi and Pishin. The English promised help against any foreign powers while the Amir agreed to consult the British for establishing any foreign relations. In 1892, a mission under Sir Mortimer Durand was sent to Afghanistan to demarcate the Indo-Afghan border and the boundary line came to be known as the Durand Line.

- **The Anglo-Burmese War**

It was during the time of Lord Dufferin who was the Viceroy then, that the Third Anglo-Burmese War broke out. The King of Burma allied with the French against the British and won them by giving trade concessions. The objective behind this was to regain the lost territory from the previous Wars. Another cause of the War was the imposition of fine on a British trading Company. This did not go well with the administration in India and the English forces soon marched to Burma. With the defeat of the King of Burma, the War was brought to an end. The King was sent in exile to India. With the previous annexation of Lower Burma, the Third Anglo-Burmese War enabled the British to annex Upper Burma. Thus. the whole of Burma became a part of the greater British Empire in 1886.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q 1: By the Treaty of Gandamak who was recognized as the ruler of Afghanistan?

.....

Q 2: State one provision of the Queen's Proclamation.

.....

Q 3: State one cause for the outbreak of the Third Anglo-Burmese War.

.....

7.7 REFORMS

- **Lord Mayo and his Reforms**

Lord Mayo, following the footsteps of his predecessor, maintained a policy of non-intervention towards Afghanistan during his tenure. Nevertheless, efforts were made to negotiate with Russia concerning the demarcation of their spheres of influence in Central Asia. However, Lord Mayo's most notable contributions lie in his fiscal reforms. The Resolution of 1870, also known as the policy of financial decentralization, exemplifies his adeptness in implementing economic reforms. This resolution delegated the responsibility of allocating funds for public works, healthcare, and education to local or provincial governments, which were expected to rely on local taxation. Lord Mayo significantly reduced military and civil administration expenses, introduced salt duties, and raised income tax. Agricultural reforms were also a crucial component of his financial agenda. In 1871, Lord Mayo established the Department of Revenue, Agriculture, and Commerce and initiated the Land Improvement Act. He also proposed amendments to the Permanent Settlement introduced by Lord Cornwallis, advocating for land revenue assessments based on produce quantity and land fertility rather than uniform rates across provinces. Despite financial arrears inherited from previous administrations, Lord Mayo's fiscal policies resulted in a surplus of over five million pounds during his tenure. Lord Mayo's educational reforms hold immense historical significance. He played

a pivotal role in establishing institutions such as the Rajkumar College in Kathiawar and, notably, the Mayo College in Ajmer. His administration prioritized infrastructural development, overseeing extensive expansion of roads, railways, and canals. Additionally, he spearheaded the laying of the Red Sea Cable in 1870, which reshaped the Viceroy's relationship with the home government, leading to increased oversight by the Secretary of State for India. Prison reforms also garnered Lord Mayo's attention, and his tenure saw the passage of the Indian Evidence Act in 1872, a significant legal reform. This act standardized legal procedures applicable to all Indians, marking an important step towards legal uniformity in the country.

- **Lord Lytton and his internal Reforms**

Lord Lytton assumed office in Calcutta in April 1876, succeeding Lord Northbrook, and served until 1880. During the 19th century, the ruling elite of industrially advanced England advocated free trade. However, the emergence of cotton mills in India threatened the Lancashire cotton manufacturers. To address this, Lord Lytton abolished import duties on twenty-nine articles, including coarser types of imported cotton in 1879. Yet, the Indian Council remained divided on this issue, greatly affecting Indian economic interests. Continuing Lord Mayo's policy of financial decentralization, Lord Lytton granted provincial governments control over expenditures on all ordinary provincial services, such as land revenue, excise, stamp duties, law and justice, and general administration. Despite transferring these services, provincial governors did not receive increased fixed grants but obtained specified revenue sources from their provinces. Lytton aimed to incentivize revenue collection at the provincial level to bolster their financial autonomy. During Lord Lytton's tenure, India faced a severe famine from 1876 to 1878, resulting in deserted villages and widespread uncultivated land. In response, the government established a Famine Commission chaired by Richard Strachey in 1878. The Commission recommended providing employment to able-bodied individuals based on daily wages and advocated for the creation of a Famine Fund in each province. Additionally, it proposed railway construction and irrigation projects to mitigate future famine risks. In response to growing discontent in the

regional press, Lord Lytton implemented repressive measures. In March 1878, the Vernacular Press Act was enacted, empowering magistrates to compel printers and publishers of vernacular newspapers to sign agreements prohibiting the publication of seditious material. The Act also aimed to prevent the publication of content that could incite intercommunal tensions. Violators faced punitive action without the right of appeal. Another repressive measure was the Indian Arms Act of 1878 (Act XI of 1878), which criminalized the possession, bearing, and trafficking of arms without a license, excluding Europeans, Anglo-Indians, and certain government personnel. The Act introduced racial discrimination in its enforcement. In an attempt to include Indians in civil service, Lord Lytton proposed the Statutory Civil Service in 1878-79. This initiative aimed to appoint aristocratic Indians to the civil service based on provincial government recommendations and subject to the Secretary of State's confirmation. However, the Statutory Service failed to gain popularity among the Indian public.

- **Liberal reforms under Lord Ripon**

Lord Riponwas the Governor General and Viceroy of India from 1880 to 1884. Lord Lytton's unpopular measures had driven discontent among the common people. To heal the wound, Ripon took some positive and constructive steps for the welfare of the Indians. His liberal reforms are discussed below.

The Vernacular Press Act, 1878, introduced by Lord Lytton to suppress the freedom of Press was repealed by the Vernacular Press Act (Act III) of 1882 by which newspaper published in vernacular languages were restored their freedom. This move was welcomed by Indian journalists and intellectuals as it lifted censorship on newspapers published in Indian languages, allowing them greater freedom to express dissenting views and critique colonial policies. Furthermore, Lord Ripon introduced measures to ensure greater transparency and accountability in the administration of the press. He advocated for the appointment of a committee of officials to review cases of newspaper seizures and arrests of journalists, aiming to prevent arbitrary actions against the press by colonial authorities.

Lord Ripon's administration aimed to enhance the welfare of factory

workers, leading to the enactment of the inaugural Factory Act in 1881. This legislation prohibited the employment of children under seven years old and restricted the working hours for those under twelve. Additionally, it mandated proper fencing for hazardous machinery. The appointment of inspectors facilitated enforcement. This marked the British Government's initial endeavor to ameliorate factory labor conditions in India, signaling a pivotal shift in the nation's industrial landscape.

Lord Ripon continued Lord Mayo's policy of financial decentralization. He categorized revenue sources into three groups: Imperial Heads, Provincial Heads, and Divided Heads. Imperial Heads included revenue from Customs, Posts and Telegraphs, Railways, Opium, Salt, Mint, Military Receipts, and Land Revenue. These funds were earmarked for central administration expenses. Provincial Heads comprised revenue from Jails, Medical Services, Printing, Roads, and General Administration. To address provincial expenditure shortfalls, a portion of Land revenue was allocated to provinces. Divided Heads, including revenue from Excise, Stamps, Forests, and Registration, were evenly split between the Central and Provincial Governments. This system persisted until modified by the 1919 Reforms.

Lord Ripon is hailed as the "Father of Local Self-Government" in modern India for his efforts to establish decentralized governance. In 1882, he implemented a resolution to establish small administrative units like Sub-divisions, Talukas, or Tehsils in rural areas. Municipal Committees and City bodies were formed in towns, replacing the existing nomination system with elections. These local bodies were entrusted with managing health, education, roads, and communications, and given limited financial authority. Ripon's reforms significantly enhanced the efficiency and growth of local self-government in India. Additionally, Ripon initiated revenue reforms by rejecting Lord Cornwallis' permanent land revenue system of 1793, proposing modifications to provide ryots with permanence and security, and recommending no further land revenue enhancements unless justified by rising prices. However, his proposals were not favorably received by the Secretary of State.

Lord Ripon proposed educational reform by appointing an Education Commission in 1882 under Sir W.W. Hunter. The commission laid emphasis on the special responsibility of the State for the improvement and expansion of primary education. Lord Ripon accepted most of the recommendations of the commission. It resulted in an unprecedented growth of schools in India towards the last quarter of the 19th century. Lord Ripon sought to abolish judicial disqualifications based on race distinction. Hence, on his suggestion, Sir C.P. Ilbert, the Law Member of the Viceroy's council, introduced a bill in 1883 to abolish this discrimination in judiciary. Through this bill the British European subjects were brought under the jurisdiction of Indian magistrates and judges. But the bill was vehemently opposed by the European Community in India.

Some Indian historians viewed Lord Ripon's reforms positively, acknowledging them as progressive steps towards greater participation and representation for Indians in the governance of their own country. These reforms included the extension of local self-government through the introduction of the Local Self-Government Acts, which allowed for elected representatives to manage local affairs. Additionally, Ripon's efforts to address issues of discrimination and inequality, such as the Ilbert Bill which aimed to allow Indian judges to preside over cases involving European defendants, were seen as important moves towards equality before the law.

Other Indian historians, however, criticized Lord Ripon's reforms for their limited scope and impact. They argued that while these reforms represented incremental progress, they fell short of addressing the fundamental injustices of British colonial rule in India. Some critics pointed out that the reforms were largely aimed at maintaining British control rather than empowering Indians, and that they did little to challenge the structural inequalities inherent in colonial governance.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q 4: When was the Hunter Commission appointed and for what purpose?

.....

Q 5: Who chaired the Famine Commission in 1878?

.....

Q 6: When was theDepartment of Revenue, Agriculture, and Commerce established?

.....

Q 7: Who is hailed as the "Father of Local Self-Government"?

.....



7.8 LET US SUM UP

After going through this Unit, you have learnt that –

- The political atmosphere post-1857 had drastically changed and the Company's rule was now replaced by the rule of the Crown.
- The British Government were more than cautious in mending their relations with the neighboring countries as well as with the princely states.
- Reforms were initiated to bring stability in governance.



7.9 FURTHER READINGS

1) Chandra, Bipan. (2019). *History ofModern India*. Orient Blackswan, New Delhi.

2) C.A. Bayly. (1989). *Imperial Meridian: The British Empire and the World 1780-1830*. Longman, US.

3) Bandopadhyay, Sekhar. (2004). *From Plassey to Partition: A History of Modern India*. Orient Blackswan, New Delhi.

4) J. M. Ward (1976). *Colonial Self-Government: The British Experience 1759-1856*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

7.10 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans to Q No 1: Amnesty to all those who were involved in the Revolt of 1857.

Ans to Q No 2: Abdur Rehman.

Ans to Q No 3: Imposition of fine on a British trading Company.

Ans to Q No 4: 1882, Education.

Ans to Q No 5: Richard Strachey.

Ans to Q No 6: 1871.

Ans to Q No 7: Lord Ripon.

7.11 MODEL QUESTIONS

A) Very Short Questions (Answer each within 50 words)

Q 1: In which year was the Queen's Proclamation passed?

Q 2: When did Burma come under the British Empire?

Q 3: Name the official who was sent to demarcate the Indo-Afghan boundary.

B) Short Questions (Answer each within 150-300 words)

Q 1: Write a short note on-

a. Lord Auckland's frontier policy

b. Press Reforms

c. Indian Councils Act of 1861

C) Long Questions (Answer each within 300-500 words)

Q 1: Discuss the reforms initiated after the Revolt of 1857.

Q 2: Explain the significance of the Queen's Proclamation.

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UNIT 8 : CULTURAL ENCOUNTER AND SOCIAL RELIGIOUS MOVEMENTS

UNIT STRUCTURE

8.1 Learning Objectives

8.2 Introduction

8.3 Cultural Encounters

- Print and its Implication
- Women Emancipation
- Making of Religious and Linguistic Identities
- Movement against Untouchability

8.4 Socio-Religious Movements

- Brahmo Samaj
- Arya Samaj
- Prarthana Samaj
- Ramakrishna Mission
- Deoband Movement
- Theosophical Society
- Aligarh Movement
- Wahabi Movement
- The Singh Sabha Movement
- Others

8.5 Let Us Sum Up

8.6 Further Readings

8.7 Answers To Check Your Progress

8.8 Model Questions

8.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will able to-

- explain the various cultural changes taking places due to the coming of the Press, Western education etc,
- discuss how these factors shaped the socio-religious Movements

that emerged, and

- discuss the impact of these Movements on the Indian society at large.

8.2 INTRODUCTION

Dear Learners, in the previous Unit, we discussed the political development in India post 1857. In this Unit, we will discuss the social, religious changes that were occurring simultaneously at the same time. The Unit will focus on events that defines the 19th century India- Emancipation Movement for women, for those from the marginalized class and others through writings and organisations that aimed to awaken the consciousness of the Hindu or Muslim or Indian mind.

8.3 CULTURAL ENCOUNTERS

- **Print and its Implication**

During the 19thcentury, the introduction of press and printing in India heralded a significant transformation in the societal mindset. The history of printing in India traces back to the arrival of the Portuguese, who established a printing press in Goa in 1557. Subsequently, in 1684, the English East India Company set up a printing press in Bombay. However, for a considerable period thereafter, no newspapers were published within the Company's territories.

The 18th century witnessed the first attempts to publish newspapers in India, primarily driven by dissatisfied workers seeking to expose the mismanagement of the East India Company. James Augustus Hicky published the first newspaper, "The Bengal Gazette or Calcutta General Advertiser," in 1780. However, due to its candid criticism of Company officials, the press was seized in 1782. Subsequently, several new publications emerged, such as "The Calcutta Gazette," "The Bengal Journal," "The Oriental Magazine of Calcutta," and "The Calcutta Chronicle." While these publications largely avoided direct confrontation with the government, they provided intellectual entertainment.

Another group that utilized print to disseminate their message in India was the missionaries, who published materials in both English and vernacular languages. They played a significant role in restructuring Indian language scripts to facilitate printing and reading among the general populace.

In the early 19th century, Indians began to recognize the importance of print and started producing texts for Indian audiences. Notable journals of this period include "Sambada Kaumudi" by Raja Rammohan Roy and "Sambada Chandrika." "Hindoo Patriot," published in English by Harish Chandra Mukherjee in 1853, advocated for the rights of indigo peasants and shed light on their exploitation by planters, prompting the Company Government to address the issue.

The latter half of the 19thcentury witnessed significant developments in print culture in India, driven by Western education, the expansion of communication networks, and the establishment of libraries and public institutions. Notable publications during this period include "Somaprakasha" by Dwarakanath Vidyabhushan, "Amrita Bazar Patrika" by Sisirkumar Ghosh, and "Bangadarshana" by Bankimchandra Chatterji. However, this period also saw periodic challenges from the colonial government in the form of repressive acts such as the Censorship of the Press Act (1799), the Licensing Regulations (1823), and the Vernacular Press Act (1878). Despite these challenges, there were instances of liberal policies toward the press, notably under Charles Metcalfe, who repealed the Licensing Act of 1823 and earned the epithet of the "Liberator of the Indian Press." These liberal policies fostered the growth of the press in India until 1856.

The impact of print and press extended beyond the urban educated elite to permeate all strata of 19th-century Indian society. Print became a vital tool for expressing feelings, protesting, mobilizing public opinion, and propagating nationalist, liberal, and freedom-oriented ideas. It facilitated widespread debates on social reform issues such as widow immolation, monotheism, and women's education, involving missionaries, scholars, reformers, and nationalists. Furthermore, print culture played a pivotal role in empowering women, increasing literacy among them, and providing them

with a platform to express their views against social evils. The participation of middle-class educated women in public discourse became more visible, with many journals publishing their writings. After the Sepoy Mutiny of 1857, Indian print media assumed a crucial role in spreading nationalism, criticizing colonial policies, and mobilizing resistance against British rule. It served as a watchdog, scrutinizing colonial policies and fostering nationwide solidarity on matters of national importance. Through these avenues, print and press contributed significantly to the growth of education, the dissemination of ideas, and the mobilization of public opinion in 19th-century India.

- **Women Emancipation**

The relationship between social reform movements and gender issues in 19th-century colonial India is complex and often ambiguous.This movement emerged within the broader context of social reform and political awakening during the colonial period, as Indian society grappled with the impacts of British colonial rule and underwent significant socio-cultural transformations.One of the key catalysts for the women's emancipation movement was the exposure of Indian society to Western ideas of equality, liberty, and women's rights through the spread of education, print media, and interactions with colonial administrators and missionaries. Influenced by these ideas, a burgeoning class of educated Indian women began to question traditional gender roles and advocate for reforms aimed at improving the status and opportunities available to women.Prominent female reformers and leaders emerged during this period, including pioneers such as Raja Ram Mohan Roy, Pandita Ramabai, and Savitribai Phule, who campaigned tirelessly for women's education, widow remarriage, and the abolition of oppressive customs. These women defied societal norms and faced considerable opposition and criticism, yet their efforts laid the foundation for future generations of women activists and leaders.

Colonial writers and missionaries tend to downplay Indian efforts in social reform, attributing the liberation of women from prevalent social evils solely to their own endeavors. In contrast, nationalists and traditional historians assert that Indian initiatives were primarily responsible for women's liberation from medieval social norms. Some modern historians critique the

reform movement, suggesting it was predominantly driven by upper-caste men and focused on the interests of the upper-caste and Hindu middle-class women, with limited tangible achievements. Subaltern historians argue that the underlying motive behind the reform movement was to modernize women rather than understand their true desires. Feminist scholars analyze the 19th-century social reform movements from a gender perspective, highlighting their limited focus on women's desires, emotions, health, and work, instead treating women as a social issue. Gender remained a central issue in debates surrounding social abuses such as purdah, sati, and child marriage. While reformists addressed these practices, they often justified them in the name of modesty or deferred to scriptures rather than condemning their cruelty. The proposed Age of Consent Bill in 1891, aiming to raise the age of consent for sexual relations, sparked controversy. While some opposed the bill, arguing against consulting women, others supported it, emphasizing women's behavior. Despite reforms leading to increased literacy among women and greater awareness of their rights, the benefits were unevenly distributed across society. Reforms often favored upper-caste women, while lower-caste women experienced different outcomes. Gender disparities were also evident in education, where women were primarily educated to better serve household affairs. Overall, while social reforms had some positive impacts, they were limited by male control and failed to address the diverse needs and experiences of women across Indian society.

In conclusion, the women's emancipation movement in 19th-century India was a complex and multifaceted phenomenon that reflected the aspirations, struggles, and contradictions of a society in transition. While it achieved significant milestones in challenging patriarchal norms and advancing women's rights, it also encountered obstacles and limitations inherent in the socio-political context of colonial India. Nonetheless, the legacy of the women's emancipation movement endured, shaping subsequent movements for gender equality and social justice in India.

- **Making of Religious and Linguistic Identities**

During the colonial period in India, religious divisions became more

pronounced as Hindus and Muslims began to emphasize their religious identities. This trend was influenced by various material developments such as advancements in communication and printing, as well as social reform movements and the activities of religious reformers and organizations. Both colonial rulers, for administrative purposes, and missionaries, for religious reasons, perpetuated existing social differences in Indian society. In the 19thcentury, efforts were made by socio-religious reformists to unify Hinduism, a phenomenon previously unseen. Despite challenges within Hindu society, attempts were made to strengthen Hindu religious identities, especially after the Great Mutiny of 1857 when nationalism began to take root among the populace. Organizations like Arya Samaj, Bharat Dharma Mahamandal, and Hindu Sabha promoted Hindu rituals and festivals extensively. Vaishnava reforms advocated for higher caste status for many lower castes, contributing to a more assertive Hinduism alongside the rise of nationalism. Simultaneously, a significant number of Muslims endeavored to preserve Islam and stimulate the Muslim community, leading to a separatist mindset. The period witnessed Hinduism intertwining with nationalism, as writers glorified the past golden Hindu period and promoted Hindu nationalism. To overcome divergent views and social differences among Hindu communities, attempts were made to idealize the past while disregarding Muslim rule. Writers such as Bharatendu Harischandra, Pratapnarayan Misra, and Badrinarayan Bhatt played significant roles in opposing heterogeneity within Hindu society and unifying Hindu public opinion. Personalities like Swami Vivekananda, Bankimchandra Chatterjee, and Bal Gangadhar Tilak stimulated Hindu society against internal and external challenges, with the motherland being worshipped as a deity. Revival of festivals like Ganapati and Shivaji rejuvenated Hindu pride and prestige. Hindu revivalism gained momentum in South India following the establishment of Theosophical Society, contributing to the rediscovery and reconstruction of Hindu identity. Thus, Hindu revivalism in 19th-century India intertwined with nationalism, shaping Hindu identity in the colonial context.

India, being a multilingual nation, encountered the challenge articulated by BharatenduHarischandra's maxim, "Hindi, Hindu, and

Hindustan." This endeavor proved formidable, yet in the 19th century, a distinct emergence of linguistic identities permeated various regions of India, shaping a nascent nation and reinforcing community affiliations. In this epoch, elite languages such as Sanskrit, Arabic, and Persian held sway. However, the focal linguistic contention in northern India revolved around Hindi and Urdu, which became entwined with Hindu and Muslim religious identities. The Hindi movement gained traction in early 19th-century northern India in response to the government's preference for Urdu over Hindi. This preference, underscored by Urdu's adoption as the official language in 1835, was met with Hindu apprehension. Advocates of Hindi argued that Urdu, with its foreign script, posed a threat to Hindu youths, potentially leading to their quasi-conversion to Islam. Conversely, Muslim proponents contended that Urdu, although featuring a foreign script, was indigenous to India, and its prevalence among rural populations underscored its utility. The post-1857 surge in Hindu nationalism further catalyzed the Hindi movement, with educated Hindi-speaking youths aspiring for government positions and related benefits. This period witnessed the adoption of "Hindi, Hindu, and Hindustan" as the rallying cry of the Hindi movement, with organizations like Arya Samaj advocating for Hindi as the national language. Initiatives such as the Nagari Pracharini Sabha in Banaras and the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan in Allahabad sought to standardize Hindi, expunging Persian and Arabic influences in favor of Sanskrit terminology.Muslim elites in northern India sought to elevate Urdu by incorporating additional Arabic and Persian vocabulary. Consequently, the government acknowledged Hindi and Urdu as distinct subjects in schools by 1850 and designated Hindi as the language of lower courts in the Central Province and Bihar by 1882 and 1883, respectively. Beyond the Hindi-Urdu dichotomy, linguistic fervor pervaded other regions, including Bengal, Punjab, and Madras Presidency. In Bengal, linguistic identity intertwined with religious affiliations, resulting in the emergence of Musalmani Bangla, incorporating Persian and Arabic elements, alongside efforts by Hindu scholars to Sanskritize Bengali. Similarly, in Punjab, debates centered on the adoption of Persian versus Gurumukhi scripts, with Sikhs ultimately favoring the latter. In the Madras

Presidency, Tamil devotion transformed the language into a locus of attachment and loyalty. Various linguistic associations promoted Tamil, leading to its inclusion as an autonomous subject in the educational curriculum. These intersection of religious and linguistic identities in 19th-century India paved the way for burgeoning nationalistic sentiments, particularly within Hindu nationalist circles. For Muslims, linguistic endeavors represented an attempt to reclaim lost power and prestige under colonial rule. Additionally, competition for government employment and benefits facilitated the consolidation of separate identities in the latter half of the 19th century.

- **Movement against Untouchability**

The 19thcentury Indian society was plagued by the caste system. While historians debate its origins, caste's centrality among Hindu social practices is indisputable, manifesting through the concepts of Varna and Jati. Rooted in the This stratification assigned individuals to fixed positions within the social hierarchy, with higher castes monopolizing prestige and privileges, relegating Sudras toa status slightly above untouchables, who occupied the lowest rung and faced pervasive social exclusion.The Untouchables endured systemic marginalization, deprived of educational and occupational opportunities. Muslims similarly grappled with caste divisions, with Shia-Sunni distinctions and further divisions along racial and tribal lines. Caste rules were rigidly enforced, prohibiting inter-caste marriages and inter-dining, and determining professions based on caste affiliation. Caste councils and panchayats upheld these rules through fines and expulsions. Despite caste mobility, whereby individuals could ascend the social ladder, notions of purity remained entrenched, compelling upwardly mobile individuals to emulate upper-caste customs and behaviors—a phenomenon termed "Sanskritization" by Prof. M.N. Srinivas.

Srinivas described Sanskritization as a process through which lower castes adopt customs, rituals, and ideologies of higher castes, primarily Brahmins, thereby elevating their social status. However, while Sanskritization facilitated changes in caste positions, it did not fundamentally challenge the caste system's core principles. The 19thcentury witnessed a

burgeoning anti-Brahmanical sentiment, with lower-caste individuals and organizations challenging Brahmin hegemony. In Bombay Presidency, the anti-Brahmin movement gained momentum under the leadership of Jyotirao Phule. Phule's seminal work "Ghulamgiri" and his organization, the "Satyashodhak Samaj," denounced Brahminical hypocrisy and advocated for lower-caste emancipation through education. Phule's initiatives, including the establishment of schools for lower-caste girls, laid the groundwork for subsequent anti-Brahmanical activism. These movements aimed to dismantle the rigid caste hierarchy, challenging Brahminical dominance and advocating for social justice and equality for marginalized communities



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q 1: Who coined the term 'Sanskritization'?

.....

Q 2: Name a female social reformer.

.....

Q 3: The"Sambada Kaumudi" was published by whom?

.....

8.4 SOCIO-RELIGIOUS MOVEMENTS

- **Brahmo Samaj**

The Brahmo Sabha founded in 1828 by Raja Ram Mohan Roy was the first of its kind. Opposed to idol worship, the Brahmo Samaj preached the idea of belief in one God. It was against the caste system, *Sati* and child marriage. The Brahmo Sabha paved the way for social and political reform. Raja Ram Mohan Roy's sole aim was to reform and modernize Indian society by reviving the ethical principles of the Vedanta philosophy. According to him, Indian Hindus needed to accept certain changes in their social and cultural traditions in order to avail of the political and social benefits from the British rule. In the field of education, he believed that it was through education that social reform could be brought into the society. In the year 1817, along with David Hare he set up the Hindu College at Calcutta. He

also founded the Anglo-Hindu School in 1822 and in 1826 he established the Vedanta College. He preached about his ideas through writings in journals. The most well-known journal was Sambad Kaumudi. The Tattvabodhini Sabha acted as a missionary wing of the Samaj. A monthly journal, named Tattvabodhini Patrika was also published by the Samaj.

- **Arya Samaj**

The impact of Western influence on conservative Indians is evident in the establishment of the Arya Samaj by Swami Dayanand Saraswati in Bombay in 1875, later relocating its headquarters to Lahore in 1877. Swami Dayanand espoused the belief that the Vedas held solutions to all societal problems, aiming to make Aryan religion a unifying force in India. Central to his ideology was the assertion that the Vedas were the sole repository of knowledge, encapsulated in the motto "Go back to the Vedas." Opposed to idol worship and superstitious rituals, Dayanand advocated for the promotion of universal upliftment and the advancement of societal well-being. Dayanand vehemently opposed the caste system but supported the Varna system, advocating for social equality among men and women and championing women's empowerment. His treatise, "Satyartha Prakash," served as a vehicle for disseminating Vedic knowledge and principles. Emphasizing education, the Arya Samaj established the first Anglo-Vedic School in Lahore in 1886, followed by colleges in Lahore, Hoshiarpur, Kanpur, and Jullundar. Additionally, the Samaj engaged in relief efforts during famines in Uttar Pradesh in 1897-98 and 1908. The Arya Samaj sought to revive national pride by reconnecting with India's ancient scriptures and glory, countering the influence of the West. Dedicated to the betterment of Hindu society, Dayanand initiated the '*Shuddhi movement'* to reconvert those who had converted from Hinduism to other religions. Key figures involved in this movement included Lala Hans Raj, Pundit Guru Dutt, and Lala Lajpat Rai.

