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## 18<sup>TH</sup> to MID 19<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY INDIA AND EUROPEANS IN INDIA

Portuguese were the first to come to India. In 1502 – 100 years before arrival of East India Company – they established their factory at Cochin. **Francisco Almeida** was first governor of Portuguese. Later they also captured Goa, Daman and Diu. They also gave Bombay Island to England as dowry to King Charles II.

Portuguese and Spanish were the first Europeans to make inroads into India. They were replaced by French, Dutch and English colonial forces later on. *(In Africa too similar events happened. Africa was initially exploited for gold and ivory, but later slave trade took its place in 16<sup>th</sup> century. Initially Portuguese and Spanish and later French, Dutch and British dominated Africa. Profits from slave trade, slave run plantations and trade from India provided significant portion of the much needed capital for the rise of Industrial revolution in Europe)*

British **Hawkins** visited and stayed in Mughal court, but didn't get imperial farmaan. First factory at Surat was established by efforts of Captain **Middleton** who got imperial farmaan. Consequently, first factory in South was established in Machalipattanam/Masulipatanam in 1611. Later in 1615, **Thomas Roe** succeeded further in getting a farmaan to establish factories in entire Mughal Empire. As a result East India Company established many factories at Surat, Masulipatanam, Agra, Ahemdbabad and so on. They established factories in South with relative ease as they faced less resistance due to weak Indian rulers. **Farmaan of 1717** gave enormous leeway to company and it paved way for its expansion which ultimately led to establishment of British rule in India.

**French and British Rivalry** – For establishment of their might, French and British fought various wars, Carnatic wars are chief among them. In First of these wars, French supremacy was established. In 1742, war broke out between France and England and it echoed in India too. French General **Dupliex** gained considerably in these fights in India and he made French position stronger in South. However, French could not hold their position for too long. War between France and Britain broke out again in 1756 and this time British had the upper hand. In India, they pushed French out of Bengal. Later, in third Carnatic War in 1760, French generals **Lally and Bussy** were defeated by English General **Eyre Coot** in **Battle of Wandiwash**. The war came to an end with '**Treaty of Paris**' and French even surrendered Pondicherry in 1763 and this led to end of French ambitions to expand in India.

British had by this time realized that their superior army and ammunitions and lack of nationalism among Indians will give them an upper hand in India. 'Battle of San Thomas' – during the Carnatic Wars (1746-61) – definitely proved for the first time the superiority of European arms and discipline over the traditional Indian methods of warfare.

After the death of Aurangzeb, the Bengal nawabs asserted their power and autonomy. One after other Bengal Nawabs refused to grant the Company concessions, demanded large tributes for the Company's right to trade, denied it any right to mint coins, and stopped it from extending its fortifications. Accusing the Company of deceit, they claimed that the Company was depriving the Bengal government of huge amounts of revenue and undermining the authority of the nawab. It was refusing to pay taxes, writing disrespectful letters, and trying to humiliate the nawab and his officials.

An English factory was set up on the banks of the river Hugli in 1651. This was the base from which the Company's traders, known at that time as '**factors**', operated. By 1696 it began building a fort around the settlement. Company at the same time was also looking greedily to expand its presence and Bengal was first choice for its richness. However Nawab **Sirajudaullah** was wary of company's activities and he even tried to push them away. (**Blackhole tragedy** happened during such an attempt when Sirajudaullah put many British in a dundgeon on a sultry day and as a result most of the detainees died). He was fed up with high handedness of the British and gross misuse of imperial farmaan of 1717. Immediate reason was fortification by French and British of their areas without permission of nawab and he saw it as an attack on his sovereignty. He asked them to undo this. French complied, but British remained adamant. He made an attack on British and got initial success. For British, first major success came with **Battle of Plassey, 1757**, in which company under **Robert Clive** conspired with **Mir Zafar** – one of the generals of Nawab Sirajudaullah – and others (Mir Bakshi, Manik Chand, Jagat Seth etc) to defeat him. British got undisputed rights to trade in Orissa, Bengal and Bihar. British victory of Bengal in Battle of Plassey was important from following grounds –

- I. It raised their prestige immensely and presented them as a strong contender in India.
- II. British also gained an upper hand on their colonial rival France and it paved way or decline of French influence in India.
- III. Bengal was one of the richest provinces at that time and it helped British to amass huge wealth from its exploitation and maintain a large army.
- IV. Further, while British plundered the state, they had no accountability.

After the Battle of Plassey in 1757 CE, they had become the real masters of Bengal. They used political control over Bengal to increase their trade and export of foreign goods. They eliminated the Indian as well as foreign rivals in trade so that there could be no competition.

Mir Zafar was put as a puppet of British, but he soon repented his decision to join hands with British as his exchequer emptied fulfilling British demands, he was soon replaced by **Mir Quasim** and British started exploiting Bengal. However Mir Quasim was an able and efficient ruler determined to free himself from British and soon raised his head. He along with **Nawab of Awadh** Nizam ud Daula and fugitive Mughal emperor Shah Alam-II started a campaign against company which ended in **Battle of Buxor** in which the combined forces were defeated by British in 1764 and '**Treaty of Allahabad**' was signed which gave the company Diwani rights in Bengal. *Battle of Buxor formalized colonial rule in India.* Nawab of Awadh was made dependent on Company. Bengal was also put under Company rule directly from nawab's rule. *This paved way for northward expansion of British* and by 1803, Delhi was under British rule.

After Battle of Buxor, *British got Diwani rights* by an imperial firman from Mughals and Bengal came under dual rule of British and Nawab as the British wanted to avoid taking over responsibility of the administration of Bengal. British controlled *revenue, police and judicial power*. *Nawab had responsibility, but no power*. After the company got the Diwani rights in Bengal, it started extracting revenue, but without any responsibility. British exploited Bengal at the expense of Nawab and both became indifferent to the plight of people. Great famine of 1770 and death of lakhs people exposed the

exploitative nature of this **dual government**. Dual governance led to immense hardship of the common man and Bengal was plundered completely by the British. System of dual governance was ended by Warren Hastings.

If we analyse the process of annexation of Indian states by the East India Company from 1757 to 1857, certain key aspects emerge. The Company rarely launched a direct military attack on an unknown territory. Instead it used a variety of political, economic and diplomatic methods to extend its influence before annexing an Indian kingdom. After the Battle of Buxar (1764), the Company appointed **Residents** in Indian states. They were political or commercial agents and their job was to serve and further the interests of the Company. Through the Residents, the Company officials began interfering in the internal affairs of Indian states.

In 1803, the British gained control of Delhi after defeating the Marathas. Since the capital of British India was Calcutta, the Mughal emperor was allowed to continue living in the palace complex in the Red Fort.

### EARLY GOVERNOR GENERALS

**Warren Hastings (1772-85)** – Period of 1775 to 82 was challenging for British as they have to face multiple oppositions from Marathas in Central and North India, from Haider Ali, Nizam Southern India. Marathas proved a formidable enemy, Haider Ali too inflicted many defeats. Outside India they were facing a losing war against America. Warren Hastings became the first Governor General at this time was at the helm of affairs. He led **First Anglo Maratha war** in 1773 in which neither side won and a peace treaty was signed. *While British made their position stronger in Bengal, Marathas frittered away the time in infightings.* In South, Warren Hastings fought two **Anglo Mysore wars** with Haider Ali. Warren Hastings introduced several administrative reforms, notably in the sphere of justice. From 1772 a new system of justice was established. Each district was to have two courts – a criminal court (faujdari adalat) and a civil court (diwani adalat). Maulvis and Hindu pandits interpreted Indian laws for the European district collectors who presided over civil courts. The criminal courts were still under a qazi and a mufti but under the supervision of the collectors. A major problem was that the Brahman pandits gave different interpretations of local laws based on different schools of the dharmashastra. Under the Regulating Act of 1773, a new Supreme Court was established, while a court of appeal – the Sadar Nizamat Adalat – was also set up at Calcutta.

**Cornwallis (1786-1796)** – Cornwallis arrived at scene at a time when Marathas were becoming weak. Haider Ali died in 1782 after Second Anglo Mysore war due to cancer. He led **Third Anglo Mysore War** in which Mysore faced defeat in 1792. The war broke out in late 1789 when Tipu Sultan, the ruler of the Kingdom of Mysore, attacked Travancore, an ally of the British East India Company. After a little over two years of fighting, forces of the company led by Lord Cornwallis, along with allied forces from the Maratha Empire and Hyderabad, laid siege in February 1792 to Mysore's capital, Seringapatam. Rather than attempting to storm the works at great cost to all sides, Cornwallis entered into negotiations with Tipu to end the conflict. Cornwallis had hoped to use the treaty as a wide-ranging peace settlement that would, in addition to reducing or removing the threat of Mysore, prevent conflict between Hyderabad and the Marathas. **The**

**Treaty of Seringapatam** (also called Srirangapatnam), signed 18 March 1792, ended the Third Anglo-Mysore War. Its signatories included Lord Cornwallis on behalf of the British East India Company, representatives of the Nizam of Hyderabad and the Mahratta Empire, and Tipu Sultan, the ruler of Mysore. Under the terms of the treaty, Mysore ceded about one half of its territories to the other signatories. The Peshwa acquired territory up to the Tungabhadra River, the Nizam was awarded land from the Krishna to the Penner River, and the forts of Cuddapah and Gandikota on the south bank of the Penner. The East India Company received a large portion of Mysore's Malabar Coast territories between the Kingdom of Travancore and the Kali River, and the Baramahal and Dindigul districts.

**Wellesley and Subsidiary Alliance (1798-1805)** – Expansion under Wellesley was perhaps one of the largest British expansions. He took over India at a time when France was engaged in a bitter war with Britain all over the world. He used many tactics for expansion from outright war to usurping the throne of erstwhile subsidiaries. Subsidiary Alliance was one such tool and it had following features –

- Indian rulers were made to sign alliance under which British stationed their forces permanently in their allies and the Indian ruler has to pay for them and also accept British paramountcy.
- Indian ruler himself has to disband his own forces and
- Was also debarred from making any transactions from other foreign power without British approval.
- A Resident of British was appointed in the court of ruler as British representative.
- Ruler was promised protection from external attacks.
- British also promised non-interference in internal affairs, but this promise was broken more often than was kept.
- Thus, Indian rulers have to pledge their independence through this treaty.

The treaty had a great adverse effect on Indian rulers. Due to disbanding of armies lakhs became unemployed. Ruler care little for the welfare of the people, as they relied on British to subdue any internal rebellion or discontent. British on the other hand gained immensely from the subsidiary treaty. They now maintained a huge army and that too on expense of Indian rulers. They at time overthrew the allies under alliance on charges of being inefficient. **Nizam of Hyderabad** became first to sign this treaty in 1798. Awadh was also forced into it in 1801. Mysore fell after Tipu refused to accept Subsidiary Alliance of Wellesley and later death of Tipu Sultan in 1799 in seizure of Seringpattanam or the **Fourth Mysore war** and it was returned to the erstwhile ruler and some part was taken by British. Marathas were now the only major force outside British control. Wellesley now focused his attention towards them.

Maratha area was now ruled by five independent chiefs (Bhonsle, Holkar, Scindia etc) and Peshwa and they were all engaged in infightings. Holkar defeated combined forces of Peshwa and Scindia in 1802 and cowardly Peshwa rushed for British help and signed Subsidiary treaty of Bhasin/Bassein. The Peshwa accepted the Subsidiary Alliance with the British via **Treaty of**

**Bhasin.** *The Treaty* was a pact signed on 31 December 1802 between the British East India Company and Baji Rao II (who is termed as 'cypher' by the historians), the Maratha peshwa of Pune (Poona) in India after **the Battle of Poona**. *The treaty was a decisive step in the dissolution of the Maratha Empire, which led to the East India Company's usurpation of the peshwa's territories in western India in 1818.* On 13 May 1803, Baji Rao II was restored to Peshwarship under the protection of the East India Company and the leading Maratha state had thus become a client of the British. The treaty led to expansion of the sway and influence of the East India Company over the Indian subcontinent. *However, the treaty was not acceptable to all Marathas chieftains,* and resulted in the Second Anglo-Maratha War during Hastings time. Several wars took place between Maratha Chiefs and British, however expansionist policies of Wellesley were checked as it was proving costly on British Exchequer and they made peace with Holkar.

**Lord Hastings (1813-22)** – Lord Hastings can be credited for effectively subduing the last dominant challenge of Marathas in India. **Second Anglo Maratha war** was fought with combined forces of Peshwa and Maratha chiefs in which latter were defeated. As a result, Peshwa was pensioned to Kanpur away from his territory and other chiefs were forced to sign subsidiary alliance and they accepted British paramount power. Now, like other rulers, Maratha chiefs too existed on mercy of the British. In 1813, the British government became **paramount** in India. Now the Company claimed that its authority was paramount or supreme, hence its power was greater than that of Indian states. In order to protect its interests it was justified in annexing or threatening to annex any Indian kingdom. By 1818, entire Indian subcontinent except Sindh and Punjab came under direct or indirect rule of British.

**Consolidation of power – 1818-1857** – Post 1818, Punjab and Sindh too were conquered and Awadh and Central provinces were annexed. Sindh was occupied in wake of growing Anglo-Russian rivalry in Europe and Asia and to make it a buffer state against Russian invasion and to have a passage to Afghanistan and Persia.

**Dalhousie** and **Policy of Lapse (1848-1857)** – Unlike Wellesley, Dalhousie wanted to extend direct rule of British over India. Satara (which was created as a state for Marathas after Second Anglo Maratha War), Jhansi, Nagpur were annexed through Doctrine of Lapse. Dalhousie also wanted to bring Awadh under British rule, but British had friendly terms with Awadh since it helped them in Battle of Buxar. They had many heirs and hence couldn't be covered under Doctrine of Lapse. Finally, Dalhousie hit upon idea of accusing Nawab of mis-governance and annexing his territory. Awadh was thus annexed in 1856. Awadh was one of the last territories to be annexed by the British. It was brought under subsidiary alliance in 1801, and finally annexed in 1849. It was formally annexed in 1856. The conquest happened in stages. The removal of the Nawab led to the dissolution of the court and its culture. Thus a whole range of people – musicians, dancers, poets, artisans, cooks, retainers, and administrative officials and so on – lost their livelihood. In 1849, under Dalhousie's command, the British captured the princely state of Punjab. Jhansi was also annexed under Doctrine of Lapse. However, it was the unfair annexation of Oudh which made Dalhousie very unpopular in the region. He also commanded the **Second Burmese War** in 1852, resulting in the capture of parts of Myanmar. This and other



callous actions of the governor-general created bitter feelings among the Indian soldiers in the British Army, which finally led to the First War of Independence of 1857. His contribution in the development of communication – railways, roads, postal and telegraph services – contributed to the modernization and unity of India. Social legislations like Widow Remarriage Act, 1856 was also passed during his time. He is, thus, said to have laid the foundation of modern India. One unintended consequences of the policies of the Dalhousie was the administrative unification of India. It laid the foundation of a modern 'nation' which was hitherto scattered into pieces under local chieftans.

## MUGHAL's FALL

There were many reasons for the fall of Mughals, like –

- I. Aurengzeb's expansionist policies created many fissures and his weak successors led to decline of Mughal Empire.
- II. Battles with Marathas drained Mughals of their wealth.
- III. Rajputs also became more assertive in the meanwhile, unlike Akbar's conciliatory stance (marriages etc), later Mughals tried to contain Rajputs and this led to lash back.
- IV. Nerve center of Mughals Delhi also saw multiple uprisings from Jats, Satnamis, Sikhs etc.
- V. Revenue policies started to take toll on peasantry and
- VI. Number of Mansabdars had increased to 3 times than that of Akbar. Not many of them were as honest
- VII. Military machinery was also outdated and naval power was never given any attention
- VIII. Poor thrust on science made Mughal empire backward in outlook
- IX. Religious intolerance of Aurangzeb and later Mughals caused anger among other communities.
- X. Corruption was rife, wars for succession, decline in arts, trade and commerce, decline in loyalty of nobles, foreign invasions (Nadir Shah, Abdali etc) were other factors which proved fatal for Mughal Empire.

Fall of Mughals fuelled ambitions of other regional satraps. Marathas were the one who gained most in Mughal Empire's decline.

Shah Alam-II ascended Mughal throne in 1759 and inherited a weak empire and has to himself spend a life of fugitive. He joined hands with Mir Quasim and Shuja-ud-Daula of Awadh to redeem his empire and take on British. The combined armies were defeated in fateful Battle of Buxor in 1764. Mughal Emperor was earlier pensioned by British, but later retreated to Delhi and took shelter under Marathas.

In 1803, Delhi was taken over by British in the aftermaths of Battle of Buxor and other wars. Mughal emperor was reduced to the pensioner of the British.

## RISE and FALL of MARATHAS

Marathas have been engaged in hostility with Mughals ever since the times of Shivaji who for the first time give real challenge to Mughal dominance. Shivaji adopted guerilla warfare techniques.

Shivaji's grandson was imprisoned by Aurangzeb and was released after his death. However, he couldn't regain his hereditary prestige and influence and internal rivalry saw emergence of second phase of Marathan dominance under Peshwas. Balaji Vishwanath was first Peshwa. Marathas under Peshwas expanded and made inroads into erstwhile Mughal Empire and by 1740 under Baji Rao, they had control over Malwa, Gujarat and part of Bundelkhand. Peshwas soon shifted Maratha capital to Poona. By 1750, Marathas even controlled Mughals indirectly through key appointments in Mughal court.

As Mughal might waned it also suffered external attacks. One of such fierce attackers was Nadir Shah. His general Ahmed Shah Abdali succeeded in gaining control over northern India from 1748 to 1767. After taking Delhi, Marathas now shifted their attention towards Punjab which was now ruled by an agent of Abdali and they defeated him. To avenge this defeat, Ahmed Shah Abdali himself marched into India and defeated Marathas led in the decisive **Third Battle of Panipat in 1761**. *Battle of Panipat was a death blow to Marathas as well as Mughals.* Thus, way for arrival of British was cleared which was made even more imminent by Battle of Buxer in 1764.

They were divided into many states under different chiefs (sardars) belonging to dynasties such as Sindhia, Holkar, Gaikwad and Bhonsle. These chiefs were held together in a confederacy under a Peshwa (Principal Minister) who became its effective military and administrative head based in Pune. Marathas under Peshwa Madhav Rao regained their lost pride significantly and in 1771, they even brought Mughal emperor to Delhi (weaning him away from British pension) and kept him under their own pension. However, after his death, Maratha Empire again declined *as there were many warring factions* (Holkar, Scindia, Bhonsle etc) and one of them even invited British when he faced defeat at the hand of others leading to **First Anglo-Maratha War** in 1773. By the **Third Anglo Maratha War** of 1816-19 Marathas were completely subdued by British.

Like Mughals, Marathas too showed a united face so long as there was a common enemy and in its absence, they suffered internal feuds. Their revenue policy also was detrimental to peasantry. They also failed to boost commerce. All these factors lead to their decline.

## MYSORE

Haider Ali was born in a humble family and rose through ranks in army and finally overthrew the Hindu king of Mysore. He took over a weak Mysore and build a strong kingdom out of it. He adopted best administrative practices of Mughals and was a tolerant ruler.

Mysore controlled the profitable trade of the Malabar coast where the Company purchased pepper and cardamom. In 1785 Tipu Sultan stopped the export of sandalwood, pepper and cardamom through the ports of his kingdom, and disallowed local merchants from trading with

the Company. The British were furious. They saw Haidar and Tipu as ambitious, arrogant and dangerous – rulers who had to be controlled and crushed.

Haider Ali remained at war with Marathas and neighboring Nizam of Hyderabad. Later he fought two Anglo-Mysore wars with British and died after second war due to cancer in 1782.

His son Tipu Sultan was also a tolerant ruler. He even established a Saraswati temple near his palace and also built churches. He made alliance with French military and adopted their military styles. He reduced the hereditary rights of the Poligars – or Zamindars – and eliminate the intermediaries between the state and cultivators and this improved condition of peasantry.

He carried on the war left by his father, but lost Third Anglo Mysore War and has to give away half of his kingdom to British. He was a brave soldier with huge self respect and died fighting with British and forces of Nizam to save his territory *in 4<sup>th</sup> Anglo-Mysore War* in 1799 at the door of fort of Seringpattnam his capital.

## PUNJAB

In the late 1830s the *East India Company became worried about Russia*. It imagined that Russia might expand across Asia and enter India from the north-west. Driven by this fear, the British now wanted to secure their control over the north-west. They fought a *prolonged war with Afghanistan* between 1838 and 1842 and established indirect Company rule there. Sind was taken over in 1843. Next in line was Punjab. But the presence of Maharaja Ranjit Singh held back the Company. After his death in 1839, two prolonged wars were fought with the Sikh kingdom. Ultimately, in 1849, Punjab was annexed.

## SOCIO-ECONOMIC CONDITIONS DURING 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> CENTURY

Previous conquerors had overthrown Indian political powers, but they had made no changes in basic economic structure.

Revenue demand of state was ever rising and this led to large scale impoverishment of masses.

*India's most important item of export was cotton*. It was in huge demand overseas and till industrial revolution it was one of the key factors that had kept a positive balance of trade and import of gold to cover that. Another factor that contributed toward surplus trade was self-sufficient nature of Indian economy by virtue of homegrown handicrafts etc and hence lower need for imports. India thus emerged as a sink of precious metal.

India was a *land of manufacturers*. *Cotton, Silk, dying, jeweler factories* were put up at various places. *Dacca muslin cloth* was famous, other famous centers of textile industry were *Murshidabad, Patna, Surat, Ahmadabad* etc.

Indian economy peaked in 17<sup>th</sup> century and in 18<sup>th</sup> century saw a declining trend owing to domestic political situation and growing influence of Europeans.

Industrial Revolution completely changed the scenario in India. India which was once major supplier of finished goods became a supplier of raw material. India exported cheap raw material like cotton and imported expensive factory made goods.

*British rule was different from erstwhile rulers in a fundamental way. Unlike earlier rulers, British never made India their home. While earlier rulers also exploited India, but their revenues were used in India directly or indirectly through investment or extravagance. During British rule, Indian wealth was drained to Britain and it led to weakening of the domestic economy as a whole. India didn't get anything in return of the excess of imports.*

Artisans and handicraft ruined due to cheap factory made imports from Europe. Ruin of handicraft was also reflected in the famous cities that were once center of these special crafts.

*Arrival of railways further hastened the drain. Natural wealth of India from every corner was now taken to shipping terminals. Railways also ruined rural artisans.*

Factors that ruined Indian artisans and handicrafts also ruined local industries. Industries in Britain were promoted at the expense of local industries. Local industries were deliberately kept backward and modern industries were not established. Thus, India was effectively de-industrialized. People now increasingly turned to agriculture and increasing pressure on agriculture combined with exploitative policies led to increase in poverty in India.

Indian fledgling Industries were never provided protection from un-equal competition from Britain and other countries as industries in those countries were provided when they were in infancy.

Last, but not the least, poverty and famines were characteristic features of the British rule. Indians may be poor, but poverty was never so extreme to be on verge of starvation. According to some estimates famine alone led to death of some 3 crore people from 1850-1900. 30 lakh people died in famine of Bengal in 1943.

Many of the painters of the Mughal painting school migrated to provincial courts and new styles developed infusing new vitality.

Persian declined and Urdu language flourished.

Influence of Bhakti movement brought together various communities including Hindus and Muslims together. Fighting between Hindus and Muslim nobles were economic in nature and communalism in India was non-existent before 1857.

## COMPANY RULE

East India Company got the trading rights to India via a Charter in 1600.

In 1675, it was also conferred with **Diwani functions** i.e. it was now allowed to collect revenue and perform functions regarding to Civil Justice.

**Regulating Act of 1773** by British Crown was the *first in a direction to regulate the affairs of Company*. Governor of Bengal was made *Governor General of Bengal* (Warren Hastings was first such GG). As a result, Governors of Bombay and Madras became subordinate to Governor General of Bengal and Company appointed governing body – *Court of Directors* – has to directly report to the crown. It thus laid the *foundation of 'Centralized Administration'* in India.

**Pitts India Act of 1784** aimed at *separating the commercial and political functions* of the company. *Board of Control* was established by Crown which looked after political functions while Commercial functions were still left with Court of Directors and Court of Director came under supervision of Board of Control which also had two cabinet ministers. Thus, for the first time *India came to be called as part of British territory and British Government was given full control over Company's affairs*. This Act laid down the *general framework which governed company rule till 1857*.

British merchants and traders resented monopoly of East India Company and finally succeeded in abolishing its monopoly in 1813.

**Charter Act 1833** was passed during period of Lord William Bentinck. Governor General of Bengal was made Governor General of India. (Bentinck was first such GG). Governors (they were still called Governors) of *Madras and Bombay were deprived of their legislative powers* and Governor General of India became the sole authority to have legislative powers all over India. Thus, it *completed the centralization process* that was initiated by the regulating Act of 1773 (after 60 years). British East India Company ceased to be a trading Company via 1833 Charter. It is also considered to be an attempt to codify all Indian Laws.

**Charter Act of 1853** was last Charter Act. For the first time it *separated the legislative and executive functions of GG's Council* and a separate Council called Indian legislative Council was established. It also introduced Open Competition for Civil Services.

## COMPANY RULE – AGRICULTURE

The East India Company was transformed from a trading company – via exclusive trading rights that it got via Charter in 1601 – to a territorial colonial power. The arrival of new steam technology in the early nineteenth century also aided this process.

British bought *tea and silk from China* and lost currency and gold. To avoid that they encouraged *growing of opium in India* which was sold to Chinese. While English developed a taste for tea, Chinese became addicted for opium. Another item was *indigo which was used in British textile industry*.

By the thirteenth century Indian indigo was being used by cloth manufacturers in Italy, France and Britain to dye cloth. By the end of the eighteenth century, the demand for Indian indigo grew further. Britain began to industrialise, and its cotton production expanded dramatically, creating an enormous new demand for cloth dyes. While the demand for indigo increased, its existing supplies from the West Indies (In 1792 France abolished slavery in the French colonies. These events led to the collapse of the indigo plantations on the Caribbean islands.) and America (American Revolution) collapsed for a variety of reasons. Between 1783 and 1789 the production of indigo in the world fell by half. Cloth dyers in

Britain now desperately looked for new sources of indigo supply. Since, Indian Indigo was costly to buy through intermediaries, Europeans directly established plantations in India. But they didn't engage in direct cultivation, but instead used ryots to grow it on their lands. This was most prevalent in Bengal.

### III Effects of Indigo Cultivation –

- I. Vicious Loan Cycle – When the crop was delivered to the planter after the harvest, a new loan was given to the ryot, and the cycle started all over again. The price they got for the indigo they produced was very low and the cycle of loans never ended.
- II. Disadvantage for Other Crops – The best soils in which peasants preferred to cultivate rice was used for indigo. Indigo, moreover, had deep roots and it exhausted the soil rapidly. After an indigo harvest the land could not be sown with rice. Thus indigenous demand for other crops suffered.

**'Neel Darpan'** – It is the name of a book and famous play by writer **Deen Bandhu Mitra**. It highlighted the plight of Indigo farmers.

Peasants revolted many a times and British ultimately setup an **'Indigo Commission'** which held planters – mostly Europeans – guilty. As a result of it and resentment among the farmers *Indigo Planters they shifted to Bihar*, however as synthetic dyes became popular Indigo plantation business became unprofitable and planters further suppressed farmers in Bihar. Their plight was highlighted during the visit of Gandhi to Champaran in 1917.

Large numbers of Indian weavers and spinners were left without work, and important traditional textile weaving centers such as *Murshidabad, Machilipatnam and Surat declined* as demand fell. Cotton weavers in India faced two problems at the same time – *their export market collapsed, and the local market shrank*, being glutted with Manchester imports.

In Deccan also, cotton farmers were having tough time due to fluctuations in international market in wake of civil war in America and rising debts. Farmers were in debt and the insensitiveness of the money lenders infuriated the peasants. The moneylenders were violating the customary norms of the countryside. One general norm was that the interest charged could not be more than the principal. This was meant to limit the moneylender's exactions and defined what could be counted as "fair interest". Under colonial rule this norm broke down. Deeds and Bonds appeared as new symbols of oppression. They had no idea of the clauses that moneylenders inserted in the bonds. But they had no choice because to survive they needed loans, and moneylenders were unwilling to give loans without legal bonds. This ultimately manifested in form of peasant revolts of Deccan.

## CULTURAL AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC SCENERIO IN 19<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY

In the late eighteenth century, Calcutta, Bombay and Madras rose in importance as Presidency cities. They became the centers of British power in the different regions of India. Some of the cities which were earlier center of trade and power declined due to shift in trading activities. i.e. *'De-Urbanization'* happened. Cities such as Machilipatnam, Surat and Seringapatam were deurbanised during the nineteenth century. By the early twentieth century, *only 11 per cent of Indians were living in cities*.

The establishment of the **Delhi College in 1792** led to a great intellectual flowering in the sciences as well as the humanities, largely in the Urdu language. Many refer to the period from 1830 to 1857 as a period of the Delhi renaissance (mid of 19th century).

**Rise of Delhi** – However Calcutta was capital of the British; they decided to give considerable importance to Delhi. During the Revolt, the British had *realized that the Mughal emperor was still important to the people* and they saw him as their leader. It was therefore important to celebrate British power with pomp and show in the city the Mughal emperors had earlier ruled, and the place which had turned into a rebel stronghold in 1857.

New initiatives like Census were taken. In the *first census of 1871*, and other subsequent censuses, though they were useful in collecting the data, they were also seen as people from lower caste and occupations to claim new identities by claiming themselves differently.

*Railway was introduced in 1853, which started to transform the urban landscape. Every railway station became a collection depot for raw materials and a distribution point for imported goods.*

**Coronation of King George V and Delhi Darbar** – In 1911, when King George V was crowned in England, a Durbar was held in Delhi to celebrate the occasion. The decision to shift the capital of India from Calcutta to Delhi was announced at this Durbar.

**Foundation of New Delhi** – New Delhi was constructed as a 10-square-mile city on Raisina Hill, south of the existing city. Two architects, *Edward Lutyens* and *Herbert Baker*, were called on to design New Delhi and its buildings. The features of these government buildings were borrowed from different periods of India's imperial history, but the overall look was Classical Greece (fifth century BCE). For instance, the central dome of the Viceroy's Palace – now Rashtrapati Bhawan was copied from the Buddhist stupa at Sanchi, and the red sandstone and carved screens or jalis were borrowed from Mughal architecture. But the new buildings had to assert British importance, that is why *the architect made sure that the Viceroy's Palace was higher than Shah Jahan's Jama Masjid.*

## TRIBAL UPRISINGS

The common thread that ran across all the tribal uprisings was that – rise of money lenders, revenue farmers and traders as middlemen in tribal areas. Tribals deemed outsiders as undesirable and were called *Dikus*. Tribal movements were largely driven by the idea of intrusions by Dikus – British in this case. An active forest policy and a slew of Forest Acts deprived tribals of their traditional forest rights. Reactionary and ill conceived legislations like '**Criminal Tribes Act, 1971**' made the condition of tribes worse. By this Act many communities of craftsmen, traders and pastoralists were classified as Criminal Tribes. They were stated to be criminal by nature and birth. Once this Act came into force, these communities were expected to live only in notified village settlements. They were not allowed to move out without a permit. The village police kept a continuous watch on them.

Birsa of Munda tribe in Chota Nagpur plateau was one such protagonists. There were other tribes too which considered forest areas as their right of livelihood and resented any idea of working for others mainly Dikus. For Example – Baigas of central India – were reluctant to do work for others. The Baigas



saw themselves as people of the forest, who could only live on the produce of the forest. It was below the dignity of a Baiga to become a labourer.

There were tribals with different occupations, some were hunter gatherers like -'Khond' of Orissa. Some were Jhoom Cultivators (shifting cultivators), some others herded animals - like Gaddis of Kulu were shepherds, and the Bakarwals of Kashmir reared goats.

**Why British want to put restrains over tribes?** – The British were uncomfortable with groups who moved about and did not have a fixed home. They wanted tribal groups to settle down and become peasant cultivators as this could have subjected them under better control of British. *Settled peasants were easier to control* and administer than people who were always on the move. The British also *wanted a regular revenue source* for the state from the revenue in form of tax on agriculture. So, they *introduced land settlements* – that is, they measured the land, defined the rights of each individual to that land, and fixed the revenue demand for the state. Some peasants were declared landowners, others tenants. However, this move was not very successful and jhoom cultivators continued to adopt shifting cultivations.

**Tribal reaction against land settlement move of British** – Many tribal groups reacted against the colonial forest laws. They *disobeyed the new rules*, continued with practices that were declared illegal, and at times *rose in open rebellion*. Such was the revolt of '**Songram Sangma**' in 1906 in Assam, and the 'forest satyagraha of the 1930s' in the Central Provinces.

**New occupations and exploitation of Tribals** – The plight of the tribals who had to go far away from their homes in search of work was even worse. From the late nineteenth century, *tea plantations started coming up* and mining became an important industry. Tribals were recruited in large numbers to work the tea plantations of Assam and the *coal mines of Jharkhand*. They were recruited through contractors who paid them *miserably low wages, and prevented them from returning home*. There were deaths of hundreds of them in the mines.

Through the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, tribal groups in different parts of the country rebelled against the changes in laws, the restrictions on their practices, the new taxes they had to pay, and the exploitation by traders and moneylenders. The 'Kols' rebelled in 1831-32, 'Santhals' rose in revolt in 1855, the 'Bastar Rebellion' in central India broke out in 1910 and the 'Warli Revolt' in Maharashtra in 1940.

**Birsa Movement** – The movement that Birsa led was one such movement. It carries the essence of the tribal resentment. While growing up, Birsa heard stories of a golden age when the Mundas had been free of the oppression of dikus. An idea of a free tribe was implanted here. His movement was *aimed at reforming tribal society*. In 1895 Birsa urged his followers to *recover their glorious past*. What worried British officials most was the political aim of the Birsa movement, for it wanted to *drive out missionaries, money lenders, Hindu landlords, and the government and set up a Munda Raj* with Birsa at its head. The movement identified all these forces as the cause of the misery the Mundas were suffering.

- The land policies of the British were destroying their traditional land system



- Hindu landlords and money lenders were taking over their land
- Missionaries were criticising their traditional culture.

As the movement spread the British officials decided to act. They arrested Birsa in 1895, convicted him on charges of rioting and jailed him for two years. Birsa's followers began targeting the symbols of diku and European power. They *attacked police stations and churches*, and raided the property of moneylenders and zamindars. They raised the white flag as a symbol of Birsa Raj. In 1900 Birsa died of cholera and the movement faded out.

Causes of Failure of Tribal Movements –

- Failure to Identify the real Enemy
- Primitive Methods
- Unorganised
- Superstition

Other tribal Movements during those times were –

- I. **Khond Uprising** – These tribal lived mainly in Orissa and they were led by Chakra Bisoi.
- II. **Chaur Uprising**, 1832 – Uprising by the Tribals in Bihar and Bengal region.
- III. **Kol and Ho Uprising**, Chota Nagpur, 1832 – They belonged to Chota Nagpur belt, the kols inhabited large portion of the Chota Nagpur region. They rebelled to resist British entry into their dominion. Soon they joined the Munda rebellion. In Kol uprising the chief leader was – Buddho Bhagat
- IV. **Koli Revot** – In Sahyadri Hills
- V. **Satara Revolt**, 1840 – Nar Singh and Dhar Rao
- VI. **Santhal Rebellion**, 1856 – They belonged to Bengal Region, commonly known as SANTHAL HOOL was a native rebellion in present day Jharkhand, in eastern India against both the British colonial authority and corrupt upper caste zamindari system by the Santal people. Led by Sidhha and Kanku
- VII. **Nayak Dae Revolt**, Gujarat, 1858 – Leaders were Roop Singh and Joria Bhagat
- VIII. **Rampa Rebellion**, Andhra, 1879 – It was against money lenders. These tribes paid a regular tribute to a zamindar or mansabdar who was a subject of British India. The then zamindar of the region, an illegitimate son of his predecessor, was an oppressive tyrant. To make matters worse, the Madras government introduced a law making toddy tapping illegal and introducing a toddy tax. This led to a full-scale rebellion in early 1879.
- IX. **Bhil Uprising**, Rajasthan, 1913 – Led by Gobind Guruin Gujarat belt
- X. **Khonds Revolt**, Orissa, 1914 – leader was Chakra Bisayi
- XI. **Oraon Revolt**, Chota Nagpur, 1914 – Led by Jatra Bhagat
- XII. **Kuki Revolt**, Manipur, 1917-19. The first Resistance movement by the kuki People was the kuki Rebellion of 1917-19. It was against the British hegemony. Kuki country was subjugated by the British and divided between British India and British Burma administrations following the 'Kuki

Uprising of 1917-19'. Up until the fateful defeat in 1919, the Kukis were an independent people ruled by their chieftains. Jado Nang was major leader.

XIII. **Chinchu Revolt**, Andhra, 1921 – led by Hanumanthu

XIV. **Koyas Revolt** or **Gudem Hill Revolt** or **Rampa Rebellion**, Andhra, 1922 – This was during the Non Cooperation Movement and was led by Alluri Sitaram Raju. The Gudem rebels attacked police stations, attempted to kill British officials and carried on guerrilla warfare for achieving swaraj. Raju was captured and executed in 1924, and over time became a folk hero.

Though tribal movements were more often than not crushed by the British, they were significant in at least two ways.

- First – it forced the colonial government to introduce laws so that the land of the tribals could not be easily taken over by dikus.
- Second – it showed once again that the tribal people had the capacity to protest against injustice and express their anger against colonial rule.

## EARLY UPRISINGS – PRE 1857

### SANYASI REBELLION (1770 onwards)

The Sannyasi Rebellion or Sannyasi is a term used to describe activities of sannyasis and fakirs, or Hindu and Muslim ascetics respectively, in Bengal, India in the late 18th century. It took place around Murshidabad and Baikunthapur forests of Jalpaiguri.

Sannyasis oppressed by the British policies retaliated by organizing raids on the companies factories and state treasuries under leadership of '**Kena Sarkar**' and '**Dirji Narayan**' in West Bengal and Bihar.

Perhaps, the best reminder of the Rebellion is in literature, in the Bengali novel Anandamath, written by India's first modern novelist Bankim Chandra Chatterjee

### VELLORE MUTINY (1806)

The Vellore Mutiny on 10 July 1806 was the first instance of a large-scale and violent mutiny by Indian sepoys *against the East India Company*, predating the Indian Rebellion of 1857 by half a century. The revolt, which took place in the South Indian city of Vellore, *was brief, lasting only one full day*, but brutal as *mutineers broke into the Vellore Fort and killed or wounded 200 British troops*, before they were subdued by reinforcements from nearby Arcot. Summary *executions of about 100 mutineers took place* during the suppression of the outbreak, followed by the formal court-martial of smaller numbers. The immediate causes of the mutiny revolved mainly around *resentment felt towards changes in the sepoy dress code* introduced in November 1805. *Hindus were prohibited from wearing religious marks on their foreheads and Muslims were required to shave their beards and trim their moustaches*. The new headdress included a leather cockade and was intended to replace the existing turban. These measures offended the sensibilities of both Hindu and Muslim sepoys.

# 1857 MUTINY

## Making of a Mutiny –

### I. Political Causes

- a. *Subsidiary Alliance* (Wellesely). Nizam of Hyderabad was the first to fall under it. It made it mandatory for a ruler to – Maintain military force trained by company but paid by ruler and prohibition of establishing relation with other European nations
- b. After demise of Bahadurshah Jafar, *British refused to recognize his descendants as 'Kings'* (but only as 'Princes'). His name was also removed from coins.
- c. *Doctrine of Lapse* of Dalhousie. Annexations and Loss of Sovereignty - In Jhansi, Lakshmibai declared her adopted son as heir of her kingdom.
- d. *Ban on Pension* – Nana shaeb claimed pensions of on behalf of his father after his demise. However company refused to entertain it.
- e. Annexation of Awadh in 1856 caused much resentment and also created panic among local rulers. Humiliation of their ruler, forced people to join the mutiny.

### II. Economic Causes –

- a. Peasant Dissatisfaction – Farmers were also dissatisfied due to *oppressive farm loans* by planters and *coercive farm practices like beggar, high land revenues*.
- b. Permanent Settlement – Zamindari System also didn't helped and it led to *rise of Money Lenders Class* and growth in indebtedness of farmers and atrocities of money lenders. It led to '*absentee landlordism*' and rise of 'tenancy' and 'share cropping'.
- c. *Drain of Wealth* – This was later highlighted by likes of Dadabhai Naroji and R C Dutt and it was felt that British rule is to the detriment of Indians and Indian wealth was gradually drained to Britain.
- d. *Ruin of traditional and handicraft industry*

### III. Religious Causes And Cultural Causes

- a. In 1850, government enacted a law that *enabled a convert to Christianity to inherit the ancestral property*.
- b. On religious front also Indians resented British policies. Further, British – in a bid to reform the Indian society, promoted Christianity, this also resented people and was seen as an attack on religion. '*Religious Disability Act*', 1856 was passed it *legalized conversion*.
- c. An 1856 Act was passed under which a *new recruit was required to serve even overseas* and it was anti-reigion to Hindus.
- d. *Sati was banned, widow remarriage* was allowed (Widow Remarriage Act, 1856) and reforms were seen as anti-religion campaign.
- e. Intrusion of missionaries was seen as interference in their religious beliefs.

### IV. Administrative Causes

- a. Sepoys of the company were also discontented. They were unhappy about their pay, allowances and conditions of service. Sepoys also reacted to what was happening in the

countryside. Many of them were peasants and had families living in the villages. So the anger of the peasants quickly spread among the sepoys.

- b. *Racial nature* and access to only menial jobs
- c. *Alien Rule* – the very fact that British rule was alien hurt the self-respect of Indians.

#### V. Immediate Causes

- a. Rumours of *Bone mixed in flour, Cow/Pig fat coated cartridges* in Enfield rifles.
- b. *Treatment of soldiers*
- c. *Indian troops were in majority* and European troops were also busy in war in Europe

However to realize a common enemy, a common communication is required and some sort of organization of disparate groups is required. These conditions were fulfilled in Northern India in 1857.

On 29 March 1857, a young soldier, Mangal Pandey, was hanged to death for attacking his officers in Barrackpore. Some days later, some sepoys of the regiment at Meerut refused to do the army drill using the new cartridges, which were suspected of being coated with the fat of cows and pigs. (There were other rumours like *British hatching a plan to mass corruption of religion of Hindus and Muslims*, rumours of *forced conversion were also doing round* and these added fuel to fire. People were already *offended by the treatment meted out to their kings, customs and sentiments*, arrival of missionaries and later rumours hasten the process of revolt). Eighty-five sepoys were dismissed from service and sentenced to ten years in jail for disobeying their officers. This happened on 9 May 1857. The response of the other Indian soldiers in Meerut was quite extraordinary. On 10 May, the soldiers marched to the jail in Meerut and released the imprisoned sepoys. They attacked and killed British officers. They captured guns and ammunition and set fire to the buildings and properties of the British and declared war on the firangis.

However sepoys saw a *leadership crisis post rebellion*. The *solution was seen in the aging Mughal emperor Bahadurshah Zafar*. The sepoys of Meerut rode all night of 10 May to reach Delhi in the early hours next morning. As news of their arrival spread, the regiments stationed in Delhi also rose up in rebellion. Again British officers were killed, arms and ammunition seized, buildings set on fire. Triumphant soldiers gathered around the walls of the Red Fort where the Badshah lived, demanding to meet him. The *emperor was not quite willing to challenge the mighty British power* but the soldiers persisted. They forced their way into the palace and proclaimed Bahadur Shah Zafar as their leader. The ageing emperor had to accept this demand. *He wrote letters to all the chiefs and rulers of the country to come forward and organise a confederacy of Indian states to fight the British*. This single step taken by Bahadur Shah had great implications. British thought the disturbance caused by the issue of the cartridges would die down. *But Bahadur Shah Zafar's decision to bless the rebellion changed the entire situation dramatically*. Often when people see an alternative possibility they feel inspired and enthused. It gives them the courage, hope and confidence to act.

The rebellion was seen as a war in which both Hindus and Muslims had equally to lose or gain. The *ishtahars* harked back to the pre-British Hindu-Muslim past and *glorified the coexistence of different communities under the Mughal Empire*. The *proclamation that was issued under the name of Bahadur Shah appealed to the people to join the*. It was remarkable that during the uprising religious divisions between Hindus and Muslim were hardly noticeable despite British attempts to create such divisions.

The fight was against everything that was British and there was an attempt to overthrow the existing hierarchy.

### Rebellion Spreads

After the British were routed from Delhi, there was no uprising for almost a week. It took that much time for news to travel. Then, a spurt of mutinies began. Regiment after regiment mutinied and took off to join other troops at nodal points like Delhi, Kanpur and Lucknow. After them, the people of the towns and villages also rose up in rebellion and rallied around local leaders, zamindars and chiefs who were prepared to establish their authority and fight the British.

- I. **Kanpur – Nana Saheb**, the adopted son of the late Peshwa Baji Rao who lived near Kanpur away from his Maratha kingdom, gathered armed forces and expelled the British garrison from the city. He *proclaimed himself Peshwa*. He *declared that he was a governor under Emperor Bahadur Shah Zafar*.
- II. **Lucknow** – In Lucknow, **Birjis Qadr**, the son of the deposed Nawab Wajid Ali Shah of Awadh, was proclaimed the new Nawab. He too acknowledged the suzerainty of Bahadur Shah Zafar. His mother **Begum Hazrat Mahal** took an active part in organising the uprising against the British.
- III. **Jhansi** – In Jhansi, Rani **Lakshmibai** joined the rebel sepoys and fought the British along with **Tantia Tope**, the general of Nana Saheb.
- IV. **Ahmadullah Shah**, a maulvi from **Faizabad**, prophesied that the rule of the British would come to an end soon. He was a native of Madras where he preached armed rebellion. He caught the imagination of the people and raised a huge force of supporters. He came to Lucknow to fight the British. In Delhi, a large number of ghazis or religious warriors came together to wipe out the white people.
- V. **Bakht Khan**, a soldier from **Bareilly**, took charge of a large force of fighters who came to Delhi. He became a key military leader of the rebellion.
- VI. **Kunwar Singh** from **Jagdishpur**, Bihar, joined the rebel sepoys and battled with the British for many months. Leaders and fighters from across the land joined the fight.

The pattern of rebel at places suggests that *there was some form of communication and planning*.

The British were *greatly outnumbered by the rebel forces*. They were defeated in a number of battles. This convinced the people that the rule of the British had collapsed for good and gave them the confidence to take the plunge and join the rebellion.

There was an attempt to restore the Mughal era order, revenue collection, administration etc were tried to be restored. Orders were issued to stop looting and plundering. However this was short lived.

### Company's Response

It brought reinforcements from England, passed new laws so that the rebels could be convicted with ease, and then moved into the storm centres of the revolt. Not only the police and military personnel, but ordinary Britons were empowered to punish the Indians suspected of rebellion. Rebellion had only one punishment – Death. Delhi was recaptured from the rebel forces after 4 months in September 1857. The last Mughal emperor, Bahadur Shah Zafar was tried in court and sentenced to life imprisonment. His sons were shot dead before his eyes. He and his wife Begum Zinat Mahal were sent to prison in Rangoon in October 1858. Bahadur Shah Zafar died in the Rangoon jail in November 1862.

The recapture of Delhi, however, did not mean that the rebellion died down after that. People continued to resist and battle the British. The British had to fight for two years to suppress the massive forces of popular rebellion. They used not only military force to suppress rebellion, they also used divisive tactics, they promised landlords to give them their lost land back.

Lucknow was taken in March 1858. Rani Lakshmibai was defeated and killed in June 1858. Tantia Tope escaped to the jungles of central India and continued to fight a guerrilla war with the support of many tribal and peasant leaders. He was captured, tried and killed in April 1859.

Just as victories against the British had earlier encouraged rebellion, the defeat of rebel forces encouraged desertions. The British also tried their best to win back the loyalty of the people. They announced rewards for loyal landholders would be allowed to continue to enjoy traditional rights over their lands. Those who had rebelled were told that if they submitted to the British, and if they had not killed any white people.

### Causes of Failure

- I. Apathy of Many Indian Rulers – like **Scindia** and **Holkar**. If Sindhia would have revolted all Maratha forces would have joined against British, situation would have been different. Similarly Nizam of Hyderabad sided with the British.
- II. Lack of leadership was also there, Bhadur Shah Jafar was an accidentally made reluctant leader.
- III. There was a lack of popular support also.
- IV. Middle class and upper class was critical of the revolt.
- V. Since moneylenders were chief targets also, they sided British. Similarly, Zamindars also remained loyal to the British.
- VI. Unorganised nature of the revolt
- VII. Dated weaponry

### Nature of the Revolt

Two views are prominent on the nature of the revolt –

- I. Nationalist School – Termed the revolt as a true *nationalist movement* and the *first war of Indian Independence*. They said that since it united India more or less under a single ruler – Bahadur Shah Jafar – it was a true assertion of nationalist identity of whole India. Sacrkar, Tilak viewed the revolt so.

- II. **Apologistic School** – They argue that till that time *India didn't have a true nationalist identity and princely states had their own separate identity and parochial interests in the revolt*. Revolt was spontaneous and everyone had their own vested interests. Education class and urban areas largely stayed away. South India also didn't participate.

It is commented by some that the movement didn't had a uniform ideology and goal. The sepoys were fighting for their caste and religion, the chiefs for their kingdoms, the landed elite for their estates, masses against the fear of conversion and Muslims wanted to restore the old glorious order. As a result, once the movement was suppressed, there were no attempt to reunite as there was no common goal.

### Aftermaths of the Rebellion

Following were the prominent changes that were brought about –

- I. **Power Transfer & End of Company Rule** – The British Parliament passed a new Act in 1858 and transferred the powers of the East India Company to the British Crown in order to ensure a more responsible management of Indian affairs. A member of the British Cabinet was appointed Secretary of State for India and made responsible for all matters related to the governance of India. He was given a council to advise him, called the India Council. The Governor-General of India was given the title of Viceroy, that is, a personal representative of the Crown and he was put under Secretary of State. Through these measures the British government accepted direct responsibility for ruling India.
- II. **Queen's Proclamation** – All ruling chiefs of the country were assured that their territory would never be annexed in future. They were allowed to pass on their kingdoms to their heirs, including adopted sons. However, they were made to acknowledge the British Queen as their Sovereign Paramount. Thus the Indian rulers were to hold their kingdoms as subordinates of the British Crown.
- III. **Act for Good Governance in India – Government of India Act 1858**  
The Act was termed as - '*Act for Good Government in India*'  
Queen Victoria issued a proclamation on November 1, 1858, placing India *under direct government of the Crown*, whereby –
  - A *viceroy* was appointed in India – i.e. end of Governor General System – Canning, last governor general, became first viceroy.
  - An '*Executive Council*' was provided for the Governor General/Viceroy
  - Princes were given the *right to adopt a son* (abolition of Doctrine of Lapse). However, they were made to acknowledge the British Queen as their Sovereign Paramount. Thus the Indian rulers were to hold their kingdoms as subordinates of the British Crown.
  - *Treaties were honoured*
  - It *abolished Board of Control* (British Crown's appointed body to look into political affairs of India) and *Court of Directors* (Company body to look into administrative

and trade functions) and instead a '*Secretary of State*' was appointed. He was a *member of British Cabinet* and *directly responsible to British Parliament*.

- *Religious freedom was restored* and equality treatment promised to Indians
- Secretary of State was made highest authority, directly responsible to crown. Charles Wood made first secretary of state. '*India Council*' – a 15 member body – was established for assisting him.
- It was also decided that instead of recruiting soldiers from Awadh, Bihar, central India and south India, more soldiers would be recruited from among the Gurkhas, Sikhs and Pathans.
- The British decided to respect the customary religious and social practices of the people in India.

