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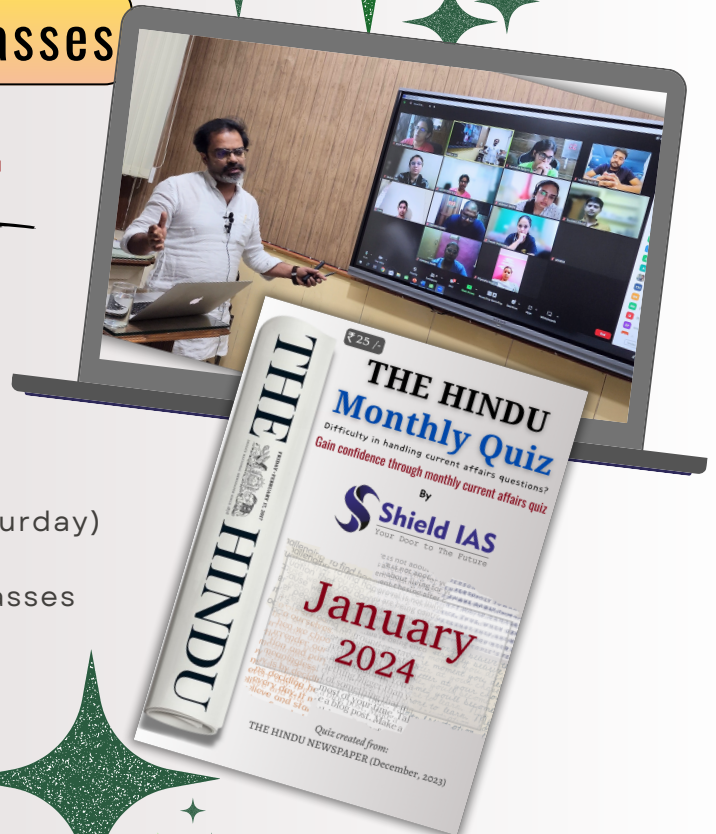
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#### **MODERN INDIA AND INDIAN NATIONAL MOVEMENT**

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From

**Ritesh Kumar Singh (Academic Director, Shield IAS)**

**Ex- Civil Servant**

**Ex-Sr. Faculty & Head Content and Quality Management, Rau’s IAS Study Circle**

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# SHIELD

## MONTHLY CURRENT AFFAIRS ANALYSIS

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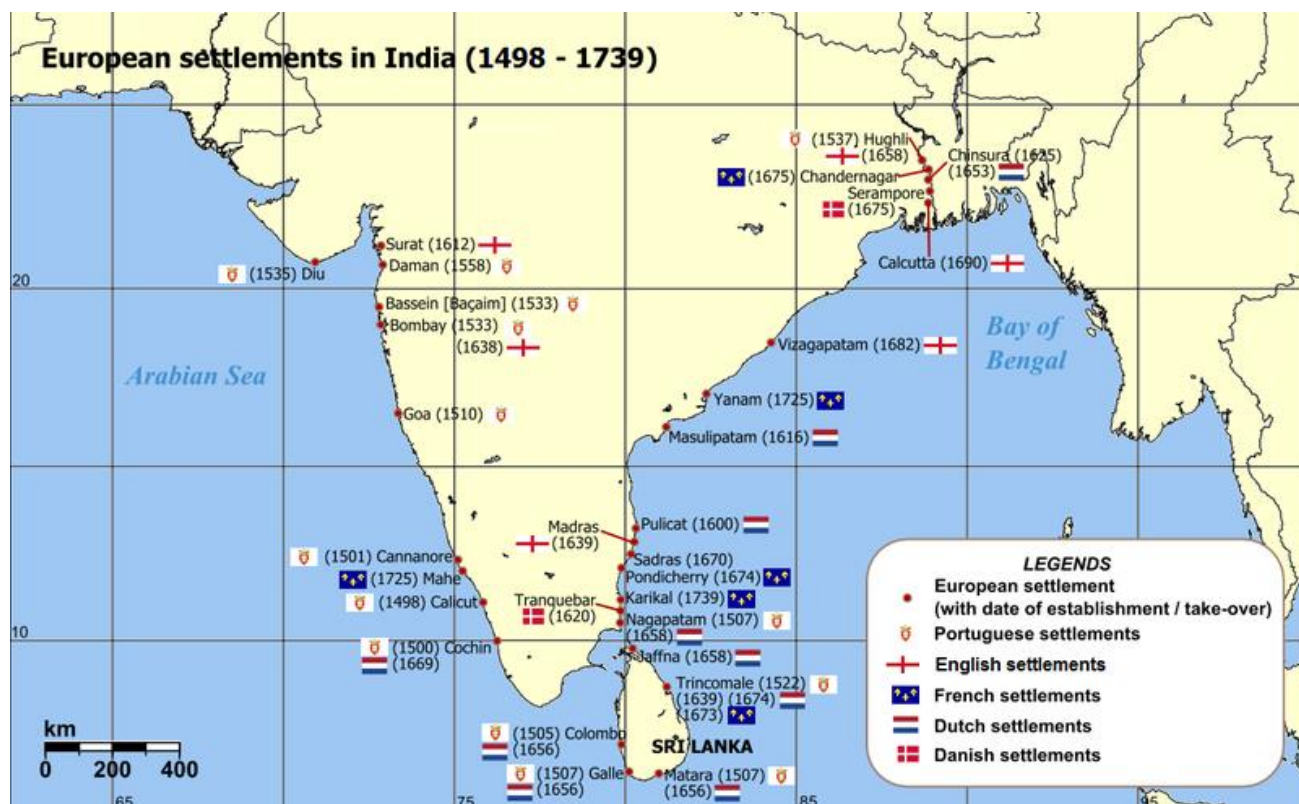


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# MODERN INDIA

## (SPECIAL EDITION FOR PRELIMS 2024)

### ➔ COMING OF EUROPEANS



### ➔ PORTUGUESE

#### VASCO DA GAMA

- The **Portuguese were the first Europeans** to arrive in India and the last to leave.
- The arrival of three ships under **Vasco Da Gama**, led by a Gujarati pilot named **Abdul Majid**, at Calicut in May 1498 profoundly affected the course of Indian history.
- He sailed around **Africa via the Cape of Good Hope** and reached Calicut.
- The ruler of Calicut, the **Zamorin (Samuthiri)**, however, had no apprehensions as to the European's intentions.
- As the prosperity of his kingdom was due to Calicut's position as an entrepot, he accorded a friendly reception to Vasco Da Gama.
- The Arab traders, who had a good business on the Malabar Coast were apprehensive and were not keen on the Portuguese getting a hold there.

- **Note:** For centuries, the trading system in the Indian Ocean had had numerous participants—Indians, Arabs, Africans from the east coast, Chinese, Javanese, among others—but these participants had acted according to some tacit rules of conduct and none had sought overwhelming dominance though all were in it for profit. The **Portuguese changed that**: they wanted to **monopolise the hugely profitable eastern trade** by excluding competitors, especially the Arabs.
- He returned to Portugal in the next year making huge profits from the Indian cargo that was worth 60 times the cost of his expedition.
- The importance of direct access to the pepper trade was made clear by the fact that elsewhere the Europeans, who had to buy through Arab middlemen, would have had to spend ten times as much for the same amount of pepper.
- Not surprisingly, **other profit-seeking merchants of European nations were tempted** to come to India and trade directly.
- In c. **1500 CE**, another Portuguese **Pedro Alvares Cabral** arrived in India. he negotiated and established a factory at **Calicut**.
- **Conflict:** There was an incident of conflict when the Portuguese factory at Calicut was attacked by the locals, resulting in the death of several Portuguese.
- In retaliation, Cabral seized a number of Arab merchant ships. **Calicut was bombarded** by Cabral.
- Later, Cabral succeeded in making **advantageous treaties with the local rulers** of Cochin and Cannanore.
- **Vasco da Gama also made a second trip in c. 1501 CE**. But the Zamorin declined to exclude the Arab merchants in favour of the Portuguese. His rupture with the Zamorin. thus became total and complete.
- **Vasco da Gama** set up a **trading factory at Cannanore**.
- Gradually, the Portuguese established trading settlements at **Calicut, Cochin** and **Cannanore**. Under the pretext of protecting the factories and their trading activities, the Portuguese got permission to fortify these centres.

### FRANCIS DE ALMEIDA

- In 1505, the King of Portugal appointed him the first governor in India for a three-year term. He was also advised to build fortresses at **Anjadiva, Cochin, Cannanore, and Kilwa**.

***Anjediva Island** is an Indian island in the Arabian Sea. It is politically part of Goa state, geographically the nearest mainland is the Kanara coast. The island is about 1.8 kilometres south of Goa.*

***Kilwa** , an island located off the coast of East Africa in modern-day southern Tanzania.*

- Almeida's vision was to make the Portuguese the master of the Indian Ocean. His policy was known as the **Blue Water Policy (cartaze system)**.

*• **Almeida-** "As long as you may be powerful at sea you will hold India as yours; and if you do not possess this power, little will avail you a fortress on shore".*

### ALFONSO DE ALBUQUERQUE

- In c. **1509 CE**, **Alfonso de Albuquerque** was made the governor of the Portuguese territories in India. He was the **real founder** of the Portuguese power in the East.
- There were Portuguese strongholds in **East Africa**, off the **Red Sea, at Ormuz**; in Malabar; and at **Malacca**. The Portuguese, under Albuquerque **bolstered their stranglehold by introducing a permit system for other ships** and exercising control over the major ship-building centres in the region.
- In **1510 CE**, he **captured Goa** from the ruler of Bijapur and thereafter, **Goa became the capital** of the Portuguese settlements in India.

- The Portuguese established their **domination over the entire Asian coast from Hormuz in the Persian Gulf to Malacca in Malaya** and the **spice islands in Indonesia**. At the time of the death of Afonso de Albuquerque, the Portuguese were the strongest naval power in India.

#### Impact:

*The Portuguese men who had come on the voyages and stayed back in India were, from Albuquerque's day, **encouraged to take local wives**. An interesting feature of his rule was the **abolition of sati**. In Goa and the Province of the North, they established themselves as **village landlords**, often building new **roads and irrigation works**, introducing **new crops like tobacco and cashew nut**, or better plantation varieties of coconut besides **planting large groves of coconut** to meet the need for **coir rigging and cordage**. In the cities, they settled as **artisans and master-craftsmen**, besides being traders. Most of such Portuguese came to look upon their new settlements, rather than Portugal, as home.*

#### NINO DA CUNHA

- He assumed office of the governor in **November 1529** and almost one year later shifted the headquarters of the Portuguese government in India from **Cochin to Goa**.
- Bahadur Shah of Gujarat**, during his conflict with the Mughal emperor **Humayun**, secured help from the Portuguese by ceding to them **in 1534 the island of Bassein** with its dependencies and revenues. He also promised them a base in **Diu**. However, Bahadur Shah's relations with the Portuguese became sour when Humayun withdrew from Gujarat in 1536.

- Nino da Cunha captured Diu and Bassein** from Bahadur Shah of Gujarat. He was invited to a Portuguese ship and killed in 1537.
- They also established **settlements at Salsette, Daman and Bombay**.
- The Portuguese established further military posts and settlements on the east coast at **San Thome (in Chennai)** and **Nagapattinam (in Tamil Nadu)**.
- Towards the end of the 16th century, a wealthy settlement had grown at **Hooghly in West Bengal**.

#### PORTUGUESE ADMINISTRATION IN INDIA

- The head of the administration was the **viceroy who served for three years**, with his secretary and, in later years, a council.
- Next in importance came the **Vedor da Fazenda**, responsible for **revenues and the cargoes and dispatch of fleets**.
- The fortresses, from Africa to China, were under **captains, assisted by 'factors'**, whose power was increased by the difficulties of communication and was too often used for personal ends.

#### RELIGIOUS INFLUENCE

- In September 1579, Akbar forwarded a letter to the authorities at Goa, requesting them to send two learned priests. The Church authorities in Goa eagerly accepted the invitation, seeing in it a chance to **convert the emperor to Christianity**, and with him his court and the people.
- Jesuit fathers, **Rodolfo Aquaviva** and **Antonio Monserrate**, were selected for the purpose. They reached Fatehpur Sikri on February 28, 1580. Revisited again in 1583 AD.
- The second mission ended in 1592 AD.
- The **third mission in 1595 AD to Lahore** was led by **Fathers Jerome Xavier** and **Emanuel Pinheiro**. Their letters from the court became very widely known for the information they provided on the later part of Akbar's reign.
- In **1606, Jahangir**, he renewed his favours to them. The elegant and spacious **church at Lahore** was allowed to be retained by them along with the collegium or the priests' residence.
- In **1608, a number of baptisms were carried out in Agra**, the priests publicly acting with as much liberty as in Portugal.



## LOSS OF FAVOUR WITH MUGHALS

- In **1608**, **Captain William Hawkins** with his ship **Hector** reached Surat. He brought with him a letter from **James I, King of England**, to the Mughal court of Jahangir, requesting permission to do business in India.
- **Father Pinheiro** and the Portuguese authorities did their best to prevent Hawkins from reaching the Mughal court, but they did not succeed. Jahangir accepted the gifts Hawkins brought for him and gave Hawkins a very **favourable reception in 1609**.
- As **Hawkins knew the Turki language** well, he conversed with the emperor in that language without the aid of an interpreter. Pleased with Hawkins, Jahangir appointed him as a **mansabdar of 400**.
- Hawkins was also married to the **daughter of an Armenian Christian** named Mubarak Shah (Mubariksha).
- In November **1612**, the English ship **Dragon under Captain Best** along with a little ship, the Osiander, successfully fought a Portuguese fleet.
- In **1613**, the Portuguese offended Jahangir by capturing Mughal ships. An enraged Jahangir ordered **Muqarrab Khan**, who was then in charge of Surat, to obtain compensation. However, it was during the reign of Shah Jahan, that the advantages which the Portuguese enjoyed in the Mughal court were lost forever.
- Shah Jahan ordered the Bengal governor **Qasim Khan** to take action against the Portuguese. The **siege of Hooghly** finally led to the Portuguese fleeing.
- The Portuguese power declined in India gradually and they lost all their acquired territories in India except **Daman, Diu and Goa**.

## CAUSES OF DECLINE OF PORTUGUESE IN INDIA

1. The governors that succeeded Afonso de Albuquerque were **weak and less competent** which eventually led to the decline of the Portuguese Empire in India.
2. The Portuguese were **intolerant and fanatical in religious matters**. They indulged in forcible conversion of the native people to Christianity. Their approach in this respect was hateful to the people of India where religious tolerance was the rule.
3. The Portuguese **administration was more interested in making fortunes for themselves** which resulted in the further alienation of the people of India. They were also involved in inhuman cruelties and lawlessness. They did not even shy away from **piracy and plunder**. All these acts resulted in a hostile attitude towards the Portuguese.
4. The Portuguese and the Spanish had left the English and the Dutch far behind during the 15th century and the first half of the 16th century. But in the later half of the 16th century, **England and Holland, and later, France**, all growing commercial and naval powers, waged a fierce struggle against the Spanish and the Portuguese monopoly of world trade. In this struggle, the latter were subjugated. This also weakened their power in India.
5. Also the **might of the Mughal Empire and the growing power of the Marathas did not let the Portuguese maintain their trade monopoly for long in India**. For instance, they **clashed with the Mughal power in Bengal in c. 1631 CE** and were driven out of their settlement at Hughli.
6. The **Portuguese discovered Brazil in Latin America** and began to pay much more attention to it than its territories in India.
7. When **Portugal came under Spain in c. 1580 CE**, the **Spanish interests predominated over the Portugal interests** which were subsequently side lined.

### Misc.

- They **established the first printing press** at Goa in c. 1556 CE.
- **"The Indian Medicinal Plants"** was the first scientific work which was published at Goa in c. 1563 CE.



## ➔ DUTCH

- The Dutch East India Company was **established in c. 1602 CE** under the name **Vereenigde Oost Indische Compagnie (VOC)**.
- Dutch set up their **first factory at Masulipatnam in Andhra in 1605 CE**.
- In **1609**, they opened a factory in **Pulicat, north of Madras**.
- Their **other principal factories** in India were at Surat (1616), Bimlipatam (A.P.) (1641), Karaikal (1645), Chinsura (1653), Baranagar, Kasimbazar (near Murshidabad), Balasore (Odisha), Patna, Nagapatam (1658), and Cochin (1663).
- They captured **Nagapatam** near Madras (Chennai) from the **Portuguese** and made it their main stronghold in South India. Earlier, Pulicat (Tamil Nadu) was their main centre in India and later, it was replaced by Nagapattinam.
- They carried **indigo** manufactured in the Yamuna valley and Central India, **textiles and silk** from Bengal, Gujarat and the Coromandel, **saltpetre** (*potassium nitrate, especially as a component of gunpowder*) from Bihar, and **opium and rice** from the Ganga valley.

### ANGLO-DUTCH RIVALRY

- The climax of the enmity between the Dutch and the English in the East was reached at **Amboyna** (*a place in present-day Indonesia, which the Dutch had captured from the Portuguese in 1605*).
- After prolonged warfare, both the parties came to a compromise in **1667** by which the **British agreed to withdraw all their claims on Indonesia**, and the **Dutch retired from India** to concentrate on their more profitable trade in Indonesia. They monopolised the trade in black pepper and spices.
- The most important Indian commodities the Dutch traded in were **silk, cotton, indigo, rice, and opium**.

### Decline

- The mid-18th century marked the decline of the Dutch East India Company. It was marred by faulty business policies, corruption, and surrounding political changes. In **1741** the powerful ruler of Travancore, **Martanda Verma**, crushed the Dutch to regain dominance over Malabar.
- Later, the **Dutch were defeated by the English in the Battle of Bedara in c. 1759**.
- The **fourth Anglo-Dutch war**, where the British navy sank their ships and took over the trading posts, led to their bankruptcy in 1799.
- Finally, in **1825**, the Anglo-Dutch treaty put an end to the Dutch prominence in India, with all Dutch possessions being transferred to the British.
- **In short:** the Dutch were not much interested in empire building in India; their concerns were trade. In any case, their main commercial interest lay in the **Spice Islands of Indonesia** from where they earned a huge profit through business.

## ➔ BRITISH

**Francis Drake's** voyage around the world in 1580 and the English victory over the **Spanish Armada in 1588** generated a new sense of enterprise in the British, encouraging sailors to venture out to the East. As the knowledge grew of the high profits earned by the Portuguese in Eastern trade, English traders too wanted a share.

- As a result, the **English Association or Company to trade with the East** was formed in **c. 1599 CE** under the auspices of a group of merchants known as **"The merchant Adventurers"**.

- The company was given a **royal charter and the exclusive privilege to trade in the East by Queen Elizabeth on 31st December c.1600 CE**. It was named **‘Governor and Company of Merchants of London trading into the East Indies’**.
- Initially, a monopoly of 15 years was granted, which in **May 1609 was extended indefinitely by a fresh charter**.
- In **c. 1609 CE**, **Captain William Hawkins** arrived at the court of **Mughal Emperor Jahangir** to seek permission to establish an English trading centre at Surat. But it was refused by the Emperor due to pressure from the Portuguese.
- In **1611**, the English had started trading at **Masulipatnam** on the south-eastern coast of India and later established a factory there in **1616**.
- It was in **1612 that Captain Thomas Best** defeated the Portuguese in the sea off Surat; an impressed Jahangir granted permission to the English in early **1613 to establish a factory at Surat** under **Thomas Aldworth**.
- In **c. 1615 CE**, **Sir Thomas Roe** came to the Mughal court as ambassador of **James I, the king of England**. Though he was unsuccessful in concluding a commercial treaty with the Mughal emperor, he was able to **secure a number of privileges**, including permission to set up factories at Agra, Ahmedabad, and Broach.
- Thus, by **c. 1619 CE**, **the English established their factories at Agra, Ahmedabad, Baroda and Broach**.

### South

- The English opened their **first factory in the south at Masulipatnam**.
- The English company's position was improved by the **‘Golden Farman’** issued to them by the **Sultan of Golconda in 1632**. On a payment of 500 pagodas a year, they earned the privilege of trading freely in the **ports of Golconda**.
- Thereafter, the English extended their trading activities to the east and started factories at **Hariharpur in the Mahanadi delta** and at **Balasore (in Odisha) in 1633**.
- In **c. 1639 CE**, **Francis Day** obtained the site of Madras from the **Raja of Chandragiri** and built a small fort around their factory called **Fort St. George**.
- **Madras soon replaced Masulipatnam as the headquarters of the English** on the Coromandel coast.

### Bengal

- **Shah Shuja, the subahdar** (or governor) of Bengal in **1651**, allowed the English to trade in Bengal in return for an **annual payment of Rs 3,000**, in lieu of all duties.
- **Factories in Bengal** were started at Hooghly (**1651**) and other places like **Kasimbazar, Patna, and Rajmahal**.
- The Company's business was now and then obstructed by customs officers.
- **William Hedges**, the first agent and governor of the Company in Bengal, appealed to **Shaista Khan**, the Mughal governor of Bengal in **1682**.
- Hostilities broke out between the English and the Mughals. Four years later, Hooghly was sacked by the **imperial Mughals in 1686**.
- A treaty was signed in **1690 CE**. In **c. 1691 CE**, **an English factory was established at a place called Sutanuti by Job Charnock**.
- In **1698**, the English succeeded in getting the permission to buy the zamindari of the three villages of **Sutanuti, Gobindapur, and Kalikata (Kalighat)** from their owners on payment of Rs 1,200.
- The fortified settlement was named **Fort William in the year 1700** when it also became the seat of the eastern presidency (Calcutta) with **Sir Charles Eyre** as its first president.

## Bombay

- **Bombay** had been gifted to **King Charles II** by the King of Portugal as dowry when Charles married the Portuguese princess Catherine in **1662**.
- The English East India Company acquired **Bombay from Charles II, the then king of England in c. 1668 CE** and Bombay became the headquarters of the company on the west coast.
- British settlements in **Madras, Bombay and Calcutta** became the nuclei of flourishing cities.
- The British East India Company grew in power and **tended to acquire the status of a sovereign state** in India.

## FARRUKHSIYAR'S FARMANS

- In **1715**, an English mission led by **John Surman** to the court of the Mughal emperor **Farrukhsiyar** secured three famous farmans, giving the Company many valuable privileges in **Bengal, Gujarat and Hyderabad**.
- The **farmans** thus obtained were regarded the **Magna Carta of the Company**. Their important terms were:

- In **Bengal**, the Company's imports and exports were **exempted from additional customs duties** excepting the annual payment of 3,000 rupees as settled earlier.
- The Company was **permitted to issue dastaks (passes)** for the transportation of such goods.
- The Company was permitted to **rent more lands around Calcutta**.
- In **Hyderabad**, the Company retained its existing privilege of freedom from duties in trade and **had to pay the prevailing rent only for Madras**.
- In **Surat**, for an annual payment of 10,000 rupees, the East India Company was **exempted from the levy of all duties**.
- It was decreed that the **coins of the Company minted at Bombay** were to have currency throughout the Mughal empire.

## MERGING OF TWO ENGLISH COMPANIES

- In **1688**, the **Whigs**, with their enhanced influence, opposed the **monopoly of the East India Company**. Thus, a rival company was formed which deputed **Sir William Norris** as its ambassador to the court of **Aurangzeb (January 1701–April 1702)** to gain trading privileges for itself.
- The new company, however, proved a failure. Under pressure from the Crown and the Parliament, the two companies were amalgamated in **1708 under the title of 'United Company of Merchants of England Trading to the East Indies'**. This was the **East India Company—from 1708 to 1873—** which was to establish British political power in India.

## → DANES

- The **Danes** established an **East India Company** in **c. 1616 CE**.
- They formed **settlements at Tranquebar (Tamil Nadu) in c. 1620 CE** and at **Serampore (Bengal) in c. 1676 CE**. Their headquarters was at **Serampore**.
- However, they could not strengthen themselves in India and had to sell all their settlements in India to the British.
- The British invaded Danish shipping, and devastated the Danish East India Company's Indian trade, and ultimately captured Danish colonies, making them part of British India.
- The last Danish colonial post-Serampore was ceded to **Britain by Denmark in 1845 AD**.
- The Danes were better known for their **missionary activities than for commerce**.

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## → FRENCH

- The French were the **last Europeans** to come to India with the purpose of trade.
- The French East India Company **was founded in c. 1664 CE by Colbert**, a minister under **Louis XIV**. It was granted 50 years monopoly on French trade in the Indian and Pacific Oceans.
- **First expedition to India**, led by **Francois Caron (French Governor)**, reached Surat in 1667 and established the **first trading post (Surat)** in the subcontinent.
- In **c. 1668 CE**, the **first French factory was set up at Surat by Francis Caron**.
- **Mercara, a Persian** who accompanied Caron, founded another French factory in **Masulipatnam in 1669** after obtaining a patent from the **Sultan of Golconda**.
- In **1673**, the French obtained permission from **Shaista Khan**, the Mughal subahdar of Bengal, to establish a township at **Chandernagore near Calcutta**.
- In **1673**, **Sher Khan Lodi**, the governor under the Bijapur Sultan, granted **Francois Martin**, the director of the Masulipatnam factory, a site for a settlement. **Pondicherry (Fort Louis)**, was founded in **1674**.
- In **c. 1690 CE**, the **French acquired Chandranagore** near Calcutta from the governor, **Shaista Khan**.
- The French established their factories at **Balasore, Mahe, Qasim Bazar and Karaikal**.

### Early Setbacks

- The French position in India was affected with the outbreak of war **between the Dutch and the French**.
- The **Dutch** bolstered by their alliance with the English captured Pondicherry in **1693**.
- Although the **Treaty of Ryswick** in Netherlands **1697 restored Pondicherry to the French**, the Dutch garrison held on to it for two more years.
- Once again, under Francois Martin's able guidance, Pondicherry flourished and turned out to be the most important settlement of the French in India.
- Again there was a bad turn in the fortunes of the French company in India when the **War of Spanish Succession** broke out in Europe. Consequent to this, they had to abandon their factories at Surat, Masulipatnam, and **Bantam (Java)** in the early 18th century. The French in India had another setback when **Francois Martin** died on December 31, 1706.
- As a result, in **1720**, the French company was reorganised as the '**Perpetual Company of the Indies**' which revived its strength. This was further enhanced by two active and wise governors, **Lenoir and Dumas**, between 1720 and 1742.
- The **arrival of Joseph François Dupleix** as French governor in India in **c. 1742 CE** saw the beginning of the Anglo-French conflict which resulted in the famous Carnatic wars.

## → ANGLO-FRENCH RIVALRY

- In the beginning of the 18th century, the English and the French were competing with each other to establish their dominance in India. They took advantage of the political turmoil in India which was due to the decline of the Mughal Empire.
- The Anglo-French rivalry in India reflected the traditional rivalry of England and France throughout their histories.
- The rivalry between the French and the English played out in the **three Carnatic Wars**. Carnatic was the name given by the Europeans to the **Coromandel Coast** and its hinterland.



### Situation in South India provided opportunities

- In 1740, the political situation in south India was uncertain and confused. **Nizam Asaf Jah of Hyderabad** was old and fully engaged in battling the **Marathas in the western Deccan**.
- To the south of his kingdom lay the **Coromandel Coast** without any strong ruler to maintain a balance of power. Instead, there was the remnant of the **old Vijayanagara empire in interior Mysore, Cochin, and Travancore** on the Malabar Coast, and in the east the small states of **Madura (Madurai), Tanjore (Thanjavur), and Trichinopoly (Thiruchirappally)**.
- There was the Maratha kingdom of Tanjore, providing the Peshwa of Pune an excuse for interference whenever he pleased.

### FIRST CARNATIC WAR

- The First Carnatic War was an extension of the Anglo-French War caused by **War of Austrian Succession** that had broken out in Europe in 1740.
- This Anglo-French rivalry led to their trading companies in India vying with each other for supremacy.
- The **French Governor of Pondicherry Dupleix** had raised an army of Indian sepoys under French officers in India. The **French East India Company was nationalized in 1720** and France had imperialistic designs on India.
- In **1745**, there was a naval attack on a French fleet by Britain in which even Pondicherry in danger.
- Dupleix, along with **additional French troops from Mauritius** defended against this attack and **captured Madras in 1746**, which had been controlled by the English.
- The English made another attack on Pondicherry but instead faced a heavy loss. The **English sought help from the Nawab of Carnatic (Arcot) Anwaruddin Khan**.
- The Nawab asked the French to return Madras to the British. Then, the **Nawab sent a huge army to fight the French forces**. This army was defeated by the relatively small number of **French forces in Mylapore (in modern-day Chennai) in 1746**.
- This exposed the weakness of the armies of the Indian rulers vis-à-vis the efficiently trained armies of the European powers.
- The **war ended in 1748** with the **Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle also called Treaty of Aachen**.
- **Terms:** Madras was given back to the English in **exchange for Louisburg in North America to France**.

### Significance

- The First Carnatic War is remembered for the **Battle of St. Thome (in Madras)** fought between the French forces and the forces of Anwaruddin, the Nawab of Carnatic.
- A small French army under **Captain Paradise** defeated the strong Indian army under Mahfuz Khan at St. Thome on the banks of the **River Adyar**.
- This was an **eye-opener for the Europeans in India**: it revealed that even a small disciplined army could easily defeat a much larger Indian army.
- Further, this war **adequately brought out the importance of naval force** in the Anglo-French conflict in the Deccan.

### SECOND CARNATIC WAR

#### Background: War of succession in Hyderabad and Carnatic

- **Hyderabad:** Death of **Nizam-ul-Mulk**, the founder of the independent kingdom of Hyderabad, in 1748. Accession of **Nasir Jung**, the son of the Nizam, to the throne of Hyderabad was opposed by **Muzaffar Jung**, the grandson of the Nizam, who laid claim to the throne saying that the Mughal Emperor had appointed him as the governor of Hyderabad.
- **Carnatic:** The appointment of **Anwaruddin Khan** as the Nawab was resented by Chanda Sahib. Chanda Sahib, the son-in-law of Dost Ali, the Nawab of Carnatic, was released by the Marathas.

- The **French** supported the claims of **Muzaffar Jang** and **Chanda Sahib**.
- The **English** sided with **Nasir Jang** and **Anwaruddin**.

### COURSE OF THE SECOND CARNATIC WAR (1748-1754)

#### Success to the **French** in Hyderabad

- The combined armies of **Muzaffar Jang**, **Chanda Sahib**, and the **French** defeated and killed **Anwaruddin at the Battle of Ambur (near Vellore) in 1749**.
- **Muzaffar Jang** became the subahdar of Deccan.

1. **Dupleix** was appointed **governor of all the Mughal territories** to the south of the **River Krishna**.
2. A French army under **Bussy** was stationed at **Hyderabad** to secure French interests there.
3. Territories near **Pondicherry** and also some areas on the Orissa coast (including Masulipatnam) were ceded to the French.

#### Success to the **English** in Carnatic

- Now there was a tussle for the **Nawabship of Carnatic** between **Muhammad Ali** (son of Anwaruddin) and **Chanda Sahib** (son-in-law of Dost Ali Khan, a former Nawab of the Carnatic).
- **Muhammad Ali fled to Trichy**. Then, **Chanda Sahib was proclaimed the Nawab of the Carnatic**.
- Then, French forces marched on to the Deccan and fought and killed **Nasir Jung**.
- Subsequently, **Muzaffar Jung was installed as the Nizam of Hyderabad**.
- However, Muzaffar Jung was killed a couple of months later and the French installed **Salabat Jung (another son of Asaf Jah I) as the Nizam**.
- In return, the **French acquired from the Nizam four rich districts on the Coromandel Coast (Northern Sircars)**.
- At this time, **Trichy was under the control of Chanda Sahib** and the French. But the **Trichy Fort was held by Muhammad Ali**.
- To undermine the growing French power in the region, the English decided to support Muhammad Ali.
- **Robert Clive (later Governor of Bengal) attacked Arcot**, the capital of the Carnatic, as a divisionary tactic. This is called the **Siege of Arcot**, in which the British won.
- After this many battles were fought and Chanda Sahib was killed in one of them.
- Thus, **Muhammad Ali was installed as the Nawab of the Carnatic**.

The war ended with the **Treaty of Pondicherry in 1754**.

#### Effects of the Second Carnatic War

- Although the French gained the **Northern Sircars**, Dupleix was criticised by the French authorities because of heavy losses to the French company.
- Dupleix was called back to France. He was replaced by **Charles-Robert Godeheu** who signed the **Treaty of Pondicherry**.
- As per the treaty, the **English and the French were to indulge only in commercial activities** in India and not interfere in sub-continental political affairs.
- Also, each party was **left in possession of the territories** actually occupied by them at the time of the treaty.

#### Implications:

- It became evident that the countenance of Indian authority was no longer necessary for European success; rather Indian authority itself was becoming dependent on European support.

- **Muhammad Ali in the Carnatic** and **Salabat Jang in Hyderabad** became clients rather than patrons.

### THIRD CARNATIC WAR

#### Course of the war

- In **1756, the Seven Year's War** broke out in Europe and once again England and France were pitted against one another..
- **After the Battle of Plassey in 1757, the British forces wrested Chandannagar (in Bengal)** from the French.
- The French, under **Count de Lally in 1758**, captured the **English forts of St. David and Vizianagaram** and attacked the English to acquire Madras.

### BATTLE OF WANDIWASH 1760 CE

- The decisive battle of the Third Carnatic War was won by the English in 1760 at Wandiwash (or Vandavasi) in Tamil Nadu.
- **General Eyre Coote of the English** totally routed the **French army under Count Thomas Arthur de Lally** and took Bussy as prisoner.
- The French **lost their Indian possessions including Pondicherry, Mahe, Gingee and Karaikal** to the British.
- The war ended with the **Treaty of Paris in 1763.**
- As per the Treaty, restored to the French their factories in India but they were barred from fortifying them or having troops in them. They could only have trading activities.
- The English became the supreme European power in the Indian subcontinent, since the Dutch had already been defeated in the **Battle of Bidara in 1759.**
- The victory at Wandiwash left the English East India Company with no European rival in India.

#### Effects of the War

- French hopes of building an empire in India were completely dashed.
- This **established Britain as the paramount European power** in India. The path was clear for the establishment of a British colonial rule in India.

### REASONS FOR FRENCH FAILURE

1. The **English company was a private enterprise**—this created a sense of enthusiasm and self-confidence among the people. With less governmental control over it, this company could take instant decisions when needed.
2. The **French company, on the other hand, was a State concern.** It was controlled and regulated by the French government and was hemmed in by government policies and delays in decision-making.
3. **Superior naval strength of the British.** They could bring in soldiers from Europe and also provide supplies from Bengal. The French did not have any such avenue to replenish resources.
4. **Britain had Madras, Bombay and Calcutta – three important posts.** In contrast, the **French had only one strong post, Pondicherry.** This meant that if Pondicherry was captured, the French had little hope of recovery. But Britain could rely on any of the other two bases if one was captured.
5. The **victory at the Battle of Plassey** opened up the British to a rich area, namely Bengal.
6. The **French subordinated their commercial interest** to territorial ambition, which made the French company short of funds.
7. In spite of their imperialistic motives, the **British never neglected their commercial interests.**
8. The British had many capable and able soldiers like Robert Clive, Stringer Lawrence and Sir Eyre Coote.

## → DECLINE OF MUGHALS

Some of the main causes for the decline of the Mughals, briefly put, were as follows:

1. The government of the Mughals was a **personal despotism**, and so its success depended on the **character of the reigning ruler**. The later Mughals were **worthless and neglected the administration** of the state.
2. With the **absence of a definite law of succession**, there always occurred a war of succession; this **weakened the stability of the government** and **fostered partisanship** at the cost of patriotism.
3. The degeneration of the rulers led to the **degeneration of the nobility**, with factious quarrels and intrigues costing the empire heavily.
4. The **deterioration of the army** also proved disastrous for the empire.
5. The **empire had become too vast and unwieldy** to be efficiently governed from a central authority under weak rulers, especially under the existing conditions of transport and communication.
6. **Aurangzeb's religious policy** was largely responsible for leading to **revolts by Rajputs, Sikhs, Jats, and Marathas**.
7. **Aurangzeb's Deccan policy was a complete failure** and was an important cause of the downfall of the Mughal empire.
8. **Invasions of Irani and Durrani kingdoms** gave a death blow to the Mughal empire.

### Most important- Economic crisis

- The number of **amirs and their ranks or mansabs** had increased sharply over time; there was **little land left to be distributed** among them as jagirs.
- Aurangzeb tried to solve the problem of acute shortage of jagirs **by showing enhanced income** from the jagirs on record.
- But this was a **short-sighted measure as the amirs** tried to recover the recorded income from their jagirs by pressurising the peasantry. So, both the amirs and the peasantry were antagonised.
- Then there were the **wars, the luxurious lifestyles of the emperors and amirs alike**, and the **reduction in khalisa land**, all of which burdened the state.
- The result was that the **expenditure of the state much exceeded its income**.
- There was, moreover, **no significant scientific and technological advance** that could have improved a stagnant economy.
- The once flourishing trade did not enrich the empire's coffers even as the **inroads by European traders grew along coastal India**.
- These **economic and administrative problems only multiplied** following the death of Aurangzeb.

## → MARATHAS

### THE PESHWAS

- The word Peshwa has its **roots in the Persian language** meaning "foremost", and was **introduced in the Deccan by the Muslim rulers**.
- The early Peshwas were the prime ministers of the **Maratha Chhatrapatis** who were appointed to assist the rulers in different administrative and political affairs.
- The Peshwas later assumed the number one position in Maratha politics.

**BALAJI VISHWANATH BHATT (C. 1713 – 1719 CE)**

- The **Bhatts were Chitpavan Brahmins** hailing from Shrivardhan in the Konkan region.
- He **made the post of the Peshwa hereditary** and is also known in history for making the position of Peshwa the most important and influential in the Maratha administration.
- He **played an important role in the civil war as he sought the support of all Maratha leaders for Shahu** and thus, helped Shahu in his rise to power.
- In c. 1719 CE, **Balaji Vishwanath was successful in attaining certain rights from the then Mughal Emperor, Farrukh Siyar** such as recognition of Shahu as the Maratha king and to collect Chauth and Sardeshmukhi from the six Mughal provinces of the Deccan, including the Carnatic and Mysore.
- Along with Shahu, **Balaji Vishwanath assisted the Sayyid brothers** in deposing the Mughal emperor, Farrukh Siyar in c. 1719 CE.