- **Prarthana Samaj**

The inception of the Prarthana Samaj in 1867, under the stewardship of Keshab Chandra Sen, marked a significant development in the socio-religious landscape of India. Preceding this organization was the Paramahansa Sabha, a clandestine association dedicated to advancing

liberal ideologies in Mumbai. The ethos of the Samaj centered on philanthropic endeavors, encapsulated by their motto of serving God through the service of humanity. Their initiatives encompassed advocacy for widow remarriage, promotion of women's education, and other pivotal social causes. Eminent figures such as Mahadev Govinda Ranade, R.G. Bhandarkar, and Dr. Atmaram Pandurang were closely affiliated with this Samaj, contributing to its intellectual and operational endeavors. Rooted in the reform movements of Bombay (present-day Mumbai), adherents of the Samaj drew inspiration from the traditions espoused by Marathi saints such as Tukaram, Ramdas, and Namdev. The Samaj undertook educational initiatives, operating night schools tailored for the working-class demographic. Furthermore, the Samaj displayed a fervent commitment to uplifting the marginalized segments of society, evidenced by the establishment of orphanages, an asylum, and a social service league. Additionally, a dedicated mission was established to address the needs of the depressed classes, underscoring the organization's inclusive and egalitarian ethos.

- **Ramakrishna Mission**

The Ramakrishna Mission was the idea of Swami Vivekananda who wanted to spread the teachings of his guru Ramakrishna Paramahansa.The mission was born in the year 1897. Swami Vivekananda tried its best to create a balance between the spiritualism of the east and the materialism of the west. The main objective of Swami Vivekananda was to revive the glory of Indian religion. He was a true patriot and worked for the betterment of the people. Hence, he got the title of "The Patron Saint of India". In the field of social reforms, the Swami was against caste prejudices, untouchability, and many other evils that were within the Hindu religion. He believed in the service of humanity. The Ramakrishna Mission set up many charitable hospitals, dispensaries for the poor and the needy. Many missionary centres were set up in India and abroad. In the educational sector, the Mission opened many schools, colleges and vocational training centres. Besides, many relief works were also taken up by the Mission in interior villages.

- **Deoband Movement**

Established in 1866 by Md Qasim Namtari and Maulana Rashid Ahmad Gangoli, in the city of Deoband in UP. the Deoband Movement was an Islamic revivalist movement. It aimed at the moral and religious regenerationof the Muslims. Some of the products of the Deoband School were Maulana Abdul Kalam Azad, Md uI Hassan etc. The seminary was popularly known as “Dar-Al-Ulum” and among other things preached Sufi philosophy and the Hadiths. The Movement expanded to a large network of educational institutions and even though it was conservative in its religious teachings and emphasised on teaching Islamic theology, yet it did adopt to the secular aspects of the modern education that prevailed at the time. The School strictly favoured western education.

- **Theosophical Society**

The Theosophical Society was founded in 1875 by Madame H.P. Blavatsky and Colonel H.S. Olcott in New York. The main objectives of the society were to spread the love of brotherhood irrespective of caste, class, religion and such other barriers. The society worked in accordance with the Hindu beliefs. The objectives that the society worked for were to find out the unexplained laws of nature and the powers that were latent in man. It was only after Annie Besant took charge that the Theosophical Society became a revivalist movement. Besant also laid the foundation of the Central Hindu College in Varanasi in 1898 where a mixture of both Indian and western subjects were taught.

- **Aligarh Movement**

It was Sir Syed Ahmed Khan led the movement among the Muslims. Himself being an educated man, he felt that his community would lag behind if the loyalty of the British could not be earned and for that it was necessary that the Muslims should be able to understand the master’s language and be able to participate in the day-to-day affairs. Hence, he started to create awareness among them. He beganby reforming the social abuses prevalent amongst the Muslims. He condemned slavery and also the narrow preachings that the traditional interpreters passed on to the Muslims. His progressive ideas were very often dispelled through his magazine Tahjib –

ul – Akhlaq. As a social reformer he was very keen that English education should be made available to the Muslims too. He established the Muhammedan Anglo-Oriental College in Aligarh in 1875. It was from here that the movement started and hence the name Aligarh Movement. This college later became the Aligarh Muslim University in 1890. Sir Ahmed Khan wanted that the base of the whole movement should be the college because it was only through education that a change could be brought about in Muslim society.

- **Wahabi Movement**

Founded by Syed Ahmed Brelawvi (1789-1831) in Bihar, the movement was known as the Wahabi Movement. The aim of the Movements which was mainly to revive the purity of the religion (Islam) free from all exaggerations.The Wahabi Movement under him also emphasised on education in order to gain employment in the British Government which would in return give them a better life. Similarly, the Movement worked for the development of the Muslim community through the establishment of maktabs, madrasa, orphanage, crafts training centreetc

- **The Singh Sabha Movement**

The Singh Sabha Movement was a religious and political organisation of the Sikhs founded in the last quarter of the 19th century. The main objective of the Movement was to study the original source of Sikkhism in an attempt to revive the purest form of the religion. However, the reform soon took the form of an anti-Hindu stance.It preached that the Sikh brotherhood must be cleansed off the Hindu practices. The boundaries between the Hindu and Sikhs were asserted. The slogan of the Movement was “Sikhs are not Hindus”. Under this Movement Khalsa College was established in 1897. Schools were also established to impart the tenets of the Movement.

- **Others**

The Young Bengal Movement was a student movement led by Henry Louis Vivian Derozio, a teacher at the Hindu College. His followers were known as the Young Bengal. It has been often referred to as a radical movement. Henry Derozio was a radical thinker who raised questions on the sacred institutions of Hinduism and attracted a huge following among

the students of the College. Derozio worked for a radical change in the existing societal conditions. He inspired the students of his college with his radical thoughts.

RaghnumaiMazdayasuan Sabha was founded by the enlightened members of the Parsi Community in 1851 with the aim of bringing reform within the community. Rast Gaftoor was published to acquaint the people with the teachings of Zoroaster. The Parsi reformers worked on the welfare issue relating to women and children, education etc. Some of the influential Parsi reformers were- B.M. Malabari, Dadabhai Naoroji, Sir Pherozshah Mehta, K.R. Cama etc.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q 4: Who introduced the 'Suddhi Movement'?

.....

Q 5: The 'Tattvabodhini Sabha' is associated with which socio-religious organization?

.....

Q 6: The"Sambada Kaumudi" was published by whom?

.....

Q 7: Name a prominent figure associated with the Prarthana Samaj.

.....



8.5 LET US SUM UP

After going through this Unit, you have learnt that-

- India in the 19th century was undergoing a tumultuous journey of transformation from within.
- There was growing consciousness with regard to the social evils, the importance of western education, etc.
- This consciousness was reflected in the emergence of different socio-religious organisations which heralded an era of change for the Indian society.



8.6 FURTHER READINGS

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3) T.R. Metcalf. (1995). *Ideologies of the Raj: The New Cambridge History of India*, III.4, Cambridge University Press, 1995.

4) Bandopadhyay, Sekhar. (2004). *From Plassey to Partition: A History of Modern India*. Orient Blackswan, New Delhi.



8.7 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans to Q No 1: Prof. M.N. Srinivas.

Ans to Q No 2: Pandita Ramabai.

Ans to Q No 3: Raja Rammohan Roy.

Ans to Q No 4: Dayanand Saraswati.

Ans to Q No 5: Brahmo Samaj.

Ans to Q No 6: Raj Ram Mohun Roy.

Ans to Q No 7: Mahadev Govinda Ranade.



8.8 MODEL QUESTIONS

A) Very Short Questions (answer each questionwithin 50 words)

Q 1: Who formed the Theosophical Society?

Q 2: What was the aim of the Singh Sabha Movement?

Q 3: What is Hadith?

B) Short Questions (answer eachquestion within 150 words)

Q 1: Write short notes on-

a. Swami Vivekananda

b. Caste System

c. Printing Press and its impact

C) Long Questions (answer each questionwithin 300-500 words)

Q 1: Discuss the emergence of the socio-religious Movement in India and its implication.

Q 2: What is meant by 'Women Emancipation'? How did the reform movement enable the emancipation of women? Explain.

Q 3: Discuss the caste system and the role of the social reform Movement in fighting the caste prejudice.

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UNIT 9 : ECONOMY AND POPULAR RESISTANCE

UNIT STRUCTURE

9.1 Learning Objectives

9.2 Introduction

9.3 Agrarian Structure

9.4 Initial Resistance

9.5 Famine

9.6 Popular Resistance against the British

9.7 Let Us Sum Up

9.8 Further Readings

9.9 Answers To Check Your Progress

9.10 Model Questions

9.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will able to-

- explain the changes in the agrarian system,
- discuss the causes for the rise of resistance movements across India,
- discuss the impact of the agrarian changes on the environment and the peasantry.

9.2 INTRODUCTION

Dear Learners, in the previous Unit, we discussed the social and religious reform movements that had emerged in colonial India and how it shaped the nineteenth century history in the country.

In this Unit, we will be discussing the changing agrarian structure and its impact on the economy as well as those who were directly affected by it, The Unit focusses on the resistance movements that marked the sign of resentment against the British.

9.3 AGRARIAN STRUCTURE

Permanent, Mahalwari and Rayotwari land revenue settlements during British rule brought misery to the peasants. Agrarian social structure in India during the British rule had the following four categories: (i) Landlords (ii) Peasant Proprietors (iii) Sharecroppers and (iv) Agricultural Labourers. After the introduction of land revenue settlements there was the growth of intermediary landed interest. The Zamindars used to lease or let their lands to *ijaradars* and *pattidars*. In turn, the latter gave the land on rent to others. Thus, a large number of intermediaries came into being between the government and the peasants. On the other hand commercial agriculture - crop production for market rather than for consumption was encouraged by the colonial rulers. The commercialization of agriculture disrupted the traditional structure of Indian village economy. The new land system had already weakened the existing rural framework. The number of landless agricultural labourers rapidly increased due to the poverty of a large section of the peasantry. These classes of people were the majority of the rural population. Ownership of large number of agricultural lands were shifted to Zamindars and moneylenders. So, the age-old relation broke between agriculture and industry in the countryside and led to the destruction of the self-sufficient Indian village economy. This also resulted in widespread unemployment and overcrowding of the agricultural sector. Between 1860 and 1950, with the exception of half a decade between 1930 and 1935, when prices of agricultural produce did fall, there was a rise in prices. Such rise in prices led to the struggle between landlord and peasant for control over theincreased value of agricultural surplus. Tenants protested against the landlords who raised rents. The landlords asserted their proprietary rights, while tenants claimed occupancy rights. Bengal Tenancy Act of 1885, Awadh Rent Act of 1886, Punjab Land Alienation Act of 1901; all these acts were unsuccessful inpreventing the transfer of land from cultivators to moneylenders. So. Zamindari abolition seems to have been a central issue of the popular protests during the British rule. Over the century, the peasants' ability to resist landlord control of rent and produce increased and the

structure of landlordism stood considerably weakened by the end of British rule.

9.4 INITIAL RESISTANCE

Indigo Revolt (1859-60): Historically, the indigo rebellion can be termed the first form resistance of the countryside against the British. In March 1859, the revolt became more organized when thousands of ryots in Bengal refused to grow indigo, led by Digambar Biswas and Bishnu Biswas of Nadia district. The peasants decided not to grow indigo under duress and resisted the physical pressure of the planters and their lathiyals (retainers) backed by police and the courts. They also organised a counter force against the planters' attacks. The planters also tried methods like evictions and enhanced rents. The ryots replied by going on a rent strike by refusing to pay the enhanced rents and by physically resisting the attempts to evict them. Gradually, they learned to use the legal machinery and initiated legal action supported by fund collection. The Bengali intelligentsia played a significant role. Bengali intellectual [Harish Chandra Mukherjee] thoroughly described the plight of the poor peasants in his newspaper The Hindu Patriot. Dinabandhu Mitra, depicted the situation in his play Nil Darpan. The play created a huge controversy which was banned later by the English Company to control the agitation among the Indians. Peasant organization to some extent, Hindu Muslim Unity, support from Bengal intelligentsia made the revolt more effective. The Government appointed an indigo commission toinquire into the problem of indigo cultivation, was virtually wiped out from Bengal by the end of 1860.

Pabna Agrarian Revolt: During the 1870s and 1880s, large parts of Eastern Bengal witnessed agrarian unrest caused by oppressive practices of the Zamindars. It originated in the Yusufshahi pargana, which is now the Sirajganj district within greater Pabna. The zamindars routinely collected money from the peasants by the illegal means of forced levy, abwabs (cesses), enhanced rent and so Act X of 1859 allowed the zamindars to enhance rent only on three specific grounds: (a) if the Raiyats paid less rent than what is paid for the same type of land in the neighboring areas;

(b) if the value of produce increased; and (c) if the raiyats paid rents for less land than they actually held. The immediate background of the present rising in Pabna was a case filed by zamindars against 43 leading raiyats of Urkandeevillage,refused to pay the enhanced rent. The Judgement of the appellate court was looked upon by the raiyats as their moral victory over the zamindars.Having had enough of the oppressive regime; the peasants of Yusufshahi Pargana in Patna district formed an agrarian league or combination to resist the demands of the Zamindars. The introduction of jute as a cash crop played an important role in the Pabna uprising. The jute economy led to the rise of a new rural middle class of raiyats who could assert themselves against the landlords. Due to the slump in the jute market the raiyats were beset with a near-famine situation because of the loss of purchasing power. Under such a situation some Sirajganj landlords declared an enhancement of rent and that triggered the rebellion. The Pabna Raiyats' League came into existence in May 1873, and gradually spread its influence over a large part of the district. One of the leaders of the League was Ishan Chandra Roy, commonly known as Ishan Raja. Koodi Molla and Shambhu Nath Pal were prominent among his followers.They declared their parganas independent of zamindari control and fancied setting up a local government. They even set up a 'rebel army' to fight the zamindari '*lathials*' (clubmen). The Pabna movement, in its formative phase, waslawful and non-violent, but as the League grew stronger, it became more violent. A number of young Indian intellectuals supported the peasants' cause. These included Bankim Chandra Chatterjee, R.C. Dutt and the Indian Association under Surendranath Banerjee.The Government also promised to undertake legislation to protect the tenants from the worst aspects of Zamindari oppression. In 1885, the Bengal Tenancy Act was passed. Sir George Campbell, Lieutenant Governor of Bengal, declared his determination to protect the people from all coercion and extortion, and advised the zamindars to assert their claims by legal means only.

Deccan Uprising: The ryots of Deccan region of western India suffered heavy taxation under the Ryotwari system. The peasants here were trapped in a vicious network with the outsider moneylenders —

Marwaris or Gujaratis. The conditions had worsened due to a collapse in cotton prices after the end of the American civil war in 1864. As the Civil War ended in 1865, cotton production in America revived and Indian cotton exports to Britain steadily declined. The first revenue settlement was in the 1820s and 1830s. And in the new settlement, the demand for rent was increased dramatically: from 50 to 100 per cent. The moneylenders now refused loans. The movement began at Supa, a large village in Poona district, a market centre where many shopkeepers and moneylenders lived. In 1875, riyots from surrounding rural areas gathered and attacked the shopkeepers. From Poona the revolt spread to Ahmednagar. Then over the next two months it spread even further, over an area of 6,500 square km. This uprising also involved social boycott of moneylender and social boycott of any villager who didn't socially boycott the moneylender. Later they got support from Poona Sarvajanik Sabha led by Justice Ranade. The Deccan Riots Commission set up by Government of Bombay produced a report that was presented to the British Parliament in 1878. Thereafter Agriculturists Relief Act was passed in 1879.

Assam insurgency: Assam insurgency in 1893-94 in the Kamrup and Darrang districts was mainly caused by the British effort to increaseland revenue according to the new settlement. In many villages it was high as 70-100%.People of Kamrup and Central Assam organized a no rent campaign by organizing themselves into specially convened raijmels which were local assemblies of villagers led by local elite like Brahmans .No rent campaign eventually took a violent turn. Historian Amalendu Guha has shown in his book "Planters Raj to Swaraj" that those who submitted to the government threat, violating the unanimous decision of the raijmel, had a possibility of being disliked. The movement of Assam received support from Jorhat Sarvajanik Sabha and in Bengal legislative council this issue was raised by moderate leader Rashbehari Ghosh. At last the Government forced to retreat with some concessions.

9.5 FAMINE

The history of British rule in India was characterized by number of recurring famines. British famine policy in India was influenced by the arguments of Adam Smith, as seen by the non-interference of the government with the grain market even in times of famines. British government appointed Col Baird Committee to investigate the causes of the famine of Delhi-Agra region during 1860-61. The recommendations of this Committee along with recommendations of George Campbell commission for the famine of Orissa in 1866 were not given much attention. Similar famines followed in the western Ganges region, Rajasthan, central India (1868–70), Bengal and eastern India (1873–1874), Deccan (1876–78), and again in the Ganges region, Madras, Hyderabad, Mysore, and Bombay (1876–1878). In accordance with the recommendations of Strachey Commission a famine fund and famine code were formulated. In reality the next major famine was in 1896–97 of the Madras Presidency. The Bengal famine of 1943 was a major famine in the Bengal province in British India during World War II. An estimated 2.1 million people died in the famine, the deaths occurring first from starvation and then from diseases. Suggestions of John Woodhad Committee for the Bengal famine were also ignored by the authority. According to Amartya Sen the famines in the British era werenot due to a lack of food but due to the inequalities in the distribution of food. As Tirthankar Roy estimates that the famines were caused due to environmental factors and inherent in India's ecology. Roy argues due to scarcity of water, poor quality of soil and livestock and a poorly developed input market investments in agriculture were extremely risky. The popular revolts were one of the consequences of the famines and uncovered the ignorance of the British administration for Indian peasantry. However during the War years the kisan Sabha continued to play an important role in various kinds of relief work, as for example in the Bengal Famine of 1943.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q 1: Who were the '*lathials*'?

.....

Q 2: Who was the author of Nil Darpan?

.....

Q 3: State the cause of Famine in colonial India, as remarked by Amartya Sen.

.....

9.6 POPULAR RESISTANCE AGAINST THE BRITISH

Some of the popular resistance Movements against the British are discussed below-

The Eka Movement in Awadh in U.P. : The hold of the taluqdars or big landlords over the agrarian society of the province led to a situation in which exorbitant rents, illegal levies, etc had made life depressed for the cultivators added with the high price of foodand other necessities after World War I. The U.P. Kisan Sabha was set up in February 1918. By June 1919, the UP Kisan Sabha had 450 branches. Protests started with prominent leaders Jhinguri Singh, Durgapal Singh and Baba Ramchandra. In June 1920, Baba Ramchandra urged Nehru to visit these villages. During these visits, Nehru developed close contacts with the villagers. In October 1920, the Awadh Kisan Sabha came into existence because of differences in nationalist ranks. The first big show of strength of the Sabha was the rally held at Ayodhya, near Faizabad town, on 20 and 21 December which was attended by roughly 100,000 peasants. The Awadh Kisan Sabha asked the kisans to refuse to till bedakhali land, not to offer *hari* and *begar* (forms of unpaid labour), to boycott those who did not accept these conditions and to solve their disputes through Panchayats. From the earlier forms of mass meetings and mobilisation, the patterns of activity changed rapidly in January 1921 to the looting of bazaars, houses, granaries and clashes with the police. The centres of activity were primarily the districts of Rai Bareilly, Faizabad and Sultanpur.The movement declined soon, partly due to

government repression and partly because of the passing of the Awadh Rent (Amendment) Act. Towards the end of 1921, peasant discontent resurfaced in some northern districts of the United Provinces—Hardoi, Bahraich, Sitapur where the Eka Movement, however, soon developed its own grassroots leadership in the form of Madari Pasi and and many small Zamindars not followed nonviolence that the Congress and Khilafat leaders urged. Main issues here are high rents—50 per cent higher than the recorded rates, oppression of thikadars in charge of revenue collection; and practice of share-rents. By March 1922, severe repression by authorities brought the movement to an end.

Mappila Revolt: The Mappilas were the Muslim tenants inhabiting the Malabar region where most of the landlords were Hindus. The Mappilas had expressed their resentment against the oppression of the landlords during the nineteenth century also. Their grievances centred on lack of security of tenure, high rents, renewal fees and other oppressive exactions.The Mappila tenants were particularly optimistic by the demand of the local Congress body for a government legislation regulating tenant-landlord relations. Soon, the Mappila movement merged with the ongoing Khilafat agitation. The leaders of the Khilafat-Non-Cooperation Movement like Gandhi, Shaukat Ali and Maulana Azad addressed Mappila meetings. After the arrest of national leaders, the leadership passed into the hands of local Mappila leaders. Things took a turn for the worse in August 1921 when the arrest of a respected priest leader, Ali Musaliar, sparked off large-scale riots. Initially, the symbols of British authority— courts, police stations, treasuries and offices—and unpopular landlords were the targets. But once the British declared martial law and repression began in earnest, the character of the rebellion underwent a definite change. Many hindus were seen by the Mappilas to be helping the authorities. What began as an anti-government and anti- landlord affair acquired communal overtones. The communalisation of the rebellion completed the isolation of the Mappilas from the Khilafat-Non-Cooperation Movement. By December 1921, all resistance had come to a stop.

Bardoli Movement: The no-tax movement that was launched in

Bardoli taluq of Surat district in Gujarat in 1928 was also linked with the Non-cooperation movement. Gandhiji's rebuke in 1922 had done nothing for the upliftment of the low-caste untouchable and tribal inhabitants. Main argument of Jan Breman is that the relations between the Kali Paraj(lower caste) and the landlords were characterised by exploitation. The stock of Kali Paraj people mainly consisted of Dubla, also called Halpati.The Ujli Paraj peasants cornered most of the benefits in terms of ownership of land and other facilities. At the initiation of Gandhiji some constructive work such as schools, ashrams and hostels were started. on the other hand reform movements were begun. This created an awakening among the peasant masses. Interestingly enough, the Patidar Yuvak Mandals were constituted for the social reforms of the members of Patidar community, a sense of antagonism developed among them against the peasants of lower castes. As a result of the constructive work done by Gandhiji the spinningwheel Charkha had become popular among the back-ward castes and tribes. The Hali system, though was prevalent in south Gujarat, was a speciality of Bardoli. This system is based on the tribal agricultural labourers and the high caste landlords, that is, Patidars. Sardar Patel assumed the leadership and went to Bardoli. He wrote to the government to fulfill the demands of the peasants. Meanwhile, a meeting of a peasant Committee of Bardoli taluka passed a resolution advising all occupants of land to refuse payment of the revised assessment until the government appointed an independent tribunal or accepted the current amount as full payment. The satyagraha had begun. The government of Bombay became stern and took all repressive measures such as attachment of land, and crops, and confiscation of cattle and other movable property. The government forfeited a large chunk of land. The members of the Bombay Legislative Council from Gujarat resigned enmasse as a mark of protest against the government's policy. Even the flames of Bardoli had reached to Punjab and many jathas of peasants were dispatched to Bardoli. Yet strength of the movement came from Gandhiji who shifted to Bardoli on 2nd August, 1928. An enquiry committee suggested reducing the enhancement of land tax. Soon, the Bardoli peasant movement became a national issue.

The Peasant Movements in the 1930s and 1940s: The 1930s bore witness to a new and nation-wide awakening, which was largely caused by the great Depression. The Civil Disobedience Movement in many parts of the country soon took on the form of a no-tax and no-rent campaign. Peasants encouraged by the recent success of the Bardoli Satyagraha (1928), joined the protest in large numbers. In U.P., no-revenue soon turned into no-rent and the movement continued. In Punjab the Kisan Sabhas demanded a reduction in land revenue and water-rates and the scaling down of debts. In Maharashtra, Bihar and the Central Provinces, forest satyagrahas were popular. Likewise anti-Zamindari struggles emerged in Andhra. In 1934, with the formation of the Congress Socialist Party (CSP) the process of the consolidation of the Left forces received a significant push forward. The formation of Congress Ministries in a majority of the provinces in early 1937 marked the beginning of a new phase in the growth of the peasant movement. In Malabar, in Kerala, for example, a powerful peasant movement developed as the result of the efforts mainly of CSP activists, who had been working among the peasants since 1934. The KarshakaSanghams also organized a powerful campaign around the demand for amending the Malabar Tenancy Act of 1929. Punjab was another centre of *kisan* activity. The two issues that came up for an immediate struggle were the resettlement of land revenue of Amritsar and Lahore districts and the increase in the canal tax or water-rate.

Tebhaga Movement: In September 1946, the Bengal Provincial Kisan Sabha advocated for the implementation of the Flood Commission's Tebhaga recommendations, which proposed giving two-thirds of the produce to bargardars (also known as bagchasi or adhyar), or sharecroppers, instead of the previous half-share. This call for change was supported by the Bengal Land Revenue Commission's similar suggestion to the government. Communist activists, including urban student militias, ventured into rural areas to organize the bargardars, urging them to assert their rights by bringing harvested crops to their own threshing floors rather than to the landowners' houses. The movement primarily took root in north Bengal, particularly among the Rajbanshis—a low-caste tribal group—with significant

participation from Muslims. Key areas of activity included Dinajpur, Rangpur, Jalpaiguri, Mymensingh, and Midnapore, with some involvement in 24-Parganas and Khulna as well. However, the movement lost momentum due to the Bengal League ministry's introduction of the Bargardari Bill, increased repression, the Hindu Mahasabha's push for a separate Bengal, and renewed riots in Calcutta, which eroded urban support for the cause.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q 4: Who were the '*bagchasi'* ?

.....

Q 5: When was the Congress Socialist Party (CSP) formed ?

.....

Q 6: Who were the Patidars ?

.....



9.7 LET US SUM UP

After going through this Unit, you have learnt that-

- There was a marked shift in the agrarian structure and the changes deeply affected the agricultural class, mostly the farmers, ryots, adhyars etc.
- The agrarian policies of the British created resentment among the cultivators and resulted in resistance movements.
- While some of the resistance movements grew more popular and gained the national attention thus putting more pressure on the British,'



9.8 FURTHER READINGS

1) Chandra, Bipan, Mukherjee Mridula et.al (1989). India's struggle for independence. India: Penguin Books.

2) Chatterjee, S. and Ray, S. Guha (2nd edition) (2015). History of Modern India, 1707-1964. Kolkata, India: Progressive Publisher.

3) Dhanagare, D.N. (1983). Peasant Movements in India, 1920-1950. Delhi, India: Oxford University Press. 4. Sarkar, Sumit. (1959). Modern India,1885-1947.Delhi, India: Macmillan.

4) Sen, Sunil. (1982). Peasant movements in India,Mid-Nineteenth and Twentieth Century. Calcutta, India: K.P.Bagchi and Company.



9.9 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans to Q No 1: Strongmen employed by zamindars.

Ans to Q No 2: Dinabandhu Mitra.

Ans to Q No 3: According to Amartya Sen the famines in the British era were not due to a lack of food but due to the inequalities in the distribution of food.

Ans to Q No 4: Share croppers.

Ans to Q No 5: 1934.

Ans to Q No 6: High caste Landlords.



9.10 MODEL QUESTIONS

A) Very Short Questions (answer each question within 50 words)

Q 1: When was the Agriculturists Relief Act passed?

Q 2: What was the cause for the Pabna riot?

Q 3: State on reason behind the success of the British in bringing down the resistance movements.

B) Short Questions (answer each question within 150-300 words)

Q 1: Write a short note on-

a. Tebhaga Movement

b. Famine in colonial India

c. Raij Mels

C) Long Questions (answer each question within 300-500 words)

Q 1: Critically analyse the agrarian changes and its impact on the peasants.

Q 2: Explain the consequences of the initial resistance movement.

Q 3: Discuss the nature of the popular resistance movement.

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UNIT 10 : RISE OF INDIAN NATIONALISM AND INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

UNIT STRUCTURE

10.1 Learning Objectives

10.2 Introduction

10.3 Factors Responsible for the rise of Indian Nationalism

10.4 Rise of Political Organizations

- 10.4.1 Political Organizations of the Calcutta Presidency
- 10.4.2 Political Organizations of the Bombay Presidency
- 10.4.3 Political Organizations of the Madras Presidency

10.5 Foundation of the Indian National Congress

- 10.5.1 Aims and Objectives of the Congress
- 10.5.2 Theories behind the formation of the Congress
- 10.5.3 The Moderates and their Methods of working
- 10.5.4 Demands and Achievements of the Moderates

10.6 Partition of Bengal

- 10.6.1 Motives behind the Partition
- 10.6.2 Indian responses against the Partition

10.7 Swadeshi Movement

- 10.7.1 New Techniques of Struggle
- 10.7.2 National Education

10.8 Let Us Sum Up

10.9 Further Readings

10.10 Answers To Check Your Progress

10.11 Model Questions

10.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will able to-

- examine the factors for the emergence of nationalism in colonial India.
- assess the contribution of the pre-Congress political organizations

of India in creating public consciousness among the masses.