The Proclamation was called the '*Magna Carta of Indian Liberty*'. The British rule in India was strongest between 1858 and 1905. Because of various subjective and objective factors which came into existence during this era, the feeling of nationalism in Indians started and grew.

The act *only aimed at administrative aspects* while *the way India was ruled remained more or less similar to company rule*.

- IV. **Reduction in Indian Soldiers** – It was decided that the proportion of Indian soldiers in the army would be reduced and the number of European soldiers would be increased. It was also decided that instead of recruiting soldiers from Awadh, Bihar, central India and south India, more soldiers would be recruited from among the Gurkhas, Sikhs and Pathans. Indians were prevented to take higher ranks in army. Crucial branches of army like Signals, Artillery etc were in hands of Europeans only. They also adopted policy of divide and rule in army to counter balance different communities and discrimination on the basis of caste, region and religion was practiced. It was insulated from national ideas and newspapers, journals and nationalist publications were not allowed to reach to soldiers. Indian army became very expensive to maintain. In 1904 it absorbed 52% of total revenues.
- V. **Policy Towards Princely States** – In the wake of recent unrest, Britain has *to reverse its earlier policy of annexing states at every possible opportunity*. Another reason for this reversal of policy was support from many princely states to crush the revolt. In the words of Lord Canning, '*Princely states acted as breakwaters in storm*'. They were rewarded by the announcement that they will now be allowed to *adopt heirs and their territorial integrity will be respected*. British now saw them as *useful allies*. However, *subordinate position of the princely states remained*. States have to acknowledge Britain as paramount power. Queen Victoria when assumed throne declared herself *empress of Indian subcontinent as a whole* and later Curzon also clarified that *princes ruled merely as agents of crown*. As paramount power, Britain retained the power to supervise their affairs and for this purpose a 'Resident' was appointed in courts of these states. Further British also interfered continuously even in day to day matters on name of administration, railways and communication and so on.
- VI. **Antagonism Towards Muslims** – The land and property of Muslims was confiscated on a large scale and they were treated with suspicion and hostility. The British believed that they



were responsible for the rebellion in a big way. However, post 1870 British started to attract Muslims to counter the national movement. It used allure of government jobs to divide various communities.

- VII. **Changed Outlook towards Customs and Religion** - The British decided to respect the customary religious and social practices of the people in India.
- VIII. Policies were made to protect landlords and zamindars and give them security of rights over their lands. Zamindars were hailed as traditional natural leaders. Zamindars also recognized that their existence is linked with the existence of British rule.
- IX. India Councils Act 1861 was passed and it expanded the council of viceroy and it now also performed legislative functions also and was known as Imperial Legislative Council. It was merely an advisory body to viceroy.

## BRITISH POLICY TOWARDS INDIAN STATES

According to William Lee Warner in his book – ‘The Native States of India’, The British policy was mainly divided into three phases – Ring Fence, Subordinate Isolation and Subordinate Union.

- I. **Ring Fence Policy or Buffer State Policy (1765-1813)** – During initial years, *prime concern of the British was defense of their boundary* as the Empire was still fledgling and not strong enough to defend large territories. *Marathas and Sikhs were still a power to reckon with* and Mysore was also a powerful state. So it *adopted a policy largely based upon non-intervention*. Under Warren Hastings (1773-85) treaties were made. If a treaty was signed with a princely state, the state was provided full autonomy in affair of states. *This was exemplified, for instance, in Clive's decision not to annex Oudh and Delhi in 1765 after the Battle of Buxar*, or the decisions of Cornwallis and Barlow to return many conquered areas to Indian rulers in the peace treaties signed after the battles of 1802-1804. However, *Wellesly was more aggressive with his policy of Subsidiary Alliance*, but authority of treaty states was still respected.
- II. **Policy of Subordinate Isolation (1813-1857)** – Successors of Wellesly were more aggressive. States were deemed as subordinate as many wars were won. In a marked shift from earlier policy of treating them on equal footing they were treated as subordinate. Under this policy, *states could not declare war, establish relations with other states or employ Europeans without explicit British permission*. Many of them signed treaties with the British which regulated the size of their armed forces and several native states had British forces stationed within their territory. This policy was reflected in *Doctrine of Lapse, Subsidiary Alliance* etc. The wars of Lord Hastings opened anew epoch in the relations of the East India Company with the Indian states and annexations of states became rampant. Though treaties professed isolation of states, practically they were annexed.
- III. **Policy of subordinate union (1858-1935)** – The mutiny was a turning point in the history of relations of British with Indians it alarmed British of its policy of annexations and isolation of states. Policy of annexation was given up. *After the Queen's Proclamation, the status of Princely States changed* and they were *made part of the British Empire* and this also allowed Government of India to interfere into the matters of state in their own welfare (unlike complete isolation policy earlier). It was in pursuance of this policy that Chamber of Princes was created in

1921 which constituted 120 princes, this further reaffirmed the abandoning of old British Policy of isolating the Princely States from each other and outside world. *Butler Committee also reaffirmed the Paramountcy of Crown* and 1935 Act made provisions for representation of princely states in the Federal Assembly.

- IV. **Policy of Equal Federation** – This policy was followed in theory after 1935 onwards, however, in practice, the princes were largely subordinate

## LATER VICEROYS

**Lord Lytton (1876 and 1880)** was termed as 'reactionary Viceroy' for his ill designed policies and conservative outlook. He **reduced age for civil services** from 21 to 19 – this caused much resentment among Indians. **Vernacular Press Act**, 1878 curbed the press freedom of local newspapers. **Arms Act** 1878-80 made it compulsory for Indians (however Europeans were exempted) to hold a licence to carry arms, it was also resented. He also jumped into **Afghan War** (2<sup>nd</sup> Anglo Afghan War) – It was objected as Indian resources were employed, and there was no vested interest of India in war. He also held a grand **Delhi Durbar** – while country was mired in famine, he organized a lavish Durbar in 1877. This is one of the major criticisms of Lytton for his mishandling of the famine.

**Lord Ripon (1880-84)** repealed Vernacular Press Act and Arms Act. He also gave autonomy to Local Bodies, called '*Father of Indian Local Self Governance*'. **Ilbert Bill** was also presented during his times

**Lord Curzon (1899–1905)** is also termed as reactionary viceroy like Lytton. **Official Secrecy Act** 1904 and **Partition of Bengal**, 1905 were some of the most unpopular steps during his time. **Bengal Municipality Act** was also passed during his time and under this the Municipality of Bengal was again brought under the rule of the British and its autonomy was taken away which was given during time of Rippon. He inaugurated a new province – NWFP. He also held **Delhi Durbar**, and like his predecessor Lytton this time also the country was mired in Famine and he was criticized for it. He also enacted the Police Act – This led to formation of CID. He is credited with *reorganization of Indian police and lowering of taxes on peasants and protection of peasants against eviction. Department of Agriculture and Agriculture Research Institute were started by him.* He also started Archeology Department and Imperial Library at Calcutta.

**Lord Hardinge (1910- 1916)** is remembered for the **annulment of the Partition** of Bengal in 1911. Other points are – Held a **darbar** in December, 1911 to celebrate the coronation of King George V. **Capital Shifted** from Calcutta to Delhi 1911. A **bomb** was thrown at him; but he escaped unhurt (December 23, 1912). **Gandhiji came back to India** from South Africa (1915). Annie Besant announced the **Home Rule Movement**.

## EARLY POLITICAL ORGANISATIONS in INDIA

There were some societies even before the 1857 revolt -

- I. **Lanholder's Society (1838)** – It was originally founded to take up the interests of Zamindars and Landlords, but later it took the cases of peasants as well. It was perhaps the first organization

which made the start of political activities for achieving its ends which laid the foundation of national movement.

- II. **Bengal British India Society (1839)** – While landholder's Society worked in India, it worked for Indian cause in England.

Organisations post 1857 uprising -

- I. **Poona Sarvajanik Sabha (1867)** – This was the first important organisation setup post 1857 uprising. It was a brainchild of **Mahadev Govind Ranade** – first Indian Judge – It *protested against vernacular Press Act (1878)* and also *demanding introduction of Local Self government*. It started with the aim of working as a mediating body between the government and people of India. It started as an elected body of 95 members elected by 6000 persons in 1870. The Poona Sarvajanik Sabha provided many of the prominent leaders of national stature to the Indian freedom struggle including Bal Gangadhar Tilak.
- II. **India League (1875)** – It was established in Bengal and one of the founding members was **Sisir Kumar Ghosh** (founder of Amrita Bazar Patrika). This organization truly represented first political awakening of people. The nationalist leaders like **Ananda Mohan Bose**, Durgamohan Das, **Nabagopal Mitra**, **Surendranath Banerje** and others were associated with this organisation. The League represented the middle class and worked to stimulate the sense of nationalism among the people and to encourage political education.
- III. **Indian Association (1876)** – The India League was soon replaced by Indian Association. It was led by **Anand Mohan Bose** and **Surendranath Banerjee**. It was the most important political organisation before formation of INC. It mainly composed of educated middle class and gave rise to an intellectual ferment on nationalism. It published '**The Bengalee**' – a daily which highlights the intellectual developments of that time. It came *into highlight when it took a firm stance over the 'Ilbert Bill' Controversy (1883)*. It conceived as an '*All India National Conference*' and it met in Calcutta in 1883. This conference is considered as a precursor of Indian National Congress which was formed two years later in 1885.
- IV. **Madras Mahajan Sabha (1884)** formed by P Anada Charlu, M Viraragahavchari, G Subramania Aiyer was the first political organization of South India.
- V. **Bombay Presidency Association (1885)** formed by Pherozshah Mehta, K T Telang, Badruddin Taiyab

## INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS and CONSEQUENT EVENTS TILL ARRIVAL of GANDHI

The dissatisfaction with British rule intensified in the 1870s and 1880s. The **Arms Act** was passed in 1878, disallowing Indians from possessing arms. In the same year the **Vernacular Press Act** was also enacted in an effort to silence those who were critical of the government. In 1883, there was a furore over the attempt by the government to introduce the **Ilbert Bill** and its later withdrawal under pressure. The event highlighted the racial attitudes of the British in India.

Although the British succeeded in suppressing the 1857 Revolt, they could not stop the growth of political awareness in India. The Indian National Congress was founded in December 1885 in Bombay in presence of 72 *delegates*. The first meeting was scheduled to be held in Pune, but due to outbreak of plague the venue was shifted to **Gokuldas Tejpal Sanskrit College**, Bombay. It was the visible embodiment of the national awakening in the country. Its founder was an Englishman, **Allan Octavian Hume**, a retired member of the Indian Civil Service. The first President of the Congress was **W C Bannerjee**.

Its initial demands were –

- *Expansion of Legislative assembly*
- *Reduction in military expenditure*, which was around 50% of annual revenues at that time.
- *Granting of more civil rights to people*
- Setting up of a 'Royal Commission' to enquire into Indian Administration (Welby Commission on Indian Expenditure was appointed in 1895 following their demand)
- *Holding up of simultaneous Public Service examination in India and England and raising the age limit* for the candidates (their first achievement was in form of establishment of Public Service Commission in 1886 – which was disappointing though – and later a resolution to that effect was passed in 1893 for simultaneous examination)
- The demand for Indianisation of the administration was part of a movement against racism. Further, since British officers were sending a major part of their large salaries home, Indianisation, it was hoped, would also reduce the drain of wealth to England.
- Other demands included the separation of the judiciary from the executive, the repeal of the Arms Act and the freedom of speech and expression.
- The early Congress also raised a number of economic issues. It declared that British rule had led to poverty and famines

Broad aims of the early moderates were –

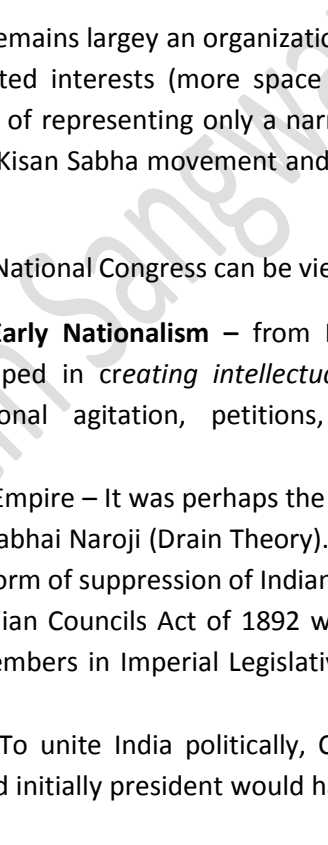
- To unite Indians politically as well and raise their political awareness level and take the argument of Economic exploitation a step further
- To sow the seeds of a secular and all inclusive national movement
- To develop and propagate an anti-colonial ideology
- To adopt methods of Constitutional Agitation and thus secure more political rights

1886 session was also very decisive as many veteran leaders like Surendranath Banarjee joined it as they could not attend the inaugural session due to their commitments in Bengal.

**Congress as a Safety Valve Theory** – Primarily propagated by A O Hume and other Englishmen. It was argued by some that British allowed the formation of Congress because it would act as a 'Safety Valve'. However, he was also influenced by the noble cause of India. After 1857 uprising, a need for a political organization was felt which could not only vent people's grievances but also shows the true picture of

nation so that British can better handle the situation. However, this theory is debunked by many a historian who think that leaders agreed for a British face as it would have made British less suspicious of activities of Indians. Further, an all Indians organisation risked repression from British.

**British Response to Congress** – It grew suspicious of Congress activities soon after its formation. Curzon – was one of the most hostile Viceroy to Congress – hoped that Congress will face a '*Peaceful Demise*'. They resorted again to 'Divide and Rule' and *propped up Syed Ahmed Khan and Raja Shiva Prasad* of Benaras to start anti-Congress movement early on soon after foundation of Congress. Further, it was argued that Congress represented only an elite minority and hence has nothing to do with national interests.

**Achievements of early Congressmen** – On the achievement of early moderates, Bipin Chandra Pal commented – '*The period of 1885-1905 was a seed-time of Indian Nationalism, and the early nationalists sowed the seeds well and deep*'.  


**Criticism of Congress** – In its early phase, it remains largely an organization of educated middle class and hence its demands also reflected their vested interests (more space in Civil Services, expansion of Legislative council etc.). Thus it was accused of representing only a narrow minority. Peasant interests could be brought into mainstream only after Kisan Sabha movement and workers plight was highlighted only after 1919.

History of India post the formation of Indian National Congress can be viewed in 3 phases –

- I. **1885-1905 – Moderate Phase or Early Nationalism** – from Formation of Congress till the Partition of Bengal. This phase helped in *creating intellectual background of the national movement*. They used Constitutional agitation, petitions, meetings, memoranda etc. Contribution of Moderates –
  - a. Economic Critique of British Empire – It was perhaps the most important contribution of the moderates. RC Dutt, Dadabhai Naoroji (Drain Theory). They also exposed the ill effect of foreign capital in India in form of suppression of Indian industries.
  - b. Constitutional Reforms – Indian Councils Act of 1892 was result of their efforts which increased the number of members in Imperial Legislative Council as well as Provincial Legislative Council.
  - c. Efforts for national unity – To unite India politically, Congress sessions were held in different cities every year and initially president would have been from a city other than the hosting city.
  - d. A truly representative body – It has representation from all parts of India, from all castes and religions. Its early presidents included – Muslims, Hindus, Parsis and even Britishers.
  - e. Administrative Reforms – Indianisation of higher civil services.
  - f. Defence of Civil rights – They vouched for freedom of press, freedom of speech etc. They also opposed aggressive foreign policy towards India's neighbors.
  - g. Formed public opinion and aroused nationalism.

Though they are criticized for not reaching to the masses and having failed to bring any significant reforms, their achievement lie in the fact that they ignited spirit of nationalism, showed way of political agitation, propagated modern outlook and so on.

**II. 1905-1916 – Extremist Phase** – Started with Partition of Bengal and Swadeshi Movement and till first effort by Gandhi to make political activity on mass level starting from Champaran. Factors leading to rise of Extremists –

- a. Little achievement by moderates during 1885-1905
- b. Indian Councils Act 1892 was a complete disappointment
- c. In 1904, Indian Official Secrets Act was passed limiting freedom of press

	<b>Moderates</b>	<b>Extremists</b>
<b>Social base</b>	Social base constituted Zamindars and middle class elites	Social base was still not a mass based, but they included lower middle class and educated middle class
<b>Ideology</b>	Western liberal thoughts	Indian history and culture inspired
<b>Attitude towards British</b>	Believed in their supremacy and their providential mission in India	Rejected the providential mission of Britain
	Didn't believe in mass movement	Realised the potential of masses
	Demanded constitutional reforms	Demanded Swaraj
<b>Methods</b>	Petition and memoranda	Extra constitutional methods like boycott and passive resistance

**III. 1916-1947 – Gandhian Era**

Other Trivia –

- **Lord Gross** was secretary of state, while **Dufferein** was Viceroy at the time of formation of INC in 1885.
- 2<sup>nd</sup> Session was held in **Calcutta** under **Dada Bhai Naroji**
- 3<sup>rd</sup> session was held in **Madras** under leadership of **Badruddin Tyabji**
- 4<sup>th</sup> session was held in **Allahbad** under leadership of **George Yule**

- Apart from George Yule, William Wedderburn (5<sup>th</sup> session and 1910), Alfred Webb (1894), Henry Cotton (1904), and Bhikaji Cama were the foreigners to hold Congress presidency
- **G K Gokhle** was president in 1905 at **Benaras** session
- Surat Split session was presided over by **Rasbihari Ghosh**
- **Ambika Charan Mazumdar** was president of 1916 session in Lucknow when moderates and extremists united
- **Abdul Kalam Azad** in **1923** became the **youngest** man to be elected Congress president.
- 1<sup>st</sup> Women president was Annie Besant, 1917 at **Calcutta** session
- Gandhi became president only once in 1924, at **Belgaum** session and later he relegated the formal membership but remained driving force behind all its decisions.
- 1<sup>st</sup> Indian Women president was **Sarojini Naidu** in 1925 at **Kanpur** session
- Independence resolution was adopted for the first time in 1927 session at Madras held by M A Ansari as president
- In 1928 session under Motilal Nehru, Youth Congress was formed for the first time
- In 1936, Nehru urged Congress to adopt socialism as its goal in Lucknow session
- 1937 session of Congress was the first session to be held in a village
- 1939, after resignation of Bose in this session at Tripuri, Rajendra Prasad became president
- J B Kriplani was the president at the time of Independence.
- Before independence, Narauji held presidency for 3 times, Nehru for 3 times
- Before independence, there were only 3 women presidents – Besant, Sarojini Naidu and Nelli Sengupta

## PARTITION OF BENGAL and SWADESHI MOVEMENT (1905)

On December 30, 1898, Lord Curzon took over as the new Viceroy of India. The partition of Bengal was announced in 1903, through a Royal Proclamation, reducing the old province of Bengal in size by creating a new province of East Bengal, which later on became East Pakistan and present day Bangladesh.

Bengal was a unified Province Constituting Bihar, Orissa, Bengal and Dacca. Partition mooted separation of Muslim population as East Bengal and Bihar, Orissa and a part of Bengal as another province.

Huge protests followed, but the government remained unmoved and ultimately it happened on **20<sup>th</sup> July 1905** and came into effect on **October 16, 1905**.

The government explained that it was done *to stimulate growth of underdeveloped eastern region* of the Bengal and *for administrative convenience* as Bengal was largest province in term of population and this was making administration difficult. But, actually, the main objective was to *'Divide and Rule' the most advanced region of the country at that time* and *Muslim Community was allured away by bait* of a separate province for them. Nationalists also saw it as a challenge to Indian nationalism and not merely an administrative action. They saw it as a blow to Bengali culture and language also. In Curzon's Words – It attempted *'to dethrone Calcutta'*, as it was the nerve center of Congress during that time and center point of nationalist activity.

*The Partition also led to conflict of opinion among Congress as Moderates wanted to confine the partition agitation to Bengal only. On the other hand, Extremists wanted to launch a nation wide agitation and wanted to make it impact feel through launching a Swadeshi Movement.*

This led to heightened tensions among the two camps and *it came to head in 1906 session of congress in which a face of was avoided by appointing Dadbhai Naroji as the president (he was respected by the both factions and as a result Tilak – the leader of extremist – also agreed to his name. However earlier he was frontrunner for presidentship)*

### **SWADESHI MOVEMENT (1905)**

In **August 1905 boycott resolution** was passed in **Calcutta Townhall meeting**, formal proclamation of Swadesh was made.

The Swadeshi movement has its genesis in the anti-partition movement which was started to oppose the British decision to divide Bengal. *With the start of the Swadeshi movement at the turn of the century, the Indian National Movement took a major leap forward.*

Partition was done on October 16, 1905 and it was *celebrated as a day of mourning*. People *tied rakhis as a symbol of Hindu-Muslim unity and unity of two Bengals*. People took a *dip in holy rivers*. People sang *Bande Matram* which almost became a national song. Tagore composed *Amar Sonar Bangla for the occasion* which became national anthem of Bangladesh in 1971. During the Swadeshi movement in Bengal, a *tricolour flag (red, green and yellow) was designed*. It had eight lotuses representing eight provinces of British India, and a crescent moon, representing Hindus and Muslims.

Another means of creating a feeling of nationalism was through *reinterpretation of history*. The British saw Indians as backward and primitive, incapable of governing themselves. In response, *Indians began looking into the past to discover India's great achievements*. They wrote about the glorious developments in ancient times when art and architecture, science and mathematics, religion and culture, law and philosophy, crafts and trade had flourished.

During the movement demand for foreign cloth dropped many a times. There was a widespread call for *boycott of Manchester cloth and Liverpool salt*.

Corps of Volunteers or '*Samitis*' were also organised by the extremists. **Ashwini Kumar Dutt's Swadeshi Bandhab Samiti** in Bengal is such an example. It helped in building political consciousness. Along with Tilak, Ashwini Kumar Dutt emerged as one of the early militant extremist.

**Leadership of the Movement** – Initial leadership was provided by the moderates including **Surendernath Banarjee, Krishan Kumar Mitra** and **P C Ray**. In fact, *both moderates and extremists cooperated during the movement*. **Ajit Singh** and **Lajpat Rai** led the movement in Punjab. **Syed Haider Raza** took command in Delhi. **Chidambaram Pillai** took the movement to Madras Presidency which was also galvanized by **Bipin Chandra Pal's extensive lecture tour**



roused nationalist feelings. **Tilak** toured many parts of the country and tried to make the movement a national one.

**Divide in Congress over Swadeshi Movement** – Before the split, in 1906 Calcutta session under Dada Bhai Naroji **4 resolutions were passed** – *Boycott; National Education; Swadeshi and Condemnation of Partition*. Question of either retention or rejection of these resolution became the major cause of split in the Congress. A faction – led by moderates – wanted to confine the movement to Bengal only, the other – led by extremists – wanted to make it a **pan Indian movement** in shape of a wide struggle. Further, *Extremist wanted to rise beyond politics of partition and wanted to demand for full Swaraj*, Moderates on the other hand thought that country is not yet ready for such demands and mass movement. (This demand was however somehow reached a compromise in the 1906 session under Naroji in which Naroji demanded 'Swaraj' or 'Self rule' like other colonies of British. *Demand of Swaraj is landmark in Indian history.*)

Success of Swadeshi Movement –

- All major political trends of future – militant nationalism, socialism etc – had their origin in Swadeshi Movement
- For the first time mass participation was seen
- Economic exploitation point was further pushed forward and this time even some Zamindars also involved in the movement.
- Many factories observed strikes
- Women and student for the first time participated in large number
- Population of the nation saw the first political awakening
- The richness of the movement was not confined to politics alone, it was reflected in arts, literature, music, science and industry as well. Swadeshi education was promoted and **Bengal National College** was founded with Aurobindo as its principle. **National Council of Education** was also formed in 1906. A cultural movement also started during that time. Many prominent writers and poets like **Rajanikanta Sen, Mukunda Das, Dwijendralal Ray** wrote scores of patriotic scores. Rabindranath Tagore wrote 'Amar Sonar Bangla' at that time which was later adopted as the National Anthem of Bangladesh. In art, **Abanindranath Tagore** broke the domination of Victorian style and pioneered the Tagore School by reviving the Mughal, Rajput and Ajanta style. He also drew the iconic Bharat Mata figure which became a rallying point in the movement. Nandlal Bose was another important Oriental artist. In field of science P C Ray and Jagdish Chandra Basu made their mark. Acharya P C Ray's **Bengal Chemical Factory** was a shining example of successful indigenous venture. All it marked what is termed as – Bengal Renaissance.
- Fresh ideas were put forward by militant nationalists and extremists and new means of propaganda emerged. Technique of 'Extended Boycott' from schools to jobs to British goods was followed.

- Some leaders like Tilak used the movement *to creatively celebrate the traditional festival (Ganesh Chaturthi and Shivaji festival)* which added mass appeal to the movement. *Traditional folk theatre like Jatra* was used extensively for spreading the idea of nationalism.
- Many Muslim leaders like – **Saiyaed Haider Raza, Abdul Rasool, Maulana Abdul Kalam Azad, Liaqat Hussain** etc also participated.

By 1908, the movement has weaned away. Major causes were –

- There was *squabble in Congress* and its *split in 1907* (Surat Split) led to weakening of leadership.
- *Tilak was jailed for six year in 1908*, Ashwini Kumar Dutt and others were also deported. Bipin Chandra Pal and Aurobindo Ghosh retired from politics.
- The movement was *mired with inertia*.
- It was *no longer possible for common people to keep boycotting foreign goods* due to constrained domestic supply and economic implications. *Loss of jobs* was another issue.
- *Government came down heavily* and students were expelled, people were expelled from jobs and arrests were also made.

Criticism of Swadeshi Movement–

- The movement was *largely untouched in Southern states*
- It *could also not take it along the peasant class* and hence is often criticized as a *middleclass movement*.
- *Mass of the Muslim didn't participate* and their participation was limited. Ultimately *Muslim League was also established in 1906*.
- The efforts to unify people were not without problems. When the past being glorified was Hindu, when the *images celebrated were drawn from Hindu iconography*, then people of other communities felt left out.

## RISE of EXTREMISTS or MILITANT NATIONALISM

Causes for the rise of extremists or militant nationalism are very much same as those responsible for the rise of nationalism in India. Leaders like – **Tilak, Ashwini Kumar Dutt** etc had been active to propagate militant nationalism since beginning. Leadership of Swadeshi Movement transferred from moderates to extremists like **Bipin Chandra Pal, Aurobindo Ghosh**, Tilak etc. It was due to many factors –

- I. **Failure of Moderates** – Politically conscious nationalists believed that exploitation by British will continue as *moderates' demands were making no effect on British policies*. Moderates belived that foreign rule can be reformed, but it was not happening.
  - Anti-Congress attitude of Curzon convinced people that Congress will remain an ineffective organization
  - Congress largely gained status of *Zamindars' and upper middle class elite party*. Poets like Bankim Chandra called the Congress session as *'a three day annual show'*

- *Indian Council Act of 1892 was a complete disappointment* and it questioned the tactics of the Moderates.

## II. **International Events –**

- Defeat of Russia by Japan
- Defeat of Italian Army by Ethiopians broke the myth of Western Supremacy
- Revolutionary movement in Russia and Ireland etc inspired Indian nationalists
- Boer War in South Africa also inspired Indian nationalists.

III. **III treatment of nationalist leaders** – Lala Lajpat Rai and Ajit Singh were deported in 1907. KK Mitra, Ashwini Kumar Dutt were deported in 1908. Tilak was also given severe sentence of 6 years in 1908.

IV. Evils of foreign rule were now clearly evident in death of around 3 crore people in famines from 1850 to 1900.

V. *Official Secrecy Act considerably reduced the freedom of press*

VI. *Arrest of Natu Brothers in 1897* and their deportation *even without disclosing charges* against them infuriated people. In the same year, Tilak and other newspaper editors were sentenced for long sentences for arousing public sentiments.

VII. Spread of political education made people realize that British rule is not for India's good and it also led to rejection of White Man's burden theory.

VIII. Indians were becoming educated, at the same time more un-employment was also a reality. *Educated Indians became the torch-bearers of new militant nationalism.*

IX. New leaders on the bloc aroused the self-respect of people and people now find humiliating to subjugate to alien rule. It led to awareness among masses too which moderates have ignored by focusing only on upper middle class. Vivekananda said – *'The only hope of India is from the masses. The upper classes are physically and morally dead'*.

X. Police assault on the peaceful delegates in a conference in Barisal emerged as one of the dastardly acts of government which angered people.

## XI. **Immediate Causes**

- During time of Curzon Bengal Partition happened and it became one of the biggest rallying points in the history of Indian freedom struggle
- There were other events which lead to rise in anger of people Municipal Act, Delhi Darbar being a few of them.
- Burma war

## Failure of early militant nationalists –

- They failed to give a definitive direction to the movement.
- They also failed to reach masses
- Arrest of key leadership left the national movement under militant nationalist rudderless.
- The key rallying point – the Partition of Bengal was annulled and capital was shifted to Delhi – 1911. *(However capital was actually shifted in 1912)*

## MUSLIM LEAGUE (1906)

Lack of political participation of Muslim and poor representation in administrative jobs led to formation of Muslim league. It was initially founded by a group of Zamindars and well off Muslims. Syed Ahmed Khan's rhetoric of separate Muslim interests were its key principles.

In 1906, All India Muslim League was set up under the leadership of **Aga Khan, Nawab Salimul-ah** of Dacca and **Nawab Mohsin-ul-Mulk** in Dacca. The League supported the partition of Bengal, opposed the Swadeshi Movement, and demanded special safeguards for its community and a separate electorate for Muslims. This led to communal differences between Hindus and Muslims.

Initial aims of Muslim leagues were delineated as –

- I. To promote among Muslims loyalty towards the British
- II. To safeguard the political and other interests of Muslims
- III. To prevent feeling of hostility towards other communities (i.e. it had no communal agenda when it was founded)

## SURAT SPLIT (1907)

In 1906 an imminent confrontation was avoided with appointment of Dadabhai Naroji as the new president – since he was revered by both the groups, they were pacified. With a view of conciliating the differences, idea of 'Swaraj' was given in this session by Naroji and it was defined as the goal of Congress.

**Four resolutions were passed at the 1906 session of Congress (headed by Naroji) –**

- I. Condemning partition and policies of Curzon
- II. Uphold Boycott Movement,
- III. Support the Swadeshi Movement,
- IV. Protest against existing Education Policy.

**Causes of split –**

- I. The split happened on the question of retention of 4 resolutions and spreading of movement to the rest of nation.
- II. Failure of Moderates – After the failure of moderates to get major gains, extremists became impatient.
- III. Bengal Split Agitation Issue – Led by Tilak and others they *demanded for extension of mass movement* and demand for Swaraj during Swadeshi Movement. This didn't go down well with Moderates who wanted to restrict the movement to Bengal only.
- IV. Extremists were also encouraged by the two events outside India, namely – Defeat of Russia by Japan and defeat of Italian Army by Ethiopians which broke the notion of invincibility of Europeans

- V. Extremists were optimistic over appointment of new Secretary of State Morley, but he failed to do anything over issue of partition and it greatly annoyed the Extremists

Extremists wanted either Tilak or Lala Lajpat Rai as president, but moderates wanted **Rash Behari Ghose** (not 'Rash Behari Bose') to be president in 1907 session (which was to be held at **Nagpur**, but moderates shifted it to **Surat** so that Tilak couldn't be appointed as president *as it had been policy of Congress to appoint a person from outside the province where session is held as president*.) Meeting for the first time was ruptured and when it held for next day, *Tilak was denied the opportunity to speak by the Chair. A brawl ensued ending in suspension of meeting sine die*. This came to a relief to British who were looking for an opportunity to subdue the activities of Congress. From next meeting, *Extremists were barred from Congress*. All in all, the *split benefitted neither Moderates nor Extremists, but only British government*. Tilak was jailed soon after for a long 6 years to Mandalay in 1908.

Extremists resorted to passive resistance and moderates took to petition for greater legislative reforms. *Moderates felt it as dangerous to support extremists as they might attract wrath of mighty British rule. Moderates didn't realize that concessions by government were not to placate them, but to create a rift between them and extremists.*

## MORLEY-MINTO REFORMS and GoI Act (1909)

Morley-Minto Reforms were introduced in 1909 during the period when Lord Minto was the Governor-General of India.

- I. **Separate Electorates** – The reforms envisaged a separate electorate for Muslims besides other constitutional measures. The government thereby sought to create a rift within the Congress on the one hand by winning the support of the moderates, and on the other, to win favour of Muslims against Hindus. To achieve the latter objective, the reforms introduced the system of 'separate electorates' under which Muslims could only vote for Muslim candidates. This was done to encourage the notion that the political, economic and cultural interests of Hindus and Muslims were separate and not common. *It sowed the seeds of communalism and checked the historical process of unification of India*. It also *distracted Indians from focusing on economic and political problems*. Indian political leaders were however dissatisfied by these reforms. Lord Minto came to be called as '*Father of Communal Electorate*'.
- II. **Expanded Legislative Councils, but still no power** – Both Provincial legislative council and imperial legislative councils were expanded but *still members were elected indirectly* and council didn't have any real powers like discussion of budget, *though they were allowed to pass resolutions now etc.*
- III. **Association of Indians with Executive Council of Viceroy and Governors** – For the first time it allowed *association of Indians in Executive functions*. **Satyendra Prasad Sinha** (SP Sinha) became the first Indian to join Viceroy's executive Council as a law member. (Number was restricted to one)
- IV. **Franchisee was introduced for the first time** – It was limited however, women didn't have voting power and it was limited in other sense also.

V. **Element of Self Rule was not introduced** – It made provisions for Indirect Elections.

Positive aspects were –

- I. *Voting on some part of budget* was allowed
- II. More power was given *regarding asking of questions*
- III. *More representation* was given

*Still reformed council didn't enjoy any power. In fact purpose of reforms was to confuse moderate nationalists and check the growth of unity among nationalists.*

## **FIRST WORLD WAR and ITS IMPACT**

War was seen as differently by the different groups. Extremists and revolutionaries saw the predicament of British as their opportunity and many organizations like Home Rule League by Annie Besant and Tilak. Moderates on the other hand extended support to government hoping that government will reciprocate by more relaxation in to them.

Ghadar party saw this as an opportunity that they have been waiting for, though, they were not fully prepared. They didn't want to let the opportunity go. It exhorted its leaders to go to other countries like Singapore, Malaya, Philippines and Burma etc and exhort Indian nationals there to stand for the cause. Others like that of Kartar Singh Sarabha and Raghubar Dayal Guptaleft for India. An attempt was made to overthrow the British rule by military revolt. Rash Behari Bose was chosen as the leader. However government CID foiled this bid and Ghadar Conspiracy failed. More than 40 were sentenced to death.

Start of First World War led to following –

- I. Loss of India – *Millions of Rupees from India was diverted for use in war*, Indian soldiers died while fighting in Europe.
- II. Working Class – *Middle class had more job opportunities as new factories were setup to supply European*. However wages were low and working conditions were bad. Trade Unionism was still to become popular so it left workers with little bargaining power.
- III. Capitalists – *Capitalists had a field day* as industrial production boomed.
- IV. Agriculture – After scourge of famine, *World War further led to crash in prices of agriculture commodities in international markets*. This pushed farmers further into debt trap.
- V. Politics and National Movement – Nationalist leaders saw it as an opportunity to bargain more rights and conditional support in war was provided in the hope that post-war, Britain will take political actions in favor of Indians.

After the war, *Economic situation deteriorated*. Industry which prospered during war time, was now facing closure and fall in output. Workers and artisans who now faced loss of jobs and high prices also turned toward the national movement.

*Promise made during the war were betrayed* and it also pushed nationalism. While colonies were promised democracy they got a raw deal in turn. Erstwhile colonies of defeated powers were distributed among winners as war bounty.

Russian revolution further stoked nationalism and put heart in colonial people.

As the war was over, national Leaders were disappointed by the measures taken by government. Government of India Act of 1919 was a huge disappointment. Treatment of Ottoman Empire after Treaty of Sevres led to rousing Muslim Sentiments and it paved way for Khilafat Movement and Non-Cooperation.

After war, trade unionism also flourished and in 1920 first headway was made with formation of AITUC under N M Joshi.

## **GHADAR PARTY and GHADAR MUTINY or FEBRUARY MUTINY**

First World War period also saw growth of revolutionarism. Most notable of these was Ghadar party which was found in San Francisco by **Lala Hardayal, Sohan Singh Bakhna, Mohammed Barkattullah** etc were some of the leaders. It was a secular party and its influence was also spread in other Asian nations where Indians were there.

As First World War broke out, Ghadar party also took arms against British Empire. **21<sup>st</sup> February 1915** was decided as a day of mutiny in India which has to be started from Punjab. However, British *CID foiled it and Ghadarites were arrested*, tried and many hanged. Inspired by Ghadarites, 700 men of British Army in Singapore revolted under the leadership of Chisti Khan and Dundey Khan. This was bitterly crushed.

Many of those who were later released found Kisan and Communist movements in Punjab.

## **HOME RULE MOVEMENT and REUNION of EXTREMISTS and LUCKNOW PACT (1916)**

In background of *disappointment from 1909 Act and failure of moderates to make headway*, ground has been prepared for another movement. Further, *First World War laid bare the claim of racial supremacy* as colonial powers propagandized against each other to expose each other's dirty past. *War also increased misery of the Indians* and they were ready to join militant forces. *Tilak was released from the jail in 1914* and was ready to assume a greater role, however, leadership of Congress was with moderates and he had to launch a separate movement. *Russian Revolution of 1917 provided additional edge while the movement was still in progress.*

The two factions of Congress reunited in December 1915.

Next year the Congress and the Muslim League signed the historic Lucknow Pact and decided to work together for representative government in the country.

### **HOME RULE LEAGUE MOVEMENT (September 1916)**

After Tilak was released from jail in 1914, he again started his nationalist activities. He was in a bid to gain entry into Congress. However his first such bid was thwarted by moderates lead by **Pherozshah Mehta**.

However *after death of Pherozshah Mehta*, opposition towards the Extremists weakened and they were *allowed to rejoin Congress in December 1915*.

Apparently no progress was made on the front of self-rule and many leaders were disappointed by the attitude of moderates.

Dr. **Annie Besant** (along with **George Arundale**), who had gained enough experience in national activism from her activities with her association with Theosophical Society, *inspired by the Irish rebellion*, started a Home Rule Movement in India in September 1916. She was supported by **B W Wadia** and **C P Ramaswamy Aiyer** in her efforts.

Bal Gangadhar Tilak also launched another Home Rule Movement and wholeheartedly supported this movement. Tilak took the lead and in 1916, he started the Home Rule League Movement from Maharashtra. It was during Home Rule Movement that Tilak declared that – *'Swaraj is My Birth Right and I will have it'*.

*Gandhi was not involved in the movement as he had only arrived last year and was still testing the waters in new political environment.*

**The objective of movement** was - *'To enjoy Dominion status as enjoyed by other British Colonies like – Australia, South Africa and New Zealand'*.

The movement spread rapidly and branches of the Home Rule League were established all over India. While *Tilak mainly focused in Maharashtra, Besant focused on rest of India*. He joined the forces with Dr. Besant and persuaded the Muslim League to support this programme. (Though Tilak and Besant had their own differences with each other).

Many leaders like **Jawahar Lal Nehru** joined Home Rule League, but he mostly worked with Annie Besant.

Annie Besant was arrested in 1917, however this further stoked the fire of movement. The movement has now even wider reaches and had now even penetrated villages. And many more important leaders like **C Y Chintamani**, **Motilal Nehru**, **Tej Bahadur Sapru** stood by her and joined the movement. **S Subramania Aiyer** renounced his knighthood in protest and joined the movement.

Owing to her popularity due to the movement, she was chosen as the next – and the first woman – president of Congress in 1917.

She was soon released following a conciliatory stance of government. Montague commented – *'Shiva... cut his wife into 52 pieces only to discover that he has 52 wives. This is what happens to the Government of India when it interns Mrs. Besant'*.

Decline of Home Rule Movement –

- After release of Besant, *moderates were pacified* and the anger was calmed down



- *New Secretary of State Montague declared in Britain Parliament that Indians will be given more role (unlike his predecessor Morley who denied any such possibility) in administration. Pronouncement of Montague was termed as 'August Declaration'. This rendered demand for self-rule no more seditious and moderates were considerably pacified by this new announcement.*
- Rise of Gandhi and talks of Civil Disobedience diverted the national attention
- Tilak went to US and this left a leadership void
- Communal riots sparked in 1917-18

Success of the movement –

- However, the movement *succeeded in attracting masses* and marked a shift from elite participation model of moderates.
- *Tilak and Besant's effort revived Congress after Lucknow Pact of 1916.*
- They compelled the government to go for more reforms in form of Mont-Ford reforms of 1919.
- Further, *movement also prepared ground for Gandhian politics of mass movement.*

## AUGUST DECLARATION or MONTEGUE DECLARATION

Montague's Declaration of 1917 was *in a reaction to the Home Rule League Movement* and it promised that the *Indians would be increasingly associated with the administration and self-governing institutions* would be gradually developed. It stated that responsible government in India as an integral part of British Empire was the final goal of the government and this would be achieved in stages and the British Governments and the Government of India would be, the sole authority to judge the time and measure of each advancement and in this, they would be guided by the responsible Indian leaders and their capability to handle responsibility.

The famous declaration closed one chapter in the constitutional history of India and opened another. *With this declaration benevolent despotism was dead and India's right to Swaraj was admitted* and despotism was to give place to constitutional government. ***Demand for Swaraj was no longer seditious with this declaration.***

So all ifs and buts were ignored and the announcement was welcomed by almost all political parties. The greatest importance of the declaration perhaps lay in the fact that every Indian was feeling convinced that self-government for India was within the domain of possibility. The declaration *also gave the nationalist leaders the moral courage to continue their political fight.* However, it was also seen by the extremists as a mean to confound the moderates and distract attention from demand of Purna Swaraj.

## LUCKNOW PACT (December 1916)

**Background** – In the First World War, Turkey entered against Britain, Muslims were on side of Turkey and were angered by the British. Congress was also exhausted with its pleas for self-rule.

The Lucknow session was significant for the two reasons –

- Union of Congress and League – In 1916, sessions of both Muslim League and Congress were held in Lucknow. An agreement made by the *Indian National Congress headed by Bal Gangadhar Tilak and the All-India Muslim League led by Muhammad Ali Jinnah*; it was adopted by the Congress at its Lucknow session on December 29 and by the league on Dec. 31, 1916.
- Union of moderates and extremists – The meeting at Lucknow *marked the reunion of the moderate and radical wings of the Congress* after Tilak returned from Jail

The pact dealt both with the structure of the government of India and with the relation of the Hindu and Muslim communities. Following broad agreements were reached –

- **Direct Elections to the Legislative Councils** – Four-fifths of the provincial and central legislatures were to be elected on a broad franchise, and half the executive council members, including those of the central executive council, were to be Indians elected by the councils themselves. (unlike indirect election as envisaged by the 1909 Morley-Minto Reforms)
- **More Powers should be conferred upon Councils**
- **Self Government at the earliest** – dominion status at the earliest
- **At least half of the Viceroy's 'Executive Council' should be filled by Indians** (Morley-Minto reforms suggested 1 Indian member)

These proposals were *largely embodied in the Government of India Act of 1919*. This pact paved the way for Hindu-Muslim cooperation in the Khilafat movement and Mohandas Gandhi's noncooperation movement from 1920.

However, this is also said to color the Pact with Communalism. Among most controversial outcomes of the pact was that the ***Congress also agreed to separate electorates for Muslims in provincial council elections***. Acceptance of separate electorate is considered as one of the biggest follies of Congress which ultimately led to extreme communalism in country. It showed the acceptance by Congress of the separate identities of Hindu and Muslims. Further, *it didn't involve either Hindu or Muslim masses*.

## MONTEGUE CHELMSFORD REFORMS (1919)

The Mont-Ford (Montague Chelmsford) commission submitted its report in 1918. *It professed to pave way for self-government in India*, however it also aimed at appeasing Indians to persuade to support British during First World War (1914-18). ***For the first time government showed its intention of gradual introduction of responsible government in India.***

**The Government of India Act, 1919** was an Act of the Parliament of the United Kingdom. It was passed to expand participation of Indians in the government of India. The Act covered ten years, from 1919 to 1929. This retraction of British imperialism was also partially a result of India's enthusiastic participation in World War I and continued struggle of Indians which was growing stronger.

The structure of this Act *also allowed Britain to use the Princely States* (who were directly represented in the Council of States) *to offset the growing power of the native political parties*.

The main provisions were the following –

- I. **Provincial Diarchy (Dual Rule)** – The Act provided a dual form of government (a ‘diarchy’) for the major provinces. It *relaxed control over provinces* by demarcating subjects as ‘**central subjects**’ and ‘**provincial subjects**’. Provincial subjects were further divided as –
  - a. **Reserved Subjects** – Administered by governor *with the help of his ‘Executive Council’*. The 'reserved list' included Defence (the military), Foreign Affairs, and Communications.
  - b. **Transferred Subjects** – Administered by Governor *with the aid of ‘Ministers’ responsible for ‘Provincial Legislative Council’*. The 'transferred list' included Agriculture, supervision of local government, Health and Education.
- This dual system of government was known as ‘Diarchy’. This new system, however, failed to gain popular acceptance and Simon Commission recommended that Diarchy should be done away with and 1935 Act did the same.
- II. For the first time introduced ‘**Direct Elections**’ and *limited franchise was granted* on the basis of tax paid, education, property etc. in the country
- III. A **bicameral system** at center (the Central Legislature would comprise two chambers – the Council of State and the Indian Legislative Assembly) was introduced and majority members of both the houses in this bicameral system were directly chosen.
- IV. Establishment of **unicameral Provincial Legislative councils**.
- V. The Central Legislature was empowered to enact laws on any matter for whole of India.
- VI. Separate Electoral provision of Morley Minto was retained.
- VII. The Governor General was given powers to summon, prorogue, dissolve the Chambers, and to **promulgate ordinances**. Thus, *despite reserved and transferred list, governor general reigned supreme*.
- VIII. The number of Indians in Viceroy's Executive Council was increased to three out of eight members. The number was increased, *however the council still remained at best an advisory body and no real power conferred*.

**Review Provision for Reforms** – The Montagu-Chelmsford report stated that there should be a review after 10 years. Sir John Simon headed the committee (Simon Commission) responsible for the review which recommended further constitutional change. *Three Round Table Conferences were also held* in London later in 1930, 1931 and 1932 with representation of the major interests to consider further constitutional measures. Gandhi attended the 2<sup>nd</sup> Round Table Conference of 1931 after negotiations with the British Government.

One important significance of the reforms was that, ***demand by nationalists for self-government or Home Rule couldn't be termed as seditious*** since attainment of self-government for Indians now officially became a government policy which was indicated in August Declaration of Montague.

The 1919 reforms did not satisfy political demands in India for various reasons –

- *These measures were rammed through the Legislative Council with the unanimous opposition of the Indian members. Indians were resentful that British would decide what was good and what was bad for Indians. Several members of the council including Jinnah resigned in protest.*

- The British repressed opposition, and *restrictions on the press and on movement were re-enacted in the Rowlett Act introduced in 1919.*
- *Other major disagreement between Congress and the British was separate electorates for each community which Congress opposed but which were retained in Ramsay MacDonald's 'Indian Communal Award' of 1932.*

Another faction of Congress wanted to go ahead with constitutional means and were in favor of accepting government proposals. Led by Surendranath Banarjee, they formed 'Indian Liberal Federation' and were known as Liberals. They, however, failed to make an impact on Indian political scene and didn't perform well in any elections.

## START of GANDHIAN ERA or ERA of MASS STRUGGLE

Gandhi remained in South Africa for almost 20 years. His experiments with Satyagraha started there. He started a newspaper – **Indian Opinion** – while he was in South Africa.

Gandhi returned India on **9<sup>th</sup> January 1915**. He *spent initial one year travelling all over India and understanding Indian conditions and Indian people* and then in 1916 found Sabarmati Ashram, in Ahmadabad.

Changed situation when Gandhi arrived –

- After the World War, Imperialist forces were totally exposed and White Man' Burden theory was now debunked
- Russian Revolution of 1917 also showed way for new ideological revolution
- A war affected India was facing high unemployment, peasantry was suffering from taxes and workers were affected by high costs of goods

Major Influencing factors on his personality are –

- **Religious Factors** – He borrowed the *Karma Theory* from Buddhism and took the idea of *Ram Rajya* from Hinduism while on the other hand his idea of *Non-Violence* is inspired from Jain teachings and *Hijra* – leave the place where you are not respected – from Kuran.
- **Personalities** – he was greatly affected by the works of likes of **Tolstoy** and **Henry David Thoreau**. His idea of *Civil Disobedience* is influenced by *Thoreau*. **Gopal Krishna Gokhale** was Gandhiji's Political Mentor.
- **Idea of Trusteeship** – According to him the rich and well-off are the chosen one – the trustees – of the wealth that is endowed upon them by the almighty. They should treat this wealth for the benefit of the deprived.
- **He believed in 'Sarvodaya'** – i.e. rise of all. This idea was further taken forward by Vinoba Bhave in his Bhoodan and Gramdan movements.
- He believed in local self governance and local self rule. He had a great faith in cottage industries and panchayati raj. This is one of the differences of opinion between him and Nehru who favored industrialization.

After arriving in India, Mahatma Gandhi successfully organized Satyagraha movements in various places.

**Satyagraha philosophy of Gandhi** – Satya means Truth; Aagraha means insistence. The literal meaning of this word is insistence on truth. Initially Gandhi referred to this method of fighting injustice as passive resistance. As he refined the technique over the years he realized that it required true Satyagrahis to be totally fearless and nonviolently militant, and therefore he changed the definition to Truth Force. The goal of Satyagraha is to resolve the conflict with an opponent without inflicting physical or emotional injury to him, and with willingness to suffer physical or emotional injury to oneself. During the course of the conflict, the adversary's essence is not violated, and the two sides develop respect and goodwill towards each other after the conflict is resolved. Both sides must not harbor resentment, bitterness and vengefulness during or after the conflict is resolved. Since Truth is relative, the Satyagrahi must be willing to compromise his initial demands to some extent.

*What differentiated Gandhi from hitherto existing leadership was his mass appeal and ability to connect to peasant class.* Therefore he was able to appeal masses and peasantry into national struggle and raised their issues as well.

He spun charkha daily to signify dignity of human labor and self reliance.

Initial Stayagrahas by Gandhi after coming to India –

- I. **Champaran Satyagraha, 1917** – when Gandhiji returned from South Africa, he heard about the case in Champaran that the British forced the poor peasants to grow indigo and they had no other choice. More than cultivation of Indigo what was appalling was the sharing system that was prevalent – Tinkathia System – According to the **Tinkathia System**, farmers were under compulsion to grow Indigo on **3/20<sup>th</sup> of their land** and were allowed to **take only one-third** of the indigo produced by themselves while two-thirds had to be given to the British/European planters. The Government favored the planters, overlooking any pleas including legal action. The Bengal Tenancy Act and other reactionary laws further helped exploit the peasants, requiring the peasants to plant 3/20, and sometimes up to 5/20, of their holdings with indigo.