**BAJI RAO I (C. 1720 – 1740 CE)**

- Eldest son of Balaji Vishwanath who succeeded him as Peshwa at the **young age of twenty**. The Maratha power rose to its heights under him and he was the most famous among all the Peshwas.
- He **preached and propagated the idea of Hindu-pad-padshahi (Hindu Empire)** to gain the support of the Hindu chiefs against the Mughals, their common enemy.
- During his lifetime, he did not lose any battle. He **defeated Nizam-ul-Mulk (Deccan) twice**, at Palkhed and Bhopal, and compelled him to grant chauth and sardeshmukhi of the five provinces of the Deccan.
- In c. 1722 CE, **he seized Salsette and Bassein from the Portuguese**.
- In c. 1728 CE, **he shifted the administrative capital from Satara to Pune**.
- He **initiated the system of the confederacy** among the Maratha chiefs. Under this system, a territory was assigned to each Maratha chief which he could administer autonomously.
- Consequently, many Maratha families became prominent and established their authority over different parts of India. They were the **Peshwas at Poona**, the **Bhonsles at Nagpur**, the **Scindias at Gwalior**, the **Holkars at Indore** and the **Gaekwads at Baroda**.

**BALAJI BAJI RAO I/NANA SAHIB I (C. 1740 – 1761 CE)**

- Balaji Baji Rao I succeeded his father as Peshwa at the young age of nineteen.
- **Shahu, the Maratha king died in c. 1749 CE** without an issue.
- His nominated successor **Ramaraja**, was even though accepted by Balaji Baji Rao, gradually the **supreme power of the Maratha confederacy passed into the hands of the Peshwa (by the Sangola Agreement c. 1750 CE)**.
- In c. 1752 CE, **the Peshwa entered into an agreement with the Mughal Emperor, Ahmad Shah**. According to this agreement, the Peshwa, Balaji Baji Rao assured the Mughal Emperor that he would protect the Mughal empire from internal as well as external enemies and in return, the **chauth of the north-west provinces and the total revenue of Ajmer and Agra** would be granted to the Marathas.
- The **Marathas bravely fought the Third Battle of Panipat (c. 1761 CE)** when Ahmad Shah Abdali invaded India (as per the agreement of c. 1752 CE). However, the Marathas were defeated and many Maratha leaders and thousands of soldiers died in the battle. On hearing the sad end of the battle, Balaji Baji Rao also died.
- The defeat at the Battle of Panipat checked the expansion of the Marathas and also fragmented the empire which never fought again as one unit.
- Meanwhile, the branches of the **Bhonsle family relocated to Kolhapur and Nagpur**, while the mainline remained in the Deccan heartland, at Satara.



**MADHAV RAO (C. 1761 – 1772 CE)**

- He was an outstanding Peshwa, who restored the lost territories of the Maratha empire.
- He **defeated the Nizam and also made Haidar Ali (Mysore) pay tribute**, and reasserted control over **northern India by defeating the Rohillas and subjugating the Rajput states and Jat chiefs**.
- When the Marathas re-established their hold, Madhav Rao invited the Mughal emperor, **Shah Alam II to Delhi from Awadh** (~c. 1771 CE).
- During his reign, **semi-independent states** were created like the Holkars, the Scindias and the Gaekwads (Gaekwars).

<b>Raghunath Rao (c. 1772 – 1773 CE)</b>	There ensued a struggle for power between Raghunath Rao (younger brother of Balaji Baji Rao) and Narayan Rao (younger brother of Madhav Rao).
<b>Narayan Rao (c. 1772 – 1773 CE)</b>	He was murdered on the orders of Raghunath Rao.
<b>Raghunath Rao (c. 1773 – 1774 CE)</b>	He seized the throne but was overthrown.

**SAWAI MADHAV RAO (C. 1774 – 1795 CE)**

- He was the son of Narayan Rao, who was **just 40 days old when crowned as the Peshwa**.
- The **empire was managed by Nana Phadnavis**, an able administrator and a great warrior, with the help of the **Barbhai Council (a twelve-member regency council)**.
- **Raghunath Rao sought the help of the British** which led to the **First Anglo-Maratha War (c. 1775 – 1782 CE)**.
- **Nana Phadnavis defeated the British at the Battle of Talegaon (c. 1776 CE)** and then, the famous **treaty of Purandar (c. 1776 CE)** and **the treaty of Salbai (c. 1782 CE)** were signed.
- **The treaty virtually restored the status quo except** for the fact that the **English retained Salsette** and dropped the cause of Raghunath Rao.
- In c. 1800 CE, Nana Phadnavis died and thereafter, the Marathas could not sustain against the British and could not restore their past glory.

**BAJI RAO II (C. 1796 – 1818 CE)**

- Son of **Raghunath Rao** and the last Peshwa.
- In c. **1802 CE, he signed the treaty of Bassein** with the British which allowed the British to take control of Deccan and western India.
- In the **Third Anglo-Maratha War (c. 1818 CE)**, **he was defeated by the East India Company** and the Peshwa's territory in central Maharashtra was annexed to the British East India company's Bombay province.
- His **adopted son Nana Sahib (Dhondu Pant)** participated in the famous revolt of c. 1857 CE against the British.
- The Marathas emerged as a great power in India after the decline of the Mughal Empire. However, they could not prevent the establishment of British power in India. One of the main causes for the decline of the Maratha empire was the lack of unity among the Maratha chiefs (Holkars, Scindias, Bhonsles). Also, the Maratha army was ill-equipped as compared to the British army.

## → BENGAL

- With the gradual weakening of the central Mughal authority, **Murshid Quli Khan who served as a diwan under Aurangzeb** became virtually independent but had to pay tribute to the Mughal Emperor.
- He was succeeded in 1727 by his son **Shuja- ud-din**.
- His successor, **Sarfraz Khan**, was killed in 1740 by **Alivardi Khan**, the deputy governor of Bihar, assumed power and made himself independent of the Mughal emperor by giving yearly tribute.
- These Nawabs brought peace and stability in the region and also promoted trade, agriculture and industry.
- They provided equal employment opportunities to both Hindus and Muslims.
- However, they **failed to understand the long term implications** of the presence of the European trading companies in these areas and could not **keep up the level of their military preparedness with the European powers**.
- Consequently, there were battles and wars between the two, for example, **Siraj-ud-Daula, the successor of Alivardi Khan, had to fight the East India Company** over the trading rights in c. 1756 CE.
- His **defeat in the Battle of Plassey (c. 1757 CE) resulted in the subjugation of Bengal** as well as India by the British.

### AWADH

- During the decline of the Mughal power, another provincial kingdom – Awadh, emerged under governor **Saadat Khan Burhan ul Mulk**.
- He made his position hereditary just before his death in c. **1739 CE**.
- Saadat Khan committed suicide due to pressure from Nadir Shah who was demanding a huge booty from him.
- Later his successors, **Safdar Jung** and **Asaf ud Daulah** played an important role in the politics of northern India and gave long-term administrative stability to the Awadh province.
- Under the Nawabs, **Faizabad and Lucknow** emerged as centres of cultural excellence comparable to Delhi in the spheres of arts, literature and crafts.
- Regional architecture also reflected itself in the form of **Imambarahs and other buildings**.
- The evolution of the **dance form of kathak** was the outcome of this cultural synthesis.

### RAJPUTS

- Rajputs had served well under the Mughals and in exchange, they were granted considerable autonomy in their **watan jagirs**.
- However, during the reign of Aurangzeb, the relation between the Mughals and the Rajputs suffered, mainly due to his interference in the succession dispute of Marwar.
- Moreover, most of the Rajput states were constantly involved in petty fights and civil wars.
- One of the important principalities that emerged in the early 18th century was that of Jaipur (earlier Amber), located in eastern Rajasthan.
- Its ruler, **Sawai Jai Singh** emerged as the single most important ruler in the region.
- With the rise of Marathas, Rajput influence began to decrease and Jaipur became a vulnerable target for the ambitions of the Marathas particularly, **Mahadaji Scindia**.

### PUNJAB

- The decline of the Mughal power **gave Sikhs the opportunity to rise**.

- By c. **1770 CE**, there was a confederation of about 60 chieftains, some of who later emerged as princely states under the British such as Patiala and Nabha.
- It was **Maharaja Ranjit Singh (grandson of Charhat Singh Sukerchakia)** who brought the Sikh chiefs **west of the river Sutlej** under his control and established a powerful Sikh empire in Punjab.
- He started controlling the different trade routes, and in order to enhance his revenues started imposing monopolies on the trade in salt, grain and textiles from Kashmir.
- Using these earnings, he built up a modernized army of cavalry and infantry and by c. **1809 CE emerged as the undisputed master of Punjab.**
- His rule lasted for four decades, c. **1799 – 1839 CE.**
- However, within ten years of his death, the British annexed Punjab.

### ROHILAKHAND

- **Ali Muhammad Khan** took advantage of the collapse of authority in North India following Nadir Shah's invasion, to set up a petty kingdom, Rohilakhand.
- This was the area of the Himalayan foothills between Kumaon in the north and the Ganga in the south.

### FARUKHABAD

- **Mohammad Khan Bangash**, an Afghan, set up an independent kingdom to the east of Delhi in the area around Farrukhabad, during the reigns of Farrukhsiyar and Muhammad Shah.

## → SOUTH INDIA

### HYDERABAD

- The founder of the Asaf-Jah house of Hyderabad was **Kilich Khan**, popularly known as **Nizam-ul-Mulk**.
- **Kilich Khan**, disgusted with the Mughal emperor who had appointed **Mubariz Khan** as a full-fledged viceroy of the Deccan, decided to fight Mubariz Khan. He defeated and later killed Mubariz Khan in the **Battle of Shahr- Kheda (1724).**
- He now assumed control of the Deccan. In **1725**, he became the viceroy and conferred on himself the title of **Asaf-Jah**.

### ARCOT

- Sa'adatullah Khan I or **Sa'adatullah Khan** was **Nawab of Carnatic** (r.1710–1732) and founder of **Nawayath dynasty**.
- His successor was **Dost Ali**.

### MARATHAS (THANJAVUR / TANJORE)

- Thanjavur was a minor Maratha kingdom which was founded by **Vyankoji** in 1674, the younger brother of the first Maratha emperor, **Shivaji Maharaj**.
- He began the Thanjavur, or Tanjore, dynasty which ruled the state until 1855.

### TRAVANCORE

- **Martanda Varma** ruled **Travancore** (southern Kerala state of Venad) from c. 1729 – 1758 CE, built a strong standing army and fortified the northern limits of his kingdom.
- He was succeeded by **Rama Varma (c. 1758 – 1798 CE)** who was able to protect his kingdom successfully against a new rival power – Mysore.

## MYSORE

- Mysore emerged as a powerful state under the **rulers of the Vadiyar dynasty (or Wodeyar)**. Being a landlocked region, Mysore depended on ports of the Indian east coast for trade and military supplies.
- In **c. 1761 CE**, a cavalry commander, Haidar Ali attained sufficient power in the kingdom to reduce the Vadiyars to mere figureheads.
- Haidar Ali, and later around c. 1782 CE his son Tipu Sultan** worked hard to consolidate Mysore and to have access to both coasts of Peninsular India.
- They were also relatively successful against the **Kodavas (the inhabitants of the upland kingdom of Kodagu, Coorg)**, Coastal Karnataka and northern Kerala which enabled Tipu Sultan to have diplomatic and commercial relations on his own with the Middle East.
- However, they had to fight against the local chiefs, the **Poligars**. They eventually lost their kingdom to the English East India Company.

## → SOCIO-ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

### TRADE AND INDUSTRY

- On account of being **self-sufficient in handicrafts and agricultural products**, India did not import foreign goods on a large scale.
- On the other hand, its **industrial and agricultural products were in good demand** in foreign markets.
- Export surplus economy:** Hence, its exports were more than its imports; trade was balanced by import of silver and gold. India was known as **a sink of precious metals**.

### Items of Export

- Cotton textiles, raw silk and silk fabrics, hardware, indigo, saltpetre, opium, rice, wheat, sugar, pepper and other spices, precious stones, and drugs.

### Items of Import

<b>Persian Gulf Region</b>	pearls, raw silk, wool, dates, dried fruits, and rose water
<b>Arabia</b>	coffee, gold, drugs, and honey
<b>China</b>	tea, sugar, porcelain, and silk
<b>Tibet</b>	gold, musk, and woollen cloth;
<b>Africa</b>	ivory and drugs
<b>Europe</b>	woollen cloth, copper, iron, lead and paper.

### DEVELOPMENTS IN ART, ARCHITECTURE, AND CULTURE

- The decline of the imperial Mughals forced talented people to seek the patronage of newly established state courts like Hyderabad, Lucknow, Jaipur, Murshidabad, Patna, Kashmir, etc.
- At Lucknow, **Asaf-ud-Daula** built the Bara Imambara in **1784**.
- In the first half of the 18th century, Sawai Jai Singh built the pink city of Jaipur and five astronomical observatories at **Delhi, Jaipur, Benares, Mathura, and Ujjain**.
- He also prepared a set of timetables called **Jij Muhammad-shahi**, to help the people in the study of astronomy.

- A distinct feature of the literary life of the 18th century was the growth of Urdu language and poetry. It was the period of Urdu poets like **Mir, Sauda, Nazir**, and **Mirza Ghalib** (19th century).
- In **South India**, **Malayalam literature** flourished under the patronage of the Travancore rulers. **Kalakkattu Kunchan Nambiar** was a noted Malayalam poet.
- The **Tamil language** was enriched by **sittar poetry**. **Tayumanavar** (1706– 44), one of the best exponents of sittar poetry, protested against the abuses of temple rule and the caste system.
- **Heer Ranjha**, the romantic epic in **Punjabi literature**, was composed by **Warris Shah**.
- In Sindhi literature, **Shah Abdul Latif** composed **Risalo**, a collection of poems. These are just some examples of literary works in regional languages.

- In the south, in Kerala, the **Padmanabhapuram Palace**, famous for its architecture and mural paintings, was constructed.
- New schools of painting were born and achieved distinction. The paintings of the **Rajputana and Kangra schools** became prominent and revealed new vitality and taste.

### Education

- Elementary education was imparted through **pathshalas** and **maktabs**
- **Chatuspathis or Tols** among Hindus, and **Madrasahs** among Muslims were the institutes of higher learning.
- Absence of the study of science and technology and geography was a general feature.

## → CONSOLIDATION OF BRITISH

### ROBERT CLIVE

- Clive's initial stay in India lasted from **1744 to 1753**.
- He was called back to **India in 1755 to ensure British supremacy** in the subcontinent against the French.
- He became the **deputy governor of Fort St. David** at Cuddalore.
- In **1757, Clive along with Admiral Watson** was able to recapture Calcutta from the **Nawab of Bengal Siraj Ud Daulah**.
- In the **Battle of Plassey**, the Nawab was defeated by the British despite having a larger force.

### BATTLE OF PLASSEY 1757

- It is a battle fought between the East India Company force headed by **Robert Clive and Siraj-Ud-Daulah (Nawab of Bengal)**.
- The Battle of Plassey was fought at **Palashi**, on the banks of Bhagirathi river near Calcutta on June 23, 1757.

### Bengal on the Eve of British Conquest

- Alivardi Khan ruled till 1756 and also stopped paying tributes to the Mughal emperor. Under the rule of these rulers, Bengal made unprecedented progress.
- But he died in April 1756 and was succeeded by his grandson, **Siraj-ud-Daulah**, the son of Alivardi's youngest daughter.



### Troubles of Siraj

- He had a rival in his cousin, the Nawab of Purnea, **Shaukat Jang**;
- a hostile aunt, **Ghasiti Begum**, a childless widow;
- a rebellious commander of the army, **Mir Jafar**, husband of Alivardi Khan's sister; and an alarmed
- There was a dominant group in his court comprising **Jagat Seth, Omichand, Rai Ballabh, Rai Durlabh**, and others who were opposed to him.
- The **rampant misuse of the trade privileges** given to the British
- **Non-payment of tax and duty** by the workers of the British East India Company
- So, the friction between the **English commercial interests and the Bengal government** became the chief cause for conflict between the two.

### Prelude to Battle of Plassey

- The **English fortified Calcutta** without the nawab's permission.
- The Company further tried to mislead him, and compounded their sin by giving **asylum to a political fugitive, Krishna Das, son of Raj Ballabh** who had fled with immense treasures against the nawab's will.
- The **Nawab started seizing the fort of Calcutta** and imprisoning many British Officials in June 1756.
- The prisoners were kept in a dungeon at Fort William. This incident is called the **Black Hole of Calcutta** since only a handful of the prisoners survived the captivity where over a hundred people were kept in a cell.
- The East India company planned an attack and Robert Clive **bribed Mir Jafar**, the commander-in-chief of the Nawab's army, and also promised him to make him Nawab of Bengal.

<b>Mir Jafar (Commander-in-Chief of Nawab's army)</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Bribed by East India Company (EIC)</li> <li>• Was to be made the Nawab by EIC for conspiring against Siraj-Ud-Daulah</li> <li>• Cheated Siraj-Ud-Daulah during the battle</li> </ul>
<b>Rai Durlabh (One of the Commanders of the Nawabs Army)</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Joined his army with Siraj-Ud-Daulah's but did not participate in the battle</li> <li>• Betrayed Siraj</li> </ul>
<b>Jagat Seth (Influential Banker)</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Involved in the conspiracy involving the imprisonment and ultimate killing of Nawab Siraj-Ud-Daulah</li> </ul>
<b>Omi Chand (Bengal Merchant)</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• One of the principal authors of the conspiracy against Nawab</li> </ul>

- So, the English victory in the **Battle of Plassey (June 23, 1757)** was decided before the battle was even fought.
- Siraj-ud-Daulah was captured and **murdered by the order of Mir Jafar's son, Miran**.

### EFFECTS OF BATTLE OF PLASSEY

- **Mir Jafar** was crowned as the Nawab of Bengal.
- He gave large sums of money **plus the zamindari of 24 parganas** to the English.
- It laid the foundation of the British empire in India; it has been rightly regarded as the **starting point of British rule in India**.
- The battle established the military supremacy of the English in Bengal. Their main rivals, the French, were ousted.
- For these exploits, **Robert Clive** was made **Lord Clive, Baron of Plassey**.

- This also opened up other parts of India to the British and finally led to the rise of the British Raj in India. For this reason, **Robert Clive is also known as “Conqueror of India”**.

### Mir Jafar

- Mir Jafar, was entirely dependent for maintaining his newly acquired position. The sovereignty of the English over Calcutta was recognised, and the English posted a resident at the nawab's court.
- Mir Jafar was unhappy with the position and **instigated the Dutch to attack the British** in order to consolidate his foundation.
- In Battle of Chinsura (Battle of Bedara) British forces** defeated Dutch on November 25, 1759.
- There started a fight for the nawabship of Bengal between **Mir Kasim, the son-in-law** of Mir Jafar, and **Miran's son**.
- Vansittart, the new Governor of Calcutta**, agreed to support Mir Kasim's claim after a treaty between Mir Kasim and the Company was signed in 1760. Important features of the treaty were as follows:

- Mir Kasim agreed to cede to the Company the districts of **Burdwan, Midnapur, and Chittagong**.
- The Company would get half of the share in **chunam trade of Sylhet**.
- Mir Kasim agreed to pay off** the outstanding dues to the Company.
- Mir Kasim promised to pay a sum of five lakh rupees towards **financing the Company's war efforts in southern India**.
- It was agreed that **Mir Kasim's enemies were the Company's enemies**, and his friends, the Company's friends.
- It was agreed that tenants of the nawab's territory would not be allowed to settle in the lands of the Company, and vice-versa.

- Under the pressure of the Company, Mir Jafar decided to resign in favour of Mir Kasim. A pension of **Rs 1,500 per annum** was fixed for Mir Jafar.

### BATTLE OF BUXAR

- It was a battle fought **between the English Forces**, and a confederation of the **Nawab of Oudh, Nawab of Bengal, and the Mughal Emperor**.
- The battle was the result of misuse of trade privileges granted by the Nawab of Bengal and also the colonialist ambitions of East India Company.

### Background

- Mir Kasim was the ablest nawab among the successors of Alivardi Khan.
- After assuming power, Mir Kasim **shifted the capital from Murshidabad to Munger** in Bihar. The move was taken to allow a safe distance from the Company at Calcutta.
- His other important steps were **reorganising the bureaucracy** with the men of his own choice and remodelling the army to enhance its skill and efficiency.
- He also **hired foreign experts** to train his army, some of whom were in direct conflict with the British.
- The misuse of the dastak meant the loss of tax revenue to the nawab. It also made the local merchants face unequal competition with the Company merchants.
- By an imperial farman, the English company had obtained the **right to trade in Bengal without paying transit dues or tolls**. However, the servants of the Company also claimed the same privileges for their private trade.
- He **treated Indian merchants and English as same**, without granting any special privileges for the latter.

- These factors fuelled the English to overthrow him and war broke out between Mir Kasim and the Company in 1763.

### Battle of Buxar 1764

- Mir Kasim **fled to Awadh (or Oudh)** and formed a **confederacy with the Shuja-Ud-Daulah (Nawab of Awadh) and Shah Alam II (Mughal Emperor)**.
- They met the English army troops directed by **Major Munro in 1764**. The joint armies were defeated by the British.
- Mir Qasim absconded from the battle and the other two surrendered to the English army.
- The battle of Buxar ended with the **Treaty of Allahabad in 1765**.

### Result

- The importance of this battle lay in the fact that **not only the Nawab of Bengal but also the Mughal Emperor of India was defeated by the English**.
- The victory made the English a great power in northern India and contenders for the supremacy over the whole country.
- Mir Jafar (Nawab of Bengal) **handed over districts of Midnapore, Burdwan and Chittagong** to the English for the maintenance of their army.
- The English were also **permitted duty-free trade in Bengal**, except for a duty of two per cent on salt.
- After the death of Mir Jafar, his minor son, **Najimud-Daula, was appointed nawab**, but the real power of administration lay in the hands of the naib-subahdar, who could be appointed or dismissed by the English.
- Clive made **political settlements with Emperor Shah Alam II and Shuja-Ud-Daula of Awadh in the Treaty of Allahabad**.

### TREATY OF ALLAHABAD BETWEEN ROBERT CLIVE & SHUJA-UD-DAULAH:

- Shuja had to **surrender Allahabad and Kara to Shah Alam II**
- He was made to **pay Rs 50 lakh to the Company as war indemnity**; and
- He was made to give **Balwant Singh (Zamindar of Banaras)** full possession of his estate.

### TREATY OF ALLAHABAD BETWEEN ROBERT CLIVE & SHAH ALAM-II:

- Shah Alam was **commanded to reside at Allahabad** which was ceded to him by Shuja-Ud-Daulah under the Company's protection
- The emperor **had to issue a Farman granting the Diwani of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa to the East India Company in lieu of an annual payment of Rs 26 lakh**;
- Shah Alam had to abide by a provision of **Rs 53 lakh to the Company in return for the Nizamat functions (military defence, police, and administration of justice) of the said provinces**.

- Clive did not want to annex Awadh. The treaty made the Nawab a firm friend of the Company, and turned **Awadh into a buffer state**.
- Similarly, Clive's arrangement with Shah Alam II was inspired by practical considerations. It made the emperor a **useful 'rubber stamp' of the Company**. Besides, the emperor's farman legalised the political gains of the Company in Bengal.

### DUAL GOVERNMENT IN BENGAL (1765–72)

- Robert Clive introduced the dual system of government, i.e., the rule of the two—the **Company and the Nawab**—in Bengal.

- Both the **diwani**, i.e., **collecting revenues**, and **nizamat**, i.e., **police and judicial functions**, came under the **control of the Company**.
- The Company exercised diwani rights as the **diwan** and the nizamat rights through **its right to nominate the deputy subahdar**.
- The Company acquired the **diwani functions from the emperor** and **nizamat functions from the subahdar of Bengal**.
- For the exercise of diwani functions, the Company appointed **two deputy diwans, Mohammad Reza Khan for Bengal and Raja Sitab Roy for Bihar**.
- Mohammad Reza Khan also acted as **deputy nazim or deputy subahdar**.
- The dual system led to an administrative breakdown and proved disastrous for the people of Bengal. Neither the Company nor the Nawab cared for administration and public welfare.
- **Warren Hastings abolished** the dual system in **1772**.

#### Miscellaneous:

- Robert Clive was the **Governor of Bengal from 1757-60** and from **1765-67**.
- He **returned to India in 1765 as Governor and Commander-in-Chief of Bengal**.
- In **1765**, Robert Clive formed the **Society of trade** which was given the monopoly of trade in salt, betelnut and tobacco. The profits made out of these trades were distributed to the servants of the Company based on their ranks.
- At this time, there was widespread corruption in the company.

#### FIRST ANGLO-MYSORE WAR (1767-69)

##### Background

- After their easy success in Bengal, the English were confident of their military strength.
- They concluded a treaty with the **Nizam of Hyderabad (1766)**, persuading him to give them the Northern Circars (region) in lieu of which they said they would protect the Nizam from Haidar Ali.
- Haidar already had territorial disputes with the Nawab of Arcot and differences with the Marathas.

##### Haider Ali

- Started his career as a soldier in the Mysore Army. Soon rose to prominence in the army owing to his military skills.
- He was made the **Dalavayi (commander-in-chief)**, and later the **Chief Minister of the Mysore state under Krishnaraja Wodeyar II**, ruler of Mysore.
- Through his administrative prowess and military skills, he became the **de-facto ruler** of Mysore with the real king reduced to a titular head only. He set up a modern army and trained them along European lines
- **Hyder Ali** built a strong army and annexed many regions in the South.
- He **also took French support** in training his army
- This alarmed the British.

##### Alliances

- The **British, along with the Marathas** and the **Nizam of Hyderabad** declared war on Mysore.
- **Hyder Ali was able to bring the Marathas and the Nizam to his side** with skilful diplomacy
- He paid the Marathas to turn them neutral.
- War continued for a year-and-a-half without any conclusion
- Haidar changed his strategy and suddenly appeared before the gates of Madras.

**Result**

- Following complete chaos and panic at Madras, **English was forced to conclude a very humiliating treaty with Haidar on April 4, 1769—Treaty of Madras** which brought an end to the war
- The conquered territories were restored to each other.
- It was also agreed that they would help each other in case of a foreign attack.

## → WARREN HASTINGS (1772-1785)

- Warren Hastings (1732 – 1818) became the **first Governor of the Presidency of Fort William (Bengal) in 1772** and the **first Governor-General of Bengal in 1774** till he resigned in 1785.
- He started his career as a writer (clerk) in the East India Company at Calcutta in 1750.
- In **1758, he became the British resident at Murshidabad**, the capital of Bengal, after Mir Jafar was installed as the Nawab after the Battle of Plassey.
- During his term, the **First Anglo-Maratha war and the second Anglo-Mysore war** were fought.
- The **Regulating Act of 1773** was passed during his term.
- **Pitts India Act- 1784**
- He supported **Sir William Jones in the formation of the Asiatic Society of Bengal in 1785.**

- Hastings **abolished the Dual System** that had been established by Robert Clive.
- The Nawab's annual allowance of Rs.32 lakh was reduced to Rs.16 lakh.
- The annual tribute paid to the Mughal Emperor was also stopped.

**Revenue Reforms**

- For revenue collection, a **Board of Revenue** was set up at Calcutta.
- Treasury was moved from **Murshidabad to Calcutta**. Calcutta became Bengal's capital in **1772**.
- **British collectors were appointed for each district** and an **Accountant General** was also appointed.
- Unreasonable fines were done away with and restrictions were placed on the raising of rent.

**Judicial Reforms**

- The **judicial powers of the Zamindars** were abolished.
- **Civil and criminal courts** were established.
- Two **appellate courts** were established at Calcutta, one for **civil (Sadar Diwani Adalat)** and one for **criminal (Sadar Nizamat Adalat)** cases.
- The **criminal court was to have an Indian judge**.
- Muslims were to be tried according to their law in the Koran and Hindus, according to Hindu laws.
- A code of Hindu Law, prepared by Hindu Pandits was translated into English.
- He also came down heavily on the dacoits in Bengal.

**Trade Regulations**

- Hastings **abolished the system of dastaks** which were misused by company officials and traders earlier.
- He enforced a uniform tariff of 2.5% for Indian and foreign goods.
- Private trade by company officials was restricted.



## THE REGULATING ACT OF 1773

- The 1773 Regulating Act brought about the **British government's involvement in Indian affairs** in the effort to **control and regulate the functioning of the East India Company**.
- It recognised that the Company's role in India extended beyond mere **trade to administrative and political fields**, and introduced the element of **centralised administration**.
- The directors of the **Company were required to submit all correspondence** regarding revenue affairs and civil and military administration to the government. (Thus, for the first time, the British cabinet was given the right to exercise control over Indian affairs.)
- In **Bengal**, the administration was to be carried out **by governor general** and a **council consisting of four members**, representing civil and military government.
- They were **required to function according to the majority rule**. Warren Hastings and four others were named in the act, later ones were to be appointed by the Company.
- A **Supreme Court** of judicature was to be established in Bengal with **original and appellate jurisdictions** where all subjects could seek redressal.
- The **governor general** could exercise **some powers over Bombay and Madras**—again, a vague provision which created many problems.
- The whole scheme was based on checks and balances.

## Amendment Act of 1781

- Under which the powers of jurisdiction between the governor-general-in-council and the Supreme Court at Calcutta, were clearly divided.

## ROHILLA WAR 1774

- The Rohilla War took place in the year 1774 AD between the **Shuja-ud-Daula, Nawab of Awadh** and the **Rohillas**.
- The Nawab was supported by the British East India Company under the governor-general of Bengal, **Warren Hastings**.
- In the war, the Rohillas were defeated.

## FIRST ANGLO-MARATHA WAR (1775–82)

### Background

- After the death of **Madhavrao in 1772**, his brother **Narayanrao** succeeded him as the fifth peshwa. However, Narayanrao's uncle, **Raghunathrao**, had his nephew assassinated and named himself as the next peshwa, although he was not a legal heir.
- Narayanrao's widow, **Gangabai**, gave birth to a son after her husband's death.
- The newborn infant was named 'Sawai' (One and a Quarter) Madhavrao and he was legally the next peshwa. Twelve Maratha chiefs (Barabhai), led by Nana Phadnavis, made an effort to name the infant as the new peshwa and rule for him as regents.

## TREATIES OF SURAT AND TREATY OF PURANDAR

- **Raghunathrao** was unwilling to give up his position in power, sought help from the **English at Bombay** and signed the **Treaty of Surat in 1775**.
- Under the treaty, **Raghunathrao ceded** the territories of **Salsette and Bassein** to the English along with a portion of the revenues from Surat and Bharuch districts.
- In return, the English were to provide Raghunathrao with 2,500 soldiers.
- The **British Calcutta Council**, on the other side of India, **condemned** the Treaty of Surat (1775) and sent **Colonel Upton to Pune** to annul it and make a new treaty (Treaty of Purandhar, 1776) with the regency renouncing Raghunath and promising him a pension.

- The Bombay government rejected this and gave refuge to Raghunath.
- In 1777, Nana Phadnavis violated his treaty with the Calcutta Council by **granting the French a port on the west coast**. The English retaliated by sending a force towards Pune.

### Course of War

- The Maratha army was commanded by a brilliant general named **Mahadji Scindia** (also known as Mahadji Shinde).
- Mahadji lured the English army into the **ghats (mountain passes)** near Talegaon and trapped the English from all sides and attacked the English supply base.
- The Marathas also utilised a **scorched earth policy**, burning farmland and poisoning wells.
- The English surrendered by 1779 and signed the **Treaty of Wadgaon** that forced the Bombay government to relinquish all territories acquired by the English since 1775.

### Treaty of Salbai 1782

- **Warren Hastings**, the Governor General in Bengal, **rejected the Treaty of Wadgaon**.
- He sent a large force of soldiers under **Colonel Goddard**, who captured **Ahmedabad** in February and **Bassein** in 1780.
- Another Bengal detachment led by **Captain Popham** captured **Gwalior** in 1780.
- In 1781, the English, under **General Camac**, finally **defeated Sindhia at Sipri**.
- Sindhia proposed a new treaty between the Peshwa and the English, and the Treaty of Salbai was signed in May 1782; it was ratified by Hastings in June 1782 and by Phadnavis in February 1783.
- The treaty **guaranteed peace** between the **two sides for twenty years**. The main provisions of the Treaty of Salbai were:

- **Salsette** should continue in the possession of the **English**.
- The whole of the **territory conquered** since the Treaty of Purandhar (1776), **including Bassein, should be restored to the Marathas**.
- The English should not offer any further support to **Raghunathrao** and the Peshwa should grant him a maintenance allowance.
- **Haidar Ali** should **return** all the territory taken from the English and the Nawab of Arcot.
- The Peshwa **should not support** any other European nation.
- **Mahadji Scindia** should be the mutual guarantor for the proper observance of the terms of the treaty.

### SECOND ANGLO-MYSORE WAR (1780-84)

#### Background

- The **Marathas attacked Mysore in 1771**. But the **British refused to honour the Treaty of Madras** and did not give support to Hyder Ali.
- As a result, Hyder Ali's territories were taken by the Marathas. He had to buy peace with the Marathas for a sum of Rs.36 lakh and another annual tribute
- This **angered Hyder Ali** who started hating the British.
- he found that the French were much more helpful than the English in meeting his army's requirement of guns, saltpetre, and lead. Consequently, through Mahe, a French possession on the Malabar Coast, some French war material was brought to Mysore.
- When the **English attacked Mahe**, a **French possession** under Hyder Ali's dominion, he declared war on the English in 1780.

#### Course of the War

- Hyder Ali **forged an alliance with the Nizam and the Marathas** and defeated the British forces in Arcot, which was led by **Colonel Baillie** in 1781.

- In the meantime, the **English (under Sir Eyre Coote)** detached both the Marathas and the Nizam from Haidar's side and Haidar suffered a defeat at **Porto Novo** in November 1781.
- However, he regrouped his forces and defeated the English and captured their commander, **Braithwaite**.

### TREATY OF MANGALORE 1784

- Haidar Ali died of cancer in **December 1782**. Now his son, Tipu Sultan, carried on the war for one year without any positive outcome.
- Fed up with an inconclusive war, both sides opted for peace, negotiating the Treaty of Mangalore under which **each party gave back the territories it had taken from the other**.

### PITT'S INDIA ACT OF 1784

- The Pitt's India Act gave the British government a **large measure of control over the Company's affairs**.
- In fact, the Company became a **subordinate department of the State**. The Company's territories in India were termed **'British possessions'**.
- A **Board of Control** consisting of the **chancellor of exchequer, a secretary of state, and four members of the Privy Council** (to be appointed by the Crown) were to exercise control over the Company's civil, military, and revenue affairs. All dispatches were to be approved by the board. Thus, a **dual system of control** was set up.
- In India, the **governor general was to have a council of three** (including the commander-in-chief), and the **presidencies of Bombay and Madras** were made **subordinate to the governor general**.
- A general prohibition was placed on **aggressive wars and treaties (breached often)**.

### ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BENGAL HISTORY

- **Sir William Jones**, a British lawyer and Orientalist, established the Asiatic Society of Bengal on January 15, 1784, with the **goal of promoting Oriental studies**.
- He came as a **Supreme Court judge in Calcutta**.
- **Warren Hastings** supported and encouraged the Asiatic Society even though he refused the position of president.
- Only Europeans were chosen as members of the Society from 1784 to 1828. Several Indians were chosen as members in **1829, including Dwarakanath Tagore**.

## → LORD CORNWALLIS (1786–93)

### THE ACT OF 1786

- Cornwallis **wanted to have the powers** of both the **governor general and the commander-in-chief**. The new **act conceded this demand** and also gave him the power.
- Cornwallis was **allowed to override the council's decision** if he owned the responsibility for the decision. Later, this provision was extended to all the **governors general**.

### THIRD ANGLO-MYSORE WAR (1790 – 1792)

- The British started improving their relationship with the Nizam of Hyderabad and the Marathas.
- Tipu Sultan, who assumed control of Mysore after Hyder Ali's death, had French help in bettering his military resources.

- He also refused to free the English prisoners taken during the second Anglo-Mysore war as per the **Treaty of Mangalore**.

### The course of the war

- A dispute arose **between Tipu and the state of Travancore**.
- Travancore had **purchased Jalkottal and Cannanore from the Dutch** in the Cochin state.
- As **Cochin was a feudatory of Tipu**, he considered the act of Travancore as a violation of his sovereign rights.
- So, in **1790, Tipu declared war against Travancore** for the restoration of his rights. Travancore was a friendly state of the British.
- In **1790, the Governor-General of Bengal, Lord Cornwallis declared war** on Tipu.
- Tipu was defeated in the first phase of the war and his forces had to retreat.
- Later the English advanced towards **Tipu's capital of Seringapatam and Tipu had to bargain for peace**.
- The war ended with the **Treaty of Seringapatam in 1792**
- As per the treaty, Tipu had to cede half of his kingdom to the English including the areas of **Malabar, Dindigul, Coorg and Baramahal**.
- He also had to pay Rs.3 Crore as war indemnity to the British.
- Tipu also had to surrender two of his sons as surety to the British till he paid his due.

### CORNWALLIS CODE 1793

- Cornwallis was the **first to bring into existence and organise the civil services**. He tried to check corruption through: raising the civil servants' salary; strict enforcement of rules against private trade; debarring civil servants from taking presents, bribes etc.; and enforcing promotions through seniority.
- Cornwallis **decreased the number of districts from 25 to 23**, dissolved numerous jobs, stripped collectors of their civil justice functions, and made selections based solely on merit.
- He delegated trade-related responsibilities to the **trade-board**, reduced the number of board members, and selected commission-based representatives.
- For the purpose of ensuring peace and order, **Cornwallis erected police posts and appointed police sub-inspectors**.
- Lord Cornwallis **removed the executive from the judiciary**.
- Erased the division between civil and revenue courts, and **formed a civil court system**, with courts of Munsifs, Registrars, district courts, four province courts, and the **Sardar Diwani Adalat** at the top.
- **Circuit courts in districts** and four provincial courts in **Patna, Dacca, Murshidabad**, and **Calcutta** were established for criminal trials, with **Sardar Nizamat Adalat** at the head.
- Furthermore, government officials were held accountable for their conduct, the **Governor-General-in-Council was given pardoning powers**.

### PERMANENT SETTLEMENT (1793)

- In **1776** itself, **Philip Francis**, a member of **Hastings' council**, recommended a permanent settlement in land revenue.
- **Lord Cornwallis** was sent as governor general **with instructions** that the land revenue settlements with the zamindars be made permanent.
- Lord Cornwallis set up a committee consisting of **himself, Sir John Shore, and James Grant** to examine the issue.
- Cornwallis, himself a member of the **landed aristocracy of Britain**, **favoured giving the right of ownership to the zamindars**, who, he hoped, would improve the land as English landlords did.