- know the various theories behind the establishment of the Indian National Congress.
- discuss the role played by the moderate leaders of Congress in the Indian Freedom Movement.
- elucidate the reasons behind the Partition of Bengal and know the course and outcome of the Swadeshi Movement.

10.2 INTRODUCTION

In the previous unit, you have learnt how the establishment of the colonial rule introduced multiple changes in terms of agrarian structure and economy. Introduction of cash economy, commercialization of agriculture, emergence of middlemen in agriculture, imposition of new land revenue settlements, etc. had a negative impact in the Indian peasantry. To pay the high land tax, often the Indian peasants were forced to borrow money from the rich money lender, who in tern exploited them to the maximum, which resulted in rural indebtedness. Moreover, the emergence of absentee landlords made the situation of the Indian peasants quite difficult to sustain. Further, the outbreak of natural calamities, like, famines, flood, etc. and the inability on the part of the colonial authority to solve the problems of the Indians made the situation worst.

In such a situation India witnessed the outbreak of a series of agrarian revolts and popular resistance during the colonial period. Though most of these uprisings were localized in nature and were ruthlessly suppressed by the colonial authority, yet their outbreak itself proved that the anti-colonial sentiment was gaining momentum in India. The failure of most of these peasant uprisings show the necessity of a more organized resistance under proper guidance and through a common platform. Finally, this realization paved the way for the establishment of the Indian National Congress to guide the whole course of the Indian Freedom Movement. In this unit, we are going to study in detail how the colonial rule in India witnessed the emergence of nationalism and the Indian National Congress efficiently organized the Indian National Movement.

10.3 FACTORS RESPONSIBLE FOR THE RISE OF INDIAN NATIONALISM

The rise of Indian nationalism is one of the most debatable topics among the historians. While one group of historians opine that the Indian nationalism was the child of the British, another group of historians opine that nationalism in India was the outcome of the Indian reaction to colonial exploitation. In this connection it is very important to note that the colonial historiography of the Indian National Movement denied the existence of India a nation. However, the nationalist historiography strongly argued that India was a nation in making during the colonial rule, and not just mere a geographical entity. Thus, whatever may be the genesis, it is sure that colonial India witnessed the emergence of a new feeling called nationalism that guided the entire course of the Indian National Movement and finally paved the way to break the cage of around 200 years of colonial exploitation in India. Hence, it is very clear that a single factor couldn't be only responsible for the emergence of Indian nationalism. Rather, a series of varies factors slowly and gradually prepared the background for the rise of Indian nationalism during the colonial rule. Some of the important factors responsible for the rise of Indian nationalism are discussed below:

Impact of British rule: For the establishment and consolidation of British rule in India, the colonial authority introduced several laws in India, which ultimately paved the way for bringing the Indian masses together for the first time in her history. Before the establishment of the colonial rule in India, the entire subcontinent was divided into several kingdoms, provinces or princely states ruled by either the kings or the princes. Hence, the people used to identify themselves with regional identities rather than the national identity. However, for the shake of the newly established British rule, when the colonial authorities introduced the common administration, laws, judiciary, and various other institutions, it resulted in the political unification of India that fostered the spirit of unity among the Indian masses. Hence the political and administrative unification of India can be considered as one the vital factors responsible for the rise of Indian nationalism.

In the economic aspect, the colonial rule resulted in the drain of

Indian resources. Colonial economic policies turned India into a supplier of raw materials for the British industries and at the same time a suitable market for the manufactured products of the British industries. Under the colonial rule India was getting poorer day by day. A huge sum of money was drained every year from India to Britain. This economic exploitation by the colonial authority also resulted in the rise of nationalism in India.



LET US KNOW

Drain of Wealth Theory

The Drain of Wealth Theory or the Drain Theory was first propounded by Dadabhai Naoroji in his work 'Poverty and Un-British Rule in India'. Through this Theory he pointed out that a large sum of India's wealth was drained out to Britain in the form of home charges, illegal taxes, colonial investments, and many other ways. Naoroji also provided a detailed data to support his viewpoint that India was becoming poorer under the colonial rule. The Drain Theory was also supported by scholars like R. C. Dutta, R. P. Dutta, etc. Infact, the Drain Theory can be considered as instrumental one in the entire economic critic of colonialism in India.

The establishment of the colonial rule in India introduced a series of social changes, like the putting ban on *sati*, infanticide, child marriage, etc. Simultaneously the colonial rule in India also encouraged the widow remarriage, girl education, etc. Though the conservative elements of the Indian society were totally against this type of colonial interference in their traditional social set up, the progressive sections of the Indian society welcomed these changes and were very much influenced by the western liberal ideas and institutions. This progressive section of the Indian society provided leadership to the socio-religious reform movements in India and tried their level best to remove the evils from the Indian society, like superstition, idolatry, polytheism, caste system, untouchability, etc. These socio-religious reform movements developed a sense of self-respect and spirit of patriotism which in turn contributed towards promoting the feeling of nationalism in India.

Developed means of transport and communication: For the administrative convenience of the newly established British rule in India, the colonial authorities introduced a planned and advanced means of transportation and communication system. Of course, several other factors also necessitated the construction of new means of transportation in India, like the fast transportation of troops, economic penetration, commercial exploitation, etc. The developed means of transportation and communication linked the entire Indian provinces with each other and thereby paved the way for the rise of Indian nationalism by bringing the people together. In the 1850's, the railways were introduced in India and by 1900 CE it extended approximately to 25,000 miles. This is indeed one of the turning factors for the emergence of Indian nationalism.

Another major development in the field communication was the introduction of the modern postal system and electric telegraph in India. All these modern means of transport and communication system helped the people living in different parts of India to maintain a close and regular contact with each other very easily and this undoubtedly resulted in unifying India.



LET US KNOW

The first passenger train of India ran between Bori Bunder (Bombay) and Thane, covering approximately 34 kilometers. In 1727 CE, the East India Company started opening its first post office in India. Robert Clive in 1766 CE set up a regular postal system in India. However, it was only for official use. In 1774 CE, Governor-General Warren Hastings opened the posts for the use of the public and in the same year the Calcutta General Post Office was established, followed by the establishment of the Madras General Post Office in 1786 CE and Bombay General Post Office in 1794 CE. Lord Dalhousie in the year 1852 introduced the Electric Telegraph System in India. The first telegraph line from Calcutta to Agra was opened in the year 1854, which covered approximately 800 miles.

Introduction of western education: Under the colonial rule, a western education system was introduced in India with a view to fulfill their administrative needs, like filling up the lower posts of administration and to create a young group of western Indian generation that would follow the western culture and in turn would insist in the continuation of the colonial rule in India. Infact, it can be said that under the colonial rule, education was used as a medium to establish British cultural hegemony over the Indian. As Gauri Viswanathan mentions, English education was provided during the colonial period to carry forward the imperial mission of educating and civilizing colonial subjects in literature and thought of Britain to strengthen the western cultural hegemony over the colonial population (**Viswanathan, 1990: pp. 2-3**).

In the history of modern education in colonial India, the Charter Act of 1813 was very important as this Act decided that annually a sum of Rs. One Lack would be utilized to educate the Indians. Thereafter Macauley's Minutes of 1835 inaugurated the new era in the history of modern education in India. The colonial authority tried to implement the Downward Filtration Theory in the field of education, that implies educate a small section of middle-class or upper-class Indians, and this would lead towards connecting the government to the masses. Though initially the colonial authority introduced the western education for their own benefit, in the long run it was seen that the English educated Indians formed the middle-class intelligentsia of India that later played a crucial role in the national freedom movement. Western education gave them the exposer to western liberal ideas like liberty, equality, democratic ideas, etc. and they also released that under the colonial rule, the Indians were deprived of such political and civil rights. This realization encouraged them to contribute towards the cause of India's independence. Further, the introduction of English in different parts of India served as the common language to connect the educated leaders to communicate easily on various burning issues of the time. Thus, the introduction of western education and the rise of middle-class intelligentsia can also be considered as one of the vital factors for the rise of Indian nationalism.



LET US KNOW

Thomas Babington Macauley was the first Law Member of the Governor-General's Council during the Governor Generalship of Lord William Bentinck. Macauley's Minute of 1835 can be called as the first step towards introducing western education in India. Through this Minute it was decided that the medium of education in India would be English. Further, emphasis was given on promoting higher education in India.

Emergence of modern press and national literature: The publication of Bengal Gazette in 1780 by James Augustus Hicky can be called as the beginning of modern press in India. Followed by this, a series of newspapers, periodicals, both English and vernacular came into exitance in India. Some of the prominent newspapers were *The Amrit Bazaar Patrika*, *The Hindu Patriot, Bombay Chronicle, Indian Mirror, the Bengalee*, *Kesari*, etc. These papers bore a nationalist tone and were very critical towards the colonial exploitative policies. Soon, the press became the platform for the national leaders to create political consciousness among the masses and at the same time a strong tool to fight against colonial injustice. The colonial authority was also aware of the role played by press in creating political consciousness, mobilizing public opinion, organizing political movements, and creating unity amongst the masses and hence, from time to time, they introduced several strict laws, like the Censorship of Press Act (1799), the Licensing Regulations (1823), the Licensing Act (1857), the Registration Act (1867), the Vernacular Press Act (1878), the Newspaper Act (1908), the Indian Press Act (1910), etc. to curtail the freedom of the Indian press, specially the one who were critical towards the government. However, the colonial repressive policies could not stop the newspapers from performing its role as the primary medium of popular public education. The press also helped in the creation and circulation of literature with nationalist tone among a wide range of readers at a very short span of time. Works of Rabindranath Tagore, Bankim Chandra Chatterjee, Lakshminath Bezbarua, etc. among many others contributed a lot in creating political consciousness and a feeling of oneness among the masses.

Influence of historical research and the revival of the ancient glory of India: During the colonial rule some of the Indologists like Max Muller, Monier William, Roth, Session, etc. conducted historical research in ancient Indian history and opened dimensions of India's rich cultural heritage. The excavations of Harappa and Mohenjodaro by archaeologists John Marchal, Dayaram Sahani, Alexender Cunningham, etc. inaugurated a new chapter in the richness and greatness of the Indian cultural heritage, which no less impressive than the other ancient civilizations of the world. This kind of historical research provided a psychological boosting to the Indians that our culture is equally rich and versatile like most of the best western cultures. This further boosted the confidence of the Indians and inspired them with a new sense of patriotism and nationalism.



LET US KNOW

The Vernacular Press of Act of 1878 was designed to put a check on the vernacular press of India so that they could not publish anything against the colonial government policies. Through this act a District Magistrate was impowered to call upon the printer and publisher of any vernacular newspaper to enter a bond of undertaking that they would not publish anything likely to excite feelings of disaffection against the government, failure of this promise would lead to the seized of the press equipment. The Indian Arms Act of 1878 declared that it was a criminal offence for the Indians to carry arms without license. This act was dissimilarly in nature as the above law was applicable only to the Indians, but it did not apply to the British, Europeans and certain government employees.

Reactionary policies of Lord Lytton: Lord Lytton was the Viceroy of India from 1876 to 1880 CE. During his tenure, he introduced some short-sighted policies which provoked the Indians and accelerated the anti-colonial movement in India. Lytton reduced the maximum age limit for appearing in the Indian Civil Service from 21 years to 19 years, which made it almost impossible for the talented Indians to compete for it (as the ICS

examination was conducted in Britain, it was almost impossible for the Indians to go to Britain at such a young age to appear for it). Further, when the entire India was suffering from severe famine, Lytton organized the grand Delhi Darbar in 1877 to proclaim Queen Victoria as Empress of India. The unpopular Vernacular Press Act and Indian Arms Act were also introduced by Lytton in the year 1878. These reactionary policies of Lytton provoked the Indians, and it resulted in the organisation of various political associations to safeguard the interest of the Indians.

The Ilbert Bill Controversy: Lord Ripon was the Viceroy of India from 1880 to 1884 CE. During his tenure, he introduced the Ilbert Bill in 1883 CE which sought to abolish the racial bar in the Code of Criminal Procedure that prevented the Indian judges from trying European defenders. The Bill sought to provide the Indian members of the Covenanted Civil Service the same powers and rights enjoyed by their European colleagues. The Bill raised a huge protest among the members of the European community and to avoid any further controversy over the issue, Ripon was forced to modify the Bill which almost changed its main purpose. The Ilbert Bill controversy made the educated Indians realized that justice and fair play from the colonial authority could not be expected where the interests of the European community were involved. Further, the controversy also proved the strength of an organized agitation (as the organized agitation of the members of the European community compelled Ripon to modify the main provisions of the Bill). This realization further contributed towards the rise of Indian nationalism.



LET US KNOW

Giuseppe Mazzini was an Italian revolutionary patriot and under his leadership the *Young Italy* was organized in 1831. It was a secret society organized with the aim at promoting Italian unity and encouraging the youths towards the cause. Giuseppe Garibaldi was also an Italian patriot and a foremost military figure. He organized the Red Shirts, a corps of volunteers. He was known for his military exploits, specially the 'Expedition pf the Thousand'.

Impact of contemporary international events: The Indian nationalism was stimulated or inspired by the other contemporary nationalist ideas of the world. The national liberation movement of Greece, Italy, Ireland, the breakdown of the Spanish and Portuguese empires, etc. had a profound impact in the rise of Indian nationalism. The campaigns of Mazzini and Garibaldi became the inspiration for the Indian leaders. The educated Indians got inspiration from the above to introduce the same kind of nationalist movement in India.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q 1: Name the writer of the book 'Poverty and Un-British Rule in India'.

.....

Q 2: In which year the Calcutta General Post Office was established?

.....

Q 3: Who was Thomas Babington Macauley?

.....

Q 4: When the Vernacular Press Act was introduced in India?

.....

Q 5: Under whose leadership the *Young Italy* was organized.

.....

10.4 RISE OF POLITICAL ORGANIZATIONS

With the emergence of Indian nationalism, India witnessed the establishment of political organizations in the first half of the 19th century to represent the wishes and aspirations of the Indians as well as to protect the interest of the Indians against the colonial exploitation. Another important point is that with the introduction of western education in India, the young Indian youths encountered the western liberal political ideas like democracy, liberty, equality, etc. and they wanted to implement the same in India. In the initial stage of its formation, the political organizations of India were mainly local or regional in nature were mostly led by the rich and influential class of the society. They placed various demands on issues like administrative

reforms, spread of education, social reforms, increased participation of Indians in administration, tax reduction, etc. and interestingly these demands were placed mainly through various petitions, memorandum, and applications. Although most of the political organizations before the India National Congress were started by the upper-class intelligentsia, with the passage of time the middle class became part and partial of these organizations. People belonging to various professions like doctors, lawyers, journalists, teachers, etc. joined these organizations with a view to improve the condition of Indians.

Some of the factors that facilitated the establishment of political organizations in India were the introduction of western education which enabled the Indians to experience the liberal political ideas of the west, the common English language that facilitate the communication between various Indian leaders living in different parts of India, the newspapers that raised the voice of patriotism and opposition to imperialism, the economic exploitation by the colonial authority, rise of middle class intelligentsia, etc. among many others. Most of these political organizations were established in the presidencies of Bengal, Bombay and Madras.

10.4.1 Political Organizations of the Calcutta Presidency

Among the political organizations of Bengal Presidency, the *Bangabhasha Prakashan Sabha* (1836), Zamindari Association (1838), the Bengal British India Society (1843), the British Indian Association (1851), the Indian League (1875), the Indian Association (1876), etc. deserved special mention.

The *Bangabhasha Prakashan Sabha* was the first political organization of Bengal formed in the year 1836 by Prasanna Kr. Thakur, Kalinath Chowdhury, Dwarkanath Tagore and some of the other associates of Raja Rammohan Roy. Gouri Sankar Bhattacharya and Durgaprasad Tarkapanchanan were the first President and Secretary of the *Sabha* respectively. The organization demanded appointing Indians in higher government positions, freedom of press, worked towards promoting vernacular education

in Bengal. It also worked for the spread of education, building up public opinion, promotion of vernacular literature of Bengal, etc. Despite this, the Sabha failed to gain widespread popularity, maybe due to its regional character and hence did not last long.

To safeguard the interests of the landlords, in 1838 CE the Zamindari Association, more popularly known as Landholders' Society, was formed in Calcutta by Dwarkanath Tagore and Radha Kanta Dev. Although, the objectives of the Society were limited and only took up the cause of the landlords, it adopted constitutional means of agitation to fulfill its objectives and hence it can be said that the Society paved the way for organized political activity in India. They mainly demanded the implementation of the Permanent Settlement across India and demanded some other socio-economic and judicial reforms. However, due to its confinement to the issues of the landlords only, the Society could not last long.

Another notable political association of Bengal Presidency was the Bengal British India Society, formed in 1843 CE by the combined efforts of Dwarkanath Tagore, Chandra Mohan Chatterjee, Parmananda Maitra, and many others. George Thompson, the then Secretary of the British Indian Society (formed in 1839 CE in England by William Adams to create public consciousness among the British citizens about the real condition of the Indians under the colonial rule), who came to India advised the formation of the Bengal British India Society as a branch of the British Indian Society. The main objective of the Bengal British India Society was to collect information about the actual condition of the people of British India and disseminate the same among the people. Further, the Society tried to ensure the welfare and advancement of all classes under the sovereignty of colonial rule.

In the year 1851, the Landholders' Society (Zamindari Association) and the Bengal British India Society merged and formed the British Indian Association. Raja Radhakant Dev and Devendranath Tagore were the first President and Secretary of the

Association respectively. Some of the other prominent members of the Association were Ramgopal Ghose, Peary Chand Mitra, Krishnadas Pal, etc. among others. Most of these members of the Association were mainly from the landed aristocracy and they tried to defend their interest. However, when the time came for the renewal of the Charter Act of India, the Association placed various demands to be incorporated in the new Charter Act. Among such demands, the establishment of a separate legislature of a popular character, separation of judiciary from executive, reduction of the salaries of the higher officers, abolition of stamp, salt, and excise duties, etc. were notable. Some of the above-mentioned demands of the Association were incorporated in the Charter Act of 1853.

Another political association of the Bengal Presidency was the Indian League, formed by Sisir Kumar Ghose in 1875 CE. The main objective of the League was to raise the feeling of nationalism and political consciousness among the people. Some of the prominent members associated with the League were Ananda Mohan Bose, Nabagopal Mitra, Surendranath Banerjee, Durga Mohan Das, etc. among others.

In 1876 CE, the Indian Association was established by Ananda Mohan Bose and Surendranath Banerjee in Calcutta. This Association not only attracted the middle-class intelligentsia of Bengal, but the common mass was also encouraged to be the members of this and hence, its annual subscription was kept minimal. Before the formation of the Indian National Congress, the Indian Association was one of the leading political associations of India. The Association opened branches in different parts of Bengal and outside Bengal as well. The Association aimed at creating political consciousness and unity among the people. The Association launched an agitation called the Indian Civil Service Agitation against the issue that the maximum age for appearing in the Indian Civil Service Examination was reduced from 21 to 19 years by the Regulating Act of 1876, which created problems for the educated

Indian youths to go to London at such a young age to appear in the examination. Surendranath Banerjee travelled different places like Banaras, Allahabad, Kanpur, Lucknow, Delhi, Aligarh, Meerut, Amritsar, Lahore, Bombay, Madras, etc. to create public opinion in favour of the Indian Civil Service Agitation and other issues in connection to the interest of the Indians.

10.4.2 Political Organizations of the Bombay Presidency

Towards the formation of political organizations in Bombay Presidency, two person, Bhaskar Pandurang Tarkhadkar and Gopal Hari Deshmukh (also known as Lokahitawadi) should be credited with as the former in 1841 CE wrote extensively in the Bombay Gazette against the exploitative charter of the colonial rule in India and the later in 1848-49 CE wrote a series of letters in The Prabhakar (a weekly Marathi paper) against British imperialism. These developments can be considered as the forerunner for the establishment of organized political associations in the Bombay Presidency in the 19th century. The Bombay Association was the first political association formed in the Bombay Presidency by Jagannath Shankar Sheth on 26th August, 1852. This association was formed in the line of the British India Association of Calcutta. Some of the other notable founder members of this Association were Dadabhai Naoroji, Vinayak Shankar Sheth, Jamshedji Jijibhoy, Naoroji Furdunjee, Narayan Dinanathji, Bhau Daji, etc. among others. Jamshedji Jijibhoy became the Chief Patron of this Association. Jagannath Shankar Sheth became the first President. Bomanji Hormustji and Khurshedji Jamshedji were the Vice-Presidents and Bhau Daji and Vinayakrao Jagannathji were the Secretaries. At the time of its formation, there were twenty three members in this Association and most of them were the leading merchants of the Bombay Presidency. Soon after its formation, the Association drafted a petition (drafted by Bhau Daji) against the East India Company's administration of justice and the working of the police force, etc.

However, some of the members of the Association opposed the petition as they feared that it might create British antagonism against the Association. Thereafter, disappointed Jamshedji Jijibhoy resigned from the Association. In 1853 CE, the Association drafted the second petition pointing out the problems of local government and covenanted services. The colonial government suspected the involvement of Jagannath Shankar Sheth and Bhau Daji in the Revolt of 1857 which immensely affected the working of the Association. On the question of the proposed licensed tax by the colonial government to be imposed on the traders and merchants, the Association prepared its third petition to the British parliament in 1859 CE. Unfortunately, the capitalists of Bombay did not support the petition, and this resulted in the division of the Association into two groups, the capitalists, and the intelligentsia. Thus, after 1860 CE the Association was mostly dominated by the capitalists (as they formed the majority members in the Association) and finally with lots of ups and downs in 1879 CE the Association ceased to function.

The Bombay branch of the East India Association (formed by Dadabhai Naoroji in London in the year 1866 CE) was another important political organization of the Bombay Presidency which was formed in the year 1869. The main objectives of the Association were to inform its London office about India's condition in general and Bombay in particular. This Association mostly consisted of intellectuals, but for securing finance some capitalists were also given membership. Jamshedji Jijibhoy was the President, Bhau Daji and Pherozeshah Mehta were the Chairman and Honorary Secretary of the Managing Committee of the Association. Some of the other notable members of the Association were V. N. Mandhk, R. G. Bhandarkar, Shanta Ram Narayan, Jhaveri Lal Umai Shankar Yajnik, etc. among many others. Within a very short period of its formation, the Association became very popular and by 1871 CE there were around seven hundred members in it. The Association through petition and memorandum demanded increased representation of

the Indians in the colonial administration, decentralization of the Indian finances and a permanent solution to the Indian Civil Service Examination (as already mentioned that due to the fixing of maximum age limit for appearing in the Indian Civil Service Examination from 21 to 19 years, the Indian students suffered a lot). The Association also had prolonged discussions of the Drain Theory propounded by Dadabhai Naoroji. The Association further submitted a petition against the Vernacular Press Act. However, towards 1882-83 CE, the Association became inactive and by 1884 CE it became defunct.

The Poona Sarvajanik Sabha was another important political organization of the Bombay Presidency formed in Poona in the year 1870 CE by Mahadev Gobind Ranade, G. V. Joshi, S. H. Chiplunkar, and their associates. Some of the other notable members of the Sabha were Bal Gangadhar Tilak, Gopal Hari Deshmukh, Vishnu M Bhide, M. M. Kunte, etc. People belonging to various professions, such as lawyers, pensioners, pleaders, teachers, etc. were the members of the Sabha. The Sabha organized meetings and lecture tours to politically educate the Indian people and also organized relief funds during the time of emergency. The Sabha was like a link between the colonial government and the common people and tried to represent the wishes and aspirations of the peasants. Though majority of the members of the Sabha belonged to the educated middle-class, the membership was open to all people belonging to different classes and caste. The Sabha was quite vocal on the issues like forest laws, salt laws, press laws, etc. The Shabha had a Quarterly Journal which promoted the ideas of the Sabha and urged the Indian people to join hand together for introducing socio-political and economic reforms. S. H. Chiplunkar was the first editor of this Quarterly Journal of the Shabha which was first published in the year 1878. With the formation of the Indian National Congress in 1885 CE, many of the members of the Sabha joined the former organization. After 1895 CE due to some ideological differences between its members, the Sabha ceased to function properly.

The Bombay Presidency Association was another political association of Bombay formed in the year 1885 by Pherozeshah Mehta, Kashinath Trimbak Telang and Badruddin Tyabji. These three leaders were together known as 'The Triumvirate' or the 'The Three Starts' of the public life of Bombay. The Association was mainly formed in response to the reactionary policies of Lord Lytton and the controversy centered around the Ilbert Bill. The Association always maintained a cordial relationship with the Poona Sarvajanik Sabha. In the year 1885 a joint deputation of the Bombay Presidency Association, Poona Sarvajanik Sabha, Madras Mahajana Sabha and the Indian Association of Calcutta was sent to England to present the case of India to the British electorate. The delegation was led by N. Chandavarkar (Bombay Presidency Association), Ramaswami Mudaliar (Madras Mahajana Sabha), Manmohan Ghose (Indian Association of Calcutta). The Bombay Presidency Association played a very important role in hosting the first session of the Indian National Congress, which was held just three months after its formation.

10.4.3 Political Organizations of the Madras Presidency

The Madras Native Association and the Madras Mahajan Sabha were two prominent political associations of the Madras Presidency. The Madras Native Association was established in the year 1852 by GazuluvLakshminarasu Chetty. Some of the main objectives of the Association were to demand certain reforms in the British administration and also to raise their voice against the injustice meted out to the Indians under the colonial rule. This Association was formed as a branch of the British Indian Association of Calcutta. In the year 1852, the Association submitted one petition to the British parliament presenting the grievances of the India ryots against the land settlement system. The Association through this petition pointed out that the Indian peasants were tortured by the British revenue collectors in the name of revenue collection. This demand of the Association was accepted by the colonial authority in the form of

the formation of the Torture Commission in 1854 CE under H. D. Seymour to investigate the entire matter. Finally, by 1881 CE, the Association ceased to exist.

The Madras Mahajan Sabha was another important political organization of the Madras Presidency. It was formed in the year 1884 by M. Veeraraghavachariar, P. Ananda Charlu, G. Subramania Iyer. Rangiah Naidu and M. Veeraraghavachariar were the first President and Secretary of the Association. The Sabha with a moderate tone criticized the various colonial policies that harmed the interest of the Indians. Some of the demands of the Sabha were tax reduction, reduction of government and military expedition, conduction of the Indian Civil Service Examination in both India and Britain, abolition of the Council of India in London, granting fundamental rights to the Indians, etc. Many of these demands of the Sabha were later adopted by the Indian National Congress. The members of the Sabha met on regular basis to discuss the burning issues of the time and also to convey the same to the government. Because of the patriotic nature of the Sabha, on a visit to Madras in December 1885 CE, Viceroy of India Lord Elgin refused to accept the welcome address from the Sabha. In 1896 CE, Mahatma Gandhi delivered a speech in the Madras Mahajan Sabha. On April 22nd, 1930, the Sabha organized the Salt Satyagraha Movement (in connection to the Dandi March Salt Satyagraha) in different parts of Madras, like George Town, Esplanade, High Court, Beach area, etc. These satyagrahis were brutally attacked by the British police and hence, the Sabha demanded a deep legal investigation of the entire incident. A commission consisted of three members and led by justice T. R. Ramachandra Iyer interviewed around thirty people in connection to the incident and finally submitted the report based on the interview to the colonial government. Besides this, the Sabha insisted on setting up a commission to investigate the death of an advocate Govindasamy (he was killed in open police firing on 27th April 1930). The members of the Sabha actively participated in the

Quit India Movement. Thus, it is clear that the Sabha played a very important role in the history of the Indian National Movement.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q. 6: Who was the first Secretary of the British Indian Association?