**Raj Kumar Shukla** was an indigo cultivator of Champaran (Bihar), who met Gandhiji to make him aware of the plight of the cultivators in Champaran and persuaded him to come there. In 1917, he travelled to Champaran in Bihar to inspire the peasants to struggle against the oppressive plantation system. He began leading the clean-up of villages, building of schools and hospitals and encouraging the village leadership to undo purdah, untouchability and the suppression of women. He was joined by many young nationalists from all over India, including Dr. **Sri Krishna Sinha**, **Ramarshi Deo Trivedi** 'Rishi Ji', Brajkishore Prasad, **J B Kriplani**, **Dr. Rajendra Prasad**, **Dr. Anugrah Narayan Sinha** and **Jawaharlal Nehru**. But his main assault came as he was arrested by police on the charge of creating unrest and was ordered to leave the province. He was released after massive protests. Gandhi led organized protests and strike against the landlords, who with the guidance of the British government, *signed an agreement granting more compensation and control over farming for the poor farmers of the region, and*

*cancellation of revenue hikes and collection until the famine ended. It was during this agitation, that Gandhi was addressed by the people as **Bapu** (This was given by Subhash Chandra Bose) and **Mahatma** (It was given by Rabindranath Tagore). (Earlier, he had also got the title of Kaiser-e-Hind from British government after he started Ambulance service during Boers War while he was in South Africa).*

- II. **Ahmedabad Mills Strike, 1918** – In 1918, Mahatma Gandhi went to Ahmedabad to organize a satyagraha movement *amongst cotton mill workers*. Workers were, among other things, **demanding continuation of 'Plague Bonus'** post epidemic. Mahatma Gandhi *intervened in a dispute and arbitrated between the workers and mill-owners of Ahmedabad*. He *advised the workers to go on strike and to demand a 35 per cent increase in wages*. He *went on fast unto death* and mill owners agreed to give the hike to workers. **Anasuya Behn** was one of the major lieutenant of Gandhi during this Satyagraha. She was, however, sister of one of the mill owners and close friend of Gandhi – Ambalal Sarabhai.

He also founded – '**Ahmedabad Textile Labor Association**' – after the mill strike. *It gave Gandhi an urban and industrial base and is said to have set the tone of industrial relations in the city.*

- III. **Kheda or Kaira Satyagraha, 1918** – He organized a Satyagraha to support the peasants of the Kheda district of Gujarat. *Affected by crop failure and a plague epidemic, the peasants of Kheda could not pay the revenue, and were **demanding that revenue collection be relaxed***. Despite their difficulties, *British government raised the revenue*. Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel and a close coterie of devoted Gandhians, namely **Narhari Parikh, Mohanlal Pandya, Indulal Yagnik** and **Ravi Shankar Vyas** toured the countryside, organized the villagers and gave them political leadership and direction. Many aroused Gujaratis from the cities of Ahmedabad and Vadodara joined the organizers of the revolt, but Gandhi and Patel resisted the involvement of Indians from other provinces, seeking to keep it a purely Gujarati struggle. *British government after facing a united opposition agreed on a compromise and the revenue was waived for that year and next year.*

## **ROWLETT SATYAGRAHA and JALIANWALA BAGH MASSACRE**

**Anarchical and Revolutionary Crimes Act or Rowlett Act** – Termed as 'Black Act'. After the dissatisfaction from Montford Reforms of 1919, government passed Rowlett Act to suppress the freedom. The Rowlett Act passed by the British in colonial India in March 1919, **indefinitely extending 'emergency measures'** (of the **Defence of India Regulations Act, 1915**) enacted during the First World War in order to control public unrest and root out conspiracy. The Act authorizes the authority **to imprison a person suspected of terrorism for maximum of two years without trial**. The Act was condemned by one and all including Congress and League.

The Rowlett Satyagraha of 1919 turned out to be the *first all-India struggle against the British government* although it was largely restricted to cities.

Satyagraha launched in protest of this Act also marked the ***first attempt of Gandhiji for a nation wide movement***. It was thus the *first of Gandhian mass struggle*. (Earlier events like Champaran and Ahemdabad mill strikes were mainly concentrated on local and specific issues). Emboldened with the success of initial efforts in Ahemdabad, Kheda and Champaran, Gandhiji in 1919 decided to launch a nationwide Satyagraha against the proposed Rowlatt Act (1919). He gave a call to massive Hartal on 6<sup>th</sup> April 1919 and people participated enthusiastically.

Jinnah declared – ‘*A government which enacts such Acts during peace time has no right to be called as a civilian government*’

About the Act –

- I. It gave the government enormous powers to repress political activities, and allowed detention of political prisoners without trial for two years.
- II. During the Great War of 1914-18 (First World War), the British had instituted censorship of the press and permitted detention without trial under Defence of India Regulations Act, 1915. Now, on the recommendation of a committee chaired by Sir Sidney Rowlatt, these tough measures were continued.

This Act had been ***hurriedly passed through the Imperial Legislative Council despite the united opposition of the Indian members*** (Non-official Indian members to the Imperial Legislative Council like – Tej Bahadur Sapru, D E Wacha, and Surendranath Banarjee were opposed to the bill, though they didn't like the idea of Satyagraha either).

The protests gathered huge momentum. It was during such protests that Jalianwala Massacre took place. *The Indians had been promised extension of democracy during the war. They felt humiliated and were filled with anger when they found that their civil liberties were going to be curtailed still further.* The protests were particularly intense in the Punjab, where many men had served on the British side in the War – expecting to be rewarded for their service. Instead they were given the Rowlatt Act. This Satyagraha launched Gandhi as a truly national leader.

During the protests against the Act two prominent leaders of Congress were arrested in Punjab – **Saifudin Kitchlew** and **Satya Paul**. People protested their arrest in Jalianwala Bagh which later saw the Jalianwala Massacre.

**British Reaction to Satyagraha** – Alarmed by the popular upsurge, and scared that lines of communication such as the railways and telegraph would be disrupted, the British administration decided to clamp down on nationalists. Local leaders were picked up from Amritsar, and Mahatma Gandhi was barred from entering Delhi.

On 10 April, the police in Amritsar fired upon a peaceful procession, provoking widespread attacks on banks, post offices and railway stations. *Martial law was imposed* and **General Dyer** took command.

## **JALLIANWALLA BAGH MASSACRE**



On **13 April 1919**, the infamous Jallianwalla Bagh incident took place. On that day a crowd of villagers who had come to Amritsar to attend a fair gathered in the enclosed ground of Jallianwalla Bagh. They were also protesting the arrest of Dr Satyapaul and Saifuddin Kitchlew. *Being from outside the city, they were unaware of the martial law that had been imposed.* Dyer entered the area, blocked the exit points, and opened fire on the crowd, killing hundreds. His object, as he declared later, was to '*produce a moral effect*', to create in the minds of satyagrahis a feeling of terror and awe. As the news of Jallianwalla Bagh spread, crowds took to the streets in many north Indian towns. There were strikes, clashes with the police and attacks on government buildings. In a protest, *Tagore renounced his knighthood.*

The *government responded with brutal repression*, seeking to humiliate and terrorise people – satyagrahis were forced to *rub their noses on the ground, crawl on the streets*, and do salaam (salute) to all sahibs; people were flogged and villages (around Gujranwala in Punjab, now in Pakistan) were bombed. *Seeing violence spread, Mahatma Gandhi called off the movement.*

*The Satyagraha failed in achieving what it aimed to – repealing of the Rowlett Act*, but it launched Mahatma Gandhi as national leader. In 1922, the Act was repealed by the government itself.

#### **HUNTER COMMITTEE/COMMISSION, 1920**

Government of India named an investigatory committee to be led by Lord William Hunter (1865-1957) charged with the examination of the violence which had occurred in Amritsar and elsewhere in Punjab, in consequence of the catastrophic Jallianwalabagh Amritsar massacre. On 8<sup>th</sup> March 1920, the Hunter Committee's *majority reprimanded Brigadier-General Dyer* in its final report *for his mistaken concept of duty*. The report concluded *that Brigadier-General Dyer was justified in firing on the mob*, though notice should have been given and its duration shortened. However, *Dyer was exonerated and the commission*. This enraged Indians and they termed the commission as 'Whitewash Commission'.

### **KHILAFAT and NON-COOPERATION MOVEMENT**

Ground for Hindu Muslim cooperation in national struggle has been prepared by Lucknow Pact of 1916. An opportune movement came in form of Turkey issue which was encashed by Gandhi to further forge unity ties among Hindus and Muslims for a joint struggle against British.

#### **Background**

- Rowlett Act
- *Jallianwala Bagh Massacre exposed the ugly face of repressive government. **This forced Mahatma to go from cooperation to non-cooperation.***
- Hunter Commission whitewash further fuelled the frustration of Indians.
- Montague Chelmsford reforms failed on expectation of each and everyone.
- While the Rowlett Satyagraha had been a widespread movement, it was still limited mostly to cities and towns (limitation). *Mahatma Gandhi now felt the need to launch a more broad-based movement in India.* But he was certain *that no such movement could be organised without*



*bringing the Hindus and Muslims closer together.* One way of doing this, he felt, was to take up the Khilafat issue.

- The First World War had ended with the defeat of Ottoman Turkey. And there were *rumours that a harsh peace treaty was going to be imposed on the Ottoman emperor Caliph* – the spiritual head of the Islamic world (the Khalifa). Caliph (Khalifa) was viewed as symbolic representative of Pan-Islamic group and the leadership was abolished by '*Treaty of Sevres*' and instead a puppet sultan was put in his place (However, later Mustafa Kamal Attaturk replaced the puppet Sultan of Turkey and started modernizing Turkey. In the aftermaths, the treaty was also revised in favor of Turkey. This to some extent placated Muslims in India). British refused to make any moves in support of Khalifa (who at the start of war was against British) and said that they will abide by Treaty of Sevres. To defend the Khalifa's temporal powers, a **Khilafat Committee** was formed in Bombay in March 1919 by **Ali Brothers, Hakim Ajmal Khan, Abdul Kalam Azad, Hasrat Mohani** etc. and All India Khilafat Conference was held in Delhi in November 1919. A young generation of Muslim leaders like the brothers Muhammad Ali and Shaukat Ali, began discussing with Mahatma Gandhi about the possibility of a united mass action on the issue. Gandhiji saw this as an opportunity to bring Muslims under the umbrella of a unified national movement. At the Calcutta session of the Congress in September 1920, he convinced other leaders of the need to start a non-cooperation movement in support of Khilafat as well as for swaraj. (i.e. Non-cooperation was combined with Khilafat movement to maximize the impact).
- Economic situation in country worsened in aftermaths of World War
- Lucknow Pact has brought Congress closer to League
- Radical Muslim leaders like Mohammad Ali, Abdul Kalam Azad, Hakim Azmal Khan and Hsan Imam gained more say over the Aligarh school of thought.

**Idea of Non-Cooperation** – In his famous book **Hind Swaraj** (1909) Mahatma Gandhi declared that British rule was established in India with the cooperation of Indians, and had survived only because of this cooperation. If Indians refused to cooperate, British rule in India would collapse within a year, and swaraj would come. Emboldened with the success of the Rowlett Satyagrah, Gandhiji decided to take things to next level, from Satyagrah to Non-Cooperation.

**From Cooperation to Non-Cooperation** – While Gandhi was initially cooperative with British, but events of Punjab (*Jalianwala, Marshal Law, Hunter report*) and *Treatment of Khalifa of Turkey* forced him to take the route of Non-Cooperation. Further, as mentioned above, it was cooperation of Indians only which has sustained British rule in India and if Indians start to non-cooperate, the rule will collapse.

Gandhiji proposed that the **movement should unfold in stages**. It should begin with the *surrender of titles* that the government awarded, and a *boycott of civil services, army, police, courts* and legislative councils, schools, and foreign goods. Then, in case the government used repression, *a full civil disobedience campaign would be launched*.

Through the summer of 1920 Mahatma Gandhi and **Shaukat Ali** toured extensively, mobilising popular support for the movement.

**Concerns of Congress Regarding Non-Cooperation** – Many within the Congress were, however, concerned about the proposals. They were *reluctant to boycott the council elections* scheduled for November 1920, and they feared that the movement *might lead to popular violence*. In the months between September and December there was an intense tussle within the Congress. For a while there seemed no meeting point between the supporters and the opponents of the movement.

Non cooperation movement (1920-22) was led by Mahatma Gandhi. *Veterans like Bal Gangadhar Tilak, Bipin Chandra Pal, Mohammad Ali Jinnah, Annie Besant opposed the idea outright*. But the younger generation of Indian nationalists were thrilled, and backed Gandhiji. The Congress Party adopted his plans, and he received extensive support from Muslim leaders like *Abul Kalam Azad, Mukhtar Ahmed Ansari, Hakim Ajmal Khan, Abbas Tyabji, Maulana Mohammad Ali* and Maulana Shaukat Ali.

### NON-COOPERATION MOVEMENT

The 'Non-Cooperation-Khilafat' Movement was launched on **1<sup>st</sup> August 1920**. Tilak died on same day.

Congress too passed a resolution in its **Calcutta special session** of September 1920 presided over by Lala Lajpat Rai and agreed Gandhiji's plan for non-cooperation with the government till wrongs of Punjab (Jalianwala) and Khilafat are undone and Swaraj is established. It was ratified in Nagpur Session in December 1920. Though there was some reservation among veterans about Gandhi's methods, it was *Motilal Nehru who stood by him*.

***Various social groups participated in this movement, each with its own specific aspiration***. All of them responded to the call of Swaraj, but the term meant different things to different people. Non-cooperation for the first time shook the roots of the British Empire since 1857 revolt.

Gandhiji famously said that – ***'Swaraj is possible within 1 year if Non-Cooperation is continued as a movement'***.

Thousands of students left schools and colleges under British and **new crop of national schools and colleges came up** including ***Jamia Milia, Kashi Vidyapith, Bihar Vidyapith*** etc. Many leaders like Subhash Chandra Bose, Lala Lajpat Rai, Zakir Hussain led these institutes.

**Tilak-Swaraj fund** was formed as a tribute to Tilak and fuel national sentiments which was oversubscribed at more than Rs 1 crore.

In November 1921 huge demonstrations greeted Prince of Wales during his visit to India.

Jinnah and Malviya opposed the idea of Swaraj and Jinnah left the Congress after an association of 15 years.

### Spread of the Movement –

- From Central provinces many big nationalists like – Motilal Nehru, Prushottam Das Tandon, **Ganesh Shankar Vidyarthi, G B Pant, Lal Bahadur Shastri** etc participated.

- From Punjab **Lala Lajpat Rai**.
- Peasants in Avadh were led by **Baba Ram Chandra**
- Tea Gardens in Assam were also largely affected by movement
- There were also signs of non-revenue payment movements
- In Andhra likes of **T Prakasam** and **Pattabhai Sitaramaia** took the lead

**Non-Cooperation in Towns** – The movement started with middle-class participation in the cities. Thousands of students left government-controlled schools and colleges, headmasters and teachers resigned, and lawyers gave up their legal practices. The *council elections of 1920 were boycotted in most provinces* except Madras, where the Justice Party, the party of the non-Brahmans, felt that entering the council was one way of gaining some power – something that usually only Brahmans had access to. *The effects of non-cooperation on the economic front were more dramatic.* Foreign goods were boycotted, liquor shops picketed, and foreign cloth burnt in huge bonfires. The import of foreign cloth halved between 1921 and 1922, its value dropping from Rs 102 crore to Rs 57 crore. In many places merchants and traders refused to trade in foreign goods or finance foreign trade.

But the movement subdued in urban areas for many reasons – like – Khadi was more expensive than mass produced mill cloth and urban poor couldn't afford it. Difficulties were there in complete boycott of the British institutions as they were providers of the major services.

**Non-Cooperation in Rural Areas** – The movement spread from cities to rural areas and included peasants tribal areas as well.

#### **Different Interpretation of Non-Cooperation Movement –**

- I. In Awadh, peasants were led by **'Baba Ramchandra'** – a sanyasi who had earlier been to Fiji as an indentured labourer. The movement here *was against talukdars and landlords who demanded from peasants exorbitantly high rents and a variety of other cesses.* Peasants had to do begar and work at landlords' farms without any payment. As tenants they had no security of tenure, being regularly evicted so that they could acquire no right over the leased land. The peasant movement demanded reduction of revenue, abolition of begar, and social boycott of oppressive landlords. *The peasant movement, however, developed in forms that the Congress leadership was unhappy with.* As the movement spread in 1921, the houses of talukdars and merchants were attacked, bazaars were looted, and grain hoards were taken over. *In many places local leaders told peasants that Gandhiji had declared that no taxes were to be paid and land was to be redistributed among the poor.* The name of the Mahatma was being invoked to *sanction all action and aspirations.* In many places **'nai – dhobi bandhs'** were organised by panchayats to deprive landlords of the services of even barbers and washermen.
- II. **'Gudem Hill' Tribe War, or Koya Rebellion or Rampa Rebellion 1922** – Tribal peasants interpreted the message of Mahatma Gandhi and the idea of swaraj in yet another way. In the 'Gudem Hills' of Andhra Pradesh, for instance, a **militant guerrilla movement**

*spread* in the early 1920s – not a form of struggle that the Congress could approve. Here, as in other forest regions, the *colonial government had closed large forest areas*, preventing people from entering the forests to graze their cattle, or to collect fuelwood and fruits. This enraged the hill people. Not only were their livelihoods affected but they felt that their traditional rights were being denied. When the government began forcing them to contribute begar for road building, the hill people revolted. The person who came to lead them was '**Alluri Sitaram Raju**'. But at the same time he asserted that India could be liberated only by the use of force, not non-violence. The Gudum rebels attacked police stations, attempted to kill British officials and carried on guerrilla warfare for achieving swaraj. Raju was captured and executed in 1924, and over time became a folk hero.

- III. **Idea of Swaraj of Plantation Workers** – Workers too had their own understanding of Mahatma Gandhi and the notion of swaraj. For plantation workers in Assam, *freedom meant the right to move freely in and out of the confined space in which they were enclosed*, and it meant retaining a link with the village from which they had come. Under the Inland Emigration Act of 1859, plantation workers were not permitted to leave the tea gardens without permission, and in fact they were rarely given such permission. *When they heard of the Non-Cooperation Movement, thousands of workers defied the authorities, left the plantations and headed home.* They believed that Gandhi Raj was coming and everyone would be given land in their own villages. They, however, never reached their destination. Stranded on the way by a railway and steamer strike, they were caught by the police and brutally beaten up.
- IV. **Eka Movement** – Towards the end of 1921, peasant discontent surfaced again after earlier Kisan Sabha movements in the districts of Hardoi, Bahraich and Sitapur of United Provinces with grievances relating to the extraction of a rent that was generally 50 percent higher than the recorded rent. **Madari Pasi** from the depressed class and the one of the key leaders who *gave the movement direction opposing the non-violence methods* and called for violent struggle.
- V. **Palnad Satyagraha or Forest Satyagraha** – The 'Forest Satyagraha' was of the ryots of Palnad in Guntur district in 1921 during Non-Cooperation Movement. The ***peasants of this place had to pay heavy tax for permission to graze their cattle in forests.*** When the crops failed that year, they decided to send their cattle into the forests without paying the fee and suffer the penalties. However authorities retaliated by compounding the cattle and a clash ensued between the cattle owners and the armed police. In the firing that took place **Kannuganti Hanumanthu** was killed. Meanwhile, Gandhiji called off the Non-Co-operation Movement due to some untoward incidents at Chowri Chowra and with this the Palnad Satyagraha also came to an end.
- VI. **Chirala-Perala** (name of two villages in Guntur district) episode during Non-Cooperation was led by **Duggirala Gopalakrishnayya**. The movement *was against the merger of two villages into municipality, which would have attracted taxes and villagers opposed this move.* The movement was against the encroachment upon the autonomy of the village.

He urged people to refuse to pay taxes and as a result whole population of Chirala moved out of town and refused to pay taxes.

- VII. Tana Bhagat Movement** – Just like the Birsa's religious movement among the Mundas, a similar religious movement gained among the **Oraon of Chotanagpur, Bihar** known as Tana Bhagat. The movement aimed against the missionaries and British colonialists. During Non-Cooperation also they participated and they boycotted liquor.

#### **Decline of Non-Cooperation Movement –**

- I. **Chaura Chauri Incident** – A crowd which was fired upon by police, burnt a police station in Chaura Chauri in which *22 policemen were killed* and this distressed Gandhiji a lot. He *deemed it as under-preparedness of the people to adopt his methods*. Many Congress leaders including Subhash Chandra Bose, Nehru were in disbelief over this decision of Gandhi. *'For a sin of handful people down in the Himalayas, the entire nation has been brought down to its knees'* – SC Bose said on withdrawal of Non-Cooperation. However, *Gandhi was aware that in the event of violence and a direct confrontation with the British, Indians are a no match to British power and they will be crushed brutally*. Incidents like Chaura-Chauri would have led to a direct confrontation and ultimately loss to Indians.
- II. **Moplah Incident** generated considerable acrimony between Hindu and Muslims
- III. **Support of Ali brothers and Muslims was on religious grounds** rather than nationalistic grounds. *As the cause diminished, their support vanished*.
- IV. **Ali Brothers also started to give way** and *started to apologise to Viceroy Reading* and they were arrested soon (their arrest was however resented by Gandhi and others and he called for the people to give their jobs up).
- V. **'The treaty of Sevres' was revised** by the British in favor of Turkey. The cause of unity was no longer there and Muslims were no longer attached to Congress.
- VI. **Mustafa Kamal Pasha toppled the theocratic puppet government installed by the British** in Turkey and started a new era of modernization and made it a secular state. He took extensive steps to nationalized education, liberate woman, develop agriculture etc and this broke the back of Khilafat.

After arrest of Ali Brothers and other leaders, Gandhi gave a memorandum to the government for their release and lift the ban from civil liberties or face mass civil disobedience (which he planned to start from Bardoli as a no-tax movement). But things took a different turn and Chaura-Chauri incident took place. Gandhi called off the movement (even in face of disappointment of leaders like Nehru, Subhash etc) and *he was sent to Jail for 6 years* which was reduced (1922-24) owing to his health. At this moment Gandhi *declared his frustration with colonial government* and declared that attitude of government has turned him from a supporter of government to its sharpest critic. He said during his trial – *'I came reluctantly to the conclusion that the British had made India more helpless than she ever was before, politically and economically'*. Judge handed down him same sentence as was given to Tilak in 1908.

### Achievements of Non-Cooperation Movement –

- I. **Congress became a mass party** – Hitherto, one of the important criticism of Congress had been that it was a party of elites representing only a minority. For the first time people from all sections participated. From 1920 Session of the Congress, joining fee was reduced (*25 paise per annum*) considerably and so was reduced Age of Joining (18 years from 21 years), which took it into even villages and expanded its mass base.
- II. Khilafat movement produced many leaders of tall stature like – Maulana Azad, Saifuddin Kitchlew, M A Ansari and so on
- III. **Charkha a National Symbol** – Under Gandhi a new ideological support was given in form of Non-Violence and Satyagraha which later became important tools for national struggle
- IV. **Muslims also Participated** – Barring the incident of Moplah rebellion in Malabar the movement saw participation of Muslims also
- V. **Removed fear of British Might** from the minds of people
- VI. **Many educational institutes** like Jamia Milia Islamia, Bihar Vidyapeeth, Kashi Vidyapith, Gujarat Vidyapith etc were established.

### Failures of Non-Cooperation Movement –

- a. **Swaraj – as it was claimed – was not achieved** within 1 year. This disheartened many.
- b. **Alienation of Muslims** – Failure of Non-Cooperation also meant failure of Khilafat. Ali brothers accused congress for failure. Further movements by Congress saw less enthusiastic participation from Muslims
- c. **Divide in Congress** – With recall of movement, many resented this step and others became anxious to take part into Provincial elections and Swaraj Party is born.
- d. **Revival of Revolutionary Activities** – This also gave birth to second phase of revolutionary activities after partition of Bengal
- e. Mass Reach – Khadi was unaffordable to poor and this was the reason that middle class and poor swept away from movement

Within the Congress, some leaders were by now tired of mass struggles and wanted to participate in elections to the provincial councils that had been set up by the Government of India Act of 1919. *They felt that it was important to oppose British policies within the councils, argue for reform and also demonstrate that these councils were not truly democratic.* C R Das and Motilal Nehru (alongwith N C Kelkar, Vithalbhai Patel, G S Kaparde, S Srinivas Iyenger (all were lawyers)) formed the Swaraj Party within the Congress to argue for a return to council politics. But younger leaders like Jawaharlal Nehru and Subhas Chandra Bose pressed for more radical mass agitation and for full independence.

**Gaya Session of Congress** debated this issue of joining the legislative council. Those who favored joining were termed as **Pro Changers** and involved C R Das, Motilal Nehru, Hakim Ajmal Khan and N C Kelkar. Those who were opposed of joining were termed as **No Changers** and included Gandhi and other veterans who favored idea of Non-Cooperation and hence boycott of assembly elections.

## SWARAJ PARTY (1923)

Gandhiji's decision to call off the agitation caused frustration among masses. His decision came in for severe criticism from his colleagues like Motilal Nehru, C R Das and N C Kelkar, Vithalbhai Patel, G S Kaparde, S Srinivas Iyenger, M R Jaykar who organized the Swaraj Party. The foundations of the 'Swaraj Party' were laid on January 1, 1923, as the '**Congress-Khilafat-Swarajya Patty**'. It proposed then an alternative programme of diverting the movement from widespread civil disobedience programme to restrictive one which would encourage its member to enter into legislative councils (established under Montford Reforms of 1919) by contesting elections in order to wreck the legislature from within and to use moral pressure to compel the authority to concede to the popular demand for self-government.

The ones who favored the entry into council were called – '**Pro Changers**' and involved C R Das, Motilal Nehru, Hakim Ajmal Khan and N C Kelkar, while others were called 'No-Changers' (included Vallabhai, Rajendra Prasad, Vijiaraghavachariar and C Rajgopalachari). Proposal of pro-changers for entry was rejected in **Congress Gaya Session**. They (No-Changers) argued that *council entry will distract them from carrying out constructive work among masses and the legislatures entering councils will ultimately get sucked into system and will be reduced to mere rubber stamps.*

Pro-Chagers insited upon the idea and formed a Swaraj Party. Later in 1923 meet at Delhi, the differences were reconciled to a large extant and it was declared that Swaraj Party is a part of Congress.

When Gandhiji returned from jail, *he initially opposed the idea of Council Entry and he also didn't like the idea of Swarajists* putting hurdles in council work on ideological grounds. As British were hoping a split in Congress, Gandhi started to coming to terms with the constructive work of Swarajists and in **Belgam Session of 1924** (which he himself presided) Swarajists were given full support.

**Manifesto of Sawaraj Party declared** – '*While swaraj is ultimate aim of the party, the immediate goal would be Dominon Status*' and '*it is a party within Congress and not a rival party*'. It declared that they will *take the Non-Cooperation inside the legislature* and will disrupt the business in legislature and will *attract attention towards national Issues.*

**Elections and Aftermaths** – The party fought the 1923-24 elections and won majority of seats despite less time for preparations defeating 'The Liberals' (who have earlier seceded from Congress) and formed the coalition government in provinces and brought out important issues in legislative assemblies. Unionist Party of Sikandar Hyat Khan of Punjab was also in coalition.

After **death of CR Das in 1925**, in response to government's failure to bring self-rule reforms, Swarajists *decide to walk away from legislatures*. However, some of the members decided to stay back and broke away (*Lajpat Rai, Madan Mohan Malviya, NC Kelkar and M R Jayakar*) to form a separate party '**Responsivist Party**' that still preferred co-operation with British. Likes of Lajpat Rai and Malviya accused Motilal of ignoring Hindu interests.

Swaraj party *didn't fare well in next elections and its leader again focused on mainstream Congress activities*. In 1926 elections, party didn't fare so well as earlier *due to communal campaign by other parties, weakened leadership, anti-incumbancy* etc. However it still managed to pull some good jobs like

**defeat of Public Safety Bill, 1928** which aimed at deporting the subversive elements inspired by communist ideology. In wake of imminent Civil Disobedience Movement, party completely pulled back from the assemblies in 1930.

#### **Success of Swarajists –**

- They filled the political vacuum at a time when Gandhiji was absent from political scene and national movement was recuperating its strength.
- They exposed the hollowness of 1919 Act
- Active participation of Motilal and CR Das in assemblies earned them good attention of media and this helped in making people interested in working of Legislative assemblies and heightened their political awareness level.
- It exposed the true nature of provincial governments and hollowness of 1919 reforms.
- It also exposed budget effectively and for the first time intense analysis of budget was done.

#### **Failures of Swarajists –**

- They failed to make a dent into the policies of government
- They soon indulged into power politics
- They couldn't connect to masses
- They alienated Muslim members who vouched for peasant interests
- They also couldn't do much about plight of peasants of Bengal

No Changers in the meanwhile carried on constructive work and established many ashrams, carried out community service.

### **NEW FORCES on THE BLOC – 1920s**

Communists emerged, trade unionism emerged, women's organisation started to come up, peasant agitation, youth unrest, new wave of revolutionaries etc.

### **SIMON COMMISSION (1928)**

Against this background the new Tory government in Britain constituted a **Statutory Commission** under Sir John Simon to review the constitutional reforms (made during Government of India Act 1919) in Britain's most important colonial dependency. It had **6 members** – Clement Atlee, the future prime minister of Britain being one of them. (*The commission was sent 2 years ahead as per 10 year review period suggested during Govt Reform Act of 1919*).

Set up in response to the nationalist movement, the commission was to look into the functioning of the constitutional system facilitated by the 1919 Act in India and suggest changes.

The Government of India Act 1919 had introduced the system of diarchy to govern the provinces of British India. However, the Indian public clamoured for revision of the difficult diarchy form of government, and the Government of India Act 1919 itself stated that a commission would be appointed



after 10 years to investigate the progress of the governance scheme. In the late 1920s, the Conservative government then in power in Britain feared imminent electoral defeat at the hands of the Labour Party, and also feared the effects of the consequent transference of control of India to such an 'inexperienced' body. Hence, it appointed seven MPs (including Chairman Simon) to constitute the commission that had been promised in 1919 that would look into the state of Indian constitutional affairs. *The people of the India were outraged and insulted, as the Simon Commission, which was to determine the future of India, did not include a single Indian member in it.*

The Commission's recommendations were –

- I. An **outline of new constitution** was put forward.
- II. **Diarchy should be scrapped** and *Ministers responsible to the Legislature would be entrusted with all provincial areas of responsibility.* It strongly opposed diarchy at the center. In place of diarchy it **called for responsible government in the provinces.**
- III. It suggested a formally **federal union**, *including both British India and the Princely States*, was the only long-term solution for a united, autonomous India.
- IV. It recommended that the **franchise should be extended**; and the Legislature enlarged

Congress in its **Madras Session of 1927** decided to oppose it. Major reason behind its opposition was that – though the Commission aimed at reviewing constitutional reforms in India, all its members were white and there was no Indian member.

In 1928, when the Simon Commission arrived in India, *it was greeted with black flags and the slogan 'Go back Simon'.* All parties, including the Congress, Hindu Mahasabha and the Muslim League, participated in the demonstrations. When commission arrived in **Lahore**, it met with the huge protests and Lala Lajpat Rai dies.

The **outcome of the Simon Commission** (and Round Table Conferences) was the Government of India Act 1935, which established representative government at the provincial level in India and is the basis of many parts of the Indian Constitution. In 1937 the first elections were held in the Provinces, resulting in Congress Governments being returned in almost all Provinces.

**Rise of New Generation of Youth** – Simon Commission provided an opportunity to youth to prove its mettle. It was this Commission and death of Lala Lajpat Rai that fired the spirit of likes of Bhagat Singh. It was after this commission that a new breed of young leaders like Bhagat Singh and Subhash rose to prominence. This upsurge of youth saw the germination of new ideas of socialism.

**Lord Birkenhead** challenged Indians to produce an agreed constitution. This was accepted by Indian leaders.

(Report of Commission was published in 1930 and it recommended federal constitution, provincial autonomy, enlargement of provincial councils. ***It didn't mention either Dominion Status or right of secession.*** It disappointed both the Congress and Muslim League. Muslim league said that report has vouched for a Hindu raj)

## NEHRU REPORT (1928) & FOURTEEN POINTS (1929)

**Background** – There was a longstanding demand on the part of people of India to new constitution and their greater say in its drafting. The report was an attempt to address this need for a new constitution. Lord Birkenhead had challenged Indians to produce an agreed constitution. This report came in that background.

The 'Nehru Report' (1928) was a **memorandum outlining a proposed new Dominion constitution** (it was an outline and not a constitution itself) for India. It was prepared by a committee of the **All Parties Conference** chaired by Motilal Nehru with his son Jawaharlal acting as secretary. There were nine other members in this committee *including two Muslims*.

The report **didn't seek complete independence** but, the constitution outlined by the Nehru report was for India enjoying *dominion status* within the British Commonwealth. Motilal commented – '*It's an achievement on which any country in the world might well be proud of*'.

### Recommendations –

- I. It called for *Dominion Status*
- II. Unlike the eventual Government of India Act 1935 it *contained a Bill of Rights*.
- III. It *did not provide for separate electorates* for any community or weightage for minorities.
- IV. It *advocated federal structure*.
- V. Separation of state from religion
- VI. *A parliamentary form of Government*
- VII. *Residual powers with federal/central government*
- VIII. *Adult franchise*
- IX. *Redistribution of provincial boundaries on a linguistic basis*

Most of its recommendations formed the basis of constitution of independent India.

### Controversies over report –

- I. It **did away with Communal/Separate Electorate** – this attracted much ire from Muslim league and other minority communities
- II. It **asked for Dominion Status and not complete Independence** – On this issue, even Jawahar Lal differed with his father (which was reflected a year later when he came up with a demand for Purna Swaraj). Nehru and Subhash formed 'Independence for India League'.

Neither Muslim League nor Hindu Mahasabha nor ardent Sikhs agreed with the report and it set the stage for the communal confrontation.

### FOURTEEN POINTS, 1929

With few exceptions *League leaders rejected the Nehru proposals*. They objected the provision of *single electorate* and wanted separate electorate. They also *saw residual powers in federal*

*structure with center as unacceptable* as they were not in majority at national level and feared that this provision can be misused.

In reaction, Mohammad Ali Jinnah drafted his Fourteen Points in 1929 which became the core demands the Muslim community put forward as the price of their participating in an independent united India.

Main points of 14 Point Formula were –

- I. *Separate electorate*
- II. *33% seats reserved* for Muslims in Central Legislatures
- III. Residual powers vested with provinces
- IV. *Provincial autonomy*
- V. No constitutional amendment by the by the center without the concurrence of the states constituting the federation.
- VI. Adequate representation of Muslims in services
- VII. *Full religious freedom to all communities*

However, Gandhi and a few others also, didn't support the separate electorate for Muslim or Dalits as he saw it divisive and perpetuating the divide that exist.

***Over Dominion status, Gandhiji and Motilal argued that consensus over it has been built by great efforts and 2 years should be given to see government response.*** After negotiations this time was ***reduced to 1 year*** and it was decided that if Dominion Status was not realized during this period a demand for full independence will be made and *Civil Disobedience will be launched*.

In 1929, just before demand for Poorna Swaraj, in an effort to win them over, the viceroy, Lord Irwin, announced in October 1929, ***a vague offer of 'dominion status'*** for India in an unspecified future, and a Round Table Conference to discuss a future constitution. This did not satisfy the Congress leaders.

## **RISE OF RADICALS, DEMAND for PURNA SWARAJ (1929)**

**Background** – Jawaharlal Nehru, Subhas Chandra Bose and **Satyamurti** became more assertive after the Nehru Report which defied their expectations by announcing Dominion Status as their demand. However, Motilal Nehru and Gandhi were reluctant to shed the gains they have made by demanding Dominion Status and they demanded to give a 1 year's time to government. *But British didn't relent.* There was some hope after the new Labor government was elected in 1929 (headed by Ramsay McDonald) and new Secretary of State 'Wedgewood Benn' was also sympathetic to Indian cause. Viceroy Irwin too raised some hope among likes of Motilal and Gandhi when hinted towards Dominion Status (which was, however, not confirmed) a round table talk for the same. This, however, didn't assuage the sentiments of neither liberals nor Jawahar Lal and others.

In December 1929, under the presidency of Jawaharlal Nehru, the **Lahore Congress** formalized the demand of **'Purna Swaraj'** or full independence for India. Jawahar *unfurled Indian flag at the bank of*

Ravi on midnight of 31<sup>st</sup> December. He declared – ‘It’s a crime against man and God to submit any longer’.

Following broad decisions were taken –

- I. **Boycott of Round Table Conference**
- II. Demand for **Purna Swaraj**
- III. All **members of legislature may resign**.
- IV. It was declared that **26 January 1930, would be celebrated as the Independence Day** when people were to take a pledge to struggle for complete independence. Lahore session also marked a leadership shift to younger generation.
- V. It was also decided that a Civil Disobedient movement will be launched under leadership of Gandhi

Call for nation wide meetings was made and it saw huge participation from both Rural and Urban areas and pledges were made for Purna Swaraj.

## **GANDHI’S 11 POINTS, SALT MARCH & CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE MOVEMENT, 1930**

**Background** – After non-action of government over Nehru Report and failure of government to agree upon any demand for even dominion status, Gandhiji was looking for a new plan amidst growing restlessness among the Congress and nation as a whole.

Mahatma Gandhi found in salt a powerful symbol that could unite the nation. On 31 January 1930 – Soon after demand for Purna Swaraj, he sent a letter to Viceroy Irwin stating eleven demands (11 points). In his letter to Viceroy he stated – ‘British rule has impoverished ‘the Dumb Millions’ by a system of progressive exploitation, reducing us to political serfdom and sapped us culturally, degraded us spiritually’.

Some of these were of general interest; others were specific demands of different classes, from industrialists to peasants. *The idea was to make the demands wide-ranging, so that all classes within Indian society could identify with them* and everyone could be brought together in a united campaign.

These included among others –

- I. Total prohibition
- II. Release of political prisoners
- III. Reduce expenditure on civil services and military
- IV. Levy of duty on foreign cloth
- V. Issue of firearm licences
- VI. Reduce land revenue by 50%
- VII. Reduce Rupee Sterling exchange ratio to make Indian exports profitable
- VIII. Reserve Coastal shipping for Indians
- IX. Abolition of Salt Tax.

The most stirring of all was the demand to abolish the salt tax. *Salt was something consumed by the rich and the poor alike, and it was one of the most essential items of food. The tax on salt and the government monopoly over its production, Mahatma Gandhi declared, revealed the most oppressive face of British rule.* Further, Salt Satyagraha had a potential of mass appeal and mass-involvement. Mahatma Gandhi's letter was, in a way, an ultimatum.

Indian reaction to proposed 11 Points –

- I. There was some resentment among nationalist leaders over the 11 points as *they saw it running counter the Swaraj Declaration* that was made just some time back. However *Gandhi wanted to see the sincerity of British.*
- II. *Industrial class wholeheartedly supported Gandhian demands in full* as they saw them more of economic nature (levy of duty on foreign cloth and other demands if would have been accepted would have promoted domestic industry)

If the demands were not fulfilled by 11 March, the letter stated, the Congress would launch a civil disobedience campaign. Irwin was *unwilling to negotiate and no-response was given* to demands. Gandhi decided to go for Civil Disobedience. On this, Gandhi commented – *'While he asked for the bread, he was given a stone'* on the apathetic attitude of Viceroy and British government over their non-response to Gandhi's pleas before he started Civil Disobedience Movement.

So, Mahatma Gandhi started his famous salt march **accompanied by 78 of his trusted volunteers** which also included **Sarojini Naidu**. Congress vested in Gandhi power to launch Civil Disobedience Movement. The march was over 240 miles, from Gandhiji's ashram in **Sabarmati** to the Gujarati coastal town of **Dandi**. The volunteers walked for 24 days, about 10 miles a day. Thousands came to hear Mahatma Gandhi wherever he stopped, and he told them what he meant by swaraj and urged them to peacefully defy the British. On **6 April** he reached Dandi, and ceremonially violated the law, manufacturing salt by boiling sea water. *This marked the beginning of the Civil Disobedience Movement.*

Masses participated in the movement. Salt laws were broken everywhere. Even women participated in huge numbers. **Kamla** (wife of Nehru), **Swarup Rani** (Mother of Nehru) were at the forefront. In Tamil Nadu, **C Rajagopalchari** led the march, In Malabar **K Kelappan** took the lead.

Thousands in different parts of the country broke the salt law, manufactured salt and demonstrated in front of government salt factories. As the movement spread, foreign cloth was boycotted, and liquor shops were picketed. Peasants refused to pay revenue and chaukidari taxes, village officials resigned, and in many places forest people violated forest laws – going into Reserved Forests to collect wood and graze cattle.

Other Impacts –

- I. There was a *wide scale boycott of liquor shops* and in protest toddy trees were cut down
- II. *Women participated at large scale* for the first time
- III. **Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan** launched a Khudai Khidmatgar Movement at the North West Frontier Provinces

- IV. **Rani Gaidillieu** at the age of 13 responded to Gandhian call in Manipur and was sentenced for life imprisonment and was released only in 1947
- V. **Chowkidar Tax Non-Payment Campaign** was initiated in the Eastern part of the nation (Chowkidars were hated with their pro-government activities and were even considered government spies).
- VI. Forest laws were liberally violated in Southern and Central provinces
- VII. Bardoli Satyagraha was launched by Patel just before Civil Disobedience movement and it became a model no-tax campaign in other parts of the country during the Civil Disobedience movement.
- VIII. UP saw another form of '**No-Revenue, No Rent**' Campaign. No-Revenue call was for Zamindars and they were asked not to pay revenue to government and No-rent call was for cultivators.
- IX. A variety of mass mobilization techniques like **Prabhat Pheris**, **Patrikas** (illegal newsprint) were used. Children were organized into **Vanar Sena** and Girls into Manjari (cat) Sena.

**Dharsana Satyagraha, 1930** – Dharasana Satyagraha was a *protest against the British salt tax* in colonial India in May, 1930. Following the conclusion of the Salt March to Dandi, Mahatma Gandhi chose a *non-violent raid of the Dharasana Salt Works* in Gujarat as the next protest against British rule. Hundreds of satyagrahis were beaten by soldiers under British command at Dharasana. In a peaceful move led by **Sarojini Naidu**, *files of Satyagrahis faced the lathis of police and they fell in line, only to be replaced by other line*. The ensuing publicity *attracted world attention* to the Indian independence movement and brought into question the legitimacy of British rule in India.

**British Response** – Worried by the developments, the colonial government began arresting the Congress leaders one by one. This led to violent clashes in many palaces. A frightened government responded with a policy of brutal repression. Peaceful Satyagrahis were attacked, women and children were beaten, and about 60,000 people were arrested. Big leaders like C Rajagopalachari, Vallabhai, Jawahar, Madan Mohan Malviya, J M Sengupta etc were also arrested. *Gandhi too was arrested in May 1930* and leadership was transferred to **Abbas Tyabji** and he too was arrested. Later **Sarojini** took the lead, but she was also arrested. Government came up with many 'repressive resolutions', '*Congress was declared illegal*'.

#### **Success of Movement –**

- It rallied masses like never before
- Import of foreign goods was effectively boycotted
- Students and Women participated in masses
- Workers also joined the movement big time

#### **Failures of Movement –**

- Not all social groups were moved by the abstract concept of swaraj. One such group was the nation's 'untouchables', who from around the 1930s had begun to call themselves dalit or oppressed. For long the Congress had ignored the dalits, for fear of offending the sanatanis, the conservative high-caste Hindus. Dr B R Ambedkar, who organised the dalits into the Depressed

Classes Association in 1930, clashed with Mahatma Gandhi at the second Round Table Conference by demanding separate electorates for dalits.

- Muslims – except in NWFP under Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan – show apathetic response. They were polarized by communal rhetorics of leaders as well as government's positive response to their demands. After the decline of the Non-Cooperation-Khilafat movement, a large section of Muslims felt alienated from the Congress. From the mid-1920s the Congress came to be more visibly associated with openly Hindu religious nationalist groups like the Hindu Mahasabha. As relations between Hindus and Muslims worsened, each community organised religious processions with militant fervour, provoking Hindu-Muslim communal clashes and riots in various cities.
- Lukewarm Support from Industrial Class
- Poor participation from peasants

**Non-Cooperation vs Civil Disobedience** – People were now asked not only to refuse cooperation with the British, as they had done in 1921-22, but *also to break colonial laws*. So, it was an ideological progression. This time objective was complete independence. There was poor Muslim participation this time and labor participation was also poor.

This movement, however, catapulted Gandhi on international arena and for the first time women also participated in large number in a national movement.

## **GANDHI – IRWIN PACT or DELHI PACT (MARCH 1931)**

**Background** – As *British repression became harder during Civil Disobedience Movement*, it led to sufferance of common people. In such a situation, Mahatma Gandhi once again decided to call off the movement and he along with many others was arrested only to be released in 1931. *Congress didn't participate in first Round Table Conference* which was though attended by Muslim League, Hindu Mahasabha, Chamber of Princes, the Liberals and Dalits and *it was speculated that any agreement without the participation of Congress will be futile*. Irwin was also anxious to find a solution and in a gesture he released the political prisoners and decided to directly talk to Gandhi.

In this backdrop, Gandhi entered into a pact with Irwin on **5 March 1931**. The Pact and direct Gandhi-Irwin talks *put Congress on equal terms with government* and *this move of Irwin was also criticized in Britain for shedding too much space*.

**Below were the proposed conditions –**

- I. *Discontinuation of the civil disobedience movement* by the Indian National Congress
- II. *Participation by the Indian National Congress in the Round Table Conference*
- III. *Withdrawal of all ordinances issued* by the British Government imposing curbs on the activities of the Indian National Congress
- IV. *Release of prisoners arrested* for participating in the civil disobedience movement
- V. *Removal of the tax on salt*, which allowed the Indians to produce, trade, and sell salt legally and for their own private use.

Things that were not accepted by British as a part of Gandhi Irwin pact or Delhi Pact –

- I. However, Congress *demand for a police enquiry into arrests and atrocities made during Civil Disobedience movement was rejected.*
- II. *Commutation of sentences of Bhagat Singh and his comrades*
- III. The pact also *didn't accept demand of immediate return of the lands* confiscated during movement (this caused much resentment among the radicals)

By this Gandhi-Irwin Pact, Gandhiji consented to participate in a Round Table Conference in London and the government agreed to release the political prisoners. The pact was criticized by radicals for not extracting definite gains from government and compromising on the demand of Swaraj by agreeing to participate in Round Table Conference. *Gandhij was perhaps aware that mass movements are essentially short lived and he tried to leverage the situation by extracting some gains from British government.*

## KARACHI SESSION (MARCH 1931)

**Background** – The Gandhi-Irwin pact was criticised by radical nationalists, for Gandhiji was unable to obtain from the Viceroy a commitment to political independence for Indians; he could obtain merely an assurance of talks towards that possible end. It was organised even as many Congress leaders opposed the Gandhi-Irwin pact, for the *government had not accepted even one of the major nationalist demands* (viz – demand for police enquiry, return of confiscated peasant lands). It had not agreed even to the demand that the death sentence on Bhagat Singh and his two comrades be commuted to life imprisonment. It was termed as a bourgeois agreement, which ignored masses. *However, the session aimed at approving Gandhi Irwin Pact.*

Gandhiji prevailed upon the session to approve the agreement. He was *greeted with black flag and flowers by angry protestors*. Further, ***Gandhiji and Congress as national representatives in that congress was disputed by three sections – Muslim League, Princely states and BR Ambedkar*** (he accused congress of ignoring the welfare of lower castes).

However, the session is significant from following point of views –

- I. It *endorsed Delhi Pact or Gandhi Irwin Pact*
- II. For the ***first time it moved a resolution on Fundamental Rights*** and the draft resolution was *prepared by Jawahar Lal Nehru* (session was presided over by Vallabhai Patel)
- III. It for the first time *explained the concept of Purna Swaraj* and reiterated it as goal
- IV. It also *declared that interests of minority will be looked after* and their culture will be preserved
- V. It *acknowledged the brave sacrifice of Bhagat Singh and others*

**Significance of the Karachi Resolution** lies in the fact that – it remained the basic essence of political and economic programmes of Congress in later years.



**Karachi Congress Resolution, 1931** – Swaraj as conceived by the Congress should include real economic freedom of the masses. The Congress declares that no constitution will be acceptable to it unless it provides or enables the Swaraj Government to provide for –

- I. Freedom of expression, association and meeting.
- II. Freedom of religion.
- III. Protection of all cultures and languages.
- IV. All citizens shall be equal before the law.
- V. No disability in employment or trade or profession on account of religion, caste or sex.
- VI. Equal rights and duties for all in regard to public wells, schools, etc.
- VII. All to have right to bear arms in accordance with regulations.
- VIII. No person to be deprived of property or liberty except in accordance with law.
- IX. Religious neutrality of State.
- X. Adult Suffrage.
- XI. Free compulsory primary education.
- XII. No titles to be conferred.
- XIII. Capital punishment to be abolished.
- XIV. Freedom of movement for every citizen of India and right to settle and acquire property in any part thereof, and equal protection of law.
- XV. Proper standard of life for industrial workers and suitable machinery for settlement of disputes between employers and workers and protection against old age, sickness, etc.
- XVI. All labour to be free from conditions of serfdom.
- XVII. Special protection of women workers.
- XVIII. Children not to be employed in mines and factories.
- XIX. Rights of peasants and workers to form unions.
- XX. Reform of system of land revenue and tenure and rent, exempting rent and revenue for uneconomical holdings and reduction of dues payable for smaller holdings.
- XXI. Inheritance tax on graduated scale.
- XXII. Reduction of military expenditure by at least half.
- XXIII. No servant of State ordinarily to be paid above Rs 500 per month.
- XXIV. Abolition of Salt tax.
- XXV. Protection of indigenous cloth against competition of foreign cloth.
- XXVI. Total prohibition of intoxicating drinks and drugs.
- XXVII. Currency and exchange in national interest.
- XXVIII. Nationalisation of key industries and services, railways, etc.
- XXIX. Relief of agricultural indebtedness and control of usury.
- XXX. Military training for citizens.

## **2nd ROUND SECOND TABLE CONFERENCE (DEC 1931)**

**Background** – The Congress had boycotted the first Round Table Conference (1930) which was actively attended by princely states, Ambedkar and other non-Congress parties. Ambedkar also raised the issue of separate electorate for Dalits and Jinnah demanded more safeguards for the Muslims (these two

demands were reflected in Communal Award of 1932). After Gandhi-Irwin Pact, Gandhi was sent as a representative of Congress.

**Objective of Round table Conference** – Round table conference were in line with the constitutional progression envisaged by the British which were outlined by the Simon Commission as well to chart out a future course of action for political mechanism in India. One of the prime objective of Congress to participate in it was demand of Indians for more autonomy and dominion status.

Though the round table conferences were termed as 1<sup>st</sup>, 2<sup>nd</sup>, and 3<sup>rd</sup>. It will be wrong to term as so because – it was basically a single conference that was held in three sessions.

In April, before Second Round Table Conference, Irwin was replaced by new **Viceroy Willingdon** and he was not ready to take a liberal attitude as taken by Irwin. Even before Gandhi left for Conference there were complaints regarding the non-release of prisoners in some areas, repression of Khudai Khidamtgars in NWFP and Gandhi was refused permission to go there.

**Non-Congress parties were involved by the British in a big way** at the 2<sup>nd</sup> Round Table Conference as well. In December 1931, Gandhiji went to London for the conference, but **the negotiations broke down on the minority issue**. Not only Muslims demanded separate electorate, *this time minorities led by Ambedkar also demanded separate electorate*. **British also refused to grant Dominion Status** a key demand of Congress. Gandhi pressed upon point of Constitutional reforms and leaving behind communal arguments. But no consensus was reached and he returned disappointed. It failed because of initial non-attendance by the Congress and because Gandhi, who later did attend, claimed he was the only representative of all of India.

Outcomes –

- I. *Two new Muslim majority provinces* – NWFP and Sindh to be created
- II. Setting up of *Indian Consultative Committee*
- III. Prospect of a *unilateral Communal Award* if Indians failed to agree.
- IV. New right/conservative government under Churchill refused to put Congress on equal footing and adopted a stern attitude, in its aftermath new Viceroy refused to have a meeting with Gandhiji

Back in India, Gandhi discovered that the *government had begun a new cycle of repression*. Gaffar Khan and Jawaharlal Nehru were both in jail, the Congress had been declared illegal, and a series of measures had been imposed to prevent meetings, demonstrations and boycotts. *Press was gagged* and Congress was still facing ban. New Viceroy Willingdon and Secretary of State had adopted a tough stance against Gandhi and they decided not to negotiate any further like the former Viceroy Irwin did earlier.