- Also, the number of cultivators being too large, it was **seen to be simpler to collect the revenue from the smaller number of zamindars**.
- The Permanent Settlement or Zamindari System covered around **19 per cent of the territory under British rule**. Introduced in Bengal and Bihar, it was **extended to Orissa, Banaras (Varanasi), and northern Madras**.

### Features

- The zamindars were given **proprietary rights over their land**.
- In **1790**, a **ten-year settlement of tax** to be paid was made with the zamindars, and in **1793**, the **settlement was made permanent**.
- A **fixed tax on the land had to be paid by the zamindar**, and the revenue was to be collected by him from the cultivators who had **now become tenants (the ryots or raiyyats)**.
- The zamindar was allowed to keep **one-tenth to one-eleventh of the revenue** and give the rest to the Company government.
- The zamindar, **as the owner of the land, could sell, mortgage, or transfer it**; his heirs could inherit the land along with rights and liabilities.
- But, under the **'sunset clause' introduced in 1793**, if the tax due was not paid by sunset of a certain date, the zamindari would be taken over by the government and auctioned, and the rights would be transferred to the new owner.
- Regulations made in 1793, 1799, and 1812 empowered the zamindar to seize the tenants' property if the rent had not been paid and, for this, he did not need the permission of any court of law.

### Shortcomings

- The **revenue was fixed at a very high rate**, leaving many of the zamindaris with very little or no margin for shortfalls in times of flood, drought, or other calamity. This **resulted in the takeover and sale of many zamindaris** in the years following the permanent settlement.
- **Absentee-landlordism grew** as merchants and government officials, besides other zamindars, bought these lands.
- **Subinfeudation:** The high rates forced many zamindars to divide up their estates into small lots of land called **patni taluq** and rent them out **permanently to holders (patnidar)** on the promise that they would pay a fixed rent. Thus began the process of subinfeudation.
- **Exploitation:** Under the settlement, zamindars were required to issue written agreements (pattas) to each cultivator, specifying what tenant was to pay.
- However, no such agreements were made; the result was that the **peasants were at the mercy of the zamindars to be exploited and harassed** for more rent, driving the cultivators into the clutch of moneylenders. The peasantry was reduced to serfdom.
- The zamindars did nothing to improve the land or agricultural system, concentrating only on the extraction of rent.
- From the government's point of view, there was no way of increasing the tax, so the revenue could not increase to meet the growing expenses of the Company which was trying to expand its base through wars.

## ➔ SIR JOHN SHORE 1793–98

### THE CHARTER ACT OF 1793

- The act **renewed the Company's commercial privileges** for the **next 20 years**.
- The Company, after paying the necessary expenses, interest, dividends, salaries, etc., from the Indian revenues, **was to pay 5 lakh pounds annually** to the **British government**.



- The **royal approval was mandated** for the appointment of the **governor general, the governors, and the commander-in-chief**.
- **Senior officials** of the Company **were debarred from leaving India without permission**—doing so was treated as resignation.
- The Company was **empowered to give licences to individuals** as well as the Company's employees to trade in India. The licences, known as **'privilege' or 'country trade'**, paved the way for shipments of opium to China.
- The **revenue administration** was **separated from the judiciary functions**, and this led to disappearing of the **Maal Adalats**.
- The **Home Government members** were to be **paid out of Indian revenues**, which continued up to 1919.

### BATTLE OF KHARDA (1795)

- The Battle of Kharda took place between **Marathas and Nizam** at Kharda which currently lies in **Ahmednagar District** in the state of Maharashtra.
- It is **notable** because it was the **last battle in which the Maratha Confederacy fought as one**.
- The Marathas and the Nizam of Hyderabad had united albeit briefly in their war against Mysore's Tipu Sultan. But they had longstanding issues of **Chauth and Sardeshmukhi** between them.
- The Maratha Confederacy was led by **Sawai Madhavrao Peshwa** and **Nana Phadnavis**. The entire Maratha Confederacy joined in and fought together.
- The Nizam was routed and had to retreat to the Kharda Fort. The Marathas laid siege to the fort and the Nizam surrendered.
- Nizam had to **surrender its minister** as a prisoner. The Nizam also **ceded many territories** to the Marathas. Apart from that, he gave a **huge amount in tribute**.

## → LORD WELLESLEY 1798–1805

### SUBSIDIARY ALLIANCE

- The subsidiary alliance system was used by **Lord Wellesley**, who was governor general from 1798–1805, to build an empire in India.

#### Conditions

- The **allying Indian state's ruler** was **compelled to accept the permanent stationing** of a British **force** within his territory and **to pay a subsidy for its maintenance**.
- The Indian ruler **had to agree to the posting of a British resident** in his court.
- The Indian ruler **could not employ any European in his service without the prior consultation** with the Company.
- **Nor could he go to war or negotiate with any other Indian ruler** without consulting the governor general.
- In return for all this, the **British would defend the ruler from his enemies and adopt a policy of non-interference in the internal matters** of the allied state.

#### Objectives

- One of the **objectives** behind Wellesley's strengthening of the subsidiary alliance system was to **keep the French from reviving and expanding their influence** in India.
- Around this time, the **fear of Napoleon's expedition** towards the East was very real for the British who felt that the French could attack the western coast of India from their colony of Mauritius.

- Hence, the **clause in the alliance treaty the Indian rulers to dismiss Europeans** (other than the British) from their service and not employ any.
- By **means of this system**, the **Company could station its forces at strategic locations** and keep the French at bay.
- Besides, the subsidiary alliance **would expand the Company's hold over the Indian states** and gradually bring more and more territory into the Company's fold.

### Evolution and Perfection

- It was probably **Dupleix**, who **first gave on hire (so to say) European troops to Indian rulers** to fight their wars.
- Since then, almost all the governor generals from Clive onwards applied the system to various Indian states and brought it to near perfection.
- The **first Indian state to fall into this protection trap** (which anticipated the subsidiary alliance system) was **Awadh, which, in 1765**, signed a treaty under which the Company pledged to defend the frontiers of Awadh on the condition of the Nawab defraying the expenses of such defence.
- It was in **1787** that the **Company first insisted that the subsidiary state should not have foreign relations**. This was included in the **treaty with the Nawab of Carnatic** which Cornwallis signed in 1787.
- It was **Wellesley** who made it a **general rule to negotiate** for the surrender of territory in full sovereignty for the maintenance of the subsidiary force.

### Stages of Application of Subsidiary Alliance

<b>first stage</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• the Company <b>offered to help</b> a friendly Indian state <b>with its troops to fight any war</b> the state might be engaged in.</li> </ul>
<b>second stage</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• It consisted of <b>making a common cause</b> with the Indian state.</li> </ul>
<b>Third stage</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The Indian ally was asked not for men <b>but for money</b>.</li> <li>• In return, the Company promised that it <b>would recruit, train, and maintain a fixed number of soldiers under British officers</b>, and that the contingent would be available to the ruler for his personal protection as also for keeping out aggressors.</li> </ul>
<b>Fourth or the last stage</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The <b>money or the protection fee was fixed</b>, usually at a high level; when the state failed to pay the money in time, it was asked to cede certain parts of its territories to the Company in lieu of payment.</li> <li>• The Company's entry into the affairs of the state had begun; now it would be for the <b>British resident</b> (installed in the state capital under the treaty) to initiate, sustain, and hasten the process of eventual annexation.</li> </ul>

### States which Accepted Alliance

- The Nizam of Hyderabad (September 1798 and 1800),
- the ruler of Mysore (1799),
- the ruler of Tanjore (October 1799),
- the Nawab of Awadh (November 1801),
- the Peshwa (December 1801),
- the Bhonsle (December 1803),
- the Scindia (February 1804),
- the Rajput states of Jodhpur, Jaipur, Macheri, Bundi, and the ruler of Bharatpur (1818).
- The Holkars 1818.

#### FOURTH ANGLO-MYSORE WAR (1799)

- The English as well as Tipu Sultan used the period 1792 to 1799 to **recoup their losses**.
- Tipu **fulfilled all the terms of the Treaty of Seringapatam** and got his sons released.
- In **1796**, when the ruler of Wodeyar dynasty died, **Tipu refused to place Wodeyar's minor son** on the throne and **declared himself sultan**.
- He also decided to avenge his humiliating defeat and the **terms put by the Treaty of Seringapatam**.
- Wellesley was concerned about Tipu's growing friendship with the French and aimed at annihilating Tipu's independent existence or force him to submission through the **system of Subsidiary Alliance**.
- So, the **chargesheet against Tipu mentioned that he was plotting against the English** with the Nizam and the Marathas and that he had **sent emissaries** to Arabia, Afghanistan, Kabul, and Zaman Shah, as also to Isle of France (Mauritius) and Versailles, with treasonable intent.
- The Treaty of Seringapatam failed to bring peace between Tipu and the English.
- **Tipu also refused to accept the Subsidiary Alliance** of Lord Wellesley. Tipu **aligned with the French** which the British saw as a threat.

#### Course of War

- The war began in **April, 1799 and ended on May 4, 1799** with the fall of Seringapatam.
- Tipu was defeated first by **English General Stuart** and then by **General Harris**.
- **Arthur Wellesley**, the brother of Lord Wellesley, also participated in the war.  
The English were again **helped by the Marathas and the Nizam**. The Marathas had been promised half of the territory of Tipu and the Nizam had already signed the Subsidiary Alliance.

#### Result of the war

- Tipu's **territories were divided** between the British, Marathas, and the Nizam of Hyderabad.
- The **core area around Seringapatam and Mysore was restored to the Wodeyar dynasty** who had been ruling Mysore before Hyder Ali became the de-facto ruler.
- **Mysore entered into a Subsidiary Alliance with the British** and a British resident was placed at the Mysore Court.
- In **1831, William Bentinck** took control of Mysore on grounds of misgovernance.
- In **1881, Lord Ripon** restored the kingdom to its ruler.

#### SECOND ANGLO-MARATHA WAR (1803 – 1805)

- After Tipu Sultan's Mysore was captured by the British in 1799, the Marathas were the only major Indian power left outside of British domination.
- At that time, the Maratha Confederacy consisted of five major chiefs, **the Peshwas at Pune, the Gaekwads at Baroda, the Holkars at Indore, the Scindias at Gwalior and the Bhonsles at Nagpur**.
- After Peshwa **Sawai Madhavrao Narayan** committed suicide in 1795, **Bajirao II**, the worthless son of Raghunathrao, became the Peshwa.
- **Nana Phadnavis, a bitter foe of Bajirao II**, became the chief minister.
- The dissensions among the Marathas provided the English with an opportunity to intervene in Maratha affairs. The **death of Nana Phadnavis in 1800** gave the British an added advantage.

#### TREATY OF BASSEIN 1802

- In the **Battle of Poona in 1802**, Yashwantrao Holkar of Indore **defeated the Peshwas and the Scindias**.
- **Baji Rao II** sought British protection and **signed the Treaty of Bassein** with them.

### Conditions

- **Acceptance of Subsidiary Alliance**
- To receive from the Company a native infantry, with the usual proportion of field artillery and European artillery men attached, to be permanently stationed in his territories;
- to **cede to the Company territories** yielding an income of Rs 26 lakh;
- to **surrender the city of Surat**;
- to **give up all claims for chauth on the Nizam's dominions**;
- to **accept the Company's arbitration** in all differences between him and the Nizam or the Gaekwad;
- **not to keep in his employment Europeans** of any nation at war with the English; and
- to subject his relations with other states to the control of the English.

- After the Peshwa accepted the subsidiary alliance, **Scindia and Bhonsle** attempted to save Maratha independence.
- But the well-prepared and organised army of the English under Arthur Wellesley defeated the combined armies of Scindia and Bhonsle and forced them to conclude separate treaties with the English.

- The **Scindias** signed the **Treaty of Surji-Anjangaon in 1803** through which the British got the territories of Rohtak, Ganga-Yamuna Doab, Gurgaon, Delhi Agra region, Broach, some districts in Gujarat, parts of Bundelkhand and Ahmadnagar fort.
- The **Bhonsles** signed the **Treaty of Deogaon in 1803** as per which the English acquired Cuttack, Balasore and area west of Wardha River.
- The **Holkars** signed the **Treaty of Rajpurghat in 1805** according to which they gave up Tonk, Bundi and Rampura to the British.
- As a result of the war, large parts of central India came under British control.

## ➔ SIR GEORGE BARLOW 1805–07

### 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, lasted one full day, during which mutineers seized the **Vellore Fort** and killed or wounded many British troops. The mutiny was subdued by cavalry and artillery from Arcot.

### Causes

- The English **disregard to the religious sensitivities** of the Hindu and Muslim Indian sepoys.
- **Sir John Craddock**, the **Commander-in-Chief of the Madras Army** had issued orders **prohibiting soldiers from wearing religious marks** on their foreheads and also to trim their moustaches and shave off their beards. This offended both Hindu and Muslim soldiers.
- They were also **asked to wear new round hats instead of the traditional headgear** that they were used to.
- This led to **suspicion** among the sepoys that they were **being converted to Christianity**.
- Craddock was acting against warning from the military board not to bring about changes in the military uniform without taking into consideration all required precautions of Indian sensibilities.
- A few sepoys who had protested against these new orders were taken to **Fort St. George** and punished severely.

- Also present in the **Vellore Fort were the wife and children of Tipu Sultan** who were housed in a palace within the fort.
- Tipu Sultan's sons also instigated the rebellion.

### Course of events

- On 10th July 1806, the sepoys who had gathered killed 14 British officers and 115 Englishmen of the 69th Regiment.
- The mutiny started during midnight and by dawn, the fort had been captured by them.
- They **raised the flag of the Mysore Sultanate** over the fort.
- They also **declared Tipu Sultan's son Fateh Hyder** as the king.
- But a British officer who had escaped the fort alerted the British force present at Arcot.
- From Arcot, **British troops arrived led by Sir Rollo Gillespie**. He was able to quell the rebellion.

### Significance

- All **three Madras regiments** involved in the Vellore Mutiny **were disbanded**.
- After a trial, sepoys involved in the mutiny were punished by death.
- **John Craddock** and other senior British officers responsible for the new dress regulations were recalled to Britain.
- The **new dress regulations were abolished**.
- **Flogging for Indian soldiers was abolished**.
- **Tipu Sultan's family were moved to Calcutta**.
- It is believed that the brutal and swift suppressing of the Vellore Mutiny is partly responsible for the Southern sepoys not taking part in the Indian Revolt of 1857.

## → LORD MINTO I 1807–13

### TREATY OF AMRITSAR-1809

- In **1807**, Lord Minto sent **Charles Metcalfe** to Lahore.
- Ranjit Singh offered to **accept Metcalfe's proposal of an offensive and defensive alliance** on the condition that the **English would remain neutral in case of a Sikh-Afghan war** and would **consider Ranjit Singh the sovereign of the entire Punjab**, including the Malwa (cis-Sutlej) territories.
- However, the negotiations failed and the English became more assertive. Ranjit Singh agreed to sign the **Treaty of Amritsar** (April 25, 1809) with the Company.

### Treaty of Amritsar

- The Treaty of Amritsar checked one of the most cherished ambitions of Ranjit Singh to extend his rule by **accepting the river Sutlej as the boundary line for his dominions** and the **Company's**.
- This treaty was also known as **Treaty of Perpetual Friendship**.
- Now he directed his **energies towards the west** and captured **Multan** (1818), **Kashmir** (1819), and **Peshawar** (1834).
- The relations of Raja Ranjit Singh with the Company, from 1809 to 1839, clearly indicate the former's weak position.
- Although he was conscious of his weak position, he took no step to organise a coalition of other Indian princes or maintain a balance of power. Ranjit Singh died in June 1839, and, with his death, the process of the decline of his empire began.



## → LORD HASTINGS 1813–23

### THE CHARTER ACT OF 1813

In England, the **business interests** were pressing for an end to the Company's monopoly over trade in India because of a **spirit of laissez-faire** and the **continental system by Napoleon** by which the European ports were closed for Britain.

*The Continental System was a **policy of economic warfare against Britain** which was introduced by Napoleon. Its **aim was to impose an economic blockade against Britain** and to prevent import of British goods by other countries of Europe.*

The 1813 Act sought to redress these grievances:

- The Company's **monopoly over trade in India ended**, but the Company **retained the trade with China and the trade in tea**.
- The **Company's shareholders** were given a 10.5 per cent dividend on the revenue of India.
- The Company was to **retain the possession of territories and the revenue for 20 years more**, without prejudice to the sovereignty of the Crown. (Thus, the constitutional position of the British territories in India was defined explicitly for the first time.)
- The power of superintendence and direction of the Board of Control was not only defined but also enlarged considerably.
- A sum of **one lakh rupees** was to be set aside for the **revival, promotion, and encouragement of literature, learning, and science** among the natives of India, every year. (This was an important statement from the point of State's responsibility for education.)
- The **regulations made by the Councils of Madras, Bombay, and Calcutta** were now required to be laid before the British Parliament. The constitutional position of the British territories in India was thus **explicitly defined for the first time**.
- **Separate accounts were to be kept** regarding **commercial transactions** and **territorial revenues**.
- **Christian missionaries** were also permitted to come to India and preach their religion.

### ANGLO-NEPAL WAR (1814–16)

- Anglo-Nepalese war (1814-16) or the Gorkha war was fought between the **kingdom of Nepal** and British forces of the East India Company. The war ended with the **Treaty of Sugauli (1816)**.
- The Nepalese were especially eager to expand into the **southern border area**, which at the time was governed by the state of Awadh (also known as Oudh), a protectorate of the EIC ever since it signed a contract of subsidiary alliance in 1801.
- One of the notable losses to EIC was at the **Battle of Jitgurih**. The terrain made it difficult for EIC armies to transport their artillery and give the general logistical support armies in the field needed.

### Gains for British

- One notable British Commander, **Sir Ochterlony** began to reverse the trend of EIC losses. He besieged the major Gurkha fort of Malaon and captured Kumaun (Kumaon) in May 1815.
- In **1816, at the Battle of Makwanpur**, Ochterlony orchestrated the most decisive EIC victory in Nepal.
- The Nepalese eventually decided to initiate peace when Kathmandu came under direct threat from Ochterlony.

### TREATY OF SUGAULI (1816)

- The **Kumaun and Garhwal kingdoms** were among the territories that the Nepalese kings ceded to the EIC by the terms treaty.
- It also required them to have a **permanent British resident** at their court, **withdraw from Sikkim**, and cede a sizable portion of their territory.
- In practice, **Nepal became a protectorate** of the British, but at least they were **exempt from paying an annual subsidy** to the EIC, unlike several princely states in India.
- There were **no further wars** between Nepal and the EIC as a result of this treaty.
- The Gurkhas became valuable allies to the East India Company, for example, Gurkha battalions participated in the Sikh Wars and played an important part in the Company quashing the Sepoy Mutiny of 1857-8.

### THIRD MARATHA WAR (1817–19)

#### Background

- **Need for more earnings:** By the Charter Act of 1813, the East India Company's monopoly of trade in India ended and, **hence, the company needed more markets.**
- **Issue of Pindaris:** The Pindaris, were attached to Maratha armies as mercenaries. When the Marathas became weak, the Pindaris could not get regular employment. As a consequence, they started plundering neighbouring territories, including those of the Company.
  - The English charged the Marathas with giving shelter to the Pindaris.
  - Pindari leaders like **Amir Khan and Karim Khan** surrendered, while **Chitu Khan** fled into the jungles.
- Lord Hastings' actions taken against the Pindaris were seen as a transgression of the sovereignty of the Marathas; they served to once again unite the Maratha confederacy.
- The **Treaty of Bassein**, described as "**a treaty with a cipher (the Peshwa)**", wounded the feelings of the other Maratha leaders. They saw the treaty as an absolute surrender of independence.
- A repentant Bajirao II made a last bid in 1817 by rallying together the Maratha chiefs against the English in course of the Third Anglo-Maratha War.

#### Result of the war

- The **Peshwa** was defeated at **Khirki, Bhonsle at Sitabuldi**, and **Holkar at Mahidpur**.
- Some important treaties were signed. These were:
 

- June 1817, **Treaty of Poona**, with Peshwa.
  - November 1817, **Treaty of Gwalior**, with Scindia.
  - January 1818, **Treaty of Mandasor**, with Holkar.
- In June 1818, the Peshwa finally surrendered and the Maratha confederacy was dissolved.
- The **peshwaship was abolished**. Peshwa Bajirao became a British retainer at Bithur near Kanpur.
- **Pratap Singh**, a lineal descendant of **Shivaji**, was made ruler of a small principality, **Satara**, formed out of the Peshwa's dominions.

### RYOTWARI SYSTEM 1820

- This system of land revenue was instituted in the late **18th century by Sir Thomas Munro**, Governor of Madras in 1820.
- This was **practised in the Madras and Bombay areas**, as well as extended to **Berar, East Bengal, Assam and Coorg provinces**.
- **Ryot means peasant cultivators.**

- In this system, the **peasants or cultivators were regarded as the owners** of the land. They had ownership rights, could sell, mortgage or gift the land. Here **there were no middlemen as in the Zamindari system**.
- The **taxes were directly collected by the government** from the peasants.
- The rates were high and unlike the Permanent System, **they were open to being increased**.
- The revenue to be paid was in the **range of 45 per cent to 55 per cent** based on an estimated production of the land.
- The tax was **fixed arbitrarily**, often on the basis of what the ryot had paid in earlier years. This was known as a **'putcut' assessment**.
- If they failed to pay the taxes, they were evicted by the government.
- In theory the ryot were allowed to cultivate the land of their choice, but in practice they were more or less forced to cultivate land even if they did not want to do so.
- Since high taxes had to be paid only in cash (no option of paying in kind as before the British) the **problem of moneylenders** came into the show. They further burdened the peasants with heavy interests.
- It was possible for **non-cultivating landlords to get registered** as the owners of particular holdings, with the actual cultivator being reduced to becoming their tenants, servants, or even bonded labourers.

### MAHALWARI SYSTEM

- The Mahalwari system was introduced by **Holt Mackenzie in 1822** and it was reviewed under **Lord William Bentinck in 1833**.
- This system was introduced in **North-West Frontier, Agra, Central Province, Gangetic Valley, Punjab**, etc.
- This had elements of both the **Zamindari and the Ryotwari systems**.
- This system came to be **known as a modified zamindari system** because the **village headman was a link** between the individual cultivator and the government; however, he did not have the rights that the zamindar had.
- The settlement had different versions and operated with different names at different places. In the **North Western Provinces**, it went under the name of **'mauzawar'** in the region of the **Central Provinces** its name was **'malguzari'**.
- The system was a **dual system** in which settlement was done collectively with the whole community and also with the individual landlords.
- This system divided the land into **Mahals**. A mahal could be a **village or a group of villages** and was considered as the unit for assessment of tax.
- The **village community was considered** the owner of the land. Individual ownership rights lay with the cultivator. Each individual farmer gave his share of the tax.
- The responsibility of collection of the tax and payment of that tax to the Company government lay with the village headman (called **lambardar**) or a community of village leaders.
- It introduced the **concept of average rents for different soil classes**.

**Note: Mervin Bird**, regarded as the Father of Land Settlements in Northern India, supervised the new scheme. It consisted of a survey of a tract of land showing field boundaries of cultivated and fallow lands. The state share was fixed at 66 per cent of the rental value and the settlement was made for 30 years.

### CONSEQUENCES OF THE BRITISH LAND REVENUE SYSTEMS

- **Land became a commodity.**
- Due to the very high taxes, **farmers resorted to growing cash crops** instead of food crops. This **led to food insecurity and even famines**.

- Insistence on cash payment of revenue led to more indebtedness among farmers. **Moneylenders became landowners** in due course.
- **Bonded labour arose** because loans were given to farmers/labourers who could not pay it back.
- When India achieved freedom from colonial rule, **7% of the villagers (Zamindars/landowners) owned 75% of the agricultural land.**

## → LORD AMHERST 1823–28

### FIRST BURMESE WAR (1824–26)

- The first war with Burma was fought when the **Burmese expansion westwards** and occupation of **Arakan** and **Manipur**, and the **threat to Assam** and the **Brahmaputra Valley** led to continuous friction along the ill-defined border between Bengal and Burma, in the opening decades of the 19<sup>th</sup> century.
- The British expeditionary forces occupied **Rangoon in May 1824** and reached within 72 km of the capital at **Ava**.
- Peace was **established in 1826 with the Treaty of Yandabo**, which provided that the Government of Burma:
  - pay **one crore rupees** as war compensation;
  - **cede** its coastal provinces of **Arakan and Tenasserim**;
  - **abandon** claims on **Assam, Cachar, and Jaintia**;
  - **recognise Manipur** as an **independent state**;
  - negotiate a **commercial treaty** with Britain; and
  - **accept a British resident at Ava** while posting a Burmese envoy at Calcutta.

### SIEGE AND CAPTURE OF BHARATPUR (1826)

- The siege of Bharatpur was a siege that took place in the princely state of Bharatpur between December 1825 and January 1826.
- British troops under **Lord Combermere** initially surrounded the state's capital until on 18 January 1826 its fortress was stormed and captured.

## → LORD WILLIAM BENTINCK 1828–35

### ABOLITION OF SATI

- Influenced by the frontal attack launched by the enlightened Indian reformers led by Raja Rammohan Roy, the government under Governor-General William Bentinck declared the practice of sati illegal and punishable by criminal courts as culpable homicide.
- The **regulation of 1829** (Regulation XVII, A.D. 1829 of the Bengal Code) was applicable in the first instance to Bengal Presidency alone, but was extended in slightly modified forms to **Madras and Bombay Presidencies in 1830**.
- Historians have observed that the practice of sati was sought to be banned in the regions under the control of the Portuguese, Dutch, and French in the early 16<sup>th</sup> century.
- In **1582**, the Mughal emperor, Akbar is said to have issued orders that sati was not to be coerced, and appointed inspectors to see that no widow was compelled to follow the custom.

### SUPPRESSION OF THUGEE

- Thugs were the **hereditary assassins** whose profession was to **deceive people and strangle them** to death.

- They used to travel in Gangs, disguised as merchants or pilgrims. They were bound together by an oath on the rites of their deity goddess Kali.
- They were the bands of the people who were **first recorded by Barni**, when he mentions that Firoz Shah Tughlaq captured the Thugs.
- In suppression of Thugs, along with **William Bentinck**, one more name is cherished. This able officer was **William Henry Sleeman**.
- In **1835**, the '**Thuggee and Dacoity Dept**' was created by William Bentinck and William Henry Sleeman was made its superintendent. He was later promoted as its Commissioner in 1839.
- A special prison was established at **Jabalpur for Thugs**.

## → CHARTER ACT OF 1833

### Provisions

- The **lease of 20 years** to the Company was **further extended**.
- **Territories of India** were to be **governed in the name of the Crown**.
- The Company's **monopoly over trade with China and in tea also ended**.
- All restrictions on **European immigration and the acquisition of property** in India were lifted. Thus, the way was paved for the **wholesale European colonisation of India**.
- In India, a **financial, legislative, and administrative centralisation of the government** was envisaged:

- The **governor general was given the power** to superintend, control, and direct all civil and military affairs of the Company.
- The Governor-General of Bengal was **re-designated as the Governor-General of India**.
- This made **Lord William Bentinck** the first Governor-General of India.
- The **Governor-General in council had the authority to amend, repeal or alter** any law pertaining to all people and places in British Indian territories whether British, foreign or Indian native.
- For the first time, the Governor-General's government was called **Government of India** and the council was called **India Council**.
- The Governor-General's council was to have **four members**.
- A law member was added to the **governor general's council** for professional advice on law-making.
- **Bengal, Madras, Bombay, and all other territories** were placed under complete control of the governor general.
- All **revenues were to be raised** under the authority of the governor general who would have **complete control over the expenditure** too.
- The Governments of Madras and Bombay were drastically deprived of their legislative powers and **left with a right of proposing** to the governor general the projects of law which they thought to be expedient.

- Indian laws were to be codified and consolidated.
- No Indian citizen was to be denied employment under the Company on the basis of religion, colour, birth, descent, etc. (Although the reality was different, this declaration formed the sheet-anchor of political agitation in India.)
- The administration was urged to take steps to ameliorate the conditions of slaves and to ultimately abolish slavery. (**Slavery was abolished in 1843.**)

### Indian Law Commission

- The act mandated that **any law made in India** was to be put before the British Parliament and was to be called '**Act**'.
- As per the act, an **Indian Law Commission** was established.



	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>The <b>first Law Commission</b> had <b>Lord Macaulay</b> as its chairman.</li> <li>It sought to codify all Indian law.</li> </ul>
<b>Split in Bengal Presidency</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>The act provided for the <b>Presidency of Bengal to be divided into the Presidencies of Agra and Fort William.</b></li> <li>But this never came into effect.</li> </ul>
<b>Indians in government service</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>This was the <b>first act that gave permission for Indians</b> to have a share in the country's administration.</li> <li>It stated that <b>merit should be the basis of employment</b> to government service and not birth, colour, religion or race.</li> </ul>
<b>Slavery</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>The act <b>provided for the mitigation of slavery</b> existing in India at that time.</li> <li>The British Parliament abolished slavery in Britain and all its possessions in 1833.</li> </ul>
<b>Tilt towards Christianity</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Since the number of British residents in the country was increasing, the act allowed for having <b>three Bishops in India.</b></li> <li>It also sought to regulate the establishment of Christian institutions in India.</li> </ul>

### Significance of the Charter Act of 1833

- It was the **final step in the centralisation** of India's administration.
- The ending of the East India Company's commercial activities and making it into the British Crown's trustee in administering India.
- Codification of laws under Macaulay.
- Provision for Indians in government service.

### DEVELOPMENT OF MODERN EDUCATION

- The company **wanted some educated Indians who could assist them** in the administration of the land.
- Also, **they wanted to understand the local customs and laws** well.
- For this purpose, **Warren Hastings established the Calcutta Madrasa in 1781** for the teaching of Muslim law.
- In **1791, a Sanskrit College was started in Varanasi by Jonathan Duncan** for the study of Hindu philosophy and laws.
- The **missionaries supported the spread of Western education** in India primarily for their proselytising activities. They established many schools with education only being a means to an end which was Christianising and 'civilising' the natives.
- The Baptist missionary **William Carey had come to India in 1793** and by **1800 there was a Baptist Mission in Serampore, Bengal**, and also a number of primary schools there and in nearby areas.
- The Indian reformers believed that to keep up with times, a modern educational system was needed to spread rational thinking and scientific principles.
- The **Charter Act of 1813 was the first step towards education being made an objective** of the government.
- The act sanctioned a **sum of Rs.1 lakh** towards the education of Indians in British ruled India. This act also gave an impetus to the missionaries who were given official permission to come to India.
- But there was a split in the government over what kind of education was to be offered to the Indians.

- The **orientalists preferred Indians to be given traditional Indian education**. Some others, however, wanted Indians to be educated in the western style of education and be taught western subjects.
- There was also another **difficulty regarding the language of instruction**. Some wanted the use of Indian languages (called vernaculars) while others preferred English.
- Due to these issues, **the sum of money allotted was not given until 1823** when the **General Committee of Public Instruction** decided to impart **oriental education**.
- **In 1835**, it was decided that western sciences and literature would be imparted to Indians through the **medium of English by Lord William Bentinck's government**.
- Bentinck had **appointed Thomas Babington Macaulay as the Chairman of the General Committee of Public Instruction**.
- Macaulay was an ardent anglicist. He was supported by **Reverend Alexander Duff, JR Colvin, etc.**
- On the **side of the orientalists were James Prinsep, Henry Thomas Colebrooke, etc.**

### MACAULAY 'MINUTE ON INDIAN EDUCATION' 1835

- Macaulay minutes refer to his proposal of education for the Indians.

#### According to him:

- **English education should be imparted** in place of traditional Indian learning because the oriental culture was 'defective' and 'unholy'.
- He **believed in education of a few upper and middle-class students**.
- In the course of time, education would trickle down to the masses. This was called the **infiltration theory**.
- He wished to create a class of Indians who were Indian in colour and blood but English in taste and affiliation.
- In 1835, **the Elphinstone College (Bombay) and the Calcutta Medical College** were established.

- Macaulay's proposals were promptly accepted by Lord William Bentinck, but he cleverly **deferred its implementation** until he was to relinquish his post as governor-general.
- Bentinck perhaps wanted to avoid a backlash from some quarters. He nevertheless, did not shut down oriental learning completely as proposed by Macaulay.
- Macaulay's proposals were **officially sanctioned in March 1835**.
- In **1837**, **English** was made the court language.
- In **1844**, high government posts were open to Indians.

### Miscellaneous

- **Annexation of Mysore (1831)**: A peasant revolt broke out in 1830 in Mysore state and it was suppressed by the army from Madras. It was annexed by William Bentinck in 1831 **on the pretext of misrule of Maharaja Krishnaraja III** and he was pensioned off.
- **Annexation of Coorg**: In 1834, British East India Company and the Raja of Coorg in 1834 entered into a conflict which was a short but bloody war. **Chikka Veerarajendra** surrendered and Coorg was annexed by the East India Company. The Raja was permitted to retire to Benares.

## ➔ DEVELOPMENT OF PRESS DURING BRITISH RULE

- The history of the development of press in India started with the creation of a newspaper called **The Bengal Gazette** which was started by **James Augustus Hickey in 1780**. The paper was also known as the **Calcutta General Advertiser**.

- Many other newspapers came into existence, such as the **Calcutta Chronicle**, the **Bengal Journal**, the **Bombay Herald**, and the **Madras Courier**.
- Seeing the introduction of so many newspapers, the East India Company expressed its concern regarding the news of their unfair practices in India.
- To prevent the information of these newspapers from reaching London, the East India Company sought to impose restrictions on the publication of all the newspapers and journals.

### CENSORSHIP OF PRESS ACT 1799

- The first act passed in the direction of imposing restrictions on the Indian press was the Censorship of Press Act in 1799. It was passed by **Richard Wellesley**, who was the Governor-General of India at the time.
- The Censorship of Press Act was passed in **order to restrict the French people** from spreading any news that was against the British government.
- It also **imposed a restriction on all the newspapers and journals** that would not be published without first getting approval from the British government.
- All the magazines, journals, pamphlets, books, and newspapers were covered under this act after a modification in **1807**.
- The limitations were made to be easier after Francis Hastings occupied the chair in the year 1818.

### LICENSING REGULATION ACT 1823 AND JOHN ADAMS PRESS REGULATION

- The next act or ordinance passed was the Licensing Regulation Act by John Adams. This ordinance was passed in **1823 by Adams**, who was **acting Governor-General** of the British EIC in 1823.
- This act was primarily **focused on the Indian newspapers** or those that were at least edited by Indians.
- According to the Licensing Regulation, if any newspaper were published without a license, it would be considered a serious criminal violation.
- All the Indian newspapers came under the radar.
- **Raja Ram Mohan Roy decided to stop** the publication of **Mirat-ul-Akhbar** which was a Persian journal.
- The journal was started by Roy in 1822.
- He also launched a revolt against the British government in 1824.

## ➔ LORD METCALFE 1835–36

- Metcalfe held a variety of political positions. He **played a key role in concluding the Amritsar Treaty of 1809** with Ranjit Singh, which brought stability to Punjab and remained in force until the first Sikh war of 1845.
- Metcalfe was the **longest-serving Englishman** in India. He arrived in India **during Lord Wellesley's ascendancy of British power** and stayed for 38 years.
- His desire for reform led him **to outlaw slavery, sati, and infanticide in the Delhi territory** as early as **1812**.
- Metcalfe was a **member of the Council who persuaded Governor-General Bentinck** to include **natives in the country's governance**. He was a capable civil servant with progressive views.
- His liberal press policy endeared him to the Indians who built Metcalfe Hall in Calcutta and erected his bust there.

### METCALFE ACT OR PRESS ACT 1835

- The Press Act or the Metcalfe Act came to be known as the **liberator of the press**.

- The act **revoked the License Regulations of 1823**. It enabled the press to be more liberal, which contributed to the development of press in India to a great extent.
- The main requirement of the Metcalfe Act was that the printer of the publisher of the newspaper must provide all details **regarding the place of publication**. If the instructions are not followed, the newspaper shall be stopped from publishing.

## → SIND AND BRITISH

- In the 18th century, Sindh was ruled by the **Kallora chiefs**.
- In **1758**, an English factory was built at **Thatta**, owing to a parwana given by the Kallora prince, **Ghulam Shah**.
- In **1761**, Ghulam Shah also excluded other Europeans from trading there. This advantage was enjoyed by the English up to 1775 when a not-too-friendly ruler, Sarfraz Khan, made the English close their factory.
- In the 1770s, a Baluch tribe called **Talpuras**, descended from the hills and settled in the plains of Sindh. They acquired great influence and soon usurped power from Kallora chiefs.
- In **1783**, the Talpuras, under the leadership of **Mir Fath (Fatah) Ali Khan**, established complete hold over Sindh.
- The then **Durrani monarch** of Afghanistan confirmed the claims of Mir Fath Khan and ordered the latter to share the country with his brothers (Mir's brothers, popularly known as '**Char Yar**').
- When Mir Fath died in 1800, the Char Yar divided the kingdom among themselves, calling themselves the **Amirs or Lords of Sindh**.

### Gradual Ascendancy over Sindh

- A common belief in the late 18th century was that Napoleon was conspiring with Tipu Sultan to invade India.
- In 1799, behind **Lord Wellesley's efforts** to revive commercial relations with Sindh was the hidden aim to **counteract the alliance** of the **French, Tipu Sultan and Shah Zaman**, the Kabul monarch.
- Negotiations were opened with Fath Ali Khan. But under the influence of Tipu Sultan and the jealousy of the local traders, the amir in October 1800, ordered the British agent to quit Sindh within ten days. The British **agent (Crow) left Sindh** and the Company quietly suffered the insult.

### TREATY OF 'ETERNAL FRIENDSHIP' 1807

- In 1807, there was **Treaty of Tilsit** between **Alexander I of Russia** and **Napoleon Bonaparte**.
- This alliance had as one of its conditions a **combined invasion of India by the land route**.
- Now the British wanted to **create a barrier between Russia and British India**.
- To achieve this, **Lord Minto sent three delegations** under the leadership of various prominent persons to forge alliances.

- **Metcalfe** was sent to **Lahore**,
- **Elphinstone** to **Kabul**, and
- **Malcolm** to **Teheran**
- **Sindh** was visited by **Nicholas Smith**, who met the Amirs to conclude a defensive arrangement.