.....

Q. 7: In which year the Indian League was established?

.....

Q. 8: Name the first political association of the Bombay Presidency.

.....

Q. 9. Who was the first editor of the Quarterly Journal of the Poona Sarvajanik Shabha?

.....

Q. 10. In which year the Madras Mahajan Sabha was established?

.....

10.5 FOUNDATION OF THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

It has already been discussed in the previous section that a good number of political organizations were established in India before the formation of the Indian National Congress in 1885 CE. However, most of these pre-Congress political organization were either regional in nature or was being trying to protect the interest of some specific sections of the locality. Hence, these pre-Congress political organizations failed to provide the common platform to the growing Indian disappointment against the colonial exploitation. Therefore, many leaders and intellectuals of the time made enormous efforts in the direction of setting up a common political organization to guide the future course of the Indian nation agitation. In the year 1882, the Indian Association of Calcutta had planned for the national conference to have further discussion on the said issue.

The year 1885 was a turning point in the history of the Indian National Movement as this year witnessed the foundation of the Indian National

Congress, the first national political organization that guided the entire course of the Indian freedom struggle. One single incident or person cannot be solely responsible for the establishment of a national organization like the Congress. The reactionary policies of Lord Lytton, the Ilbert Bill Controversy, the racial arrogance of the colonial officers, and most importantly the realization of the middle class Indian intellectual of having one common platform to represent the needs and aspirations of the Indians to the colonial authority, can be considered some of the important aspects leading towards the establishment of the Indian National Congress. In short, it can be said that the rise of national consciousness was instrumental in the formation of the Congress. Towards the formation of the Indian National Congress the efforts of the Indian Association of Calcutta also deserved special mention as its leader Surendranath Banerjee took the initiative in organizing the first Indian National Conference in 1883 and second Indian National Conference in 1885 with a hope to form a National Parliament to represent the demands of the Indians. These conferences also paved the way for the formation of the Indian National Congress. It is important to mention here that in the year 1885 the Indian Association of Calcutta merged itself with the Indian National Congress for the greater interest of the nation. It is also believed that in a private meeting of seventeen members following the Theosophical Convention in December 1884 CE in Madras the idea of forming an all-India Congress was originated.

Besides these above mentioned factors, one retired British Civil Servant, Allen Octavian Hume is also given the due recognition as one of the founders of the Indian National Congress because of his selfless contribution in this regard. While working as the Secretary for the Government, Hume could realize the growing disappointment among the Indians against the reactionary policies of Lord Lytton and he feared the reoccurrences of another incident quite similar to that of the Revolt of 1857. Hence, he wanted to avert the situation at the best of his capacity. Accordingly, he appealed the graduates of the Calcutta University (as representative of the educated community of India) in an open letter dated 1st March 1883 to form a union or organization or association to promote

the moral, mental and political regeneration of the people of India. Hume got a positive response from the intellectuals throughout India towards his appeal and encouraged by the response of the people, Hume took the initiative to form the Indian National Union in the year 1884. The main objectives of the Indian Union were to unite the different sections of the Indian population into one as a whole, the steady representation of Indian issues, like social, political, moral, spiritual, etc, the consolidation of the union between England and India. Hume thereafter made an extensive tour of Bombay, Madras and Calcutta, where he met the Indian leaders, had long discussions with them and expressed his idea of holding the first conference of the Indian National Union in December 1885. After getting a positive response from the Indian leaders, Hume went to Shimla, where he met the then Viceroy Lord Dufferin in early May 1885. Hume briefed his entire idea of organizing the conference to the Viceroy and after some modifications Dufferin approved the idea.

After getting the approval from Viceroy Dufferin, preparations had been made in full swing to organize the first conference of the Indian National Union. Earlier it was decided to hold the conference in December 1885 in Poona. Circular was also issued in this regard to all the then political associations of India like the Bombay Association, Poona Sarvajanik Sabha, Madras Association, Indian Association of Calcutta, etc. among others. Soon after receiving the circular, the said political organizations prepared a list of delegates to represent their voices in the said conference. The Poona Sarvajanik Sabha was all set to organize the conference. However, at the last moment the venue of the conference had to be shifted from Poona to Bombay due to the increased cases of cholera in Poona. Hence, at the last moment it was decided to hold the conference in Bombay. The Bombay Presidency Association and the broad minded members of the Gokuldas Tejpal Sanskrit College completed the entire preparation on time and finally on 28th December 1885 the First Conference of the Indian National Congress (on the suggestions of Dadabhai Naoroji the name of the Indian National Union was changed to the Indian National Congress) was held in the premises of Gokuldas Tejpal Sanskrit College of Bombay. Representing entire India from different parts, total seventy two delegates attended this



LET US KNOW

Allen Octavian Hume served as the District Officer of Etawah (now in United Provinces) from 1849 to 1867 CE. From 1867 to 1870 CE, he was the Commissioner of Customs for the North-West Province. Then he was the Secretary to the Department of Revenue, Agriculture and Commerce from 1870 to 1879 CE. Because of his pro-Indian attitude, he had to face criticism from his colonial colleagues and in the year 1879 Lord Lytton demoted him from his position of Secretary to a member of the Board of Revenue. In the year 1882, he retired from his service and thereafter diverted his entire energy towards the formation of a national political organization in India. Hume left India in the year 1894 and breathed his last in 1912 CE.

First Session of the Congress.

10.5.1 Aims and Objectives of the Congress

The First Session of the Indian National Congress was presided by Womesh Chandra Banerjee. In this session it was decided to hold annual sessions at the end of every year (in December) in different cities of India. The aims and objects of the Congress was also put forward in this First Session, such as,

- the promotion of cordial relations between national political workers from different parts of India for the national interest,
- to promote national unity by removing the differences based on caste, creed, race, religion, provincial prejudice, etc.,
- to prepare the future course of action for the interest of the public,
- to provide a national platform to formulate the popular demands and representing the same to the colonial government, etc.

In the First Session of the Congress, its leaders presented before the colonial government total nine resolutions demanding the abolition of the India Council in London, appointment of a

commission to enquire into the working of the Indian administration, reduction of military expenses, holding of the Indian Civil Service Examination simultaneously in India and England, etc.

The Second Session of the Indian National Congress was held in December 1886 in Calcutta under the Presidentship of Dadabhai Naoroji. In this Session the follow up of the resolutions of the previous session was done. Dadabhai Naoroji, Pherozeshah Mehta, Badruddin Tyabji, P. Anandacharlu, Surendranath Banerjee, Womesh Chandra Banerjee, Ananda Mohan Bose, Gopal Krishna Gokhale, etc. among many others were some of the prominent leaders who provided strong leadership in the initial years of its formation.

10.5.2 Theories behind the formation of the Congress

IT has already been mentioned that the formation of the Indian National Congress in 1885 CE was one of the turning events in the history of Indian National Movement. Along with many Indian leaders, colonial officers like A. O. Hume, Lord Dufferin, etc. equally played a crucial role towards the formation of the Congress. Hence, based on the various leadership behind its formation, different theories have been put forward by scholars from time to time. Among such theories, the Safety Valve Theory, Conspiracy Theory, Lightning Conductor Theory, etc. are very popular.

The Safety Valve Theory had been put forward by Lala Lajpat Rai, one of the veteran leaders of the Indian National Congress. The role played by Allen Octavian Hume, a British officer, towards the formation of an all-India political organization, means the Indian National Congress, led to the speculation that the colonial authority wanted to view Congress as a ‘Safety Valve’ to the growing disappointment of the Indians against the colonial exploitation. According to Lala Lajpat Rai, through Congress the colonial authority wanted to protect themselves from the growing unrest in India and to strengthen their further hold over India with the help of educated

Indians. As per this theory, the formation of Congress for representing Indian political grievances was of secondary importance and protecting the colonial authority against reoccurrences of political unrest was the primary motive. Further, this theory presumes that the idea of establishing Congress as a national political organization was the brainchild of Lord Dufferin, and he had instructed Hume to materialise the idea. However, there is no authentic evidence to accept this presumption.

The Conspiracy Theory is another popular theory in connection to the origin of the Indian National Congress. This theory has been put forward by the Marxist historian, R. P. Dutt. This theory was developed from the 'Safety Valve' concept regarding the genesis of Congress as have been discussed in the previous paragraph. As per this theory, Hume was fully aware of the growing disappointment among the Indians against the colonial rule and hence, he feared a possible outburst of the same. To avert the situation, Hume explained the situation to Dufferin and thereafter both had decided to form an organization of educated Indians to act as a common platform to open communication between the rulers and the rule, and thereby prevent the occurrence of any agitation through discussion. Thus, this Conspiracy Theory explains the formation of the Indian National Congress as a conspiracy of the colonial authority to avert the outbreak of any popular uprising in India with the help of educated Indian leaders. However, like the Safety Valve Theory, in case of Conspiracy Theory also, there is no solid evidence to prove the allegations against the colonial government.

One of the prominent Congress leaders, Gopal Krishna Gokhale presented the Lightning Conductor Theory to explain the genesis of the Indian National Congress. As per this theory, despite being aware of the real intention of Hume behind the formation of Congress, the Indian leaders wanted to keep Hume in the lead towards the formation of the Congress. This was so, because the Indian leaders knew it well that if a national political organization

would have been established to represent the interest of the Indians at the initiative of the Indian leaders, then definitely it would have made the colonial authority suspicious about the organization. Hence, Hume, a British officer, was used as a lightning conductor, means a catalyst to bring together the Indian nationalist leaders and at the same time to save Congress, the nascent national political organization from the wrath of the colonial authority, as the founder himself was a British officer. Thus, as per this theory, the Congress leaders used Hume as a lightning conductor, even if disguised as a 'Safety Valve'.

10.5.3 The Moderates and their Methods of working

The first two decades since its formation, from 1885 to 1905 CE, the Indian National Congress was usually termed as the moderate phase as during this phase the Congress leaders adopted a moderate attitude towards the colonial authority and were quite lenient towards the British rule in India. Leaders like Dadabhai Naoroji, Gopal Krishna Gokhale, Surendranath Banerjee, Pherozeshah Mehta, Womesh Chandra Banerjee, Madan Mohan Malviya, Mahadev Govind Ranade, Badruddin Tyabji, P. Anandacharlu, Ananda Mohan Bose, etc. represented this moderate phase of the Indian National Congress. They had full faith in British sense of justice and fair play. They never demanded the completed termination of the British rule from India.

Most of the moderate leaders of Congress were from the English educated middle-class Indians belonging to various professions, such as lawyers, teachers, and colonial government officials. The moderates had faith in constitutional agitation within the boundaries of law and their demands were presented to the colonial authority through petitions and prayers seeking for concessions. The petitions and prayers were presented in a very soft and moderate tone so that it could not incur the displeasure of the colonial authority. They knew it quite well that being a nascent

organization, Congress would not be able to face the wrath of the colonial government at the very initial phase of its formation. Further, they believed that if the real condition of the Indians would be presented in front of the British authority in a proper way, then they would solve that.

Politically educating the Indians, creating public opinion, initiating a democratic nationalist movement, promoting cordial relations among the different leaders throughout India, formulating and presenting the popular demands to the colonial government, developing a sense of unity among the Indians, etc. were some of the goals of the moderates. They tried to achieve these goals through moderate methods like, preparing and submitting petitions, memorandums, appeals, resolutions, etc. Besides this, to achieve their stated goals, the moderate leaders tried to persuade the British public opinion in favour of the Indians and to convince the colonial authority to implement reforms in India for the benefit of the Indians. To fulfil this, a British committee of the Indian National Congress was established in London in the year 1899. This committee made attempts to reflect the real condition of India in front of the British citizens by organizing lectures in different parts of Britain to create a strong public opinion there in favour of the Indians. One of the veteran Congress moderate leaders, Dadabhai Naoroji, stayed most of the time in London to advocate Indians' cause abroad. It is very important to note here that the moderates have no faith in the use of violence at all. They respected patience and reconciliation over violence and confrontation. Further, the moderates used the various types of newspapers and chronicles to criticise (in a moderate tone) the colonial policies and politically educate the people. Looking at the popularity of such print media, the colonial authority from time to time imposed various restrictions on the Indian press, especially the vernacular press of India.

10.5.4 Demands and Achievements of the Moderates

The demands of the moderates were mostly for the expansion of the Legislative Councils, representation of Indians in the Governor's Executive Council and Viceroy's Executive Council, etc., more opportunities for Indians in the Civil Service, protection of civil rights like the freedom of expression, association, thought and press, etc., separation of judiciary from the executive, reduction of military expenses, etc.

Though most of the demands of the moderates remained unfulfilled, we cannot deny their contribution in the history of the Indian National Movement. Perhaps, one of the biggest achievements of the moderates was their economic critique of colonialism. The early nationalist leaders (moderates) led by Dadabhai Naoroji developed the 'Drain Theory' to explain the root cause of India's poverty and the economic exploitation of the British in India. As per this theory, a huge sum of India's wealth had been drained from India to Britan in different forms and India was getting poorer day by day because of that. Besides, the moderates should be given the credit for shouldering the responsibility of establishing the first national political organization of India, the Indian National Congress and to infuse the national consciousness among the Indians. They prepared the Indians for organized movement.

It is important to remember here that the moderates were not pro-British in nature (as they have been criticized by many), because they had protested the policies of the colonial government on many occasions. The only point is that they had protested by using liberal means, not through violence and agitation. The non-violent nature of agitation of the moderate leaders should not be considered as their weakness, rather it was a deliberate attempt on their part to protect the nascent political organization (the Congress) from the outrage of the colonial authority. However, very soon the colonial government could realize that Congress was trying to defend

the interest of the Indians only, but not the colonial government, the later changed their attitude towards it and declared Congress as a 'notorious organization'. This itself reveal the success of the moderate leaders of the Indian National Congress.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q. 11. Where was the First Session of the Indian National Congress held?

.....

Q. 12. Name the President of the First Session of the Indian National Congress.

.....

Q. 13. Who put forward the'Safety Valve Theory'?

.....

Q. 14. Who presented the Lightning Conductor Theory?

.....

Q. 15. In which year a British Committee of the Indian National Congress was established in London?

.....

10.6 PARTITION OF BENGAL

The year 1905 was a turning point in the history of the Indian National Movement. The year witnessed the implementation of the partition of the province of Bengal into two separate provinces, 'Bengal Proper' with Calcutta as the capital and 'Eastern Bengal and Assam' with Dacca as the capital. This act of colonial authority provoked the people of India, specially Bengal and Assam, as they had been directly affected by this partition and as a response to that the anti-Partition agitation, popularly known as the Swadeshi Movement was launched under the banner of the Indian National Congress in 1905 CE. It is very important to note that the Swadeshi Movement was the first mass agitation launched by Congress against the colonial decision of partitioning Bengal.

The 'Partition of Bengal' was the culmination of the colonial policy of territorial redistribution. Under this policy, the colonial authority used to shuffle the boundaries of the Indian provinces for their colonial interest. While doing so, they never gave recognition to the will of the Indians. Hence, the territorial readjustment policies shattered the sentiments of the inhabitants of those places who were now forcefully placed under different administrative units. In case of Bengal, the Partition Proposal of 1903 was not the first victim of territorial readjustment policy. Since the time of its occupation in 1765, various attempts were made and implemented by the colonial authority to alter her geographical boundary. In 1874 CE Sylhet was separated from Bengal and added with the province of Assam. Further, in the year 1892 the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal, Chief Commissioners of Burma and Assam and the military experts proposed the transfer of the Chittagong division and the Lushai Hills to Assam from Bengal. However, the proposal fell through, and no specific reasons were furnished by the colonial government for the same. Again in 1896 CE, the then Chief Commissioner of Assam, William Ward put forward the proposal of transferring the Chittagong, Dacca, and Mymensingh Divisions to Assam from Bengal with an excuse to enlarge the province of Assam and to reduce the size of Bengal for administrative convenience. However, the proposal could not be materialized due to unseen reasons. In 1897 CE the colonial government again raised the proposal of transferring the Lushai Hills to Assam, but it too fizzled out. Though the transfer proposals of 1892, 1896, 1897 remained unexecuted, yet from that time onwards, the colonial government diverted its attention towards the issue of territorial readjustment of Bengal and Assam.

In 1903 CE, during the Viceroyalty of Lord Curzon, the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal Andrew Fraser renewed the earlier suggestion of the transfer of Chittagong, Dacca and Mymensingh divisions to Assam and he was supported by the then Chief Commissioner of Assam Joseph Bamfylde Fuller wholeheartedly. However, the plan was opposed by the Indian leaders as they could see the hidden motive behind the plan as it divided the predominantly Muslim eastern areas from the predominantly Hindu western

areas of Bengal. But, in spite of the opposition of the Indians, the Partition Scheme was implemented on 16th October 1905. In the next sub section, we will discuss the various motives behind the Partition of Bengal.

10.6.1 Motives behind the Partition

The justification provided by the colonial authority behind the partition of Bengal was that Bengal was a very large province consisting of Bengal, Bihar, Odissa, and some parts of the Central Provinces. Hence, due to its large size, it became challenging to administer the province single handedly by the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal. Moreover, by the early 20th century, the population of the province increased up to around 80 million. With this administrative inconvenience, the colonial government had decided to partition Bengal into two parts by separating the eastern parts of the province, namely Chittagong, Dacca, Mymensingh and clubbing these areas with Assam, thereby creating a new province called 'Eastern Bengal and Assam' with Dacca as the capital.

Further, justifying the Partition Proposal of 1903, the then Chief Commissioner of Assam Joseph Bamfylde Fuller mentioned that, it would help in the speedy completion of the Assam-Bengal Railways as five-seventh of the railway track under construction lay within Assam and the size of the province should be henceforth enlarged to create sufficient traffic to justify its construction. Actually, it was Fuller's personal opinion that the present size of Assam was not that large enough to justify the construction of a long railway track. Hence, he opined that by clubbing more areas to Assam its size should be enlarged. He further added that for the prosperity of Chittagong it was necessary to add this port with Assam. To justify his point, Fuller added that Chittagong could not prosper under Bengal because Bengal had Calcutta as a well-established port and the importance of the Chittagong port was reduced under the Bengal administration. But if the Chittagong Division would be associated

with Assam, then it would be the only natural outlet of the province and thereby it would get the opportunity to prosper and develop. It would also increase the importance of the port. Thus, different justifications were provided by the colonial authority in support of their Partition Proposal of Bengal 1903. However, none of these justifications were accepted by the Indian as they could see some other hidden motives behind the plan.

The hidden motive behind the Partition of Bengal was to curb the growing feeling of nationalism among the Bengalis, as Bengal was the first province to come under the colonial rule. Viceroy Curzon mentioned in official correspondence that dethrone Calcutta from its position as the center from which the Congress Party manipulated throughout Bengal and indeed the whole of India. Further Curzon added that Bengal was the center of successful intrigue and hence divide the Bengali speaking population to curb their growing power. By alienating the Bengali inhabited areas of Bengal, the colonial government attempted to create division amongst the Bengalis on one hand and Hindus and Muslims on the other. Hence, it can be said that the underlying motive behind the Partition was to create a division amongst the Hindus and Muslims as per the colonial policy of 'Divide and Rule' to curb the growing anti-British sentiments in Bengal at that time. Because, if administrative convenience was the real motive behind the Partition, then Bihar and Orissa could have been easily separated from Bengal. In a speech delivered at Dacca in 1904, Curzon offered the Muslims of East Bengal the prospects of unity in the proposed new province which they have not enjoyed since the days of old 'Musalman' emperors. This speech can be considered as a deliberate attempt on the part of Curzon to implant the seed of communalism in Indian politics as well as to gather support of the Muslim population in Bengal towards the Partition Proposal.

10.6.2 Indian responses against the Partition

Though enough justifications were provided by the colonial authority to support their Partition Proposal of 1903 and keep the hidden real motives for the same under cover, the Indian nationalists refused to accept any of these justifications on the ground that if the partition was designed to reduce the size of Bengal, then this could have also been easily possible by separating Bihar and Orissa from Bengal. Hence, when in December 1903 the colonial authority tactfully published the gist of the Partition Scheme in the Official Gazette of India, it greatly disappointed the people of Assam and Bengal in particular and the rest of Indian in general. The colonial announcement was greeted with a series of protests and demonstrations against it. Although it was only the provinces of Bengal and Assam that were directly affected by the decision of the Partition, yet the agitation against it began initially in Bengal and very soon took an all India character in a limited sense. Within first two months following the announcement, more than five hundred meetings were held in different parts of Bengal, Assam, and the rest of India. Pamphlets criticizing the Partition Scheme were distributed among the people. The leading leaders of the time launched a powerful press campaign against the Partition Scheme. Vast protest meetings were held, and numerous petitions were sent to the colonial authority to stop the Scheme from implementing. However, despite the widespread protest, the colonial government announced on 19th July 1905, their decision to partition Bengal. This announcement provoked the Indians and spontaneous protest meetings were held in different parts of Bengal, Assam, and rest of India. In these meetings people took pledge for the first time to boycott the foreign goods. Thus, the strong Indian reaction against the Partition Scheme paved the way for launching the Swadeshi Movement in 1905 CE, about which we will discuss in the next section.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q. 16. What was the capital of the new province of Eastern Bengal and Assam?

.....

Q. 17. During whose Viceroyalty the Partition of Bengal Proposal was drafted?**.**

.....

Q.18. When was the Partition of Bengal implemented?

.....

Q. 19. In which year Sylhet was transferred from Bengal to Assam?

.....

Q. 20. Who was Andrew Fraser?

.....

10.7 SWADESHI MOVEMENT

Against the colonial decision of partitioning Bengal, the formal declaration of the Swadeshi Movement was made on 7th August 1905 in a meeting held at the Calcutta Town Hall. In this meeting the famous 'Boycott Resolution' was passed to boycott the foreign goods. Amidst this, on 1st September 1905, the colonial government announced that the Partition would be effected from 16th October 1905. Thereafter, the anti-Partition Movement took a national character and the messages of *swadeshi* and boycott spread to the various parts of the country through the protest meetings under different leaders. In Poona and Bombay, Lokamanya Tilak; in Punjab and other parts of northern India, Ajit Singh and Lala Lajpat Rai; in Delhi, Syed Haidar Raza; in Madras Presidency, Chidambaram Pillai; in Assam Ambikagiri Roy Choudhury along with Bishnuram Medhi and Gobinda Lahiri played a very important role in spreading and popularizing the message of *swadeshi* and boycott amongst the common masses. Even the people of Rawalpindi, Kangra, Jammu, Lahore, Multan and Haridwar participated in large scale in the Swadeshi Movement.Thus, it is quite clear that the Swadeshi Movement was gaining popularity almost everywhere in India

prior to the formal recognition provided by the Indian National Congress.

The Congress was well aware about the growing intensity of the anti-Partition Agitation amongst the various sections of the Indian people. Due to this realization, the Congress in its annual session in 1903 and 1904 protested against the preposterous scheme. Finally, the annual session of the Indian National Congress held at Banaras under the Presidentship of Gopal Krishna Gokhale in 1905 CE gave full support to the Anti-Partition Movement in Bengal.

10.7.1 New Techniques of Struggle

The Swadeshi Movement developed some new techniques of struggle to mobilize public opinion against the partition of Bengal. Among them mention should be made of two most important techniques which were used as weapons by the Indians to not only to oppose the Partition Proposal but also to fight against the colonial economic exploitation. These techniques were *swadeshi* and boycott. For the Indian masses, these techniques of *swadeshi* and boycott implied the use of locally made goods (*swadeshi* goods) and the boycott of foreign made goods, especially goods manufactured in Britain (*bideshi* goods). Many indigenous enterprises were established in different parts of India to produce locally the products to fulfill the day to day requirements of the Indians.

For this very reason of adopting the programme of using *swadeshi* goods as a mark of protest against the Partition, this Movement became known as the Swadeshi Movement. The Movement became so popular that it almost assumed the character of a mass movement in Bengal. The reason behind this very basic programme of using the *swadeshi* goods and thereby boycotting the *bideshi* one was to hit the British economy which lay at the basis of their political superstructure, rather Empire in India. It is noteworthy to mention here that the British had entered India under the aegis of the English East India Company primarily as a trading concern with solely an economic motive. But in due course of time, the Company

taking advantage of the then political situation, gradually assumed the political power in the country. Later on, after the Revolt of 1857, the British Crown took over the reins of the British Empire in India from the hands of the Company and thereby establishing direct colonial rule. But the exploitation continued like before.

Besides, *swadeshi* and boycott, the Swadeshi Movement also experienced the new techniques of mass mobilization, like, public burning of foreign cloths,hartal, picketing of shops selling foreign goods, protest meetings and processions, emergence of volunteer organizations (samitis), creative use of the traditional popular festivals and melas, etc. With all these new forms of struggle, the British government had to encounter a tough opposition both in theprovince of Bengal and Assam on 16th October 1905 with the inauguration of the new province called Eastern Bengal and Assam. The day was observed as the National Mourning Day all over Assam and Bengal. Protest meetings, demonstrations, *rakhibandhan, arandhan*or living on uncooked food, singing of national songs, etc. were organized at Dhubri, Gauripur, Goalpara, Gauhati, Sylhet, Habiganj, Maulavi Bazar, Silchar, Karimganj, and different parts of Bengal. A large number of people had participated in the processions barefooted with the slogan of *Bande Mataram*. The day 16 October 1905 was started with *usakirtana* and *nagarkirtana* (both religious prayer). The *kirtana* parties composed of both Hindus and non-Hindus patrolled the streets singing national songs. Even the Muslims publically met together in a general *namaz* (religious prayer) praying for a closer union with their brethren of non-Muslim faith. Further, the Ganapati and Shivaji festivals were used as a medium for *swadeshi* propaganda. Volunteer organizations were formed to carry the message of *swadeshi* and boycott to every nook and corner of India. Songs, drama, and various other forms of cultural ways were also used during the Movement to spread the message of *swadeshi* and boycott among larger number of publics.

10.7.2 National Education

Self-reliance or *atmasakti* was another important aspect of the Swadeshi Movement. As a means of bringing about social and economic regeneration of the village, self-help and constructive work was designed at village level **(Chandra, 1989: p. 130)**. This aspect of self-reliance was also implemented in the field of national education. The extremist leaders of the Indian National Congress carried the boycott principle in the field of education also. In order to participate freely without any restriction from the colonial authority, many students started withdrawing from the government schools. Here lies the necessity of establishing national schools in many parts of India which not only provided education to the students but at the same time shaped the emerging nationalist and anti-British sentiments of the younger generation.

In a meeting dated 16 November 1905 at Park Street, Calcutta, attended by leading personalities of the locality like Rabindra Nath Tagore, Raja Subodh Chandra Mallick, Brajendra Kishor Roychowdhury, and Aurobindo Ghose, etc. along with almost fifteen hundred people, the idea of establishing the 'National Council of Education' was unanimously accepted and was given concrete shape in 1906 CE with Rashbehari Ghose as the President. The National Council of Education was established to organise a system of education – literary, scientific, and technical 'on national lines and under national control' as a part of the *swadeshi* agitation. Raja Subodh Chandra Mallick donated one lakh rupees towards this noble cause. The National Council of Education set up the Bengal National College and School on 14 August 1906 with Aurobindo Ghose as the first Principal of the College. Thereafter following this example, several schools were established not only in Bengal, but in various other parts of India including Assam, which followed the syllabus and examination pattern of the National Council of Education, Bengal. One of the distinctive characteristics of the national schools was

that these schools were in general, anti-government in nature.