With great apprehension, *Mahatma Gandhi relaunched the Civil Disobedience Movement*. For over a year, the movement continued, but by 1934 it lost its momentum due to severe repression by government.

Causes of Failure of 2<sup>nd</sup> Phase of Civil Disobedience Movement –

- Major Leaders were Behind Bars
- Poor Support from Peasantry
- Inertia and apparent disappointment from Gandhian politics

To break the lull in activities, *council entry was suggested* on the line of Swarajists by **Satayamurti** which was later endorsed by likes of **Bhulabhai Desai, M A Ansari**. As a result Congress participated in Central Legislative Elections of 1934 and it won a heavy majority.

Within Congress as well, an alternative ideological development happened and Congress Socialist Party was born as a left leaning faction.

In the meanwhile, many nationalists thought that the struggle against the British could not be won through non-violence. In 1928, the **Hindustan Socialist Republican Army (HSRA)** was founded at a meeting in Ferozeshah Kotla ground in Delhi as an offshoot of Hindustan Republican Association visibly influenced by socialist ideas. Amongst its leaders were Bhagat Singh, Jatin Das and Ajoy Ghosh. In a series of dramatic actions in different parts of India, the HSRA targeted some of the symbols of British power. In **April 1929, Bhagat Singh and Batukeswar Dutta threw a bomb in the Legislative Assembly**. In the same year there was an attempt to blow up the train that Lord Irwin was travelling in.

New Viceroy Willingdon who replaced Irwin believed that government did a major mistake by reaching a truce with Congress and by putting Gandhi on equal par. He was determined this time to crush Congress.

## **COMMUNAL AWARD (1932) and POONA PACT (1933)**

**Background** – In the wake of inconclusive Round Table Talks, British government had declared that, if a consensus was not reached on separate representation of minorities, a unilateral communal award will be made. Government kept its promise in form of Communal Award of 1932.

The Communal Award was by the British Prime Minister Ramsay MacDonald on 4 August 1932 to grant separate electorates to minority communities in India, including Muslims, Sikhs, and Dalit (then known as the Depressed Classes or Untouchables) in India (during Round Table Discussions, separate electorate was demanded by not only Muslim Leaders but by Ambedkar and other minorities as well). The depressed classes were assigned a number of seats to be filled by election from special constituencies in which voters belonging to the depressed classes only could vote.

The award was opposed for provision of separate electorate by Congress and other nationalist leaders and was *viewed as a part of 'Divide and Rule' policy of Britain*. The Award was highly controversial and opposed by Mahatma Gandhi. Gandhi called the award as – '*English Attack on Hindu-Muslim Unity*'. He argued that *what Dalits need is eradication of untouchability and discrimination and not further division*. In the award *he saw similar consequences of Muslim having separate electorate and ultimately demanding a separate nation*. He began an indefinite hunger strike at Yerwada Central Jail from September 20, 1932 to protest this Award.

Communal Award was supported by many among the minority communities, most notably the Dalit leader, Dr. B R Ambedkar. **Madan Mohan Malviya** acted as a mediator between Gandhi and Ambedkar and after lengthy negotiations, Gandhi reached an agreement with Dr. Ambedkar to have a single Hindu electorate, with *Dalits having seats reserved within it* (in fact, seats for Dalits were increased after the Pact). This is called the **Poona Pact**. *Electorates for other religions like Muslim and Sikh remained separate.*

After this pact, *Gandhi put renewed effort towards upliftment of Dalits*. He started a magazine called – **Harijan** and he also spent *one year in community service* of Dalits and spreading the message of untouchability. However, orthodox Hindus sternly opposed his efforts.

Soon after that in 1934, Gandhi renounced the membership of Congress and expressed his desire to put Jawahar in as next leader. As a result, Jawahar was elected president in 1935 and 1936.

## GOVERNMENT of INDIA ACT (1935)

**Background** – Third Round Table Conference happened in 1932, and no Congress leader participated. However its discussion and discussions of earlier Round Tables and Simon Commission recommendations led to the enactment of 1935 Act.

The Act provided for an all India federal structure as a union of Princly States and Provinces. ***Inclusion of Princly States was an idea to act as a balance against the rising nationalism in the provinces.***

### Features of the Act –

- I. It introduced **Federalism** in India with Princly States and Provinces being its parts and introduced Federal List, Provincial List and Concurrent List. However, *this never became a reality for Princly States didn't approve this.*
- II. **Provincial Autonomy** replaced Provincial Diarchy (after unpopular nature of Dyarchy in Provinces, Simon Commission suggested its abolition) i.e. *Responcible Government was introduced in Provinces. Governor has to now act on the advice of the miniters responsible to Provincial Legislature.*
- III. **Bicameralism** was introduced in 6 out of 11 Provinces.
- IV. There was also to be a bicameral federal legislature *in which the (princly) states were given disproportionate weight age. Moreover, the representatives of the states were not to be elected by the people, but appointed directly by the rulers.*
- V. NWFP was given status of province and Burma was separated from India (Burma became part of India only during British)
- VI. **Diarchy at federal/central** level was introduced and abolished at provincial level
- VII. **Emergency power** was vested in Governor General and Governors in Provinces – The Governor-General and the Governors were to be appointed by the British government. Though power was

given to provinces, the Governors were given special powers. They could veto legislative action. Moreover, they retained full control over the civil service and the police. Governor General was given 'Emergency Powers'.

- VIII. Separate Electorate was provided for Hindu and Muslims as was provided by 1909 and 1919 Acts too.
- IX. **Limited Franchise** – Only 14 per cent (1/6) of the total population in British India was given the right to vote. Even this legislature, in which the princes were once again to be used to check and counter the nationalist elements, was denied any real Power.
- X. **Key Portfolios were kept under British Control** – Defense and foreign affairs remained outside its control, while the Governor-General retained special control over the other subjects.
- XI. Lower house termed as – Legislative Assembly and Upper House as Council of States
- XII. Vote on Budget was also allowed
- XIII. 'Vote of No Confidence' and 'Idea of Collective Representation' was introduced.
- XIV. There were also other features of the act like – Establishment of a **Federal Court**, A **Federal Bank** (RBI), **Federal Public Service Commission** etc.

Foreign rule was to continue as before; *only a few popularly elected ministers were to be added to the structure* and the Congress condemned the Act as 'totally disappointing'. The act was condemned by one and all. Jawaharlal Nehru termed this Act as – '*The Act is a car without engines, but all brakes*'.

It **didn't mention the Dominion Status** was promised by Simon Commission.

It also carried on *provision of separate electorate which would also lead to further communal divide*. Separate electorate was long opposed by Congress.

On the basis of the Act, the first 'provincial elections' were held in February 1937 and they conclusively demonstrated that a large majority of Indian people supported the Congress and it recorded majority in 8 out of 11 provinces. Congress ministries were formed in July 1937 in seven out of eleven provinces. However they had to work under supervision of governor.

Despite the criticism of the Act at that time, many of the provisions of the Act were adopted by the government of India after Independence and this act was landmark in terms of concessions provided to Indians and the changes that it proposed in the governing system. This is the reason that it is termed as '*Point of no return to freedom*'.

**Congress for the first time officially demanded establishment of a Constitutional Assembly** in its 1935 session based on adult franchise to draft Constitution.

## 1937 ELECTIONS

Jawahar Lal Nehru, Bose, Congress Socialists and Communists were against the idea of entering into Provincial elections which were scheduled to be held in 1937 for the first time according to the 1935 Act. According to them it defeats their purpose because –

- Participating *would dilute their stand* and will be *akin to cooperating with the repressive government*
- *Assuming offices after elections means having ‘responsibility without power’* as the governing structure has not changed much
- Assuming the office would take away the revolutionary character that movement has assumed since 1919

Others argued that while focus of congress is still on the activities outside the legislature, *entering the legislatures is only a short term tactic to bust the Act of 1935 from within and to practically demonstrate the hollowness of the Act*. It was also termed as a part of all round strategy with ultimate goal as independence. With this assurance, Jawahar started his campaign extensively in 1936 and in his election manifesto made three things clear –

- Goal of Congress is still attainment of Independence
- Congress still rejects 1935 Act
- *Formation of Constituent Assembly is still top priority of Congress* (INC in 1936 for the time proposed to constitute the Constitution Assembly to form the Indian Constitution)

Congress won in majority of provinces with exception of Bengal, Sind, Punjab, Assam, NWFP etc and it formed ministries in many of them. To match their acts with their electoral promises, leaders took the steps like – *reduced their salaries, travelled through trains in second and third class*. It initiated many reforms, passed many legislations, freed political prisoners.

The elections also had *another undesirable outcome*. **It widened the rift between Congress and the League** and it became more communal and more strident in its demand of a separate nation. The Congress's failure to mobilise the Muslim masses in the 1930s allowed the League to widen its social support. The Congress's rejection of the League's desire to form a joint Congress League government in the United Provinces in 1937 also annoyed the League.

However, its performance was limited by various factors, especially in the field of agrarian reforms –

- I. *Inherent power still lied with center and Viceroys and Governors* had the power to veto their resolutions
- II. *Congress had little financial resources* as lion's share was taken by the Center
- III. According to mechanism of bicameralism in provinces, most of the provinces, there were *‘legislative councils’ also which had elections on the basis of limited franchise and were occupied by the landlords, zamindars and other elites*. A lower house support was often not enough to

pass a legislation and this led to compromise on many issues including agrarian reforms which ran counter to the interests of these members.

- IV. Vested interests withing Congress also scuttled its plans of reforms and infightings and bickering further aggravated it

**Muslim League and 1937 election** – The election came as a great disappointment for Muslim League. *Jinnah was called from London to lead Muslim League in 1935*, but despite that it secured only around 100 seats out of the allotted 480 seats. This failure left it with no choice but to resort to communalism and it got manifested in the 1937 by elections in UP when it *rallied the voters on the name of Allah and Kuran*. Nehru strongly condemned this Act. This was turning point in the history of communalism in India when it took an extreme form which was aggravated in coming years.

## **TIRUPURI SESSION and FORWARD BLOCK (1939)**

Gandhi had retired from Congress in 1934 and Congress under Jawahar's leadership has acquired a taste of socialism and radicalism. Subhas was chosen unanimously in February 1938 session of Congress at Haripura to built upon that trend. In that session under the leadership of Bose, Congress passed a *resolution to opposition to the impending imperialistic war*.

**Difference between Gandhi and Subhash** – However, *Gandhi had a sympathetic corner for British in this hour of difficulty and he also didn't like the idea of Subhash to join the other European forces in a bid to bring freedom to India*. Other issue was Subhash's plan for industrialised development, which Gandhi opposed in favor of grass root level changes. These differences came in open in the next session of Congress of 1939 in Tirupuri when Gandhi fielded **Patabhai Sitaramaiya** as candidate and he was defeated and Bose re-elected.

Bose declared its opposition to fascism and imperialism alike and passed a resolution in this effect *along with a resolution demanding independence and forming a constituent assembly*. He also openly criticized moderate policies of Congress and called for an aggressive movement. This open criticism irked many veterans and 12 of the working Committee members (out of 15) resigned and in the same year **Govind Vallabh Pant** moved a resolution to form a new working committee under Gandhian leadership. The resolution was passed and Bose stepped down from presidency.

Congress Socialist Party refrained from voting and Bose called it as a betrayal. He formed Forwards Block in 1939, first as a part of Congress then parted ways with it.

## **SECOND WORLD WAR and INDIA**

In 1939 World war broke out and British declared participation of India in War without permission from or consultation with Indians. *League (on conditional support that constitutional decisions will be taken with its consent) and Princly States supported the War*.

Gandhi expressed sympathy, while Subhash urged for taking benefit of this situation to launch a full blown movement. Nehru was in middle and argued for refraining from the war and at the same time not taking advantage. *'Tell me the difference between Imperialism and Fascism'*, remarked Nehru.

British offered Dominion Status to India after War, but Congress found it too little too late. All Congress ministers resigned from provinces in 1939 in protest of alleged involvement of India in war without consultation with Indians. League celebrated **22 December 1939** as '**Deliverance Day**' from Congress rule.

Congress agreed to provide conditional support and put forward two demands –

- After the war constituent assembly should be convened
- Immediately some form of responsible government should be established at the center

Viceroy **Linglithgo** rejected these demands. Government tried to use *Chamber of Princes and Muslim League against Congress*. It further wanted to regain lost ground on pretext of war.

A nationalist movement was not initiated by Congress during the war because –

- Gandhi and other leaders thought that *cause of Allied Forces was just* and it will be unfair to go for a national movement at this difficult hour
- Secondly, *communal passions were at an all times high* and this threatened any new national movement also and a movement may degenerate into a communal riot
- Most importantly, *leaders thought that people were not ready for the mass movement* at this stage

Gandhi wrote – '*We don't seek our Independence out of British ruin*'. This view was summed up in the **Ramgarh Session of the Congress** when the working committee passed a resolution to this effect.

However, as the condition of Allied Forces aggravated and a danger loomed even on India, Congress agreed for a conditional support if the British free India after the war.

To negotiate the demands of Indians of Complete dependence Viceroy made an offer known as – '**August Offer**' – which *didn't talk of independence* and was rejected by both League and Congress.

In the meanwhile in 1940, Muslim league demanded a '*separate constituency*' (still a demand for separate nation was not there) for Muslims in its Lahore Resolution.

Gandhi launched an Individual Satyagraha in the meanwhile.

Amidst this, British PM sent **Stafford Cripps** to forge a compromise with Gandhi and Congress and seek their support for war. Talks broke down, however, after the Congress insisted that if it was to help the British defend India from the Axis powers, then the Viceroy had first to appoint an Indian as the Defence Member of his Executive Council.

## **TWO NATIONS THEORY and LAHORE RESOLUTION (1940)**

Amidst all the confusion over war and Congress' dilemma of joining the war, Muslim League passed a resolution in its 1940 session declaring that '*Muslims are not a minority, but a separate nation*'. This gave rise to '**Two nation Theory**'. It called for the creation of 'independent states' for Muslims in British India. The constituent units of these states were to be autonomous and sovereign (*The name 'Pakistan'*



had been suggested in 1933 by a Cambridge scholar Rehmat Ali, but was not formally announced in this resolution).

## AUGUST OFFER (1940)

The August offer 1940 was made on August 8, 1940 by Viceroy Lord Linlithgow, the **eve of the Battle of Britain** in which it was beleaguered to seek support of India by providing some concessions on front of self-rule that were earlier demanded by Indians.

The offer *in principle accepted the demand for Constituent Assembly*.

The Viceroy at the time, Lord Linlithgow, made a fresh offer that promised –

- I. Dominion Status
- II. *The expansion of the governor-general's Executive Council* to include more Indians
- III. The Establishment of an *Advisory War council*
- IV. Giving full weight to minority opinion
- V. Recognition of Indians' *right to frame their own constitution* (after the war would end), framed '**mainly**' by Indians.

In return, it was hoped that all parties and communities in India would cooperate in Britain's war efforts.

However, the Congress as well as League rejected this offer, and Gandhi viewed it as having '*widened the gulf between Nationalist India and the British ruler*' and he launched 'Individual Satyagraha' as result. Nehru reacted that – '*Dominion Status is dead as door nail*'.

However, this offer **for the first time recognized right of Indians to frame their own constitution**. Further, **for the first time Dominion Status was explicitly offered**.

## INDIVIDUAL SATYAGRAHA (1940)

**Background** – In 1940, after refusal of August Offer, Congress was in a fix again. While some wanted to organize a mass Civil Disobedience movement as they saw it as a right opportunity as Britain was entangled in war, others – mainly Gandhi – wanted to go for Individual Satyagraha as he didn't want to take advantage of difficult situation of the British.

Its *aim was to show that nationalist patience was not a symbol of weakness and people made no difference between colonialism and Nazism*. Further, it was a warning to government as well as giving it another opportunity.

There were three people who were nominated by Gandhi himself as Individual satyagrahi. First was **Acharya Vinoba Bhave**. He was arrested soon after he started it. Other two were **Jawaharlal Nehru** and **Brahma Dutt**. They too were arrested. Individual Satyagraha was very limited and was withdrawn by end of 1940. However it was relaunched in 1941 and this time it had some mass appeal and thousands were arrested.

## CRIPPS MISSION (1942)

**Background** – In 1939 the Viceroy, Lord Linlithgow, declared India a party to war without consulting Indian political leaders or the elected provincial representatives. This caused considerable resentment in India and provoked the *resignation en masse of elected Congress Party Provincial Governments in 1939* (which were elected in 1937), *giving rise to the prospect of public revolt and political disorder in India*. Government tried to reconcile with August Offer, but that was rejected and instead Individual Satyagraha was launched. News that '**Atlantic Charter**' *won't be applicable to Indians* (which was signed between US and Britain and *provided the freedom to people to chose their own government*) further angered Indian leaders.

It was another attempt in late March 1942 by the British government to secure Indian cooperation and support for their efforts in World War II. The offer was made in a situation in which, Britain was pushed against the wall in wake of rising facism aggression –

- As Japan approached towards Asia, British felt a need to garner support of British Indian Army.
- There was also pressure from Allied forces to seek Indian cooperation.

Pandit Nehru and Mulana Azad were official negotiators with the Cripps Mission. Cripps spent a **major chunk of his time in bringing congress and league on the same table**. But, there was little trust between the British and Congress by this stage, and both sides felt that the other was concealing its true plans.

Major Features of Cripps Mission were (Almost same as August Offer) –

- I. *Dominion Status with later right to withdraw from Commonwealth*
- II. *Reconstitution of Viceroy's Executive Council*
- III. *Constitutional Making Body for India* – Consisting of elected members of provinces and representatives from princely states
- IV. *War Executive Council* – A war executive council was proposed having Indian representation, however Defense of India will be retained by the government
- V. Provinces may have separate Constitution

Unlike August offer, it ***gave offer of Constitution making by Indians alone*** and not 'mainly' by Indians as proposed in August Offer. Secondly, it was ***given right to withdraw from Commonwealth***.

**Failure of Cripps Mission –**

- I. It spent *most of the time in negotiations with Congress and League* which remain adamant.
- II. *Viceroy and Secretary of State worked from behind to sabotage its efforts.*
- III. *Gandhi's opposition led the Indian National Congress to reject the British offer;*
- IV. Cripps' modification of the original British offer, which provided for no real transfer of power and offered only Dominion Status which was rejected by Indians
- V. Another major reason was the *Cripps incapacity to bargain*, he was told to not go beyond the boundaries of Draft Plan.

While the demand of Congress was of Independence, Gandhi said that Cripps's offer of Dominion status after the war was a '*Post dated cheque drawn on a crashing bank*'.

*Major objections of Congress were dominion status. It also **objected to the basis of nomination** of the princely states through nomination and not by people themselves. **Right of provinces to secede** also went against plan of united India. Muslim League criticized idea of a single union. Depressed felt that **partition will leave them at the mercy of Hindu and Muslim majority elite.***

## QUIT INDIA (1942) or AUGUST KRANTI

**Background** – Failure of August offer and Cripps Mission has left Indians with little choice and government has also shown repressive tendencies as witnessed in Individual Satyagraha. Government was also adamant with its lame proposal of Dominion Status. There was a general price rise and hardship for common man in wake of war. News of reversals suffered by British in War and expectations of its imminent collapse as the Imperial Japanese Army advanced closer to India with the conquest of Burma, Indians perceived an inability upon the part of the British to defend Indian soil.

When the British remained unresponsive, Gandhi and the Congress began planning a major public revolt, the Quit India movement – the first truly pan Indian mass movement. This period *concurred with the rise of the Indian National Army, led by Subhash Chandra Bose*. The British response to the Quit India movement was to throw most of the Congress leadership in jail. *Jinnah took a separate line and instead supported British and League even participated in provincial elections.*

In the **8<sup>th</sup> August Bombay session**, Congress passed the Quit India resolution at **Gowalia Tank** and its draft was prepared by Jawahar Lal Nehru and seconded by Patel. Gandhi called for a '*Do or Die*' and gave slogans of '*Quit India*' and '*Bharat Choro*'. Very next day of Gowalia Tank meet, major leaders were arrested under '*Operation Thunderbolt*' launched by the British.

Common people showed unprecedented heroism, but they also faced unprecedented repression. On the name of war, government had armed itself with draconian provisions and laws.

There were other events like – *Forcing people in Bengal and Orissa to restrict the use of their boats in fear of Japanese capture* and use against British, news from South East were that British only evacuated white natives when Japanese attacked and thus leaving locals on their fate.

This lead to anger and confusion and people came on roads, *hartaals ensued and clashes happened. Underground activities started and even parallel governments were formed* like the one in Satara. A new **underground leadership** emerged led by **Achyut Patwardhan, R M Lohia, Sucheta Kriplani, Chhotubhai Puranik, R P Goenka and J P Narayan.**

A new event happened in 1943, when Gandhi announced a **10 day fast in Jail** in response to British government's exhortation to condemn the violence committed by people. Instead of condemning the violence, Gandhi fasted on. It *raised public anger many a fold*. He issued specific instructions to various groups –

- I. Government Servants – *Don't resign, but declare your allegiance to the Congress.*

- II. Soldiers – *Don't leave the army, but don't fire on your compatriots*
- III. Students – *If confident leave the studies*
- IV. Peasants – If Zamindars are pro-government, don't pay the rent. If they are anti government, pay.
- V. Princes – *Support the masses* and accept the sovereignty of people.

The movement was short lived, but significant as it marked a new high in mass participation and made it amply clear to British that it will no longer be possible to suppress the masses. Students and the peasantry served as the backbone, middle class and bureaucracy sided government.

Sardar Vallabhai Patel was the most fervent supporter of Gandhi's proposal for an all-out campaign of civil disobedience during Quit India Movement. He participated in Gandhi's call for *individual disobedience*, and was arrested in 1940 and imprisoned for nine months. He also opposed the proposals of the Cripps' mission in 1942.

Muslim league after the Quit India came with its own '*Divide and Quit*' demand.

#### Features of Quit India Movement –

- I. It was a spontaneous movement
- II. It was not non-violent like earlier movements of Gandhi, it was first violent movement and the last one too launched by Gandhi. There were many incidences of violence
- III. It didn't attract labor class in general
- IV. Gandhi didn't call for the government servants to leave their jobs but declare their support to Congress. Similarly he asked army not to leave, but not fire on compatriots.

#### Phases of Quit India Movement –

- I. **Urban Phase** – Lasted for only one week
- II. **Rural Phase** – Sabotage of government communication lines and transportation. It lasted for a few months around 3-4 months
- III. **Under ground movement** – it was the *most violent and long lasting*. **All India Congress Radio** was operated by **Usha Mehta**. **Asif Ali** and **Aruna Asif Ali** trained everyone to operate multiple centers.
- IV. **Parallel Governments** – Various parallel governments were formed –
  - a. **Balia**, UP – Under **Chittu Pandey**
  - b. **Tumruk**, Bengal – **Tamralipta National Government** of Tumruk was different as it set up *separate police, and revenue system*. It also carried out relief work, supplied paddy from rich to poor. They also had an active Women's Wing '**Bidyut Vahini**'. Its major leaders were – **Ajoy Kumar Mukharjee**, **Matangini Hazara**, Satish Chandra Samanta, Sushil Kumar Dhara.
  - c. **Satara**, Maharashtra – Under Achyut Patwardhan, YB Chavan, Nana Patil etc. Village libraries were formed and Nyayadan Mandals were organized, prohibition campaigns were organized.

Quit India repression was one of the most violent repressions since repression of 1857. Around 10,000 people lost their lives.

It made in a way final assertion of the will of people who were determined now not be held back by any false promises.

## C R FORMULA or RAJAJI FORMULA and GANDHI-JINNAH TALKS (1944)

**Background** – Muslim League was intransigent on any issue of conciliation with Congress. Gandhi wanted a united India and sought to break this deadlock and on C Rajaji's inducement he got ready for talks. C Rajagopalachari proposed a formula (or C R formula or Rajaji formula) to solve the political deadlock between the All India Muslim League and Indian National Congress on independence of India from the British. It was presented via a pamphlet '*The Way Out*'.

It offered the League the after independence, ***Pakistan based on plebiscite of all the peoples in the regions where Muslims made a majority*** and in turn Muslim League ***should support the demand for Independence***. This in some way gave approval for separate Pakistan to which as per C Rajaji, Gandhi also agreed as formula had provision that after Independence if plebiscite called for a separate sovereign Pakistan, so it be.

Although the formula was opposed even within the Congress party, Gandhi used it as his proposal in his talks with Jinnah in 1944. However, *Jinnah rejected the proposal and the talks failed*. Jinnah refused to accept the Rajaji Formula as it did not meet the League's full demand for Pakistan. The provision of plebiscite in the formula didn't go down well with the Muslim leaders. They ***agreed for plebiscite only in some areas and not in all places***.

In talks with Gandhi also, ***Gandhi loathed the idea of two separate nations*** which lead to their failure. ***Gandhi was adamant that any talk of partition should be held after British leave India*** which was not acceptable to Jinnah.

Hence, Jinnah rejected the initiative, telling his Council that *it was intended to 'torpedo' the 'Lahore resolution'*; it was 'grossest travesty', a '*ridiculous proposal*' and he termed it as – '*a shadow and a husk, maimed, mutilated Pakistan*'.

## DESAI-LIAQAT PACT

To end the deadlock another attempt was made. Bhullabhi Desai and Liaquat Ali Khan came up with a draft of forming an '***interim government***' at the center, consisting of –

- I. *Equal number of representatives nominated by League and Congress*
- II. *20% seats reserved for minorities*

## SHIMLA CONFERENCE and WAVELL PLAN (1945)

As the Gandhi-Jinnah talks over Rajaji formula failed, government offered another way to reconcile the differences between the two. The Shimla Conference was a 1945 *meeting between Viceroy Wavell and*

the major political leaders of India at Simla, India **to discuss composition of Viceroy's Executive Council**. Convened to agree on and approve the **Wavell Plan** for Indian self-government, **it reached a potential agreement for the self-rule of India that provided separate representation to Muslims and reduced majority powers for both communities in their majority regions**.

However, **talks stalled on the issue of selection of Muslim representatives**. The conference broke down on the insistence of Jinnah that his party should have an *exclusive right to nominate Muslim members of the Viceroy's Executive Council*. This was something which the Congress could not concede without repudiating its national composition and *saw this as an attempt to brand itself a caste Hindu party*.

This scuttled the conference, and *perhaps the last viable opportunity for a united, independent India*. When the Indian National Congress and All India Muslim League reconvened under the Cabinet Mission the next year, the Indian National Congress was far less sympathetic to the Muslim League's requests despite Jinnah's approval of the British plan.

In the meanwhile, Government changed in Britain and hostile Churchill was replaced by Clement Attlee of Labor Party. Pethwick Lawrence became new secretary of state.

Further, elections were held in 1945-46 in India too and both Muslim League and Congress won heavily in their respective constituencies. *This further bolstered the confidence of Muslim League*.

## **INA and AZAD HIND FAUJ and INA TRIALS**

INA was first formed by **Mohan Singh** and was later reorganized by **Rash Behari Bose**. Mohan Singh, Niranjana Shah Gill and Mohammed Akram were the Indian expats who for the first time originally formed INA with the help of Japan. However, later due to disagreement with Japanese, INA was disbanded and they were again made PoW.

Rash Behari Bose also contributed significantly to unite various local Indian Independence Leagues in East Asian countries to form All India Independence League. Command of INA was given to Subhash when he arrived in 1943.

Subhash formed a *provisional government in Singapore* and formed INA headquarters in **Rangoon and Singapore** and he famously gave the call of '*Delhi Chalo*'. Netaji hoisted Indian flag in Andaman in December 1943 and renamed the islands as – '*Shahid*' and '*Swaraj*' in memory of martyrs.

In 1944, INA started to advance along the eastern border and Kohima was taken. In the Imphal Campaign one Indian battalion led by **Shah Nawaz** was also allowed to go along Japanese. However, the *failure of Imphal Campaign and unequal treatment by Japanese demoralized INA soldiers*. With the Japanese surrender in 1945, Azad Hind Fauj's dream to liberate India was also shattered.

After surrender, famous INA trials at Red Fort took place in 1945-46. This saw massive rally of people and un-precedented emotional support for the brave patriots. Though the court martial held found the officers guilty, government under pressure released them. Trials garnered huge support cutting across the community lines as one of the main leaders was Hindu, **Prem Sehgal**, one was Muslim, **Shah Nawaz Hussain** and one a Sikh, **Gurbaksh Singh Dhillon**.

During war time, Indian Armies were also employed to restore French and Dutch colonies and this also fuelled anti-imperialist sentiments as Britain on one hand was talking independence on the other hand was promoting colonialism.

In Calcutta, an INA officer **Rashid Ali** was sentenced for 7 years and this caused much anger.

In June 1944, with the end of the war in sight, Gandhiji was released from prison. Later that year he held a series of meetings with Jinnah, seeking to bridge the gap between the Congress and the League.

The prevailing conditions made it amply clear to the British that holding India away from Independence will no longer be feasible in a post war arena because –

- It has grown weak
- Peer pressure from US and Russia
- Signals from INA for other possible armed struggles
- Final straw came by RIN mutiny, which proved that army which used to be the stronghold of British cannot remain insulated to national events, further strike by Signals Corps at Jabalpur also indicated similar things. These events broke the notion of loyal-Indians and they realized that Indians can no longer be relied for administrative work

In 1945, a Labour government came to power in Britain under prime minister Clement Attlee and committed itself to granting independence to India. Meanwhile, back in India, the Viceroy, Lord Wavell, brought the Congress and the League together for a series of talks. Elections took place with separate electorate and both Muslim league and congress participated and both recorded overwhelming majority in their respective reserved seats. And it made the political polarization complete, which culminated in the partition.

## RIN RATING MUTINY (1946)

It started with an incident when a sailor on board of **INS Talwar** wrote 'Quit India' and he was arrested for this, however causes were deep rooted. *Racial discrimination, unpalatable food, poor working conditions, abuse by senior officers, INA trials* were the causes.

The Royal Indian Navy mutiny (also called the Bombay Mutiny) encompasses a total strike and subsequent mutiny by Indian sailors of the Royal Indian Navy on board ship and shore establishments at Bombay (Mumbai) harbour on 18 February 1946. From the initial flashpoint in Bombay, the mutiny spread and found support throughout British India, from Karachi to Calcutta and ultimately came to involve 78 ships, 20 shore establishments and 20,000 sailors.

It was repressed by force by the British Royal Navy. *Only the Communist Party supported the strikers; the Congress and the Muslim League condemned it.*

Two interpretations of movement –

- I. **Revolt for Freedom** – Nationalist historians on the far left have looked at the mutiny as a revolt against the British Raj and imperial rule.



- II. **Revolt against Bad Condition of Sailors** - However naval historians argue that internal conditions in the Royal Indian Navy were more important sources of unrest.

Notably, the mutinying ships *hoisted three flags tied together* — those of the Congress, Muslim League, and the Red Flag of the Communist Party of India (CPI), signifying the unity and demarginalisation of communal issues among the mutineers.

Rallies were organized in support of mutineers, food and essential items were sent on ships, hartals were organized.

**The mutiny was called off** following a meeting between the President of the Naval Central Strike Committee (NCSC) and Vallabh Bhai Patel of the Congress, who had been sent to Bombay to settle the crisis. Patel issued a statement calling on the strikers to end their action, which was later echoed by a statement issued in Calcutta by Mohammed Ali Jinnah on behalf of the Muslim League.

The mutiny was **significant because till that day there has been no revolt from the armed forces** and this had a moral effect on masses and it electrified the whole nation. It *prompted British government to treat INA prisoners with leniency and only those who were accused of murder, and brutal crime were put to trial*. Soon Cabinet Mission also followed.

## POST SECOND WORLD WAR

In post world war time, Indians have revealed their heroic tendencies during Quit India and INA. New struggle took place in the form of massive movement against conviction of INA soldiers. Under enormous pressure, government set them free.

Change in attitude of government in post war period was because of –

- I. Power equation changed in post war period and both USA and Russia supported cause of independence of colonies including India.
- II. War caused huge economic drain on Britain
- III. There was a government change in Britain and Labor party won elections. Hostile Churchill was replaced by a more pragmatic Clement Attlee who supported Indian cause.
- IV. British soldiers were haggard after war and were not willing on further foreign jaunts.
- V. British faith in Indian army and administrative machinery was also broken after RIN mutiny and Signals corps at Jabalpur.
- VI. Congress as well as Muslim League performed well in provincial elections giving boost to support for domestic rule.

## CABINET MISSION (1946)

After failure of Gandhi-Jinnah talks (1944) and Wavell plan (1945) Cabinet Mission was sent to India to –

- I. Discuss the formation of interim government and outline of future government
- II. Setting up of a constituent assembly.



Cabinet mission stood for united India. It was a ***last opportunity to avoid partition***. Its members were – Cripps, Pathwick Lawrence, Alexander

Attitude of British Government was now considerably changed due to following reasons –

- *War wearied away UK* and it was no more a global superpower.
- *New Labor government was more sympathetic* to Indian demands.
- There was an *anti-imperialist wave in South East Asia*.
- *British soldiers were haggard and economy in a shambles*.
- RIN mutiny was a strong signal that Indians will no longer subjugate to imperial oppression

A Cabinet Mission sent in the summer of 1946 *failed to get the Congress and the League to agree on a federal system* that would keep India together while allowing the provinces a degree of autonomy.

The Cabinet Mission toured the country for three months and ***recommended a loose three-tier confederation***. India was to remain united. It was to have a *weak central government* controlling only foreign affairs, defence and communications with the existing provincial assemblies being grouped into three groups. Initially all the major parties accepted this plan. It made following proposals initially –

- I. A **united Dominion** of India would be given independence with opt-out clause.
- II. Formation of a **Constituent Assembly**
- III. There will be **compulsory grouping** with three groups.
  - Muslim-majority provinces would be grouped in two groups (Group B and C) – Baluchistan, Sind, Punjab and North-West Frontier Province would form one group, and Bengal and Assam would form another.
  - Hindu-majority provinces in central and southern India would form another group (Group A).
- IV. The central government would be empowered to run foreign affairs, defence and communications, *while the rest of powers and responsibility would belong to the provinces, coordinated by groups*. (this provision lend a truly federal structure, which was not acceptable to center leaning congress)
- V. Princely **states will no longer be under Crown** and they will be free to join the successor or continue their relations with Britain.

**June 16 Plan** – Congress *rejected the concept of grouping* – while League was vouching for compulsory grouping, *Congress wanted a choice for provinces to join any grouping* – as well as power to provinces and in this wake *a revision was made which envisaged separate states for Hindus and Muslims and a choice for provinces to take any of the sides* (Though British suggest that that initially only provinces will be grouped compulsorily, later on after formation of constitution, they will be free to get out of their grouping to other grouping. But Congress rejected it).

Congress later ruled out the June 16 plan also calling it divisive. However Muslim League agreed to it.

Elections of Constituent Assembly in 1946 resulted in huge Congress majority which Jinnah termed as '*Brute Majority*'. This further stoked Muslim League's apprehensions of Congress dominance in partition

and it led to demand for separate nation which was rejected by Congress. *The rejection of cabinet mission plan combined with recent Constituent Assembly results led to a resurgence of confrontational politics* beginning with the Muslim League's call for general strike known as 'Direct action day' and they called for – '*Lekar rahenge Pakistan, Larkar lenge Pakisatan*'.

This led to confrontation on the day and subsequent communal riots and Bihar killings. Only Mahatma Gandhi and Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan of the NWFP continued to firmly oppose the idea of partition.

In a last bid, Wavell was replaced by Mounbetton for last round of talks, but that too failed.

Out of senior Congress Leaders, it was Patel who was in favor of the Mountbetton Plan.

## **DIRECT ACTION DAY and NOAKHALI MASSACRE (1946)**

Since 1940 when the Muslim League raised the Pakistan proposal at its Lahore convention, it had adopted an increasingly hostile attitude. Talks after talks failed including Cripps Mission talks, CR Formula (Gandhi Jinnah Talks), Desai-Liaquat Pact and finally Cabinet Mission. In the 1946, the Muslim League contested the elections on the plank of Pakistan, and an overwhelming 97% of the Muslim population of Bengal voted for Muslim League, but it also resulted in huge Congress majority which Jinnah termed as 'Brute Majority'. *This further stoked Muslim League's apprehensions of Congress dominance in partition. The Muslim League refused to accept the Cabinet Mission plan and also refused to join the Interim Government or Constituent Assembly. Congress on the other hand rejected the demand for a separate state for Muslims.*

The rejection of cabinet mission plan combined with recent Constituent Assembly row led to a resurgence of confrontational politics beginning with the Muslim League's 'Direct action day' (16 August 1946) as a general strike in Calcutta and they called for – '*Lekar rahenge Pakistan, Larkar lenge Pakisatan*'.

On that day *meeting would be held all over the country to explain League's resolution*. In Bengal, the only Muslim League ruled province in British India, the day was declared a *public holiday*. However things turned ugly on the day of strike after initial skirmishes between the two communities. Kolkata witnessed an unprecedented mass violence in the next five days, leaving 4,000 dead. Violence in Calcutta sparked off further religious riots in the surrounding regions of Noakhali, Bihar, United Province (modern Uttar Pradesh), Punjab, and the North Western Frontier Province. *These events sowed the seeds for the eventual Partition of India.*

**Noakhali genocide** was a series of massacres, rapes, abductions and forced conversions of Hindus and loot and arson of Hindu properties, perpetrated by the Muslim community in the districts of Muslim dominated Noakhali and Tipperah in the Chittagong Division of Bengal in October–November 1946. Gandhi, camped in Noakhali for four months and toured the district in a mission to restore peace and communal harmony.

## MOUNTBATTEN PLAN (1947) or 3<sup>rd</sup> JUNE PLAN

**Background** – The failure of the Cabinet Mission was followed by the *collapse of the Interim Government*. Furthermore, by the end of 1946 communal violence increased in the country and the *British feared that India would settle for a civil war*. In such a tumultuous situation, Lord Mountbatten replaced Lord Wavell as Viceroy of India in 1947.

Mountbatten's formula was to ***divide India and at the same time retain maximum possible unity***.

The actual division between the two new dominions of India and Pakistan was accomplished according to what has come to be known as the **3<sup>rd</sup> June Plan** or **Mountbatten Plan**. It was announced at a press conference by Mountbatten on 4 June 1947, and the date of independence was also announced – 15 August 1947. The main points of the plan were –

- I. **Partition** – Muslim-dominated areas may be separated to form a Dominion. In that case such domination would be constituted by a partition of Bengal and the Punjab. Hindus and Muslims in Punjab and Bengal legislative assemblies would meet and vote for partition. If a simple majority of either group wanted partition, then these provinces would be divided.
- II. **Referendum for NWFP and Sylhet** – The fate of North West Frontier Province and Sylhet district of Bengal was to be decided by a referendum.
- III. India would be free by 15<sup>th</sup> August 1947.
- IV. Princely States – ***Independence of princely states was ruled out***. They would either join India or Pakistan. Independence for Bengal also ruled out.
- V. A **boundary commission** to be set up in case of partition.

*The Muslim league's demand of a separate state was thus conceded. Congress' position on unity was also taken into account while integrating the princely states to India.*

Gandhi and Azad had been totally opposed to Mountbatten Plan as it confirmed the division of country.

## INDIA INDEPENDENCE ACT (1947)

Indian Independence Act was passed in July 1947, which specified the following –

- I. The British rule of India should be over on the midnight of August 15, 1947.
- II. An independent dominion of India shall be created out of the United Provinces, Central Provinces, Bombay Presidency, Madras Presidency, the Carnatic, East Punjab, West Bengal, Assam and the Northeast Frontier Agency. The territories of the Andaman and Nicobar Islands and the Lakshadweep Islands are also turned over to the Indian Dominion.
- III. An independent dominion of Pakistan shall be created out of the provinces of West Punjab, North West Frontier Province, Sindh and East Bengal.
- IV. The all Princely states that were officially related to British Empire were made free from all the treaties and relationships and they could decide which dominion to join.
- V. Both the Indian and Pakistan Dominions would be members of the British Commonwealth and was allowed to leave whenever they pleased.

- VI. Both Dominions of India and Pakistan were completely self-governing in their internal affairs, foreign affairs and national security but the British monarch will continue to be their head of state, represented by the Governor-General of India and a new Governor-General of Pakistan.

## PARTITION AND THE EVENTS LEADING TO IT

Right after the first rebellion of 1857, a section of Muslims Syed Ahmed Khan felt that Muslims are not getting due representation in India in every field.

- I. **Muslim League** – Muslim League was founded in 1906.
- II. **Separate Electorate** – It is argued that separate electorate of 1909 was one of the major acts that deepened the rift between Hindu and Muslims.
- III. Lucknow Session of 1916 – It defacto gave consent to separate electorate.
- IV. **Non-Partition in Civil Disobedience** – Participation of Muslims in Civil Disobedience, 1930, was negligible
- V. **Demand of Autonomous Region** – Iqbal for the first time in 1930 put forward demand of an autonomous region for the Muslims
- VI. **Pakistan** – Rehmat Ali a Cambridge scholar coined the term Pakistan in 1933 (Punjab, Afghaistan, Kashmir, Sindh, Baluchistan)
- VII. **Congress Attitude in 1937 Elections** – In 1937 elections after gaining majority, Congress denied forming coalition with League
- VIII. **Lahore Session and 'Two Nation Theory'** – 1940 – The Lahore Session of League passed a resolution with Theory of Two Nations.
- IX. **Divide and Quit** – While Congress called for Quit India, League called for 'Divide and Quit' in 1942
- X. **Direct Action Day, 1946** – Muslim League called a general strike in August 1946 and called it Direct Action Day. Foreign government instead of curbing the riots that ensued after call of Direct Action Day rather encouraged these by their divisive policies perhaps to play the two newly independent states against each other.
- XI. **Religious Angle** – The efforts of the Arya Samaj to bring back to the Hindu fold (shuddhi) those who had recently converted to Islam irked Muslims. Hindus were angered by the rapid spread of tabligh (propaganda) and tanzim (organisation) after 1923. Other developments like Hindu groups like Hindu Mahasabha (1915), RSS, celebration of Hindu festivals etc further reinforced the Hindu Identity.
- XII. In the end, the secular and radical rhetoric of the Congress merely alarmed conservative Muslims and the Muslim landed elite, without winning over the Muslim masses.

**Gandhi's Bid to Restore Peace** – He moved to villages of East Bengal (present-day Bangladesh) to the villages of Bihar and then to the riot-torn slums of Calcutta and Delhi, in a heroic effort to stop Hindus and Muslims kill each other, careful everywhere to reassure the minority community. In October 1946, Muslims in East Bengal targeted Hindus. Gandhiji visited the area, toured the villages on foot, and persuaded the local Muslims to guarantee the safety of Hindus. Similarly Gandhi persuaded Hindus to

refrain from violence in other parts like Delhi. He held a fast in Delhi which made many to change their hearts and minds. However, the streak of hatred could be ended only with the martyrdom of Gandhi.

## POST INDEPENDENCE

Approximately one third of the total area was under princely states when India got independent. A big challenge was to integrate them into Indian union. With efforts of Vallabhai Patel most of them became part of India. Only three – Junagarh, Hyderabad and Kashmir didn't join. They were later integrated by various methods.

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## OTHER NOTES

### ORGANISATIONS, ACTS, MOVEMENTS etc

#### BENGAL RENAISSANCE (1770s-1940s)

While Gupta age is considered golden period, 18<sup>th</sup> century India is considered the dark ages in cultural history of India. By this time many evil practices had gripped Indian society and women were the biggest sufferers. Due to decline of Mughals and Marathas, politically also, India was disintegrated.

Raja Ram Mohun Roy was the first modern man and father of Indian Renaissance which was primarily driven by upper middle class. 19<sup>th</sup> century is regarded as century of Indian Renaissance. It was not the result of British rule as the British always delayed the spread of technology and modernism into India as it was against their colonial interests. Indian Renaissance aimed at reviving past glory of India, break the shackles of ignorance and exploitation. Its biggest focus was liberation of woman.

The word 'renaissance' in European history meant 'rebirth'. During this time Bengal saw a new vigour in the areas of social religious reforms which also affected arts, literature and science also.

Factors that affected Renaissance in Bengal were –

- The boost of British-Bengali commerce
- The introduction of English education
- British Orientalism
- Christianity
- The way Bengali intellectuals themselves responded to these influences.

The Bengal renaissance can be said to have ***started with Raja Ram Mohan Roy and ended with Rabindranath Tagore***. Other socio-religious reformers were **Aurobindo Ghosh, Ishwer Chandra Vidyasagar** etc. While Ram Mohan Roy and Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar were the pioneers, others like **Bankim Chandra Chatterjee** broadened it and built upon it.

The renaissance emphasized on ***development of local languages and literature***. Many masterpieces like **Neel Darpan, Anand Math** were produced during this time which were universal in outlook.

Efforts were also made to recover Indian history by the likes of **R G Bhandarkar, Elphinstine, Jadunath Sarkar** etc.

This movement questioned existing orthodoxies, particularly with respect to women, marriage, the dowry system, the caste system and religion.

One of the earliest social movements that emerged during this time was the **Young Bengal Movement** that espoused rationalism and atheism as the common denominators of civil conduct among upper caste educated Hindus.

The Young Bengal movement (1820-1830) adopted rationalism and atheism as core tenets. The Young Bengal movement was a group of radical Bengali free thinkers emerging from **Hindu College**, Calcutta in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century. They were also known as **Derozians**, after their firebrand teacher at Hindu College, **Henry Louis Vivian Derozio** who was inspired by French Revolution of 1789. He was removed from Hindu College soon afterwards due to his radicalism and died of Cholera at the age of 22. The Young Bengals were inspired and excited by the spirit of free thought and revolt against the existing social and religious structure of Hindu society. Derozians however remained confined to textbook radicalism. They didn't take up the cause of peasants or depressed class.

The Bengal Renaissance also saw the emergence of pioneering Bengali scientists such as **Jagadish Chandra Bose**, **Satyendra Nath Bose** (Satyendra Nath Bose worked on Bose-Einstein statistics and the theory of the Bose-Einstein condensate.), **Upendranath Brahmachari** and **Meghnad Saha** (Meghnad Saha was an astrophysicist best known for his development of the Saha equation).

**Art and Bengal Renaissance** – The Indian art of painting which had almost died down in the nineteenth century was revived during this time. **E B Havell**, the Head of the **Calcutta School of Art**, together with his colleague and fellow-artist, **Abanindranath Tagore** began to preach the beauty of Indian art especially Mughal and Ajanta style. A society called '**The Indian Society of Oriental Art**' was established and classes were taken by Tagore. Abanindranath Tagore is known as the father of the new renaissance in painting. He trained pupils who are famous today, namely Aurendra Ganguly, **Nandalal Bose**, K Venkatappa, Hakim Khan, **Asit Kumar Haldar** and Samrendranath Gupta.

In the political pre-independence scenario, a huge number of debating societies and newspapers appeared. Personalities like **Kashi Prasad Ghosh** (1809-1873), Kristo Pal and **Sisir Kumar Ghosh** explicitly expressed their political opinions and would not hesitate to exercise their newspapers to achieve political ends, often in direct defiance to British rule. Ultimately the roots of Indian independence can be traced back to the Bengal Renaissance.

#### **ASIATIC SOCIETY (1784)**

The Asiatic Society was founded by **Sir William Jones** (1746–1794) on January 15, 1784 at the Fort William in Calcutta, then capital of the British Raj, to enhance and further the cause of Oriental research.

#### **TREATY of YANDABOO**

Northeast became part of India for the first time after this treaty.

It was an outcome of the *First Indo-Burmese War*. According to the treaty, the Burmese agreed to – (1) cede to the British Assam, Manipur, Rakhine (Arakan), and Taninthayi (Tenasserim) coast south of Salween river, (2) cease all interference in Cachar and Jaintia, (3) pay an indemnity of one million pounds sterling in four installments, (4) allow for an exchange of diplomatic representatives between Ava and Calcutta, and (5) sign a commercial treaty in due course. The treaty ended the longest and most expensive war in British Indian history. For the Burmese, it was to be the beginning of the end of their independence. The British would make two more wars against the much weaker Burmese, and swallow up the entire country by 1885.

### THE BATTLE of CHINHAT (1857)

'The Battle of Chinhat' was fought on the morning of June 30, 1857, between British forces and Indian rebels, at Ismailganj, near Chinhat (or Chinhut), Awad/Oudh. The insurgent force, which consisted of mutineers from the East India Company's army and retainers of local landowners, was led by **Barkat Ahmad**, a mutineer officer of the Company's army and **Maulvi Ahemdullah Shah or Danka Shah**. *British forces under Henry Lawrence were defeated.*

### ILBERT BILL (1883)

Sir Courtenay Ilbert wanted to bring about a change in the existing law because he wanted to *change the existing law of the country with regard to the trial of Europeans*. **The Criminal Procedure Code of 1873** laid down that *except in Presidency towns no Magistrate or Sessions Judge could try a European British subject unless he himself was a European by birth*. By this time, many Indian members of the covenanted civil service (higher civil services) were occupying posts of responsibility and dignity. As a result justice demanded that the Indian Magistrates be given the same authority as their European counterparts. The Government thus made up its mind to abolish the judicial disqualifications based on race distinction. In 1883, Ilbert prepared a Bill to bring out the Indian and the European Magistrates on the same footing. However Europeans strongly opposed such a move and ultimately the bill was presented in much modified form. History says that political unrest in *India received a great stimulus from the European Opposition to the Ilbert Bill*. Due to the Ilbert Bill controversy the *nationalist movement of India also began to take shape*.

### THEOSOPHICAL SOCIETY (1890)

The Theosophical Society is an organization formed in 1875 to advance the spiritual principles and search for truth known as Theosophy. The Theosophical Society was originally formed in New York City by **Colonel H S Olcott** and was later shifted to Adyar Chennai.

Their motivation was the 'wisdom of the East'. It was a movement led by westerners who glorified Indian religious and philosophical traditions. This *helped Indians recover their self-confidence, even though it tended to give them a sense of false pride in their past greatness*. The society promoted the study of Aryan, Zoroastrian, Buddhist and other Scriptures, of the World's religion and sciences, and to vindicate the importance of old Asiatic literature, namely, of the Buddhist, Brahmanical, and Zoroastrian philosophies.



Annie Besant (was not a founder) was one of the most important members of the Society in India and also became its president. She fought for the causes she thought were right, starting with freedom of thought, women's rights, secularism birth control, Fabian socialism and workers' rights. Besant set up a new school for boys, the **Central Hindu College (CHC)** at Benares which was later turned into Banaras Hindu University by Madan Mohan Malviya.

### **SERVANTS of INDIA SOCIETY (1905)**

The Servants of India Society was formed in Pune, Maharashtra, on June 12, 1905 by **Gopal Krishna Gokhale**. Along with him were a small group of educated Indians, as Natesh Appaji Dravid, Gopal Krishna Deodhar and Anant Patwardhan who wanted *to promote social and human development and overthrow the British rule in India*. Its primary aim was to create a cadre of selfless workers. The Society organized many *campaigns to promote education, sanitation, health care and fight the social evils of untouchability and discrimination, alcoholism, poverty, oppression of women and domestic abuse*. They ran many *night schools, free day schools and public libraries*. The publication of '**The Hitavada**', the organ of the Society in English from Nagpur commenced in 1911.

### **AHRAR MOVEMENT**

The Ahrar movement was a *militant movement* started after partition of Bengal and had a nationalist and militant agenda. **Hakim Ajmal Khan, Hasan Imam, Mohemad Ali** were some of its leaders. They *rejected Aligarh school* and were influenced by the modern ideas of self-rule.