- After negotiations, the Amirs agreed to a treaty—their **first-ever treaty with the English**.
- After professing eternal friendship, **both sides agreed to exclude the French from Sindh** and to exchange agents at each other's court.
- The treaty was renewed in **1820**

## TREATY OF 1832

- In 1832, William Bentinck sent **Colonel Pottinger to Sindh** to sign a treaty with the Amirs. The provisions of the treaty were as follows:
  - Free passage** through Sindh would be allowed to the English traders and travellers and the use of Indus for trading purposes; however, no warships would ply, nor any materials for war would be carried.
  - No English merchant would settle down** in Sindh, and passports would be needed for travellers.
  - Tariff rates could be altered by the Amirs** if found high and no military dues or tolls would be demanded.
  - The Amirs would work with the **Raja of Jodhpur** to put down the robbers of Kachch.
  - The old treaties were confirmed and the parties would not be jealous of each other.

## → LORD AUCKLAND 1836–42

- In 1836, Lord Auckland became the Governor-General of India.
- He advocated a **forward policy**, which implied that the British Government in India had to take initiatives to protect the boundary of India from probable Russian attack.

### Lord Auckland and Sindh

- Lord Auckland looked at Sindh from the **perspective of saving India from a possible Russian invasion** and wished to obtain a counteracting influence over the Afghans.
- Ranjit Singh in Punjab was strong enough to resist coercion in this regard, but the Amirs were not. Thus, the English view was that they had to **consolidate their position in Sindh** as a necessary first step for their plans on Afghanistan.
- They got an opportunity when Ranjit Singh captured a frontier town of **Sindh, Rojhan**.
- Pottinger was sent to Hyderabad** to sign a new treaty with the Amirs. The treaty **offered protection to the Amirs** on the condition that the **Company troops would be kept in the capital** at the Amir's expense or alternatively the English would be given suitable concessions in return.
- The Amirs initially refused but later **agreed reluctantly to sign the treaty in 1838**.
- A British resident was posted and thus Sindh was turned into a **British protectorate in 1838**.

## → TRIPARTITE TREATY OF 1838

- To **address the Afghan problem** (as the British imagined it), the Company resorted to further duplicity.
- Firstly**, they persuaded **Ranjit Singh to sign a tripartite treaty in June 1838** agreeing to British mediation in his disputes with the Amirs, and then made **Emperor Shah Shuja** (Afghanistan) give up his sovereign rights on Sindh, provided the **arrears of tribute were paid**.
- The English objective was to obtain so much of the Amirs' territory as would secure a line of operation against Afghanistan through Sindh.

### Sindh Accepts Subsidiary Alliance (1839)

- The Company intended to persuade or compel the Amirs to pay the money and allow the movement of English troops in Sindh by land or by river.
- Henceforth, the Amirs were debarred from having any negotiations with foreign states without the knowledge of the Company.



- Further, they were to provide a **storeroom at Karachi for the Company's military supplies**, besides abolishing all tolls on the Indus, and furnishing an auxiliary force for the Afghan war if called upon to do so.

## ➔ FIRST ANGLO-AFGHAN WAR (1838–42)

- Dost Muhammad**, the amir of Durrani empire was in talks with Russians to contain the Sikhs.
- 1838:** Britain, concerned about growing Persian and Russian influences, invaded Afghanistan. **Lord Auckland** was in support of restoring the **exiled Afghan ruler Shah Shoja** to the throne of Kabul.
- 1839:** The British in a surprise attack captured the fortress of **Ghazni**. The British effortlessly marched into Kabul and **restored Shah Shuja to the throne of Kabul**.
- The Afghans **could not tolerate a foreign occupation** or a king imposed on them by a foreign power, hence uprisings broke out.
- Dost Mohammad managed to escape and returned to Afghanistan to join his partisans in fighting the British.
- 1840:** Dost Muhammad had the upper hand in a **fight at Parwan in 1840**, but the next day he submitted to the British in Kabul. He and the majority of his family were sent back to India.
- 1842:** The uprisings continued and the British found it hard to contain the Afghans, hence they decided to retreat.
- The whole English camp marched out of Kabul. Shuja was killed in Kabul as he was unpopular among the Afghans.
- 1843:** The new governor-general of India, **Lord Ellenborough**, decided on the evacuation of Afghanistan, and in 1843 Dost Mohammad returned to Kabul and was restored to the throne.
- 1855:** A treaty of friendship (**Treaty of Peshawar**) was signed between British India and Dost Mohammed of Kabul. The treaty was a '**policy of non-interference**'.

## ➔ LORD ELLENBOROUGH 1842–44

### ANNEXATION OF SINDH

- The **First Anglo-Afghan war** was fought on the soil of Sindh, was never liked by the Amirs of Sindh; neither did they like the presence of the British troops in their region. However, under the treaty they were asked to pay for all this, which they did.
- They **were not rewarded or thanked**, but were **charged with hostility and disaffection** against the British government.
- The Amirs were **charged with treasonable activities** against the British, and **Ellenborough**, placed in a precarious position due to the **Afghan war reverses**, sent **Outram to Sindh** to negotiate a new treaty.
- Under this treaty, the **Amirs were required to cede important provinces** as the price of their past transgressions, to supply fuel to the Company's steamers plying on the Indus, and to **stop minting coins**.
- Furthermore, in a succession dispute, the English intervened through **Napier** and started a war when the Amirs rose in revolt.
- The whole of Sindh capitulated within a short time, and the **Amirs were made captives and banished from Sindh**.
- In **1843**, under **Governor General Ellenborough**, Sindh was merged into the British Empire and **Charles Napier** was appointed its first governor.

## WAR WITH GWALIOR 1843

- Marathas in Gwalior saw the failed British campaign in Afghanistan as an opportunity to regain independence.
- Lord Ellenborough, foreseeing the possibility of the Marathas in Gwalior attempting independence had formed the **Army of Exercise near Agra**.
- After attempts to negotiate failed, the British advanced in a two-pronged attack. The British, under the command of **Gen. Sir Hugh Gough** clashed with Maratha forces.

- **Battle of Maharajpur**
- **Battle of Punniar**

- After the defeat of the Maratha forces in Gwalior, the British disbanded their army and established a **force in the state** that the government of Gwalior maintained. A **British governor was appointed at Gwalior Fort**.

## ➔ LORD HARDINGE I 1844–48

### FIRST ANGLO-SIKH WAR (1845–46)

- The outbreak of the first of the Anglo-Sikh wars has been attributed to the **action of the Sikh army crossing the River Sutlej** on December 11, **1845**.
- This was seen as **an aggressive manoeuvre** that provided the English with the justification to declare war. The causes were, however, much more complex and may be listed as follows:

- the **anarchy in the Lahore kingdom** following the death of Maharaja Ranjit Singh resulting in a power struggle for domination between the court at Lahore and the ever-powerful and increasingly local army;
- **suspensions amongst the Sikh army** arising from English military campaigns to achieve the annexation of Gwalior and Sindh in 1841 and the campaign in Afghanistan in 1842; and
- the **increase in the number of English troops** being stationed near the border with the Lahore kingdom.

- The war began in **December 1845**, with had five successive defeats to the Sikhs leading to the fall of Lahore to the British forces on **February 20, 1846 without a fight**.

### TREATY OF LAHORE (MARCH 8, 1846)

- The main features of the Treaty of Lahore were as follows:
- **War indemnity** of more than 1 crore rupees was to be given to the English.
- The **Jalandhar Doab (between the Beas and the Sutlej)** was annexed to the Company's dominions.
- A **British resident** was to be established at Lahore under Henry Lawrence.
- The **strength of the Sikh army was reduced**.
- **Daleep Singh was recognised as the ruler** under **Rani Jindan as regent** and **Lal Singh as wazir**.
- Since the Sikhs were not able to pay the entire war indemnity, **Kashmir, including Jammu, was sold to Gulab Singh** and he was required to **pay 75 lakh rupees to the Company** as the price.
- The **transfer of Kashmir to Gulab Singh** was formalised by a **separate treaty on March 16, 1846**.

### TREATY OF BHAIROWAL

- The Sikhs were not satisfied with the Treaty of Lahore over the issue of Kashmir, so they rebelled.

- In December, 1846, the **Treaty of Bhairawal** was signed.
- According to the provisions of this treaty, **Rani Jindan** was removed as regent and a **council of regency** for Punjab was set up.
- The council consisted of **8 Sikh sardars** presided over by the **English Resident, Henry Lawrence**.

### Miscellaneous

- Lord Hardinge suppressed the practice among **Gond tribe** in Central India.

## → LORD DALHOUSIE 1848-1856

### SECOND ANGLO-SIKH WAR (1848 AND 1849)

#### Causes

- The humiliation caused by the first Anglo-Sikh war wherein the Sikh Empire had lost some territories to the British East India Company.
- The **Sikh regent, Maharani Jindan Kaur** was not treated properly by the British. She was removed from Lahore on conspiracy charges against the British resident in Lahore.
- Multan was governed by **Dewan Mulraj**. He resented the **Lahore Court's** (capital of the Sikh Empire but controlled by the British resident since the first Anglo-Sikh war) demand for increased tax assessment and revenues.
- The British Resident at that time was **Sir Frederick Currie**. He undermined Mulraj and imposed another governor **Sardar Kahan Singh along with a British agent Patrick Vans Agnew**.
- In **1848**, Vans Agnew and another officer who arrived in Multan to take charge were murdered by Mulraj's troops.
- This news led to unrest in Punjab and many Sikh soldiers joined the rebel forces against the British.
- Battles were fought in **Ramnagar and Chilianwala**. The battle at Ramnagar, led by **Sir Hugh Gough** was indecisive whereas the Sikhs won at Chilianwala.
- The final battle was fought at **Gujrat near Chenab** in 1849. This was won by the British forces.
- The **Afghan forces under Dost Mohammad Khan** had joined the Sikhs' side.

#### Results

- Punjab was annexed by the British in **March 1849 (under Lord Dalhousie)**.
- The **eleven-year-old Maharaja, Duleep Singh** was pensioned off to England.
- Jind Kaur was separated from her son the Maharaja and taken to Firozpur. Her allowance was reduced to a meagre amount and her jewels and money confiscated.
- For his services Dalhousie was given the thanks of the British Parliament and a promotion in the peerage, as Marquess.
- Setting up of a **three-member board to govern Punjab**, comprising of the **Lawrence brothers** (Henry and John) and **Charles Mansel**.
- In **1853**, the board was nullified and Punjab was placed under a chief commissioner.
- **Sir John Lawrence** was appointed as the **first Chief Commissioner of Punjab** to take care of the administration.
- The famous **Koh-i-Noor diamond** went into British hands.
- The Anglo-Sikh wars gave the two sides a mutual respect for each other's fighting prowess. The Sikhs were to fight loyally on the British side in the Revolt of 1857 and in many other campaigns and wars until the Indian independence in 1947.

## SECOND BURMA WAR 1852

- The second war was the result of the **British commercial need** and the **imperialist policy** of Lord Dalhousie.
- The British merchants were keen to **get hold of timber resources** of upper Burma and also sought further inroads into the Burmese market.
- This time, the British **occupied Pegu**, the only remaining coastal province of Burma.
- An intense guerrilla resistance had to be overcome before complete British control of lower Burma could be established.

## → CHARTER ACT OF 1853

### Governor-General's office

- **Executive:** The **Law member (fourth member)** became a **full member of the Governor-General's Council with the right to vote**.
- **Legislature:** The legislative wing came to be known as the **Indian Legislative Council with 12 members**.
- The 12 members were:
  - 1 Governor-General,
  - 1 Commander-in-Chief,
  - 4 members of the Governor-General's Council,
  - 1 Chief Justice of the Supreme Court at Calcutta,
  - 1 regular judge of the Supreme Court at Calcutta, and
  - 4 representative members drawn from among the company's servants with at least 10 years tenure, appointed by the local governments of Bengal, Bombay, Madras and North Western Provinces.
- The **Governor-General could nominate a vice president** to the council.
- The **Governor-General's assent was required for all legislative proposals**. The Governor General **could veto** any bill of the legislative council.
- The number of **Court of Directors was reduced from 24 to 18** out of which 6 people were to be nominated by the British Crown.
- The **Court of Directors could create a new presidency or province**. This was because of the difficulties that were faced in administering the increasingly large Indian territories of Britain.
- Since **1833 till 1853, two new provinces of Sind and Punjab** were added. It could also appoint a Lieutenant Governor for these provinces.
- In **1859, a Lt. Governor was appointed for Punjab**.
- This Act also led to the creation of **Assam, Burma** and the **Central Provinces**.
- The **Act provided for the appointment of a separate governor** for the **Bengal Presidency**. It maintained that the governor of Bengal should be different from the Governor-General who was to head administration of the whole of India.

### Indian Civil Services

- **Macaulay Committee of 1854** gave India her first civil services.
- This act **removed the right of patronage to appointments in civil service held by the Court of Directors**.
- The appointment was to be done **only by open competition based on merit** and was open to all.
- The report recommended that only the 'fittest' be selected to the ICS.

### Features of the Charter Act 1853

- For the first time, the **legislative and executive functions of the Governor-General's council** were separated.
- This act served as the **foundation of the modern parliamentary form of government**. The legislative wing of the Governor-General's Council acted as a parliament on the model of the British Parliament.
- The Company was to **continue possession of territories** unless the Parliament provided otherwise. Company's influence was further reduced by this act.
- The **Board of Directors now had 6 members who were Crown-nominated**.
- It gave birth to the Indian civil services and was open to all including Indians. This ended the system of appointments by recommendation and started a system of open competition.
- For the **first time, local representation was introduced into the legislative council** in the form of four members from the local governments of Bengal, Bombay, Madras and North Western Provinces.

### DOCTRINE OF LAPSE

#### Features of Doctrine of Lapse

- Before the introduction of this doctrine, the princely states had a **ritualised method of adoption practised for centuries**.
- Either based on Primogeniture or;
- An heir apparent would eventually be selected from a **pool of candidates**, who were groomed for succession from an early age, called **bhayats** if no competent born-to son were produced (an obviously unsuitable or treasonous born-to son could be excluded from the succession).
- If the ruler died before adopting a successor, **one of his widows could adopt an heir**, who would immediately accede to the throne.
- The adoptee would cut all ties with his birth family.

Once the Doctrine of Lapse came into place the following features were now faced by the Indian rulers.

- According to this doctrine, **any princely state under the direct or indirect (as a vassal) control of the East India Company, should the ruler not produce a legal male heir, would be annexed by the company**.
- This was **not introduced by Lord Dalhousie** even though it was **he who documented it and used it widely** to acquire territories for the British.
- As per this, any adopted son of the Indian ruler could not be proclaimed as heir to the kingdom. The adopted son would **only inherit his foster father's personal property and estates**.
- The **adopted son would also not be entitled to any pension that his father** had been receiving or to any of his father's titles.
- This challenged the Indian ruler's long-held authority to appoint an heir of their choice.

- **In 1824**, before the time of Dalhousie, the **princely state of Kittur (Karnataka)** was acquired by the East India Company by this doctrine.
- It was as per this policy that **Nana Sahib, the adopted son of the Maratha Peshwa Baji Rao II was denied his titles and pension**.
- The final moment straw came when **Awadh was annexed** to the English East India Company under the terms of the Doctrine of Lapse on the grounds of internal misrule on 7 February 1856 AD.
- This annexation was one of the reasons for the Revolt of 1857.

#### Effects of Doctrine of Lapse

- Many Indian states lost their sovereignty and became British territories. This led to a lot of unrest among the Indian princes.



- A lot of people were unhappy with the 'illegal' nature of this doctrine and this was **one of the causes of the Indian Revolt of 1857**.
- Nana Sahib and the Rani of Jhansi had grievances against the British because the former's pension was stopped by the British after his foster father died, and the Rani's adopted son was denied the throne under the doctrine of lapse.
- Dalhousie returned to Britain in 1856. After the Indian Revolt broke out in 1857, his governance was widely criticised as one of the causes of the rebellion.

### WOOD'S DESPATCH (1854)

In **1854**, **Charles Wood** prepared a despatch on an educational system for India.

It is considered the "**Magna Carta of English Education in India**", this document was the first comprehensive plan for the spread of education in India.

1. It asked the government of India to **assume responsibility for education of the masses**, thus **repudiating the 'downward filtration theory'**, at least on paper.
2. It **systematised the hierarchy** from **vernacular primary schools** in villages at bottom, followed by **Anglo-Vernacular High Schools** and an **affiliated college at the district level**, and **affiliating universities** in the presidency towns of Calcutta, Bombay, and Madras.
3. It recommended **English as the medium of instruction for higher studies** and vernaculars at school level.
4. It laid **stress on female and vocational education**, and on **teachers' training**.
5. It laid down that the **education imparted in government institutions should be secular**.
6. It **recommended a system of grants-in-aid** to encourage private enterprise.

### INTRODUCTION OF RAILWAY

- In **1853**, Dalhousie penned his **Railway Minute** formulating the future policy of railways in India.
- He started the "**guarantee system**" by which the railway companies were guaranteed a minimum interest of five percent on their investment.
- The government **retained the right of buying the railway** at the end of the period of contract.
- The **first railway line** connecting **Bombay with Thane** was opened in **1853**.
- Railway lines connecting from **Calcutta to the Raniganj coal-fields** was opened in **1854** and from **Madras to Arakkonam** in **1856**.

### INTRODUCTION OF TELEGRAPH

- The first director general of telegraphs in India was **William Brooke O'Shaughnessy**.
- Lord Dalhousie had authorized him to construct an experimental line and in **1852** he was appointed **director general of telegraphs** and authorized to construct an extensive system.
- The **800-mile line from Calcutta to Agra** was opened in March, 1854, and two years later 4000 miles were in operation, including lines to Bombay and Madras.

### POST OFFICE ACT 1854

- It was in **1727**, the East India Company opened its **first post office in India**. The Indian sepoys used to enjoy the privilege of free postal services till this Act enacted in 1854.
- In 1854, a new Post Office Act was passed. Under this system a **Director General was appointed** to supervise the **works of Post Office in all the Presidencies**; a **uniform rate** of half anna per letter was introduced and **first time Postage Stamps** were introduced.

### INTRODUCTION OF PWD

- Lord Dalhousie established the Public Works Department (P.W.D) in India in the mid 19<sup>th</sup> century as the military was responsible for the construction of public work at that time but it ignored the civilian works.

- In **1854**, during the sixth year of Lord Dalhousie's tenure as the Governor-General, the **Public Works Department** was officially established.
- This department is concerned with public sector works like building roads, bridges, border roads, flyovers, stadiums, etc.

### WIDOWS' REMARRIAGE ACT

- It was mainly due to the efforts of **Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar** (1820–91), the **principal of Sanskrit College, Calcutta**, that the Hindu Widows' Remarriage Act, 1856, was passed.
- It legalised marriage of widows and declared issues from such marriages as legitimate.

## ➔ CIVIL UPRISINGS

### Major Causes of Civil Uprisings

- Under the Company rule, there were **rapid changes in the economy, administration, and land revenue system** that went against the people.
- Several **zamindars and poligars, who had lost control** over their land and its revenues due to the colonial rule, had personal scores to settle with the new rulers.
- The ego of traditional zamindars and poligars was hurt due to being **sidelined in rank by government officials** and a **new class comprising of merchants and money-lenders**.
- The **ruin of Indian handicraft industries** due to colonial policies impoverished millions of artisans whose misery was further compounded by the **disappearance of their traditional patrons and buyers**—princes, chieftains, and zamindars.
- The **priestly classes instigated hatred and rebellion against alien rule**, because the religious preachers, priests, pundits, maulvis, etc., had been dependent on the traditional landed and bureaucratic elite. The fall of zamindars and feudal lords directly affected the priestly class.
- The **foreign character of the British rulers**, who always remained alien to this land, and their contemptuous treatment of the native people hurt the pride of the latter.

### SANYASI UPRISING (1770-1820'S)

- The Sanyasis who had revolted against the English in the 18th century were not necessarily men who had renounced the world.
- Originally peasants, even some evicted from land. There were many sects of Sanyasis who travelled from northern India to various religious places and shrines in Bengal.
- Some of the Sanyasis were **naga sadhus**, i.e., ascetics who had renounced clothes. But some others were people who wore clothes and were also permitted to marry.
- The British were wary of these wandering men and called them by various epithets like 'erratic beggars', 'gypsies of Hindusthan', 'lawless mendicants', 'religious vagrants', etc.
- After the British had acquired revenue rights in Bengal, many zamindars there had fallen upon hard times owing to the steep tax rates.
- It was the practice of the **Sanyasis to collect alms and contributions from these zamindars during their religious travels**.
- This was stopped when the zamindars found it too difficult to provide alms since after paying the British their due, they were hardly left with anything substantial.
- The Sanyasis rose in rebellion against the British and raided English factories and government treasuries.
- This rebellion was centred in the **forests of Murshidabad and Baikunthapur, Bengal**.

- Equal participation of Hindus and Muslims characterised the uprisings, sometimes referred to as the **Fakir Rebellion**.
- **Majnum Shah (or Majnu Shah), Chirag Ali, Musa Shah, Bhawani Pathak, and Debi Chaudhurani** were important leaders.
- Debi Chaudhurani's participation **recognises the women's role** in early resistances against the British.
- In 1771, unarmed sanyasis were killed under the orders of Warren Hastings.
- The **Sanyasi uprising went on for about 50 years** and was suppressed completely only in the 1820s.
- **Bankim Chandra Chatterjee's novel Anandamath, written in 1882, was set in the backdrop of the Sanyasi Rebellion.** This book was banned by the British.
- **India's National Song 'Vande Mataram'** was taken from this novel.
- Bankim Chandra also wrote a novel, **Devi Chaudhurani**.

### REVOLT OF MOAMARIAS (1769 – 1899)

- The revolt of the Moamarias in 1769 was a potent challenge to the authority of Ahom kings of Assam.
- The Moamarias were **low-caste peasants** who followed the teachings of **Aniruddhadeva** (1553–1624).

- *Aniruddhadev (1553–1626) was a 16th-century **Ekasarana preceptor** from Assam.*
- ***Ekasarana Dharma** (literally: Shelter-in-One religion) is a **neo-Vaishnavite** monolithic religion propagated by **Srimanta Sankardeva** in the 15th-16th century in Assam.*
- ***It reduced focus on Vedic ritualism and focuses on devotion (bhakti) to Krishna in the form of congregational listening (shravan) and singing his name and deeds (kirtan).***

- Their revolts weakened the Ahoms and opened the doors for others to attack the region.
- To crush these revolts, the **Ahom ruler** had to request for **British help**.
- The Moamarias made **Bhatiapar** their headquarters.
- **Rangpur** and **Jorhat** were the most affected region.
- Although, the Ahom kingdom survived the rebellion, the weakened kingdom fell to a Burmese invasion and finally came under British rule.

### CIVIL UPRISINGS IN GORAKHPUR, BASTI, AND BAHRAICH (1781)

- Warren Hastings, in order to meet the war expenses against the Marathas and Mysore, made a plan to earn money by involving English officers as **izaradars (revenue farmers)** in Awadh.

- ***Ijaradari system was introduced by Warren Hastings. According to this system, the right to collect revenue was given to the highest bidder. This system did not last longer, as most of the time the bidding was not related to the actual productivity of the land.***

- He involved **Major Alexander Hannay**, who was well acquainted with the region, as an izaradar in **1778**.
- Hannay secured the izara of Gorakhpur and Bahraich to the amount of 22 lakh rupees for one year. In fact, it was a secret experiment by the Company to see for itself just how much surplus money was accessible in practice.
- However, Hannay's oppression and excessive demand of revenue made the region panic-stricken. The **zamindars and cultivators rose against the unbearable** exactions in 1781, and, within weeks of the initial uprising, all of Hannay's subordinates were either killed or besieged by zamindari guerilla forces.
- Although the rebellion was suppressed, Hannay was dismissed and his izara forcibly removed.

**REVOLT OF RAJA OF VIZIANAGARAM (1794)**

- In 1758, a treaty was made between the English and **Ananda Gajapatiraju**, the ruler of Vizianagaram, to **jointly oust the French** from the Northern Circars.
- In this mission they were successful, but the English went back on their word to honour the terms of the treaty.
- The EIC went on to demand a tribute of three lakh rupees from **Vizayaramaraju**, the Raja of Vizianagaram, and asked him to disband his troops.
- This angered the raja and the raja supported by his subjects rose up in revolt.
- The English captured the raja in 1793 and ordered him to go into exile with a pension. The raja refused.
- The raja died in a **battle at Padmanabham** (in modern Visakhapatnam district in Andhra Pradesh) in 1794.
- Vizianagaram came under the Company's rule. Later, the Company offered the estate to the deceased raja's son and reduced the demand for presents.

**REVOLT OF DHUNDIA IN BEDNUR (1799–1800)**

- After the conquest of Mysore in 1799, the English had to confront many native leaders. For example Dhundia Wagh, a local Maratha leader.
- Dhundia organised a force, which consisted of anti-British elements, and carved out a small territory for himself.
- A defeat by the English in August 1799 forced him to take refuge in Maratha region and he himself took on the leadership.
- In September 1800, he was killed while fighting against the British forces under Wellesley. Though Dhundia failed, he became a venerated leader of the masses.

**RESISTANCE OF KERALA VARMA PAZHASSI RAJA (1797; 1800–05)**

- Kerala Varma Pazhassi Raja, popularly known as **Kerala Simham** (Lion of Kerala) or 'Pyche raja', was the de facto head of **Kottayam** in Malabar region.
- Apart from resisting Hyder Ali and Tipu Sultan, Kerala Varma fought against the British between 1793 and 1805.
- The **Third Anglo-Mysore War (1790–92)** extended **English paramountcy over Kottayam**.
- The English appointed **Vira Varma**, the uncle of Pazhassi Raja, as the Raja of Kottayam. The new raja, to meet the revenue target fixed by the Company, levied exorbitant rates of tax on the peasants.
- This led to a mass resistance by the peasants under the leadership of **Pazhassi Raja in 1793**. Pazhassi Raja fought bravely, and, in 1797, a peace treaty was made.
- In November **1805**, the Kerala Simham died in a gunfight at Mavila Todu near present-day Kerala-Karnataka border.

**CIVIL REBELLION IN AWADH (1799)**

- **Wazir Ali Khan, the fourth Nawab of Awadh**, with the help of the British, had ascended the throne in 1797.
- But, very soon, his relations with the British became sour and he got replaced by his uncle, **Saadat Ali Khan II**. Wazir Ali Khan was granted a pension in Benares.
- However, in 1799, he killed a British resident, **George Frederick Cherry**, who had invited him to lunch. Wazir Ali's guards killed two other Europeans and even attacked the Magistrate of Benares. The whole incident became famous as the **Massacre of Benares**.
- Wazir Ali was able to assemble an army of several thousand men, which was defeated by **General Erskine**.
- Wazir Ali fled to **Butwal** and was granted **asylum by the ruler of Jaipur**.

- Arthur Wellesley requested the Raja of Jaipur to extradite Wazir Ali. Wazir Ali was extradited on the condition that he would neither be hanged nor be put in fetters.
- After surrender in December 1799, he was placed in confinement at **Fort William**, Calcutta.

### UPRISINGS IN PALAMAU (1800–02)

- **The political situation of Palamau** was complicated by the crises of agrarian landlordism and feudal system.
- In 1800, **Bhukhan Singh, a Chero chief**, rose in rebellion.
- **Colonel Jones** camped for two years in Palamau and Sarguja to suppress the rebellion. Bhukhan Singh died in 1802, and, subsequently, the insurrection calmed down.

### POLYGAR REBELLIONS (1799 – 1805)

- **Polygars (Palaiyakkarars) were feudal lords** who were appointed as military chiefs and administrative governors from the time of the Vijayanagara Empire in parts of Southern India. (They were given the charge of **a Palayam** or **a group of villages**).
- It was the **Polygars who collected taxes from the cultivators**.
- But the East India Company came into conflict with the Polygars over the question of who should collect taxes, and sought to control the Polygars.
- The first rebellion, also called the **First Polygar War** broke out in 1799 in Tirunelveli district in modern Tamil Nadu.
- The Polygars were led by **Kattabomma Nayak** (also called **Veerapandi Kattabomman**) who was in charge of **Panchalankurichi Palayam**.
- He had defied the British for 7 years refusing to accept their suzerainty and pay revenue to them.
- In the battles with the British troops, Kattabomman initially escaped but was subsequently caught and publicly hanged as a warning to other Polygars.
- The **Second Polygar War (1800 – 01)** is also called the **South Indian Rebellion** due to its scale and reach.
- The main centres of these strong uprisings were Tinneveli (or Thirunelveli), Ramanathapuram, Sivaganga, Sivagiri, Madurai, and North Arcot.
- This South Indian Confederacy consisted of parts of Tamil Nadu, Krishnappa Nayak and Dhoondaji of **Mysore** and Pazhassi Raja Kerala Varma of **Malabar**.
- It took the British more than a year to suppress this rebellion.
- After this, the **Carnatic Treaty of 1801 was signed which gave the British direct control over Tamil Nadu**.
- Between **1803 and 1805**, the poligars of North Arcot rose in rebellion, when they were deprived of their right to collect the **kaval fees**. (Kaval or 'watch' was an ancient institution of Tamil Nadu. It was a hereditary village police office with specified rights and responsibilities.)

### UPRISINGS IN HARYANA REGION (1803-1810)

- The region of the present-day Haryana, with other possessions of Scindia, was taken over by the British East India Company by the treaty of **Surji-Arjungaon in 1803**.
- But the people of this region opposed the new set up. There was strong opposition to Company rule from the Sikh chiefs of Ambala, Karnal, and Thanesar.
- In the **western Haryana region**, opposition to the British was organised by the **Muslim Bhatti Rajputs** under the leadership of **Zabita Khan** of Sirsa and Rania and **Khan Bahadur Khan** of Fatehabad against the British.
- In 1809, **Col. Adams** was successful in the expedition. Further, **Lord Minto**, the Governor General, advised military action against the rebels. The British Resident at Delhi, **Archibald Seton**, sent a big



force under the charge of **Gardiner**, assistant to the Resident at Delhi in March 1810 to subdue the rebelling people, and soon captured **Bhiwani** after a bloody battle.

- The **fort of Hansi** was converted into a military cantonment.

### REVOLT OF VELU THAMBI DALAWA (1805 – 09)

- The East India Company's harsh conditions imposed on the state of Travancore, after both of them agreed to a **subsidiary alliance arrangement under Wellesley in 1805**, caused deep resentment in the region.
- The high-handed attitude of the Company compelled **Prime Minister (or Dalawa) Velu Thampi** to rise against the Company, assisted by the Nair troops.
- Velu Thampi addressed a gathering in **Kundara**, openly calling for taking up arms against the British to oust them from the native soil. This was later known as the **Kundara Proclamation**.
- A large military operation had to be undertaken to restore peace. The Maharaja of Travancore had not wholly supported the rebellion and defected to the side of the Company. Velu Thampi killed himself to avoid capture. The rebellion petered out.

<b>Bundelkhand (1808–12) (M.P. and U.P.)</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The vast province of Bundelkhand, conquered by the British during the <b>Second Anglo-Maratha Wars (1803–05)</b>, was put within the Presidency of Bengal.</li> <li>• The Bundela chiefs offered resistance to the new government.</li> <li>• The first major resistance came from <b>Lakshaman Dawa</b>.</li> <li>• But the most serious threat came from a famous military adventurer named <b>Gopal Singh</b>.</li> <li>• To put a stop to these disturbances, the British had to adopt a policy of binding down the hereditary chieftains of Bundelkhand by a series of contractual obligations—<b>Ikarnamahs</b>.</li> </ul>
<b>Parlakimedi Outbreak (1813–34) (Odisha)</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Parlakimedi, situated in the western border of Ganjam district (now in Odisha).</li> <li>• <b>Narayan Deo</b> was the raja of Parlakimedi, whose resistance forced the British to dispatch an army under <b>Colonel Peach</b>.</li> <li>• Peach defeated Narayan Deo in 1768 and made <b>Gajapathi Deo</b> (son of Narayan) a zamindar. But Narayan Deo, supported by his son and brothers, revolted again.</li> <li>• The Presidency of Madras appointed <b>George Russell</b> as commissioner of the region in 1832 who brought the rebellion under control by 1834.</li> </ul>
<b>Kutch or Cutch Rebellion (1816–32) (Gujarat)</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• There was a treaty between the <b>British and Maharaja Bharamal II of Kutch in 1816</b>. But there was, however, a power struggle between the maharaja and a group of chieftains.</li> <li>• The British interfered in the internal feuds of the Kutch and, in 1819, Raja Bharmal II raised Arab and African troops with the firm intention of removing the British from his territory.</li> <li>• The British defeated and deposed the Kutch ruler Rao Bharamal in favour of his infant son.</li> <li>• A <b>British resident governed</b> the areas as the de facto ruler with the help of a regency council.</li> <li>• In the meanwhile, some of the chieftains continued their rebellion against alien rule. After extensive military operations failed to control the situation, the Company's authorities were compelled to follow a <b>conciliatory policy</b>.</li> </ul>

### Hathras (1817) (U.P.)

- **Dayaram**, a talukdar of several villages in the district of Aligarh, had a strong base in the fort of Hathras.
- The English had concluded the settlement of Hathras estate with Dayaram as a farmer. But due to progressively increasing high revenues, Dayaram rebelled.
- He was obliged to come back on the condition of submission and settled down with a pension.
- Another noted rebel **Bhagwant Singh, Raja of Mursan**.

### PAIKA REBELLION (1817)

- The Paiks of Odisha were the **traditional landed militia ('foot soldiers' literally)** and **enjoyed rent-free land tenures** for their military service and policing functions on a hereditary basis.
- The English Company's **conquest of Odisha in 1803**, and the **dethronement of the Raja of Khurda** had greatly **reduced the power and prestige of the Paiks**.
- Further, land revenue policy of the Company caused **resentment among zamindars and peasants alike**.
- **Bakshi Jagabandhu Bidyadhar** had been the military chief of the forces of the Raja of Khurda.
- With active support of **Mukunda Deva, the last Raja of Khurda**, and other zamindars of the region, Bakshi led a **army of Paikas** forcing the East India Company forces to retreat for a time. The rebellion came to be known as the **Paika Bidroh (rebellion)**.
- The initial success of the rebels set the whole province covering Odisha in arms against the British government for some time.
- Though Khurda was back under Company control by mid-1817, the Paika rebels resorted to guerilla tactics. The rebellion was brutally repressed by 1818.
- **Priests at the Puri temple** who had sheltered Jagabandhu were caught and hanged. In 1825, Jagabandhu surrendered under negotiated terms.
- The **Paika Rebellion succeeded in getting large remissions** of arrears, reductions in assessments, suspension of the sale of the estates of defaulters at discretion, a new settlement on fixed tenures, and other adjuncts of a liberal governance.

### AHOM REVOLT (1828)

- The British had pledged to withdraw from Assam after the First Burma War (1824–26). But, after the war, instead of withdrawing, the British attempted to incorporate the Ahoms' territories in the Company's dominion.
- This sparked off a rebellion in **1828** under the leadership of **Gomdhar Konwar**, an Ahom prince, alongwith compatriots, such as **Dhanjay Borgohain**, and **Jairam Khargharia Phukan**.
- Finally, the Company decided to follow a conciliatory policy and handed over Upper Assam to **Maharaja Purandar Singh Narendra** (last Ahom King) and part of the kingdom was restored to the Assamese king.

### WAHABI MOVEMENT

- The Wahabi Movement was essentially an **Islamic revivalist movement** founded by **Syed Ahmed of Rai Bareilly** who was inspired by the teachings of **Abdul Wahab** (1703–87) of Saudi Arabia and **Shah Waliullah** of Delhi.
- Syed Ahmed **condemned the Western influence on Islam** and advocated a **return to pure Islam and society** as it was in the Arabia of the Prophet's time.
- Syed Ahmed was acclaimed as the desired leader (Imam).
- **Sithana** in the north-western tribal belt was chosen as a base for operations.
- In India, its important centre was at **Patna** though it had its missions in **Hyderabad, Madras, Bengal, United Provinces, and Bombay**.

- The Wahabis played an important role in spreading anti- British sentiments.
- A series of military operations by the British in the **1860s** on the Wahabi base in Sithana and various court cases of sedition on the Wahabis weakened the Wahabi resistance, although sporadic encounters with the authorities continued into the 1880s and 1890s.

### KUKA MOVEMENT

- The Kuka Movement was founded in **1840** by **Bhagat Jawahar Mal** (also called **Sian Saheb**) in western Punjab.
- A major leader of the movement after him was **Baba Ram Singh**. (He founded the **Namdhari Sikh sect**.)

- ***Namdhari** is a Sikh sect that **differs from mainstream Sikhs** chiefly in that it believes that the **lineage of Sikh Gurus did not end** with Guru Gobind Singh (1666–1708), as they recognize **Balak Singh** (1797–1862) as the **11th Guru of the Sikh religion**, thus continuing the succession of Sikh Gurus through the centuries from Guru Nanak Dev to the present day.*
- ***The 12th Guru was Ram Singh.***

- After the British took Punjab, the movement got transformed from a **religious purification campaign to a political campaign**.
- Its **basic tenets** were abolition of caste and similar discriminations among Sikhs, discouraging the consumption of meat and alcohol and drugs, permission for intermarriages, widow remarriage, and encouraging women to step out of seclusion.
- On the political side, the **Kukas wanted to remove the British and restore Sikh rule over Punjab**; they advocated **wearing hand-woven clothes** and boycott of English laws and education and products.
- So, the **concepts of Swadeshi and non-cooperation** were propagated by the Kukas, much before they became part of the Indian national movement in the early 20th century.
- As the movement gained in popularity, the British took several steps to crush it in the period between 1863 and 1872. In **1872**, **Ram Singh** was deported to Rangoon.

## → PEASANT MOVEMENTS

- Peasant uprisings were **protests against evictions, increase in rents** of land, and the **moneylenders'** greedy ways; and their **aim was occupancy rights for peasants** among other things.
- They were revolts and rebellions of the peasants themselves though led by local leaders in many cases.

### NARKELBERIA UPRISING

- **Mir Nithar Ali** (1782–1831) or **Titu Mir** inspired the **Muslim tenants in West Bengal** to rise against landlords, mainly Hindu.
- Often **considered the first armed peasant uprising** against the British, this revolt soon took on a religious hue.
- The revolt **later merged into the Wahabi Movement**.

### PAGAL PANTHI REVOLT (1825 – 1850'S)

- The Pagal Panthis were a religious order founded by **Karim Shah** in the **Mymensingh and Sherpur districts** of Bengal.
- The order's philosophy was that of **religious harmony and non-violence** incorporating tenets of Sufism, Hinduism and animism.
- Under Karim Shah's son **Tipu Shah**, the order revolted against the British government by organising peasant rebellions.

- They were **against the oppressive tax regime** of the British.
- Tipu Shah captured Sherpur in 1825 and practically ruled over the Sherpur and Mymensingh areas. Disturbances continued till the 1850's.