To suppress the agitation, the colonial government resorted to ruthless torture and implementation of various cruel laws, like, the Seditious Meeting Act (1907) Criminal Law Amendment Act (1908) Indian Newspapers (Incitement to Offenses) Act (1908) Explosive Substances Act (1908) Indian Press Act (1910), etc. However, these government pressure could not stop the Movement, rather within a very short period of time the Swadeshi Movement spread to different parts of India with the new techniques of agitation. The Movement witnessed the leadership of both the moderate and extremist leaders of the Indian National Congress. It is very important to note here that there were differences between the moderates and extremists about the programmes and area of confinement of the Movement. While the moderates wanted to confine the Movement within Bengal and follow the *swadeshi* and boycott resolutions only to foreign goods. However, the extremists wanted the carry forward the Movement outside Bengal to every nook and corner of India and also to include new techniques of struggle like national education along with *swadeshi* and boycotting everything belong to the foreigners, not only goods. Finally, in 1907 in the Surat Session of the Indian National Congress, there was a formal split between both these group of Congress leaders. Thereafter, the future course of the Swadeshi Movement was guided under the able leadership of the extremist leaders of the Indian National Congress. Finally, in front of the strong opposition made from different corners of India, the colonial authority was forced to annul the Partition of Bengal in 1911. On 12th December 1911, King George V announced at the Delhi Durbar that eastern Bengal would be absorbed into the Bengal Presidency and Assam as earlier was made a Chief Commissioner's Province.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q. 21: When was the famous 'Boycott Resolution' passed?

.....

Q. 22: Who was the President of the Banaras Session of the Indian National Congress?

.....

Q. 23: Name the first President of the National Council of Education.

.....

Q.24: Name the first Principal of the Bengal National College and School.

.....

Q. 25: In which year the Partition of Bengal was annulled?

.....



10.8 LET US SUM UP

After going through this unit, you have learnt about:

- How the various factors paved the way for the emergence of nationalism in colonial India.
- The establishment of various political organizations in India to represent the wishes and aspirations of the Indians before the colonial government.
- The formation of the Indian National Congress in 1885 CE as a national political organization and the role of A. O. Hume in the same.
- The various theories in connect to the formation of the Indian National Congress and also about the contribution of the moderates in the Indian National Movement.
- The Partition of Bengal in 1905 CE and the outbreak of the Swadeshi Movement as response to that, which ultimately forced the colonial government to annul the Partition in 1911 CE.



10.9 FURTHER READINGS

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3) Desai, A. R., (2000), *Social Background of Indian Nationalism*, Popular Prakashan Private Limited, Mumbai
4) Majumdar, R. C., (1963), *History of Freedom Movement in India, Volume-II*, Firma K L M Pvt. Ltd., Calcutta
5) Sarkar, Sumit, (1983), *Modern India 1885-1947*, Macmillan India, New Delhi
6) Sarkar, Sumit, (2010), *The Swadeshi Movement in Bengal 1903-1908*, Permanent Black, Ranikhet
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10.10 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans to Q No 1: Dadabhai Naoroji.

Ans to Q No 2: 1774 CE.

Ans to Q No 3: Thomas Babington Macauley was the first Law Member of the Governor- General's Council during the Governor Generalship of Lord William Bentinck**.**

Ans to Q No 4: 1878 CE.

Ans to Q No 5: Giuseppe Mazzini.

Ans to Q No 6: Devendranath Tagore.

Ans to Q No 7: 1875 CE.

Ans to Q No 8: The Bombay Association.

Ans to Q No 9: S. H. Chiplunkar.

Ans to Q No 10: 1884 CE.

Ans to Q No 11: In the premises of Gokuldas Tejpal Sanskrit College of Bombay.

Ans to Q No 12: Womesh Chandra Banerjee.

Ans to Q No 13: Lala Lajpat Rai.

Ans to Q No 14: Gopal Krishna Gokhale.

Ans to Q No 15: 1899 CE.

Ans to Q No 16: Dacca.

Ans to Q No 17: Lord Curzon.

Ans to Q No 18: 16th October, 1905.

Ans to Q No 19: 1874 CE.

Ans to Q No 20: Andrew Fraser was the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal when the Partition of Bengal Scheme was drafted in 1903.

Ans to Q No 21: On 7th August 1905 in a meeting held at the Calcutta Town Hall.

Ans to Q No 22: Gopal Krishna Gokhale.

Ans to Q No 23: Rashbehari Ghose.

Ans to Q No 24: Aurobindo Ghose.

Ans to Q No 25: 1911 CE.



10.11 MODEL QUESTIONS

A) Very Short Questions

Q 1: The first railway track of colonial India run between which two places?

Q 2: Name the first newspaper of India.

Q 3: During whose Viceroyalty the Indian National Congress was formed?

Q 4: Who was the President of the Second Session of the Indian National Congress?

Q 5: In which year the National Council of Education was established?

Q 6: In which year the Explosive Substances Act was passed?

B) Short Questions

Write short Notes:

i) Dadabhai Naoroji

ii) Development of transport and communication in India under the colonial rule

iii) Development of western modern education in colonial India

iv) Poona Sarvajanik Sabha

v) Allen Octavian Hume

vi) Lord Curzon

C) Long Questions

Q 1: Critically examine the factors for the emergence of Indian nationalism under the colonial rule.

Q 2: Assess the contribution pre-Congress political organizations of India in creating political consciousness in India.

Q 3: Discuss the various theories in connection to the origin of the Indian National Congress.

Q 4: Elucidate the contribution of the moderates in the Indian National Movement.

Q 5: Narrate the genesis of the Partition of Bengal, 1905.

Q 6: Provide a detailed account of the Swadeshi Movement.

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UNIT 11 : REVOLUTIONARY NATIONALISM

UNIT STRUCTURE

11.1 Learning Objectives

11.2 Introduction

11.3 Factors for the Rise of Revolutionary Nationalism

11.4 Growth of Extremist Groups and secret Societies

11.5 Revolutionary Movements and Women

11.6 Let Us Sum Up

11.7 Further Readings

11.8 Answers to Check Your Progress

11.9 Model Questions

11.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will able to-

- explain the rise of revolutionary or militant nationalism,
- discuss the emergence and growth of radical organisations and secret societies in India and abroad, serving the cause of freeing the motherland from the colonial rulers,
- analyse the role and contribution of women as revolutionaries in the freedom struggle Movement.

11.2 INTRODUCTION

Dear Learners, in the previous Unit, we discussed the rise of nationalism and the birth of a national organization, the Indian National Congress. The Unit also discussed the activities of the Congress till 1905.

In this Unit, we shall discuss the rise of militant form of nationalism amidst the growing intolerance for the colonial oppression. This Unit, throws light on the growth of secret societies that played an active role in fighting the colonial powers. Women too were a crucial part of these organization and this Unit shall highlight s few prominent women revolutionaries.

11.3 FACTORS FOR THE RISE OF REVOLUTIONARY NATIONALISM

The government repression and frustration caused by the failure of the Indian leadership to provide a positive lead to the people ultimately resulted in militant nationalism. The youths of the country no longer believed that passive form of resistance could achieve nationalist aims. The main causes responsible for the rise and growth of revolutionary nationalism were as follows:

- Recognizing the British Attitude – The early nationalist leaders through their writings had exposed the true nature of British rule in India. They tried to explain the complexity of British policies and the economic ruin of India in their writings. For example, Dadabhai Naoroji exposed the exploitative nature of the British rule in India and proved that constant drain of wealth from India to England was directly responsible for India's economic miseries. The efforts of the early nationalist leaders to expose the complexity of British rule in India paved the way for the development of the extremist form of nationalism.
- Reaction to Increasing Westernization – The militant nationalists felt that the Indian society was excessively influenced by the growing westernization. They felt that western civilization was eroding the values of Indian culture and civilization. Therefore, the writings of Bankim Chandra Chatterjee, Swami Vivekananda and Dayanand Saraswati appealed to the Indian masses to realize the value of their rich cultural heritage and to conquer the west with India's spirituality.
- Failure of the Moderates – The militant nationalists were highly dissatisfied with the moderate method of peaceful and constitutional agitation and advocated the European revolutionary methods to meet European imperialism. The policy of the moderates was termed as beggary by the extremists as the demands and reforms of the moderates were not acceded by the government. Hence the failure of the constitutional methods of moderates encouraged extremism.
- Deteriorating Economic condition of India – By the end of the 19th

century the economic miseries of India increased as a result of government policies which led to the growth of extremism in Indian national activity. The occurrence of famines and the inadequate government relief machinery to deal with the recurring famines revealed to the Indians their plight of utter helplessness.

- International Events and their Influence – Events occurring outside India had a great influence upon the young Indian minds. The humiliating treatment meted out towards Indians in the British colonies highly outraged the Indians back home. Further nationalist movements in Egypt, Turkey, Russia and Persia gave Indians new hopes and aspirations. Indian nationalists gained more confidence and drew aspirations from these movements to organize themselves against the British government.
- Discriminatory Administrative Policies – The discriminatory acts enacted by the government like Indian Council Act, (1892), Corporation Act of 1899 and Indian Universities Act of 1904 created a negative feeling among Indians against the British government. Further the policies of Curzon never proved beneficial for the Indiansrather it created great resentment in India and thus prepared the way for the extremism to emerge.
- Partition of Bengal – The partition of Bengal in 1905 created a feeling of hatred among the Indians for the British government. The people of India became aware of the fact that the partition of Bengal was a policy of the government to create division among the people on the basis of religion. Hence the spell of European invincibility was broken.

Suppressive Measures of the Government – Government adopted various measures in order to crush the nationalist feelings of the Indians. Many Indian leaders were imprisoned and deported. Bal Gangadhar Tilak and many other leading nationalist leaders were arrested on the charge of spreading discontentment among the people under the pretext of nationality. This ignited fire among the Indians and they turned towards extremist methods to achieve their goals.

11.4 GROWTH OF EXTREMIST GROUPS AND SECRET SOCIETIES

The revolutionaries were inspired by their love towards motherland and were spurred by enthusiasm to wrest freedom quickly from the clutches of the British by any means necessary. They organized secret societies,manufactured arms and ammunitions, murdered Government officials and looted Government institutions. The radical ideology of militant nationalism began to influence Indian youths towards the last decade of the 19th century. In 1897, the Chapekar brothers, Vinayak and Damodar respectively, murdered Mr. Rand, the Plague Commissioner of Pune and his associate Mr. Ayerst. 'Abhinava Bharat' was the first organized society of the revolutionaries in Maharashtra. It was established in 1904 by V.D. Savarkar. Earlier in 1900, he formed an association called 'Mitra Mela'. Its members were fire brand young men who were prepared to dedicate their lives for the sake of their motherland. This association was later turned into a revolutionary organization. In Bengal, the movement was led by Barindra Kumar Ghosh and Pulin Behari Das. They founded a secret society called the 'Anushilan Samiti' with its headquarter at Calcutta. It had 116 branches and more than 9000 members. Pulin Behari Das established a second headquarter at Dacca. The members of the 'Anushilan Samiti' spread revolutionary ideas and collected arms. Inspired by such ideologies, Prafulla Chaki, a seventeen year old young man tried to assassinate Bamfyide Fuller, the Lt. Governor of Eastern Bengal. In 1907, the revolutionaries made an attempt to murder Andrew Frister, the Lt. Governor of Bengal. In another incident, Prafulla Chaki and Khudiram Bose made a failed attempt to kill Mr. Kingsford, the Judge of Muzaffarpur. Prafulla shot himself after he was arrested and Khudiram was tried and hanged. Such bold attempts of the revolutionaries compelled the British Government to take suppressive measures. House raids and large-scale arrests followed. The Maniktala Garden House at Calcutta was raided and a bomb factory was found. Leaders like Arabindo Ghosh and Baridra Kumar Ghosh were arrested. Their trial was known as the Alipur Conspiracy Case. However, the

revolutionaries murdered a Deputy Superintendent of Police and a public prosecutor related with the case. Most of the revolutionaries were found guilty in the trial and some of them were deported. Despite such oppression, revolutionary activities continued and the 'Anushilan Samiti' worked for their goal with dedicated members.In Maharashtra, places like Pune, Bombay, Nasik, Bassein. Kolhapur etc became centers of bomb manufacturing. Organizations like the 'Abhinaba Bharat' started functioning in different parts. In 1908, B.G. Tilak was sentenced to six years transportation for extremist activities. A large number of revolutionaries were imprisoned in the Kolhapur Bomb Case. On 21 December, 1909, Anant Laxman Kanhere shot Mr. Jackson, the District Magistrate of Nasik. Jatindra Nath Mukherjee put forth an epic struggle against British Police which earned him the nickname of Bagha Jatin (Jatin, the tiger). Revolutionary activities in South India were inflamed by Bipin Chandra Pal. Chidambaram Pillai delivered an inflammatory speech in Tinnevelly which resulted in a serious riot. In 1910, a follower of V.D. Savarkar preached the necessity of violence to free the country from the clutches of the British. He worked with the association of Vanchi Aiyar who killed Mr. Ashe, the District Magistrate of Tinnevelly. This tide of militant nationalism reached Punjab also. J.M. Chatterjee formed a secret society in Saharanpur in 1904. The society included great revolutionaries like Hardayal, Sufi Amba Prasad and Ajit Singh. The members collected arms and bombs secretly and organized anti-government riots. Rasbehari Bose arranged the assassination of Lord Harding in 1912. The revolutionaries set up their societies in several foreign countries as well. Shyamji Krishna Verma founded the India House in London. It published a journal called the Indian Sociologist. The India Housebecame an important centre of anti-British agitation in England. The most important act of this organization was the murder of Sir William Curzon Wyllie by Madan Lal Dhingra on 1 July, 1909. S.K. Verma's associate Madam Bhikaji Cama unfurled the national flag of India at the International Socialist Congress at Stuttgart, Germany in August 1907. The flag was a tricolor in red, green and yellow. The most famous revolutionary society abroad was the 'Gadar Party' which was formed in San Fransisco, America on 1 November, 1913

by Lala Hardayal. The Party started a weekly paper 'Gadar' in English, Urdu, Gurumukhi, Marathi and Hindi. The head-quarter of Gadar Party was named Yugantar Ashram. Hardayal was forced to leave the U.S.A. in 1914 for his anti-British activities. The charge of the Party was taken over by another revolutionary Ramchandra. The Gadar Party was successful in enlisting support of a large number of people in America and Europe for the cause of Indian independence. In Canada, the Gadar Party gained the support of the Indians living there. The First World War slowed down the revolutionary activities due to severe police oppression. Moreover, the Non-Cooperation Movement turned the tide towards the non-violent movement led by M.K. Gandhi. But the suspension of the Movement revived the revolutionary activities. The meeting of the Bengal Provincial Conference at Chittagong in 1922 provided the platform for a large number of militant nationalists to come together. A revolutionary society named Jugantar was responsible for major militant activities in Bengal between 1922 and 1924. In the United Provinces, the Hindustan Republican Socialist Association (HSRA) became prominent. It was founded in 1924 and its objective was to establish Federal Republic of the United India by means of an armed revolution. Its activity was not limited in manufacturing bombs and arms only. The members of the party preached revolutionary ideologies among the youths. In 1928, the members of the association under the leadership of Chandra Sekhar Azad, Bhagat Singh and Ram Prasad Bismil looted a train laden with Government arms at Kakodi. On 8 April 1929, Bhagat Singh and Batukeswar Dutta threw two bombs in the Central Legislative Assembly at Delhi. The HSRA took revenge of the death of Lala Lajpat Rai by assassinating Saunders, a police inspectorof Lahore. Two bomb factories of the HSRA were discovered by the police. Most of the members were arrested and some of them were given death penalty. Bhagat Singh, Sukhdev and Rajguru were hanged on 23rd March, 1931. Their sacrifice inspired thousands of Indian youths to fight against the colonial rule. A revolutionary group named Indian Republican Army was founded by Surya Sen. In April 1930, this organization made an attack on the government armories at Chittagong, which created a wave of enthusiasm among the young

revolutionaries.The first Rani of Jhansi training camp opened near Singapore on October 22, 1943, with Subhas Bose presiding.

- **Secret Societies in India and Abroad**

Anushilan Samiti – The Anushilan Samiti of Calcutta was formed by Barindrakumar Ghosh, Jatindranath Banerjee and Pramotha Mitter in 1902. The Anushilan Samiti of Dacca was founded by Pulin Das in 1902. These were the first revolutionary secret societies in Bengal.

Mitra Mela – The Mitra Mela was formed by the Savarkar brothers in 1899. This society was the first one in Maharastra. The society further grew to include several hundred revolutionaries and political activists with branches in various parts of India. It carried out a few assassinations of British officials after which the Savarkar brothers were convicted and imprisoned. The society was formally disbanded in 1952.

Abhinava Bharat – Abhinava Bharat popularly known as Young India Society was a secret society founded by V.D Savarkar and his brother Ganesh Savarkar in 1907.

Hindustan Republican Association – The Hindustan Republican Association (HRA) was a revolutionary organization of India formed in 1924 at village Bholachang in East Bengal by Sachindra Nath Sanyal and Jogesh Chandra Chatterji as an offshoot of Anushilan Samiti. It was the first association at the all- India level. Its objective was to establish a “Federated Republic of the United States of India” through an organized and armed revolution.

Ghadar Party – The Ghadar Party was an organization formed by Har Dayal and Sohan Singh Bhakna in 1913 in the United States andCanada with the aim of securing India’s independence from British rule. The key members of this party included Sohan Singh Bhakna, Kartar Singh Sarabha, Abdul Hafiz, Mohamed Barakatatullah and Rashbehari Bose.

Indian Independence League – The Indian Independence League was founded by Rashbehari Bose in 1942 in Japan. Its main objective was to organize the revolutionaries living outside India into seeking the removal of British colonial rule over India.

Jugantar Party- Also known as the Chittagong Jugantar Party, this

group was responsible for the famous Chittagong Armoury Raid of 1930. Led by Surya Sen, the raid aimed to seize arms and ammunition from the British authorities as part of the larger struggle for Indian independence.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q 1: Who presided over theRani of Jhansi training camp?

.....

Q 2: The Alipur Conspiracy case is linked to which two revolutionary nationalists?

.....

Q 3: Who led the Chittagong Armoury Raid of 1930?

.....

11.5 5REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENTS AND WOMEN

Political militancy became apparent in Maharastra, UP, Punjab and Bengal mostly as a response to state terrorism in the 19th and 20th century colonial period in India.Women from varied socio-economic status, religious affiliations, and regional identities were involved in the struggle. The tactic of abscondence was adopted by women as a form of resistance against colonial oppression. Women chose to go underground, fully aware of the challenges they were to face while in hiding, and the implications of abscondence for their activism to assert their agency in the face of state repression. The revolutionary women played substantial role in spreading revolutionary ideas and ideologies among the masses. They were actively involved in producing and distributing pamphlets, newspapers, and other propaganda materials that promoted anti-colonial sentiments and mobilized public opinion against British rule. Their contribution to shaping revolutionary discourse and ideology was significant in galvanizing popular support for the nationalist cause. Women were not mere bystanders but actively engaged in revolutionary activities. They played crucial roles in organizing protests, disseminating revolutionary literature, and mobilizing support for the nationalist cause. In the post-war period a number of educated young

women joined peasant movements. It was a revolutionary vision that anticipated far beyond that contemplated by either the Indian National Congress or the women's organizations

Revolutionary fervor swept across India, particularly in undivided Bengal, where several women-led groups emerged. Calcutta became a hub of revolutionary activity, with colleges serving as focal points for organizing and mobilizing young students. These women-led groups operated clandestinely, often recruiting members from among their classmates and alumni. They were driven by a fervent commitment to the cause of national freedom and independence. The educational institutions, particularly colleges, served as fertile ground for revolutionary activities, providing a platform for organizing, training, and networking. Student associations within these educational institutions played a crucial role in nurturing semi-revolutionary groups. They provided a conducive environment for ideological indoctrination, skill development, and coordination of activities. Women involved in these groups underwent training in various aspects of revolutionary struggle, including weapons handling, combat tactics, and other associated activities aimed at challenging British authority. The emergence of women-led revolutionary groups in Bengal during the 1930s reflects a broader trend of increasing female participation in India's struggle for independence. These women defied traditional gender roles and societal expectations to actively engage in revolutionary activities, contributing significantly to the anti-colonial movement.

Some prominent names of revolutionary women are provided below-

- Bina Das was a prominent revolutionary figure known for her daring act of attempting to assassinate the Governor of Bengal, Stanley Jackson, in the Convocation Hall of the University of Calcutta in 1932. Her bold action, though unsuccessful, brought attention to the cause of Indian independence and inspired others to join the struggle against British rule.
- Pritilata Waddedar was a revolutionary activist who participated in the Chittagong Armoury Raid of 1930. Born on May 5, 1911, in Dhalghat village in present-day Bangladesh, Pritilata was raised in a family with

strong nationalist sentiments. She received her education in Chittagong and later enrolled in Bethune College in Calcutta (now Kolkata). Pritilata was deeply influenced by the revolutionary ideas of the time, particularly those advocating for armed resistance against British rule. She joined the Chhatri Sangha, a revolutionary youth organization in Bengal, and became actively involved in its activities. One of Pritilata's most famous acts of resistance came in September 1932, when she participated in the attack on the Pahartali European Club in Chittagong. The club was a symbol of British colonial privilege, and its attack was intended to strike a blow against British authority. Pritilata, along with her comrades, carried out the attack with remarkable courage and determination. Despite facing heavy opposition from British forces, they fought valiantly until the very end.

- Kalyani Das was a member of the Jugantar group, a revolutionary organization that operated in Bengal during the early 20th century. She was actively involved in underground activities aimed at overthrowing British rule in India. Das's commitment to the cause of independence and her contributions to the revolutionary movement exemplify the significant role played by women in challenging colonial authority.
- Ujjwala Dutt was a revolutionary activist associated with the Anushilan Samiti, a secret society that advocated armed resistance against British imperialism. She played a key role in organizing and mobilizing support for revolutionary activities in Bengal. Her involvement in underground networks and her dedication to the cause of Indian independence underscore the important role of women in revolutionary struggles.
- Aruna Ganguly was born on 16 July 1908 at Kalka (Haryana). Her parents were originally from Barisal in East Bengal. Ganguly grew up in an atmosphere and a culture that was syncretic. She joined the Congress and was involved in the role of mobilizing the masses. However, she soon began questioning her political views. She declared herself a Socialist in 1942 after her involvement in the Quit India Movement. Aruna Asaf Ali became a leader of the underground movement in 1942 and was forced to remain in hiding until 1946.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q 4: Name a female revolutionary associated with the Anushilan Samiti.

.....

Q 5: Who was linked to the case of Pahartali European Club attack in Chittagong?

.....

Q 6: What drove the women to become members of the radical organisations?

.....



11.6 LET US SUM UP

After going through this Unit, you have learnt that-

- Revolutionary nationalism emerged as a result of colonial oppression and the failure of the policy of moderation.
- This radical form of nationalism grew through secret societies and militant organisations working underground.
- Women played a crucial role as revolutionaries along side their fellow men to assert their agency and to exhibit their commitment towards the country.



11.7 FURTHER READINGS

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4) Mukherjee, Ishanee. (1991). Scaling the Barrier: Women, Revolution and Abscondence in Late Colonial Bengal in *Indian Journal of Gender Studies.* Vol 6 (1). Pp 61-78

11.8 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans to Q No 1: Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose

Ans to Q No 2: Arabindo Ghosh and Baridra Kumar Ghosh

Ans to Q No 3: Surya Sen

Ans to Q No 4: Ujjwala Dutt

Ans to Q No 5: Pritilata Waddedar

Ans to Q No 6: They were driven by a fervent commitment to the cause of national freedom and independence.

11.9 MODEL QUESTIONS

A**) Very Short Questions (Answer each question within 50 words)-**

Q 1: State the role of Congress for the rise of revolutionary nationalism.

Q 2: Who was Aruna Ganguly?

Q 3: What is meant by 'abscondence'?

B) Short question (Answer each question within 150-300 words)

Q 1: Write short note on-

a. Ghadar Party

b. Anushilan Samiti

c. Militant Nationalism

C) Long questions (Answer each question within 300-500 words.)

Q 1: Discuss the factors responsible for the growth of revolutionary nationalism in India.

Q 2: Explain the role of militant organization in the struggle for freedom.

Q 3: Anaslyse the role and contribution of women as revolutionary nationalist.

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UNIT 12 : GANDHIAN PHASE OF INDIAN NATIONAL MOVEMENT

UNIT STRUCTURE

12.1 Learning Objectives

12.2 Introduction

12.3 Rise of Gandhi- Ideology of Ahimsa and Satyaghraha

- Champaran, Kheda, Bardoli

12.4 Non-Cooperation Movement

12.5 Simon Commision

12.6 Round Table Conference

12.7 Gandhian Movement and Women

12.8 Let Us Sum Up

12.9 Further Readings

12.10 Answers to Check Your Progres

12.11 Model Questions

12.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will able to-

- explain the role of Gandhi in the peasant and labour movements in the initial phase of his arrival in India,
- discuss the causes and consequences of the mass movements that occurred between 1919-1940s
- discuss the role of women in the Gandhi led mass movements.

12.2 INTRODUCTION

Dear Learner, in the previous Unit, we discussed the rise of militant nationalism and the role of women in this movement. In this Unit, we shall discuss the rise of Gandhi in Indian politics and how his ideology of *ahimsa* and *satyagraha* shaped the mass movement. We will discuss how he utilized his power of negotiation to secure concessions for the greater benefit of the Indians. The period of Gandhi in Indian politics makes for an interesting study.

12.3 RISE OF GANDHI- IDEOLOGY OF AHIMSA AND SATYAGHRAHA

- **CHAMPARAN, KHEDA, BARDOLI**

The rise of Gandhi as a leader all began with his satyagraha movement in Champaran and Kheda. Champaran was the largest area under indigo plantation. The peasants of Champaran were not happy with the "tinkathia" system. In this system, the peasants of the Champaran district were forced to plant indigo in their lands. Out of twenty kathas of land (1 acre), the peasants had to cultivate indigo in three kathas of land. The peasants faced oppression as the landlords yielded all the profits from the cultivation and they were coerced into various atrocities. While the Government knew of the trouble among the peasants, yet they took no actions and ignored the matter. There were protests and demonstrations against the systematic exploitation of the peasants by the planters. Gandhiji personally visited Champaran and to look unto the condition of the peasants. His presence in Champaran raised serious concern among the planters and the government. However, a Commission of Enquiry was instituted with Gandhiji as the member. According to the recommendation of this Committee, the tinkathia system was abolished, rent was reduced among others. This was a moment of success for Gandhiji. He took a firm stand on the issue of the peasants of Champaran and his use of non-violent and peaceful method brought him into light across the country.

The other incident was the tiff between the textile mill owners and workers in Ahmedabad. The workers at the textile mills demanded anincrease in their wages by 50% but the mill owners were willing to pay an increment of 20%. Gandhiji proposed for an increment of 25% which was refused by the mill owners. Gandhiji appealed through requests and entreaties but the owners were not willing to compromise. Gandhiji next advised the mill workers to go on a strike in which he applied non-violence, and non-cooperation method to secure justice. There were peaceful processions and meetings as the strike progressed. However, there was no sign of compromise or negotiation on the part of the mill owners. It was

only when Gandhiji took to fast that a compromise was reached between the workers and the owners.

In yet another case, the Patidars of Kheda district of Gujarat were facing a famine like condition owing to the failure of crops. Under the land revenue rules, if crops were four annas or less than that, then the cultivators could get suspension from revenue assessment. The Patidars were considering a suspension from revenue assessment for a year, however, the official records mentioned the crops to be over four annas, which only meant that the Patidars would not be entitled for full suspension. Gandhiji requested for the appointment of an impartial committee, which was declined. Gandhiji next urged for a half suspension for the Kheda district except for those villages where crops were above six annas. But the Government was not willing to grant the demand and hence, Gandhiji and the Patidars protested against it, by refusing to pay any revenue for the year. Despite the repressions faced by the people, they stood to their grounds and the Government was forced to declare that, if the rich Patidars paid for the crop, the poorer ones would be granted suspension. Thus, during these movements in Champaran, Ahmedabad and Gujarat, Gandhiji applied his ideology into practice and realised its strength.

Bardoli no-tax movement of 1928, linked with the Non-cooperation movement, highlighted the exploitation of lower-caste Kali Paraj by landlords. Despite Gandhi's constructive initiatives like schools and spinning wheels, the Patidar Yuvak Mandals showed antagonism towards lower castes. Sardar Patel led the movement and demanded fair treatment for peasants. The government responded with repression, seizing land and cattle. Peasant solidarity spread, with support from Punjab. Gandhi's presence bolstered the movement, leading to a reduction in land tax. The Bardoli uprising became a symbol of resistance against oppressive policies, resonating nationally. Bardoli offered a fertile ground for Gandhi to test his ideology and he gained massive following.