### **KOMAGATA MARU (1914)**

It was a Japanese ship that was used by Singapore based Indian businessman and fisherman **Gurdit Singh Sandhu** to take the Sikh migrants to Canada during the turbulent times of World War-I (*who has earlier failed to make to Canada due to its strict immigration policy*). However, the 356 of passengers on board it were not allowed to land in Canada, and the ship was forced to return. In the meanwhile, World War broke out and the ship also failed to find anchor at other places also. Ultimately it landed at Indian port in Calcutta.

The Komagata Maru arrived in Calcutta on September 27, 1914. Upon entry into the harbour, the ship was *forced to stop by a British gunboat*, and the passengers were placed under guard. The government of the British Raj *saw the men on the Komagata Maru as dangerous political agitators in wake of rising revolutionary activities in Punjab and Bengal*. When the ship docked at Budge Budge, the police tried to arrest Baba Gurdit Singh and some 20 other men. Reacting to this some members revolted and in the process, shots were fired and *19 of the passengers were killed* and ship was *kept under surveillance for 6 months in sea* and passengers suffered enormously. This incident became known as the '**Budge Budge Riot**'.

The incident became a rallying point to recruit members for the Ghadar movement, most notably in support of promulgating plans to coordinate a massive uprising in India.

### THE ALL INDIA TRADE UNION CONGRESS (AITUC) (1920)

The All India Trade Union Congress (AITUC) is the oldest trade union federations in India and one of the five largest.

It was founded on 31 October 1920 in Bombay by Lala Lajpat Rai (its first president) and N M Joshi and a few others as an arm of Congress in support of workers (which were hitherto unenthusiastic in taking participation in national movement) and, until 1945 when unions became organised on party lines, it was the primary trade union organisation in India. Since then it has been associated with the Communist Party of India.

### CHAMBER of PRINCES or NARINDER MANDAL (1921)

Since 1858 Act, relations of the Princely States were not revised with the British Crown. There was a longstanding demand that their relations be clarified. In above light, *after the recommendations of Mont-Ford commission*, The Chamber of Princes was established in 1921 by a royal proclamation of the King-Emperor *to provide a 'forum'* in which the rulers of the Indian princely states could voice their needs and aspirations to the government of British India and ensure greater cooperation with British.

It did not alter the relations between any state and the Paramount Power and was only an advisory body.

### BORSAD SATYAGRAHA (Against Punitive Taxes, 1922)

The Borsad Satyagraha took place in 1922, in Borsad, Gujarat. Borsad Satyagraha was *a fight against dual tyranny*. The first involved two dacoits (**Babar Deva** and **Ali**) who committed robberies and murders unchecked. Second, the *Government levied a heavy punitive tax on the Taluka for deployment of additional police*. Initially there was terror of Babar Deva, but the *police instead of protecting the villagers entered into a secret pact with a Muslim dacoit Ali and provided him rifles and ammunitions, and pitted him against Babar Deva*. The shots taken out of the bodies of persons injured in the dacoities proved that the police rifles were being used by the bandits. Government instead accepting its mistakes imposed punitive taxes and in failure to pay them threatened to attach the properties of villagers. Vallabhbhai Patel *publicly charged the authorities and proved the allegations by photographs*. Thereupon the Government withdrew the police on the spot. Borsad Satyagraha and Bardoli Satyagraha improved the image of Vallabhai as a national leader.

### SHUDDHI and SANGATHAN MOVEMENT (1920s)

The socio-political movement, derived from ancient rite of shuddhikaran, or purification was started Arya Samaj, and its founder Swami Dayanand Saraswati and his followers like Swami **Shraddhanand**, who also worked on the Sangathan or consolidation aspect of Hinduism, in North India, especially Punjab in early 1900s, though it gradually spread across India. There were two major agenda of the movement –

- The movement strove to *reduce the conversions of Hindus to Islam and Christianity*, which were underway at the time and at the same time push for the reconversion of the converted.
- Shuddhi had a social reform agenda behind its belligerent rationale and was *aimed at abolishing the practise of untouchability by converting outcasts from other religions to Hinduism and integrating them into the mainstream community by elevating their position, and instilling self-confidence and self-determination in them.*

The movement was *vociferous in tone* and called for avenge against the conversion and other atrocities done by other communities, especially Muslims. However the *movement created a flashpoint between Hindus and Muslims* as it offended Muslim and '**Tanzeem** and **Tabligh**' movement was launched as a parallel movement. Ultimately, it led to death of the leader of the movement, Swami Shraddhanand in 1926 by a fanatic. Gradually the movement faded away especially with the rise of nationalistic fervor during the Civil Disobedience movement of Mahatma Gandhi in the 1930s.

#### **TABLIGH and TANZEEM MOVEMENT (1923)**

Hindus were angered by the rapid spread of tabligh (expansion of Islam) and tanzim (organisation) after 1923. Tabligh movement was a Muslim revivalist movement. It is said that these movements aimed at organizing Muslims and countering the Shudhi and Sangathan movement launched by Arya Samajis.

#### **MUDDIMAN COMMITTEE (1924)**

Its main aim was to *review the working of diarchy and other constitutional provisions* as laid down by Montague Chelmsford reforms. The committee was also known as the '**Reforms Enquiry Committee**'. The committee was *set up due to the growing political unrest on the diarchy issue of the Constitution.*

#### **BUTLER COMMITTEE (1927)**

There had been a longstanding request of the Chamber of Princes *that the present powers of intervention and political practice should be more clearly defined* and their political relations *with the Paramount Power strictly limited by the terms of agreements* and treaties entered into from time to time. They often *complained that there has been substantial infringement of their contractual rights*, to which they submitted through weakness or ignorance or a salutary respect for the Government of India.

In this light, on 16th December 1927 a three-person committee under **Harcourt Butler** (1869-1938) to examine the *financial and economic relationships existing between British India and the Indian Princely States*. This committee thus, *reviewed the question of Paramountcy*. It gave the following recommendations –

- *Paramountcy must remain supreme.* It underscored that ***relations of the princely states were with the Crown and not with the Indian government.***
- *States should not be handed over to an Indian government in British India,* responsible to an Indian Legislature. But it could be done with the consent of states.
- *The viceroy was made the Crown's agent* in dealing with states.

The committee left it yet undefined creating ambiguity, which was appointed to define paramountcy. By this definition in the report princes were shocked. As a result they resorted to constitution of All India Union to save themselves from such vague concept of paramountcy. The report also posed challenge to possible integration after independence as princely states could have interpreted the provisions as independent of new government.

### **INDEPENDENCE for INDIA LEAGUE (1928)**

Disappointed by the Nehru Report which demanded only Dominion Status, Jawahar and Bose and other radical leaders founded 'Independence for India League' which aimed at independence.

### **KHUDAI KHIDMATGAR (1929)**

Khudai Khidmatgar literally translates as the servants of God, represented a *non-violent freedom struggle against the British Empire* by the **Pashtuns** (also known as **Pathans**, Pakhtuns or Afghans) of the **North-West Frontier Province**. Also known as '**Surkh Posh**' or '**Red Shirts**', it was originally a social reform organisation focussing on education and the elimination of blood feuds. The movement was led by Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, known locally as Bacha Khan or Badshah Khan. *It was a non-violent movement and due to use of non-violent means in the movement Abdul Gaffar Khan came to known as Frontier Gandhi.* Red Shirts played a key role in *taking the Civil Disobedience movement to grass root in NWFP.* During the Civil Disobedience, they gathered critical mass in Peshwar and it also became significant because army refused to fire on the protestors.

### **WHITLEY COMMISSION (1929)**

Also known as Royal Commission on Labor. It aimed at looking at existing problems with industry in India. Its mandate was to report on the existing conditions of labour and to make recommendations. G D Birla, N M Joshi etc were among the members of 11 members. Its report in 1931 led to the passing of 'Trade Dispute Act of 1931'

### **BOMBAY MANIFESTO (1936)**

Under the leadership of Nehru Congress was influenced by socialist ideas. In 1936, when Congress President Nehru expressed his idea of visiting Bombay, some industrialists including A D Shroff, Homi Mody, Walchand Hirachand and in total 21 Businessmen issued a manifesto openly criticizing Nehru's socialist ideas.

### **PIRPUR COMMITTEE (1937)**

After 1937 elections (which were held for the first time in Provinces), Congress came to power in 8 out of 11. *Muslim league alleged that Congress ruled states have done atrocities on other minorities*, significantly on Muslims, and they have tried to suppress cultural rites and demote Urdu. *To enquire into these*, Peerpur Committee was established by Muslim League headed by **Raja Muhammad Mehdi**.

#### **LAHORE RESOLUTION (1940)**

Lahore Resolution had been the pioneering step of the Muslim League towards the creation of Pakistan. Also known as Pakistan Resolution, the Muslim League adopted a formal resolution in the three day session held from 22-24<sup>th</sup> March 1940 regarding their claim for a separate state with Muslim majority. While the resolution was presented by A K Fazlul Haq, the name Pakistan was initially suggested by Choudhury Rehmat Ali in his Pakistan declaration. The Lahore Resolution remained relevant in the history of India as with ***this for the first time a formal resolution was passed claiming for division of the United India on the basis of religion.***

#### **HOLLWELL MOVEMENT (1940)**

This was launched in Calcutta in 1940 by Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose. After quitting Congress and forming All India Forward Bloc, he gathered masses in Calcutta and *declared to destroy the Holwell Monument* (the Black Hole Monument) of Calcutta that stood as a symbol of British rule in India. For this, he was put in prison.

#### **CHRISTMAS ISLAND MUTINY (1942)**

After two Japanese attacks on Christmas Island in late February and early March 1942 relations between the British officers and their Indian troops broke down and some of the Indian troops led by Sikh policemen mutinied killing the five British soldiers and the imprisoning of the remaining 21 Europeans on the island. Later on 31 March, a Japanese fleet arrived at the island and the Indians surrendered.

#### **SAPRU COMMITTEE (1944)**

It was appointed in November 1944 ***to examine the communal question in a judicial framework*** following the breakdown of the Gandhi-Jinnah talks on communal problems. The committee submitted proposals to the viceroy, Lord Wavell, in an attempt to break the political deadlock ensuing on the collapse of the Gandhi-Jinnah talks. The committee's *report contained a detailed historical analysis of proposals and claims of each community and a rationale for its constitutional recommendations*. On the critical question of partition, the Sapru Committee made a fruitless plea to avert the creation of Pakistan.

#### **TELANGANA MOVEMENT or VETTI CHAKRI MOVEMENT (1946)**

The Telangana Rebellion or Vetti Chakiri Movement was a communist-led peasant rebellion against the feudal lords (**jagirdars** and **deshmukhs**) of the Telangana region and later against the

Nizam of princely state of Hyderabad between 1946 and 1951. The most strident *demand was for the writing off of all debts of the peasants* that were manipulated by the feudal lords.

This was led by the Communist Party of India. The communist led agitation was successful in liberating over 3000 villages from the feudal lords and 10,000 acres of agriculture land was distributed to landless peasants. Around 4000 peasants lost their lives in the struggle fighting feudal private armies led by **Razakar** militias of the Nizam.

#### **DICKIE BIRD PLAN (1947)**

Dickie bird plan is also known as **Plan Balkan**. This plan was *mooted by Mountbatten prior to his famous 3rd June plan*. In dickie bird plan it was decided that *instead of giving sovereignty to a common center, all the existing states be rendered free*. Thus getting a large number of sovereign territories in the country of present similar to the Balkan peninsula where a large no of contries exist which were taken out of the original countries.

#### **SARVODYA MOVEMENT (1950s)**

Sarvodaya is a term meaning 'universal uplift' or 'progress of all'. The term was first coined by Mahatma Gandhi. Sarvodaya workers associated with Vinoba, J P Narayan and others undertook various projects aimed at encouraging popular self-organisation during the 1950s and 1960s, including **Bhoodan** and **Gramdan** movements. Many groups descended from these networks continue to function locally in India today.

### **PEOPLE**

#### **HENRY HARDINGE**

As Governor General, Hardinge attempted to modernise the equipment of the army. The Enfield rifles that were introduced initially used the greased cartridges the sepoys rebelled against.

#### **R C DUTT**

Romesh Chunder Dutt, was an Indian civil servant, economic historian and writer. He published – **'The Economic History of India'** – A seminal work which highlighted the economic exploitation by British. He along with M G Ranade and Dadabhai Naroji are credited with doing an economic analysis of British rule, which is considered as the biggest contribution of Moderates

#### **SIR SYED AHMED KHAN**

Sir Syed Ahmed Khan was an Indian educator and politician, and an Islamic reformer and modernist. Sir Syed in the aftermaths of 1857 rebellion pioneered modern education for the Muslim community in India by founding the Muhammedan Anglo-Oriental College, which later developed into the Aligarh Muslim University. He also worked towards religious orthodoxies and called for contemporary interpretation of Kuran as well. During the Indian Rebellion of 1857 he remained loyal to the British and was noted for his actions in saving European lives. One of the

most influential Muslim politicians of his time, Sir Syed was suspicious of the Indian independence movement and called upon Muslims to loyally serve the British Raj. He denounced nationalist organisations such as the Indian National Congress. His biggest contribution lies in promoting western education among the Muslim middle class whom he wanted to progress and take on socio-economic opportunities.

#### **THEODORE BECK**

Theodoer Beck was a British educationalist working for the British Raj in India, who was invited by Sir Syed Ahmed Khan to serve as the *first principal of the Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental College in Aligarh*, which would later evolve into the Aligarh Muslim University.

#### **BADRUDDIN TAIYAB**

Badrudin Tyabji (Tyab Ali) was the third President of the Indian National Congress. Badruddin Tyabji was the first Muslim to become the President of Indian National Congress.

#### **G K GOKHALE**

Gokhale was a senior leader of the Indian National Congress and founder of the Servants of India Society. He was also a close contributor of Deccan Education Society. Gokhale was famously a mentor (political guru) to Mahatma Gandhi in his formative years. Gokhale was also the role model and mentor of Mohammed Ali Jinnah. He was the first Indian to attack salt legislation inside the Indian legislature.

#### **JUSTICE M G RANADE**

Justice Mahadev Govind Ranade was a distinguished Indian scholar, social reformer and author. He was a founding member of the Indian National Congress. During his life he helped establish the **Poona Sarvajanik Sabha** and the **Prarthana Samaj**. He along with RC Dutt and Dadabhai Naroji are credited *with doing an economic analysis of British rule*, which is considered as the biggest contribution of Moderates. He was also *vociferous against Purdah, child marriage and other social evils*. To encourage consideration of social problems, he started '**Indian National Social Conference**' which held sessions parallel to INC sessions to provide a forum for the discussion of social issues.

#### **ERNEST BINFIELD HAVELL**

E B Havell was an influential English arts administrator, art historian and author of numerous books about Indian art and architecture. He was the principal of the **Government School of Art, Calcutta** from 1896 to 1905, where, along with Abanindranath Tagore, he developed a style of art and art education based on Indian rather than Western models, which laid to the foundation of **the Bengal school of art**. He established the **Indian Society of Oriental Art**, which sought to adapt British art education in India so as to reject the previous emphasis placed on European traditions in favour of revivals of native Indian styles of art, in particular the Mughal miniature tradition.

### SURENDERNATH BANARJEE

Surendranath Banerjee was one of the earliest Indian political leaders during the British Raj. He was wrongfully removed from Indian Civil Services as he fell in disfavor of his seniors. He founded the **Indian National Association** along with **Anand Mohan Bose** as one of the earliest. He also became the patron of rising Indian leaders like Gopal Krishna Gokhale and Sarojini Naidu. Banerjee was also one of the *senior-most leaders of the moderate Congress*. He was the one who *spearheaded the initial movement that started after partition of Bengal*. Banerjee supported the *Morley-Minto reforms 1909* – which were resented and ridiculed as insufficient and meaningless by the vast majority of the Indian public and nationalist politicians. In 1919 after opposition by Congress to Montford reforms, he formed a separate party. Banerjee was a critic of the proposed method of civil disobedience advocated by Mohandas Gandhi.

### AMBIKA CHARAN MAJUMDAR

He was a moderate who presided over the famous Lucknow Session of 1916.

### PHIROZSHAH MEHTA

Pherozechah Mehta, was a Parsi Indian political leader, activist, and a leading lawyer. He was a moderate and was hence not directly opposed to the crown's sovereignty but only demanded more autonomy for Indians to self-rule. He was *one of the founders of INC*. He was one of the *main moderates who vehemently opposed the extremists* and he *blocked re-entry of Tilak till his death in 1915*.

### MADAN MOHAN MALVIYA

Madan Mohan Malaviya (1861–1946) was an Indian educationist, and freedom fighter notable for his role in the Indian independence movement and his espousal of Hindu nationalism. He was also addressed as '**Mahamana**'. He is most remembered as the *founder of the largest residential university in Asia* – **Banaras Hindu University** (BHU) at Varanasi in 1916. It was him, who acted as mediator during the talks with B R Ambedkar to negotiate 'Poona Pact'. He also helped in *founding of UP Kisan Sabha*.

### HAKIM AJMAL KHAN

He is well known for his participation in **Ahrar Movement** and **Khilafat Non-Cooperation Movement** and belonged to militant nationalism. Khan was one of the founders of the **Jamia Millia** Islamia University, becoming its first chancellor in 1920.

### HASRAT MOHANI

He *proposed to adopt complete independence for the first time as a goal in 1920 Ahmedabad session of the Congress*. However, it was opposed by Gandhi, which led to the rejection of resolution. He also took part in Khilafat Non Cooperation Movement as a front Muslim leader.

### SATYENDRANATH TAGORE



Satyendranath Tagore was the first Indian to join the Indian Civil Service. He was an author, song composer, linguist and made significant contribution towards the emancipation of women in Indian society during the British Raj.

#### **PRAFULLA CHANDRA RAY**

Prafulla Chandra Ray (1861 –1944) was an Indian academician, a chemist and entrepreneur. He was the founder of Bengal Chemicals & Pharmaceuticals, India's first pharmaceutical company which was founded during the high spirits of Swadeshi movement. He was one of those who contributed significantly to what is termed as Bengal Renaissance, with others like of Jagdish Chandra Basu.

#### **C F ANDREWS**

Charles Freer Andrews (1871 –1940) was an English priest of the Church of England and a Christian missionary and social reformer in India. He was an educator and participant in the campaign for Indian independence, and became a close friend and associate of Mahatma Gandhi. He was *instrumental in convincing Gandhi to return to India from South Africa*. For Andrews's contributions to the Indian Independence Movement Gandhi and his students at St. Stephen's College, Delhi named him **Deenabandhu**.

#### **GEORGE ARUNDALE**

George Arundale (1878 — 1945) was a theosophist, freemason, president of the Theosophical Society Adyar. He worked closely with Annie Besant in formation of her '**Home Rule League**'. He also remained *principl*e of **Central Hindu College** which Besant helped in establishing.

#### **NARHARI PARIKH**

Narhari Parikh was an Indian freedom fighter and social reformer, who was a close associate of Mahatma Gandhi and the chief architect of the Indian Independence Movement in Gujarat. He especially worked for the upliftment of *Kaliparaj* (a word for depressed class meaning 'Dark People'). He along with Ravishankar Vyas and MohanlalPandya were key in Gujrat in organizing Bardoli Satygraha along with Vallabhai Patel.

#### **ABBAS TYABJI**

Abbas Tyabji (1853 – June 9, 1936) was an Indian freedom fighter from Gujarat, who once served as the Chief Justice of the (Baroda) Gujarat High Court. Mahatma Gandhi appointed Tyabji to replace him as leader of the Salt Satyagraha in May, 1930 after Gandhi's arrest. Tyabji was arrested soon afterward and imprisoned by the British Indian Government. Gandhi and others respectfully called Tyabji the 'Grand Old Man of Gujarat'.

#### **M R JAYAKAR**

He was a member of the Bombay Legislative Council during 1923-1925, and a leader of the 'Swaraj Party'. He was one of the founding members of the 'Swaraj Party' along C R Das, Motilal Nehru and was also later split away from it to form '*Responsivist Party*' with Kelkar.

### **MAULANA AZAD**

Maulana Abul/Abdul Kalam Muhiyuddin Ahmed Azad (1888 –1958) was an Indian Muslim scholar and a senior political leader of the Indian independence movement. He was one of the most *prominent Muslim leaders to support Hindu-Muslim unity*, opposing the partition of India on communal lines. He became the first Minister of Education in the Indian government. Azad was an exponent of the notion of *wahadat-i-deen*, the essential oneness of all religions. An active participant in Gandhian movements and a staunch advocate of Hindu-Muslim unity, he was opposed to Jinnah's two-nation theory

He was posthumously awarded India's highest civilian award, the Bharat Ratna in 1992. Azad became the *leader of the Khilafat Movement* during which he came into close contact with Indian leader Mahatma Gandhi. Azad became an enthusiastic supporter of Gandhi's ideas of non-violent civil disobedience, and worked actively to organise the Non-cooperation movement in protest at the 1919 Rowlatt Acts. He became the *youngest person to serve as the President of the Indian National Congress* in 1923. He is also credited with the establishment of the '*Indian Institutes of Technology*' and the foundation of the *University Grants Commission*. He was totally opposed to partition and along with Gandhi was most disappointed on the Mountbatten Plan.

### **M A ANSARI**

Dr. Mukhtar Ahmed Ansari was one of the founders of the Jamia Millia Islamia University He was an outspoken supporter of the 'Khilafat movement' and also led a medical mission to Turkey during Balkan war of 1913. He alongwith S Satayamurthi, Asaf Ali, Bhulabhai Desai and B C Roy was the one who advocated constitutional methods for the Central Legislative Assembly Elections in 1934.

### **ASIF ALI**

Asaf Ali (1888 – 1953) was an Indian independence fighter and noted Indian lawyer. He *defended Shaheed Bhagat Singh and Batukeshwar Dutt* as a lawyer, after they threw a bomb in the Central Legislative Assembly on April 8, 1929, during the passage of a controversial ordinance. He alongwith S Satayamurthi, Bhulabhai Desai and B C Roy was the one who advocated constitutional methods for the Central Legislative Assembly Elections in 1934when Congress was still in a state of flux after Civil Disobedience had been called off. He and his wife Aruna Asaf Ali played a lead role during 1942 Quit India Movement when other leaders were in Jail. He was one of the defendants of the Red Fort trialsalong with Tej Bahadur Sapru, Jawahar Lal Nehru, and Bhullbhai Desai.

### **BHULLABHAI DESAI**

Bhulabhai Desai (1877 – 1946) was an Indian freedom fighter and acclaimed lawyer. He is well-remembered for his *defense of the three INA soldiers* accused of treason during World War II, and for attempting to negotiate a *power-sharing agreement with Liaquat Ali Khan* of the Muslim League known as Desai Liaquat Pact.

### SAHAJANAND SARASWATI

He was an ascetic, nationalist and peasant leader of India. He was a social reformer. He is credited *with giving birth to Kisan Sabha movement*. He founded Bihar Kisan Sabha (1929) and played a key role in formation of All India Kisan Mahasabha in 1936. Thus he was one of the pioneers of peasant movements in India.

### M N ROY

Manabendra Nath Roy (1887 - 1954), popularly known as M N Roy, was an Indian nationalist revolutionary and a communist leader known as *father of communism in India*. Roy was a *founder of the Communist Party of India* and was a delegate to congresses of the Communist International in Tashkent and started CPI in 1920 in Tashkent. He was sentenced to six years imprisonment for his role in the '*Kanpur Communist Conspiracy Case*'. He was the *one who for the first time advocated for the establishment of a Constituent Assembly in 1934*.

### S A DANGE

Shripad Amrit Dange (1899 - 1991) was a founding member of the Communist Party of India (CPI) and a stalwart of Indian trade union movement. Dange played an important role in bringing the labor activists amongst Bombay textile workers under the communist umbrella. Girni Kamgar Mahamandal was split and the communists formed their own union, the Girni Kamgar Union during the general strike of 1928. He was one of the key accused in 'Meerut Conspiracy'. He was a key in establishing '**Girni Kamgar Union**' and helped communists to establish a stranglehold in Bombay trade union movement and it was one of the initial trade unions founded by Communists in India. He led two major strikes during which he was arrested along with Muzaffar Ahmed and Shaikat Usmani.

### MUZAFFAR AHMED

Muzaffar Ahmed (1889 –1973) was a noted Bengali politician, journalist and communist activist. In 1920, along with Kazi Nazrul Islam he started a new magazine, '**Navayug**'. He was one of the pioneers to spread the communist movement in the Indian subcontinent. In 1924, he was sentenced to four years of imprisonment in the 'Kanpur Bolshevik Conspiracy' Case along with S A Dange, Nalini Gupta and Shaikat Usmani.

### N M JOSHI

He is termed as '*father of trade union movement in India*'. He was the one who along with Lala Lajpat Rai established the landmark trade union '**All India Trade Union Congress**' (AITUC) in 1920 while he was in Congress.

## J P NARAYAN

Jayaprakash Narayan (1902 –1979), widely known as JP Narayan, Jayaprakash, or Loknayak, was an Indian independence activist and political leader, remembered especially for leading the opposition to Indira Gandhi in the 1970s and for giving a call for peaceful Total Revolution. He was posthumously awarded the Bharat Ratna. After being jailed in 1932 for civil disobedience against British rule, Narayan was imprisoned in Nasik Jail, where he met Ram Manohar Lohia, Minoo Masani. After his release, the Congress Socialist Party, or (CSP), a left-wing group within the Congress, was formed with Acharya Narendra Deva as President and Narayan as General secretary. He also played crucial role during Quit India movement.

## N G RANGA

N G Ranga (1900 – 1995), was an Indian freedom fighter, parliamentarian, and kisan leader. He was an exponent of the peasant philosophy, and considered the father of the Indian Peasant Movement after Swami Sahajanand Saraswati. Ranga joined the freedom movement inspired by Gandhi's clarion call in 1930. He led the ryot agitation in 1933. Three years later, he launched the Kisan Congress party. He held historic discussions with Gandhiji on the demand for a rythu-coolie state. Post Independence, Ranga became the founder-president of the '*Swatantra Party*' and held that post for a decade.

## TEJ BAHADUR SAPRU

Tej Bahadur Sapru (1875 –1949) was an eminent lawyer, political and social leader in India during the British Raj. He carried forward the moderate policies of Gopal Krishna Gokhale in the radicalized post-Amritsar Massacre period after World War I. Sapru criticized Mahatma Gandhi's leadership, as well as the Non-Cooperation Movement and the Salt Satyagraha. He however acted as mediator on many occasions between the British and Nationalist. He played a critical role in settling Gandhi-Irwin pact. He along with Malviya also acted as initiator of talks between Ambedkar and Gandhi which finally lead to signing of Poona Pact. He was one of the defendants of the Red Fort trials of INA soldiers along with Jawahar Lal Nehru, Asaf Ali, and Bhullbhai Desai. In 1944, he also headed the Sapru Committee to look into the communal question.

## ACHYUT PATWARDHAN

Achyut Patwardhan (1905 – 1992) was an Indian independence activist and political leader and founder of the **Socialist Party of India**. He took a prominent part in the Quit India movement which started in 1942 and led the underground activists. In 1945–46 he went underground, and evading arrest, he ably directed the movement of a parallel government mainly in the Satara district. He was called thereafter by many as '**Sataryacha Sinha**' (The Lion of Satara).

## RAM MANOHAR LOHIA

Rammanohar Lohia was an Indian freedom fighter and a socialist political leader. His most prominent role was during Quit India movement when most of the big leaders were in jails and

he along with likes of Achyut Batwardhan, Aruna Asaf Ali, Sucheta Kriplani, Chootubhai Puranik and Usha Mehta operated underground and kept the movement going on.

### **B C DUTT and MADAN SINGH**

They belonged to the Royal Indian Naval Ratings that revolted in 1946 against service conditions and supporting the cause of freedom. B C Dutt was arrested during the mutiny for scrawling 'Quit India' on the ship HMIS Talwar, from where the mutiny started.

### **LIAQUAT ALI KHAN**

Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan was one of the leading Founding Fathers of modern Pakistan, statesman, lawyer, and political theorist who became and served as the first Prime Minister of Pakistan. He was second most important leader of Muslim League after Jinnah.

## **DEVELOPMENT of NATIONALISM**

Development of nationalism has both positive and negative drivers and had both indigenous as well as external causes.

**Negative drivers** included economic exploitation that was highlighted by likes of RC Dutt and Dadabhai Narauji was key in heightening the level of awareness about economic condition, which later served as a sound political base. Events like – Afghan War, Vernacular Press Act of 1878, Arms Act 1878, Ilbert Bill Controversy during Ripon, holding of imperial durbar when famine was there in country in 1877. *Racial arrogance of British* – British branded all Indians as inferior irrespective of their caste, class, creed, color or religion – made people conscious of national humiliation and led them to think themselves of a single group of people.

**Positive drivers** included – administrative unity, introduction of English as lingua franca – New ideas about nationalism and democracy were explored by scholars from western literatures which were later spread among masses. Means of communication – Railways and Telecommunication made it possible to bind the nation into a single piece. Rise of early nationalism and political consciousness was a result of western ideas themselves. Early nationalist leaders studied the nationalist movements of European nations. Rousseau, Paine, JS Mill etc became their political guides while Mazini of Italy, Garibaldi and Irish nationalist became their nationalist ideals.

Nationalism is created through **ideas, symbols, slogans** and collective identification. Many means are used for this. Starting from the revolt of 1857, the early seeds were sown by the revolutionaries who invoked a pan-Indian image of India by linking it to historical factors and Hindu-Muslim unity. Desire to establish a political unit under the leadership of the Last Mughal flared such feelings.

Establishment of pan-Indian organisations like Congress helped to fan such ideas far and wider parts of nations. National movements like Satyagraha, Non-Cooperation, Civil Disobedience also roused national feelings. Pan Indian heroes like Gandhi, Bhagat Singh and Subhas became cult national figures.

**Nationalist literature** also helped in arousing national feelings. The identity of the nation is most often symbolised in a figure or image. This helps create an image with which people can identify the nation. It was in the twentieth century, with the growth of nationalism, that the identity of India came to be visually associated with the image of Bharat Mata. The image was first created by Bankim Chandra Chattopadhyay in his 'Vande Mataram' as a hymn to the motherland. Hind Swaraj by Gandhi, First War of Indian Independence by Sawarkar etc evoked such feelings. Early nationalist literature also made significant contribution. Vishnu Shastri Chiplunkar in Marathi, Subramaniam Bharti in Tamil, Bhartendu Harishchandra in Hindi, Altaf Hussain Hali in Urdu were some of the prominent poets.

Another means of creating a feeling of nationalism was through **reinterpretation of history**. By the end of the nineteenth century many Indians began feeling that to instill a sense of pride in the nation, Indian history had to be thought about differently. The British saw Indians as backward and primitive, incapable of governing themselves. In response, Indians began looking into the past to discover India's great achievements. They wrote about the glorious developments in ancient times when art and architecture, science and mathematics, religion and culture, law and philosophy, crafts and trade had flourished.

Ideas of nationalism also developed through a **movement to revive Indian folklore**. In late-nineteenth-century India, nationalists began recording folk tales sung by bards and they toured villages to gather folk songs and legends. In Bengal, Rabindranath Tagore himself began collecting ballads, nursery rhymes and myths, and led the movement for folk revival. In Madras, Natesa Sastri published a massive four-volume collection of Tamil folk tales, The Folklore of Southern India. He believed that folklore was national literature.

In **art and culture** also nationalist ideas were invoked. Old culture was revived. Artists like Raja Ravi Verma painted old Indian glory. Abanindranath Tagore painted Bharat Mata as a feminine representation of India. As the national movement developed, nationalist leaders became more and more aware of such icons and symbols in unifying people and inspiring in them a feeling of nationalism. During the Swadeshi movement in Bengal, a tricolour flag (red, green and yellow) was designed. It had eight lotuses representing eight provinces of British India, and a crescent moon, representing Hindus and Muslims. By 1921, Gandhiji had designed the Swaraj flag. It was again a tricolor (red, green and white) and had a spinning wheel in the centre, representing the Gandhian ideal of self-help. Carrying the flag, holding it aloft, during marches became a symbol of defiance.

## NATIONALIST LITERATURE

Leading nationalist literary figures were –

- **Vishnushastri Chiplunkar** (1850-1882) was a Marathi writer, whose writings have had a decisive influence on modern Marathi prose style. In 1880, he founded (together with Gopal Ganesh Agarkar and Bal Gangadhar Tilak) the newspapers **Kesari** (in Marathi) and **Maratha** (in English). He was the earliest doyens of extremist thoughts in Indian Nationalism.
- **Rajanikanta Sen** (1865-1910) was a Bengali (Indian) poet and composer, known for his devotional (bhakti) compositions, as well as his patriotic songs. He played a major role during the Swadeshi Movement in arousing national sentiments.

- **Dwijendralal Ray** (1863-1913) was a Bengali poet, playwright, and musician. He was known for his Hindu mythological and nationalist historical plays. Following the 1905 Partition of Bengal, Ray joined the cultural movement to reunite the two new Bengali provinces. It was during the time he wrote several patriotic songs that are still immensely popular today.
- **Mukunda Das** (1878 -1934) was an Indian poet, ballad singer, composer and patriot, who contributed to the spread of Swadeshi movement in rural Bengal. He was a student of Ashwini Kumar Dutta in Barisal school.
- **Subramanya Bharathi** was a Tamil writer, poet, journalist, Indian independence activist and social reformer from Madras Presidency, India. Popularly known as *Mahakavi Bharathiyar*, he is considered to be a *pioneer of modern Tamil poetry*. He worked as a journalist with many newspapers, notable among them being the **Swadesamitran** and *India*. Bharathi was also an active member of the Indian National Congress. He worked along with Chidambaram Pillai and Subramaniya Siva during Swadeshi Movement.
- **Kazi Nazrul Islam** (1899–1976), sobriquet 'Bidrohi Kobi'(Rebel Poet), was a Bengali poet, musician and revolutionary who pioneered poetic works espousing intense spiritual rebellion against fascism and oppression. Nazrul started a bi-weekly magazine, publishing the first '**Dhumketu**' on August 12, 1922. Kazi Nazrul Islam became a critic of the Khilafat struggle, condemning it as hollow, religious fundamentalism. Also known for his *communist leanings*, in 1920, along with Muzzafar Ahmed he started a new magazine, '**Navayug**'. He is now the *national poet of Bangladesh*.
- **M Veeraraghavachariar** (1857-1906) was an Indian journalist, freedom-fighter and teacher from the erstwhile Madras Presidency. In 1878, he and four of his friends, **G Subramaniaiyer**, **P Anandacharlu** founded the English-language newspaper, **The Hindu**.
- **G Subramania Iyer** was a leading Indian journalist, social reformer and freedom fighter who founded '*The Hindu*' newspaper on September 20, 1878. He also started Swadesamitran, the Tamil language newspaper in 1882. Subramania Iyer actively participated in the Indian Independence movement. He was one of the 72 delegates present at the Bombay Conference at Tejpal Sanskrit College on December 12, 1885, which resulted in the founding of the Indian National Congress.

Some famous literary works that played important part in national movement are –

- **Amrita Bazar Patrika** was one of the oldest newspapers in India; it is written in Bengali. It debuted on 20 February 1868. It was started by **Sisir Ghosh** and **Moti Lal Ghosh**. It played a major role in the evolution and growth of Indian journalism and made a striking contribution to creating and nurturing the Indian freedom struggle. The Patrika had many brushes with Lord Curzon, the Viceroy of India at the time of the Partition of Bengal (1905). It made attempts through its editorials to maintain communal harmony during partition.
- **The Bande Mataram** was an Indian nationalist publication from Paris begun in September 1909 by the '*Paris Indian Society*'. Founded by 'Madam Bhikaji Cama', the paper along with the later publication of '*Talvar*' was aimed at inciting nationalist unrest in India and sought to sway the loyalty of the Sepoy of the British Indian Army. It was founded in response to the British ban on

Bankim Chatterjee's nationalist poem of Vande mataram, and continued the message of 'The Indian Sociologist'.

- **Swadesamitran** (1881–1985) was the first Tamil language newspaper owned and operated by Indians. It was published from Chennai (then called Madras). It was founded by **G Subramania Aiyer** who also served as the paper's first editor. It was founded as a sister paper of The Hindu.
- **Young India** was a weekly journal published in English by Mahatma Gandhi from 1919 to 1932. Gandhi wrote various quotations in this journal that inspired many. He used the Young India to spread his unique ideology and thoughts regarding independence.
- **First War of Independence** by V D Sawarkar argued that 1857 revolt was not merely a sporadic event.
- **Gita Rahasya** is a book written by Tilak on Srimadbhagwat Gita.
- **Gulam Giri** is written by Jyotirao Phule on untouchability.
- **Indian Opinion** was a newspaper that was operated by Gandhi in South Africa.
- **Al Hilal** was a journal brought out by Abdul Kalam Azad
- **Bahishkrit Bharat** by B R Ambedkar
- **National Herald** was a paper started by Jawahar Lal Nehru
- **Sudharak** was a paper started by Gokhale
- **The Indian Struggle** was written by Lala Lajpat Rai
- **Vanguard** was a communist journal founded by M N Roy.
- **Subh-e-Azadi** is a poem written by Faiz Ahmed Faiz

## REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENTS

**Major Reasons/Inspiration for Revolutionaries are –**

- I. **Failure of national leadership** to provide positive lead and lack of progress on reform front and repression by government. Inspiration from aggressiveness of Extremists and failure of Moderates to make headway in the Independence movement.
- II. **International Events** – Defeat of Italy by Ethiopia, Defeat of Russia by Japan. It broke the notion of Western Supremacy
- III. **Inspiration from revolutionary movement** under Mazzini in Italy, Lenin in Russia.

Revolutionary nationalists didn't try for a mass movement and instead *tried to copy methods of Irish terrorists and Russian Nihilists* i.e. to assassinate unpopular officers. **Chapekar brothers** assassinated two officers in Poona. Similarly attempt was made on life of Kingsford by **Khudiram** and **Prafulla Chakki**.

**First phase** of the rise of revolutionaries coincided with Partition of Bengal. *Bengal and Punjab acted as breeding grounds* for the revolutionaries. **Anushilan Samiti**, **Jugantar** etc were outcome of this wave. **Aurobindo Ghosh** was pioneer in Bengal. In Punjab, biggest name was **Sardar Ajit Singh** and he established **Bharat Mata Society** of Lahore. Around First World War, Ghadar Party was also formed in San Francisco.



**Second phase** started after the *failure of Non Cooperation movement* and events like – foundation of HRA/HSRA, **Kakori Robbery**, **Saunders Murders** took place during this phase. In the second phase, compared to old revolutionaries and also compared to likes of Bhagat Singh and other HSRA members, **Chittagong Revolutionaries** didn't focus on individual heroism, but *focused on group actions*. Another important feature of Bengal revolutionaries of second phase was that this *saw active participation of woman also*.

**Third phase** was with rise of Azad Hind Fauz. This time they were more organized and planned.

Government responded with various legislative measures – like Defense of India Act – as well as by use of brutal force to suppress them.

### **Chronology of revolutionary movements and organizations –**

#### **MAHARASHTRA**

**Ramosi Uprising, 1879** – **Vasudeo Balwant Phadke** was an Indian revolutionary and is widely regarded as '*the father of the armed struggle for India's independence*'. Phadke was moved by the plight of the farmer community during British Raj. Phadke believed that 'Swaraj' was the only remedy for their ills. Immediate cause was uprising against the British apathy towards famine measures. With the *help of Kolis, Bhils and Dhangars communities in Maharashtra*, Vasudev formed a revolutionary group called as 'Ramoshi'. The group started an armed struggle to overthrow the British Raj. The group launched raids on rich English businessmen to obtain funds for their liberation struggle. Phadke came into limelight when *he got control of the city of Pune for a few days in 1879* when he caught the British soldiers off guard during one of his surprise attacks. He was later captured and sent to Andaman Jail.

**Mitra Mela (1900)** – This was a revolutionary organization setup by V D Savarkar in Nasik. The Mitra Mela members served the victims of plague in Nasik. In **Nasik Conspiracy**, many members of Mitra Mela were also rounded up. This organization is also termed as a pre-cursor to the Abhinav Bharat of Pune founded in 1904.

**Abhinav Bharat (1904)** – It was another secret organization founded by V D Savarkar in Maharashtra. It called for an 'armed struggle' against the British Indian state. This was inspired from Mazini's '*Young Italy*'. A member of the organization **P N Bapat** also went to Paris to learn the art of bomb making. It came into highlight after its members were tried under **Nasik Conspiracy** – a chain of investigations which were initiated after the assassination of Mr Jackson – Collector of Nasik by one of the members – **Anant Laxman Kanhere**.

**Nasik Conspiracy (1910)** – The members of 'Abhinav Bharat' – set up by V D Savarkar – planned to assassinate Mr. Jackson – collector of Nasik who sentenced for life to Babarao Savarkar (elder brother of V D Savarkar) for indulging in revolutionary activities. A young student from Aurangabad named '**Anant Laxman Kanhere**' took the responsibility of execution of Jackson. While Jackson has come to attend a drama after his transfer orders, Anant Laxman Kanhere fired on him. The collector died on the spot. Death of Jackson set a whole chain of government

inquiry into vigorous activity and it was found that there was a deep-laid, widespread conspiracy to overthrow British Government in India, by means of an armed rebellion or revolution, and to overawe the government established by law by force or show of criminal force. The result was that around 38 people connected with underground activities in the name of 'Mitra-Mela' and Abhinav Bharat, including Savarkar, were arrested, tried, and sentenced to severe punishments.

## BENGAL

**Anushilan Samiti (1902)** – Anushilan Samiti was an armed anti-British organisation in Bengal and the principal secret revolutionary organisation operating in the region in the opening years of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. **Pramath Nath Mitra** founded the Anushilan Samiti on 24 March, 1902 and was sponsored by **Aurobindo Ghosh**. *Jugantar* was its important offshoot. The members were committed towards the path of armed revolution for independence of India from British rule. Kolkata and, later, Dhaka were the two major strongholds of the association. **Alipore Bomb Conspiracy** is one of the major events that were attributed to the activities of Samiti. In April 1908, two young recruits, Khudiram Bose and Prafulla Chaki were sent on a mission to Muzaffarpur to assassinate the Chief Presidency Magistrate D H Kingsford.

**Dawn Society (1902-06)** – **Satish Chandra Mukherjee** was its founder. The Society's object was to draw the attention of the students to the needs of the country, to love Mother India, to cultivate their moral character, to inspire original thinking. It played a key role in mobilizing the youth to agitate against the partition of Bengal and it emerged as the key organization. Among active members were **Sister Nivedita**, **Bagha Jatin** (Jatin Mukherjee).

**Jugantar (1906)** – Jugantar or Yugantar (English meaning New Era or more literally Transition of an Epoch) was one of the two main secret revolutionary trends operating in Bengal for Indian independence during Partition of Bengal. This association, like Anushilan Samiti *started in the guise of suburban fitness club*. This extremist outfit was established by leaders like **Aurobindo Ghosh**, his brother **Barin Ghosh**, **Bhupendranath Datta**, **Raja Subodh Mallik** in April 1906. Some senior members of the group were sent abroad for political and military training. One of the first batches included **Surendra Mohan Bose**, **Tarak Nath Das** and **Guran Ditt Kumar**, who, since 1907, were extremely active among the Hindu and Sikh immigrants on the Western coast of North America. These units were to compose the future Ghadar Party.

**Barrah Dacoity (1908)** – Barrah dacoity in Bengal was organized by by Pulin Behari Das group in Bengal and is said to be the first major revolutionary act in East Bengal. Pulin was an active member of DhakaAnushialn Samiti.

**Alipore Bomb Trial (1909)** – The Alipore Bomb Case was an important court trial in Alipore, Calcutta, during May 1908 to May 1909, in the history of the Indian Independence Movement. In the aftermath of partition there was considerable anger among the revolutionaries of Bengal. The British cracked down hard on the activists and the conflict came to a head on April 30, 1908 when **Khudiram Bose** and **Prafulla Chaki** attempted to kill Magistrate Kingsford, *a judge known for handing down particularly harsh sentences against nationalists*. (Chakki shot himself later

on). However, the bomb thrown at his horse carriage missed its target and instead landed in another carriage and killed two British women. The trial led to death sentence to **Barindra Ghosh** and **Ullaskar Dutt**, but sentences were commuted to life in prison, and both released in 1920.

**Barisal Conspiracy (1913)** – The Barisal Conspiracy Case of 1913 was a trial prosecuted by the British colonial authorities against 44 Bengalis who were *accused of planning to incite rebellion against the Raj*. Barisal was a district in the south-eastern corner of Bengal. The colonial police there reported that they had seized certain documents implicating the **Anushilan Samiti**, a revolutionary organization whose East Bengal chapters were under the leadership of **Trailokyanath Chakrobarty** and **Pratul Chandra Ganguli**. Of the original 44 accused, most of them were freed, however a few which pleaded guilty were awarded long imprisonment in Andaman.

**Bengal Volunteers (1928)** – Bengal Volunteers are regarded the underground revolutionary group against the British rule in India. The group was operational from its origination in 1928 until the Indian independence. It was **Subhas Chandra Bose** during the 1928 Kolkata session of Indian National Congress, who had unionised a group of volunteers. Bengal Volunteers soon turned into an active revolutionary association. They mainly worked around **Chittagong, Midnapore** etc. Its most prominent members were – Benoy Basu, Badal Gupta, Dinesh Gupta. Bengal Volunteers decided to launch '**Operation Freedom**' in the early 1930s, primarily to protest against the police repression in different jails in Bengal. In August 1930, one of the members – **Benoy Basu** – assassinated **Lowman**, the Inspector General. The next target was Col **N S Simpson**, the Inspector General of Prisons, *who was infamous for the brutal oppression of the prisoners in the jails*. In the encounter, Benoy and Dinesh shot themselves, while Badal consumed cyanide. In Midnapore district, 3 District magistrates were assassinated one after another by the Bengal Volunteers Members. **Bimal Dasgupta, Jyothi Jibon Ghosh** assassinated James Peddy. **Pradoot Bhattacharya, Probhansupal** assassinated **Robert Douglas**.

**Chittagong Armory Raid (1930)** – It was led by Surya Sen. He led a nationwide non-cooperation movement as a revolutionary. He was initiated into revolutionary ideas in 1916 by one of his teachers while he was a student of Intermediate Class in the Chittagong College and joined the renowned revolutionary group Anushilan. He was also accompanied by Ananta Singh, Ganesh Ghosh, **Ambika Chakravarty, Loknath Baul, Tegra (Tiger) Baul** as well as women like – **Kalpana Dutt** and **Pritilata Waddedar** on April 18, 1930. After that he fought guerrilla warfare for sometimes and was later captured and hanged. Chittagong Armory Raid is said to be the first organized armed struggle for independence after 1857.

## **PUNJAB and LAHORE**

**Delhi-Lahore Conspiracy (1912)** – The Delhi Conspiracy case, also known as the Delhi-Lahore Conspiracy, refers to a conspiracy in 1912 to assassinate the then Viceroy of India, **Lord Hardinge**, on the occasion of transferring the capital of British India from Calcutta to New Delhi. Hatched by the Indian revolutionary underground in Bengal and Punjab and headed by **Rash**

**Behari Bose**, the conspiracy culminated on the attempted assassination on 23 December 1912 when a homemade bomb was thrown into the Viceroy's ceremonial procession when it moved through the Chandni Chowk suburb of Delhi. Although wounded in the attempt, the Viceroy escaped with his injuries, along with Lady Hardinge, but his Mahout was killed in the attack. In the aftermath of the event, efforts were made to destroy the Bengali and Punjabi revolutionary underground, which came under intense pressure for sometime. Rash Behari – purportedly mastermind behind the attack - successfully evaded capture for nearly three years, becoming actively involved in the Ghadar conspiracy before it was uncovered, and fleeing to Japan in 1916. The investigations in the aftermath of the assassination attempt led to the Delhi Conspiracy trial. Although **Basant Kumar Biswas** was convicted of having allegedly thrown the bomb and executed, along with **Amir Chand**, **Bal Mukund** and **Avadh Behari** for their roles in the conspiracy.

**Ghadar Conspiracy or Ghadar Mutiny or February Mutiny (1915)** – The Ghadar Conspiracy was a conspiracy for a pan-Indian mutiny in the British Indian Army in February 1915 formulated by the Ghadar Party. When First World War started, Ghadar party saw this as an opportunity that they have been waiting for. Though they haven't been fully prepared, they didn't want to let the opportunity go. It *exhorted its leaders to go to other countries like Singapore, Malaya, Philippines and Burma etc and exhort Indian nationals there to stand for the cause*. Others like that of **Kartar Singh Sarabha** and **Raghubar Dayal Gupta** left for India. An attempt was made to overthrow the British rule by military revolt. **Rash Behari Bose** was chosen as the leader in Punjab (*he was also key in earlier failed attempt to assassinate Viceroy Hardinge which led to Delhi Conspiracy Trials*). The conspiracy originated on the onset of the World War-1, between the Ghadar Party. The events surrounding the Komagata Maru incident served as a catalyst for the Ghadarite cause as they use the event to rouse the sentiments of the people. It focused upon **starting the mutiny in army** with a start from Punjab Regiments. In India, confident of being able to rally the Indian sepoy, the plot for the mutiny took its final shape. Under the plans, the 23rd Cavalry in Punjab was to seize weapons and kill their officers while on roll call on 21 February. This was to be followed by mutiny in the 26th Punjab, which was to be the signal for the uprising to begin, resulting in an advance on Delhi and Lahore. The Bengal cell was to look for the Punjab Mail entering the Howrah Station the next day (which would have been cancelled if Punjab was seized) and was to strike immediately. However, the Punjab CID successfully infiltrated the conspiracy at the last moment. Plans for revolt in the regiments of Punjab did not go beyond the conspiracy stage. This also led to failure of planned mutinies in Ferozpur, Lahore, and Agra. A last-ditch attempt was made by Kartar Singh Saraba and **Pingle** to trigger a mutiny in the 12<sup>th</sup> Cavalry regiment at Meerut. However, later both were arrested. Mass arrests followed as the Ghadarites were rounded up in Punjab and the Central Provinces. Rash Behari Bose escaped from Lahore and in May 1915 fled to Japan. Thus the mutiny failed to take shape and the revolutionaries were tried in Lahore conspiracy trials and more than 40 were given death. Major causes of Failure – They grossly under-estimated the colonial might. There was almost a non-existent organizational structure.

**First Lahore Conspiracy Trial (1915)** – The Ghadar conspiracy or Failed February Mutiny led to a number of trials in India, most famous among them being the Lahore Conspiracy trial, which opened in Lahore in April 1915 in the aftermath of the failed February mutiny. Other trials included the Benares, Simla, Delhi, and Ferozepur conspiracy cases. At Lahore, a special tribunal was constituted under **the Defence of India Act 1915** and a total of 291 conspirators were put on trial. Of these 42 were awarded the death sentence, 114 transported for life, and 93 awarded varying terms of imprisonment. A number of these were sent to the Cellular Jail in the Andaman.

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**Naujawan Bharat Sabha (1926)** – Bhagat Singh started the militant Naujawan Bharat Sabha in Punjab. The organization was declared illegal under the Criminal Law Amendment Act of 1908 in September 1934. Its purpose was to help foster revolution against the British Raj by gathering together worker and peasant youth. Along with *Kirti Kisan Sabha*, it was one of the grass root level revolutionary organizations.

**Second Lahore Conspiracy Trial (1929)** – This involved the trial of **HSRA members** after they threw a bomb in Legislative Assembly. The charges that were framed included ‘war against crown’. It became more famous due to *hunger strike by the prisoners in the jail*, one of them – Jatin Das – died after 64 days of hunger strike. The trial led to death sentence to Bhagat Singh, Rajguru and Sukhdev.