### FARAIZI REVOLT (1838 – 1857)

- The Faraizis were followers of a Muslim sect founded by **Haji Shariatullah**.
- It spread to **Faridpur, Bakharganj** and **Mymensingh** districts of Bengal.
- This movement supported the cause of the tenants against the landlords and the British government.
- It was led by **Shariatullah's son Dadu Mian**.
- Most of the Faraizis joined the Wahabi ranks.

### INDIGO REBELLION

- The indigo farmers revolted in the **Nadia district of Bengal** by refusing to grow indigo. They attacked the policemen who intervened.
- The planters, **in response to this, increased the rents and evicted the farmers** which led to more agitations.
- In April 1860, all the farmers in the Barasat division of the districts Nadia and Pabna went on a **strike and refused to grow indigo**. The strike spread to other parts of Bengal.
- The farmers were led by the **Biswas brothers of Nadia, Rafiq Mondal of Malda and Kader Molla of Pabna**. The revolt also received support from many zamindars notably **Ramrattan Mullick of Narail**.
- The revolt was backed by the Bengali intelligentsia. The whole of the rural population supported the revolt. The press also supported the revolt and played its part in portraying the plight of the farmers and fighting for their cause.
- The play **Nil Darpan (The Mirror of Indigo)** by **Dinabandhu Mitra** written in **1858 – 59** portrayed the farmers' situation accurately. It showed how farmers were coerced into planting indigo without adequate payment.
- The play became a talking point and it urged the Bengali intelligentsia to lend support to the indigo revolt.
- **Michael Madhusudan Dutta** translated the play into English on the authority by the **Secretary to the Governor of Bengal, W S Seton-Karr**.

### Assessment of the Indigo Rebellion

- The revolt was **largely non-violent** and it acted as a precursor to Gandhiji's non-violent satyagraha in later years.
- The revolt was not a spontaneous one. It was built up over years of oppression and suffering of the farmers at the hands of the planters and the government.
- Hindus and Muslims joined hands against their oppressors in this rebellion.
- It also **saw the coming together of many zamindars with the ryots or farmers**.
- The revolt was a success despite its brutal quelling by the government.
- **In response to the revolt**, the government appointed the **Indigo Commission in 1860**. In the report, a statement read, 'not a chest of Indigo reached England without being stained with human blood.'
- A **notification was also issued** which stated that farmers could not be forced to grow indigo.
- By the end of 1860, indigo cultivation was literally washed away from Bengal since the planters closed their factories and left for good.

- The revolt was made immensely popular by its portrayal in the **play Nil Darpan** and also in many other works of prose and poetry. This led to the revolt taking center stage in the political consciousness of Bengal and impacted many later movements in Bengal.

### DECCAN RIOT OF 1875

- In the **Bombay Deccan region**, the British had introduced the Ryotwari settlement as the system of land revenue.
- Under this, the revenue of land was fixed on a **yearly basis**.
- The revenue was fixed according to the soil-type and the paying capacity of the farmer. However, the **revenues were so high that farmers found it extremely difficult to pay their dues**. Any failure in the rains would deteriorate the situation.
- To pay their revenues farmers generally took loans from moneylenders. Once the loans were taken, the **farmers found it impossible to repay** them since the interest rates were steep.
- **Peasant indebtedness** became a serious problem in the rural areas.
- In **1861, civil war broke out** in the USA. USA was the largest supplier of cotton to Britain. Once the civil war broke out, the demand for cotton from India became high and this led to a surge in cotton cultivation in India and there was a period of 'boom' then.
- This led to **more loans** for the cultivation of cotton to the farmers by the moneylenders.
- However, once the war in America ended, cotton demand sunk, price dropped, and this affected the farmers adversely.
- The moneylenders, who during the time of the civil war were generous with their loans, once again refused the farmers loans.
- This infuriated the farmers because they were completely dependent on the moneylenders, who were insensitive to their plight.
- In **1875, peasants** in the Bombay Presidency rose in rebellion against the agrarian crisis.
- The uprising began at **Supa village in the district of Poona**.
- The farmers attacked a market place where many moneylenders lived. They burnt account books and looted grain shops. **They also torched the houses of sahkars** (people who were both traders and moneylenders).
- The farmers were led by the village headmen.
- The **farmers' main motive was to destroy the account books of the moneylenders** and they resorted to violence only when these books were not handed over to them.
- They also **socially boycotted the moneylenders**. The movement continued for 2 months and spread to over 30 villages.
- The movement also got support from the **Poona Sarvajanik Sabha** co-founded by **M G Ranade**.
- It took several months for the police to restore order in the countryside.
- The Bombay government initially dismissed the uprising as trivial.
- However, the Government of India pressurised Bombay to enquire into the matter.
- Accordingly, the **Deccan Riots Commission** was set up which presented a report to the British Parliament in 1878.
- In **1879, the Agriculturists Relief Act** was passed which ensured that the farmers could not be arrested and imprisoned if they were unable to pay their debts.



## → TRIBAL UPRISINGS

### THE PAHARIYAS

- The hill folk who lived around the **Rajmahal hills** were known as the **Pahariyas**.
- The Paharias had always **maintained their independence before the British came** because of their geographical isolation.
- As their **means of subsistence was not adequate**, especially in years of scarcity, the **Paharias often raided the plains** occupied by settled agriculturists. These raids also symbolised a **way of asserting power** over the settled communities.
- The **zamindars** on the plains generally paid a **regular tribute to the Pahariyas** to buy peace **even as traders paid the hill chiefs** to be permitted to use the passes controlled by them.
- However, this **brittle peace** negotiation **disintegrated** in the **last decades of the eighteenth century** when settled agriculture was expanded in eastern India with the **British encouraging forest clearance**.
- With the extension of settled agriculture, the area under **forests and pastures was reduced**, increasing the **conflict between hill folk and settled cultivators**. The Pahariyas now raided settled villages more often.
- In the 1770s, the British resorted to a brutal attack on the Pahariyas, aimed at hunting them down and killing them.
- The **Pahariyas rebellion of 1778 led by Raja Jagganath** is notable.
- In the **1780s**, the British initiated a **policy of pacification**; Paharia chiefs were given an annual allowance in return for ensuring that their men conducted themselves properly.
- Not all Pahariyas were ready to accept this policy. Some of them withdrew deep into the mountains, hiding away from hostile forces, and continuing the war against the diku or 'outsiders'.

### JUNGLE MAHAL REVOLT OR THE CHUAR UPRISING

- **Jungle—or Jungal—Mahals** is the name given to an **indefinite administrative unit** lying between the **Chota Nagpur** and the plains of Bengal. Later this area came to be identified as made up of some parganas in **Birbhum, Bankura, and Midnapore**.
- The **Chuars were the Bhumij tribals**. After moving away from the Chotanagpur plateau, they settled in large numbers in Midnapur, Bankura, and Purulia districts of Bengal.
- These people were basically farmers and hunters; **some of them worked under** the local zamindars.
- They held their lands under a kind of feudal tenure, but were not strongly attached to the soil, being always **ready to change from farming to hunting**, at the bidding of their jungle chiefs or zamindars.
- These jungle zamindars used to **hire paiks** (guards who policed the village) from among the Chuars. The **head paiks** were known as the **sardars**.
- The Chuar uprisings occurred in phases, each one with its own characteristics, leaders, and epicentre.
- The **first Chuar rebellion** broke out as a reaction to the **increase of the revenue** of the jungle zamindars. The revenue was difficult to raise as the jungle territory yielded little.
- Moreover, in **1767**, the British resident of Midnapur was instructed to **demolish their mud forts**, something that offended the zamindars.
- In **1768**, **Jagannath Singh**, the zamindar of **Ghatsila**, (or the king of Dhalbhum) went up in arms, along with Chuar followers. The Company government capitulated.
- In **1777**, the Chuar sardars, **Shyam Ganjan** of Dhadka, **Subla Singh** of Kaliapal, and **Dubraj** rose in rebellion. This time, however, the rebellion was suppressed.
- The most significant uprising was under **Durjan (or Durjol) Singh in 1798**.

- The **revenue and administrative policies** of the East India Company (the Permanent Settlement being one of them) **as well as the police regulations** imposed in rural Bengal made the system of hiring local paiks redundant as they came to be replaced by professional police.
- The **aggrieved paiks and ordinary Chuars** joined hands with the jungle zamindars in the **Chuar rebellion of 1798**.
- Other leaders of the Chuars were **Madhab Singh**, Raja **Mohan Singh**, and **Lachman Singh**.
- All the people in the uprisings were somehow associated with the land: **zamindars, paiks, and ordinary Chuars**.
- (The term 'Chuar' is considered derogatory by some historians who call this the Revolt of the Jungle Mahal, instead.)

### TAMAR REVOLT

- The tribals of **Tamar** (in Chotanagpur region) rose in revolt in **1798** under **Bholanath Sahay**. (In some sources, he is named Bholanath Singh.)
- The uprising was in reaction to the faulty and alien systems imposed by the British.
- The **Munda tribals** and their chiefs joined forces with Bholanath.
- The uprising was firmly suppressed by an expedition led by **Lt. Cooper**. There were several more revolts by the tribals of Tamar.

### KOL REBELLION (1832)

- The Kols were one of the **tribes inhabiting the Chhotanagpur area**.
- This covered **Ranchi, Singhbhum, Hazaribagh, Palamau**, and the western parts of **Manbhum**.
- They lived in complete autonomy under their traditional chiefs but this changed when the British came.
- Along with the British came the **moneylenders and the merchants**.
- The Kols then lost their lands to farmers from outside and also had to pay huge amounts of money in taxes. This led to many becoming bonded labourers.
- Besides, the British judicial and revenue policies badly affected the traditional social conditions of the Kols.
- The Kols resented this, and, **in 1831**, under the leadership of **Buddho Bhagat**, the Kol rebels killed or burnt about a thousand outsiders. Only after large-scale military operations could order be restored.

### HO AND MUNDA UPRISINGS (1820–37)

- The **Raja of Paraha** organised his **Ho tribals** to revolt against the occupation of **Singhbhum** (now in Jharkhand).
- The revolt continued till 1827 when the Ho tribals were forced to submit.
- However, later in 1831, they again organised a rebellion, joined by the Mundas of Chotanagpur, to protest against the newly introduced farming revenue policy and the entry of Bengalis into their region.
- Though the revolt was extinguished in 1832, the Ho operations continued till 1837.

### SANTHAL HUL (1833; 1855-1856)

- It needs to be noted that the **Santhals moved into the Rajmahal** area in the late 1770s and early 1780s from the region of Cuttack, Dhalbhum, Manbhum, Hazaribagh, and Midnapore.
- Rajmahal Hills are located in the **Santhal Pargana division of Jharkhand**.
- They showed a **willingness to give up a nomadic** life and lead a settled life.
- They were ready to clear the forests, plough the land, and grow crops. This suited the British interests; the Company wanted more revenue from land and more crops for export.
- The British, therefore, persuaded the Santhals to settle in the foothills of Rajmahal. But a feud between the **Santhals and the Paharias** continued for a long time.

• *(It has been called a battle between the hoe and the plough: the hoe symbolising the Paharias who used the tool in shifting cultivation and the plough standing for the Santhals who used it for settled agriculture.)*

- The British worked out a compromise between the two groups by forming the **Damin- i-koh** in **1832-33**. (Damin-i-koh is a Persian term meaning the **skirts – or outside edges – of the hills**.)
- A portion of land at the foothills was declared to be that of the Santhals; they were to live and practise agriculture with the plough within this area, and become settled peasants.
- The **Pahariyas** were practically forced to retreat into the higher hill tracts.
- Over time, the **Santhals found that they were gradually losing the land** they had worked on and brought under cultivation.
- The taxes levied by the Company government on their land was heavy and money had to be borrowed to pay off debts. But the **diku moneylenders** charged very high rates of interest and, when debts remained unpaid, took possession of the land.
- Slowly, zamindars were taking over the **Damin tracts**. By the 1850s, the Santhals felt the need to rebel against the zamindars and the moneylenders. The rebellion soon turned into a movement against the British colonial state.
- The Santhals called the rebellion '**hul**', meaning a movement for liberation. Under **Sidhu and Kanhu Murmu**, two brothers, the Santhals proclaimed an end to Company rule, and declared the area between **Bhagalpur and Rajmahal** as autonomous.
- **Phulo and Jhano Murmu**, the sisters of Sidhu and Kanhu, participated in the rebellion and are said to have entered the enemy camp under cover and killed several soldiers before they themselves died.
- The British suppressed the rebellion with a heavy hand by 1856, burning down villages, and killing thousands of Santhals. Sidhu and Kanhu were killed.
- It was after the Santhal Revolt of 1855-56 that the **Santhal Pargana was created** out of the districts of **Bhagalpur and Birbhum**. The pargana was to have special laws within it.

### KHOND UPRISINGS (1837–56)

- From 1837 to 1856, the **Khonds of the hilly tracts** extending from **Odisha to the Srikakulam and Visakhapatnam districts** of Andhra Pradesh revolted against Company rule.
- **Chakra Bisoi**, a young raja, led the Khonds, who were joined by the Ghumsar, Kalahandi, and other tribals to oppose the suppression of human sacrifice, new taxes, and the entry of zamindars into their areas.
- With Chakra Bisoi's disappearance, the uprising came to an end.

### KOYA REVOLTS

- The Koyas of the eastern **Godavari track** (modern Andhra), joined by **Khonda Sara** chiefs, rebelled in 1803, 1840, 1845, 1858, 1861, and 1862.
- They rose once again in **1879–80** under **Tomma Sora**. Their complaints were oppression by police and moneylenders, new regulations, and denial of their customary rights over forest areas.
- After the death of Tomma Sora, another rebellion was organised in 1886 by **Raja Anantayyar**.

### BHIL REVOLTS

- The Bhils who lived in the **Western Ghats** controlled the mountain passes between the north and the Deccan.
- They revolted against Company rule in **1817–19**, as they had to face famine, economic distress, and misgovernment. The British used both force and conciliatory efforts to control the uprising.
- However, the Bhils revolted again in 1825, 1831, and in 1846. Later, a reformer, **Govind Guru, helped the Bhils** of south Rajasthan (Banswara, Sunth states) to organise themselves to fight for a Bhil Raj by 1913.

## RAMOSI RISINGS

- The Ramosis, the **hill tribes of the Western Ghats**, had not reconciled to British rule and the British pattern of administration. They resented the policy of annexation.
- After the annexation of the Maratha territories by the British, the Ramosis, who had been employed by the Maratha administration, lost their means of livelihood.
- They rose under **Chittur Singh in 1822** and plundered the country around Satara.
- Again, there were eruptions in **1825–26 under Umaji Naik** of Poona and his supporter **Bapu Trimbakji Sawant**, and the disturbances continued till 1829.
- The disturbance occurred again in 1839 over deposition and banishment of **Raja Pratap Singh** of Satara, and disturbances erupted in 1840–41 also. Finally, a superior British force restored order in the area. Generally, the British followed a pacifist policy towards the Ramosis, and even recruited some of them into the hill police.

## KHASI UPRISING

- After having occupied the hilly region between **Garo and Jaintia Hills**, the East India Company wanted to build a road linking the **Brahmaputra Valley with Sylhet**.
- For this, a large number of outsiders including Englishmen, Bengalis, and the labourers from the plains were brought to these regions.
- The Khasis, Garos, Khamptis, and the Singphos organised themselves under **irath Singh** to drive away the strangers from the plains. The uprising developed into a popular revolt against the British rule in the area. By 1833, the superior English military force had suppressed the revolt.

## SINGPHOS REBELLION

- The rebellion of the **Singphos in Assam** in early 1830 was immediately quelled, but they continued to organise revolts.
- Chief Nirang Phidu led an uprising in 1843, which involved an attack on the British garrison and the death of many soldiers.

## BOKTA RISING, SARDARI LARAI, OR MUKTI LARAI MOVEMENT

- Chotanagpur was the scene of this movement between 1858 and 1895.
- It was aimed at **regaining the tribals' age old right over land** by pushing out the landlords.
- In the earlier phases of the revolt, the **tribal tenants rose against the landlords** because of the increased rent, eviction from land, and harassment by the landlords.
- Later, in the 1890s, the **Sardari movement turned against all Europeans** as they were suspected to be colluding with the landlords. British rule was perceived to be at the root of the problems faced by the tribals, therefore it had to end. When constitutional methods got little result, the tribals took to violence, using their traditional weapons such as bows and arrows. But the struggle lacked organisation and a good leader.

## BIRSA MUNDA REVOLT

- In the 1890s, **Birsa Munda** emerged at the head of a movement of the Munda tribes of **Singbhum and Ranchi districts** of Chotanagpur region.
- The **Ulgulan ('Great Tumult')**, as this movement was called, and which was aimed at getting independence establishing a Munda Raj, went on in phases right into the twentieth century.
- Resenting the **harassment by the landlords**, who were encroaching the tribal land and often pushed them into begar (forced labour), besides using brute force, the Munda tribals rose in revolt under Birsa Munda.
- The **objective** was to **attain religious and political independence**. The arrest and conviction of Birsa to two years of imprisonment by the British made the rebels more determined to go ahead with the movement which now took to violence.

- The **revolt broke** out in December **1899** and was directed against the dikus who included Christian missionaries as well as the much-hated landlords, contractors, police, and government officials.
- The British response was ruthless suppression. Birsa was arrested in 1900 and died of illness. Many rebels who were arrested were imprisoned and sentenced to death. The movement was, thus, weakened.
- Following the Birsa Movement, the authorities felt that the interests of the tribals needed to be safeguarded. The government decided to abolish the compulsory begar system and passed the **Tenancy Act of 1903** under which the **Mundas' Khuntkatti system** was recognised.

• 'Khuntkatti' system is **joint ownership of land** by tribal lineage. Under the system, Munda tribals usually clear the forests and make the land fit for cultivation. The cultivable land is then owned by whole clan and not a particular individual.

- The **Chotanagpur Tenancy Act** was passed in 1908. Birsa assumed legendary fame, and his movement was an inspiration for the social, religious, and political movements of tribals in the future.
- It **prohibits transfer of tribal land to non-tribals** and protects community ownership.

## → REFORM MOVEMENTS

### RAJA RAMMOHAN ROY AND BRAHMO SAMAJ

- **Raja Rammohan Roy (1772–1833)**, often called the **father of Indian Renaissance** and the maker of Modern India. He believed in the **modern scientific approach** and **principles of human dignity** and **social equality**.
- He put his faith in monotheism. He wrote *Gift to Monotheists* (1809) and **translated into Bengali** the **Vedas and the five Upanishads** to prove his conviction that ancient Hindu texts support monotheism.
- In **1814, he set up the Atmiya Sabha (or Society of Friends) in Calcutta** to propagate the **monotheistic ideals of the Vedanta** and to campaign against idolatry, caste rigidities, meaningless rituals, and other social ills.
- Strongly influenced by rationalist ideas, he **declared that Vedanta is based on reason** and that, if reason demanded it, even a departure from the scriptures is justified.
- Vedanta means the culmination of Vedic wisdom.
- He **stood for a creative and intellectual process** of selecting the best from different cultures.

- Raja Rammohan Roy **founded the Brahmo Sabha in August 1828**; it was later renamed **Brahmo Samaj**. Through the Sabha he wanted to **institutionalise his ideas and mission**.
- The Samaj was committed to *"the worship and adoration of the Eternal, Unsearchable, Immutable Being who is the Author and Preserver of the Universe"*.
- **Prayers, meditation, and readings of the Upanishads** were to be the forms of worship with no idolatry.
- The long-term agenda of the Brahmo Samaj—to purify Hinduism and to preach monotheism—was based on the **twin pillars of reason** and the **Vedas and Upanishads**.
- The Samaj **also tried to incorporate teachings of other religions**.

- Roy's progressive ideas met with strong opposition from **orthodox elements** like Raja Radhakant Deb who organised the Dharma Sabha to counter Brahmo Samaj.
- Roy's death in 1833 was a setback for the Samaj's mission.



### Features of Brahmo Samaj- in brief

- It denounced polytheism and idol worship;
- It discarded faith in divine avatars (incarnations);
- It denied that any scripture could enjoy the status of ultimate authority transcending human reason and conscience.
- It **took no definite stand** on the doctrine of karma and transmigration of soul and left it to individual Brahmos to believe either way.
- It criticised the caste system.

### Raja Rammohan Roy's Efforts at Social Reform

- Rammohan was a determined crusader against the inhuman practice of sati. He started his **anti-sati struggle in 1818**, and he cited sacred texts to prove his contention that no religion sanctioned the burning alive of widows. His efforts were rewarded by the Government Regulation in 1829, which declared the practice of sati a crime.
- Roy **attacked polygamy** and the **degraded state of widows** and demanded the **right of inheritance and property** for women.
- Rammohan Roy did much to **disseminate the benefits of modern education** to his countrymen.
- He supported **David Hare's** efforts to found the **Hindu College in 1817**.
- In **1825**, he established a **Vedanta college** where courses in both Indian learning and Western social and physical sciences were offered.
- He **compiled a Bengali grammar book** and evolving a modern elegant prose style.
- He knew more than a **dozen languages** including Sanskrit, Persian, Arabic, English, French, Latin, Greek, and Hebrew. A knowledge of different languages helped him broaden his range of study.
- As a bold **supporter of freedom of the Press** and as a pioneer in Indian journalism, Roy brought out journals in Bengali, Hindi, English, Persian to educate and inform the public and represent their grievances before the government.

### As a political activist,

- Roy **condemned oppressive practices** of Bengali zamindars and demanded fixation of maximum rents.
- He also **demanding abolition of taxes** on tax-free lands.
- He called for a **reduction of export duties on Indian goods** abroad and abolition of the East India Company's trading rights.
- He demanded the **Indianisation of superior services** and separation of the executive from the judiciary.
- He **demanding judicial equality** between Indians and Europeans and that trial be held by jury.

### As an internationalist,

- He stood for cooperation and brotherhood among nations.
- His understanding of the **universal character** of the principles of liberty, equality and justice indicated that he well understood the significance of the modern age.
- Roy had **David Hare, Alexander Duff, Debendranath Tagore**, P.K. Tagore, Chandrashekhar Deb, and Tarachand Chakraborty as his associates.

### DEBENDRANATH TAGORE AND BRAHMO SAMAJ

- Maharishi Debendranath Tagore (1817–1905), **father of Rabindranath Tagore**, gave a new life to Brahmo Samaj and a definite form and shape to the theist movement, when he joined the Samaj in **1842**.

- Earlier, Tagore headed the **Tattvabodhini Sabha** (founded in 1839) which, along with its organ Tattvabodhini Patrika in Bengali, was devoted to the systematic study of India's past with a rational outlook and to the propagation of Rammohan's ideas.
- A new energy and strength of membership came to be associated with the Brahmo Samaj due to the informal association of the two sabhas.
- Gradually, the Brahmo Samaj came to include prominent followers of Rammohan, the **Derozians** and independent thinkers such as **Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar** and **Ashwini Kumar Datta**.
- Tagore worked on **two fronts: within Hinduism, the Brahmo Samaj was a reformist movement; outside, it resolutely opposed the Christian missionaries** for their criticism of Hinduism and their attempts at conversion.
- The revitalised Samaj supported widow remarriage, women's education, abolition of polygamy, improvement in ryots' conditions, and temperance.

#### Related information: Henry Vivian Derozio

- Henry Vivian Derozio was born in 1809.
- In 1826, Derozio was appointed **teacher in English literature** and history in the new **Hindu College** at the age of 17.
- His brilliant lectures presented closely-reasoned arguments based on his wide reading. He encouraged students to read Thomas Paine's Rights of Man and other free-thinking texts.
- Derozio **promoted radical ideas** through his teaching and by **organizing an association** for debate and discussions on literature, philosophy, history and science.
- He inspired his followers and students to question all authority. Derozio and his famous followers, known as the **Derozians**. He founded **Young Bengal Movement**. They cherished the ideals of the French Revolution (1789 A.D.) and the liberal thinking of Britain.
- Derozio died of cholera in 1833.
- The Young Bengal Movement continued even after Derozio's sudden death.

#### KESHAB CHANDRA SEN AND THE BRAHMO SAMAJ

- Keshab Chandra Sen (1838–84) was made the acharya by Debendranath Tagore soon after the former joined the Samaj in **1858**.
- Keshab was instrumental in **popularising the movement**, and branches of the Samaj were opened **outside Bengal**—in the United Provinces, Punjab, Bombay, Madras, and other towns.
- Unfortunately, Debendranath did not like some of Sen's ideas which he found too radical, such as cosmopolitanisation of the Samaj's meetings by **inclusion of teachings from all religions** and his **strong views against the caste system**, even open support to inter-caste marriages. Keshab Chandra Sen was dismissed from the office of acharya in 1865.

#### SPLIT INTO: BRAHMO SAMAJ OF INDIA AND ADI BRAHMO SAMAJ

- **Keshab** and his followers founded the **Brahmo Samaj of India** in **1866**, while **Debendranath Tagore's** Samaj came to be known as the **Adi Brahmo Samaj**.
- In 1878, Keshab's inexplicable act of getting his 13-year-old daughter married to the minor Hindu Maharaja of Cooch-Bihar with all the orthodox Hindu rituals caused another split in Keshab's Brahmo Samaj of India.
- Earlier, Keshab had begun to be considered as an incarnation by some of his followers, much to the dislike of his progressive followers. Further, Keshab had begun to be accused of authoritarianism.

#### SPLIT INTO: SADHARAN BRAHMO SAMAJ

- After **1878**, the disgusted followers of Keshab set up a new organisation, the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj.

- The Sadharan Brahmo Samaj was started by **Ananda Mohan Bose, Sib Chandra Deb, and Umeshchandra Dutta**.
- It **reiterated the Brahmo doctrines** of faith in a Supreme being, one God, the belief that no scripture or man is infallible, belief in the dictates of reason, truth, and morality.
- A number of Brahmo centres were opened in Madras province. In **Punjab, the Dayal Singh Trust** sought to implant Brahmo ideas by the opening of **Dayal Singh College** at Lahore in 1910.
- However, the deep influence of the Brahmo Samaj, however, did not go much beyond Calcutta and, at most, Bengal. It did not have a lasting impact.

### PRARTHANA SAMAJ

- In 1867, Keshab Chandra Sen helped Atmaram Pandurang found the Prarthana Samaj in Bombay.
- A precursor of the Prarthana Samaj was the **Paramahansa Sabha**, something like a **secret society** to spread liberal ideas and encourage the breakdown of caste and communal barriers.
- Mahadeo Govind Ranade (1842–1901), joined the samaj in 1870, and much of the popularity of and work done by the society was due to his efforts. His efforts made the samaj gain an all-India character.
- Other leaders of the samaj were **R.G. Bhandarkar** (1837– 1925) and **N.G. Chandavarkar** (1855– 1923).
- The emphasis was on **monotheism**, but on the whole, the samaj was **more concerned with social reforms** than with religion. The Prarthana Sabha was very attached to the **bhakti cult of Maharashtra**.
- The samaj **relied on education and persuasion** and not on confrontation with Hindu orthodoxy.
- There was a four-point social agenda also: (i) *disapproval of caste system*; (ii) *women's education*; (iii) *widow remarriage*; and (iv) *raising the age of marriage for both males and females*.
- **Dhondo Keshav Karve** and **Vishnu Shastri** were champions of social reform with Ranade.
- Along with Karve, Ranade founded the **Widow Remarriage Movement** as well as Widows' Home Association with the aim of providing education and training to widows so that they could support themselves.

### YOUNG BENGAL MOVEMENT

- During the late 1820s and early 1830s, there emerged a radical, intellectual trend among the youth in Bengal, which came to be known as the '**Young Bengal Movement**'.
- A young Anglo-Indian, **Henry Vivian Derozio** (1809–31), who taught at the Hindu College from 1826 to 1831, was the leader and inspirer of this progressive trend.
- Drawing inspiration from the great French Revolution, Derozio inspired his pupils to think freely and rationally, question all authority, love liberty, equality and freedom, and oppose decadent customs and traditions.
- The Derozians also supported women's rights and education. Also, **Derozio was perhaps the first nationalist poet** of modern India. Derozio was removed from the Hindu College in 1831 because of his radicalism.
- The main reason for their limited success was the **prevailing social conditions** at that time, which were not ripe for the adoption of radical ideas. Further, there was **no support from any other social group or class**. The Derozians **lacked any real link with the masses**; for instance, they failed to take up the peasants' cause.
- But, despite their limitations, the **Derozians carried forward Rammohan Roy's tradition of public education** on social, economic, and political questions.

*For instance, they demanded induction of Indians in higher grades of services, protection of ryots from oppressive zamindars, better treatment to Indian labour abroad in British colonies, revision of the Company's charter, freedom of press, and trial by jury.*

- Later, **Surendranath Banerjea** was to describe the Derozians as *“the pioneers of the modern civilisation of Bengal, the conscript fathers of our race whose virtues will excite veneration and whose failings will be treated with gentlest consideration”*.

### ISHWAR CHANDRA VIDYASAGAR

- Vidyasagar's ideas were a happy blend of Indian and Western thought. He believed in high moral values, was a deep humanist, and was generous to the poor.
- In **1850**, he became the principal of **Sanskrit College**. He was determined to break the priestly monopoly of scriptural knowledge, and for this he **opened the Sanskrit College to non-brahmins**.
- He introduced Western thought in Sanskrit College to break the self-imposed isolation of Sanskrit learning. As an academician, he evolved a new methodology to teach Sanskrit.
- Vidyasagar started a **movement in support of widow remarriage** which resulted in legalisation of widow remarriage. He was also a **crusader against child marriage and polygamy**.
- He did much for the cause of **women's education**. As government inspector of schools, he helped organise 35 girls' schools many of which he ran at his own expense.
- As secretary of **Bethune School** (established in 1849), he was one of the pioneers of **higher education for women in India**.
- The Bethune college was founded as the Calcutta Female School in 1849 by **John Elliot Drinkwater Bethune**. He was an English educator, mathematician and polyglot who is known for his contributions in promoting women's education in India. It is considered the oldest women's college in Asia.

### BALSHASTRI JAMBHEKAR

- He was a pioneer of social reform **through journalism** in Bombay; he attacked brahminical orthodoxy and tried to reform popular Hinduism.
- He started the newspaper Darpan in 1832. Known as the father of Marathi journalism, Jambhekar used the Darpan to awaken the people to awareness of social reforms, such as widow remarriage, and to instil in the masses a scientific approach to life.
- In 1840, he started Digidarshan, which published articles on scientific subjects as well as history.
- Jambhekar founded the **Bombay Native General Library** and started the **Native Improvement Society** of which an offshoot was the Students Literary and Scientific Library.
- He was the **first professor of Hindi at the Elphinston College**, besides being a director of the Colaba Observatory.

### PARAMAHANSA MANDALI

- Founded in **1849** in Maharashtra by Dadoba Pandurang, Mehtaji Durgaram and others.
- It began as a **secret society** that worked to reform Hindu religion and society in general. The ideology of the society was closely linked to that of the Manav Dharma Sabha.
- Besides believing that **one god should be worshipped**, the society also said **real religion is based on love and moral conduct**. Freedom of thought was encouraged as was rationality.
- The founders of the mandali were **primarily interested in breaking caste rules**. At their meetings, food cooked by lower caste people was taken by the members. These mandalis also advocated widow remarriage and women's education.
- Branches of Paramahansa Mandali existed in Poona, Satara, and other towns of Maharashtra.

### JYOTIRAO PHULE AND SAVITRIBAI PHULE

- Jyotirao or Jyotiba Phule (1827–90), born in **Satara**, Maharashtra, belonged to the mali (gardener) community and organised a **powerful movement against upper caste domination** and brahminical supremacy.

- Phule founded the **Satyashodhak Samaj** (Truth Seekers' Society) in 1873, with the leadership of the samaj coming from the backward classes.
- The **main aims** of the movement were (i) social service, and (ii) spread of education among women and lower caste people.
- Phule **wanted social transformation**, not just social reform. Jyotiba wanted a society free of exploitation. Many believe that Phule introduced the **Marathi word 'dalit'** (meaning crushed) to describe those outside the varna system.
- He propagated what came to be called the **Satyashodhak marriage ceremony** – simple and inexpensive, besides making the services of the brahmin priest redundant.

• Phule's works, Sarvajanic Satyadharma and Gulamgiri, became sources of inspiration for the common masses.

- Phule **aimed at the complete abolition** of the caste system and socio-economic inequalities; he was against Sanskrit Hinduism. This movement gave a sense of identity to the depressed communities as a class against those brahmins who used religion and the blind faith of the masses to exploit the masses for personal monetary gain.
- **Jyotiba Phule** was given the title of **Mahatma in 1888** by another Maharashtrian social reformer, **Vithalrao Krishnaji Vandekar**.
- Jyotiba was not allowed to continue schooling because of his caste. However, with help and encouragement from the Persian scholar **Ghaffar Baig Munshi** and a British official, **Lizit Sahab**, Jyotiba was admitted in a Scottish missionary school.
- The society of the day was against education of girls as well. Yet, he along with his wife, Savitribai, were instrumental in opening a school for girls in Pune.
- Jyotiba, a firm believer in education for all, including women, taught his wife at home. Later, she took a teacher's training course.

### SAVITRIBAI

- Savitribai also **began to teach women and children** from the downtrodden castes. She and her husband established two educational trusts, namely the **Native Female School, Pune**, and the **Society for Promoting the Education of Mahars, Mangs, and others**.
- She started the Mahila Seva Mandal to raise awareness about women's rights. She and her husband rigorously campaigned against the dehumanisation of widows and advocated widow remarriage.
- With her husband, she set up a home called **Balhatya Pratibandhak Griha** (home to prevent infanticide) in 1863, where unwed mothers and widows who became pregnant under unfortunate circumstances could have safe deliveries instead of resorting to killing the infants or themselves.
- Savitribai is said to have organised a successful **barbers' strike** to denounce the inhumane practice of shaving widows' heads. She and her husband set an example against the evil of untouchability by opening their own water storage to everyone.
- After Jyotiba's death, Savitribai took over the Satya Shodhak Samaj, presiding over the meetings, guiding the workers, and working for plague victims. She died in 1897, getting infected by the plague while caring for a patient.

• Savitribai wrote poetry, and two of her collections are Kavyaphule and Bavankashi Subodh Ratnakar.

### GOPAL BABA WALANGKAR

- Gopal Baba Walangkar, also known as **Gopal Krishna**, was generally considered by Dr. B.R. Ambedkar to be the **pioneer of the Dalit movement**.
- Born into a Mahar family in Raigad district of Maharashtra, Gopal Krishna served in the army till he retired in 1886. He was deeply influenced by Jyotiba Phule.
- Walangkar subscribed to **Phule's idea of the Aryan invasion theory**, and said that the untouchable people of India were the indigenous inhabitants and that the brahmins came from the invading Aryans.



- He contended that the concept of caste was contrived by the Aryan invaders **to subjugate and control the Anaryans** (who were the indigenous people).
- He formed a group of Mahar astrologers so as to give a sense of empowerment to the Mahars and reduce the importance of the brahmins.
- Walangkar founded the Anarya Dosh-Parihar Mandali (Society for the Removal of Evils Among the Non-Aryans). It was through this society that a petition was sought to be raised against the policy of the government to discontinue the recruitment of Mahars in the army.

• In 1888, Walangkar began publishing the monthly journal Vital Vidhvansak (Destroyer of Brahmanical or Ceremonial Pollution). In 1889, he followed with a pamphlet, Vital Viduvansan (Annihilation of Ceremonial Pollution), which spoke against the position of untouchables in society.

- He has been called **the first intellectual rebel from the Dalit community**. His approach was not so much a direct opposition to the elites of society; it was rather an appeal aimed at making them change their attitude.

• He also wrote Hindu Dharma Darpan published in 1894. He contributed to Marathi language journals such as **Sudharak** and **Deenbandhu** to arouse awareness and inspire the depressed classes.

### KISAN FAGUJI BANSOD

- Born in a Mahar family, he wanted the Dalits boys and girls to be educated. He established the Chokhamela girls' school at Nagpur.

• Setting up his own press in 1910, Bansod published the journals Nirashrit Hind Nagarik, Vital Vidhvansak, and Majur Patrika.

- He was one of the secretaries of the All India Depressed Classes Conference in 1920.

### VITTHAL RAMJI SHINDE

- He was born in a **Marathi family** in Karnataka. He was influenced in his spiritual journey by the works of Tukaram, Eknath, and Ramdas.
- He **joined the Prarthana Samaj** and worked towards the removal of untouchability in India. He established a **night school** for the children of untouchables in Pune in 1905.
- He established the **Depressed Classes Mission in Bombay** in 1906.
- Shinde gave evidence before the **Southborough Franchise Committee in 1919**, and expressed the need for giving **special representation** to the untouchable class.
- He took part in the Civil Disobedience Movement and was imprisoned in the **Yerawda Central Jail**.

• Shinde was the author of Bharatiya Asprushyatecha Prashna.

### GOPALHARI DESHMUKH 'LOKAHITAWADI'

- Gopalhari Deshmukh (1823–92) was a social reformer and rationalist from Maharashtra.
- He held the **post of a judge** under British raj, but wrote for a **weekly Prabhakar** under the pen name of **Lokahitawadi** on social reform issues.
- He wrote against the evils of the caste system. **He said**, "If religion does not sanction social reform, then change religion."

• He started a weekly, Hitechhu, and also played a **leading role** in founding the periodicals, **Gyan Prakash**, **Indu Prakash**, and **Lokahitawadi**.



**GOPAL GANESH AGARKAR**

- He was an educationist and social reformer from Maharashtra. He was a co-founder of the **New English School**, the **Deccan Education Society** and **Fergusson College**. He was a principal of Fergusson College.
- He was also the first editor of *Kesari*, the journal started by Lokmanya Tilak. Later, he started his own periodical, *Sudharak*, which spoke against untouchability and the caste system.

**THE SERVANTS OF INDIA SOCIETY**

- Gopal Krishna Gokhale (1866–1915), a liberal leader of the Indian National Congress, founded the Servants of India Society in 1905 with the **help of M.G. Ranade**.
- The **aim** of the society was to **train national missionaries for the service of India**; to promote, by all constitutional means, the true interests of the Indian people; and to prepare a cadre of selfless workers who were to devote their lives to the cause of the country in a religious spirit.
- In 1911, the *Hitavada* began to be published to project the views of the society. The society chose to remain aloof from political activities and organisations like the Indian National Congress.
- After Gokhale's death (1915), **Srinivasa Shastri** took over as president. The society still continues to function, though with a shrunken base, at many places in India. It works in the field of education, providing ashram type of schools for tribal girls and balwadis at many places.