12.4 NON-COOPERATION MOVEMENT

The developments in the last year of the second decade of the twentieth century made the Indian people highly discontented. The British Government had made various promises to the Indians during the FirstWorld War to seek their co-operation. But the Rowlatt Act, the Jallianwala Bagh massacre and the imposition of martial law in Punjab shattered their hopes.

The Montagu-Chelmsford reforms, marked a significant post-war reform in British India. It expanded provisions for representative self-government, offering Indian nationalists dyarchy—a split government with selected powers. The Central assembly comprised elected Indian elites and appointed colonial officials, while Provincial Councils included appointed members. The Act increased the size of legislative bodies and extended voting rights. Provincial governments gained authority over education, health, and public works, while the central government retained control over military and foreign policy. Despite progress, critics noted limitations, such as British administrators' veto power over legislative decisionsTop of Form.The Montague-Chelmsford reform of 1919 could not satisfy the Indians. The Indian Muslims were highly dissatisfied as the British Government did not keep their promise to give generous treatment to Turkey after the First World War.With the dismemberment of the Turkish Empire post World War I, the discontented Indian Muslims began the Khilafat movement. The Khilafat committee had already been established in 1918. Gandhiji had been very sympathetic to their cause. He advised the Khilafat Committee to adopt a programme of non-violent non - cooperation to protest the government's behaviour. On June 9, 1920 the Khilafat Committee accepted Gandhiji's proposal unanimously. An unparalleled unity was seen among the Hindus and the Muslims on the issue of Khilafat in the Indian National Movement. The Muslims invited the Arya Samaj leader Swami Shradhananda to preach from the pulpit of Jama Masjid at Delhi, and the Sikhs invited the Muslim leader Dr. Saifuddin Kitchlew to preach from the Golden Temple in Amritsar. The Movement was launched formally on August 1, 1920. The Congress met in September at Calcutta and accepted non-

cooperation. The adoption of the Non-Cooperation movement by the Congress which was earlier initiated by the Khilafat Conference gave it a new energy. Gandhiji and the Ali brothers (Mohammad and Shaukat Ali), who were the foremost Khilafat leaders, undertook a nation-wide tour and addressedhundreds of meetings. The programme of non-cooperation included non payment of taxes and dues to the government, surrender of titles and honours, boycott of Government affiliated schools and colleges, law courts, foreign clothes, etc. In the first month itself thousands of students left schools and colleges and joined more than eight hundred national schools and colleges that had sprung up all over the country. The boycott of educational institutions was particularly successful in Bengal. C.R. Das played a major role in promoting the movement. Subhas Bose became the principal of the National College in Calcutta. Punjab too responded to educational boycott and Lala Lajpat Rai played a leading role here. In Bombay, U.P., Bihar, Orissa and Assam also the movement spread. Many leading lawyers of the country like C.R. Das, Motilal Nehru, M.R. Jayakar, Saifuddin Kitchlew, Vallabhbhai Patel, C. Rajgopalachari gave up their practice. But perhaps the most successful item of the programme was the boycott of foreign clothes. Volunteers would go from house to house collecting foreign clothes and the entire community would gather to light a bonfire of the goods. Another feature of the movement was picketing in front of the liquor shops. Though it was not included in the original plan, it attained great popularity. Soon the Non-Cooperation movement reached the masses. Youths and old men and women, Hindus and Muslims, liberals and conservatives all were equally influenced by it. Thousands of farmers of United Provinces and Bengal joined this movement. In parts of the United Provinces, tenants refused to concede to the unjust demands of zamindars. In Assam, the labourers on tea plantations went on strike and farmers of Midnapur refused to pay taxes to the union board. All village officers in Pedanandipadu submitted their resignation. A mass movement was launched in Guntur. The wide-spread success of the Non-Cooperation movement became a cause of terrible worry for the British Government. Hence, it resorted to severe measures to crush the movement. By December

1921, thousands of satyagrahis including important leaders like C.R. Das were arrested. Gandhiji was now prepared for a mass civil disobedience movement. But before he could launch it on February 5, 1922 a violent incident occurred at Chauri Chaura in the Gorakhpur district of Uttar Pradesh. Twenty-two policemen died in the incident. Pained by the happenings, Gandhiji decided to suspend the movement immediately. Thus on 12 February 1922, the Non-Cooperation movement came to an end. Gandhiji's decision to withdraw the movement was not supported by many Congress leaders. The non-cooperation was a truly mass movement. A new political awakening arose among the common masses and for the first time they came into contact with the modern ideology of nationalism. The tremendous participation of Muslims in the movement, and the maintenance of communal harmony was also an important achievement of the movement.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q 1: Why were the Muslims dissatisfied with the Montague-Chelmsford Reform?

.....

Q 2: Why did Gandhi call of the Non-Cooperation Movement?

.....

Q 3: What is the '*tinkathia system*'?

.....

12.5 CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE MOVEMENT

The decision of Gandhi to suspend the Movement was met with mixed reaction. One was the formation of the Swarajist Party (1922) by Desbandhu Chittaranjan Das and Motilal Nehru. The main motive of the Swarajists was the achievement of Swarajya, but they wanted to strike directly at the policies and actions of the Government through entry into the legislatures. In the elections held in November 1923, the Swaraj Party received a clear majority in the Central Legislature of Bengal and Central Province. No sooner did they enter the central and provincial legislatures,

they started to obstruct the functioning of the Government. In the meantime, the British Government constituted a Statutory Commission under Sir John Simon, to look into the issue of further constitutional reforms in India. But the Commission did not have a single Indian member. The Indians protested the arrival of the Simon Commission. The commission submitted its report which failed to satisfy the Indians. When Indians rejected the Simon Commission report, Lord Birkenhead, the Secretary of State for India, challenged the Indian leadership to draft a constitution acceptable to all Indians. In response to this challenge, the Congress convened an All Party Conference to finalise a scheme which popularly came to be known as the Nehru Report after Motilal Nehru, its principal author. This report demanded dominion status as the form of Government for India. It also rejected the principle of separate communalelectorates on which previous constitutional reforms had been based. Seats would be reserved for Muslims at the centre and in provinces in which they were in a minority but not where they had a numerical majority. The report also recommended universal adult suffrage, equal rights for women, freedom to form unions and dissociation of the state from religion in any form. But a section of the Muslim League led by Jinnah did not want to give up the demand for reservation of seats for Muslims especially in Muslim majority provinces. He put forward his fourteen points as the minimum Muslim demands for any political settlement, but it was not acceptable to the Congress. Some of the Sikhs also rejected the report because they were not recognized as a minority by it. Some young and radical Congress members led by Jawaharlal Nehru and Subhas Chandra Bose were also dissatisfied with its declaration of Dominion Status. But Gandhiji convinced them to accept the report. The Government was asked to accept the Nehru report by December 31, 1929; otherwise the Congress would launch a non-cooperation and civil disobedience movement for the achievement of complete independence. On December 25, 1929, the 44th session of Indian National Congress was held at Lahore under the presidentship of Jawaharlal Nehru. By this time all the Congress leaders were convinced that the British government would not grant Swaraj to India till it was forced to do so. It was during this session that a resolution for

complete independence was passed on December 31, 1929 and the newly adopted tricolour flag of independence was hoisted. The Lahore Congress of 1929 had authorised the working committee to launch a programme of civil disobedience including non-payment of taxes. It had also called upon all members of legislatures to resign their seats. In mid February, 1930, the working committee entrusted Gandhiji with the responsibility to launch the Civil Disobedience movement at a time and place of his choice. Gandhiji informed the Governor General that if their demands were not fulfilled by the Government he would launch the Civil Disobedience movement by violating the salt laws on March 12, 1930. The response was highly disappointing. Therefore, Gandhiji decidedto launch the Civil Disobedience movement. The movement started with the famous Dandi March. On March 12, 1930, Gandhiji, along with 78 of his followers began his foot march from Sabarmati Ashram to Dandi. On 6 April 1930, by picking up a handful of salt, Gandhiji inaugurated the Civil Disobedience movement. The movement now spread rapidly, with the violation of salt laws all over the country. This was soon followed by defiance of forest laws in Maharashtra, Karnataka and the Central Provinces. Everywhere in the country people joined hartals, demonstrations and the campaign to boycott foreign goods and to refuse to pay taxes. In many parts of the country the peasants refused to pay land revenue and rent and their lands were confiscated. A notable feature of the movement was the wide participation of the women. Thousands of them took active part in picketing before shops selling foreign clothes and liquor. The Pathans of north- west frontier under Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, popularly known as the Frontier Gandhi, made a remarkable contribution to the movement with the organization known as KhudaiKhidmadgarh. In Peshawar, Garhwali soldiers refused to fire at non-violent agitators. Similarly, the movement spread to the North East. The Manipuris took an active part in it and Nagaland produced a brave heroine in Rani Gaidilieu. The young Rani was captured in 1932 and sentenced to life imprisonment. She was released only in 1947 by the Government of free India.The Government adopted ruthless measures to crush the movement through lathi charges and firing on unarmed crowds. Thousands of Satyagrahis, including Gandhiji

and other Congress leaders, were imprisoned. The Congress was declared illegal. The nationalist press was prevented from speaking freely through strict censorship of news.

- **Simon Commission**

While the British Parliamentary law was vested with the power to shape the political future of India, it was laid down in the Act of 1919 that at the end of 10 years of the Act, a Royal Commission would be sent to India to report the progress of the reforms. But considerable pressure, agitation and criticism, mounting from numerous patrioticIndian elements, decided to anticipate the date of the Statuary Commission'sappointment. At the same time, the apprehension of the general elections in 1929 prompted for the quick appointment of the Commission. Meanwhile theSwaraj Party expressed significant discontent with the implementation of the reforms of 1919, consistently criticizing and expressing dissatisfaction with the process. It continuously advocated for increased autonomy in the provinces and greater responsibility at the center. Consequently, the Conservative government aimed to leverage the appointment of the Statutory Commission as a bargaining tool to undermine and weaken the Swaraj Party. No Indian was included in the Commission sending a wave of distrust among the Indians. While the reason behind the non-inclusion of any Indians were based on flimsy grounds. One account was the decision of the framers of the Act of 1919 to confine it within the scope of only the members of the Parliament. Earl Winterton, Under Secretary of State of India, defended the non-inclusion saying the no two Indians could represent India in all its diversity. The Statutory Commission was formed under the Chairmanship of Sir John Allsebrook Simon in 1927. A total of nine members formed the Commission that set sail for India in 1928.

The aim was for the members to familiarize themselves with the operations of legislative bodies, local governance structures, educational institutions, and other public departments. The objective was to form comprehensiveunderstanding of the prevailing conditions in India, which they were tasked to address. The other objectives were –

- Reviewing the working of the Government of India Act of 1919 and assessing its effectiveness.
- Evaluating the progress made in the implementation of constitutionalreforms in India.
- Assessing the readiness of India for further constitutional reforms, particularly with regard to self-governmentand autonomy.
- Examining the representation of different communities in the legislative bodies and the civil services.
- Considering the views and opinions of various political groups and organizations inIndia regarding constitutional reforms.

However, the Commisison on its arrival were greeted by a posse of demonstrators, led by K.F.Nariman, gathered at the gate withplacards inscribed, 'Simon go back, 'No representation, no Commission,''Swaraj is our birth-right, 'Down with the British Imperialism.' A part of studentdemonstrators also assembled near the gate of the Alexandra Docks. Theyraised slogans against the Commission and the police assaulted them anddispersed them. In Delhi, all business houses were closed with a few exceptions. In Calcutta, hartal was observed, and all Hindu shops were closed andno business was transacted at the share and jute markets. Tramcars andtramway buses owned by Muslims were in operation under police. The hartal also affected proceedings of law courts in the city.About thirty percent of the lawyers attended the High court. In Lahore, a huge protest meeting, presided over by Dunni Chand, was addressed by Dr. Satyapal, Dr. Mohammad Alam, Sardui Singh Caveeshar, M.Zafar Ali Khan, Maulana Abdul Qadir of Kasur, ad Amar Singh Jhabbal, President of the Punjab Pradesh Congress Committee. Maulana Abdul Qadir ofKasur moved the following resolution. When the Commission arrived at Lahore on October 30, 1928, enthusiastic scenes were witnessed in the town on this day. A procession led byprominent leaders with several thousand followers carrying black flags withinscription, 'Simon, Go Back', started at about 1 P.M. from the municipal gardens towards the railway station. The procession was confronted withbarbed wire with strong wooden posts barricading the way to the railway station. In the first row near the barbed wires stood Lala

Lajpat Rai, MaulanaZafar Ali and others. While the procession was perfectly non- violent, somepolice officials used their lathis on the first row of the procession, which included Lalaji. One of them struck him hard in the chest which proved fatalafter a few days. With reference to the Commission, he said, 'If the Governmentdid not wish that the Commission should see all those demonstrations, thebest thing for them to do was to put bandages over their eyes and to takethem to Government House"

12.6 ROUND TABLE CONFERENCE

The failure of the First Round Table Conference due to the problem of communal electorates pressurised the British Government to negotiate an agreement with the Congress. Finally, Lord Irwin and Gandhiji negotiated a settlement in March 1931 (Gandhi-Irwin Pact). By this Pact, the Government agreed to release all political prisoners except those who were involved in violent activities. The Government acceded to the right to manufacture salt for domestic consumption and picketing of liquor and foreign cloth shops. In return the Congress agreed to suspend the Civil Disobedience movement and also agreed to participate in the Second Round Table Conference. The Second Round Table Conference was attended by Gandhiji. He demanded complete independence for India, full responsible governments at the Centre. But because of the demands of separate electorates put forward by the Muslim League and the untouchables, the conference failed to arrive at any point of agreement regarding India. On his arrival in India, Gandhiji felt it essential to revive the Civil Disobedience movement against the highly repressive policy of the Government. Gandhiji revived the movement on January 4th, 1932. He was arrested along with Sardar Patel the same day. Meanwhile the Communal Award (1932) was declared by which a separate electorate were ensured for the Muslims, Sikhs, the Europeans (Anglo-Indians and Christians) and the Depressed Class in certain areas. Gandhiji was provoked to undertake a fast resulting in the Poona Pact (1932) by which the number of seat was increased for the Depressed Classes.By the Poona Pact, Dr Ambedkar agreed to give up his claim for separateelectorate in return for an increase in the number

of the Dalit seatsfrom 71 given by Communal Award to 148 (later on 151) seats in theprovincial legislative assemblies. The system of separate electoratewas replaced with joint electorate.

The Civil Disobedience movement lost its identity and the Congress officially suspended the movement in May 1933 and withdrew it in May, 1934. The Third Round Table Conference was convened in 1932. Some important decisions on the future constitution of India were taken in theconference which was published in a White Paper. On the basis of this White Paper the Government of India Act of 1935 was passed.

12.7 GANDHIAN MOVEMENT AND WOMEN

It was only with the advent of Gandhi that we see a major rupture in the story of women's involvement in the nationalist movement. Gandhi, in conceptualising the ideal Indian womanhood, shifted the focus frommotherhood to sisterhood, by negating women's sexuality. For him, men and women were equal but had different roles to play. He accepted women's biological weakness but turned that weakness into power by glorifying their strength of soul. He did not seek to invert the doctrine of two separate spheres of private and public space but redefined political participation by creating space for politics in home. In other words, what Gandhi did was "an extraction and reformulation of received social ideas in moral terms". It was first in South Africa in 1913 that Gandhi realised the huge political potential women participation in mass movement. Back in India during the Rowlatt Satyagraha of 1919 he again invited women to participate in the nationalist campaign; but it was withdrawn before any significant advancement in this direction could take place. When the Non-Cooperation movement started in 1921, Gandhi initially prescribed a limited role i.e. that of boycott and Swadeshi. But women claimed for themselves a greater active role. Basanti Devi, the wife of the Bengal Congress leader C.R.Das, his sister Urmila Devi and niece Suniti Devi, stunned the nation by participating in open demonstration on the streets of Calcutta and by courting arrest. Similar movements took place in other parts of the country, women from respectable middle-class familiesplayed an important role.It

was during the civil disobedience movement that the floodgates were really opened. Gandhi once again did not want to include women in his original core group of volunteers on the Dandi March. But on his way he addressed meetings attended by thousands of women and when the movement actually took off; thousands of others participated in the illegal manufacture of salt, picketing foreign cloth and liquor shops and took part in processions. The movement, so far as women's participation was concerned, was most organised in Bombay, most militant in Bengal and limited in madras. In North Indian cities like Allahabad, Lucknow, Delhi and Lahore, hundreds of women from respectable families shocked their conservative men folk by openly participating in nationalist demonstrations.During the Swadeshi Movement of 1905, women contributed their gold bangles and jewellery for the promotion of the movement. Sarala Devi, a niece of Rabindranath Tagore, opened an emporium called 'LakshmirBhandar' in Calcutta for popularising Swadeshi goods. Women activists in the Swadeshi Movement outside Bengal included Mrs. Ketkar (daughter of Bal Gangadhar Tilak) and Mrs. A.V.Joshi in Bombay and Sushila Devi, Har Devi in Punjab



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q 4: How were women involved in the mass movement under Gandhi?

.....

Q 5: The Poona Pact was signed between whom?

.....

Q 6: Why did the Simon Commission create uproar in India?

.....



12.8 LET US SUM UP

After going through this Unit, you have learnt that-

- Gandhi's arrival worked as a catalyst to the mass mobilization that had begun with the establishment of the Congress and other

organisations.

- Champaran, Kheda, Bardoli offered the needed grounds to Gandhi to test his ideology of ahimsa and satyagraha.
- The Gandhi led Movements met with much criticism, giving rise to discontent and formation of radical organisations. There were divided opinions within the Party itself.
- Despite the internal strife, the mass movement gained much momentum bringing in within its fold man and woman from all ranks of the society.



12.9 FURTHER READINGS

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12.10 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans to Q No 1: The Indian Muslims were highly dissatisfied as the British Government did not keep their promise to give generous treatment to Turkey after the First World War.

Ans to Q No 2: The incident of Chauri Chaura

Ans to Q No 3: In this system, the peasants of the Champaran district were forced to plant indigo in their lands. Out of twenty kathas of land (1 acre), the peasants had to cultivate indigo in three kathas of land.

Ans to Q No 4: Participating in *hartals,* picketing, and other peaceful demonstrations etc

Ans to Q No 5: Dr Ambedkar and Gandhi

Ans to Q No 6: Non-inclusion of any Indian member in the Commission.

12.11 MODEL QUESTIONS

A) Very Short Questions (answer question each within 50 words)

Q 1: Why was Gandhi's decision to call-off the Non-Cooperation Movement criticized?

Q 2: When was the Swaraj Party formed?

Q 3: Who led the Khilafat Movement?

B) Short Questions (answer each question within 150 words)

Q 1: Write a brief note on –

a. Poona Pact

b. Simon Commission

c. Patidars

C) Long questions (answer each question within 300-500 words)

Q 1: Assess the role and contribution of women in the mass movement under the leadership Gandhi.

Q 2: What were the consequences of the Round Table Conferences? Explain.

Q 3: Discuss the ideology of satyagraha as reflected in the early campaigns of Gandhi.

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UNIT 13 : POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS DURING THE WORLD WAR II

UNIT STRUCTURE

13.1 Learning Objectives

13.2 Introduction

13.3 Subhash Chandra Bose and his ideology

- INA
- The INA Trials-Significance

13.4 Cripps Mission-August Offer

13.5 Quit India Movement

13.6 Let Us Sum Up

13.7 Further Readings

13.8 Answers to Check Your Progress

13.9 Model Questions

13.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will able to-

- explain the legend that was Subhas Chandra Bose and the role of INA under his leadership in the greater fight for the freedom of India,
- discuss the August Offer and the Cripps Mission proposal to appease the Indians,
- discuss the causes and events that led to the Quit India Movement.

13.2 INTRODUCTION

Dear Learners, in the previous Unit we discussed the role of Gandhi as the leader of the Mass Movements and the developments that took place since 1915-1940s.

In this Unit, we discuss the events from 1940 and the proposals forwarded by the British to come to a harmonious solution on the question of India's independence. We will also be discussing the legacy of Subhas Chandra Bose, his ideology and his role as a revolutionary leader.

13.3 SUBHASH CHANDRA BOSE AND HIS IDEOLOGY

Subhas Chandra Bose, born on January 23, 1897, emerged as a prominent figure in India's nationalist movement. Influenced by his parents and various leaders like C.R. Das and international freedom movements, he joined the nationalist struggle early, participating in protests and resigning from the Civil Service to devote himself fully to India's cause. Bose's tenure as President of the Indian National Congress saw clashes with Gandhi due to his radical stance against British imperialism. He later formed the Forward Block party, advocating for complete independence from British rule. His association with Japan and the Indian National Army (INA) raised controversies within Congress. Despite facing opposition, Bose's unwavering determination led him to leave India to seek support for India's liberation.
Subhas Bose was not a political philosopher, but a vital politicalleader of nationalist India whose views were shaped by his Bengaliupbringing, his study of philosophy and history at college, and atCambridge while preparing for the ICS exam; and his experienceand reading about world politics from his teens into his forties. As amodern South Asian, he, like many others, made his own uniquesynthesis of Indian and European ideas and values. s. Bose learnedthis teaching from the Bengal revolutionary movement and fromthe extremist wing of the nationalist movement, particularly fromAurobindo Ghose. Bose's political thought was characterized by a strong sense of nationalism, rooted in the idea of India as a spiritual and cultural entity. He believed in the inherent strength and resilience of the Indian people, emphasizing the need for self-reliance and self-determination. Drawing inspiration from the Bhagavad Gita, he viewed the struggle for independence as a righteous battle against oppression and injustice.

- **INA**

When the World War II broke out, Bose undertook a tour of the country in which he openly criticized the British government and advised the Indians not to help the British in its war effort. On July 27, 1940, he was imprisoned without trial. While in jail, he arrived at the conclusion that the people of India would have to fight for their freedom and she would win her

independence if she played her part in the war against Britain and collaborated with those powers that were fighting against Britain. He decided to go on hunger strike and in a long letter to the government of Bengal he wrote, the individual must die so that thenation may live. He started his indefinite fast on November 29, 1940. As he developed alarming symptoms, the government released him on December 5, 1940. After his release, Subhas Chandra Bose was under house arrest. However, he fled in disguiseand reached Kabul and from there he proceeded to Russia with an Italian passport. On March 28, 1941, he flew from Moscow to Berlin. He was received well by Ribbentrop, the right- hand man of Hitler. He was given all facilities to broadcast his denunciation of the British Government. Subhas proposed to organize an Indian Army to operate against the British forces on the North-Western Frontier. Bose established Free Indian Centre in Germany and tried his best to keep it free from any Nazi intervention. He was able to sign an agreement with Nazi Germany according to which Indian forces could only be used against the English troops and with Indian interest. When the war broke out in the East in 1941, there was great enthusiasm among the Indians. A large number of associations were set up to help in the liberation of India from the British. Out of these associations was born the idea of an Indian Independence League. On 4 December 1941, the Indian Independence League was renamed as the Indian National Army (lNA). Through the efforts of Rash Bihari Bose who had left India and settled in Japan, a conference was held at Tokyo on March 28-30, 1942. A resolution was passed at that conference that the Indian NationalArmy should be formed under the direct command of Indian officers who were to conduct the campaign for the liberation of India. An Indian Independence League of Overseas Indians was provisionally set up and it was decided to have a fully representative conference of Indians at Bangkok in June 1942. The Indian National Army (lNA) with a definite constitution was inaugurated in the Bangkok Conference. Its objective was declared to be the attainment of complete and immediate independence of India. At the Bangkok conference it was decided to invite Subhas Chandra Bose to come to East Asia. The conference was also attended by the representatives of the Indian soldiers

who had been captured by the Japanese but had given up their allegiance to the British Government. After the fall of Singapore, 400,000 Indian prisoners of war had fallen into the hands of the Japanese who handed them over to Captain Mohan Singh who was earlier an officer in the British Army but later had surrendered to the Japanese. He joined the Indian independence movement by organizing an army of volunteers known as the Indian National Army or Azad Hind Fauj. He attended the Tokyo and Bangkok conference and was chosen as the Commander-in-Chief of the Indian National Army and also a member of the Council of Action which had been set up by the Bangkok conference. By August 1942 a division of the Indian National Army consisting of more than 16000 men were raisedand approved by the Japanese. Mohan Singh and the Japanese military officers disagreed on many other points. There were dissensions within the Council of Action and its members resigned. Rash Bihari Bose and Mohan Singh also had conflict of opinions. The result was that Mohan Singh was dismissed from his post. A deadlock was created. Subhas Chandra Bose came to Singapore (which was then under Japanese occupation) and assumed leadership of the Indian Independence League and the I.N.A. (July 1943). He was acclaimed as Netaji. He established a provisional Government of Azad Hind (Free India) in Singapore (October 1943) which was formally recognized by Germany, Italy and Japan. The provisional government declared war on Great Britain and United States of America. General Tojo announced that Andaman and Nicobar islands were to be ceded to the Provisional Government as Indian land. Subhash renamed Andaman and Nicobar as Shahid and Swaraj dwip (island)

Indian National Army was planned in a way that paved the way for active participation from women. A women regiment was formed in 1943. INA had John Thivy, Dr. Lakhsmi Sehgal, Narayan Karruppiah as well as Janaki Thevar as its members. Among the masses attending Bose's rally, Dr. Lakshmi responded immediately to his appeal to form a Women's Regiment. She visited many families to persuade the women to join the I.N.A. Many were reluctant; however, she managed to gather twenty enthusiastic girls who were willing to break the traditional barriers. The girls

presented the guard-of-honour to Bose. He was impressed and invited Dr.Lakshmi to lead the Women's Regiment. On 12 July 1943, Bose announced the formation of the Women's Regiment, naming it "Rani of Jhansi Regiment" which in later years was considered to be a special characteristic of the INA.The slogan prescribed by Bose for the I.N.A. was Delhi Chalo (March to Delhi). This was the call he used to give the INA armies to motivate them. "Jai Hind", "Glory to India" and such other slogans were used by him and later adopted by the Government of India and the Indian Armed Forces. Acting in full cooperation with Japanese troops who had occupied Singapore, Malaya and Burma, the I.N.A. began its offensive in March 1944 and advanced through Burma as much as 150 miles into Indian territory. The INA's first commitment was in the Japanese thrust towards Eastern Indian frontiers of Manipur. INA's special forces, the Bahadur Group, were extensively involved in operations behind enemy lines both during the diversionary attacks in Arakan, as well as the Japanese thrust towards Imphal and Kohima, along with the Burmese National Army led by Ba Maw and Aung San. The national tricolour flag was planted on the Indian soil on 19 March 1944. The towns of Kohima and Imphal were placed under siege by divisions of the Japanese, Burmese and the Gandhi and Nehru Brigades of INA, during the attempted invasion of India, also known as Operation U-GO. But by this time, the Axis powers started facing defeat on several fronts. On 8th July 1944, the Japanese military leader took the unilateral decision of withdrawing army from Imphal and Arakan fronts. Subhas opposed the decision, but in face of absolute non-cooperation of the Japanese, the I.N.A was forced to retreat. It is said that Subhas Bose probably died in an air crash on 18th August 1945, although the incident of his death is still shrouded in a mystery. Japan's surrender at the end of the war also led to the eventual surrender of the Indian National Army. The troops of the British Indian Army were repatriated to India and some tried for treason.