## REVOLUTIONARIES ABROAD

**Free India Society** – The Free India Society was a political organization of Indian students in England, committed to obtaining the independence of India from British rule. Initially an intellectual group, it became a revolutionary outfit under its founding leader, **Vinayak Damodar Savarkar**.

**The Indian Home Rule Society (1905)** – The Indian Home Rule Society (IHRS) was an Indian organisation founded in London in 1905 that sought to promote the cause of self-rule in British India. The organisation was founded by **Shyamji Krishna Varma**, with support from a number of prominent Indian nationalists in Britain at the time, including **Bhikaji Cama**, **Dadabhai Naoroji** and **S R Rana**. The society was foundation of the India House and, along with Krishna Varma's journal *The Indian Sociologist*, was the foundation of the militant Indian nationalist movement in Britain.

- **India House (1905)** – India House was an informal Indian nationalist organisation based in London between 1905 and 1910. With the patronage of **Shyamji Krishna Varma** (He supported the assassination of the Commissioner of Plague by the Chapekar brothers also and later on he moved on to Paris, from where also he continued his activities), it promoted nationalist views among Indian students in Britain. The building soon became a hub for political activism and a meeting place for radical Indian nationalists. It ranked among the most prominent centres for revolutionary Indian nationalism outside India. India House published an anti-colonialist newspaper ‘**The Indian Sociologist**’, which the British Raj banned as ‘seditious’. A number of

prominent Indian revolutionaries and nationalists were associated with India House, most famously **Vinayak Damodar Savarkar**; others included **Virendranath Chattopadhyay**, **Lala Har Dayal**, V V S Aiyar, M P T Acharya and P M Bapat. As key members of revolutionary conspiracies in India, they went on to be the founding fathers of Indian communism and Hindu nationalism. After **Madan Lal Dhingra** shot William Curzon Wyllie, India House faced decline. The network created by India House played a key part in the **Hindu-German Conspiracy** for nationalist revolution in India during World War I.

**Ghadar Party (1913)** – It was founded in San Francisco by **Lala Hardayal** in the office known as ‘Yugantar Ashram’.

**Berlin Committee (1914)** – The Berlin Committee, later known as the ‘**Indian Independence Committee**’ after 1915, was an organisation formed in Germany in 1914 during World War-I by Indian students and political activists residing in the country. The purpose of the Committee was to promote the cause of Indian Independence. It came to be an integral part of the Hindu-German Conspiracy. Famous members of the committee included **Virendranath Chattopadhyaya**, **Champakaraman Pillai** and **Abinash Bhattacharya**.

**The Hindu–German Conspiracy or Indo German Conspiracy (1914)** – The Hindu–German Conspiracy was a series of plans formulated between 1914 and 1917 to initiate a Pan-Indian rebellion against the British Raj during World War I. Should have been actually – Indo-German conspiracy, but American took Hindu and Indo as same. It was a **plot to smuggle arms** from US to the subcontinent during WW-1 to foment a revolt against the Raj. It involved revolutionaries exiled to US and Europe. It was part of wider German plan of turning India from a great asset to great liability for Britain. It had allies from Ghadar party, Bengal revolutionaries, Deobandis etc. It culminated into the establishment of a provisional government in Kabul under Mahender Pratap and Barkatullah. Bigger game plan now was to bring thousands of Turkish and German soldiers to Afghanistan to wage war against Raj. However, it couldn’t be materialized. Most prominent among the plots was ‘Ghadar Conspiracy’ or ‘February Mutiny’. The conspirators included radical nationalists in India, the ‘Ghadar Party’ in the United States and the ‘Indian Independence Committee’ aka ‘Berlin Committee’ in Germany. The conspiracy was drawn up at the beginning of the war, and was extensively supported by the Irish republican movement, the German Foreign Office. The most prominent plan attempted to foment unrest and **trigger a Pan-Indian mutiny in the British Indian Army from Punjab to Singapore**. This plot was planned to be executed in February 1915 with the aim of overthrowing the Raj from the Indian subcontinent. The February mutiny (also known as Ghadar Conspiracy) was ultimately thwarted when British CID infiltrated the Ghadarite movement, arresting key figures and more than 40 were sentenced to death.

**Singapore Mutiny (1915)** – The Mutiny of the 5th Native Light Infantry was a mutiny involving up to half of 850 sepoy (Indian soldiers) against the British in Singapore during the First World War, linked with the 1915 Ghadar Conspiracy. The mutiny, on 15 February 1915, lasted nearly seven days and resulted in the deaths of 47 British soldiers and local civilians, before it was



finally quelled by British forces and Allied naval detachments. It was an event that not only caught the British off-guard but also shook the foundation of British rule in Singapore.

**India Independence League (1928)** – The Indian Independence League (also known as IIL) was an expat political organisation operated from the 1920s to the 1940s to organize those living outside of India into seeking the removal of British colonial rule over India. Founded in 1928 by Indian nationalists, the organisation was located in various parts of South-East Asia and included Indian expatriates, and later, Indian nationalists in-exile under Japanese occupation following Japan's successful Malayan Campaign during the first part of the Second World War. During the Japanese Occupation in Malaya, the Japanese encouraged Indians in Malaya to join the Indian Independence League. There were other similar organizations as well. **K P K Menon, Nedyam Raghavan, Giani Pritam Singh Dhillon, S C Goho** and others were the prestigious members of these organizations. Established primarily to foster Indian Nationalism and to obtain Japanese support. Later, after the arrival of Subhas Chandra Bose in South East Asia and the revival of the INA, the League came under his leadership, before giving way to Azad Hind.

**Free India Legion (1942)** – This was a voluntary organization formed by Subhash Chandra Bose in 1942 and it consisted of voluntary members and Prisoners of Wars.

#### Some other famous revolutionaries –

- **Chapekar Brothers** – They were three brothers (Damodar Hari, Balkrishna Hari and Vasudeo Hari) from Chinchwad, Pune. In the late 19th century (1896) plague spread in Pune and thousands died. However anti plague measures by government were inadequate and **Rand** – an ICS – was chairman of the committee for plague. The brothers in a daring act assassinated him and his military escort. The brothers were found guilty and hanged. This was perhaps one of the first major revolutionary acts.
- **Madan Lal Dhingra** (1883–1909) was an Indian revolutionary freedom fighter. While studying in England, he assassinated Sir **William Hutt Curzon Wylie**, a British official, hailed as one of the first acts of revolution in the Indian independence movement in the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Dhingra came into contact with noted Indian independence and political activists like Vinayak Damodar Savarkar and Shyamji Krishna Varma. He was also a member of India House, the base for Indian student political activity.
- **Barindra Ghosh** or Barindranath Ghose (1880–1959) was an Indian revolutionary and journalist. He was one of the founding members of **Jugantar**, a revolutionary outfit in Bengal. Barindra Ghosh was a younger brother of Aurobindo Ghose. In the trial known as the **Alipore Bomb Case** he was sentenced to death. However, the sentence was reduced to life imprisonment, and Barin was deported to the Cellular Jail in Andaman in 1909.
- **Aurobindo** was an Indian nationalist, revolutionary freedom fighter, philosopher, yogi, guru, and poet. He was the one of the early revolutionaries in Bengal. He was closely associated with the **Anushilan Samiti** and **Jugantar**. He took active participation in 1905 Swadeshi movement and promoted revolutionarism and in second decade of 19<sup>th</sup> century he relinquished politics to exile himself into spirituality in Pondicherry.

- **Pulin Behari Das** (24 January 1877 - 17 August 1949) was an Indian revolutionary and the founder-president of the **Dhaka Anushilan Samiti**. He along with others was key accused in Dacca Conspiracy Case. He was the one who organized the '**Barrah Dacoity**' – said to be the first major revolutionary event in east Bengal.
- **Subodh Chandra Mullick** was a nationalist in Calcutta. He is notable for the substantial *monetary contribution for the cause of education*. He was a *key in the foundation of the Anushilan Samiti*. He was one of the collaborators of Sri Aurobindo in his secret action. It is believed that the decision to assassinate Douglas Kingsford, District Judge of Muzaffarpur, in which Khudiram Bose and Prafulla Chaki were involved, was taken by a revolutionary 'tribunal' consisting of Sri Aurobindo, Charu Chandra Dutt and Subodh Chandra Mullick.
- **Sardar Ajit Singh Sindhu** was an Indian was an early protester in the Punjab region of India who challenged British rule, and openly criticized the Indian colonial government. He organized **Bharat Mata Society**. He was declared a political rebel and spent much of his life in jail. Sardar Ajit Singh was the uncle of Sardar Bhagat Singh. In 1905 he along with Lala Lajpat Rai were key in spreading the Swadeshi Movement to Punjab. In 1907, he was deported *to Mandalay Jail in Burma along with Lala Lajpat Rai*. After his release, he fled to Iran, rapidly developed as a centre for revolutionary activities by groups led by Sardar Ajit Singh and Sufi Amba Prasad who had worked there since 1909. In 1918, he came in close contact with the Ghadar Party in San Francisco. In 1939, he returned to Europe and later on *helped Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose* in his mission in Italy. On August 15, 1947 he uttered his last breath.
- **Sufi Amba Prasad** (1858–1919) was an Indian nationalist and pan-Islamist leader notable for his involvement in the *agrarian unrest in Punjab* in 1900s and subsequently in the Revolutionary movement for Indian independence. His associates at the time included Sardar Ajit Singh (uncle of Bhagat Singh), Mahasha Ghaseeta Ram, Kartar Singh and Lala Lajpat Rai. During World War I he was *associated with Indian revolutionaries of the likes of Har Dayal and Mahendra Pratap*. Sufi worked with the revolutionaries of the '**Berlin Committee**' in Mesopotamia and Middle East, attempting to spread propaganda among Indian troops of the Indian expeditionary force.
- **Ullaskar Dutta** (1885–1965) was a Bengali Indian revolutionary who manufactured bombs intended for use against British colonial officials. Ullaskar was a member of the '**Jugantar party**' and he became expert in bomb-making. *Khudiram Bose used a bomb manufactured by Ullaskar and Hem Chandra Das in an attempt to murder Kingsford*, a magistrate. However, police caught many members of the Jugantar group including Ullaskar Dutta, Barindra Ghosh and Khudiram. In the famous 'Alipore bomb case', Ullaskar was arrested on May 2, 1908 and he was sentenced to death in 1909. Later, on appeal, the verdict was reduced to transportation for life and he was deported to the Cellular Jail in Andaman and was later released in 1920.
- **Ashwini Kumar Dutta** (1856 –1923) was an Indian educationist, philanthropist, social reformer and patriot. He was a teacher at Barisal. The Partition of Bengal drew him to the Swadeshi movement. At that time Samitis were formed for mass mobilization. He founded the **Swadesh Bandhab Samiti** to promote the consumption of indigenous products and boycott foreign goods – this was one of the most popular samitis that were formed during Swadeshi Movement. They



played a key role in spreading the message of Swadeshi to villages which were hitherto relatively less involved in national movement.

- **Krishna Kumar Mitra** (1852-1936) one of the leaders from Bengal who was closely associated with the brahma samaj and the swadeshi movement and later was an eminent revolutionary. He was a key member of Anushilan Samiti. He was a front leader of Swadeshi Movement and was deported along with Tilak.
- **Kanailal Dutta** (1888–1908) was a revolutionary in the India's freedom struggle belonging to the Jugantar group. In connection with the Kingsford assassination attempt, Kanailal was arrested on 2 May 1908 and detained in Alipore Jail (of famous Alipore Trial), Calcutta. There, he and **Satyendranath Basu** (another detainee) were instructed to kill **Naren Goswami** (a revolutionary turned approver in Alipore Bomb Trial case). On 31 August 1908, they carried out their orders and shot him dead inside the jail hospital.
- **Subramanya Siva** was a firebrand revolutionary independence fighter from Madras Presidency. He closely worked with V O Chidambaram Pillai and Subramanya Bharathy and inspired many young men to join the freedom movement. Siva was the first political prisoner in the Madras Presidency when he along with Chidambaram Pillai led a strike against a cotton mill for the hike of wages.
- **Basant Kumar Biswas** was an activist involved in the **Jugantar** group who, in December 1912, is believed to have bombed the Viceroy's Parade in what came to be known as the **Delhi-Lahore Conspiracy**. He disguised as a woman, threw a bomb at Lord Charles Hardinge in Delhi. He was *one of the youngest Indians to be executed*.
- **Bagha Jatin or Jatin Mukharjee** was a Bengali revolutionary philosopher against British rule. He was the principal leader of the **Jugantar** party that was the central association of revolutionaries in Bengal. Having personally met the German Crown-Prince in Calcutta shortly before World War I, he *obtained the promise of arms and ammunition from Germany*; as such, he was responsible for the planned **German Plot** during World War-I. Another of his original contributions was the *indoctrination of the Indian soldiers in various regiments in favour of an insurrection*. He gave up his life fighting with police at Balasore.
- **Baba Sohan Singh Bhakna** (1870–1968) was an Indian revolutionary, the founding president of the Ghadar Party and was one of the three founding members – other two being Lala Hardayal, Pandit Kanshi Ram – and a leading member of the party involved in the Ghadar Conspiracy of 1915. He was tried at the Lahore Conspiracy trial, and served sixteen years of a life sentence for his part in the conspiracy before he was released in 1930. He later worked closely with the Indian labour movement, devoting considerable time to the Kisan Sabha and the Communist Party of India.
- **Bhai Parmanand** (1876 –1947) was an Indian nationalist. Parmanand persuaded Hardayal to go to the United States to found Ghadar Party. He was a *founder member of the Ghadar Party*. He returned to India as part of the Ghadar Conspiracy and was arrested in connection with the 'First Lahore Conspiracy Case' and was sentenced to death in 1915. The sentence was later commuted to one of transportation for life.

- **Taraknath Das** (1884 –1958) was an anti-British Bengali Indian revolutionary and internationalist scholar. He was a professor of political science at Columbia University and a visiting faculty in several other universities. He was a *key in founding Ghadar Party in US*.
- **Pandurang Mahadev Bapat** (1880 –1967), popularly known as Senapati Bapat, was a major figure in the Indian independence movement. Originally as a member of 'Abhinav Bharat' he came to Paris to learn the art of bomb-making. Bapat learned bomb-making skills during his association with the 'India House' in London, although he later claimed that none of his bombs ever killed anyone, but were rather intended solely to draw attention to the cause. Despite these claims, he was suspected of involvement in the deaths in the Alipore bomb case of 1908.
- **Krishnaji Gopal Karve** (1887 –1910) was an Indian freedom fighter, a revolutionary. He was a member of the '**Abhinav Bharat Society**' in Nashik. On 21 December 1909, he along with Anant Laxman Kanhere shot **Jackson**, the Collector of Nashik. He was sentenced to death in the Bombay high court after the famous 'Nasik Conspiracy' trials and hanged in Thane Jail on 19th April 1910.
- **Virendranath Chattopadhyaya** alias Chatto (1880 —1937) was a prominent Indian revolutionary who aimed to overthrow the British Raj in India by using violence as a tool. While frequenting Shyamji Krishnavarma's India House Viren became closely acquainted with V D Savarkar. In 1907, Viren was on the editorial board of Shyamji's **Indian Sociologist** and in August, along with Madame Cama and **S R Rana**, he attended the **Stuttgart Conference**. From Berlin he was responsible for the publication of '**Talwar**'. He also played a key role in the famous **Indo-German Conspiracy** which however failed.
- **Chempakaraman Pillai** (1891 –1934) was an Indian revolutionary during the Anti-British Movements in India, who went abroad to organise an army to declare war against the British for the self-rule in Indian subcontinent. He was a key member of 'Berlin Committee' along with Chatto, which played important role in Indo-German Conspiracy.
- **Barkatullah** was a staunch anti-British Indian revolutionary with sympathy for the Pan-Islamic movement. Barkatullah fought from outside India, with fiery speeches and revolutionary writings in leading newspapers, for the independence of India. While in England he came in close contact with Lala Hardayal and Raja Mahendra Pratap. He was one of the founders of the 'Ghadar' (Rebellion) Party in 1913 at San Francisco. Later he became the first prime minister of the **Provisional Government of India** established on 1 December 1915 in **Kabul** with Raja **Mahendra Pratap** as its President.
- **Guran Ditt Kumar** was an Indian revolutionary associated with the pioneers of the Ghadar movement involved in the **Indo-German conspiracy** during the First World War. He along with Tarak Nath Das set up 'United India House' in Seattle US for Indian students where they also spread nationalist ideas.
- **Vishnu Ganesh Pingle** was an Indian revolutionary and a member of the Ghadar Party and was one of the key in the failed February Mutiny plot. In the aftermath of which, he was the one who was one of those executed in 1915 following the Lahore conspiracy trial for his role in the Ghadar conspiracy (failed February Mutiny plot).

- **Pandit Kanshi Ram** was an Indian revolutionary who, along with Har Dayal and Sohan Singh Bhakna was one of the three key members in founding the **Ghadar Party**. He served as the treasurer of the party from its foundation in 1913 to 1914. In 1914 Kanshi Ram returned to India as a part of the Ghadar Conspiracy. He was arrested in the aftermath of the failed 'February plot' and later tried in the 'Lahore conspiracy trial'. Pandit Kanshi Ram was executed along with Kartar Singh Sarabha and Vishnu Ganesh Pingle on November 1916.
- **Ram Chandra Bharadwaj**, also known as Pandit Ram Chandra was the president of the Ghadar Party between 1914 and 1917. As a member of the Ghadar Party, Ram Chandra was also one of the founding editors of the 'Hindustan Ghadar' and a key leader of the party in its role in the Ghadar Conspiracy. He assumed the role of the president of the party following Lala Har Dayal's departure for Switzerland in 1914 and, along with Bhagwan Singh and Maulvi Mohammed Barkatullah, was a key in rallying the support of the South Asian community in the Pacific Coast in the wake of the Komagata Maru incident for the planned February Mutiny.
- **Harnam Singh Tundilat** He was one of the important members of Ghadar Party and he was one of the founding members of the party.
- **Bhai Bhagwan Singh Gyanee** was an Indian Nationalist and a leading luminary of the Ghadar Party. Elected the party president in 1914, he was extensively involved in the Ghadar Conspiracy of 1915 during World War I and in the aftermath of its failure fled to Japan. He is also known for his nationalist poems that were published in the Hindustan Ghadar and later in the compilation **Ghadar di Gunj**. He urged people to adopt *Bande Matram as salute*.
- **Sachindra Nath Sanyal** was a famous Indian revolutionary and the founder of Hindustan Republican Association (HRA, which after 1928 became the Hindustan Socialist Republican Association or HSRA). He was the mentor for revolutionaries like Chandrashekhar Azad and Bhagat Singh. Sanyal was extensively involved in the plans for the Ghadar conspiracy, and went underground after it was exposed in February, 1915. He was sentenced for the **Kakori** train robbery and was tried and sentenced to life for the same. He was sent to the dreaded Cellular Jail in the Andamans and in jail he wrote the famous book '**Bandi Jeevan**'. This book would become the *bible for a generation of revolutionaries fighting British rule*.
- **Pt. Genda Lal Dixit** was an Indian revolutionary who was a school teacher in the district of Etawah, UP. He was the leader of **Shivaji Samiti** – a gang of decoits who participated in the revolutionary activities of United Province in the year of 1918 against British Empire (He motivated them by the tales of Shivaji a Hindu leader to start a gurilla war against British like Shivaji who had started this tactic in the Moghul period of Aurangzeb). The historical case filed against him by the then British Government is known as **Mainpuri Shadyantra**. He was a guide to **Ram Prasad Bismil** with whom he planned to fight against British but unfortunately he could not survive due to his deteriorating health.
- **Ram Prasad Bismil** (1897-1927) participated in Mainpuri Conspiracy of 1918, and the Kakori conspiracy of 1925. Bismil was one of the founder members of the revolutionary organisation **Hindustan Republican Association**. He was also a patriotic poet. The famous poem '*Sarfaroshi ki Tamanna*' is also popularly attributed to him. He was executed in the Kakori case in 1927.

- **Rajendra Lahiri** (1901–1927) was a Bengali revolutionary, who participated in various revolutionary activities of the Hindustan Republican Association aimed at ousting the British forever from India. In 1925 he participated in the famous 'Kakori train robbery', 1925. In Kakori Conspiracy case he was awarded death.
- **Ashfaqulla Khan** (1900 –1927) was tried under Kakori Conspiracy and was awarded death sentence.
- **Manmath Nath Gupta** was an Indian revolutionary writer and author of autobiographical, historical and fictional books in Hindi, English and Bengali. He joined the Indian independence movement at the age of 13, and was an active member of the Hindustan Republican Association. He participated in the famous Kakori train robbery in 1925 and was imprisoned for 14 years (due to his young age).
- **Chandra Shekhar Azad** (1906 –1931), popularly known as Azad was one of the most important Indian revolutionaries who reorganised the Hindustan Republican Association under the new name of **Hindustan Socialist Republican Association** (HSRA) after the execution of its founder Pandit Ram Prasad Bismil. He is considered to be the mentor of Bhagat Singh and chief strategist of the HSRA. He was involved in the famous Kakori Train Robbery of 1925, in the attempt to blow up the Viceroy's train in 1926, and at last the shooting of J P Saunders at Lahore in 1928 to avenge the killing of Lala Lajpat Rai. He died in a police encounter in Alfred Park.
- **Jai Gopal** was a member of HSRA. In 1929 police raided the HSRA's bomb factory in Lahore and arrested Kishori Lal, Sukhdev and Jai Gopal. In the planned murder of Scott (which involved Bhagat Singh, Sukhdev and Rajguru in which Saunders was killed instead), Jai Gopal also played an important role. Jai Gopal was *supposed to identify the chief and signal for Bhagat Singh to shoot*. However, in a case of mistaken identity, Gopal signalled Singh on the appearance of J P Saunders, a Deputy Superintendent of Police. Thus, Saunders, instead of Scott, was shot.
- **Jaidev Kapoor** was a member of HSRA. He along with **Shiv Varma** and Bijoy Kumar Sinha worked in UP to spread revolutionary activities. On April 9, 1929 arranged entry passes for Bhagat Singh and Batukeshwar Dutt and also accompanied them to the assembly to recover these passes before they threw the bombs, alongwith Shiv Verma had made all the arrangements of bomb episode at Central Legislative Assembly Delhi on April 8, 1929. Sentenced to transportation for life in Second 'Lahore conspiracy case'.
- **Bhagwati Charan Vohra** played a key role in HSRA, was founder member of '**Naujawan Bharat Sabha**', his wife Durga Bhabhi was a leading woman revolutionary. Along with Sukhdev, he was active revolutionary member of HSRA in Punjab.
- **Thakur Roshan Singh** was an Indian revolutionary who was previously sentenced in the 'Bareilly Goli Kand' during Non Cooperation Movement of 1921-22. After release from Bareilly central jail, he joined the Hindustan Republican Association in 1924. Although he had not taken part in the Kakori conspiracy yet he was arrested and awarded death sentence by the then British Government.
- **Baikunth Shukla** (1907–1934) was an Indian nationalist and revolutionary. He was the nephew of Yogendra Shukla, one of the founders of Hindustan Socialist Republican Association (HSRA).

He was hanged for murdering '**Phanindra Nath Ghosh**' who had become a government approver which led to hanging of Bhagat Singh, Sukhdev and Rajguru.

- **Gopinath Saha** was a Bengali Indian freedom fighter who attempted to assassinate **Charles Tegart**, the then head of the Detective Department of Calcutta Police who was hated among the revolutionaries, but erroneously killed a White civilian who had come there on official business. Saha was arrested and executed by the government.

## ANTI-REVOLUTIONARY LEGISLATIONS by GOVERNMENT

- I. **The Prevention of Seditious Meetings Act (1907)** – Tilak was charged under this and was sent for 6 years of imprisonment
- II. **The Explosive Substances Act (1908)**
- III. **The Indian Criminal Law Amendment Act (1908)**
- IV. **The Newspaper (Incitement to Offences) Act, 1908**
- V. **The Press Act of 1910**
- VI. **Defence of India Rules, 1915** – Also referred to as the Defence of India Regulations Act, was an *Emergency Criminal Law* enacted by the Governor-General of India in 1915 with the intention of curtailing the nationalist and revolutionary activities during and in the aftermath of the First World War. It was most unpopular Act among revolutionaries in the history of British India. It would *later be applied during the First Lahore Conspiracy* trial in the aftermath of the failed Ghadar Conspiracy of 1915. The act, after the end of World War I, formed the basis of the Rowlatt Act.
- VII. **Rowlatt Act**

## RISE OF COMMUNISM IN INDIA (1920s Onwards)

Two important developments of the mid-1920s were the formation of the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS), a Hindu organisation, and the Communist Party of India.

The Communists in India rose in two different streams –

- As a branch of International Communist Movement led by MN Roy and others started with CPI, 1924
- Congress Socialist Party within Congress started in 1934

The Communist Party of India was founded in Tashkent in 1920, soon after the Second Congress of the Communist International. M N Roy was one of the founding members. CPI in India was formed in 1924. Among its founders M N Roy, S A Dange, Shaikat Ali were prominent.

*British response was hostile towards communists* and in **Peshwar Conspiracy**, **Kanpur Bolshevik Conspiracy** and **Meerut Conspiracy** several desperate bids were made to curb communists. So much so

that CPI was declared illegal after Meerut conspiracy. It also tried to pass **Public Safety Bill** in 1928 to curb the activities of Communist elements.

**Dutt Bradley Thesis – ‘The Anti-Imperialist People's Front In India’** written by Rajni Palme Dutt and Ben Bradley, popularly known as the Dutt-Bradley thesis, as leaders of the Communist Party of Great Britain. *It advocated that Communist leaders should infiltrate in Congress as it is an organized party in India.*

*Declaration of a resolution on Fundamental Rights during the Karachi Session of March 1931 of the Congress hinted at the penetration of socialist ideas into Congress.*

Within Congress, ‘**Congress Socialist Party**’ in 1934 was founded by **J P Narayan, Acharya Narendra Dev** and **Minoo Masani** and it was later led by likes of Subhash Chandra and Jawahar Lal Nehru. Influenced by Fabianism as well as Marxism-Leninism, the CSP *included advocates of armed struggle or sabotage (such as Jai Prakash Narayan and Basawon Singh (Sinha) as well as those who insisted upon ahimsa or nonviolent resistance (such as Acharya Narendra Deva).* However, over the election of 1939 presidency of Congress, CSP showed little enthusiasm over defending election of Bose and it caused much bitterness. After Independence, CSP parted its ways with Congress.

However, Gandhi was not impressed with socialistic thinking of communists. He called this ideology as – ‘*Imported Political Wisdom*’ and communists as – ‘*a body of men in hurry*’.

Communists also contributed immensely to **peasant movements** and *trade union movement*. They launched many peasant struggles – Harsha Chinnu Moghha Morcha in Punjab, Telangana Movement in Hyderabad, Tebhaga Movement in Bengal were the most notable of these. AICTU became an integral part of socialist agenda and they worked closely with Kisan Sabhas and took up the cause of peasants.

Communists drew considerable criticism when they decided to not support Quit India Movement in 1942.

After independence, Communists were again in limelight when they put up an armed struggle against Nizam of Hyderabad in Telangana movement in which women also participated in considerable numbers. Later, they also turned their fight against government.

Major events –

- I. **Peshawar Conspiracy (1923)** – Peshawar Conspiracy 1923 (It was also a bid by government to curb the rising Communists and is one of the 3 main Conspiracy cases against communists) The Peshawar Conspiracy Case refers to a set of five cases which took place between 1922 to 1927 in the British India. The people who were tried in these cases had sneaked into British India from Russia to start a revolution. The 1920s was a decade which saw the revival of revolutionary movement in British India. The British Imperial government in India was terrified by the idea of spread of communism in India.
- II. **Kanpur Bolshevik Conspiracy (1924)** – Kanpur Bolshevik Conspiracy Case tried the emerging leaders supporting communist ideology. Under this trial, **Muzaffar Ahmad, S A Dange, Shaikat Usmani** and **Nalini Gupta** were jailed in May 1924. This was a desperate bid of the British government to nip in the bud the rising communist movement.

- III. **Meerut Conspiracy (1932)** – Meerut Conspiracy Case was a controversial court case, in which *several trade unionists, including three Englishmen were arrested for organizing Indian-rail strike*. In a desperate bid in 1929, the government in a swoop arrested all major communist leaders – 32 of them. The ensuing Conspiracy trial was mainly a result of fear psychosis of British about the emerging Communist ideology. The main charges were that in 1921 **Dange, Shaukat Usmani** and **Muzaffar Ahmad** entered into a conspiracy to *establish a branch of 'Comintern' in India* and they were helped by various persons, some British nationals and sent to India by the Communist International. In the trial *the accused were all labeled as Bolsheviks*. The main charge was *of sedition against the Crown*. Defense was taken by **Jawahar Lal Nehru** and **M A Ansari**. During the trial of four and a half years, *the defendants turned the courtroom into a public platform to espouse their cause*. As a result, *the trial saw strengthening of the communist movement in the country*. After Meerut Conspiracy Case, CPI was banned in India.

## PEOPLE'S STRUGGLE in PRINCIPAL STATES

During British rules, princely states had separate governing structures of their own *and often civil rights were at mercy of the rulers of the states*. Condition of people in princely states was even worse. Revenues were spent on luxuries of princes and little was done for welfare. Serfdom, forced labor and slavery existed in many of the states. People couldn't revolt as well as well as princely states had protection of British paramountcy. Before arrival of British people had option of revolting against the princess, now that right too was suppressed by might of British. British on the other hand used states to act as a buffer against provinces and rising nationalism.

*The national movement in princely states started after 1920 after the non-cooperation movement which had taken place in the British provinces only*. Under the national movement, the people of the princely states established people's organisation.

These people's organisation started by the people of princely states for the national movement were called '**Praja Mandals**' or 'Praja Parishads'. The national movement in the princely states are also called Praja Mandal Movements.

The people of Praja Mandal **fought against dual evils – feudalism and colonialism**. The people of Praja Mandal movement fought against their feudal princes and the British administration simultaneously for their rights.

The main demand of the Praja Mandal movements was the democratic rights.

**Mysore, Orissa** and **Baroda** were such among a few states where such praja mandals were organized. However, Orissa was the state that was center for Praja Mandal Movement.

Initially, Congress role was limited due to the nature of rules in these states.

They gained major momentum when '**All India States' People Conference**' (AISPC) was organized in **1927** in Bombay under leaders like **Balwant Rai Mehta, G R Abhyankar** and **Maniklal Kothari** who

championed the cause of self-rule. Role of Congress in the organisation of All India States People's Conference and declared objective to be involved in States People's Movement in the Tripuri Congress session provided the moral booster to Praja Mandal Movement.

In 1938, when Congress declared goal of Independence, it also included the independence of princely states also and **Jawahar Lal Nehru was president of AISPC in 1939** and this further boosted the cause of people in states.

The Praja Mandal Movement nakedly exposed the character of feudal polity and prepared the ground for integration of princely states.

## **WOMEN and INDIAN FREEDOM STRUGGLE**

In general, condition of woman was not good during 18<sup>th</sup>-19<sup>th</sup> century. Further, condition of upper caste/class women was even worse than peasant woman as upper class women had strict social restrictions, while participation of peasant class woman was relatively higher in social and economic life. Polygamy prevailed among upper class and widow remarriage was strictly prohibited among upper class. Further economic and social dependency on men was also high.

Women's rights movements were initially taken by western educated social reformer men and they established some of the organisations that worked for woman's emancipation. Brahmo Samaj, Prarthna Samaj etc were such organisations in 19<sup>th</sup> century.

It was only *around 1920s that women themselves came forward* and many women's organisations like All India Women's Conference etc were established. Growth of militant nationalism also gave a push to the cause of woman (Earlier moderate stream of nationalists was also conservative in approach towards cause of women). With *arrival of Gandhian era*, participation of women in freedom movement started and this also pushed the reformist agenda in Congress and other organisations.

Soon after independence, Article 14 and 15 provided for equality of women in all field of life. Hindu Succession Act of 1956 provided for their inheritance rights and Hindu Marriage Act of 1955 permitted dissolution of marriage on specific grounds.

**Early Leaders** – Their participation in the struggle began as early as 1817 when **Bhima Bai Holkar** fought against the British Colonel Malcolm and defeated him in guerilla warfare. Contribution of **Rani Laxmi Bai** of Jhansi is unparalleled. After the battle, the British commented – '*She was the only man among all the men*'. Another woman was **Hazrat Mahal Begum**. She was the wife of the deposed ruler of Lucknow who actively took part in the revolt of 1857 against the Doctrine of Lapse under which Dalhousie wanted her to surrender Lucknow.

### **Patriotic Literature – Sarojini Naidu**

**Revolutionaries** – There many revolutionaries like – Durga 'Bhagwati Charan Vohra' aka **Durga Bhabhi** helped the revolutionaries during Kakori Conspiracy. She helped Bhagat Singh escape from the police and opened her house to freedom fighters, **Kalpanna Dutta**, **Preetilata Wadedkar** (Chittagong Raid), **Bina Das** (shot Governor Jackson in Bengal), **Matangini Hazara** (parallel government during Quit India



Movement), **Usha Mehta** during Quit India ran an underground radio, **Santi Ghosh** and **Suniti Ghosh** were two young school girls from Bengal shot District Magistrate dead in 1931, a phase during which revolutionary activities were at peak in Bengal and so on. Bhikhaji Kama and Vijaylakshmi Pandit were revolutionaries which worked from abroad.

**Women Abroad** – Likes of **Bhikaji Cama** – Unfurled Indian flag at Stuggert, Germany at a socialist conference and started *Bande Matram* magazine, Captain **Lakshmi Sehgal** – led the only women regiment of INA etc

**National Movements** – During thick of fight of Independence many like Sarojini Naidu – during Civil Disobedience, Round Table etc, **Swarup Rani** (Mother of Jawahar) – despite being frail and old took morcha against British during Non-Cooperation. **Aruna Asaf Ali** rose to prominence during Quit India.

**Social Reformers** – **Savitri Bai Phule** started the first school for lower caste girls. Many women began to write and publish their critical views on the place of women in society. **Tarabai Shinde**, a woman educated at home at Poona, published a book, *Stripurushtulna*, (A Comparison between Women and Men), criticizing the social differences between men and women. **Pandita Ramabai**, a great scholar of Sanskrit, felt that Hinduism was oppressive towards women, and wrote a book about the miserable lives of upper-caste Hindu women. She founded a widows' home at Poona to provide shelter to widows who had been treated badly by their husbands' relatives. Here women were trained so that they could support themselves economically.

#### **Women's Associations –**

- I. **Bharat Stree Mahamandal** was the first women's organisation in India founded by Sarala Devi Chaudhurani in Allahabad in **1910**. One of the primary goals of the organisation was to promote female education which was not well developed at that time. The organisation opened several offices in Lahore, Allahabad, Delhi, Karachi, Amritsar etc. to improve the condition of women all over India. She was grand daughter of Debendranath Tagore. Purdah was regarded by Sarala Devi as the main obstacle for women's education and teachers were sent round to women's homes to educate them.
- II. **All India Women's Conference** was founded in **1927** by Margret Cousins having Sarojni Naidu, Lady Dorab Tata as its founding members. It worked towards women's education, abolition of purdah system, legislative reform, abolition of child marriage, harijan welfare, family planning, and rural reconstruction. These women's organisations worked for a society based on principles of social justice, integrity, equal rights and opportunities. They wanted security for every human being; the essentials of life not determined by accidental births but by planned social distribution. Their efforts led to several legislative reforms in Sarda Act (1929) (by efforts of Harbilas Sarda), Hindu Women's Right to Property Act (1937), Factory Act (1947), Hindu Marriage and Divorce Act etc. AIWC efforts also led to setting up of The All India Women's Education Fund Association, and Lady Irwin College of Home Science.

Social and educational reforms effort by the women's associations helped in preparing the Indian women to participate in the freedom struggle. With Mahatma Gandhi women availed an opportunity to get into the scene of freedom struggle.

**Some other famous woman activists are –**

- **Anasuya Sarabhai aka Anasuya Behn** – Anasuya Sarabhai had led the Ahmedabad textile workers' strike in which Gandhi also participated and in 1920 under her leadership the Majoor Mahajan, the Ahmedabad textile mill workers union was established. She played a key role in leading the workers movement and became a face of women participation in workers movement.
- **Maniben Kara** – She came under influence of N M Joshi and one of the earliest woman participants in trade union and workers' movement. In Bombay she emerged as the socialist leader of railway workers.
- **Mira Alphonse** – Mira Alphonse, the Mother, was born in Paris in 1878. She came to India in 1914 and met Shri Aurobindo. She was a key in motivating likes of Sister Nivedita and Annie Besant.
- **Sarla Behn** – Katherine Helliman was an African national, better known in India as Sarla Behn, along with Mira Behn was an ardent follower of Gandhi. She played an important role in spreading message of Gandhi at grass root level.
- **Meera Behn** – Mira Behn was an English woman and her original name was Madelene Slade. It was Gandhiji who gave her the name Mira, for her spirit of devotion. After Gandhiji's arrest in the course of Salt Satyagraha, she toured several other provinces for promoting spinning and khadi. She went with Gandhiji to London when he went there for the Second Round Table Conference and became a link between Gandhiji and the English people.
- **Sister Nivedita aka Margaret Nobel** – She was a *Scots-Irish social worker*, author, teacher and disciple of Swami Vivekananda. Swami Vivekananda gave her the name Nivedita (meaning 'Dedicated to God'). She was also actively associated with Indian Nationalist movement. In 1905 the British Government under Curzon initiated the partition of Bengal which was a major turning point in the Indian independence movement. Nivedita played a pioneering role in organizing the movement. She played an important rule in Swadeshi Movement. She also took the cause of Indian Independence to other countries like – US, UK etc.
- **Margaret Cousins** – She was an Irish of origin and came to India with her husband to take *Theosophical activities* and came into influence of Annie Besant. In 1917, she established the first Women's organisation in India – the '**Women's Indian Association**' – and used it to exert pressure on the government to grant voting rights to Indian women. The association also played a key role in establishing the **All India Women's Conference**, in 1927. It played an important role in demanding universal adult franchise for women and as a result limited adult franchise was given to women in 1935 Act.
- **Bhikhaiji Rustom Cama** was born in Bombay (now Mumbai) into a large, well-off Parsi family and is known as Mother of Indian Revolutionaries. While getting treatment in Britain, she came in contact with Shyamji Krishna Verma. Through him, she met **Dadabhai Naoroji**, then president

of the British Committee of the Indian National Congress, and for whom she came to work as private secretary. Together with Naoroji and Singh Rewabhai Rana (S R Rana), Cama supported the founding of Varma's '**Indian Home Rule Society**' in February 1905. That same year Cama relocated to Paris, where—together with Singh Rewabhai Rana she co-founded the '**Paris Indian Society**'. Cama wrote, published (in Holland and Switzerland) and distributed revolutionary literature for the movement, including '**Bande Mataram**' (founded in response to the Crown ban on the poem Vande Mataram) and later '**Madan's Talwar**' (in response to the execution of Madan Lal Dhingra). These weeklies were smuggled into India through the French colony of Pondicherry on the subcontinent's south-east coast. On 22 August 1907, Cama attended the **International Socialist Conference** in **Stuttgart**, Germany, where she unfurled what she called the '**Flag of Indian Independence**' which is the first tricolor made during the freedom struggle.

- **Lakshmi Sehgal** Swaminathan, also known as Captain Laxmi is an activist of the Indian independence movement, an ex-officer of the Indian National Army, and the Minister of Women's affairs in the Azad Hind Government. A doctor by profession, Captain Lakshmi came into the limelight in India towards the end of World War II for her role as the commander of the '**Rani of Jhansi Regiment**' (only women's regiment in Azad Hind Fauj) of the INA. In 2002 four leftist parties nominated her as a candidate in the presidential elections against A P J Abdul Kalam.
- **Annie Besant** (1847 – 1933) was a prominent British Theosophist, women's rights activist, writer and orator and supporter of Irish and Indian self rule. She was most important members of the **Theosophical Society Adyar**. As part of her Theosophy-related work, she travelled to India where in 1898 she helped establish the **Central Hindu College**, and in 1902 she also became involved in politics in India, joining the Indian National Congress. When World War I broke out in 1914 she helped launch the Home Rule League to campaign for democracy in India and dominion status within the Empire. She also launched two papers – **New India** and **Commonwealth**. This led to her election as president of the India National Congress in late 1917. She was also first woman president of Congress.
- **Mithuben Petit**'s life and mission began in the golden era of Gandhiji's national movement in 1930 and ended in 1973. She dedicated her life for the upliftment of the tribal poor, the underprivileged and the downtrodden of Gujarat. Gandhiji's Salt Satyagraha was a turning point in her life. She kept away from politics and followed Gandhiji's principle of selfless service.
- **Aruna Asif Ali** is widely remembered for hoisting the Indian National Congress flag at the Gowalia Tank maidan in Bombay during the Quit India Movement, 1942. She became an active member of Congress Party after marrying Asaf Ali and participated in public processions during the Salt Satyagraha. However her most prominent role was during Quit India movement when most of the big leaders were in jails and she along with Usha Mehta operated underground activities and kept the movement going on.
- **Sucheta Kriplani** was an Indian freedom fighter and politician in Uttar Pradesh, India. She became the first woman to be elected Chief Minister of any Indian state. She was one of the few women who were elected to the Constituent Assembly and was part of the subcommittee that

drafted the Indian Constitution. Like Aruna Asaf Ali and Usha Mehta she was a key figure in the underground phase of Quit India Movement.

- **Leela Roy Nag** (1900 –1970), was a radical leftist Indian politician and reformer, and a close associate of Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose. Leela Nag's main concerns were regarding the education and advancement of women. She founded '**Deepali Sangha**'. It became the centre for initiating various activities by women and its branches were established in different parts of Dacca. During the partition violence, she joined Gandhi in Noakhali. Even before Gandhiji reached there, she opened a relief center and rescued 400 women. After the Partition of India, she ran homes in Calcutta for destitute and abandoned women and tried to help refugees from East Bengal.
- **Usha Mehta** (1920 –2000) was a renowned Gandhian and freedom fighter of India. She is also remembered for organizing the **Congress Radio**, also called the Secret Congress Radio, an underground radio station, which functioned for few months during the Quit India Movement of 1942.
- **Durgabai Deshmukh** was a feminist, a Parliamentarian and played a key role in Swadeshi and salt Satyagraha movement. Durgabai was fascinated by the teachings of Gandhiji and became a devoted Congress sevika. She was imprisoned during the Salt Satyagraha and was sent to Vellore Jail where she mingled with other women prisoners. Popularly known as the '**Iron Lady**', she also became a member of the Constituent Assembly and used her potential in framing the constitution.
- **Maniben Nanavati** was the first woman who took spinning to every village of India. She stitched clothes for the Adivasi and Dalit children and attended to the sick and the suffering millions of India. Under influence of Gandhi, she started the '**khadimandir**' **exclusively** for women and their progress. She founded the **Nanavati Hospital** in memory of her husband, Shri Chandulal Nanavati.
- **Raj Kumari Gupta** of Kanpur played a key role in the Kakori dacoity case. On being arrested, she was disowned by her in-laws and thrown out of the house.
- **Khurshidben Naoraji** was grand daughter of Dadabhai Naoraji. Khurshidben was attracted by the teachings of Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan who was trying to convert the revolutionary Pathans into messengers of peace. Later she went to the North-West Frontier Province (NWFP) and helped Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan in forging unity among Pathans, Pirs, Maliks and Khans. It was Khurshidben who supported the workers (when they went on strike) of the Tata Steel Works at Jamshedpur during the Quit India Struggle.
- **Nellie Sengupta** was married to J M Sengupta. During the non-cooperation movement she was arrested while selling khadi in Chittagong. Later she was also elected as Congress president.
- **Kamladevi Chattopadhyay** (1903 –1988) was an Indian social reformer, freedom fighter, and most remembered for her contribution to Indian independence movement, for being the driving force behind the renaissance of Indian handicrafts, handlooms, and theatre in post-Independence India, and for upliftment of the socio-economic standard of Indian women by **pioneering the co-operative movement** in India. Numerous cultural institutions in India today are a gift of her vision, she played a key role in growth of **National School of Drama, Sangeet**

**Natak Akademi, Central Cottage Industries Emporium**, and The Crafts Council of India, to name a few. During Independence movement, Kamaladevi came to know of Mahatma Gandhi's Non-Cooperation Movement and joined the **Seva Dal**, a Gandhian organisation set up to promote social upliftment. Later she was a part of the seven member lead team, announced by Mahatma Gandhi, in the **famous Salt Satyagraha** (1930), to prepare Salt at the Bombay beachfront, the only other woman volunteer of the team was **Avantikabai Gokhale**. In the 1930s, she was arrested for entering the Bombay Stock Exchange to sell packets of contraband salt, and spent almost a year in prison.

- **Basanti Devi** was the *first Indian woman to be arrested* during the non-cooperation movement for selling khadi. Subhash Chandra Bose addressed her as 'Maa' (mother).
- **Latika Ghosh** formed the **Mahila Rashtriya Sangh**, first formal organization to mobilize women for political work, which looked as its goal, independence and women's emancipation and she was a close associate of Subhash Chandra.
- **Bina Das** (1911–1986) was an Indian revolutionary and nationalist from Bengal. On 6 February 1932, she attempted to assassinate the Bengal Governor **Stanley Jackson** in the Convocation hall of the University of Calcutta. She was part of **Chaattri Sangha**. The Chaattri Sangha was an association for female students formed by Bina Das, her elder sister Kalyani, Surama Mitra and Kamala Dasgupta for the discussion of revolutionary matters.
- **Nonibala Devi** was widowed at the age of 16, but refused to live a secluded life, as was the fate of most widows of those times. Instead, she joined the Jugantar Party. She was arrested in Peshawar for possessing arms and ammunition and deported to Calcutta jail. She also became the Calcutta jail's first woman prisoner.
- **Krishnabai Rau**, a loyal Gandhian since childhood, responded to Gandhi's call for civil disobedience. In Madras, S Ambujammal and Krishna Rau formed the Desh Sevika Sangh, which preached the true value of Swadeshi. Dressed in orange saris and blouses, DSS women picketed foreign cloth shops with men volunteers.
- **Rajkumari Amrit Kaur** was the Princess of Kapurthala. She never married and she took up the cause of women's emancipation in India and joined the All-India Women's Conference. Raj Kumari Amrit Kaur was a close follower of Gandhiji from 1919 onwards. A Congress member, she actively participated in the 1930 Salt Satyagraha and the Quit India Movement. After the independence, when Jawaharlal formed the Interim Government, Amrit Kaur became the first women Union Minister.

## INDUSTRIALIST and FREEDOM STRUGGLE

Industrial class was almost non-existent by the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Cause of national movement also found affinity among the industrialists as well. British had deliberately crippled the Indian industry and massive imports were having a disastrous effect on Indian industry.

Many Industrialists supported Swadeshi movement for this reason. **V O Chidambaram Pillai** – who ran a shipping company – actively supported Swadeshi movement in South. **P C Ray** was another industrialist who played active role during Swadeshi movement and also formed a Swadeshi Chemical factory.

They wanted protection against imports of foreign goods, and a rupee-sterling foreign exchange ratio that would discourage imports. To organise business interests, they formed the **Indian Industrial and Commercial Congress** in 1920 and the **Federation of the Indian Chamber of Commerce and Industries (FICCI)** in 1927. Led by prominent industrialists like **Purshottamdas Thakurdas** and **G D Birla**, the industrialists attacked colonial control over the Indian economy, and supported the Civil Disobedience Movement when it was first launched. They gave financial assistance and refused to buy or sell imported goods. Most businessmen came to see swaraj as a time when colonial restrictions on business would no longer exist and trade and industry would flourish without constraints.

**Jamnala Bajaj** was another nationalist industrialist. He gave land for the Wardha Ashram of Gandhi and took active participation in the national freedom struggle. Gandhi is known to have adopted him as his son. Later, in 1923, he participated in the flag Satyagraha, defying a ban on flying the national flag in Nagpur, and was arrested. This earned him national admiration.

At the same time, businessmen were also cautious about mass movements and spread of trade unionism and were apprehensive of the spread of militant activities, and worried about prolonged disruption of business, as well as of the growing influence of socialism amongst the younger members of the Congress.

## **FREEDOM FIGHTERS from NORTH EAST**

**Maniram Diwan** – He was first Indegenous tea planter and also a sepoy mutinee leader. In the mutiny, he saw an opportunity to restore the Ahom rule. He was hanged by the British for conspiring against them during the 1857 uprising.

**Kiang Nongbah** was the leader and the guiding spirit of the Jaintiya Rebellion of 1862. Cause rebellion was *imposition of income tax in addition to house tax*. Apprehension of tax on betel and betel-nut created turmoil and fierce rebellion broke, led by Kiang Nongbah. He was betrayed, captured and hanged by Britishers publicly on 30th December, 1862.

**Taji Mideren** was the resident of elopian village in the North Eastern region. Taji Mideren was a farmer & trader. He took part in the activities aganist british rule& killed 3 british officers near the Diran river in 1905, organised his mesmi fellow tribals & got them to come together to resist the expansion of british authority. He established a mishmi leadership. He was finally captured by the British police at sadiya in December 1917 & was deported to tezpur in Assam. There he was tried and sentenced to death.

**Rani Gaidinliu** was one of the active participants in the fight for freedom from British rule in India. Born in a village of Manipur she joined freedom struggle at the age of 13 and was the first freedom fighter from Manipur state. She led a socio-political movement to drive out the British from Manipur and Naga areas. She assumed leadership after her brother Jadonag was hanged in 1931. She was also instrumental in making people in North East aware about Gandhian struggle. She was arrested in 1932 at the age of

16 and imprisoned for life. She was freed in 1947 after India gained freedom and Nehru gave her the title of 'Rani'.

## FREEDOM FIGHTERS from SOUTH INDIA

South India was generally more involved in non-revolutionary activities. Earliest example of nationalists came in form of pre-Congress organizations like – Madras Mahajan Sabha. Nationalist newspapers like The Hindu were also founded in the latter half of 19<sup>th</sup> century.

Some of the major freedom fighters include –

- **S Satyamurthi** – Sundara Sastri Satyamurti (1887 –1943) was a protege of S Srinivasa Iyengar and was the political mentor of Kumaraswami Kamaraj. Satyamurti was one of the leading lights of Swarajists who laid the foundation for parliamentary democracy in India, the others being C R Das and Motilal Nehru. He alongwith Asaf Ali, M A Ansari, Bhulabhai Desai and B C Roy was the one who advocated constitutional methods. In fact, he was the first to propose for the revival of Swarajists method by again gaining entry to councils for the Central Legislative Assembly Elections in 1934 when Civil Disobedience movement was withdrawn and Congress was in disarray. He was arrested in 1942 for performing 'Individual satyagraha' at the height of the Quit India Movement.
- **Ukkirapandi Muthuramalinga Thevar** (1908 –1963) hailed from the Maravar community and became the leader of the *All India Forward Bloc* in Tamil Nadu, and was national deputy chairman of the party from 1952 onwards. He played a key role in election of Subhash as Congress president for the second time against candidate of Gandhi (Tripuri Session), he mobilised all south India votes for Bose.
- **Nilkant Brahmachari and Vanchi Ayyer** – They founded **Bharat Mata Association** in Madras and were one of the few revolutionaries from Madras. Vanchi killed **DM Ashe** of Tirunelveli in 1911 who was infamous for his oppressive methods. The DM was shot in daylight by Vanchi Ayyer accomplice by his cousin Shankar Krishna Ayyer. Vanchi killed himself instead of getting caught. *Vanchi is the only martyr from South India.*
- **S Subramania Iyer** (1842 –1924) was an Indian lawyer, jurist and freedom fighter who, along with Annie Besant, founded the **Home Rule Movement**. He was popularly known as the '*Grand Old Man of South India*'. He *renounced his knighthood* in support of the movement and to protest against the arbitrary arrest of Besant.
- **Subramanya Bharathi** was a Tamil writer, poet, journalist, Indian independence activist and social reformer from Madras Presidency, India. Popularly known as *Mahakavi Bharathiyar*, he is considered to be a *pioneer of modern Tamil poetry*. He worked as a journalist with many newspapers, notable among them being the **Swadesamitran** and India. Bharathi was also an active member of the Indian National Congress. He worked along with Chidambram Pillai and Subramaniya Siva during Swadeshi Movement.
- **K Kelappan** was a freedom fighter and social reformer. He joined the Non-cooperation movement led by Mahatma Gandhi and joined the Freedom movement. He played a dominant

role in the famous Vaikom Satyagraha and was the leader of the Guruvayur Satyagraha in 1932. He also led the movement during the Salt Satyagraha in Malabar area.