**SOCIAL SERVICE LEAGUE**

- A follower of Gokhale, Narayan Malhar Joshi founded the Social Service League in Bombay with an aim to secure for the masses **better and reasonable conditions of life and work**.
- They organised many schools, libraries, reading rooms, day nurseries, and cooperative societies.
- Their activities also included police court agents' work, legal aid and advice to the poor and illiterate, excursions for slum dwellers, facilities for gymnasia and theatrical performances, sanitary work, medical relief, and boys' clubs and scout corps.
- Joshi also founded the All India Trade Union Congress (1920).

**THE RAMAKRISHNA MOVEMENT – to fill the gap**

- The **didactic nationalism** of the Brahmo Samaj appealed more to the **intellectual elite in Bengal**, while the average Bengali found more emotional satisfaction in the cult of bhakti and yoga.
- The teachings of **Ramakrishna Paramahansa** (1836– 86), a poor priest at the Kali temple in **Dakshineswar**, on the outskirts of Calcutta (who was known in childhood as **Gadadhar Chattopadhyay**) found many followers.
- He did not write books, but his conversations with people formed the basis of what were considered his teachings. He spoke simply, drawn from the observation of ordinary life and nature.
- **Two objectives of the Ramakrishna movement** were—

1. to bring into existence a **band of monks dedicated to a life of renunciation and practical spirituality**, from among whom teachers and workers would be sent out to spread the universal message of Vedanta, and
2. in conjunction with lay disciples to carry on **preaching, philanthropic and charitable works**, looking upon all men, women and children, irrespective of caste, creed, or colour, as veritable manifestations of the Divine.

- Paramahansa himself laid the foundations of the **Ramakrishna Math** with his young monastic disciples as a nucleus to fulfil the **first objective**.
- Paramahansa sought salvation through **traditional ways of renunciation, meditation, and bhakti** amidst increasing westernisation and modernisation.

- He **recognised the fundamental** oneness of all religions and emphasised that Krishna, Hari, Ram, Christ, Allah are different names for the same God, and that there are many ways to God and salvation: **“As many faiths, so many paths.”**
- He used to say, “Service of man is the service of God.”
- Ramakrishna was married to **Saradmani Mukherjee**, later known as **Sarada Devi**. It was as ‘holy mother’ that the disciples also knew her as. She played an important role in the work of the math and encouraging the young disciples in their mission.
- The **second objective** was taken up by **Swami Vivekananda** after Ramakrishna’s death when he founded the **Ramakrishna Mission in 1897**. The headquarters of the Ramakrishna Math and Mission are at **Belur** near Calcutta. The two are twin organisations, though legally and financially separate.

### SWAMI VIVEKANANDA

- **Narendranath Datta** (1862–1902), who later came to be known as Swami Vivekananda, spread **Ramakrishna’s message** and tried to **reconcile it to the needs of contemporary Indian society**.
- He emerged as the **preacher of neo-Hinduism**.

### Accumulation of the best:

- Certain spiritual experiences of Ramakrishna, the teachings of the **Upanishads and the Gita** and the examples of the **Buddha and Jesus** are the basis of Vivekananda’s message to the world about human values.
- He subscribed to the **Vedanta**, which he considered a fully rational system with a superior approach. His mission was to **bridge the gulf between paramartha (service) and vyavahara (behaviour)**, and between spirituality and day-to-day life.
- Vivekananda believed in the **fundamental oneness of God** and said, “For our own motherland a junction of the two great systems, Hinduism and Islam, is the only hope.”

- Emphasising social action, he declared that **knowledge without action is useless**.
- He lamented the isolationist tendencies and the touch-me-not attitude of Hindus in religious matters. He frowned at religion’s tacit approval of the oppression of the poor by the rich.
- He believed that it was an insult to God and humanity to teach religion to a starving man.
- He pointed out that the masses needed two kinds of knowledge—secular knowledge about how to work for their economic uplift and the spiritual knowledge to have faith in themselves and strengthen their moral sense.
- He called upon his countrymen to imbibe a **spirit of liberty, equality, and free thinking**.
- At the **Parliament of Religions** held at Chicago in **1893**, he called for a **blend of the materialism** of the West and the **spiritualism of the East** into a new harmony to produce happiness for mankind.
- In India he delivered a series of lectures, the focus of which were to infuse into the **new generation a sense of pride in India’s past, a new faith in India’s culture, and a rare sense of confidence in India’s future**; to bring about a unification of Hinduism by pointing out the common foundation of its sects; to make the educated people see the misery of the downtrodden and work for their uplift by the application of practical Vedanta principles.
- His emphasis was not only on personal salvation but also on **social good and reform**.
- In **1897, he founded the Ramakrishna Mission**. The Mission stands for religious and social reform. Vivekananda advocated the doctrine of service—the service of all beings.
- The service of jiva (living objects) is the worship of Siva. Life itself is religion. By service, the Divine exists within man. Vivekananda was for using technology and modern science in the service of mankind.
- Unlike the Arya Samaj, the Mission **recognises the utility and value of image worship** in developing spiritual fervour and worship of the eternal omnipotent God, although it emphasises on the

essential spirit and not the symbols or rituals. It believes that the philosophy of Vedanta will make a Christian a better Christian, and a Hindu a better Hindu.

### DAYANANDA SARASWATI AND ARYA SAMAJ

- The Arya Samaj Movement was the result of a reaction to Western influences. Its founder, **Dayananda Saraswati or Mulshankar** (1824–83) was born in the old Morvi state in Gujarat in a brahmin family.
- The **first Arya Samaj** unit was formally set up by him **at Bombay in 1875**, and later the **headquarters of the Samaj were established at Lahore**.
- Dayananda's views were published in his famous work, Satyarth Prakash (The True Exposition). His vision of India included a **classless and casteless society**, a united India (religiously, socially, and nationally), and an India free from foreign rule, with Aryan religion being the common religion of all.

- He took inspiration from the Vedas and considered them to be 'India's Rock of Ages', the infallible and the true original seed of Hinduism. He gave the slogan **"Back to the Vedas"**.
- Dayananda's slogan of 'Back to the Vedas' was a call for a **revival of Vedic learning and Vedic purity of religion** and not a revival of Vedic times. He accepted modernity and displayed a patriotic attitude to national problems.
- Dayananda had received education on Vedanta from a blind teacher named Swami Virajananda in Mathura.
- Along with his emphasis on Vedic authority, he **stressed the significance of individual interpretation of the scriptures** and said that every person has the right of access to God.
- He criticised later Hindu scriptures such as the Puranas and the ignorant priests for perverting Hinduism.

- Dayananda strongly **criticised the escapist Hindu belief in maya (illusion)** as the running theme of all physical existence and the aim of human life as a struggle to attain moksha (salvation) through escape from this evil world to seek union with God.
- Instead, he advocated that **every individual had to work out his own salvation** in the light of the eternal principles governing **human conduct**.
- Dayananda launched a frontal **attack on** Hindu orthodoxy, caste rigidities, untouchability, idolatry, polytheism, belief in magic, charms and animal sacrifices, taboo on sea voyages, feeding the dead through shraddhas, etc.
- Dayananda subscribed to the **Vedic notion of chaturvarna system** in which a person was identified as a brahmin, kshatriya, vaishya, or shudra not by birth but according to the **occupation and merit of the person**.
- Dayananda believed in the theory of **karma and reincarnation**. But he also said the good deeds should be primarily for the good of others and not for self.
- The Arya Samaj fixed the **minimum marriageable age at 25 years for boys and 16 years for girls**. Swami Dayananda once lamented the Hindu race as "the children of children".
- The Arya Samaj's social ideals comprise, brotherhood of Man, equality of the sexes, absolute justice and fair play between man and man and nation and nation.
- Intercaste marriages and widow remarriages were also encouraged.
- Dayananda also met other reformers of the time— Keshab Chandra Sen, Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar, Ranade, Deshmukh, etc.

### Education

- Education was an all-important field for the samaj. The **Dayananda Anglo- Vedic (D.A.V.) College was established in 1886** at Lahore.
- **Differences in opinions:** Emerged between two groups arose over the curriculum of the D.A.V. College.

- One group was known as the **College Party** (some sources say '**Culture' Party**), among whose leaders were **Lala Hansraj**, Lala Lal Chand and **Lala Lajpat Rai**, and
- the other was the **Mahatma (later Gurukul) Party** led by Guru Datta Vidyarthi and Lala Munshi Ram (who later came to be known as **Swami Shraddhanand**).

- While the College Party favoured the government curriculum and English education to meet economic and professional needs, the Mahatma Party was interested in introducing the study of Sanskrit and Vedic philosophy.
- Swami Shraddhanand opened the Gurukul in 1900 at Gujranwala (in West Punjab, now in Pakistan). In 1902, the Gurukul was moved to Kangri near Haridwar, hence the name, **Gurukul Kangri**.
- Later, the **issue of vegetarianism** also became a point of contention: the College Party had nothing against non-vegetarianism, claiming that diet was a personal choice and it was not mentioned in the principles of the samaj; the Mahatma Party was in favour of all the Aryas being strict vegetarians. In the end, the **Arya Samaj split in 1893** over these issues.

### SHUDDHI MOVEMENT

- In its zeal to protect the Hindu society from the onslaught of Christianity and Islam, the Samaj started the **shuddhi (purification) movement** to reconvert to the Hindu fold the converts to Christianity and Islam.
- An aggressive campaign of shuddhi led to increasing communalisation of social life during the 1920s and later snowballed into communal political consciousness.
- The shuddhi movement also attempted to uplift those regarded as untouchables and outside the caste system of Hindus into pure caste Hindus.

<b>SEVA SADAN</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Behramji M. Malabari (1853–1912), founded the Seva Sadan in 1908 along with a friend, Diwan Dayaram Gidumal.</li> <li>• Malabari spoke vigorously <b>against child marriage and for widow remarriage among Hindus</b>.</li> <li>• It was his efforts that led to the <b>Age of Consent Act</b>, regulating the age of consent for females.</li> <li>• Seva Sadan specialised in taking care of those women who were exploited and then discarded by society. It catered to all castes and provided the destitute women with education, and medical and welfare services.</li> </ul>
<b>DEV SAMAJ</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Founded in <b>1887</b> at Lahore by <b>Shiv Narayan Agnihotri</b> (1850– 1927), earlier a Brahmo follower.</li> <li>• It is a <b>religious and social reform</b> society. The society emphasised on the eternity of the soul, the supremacy of the guru, and the need for good action.</li> <li>• It called for an <b>ideal social behaviour</b> such as not accepting bribes, avoiding intoxicants and non-vegetarian food, and keeping away from violent actions.</li> <li>• Its teachings were compiled in a book, Deva Shashtra. Agnihotri spoke against child marriage.</li> </ul>
<b>DHARMA SABHA</b> <b>(# orthodox # status quo)</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Radhakant Deb founded this sabha in 1830.</li> <li>• An orthodox society, it stood for the preservation of the status quo in socio-religious matters, opposing even the abolition of sati.</li> <li>• However, it favoured the promotion of Western education, even for girls.</li> </ul>

<b>BHARAT DHARMA MAHAMANDALA</b>  (# orthodox # status quo)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• An all-India organisation of the <b>orthodox educated Hindus</b>, it stood for a defence of orthodox Hinduism against the teachings of the Arya Samajists, the Theosophists, and the Ramakrishna Mission.</li> <li>• Organisations created to defend orthodox Hinduism were the <b>Sanatana Dharma Sabha (1895)</b>, the <b>Dharma Maha Parishad</b> in South India, and <b>Dharma Mahamandali</b> in Bengal.</li> <li>• These organisations combined in 1902 to form the single organisation of <b>Bharat Dharma Mahamandala</b>, with <b>headquarters at Varanasi</b>.</li> <li>• This organisation sought to introduce proper management of Hindu religious institutions, open Hindu educational institutions, etc.</li> <li>• <b>Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya</b> was a prominent figure in this movement.</li> </ul>
<b>RADHASWAMI MOVEMENT</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>Tulsi Ram</b>, a banker from Agra, also known as <b>Shiv Dayal Saheb</b>, founded this movement in 1861.</li> <li>• The Radhaswamis believe in <b>one supreme being, supremacy of the guru</b>, a company of pious people (satsang), and a simple social life.</li> <li>• Spiritual attainment, they believe, <b>does not call for renunciation of the worldly life</b>.</li> <li>• They consider all religions to be true. While the sect has no belief in temples, shrines, and sacred places, it considers as necessary duties, works of faith and charity, service and prayer.</li> </ul>

### SREE NARAYANA GURU DHARMA PARIPALANA (SNDP) MOVEMENT

- The SNDP movement was an example of a regional movement born out of conflict between the depressed classes and upper castes.
- It was started by Sree Narayana Guru Swamy (1856– 1928) among the **Ezhavas of Kerala**, who were a **backward caste of toddy-tappers** and were considered to be untouchables, and were denied education and entry into temples.
- The Ezhavas were the single largest caste group in Kerala constituting 26 per cent of the total population. Narayana Guru, himself from the Ezhava caste, took a stone from the **Neyyar river** and installed it as a **Sivalinga at Aruvippuram** on Sivaratri in 1888.
- It was intended to show that **consecration of an idol was not the monopoly of the higher castes**.
- The movement (Aruvippuram Movement) drew the famous poet Kumaran Asan as a disciple of Narayana Guru.
- In 1889, the Aruvippuram Kshetra Yogam was formed, which was decided to expand into a big organisation to help the Ezhavas to progress materially as well as spiritually.
- Thus, the Aruvippuram Sree Narayana Guru Dharma Paripalana Yogam (in short SNDP) was **registered in 1903 under the Indian Companies Act**, with Narayana Guru as its permanent chairman, and Kumaran Asan as the general secretary.
- Sree Narayana Guru **held all religions to be the same** and condemned animal sacrifice besides speaking against divisiveness on the basis of caste, race, or creed.
- On the wall of the Aruvippuram temple he got inscribed the words, *“Devoid of dividing walls of caste or race, or hatred of rival faith, we all live here in brotherhood.”*
- He urged the Ezhavas to leave the toddy-tapping profession and even to stop drinking liquor.
- The SNDP Yogam took up several issues for the Ezhavas, such as: (i) right of admission to public schools; (ii) recruitment to government services; (iii) access to roads and entry to temples; and (iv) political representation.

- The movement as a whole brought transformative structural changes such as upward social mobility, shift in traditional distribution of power, and a federation of 'backward castes' into a large conglomeration.

<b>VOKKALIGA SANGHA</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The Vokkaliga Sangha in <b>Mysore</b> launched an anti-brahmin movement in 1905.</li> </ul>
<b>JUSTICE MOVEMENT</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• This movement in Madras Presidency was started by <b>C.N. Mudaliar, T.M. Nair, and P. Tyagaraja</b> to secure jobs and representation for the non-brahmins in the legislature.</li> <li>• In <b>1917, Madras Presidency Association</b> was formed which demanded <b>separate representation for the lower castes</b> in the legislature.</li> </ul>
<b>SELF-RESPECT MOVEMENT</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• This movement was started by <b>E.V. Ramaswamy Naicker</b> in the mid-1920s.</li> <li>• The movement aimed at nothing short of a rejection of the brahminical religion and culture which Naicker felt was the prime instrument of exploitation of the lower castes.</li> <li>• He sought to undermine the position of brahmin priests by formalising weddings without brahmin priests.</li> </ul>

#### TEMPLE ENTRY MOVEMENT

- T.K. Madhavan, a prominent social reformer and editor of Deshabhimani, took up the issue of temple entry with the Travancore administration.
- In the meanwhile, **Vaikom**, in the northern part of Travancore, became a centre of agitation for temple entry.
- In **1924, the Vaikom Satyagraha**, led by **K.P. Kesava**, was launched in Kerala demanding the throwing open of Hindu temples and roads to the untouchables. The satyagraha was reinforced by jathas from Punjab and Madurai. M.K. Gandhi undertook a tour of Kerala in support of the movement.
- Again, in 1931, when the Civil Disobedience Movement was suspended, temple entry movement was organised in Kerala.
- Inspired by **K. Kelappan**, poet **Subramaniam Tirumambu** (the 'singing sword of Kerala') led a group of volunteers to Guruvayur.
- Leaders like **P. Krishna Pillai** and **A.K. Gopalan** were among the satyagrahis.
- Finally, on November 12, **1936**, the **Maharaja of Travancore** issued a proclamation throwing open all government-controlled temples to all Hindus.
- A similar step was taken by the **C. Rajagopalachari administration** in Madras in 1938.

<b>INDIAN SOCIAL CONFERENCE</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Founded by M.G. Ranade and Raghunath Rao, the Indian Social Conference met annually from its <b>first session in Madras in 1887</b> at the same time and venue as the Indian National Congress.</li> <li>• It focused attention on the social issues of importance; it could be called the <b>social reform cell</b> of the Indian National Congress, in fact.</li> <li>• The conference advocated inter-caste marriages, opposed polygamy and kulinism.</li> <li>• It launched the '<b>Pledge Movement</b>' to inspire people to take a pledge against child marriage.</li> </ul>
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### AHMADIYYA MOVEMENT

- The Ahmadiyya forms a sect of Islam which **originated from India**.
- It was founded by **Mirza Ghulam Ahmad in 1889**. It was based on **liberal principles**.
- It described itself like the Brahmo Samaj, on the **principles of universal religion** of all humanity, opposing jihad (sacred war against non-Muslims). The movement **spread Western liberal education** among the Indian Muslims.
- The Ahmadiyya community is the only Islamic sect to believe that the **Messiah had come in the person of Mirza Ghulam Ahmad** to end religious wars and bloodshed and to reinstate morality, peace, and justice. They believed in separating the mosque from the State as well as in human rights and tolerance.

### SIR SYED AHMED KHAN AND THE ALIGARH MOVEMENT

- The British view on the **revolt of 1857 held the Muslims** to be the **main conspirators**.
- But later, Britishers thought that the Muslims could be **used as allies** against a rising tide of nationalist political activity represented, among others, by the foundation of the Indian National Congress.
- This was to be **achieved through offers of thoughtful concessions** to the Muslims. A section of Muslims led by **Syed Ahmed Khan (1817–98)** was ready to allow the official patronage to stimulate a process of growth among Indian Muslims through better education and employment opportunities.
- Syed Ahmed Khan was a **loyalist member of the judicial service** of the British government.
- After retirement in **1876**, he became a **member of the Imperial Legislative Council** in 1878. His loyalty earned him a knighthood in 1888.
- He **wanted to reconcile** Western scientific education with the teachings of the Quran, which were to be interpreted in the light of contemporary rationalism and science even though he also held the Quran to be the ultimate authority.
- He said that **religion should be adaptable with time** or else it would become fossilised, and that religious tenets were not immutable.
- He started the **Mohammedan Anglo-Oriental College** (later, the Aligarh Muslim University) at Aligarh in 1875. He also struggled to bring about an improvement in the position of women.
- He believed in the **fundamental underlying unity** of religions or 'practical morality'. He also preached the basic commonality of Hindu and Muslim interests.
- Syed Ahmed Khan argued that **Muslims should first concentrate on education and jobs** and try to catch up with their Hindu counterparts who had gained the advantage of an early start.
- **Active participation in politics** at that point, he felt, **would invite hostility** of the government towards the Muslim masses.
- Unfortunately, in his enthusiasm to promote the educational and employment interests of the Muslims, **he allowed himself to be used by the colonial government** in its obnoxious policy of divide and rule and, in later years, started propagating divergence of interests of Hindus and Muslims.
- Syed's progressive social ideas were propagated through his magazine Tahdhib-ul-Akhlaq (Improvement of Manners and Morals).
- The ideology of the followers of the movement was based on a **liberal interpretation of the Quran** and they sought to **harmonise Islam with modern liberal culture**.
- They wanted to impart a distinct **socio-cultural identity to Muslims on modern lines**. Soon, Aligarh became the centre of religious and cultural revival of the Muslim community.

### THE DEOBAND SCHOOL (DARUL ULOOM)

- The Deoband Movement was organised by the **orthodox section** among the Muslim ulema as a revivalist movement with the twin objectives of **propagating pure teachings** of the Quran and Hadis among Muslims and keeping alive the **spirit of jihad against the foreign rulers**.

- The Deoband Movement was begun at the **Darul Uloom** (or Islamic academic centre), **Deoband**, in Saharanpur district (United Provinces) in 1866 by Muhammad Qasim Nanautavi (1832–80) and Rashid Ahmad Gangohi (1828–1905) to train religious leaders for the Muslim community.
- In contrast to the Aligarh Movement, which aimed at the welfare of Muslims through Western education and support of the British government, the aim of the Deoband Movement was moral and religious regeneration of the Muslim community. The instruction imparted at Deoband was in original Islamic religion.
- On the political front, the Deoband school welcomed the formation of the Indian National Congress and in 1888 issued a fatwa (religious decree) against Syed Ahmed Khan's organisations, the United Patriotic Association and the Mohammaden Anglo-Oriental Association.
- Mahmud-ul-Hasan, the new Deoband leader, gave a political and intellectual content to the religious ideas of the school.
- He worked out a synthesis of Islamic principles and nationalist aspirations. The Jamiat-ul-Ulema gave a concrete shape to Hasan's ideas of protection of the religious and political rights of the Muslims in the overall context of Indian unity and national objectives.
- Shibli Numani, a supporter of the Deoband school, favoured the inclusion of English language and European sciences in the system of education.
- He founded the Nadwatul Ulama and Darul Uloom in Lucknow in 1894–96. He believed in the idealism of the Congress and cooperation between the Muslims and the Hindus of India to create a state in which both could live amicably.

### PARSI REFORM MOVEMENTS

- The **Rahnumai Mazdayasnan Sabha** (Religious Reform Association) was founded in **1851** by a group of English- educated Parsis for the “regeneration of the social conditions of the Parsis and the restoration of the Zoroastrian religion to its pristine purity”.
- The movement had **Naoroji Furdonji, Dadabhai Naoroji, K.R. Cama, and S.S. Bengalee** as its leaders.
- The message of reform was spread by the newspaper Rast Goftar (Truth-Teller).
- In the social sphere, attempts were made to uplift the status of Parsi women through removal of the purdah system, raising the age of marriage and education. Gradually, the Parsis emerged as the **most westernised section** of the Indian society.

### SIKH REFORM MOVEMENTS

- The Singh Sabha Movement was founded at Amritsar in 1873 with a two-fold objective:
 

1. to make available modern western education to the Sikhs, and
  2. to counter the proselytising activities of Christian missionaries as well as the Brahmo Samajists, Arya Samajists, and Muslim maulvis.
- For the **first objective**, a network of **Khalsa schools** was established by the Sabha throughout Punjab.
- In the **second** direction, **everything that went against the Gurus' teachings was rejected**, and rites and customs considered to be consistent with Sikh doctrine were sought to be established.

### AKALI MOVEMENT

- The Akali Movement (also known as Gurudwara Reform Movement) was an offshoot of the Singh Sabha Movement.
- It aimed at **liberating the Sikh gurudwaras** from the control of corrupt **Udasi mahants** (the post having become hereditary). These mahants were a loyalist and reactionary lot, enjoying government patronage.
- The government tried its repressive policies against the non-violent non-cooperation satyagraha launched by the Akalis in 1921, but had to bow before popular demands; it passed the **Sikh Gurudwaras Act in 1922** (amended in 1925) which gave the control of gurudwaras to the Sikh

masses to be administered through **Shiromani Gurudwara Prabandhak Committee (SGPC)** as the apex body.

- The Akali Movement was a regional movement but not a communal one. The Akali leaders played a notable role in the national liberation struggle.

### THE THEOSOPHICAL MOVEMENT

- Madame H.P. Blavatsky (1831–91) and Colonel M.S. Olcott, who were inspired by Indian thought and culture, founded the **Theosophical Society in New York City**, United States in **1875**.
- In **1882**, they shifted their headquarters to **Adyar, on the outskirts of Madras** (at that time) in India.
- The society believed that a **special relationship** could be established **between a person's soul and God** by contemplation, prayer, revelation, etc.
- It **accepted the Hindu beliefs** in reincarnation and karma, and drew inspiration from the philosophy of the Upanishads and samkhya, yoga, and Vedanta schools of thought.
- It aimed to **work for universal brotherhood of humanity** without distinction of race, creed, sex, caste, or colour.
- The Theosophical Movement came to be allied with the **Hindu renaissance**. (At one time it allied with the Arya Samaj too.) It opposed child marriage and advocated the abolition of caste discrimination, uplift of and improvement in the condition of widows.
- In India, the movement became somewhat **popular with the election** of Annie Besant (1847–1933) as its president after the death of Olcott in 1907.
- Annie Besant came to India in 1893. She laid the foundation of the **Central Hindu College in Benaras in 1898** where both Hindu religion and Western scientific subjects were taught. The college became the nucleus for the formation of **Benaras Hindu University in 1916**. Annie Besant also did much for the cause of the education of women.
- As a movement of **westerners glorifying Indian religious** and philosophical traditions, it gave **much-needed self-respect to the Indians** fighting British colonial rule. Viewed from another angle, the Theosophists also had the effect of giving a false sense of pride to the Indians in their outdated and sometimes backward-looking traditions and philosophy.

### RUKMABAI CASE

- The case of Rukhmabai pushed the reformers to get **the Age of Consent Act passed**.
- Age of Consent Act (1891) forbade the marriage of girls below the age of 12.
- Rukhmabai Raut, who went on to become India's **first woman physician to practise medicine**, was married to Dadaji Bhikaji at the age of 11.
- Rukhmabai questioned the validity of her marriage with Dadaji, as the marriage had taken place before she had "arrived at years of discretion"
- Justice **Robert Hill Pinhey** dismissed Dadaji's petition, saying that Rukhmabai had been married off in "helpless infancy" and hence could not be forced to join her husband.
- In 1887, **Pinhey's decision** was overturned.
- Rukhmabai was told to live with her husband. Rukhmabai declared that she would rather undergo any punishment meted out by the court rather than go to live with her husband. It is said that it was only with **Queen Victoria's** intervention that the sentence of imprisonment was set aside.
- After finishing her studies, Rukhmabai obtained a position as **Chief Medical Officer in Surat**.
- During her long and distinguished career in medicine, she continued writing against child marriage and women's seclusion or purdah system.
- The Child Marriage Restraint Act 1929, popularly known as the **Sarda Act**, which came into force in 1930, further pushed up the marriage age to 18 and 14 for boys and girls, respectively.

## WOMEN'S ORGANISATIONS

- In 1910, **Sarla Devi Chaudhurani** convened the first meeting of the **Bharat Stree Mahamandal** in Allahabad.
- Considered as the **first major Indian women's organisation** set up by a woman, its objectives included promotion of education for women, abolition of the purdah system, and improvement in the socio-economic and political status of woman all over India.
- Sarla Devi believed that the man working for women's upliftment lived 'under the shade of Manu'.

- **Ramabai Ranade** founded the **Ladies Social Conference** (Bharat Mahila Parishad), under the parent organisation **National Social Conference, in 1904** in Bombay.
- **Pandita Ramabai Saraswati** founded the **Arya Mahila Samaj** to serve the cause of women. She pleaded for improvement in the educational syllabus of Indian women before the English Education Commission, which was referred to Queen Victoria.
- This resulted in medical education for women which started in Lady Dufferin College. Later, Ramabai Ranade established a branch of Arya Mahila Samaj in Bombay.

- In **1925**, the **National Council of Women in India**, a national branch of the International Council of Women, was formed. **Mehribai Tata** played a vital role in its formation and advancement.

## ➔ THE 1857 REVOLT: THE MAJOR CAUSES

### ECONOMIC CAUSES

#### Plight of cultivators and Zamindars

- The colonial policies of the East India Company destroyed the **traditional economic fabric** of the Indian society.
- **Impoverished by heavy taxation**, the peasants resorted to loans from moneylenders/traders at usurious rates, the latter **often evicting the former from their land** on non-payment of debt dues.
- These **moneylenders and traders emerged as the new landlords**, while the scourge of landless peasantry and rural indebtedness has continued to plague Indian society to this day.
- The **older system of zamindari was forced to disintegrate**. Zamindars often saw their land rights forfeited by the administration.
- **In Awadh**, the storm centre of the revolt, **21,000 taluqdars had their estates confiscated** and suddenly found themselves without a source of income, "unable to work, ashamed to beg, condemned to penury". These dispossessed taluqdars seized the opportunity presented by the sepoy revolt to oppose the British and try to regain what they had lost.

#### Plight of artisans

- British rule also meant **misery to the artisans and handicrafts people**.
- The annexation of Indian states by the Company cut off their major source of patronage—the native rulers and the nobles, who could not now afford to be patrons of the crafts workers.
- Added to this, British policy **discouraged Indian handicrafts** and **promoted British goods**.
- The destruction of Indian handicrafts **was not accompanied by the development of modern industries**.

**Impact on Business class**

- The Indian **trade and mercantile class** was deliberately **crippled by the British** who imposed **high tariff duties on** Indian-made goods.
- At the same time, the import of British goods into India attracted low tariffs, thus encouraging their entry into India.
- By mid-19th century, **exports of cotton and silk textiles from India** practically **came to an end**.
- **Refusal to impose protective duties against machine-made goods** from Britain simply killed Indian manufacture.
- The ruin of **Indian industry** increased the pressure on agriculture and land, which could not support all the people; the lopsided development resulted in pauperisation of the country in general.

**POLITICAL CAUSES**

- The East India Company's **greedy policy of expansion** accompanied by **broken pledges and promises resulted** in contempt for the Company and loss of political prestige, besides causing suspicion in the minds of almost all the ruling princes in India, through such policies as of '**Subsidiary Alliance**', and '**Doctrine of Lapse**'.
- The collapse of rulers—the erstwhile aristocracy—also adversely affected those sections of the Indian society which derived their sustenance from cultural and religious pursuits.

**ADMINISTRATIVE CAUSES**

- Rampant **corruption in the Company's administration**, especially among the police, petty officials, and lower law courts, was a major cause of discontent.
- Indeed, it is the view of many historians that the rampant corruption we see now in India is a legacy of the Company rule.
- Also, the character of the British rule imparted a foreign and alien look to it in the eyes of Indians: **a kind of absentee sovereignty**.

**SOCIO-RELIGIOUS CAUSES**

- **Racial overtones and a superiority complex** characterised the British administrative attitude towards the native Indian population.
- The **activities of Christian missionaries** who followed the British flag in India were looked upon with suspicion by Indians.
- The **attempts at socio-religious reform** such as abolition of sati, support to widow-marriage, and women's education were seen by a large section of the population as interference in the social and religious domains of the Indian society by outsiders.
- These fears were compounded by the government's decision **to tax mosque and temple lands** and **making laws** such as the **Religious Disabilities Act, 1856**, which modified Hindu customs, for instance, declaring that a change of religion did not debar a son from inheriting the property of his 'heathen' father.

**INFLUENCE OF OUTSIDE EVENTS**

- The revolt of 1857 coincided with certain outside events in which the British suffered **serious losses**—the First Afghan War (1838–42), Punjab Wars (1845–49). These had obvious psychological repercussions. The British were seen to be not so strong and it was felt that they could be defeated.

**DISCONTENT AMONG SEPOYS**

- The conditions of service in the Company's Army and cantonments increasingly came into conflict with the **religious caste and sectarian marks** and **secret rumours of proselytising activities** were interpreted by Indian sepoys, who were generally conservative by nature, as interference in their religious affairs.



- To the **religious Hindu of the time**, crossing the seas meant loss of caste. In **1856**, Lord **Canning's** government passed the **General Service Enlistment Act**, which decreed that all future recruits to the Bengal Army would have to give an undertaking to serve anywhere their services might be required by the government. This caused resentment.
- The Indian sepoy was equally unhappy with his **emoluments compared to his British counterpart**.
- A more immediate cause of the sepoys' dissatisfaction was the order that they **would not be given the foreign service allowance (bhatta)** when serving in Sindh or in Punjab.
- The **annexation of Awadh**, home of many of the sepoys, further inflamed their feelings.
- The Indian sepoy was **made to feel a subordinate at every step** and was discriminated against racially and in matters of promotion and privileges.
- The sepoy, in fact, was a **'peasant in uniform'** whose consciousness was not divorced from that of the rural population.
- Finally, there had been a long history of revolts in the British Indian Army—Vellore (1806), Barrackpore (1825), to mention just a few.

### IMMEDIATE REASON OF REVOLT

- The reports about the mixing of bone dust in atta (flour)
- Introduction of the **'Enfield' rifle**.
- The cartridge had to be bitten off before loading it into the gun.
- Indian sepoys believed that the cartridge was greased with either pig fat or made from cow fat. This was against the Hindu and Muslim sentiments. Thus they were reluctant to use the 'Enfield' rifle.
- This was a flashpoint to enrage the soldiers against the British. This was believed to be the immediate factor for the revolt of 1857.

### Starts at Meerut

- The revolt began at Meerut, 58 km from Delhi, on **May 10, 1857** and then, gathering force rapidly, soon embraced a vast area from the Punjab in the north and the Narmada in the south to Bihar in the east and Rajputana in the west.
- Even before the Meerut incident, there were rumblings of resentment in various cantonments. The **19th Native Infantry at Berhampore (West Bengal)**, which refused to use the newly introduced Enfield rifle and broke out in mutiny.
- A young sepoy of the **34th Native Infantry, Mangal Pande**, went a step further and fired at the sergeant major of his unit at Barrackpore. He was overpowered and executed on April 8 while his regiment was disbanded in May.
- The **7th Awadh Regiment** which defied its officers on May 3 met with a similar fate.

### Choice of Bahadur Shah as Symbolic Head

- The aged and powerless **Bahadur Shah Zafar** was proclaimed the Emperor of India.
- **Delhi** was soon to become the **centre of the Great Revolt** and **Bahadur Shah, its symbol**.
- This spontaneous raising of the last Mughal king to the leadership of the country was a recognition of the fact that the **long reign of the Mughal dynasty** had become the **traditional symbol of India's political unity**.
- With this single act, the sepoys had transformed a **mutiny of soldiers into a revolutionary war**, while all Indian chiefs who took part in the revolt **hastened to proclaim their loyalty** to the Mughal emperor. It also signified that the rebels were politically motivated. Though religion was a factor, the broad outlook of the rebels was not influenced by religious identity but by the perception of the British as the common enemy.
- Bahadur Shah, after initial vacillation, wrote letters to all the chiefs and rulers of India, urging them to organise a confederacy of Indian states to fight and replace the British regime.



- The Bengal Army soon rose in revolt, which spread quickly. Awadh, Rohilkhand, the Doab, Bundelkhand, central India, large parts of Bihar and East Punjab shook off British authority.



## CENTRES AND LEADERS OF REVOLT

### Delhi

- The nominal and symbolic leadership belonged to the Mughal emperor, Bahadur Shah, but the real command lay with a court of soldiers headed by General Bakht Khan who had led the revolt of Bareilly troops and brought them to Delhi.

<b>Kanpur</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>The natural choice was Nana Saheb, the adopted son of the last peshwa, Baji Rao II.</li> <li>Nana Saheb expelled the English from Kanpur, <b>proclaimed himself the peshwa, acknowledged Bahadur Shah</b> as the <b>Emperor of India</b>, and declared himself to be his <b>governor</b>.</li> <li><b>Tantia Tope</b> and <b>Azimullah Khan</b></li> <li><b>Sir Hugh Wheeler</b>, commanding the station, surrendered on June 27, 1857 and was killed on the same day.</li> </ul>
<b>Lucknow</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Begum Hazrat Mahal took over the reigns at Lucknow where the rebellion broke out on June 4, 1857 and popular sympathy was overwhelmingly in favour of the deposed nawab.</li> <li>Her son, <b>Birjis Qadir</b>, was proclaimed the nawab and a regular administration was organised with important offices shared equally by Muslims and Hindus.</li> <li><b>Ahmadullah</b></li> <li><b>Henry Lawrence</b>, the British resident, was killed during the siege.</li> </ul>
<b>Bareilly</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Khan Bahadur, a descendant of the former ruler of Rohilkhand, was placed in command.</li> <li>Not enthusiastic about the pension being granted by the British, he organised an army of 40,000 soldiers and offered stiff resistance to the British.</li> </ul>
<b>Bihar</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>The revolt was led by Kunwar Singh, the zamindar of Jagdishpur.</li> </ul>
<b>Faizabad</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Maulvi Ahmadullah of Faizabad was another outstanding leader of the revolt.</li> <li>He was a native of Madras and had moved to Faizabad in the north where he fought a stiff battle against the British troops.</li> </ul>
<b>Farrukhabad</b>	<b>Tufzal Hasan Khan</b>
<b>Jhansi</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>The most outstanding leader of the revolt was Rani Laxmibai.</li> <li>She was joined by <b>Tantia Tope</b>, a close associate of Nana Saheb.</li> </ul>
<b>Baraut</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>The name of Shah Mal, a local villager in Pargana Baraut (Baghpat, Uttar Pradesh), is most notable.</li> <li>He organised the headmen and peasants of 84 villages (referred as chaurasi desh), marching at night from village to village, urging people to rebel against the British hegemony.</li> </ul>
<b>Assam</b>	Kandapareshwar Singh, Maniram Dutta Baruah
<b>Orissa</b>	Surendra Shahi, Ujjwal Shahi

### SUPPRESSION OF REVOLT

<b>Delhi</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>The British captured Delhi on September 20, 1857.</li> <li>John Nicholson, the leader of the siege.</li> <li>Bahadur Shah was taken prisoner. The royal princes were captured and publicly shot at point-blank range by <b>Lieutenant Hudson</b>.</li> <li>The emperor was exiled to Rangoon.</li> </ul>
<b>Kanpur</b>	Sir Colin Campbell occupied Kanpur on December 6, 1857
<b>Lucknow</b>	<b>Sir Henry Havelock</b> and <b>Sir James Outram</b>

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Sir Colin Campbell, evacuated the Europeans with the help of Gorkha regiments.</li> <li>• In March 1858, the city was finally recovered by the British, but guerrilla activity continued till September of the same year.</li> </ul>
<b>Jhansi</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Jhansi was recaptured by Sir Hugh Rose.</li> </ul>

## → CAUSES OF FAILURE

### All classes did not join

- Certain classes and groups did not join and, in fact, worked against the revolt.
- **Big zamindars** acted as ‘**break-waters to storm**’; even **Awadh taluqdars backed off once promises of land restitution** were spelt out.
- **Moneylenders and merchants** suffered the wrath of the mutineers badly and, anyway, saw their class interests better protected under British patronage.
- **Educated Indians** viewed this **revolt as backward-looking**, supportive of the feudal order, and as a reaction of traditional conservative forces to modernity.
- Most **Indian rulers refused to join** and often gave active help to the British. Rulers who did not participate included the Scindia of Gwalior; the Holkar of Indore; the rulers of Patiala, Sindh, and other Sikh chieftains; and the Maharaja of Kashmir.

### Poor Arms and Equipment

- The Indian soldiers were poorly equipped materially, fighting generally with swords and spears and very few guns and muskets.
- On the other hand, the European soldiers were equipped with the latest weapons of war.
- The **electric telegraph kept** the commander-in-chief informed about the movements and strategy of the rebels.