- **THE INA TRIALS-SIGNIFICANCE**

The INA trials or the Red Fort Trials refer to a series of trails by court martial of a number of officers of the Indian National Army between

November 1945 and May 1946 variously for treason, torture, murder and abetment to murder. The first, and most famous trial was held in the Red Fort in Delhi. In total, approximately ten courts-martial were held. The first of these, was the joint court-martial of Colonel Prem Sahgal, Colonel Gurubaksh Singh Dhillon and Major General Shah Nawaz Khan. The three had been officers in the British Indian Army and taken POW in Malaya or Singapore. They had, like a large number of other troops and officers of the British Indian Army, joined the Indian National Army and later fought inImphal and Burma alongside the Japanese forces. These three came to be the only defendants in the INA trials who were charged of "Waging War against the King Emperor" (The Indian Army Act of 1911 did not have a separate charge for treason) as well as murder and abetment of murder. Those charged later only faced trial for torture and murder or abetment of murder. There was a lot of enthusiasm in the country. An INA Defense Fund was set up. A lot of money was collected. The Indian National Congress set up panel of defense lawyers which included men like Bhulabhai Desai, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and others. There was great resentment at the prosecution of the patriots and there were popular demonstrations all over the country. The result was that although the accused were convicted but ultimately the sentence of transportation for life was remitted and they were simply fined. Taking into consideration the mood of the people at large, the Government of India decided to drop all further proceedings against the INA prisoners of war.

The Indian National Army (INA) holds a crucial role in India's freedom struggle, with its formation and courageous fight awakening the British Government to India's resistance and hastening their departure. The INA fostered unprecedented communal solidarity, drawing Indians from diverse backgrounds. Led by Netaji Subhas Bose, it elevated the Indian cause onto the international stage, gaining recognition from Japan, Germany, and Italy. INA's valiant soldiers demonstrated a readiness to sacrifice for their nation, showcasing remarkable communal harmony among Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs, and others. The INA trials galvanized public support for Indian independence, sparking the Bombay mutiny. Despite exclusion from the Indian Army post-

independence, some ex-INA members later held significant roles in free India.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q 1: Name one of the INA officials tried under the INA Trial.

.....

Q 2: Who was asked to lead the 'Rani of Jhansi Regiment' by Subhas Chandra Bose?

.....

Q 3: Name the INA's special forces that led the operations in Arakan and Manipur.

.....

13.4 CRIPPS MISSION- AUGUST OFFER

With the outbreak of the World War II, India was dragged into the War without the consultation with any political parties. This created an uproar in the Congress and to appease the dissenting voices, the then Viceroy Lord Linlithgow proposed the "August offer" (1940). This Offer proposed-

- The expansion of the Governor-General's Executive Council to include representation from the political parties responsible to the Governor General and not the legislature.
- The establishment of a War Advisory Council which would include Indian representatives who meet at regular intervals.

The August Offer failed to satisfy the Indian leaders and at the same time the pressure of World War compelled British to negotiate. With the Japanese threat coming to reality, a mission was sent to negotiate for a political settlement in India. Their aim was to get the Indian consent for cooperation during the War. As a mark of conciliation, a committee headed by Sir Stafford Cripps was sent to India. Sir Cripps was a member of the British War Cabinet. He reached India on 23rd March, 1942. During the World War II, Cripps was among the few who felt that dragging India into the war was not a good decision. He was accompanied by Mr F.F. Turnbull,

Mr A.D.K. Owen and Mr Graham Spry. During his stay in India, he met with the Indian leaders and talked with them over the issues of concern. He interviewed many prominent leaders of that time which included- Gandhi, Jawaharlal Nehru, C Rajagopalachari, Liaquat Ali Khan, Jinnah, BR Ambedkar etc., to discuss the Draft Declaration. Even though many leaders were impressed by Cripps, yet leaders like Subhas Bose, VK Krishna Menon were sceptical of the entire Mission and had no faith in Cripps. The main provisions provided by the Cripps Mission were

a) Dominion Status would be provided to India within the BritishEmpire, once the war was over. The Mission proposed for an "Indian Union" with 11 provinces each of which would help in the making of the Constitution.
b) A post war Constitution was to be drawn by members who would be elected by the provincial assemblies and nominated by the rulers in case of the princely states.
c) Any princely state would be free to choose the new Constitution and in case the state choose to opt out of it, it would have the right to sign a separate agreement with the British.

The Mission gave no definite solution to the question of immediate change in the Constitutional development of India. There was no sign of immediate transfer of power by the British to India. Moreover, the provision would also allow the minority dominated places to opt out the Union, hinting at the Muslims. It failed to appease the Congress leaders and the Muslim League leaders. The Dalits also rejected the offer as there was no mention of Dalit representation or a separate electorate. Jinnah rejected the proposal as it revealed no sign of a separate homeland for the Muslims which he had been demanding since 1940. Hence, both the parties refused to accept the offer as proposed by the Cripps Mission. As a result, the Mission turned out to be a failure. Gandhi met the members of the Cripps Mission but rejected the offer. Gandhi termed the offer as a "post dated cheque". The cause for the failure of Mission lies in the strong opposition from the British Government to settle the Indian question. The Government was determined to continue their power and involve an unwilling India in the European War. In the same

way, Indian nationalists demanded for the formation of a "national government" immediately.

13.5 QUIT INDIA MOVEMENT

On August 8, 1942, the All India Congress Committee met in Bombay. It passed the historic 'Quit India' resolution and decided to launch a non-violent mass struggle under Gandhiji to achieve this goal. The resolution declared that the end of British rule was the need of the hour. Addressing the Congress delegates on the night of 8 August, Gandhiji said that he wanted freedom immediately. He gave the people a mantra - "Do or Die". No definite plan was formulated regarding the programmes of this movement. A small booklet containing a 12 pointprogramme instructing the masses to resort to peaceful hartals, public rallies, salt making and non-payment of land revenue was published, but it was confiscated by the government on August 11, 1942. Gandhiji and other prominent Congress leaders were arrested early in the morning of August 9. The Congress was declared illegal and a policy of harsh repression was adopted towards the agitators. But the excitement and resentment of the masses increased with the intensification of the government's repressive measure. Gandhiji's mantra 'Do or Die' became very popular among the common masses. In the first phase of the movement from 9th August to 11th August hartals, demonstrations and public meetings were held in the cities and the towns. The workers struck their work in mills and factories. However, workers under the influence of communism remained loyal to the government. Railway lines and telephone cables were cut off at many places and government buildings were put to fire. In some areas the agitators set up parallel governments after overthrowing the British authority. Gradually, the movement reached the villages. Armed crowd attacked the government buildings and hurled bombs at various places in Bengal, Madras, Bombay and United Provinces. The people resorted to violence as a result of the harsh repressive policy followed by the government. On May 6, 1944, Gandhiji was released from jail. By this time the Second World War was

coming to an end. In July 1944, the British Government slowly started releasing the political prisoners. As a result of it, the Quit India Movement also came to an end.The lower middle class made a significant contribution in this movement. More than seven thousand people lost their lives during the movement and more than sixty thousand were made prisoners. Factors like defective organization and programme, loyalty of the government servants and officials, harsh repressive policy of the government and lack of support of all the communities and the political parties mainly contributed to the failure of this movement. The Communists did not support the Congress proposals of August 1942. The Muslim League also did not cooperate. Anglo-Indians opposed the movement. The Parsis supported the movement but the Sikh and the Hindu Mahasabha remained indifferent to it.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q 4: Who proposed the 'August Offer'?

.....

Q 5: 'Do or Die' was the mantra of which Movement?

.....

Q 6: State one provision of the Cripps Mission.

.....



13.6 LET US SUM UP

After going through this Unit, you have learnt that-

- Subhas Chandra Bose and his Indian National Army put great pressure on the British from the external front.
- Women played an active role in the Azad Hind Fauj.
- The August Offer failed to satisfy the Congress and the Muslim League resulting the Cripps Mission.
- However the Cripps Mission was rejected and the Quit India Movement was launched in 1942 with the slogan "Do or Die"



13.7 FURTHER READINGS

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13.8 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans to Q No 1: Colonel Prem Sahgal

Ans to Q No 2: Dr Lakshmi

Ans to Q No 3: The Bahadur Group

Ans to Q No 4: Lord Linlithgow

Ans to Q No 5: The Quit India Movement

Ans to Q No 6: A post war Constitution was to be drawn by members who would be elected by the provincial assemblies and nominated by the rulers in case of the princely states.



13.9 MODEL QUESTIONS

A) Very Short Questions (answer each question within 50 words)

Q 1: What values inspired Subhas Chandra Bose?

Q 2: Why was the August Offer rejected by the Muslim League?

Q 3: Who led the Cripps Mission?

B) Short Questions (answer each question within 150 words)

Q 1: Write short note on -

a. INA Trials

b. August Offer

c. Women in INA

C) Long Questions (answer each question within 300-500 words)

Q 1: Discuss the legacy of Subhas Chandra Bose as a nationalist.

Q 2: What led to the Quit India Movement and state its repercussions across India?

Q 3: Discuss the provisions of the Cripps Mission. Was it able to satisfy the Indians? Why?

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UNIT 14 : COMMUNALISM AND LEFT POLITICS IN INDIA

UNIT STRUCTURE

14.1 Learning Objectives

14.2 Introduction

14.3 Ideologies and Practices

- Muslim League
- 14.5- RSS
- 14.6- Hindu Mahasabha

14.4 Emergence and Growth: Communist Party of India

- Trade Union Movement
- 14.9- Socialist Party-Impact

14.5 Let Us Sum Up

14.6 Further Readings

14.7 Answers to Check Your Progress

14.8 Model Questions

14.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will able to-

- explain about the idea of 'Communalism' and left politics in India and also the factors responsible for its growth
- discuss how Communalism led to grow separatist tendencies within the Indian National Movement
- discuss about the various organisations like the Muslim League, Hindu Mahasabha and RSS
- discuss the emergence and growth of the Communist Party in India
- discuss the growth and formation of the Trade Union Movement
- discuss the impact of the Socialist Party in India.

14.2 INTRODUCTION

Dear Learners, in the previous Unit, we discussed the political developments during the World War II and the legacy of Subhas Chandra Bose. In this Unit, we will discuss the rise of Communism and Left politics in the Indian scenario. Communalism refers to the conflicting interest of followers of different religions or of religious communities that the scene to be in mutually incompatible and hostile. Communalism usually refers to a system that integrates communal ownership and federations of highly localised independent communities. Whereas, the terms left and right were first used as political terms in France during the French Revolution to distinguish the pro-Revolutionaries (the Left) from the anti-Revolutionaries (the Right). The terms acquired a wider connotation after the Industrial Revolution and the rise of Socialist and Communist thought. Leftist in India grew out of the special politico-economic circumstances prevailing in India towards the end of the First World War and was inextricably intertwined with the mainstream of the nationalist movement.

14.3 IDEOLOGIES AND PRACTICES

Communalism is basically an ideology with which we have lived so long that it appears to be a simple, easily understood notion. But this is, perhaps, no so. Communalism or communal ideology consists of three basic elements or stages, one following the other. *First*, it is the belief that people who follow the same religion have common secular interests, i.e. common economic, political, social and cultural interests. This is the first bedrock of communal ideology. Communal ideology in a person, party or movement starts with the first stage. These were the persons who saw themselves as Nationalist Hindus, Nationalist Muslims, Nationalist Sikhs, etc., and not as simple nationalists.

The *second* element of communal ideology rests on the notion that in a multi - religious society like India, the secular interests, that is, the social, cultural, economic and political interests, of the followers of one religion are dissimilar and divergent from the interests of the followers of

another religion. The second stage of Communalism may be described as liberal communalism or moderate communalism. Most of the Communalists before 1937- the Hindu Mahasabha, the Muslim League, the Ali Brothers after 1925, M.A.Jinnah, Madan Mohan Malaviya, Lajpat Rai and N.C. Kelkar after 1922- functioned within a liberal communal framework.

The *third* stage of Communalism is reached when the interests of the followers of different religions or of different communities are seen to be mutually incompatible, antagonistic and hostile. Extreme communalism or communalism functioning broadly within a fascist syndrome formed the third or last stage of communalism. The Muslim League and the Hindu Mahasabha after 1937 and the RashtriyaSwayamsewak Sangh (RSS) increasingly veered towards extreme or fascistic communalism.

- **Muslim League**

The separatist tendency among a section of the Muslims reached a climax in 1906 when the All-India Muslim League was founded. The League supported the Partition of Bengal and demanded special safeguards for the Muslims. Later, it secured the acceptance of the demand for separate electorates. The League soon became one of the main instruments with which the British hoped to fight the rising national movement. The Muslim League was a communal body established to look after the political rights and interests of the Muslim Community alone. The Muslim demand for Pakistan was based on the two nation theory and it developed between the years 1937 to 1940. This created serious communal problem within the Indian politics. The Cripps Mission of 1942 proposed the exercise of discretion by the provinces to negotiate independently and this was highly objectionable to the congress. The League however rejected the offer as now it was demanding a definite declaration in favour of the creation of a separate Muslim state and seats on a 50-50 basis with the Congress.

For about a decade, after 1913, the Muslim League came under the influence of progressive Muslim leaders like *Maulana Mohammad Ali, Maulana Mazhar-ul-Huq, Syed Wazir Hussain, Hasain Imam and M.A.Jinnah.* From 1920 to 1923, the activities of the Muslim League remained suspended. However the appointment of the Simon Commission

(1927-30) and the Round Table Conferences at London (1930-32) that followed again brought the Muslim League into activity. By 1934, M.A.Jinnah, a communalist became its undisputed leader. The Communal Award (1932) of the British Government further widened the gulf between the Hindus and the Muslims.

The first elections for the provincial legislative councils under the Government of India Act 1935 were held in 1937. The Muslim League contested the elections to various legislative bodies but achieved moderate success. Out of the 485 reserved Muslim seats, the league could capture only 110 seats. Even in the Muslim majority provinces of the Punjab, North West frontiers province, Bengal and sin the league was trounced by rival Muslim parties. The Muslim league hoped to form coalition ministries with the congress in provinces like Bengal, Assam and Punjab and desired the congress to take Muslim league ministers in Uttar Pradesh and Bihar. In 1938, the Muslim League appointed a committee under the chairmanship of the Raja of Pirpur to report on the oppression of the Muslims in what is called “Hindu Congress Provinces”. The Pirpur Report fabricated cases of alleged horrible atrocities perpetuated on the Muslims by the Hindus. The general attitude towards the Congress was ‘The Muslims think that no tyranny can be as great as the tyranny of a majority’.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q 1: What were the factors responsible for the growth of Communalism?

.....

Q 2: In which year was the All India Muslim League formed?

.....

Q 3: Name one leader of the Muslim League?

.....

The Muslim League observed a “Day of Deliverance and Thanks Giving” when the Congress ministers resigned in October 1939 over the war issue. Thus from its very inception, the Muslim League was a communal

body established to look after the political rights and interests of the Muslim community alone. This character is more or less retained till 1947.

- **RSS**

The Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS) was an overtly aggressive Hindu Nationalist organisation which focussed mainly on the social and psychological construction of the Hindu nation. It was an organisation which is in the nature of a private army and which is definitely proceeding on the strictest Nazi lines, even following the technique of organisation. The RSS had been from the very beginning organised on fascist lines, it now begun to branch out beyond Maharashtra. It became the chief ideologue and propagator of extreme Communalism. The RSS launched an even more vicious attack on the Congress leaders during 1946-1947. Founded on 27th September 1925, the organisation calls itself a non-governmental organisation and claims a commitment of selfless service to India. The initial impetus was to provide character training through Hindu discipline and to unite the Hindu community to form a Hindu Rashtra (Hindu nation). The RSS carries the ideal of upholding Indian culture and civilizational values.

The founder of the RSS was Keshav Baliram Hedgewar who was a doctor in the city of Nagpur, British India. He had been charged with sedition in 1921 by the British Administration and was imprisoned for one year. Hedgewar was primarily associated with the Hindustan Republican Association; he adopted the full constitution of erstwhile HRA and implemented it forcibly in his newly established organisation RSS later on. The RSS first met in 1925. The RSS stood for a militant and muscular brand of Hinduism. It recruited young men who would prepare themselves for a lifetime of service to the 'Hindu Rashtra' namely to the creation of a nation state run for and by Hindus.

Mahadev Sadashiv Golwarkar took the charge of running the RSS organisation on his mentor's death in 1940. And he was appointed as the chief organiser of the RSS. Golwarkar saw three principle treats to the formation of a Hindu nation- Muslim, Christians and Communists. All the three were foreign in origin and the last were godless to boot. The RSS

itself was projected by Golwalkar as the chosen vehicle for this national and civilizational renewal of the Hindus. After Gandhi's murder in January 1948, Golwalkar was arrested and the RSS was banned. He was released from prison and the organisation unbanned in July 1949 after they agreed to abjure violence and accept the democratic principles of the Indian Constitution then being framed.

The philosophy of the RSS promised the Hindus that were they devoted and determined enough, they would enjoy a glory in the future that had apparently been theirs in the past. There were important Hindu right wing thinkers like *Golwalkar, V.D.Savarkar, Madan Mohan Malaviya*, etc. In 1925 the RSS had set itself in opposition to the Congress. It saw that party as too sympathetic to the Muslims and its leaders as too appreciative of the West. It stayed apart for the campaigns against colonial rule conducted by the Congress. Golwalkar and RSS saw Indian Muslims as second class citizens at best and as traitors at worst. The Muslims were continually being asked by the RSS to prove their loyalty to India and to the allegedly Hindu essence of the nation.

- **Hindu Mahasabha**

Many Hindu writers and political workers talked of Hindu nationalism and declared that Muslims were foreigners in India. In 1910, the leading Hindus of Allahabad decided to organise an All-India Hindu Mahasabha. The Punjab Hindu Mahasabha was founded in 1909. Its leaders were *U.N.Mukherje* and *Lal Chand*. In 1911, the Punjab Hindu Mahasabha organised a Hindu Conference at Amritsar. The first session of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha was held in April 1915 under the Presidentship of the Maharaja of Kasim Bazar. The Hindu Mahasabha set up its headquarter at Haridwar and used to organise the Akhil Bharatiya Hindu Conference at Haridwar on the occasion of important Hindu fairs. Hindu communalism came to acquire an organised form in 1915 with the formation of the Hindu Mahasabha by *Pt. Madan Mohan Malaviya*. He emphasised the socio-cultural mission of the Hindu Mahasabha.

The provincial election of February 1937 organised on the basis of restricted franchise and separate electorates further produced separatist

sentiments. The electoral results of the Muslim League and the Hindu Mahasabha were objectively poor. The landlord and the money lender parties also fared badly. They began to shift their support to their communal parties. Thus part of the blame of the culmination of Muslim separation in a demand for Pakistan must also go to certain Hindu organisation like the Hindu Mahasabha. In its early stages, nationalist like *Malaviya and Lajpat Rai* led the Mahasabha and its main object was to supplement and strengthen the Congress. But conservative and reactionary elements gradually assumed a dominant position in the Mahasabha and by 1937 under the leadership of V.D.Savarkar, it propagated the Doctrine of Hindu Rastra.

The Hindu Mahasabha was organised to remove the social abuses in the Hindu society like child marriage, casteism, untouchability, etc. Under the leadership of *V.D.Savarkar* who became the President of the Hindu Mahasabha in 1938 and was re-elected again and again, the Mahasabha developed a political programme. After the death of V.D.Savarkar, *Dr.S.P.Mookherji* became the leader of the Hindu Mahasabha and imparted it a more nationalist outlook. The Hindu Mahasabha never gained that popularity with the Hindu masses as the Muslim League did with the Muslims in India. All the same, against the Muslim League's demand for Pakistan, it raised the slogan of 'Akhand Hindustan'. The Hindu Mahasabha's propaganda of a Hindu race, Hindu culture, Hindu civilisation and Hindu Rashtra in India did harden the Muslim League's attitude and made it more suspicious and more determined to demand Pakistan. However, the Muslim League was the first ever communal organisation to come into existence, the communal poison proved infectious and the Hindu Mahasabha and other communal organisations came into existence as a counterpoise to one another.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q 4: Who was the founder of RSS?

.....

Q 5: What was the aim of Hindu Mahasabha?

.....

14.4 EMERGENCE AND GROWTH: COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA

The credit of spreading genuine socialist philosophy in India went to the Communist Party of India. The Russian revolution of 1917 was the primary source of inspiration for all those people of the world who desired to finish economic exploitation of the masses. India remained no exception. The formation ofComintern, viz., international organisation of the communists and its slogan, 'Workers of the World Unite' inspired quite a large number of people in India including workers and labourers. They started propagating the philosophy of economic equality, class-war and the necessity of fighting against economic exploitation. They took help from communists in other countries as well. M.N.Roy was the pioneer in this field. He succeeded in forming four parties of labour and peasants in four provinces, viz., Bombay, Bengal, U.P. and Punjab. Finally in 1924 the Communist Party of India was formed. After some years some communists came to India from Britain. One among them was Philip Spirata who came to India in 1924. He received financial support from Russia and succeeded in strengthening the Communist Party. Besides, efforts of S.A.Dange and his weekly newspaper, *Socialists* in Bombay, Muzaffar ahmad and Fazl-ul-Huq and their newspaper, *Nav Yuga* in Bengal, Ghulam Hussain and his monthly newspaper in Urdu, etc. also helped in propagation of communist ideas.

The Government of India tried to suppress the Communist Movement in India in its initial stage itself and involved its leaders in several cases of violence like the Peshawar Conspiracy case in 1922-23, the Kanpur Conspiracy case in 1924 and the Meerut Conspiracy case between 1929-33. All prominent Communist leaders were involved in one or the other case, were charged with attempting to overthrow the government by violence and therefore were sentenced for long periods of imprisonment. But this policy of the government enhanced the popularity of the communists. The Communists, however, failed to take advantage of it. Dictated by Comintern, they criticised national leaders like Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru, broke relations with every group of the so-called *bourgeoisie* and opposed the

Civil Disobedience Movement. It harmed the interest of the Communist party. All political parties grew suspicious of it and Indian masses lost faith in it. However, it succeeded in capturing the leadership of All-India Trade Union. After1934, the Communist party changed its policy. It adopted the policy of infiltrating into other parties and thereby, guiding them. But, very soon, other parties could understand its game and turned out communists from them. During the course of the Second World War, the Communist party lost its face further by exposing its dependence on USSR. In the beginning it declared the war as a conspiracy of Imperialists and opposed the Government of India but when Germany attacked USSR and it joined hands with Britain, it declared the war and fight against Fascists and therefore, supported the Indian government. It also opposed the 'Quit India Movement' and supported the Muslim League in its demand for a separate homeland. Therefore, the Communist Party lost its image before the masses prior to Independence.

After independence, it weakened further. China turned communist in 1949 and developed differences with USSR. That divided the Communists into pro-Russia and pro-China groups. The attack of china on India in 1962 created further crisis for the party. The Communists therefore, have been divided into several groups. One of them was CPM (Communist Party-Marxist), which was formed in 1964 is the most popular among them. The disintegration of USSR has weakened further the cause of Communists in India. However, the CPM has captured power in West Bengal and is keeping it constantly in its hands.

14.8- Trade Union Movement

A trade union may be defined as "a continuous association of wage-earners for the purpose of maintaining or improving the conditions of their working lives". Political motivations and ideologies influenced the Indian trade union movement and were in turn influenced by its increased strength. The twin aspects of the Indian Trade Union movement- labour organisation for industrial bargaining and its ideological orientation-should be viewed in the larger background of the nationalist struggle against imperialism and the emergence of politically-inspired opposing International Labour

organisations.

The emergence of Mahatma Gandhi on the national scene also marked a determined bid to broad-base the nationalist movement and mobilisation of the workers and the peasants for the national cause. It was felt that the workers should be organised into a national Trade Union and drawn into the vortex of the struggle for independence. At almost the same time, the October Revolution in Russia and the formation of the Comintern was an open call to the workers of the world to combine to dispossess the capitalists and institute a Proletarian Revolution. The setting up of the League of Nations' Agency I.L.O. (International Labour Organisation) gave an international complexion to the labour problem.

The initiative in organising a Trade Union on the national basis was taken by the nationalist leaders and the All-India Trade Union Congress (AITUC)was founded on 31st of October 1920. The Indian National Congress President of the year, Lala Lajpat Rai, was elected its President. The national leaders kept close association with this trade union and nationalist leaders like C.R.Das, V.V.Giriand later on Sarojini Naidu, J.L.Nehru and Subhash Bose presided over its annual sessions. By 1927 the number of the trade unions affiliated to the AITUC increased to 57 with a total membership of 1,50,555. To begin with, the AITUC was influenced by social democratic ideas of the British Labour Party. Despite some Socialist leanings the AITUC remained, by and large, under the influence of moderates like N.M.Joshi who believed that the political activities of labour organisations should not go beyond agitation for the amelioration of their economic grievances. The Trade Union Act of 1926 recognised trade unions as legal associations, laid down conditions for registration and regulation of trade union activities, secured their immunity, both civil and criminal, from prosecution for legitimate activities but put some restrictions on their political activities.

The rise of the Communist movement in india in the 1920s lent a militant and revolutionary content to the Trade Union Movement. The 4th Congress of the Communist International sent a message to the AITUC not to be content with 'fair-day's wages for a fair day's work' but to fight for the ultimate goal of overthrow of capitalism and imperialism. Further, the Indian

Communists were urged to organise the Trade Union movement 'on a class basis and purge it of all alien basis'.

During 1926-27 the AITUC was divided into two groups called 'the reforming' and 'the revolutionary' groups also labelled as the Geneva-Amsterdam group' and the 'Moscovite group', the former wanting AITUC to be affiliated to the International Federation of Trade Unions (IFTU) with headquarters at Amsterdam and the latter desiring affiliation with the Red Labour Union (R.I.T.U.) organised from Moscow. On the question of affiliation to an international labour body too the Communist viewpoint prevailed and the AITUC was affiliated to the Pan-Pacific Secretariat and to the Third International at Moscow. In protest the moderate group under Joshi's leadership withdrew from the AITUC and formed the All India Trade Union Federation in 1929.

Alarmed at the increasing strength of the Trade Union movement and its control under extremist hands, the Government of India sought to contain its activities by legislative restrictions. The Trade Dispute Act (1929) provided, among other provisions, for compulsory appointment of Courts of Enquiry and Conciliation Boards for settling industrial disputes, made strikes illegal in public utility services (like Postal Service, Railways, Water and Electricity Departments) unless each individual worker planning to go on strike gave an advance notice of one month to the Administration and, above all, forbade trade union activities of coercive or purely political nature and even sympathetic strikes.

M.N.Roy, the communist-turned-radical Democratic leader seceded from the AITUC and formed a pro-Government union called the Indian Federation of Labour. The section of the AITUC under Communist influence also showed a pro-Government stance after the Soviet Union joined the war on the side of the Allied Powers. During the 'Quit India' movement in August 1942 the nationalist wing of the AITUC suffered the most, the communist wing having declared in favour of the official Labour-Management-Government conciliation formulae.

In spite of the Communists getting thoroughly discredited and isolated for their pro-British stance, the nationalist leaders failed to capture

the leadership of the AITUC. Consequently in 1944 national leaders led by Sardar Vallabbhai Patel organised the Indian National Trade Union Congress. Thus, the advent of independence saw the polarization of Trade Unionism on the basis of political ideology.

- **Socialist Party- Impact**

Left movements in India developed into two main streams:

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

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

The Congress Left wing emerged as a 'rationalist revolt' against the mysticism of Gandhism on the one hand and dogmatism of Communism on the other. Their ideological inspiration came from Marxism and Democratic Socialism and they stood for anti-imperialism, nationalism and socialism. Subhash Chandra Bose explained that the Congress Leftists were not only anti-imperialists but they also desired reconstruction of national life on a socialist basis. For the achievement of their goal they had to fight on two fronts:

a) Light foreign imperialism and its Indian allies

b) Fight the milk-water nationalists (the Rightists) who were prepared for a deal with Imperialism. In other words, they stood for complete independence and Socialism; they wanted Swaraj not for the classes but the masses.

In July 1931 J.P.Narayan, Phulan Prasad Varma and others formed the Bihar Socialist Party. The Panjab Socialist Party came into existence in September 1933. The All India Congress Socialist Party was formally started in October 1934 with a constitution and a specific 15-Point Programme. The Congress Socialist Party was not a rival political organisation to the Congress but was launched "to work within the Congress, to strengthen it, to mould and shape its policies. All the same, the Right-wing of the Congress

labelled Congress Socialist as 'internationalists' and thus undependable for the struggle for national liberation. The Communists branded the Congress Socialists as Social Fascists and 'fake socialists'. The Congress Socialists hit back by describing the Indian Communists as 'satellites of the USSR', as 'social-chauvinists' and charged them 'with betraying socialism and distorting Marxian dialectics'.