- **Chakravarti Rajagopalachari** (1878 –1972) was a Gandhian nationalist and was the last Governor-General of India. Rajaji founded the '*Swatantra Party*' after Independence and was one of the first recipients of India's highest civilian award, the Bharat Ratna. He joined the Indian National Congress and participated in the agitations against the Rowlatt Act, the Non-Cooperation movement, the Vaikom Satyagraha and the Civil Disobedience movement. He led the Salt Satyagraha in Tamilnadu. He later advocated cooperation over Britain's war effort and opposed the Quit India Movement. He favoured talks with both Muhammad Ali Jinnah and the Muslim League and proposed what later came to be known as the C R Formula or Rajaji Formula.
- **Alladi Krishnaswamy Iyer** (1883 – 1953) was an Indian lawyer and member of the Constituent Assembly of India, which was responsible for framing the Constitution of India. He was Advocate General of the Composite Madras State. Dr B R Ambedkar was assisted by two eminent lawyers while drafting the constitution. K M Munshi from Gujarat and Alladi Krishnaswamy Aiyar from Madras, both of whom gave crucial inputs in the drafting of the Constitution.
- **T Prakasam** (1872 –1957) was an Indian politician and Freedom Fighter and the first Chief Minister of the Indian province Andhra state. He was also known as **Andhra Kesari** (literally, the Lion of Andhra). In 1922, during the Non-cooperation Movement, he organised a demonstration by 30,000 Congress volunteers at Guntur. In Madras during demonstrations in protests against Simon Commission, he bared his chest in front of a policeman and openly dared him to fire.
- **E M S Namboodiripad** (1909 –1998) was an Indian Communist leader and the first Chief Minister of Kerala state. As the first non-Indian National Congress Chief Minister in Republic of India, he became the leader of the first democratically elected Communist government in the world. Namboodiripad pioneered radical land and educational reforms in Kerala state that are today being duplicated by other states of India.
- **P Theagaraya Chetty** (1852 - 1925) was one of the founders of the 'Justice Party' (which was first non-brahmin political entity) in 1916 along with C Natesa Mudaliar, Dr. T M Nair and worked for the political and social empowerment of Non-Brahmins and lower caste Brahmins in India.
- **K Kamraj** was former Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu widely acknowledged as the 'Kingmaker' in Indian politics during the 1960s. He was instrumental in bringing to power two Prime Ministers, Lal Bahadur Shastri in 1964 and Indira Gandhi in 1966. In Tamil Nadu, his home state, he is still remembered for bringing school education to millions of the rural poor by introducing free education and the free Midday Meal Scheme during his tenure as chief minister. He is also known for his famous 'Kamraj Plan' in which he called for senior leaders to quit mainstream politics and strengthen the party. He was awarded India's highest civilian honour, the Bharat Ratna, posthumously in 1976.
- **Vallathol Narayana Menon** (1878–1958), popularly known as **Mahakavi**, was one of the celebrity poets in Malayalam language. He is the author of the famous Sahithya Manjari. He raised Kathakali as a great art form to the level today. Vallathol actively participated in the



Nationalist movement. He attended the all India Conferences of the Indian National Congress in 1922 and 1927 and rejected the Royal Honour bestowed upon him by Prince of Wales during his India visit (1922).

## RISE of COMMUNALISM in INDIA

Before start of 20<sup>th</sup> century, there were no big communal divisions. Earlier the wars were fought on the basis of territories and religious ideologies were not antagonistic to each other in a communal sense. Even during 1857 revolt both the communities fought side by side.

Fights among different kings of different religious identity earlier occurred mostly to gain economic and political control and religious factors were only secondary. *Growth of communalism can be seen in three stages in India –*

- I. Initially, after 1857, belief was propagated *that religious communities are distinct from each other.*
- II. Second phase came when it was believed that *interests of one group are different from the other.*
- III. Third stage came when it was believed that *interests of communities are not only different, but also incompatible.*

Thus, communalism is a modern phenomenon and its roots in India lies in the 'Divide and Rule policy' of British in India.

After establishment of Congress in 1885, British propped popular leaders like Syed Ahmed Khan and Raja Shiva Prasad of Benaras to wedge a rift between people and Congress. Syed Ahmed believed that Muslim's share in administration is hogged by Hindu majority and he launched a campaign to get their rightful place. Muslims have remain backward because of their initial hostility towards British and ardent boycott of British education during first 70 years of 19<sup>th</sup> century.

Partition of Bengal, 1905, was the most inglorious attempt of British to stoke the communal fire. Separate Electorate introduced by 1909 Morley-Minto reforms was another instrument that deepened the Hindu-Muslim hostility.

Militant nationalists also inadvertently promoted Hindu imagery during Swadeshi movement which acted to alienate Muslims.

There were economic reasons too. While Muslim remained more of a closed community and less exposed to modernity, their participation in jobs and economic activities was lower. Economic backwardness of nation ensured that there was stiff competition in jobs and Muslims felt left out in this. The schism due to economic disparity was seen as deprivation of opportunity which was attributed to Hindu hegemony. This gave birth to the idea of Hindu-Domination.

Education system also contributed to growth of communalism. Historians described medieval period of Indian history as the period of Muslim period. And declared the Muslims were the rulers and non-muslims were thee ruled. They failed to bring out the point that in that period economic and political

interests defined the relations in India as elsewhere in the world during that time. Hindu communal view on the other hand saw period before Muslim arrival as golden age of Hinduism which suffered decline after their arrival.

While it is argued that when seeds of communalism were sown, some say that consent of Congress to join Khilafat Movement was start of it. By accepting separate identities of Hindus and Muslims, it allowed the communal seeds to take their roots.

In the following years 'Shuddhi Movement' of Arya Samaj and Later 'Tabligh' and 'Tanzeem' movements didn't help either.

In 1932, the Communal Award and then the Government of India Act of 1935 accepted nearly all the liberal communal demands.

Electoral Politics was the last straw. However, the year 1937 was a turning point in the history of communalism in India in so far as it concerns the stridency and intensity of politics of hatred. In the elections held for the provincial legislative assembly, the Muslim League won only 109 out of 492 reserved Muslim seats and only 4.8 % of the total Muslim votes showing thereby the lack of popular support for Muslim League even among the Muslim population. This prompted Muslim League to take a communal stance and name of God, 'Islam in danger' and 'Minority Insecurity' like slogans were raised and were used as rallying point in coming days by Muslim League.

British also fueled the communal fire in 1937 in pursuance of their divide and rule policy. By 1937, all other divisive tactics of the British had failed. There was no tussle between Zamindars and Congress. Right and Left have also learned to exist together. Dalits were also less hostile after Poona pact. In such a situation only communal card was left with the British to play with.

On the other hand, in same elections Hindu Communalists haven't fared better either. Hindu Mahasabha also had a dismal record in Punjab where seats were reserved for Hindus. Hence the same choice of extinction faced them as had faced their Muslim counterparts forcing them to embrace a politics of hatred for survival. Their predicament was aggravated in 1938 when Congress disallowed communalists from working within the Congress organization. Consequently, Congress was condemned by them for "supporting our inveterate enemies" and preaching that Hindus were the only Nation living in India. Thus evolved the Hindu fundamentalists' version of 'two nation theory'.

Thus, basic change from liberal communalism (to extreme communalism) occurred during 1937-38 when both the Hindu and Muslim communalism, in the form of the Muslim League and Hindu Mahasabha and the RSS started becoming fascist and irrational in their ideologies and politics. Blame lies on Hindu communalists much higher for they were in majority and never tried to allay the fears of minority.

Things only exacerbated after 1940. Muslim league and Congress took diametrically opposite stance on every major issue. This led to failure of Cripps Mission and Wavell plan.

Direct Action day and the ensuing riots were only symbolic confirmation of the larger divide that has already separated the two communities which was manifested in the realization of Two Nations Theory when the two nations got independence separately. Communalism had taken its toll.

## EDUCATION SYSTEM DURING BRITISH

With the arrival of the British Raj in India the modern European education came to India.

- *British Raj was reluctant to introduce mass education system as it was not their interest. Instead it aimed at lowering administrative costs by creating educated middle class who may fill clerical posts.*
- *Another concern was that educated Indians would provide market for British goods.*
- *Further, western education was to legitimize the British rule in India as it glorified British rule.*

Thus British wanted to use Western education to strengthen their political rule.

### EDUCATION DURING COMPANY RULE

Early aim of the British was to *decipher the local society and traditions for better administration by learning more about the Indians*. A madrasa was set up in Calcutta in 1781 – **Calcutta Madrasa** stated by **Warren Hastings** – to promote the study of Arabic, Persian and Islamic law.

Benaras Sanskrit College at **Varanasi/Benaras** was started by **Jonathan Duncan** in 1791 to understand Hindu customs and culture.

With great energy and passion, Macaulay emphasized the need to teach the English language. He felt that knowledge of English would allow Indians to read some of the finest literature the world had produced.

Following **Macaulay's minute**, the **English Education Act of 1835** was introduced. The decision was to make English the medium of instruction for higher education, and to stop the promotion of Oriental institutions like the Calcutta Madrasa and Benaras Sanskrit College. These institutions were seen as *"temples of darkness that were falling of themselves into decay"*. English textbooks now began to be produced for schools.

In second phase, due to the strong pressure exerted on the Co. by the Christian missionaries and many humanitarians, including some Indians, to encourage and promote modern education in India, The **Charter Act of 1813** required the Co. to spend **rupees 1 lakh annually** for encouraging learned Indians and promoting the knowledge of modern sciences in India.

Raja Ram Mohun Roy also helped David Hare establish **Hindu College** in Calcutta and he himself established **Vedanta College**.

The Govt, policy of opening a few English schools and colleges instead of a large number of elementary schools led to the neglect of education of masses and only a few elite got the

privilege of education and this policy is termed as '**Downward Filtering**' i.e. education and modern ideas were supposed to filter downward from the upper classes.

First major development in the field of education was made with the establishment of **Wood's Despatch** (1854) by the then Secretary of State Woods. It recommended promotion of both Western educations at the same time of promotion of Vernacular education at primary level for education of masses. It is often termed as Magna Carta of India education. It asked government to take responsibility of education of masses, however government did a little to spread it. Key recommendations and their impact –

- I. According the recommendations, it was declared that the aim of Government's policy was the *promotion of the western education*. In his despatch he emphasised on the *education of art, science, philosophy* and literature of Europe.
- II. Outlining the educational policy that was to be followed in India, it emphasized once again the practical benefits of a system of European learning, as opposed to Oriental knowledge.
- III. One of the practical uses the Despatch pointed to was economic. European learning, it said, would enable Indians to recognise the advantages that flow from the expansion of trade and commerce, and make them see the importance of developing the resources of the country. Introducing them to European ways of life, would change their tastes and desires, and create a demand for British goods, for Indians would begin to appreciate and buy things that were produced in Europe.
- IV. Wood's Despatch also argued that European learning would improve the moral character of Indians. It would make them truthful and honest, and thus supply the Company with civil servants who could be trusted and depended upon. The literature of the East was not only full of grave errors, it could also not instill in people a sense of duty and a commitment to work, nor could it develop the skills required for administration.
- V. It recommended setting up of universities at Madras, Calcutta and Bombay. As a result of this dispatch, universities were established at Calcutta (Jan 1857) Bombay (Jul 1857) and Madras (Sep 1857).
- VI. However, the significance of the vernacular language was also emphasised as Woods believed that *through the mediums of vernacular language, European knowledge could reach to the masses*. Wood's Despatch also proposed the setting up of several vernacular primary schools in the villages at the lowest stage.

Almost all the proposals of the Wood's despatch were implemented. The new scheme of education proposed by the Wood's Despatch was merely an imitation of the English models. The Western system of education gradually replaced the indigenous methods of education and learning and private efforts of Indians emerged only gradually. Hence, mass education aspect was ignored by this dispatch and it is criticized for only pandering to colonial needs.

## POST 1857 DEVELOPMENTS

**Mohmmandan Anglo Oriental College** was one of the first efforts by Sir Syed Ahmed Khan after the 1857 revolt which later became Aligarh Muslim University.

**Deccan Education Society** was established by **Tilak** and **G G Agarkar** and its aim was to prepare a band of people who can undertake educational reforms for national upliftment.

The turn of the century witnessed even more development in education under British ruling, when educational reforms of 1901-1904 came into consideration. The reforms were primarily made under the supervision of **Lord Curzon**, Viceroy of India. They included – Creation of the post of **Director-General of Education** in 1902, **IISc** and **Indian Agricultural Research Institute** at Pusa was established during this time.

During Swadeshi Movement also, many initiatives were taken to indigenize the education. **Bengal National College** was founded with Aurobindo as its principle. **National Council of Education** was also formed in 1906.

Nationalist leaders opened **Vidyapiths** in various states such as Gujarat and Uttar Pradesh were established during Non-Cooperation Movement. **Vishwa Bharati University** was opened at Shantiniketan by Rabindranath Tagore. **SNDT University** was also opened for Women as the first women's only university. **Jamia Milia** was also opened apart from **BHU**.

Another big push came in **1929**, with the establishment of **Hartog Commission** which recommended *reforms at elementary level and university level. The Indian Statutory Commission or Simon Commission appointed a Commission to survey into the whole system of education and it was termed as 'Hartog Committee'*. The quantitative increase of the education subsequently reduced the quality of the education provided in the Indian schools, colleges and universities. There was a continuous dissatisfaction about the entire system and the procedure of education. The Hartog Committee *emphasized primarily on the national importance of the primary education or mass education*. Instead of expansion of the education the commission recommended for the consolidation and the improvements of the education procedure. It *primarily focused on the primary and secondary education and even criticized the policy on University education*. It said that *universities by way of affiliation have led to downgrade in standard of education*. Honours courses in affiliate colleges are not upto the expectation. *Universities have failed to transform students into responsible citizens*. Therefore, it recommended *improvement of the university work* so that it could provide proper instructions to the students.

There were other Indians, however, who reacted against Western education. Mahatma Gandhi and Rabindranath Tagore were two such individuals. "English education has enslaved us" Mahatma Gandhi argued that colonial education created a sense of inferiority in the minds of Indians. It made them see Western civilisation as superior, and destroyed the pride they had in their own culture. Education in English crippled Indians, distanced them from their own social surroundings, and made them "strangers in their own lands". Western Education valued textbooks rather than lived experience and practical knowledge. He argued that education

ought to develop a person's mind and soul. People had to work with their hands, learn a craft, and know how different things operated. According to Gandhi *'By education I mean an all-round drawing out of the best in child and man – body, mind and spirit. Literacy is not the end of education nor even the beginning. It is only one of the means whereby man and woman can be educated.'*

Rabindranath Tagore started the institution in 1901. As a child, Tagore hated going to school. He found it suffocating and oppressive. The school appeared like a prison, for he could never do what he felt like doing. According to him, childhood ought to be a time of self-learning, outside the rigid and restricting discipline of the schooling system set up by the British. Teachers had to be imaginative, understand the child, and help the child develop her curiosity. Tagore was of the view that creative learning could be encouraged only within a natural environment. So he chose to set up his school 100 kilometres away from Calcutta, in a rural setting. He saw it as an abode of peace (santiniketan), where living in harmony with nature, children could cultivate their natural creativity.

In many senses Tagore and Mahatma Gandhi thought about education in similar ways. There were, however, differences too. Gandhiji was highly critical of Western civilisation and its worship of machines and technology. Tagore wanted to combine elements of modern Western civilisation with what he saw as the best within Indian tradition. He emphasized the need to teach science and technology at Santiniketan, along with art, music and dance.

In the meanwhile, Gandhiji proposed **Wardha System** of Basic Education in 1937. The Wardha scheme of Education, popularly known as 'Basic education' occupies a unique place in the field of elementary education in India. This scheme was the *first attempt to develop an indigenous scheme of education in British India* by Mahatma Gandhi. As a nationalist leader he fully *realised that the British system of education could not serve the socio-economic need of the country*. For improving this condition he advocated a scheme of free compulsory primary education based on Indian traditional culture *through the medium of mother tongue*. Along the formal education, there *should be some productive activity also alongside like Handicrafts* (as this system will *generate funds for the remuneration of teacher* and will also inculcate among the students value of human labor). This was most striking feature of the scheme as it aimed at making the education system as self-sustainable. It also advocated no religious education. A committee under the Chairmanship of Dr. Zakir Hussain – '**Zakir Hussain Committee**' – was appointed to prepare a detailed education plan and syllabus on the lines of the above resolutions. The scheme was opposed by Muslim league for ignoring Urdu, despite the fact that two Muslim leaders – Zakir Husain and K G Saiyudin were largely responsible for drafting this scheme. However, World War-2 broke and Congress provincial governments resigned in 1939, leaving the dream of basic education scheme incomplete.

In 1944, came the **Sergeant Plan of Education**. The Sergeant Scheme, formally known as the '**Report of the Sergeant Commission on Post-War Education Development in India**', was a 1944 memorandum prepared at the behest of the British-run Government of India that outlined the

future development of literacy and education in India. The Sergeant plans *recommended the junior and the basic level of education*. The plan at the same time *envisaged the introduction of universal free and compulsory education for the children between the ages of 6 to 11 years*. The Sergeant scheme notably envisaged a long term 40 years plan for educational reconstruction for the country and in this period bringing universal literacy in India.

## NEGATIVES of BRITISH EDUCATION POLICY

Education system during the British period was *determined by the needs of the colonial powers*. British needed Indian to work in clerical positions for which English was a preferred medium of communication. Their push to English education via Woods Despatch etc can also be seen in this light. In 1837, *English replaced Persian as the official and court language*, and in 1844 *Hardinge announced preference for English educated Indians in the Civil Service*.

A Commission appointed by Curzon in 1902, under the chairmanship of Sir Thomas Raleigh recommended *limiting the number of universities* and some other measures which were not favored by Indians. *Protest against British Education Policy was one of the Four Agenda during the 1906 session of the Congress*.

As their focus was not on mass education, as a result *condition of Indian masses was no better in 1921 as in 1821*. In 1921 also only 6% Indians were educated.

Another lacuna in British policy was *neglect of girls* as British didn't see investment in them as valuable investment as they couldn't be employed as clerks.

## CULTURAL PROMOTION DURING BRITISH PERIOD

Discovery and promotion of Indian culture by British –

- **William Jones (28 September 1746 – 27 April 1794)** studied ancient Indian texts on law, philosophy, religion, politics, morality, arithmetic, medicine and the other sciences and founded Asiatic Society.
- **Henry Thomas Colebrooke** and **Nathaniel Halhed** were also busy discovering the ancient Indian heritage, mastering Indian languages and translating Sanskrit and Persian works into English. Together with them, Jones set up the **Asiatic Society of Bengal (1784)**, and started a journal called **Asiatick Researches**.
- **Charles Wilkins** published the first English translation of the *Bhagavad Gita* in 1785
- The most important of the society's achievements was the decipherment of Mauryan Brahmi script by **James Prinsep** in 1837. This successful decipherment inaugurated the study of Indian palaeography.
- **Alexander Cunningham**, a protégé of Prinsep, carried out a detailed survey of the Buddhist monuments which lasted for over half a century. Inspired by early amateur archaeologists like



the Italian military officer, **Jean-Baptiste Ventura**, Cunningham excavated stupas across the length and breadth of India. While Cunningham funded many of his early excavations himself, in the long run, he realized the need for a permanent body to oversee archaeological excavations and the conservation of Indian monuments and used his stature and influence in India to lobby for an archaeological survey. While his attempt in 1848 did not meet with success, the **Archaeological Survey of India** was eventually formed in **1861** by a statute passed into law by Lord Canning with Cunningham as the first Archaeological Surveyor.

- **Max Muller** translated 50 books in a monumental volume titled 'Sacred Book of East'.
- In Adyar also, **Annie Besant** and others opened Theosophical Society of India to look into the religious and philosophical nuances of Indian traditions.
- **Robert Bruce Foote** – Father of Indian Pre-history. He was a *geologist of the Geological Survey of India*. He discovered first **Palaeolithic tools** in India.
- WH Wiser made a detailed study of economic system under caste system in his famous study of Jajmani System
- However, from the early nineteenth century many British officials began to criticise the Orientalist vision of learning. They said that knowledge of the East was full of errors and unscientific thought. **James Mill** was one of the leading figures among them. By the 1830s the attack on the Orientalists became sharper. One of the most outspoken and influential of such critics of the time was **Thomas Babington Macaulay**. He saw India as an uncivilised country that needed to be civilized. No branch of Eastern knowledge, according to him could be compared to what England had produced. According to Macauley '*a single shelf of a good European library was worth the whole native literature of India and Arabia*'. He urged that the British government in India stop wasting public money in promoting Oriental learning, for it was of no practical use.

## WOMEN EDUCATION in INDIA

First school exclusively for women was established by a British M P **Drinkwater Bethune** as '**Hindu Balika School**' in Calcutta in 1849 with Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar as its secretary. It was later renamed as Bethune School.

Arya Samaj also made pioneering effort and opened **Arya Kanya Vidyalya** in Jalandhar. Later many other communities followed the suit. However, one major problem was that such efforts were limited to primary education only. First women graduate of India – Saudamini Ganguli – graduated only in 1902.

**Sri Narayan Guru** and his wife also worked for the education of Women and they opened a school dedicated for women.

Similarly, **Sarda Sadan** was opened by **Pandita Ramabai** in Bombay for special focus on the education of Widow Girl Child.



**Mahirishi D K Karve** also did pioneering work in Women's education and he laid foundation of first women's university of India – **SNDT University**.

Major push came with the national movement and issue of girl's education were taken by national leaders.

In aristocratic Muslim households in North India, women learnt to read the Koran in Arabic. They were taught by women who came home to teach. Some reformers such as **Mumtaz Ali** reinterpreted verses from the Koran to argue for women's education.

From the early twentieth century, Muslim women like the **Begums of Bhopal** played a notable role in promoting education among Muslim women.

## MUSLIM REFORMS MOVEMENTS

The **Faraizi movement** was founded by **Haji Shariatullah** in Bengal as a revivalist and nationalist movement. It was a revivalist and anti-British, anti-zamindar movement. After returning from Mecca (hence the title Hajji) after a 20 year hiatus Shariatullah, seeing the degraded Muslims of Bengal, called on them to give up un-Islamic practices and act upon their duties as Muslims (Faraiz). The movement *was also concerned with the British influence upon Muslims* and called for social justice. Haji Shariatullah deemed British domination in Bengal as exceedingly detrimental to the religious life of the followers of Islam. He also *formed an armed force to attack the zamindars and their followers and then went one stage further by attempting to form a parallel Muslim government within East Bengal*. Haji Shariatullah died in 1840 and then his son **Dadu Miyan** kept the movement alive waging war against the British. However, the faraizi movement went into decline following Miyan's death in 1860.

**Wahabi Movement** was one of the earliest reform movements which was launched before 1857 revolt. The Wahabi Movement was a part of the Indian freedom struggle and one of the first challenges to British Empire as it offered a serious threat to British supremacy in India in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The movement was led by **Syed Ahmed** of Bareilly. He interpreted the Quran in the light of rationalism and science. He urged the people to develop a critical approach and freedom of thought. It was a *revivalist movement* which held that the return to the true spirit of Islam was the only way to get rid of the socio-political oppression. Their major aim *was to get rid of Sikhs in Punjab and British in Bengal*. In Bengal, **Titu Mir** led the movement who died in 1831 fighting the British.

The Muslim upper classes had tended to avoid contact with Western education and culture and it was only after the revolt of 1857 that modern ideas of religious reform began to appear. The beginning was made by the **Muhammedan Literary Society** founded in Calcutta in 1863 founded by **Nawab Abdul Latif**. It promoted discussion of religious, social and political questions in the light of modern ideas and encouraged upper and middle class Muslims to adopt Western education. It also played an important role for Muslim Unity.

Another movement is associated with **Shah Waliullah** in Delhi, who opposed the unorthodox religious practices and revived the Shia sect and strict monotheism.

**Aligarh Movement** was actually an *educational movement* with a view to purify Islam led by Sir Syed Ahmed Khan, to educate the upper middle class Muslims of India after the defeat of the rebels in the Indian rebellion of 1857, who he thought were lagging behind other communities when it came to educational and government job opportunities. It had enormous success and had a profound impact on the future of the subcontinent. Its most significant achievement was the establishment of **Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental College** at Aligarh, which later became Aligarh Muslim University. The vision of the movement was to create an administrative class that would govern in cooperation with the British rather than focus its attention on the Ulama. Sir Saiyed Ahmed Khan *emphasized on rationality and scientific outlook* and insisted that *Islam should be a progressive religion*.

**Deobandi Movement** is named after the town of Deoband in Uttar Pradesh, India. In 1886, several prominent scholars a group of learned theologians, led by **Maulana Muhammad Qasim Nanautawi**, founded an Islamic Seminary – **Darul Uloom** – in the modest town of Deoband, north of Delhi. It has a *three fold agenda* – *revivalist, reformist/modernizing and nationalist*. Majority of the rebellion and resistance to colonization had been crushed by the East India Company. Therefore, *the Ulamaa gathered at Deoband and created a safe haven for those still committed to preserving Islam and resisting the occupation by the British*. Once gathered and organized there, they began to develop a plan to not only build up a resistance, but also preserve and spread Islam in the subcontinent. The Deobandi movement and particularly the Dar-ul-Uloom system were established to provide structure in the areas of education and politics for the Muslims of the subcontinent. *A large group of scholars at the Darul Uloom Deoband had opposed the establishment of a state established along sectarian lines*, particularly the demands of Muhammad Ali Jinnah's Muslim League for the Partition of British India into Muslim and non-Muslim sections. **Maulana Husain Ahmad Madani** was one of the scholars who opposed the idea of Pakistan. It was also later led by **Maulana Abdul Kalam Azad** and propagated rationalist and militant ideas.

**Mirza Ghulam Ahmad** had founded the **Ahmediyya Movement** in 1899. Ahmediyya as a non-political Islamic reformist movement founded in British India near the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, originating with the life and teachings of Mirza Ghulam Ahmad in Punjab. Under this movement, *a number of schools and colleges were opened all over the country*, imparting modern education. In the field of religion the followers of this movement emphasized the *universal and humanitarian character of Islam*. They favoured the unity among Hindus and Muslims. One of the greatest poets of modern India, Muhammad Iqbal, (1876-1938) also profoundly influenced through his poetry, the philosophical and religious outlook of the younger generation of Muslims as well as of Hindus.

### **Women's education**

In aristocratic Muslim households in North India, women learnt to read the Koran in Arabic. They were taught by women who came home to teach. Some reformers such as **Mumtaz Ali** reinterpreted verses from the Koran to argue for women's education.

From the early twentieth century, Muslim women like the **Begums of Bhopal** played a notable role in promoting education among Muslim women.

## SIKH REFORMS MOVEMENTS

Religious reform among the Sikhs was started at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century when the **Khalsa College** started at Amritsar. Through the efforts of the **Singh Sabhas** (1870) and with British support, the Khalsa College was founded at Amritsar in 1892. This college and schools set up as a result of similar efforts, promoted Gurumukhi, Sikh learning and Punjabi literature as a whole.

### NIRANKARI MOVEMENT

The Nirankari movement originated in Rawalpindi in the North West region of Punjab in first half of 19<sup>th</sup> century. The Nirankari movement was founded by **Baba Dayal Das** and was considered to be a movement of purification and return. The main focus behind the Nirankaris movement was on deficiencies in religious practice. They emphasized on teachings of first guru Guru Nanak Dev. It later evolved as a separate sect.

### KUKA or NAMDHARI MOVEMENT (1872)

Kuka Movement or Namdhari movement was started by **Bhagat Jawahar Mal**, but in its most crucial phase was led by **Baba Ram Singh Namdhari** in 1872.

The Kuka Movement marked the first major reaction of the people in the Punjab to the new political order initiated by the British after 1849. The Namdhari Movement of which the Kuka Movement was the most important phase *aimed at the overthrow of the British rule and restoration of sovereignty of Punjab*. Ram Singh, who became its leader in 1863, gave military training to his followers.

The clash with British which started over the question of slaughter of cows culminated in the Kuka raid on **Malerkotla** on January 15, 1872. The Kuka outbreak of 1872 was visited by terrible punishment, which was equalled in brutality by few events in our history. *A large number of Kuka prisoners were blown to death with cannons, their leader Ram Singh was deported to Rangoon.*

### SINGH SABHA MOVEMENT

The Singh Sabha intended to restore Sikhism to its past purity by *publishing historical religious books, magazines and journals, to propagate knowledge using Punjabi*, to return Sikh apostates to their original faith, and to involve highly placed Englishmen in the educational programme of the Sikhs.

The first Singh Sabhas were formed at Amritsar in 1873 and at Lahore in 1879. The Sabhas sought to rid Sikhism of superstitions, caste distinctions and practices seen by them as non-Sikh.

The people who helped to establish the Singh Sabha were **Kanwar Bikram Singh** and **Thakur Singh Sandhawalia**.

Everything that went against Gurus teaching was discarded. Rites and customs were regarded as regular and steady with Sikh principles and traditions were established. With this came the restructuring of Sikh Shrines. This period of the Singh Sabhas *also witnessed the modern development and emergence of new cultural and political aspirations*. The Sikhs properly achieved higher level of literacy. Famous **Khalsa College** at Amritsar and hundreds of **Khalsa Schools** were established all across Punjab.

### **GURUDWARA REFORM MOVEMENT or AKALI MOVEMENT (1920 onwards)**

The Akali movement or the Gurdwara Reform Movement was a campaign to bring reform in the gurdwaras (the Sikh places of worship) in India during the early 1920s. The movement was against the *unwarranted authority of 'Mahants'* that lead to corruption and mismanagement in Gurudwara operations. Popular Sikh shrines like Nankana Sahib, Tarn Taran Sahib and Guru-ka-Bagh were occupied by the Mahants, who had made the shrines into their personal property, vanquishing the sanctity of the holy places. The Mahants had become the puppets of the government of the Punjab.

The movement led to the introduction of '**Sikh Gurdwara Bill in 1925**', which placed all the historical Sikh shrines in India under the control of **Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee (SGPC)**.

Gurudwara Reform movement was largely peaceful, non-violent movement.

The Akali movement was started in 1920 by the **Singh Sabha's** political wing later known as **Akali Dal**. The jathas (volunteer groups) led by **Kartar Singh Jhabbar** played a major role in the movement.

Various episodes of this movement are –

- **Taran Taran Morcha**
- **Nankana Tragedy of 1920** – The local Sikhs passed a resolution calling upon the mahant of Nankana to reform himself. **Mahant Narain Das** instead asked for police protection and began to make preparations for violence and hired thugs and armed them who attacked a procession of Sikhs and killed more than 100 people.
- **Guru Ka Bagh Morcha**
- **Golden Temple 'Keys Affair'** – Chabiya da Morcha – Management of the Golden Temple had always been of special interest to the community. Newly elected SGPC in 1921 adopted a resolution asking the then Mahant Secretary of Golden Temple to hand over the keys of the treasury to its president, **Kharak Singh**. However, he submitted the Keys with district authorities and this led to agitations and many leaders like **Master Tara Singh**, Baba Kharak Singh etc were imprisoned. But in the end government has to hand over the keys under popular pressure.
- **Babar Akali Movement** – The Babbar Akali Movement took place during the years 1921 to 1925. The majority of the Babbar Akalis were returned immigrants from Canada.

*Some of them had actively participated in the Gadhar Movement.* The Babbar Akali Movement came into existence when the peaceful Akali struggle for Gurdwara reform was passing through a crucial stage. The Mahants stood against the Akalis to put an end to their peaceful struggle for Gurdwara reformation. After massacres at Nankana and other shrines some *Akalis decided to take the revolutionary path* and decided to eliminate key government stooges, mahants and infamous government officials. The movement was met with heavy hand.

## HINDU REFORM MOVEMENTS

### BRAHMO SAMAJ (1828)

Brahmo Samaj – literally meaning ‘*one God society*’ – was a quasi-protestant, theistic movement within Hinduism, founded in Calcutta in 1828 by Raja Ram Mohun Roy. It is **credited with starting the Bengal Renaissance** of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. It *denounced polytheism, idol worship, and the caste system, karma or rebirth.* It was influenced by *modern ideas, Vedantic philosophy and even ideas of Christianity and Islam.* It discarded Hindu rituals and included some elements from other religions. It *emphasized on ideas of modernity and rationality.* Its greatest effort was *towards emancipation of women and reformation of Hinduism as a monotheistic religion.*

Biggest contribution of Samaj was efforts towards liberation of women and depressed classes. Rammohun Roy was particularly moved by the problems widows faced in their lives. *He tried to show through his writings that the practice of widow burning had no sanction in ancient texts.*

It were the efforts of Raja Ram Mohun Rao that *sati was banned by the British Government* in 1829. Raja Rammohan Roy realized that the practice of Sati was due to the extremely low position of Hindu women. Therefore he started working as a stout champion of women’s rights. He also stressed education of women.

He also strived towards promotion of Western education. He helped **David Hare** establish **Hindu College** in Calcutta and he himself established **Vedanta college**.

He also expressed discontent over oppressive policies of Zmindari system and monopoly of company over trade. He published a newspaper called – **Sambad Kaumudi** – which had a reformist agenda especially against Sati.

After Raja Ram Mohun Roy, first Debendranath Tagore and later Keshab Chandra Sen steered the movement. By efforts of Keshab Chandra Sen Child marriage Act was passed. Soon, Debendranath and Keshab Chandra fell apart as Debendranath advocated a slow and cautious approach, while Keshab Chandra advocated radical reforms. Keshab Chandra gave an idea of ‘*naya vidhaan*’ as a synthesis of many religions.

After initial leadership, Samaj was divided into different branches in middle of 19<sup>th</sup> century.

### THE TATTWABODHINI SABHA (1839)

The Tattwabodhini Sabha was a group started in Calcutta on 29 September 1839 as a splinter group of the Brahmo Samaj, reformers of Hinduism and Indian Society. The founding member was **Debendranath Tagore** father to renowned polymath Rabindranath Tagore.

#### **MANAV DHARMA SABHA (1844)**

The Manav Dharma Sabha was an influential organization in the Hindu reform movement that started in Surat in 1844. **Mehtaji Durgaram Manchharam** was one of the prominent figures of this organization, others being – Durgaram, **Dadoba Pandurang** etc.

The Manav Dharma Sabha *rejected 'the existence of ghosts, their exorcism by means of incantations, the evils of early marriage and the bar against remarriage of high caste Hindu widows'.*

#### **PARAM HANS MANDALI (1849)**

Paramahansa Mandali was founded in Poona, Satara and other towns of Maharashtra. Its followers had faith in one God and they opposed caste system. At its meetings, members took food cooked by low-caste people. They favoured education of women and supported widow remarriage. **Mahadev Ranade** believed that without social reforms it was not possible to achieve any progress in the political and economic fields.

#### **THE VEDA SAMAJ (1864)**

Established in Madras (Chennai) in 1864, the Veda Samaj was inspired by the Brahmo Samaj. It worked to abolish caste distinctions and promote widow remarriage and women's education. Its members believed in one God. They condemned the superstitions and rituals of orthodox Hinduism.

#### **PRARTHANA SAMAJ (1867)**

The Prarthana Samaj was established in Bombay by Dr. **Atma Ram Pandurang**. The Samaj drew its inspiration from the Vaishnavite 'Paramahansa Mandali' and was also greatly influenced by 'Keshab Chandra Sen' and Brahmo Samaj.

The two great members of this Samaj were Shri **R C Bhandarkar** and Justice Mahadev Govind Ranade. They devoted themselves to the work of social reform such as inter-caste dining, intercaste marriage, widow remarriage and improvement of the lot of women and depressed classes.

**Mahadev Govind Ranade** devoted his entire life to Prarthana Samaj. He was the founder of the **Widow Remarriage Association** (1861) and the **Deccan Education Society** (1885). He established the **Poona Sarvajanic Sabha** as well. To Ranade, religious reform was inseparable from social reform. M G Ranade was the leader of social reformation and cultural renaissance in Western India.

Main difference between Brahmo Samaj and Prarthna Samaj was that whereas the Brahmo Samaj assailed Hinduism by forming an organisation more or less outside the Hindu orbit, members of Prarthna Samaj remained in the fold of Hinduism.

### ARYA SAMAJ (1875)

It said – ‘Go Back to Vedas’.

**Dayanand Saraswati** was its founder and he believed in the infallible authority of the Vedas. He wrote **Satyarth Prakash** which is an interpretation of Vedas. Arya Samaj also unequivocally condemns Puranic practices such as polytheism, idolatry, animal sacrifice, ancestor worship, pilgrimage, priestcraft, the belief in Avatars or incarnations of God, the hereditary caste system, untouchability and child marriage on the grounds that all these lack Vedic sanction.

Samaj also helped the people at the times of crises like flood, famines and earthquakes.

They also promoted education of women and ‘**Arya Kanya Vidyalaya**’ was established in Punjab.

Arya Samajis later led the reformist ‘**Shuddhi Movement**’ in a bid to protect Hinduism.

Arya Samaj became immensely popular in Punjab and United Provinces.

He was the first to give the call for ‘Swarajya’ – India for Indians – in 1876, later taken up by Lokmanya Tilak. Followers of Dayanand Saraswati started many educational institutes also. **Lala Hansraj** of Delhi started a college. Swami Shradhanand started a gurukul near Haridwar to revive the traditional education system. Later DAV educational institutions also started.

### RAMAKRISHNA MISSION (1897)

Ramakrishna Math and Ramakrishna Mission are twin organizations which form the core of a worldwide spiritual movement known as Ramakrishna Movement or **Vedanta Movement**. The Ramakrishna Mission is a *philanthropic, volunteer organization founded by Ramakrishna's chief disciple Swami Vivekananda* on May 1, 1897. Ramakrishna had *faith in all religions* and he saw god as one with many ways to reach him. The Mission conducts *extensive work in health care, disaster relief, rural management, tribal welfare, elementary and higher education and culture*.

Vivekananda proclaimed ‘*renunciation and service*’ as the twofold national ideals of modern India and the work of Ramakrishna mission strives to practice and preach these ideals. The service activities are based on the message of ‘*Jiva is Shiva*’ from Ramakrishna and Swami Vivekananda's message of ‘*Daridra Narayana*’ to indicate that service to poor is service to God. Vivekananda followed Vedanta philosophy and rejected Brahminical orthodoxies and caste system. Vivekananda also represented India at **Religious Parliament at Chicago** in 1893 where he stunned the world with Hindu philosophy.

Ramakrishna Paramhansa's spiritual movement *indirectly aided nationalism*, as it rejected caste distinctions and religious prejudices. The mission was a religious body, but not a proselytizing one. Social service still remains the foremost aim of the mission even today. More than 1 lakh

children study in schools run by the mission, it runs more than 15 hospitals and has more than 140 branches including India and abroad.

Orthodox Hindu society also reacted by founding Sanatan Dharma Sabhas and the Bharat Dharma Mahamandal in the north, and associations like the Brahman Sabha in Bengal.

## **WORKING CLASS & TRADE UNION MOVEMENT BEFORE INDEPENDENCE**

In spite of the drain of wealth from India and British apathetic attitude, the factories grew on this soil. The cotton mills in Bombay, the jute mills in Bengal and tea industry in Assam grew up. The poor Indian mass got employment in these factories as workers.

'**Working Men's Club**' was perhaps the first organized group formed in **1870**. Later many more such organizations were established like – **Ahmedabad Textile Labour Association**, by Gandhiji. Others were like **Girni Kamfar Union**, **Hindustan Majdoor Sabha** by Vallabhai Patel, Rajendra Prasad and J B Kriplani etc.

By the efforts of the leaders like N M Joshi, Roy Choudhry, Lala Lajpat Rai and Joseph, one of the most important organization '**the All-India Trade Union Congress**' (**AITUC**) was established in 1920. Later due to difference over power and other ideological issues, Joshi also established other Trade Union which represented 'moderate' opinion ('Revolutionaries' were other group – who retained AITUC within Congress) also like – **All India Trade Union Federation (AITUF)**.

With the recognition of the trade unions by the **Trade Union Act of 1926**, the trade union movements in India gained momentum. The fourth Congress of the Communist International sent a message to the AITUC to overthrow capitalism and imperialism.

**Legislations** – Low wages, long working hours, unhygienic conditions, exploitation at the hands of native and foreign capitalists made their condition more miserable. The **first Factory Act of 1881** and the Acts of 1891, 1909, 1911 etc. could not end the plights of the working class people.

The **Russian Revolution of 1917** exerted tremendous influence over the working class people of the world.

**Bengal Jute Workers' Association** which was formed in 1925 gave a call for a general strike in 1929 and it saw massive effect. More than 3 Lakh workers participated many were leaders were arrested.

**Leadership** – While Likes of M N Joshi remained the topmost leaders, other socialist leaders like – S A Dange, M N Roy, Muzzafar Ahmed also emerged. With the emergence of socialistic and communist ideas, the left wing within the Indian National Congress became active and leaders like Subhas Chandra Bose and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru also presided over the sessions of AITUC.

While AITUC organised meetings for protecting the freedom of speech, association, participation in national struggle etc. The Communist Party also flared up the flame.



**Government Response** – Government linked trade union activities with communism and it came down heavily upon the socialist and trade union leaders. After ‘Peshawar Conspiracy’ (1923) and ‘Lucknow Conspiracy’ (1924), the trade union activities were so rampant that in 1928 Viceroy Lord Irwin arrested the prominent leaders and brought them to Meerut for trial in famous Meerut Conspiracy in 1929. After trial, S A Dange, Muzaffar Ahmed, Joglekar, Spratt etc. were given transportation or rigorous imprisonment despite best efforts of Nehru to get them acquitted. It aroused worldwide sympathy for the union leaders. However, it hurled a terrible blow on the trade union activities in India. Now the Leftists and Rightists joined their hands and defended the case.

During the Non-Cooperation Movement, the British Government suppressed the trade union leaders with iron hand. **The Socialist Party** formed in 1934 wanted to cement coherence between the moderate and the radical trade unions. During the popular governments between 1937-1938 the trade unions increased significantly. During Quit India Movement, the Trade Union Movement went on as usual.

However, after 1940s, control of communist on trade unions was more effective and when they decided to not to participate in Quit India movement, involvement of workers in that movement was also less than satisfactory.

## **SOCIAL REFORMS MOVEMENTS and LEGISLATIONS**

In India, social reforms movement has two central foci – upliftment of status of women and the lower castes.

### **LEGISLATIONS**

**During Company rule** – There were many social evils that were prevalent on the name of religion. Initially, the Company decided to interfere as little as possible with the indigenous laws and social customs.

- 1829 - Bengal Sati Regulation, 1829
- 1843 – ‘The Indian Slavery Act’ – This was an act passed in British India under East India Company rule, which outlawed many economic transactions associated with slavery.
- In 1850 ‘Removal of the Caste Disability Act’
- In 1856 ‘Widow Remarriage Act’ - This was a legislation that was enacted during Lord Dalhousie’s tenure to allow widow remarriage.

**Legislations post 1857** – Now more steps were taken which aimed at increasing the age of consent, improving the condition of woman and ameliorating the condition of Dalits. Some of the legislations are –

- **Child Marriage Restraint Act 1929** popularly known as the **Sarda Act** after its sponsor **Rai Sahib Harbilas Sarda** to the British India Legislature in India was passed on 28 September 1929, raised the age of marriage for girls to 14 years and boys to 18 years. It was the first social reform issue which was taken up by the organized women in India.

All India Women's Conference (AIWC) (established in 1927) was one of the major forces behind the Act.

#### FAMOUS SOCIAL REFORMERS –

- I. **Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar** – Ishwar Chandra Bandopadhyay, was an Indian Bengali polymath and a key figure of the Bengal Renaissance. He was an excellent Sanskrit scholar also. He was born in a very poor family and spent his entire life in social service and reform. He was also known for his charity and philanthropy as 'Daya sagar'. However his biggest contribution was **Widow Remarriage**. He used the ancient texts to suggest that widows could remarry. In 1856, a legislation was enacted during **Lord Dalhousie's** tenure to allow widow remarriage. (Widow Remarriage Act, 1856). He also started **Bethune School**, 1849 or **Hindu Balika School** in Calcutta to promote women's education with the help of a British MP of same name. **Som Prakash** was a Bengali newspaper started by the Ishwar Chandra Vidya sagar. It was first Bengali Newspaper.
- II. **Pandita Ramabai** – Pandita Ramabai was the earliest social reformers of India. She was born as Brahmin Hindu, started '**Arya Mahila Samaj**' as the very first Indian feminist organization in 1881 to serve widows and helpless women of India. She also established one of the earliest women's organisations '**Bharat Mahila Parishad**' in 1887. She also founded **Sharda Sadan** – a school for Girl Child Widows in Bombay and '**Mukti**' for older widows. While legislations were there like – Widow Remarriage Act – but social acceptability was still very poor. It was the seminal work of like of Pandita Ramabai and D K Karve who worked at ground level to bring social change for widows. She also worked extensively against caste and its evils and in a symbolic move, she later converted to *Christianity* to reject caste system, though she was herself an upper caste Brahmin.
- III. **Maharishi D K Karve** was a Women Social Reformer. He started schools for girls, as well as working houses for widows and destitutes. Soon this movement gained momentum and many schools and colleges were opened for women. He also established SNDT University, the first Women's university of India. He was the first social reformers to get the Bharat Ratna.
- IV. **Ramakrishna Gopal Bhandarkar** (1837–25) was an Indian scholar, orientalist, and social reformer. The world-renowned Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute in Pune is named after Ramakrishna Gopal Bhandarkar.
- V. **Gopal Hari Deshmukh** (18 February 1823 – 9 October 1892) was a social reformer from Maharashtra. He promoted emancipation (liberation) and education of women, and wrote against arranged child marriages, dowry system, and polygamy, all of which were prevalent in India in his times. He was a prolific writer crusader against these evils and he wrote under pen-name '**Lokhitwadi**'.
- VI. **Veereslingam** was a social reformer of Andhra Pradesh. He encouraged education for women, and started a school in Dowlaiswaram in 1874. He started a social organisation called **Hitakarini**. He was influenced by Brahma Samaj and took forward ideas of Prarthna Samaj in South. He pioneered the movement in support of **widow remarriage** and girls education in Andhra. Veda Samaj founded in Madras in 1864 advocated discarding of caste distinctions and promotion of

widow remarriage and women's education. It condemned the superstitions and rituals of orthodox Hinduism and propagated belief in one supreme God.

- VII. **Gopal Ganesh Agarkar** (1856–1895) was a social reformer, educationist, thinker from Maharashtra, India during the British Raj. A close associate of Lokamanya Tilak, he was a co-founder of the renowned educational institutes like New English School, the **Deccan Education Society**. He was the first editor of **Kesari**, a prominent Marathi weekly in those days which was started by Lokamanya Tilak in 1880-81. He started his own periodical **Sudharak** in which he campaigned against the injustices of untouchability and the caste system. By nature Tilak tended toward extreme views while Agarkar tended toward the moderate.
- VIII. **Behramji Merwanji Malbari** (1853–1912) was an Indian poet, publicist, author, and social reformer best known for his ardent advocacy for the protection of the rights of women. It was largely due to his efforts that Age of Consent Act 1885 was brought which raised the age of consent from 10 to 12 years for girls and made the marriage and sex before that as criminal offence.
- IX. **Rehnumai Mazdayasan Sabha** – This was a Parsee Reform Movement. Dababhai Naoroji and others set up the Rehnumai Mazdayasan Sabha (Religious Reform Association) in 1851 to carry out campaigns against the strict orthodoxy in Zoroastrianism. They laid special emphasis on modernising the Parsis and raising the social status of women by providing for their education. The first Zoroastrians to enter India arrived on the Gujarat coast in the 10th century and by the 17th century, most of them had settled in Bombay. Today, there are approximately 90,000 only Parsis in India and are concentrated largely in Maharashtra and Gujarat.

## LOWER CASTE MOVEMENTS

Much of the lower caste movements in India were in a reaction to the Brahminical authority. Initial work was done by **Brahmo Samaj**, **Arya Samaj**, **Ramkrishna Mission** etc. National movement also opposed divisive caste based social life.

**Ayyankali**, born in Kerala, was a leader of the lower castes and Dalits. With his efforts, Dalits got the freedom to walk on public roads, and Dalit children were allowed to join schools.

**Jyotiba Phule** and his wife founded **Satya Shodhak Samaj** in Maharashtra where they worked against untouchability and upliftment of lower caste women. Phule attacked the Brahmins' claim that they were superior to others, since they were Aryans. Phule argued that the Aryans were foreigners, who came from outside the subcontinent, and defeated and subjugated the true children of the country – those who had lived here from before the coming of the Aryans. Phule claimed that before Aryan rule there existed a golden age when warrior-peasants tilled the land and ruled the Maratha countryside in just and fair ways. He proposed that Shudras (labouring castes) and Ati Shudras (untouchables) should unite to challenge caste. In 1873, Phule wrote a book named *Gulamgiri*, meaning slavery. Some ten years before this, the American Civil War had been fought, leading to the end of slavery in America. Phule dedicated his book to all those Americans who had fought to free slaves, thus establishing a link between the conditions of the "lower" castes in India and the black slaves in America.

His wife **Savitribai Phule** was the pioneer of women's education in India. First girls' school was opened by them in India. In 1852 she opened a school for Untouchable girls and she was the first headmistress of the country's this first school for girls in Pune. She also started a night school for shudra agriculturists and labourers. She died while serving plague patients.

The **Satnami movement** in Central India was founded by **Ghasidas** who worked among the leatherworkers and organised a movement to improve their social status.

In eastern Bengal, **Haridas Thakur's Matua sect** worked among **Chandala** cultivators. Haridas questioned Brahmanical texts that supported the caste system.

Another notable social reformer was **Narayan Guru** and his **Sri Narayana Dharam Paripalana (SNDP) Yogam** movement or Ezhawa Movement. He worked at grass root level and worked against untouchability and caste system. His contribution is notable for two broad activities – abolishing of caste system and advocacy of Temple Entry (mainly for Ezhawas). One of the famous sayings of the Narayan Guru on caste system was – “*oru jati, oru matam, oru daivam manushyanu*” (one caste, one religion, one god for humankind).

The **first political movement** in modern India was launched in 1917, by **P Theyagaraya** and **T M Nair** and they organised first Non-Brahmnical organization called South Indian **Liberal Federation** which later came to known as **Justice Party**.

**Vaikom Satyagraha** was started in 1924–25 in Travancore, India (now part of Kerala) against untouchability in Hindu society and temple entry for Ezhavas (an untouchable community). The Satyagraha aimed at securing freedom of movement (temple entry) for all sections of society through the public roads leading to the Sri Mahadevar/Siva Temple at Vaikom. The *Vaikom Satyagraha was the first systematically organized agitation in Kerala against orthodoxy* to secure the rights of the depressed classes. Ezhavas and other depressed classes under the leadership of **Sree Narayana Guru, Periyar** and **T Madhavan** waged a campaign and ultimately a compromise was reached and some of the doors were opened for the depressed classes also. It *also saw involvement of Congress and Gandhiji* and other leaders from across the nation.