### Uncoordinated and Poorly Organised

- The revolt was poorly organised with no coordination or central leadership.
- The principal rebel leaders—Nana Saheb, Tantia Tope, Kunwar Singh, Laxmibai—were no match to their British opponents.

### No Unified Ideology

- The mutineers **lacked a clear understanding** of colonial rule; **nor did they have a forward-looking programme**, a coherent ideology, a political perspective, or a societal alternative.
- The rebels represented diverse elements with **differing grievances** and concepts of current politics.

<b>Eric Stokes</b>	“Elitist in character”
<b>Lawrence and Seeley</b>	“Mere sepoy mutiny”
<b>T.R. Holmes</b>	“A conflict between civilisation and barbarism”
<b>James Outram</b>	“A Mohammedan conspiracy making capital of Hindu grievances”
<b>R.C. Majumdar and S.N. Sen</b>	“Not an organised ‘national’ revolt”
<b>R.C. Majumdar</b>	“Neither first, nor National War of Independence”

## ➔ GOVERNMENT OF INDIA ACT 1858

- The Revolt of 1857 served as a jolt to the British government.
- There was widespread resentment against the company in Britain as the policies of the company were blamed for the revolt.
- **Queen Victoria, who was the monarch of Britain**, also became the sovereign of British territories in India, with the title “**Empress of India**” as a result of this Act.
- India was to be **governed by and in the name of the Crown** through a **secretary of state** and a **council of 15**.
- First Secretary of State for India: **Lord Stanley**
- This **Secretary of State was to be a British MP and a member of the Prime Minister’s cabinet**.
- The **initiative and the final decision** was to be with the secretary of state, and the council was to be just advisory in nature. *(Thus, the dual system introduced by the Pitt’s India Act came to an end.)* This act made **India a direct British colony**.
- **Governor general became the viceroy** (his prestige, if not authority, increased).
- First Governor General and Viceroy of India: **Lord Canning**
- East India Company was liquidated. The **Court of Directors and the Board of Control were scrapped**.

- The **powers of the Company’s Court of Directors** were vested with the **Secretary of State for India**.
- **Secretary of State** was also the **channel of communication between the British government in Britain and the Indian administration**. He also had the power to send secret despatches to India without consulting his council.
- Via the Secretary of State, the British parliament could ask questions regarding Indian affairs.
- The Viceroy and the governors of the various presidencies were appointed by the Crown.
- The **Viceroy was to be assisted with an Executive Council**.
- This act also **ended the doctrine of lapse**.
- The Indian Civil Services was to be instituted for the administration of the country. There was provision for Indians also to be admitted to the service.
- It was decided that the **remaining Indian princes and chiefs (more than 560 in number)** would have their independent status provided they accept British suzerainty.

## ➔ INDIAN COUNCILS ACT-1861

- For the executive functions of the Council, a **fifth member was added**.
- Now there were **five members for home, military, law, revenue and finance**.
- **(A sixth member for public works was added in 1874.)**
- **Lord Canning**, who was the Governor-General and Viceroy at the time, **introduced the portfolio system**. In this system, each member was assigned a portfolio of a particular department.

- For legislative purposes, the Governor-General's Council was **enlarged**. Now, **there were to be between 6 and 12 additional members** (nominated by the Governor-General).
- They were appointed for a **period of 2 years**. Out of these, at **least half of the additional members were to be non-official (British or Indian)**. Their functions were confined to legislative measures.
- **Lord Canning nominated three Indians** to the Council in 1862 namely, the **Raja of Benares, the Maharaja of Patiala and Sir Dinkar Rao**.
- Any bill related to public revenue or debt, military, religion or foreign affairs could not be passed without the Governor-General's assent.
- The **Viceroy had the power to overrule the council** if necessary.
- The Governor-General also had the power to **promulgate ordinances** without the council's concurrence during emergencies.

- The **Secretary of State for India in Britain could also dissolve any act passed by the Governor-General's Council**.
- This Act **restored the legislative powers of the Governor-in-Councils of the Presidencies** of Madras and Bombay (which was taken away by the Charter Act of 1833). Thus, laid the foundations of legislative devolution.
- There was **provision made for the formation of legislative councils in other provinces**.
- Later, Legislative councils were formed in other provinces in **Bengal in 1862, North-West Frontier Province in 1886 and Punjab and Burma in 1897**.

#### Assessment of the Indian Councils Act 1861

- The **legislative council had limited role**. It was **chiefly advisory**. **No discussion on finance was permitted**.
- They had no control over budget. They could not discuss executive action.
- Even though Indians were nominated, there was **no statutory provision for the inclusion of Indians in it**.
- It allowed for the **decentralisation of administration** with the vesting of legislative power to the presidencies of Bombay and Madras.
- The **power of ordinance given to the governor-general gave him absolute powers**.

## ➔ POLITICAL ASSOCIATIONS BEFORE THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

- Most of the political associations in the **early half of the 19th century** were **dominated by wealthy and aristocratic elements**. They were **local or regional** in character. Through long petitions to the British Parliament most of them demanded—
  - administrative reforms;
  - association of Indians with the administration; and
  - spread of education.
- The political associations of the **second half of the 19th century** came to be increasingly **dominated by the educated middle class**—the lawyers, journalists, doctors, teachers, etc.,—and they had a wider perspective and a larger agenda.

#### POLITICAL ASSOCIATIONS IN BENGAL

- The Bangabhasha Prakashika Sabha was formed in 1836 by associates of Raja Rammohan Roy.



- The Zamindari Association, more popularly known as the 'Landholders' Society', was founded to safeguard the interests of the landlords. Although limited in its objectives, the Landholders' Society **marked the beginning of an organised political activity** and use of methods of constitutional agitation for the redressal of grievances.
- The Bengal British India Society was founded in **1843** with the object of "*the collection and dissemination of information relating to the actual condition of the people of British India...* and to employ such other means of peaceful and lawful character to secure the welfare, extend the just rights and advance the interests of all classes of our fellow subjects".

### MERGER INTO BRITISH INDIAN ASSOCIATION

- In **1851**, both the Landholders' Society and the Bengal British India Society merged into the **British Indian Association**. It sent a petition to the British Parliament demanding inclusion of some of its suggestions in the renewed Charter of the Company, such as:

- establishment of a separate legislature of a popular character;
- separation of executive from judicial functions;
- reduction in salaries of higher officers; and
- abolition of salt duty, abkari, and stamp duties.

- These were partially accepted when the Charter Act of 1853 provided for the addition of **six members** to the governor general's council for legislative purposes.
- The East India Association was organised by **Dadabhai Naoroji in 1866 in London** to discuss the Indian question and influence public men in England to promote Indian welfare. Later, branches of the association were started in prominent Indian cities.
- The Indian League was started in **1875 by Sisir Kumar Ghosh** with the object of "*stimulating the sense of nationalism amongst the people*" and of encouraging political education.

### INDIAN NATIONAL ASSOCIATION

- The Indian Association of Calcutta (also known as the Indian National Association) superseded the Indian League and was founded in **1876** by younger nationalists of Bengal led by **Surendranath Banerjea** and **Ananda Mohan Bose**, who were getting discontented with the conservative and pro-landlord policies of the British Indian Association.
- The Indian Association was the **most important of pre- Congress associations** and aimed to "*promote by every legitimate means the political, intellectual and material advancement of the people.*" It set out to:

1. create a strong public opinion on political questions; and
2. unify Indian people in a common political programme.

- It **protested against the reduction of age limit** in 1877 for candidates of the Indian Civil Service examination.
- The association **demand simultaneous holding of civil service examination** in England and India and Indianisation of higher administrative posts.
- It led a **campaign against** the repressive arms act and the vernacular press act.
- Branches of the association were opened in other towns and cities of Bengal and even outside Bengal. The membership fee was kept low in order to attract the poorer sections to the association.
- The association **sponsored an all-India conference** which first took place in Calcutta from December 28 to 30, 1883. More than hundred delegates from different parts of the country attended.
- So, in a way, the **association was a forerunner** of the Indian National Congress as an all-India nationalist organisation.
- It later **merged** with the Indian National Congress in **1886**.



## POLITICAL ASSOCIATIONS IN BOMBAY

<b>Poona Sarvajanik Sabha</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>was founded in 1867 by Mahadev Govind Ranade and others, with the object of serving as a bridge between the government and the people</li> </ul>
<b>Bombay Presidency Association</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>was started by Badruddin Tyabji, Pherozeshah Mehta, and K.T. Telang in 1885.</li> </ul>

## POLITICAL ASSOCIATIONS IN MADRAS

- The Madras Mahajan Sabha was founded in **1884** by M. Viraraghavachari (also, Veeraraghavachariar), B.Subramania Aiyer, and P.Ananda- charlu.

## → INC AND MODERATE PHASE

- In the later 1870s and early 1880s, a solid ground had been prepared for the establishment of an all-India organisation.
- As a prelude to the formation of INC, two sessions of the **Indian National Conference** had been held in 1883 and 1885, which had representatives drawn from all major towns of India.
- Surendranath Banerjea** and **Ananda Mohan Bose** were the main architects of the Indian National Conference.
- The final shape to this idea was given by a **retired English civil servant, A.O. Hume**, who mobilised leading intellectuals of the time.
- With their cooperation, organised the first session of the Indian National Congress at Gokuldas Tejpal Sanskrit College in Bombay in December 1885.
- Viceroy of India at the time was Lord Dufferin** who gave his permission to Hume for the first session.
- The first session of the Indian National Congress was attended by **72 delegates** and presided over by **Womesh Chandra (or Chunder) Bonnerjee**.
- The **second session of the Congress was held in Calcutta in 1886 followed by the third in Madras in 1887**.
- In **1890, Kadambini Ganguly**, the **first woman graduate of Calcutta University**, addressed the Congress session, which symbolised the commitment of the freedom struggle to give the women of India their due status in national life.
- Apart from the Indian National Congress, nationalist activity was carried out through provincial conferences and associations, newspapers, and literature.

## AIMS AND OBJECTIVES OF THE CONGRESS

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

Sessions	Location	President
1885	Bombay	W C Bonnerjee
1886	Calcutta	Dadabhai Naoroji
1887	Madras	Syed Badruddin Tyabji
1888	Allahabad	George Yule
1889	Bombay	Sir William Wedderburn
1890	Calcutta	Feroz Shah Mehta

## ➔ INDIAN COUNCILS ACT 1892

- The Indian National Congress (INC) was formed in 1885. There was a growing feeling of nationalism and this led the INC to put forth some demands to the British authorities.
- One of their demands was the **reform of the legislative councils**.
- They also wanted the **principle of the election instead of nomination**.
- The INC also wanted the **right to hold discussions on financial matters** which was hitherto not allowed.
- The Viceroy at the time **Lord Dufferin** set up a committee to look into the matter. But the Secretary of State did not agree to the plan of direct elections. He, however, agreed to representation by **way of indirect election**.

### PROVISIONS OF THE INDIAN COUNCILS ACT 1892

- The act increased the number of **additional or non-official members** in the legislative councils as follows:

- Central Legislative Council: 10 – 16 members
- Bengal: 20 members
- Madras: 20 members
- Bombay: 8 members
- Oudh: 15 members
- North Western Province: 15

- The **principle of representation was initiated through this act**. The district boards, universities, municipalities, chambers of commerce and zamindars were authorised to recommend members to the provincial councils.
- Though the **term 'election' was firmly avoided** in the act, an element of **indirect election** was accepted in the selection of some of the non-official members.
- The **members of the legislatures** were now entitled to **express their views upon financial statements** which were henceforth to be made on the floor of the legislatures.
- They could **also put questions** within certain limits to the executive on matters of public interest after giving **six days' notice**.
- The **legislative councils were empowered to make new laws and repeal old laws with the permission of the Governor-General**.

### Assessment

- It was the **first step towards a representative form of government** in modern India although there was nothing in it for the common man.
- The number of Indians was increased and this was a positive step.

- However, since the British conceded only a little, this act led indirectly to the rise of many revolutionary movements in India.
- Many leaders like **Bal Gangadhar Tilak** blamed Congress's moderate policy of petitions and persuasions for a lack of positive developments and called for a more aggressive policy against British rule.

## → MODERATE PHASE (1885 – 1905)

- The national leaders like **Dadabhai Naoroji**, **Pherozeshah Mehta**, **D.E. Wacha**, **W.C. Bonnerjea**, **S.N. Banerjea** who dominated the Congress policies during the early period (1885–1905) were staunch believers in 'liberalism' and 'moderate' politics and came to be labelled as Moderates to distinguish them from the neo-nationalists of the early twentieth century who were referred to as the Extremists.
- They were people who believed in British justice and were loyal to them.
- Prominent moderate leaders:-

<b>Dadabhai Naoroji</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Known as the '<b>Grand old man of India.</b>'</li> <li>• He became the <b>first Indian to become a member of the House of Commons</b> in Britain.</li> <li>• Authored '<b>Poverty and Un-British Rule in India</b>' which focused on the economic drain of India because of British policies. This led to an enquiry on the matter.</li> </ul>
<b>Womesh Chandra Bonnerjee</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The <b>first president of the INC.</b></li> <li>• Lawyer by profession.</li> <li>• First Indian to act as <b>Standing Counsel.</b></li> </ul>
<b>Dinshaw Wacha</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• He was one of the <b>founding members</b> of the Indian National Congress.</li> <li>• Wacha was also the <b>president of the Congress in 1901.</b></li> <li>• Wacha was associated with the cotton industry and was the President of the Indian Merchants' Chamber in 1915.</li> <li>• He was <b>knighted in 1917.</b></li> <li>• Sir Dinshaw was a member of the Bombay Legislative Council, the Imperial Legislative Council.</li> <li>• He headed the <b>Western India Liberal Association</b> from 1919 to 1927.</li> </ul>
<b>Pherozeshah Mehta</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Mehta was one of the founding members and President of the Indian National Congress in <b>1890 held at Calcutta.</b></li> <li>• He was <b>knighted</b> by the British Government in India for his service to the law.</li> <li>• He became the Municipal commissioner of Bombay Municipality in 1873</li> </ul>
<b>G Subramania Aiyer</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Founded '<b>The Hindu</b>' newspaper where he criticised British imperialism.</li> <li>• Also founded Tamil newspaper '<b>Swadesamitran</b>'.</li> <li>• Co-founded the <b>Madras Mahajana Sabha.</b></li> </ul>
<b>Gopal Krishna Gokhale</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Regarded as Mahatma Gandhi's political guru.</li> <li>• Founded the <b>Servants of India Society.</b></li> </ul>
<b>Sir Surendranath Banerjee</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Also called '<b>Rashtraguru</b>' and '<b>Indian Burke</b>'.</li> </ul>

- Founded the **Indian National Association** which later merged with the INC.
- Cleared the **Indian Civil Service** but was discharged due to racial discrimination.
- Founded newspaper '**The Bengalee**'.

- **Other moderate leaders** included Rash Behari Ghosh, R C Dutt, M G Ranade, P R Naidu, Madan Mohan Malaviya, P. Ananda Charlu, and William Wedderburn.

### AIMS AND DEMANDS OF THE MODERATES

- **Education of the masses and organising public opinion**, make people aware of their rights.
- **Indian representation in the Executive Council** and in the **Indian Council in London**.
- **Reform of the legislative councils**.
- **Separation of the executive from the judiciary**.
- **Decreased land revenue tax** and ending peasant oppression.
- After 1892, raised the slogan, "**No taxation without representation.**"
- **Reduced spending** on the army.
- **Abolishing salt tax and duty on sugar**.
- **Holding the ICS exam in India** along with England to allow more Indians the opportunity to take part in the administration.
- **Freedom of speech and expression**.
- Freedom to **form associations**.
- **Development of modern capitalist industries** in India.
- **End of economic drain** of India by the British.
- **Repealing the Arms Act** of 1878.
- Increasing **spending on education** of Indians.

### METHODS OF THE MODERATES

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

- They **believed in peaceful and constitutional methods** to demand and fulfil those demands.
- Used **petitions, meetings, resolutions, pamphlets, memoranda and delegations** to voice their demands.
- Their method has been called **3P – Prayers, Petition and Protest**.
- Had complete **faith in the British justice system**.
- **Confined to the educated classes** only.
- Did not try to employ the masses.
- They aimed only at **getting political rights and self-government under British dominion**.

*A **British committee of the Indian National Congress** was established in **London in 1889**. Dadabhai Naoroji spent a substantial portion of his life and income campaigning for India's case abroad. In 1890, it was decided to hold a session of the Indian National Congress in London in 1892, but owing to the British elections of 1891 the proposal was postponed and never revived later.*

### EVALUATION OF THE EARLY NATIONALISTS

The early nationalists did a great deal to **awaken the national sentiment**, even though they could not draw the masses to them.

1. They represented the **most progressive forces** of the time.
2. They were **able to create a wide national awakening** of all Indians having common interests and the need to rally around a common programme against a common enemy, and above all, the feeling of belonging to one nation.
3. They **trained people** in political work and popularised modern ideas.
4. They **exposed the basically exploitative character** of colonial rule, thus undermining its moral foundations.
5. Their **political work was based on hard realities**, and not on shallow sentiments, religion, etc.
6. They were able to establish the basic political truth that **India should be ruled in the interest of Indians**.
7. They created a **solid base for a more vigorous, militant, mass-based national movement** in the years that followed.

### Drawback

- The moderate phase of the national movement **had a narrow social base** and the masses played a passive role.
- This was because the early nationalists **lacked political faith in the masses**; they felt that there were numerous divisions and sub- divisions in the Indian society, and the masses were generally ignorant and had conservative ideas and thoughts.
- The Moderates felt that these heterogeneous elements had **first to be welded into a nation** before they entered the political sphere.
- But they failed to realise that it was only **during a freedom struggle** and with political participation that these diverse elements could come together.
- Still, the early nationalists represented the emerging Indian nation against colonial interests.

### British reaction

- **Dufferin** called the Congress “**a factory of sedition**”.
- Later, the government adopted a ‘**divide and rule**’ policy towards the Congress. The officials encouraged **reactionary elements** like **Sir Syed Ahmed Khan** and **Raja Shiv Prasad Singh** of Benaras to organise the **United Indian Patriotic Association** to counter Congress propaganda.
- The government also tried to divide the nationalists on the basis of religion, and, through a policy of ‘carrot and stick’, pitted the Moderates against the Extremists. But the government failed to check the rising tide of nationalism.

## ➔ MILITANT NATIONALISM (1905-1909)

### Recognition of the True Nature of British Rule

- Having seen that the British government was not conceding any of their important demands, the more militant among those politically conscious **got disillusioned and started looking** for a more effective mode of political action.
- Also, the feeling that **only an Indian government could lead India** on to a path of progress started attracting more and more people.

- The **economic miseries** of the 1890s further exposed the exploitative character of colonial rule. **Severe famines** killed 90 lakh persons between 1896 and 1900.
- **Bubonic plague** affected large areas of the Deccan.

- **1898** — Repressive laws under IPC Section 124 A were further amplified.
- **1899** — The number of Indian members in Calcutta Corporation were reduced.
- **1904** — Official Secrets Act curbed freedom of press.
- **1904** — The Indian Universities Act ensured greater government control over universities, which it described as factories producing political revolutionaries.

### Growth of Confidence and Self-Respect

- There was a **growing faith in self-effort**.
- **Tilak, Aurobindo, and Bipin Chandra Pal** repeatedly urged the nationalists to **rely on the character and capacities of the Indian people**.
- A feeling started gaining currency that the **masses had to be involved** in the battle against colonial government as they were capable of making the immense sacrifices needed to win freedom.

### Growth of Education

- While, **on the one hand**, the **spread of education led to an increased awareness** among the masses, **on the other hand**, the **rise in unemployment and underemployment** among the educated drew attention to poverty and the underdeveloped state of the country's economy under colonial rule.
- This added to the already simmering discontent among the more radical nationalists.

### International Influences

- Remarkable progress made by **Japan after 1868** and its **emergence as an industrial power** opened the eyes of Indians to the fact that economic progress was possible even in an Asian country without any external help.
- The **defeat of the Italian army by Ethiopians (1896)**, the **Boer wars (1899– 1902)** where the British faced reverses, and **Japan's victory over Russia (1905)** demolished myths of European invincibility.
- Also, the nationalists were inspired by the **nationalist movements worldwide**—in Ireland, Russia, Egypt, Turkey, Persia, and China. The Indians realised that a united people willing to make sacrifices could take on the mightiest of empires.

### Reaction to Increasing Westernisation

- The new leadership felt the stranglehold of **excessive westernisation** and sensed colonial designs to submerge the Indian national identity in the British Empire.
- Intellectuals like **Swami Vivekananda, Bankim Chandra Chatterjee, and Swami Dayananda Saraswati** inspired many young nationalists with their forceful and articulate arguments, painting India's past in brighter colours than the British ideologues had.
- These thinkers **exploded the myth of western superiority**. Dayananda's political message was '**India for the Indians**'.

### Dissatisfaction with Achievements of Moderates

- The younger elements within the Congress were dissatisfied with the achievements of the Moderates during the first 15– 20 years.
- They were strongly critical of the methods of peaceful and constitutional agitation, popularly known as the "**Three 'P's**"—**prayer, petition and protest**—and described these methods as '**political mendicancy**'.



### Reactionary Policies of Curzon

- He refused to recognise India as a nation and insulted Indian nationalists and the intelligentsia by describing their activities as “**letting off of gas**”. He spoke derogatorily of Indian character in general.
- Administrative measures adopted during his rule—**the Official Secrets Act, the Indian Universities Act, the Calcutta Corporation Act, and, above all, the partition of Bengal**—left no doubt in Indian minds about the basically reactionary nature of British rule in India.

### Existence of a Militant School of Thought

- By the dawn of the 20th century, a band of nationalist thinkers had emerged who advocated a more militant approach to political work.
- These included **Raj Narain Bose, Ashwini Kumar Dutta, Aurobindo Ghosh, and Bipin Chandra Pal** in Bengal;
- **Vishnu Shastri Chiplunkar** and **Bal Gangadhar Tilak** in Maharashtra; and
- **Lala Lajpat Rai** in Punjab.
- Tilak emerged as the most outstanding representative of this school of thought. The basic tenets of this school of thought were:

- hatred for foreign rule; since no hope could be derived from it, Indians should work out their own salvation;
- swaraj to be the goal of national movement;
- direct political action required;
- belief in the capacity of the masses to challenge the authority;
- personal sacrifices required and a true nationalist to be always ready for it.

## ➔ PARTITION OF BENGAL 1905

### BACKGROUND & THE PARTITION

- Since **1765 (following the Battle of Buxar)** the province of Bengal, which included present-day West Bengal, Bihar, Odisha, Bangladesh and Assam **was under the British**.
- It was a **very large area** and the **population rose to almost 80 million** by the first few years of the 20th century.
- **Calcutta was the capital of the province and also of British India.**

- The British government's decision to partition Bengal had been **made public in December 1903**.
- The idea was to have **two provinces: Bengal comprising Western Bengal** as well as the provinces of Bihar and Orissa, and **Eastern Bengal, and Assam**.
- Bengal retained Calcutta as its capital, while Dacca became the capital of Eastern Bengal.
- There were difficulties in administering such a large area. The eastern part, especially in rural areas were neglected.
- That region was lacking in the fields of industry, education and employment. Much of the industry was centred on Calcutta.

- For **administrative ease, the partition of the province had been proposed** even before Curzon had arrived in India.
- In **1874, Assam was sliced away from Bengal** and put under a **Chief Commissioner**.
- Lord Curzon proposed the partitioning of the province as an administrative measure solely. In 1904, he undertook a tour of eastern Bengal.

- The **idea of using the Bengal partition as a political tool to undermine the growing nationalism in Bengal** and other parts of India occurred later.
- Bengal would also lose **five Hindi-speaking states to the Central Provinces**. It would **gain Odia-speaking states** from the Central Provinces.
- **Eastern Bengal** would consist of Hill Tripura, Chittagong, Rajshahi and Dhaka divisions. Its capital would be **Dhaka**.
- **Bengal would have a Hindu majority and Eastern Bengal and Assam would have a Muslim majority population**. Its capital would remain Calcutta.

## REACTION TO THE PARTITION OF BENGAL

In the period **1903–05**,

- The leadership was provided by men like **Surendranath Banerjea, K.K. Mitra, and Prithwishchandra Ray**.
- The methods adopted were petitions to the government, public meetings, memoranda, and propaganda through pamphlets and newspapers such as **Hitabadi, Sanjibani, and Bengalee**.
- Their **objective was to exert sufficient pressure** on the government through an educated public opinion in India and England to prevent the unjust partition of Bengal from being implemented.
- Ignoring a loud public opinion against the partition proposal, the government **announced the partition** of Bengal in **July 1905**.

## Widespread political unrest

- On **August 7, 1905**, with the passage of the **Boycott Resolution** in a massive meeting held in the Calcutta Townhall, the After this, the leaders dispersed to other parts of Bengal to propagate the message of boycott of Manchester cloth and Liverpool salt.
- **October 16, 1905**, the day the partition formally came into force, was observed as a day of mourning throughout Bengal.
- People fasted, bathed in the Ganga, and walked barefoot in processions singing **Bande Mataram** (which almost spontaneously became the theme song of the movement).
- **‘Amar Sonar Bangla’**, which later became national anthem of present-day Bangladesh, was composed by Rabindranath Tagore and sung by huge crowds marching in the streets.
- **Rabindranath Tagore and Ramendrasundar Trivedi**, secretary of the Bangiya Sahitya Parishad at the time, appealed to the people to observe Rakshabandhan day on the date the partition came into effect.
- Soon, the **movement spread to other parts of the country**—in Poona and Bombay under Tilak; in Punjab under Lala Lajpat Rai and Ajit Singh; in Delhi under Syed Haider Raza; and in Madras under Chidambaram Pillai.

## After 1905,

- The Extremists acquired a **dominant influence** over the Swadeshi Movement in Bengal. There were three reasons for this:

- The Moderate-led movement had failed to yield results.
- The **divisive tactics of the governments** of both the Bengals had embittered the nationalists.
- The government had **resorted to suppressive measures**, which included atrocities on students—many of whom were given corporal punishment; ban on public singing of Vande Mataram; restriction on public meetings; prosecution and long imprisonment of swadeshi workers; clashes between the police and the people in many towns; arrests and deportation of leaders; and suppression of freedom of the press.

- Emboldened by **Dadabhai Naoroji’s declaration at the Calcutta session (1906)** that **self-government or swaraj** was to be the goal of the Congress, the Extremists gave a call for passive

resistance in addition to swadeshi and boycott which would include a boycott of government schools and colleges, government service, courts, legislative councils, municipalities, government titles, etc.

- The militant nationalists tried to transform the anti- partition and Swadeshi Movement into a **mass struggle** and gave the **slogan of India's independence** from foreign rule.
- **"Political freedom is the lifebreath of a nation,"** declared **Aurobindo**.
- Samitis such as the Swadesh Bandhab Samiti of Ashwini Kumar Dutta (in Barisal) emerged as a very popular and powerful means of mass mobilisation.
- **Tilak's Ganapati** and **Shivaji festivals** became a medium of swadeshi propaganda not only in western India but also in Bengal. In Bengal also, the traditional folk theatre forms were used for this purpose.

### Programme of Swadeshi or National Education

- The movement to boycott British educational institutions gathered momentum in the wake of the British government's efforts to suppress the participation of students.
- The British action led to the founding of national schools. In this context, it may be recalled that Raja Subodh Mullick made a contribution of Rs 100,000 towards the foundation of a national university in Bengal.
- A **National Council of Education** was set up on **August 15, 1906**, and the **Bengal National College** and **Bengal Technical Institute** were established.
- The first principal of the Bengal National College was **Aurobindo Ghosh** and its first president was **Rashbehari Ghosh**. The college was inspired by Tagore's school at Shantiniketan which had been set up in **1901**. Several more national schools were established in Bengal and Bihar.
- **Satishchandra Mukherjee's** role in encouraging national education should not be ignored. His newspaper **Dawn**, in circulation since 1897, and his **Dawn Society**, set up in 1902, had already been propagating the message of self-help in industry and education.
- Mukherjee pioneered the national education movement by founding the **Bhagabat Chatuspathi in 1895**. He took a leading part in the formation of the National Council of Education and later became a lecturer in the Bengal National College, and its principal when Aurobindo resigned.

### Swadeshi or Indigenous Enterprises

- **V.O. Chidambaram Pillai's** venture into a national shipbuilding enterprise—**Swadeshi Steam Navigation Company**—at Tuticorin, however, gave a challenge to the British Indian Steam Navigation Company.
- Rabindranath's **Swadeshi Bhandar** (1897), Jogeshchandra Chaudhuri's **Indian Stores** (1901), and Sarala Debi's **Lakshmir Bhandar** (1903) were all efforts in this direction.
- The **Bengal Chemicals factory** had been established by **Prafullachandra Ray in 1893**. Such efforts gained in momentum with the mood of the Swadeshi Movement.

### Cultural Sphere

- In Tamil Nadu, **Subramania Bharati** wrote **Sudesh Geetham**.
- In painting, **Abanindranath Tagore** broke the domination of Victorian naturalism over the Indian art scene and took inspiration from Ajanta, Mughal, and Rajput paintings.
- **Nandalal Bose**, who left a major imprint on Indian art, was the first recipient of a scholarship offered by the **Indian Society of Oriental Art**, founded in 1907.
- In science, Jagdish Chandra Bose, Prafullachandra Roy, and others pioneered original research which was praised the world over.

### Partition annulled

- Owing to mass political protests, the **partition was annulled in 1911**.
- New provinces were **created based on linguistic lines rather than religious lines**.

- Bihar and Orissa Province were carved out of Bengal.
- A separate Assam province was created.
- The **capital of British India was moved to Delhi from Calcutta in 1911.**
- Despite the annulment, the partition did create a communal divide among the Hindus and Muslims of Bengal.

### Analysis

- The movement **failed to create an effective organisation** or a party structure.
- It produced **entire gamut of techniques** that later came to be associated with Gandhian politics—non-cooperation, passive resistance, filling of British jails, social reform, and constructive work—but failed to give these techniques a disciplined focus.
- The movement was **rendered leaderless** with most of the leaders either arrested or deported by 1908 and with Aurobindo Ghosh and Bipin Chandra Pal retiring from active politics.
- **Internal squabbles** among leaders, magnified by the Surat split (1907), did much harm to the movement.
- The movement aroused the people but **did not know how to tap the newly released energy** or how to find new forms to give expression to popular resentment.
- Hitherto untouched sections—students, women, workers, some sections of urban and rural population—participated.
- Non-cooperation and passive resistance remained mere ideas.
- It is difficult to sustain a mass-based movement at a high pitch for too long.
- But, the people were aroused from slumber and now they learned to take bold political positions and participate in new forms of political work.

## → SURAT SPLIT

### BENARAS SESSION

- In **December 1905, at the Benaras session** of the Indian National Congress presided over by **Gokhale**, the Moderate- Extremist differences came to the fore.
- The **Extremists wanted to extend the Boycott and Swadeshi Movement to regions outside Bengal** and also to include all forms of associations (such as government service, law courts, legislative councils, etc.) within the boycott programme and thus start a nationwide mass movement.
- The Extremists **wanted a strong resolution** supporting their programme at the Benaras session.
- The **Moderates, on the other hand, were not in favour** of extending the movement beyond Bengal and were totally opposed to boycott of councils and similar associations.

### CALCUTTA SESSION

- At the Calcutta session in **December 1906**, the Moderate enthusiasm had cooled a bit because of the popularity of the Extremists and the revolutionaries.
- Here, the Extremists wanted **either Tilak or Lajpat Rai as the president**, while the Moderates proposed the name of **Dadabhai Naoroji**, who was widely respected by all the nationalists. Finally, Dadabhai Naoroji was elected as the president and as a concession to the militants, the goal of the INC was defined as **‘swarajya or self-government’** like the United Kingdom or the colonies of Australia and Canada.
- Also, a **resolution supporting the programme** of swadeshi, boycott, and national education was passed.

- The word '**swaraj**' was mentioned for the first time, but its connotation was not spelt out, which left the field open for differing interpretations by the Moderates and the Extremists.
- The Extremists gave a call for **wide passive resistance**. The Extremists thought that the people had been aroused and the battle for freedom had begun.
- The Moderates thought that it would be dangerous at that stage to associate with the Extremists whose anti-imperialist agitation, it was felt, would be ruthlessly suppressed by the mighty colonial forces.
- The **Moderates saw in the council reforms** an opportunity to realise their dream of Indian participation in the administration.

### THE SPLIT

- The differences between the moderates and the extremists **became official** in the Surat session of the **Indian National Congress (INC) in 1907**.
- The meeting was **to take place in Nagpur that year**.
- The **extremists wanted Lala Lajpat Rai or Bal Gangadhar Tilak to be the President. But the moderates wanted Rash Behari Ghosh** as President.
- There was a rule that the session's President could not be from the home province. Tilak's home province was Bombay Presidency in which Surat was also situated. So, the moderates changed the venue to Surat so that Tilak could be excluded from the presidency.
- The **moderates also wanted to drop the resolutions on swadeshi, boycott movements and national education**.
- **Rash Behari Ghosh became the president** in the session which was held at Surat.
- Tilak was not even allowed to speak and this angered the extremists, who wanted to cancel the session.
- Both sides were firm on their demands and neither was willing to find a common path.
- The moderates then held a separate meeting in which they reiterated the **Congress goal of self-government within the British Empire** and to adopt only constitutional methods to achieve their goals.
- Unfortunately, the Surat session was marred by violence.

### METHODS OF EXTREMIST LEADERS

- The **extremist goal was 'swaraj'**. This, at that time, **either meant complete autonomy and freedom from British control, or a total Indian control over the administration** but not necessarily a break away from Britain's imperial reign.
- This was in **contrast to the moderates' demand of only an increase in the share of Indians** in the administration and military upper echelons.
- The **extremist leaders involved wider sections of people in the movement**. They involved lower-middle-class people also.
- They **did not stick to constitutional methods to protest and demand**. They resorted to boycotts, strikes, etc. They also burned foreign-made goods.
- They **believed in confrontation** rather than persuasion.
- The **Swadeshi movement gathered momentum** in India because of the extremists' support. This led to the **establishment of Indian banks, mills, factories, etc.**
- They were **strongly against British imperialistic policies** in India.
- They took **pride in Indian culture and history**. They looked at the ancient scriptures for inspiration and courage.
- They **believed in sacrificing everything including life** for the cause of the motherland.
- They opposed westernisation of Indian society by the British.
- Tilak famously said, "**Swaraj is my birth right and I shall have it.**"

- They were **very vocal in their opposition to the British rule**, unlike the moderates who had faith in British justice.
- They tried to instil **self-respect and patriotism in the people by invoking past heroes** like Ashoka, Shivaji, Maharana Pratap and Rani Laxmibai.

### EXTREMIST LEADERS

- **Lala Lajpat Rai, Bal Gangadhar Tilak, Bipin Chandra Pal** (the first three called Lal-Bal-Pal leading the extremist cause in Punjab, Bombay and Bengal respectively.)
- Other leaders included **Aurobindo Ghosh, Rajnarayan Bose, A K Dutt, V O C Pillai**.

### Government reaction to extremists

- The government attacked the extremist leaders vigorously.
- Laws were passed to check their activities and influence. The following laws were passed between 1907 and 1911:

- Seditious Meetings Act, 1907;
- Indian Newspapers (Incitement to Offences) Act, 1908;
- Criminal Law Amendment Act, 1908; and
- the Indian Press Act, 1910.

- Tilak, the main Extremist leader, was **tried in 1909 for sedition** for what he had written in 1908 in his **Kesari** about a bomb thrown by Bengal revolutionaries in Muzaffarpur, resulting in the death of two innocent European women. Tilak was **sentenced and served in prison in Mandalay (Burma)**
- **Aurobindo and B.C. Pal** retired from active politics. **Lajpat Rai** left for abroad.
- The Extremists were not able to organise an effective alternative party to sustain the movement.
- The Moderates were left with no popular base or support, especially as the youth rallied behind the Extremists.
- After 1908, the national movement as a whole declined for a time. In 1914, Tilak was released and he picked up the threads of the movement.

## ➔ MUSLIM LEAGUE

- On **30 December 1906**, the **All-India Muslim League (AIML)**, popularly known as the Muslim League was **founded in Dhaka**.
- The **communal idea** that the Muslims are a separate nation was sown into the Indian political ethos first by **Sir Syed Ahmed Khan**, a philosopher and Muslim reformist.
- Although he wanted Muslims to get educated and think in a scientific temper, **he suggested aligning with the British rather than rebel against them**, as most beneficial for the community.
- He had founded the **Muhammadian Educational Conference in 1886** but this organisation stayed away from politics and desisted from even discussing it as per its own code.
- On **30 December 1906**, around 3000 delegates attended a conference of the **Muhammadian Educational Conference at Dhaka in which the ban on politics** was removed and a motion was moved to form the AIML.
- The name was proposed by **Nawab Khwaja Sir Salimullah Bahadur** and seconded by **Hakim Ajmal Khan**.
- The AIML was the **first Muslim political party** of India.
- The idea was that the Congress Party was only catering to the needs of the Hindus. This was an erroneous idea since Congress always meant to include every community of the country and had many Muslim leaders as members.



- The **founders** of the Muslim League were: **Khwaja Salimullah, Vikar-ul-Mulk, Syed Amir Ali, Syed Nabiullah, Khan Bahadur Ghulam and Mustafa Chowdhury.**
- The first Honorary President of the League was Sir Sultan Muhammad Shah (Aga Khan III).
- The AIML was essentially a party of **educated elite Muslims**, at least in the beginning.
- The party's **chief aim was to promote and secure civil rights for Muslims.** It espoused loyalty to the British government as a means to achieve more political and civil rights.
- The objectives of the league were:

- To create among Muslims the feelings of **loyalty towards the British Government.**
- To **safeguard the political rights of the Muslims** and to convey the same to the government.
- To **prevent the rise of prejudice against other communities of India among the Muslims.**

### COURSE OF LEAGUE

- **Muhammad Ali Jinnah joined the league in 1913.**
- When the Congress party was opposed to the government and fighting for the gradual establishment of an independent India, the league propounded loyalty to the government. They, in fact, provided the government with a tool to fight the growing nationalism in the country.
- By **1930s**, leaders of the league began the **propaganda that Hindus and Muslims are not one nation** and have separate cultures and identities although they have been cohabiting for centuries.
- In **1940**, Jinnah gave a speech in Lahore in which he talked of the impossibility of living as one nation.