The CSP condemned the Government of India Act 1935 as an anti-people united front of imperialism and the forces of national reaction and was critical of the Congress Party's acceptance of office in the provinces in 1937. It was because of the Socialist pressure that the Congress Election Manifesto of 1936 contained a programme for the removal of the socio-economic grievances of the people.

The CSP disagreed with the Congress offer of conditional help for British war effort as it maintained that the war was a conflict between the partners of imperialism for repartition of the world. The Congress socialists wanted the Congress to wage a revolutionary mass struggle for independence. They supported the Quit India Movement and took a leading part in organising the Revolt of 1942.The CSP was not in favour of a negotiated settlement for the transfer of power but advocated the need for a revolutionary struggle to destroy edifices of imperialism, feudalism and communalism in India. The Congress Socialists described the Muslim League 'in league with Britain' and Jinnah as traitor to his country and tool of the imperialists. They hoped for Hindu-Muslim unity not on the basis of temporary pacts or agreements but "by laying emphasis on the economic issues which equally affected the Hindu and Muslim masses of the country".

The CSP described the Partition of India as an act of surrender by the Congress leadership and admitted its own failure and that of the wider revolutionary movement in working out an alternative and positive policy.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q 6: State the cause of the rise of the Congress Left wing.

.....

Q 7: When was theAll India Trade Union Federation formed?

.....



14.5 LET US SUM UP

After going through the unit, we have learnt the rise of Communalist tendencies during the colonial rule and how it became a weapon in the hands of the British to create division. The growth of organisation along communal lines was a clear sign of the success of the British. At the same time, there was the growth of the Left politics and the rise of Labour Unions. Socialism and Communism found many followers in India at this point of time.



14.6 FURTHER READINGS

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3) Desai, A.R.; 2013.*Social Background of Indian Nationalism*, Popular Prakashan; New Delhi- 110002

4) Grover, B.L. 2011. *A New Look at Modern Indian History*, S.Chand and Company; New Delhi- 110055

5) Maiti, Provatansu. 2012.*Modern India*, Sreedhar Publishers; Kolkatta-700006

14.7 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans to Q No 1: To safeguard Muslim interests.

Ans to Q No 2: 1906

Ans to Q No 3: Muhammad Ali Jinnah

Ans to Q No 4: Keshav Baliram Hedgewar

Ans to Q No 5: Fight the social evils and biases.

Ans to Q No 6: Causes- the mysticism of Gandhism on the one hand and dogmatism of Communism on the other.

Ans to Q No 7: 1929

14.8 MODEL QUESTIONS

A) Very Short Questions (answer each question within 50 words)

Q 1: What is Communalism? What were its consequences?

Q 2: When was the Muslim League formed and why?

Q 3: Discuss about the aims and objectives of the Muslim League?

Q 4: Who were the persons under whom the Muslim League got influence?

Q 5: What is RSS? Why it was formed?

B) Short Questions (answer each question within 150 words)

Q 1: How did Communalism in India manifest itself after 1937?

Q 2: Discuss about the effects of Communalism in Indian politics?

Q 3: What were the factors responsible for the growth of Communalism?

Q 4: What were the different stages of Communal ideology?

Q 5: Write briefly about the role of RSS in Indian politics.

C) Long Questions (answer each question within 300-450 words)

Q 1: Explain the role played by the Muslim League and the Hindu Mahasabha in Indian Politics?

Q 2: Discuss the emergence and growth of the Communist Party in India.

Q 3: Discuss the Labour and Trade Union Movement prior to Independence in 1947.

Q 4: Trace the growth and emergence of the Leftist Movement in India.

Q 5: Discuss the impact and functioning of the Socialist Party in India.

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UNIT 15 : CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT

UNIT STRUCTURE

15.1 Learning Objectives

15.2 Introduction

15.3 British Interventions-

- Government of India Acts
- 15.4- Cripps Mission
- 15.5- Wavell Plan and Shimla Conference
- 15.6- Cabinet Mission Plan
- 15.7- Mountbatten Plan

15.4 Partition-Independence

15.5 Constituent Assembly- Gandhi, Nehru, B.R.Ambedkar, Sardar Patel

11.6 Let Us Sum Up

11.7 Further Readings

11.8 Answers To Check Your Progress

11.9 Model Questions

15.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will able to-

- explain the constitutional development since 1919 and its implication,
- discuss the outcome and significance of the plans forwarded by the British to appease the Indian political parties,
- discuss the circumstances leading to the Partition,
- explain the role of Gandhi, Nehru, Ambedkar and Patel in framing and forming the Constituent Assembly.

15.2 INTRODUCTION

Dear Learners, in the previous Unit, we discussed the rise of Communalism, Communism, Left Politics and the Socialist Party in India. These significant developments played a crucial role in shaping the political

history of modern India.

In this Unit, we will discuss the Constitutional developments leading to the Independence of India and the Partition. This Unit will also throw light on the contribution of some eminent nationalist in the making of the Indian Constitution.

14.3 BRITISH INTERVENTIONS

- **The Government of India Act, 1919 (The Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms)-**

Some of the terms of the Montagu-Chelmsford Reform were as follows;

1. In the preamble of the Mont-Ford reforms, it was said that-
   a) India would be included in the British Empire to have the honour of 'Dominion status' and not full freedom.
   b) Responsible Government would be set up step-wise in India.
   c) Indians would be given advantage for participation in different branches of executives.
2. The post of High Commissioner was created in London and some responsible functions of the Secretary of India were handed over to him.
3. To increase the power of the Secretary of India in order to restrict it on the Government of India.
4. The Viceroy would nominate 3 members from the Indians in his executive council out if 8 members. These members were entrusted with less important affairs like law, health and education.
5. An assembly of two houses- the Upper House i.e. the Council of States and the Lower House i.e. the Central Legislative Assembly was formed in the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms.
6. In the Electoral Law of the Mont-Ford Reforms, it was said that the right to vote would be on the basis of tax on wealth.
7. The members of the Council could draw the notice of the Government to public interest and they could propose for the adjournment of the Assembly.
8. The Legislative Assembly could submit a budget proposal.

- **The Government of India Act, 1935**

The Government of India Act of 1919 provided for a review of the political situation in India every ten years. In 1927 the process of review was set in motion by the appointment of the all-white Simon Commission. The all parties conference submitted the Indian view point in the famous Nehru Report of 1928. The Simon Commission Report was discussed in the Round Table Conference held in London during 1930-32. The proposals of the British Government were published in a white paper, which provided the basis for the Act of 1935.

Salient features of the Act are as follows:

a. Introduction of provincial autonomy.
b. Provision for an All India Federation.
c. Introduction of diarchy at centre.
d. Provision of elaborate safeguards and protective armours for the minorities.
e. The act was a rigid one with supremacy of the British parliament.
f. Establishment of a federal court.
g. Increase in the size of legislatures.
h. Extension of franchise.
i. Division of the subjects in three lists.
j. Abolition of Indian council and introduction of an advisory body.
k. Retention of communal electorate.

- **Cripps Mission**

The British Prime Minister Churchill sent a member of his War Cabinet, Sir Stafford Cripps to India with the Cripps Proposal. On March 22, 1942, Sir Stafford Cripps came to India with fresh proposals to resolve the Indian political deadlock. Sir Cripps had just returned from Moscow after bringing Russia into the war on the side of the Allies. After his return from Moscow, he was made in-charge of the Cripps Mission to have dialogue with the Indian leaders.

Causes which led to the Mission are as follows;

1. Advancement of Japanese forces in India.
2. The British public realised the need of giving definite assurance to the

Indians.

3. Pressure of the American President Franklin Roosevelt and Chinese premier Chiang Kai Shek to concede real political power to the Indian people.
4. Pressure on British Prime Minister Churchill from other allied nations to assure the Indians the right of self-determination to gain Indian support in war efforts.
5. The fall of Burma, frightened the British Government.

Proposals of the Mission;

1. Stated clearly that the object of the British Government was the creation of Indian union which would constitute a Dominion.
2. Establishment of a constituent Assembly to frame a new constitution for India.
3. Provision for the participation of Indian states in the constituent assembly.
4. The provinces would have the option to accept the new constitution or to frame a constitution of their own and enjoy the same status as Indian union.
5. Provision of a treaty between the British Government and the constituent Assembly of India to cover all the matters arising out of the complete transfer of responsibility from British to Indian hands. The treaty would not impose any restriction on the powers of Indian union to revise its relation with other states.
6. It clearly defined the composition of the constituent Assembly.

Rejection of the proposals by the Congress;

a. The people of the Indian states were not given the right to send their representatives and they were either represented by the nominees of the rulers.
b. The congress demanded full control over the Defence and clearly stated that a slave country cannot have any aspiration to shoulder any responsibility in the prosecution of war.
c. Congress insisted on setting up a National Government and Viceroy a titular head which was refused by Cripps.

Rejection of the proposals by the Muslim League;

a. The proposal had not clearly accepted the League's demand for Pakistan.
b. It failed to provide separate electorate system for the constituent assembly.
c. It did not make it compulsory for the Indian states to join the constituent assembly.
d. Inadequate representation of Muslims in provincial Assemblies.
e. The **Hindu Mahasabha** rejected it on the ground that the proposals contained the living virus of Pakistan.
f. The **Sikhs** rejected it on the ground related to the non-accession of provinces.
g. The **depressed classes** rejected it because there was no provision for safeguarding their interests.

Causes of the failure of Cripps Mission;

a. The proposals were inadequate in substance and fell far short of the demands of the Congress and Muslim League.
b. The Mission was not sent with an honest desire to give certain amount of freedom to Indian people. It was a sort of 'coup de main' in the propagandist art to pacify the allied nations.
c. Disagreement over the control of Defence department.
d. The veto power of the Viceroy.
e. Tactless handling of the situation by Stafford Cripps.

- **Wavell Plan and Shimla Conference**

In October 1944, Lord Linlithgow was replaced by Lord Wavell as the Governor-General of India. By that time, the war in Europe had ended, but Japan was not subdued. It was felt that the war could continue for a year or two with Japan and gaining confidence of the Indians would be a positive help towards war effort. The economic condition in India had also deteriorated much and there had occurred a large scale famine during the period 1943-44. Thereforesome political solution of the Indian problem was felt to be necessary. Therefore, Lord Wavell went to England in March 1945 and consulted Mr. Churchill regarding the political deadlock in India. The

general elections were also due in Britain and the Conservative Party desired to justify that it was like the labour party, interested in resolving the deadlock in India. Both USA and the USSR, the allies of Britain were interested in finding solutions of the Indian problem. Therefore, a new plan was offered to the Indians. It has been called the Wavell Plan.

The Wavell Plan was announced on 14th June, 1945. The plan was offered as an interim arrangement. The main features of the plan were the formation of an interim government at the centre with equal representation of both, the Hindus and the Muslims. Besides, all portfolios except that of Defence were to be transferred to the Indians. Only the Commander-in-Chief and the Governor General were to remain free from the control of Indian ministers. The interim Government consisting of all Indian ministers, would work under the framework of the Act of 1935 till a new Constitution was formed. The governor-General would also retain the right to veto the advice of his newly constituted executive council.

A conference was called at Shimla, to discuss the Plan. All Indian leaders representing the Congress, the Muslim League, the Sikhs, Scheduled Castes, Europeans and the Unionist Party of Punjab were called to attend the Conference. It started its deliberations on 29th June, 1945. The talks broke down primarily because of the obstinacy of Jinnah. The Congress desired to nominate one Muslim on its behalf to the Executive Council. So was desired by the Unionist Party on Punjab. But Jinnah was not prepared to include any Muslim representative in the Council other than that of the Muslim League. His purpose was that the Muslim League should be recognised as the sole representative organisation of the Muslim. The Congress did not accept this irrational demand of the League. The talks therefore, broke down and Lord Wavell announced the failure of the Conference on July 14. The only result of this Conference was that the hands of Jinnah were strengthened because Lord Wavell practically gave him the power of veto which resulted in the failure of the Conference.

To discuss the terms of the Wavell Plan proposed by Lord Wavell summoned an all Parties Conference at Shimla on 25th of June. On 15 June the members of Congress Working Committee were released from

jail. The Conference continued from June 25 to July 14. Jinnah, the chief leader of the Muslim League remained adamant on his 'Pakistan claim'. He also demanded that the Muslim members nominated for the Viceroy's Executive Committee would be solely nominated by the Muslim League. The Congress would not agree to the proposal. The Congress representative Maulana Azad was against the proposal. Besides, Maulana, there were other Nationalist Muslim leaders who did not like Jinnah's proposal. They were Khisir Hayat Khan of the Punjab Unionist Party and Fazlul Haque of Bengal Krishak-Praja Party. They were against the Muslim League.



LET US KNOW

The terms of Wavell Plan are as follows:

- The Government would transfer power to Indian leaders within a short time.
- Indian representatives would formulate an interim government till a Constituent Assembly would draft a Constitution for free India.
- The newly formed executive committee of the Viceroy will consist of all Indian representatives saving the Viceroy himself and the Chief of the Army who will be English.
- In the Executive Council of the Viceroy there would be an equal and proportional representation of the Hindus and Muslims. Defence and Military would remain in the hands of the Viceroy so long the British would remain in India.

- **Cabinet Mission Plan**

After the failure of the Shimla Conference, Lord Wavell convened a conference of the governors at New Delhi in August 1945 and it was decided to hold general elections in India. In the meantime, the general elections in Britain were over and the Conservative Government was replaced by the Labour Government under the leadership of Mr. Atlee. The Labour Government called Lord Wavell to Britain for consultations in September 1945. Wavell, immediately after his return declared that the British

Government was eager to introduce self-government in India at the earliest possible time and therefore fresh elections to the Central and Provincial Legislatures would be held immediately as envisaged by the Act of 1935.

In 1946, the Government of Labour Party was formed in England. The Party wanted to solve the constitutional problems of India soon. On March 15, 1946 the British Government, the then PM Atlee announced to send a deputation of its Cabinet to India. They were- Lord Pathick Lawrance, Sir Stafford Cripps and A.V.Alexander to have negotiations on the conditions of handling over the power to the Indians. They arrived in India on March 23, 1946. After having prolonged discussions with the leaders of the Indian public opinion of all shades, the Mission announced its plan to settle the political deadlock in India. Lord Atlee made declaration in the British Parliament. The Mission sent India presented a plan known as 'Cabinet Mission'.

Proposals of the Plan;

(A) Union of India:

1. There should be a union of India which was empowered to deal with defence, foreign affairs and communications.
2. The union should have an executive and a legislature.
3. Reconsideration of the terms of the constitution after an interval of every ten years.

(B).

1. The Mission proposed the formation of a constituent assembly consisting of 389 members.
2. It discarded the practice of giving over representation to minorities.
3. The 93 representatives of Indian states should be distributed among the states on the basis of population of each state.
4. The representatives of provincial legislature was to be break up into three sections viz.

   Section I: Madras, U.P., C.P., Bombay, Bihar and Orissa.

   Section II: Punjab, Sind and N.W.E.P.

   Section III: Assam and Bengal.
5. The provinces were empowered to withdraw from one group and join

another by a decision of new legislatures.

6. The new constituent Assembly was not to be a sovereign body and was bound with certain limitations.

(C) It proposed that the administration should be run by an interim Government having the support of all major political parties until the new constitution was framed.

(D) Provision of a Treaty between the British Government and the Constituent Assembly to cover all matters arising out of the transfer of power.

The merits of the Cabinet Mission lie in its recommendation for an undivided India.The Muslim League's demand for Pakistan was turned down. Communal representation was restricted.All the members of the Interim cabinet were to be Indians and there was to be minimum interference by the Viceroy.Constituent Assembly was to be formed on democratic principle of population.The Constituent Assembly was fully authorised to make constitution within the framework of the proposed plan. It recognized Indian right to cede from the commonwealth.

Demerits:

1. The plan proposed a weak Federal Government.
2. The plan gave the option to the states to join the union or remain independent.
3. The right given to all the three groups to enjoy autonomy in all matters except defence, external affairs and communication was a full proof of the Mission's motive to split the country into three parts.
4. The communal basis of making groups was highly detrimental to national interests.
5. The Constituent Assembly was not to be a sovereign body and above all it was not to draft a constitution for the whole of India.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q 1: Who were the members of the Cabinet Mission?

.....

Q 2: Why did the Shimla Conference fail?

.....

Q 3: State one important feature of the Government Act of 1935.

.....

The plan was unalterable. Its part acceptance was not allowed. It had either to be accepted in original or rejected completely.

- **Mountbatten Plan**

In the wake of communal rage and disruptive policies of Muslim league, which brought into existence the orgy of violence and destruction of property, the then Prime Minister of Great Britain, Atlee announced Lord Wavell to be replaced by Lord Mountbatten who was entrusted with the task of transferring to Indian hands the government of the present British India. Soon his arrival, he hatched a plan, with the consultation of great Indian leaders and of course, British Government. The plan so prepared came to be known as 'Mountbatten Plan'.

The salient features of the Plan were as follows;

1. The plan set down the partition of India. It proposed the division of India into two Dominions, i.e. The Indian Dominion and the Pakistan Dominion. The transfer of power was to take place on 15th of August, 1947, instead of June 1948, as declared earlier by Clement Atlee.
2. The plan provided for referendum in the North-West Frontier Province (N.W.F.P.) to decide whether the province would join India or Pakistan.
3. The provincial legislatures of Bengal and Punjab were to meet separately in two parts each one representing the Muslim majority districts and the other Hindu majority districts. The members of each legislature were empowered to vote whether or not the provinces should be partitioned. It was contrary to League's demand for a Pakistan including the whole of Bengal and Assam in the east and the

Punjab in the west.

4. A referendum was to be held in the Muslim majority district of Sylhet (Assam) to decide whether the district would join East Bengal or remain part of Assam.

The representatives of the Hindu majority districts of Punjab and Bengal voted in favour of the partition of the provinces. Sylhet chose to merge in East Bengal. In N.W.F.P. the followers of Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan boycotted the referendum. The remaining Muslim population opted for Pakistan. The plan was accepted by the British Parliament which passed the Indian Independence Act on 5th of July 1947 which received the Royal assent on 18th of July 1947.

15.4 PARTITION- INDEPENDENCE

The Partition of India was the most important event in Indian history. But the way and the circumstances in which it took place, made it one of the saddest events as well. The primary cause of it was the fanatic religious zeal and communal feelings of the Indian Muslims, though living for centuries together, the Muslims and the Hindus failed to build up sentiments of unity and brotherhood among themselves. The British support to Muslim communalism was another cause of the partition. The Muslim communalism could never grow to such a proportion and partition of India could not be possible without the active support of the British. The policy of appeasement of the Muslims by the Congress was also a contributory factor leading to the partition of the country. The Congress failed to convince the Indians that it would establish a secular and socialistic state based on social and economic justice after the Independence. In such circumstances, Communalism as preached by the Muslim League was bound to succeed. The inclusion of the members of the Muslim League in the interim government which divided the central executive into two contending groups making it ineffective in dealing with Hindu-Muslim riots was another cause of the partition. The 'Direct-Action' of the Muslim League, the declaration of the British Government that it would leave India by June 1948 and repeated communal riots also led to the Partition. The American Government favoured

the Independence of India. Britain had become weak after the Second World War and India was no more economically profitable to it. The rebellion of the Indian Air Force and the Navy convinced the British that they could no more depend on the loyalty of the Indian defence services. All these factors speeded the Independence of India and as the league was adamant in its demand of Pakistan and communal riots were wrecking havoc on the country, the partition became inevitable.

Scholars have expressed divergent opinions regarding the consequences of the Partition. But many also have expressed contrary opinions. They have described the Partition not only on emotional grounds but on practical grounds as well. They have opined that it had created innumerable problems in India, particularly concerning defence and foreign affairs.

- **Independence**

Lord Louis Mountbatten of Burma joined the office of the Viceroy and Governor General of India in 1947. His mission was to arrange a peaceful transfer of power to Indian leaders. It was the credit of Mountbatten that he persuaded the Congress members to drop the demand of 'United India' and agree to accept the demand for Pakistan. The League leaders on their part found that by Mountbatten Plan their main demand i.e. Pakistan was conceded. So both political parties agreed to accept Mountbatten plan of partition of India and transfer of power on June 3, 1947. On the basis of this plan the British Parliament passed the Indian Independence Act of 1947 on July 18.

Some of the main provisions of the Indian Independence Act were as follows;

a. Two independent states, viz., Indian Union and Pakistan were to be created in the Indian sub-continent on August 15, 1947.

b. It was left to the choice of these newly independent states whether they would like to be the members of the British Commonwealth of Nations or not.

c. By the time new constituent assemblies were formed in these states, the existing legislative assemblies were empowered to frame was

concerning their respective states.

d. The British Crown would appoint separate Viceroys for each of them. However, both the states could opt to have one single Viceroy.

e. The British paramountcy over the native states would lapse and they would be allowed to join any of these newly independent states.

f. By the time new constitutions were framed by these states, the Government would be run on the basis of Government of India Act, 1935. But the Governor General and the Governors would act only as nominal heads. The ministers would be responsible to their respective legislatures.

g. The offices of the Secretary of State for India and his advisers were abolished. The Commonwealth Secretary was assigned the responsibility of maintaining relations with Pakistan and the Indian union.

h. The title of the British king as emperor of India was abolished.

The Indian Independence Act, 1947 thus marled the close of the constitutional development of India under the British rule.

15.5 CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY: GANDHI, NEHRU, B.R.AMBEDKAR, SARDAR PATEL

A Constituent Assembly also known as a Constitutional Convention, Constitutional Congress or Constitutional Assembly, is a body assembled for the purpose of drafting or revising a Constitution. The Constitution of India is the supreme law of India. It is the longest written national constitution in the world. It was adopted by the Constituent Assembly of India on 26 November 1949 and became effective on 26 January 1950.

Gandhi's contribution to Constitution of India on a direct basis was nil as he was not even a member of the constituent assembly and neither participated in its drafting. But the members of the drafting commission had some stanch followers of Gandhi among them. Gandhi was not really side lined from the Constitution framing. He choose not to be part of any form of Government. Yet his role in shaping the Constitution for India has to be understood in different phases. As early as 1909, Gandhi penned in *Hind*

Swaraj his views on the future Constitution of India. In it, he vehemently expressed his reservations about Parliaments. In that Constitution, Gandhi envisioned a decentralized Government, for he had often shared his disregard for centralized power, which he thought was expensive, inefficient, ruthless and power hungry. The decentralized Government envisaged by Gandhi had village panchayats, taluks formed by the panchayat Presidents and a legislative assembly constituted by the members sent by the taluks. But under the influence of Jawaharlal Nehru, Gandhi gradually began to take an interest in constitutional matters. Gandhi represented India in the Second Round Table Conference and contributed his ideas for the future Constitution of India. It is rather unbelievable truth that Gandhi was not a member of the Constituent Assembly. He chose to keep away from the provincial elections and while the Constituent Assembly met to draft the Constitution, he was soon travelling to different parts of the country to pacify the communal riots. One could argue that this rather coincidental aloofness and the debatable inclination of the members of the Constituent assembly towards the British and American Constitutions led to moderate neglect of Gandhi and his ideas during the early stage of drafting constitution.

Nehru was one among the architects of the Constitution of India. He contributed immensely towards erecting the main pillars of the edifice. Undoubtedly, as Chairman of the Drafting Committee, B.R.Ambedkar piloted the Constitution through the Constituent Assembly. Nehru was Chairperson of three major Committees of the Constituent Assembly: the States Committee responsible for negotiations with the Chamber of Princes; the Union Powers Committee and the Union Constitution Committee.

Dr. Bhimrao Ramji Ambedkar was an Indian jurist, economist, social reformer and politicalleader who headed the committee drafting the Constitution of India from the Constituent Assembly debates, served as Law and Justice Minister in the first cabinet of Jawaharlal Nehru and inspired the Dalit Buddhist movement after renouncing Hinduism. He is also known as the '*Father of the Indian Constitution*'. Upon India's independence on 15 August 1947, the new Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru invited Ambedkar to serve as the Dominion of India's Law Minister; two weeks later, he was appointed Chairman of the Drafting Committee of the Constitution for the

future Republic of India.He piloted the Constitution through the Constituent Assembly. Ambedkar became a key figure in India's Constitution making process due to the offices he held and his interventions and speeches in the Assembly. He was the chairman of the Assembly's most crucial committee- the Drafting Committee and a member of other important Committees. As its Chairman, he had to defend the Draft Constitution which the Committee prepared and therefore intervened in nearly every debate.The Constituent Assembly set up a Drafting Committee on August 29, 1947. The Chairpersonof the Draft Committee was Dr. B.R.Ambedkar whose account of events is therefore particularly authoritative. The Committee prepared a Draft Constitution which was published in order to elicit public opinion in February 1948. The Constitution was adopted on 26 November 1949 by the Constituent Assembly.

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel was one of the greatest Indians who ever strode this earth. He was a multi-faceted personality. His contributions to building and enriching the nation were varied in many diverse fields. The spirit of our Constitution bears the imprint of Patel's vision and its structure is a living embodiment of his work as a nation builder. Patel priority was for a Constitution that would give to the country an effective government. Regarding his role in Constitution making, it may be said that, in view of Patel's position, no crucial step in the Constituent Assembly could be taken without his concurrence. When during the last quarter of 1949 Nehru was on a foreign tour, Patel handled the executive work of the office of the Prime Minister as also the work of the Constituent Assembly. He kept Nehru fully informed through very comprehensive letters. Sardar Patel influenced or moulded in a myriad ways the provisions of the Constitution in almost every area. He stood for equal political rights for all citizens irrespective of race, caste, religion, gender, place of birth etc. He felt proud to lay the foundation of a true secular democratic state where everybody had an equal chance. The whole nation remembers with deep gratitude how Patel rid us of the scourge of separate communal electorates and religion-based reservations and quotas. He was a man of action and his vision was of a strong, stable, united and prosperous India.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q 4: State one provision of the Indian Independence Act 1947.

.....

Q 5: Who is regarded as the 'Father of the Indian Constitution'?

.....

Q 6: When was the Indian Constitution adopted by the Constituent Assembly of India?

.....



15.6 LET US SUM UP

After going through this unit, we have learnt that the political atmosphere in India by the mid-1940s were charged up and the British had no reason to further delay the proposal of Independence. The many negotiations held between the British and the major political parties ended in total failure owing to the political interests of the parties. However, India got her independence but at the disastrous cost. Partition and its horrific impact remain a dark chapter in the history of modern India. You have also learnt the role of nationalist figures like Gandhi, Dr B.R. Ambedkar, Nehru, Sardar Patel in drafting the Indian Constitution.



15.7 FURTHER READINGS

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2) Chandra, Bipan. 1989.*India's Struggle for Independence*, Penguin Books; New Delhi- 110017.

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5) Maiti, Provatansu. 2012.*Modern India*, Sreedhar Publishers; Kolkatta-700006.

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15.8 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans to Q No 1: Lord Pathick Lawrance, Sir Stafford Cripps and A.V.Alexander

Ans to Q No 2: The adamant attitude of the League to be recognised as the sole representative of the Muslims

Ans to Q No 3: The introduction of provincial autonomy.

Ans to Q No 4: Two independent states, viz., Indian Union and Pakistan were to be created in the Indian sub-continent on August 15, 1947.

Ans to Q No 5: Dr B.R. Ambedkar

Ans to Q No 6: 1949



15.9 MODEL QUESTIONS

A) Very Short Questions (Answer each question within 50 words)

Q 1: Who was Clement Atlee?

Q 2: Why did the Hindu Mahasabha reject the Cripps Mission?

B) Short Questions (Answer each question within 150 words)

Q 1: Write short notes on:

a. Wavell Plan

b. Sardar Patel and his contribution to the Indian Constitution

c. Government of India Act 1935 and its significance

C) Long Questions (Answer each question within 300-450 words)

Q 1: Was the Partition of India inevitable? Give your reasons.

Q 2: Discuss the contribution of DrB.R.Ambedkarin the making of the Indian Constitution.

*** ***** ***



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