**The Self-Respect Movement** of 1925 was a movement against Brahmnical order with the aim of achieving a society where backward castes have equal human rights, and encouraging backward castes to have self-respect in the context of a caste based society that considered them to be a lower end of the hierarchy. The movement is also interpreted as an effort to break brahmnical hegemony and giving due respect to Dravidian identity. It was founded by E V Ramasamy (also known as **Periyar**) in Tamil Nadu, India. He *supported cause of down trodden, organized temple entry, marriages without priest, burned copies of Manusmritis* etc. The movement was extremely influential not just in Tamil Nadu, but also overseas in countries with large Tamil populations, such as Malaysia and Singapore.

Ambedkar led three movements for temple entry between 1927 and 1935.

**Mahad/Mahar Satyagrah, 1927** – According to Dr. Bhimrao Ambedkar, the Hindu Dharmashastras gave legitimacy to the doctrine of Chaturvana and the caste system. Manusmriti dehumanised the Shudras

and untouchables, ruled the Hindu psyche for centuries and created the greatest obstacle to any serious attempt at eradicating the caste system. This made Ambedkar publicly burn the Manusmriti on the occasion of his historical Mahad Satyagraha in 1927 for establishing the right of untouchables to drink the water of the Chawdar tank in Mahad town in Maharashtra.

**Guruvayur Satyagraha** took place in 1931–32 and was a Satyagraha in present Thrissur, of Malabar district, now part of Kerala, seeking entry for untouchables into the Guruvayur Temple. It was led by **K Kelappan** who undertook a *fast unto death for 12 days* however it was *given up on a request from Mahatma Gandhi*. The satyagraha was one of the key events which ultimately forced the Maharajah of Travancore to make the '**Temple Entry Proclamation**' and *right to enter temples was granted to Backward Hindus like Ezhavas* only in 1936.

**Gandhi** also worked for the cause of lower castes and after 1932 (Poona Pact), he actively worked for the cause of depressed classes and started a magazine Harijan and did community service and lived with them.

**B R Ambedkar** also took the cause of Dalits and he showed adoption of Buddhism as a way to break away from Caste System. He also had divergent views with Gandhi over rights of Dalits and had a standoff with him over Poona Pact (1933). He was the first Dalit graduate in British India. He launched Bahiskrit Hitkari Sabha, Bahishkrit Bharat (Marathi Newspaper), Samaj Samta Sangh Movement. In 1942, he formed All India Scheduled Caste Federation, He was the first Law Minister in free India and played a key role in framing of constitution.

However, struggle against caste during colonial rule had limited success as it was not fully supported by the alien rule. British were afraid of arousing hostilities of dominant orthodox groups.

Other famous personalities waging war against untouchability –

- I. **Bal Shastri Jambekar** – He was one of the first reformers in Bombay. He attacked Brahmanical orthodoxy and tried to reform popular Hinduism.
- II. **Iyotheethass** – He was one of the early founder of anti-caste movements in South India and a pre-cursor of anti-caste crusade. Iyothee Thass, hailed as the *precursor of Non-Brahmin movement in Madras Presidency* was instrumental in articulating the idea that the lower castes were not only Buddhists formerly but were the original inhabitants of India which later paved way for many social movements. Thass launched a magazine called **Dravida Pandian** along with Rev. John Rathinam in 1885. *He issued a statement in 1886 announcing that the so-called 'untouchables' are not Hindus*. During the 1881 Census *he urged the 'untouchables' to register themselves as casteless Dravidians* and established the **Dravida Mahajana Sabha** in 1891. Iyothee Thass remains the first recognized anti-Casteist leader of the Madras Presidency. In many ways, Periyar, Dravidar Kazhagam, Dr. Ambedkar, Udit Raj and Thirumavalavan are inheritors of his legacy.
- III. **Shahuji Maharaj** – He was born in 1874 and was an upper caste king from Maharashtra who was *one of the pioneers of efforts to improve conditions of untouchables in Maharashtra*. Ambedkar was also influenced by him and also worked for a newspaper started by him for upliftment of

untouchables. He *offered free education and boarding to Dalit students, dined with dalits frequently* and have for the first time in India appointed dalits as officials predominantly.

- IV. **T K Madhavan** – He was an Indian social reformer from Kerala. He led the struggle against untouchability which was known as ‘Vaikom Satyagraha’. He met Gandhi at Tirunelveli, and persuaded him to visit Vaikom. Vaikom Satyagraha was a struggle of the backward class people of Kerala for establishing their right to walk through the temple roads of Vaikom, a small temple town in South Kerala. Gandhi agreed to include the issue in the agenda of the Indian National Congress.
- V. **N Kumar Asan** – He was one of the triumvirate poets of Kerala, South India. He was also a philosopher, a social reformer and a disciple of Sree Narayana Guru. He worked extensively through his poems and social work for the cause of Ezhavas. He also participated in SNDP movement.

## PEASANT MOVEMENTS in INDIA

Before 1857, the peasant movements were sporadic and local issue based. It was only after 1920s that the peasant's struggle acquired a pan-Indian outlook.

**The Santhal Rebellion, 1855-56** – The Santals of Hazaribagh, Midnapur, Bankura, Birbhum, Manbhum etc. were the worst sufferers due to the permanent settlement. The police and other government officials did not protect their interest; rather exploited them. The Santhals under the leadership of Sidhu and Kanhu raised in 1856 with a view to put an end to colonial rule in India. They disrupted the railway and postal communications between Bhagalpur and Rajmahal. The British took repressive measures, arrested the Santhal leaders and quelled the rebellion. The Rebellion was pacified with the creation of a separate district consisting of the Santhal Parganas.

**Strike of Bengal Indigo Cultivators, 1860** – Bengal projected the first strike in the history of the peasant movement in India. The European planters in Bengal forced the local peasants to resort to indigo cultivation and earned a good deal of profit. The peasants suffered a lot in 1860. The peasants of the districts of Pabna and Nadia and Barasat sub-division went on strike and refused to cultivate indigo. Soon, the news spread and peasants of Dacca, Malda, Jessore, Khulna, Rajsahi and several other places followed their path. A **commission was set up** which opined in favor of peasants. This freed the peasants from the clutches of the planters who left Bengal and ultimately went to Bihar and UP.

**Pabna Riots, Bengal, 1873** – These were *against the landlords and rents* (while Deccan Riots were against money lenders) in Bengal and policies of Zamindars to prevent occupants from acquiring occupancy rights. They along with the Deccan riots were manifestation of Agrarian unrest in the country under British rule. Led by **Khooji Mullah, Shambhu Pal**. They led to the passage of **Bengal Tenancy Act 1885**.

**Peasant Uprising In Deccan, 1875** – The payment of Government revenue, fall of the price of cotton and manipulation of bonds/deeds by the money-lenders in Deccan added plights to the life of the peasants. The peasants forcibly entered into the house of the money-lenders, burnt their houses and shops and the bond of loans. The government was alarmed and sent police who arrested hundreds of peasants.

The government could not take any action against the peasants because there was no evidence to prove it. A 'Deccan Riots Commission' was appointed to investigate the course of such uprising. The '**Agriculturists' Relief Act of 1879**' was passed which facilitated the peasants in the payment of their loan but under no circumstance they could be arrested and sent to jail for non payment of loans. Before riots could spread to other parts of the country, the British Government passed **Punjab Land Alienation Act**, and pacified the discontent of the peasants of Punjab.

**Champan Movement, 1917** – The peasants of Champaran in Bihar started a movement against their planters who had forced them for indigo cultivation. The movement was lead by Gandhi in his famous Champaran Satyagraha.

**Kheda Satyagraha, 1918** – The peasant's of Kheda, Gujarat in 1917 denied paying revenue to the government in 1918. Gandhiji and other leaders guided them and the government had to bend before them.

**Eka Movement, 1921** – Towards the end of 1921, peasant discontent surfaced again after earlier Kisan Sabha movements in the districts of Hardoi, Bahraich and Sitapur of United Provinces with grievances relating to the extraction of a rent that was generally 50 percent higher than the recorded rent. Congress and *Khilafat leaders provided the initial thrust to the peasant grievances* and the movement grew under the name Eka or unity movement. The Eka Movement was also **widespread and militant**. It raised the demands of fixed rents, receipts for payments, stoppage of beggar for the landlord, free use of water from ponds, and the freedom to graze cattle in the jungles. It was a revolt of the tenants against the unbearable oppression of the landlord. With grass-root leadership not in favour of non-violence taking over the movement, the authorities succeeded in bringing it to an end. **Madari Pasi** was from the depressed class and the one of the key leaders who *gave the movement direction opposing the non-violence methods*.

**Moplah Rebellion or Malabar Rebellion, 1921** – The Malabar Rebellion was an armed uprising in 1921 against British authority and upper caste Namboodris and Nairs Hindu landlords (known as **Jenmi**) in the Malabar region of Southern India by Mappila/Moplah Muslims and the culmination of a series of Mappila/Moplah revolts that recurred throughout the 19<sup>th</sup> century and early 20<sup>th</sup> century. Their grievances related to *renewal fees, high rent and other oppressive land lord exaction*. In the first stage of rebellion, the target of *attacks were the unpopular jenmies (landlord) mostly Hindu, the symbol of governmental authority, police stations etc. Lenient landlords and poor Hindus were never touched*. The British declared martial law and repression began in earnest. Hindus were pressurized to help the British and some voluntarily gave assistance to them. This gave *rise to anti-Hindu sentiment among some poor, illiterate Muslims* and they turned against Hindus Jenmi's. This rebellion emerged as one of the irritants during Non-Cooperation movement and created acrimony among Hindus and Muslims.

**Palnad Satyagraha or Forest Satyagraha, 1921** – The 'Forest Satyagraha' was of the ryots of Palnad in Guntur district in 1921 during Non-Cooperation Movement. The **peasants of this place had to pay heavy tax for permission to graze their cattle in forests**. When the crops failed that year, they decided to send their cattle into the forests without paying the fee and suffer the penalties. However authorities retaliated by compounding the cattle and a clash ensued between the cattle owners and the armed



police. In the firing that took place **Kannuganti Hanumanthu** was killed. Meanwhile, Gandhiji called off the Non-Co-operation Movement due to some untoward incidents at Chowri Chowra and with this the Palnad Satyagraha also came to an end.

**Sarabandi Campaign, 1922** – This was a **no tax campaign** that was launched by **Sardar Vallabhai Patel** in Gujarat. It became a model for peasants of rest of India.

**The Kishan Sahas, 1918-28** – Formation of the Kishan Sabhas during 1922-1928 at different places inside the country protected the interests of the peasants. The Kishan Sabhas at Andhra, Bihar, UP, Gujarat, Karnataka etc. *were organised by the national leaders* who came forward to champion the causes of the peasants. **UP Kisan Sabha** was founded by **Gauri Shankar Mishra** and **Indra Narayan Dwivedi** with support from Madan Mohan Malviya in 1918. **The Restoration of Bengal Land Act** and **Bihar Tenancy Act** in 1938 were passed in 1938. The movement finally culminated in formation of All India Kisan Sabha in 1936.

**Kirti Kisan Sabha Movement, 1928** – It was an organization of kirtis (workers) and kisans (peasants), *fostered by the veterans of Ghadar Party*, established on 12 April 1928 with a view to organizing small agriculturists and industrial workers and other low-paid urban labour, *for revolutionary activity and also addressing their plight*. The Sabha owed its origin to the Kirti Kisan movement started by **Bhai Santokh Singh**, a Ghadar leader.

**Bardoli Satyagraha, 1928** – The Bardoli Satyagraha of 1928, in the state of Gujarat, India during the period of the British Raj, was a major *episode of civil disobedience* and revolt in the Indian Independence Movement. The Satyagraha started *as the government raised revenue rates for the already burdened peasants*. Patel called for a **no-tax campaign** which proved successful and it *became a model peasant movement all across India*. In 1925, the taluka of Bardoli in Gujarat suffered from floods and famine, causing crop production to suffer and leaving farmers facing great financial troubles. However, the Government of the Bombay Presidency had raised the tax rate by 30% that year, and despite petitions from civic groups, refused to cancel the rise in the face of the calamities. The Gujarati activists **Narhari Parikh**, **Ravi Shankar Vyas**, and **Mohanlal Pandya** talked to village chieftains and farmers, and solicited the help of Gujarat's most prominent freedom fighter, Vallabhbhai Patel. Patel had previously guided Gujarat's farmers during the Kheda struggle. Patel consulted Gandhi, Gandhi agreed but decided not to participate. Outcomes of the Satyagraha – In 1928, an agreement was finally brokered by a Parsi member of the Bombay government. The Government *agreed to restore the confiscated lands and properties, as well as cancel revenue payment not only for the year, but cancel the 30% raise until after the succeeding year*. Its success gave rise to Vallabhbhai Patel as one of the greatest leaders of the independence struggle. He was given title of '**Sardar**' by women of Bardoli. **Bardoli Model became an ideal movement** for the peasants and soon peasants at other places – mainly in Punjab and Maharashtra also followed the same model.

**All India Kisan Sabha, 1936** – The Civil Disobedience Movement and the rise of the left parties produced a new generation of political workers who devoted themselves to the organisation of peasants and workers. All India Kisan Sabha was the name of the peasants front of the undivided Communist Party of India (CPI), an important peasant movement formed by **Swami Sahajanand Saraswati** in 1936. The



organization originated in Bihar by the efforts of Swami Sahajanand who had earlier established **Bihar Kisan Sabha**. Other prominent members were like **N G Ranga, Indulal Yagnik** etc.

**Tebhaga/Tebaga Movement, 1946** – The Tebhaga movement was a militant campaign initiated in Bengal by the 'Kisan Sabha' (peasants' front of Communist Party of India) in 1946. At that time share-cropping peasants (essentially, tenants) had to give half of their harvest to the owners of the land. The demand of the Tebhaga (sharing by thirds) movement was to reduce the share given to landlords to one third. In many areas the agitations turned violent, and landlords fled villages leaving parts of the countryside in the hands of Kisan Sabha. As a response to the agitations, the then Muslim League ministry in the province launched the Bargadari Act, which provided that the share of the harvest given to the landlords would be limited to one third of the total.

**Harsha Chhina Mogha Morcha, 1946** – The Harsha Chhina Mogha Morcha was an agrarian revolt in Harsha Chhina, Near Amritsar in Punjab, India, that took place in 1946 *under the leadership of the Communist Party*. The Morcha started in response to a decision taken by the British Government to *decrease the supply of irrigation water to farmers by remodelling the moghas* (canal outlets). The Morcha was headed by Comrade **Achhar Singh Chhina, Sohan Singh Josh** etc.

**Worli Revolt, 1946** – It was a post war (WW-2) revolt by peasants and tribals in Worli, Maharashtra. It is also *noted for large scale tribal women participation in the revolt*.

**Telangana Revolt, 1946-50** – It was a communist led uprising in the Hyderabad region which was against the autocracy of the Nizam and the high handedness of the Zamindars. Nizam used trained militias called Razakars to deal with the struggle, but after independence, government of India also intervened and Nizam's forces were defeated. Hundreds of peasants died in this and thousands of acres of land was forcefully occupied by the peasants.

**The Punnappa-Vayalar Uprising, 1946** – The Punnappa-Vayalar uprising was a peasant uprising led by communist uprising in the Princely State of Travancore, British India against the Prime Minister, Sir C P Ramaswami Iyer and the state. This is also seen as a movement for the rights of the depressed Ezhava community.

## PRESS in INDIA

History of press in India has been a mixed bag of restrictions by British and articulation of nationalism on other hand.

First newspaper **Bengal Gadget** started as early as 1780. First law to curb press also followed soon with **Censureship of Press Act, 1799** under which all the material has to be sent for scrutiny before publishing. Then came **licensing regulation of 1823**. However, **Charles Metcalfe** became acting Governor General and he lifted of all the restrictions from press. Thus he is termed as '**liberator of press in India**'.

After the revolt of 1857, the attitude to freedom of the press changed. Canning assumed office and several restrictions including **Licensing Act of 1857**. Enraged Englishmen demanded a clamp down on

the 'native' press. As vernacular newspapers became assertively nationalist, the colonial government began debating measures of stringent control. In **1876, Dramatic Performances Act** and in **1878, the Vernacular Press Act** curbing the freedom of the press, modelled on the Irish Press Laws. Vernacular Press Act provided the government with extensive rights to censor reports and editorials in the vernacular press. From now on the government kept regular track of the vernacular newspapers published in different provinces. When a report was judged as seditious, the newspaper was warned, and if the warning was ignored, the press was liable to be seized and the printing machinery confiscated. Vernacular Press Act was however repealed in 1882 by **Lord Ripon**.

Despite repressive measures, nationalist newspapers grew in numbers in all parts of India. They reported on colonial misrule and encouraged nationalist activities. Attempts to throttle nationalist criticism provoked militant protest. This in turn led to a renewed cycle of persecution and protests. When Punjab revolutionaries were deported in 1907, Bal Gangadhar Tilak wrote with great sympathy about them in his '**Kesari**'. This led to his imprisonment in 1908, provoking in turn widespread protests all over India.

**Indian Press Act** of 1910 by Minto revived the Vernacular Act. During the war times, **Defense of India Act** also put considerable restrictions on press in India. In 1931, **Indian Press Emergency Power Act** came in force to suppress Civil Disobedience movement.

## **LAND REVENUE POLICIES of THE BRITISH**

Initially the British went for Permanent Settlement or Zamindari System in Bengal. However this proved to be a not so profitable agreement from revenue point of view. They experimented with different methods of revenue collections after Permanent Settlement. They had Jagirdari System, Malguzari System, Mehalawari System and Ryotwari System etc. However, the most important and most controversial has been the Zamindari System.

**Zamindari System** was implemented by **Cornwallis** in *Bengal, Bihar* and part of *Orissa* in 1793 under Permanent Settlement. After the ruin of Bengal under dual government and ravage of terrible famine of 1770, the revenues were stagnant. If the economy was in ruins, could the Company be certain of its revenue income? Most Company officials began to feel that investment in land had to be encouraged and agriculture had to be improved. How was this to be done? After two decades of debate on the question, the Company finally introduced the Permanent Settlement in 1793. Under this, landlord was recognized as land owner and cultivators were reduced to tenants. They were required to give a fixed 10/11<sup>th</sup> of the revenue collection to the British government in perpetuity. British adopted this system because British officials realize that they are foreigners and their rule will be unstable unless they acquired local supporters who would act as a buffer between them and the people. Second motive was financial security. As rates were fixed, they no longer fluctuated. Zamindars were supposed to issue Pattas to the farmers, however they were not issued by Zamindars because there was no official check upon Zamindars. It led to introduction of a pyramidal system of revenue collection (Zamindars at top, in between a hierarchy of Sub-zamindars, followed by tenants). While tenants/cultivators paid to Zamindars, government in turn collected revenue from Zamindars. Zamindars often employed

subordinate Zamindars. This was an opaque system and pushed tenants into indebtedness in many parts. Since revenue was fixed in perpetuity, Zamindars often put additional burden of tenants. Further, rates were fixed high and even Zamindars couldn't sustain at times and within 15 years around 50% Zamindari land were put up at sale. Later, when markets improved and production increased, the share of the British remained same and it proved an apparently loss making proposition to the British as well. So, under this system, though largely Zamindars gained, everyone felt like a loser.

#### Other Systems were –

- I. **Mahalwari System** – Mahalawari was introduced by **Hold McKenzi** and under this system unit of revenue settlement was a village or mahal. One village headman was made responsible for collection of revenue. It was mainly introduced in North India. It has advantage over Zamindari system that there was elimination of middleman and revenue was shared and often villagers compensated for each other in times of distress. In this, revenue was not fixed in perpetuity.
- II. **Ryotwari System** – Introduced by **Munro and Reed**, Munro said – 'It is the system that has always prevailed in India'. It was realized that under Permanent Settlement, company was a loser as it could not lay claim on the rising production or revenue of Zamindar. Moreover cultivator was left at mercy of Zamindar who could exploit him at his will. It was prevalent in Deccan and South (first in Madras, then in Bombay). In this every registered holder was recognized as owner of the land (unlike Zamindari system, in which landlord was the owner).

#### Effect of British Land and Agriculture Policy–

- Disintegration of Village Economy and as no part of revenue collection was spent on upliftment of villages, it pushed the villages into backwardness
- Capital base was transferred from Aristocrats to Landlords due to Zamindari System, cultivator was reduced to tenant on mercy of Zamindar
- Frequent famines and their mishandling further compounded the situation

### CIVIL SERVICES in INDIA

1<sup>st</sup> Milestone – In 1665 Company started a regular gradation – *Apprentice, Writer, Factor, Merchant and Hastings* laid the foundation of modern civil services 1772.

**Cornwallis** is called '*Father of Indian Civil Services*'. He started *Coveneted* and *Non-Coveneted services*. However, *Indians didn't have entry into the prestigious Covented services* and this led to dissatisfactions among them.

**Lord Wellesly** took initiative to *institutionalize the training of Civil Services in India* and he established **Fort William College** in Calcutta.

First legislation came in **1861** in form of **Indian Civil Services Act**. However, **open competition** Examination for civil services had started to be held in India before that Act since 1853. For the first time, examinations were held in **Allahbad**.

In the meantime *many committees were established to define the term and conditions of civil services and eligibility criterion*. **Aitchison Committee** of 1886 was one of them which recommended *no simultaneous examination in Britain and India* and *abolish the distinction between covenanted and non-covenanted* and instead recommended a *3 fold classification* (Imperial, Provincial and Subordinate). Later on **Islington Commission** (1912) and **Lee Commission** or Royal Commission (1926) were also appointed.

After Independence, government of India retained these services and Indian Civil Services was renamed as Indian Administrative Services

## **LOCAL GOVERNANCE GROWTH in INDIA**

The panchayat had *never been the priority of the British rulers*. The rulers were interested in the creation of 'controlled' local bodies, which could help them in their trading interests by collecting taxes for them. However there are a few instances in which such efforts were made that strengthened local governance.

It severely limited the autonomy of Villages in two ways –

- I. **Patwari in Villages** – It abolished the village land record office and created a company official called Patwari. The Patwari became the official record keeper for a number of villages.
- II. **District magistrate's Office** – The second was the creation of the office of magistrate and the abolition of village police. Thus villages were bereft of their judicial powers. The magistrate carried out policing functions through the Darogha.

The primary purpose of these measures was the *collection of land revenue by fiat*. The depredations of the Patwari and the Darogha are part of our folklore and it led to the worst famine in Bengal. Concentration of powers in the hands of DM was also a result of centralizing and despotic policies of the British.

**After 1857 the British tried to restore the panchayat** by giving it powers to try minor offences and to resolve village disputes. But these measures never restored the lost powers of the village community.

**Lord Mayo's Resolution of 1870** dealt with the issue of **decentralization of finance**. However, real impetus came during time of **Lord Ripon, 1882**. In his famous **resolution on local self-government**, he recognised the twin considerations of local government: (i) *administrative efficiency* and (ii) *political education*.

**The Royal Commission on Decentralisation (1907)** under the chairmanship of **Hobhouse** *recognised the importance of panchayats at the village level*. It also recommended *revival of Panchayats* and *highlighted the inadequacy of funds for local bodies*.

The **provincial autonomy under the Government of India Act, 1935, marked the evolution of panchayats in India**. Popularly elected governments in provinces enacted legislations to further democratise institutions of local self-government. But the system of responsible government at the grassroots level was least responsible.

Among national leadership, on the one end Gandhi favoured Village Swaraj and strengthening the village panchayat to the fullest extent and on the other end, Dr. B R Ambedkar opposed this idea. He believed that the village represented regressive India, a source of oppression. Even after the constitution was framed, Panchayats were kept under non-judicial part of the constitution.

## **FAMINES in INDIA and the BRITISH POLICY**

Amartya Sen implies that the famines in the British era were due to a lack of a serious effort on the part of the British government to prevent famines. He links the lack of this serious effort to the absence of democracy in British India.

The first major famine that took place under British rule was the **Bengal Famine of 1770**. About a quarter to a third of the population of Bengal starved to death in about a ten-month period. East India Company's raising of taxes disastrously coincided with this famine and exacerbated it.

Policy of Lord Lytton toward famines didn't help either. He termed the idea of funds for famines as – *'Let the British public foot the bill for its 'cheap sentiment,' if it wished to save life at a cost that would bankrupt India'* thus valuing revenues more than lives of people. His organization of an ostentatious Delhi Darbar amidst famine attracted much criticism from all quarters.

With the advent of Rail and Telegraph communication and transport improved, but that didn't help much due to lack of sympathy from government. According to Jean Drèze *'Railroads could perform the crucial task of moving grain from one part of India to another, but they could not assure that hungry people would have the money to buy that grain.'*

After the famine of 1876-78, **Royal Famine Commission** was appointed and it was the most important famine missions in India. Its recommendations included *suspension of land revenue, supplies of food etc.*

It was Ripon after Lytton who introduced **Famine Code** in **1880** (which is still employed by Government in its updated form) which embodied means of tackling famines and transfer of surplus grain to famine hit provinces to other provinces. However famines continued till first decade of 20<sup>th</sup> century.

**Mcdonell Commission** in 1901 appointed by **Curzon** suggested *Moral Strategy* to combat famines

There was no major famine from 1910 to 1943 and then again a major famine struck in 1943 in Bengal. The famine was exacerbated by the ongoing war and scarcity of resources. It proved to be one of the biggest famines.

The father of India's green revolution M. S. Swaminathan credits the elimination of famines to Indian independence from the Britain despite the trebling of population.

## INDIAN INDENTURED LABORERS

The example of indentured labour migration from India also illustrates the two-sided nature of the nineteenth-century world. *It was a world of faster economic growth as well as great misery, higher incomes for some and poverty for others, technological advances in some areas and new forms of coercion in others.* In the 19<sup>th</sup> century, hundreds of thousands of Indian and Chinese labourers went to work on *plantations, in mines, and in road and railway construction projects around the world.* In India, indentured labourers were hired under contracts which promised return travel to India after they had worked five years on their employer's plantation. Most Indian indentured workers came from the *present-day regions of eastern Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, central India and the dry districts of Tamil Nadu.*

**Cause of People Getting into Indentured Labor** – In the mid-nineteenth century these regions experienced many changes – *cottage industries declined, land rents rose, lands were cleared for mines and plantations.* All this affected the lives of the poor – they failed to pay their rents, became deeply indebted and were forced to migrate in search of work.

The main destinations of Indian indentured migrants were the **Caribbean islands** (mainly Trinidad, Guyana and Surinam), **Mauritius** and **Fiji**. Closer home, Tamil migrants went to Ceylon and Malaya. Indentured workers were also recruited for tea plantations in Assam.

Recruitment was done by agents engaged by employers and paid a small commission. Many migrants agreed to take up work hoping to escape poverty or oppression in their home villages. Agents also tempted the prospective migrants by providing false information about final destinations, modes of travel, the nature of the work, and living and working conditions. Often migrants were not even told that they were to embark on a long sea voyage. Sometimes agents even forcibly abducted less willing migrants. Nineteenth-century indenture has been described as a 'new system of slavery'. On arrival at the plantations, labourers found conditions to be different from what they had imagined. Living and working conditions were harsh, and there were few legal rights. But workers discovered their own ways of surviving.

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## TRIVIA

In **1613 AD**, Jahangir issued a farman permitting English to establish a factory permanently at Surat. In 1612, the newly formed company had sent four ships under Captain Thomas Best to trade with India. These were mercantile ships but were capable of defending themselves. *The defeated the Portuguse, who were already there in Surat for at least 100 years. This defeat apparently so impressed the Emperor Jehangir that he granted the British squadron a firman to trade.*

**Gandhian Model of Sustainable Development** – The central unit is the eternal village and villagers, who are deemed to be reservoirs of what is intrinsically valuable in society. **Village-level self-sufficiency** is an objective. It is **not against machines per se**, but he was *not in favour of the so-called labour saving machinery or technology which will make unnecessary involvement of human hands*. In this model, *the guiding principle is not maximization of utility and economic gains but minimization of wants*. Whatever be the arguments in favour of technology-say efficiency, productivity, precision and so on-Gandhi's criterion was that it shall not substitute, enslave, alienate and dehumanise the human beings. He, therefore, stood for a technology that could be "put in the homes of the millions". Human beings are not for technology; technology is for human beings-this was Gandhi's stand.

**Calcutta Session, 1896**, INC officially accepted the "Drain Theory". President of Congress was Dadabhai Naoroji.

**First Industrial Commission:** In **1916** an Industrial Commission was appointed to find out means for giving encouragement for the growth of Indian industries. The report of the commission was submitted in 1918.

Dalhousie's worst political blunder was Annexation of Oudh.

*"The Congress is in reality a civil war without arms"*. The above statement was made by **Sir Saiyid Ahmad Khan**, who denounced congress in blunt terms. The object of a civil war is to determine in whose hands the rule of the country shall rest.

**Indian Home Rule League** of Bal Gangadhar Tilak was launched in April 1916 and **Home Rule League** in Sept 1916 by Annie Besant. **Joseph Bapista** was the first President of the Indian Home Rule League established in April 1916.

**Nawab Abdul Latif Khan:** - *father of Muslim Renaissance* (1828-1893) a prominent personality of mid 19th century Bengal, the pioneer of Muslim modernization and the architect of the Muslim Renaissance, was one of those great men who appeared as saviours of their frustrated, humiliated, demoralized and disorganised fellow countrymen under colonial rule. His chief contribution was in the field of education. He was among the first to understand that young Bengali Muslims should receive modern education.

**George Yule** was a **Scottish** businessman who became the fourth President of INC in 1888, the first non-Indian to hold that office.



*The British empire is rotten to the core, corrupt in every direction and tyrannical and mean.* The above statement was made by **Sister Nivedita**. She was described as a real lioness by Vivekananda, '*Lokmata*' (the mother of the people) by Rabindra Nath Tagore and *Agnishikha* (the flame of fire) by Aurobindo Ghosh.

With the observance of the **All India Flag Day** on June 18, 1923, the **Jhanda Satyagraha** assumed national complexion with **Nagpur** as its headquarters and "Nagpur Chalo" as its slogan.

**Ahmedabad Mill Strike** marks Mahatma Gandhi's first fast unto death.

## UPSC QUESTIONS of LAST YEARS

1. **The Bombay Plan** was a blue print adopted by the leaders of the Indian capitalist class who, in their nationalistic fervour, had decided to "eclipse" their individual interests and favoured a largely State-led revival of India's industry. JRD Tata, Birla, Singhanian etc were the leaders who drew this plan. The Bombay Plan pitched for a largely State-led strategy of "creating basic industries in as short a time as possible". The Bombay Plan of 1944 was a milestone in India's economic policy thinking: it laid down the blueprint for how India must industrialise. Although the Bombay Plan did not itself propose a socialist agenda, "virtually all" commentators acknowledge "that there is a direct line of continuity from the Bombay Plan of 1944-1945 to the First Five-Year Plan in 1950.

### 2. CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPEMNT DURING BRITISH

Various Acts and other major developments like – formation of SC etc

### 3. NEHRU'S MAIN THEME IN 'DISCOVERY OF INDIA'

The Discovery of India was writte by India's first Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru during his imprisonment in 1942-1946 at Ahmednagar in the Ahmednagar Fort. Nehru was jailed for his participation in the Quit India movement along with other Indian leaders, and he used this time to write down his thoughts and knowledge about India's history. The book is widely regarded as a classic in India since its first publication in 1946, and provides a broad view of Indian history, philosophy and culture, as viewed from the eyes of a liberal Indian fighting for the independence of his country. In The Discovery of India, Nehru argued that India was a historic nation with a right to sovereignty. He says that India in the past was a country that lived in harmony and peace, but the evils of society corrupted the people. The effect of these various people on Indian culture and their incorporation into Indian society is examined. This book also analyses in depth the philosophy of Indian life. This book was dedicated to the Prisoners of Ahmednagar jail.

### 4. DALHOUSIE AND SARDAR PATEL SIMILARITIES

Both united India, while Dalhaousie led to expansion of British area by his doctrine of Lapse Patel did it by diplomacy. Both played a key role in uniting India politically.

### 5. GANDHI'S IDEA OF TRUSTEESHIP



Gandhiji differed from the Marxian concept of property. While Marx advocated a classless society and State-ownership of property, Mahatma Gandhi viewed that property should not be snatched away from the rich or capitalist people; rather they should consider themselves as trustees of the property. The wealth and talent should be considered as a trust of the whole society and as 'trustee' the individuals should handle it for the betterment of society. Trusteeship aimed at reforming the capitalist society. It advocated that rich people should change themselves and should come forward to use their property for the betterment of society.

**6. CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY WAS FORMED FROM ELECTED MEMBERS OF 1945 PROVINCIAL ELECTIONS, BUT AFTER MUSLIM LEAGUE WITHDREW, HOW IT FORMED A WIDER SOCIAL BASE?**

It took representatives from princely states

It invited written submissions from public at large

Congress in itself had large representation from all classes

**7. BETRAYED BY HIS FRIEND DURING 1857 REVOLT**

Tantia Tope was betrayed by his friend Man Singh and was put to death.

**8. PARTICIPATION of LABOR in THE EARLY 1930s MOVEMENTS of CONGRESS WAS WEAK BECAUSE**

Congress was seen as a *bourgeois party* by then communist leaders

**9. GANDHI'S SUGGESTION to MOUNTBETTON to AVERT PARTICIPATION**

Gandhi in 1947 suggested Mountbatten to *invite Jinnah to form government*. However it was opposed by both Congress and Muslim league.

**10. MOST SHORTLIVED of ALL CONSTITUTIONAL EXPERIMENTS of BRITISH in INDIA**

Indian Councils Act (Morley-Minto Reforms) 1909

**11. WHY MUSLIMS WERE NOT ATTRACTED to THE EXTREMIST MOVEMENT**

Early Extremists like *Tilak emphasized upon the use of Hindu symbols* like Shivaji and Ganesh festivals, holy dip during Swadeshi movement, India was shown as Bharat Mata like a Hindu goddess etc. These deterred Muslims to join extremist force.

**12. GANDHI on CONGRESS AFTER INDEPENDENCE**

According to Gandhi after attaining Independence, Congress should be wound up as it would have served its purpose and it should become a voluntary organization.

**13. MOKASA**

Like *Iqta* of Mughals, these were land grants that were given by Marathas

**14. THE SPREAD OF THE HARAPPA CIVILIZATION IS COTERMINOUS WITH THE**

Wheat producing zone

**15. ASHTAPRADHAN**

Ashtapradhan was a council of ministers constituted by Shivaji in Maratha administration

**16. ASHTADIGGAJAS**

The title Ashtadiggajas (Ashta + dik + gaja) means elephants in eight directions. It refers to the old Hindu belief that eight elephants hold the earth in eight directions

**17. NASTALIQ**

It was a *Persian script* during Mughal period

**18. ALLAHABAD PILLAR**

Samudragupta

**19. THE FAMOUS VEDIC SAYING 'WAR BEGINS IN THE MINDS OF MEN', IS STATED IN**

Atharva Veda

**20. IT WAS COMMON BOTH TO THE HARAPPAN SOCIETY AND THE RIG VEDIC SOCIETY?**

Horses

**21. SOUTHERN INDIA WITNESSED GROWTH OF SMALL KINGDOMS AND NOT OF BIG EMPIRES BECAUSE**

Southern lands were not very fertile in long stretches

**22. WHY ASHOKA ANNEXED KALINGA**

Because Kalinga controlled land and sea routes to South India

**23. ARYANS**

Aryans were a speech group called after their language, which spread from central Asia to other places.

**24. PAINTED WARES OF ANCIENT TIMES**

Painted Grey Ware – Later Vedic Period

Black on Red Pottery - Harappan

**25. MANIGRAMA**

It was an association of merchants or a 'guild' of south India in ancient India.

**26. RUPAKA**

Silver coin issued by Guptas

**27. CAPTAIN HAWKINS**

He was the British representing East India Company who appeared in the court of Jhangir to get a permission to setup a factory. They eventually setup a factory in Surat.

**28. IMMEDIATE REASON for THE ATTACK of AHMED SHAH ABDALI and FIGHT of THIRD BATTLE of PANIPAT**

He wanted to revenge Marathas for expulsion of his viceroy Timur Shah from Lahore.

**29. 'MANY ENGLISHMEN HONESTLY CONSIDER THEMSELVES THE TRUSTEES FOR INDIA AND YET TO WHAT A CONDITION THEY HAVE REDUCED OUR COUNTRY'**

The statement was made by Nehru.

**30. 'CONGRESS IS TOTTERING TO ITS FALL AND ONE OF MY GREATEST AMBITIONS WHILE IN INDIA, IS TO ASSIST IT TO A PEACEFUL DEMISE'**

The statement was made by Lord Curzon as tensions between Moderates and Extremists escalated and led to a split in 1907

**31. 'THE FOREIGN POWER WILL BE WITHDRAWN BUT FOR ME REAL FREEDOM WILL COME ONLY WHEN WE FREE OURSELVES OF THE DOMINANCE OF WESTERN EDUCATION, WESTERN CULTURE & WESTERN WAY OF LIVING WHICH HAVE BEEN INGRAINED IN US'**

The statement was made by Gandhi

**32. 'COOPERATION of ANY FORM WITH THIS SATANIC GOVERNMENT is SINFUL'**

The statement was made by Gandhi in the wake of the increasing disillusionment with the British government after the 1919 Congress Session of Amritsar. Soon after he launched the Non-Cooperation movement.

**33. 'I CAME RELUCTANTLY TO THE CONCLUSION THAT BRITISH CONNECTION HAS INDIA MORE HELPLESS THAN SHE EVER WAS. SHE HAS BECOME SO POOR THAT SHE HAS LITTLE POWER TO RESIST FAMINES'**

The statement was made by Gandhi during his trial when he was arrested after Non-Cooperation movement in 1922.

**34. '(COMMUNAL) LEADERS WERE FIGHTING NOT FOR THE LOAVES AND FISHES, BUT FIGHTING LIKE PROVERBIAL DOG, NOT FOR THE BONE BUT FOR THE SHADOW'**

The statement was made by Gandhi after he failed to quell the communal sentiments in the country in 1920s. It highlights the fact that communal leaders couldn't see their own welfare and overlooked the advances of a united India and fell for divisive communal gains.

### 35. 'IT'S AN ACHIEVEMENT ON WHICH ANY COUNTRY IN THE WORLD WIGHT WELL BE PROUD OF'

The statement was made by Motilal Nehru after he drafted Nehru Report outlining dominion constitution after an all-party meet. Though report had some points of disagreements, its most of the recommendations also featured in the constitution of independent India.

### 36. 'IT'S A CRIME AGAINST MAN AND GOD TO SUBMIT ANY LONGER'

A statement made by Jawahar Lal Nehru after he unfurled the tricolor on the bank of Ravi and demanded full Swaraj in Lahore Session of Congress in 1929

### 37. 'IT HAS IMPOVERISHED 'THE DUMB MILLIONS' BY A SYSTEM OF PROGRESSIVE EXPLOITATION, REDUCING US TO POLITICAL SERFDOM AND SAPPED US CULTURALLY, DEGRADED US SPIRITUALLY'

Gandhi in his letter to Viceroy Irwin when the latter refused to budge on 11 demands and Gandhi announced launch of Civil Disobedience Movement.

### 38. 'WHILE I ASKED FOR THE BREAD ON BENDED KNEES, I WAS GIVEN A STONE'

Gandhi on the apathetic attitude of Viceroy and British government over their non-response to Gandhi's pleas before he started Civil Disobedience Movement. Gandhiji wrote to the Viceroy demanding abolition of salt-tax and the Government monopoly of the manufacture of salt. When the Viceroy refused to do so.

### 39. 'GANDHI IS IN JAIL BUT HIS SOUL IS WITH YOU'

Sarojini Naidu said this after Gandhi was arrested during Salt Satyagraha and she took the leadership and exhorted the masses not to let the movement down.

### 40. SHORT NOTES

**Haileybury College:** This College in UK imparted education & training to English youths for the East India Company's civil service from 1805. It functioned as a college for the education of the East India Company cadets by selecting men for the Indian civil service by competitive examination & it was used until the transference of the power of the EIC to the government of India in 185

**Ijara system:** It is the system of *framing out the land revenue to contractors among the later mughals*. In this system rent / use-right of land revenue administration, wherein the actual property did not go to the landlord/lessee but it was fraught with much evil in the administration.

### 41. DIFFERENCES of NEHRU WITH GANDHI

In his book, *An Autobiography*, Nehru was *critical of Liberals*. He openly discussed his differences with Gandhi on *Socialism, Industrialisation and Westernisation*.

During national movement also differences were manifested on many occasions –

- During Non-Cooperation movement when the movement was called off Nehru expressed his displeasure

- When Gandhi presented his 11 demands in 1930, just after Purna Swaraj declaration, this shocked Nehru and was seen by many others too as running counter to the idea of Purna Swaraj
- Similarly, when Gandhi signed Gandhi-Irwin pact, Nehru was shocked not to see the demand for Full Independence and was dis-appointed
- Industrialisation Idea of both was also different

#### 42. SWARAJIST MANIFESTO, SWARAJIST DEMANDS, BRITISH REACTION and FAILURE

Swarajist Manifesto of 1923 asserted that –

- It is *not a rival party of Congress* and is very much part of it
- It declared that while goal of party is attainment of full Swaraj, *immediate goal is full Dominion Status*
- *It still rejects 1919 Act*

Demands of Swarajists were –

- Complete overhaul of Government of India Act of 1919.
- Right of Self-determination of Indians
- Framing of Indian Constitution by Indian Constitution Assembly

However response of government remained cold and Viceroy was still able to push any legislation despite protests from Swarajists.

Failure of Swarajists –

- First of all, they didn't bring much change in polity and working of government as they had little power and all the power still vested with government. *Viceroy was still all powerful* and he could push any legislation notwithstanding the opposition from Swarajists
- While they effectively argued in assemblies, sometimes they *needed support of other parties also to push their agenda and this led to acceptance of sectarian demands at times.*
- Further, when members saw that nothing concrete is happening, it lead to difference of opinion and some decided to take up executive posts and *assumed ministerial positions* which was criticized by likes of Nehru.
- *Swarajists couldn't do anything when in 1924 Bose was detained without trial.* This caused resentment among Swarajists too.

Significance of Swarajists –

- However, the experience gained by Swarajists was not wasted and *was used immensely when Congress won Provincial elections in 1937.*
- They *filled the political void* that was created after the end of Non-Cooperation Movement.
- Above all they showed that *legislature can be used in a creative manner* and it helped in political awakeing of people. They also successfully exposed the hollowness of Reform Act of 1919.

#### 43. SATYAGRAHA vs NON-VIOLENT RESISTANCE

Gandhi himself distinguished between the two as – ‘Non-Violent Passive Resistance is different from Satyagraha in three essentials: *Satyagraha is a weapon of the strong; it admits of no violence under any circumstance whatsoever; and it ever insists upon truth.*’

Non-Violence or Ahimsa according to Gandhi ‘*Non-violence comes to us through doing good continually without the slightest expectation of return. That is the indispensable lesson in non-violence.*’

#### 44. WHY POWERS of DISTRICT COLLECTOR WERE CURTAILED by A REGULATION in 1793 by LORD CORNWALLIS

Cornwallis felt that the collector has concentrated too much power and this is undesirable in a single person and as a result he was deprived of his judicial functions.

#### 45. LAST PHASE of INDIAN FREEDOM STRUGGLE – BEGINNING of 1947 to 15<sup>th</sup> AUGUST 1947

After direct action day the country was reeling under the scar of communal riots and passion of both Hindu and Muslim communities were high. *The last chance of reconciliation of differences between the two communities had been lost.*

**Mountbatten Plan or 3<sup>rd</sup> June Offer** came as final straw and it approved the already divided nations and paved way for separate nations on 15<sup>th</sup> August 1947.

In July, Britain's Parliament passed the **Indian Independence Act**, which set a deadline of midnight on August 14-15, 1947 for ‘demarcation of the dominions of India’. Boundary Commission was also set up under **Radcliff**. As a result, at least 10 million Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs fled their homes to seek sanctuary on whichever side of the line was favorable to them.

#### 46. NEHRU on PARTITION

While initial response of Nehru on idea of partition was that of opposition. But with later turn of events his non-opposition appeared as his *tacit support*. Congress Win in 1937 elections marginalised Muslim Leagues and stoked the political ambitions of Congress leaders. Reconciliation with Muslim League was viewed as compromise.

*Even when a compromise was seen in sight with Cabinet Mission, while Jinnah seemingly agreed to a decentralized idea of India, Nehru opposed this in favor of a federal structure with strong center. He also opposed the idea of grouping the provinces on Hindu Muslim lines as mooted in the Cabinet Mission Plan, which was however favored by League. Both Nehru and Sardar Patel were not happy with this scheme. And as Azad has pointed out in his book – Nehru, on being elected as president of the congress in 1946, gave a statement that Cabinet Mission Plan could be, if necessary, changed. This infuriated Jinnah as Muslim League. This also led to the speculations of ‘thirst for power’ of Nehru and other Congress leaders.*

However, painting the difference in opinion as nod for partition will also not be justified. Nehru supported the idea of talks to avoid partition. C R Formula and discussion of Cabinet Mission are example of his willingness to find a middle path.

#### 47. CHAUTH and SARDESMUKHI

Chauth (from Sanskrit meaning one-fourth) was an annual tax or tribute imposed, from early 18th century, by the Maratha Empire in India. It was nominally levied at 25% on revenue or produce, hence the name.

The right to assess and collect this tax was asserted first by Shivaji in the later 17th century, on spurious grounds that his family was hereditary tax collectors in Maharashtra. He extracted chauth from the Muslim kingdoms of Bijapur and Golconda. The sardeshmukhi was an additional 10% levy on top of the chauth. It is a tribute paid to the king.

#### 48. UN-BRITISH RULE

British rule in India had always been an awkward compromise between principle and practice. The early Victorians had declared that the purpose of the Company Raj was the political education of Indians and their preparation for eventual self-government. The rule was defended by White Man's Burden theory. However its un-British nature was exposed by the early nationalist leaders when they proved that rule means nothing but exploitation of people of India.

#### 49. BHAGVATI SUTRA

Bhagavati Sutra is an ancient text, forming part of a collection of texts containing Lord Mahavir's teachings, which are collectively termed as Agam Sutras. Among the Agam Sutras, this particular text is the largest. Bhagavati Sutra contains a comprehensive approach towards subjects pertaining to soul and matter. These topics along with other spiritual matters are presented in a discussion format, wherein Lord Mahavir answers the queries put forth by his disciples. This text contains about 36000 questions with their corresponding answers.

#### 50. THE YAJNAVALKYA SMRITI

The Yajnavalkya Smriti is a part of Dharmasastra and has been called the 'best composed' text of the Dharmasastra tradition. It reflects a superior vocabulary and level of sophistication in comparison to many of the other texts of its time. It was written by Sage Yajnavalkya of Mithila during the peak influence of the Gupta dynasty in India.

#### 51. BRAHMADEYA, DEVADANA AND AGRAHARA LAND GRANTS

Land grants during **Pallavas** to religious institutions were called Brahmadeya, (i.e. donated to Brahmins) **Devadana** (donated to Gods) and **Agrahara** (Settlement – of priests).

Lands were given as **brahmadeya** either to a single Brahmana or to several Brahmana families which ranged from a few to several hundreds or even more than a thousand, as seen in the South Indian context. Brahmadeyas were invariably located near major irrigation works such as tanks or lakes.

## 52. GANGAIKONDA CHOLAPURAM

Gangaikonda Cholapuram was erected as the capital of the Cholas by Rajendra Chola I, the son and successor of Rajaraja Chola, the great Chola who conquered a large area in South India at the beginning of the 11th century C.E. It occupies an important place in the history of India. Named Gangaikonda after victory of Cholas over kings of Gangaes plane.

## 53. LITIGATION TENDENCY AFTER LORD CORNWALLIS' LAND SETTLEMENT SYSTEM INCREASED

Reason that litigations increased was – *he abolished Court Fees*, which not only affected company's earnings but also made litigation making a free for all.

## 54. HOME CHARGES

Home charges refer to the *expenditure incurred in England by the Secretary of State on behalf of India*. Before the Revolt of 1857 the Home charges varied from 10% to 13% of the average revenues of India. After the Revolt the proportion shot up to 24% in the period 1897-1901. In 1901-02, the Home charges amounted to £ 17.36 million. During 1921-22, the Home charges sharply increased to 40% of the total revenue of the Central Government. It is part of drain of wealth theory which included funds used to support India Office in London; British Personnel Engaged in India; Funds used for waging wars outside India by the British.

## 55. PEOPLE

**Gobinda Guru** – At Mangarh hills in 1908, the bhil tribals dalits & others had raised the banner of freedom under the leadership of Goivnd Guru , the founder of the Samp Sabha, an organisation dedicated to fighting british rule as well as the feudal indian princess of Durgapur, Banswara etc.

**Rukmini Devi Arundale** (29 February 1904 – 24 February 1986) was an Indian *theosophist*, dancer and choreographer of the Indian classical dance form of Bharatnatyam, and also an activist for animal rights and welfare. She is considered the *most important revivalist in the Indian classical dance form of Bharatnatyam*. She was wife of noted Theosophist and supporter of Annie Besant in Home Rule League movement George Arundale. She founded '**Kalakshetra**', the leading art academy especially in the field of Bharatanatyam dance and Gandharvaveda music.

**Vishnu Digambar Paluskar** (August 18, 1872 – August 21, 1931) was a Hindustani musician. He sung the original version of the bhajan Raghupati Raghava Raja Ram.

**Lord Pethwick Lawrence** – Lord Pethick-Lawrence was the Secretary of State for India and a member of Cabinet Mission.

**George Yule** (1829–1892) was a Scottish businessman in India who notably became the fourth President of the Indian National Congress in 1888, the first non-Indian to hold that office. He was succeeded by **Sir William Wedderburn**.

**William Wedderburn** was a liberal MP member of the Royal Commission on Indian Expenditure in 1895 and chairman of Indian Parliamentary Committee. He was considered a great friend of the



Indian Progressive Movement and presided at the Indian National Congress, 1889, later Chairman, British Committee of the Indian National Congress. With their efforts, a resolution was passed that called for Civil Services exam to be held simultaneously in London and India. He along with **WS Caine** set up '**Indian Parliamentary Committee**' to agitate for the Indian political reforms in house of commons.

**Prati Sarkar** and **Nana Patil** – Nana Patil popularly known as **Krantisinha** ('revolutionary lion') was a communist leader who formed a parallel government during Quit India called 'Prati-sarkar' in Satara district of west Maharashtra. Instead of Gandhian resistance, *Patil's method of direct attack on the colonial government was widely accepted in this district.* The parallel administration or Prati Sarkara lasted for almost 4 years.

## 56. OTHER INFO

- Vedas were first to be compiled followed by Brahmanas and Aranyakas which were extensions of Vedas. Upanishads followed these two. They were followed by Puranas which were probably compiled during Gupta period.
- The Dharmaśāstras were compiled between 500 and 200 BC. These lay down duties for different varnas as well as for the kings and their officials.
- Urdu perhaps originated around Delhi. Urdu as a language was born out of the interaction between Hindi and Persian. It developed as a camp language in the army of Alauddin Khilji when they were stationed in the Deccan around fourteenth century AD. The famous poet Amir Khusrau, who composed poetry in this language, also played some part in making it popular. During freedom struggle it was an important language along with Hindi and after Independence it as 'Hindustani' was one of contenders of being declared as official language.
- Mughals were preceded by Sultanat period which consisted a series of Sultans starting from Turkish Sultans. Sultans were deemed to be direct representatives of Caliphate – the holy leaders who succeeded Muhammad – and hence power of Ulemas was very high during Sultanat period. During Mughals period, rulers undermined power of religious leaders and assumed political and religious power in their own hands.