- In response to this, **some members of the league who were opposed to the Two-Nation Theory broke away from the party** and formed the **All-India Jamhur Muslim League (AIJML).**
- The **AIJML later merged with the Congress party.**

- In **1937, the Muslim League was not able to form the government** in any province in the provincial elections held that year as per the Government of India Act. Even in the 125 non-general constituencies out of which 59 were reserved for Muslims, the Congress managed to win 25 seats with 15 seats coming from the Muslim dominated North-West Frontier Province.
- In 1939, the Congress ministries resigned following the viceroy's declaration that made India a party to the Second World War. The **league urged Muslims to celebrate December 22 as Deliverance Day.**
- The party, under Jinnah, spearheaded the campaign for Pakistan throughout the 1940s and was successful in its mission of dividing the country. The country was partitioned along communal lines along with independence in 1947.
- The **league was dissolved on 14 August 1947.** It continues to exist in various forms as political parties in Pakistan, Bangladesh and India. In India, the Indian Union Muslim League functions as a political party with its base in Kerala and ironically, aligns itself with the Congress Party.

## ➔ MORLEY-MINTO REFORMS 1909

- The Indian Councils Act 1909 was an act of the British Parliament that introduced a few reforms in the legislative councils and increased the involvement of Indians (limited) in the governance of British India.
- It was more commonly called the **Morley-Minto Reforms after the Secretary of State for India John Morley and the Viceroy of India, the 4th Earl of Minto.**

### BACKGROUND OF REFORMS

- Despite Queen Victoria's proclamation that Indian's would be treated equally, very few Indians got such an opportunity as the British authorities were hesitant to accept them as equal partners.

- Lord Curzon had carried out the **partition of Bengal in 1905**. This led to a massive uprising in Bengal as a result. Following this, the British authorities understood the need for some reforms in the governance of Indians.
- The Indian National Congress (INC) was also agitating for more reforms and self-governance of Indians. The earlier Congress leaders were moderates, but now extremist leaders were on the rise who believed in more aggressive methods.
- **INC demanded home rule for the first time in 1906.**
- **Gopal Krishna Gokhale met Morley in England** to emphasise the need for reforms.
- **Shimla Deputation:** A group of **elite Muslims led by Aga Khan met Lord Minto in 1906** and placed their demand for a **separate electorate for the Muslims**.
- **John Morley was a member of the Liberal government**, and he wanted to make positive changes in India's governance.

### MAJOR PROVISIONS OF REFORMS

- The **legislative councils at the Centre and the provinces increased in size.**

- **Central Legislative Council** – from 16 to 60 members
- **Legislative Councils** of Bengal, Madras, Bombay and United Provinces – 50 members each
- **Legislative Councils** of Punjab, Burma and Assam – 30 members each

- The legislative councils at the Centre and the provinces were to have four categories of members as follows:

- **Ex officio members:** Governor-General and members of the executive council.
- **Nominated official members:** Government officials who were nominated by the Governor-General.
- **Nominated non-official members:** nominated by the Governor-General but were not government officials.
- **Elected members:** elected by different categories of Indians.

- The **elected members were elected indirectly.**
- The **local bodies elected an electoral college** who would elect members of the **provincial legislative councils.**
- These members would, in turn, **elect the members of the Central legislative council.**
- The **elected members** were from the **local bodies, the chambers of commerce, landlords, universities, traders' communities and Muslims.**
- In the **provincial councils, non-official members were in the majority.** However, since some of the non-official members were nominated, in total, a non-elected majority was there.

- **Indians were given membership to the Imperial Legislative Council for the first time.**
- It introduced **separate electorates for the Muslims.** Some constituencies were earmarked for Muslims and only Muslims could vote their representatives.

- The **members could discuss the budget and move resolutions.** They could also discuss matters of public interest.
- They could also **ask supplementary questions.**
- **No discussions on foreign policy or on relations with the princely states** were permitted.
- Lord Minto appointed (on much persuasion by Morley) Satyendra P Sinha **as the first Indian member of the Viceroy's Executive Council as a law member.**

### Assessment of reforms

- The Act **introduced communal representation** in Indian politics. This was intended to stem the growing tide of nationalism in the country by dividing the people into communal lines.
- The culmination of this step was seen in the partition of the country along religious lines.
- The Act **did nothing to grant colonial self-government**, which was Congress's demand.
- The Act **did increase Indian participation** in the legislative councils, especially at the provincial levels.

## ➔ HOME RULE MOVEMENT

### BACKGROUND

- The **Government of India Act 1909** was **dissatisfactory** to the aspirations of Indians.
- The **Congress Party's split in 1907** and fiery leader Bal Gangadhar Tilak's imprisonment from 1908 to 1914 meant that there was a **lull in the national movement**.
- But **Tilak's release and the advent of Annie Besant brought about a revival** of the national movement.
- **Annie Besant was an Irish socialist**, writer and orator who supported the Irish and Indian home rule movements. She arrived in India in 1893.
- The leaders in India were divided on whether to support Britain in the war or not.
- **Annie Besant, however, declared, "England's need is India's opportunity".**
- **By early 1915**, Annie Besant had launched a campaign to demand self-government for India after the war on the lines of white colonies. She campaigned through her newspapers, New India and Commonweal.
- Having returned from exile in Mandalay, **Tilak** understood the need for a revival of the nationalist movement in the country.
- He also **understood the growing importance of the Congress Party** in India's political scene. So, his first task was to get readmitted into the party. (The extremists led by Tilak had separated from the Congress).
- In the **Congress session of December 1915**, it was **decided to let the extremists re-join the party largely due to Annie Besant's persuasion**. Besant had also recognised the need for Congress approval and the active participation of the extremists in the national struggle.
- The Lucknow session of the Indian National Congress in 1916, presided over by a Moderate, Ambika Charan Majumdar, finally readmitted the Extremists led by Tilak to the Congress fold.
- However, Besant and Tilak were not able to convince Congress to support their decision to set up home rule leagues.
- Besant managed to convince the **Congress to pledge to educative propaganda** and the **establishing of local-level committees**. It was also agreed upon that if these conditions were not satisfied by September 1916, she would be free to set up a home rule league.
- Accordingly, she set up her **Home Rule League in September 1916**.
- **Tilak**, however, was not bound by any such condition and so had **set up his league in April 1916**.

### FOUNDATION

- There were two home rule leagues launched.
- **Tilak** launched the Indian Home Rule League in April 1916 at **Belgaum**.
- **Poona** was the headquarters of his league.

- It had six branches and the demands included **swarajya**, formation of **linguistic states** and **education in the vernacular**.

- **Annie Besant** launched the All India Home Rule League in September 1916 at **Madras**.
- It had 200 branches, was **loosely organised** as compared to Tilak's league and had George Arundale as the organising secretary. Besides Arundale, the main work was done by **B.W. Wadia** and **C.P. Ramaswamy Aiyar**.

- They had the **common objective** of achieving self-government in India.
- There was an **informal understanding** between both the leagues wherein Tilak's league worked in Maharashtra (except Bombay), Karnataka, Berar and the Central Provinces. Besant's league worked in the rest of the country.
- The two leagues worked closely with one another. However, they did not merge to avoid friction between both the leaders.

### OBJECTIVES

- To **achieve self-government** in India.
- To **promote political education** and discussion to set up agitation for self-government.
- To **build confidence among Indians** to speak against the government's suppression.
- To **demand a larger political representation** for Indians from the British government.
- To **revive political activity in India** while maintaining the principles of the Congress Party.

### ACTIVITIES

- The leagues **organised demonstrations and agitations**.
- There were public meetings in which the **leaders gave fiery speeches**.
- IEC: The **aim** was to be achieved by **promoting political education and discussion** through **public meetings**, organising **libraries and reading rooms** containing books on national politics, **holding conferences, organising classes** for students on politics, carrying out propaganda through newspapers, pamphlets, posters, illustrated post-cards, plays, religious songs, etc.,
- They were able to create a stir within the country and alarm the British to such an extent that Annie Besant was arrested in June 1917.
- This move by the British created a nation-wide protest and now even moderate leaders joined the league. Besant was released in September 1917.

### SIGNIFICANCE

- The Home Rule League **functioned throughout the year** as opposed to the Congress Party whose activities were confined to once a year.
- The movement was able to **garner huge support from a lot of educated Indians**. In 1917, the two leagues combined had around 40,000 members.
- **Participation of prominent leaders:** The Home Rule agitation was later joined by Motilal Nehru, Jawaharlal Nehru, Bhulabhai Desai, Chittaranjan Das, K.M. Munshi, B. Chakravarti, Saifuddin Kitchlew, Madan Mohan Malaviya, Muhammad Ali Jinnah, Tej Bahadur Sapru, and Lala Lajpat Rai.
- Some of these leaders became heads of local branches of Annie Besant's League. **Muhammad Ali Jinnah led the Bombay division**.
- The moderates, extremists and the Muslim League were briefly united through this movement.
- The movement was able to spread political consciousness to more regions in the country.

- This movement led to the **Montague Declaration of 1917** in which it was declared that there would be **more Indians in the government** leading to the development of self-governing institutions ultimately realising responsible governments in India.
- This **Declaration (also known as August Declaration)** implied that the demand for home rule would no longer be considered seditious. This was the biggest significance of the movement.

### FAILURE AND DECLINE

- The government came down with severe repression. Tilak was barred from entering Punjab and Delhi. In June 1917, Annie Besant and her associates, B.P. Wadia and George Arundale, were arrested. In a dramatic gesture, **Sir S. Subramania Aiyar renounced his knighthood**.
- The movement was not a mass movement. It was **restricted to educated people and college students**.
- The leagues did not find a lot of support among Muslims, Anglo-Indians and non-Brahmins from Southern India as they thought home rule would mean a rule of the upper caste Hindu majority.
- Many of the **moderates were satisfied with the government's assurance of reforms** (as preluded in the Montague Declaration). They did not take the movement further.
- **Annie Besant kept oscillating** between being satisfied with the government talk of reforms and pushing the home rule movement forward. She was not able to provide firm leadership to her followers. (Although ultimately she did call the reforms 'unworthy of Indian acceptance').
- In **September 1918, Tilak went to England to pursue a libel case against Sir Ignatius Valentine Chirol, British journalist and author of the book 'Indian Unrest'**.
- The book contained deprecatory comments and had called **Tilak the 'Father of Indian Unrest.'** (Tilak lost the case).
- Tilak's absence and Besant's inability to lead the people led to the movement's fizzing out.
- After the war, **Mahatma Gandhi gained prominence as a leader of the masses** and the **Home Rule Leagues merged with the Congress Party in 1920**.

### GAINS

- The movement **shifted the emphasis from the educated elite to the masses** and permanently deflected the movement from the course mapped by the Moderates.
- It **created an organisational link between the town and the country**, which was to prove crucial in later years when the national movement entered its mass phase in a true sense.
- It created a generation of **ardent nationalists**. (iv) It prepared the masses for politics of the Gandhian style.
- The August 1917 declaration of Montagu and the Montford reforms were influenced by the Home Rule agitation.
- The efforts of Tilak and Annie Besant towards the Moderate-Extremist reunion at Lucknow (1916) revived the Congress as an effective instrument of Indian nationalism.
- The home rule movement lent a new dimension and a sense of urgency to the national movement.

## → LUCKNOW PACT, 1916

- Britain's refusal to help **Turkey** (ruled by the Khalifa who claimed religio-political leadership of all Muslims) in its wars in the Balkans.
- **Annulment of partition of Bengal in 1911** had annoyed those sections of the Muslims who had supported the partition.
- The **younger League members** were turning to **bolder nationalist politics** and were trying to outgrow the limited political outlook of the Aligarh school.

- The **Calcutta session of the Muslim League (1912)** had committed the League to “working with other groups for a system of self- government suited to India, provided it did not come in conflict with its basic objective of protection of interests of the Indian Muslims”. Thus, the goal of self-government similar to that of the Congress brought both sides closer.
- Younger Muslims were infuriated by the government repression during the First World War. Maulana Azad’s Al Hilal and Mohammad Ali’s Comrade faced suppression, while the leaders such as Ali brothers, Maulana Azad and Hasrat Mohani faced internment. This generated anti- imperialist sentiments among the ‘Young Party’.
- The **Muslim League led by Mohammed Ali Jinnah** wanted to use this opportunity to press for constitutional reforms through a joint Hindu-Muslim platform.
- **Jinnah was then a member of both the parties and he was largely responsible for the Pact.**
- This was the first time that leaders of both the INC and the Muslim League were meeting for a joint session.
- At the meeting, the leaders consulted with each other and drafted a set of **demands for constitutional reforms.**
- In **October 1916, 19 elected Indian members** of the Imperial Legislative Council addressed a memorandum to the Viceroy seeking reforms.
- In November 1916, leaders from both the parties met again in Calcutta and discussed and amended the suggestions.
- Finally, at their **respective annual sessions held at Lucknow in December 1916, the INC and the League confirmed the agreement.** This came to be known as the Lucknow Pact.
- For his efforts, Sarojini Naidu gave Jinnah the title ‘the Ambassador of Hindu-Muslim **unity.**

#### JOINT DEMANDS

- Government should declare that it would **confer self- government** on Indians at an early date.
- The **representative assemblies** at the central as well as provincial level should be further expanded with an **elected majority** and **more powers** given to them.
- The **term of the legislative council** should be **five years.**
- The salaries of the **Secretary of State for India** should be paid by the British treasury and not drawn from Indian funds.
- Half the members of the viceroy’s and provincial governors’ executive councils **should be Indians.**
- **1/3rd representation to be given to Muslims** in the Central Government.
- **Separate electorates for all communities until a joint electorate is demanded by all.**

#### Results of Lucknow Pact

- The Lucknow Pact gave the impression of Hindu-Muslim unity in the national political scene. But it was only an impression and short-lived.
- The agreement between the parties on a **separate communal electorate formally established communal politics in India.**
- Through this pact, the controversial decision to accept the principle of separate electorates represented a serious desire on the part of the Congress **to allay minority fears of majority domination.**
- This pact pushed the hitherto less relevant Muslim League into the forefront of Indian politics along with the Congress Party.



## → EMERGENCE OF M.K. GANDHI

- M. K. Gandhi returned from South Africa (where he had lived for more than 20 years) to India in 1915.
- There he had led a peaceful agitation against the discrimination meted out to Indians and had emerged as a respected leader.
- It was in South Africa that he developed his brand of Satyagraha.
- In India, he first used this tool against the British government at Champaran in Bihar.

### CHAMPARAN SATYAGRAHA (1917)

- The **first civil disobedience movement by Gandhi** in the freedom struggle.
- Persuaded by **Rajkumar Shukla**, an indigo cultivator, Gandhi went to Champaran in Bihar to investigate the conditions of the farmers there.

- The farmers were suffering under **heavy taxes** and an **exploitative system**. They were forced to grow indigo by the British planters under the tinkathia system (*3/20 part of the total land.*)
- When towards the end of the 19th century **German synthetic dyes replaced indigo**, the European planters **demand high rents and illegal dues** from the peasants in order to maximise their profits before the peasants could shift to other crops.

- Gandhi arrived in Champaran to investigate the matter but was not permitted by the British authorities to do so. He was able to gather support from the farmers and masses.
- When he appeared in court in response to a summons, almost 2000 locals accompanied him.
- The **case against him was dropped and he was allowed to conduct the inquiry**.
- After peaceful protests against the planters and landlords led by Gandhi, the **government agreed to abolish the exploitative tinkathia system**.
- The peasants also received a part of the money extracted from them as compensation.

- Other popular leaders associated with Champaran Satyagraha were **Brajkishore Prasad**, **Anugrah Narayan Sinha**, **Ramnavmi Prasad**, and **Shambhusharan Varma**.

- **Champaran struggle** is called the first experiment on **Satyagraha by Gandhi** and later Ahmedabad Mill Strike and Kheda Satyagraha occurred.
- It was during this time that **Gandhi was given the names 'Bapu' and 'Mahatma'** by the people.

### KHEDA SATYAGRAHA (1918)

- 1918 was a year of failed crops in the Kheda district of Gujarat due to droughts.
- According to the Revenue Code, if the yield was **less than one-fourth the normal produce**, the farmers were entitled to remission.
- But the government refused any remission from paying land revenue.
- Gandhi **asked the farmers not to pay the taxes**. Gandhi, however, was mainly the **spiritual head** of the struggle.

- It was **Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel** and a group of other devoted Gandhians, namely, **Narahari Parikh**, **Mohanlal Pandya**, and **Ravi Shankar Vyas**, who went around the villages, organised the villagers.

- Sarda Patel, along with his colleagues, organised the tax revolt which the different ethnic and caste communities of Kheda supported.
- The protest was peaceful and people showed remarkable courage even in the face of adversities like confiscation of personal property and arrest.

- Finally, the authorities gave in and gave some concessions to the farmers. It agreed to **suspend the tax for the year** in question, and **for the next; reduce the increase in rate**; and return all the confiscated property.

### AHMEDABAD MILL STRIKE (1918)

- In March 1918, Gandhi intervened in a **dispute between cotton mill owners** of Ahmedabad and **the workers over** the issue of **discontinuation of the plague bonus**.
- The mill owners wanted to withdraw the bonus. The workers were demanding a **rise of 50 per cent in their wages** so that they could manage in the times of wartime inflation.
- The workers of the mill turned to **Anusuya Sarabhai** for help in fighting for justice. Anusuya Sarabhai was a social worker who was also the sister of **Ambalal Sarabhai**, one of the mill owners and the president of the **Ahmedabad Mill Owners Association** for help in fighting for justice. Anusuya Behn went to Gandhi and asked him to intervene and help resolve the impasse between the workers and the employers.
- It was **Anusuya Behn** who went on later to form the **Ahmedabad Textile Labour Association** in 1920.
- Gandhi asked the workers to go on a strike and demand a 35 per cent increase in wages instead of 50 per cent.
- When negotiations with mill owners did not progress, he himself undertook a fast unto death.
- Gandhi used **Satyagraha and hunger strike for the first time** during an industrial dispute between the owners and workers of a cotton mill in Ahmedabad.
- In the end, the tribunal awarded the workers a 35 per cent wage hike.

## → ROWLATT ACT

- Officially known as the **Anarchical and Revolutionary Crimes Act, 1919**.
- Passed in March 1919 by the Imperial Legislative Council.
- This **act authorised the British government to arrest anybody** suspected of terrorist activities.
- Activists should be **deported or imprisoned without trial for two years**, and that even possession of seditious newspapers would be adequate evidence of guilt. It empowered the police to search for a place without a warrant.
- It also **placed severe restrictions on the freedom of the press**.
- The act was passed as per recommendations of the **Rowlatt Committee chaired by a judge, Sir Sidney Rowlatt**, after whom the act is named.
- The act was widely condemned by Indian leaders and the public. It came to be known as '**Black Act**'.
- The act was passed despite unanimous opposition from the Indian members of the council, all of whom resigned in protest. These included **Mohammed Ali Jinnah, Madan Mohan Malviya and Mazhar Ul Haq**.

### PROTEST

- In response to this act, a nationwide hartal was called by **Gandhiji on 6th April**. This was called **the Rowlatt Satyagraha**.
- The British government's primary intention was to repress the growing nationalist movement in the country.
- The British were also afraid of a **Ghadarite revolution** in Punjab and the rest of the country.
- Two **popular Congress leaders Satya Pal and Saifuddin Kitchlew** were arrested.
- The protest was very intense when the act came into effect and the army was called in Punjab to tackle the situation.

- Brigadier-General Reginald Dyer was the senior British officer with the responsibility to impose martial law and restore order. By then the city had returned to calm and the protests that were being held were peaceful.
- Dyer, however, issued a proclamation on April 13 (which was also Baisakhi), forbidding people from leaving the city without a pass and from organising demonstrations or processions, or assembling in groups of more than three.
- His brutal action led to Jallianwala massacre. The entire nation was stunned.
- **Rabindranath Tagore** renounced his **knighthood** in protest. Gandhi gave up the **title of Kaiser-i-Hind**, bestowed by the British for his work during the Boer War.
- Gandhi was overwhelmed by the atmosphere of total violence and withdrew the movement on April 18, 1919.
- According to the historian, **A.P.J Taylor**, the Jallianwala Bagh massacre was the “*decisive moment when Indians were alienated from British rule*”.

## → HUNTER COMMISSION

- The Secretary of State for India, **Edwin Montagu**, ordered that a committee of inquiry.
- So, on **October 14, 1919**, the Government of India announced the formation of the **Disorders Inquiry Committee**, which came to be more widely and variously known as the **Hunter Committee/Commission** after the name of its chairman, Lord William Hunter.
- The purpose of the commission was to “investigate the recent disturbances in Bombay, Delhi and Punjab, about their causes, and the measures taken to cope with them”.
- There were three Indians among the members, namely,
  - **Sir Chimanlal Harilal Setalvad**, Vice-Chancellor of Bombay University, and advocate of the Bombay High Court;
  - Pandit **Jagat Narayan**, lawyer and Member of the Legislative Council of the United Provinces; and
  - Sardar **Sahibzada Sultan Ahmad Khan**, lawyer from Gwalior State.
- The final report, released in March 1920, unanimously condemned Dyer’s actions.
- The Hunter Committee did not impose any penal or disciplinary action because Dyer’s actions were condoned by various superiors (later upheld by the Army Council).
- Also, before the Hunter Committee began its proceedings, the government had passed an Indemnity Act for the protection of its officers. The “white washing bill”, as the Indemnity Act was called, was severely criticised by Motilal Nehru and others.
- Strangely enough, the **clergy of the Golden Temple**, led by Arur Singh, honoured Dyer by declaring him a Sikh. The honouring of Dyer by the **priests of Sri Darbar Sahib**, Amritsar, was one of the reasons behind the intensification of the demand for reforming the management of Sikh shrines

## → GOVERNMENT OF INDIA ACT 1919

- The Government of India Act 1919 was an act of the British Parliament that **sought to increase the participation of Indians in the administration** of their country.
- The act was based on the recommendations of a report by **Edwin Montagu, the then Secretary of State for India, and Lord Chelmsford, India’s Viceroy between 1916 and 1921**.
- Hence the constitutional reforms set forth by this act are known as Montagu-Chelmsford reforms or Montford reforms.

## PRINCIPLE FEATURES OF THE ACT

### PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENT

Executive:	Legislature:
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>Dyarchy was introduced</b>, i.e., there were two classes of administrators – <b>Executive councillors</b> and <b>ministers</b>.</li> <li>• The <b>Governor was the executive head</b> of the province.</li> <li>• The <b>subjects were divided into two lists – reserved and transferred</b>.</li> <li>• The governor was in charge of the reserved list along with his executive councillors. The subjects under this list were law and order, irrigation, finance, land revenue, etc.</li> <li>• The ministers were in charge of subjects under the transferred list. The subjects included were education, local government, health, excise, industry, public works, religious endowments, etc.</li> <li>• The <b>ministers were responsible to the people who elected them</b> through the legislature.</li> <li>• These <b>ministers were nominated from among the elected members</b> of the legislative council.</li> <li>• The ministers were to be responsible to the legislature and <b>had to resign</b> if a <b>no-confidence motion was passed</b> against them by the legislature</li> <li>• The <b>executive councillors were not responsible to the legislature</b>, unlike the ministers.</li> <li>• In case of failure of constitutional machinery in the province the governor could take over the administration of transferred subjects also.</li> <li>• The <b>Secretary of State and the Governor-General could interfere</b> in matters under the reserved list, but this interference was <b>restricted</b> for the transferred list</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The size of the provincial legislative assemblies was increased.</li> <li>• Now about <b>70% of the members were elected</b>.</li> <li>• There were <b>communal and class electorates</b>.</li> <li>• <b>Some women could also vote</b>.</li> <li>• The governor's assent was required to pass any bill.</li> <li>• He also had <b>veto power and could issue ordinances also</b>.</li> <li>• The legislative councils could reject the budget, but the governor could restore it, if necessary.</li> <li>• The legislators enjoyed freedom of speech.</li> </ul>

### CENTRAL GOVERNMENT

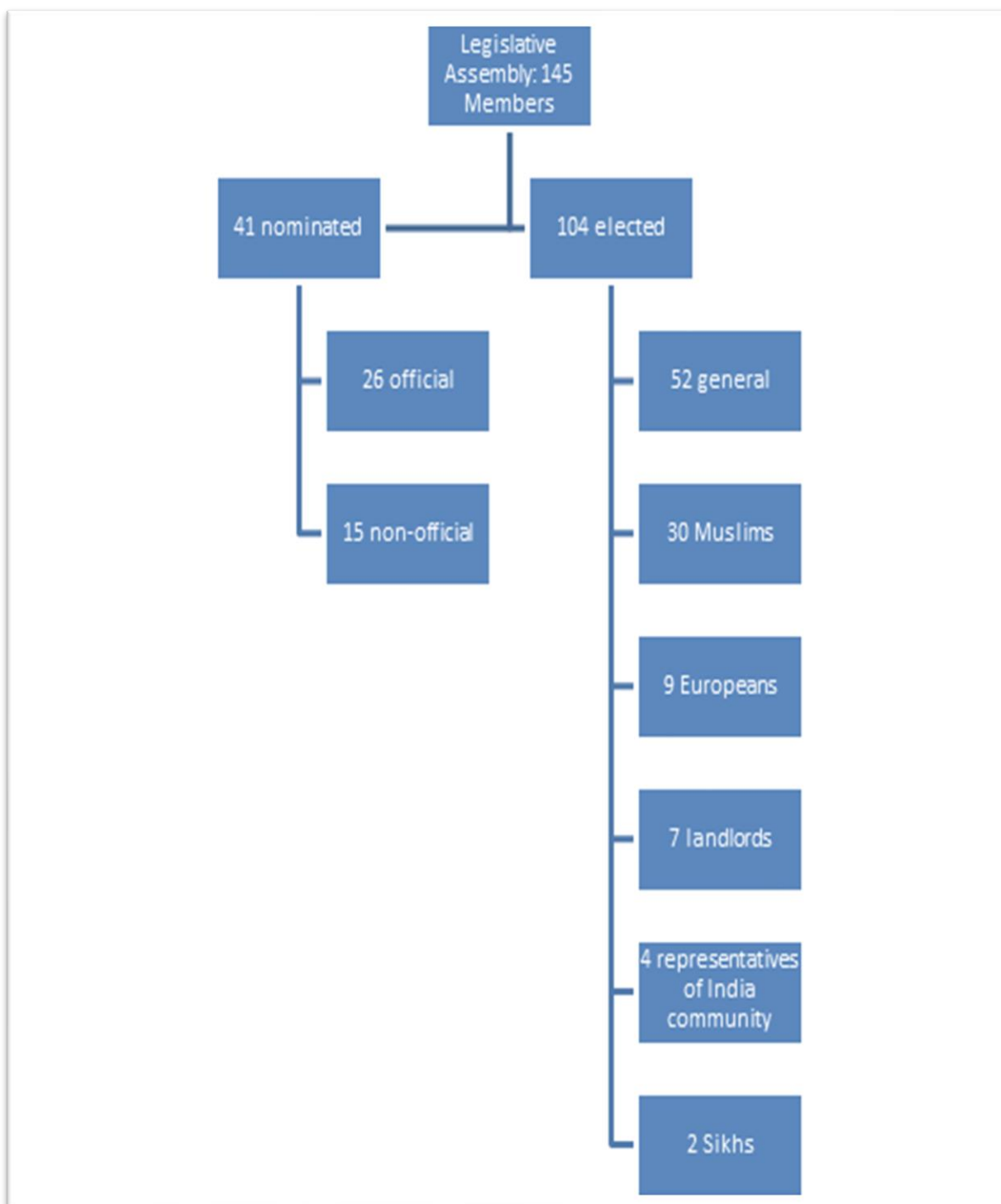
**No responsible government** was envisaged in the act for the government at the all-India level. The main points were:

#### Executive

- The governor general was to be the **chief executive authority**.
- There were to be **two lists for administration— central and provincial**.
- In the **viceroy's executive council of eight**, three were to be Indians.
- The **governor general** retained **full control** over the **reserved subjects in the provinces**.
- The governor-general **could restore cuts in grants, certify bills** rejected by the central legislature, and **issue ordinances**.

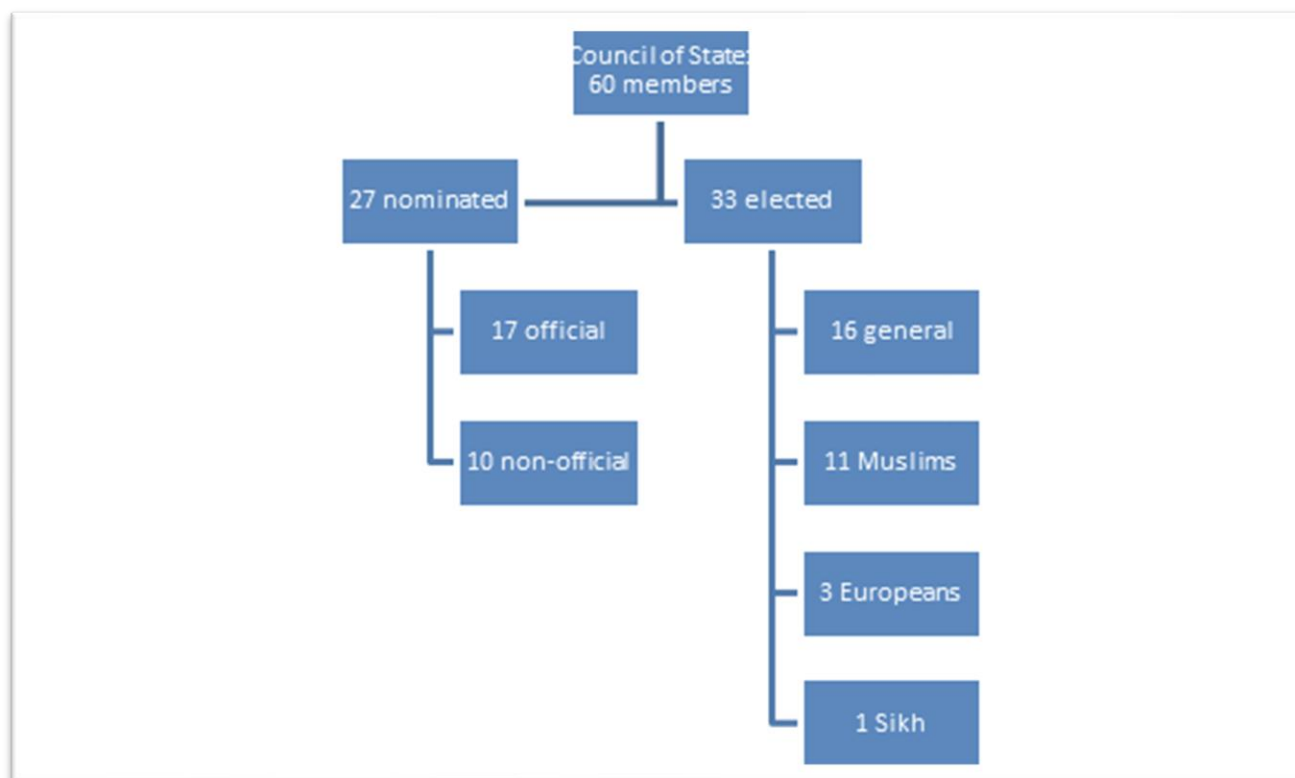
#### Legislature

- A **bicameral arrangement** was introduced. The lower house or Central Legislative Assembly would consist of 145 members.

**Members of the Central Legislative Assembly:**

- The **nominated members** were nominated by the governor-general from Anglo-Indians and Indian Christians.
- The members had a tenure of 3 years.

### Members of the Council of State:



**Note: Council of State (Upper House)** only had male members with a tenure of 5 years.

- The legislators could ask questions and also vote a part of the budget.
- Only **25% of the budget was subject to vote**. Rest was non-votable.
- A bill had to be passed in both houses before it became a law.
- There were **three measures to resolve any deadlock** between both the houses – **joint committees, joint conferences and joint sittings**.

### Governor-General

- The governor-general's assent was required for any bill to become law even if both houses have passed it.
- He could also enact a bill without the legislature's consent.
- He could prevent a bill from becoming law if he deems it as detrimental to the peace of the country.
- He could disallow any question, adjournment motion or debate in the house.

### Who could vote?

- The franchise was restricted and there **was no universal adult suffrage**. *The electorate was extended to some **one-and-a-half million** for the central legislature, while the population of India was around 260 million, as per one estimate*
- Voters **should have paid land revenue of Rs.3000 or have a property with rental value or have taxable income**.
- They should possess **previous experience in the legislative council**.
- They **should be members of a university senate**.



- They **should hold certain offices in the local bodies.**
- They **should hold some specific titles.**
- All this **narrowed the number of people who could vote to an abysmal number.**

### Indian Council assisting Secretary of State

- There were to be at **least 8 and a maximum of 12 members** in the council.
- Half of the members should have ten years of experience in public service in India.
- Their tenure was to be **5 years.**
- Their salaries were increased from £1000 to £1200.
- There were to be **3 Indian members in the Council.**

### OTHER SALIENT FEATURES

- This act provided for the first time, the **establishment of a public service commission** in India.
- The act also **provided that after 10 years, a statutory commission** would be set up to study the working of the government. This **resulted in the Simon Commission** of 1927.
- It also **created an office of the High Commissioner** for India in London.

### MERITS OF THE ACT

- Dyarchy introduced the **concept of responsible government.**
- It introduced the **concept of federal structure with a unitary bias.**
- There was the **increased participation of Indians** in the administration. They held some portfolios like labour, health, etc.
- For the first time, **elections were known to the people** and it created political consciousness among the people.
- **Some Indian women also had the right to vote for the first time.**

### DRAWBACKS

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

### REACTION OF THE CONGRESS

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

## M.K. GANDHI'S- TECHNIQUE OF SATYAGRAHA

- A satyagrahi was **not to submit to what he considered as wrong**, but was to always remain **truthful, non-violent, and fearless**.
- A satyagrahi works on the **principles of withdrawal of cooperation and boycott**.
- Methods of satyagraha include **non-payment of taxes**, and **declining honours and positions** of authority.
- A satyagrahi should be **ready to accept suffering** in his struggle against the wrongdoer. This suffering was to be a part of his love for truth.
- Even while carrying out his struggle against the wrongdoer, **a true satyagrahi would have no ill feeling for the wrongdoer**; hatred would be alien to his nature.
- A true satyagrahi **would never bow before the evil**, whatever the consequence.
- Only the **brave and strong could practise satyagraha**; it was not for the weak and cowardly.
- Thought was never to be separated from practice. In other words, **ends could not justify the means**.

## → NON-COOPERATION MOVEMENT

- Mahatma Gandhi was the main force behind the non-cooperation movement.
- In **March 1920**, he issued a **manifesto** declaring a **doctrine** of the non-violent non-cooperation movement. Gandhi, through this manifesto, wanted people to:
  - Adopt swadeshi principles
  - Adopt swadeshi habits including hand spinning & weaving
  - Work for the eradication of untouchability from society
- Gandhi travelled across the nation in 1921 explaining the tenets of the movement.

### CAUSES OF NON-COOPERATION MOVEMENT

<b>Resentment at the British after the war</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Indians thought that in return for the <b>extensive support of manpower and resources</b> they had provided to Britain during the First World War, they would be rewarded by autonomy at the end of the war.</li> <li>• But the <b>Government of India Act 1919 was dissatisfactory</b>.</li> <li>• In addition, the British also passed repressive acts like the <b>Rowlatt Act</b> which further angered many Indians who felt betrayed by the rulers despite their wartime support.</li> </ul>
<b>Energetic political conditions</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The <b>Home Rule Movement</b> started by Annie Besant and Bal Gangadhar Tilak <b>set the stage for the non-cooperation movement</b>.</li> <li>• The <b>extremists and the moderates of the INC</b> were united with the return of the extremists.</li> <li>• The <b>Lucknow Pact</b> also saw solidarity between the Muslim League and the Congress Party.</li> </ul>
<b>Economic hardships due to World War I</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• India's participation in the war caused a lot of economic hardships to the people. Prices of goods began to soar which affected the common man.</li> <li>• Peasants also suffered because the prices of agricultural products did not increase. All this led to resentment against the government.</li> </ul>
<b>The Rowlatt Act and the</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The <b>repressive Rowlatt Act and the brutal massacre</b> at Jallianwala Bagh, Amritsar had a profound effect on the Indian leaders and the people.</li> </ul>

<b>Jallianwala Bagh massacre</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Their faith in the British system of justice was broken and the whole country rallied behind its leaders who were pitching for a more aggressive and firmer stance against the government.</li> </ul>
<b>The Khilafat Movement</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• During the <b>First World War, Turkey</b>, which was one of the Central Powers, had fought against the British.</li> <li>• After Turkey's defeat, the <b>Ottoman caliphate was proposed to be dissolved</b>.</li> <li>• Muslims regarded Sultan of Turkey as their Caliph (religious head of the Muslims).</li> <li>• The <b>Khilafat movement was launched under the leadership of Ali Brothers (Maulana Mohammed Ali and Maulana Shaukat Ali), Maulana Azad, Hakim Ajmal Khan, and Hasrat Mohani</b>.</li> <li>• It got the support from Mahatma Gandhi, who was the president of the <b>All India Khilafat Committee</b>, to persuade the British government not to abolish the caliphate.</li> <li>• The leaders of this movement accepted the non-cooperation movement of Gandhiji and led a joint protest against the British.</li> <li>• The <b>Muslim League also decided to give full support</b> to the Congress and its agitation on political questions.</li> </ul>

#### SEPTEMBER 1920 AT A SPECIAL SESSION IN CALCUTTA

The Congress approved a non-cooperation programme till the Punjab and Khilafat wrongs were removed and swaraj was established. The programme was to include:

- **boycott** of government schools and colleges;
- **boycott** of law courts and dispensation of justice through panchayats instead;
- **boycott of legislative councils** (*there were some differences over this as some leaders like C.R. Das were not willing to include a boycott of councils, but bowed to Congress discipline; these leaders boycotted elections held in November 1920, and the majority of the voters too stayed away*);
- **boycott** of foreign cloth and use of khadi instead; also practice of hand-spinning to be done;
- **renunciation** of government honours and titles; the second phase could include mass civil disobedience including resignation from government service, and non-payment of taxes.
- During the movement, the participants were supposed to **work for Hindu-Muslim unity** and for **removal of untouchability**, all the time remaining non-violent.

#### DECEMBER 1920 AT THE NAGPUR SESSION OF THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS:

- The programme of **non-cooperation was endorsed**.
- An important change was made in the Congress creed: now, instead of having the attainment of self-government through constitutional means as its goal, the **Congress decided to have the attainment of swaraj through peaceful and legitimate means**, thus committing itself to an extra-constitutional mass struggle.
- Some important organisational changes were made: a **congress working committee (CWC)** of 15 members was set up to lead the Congress from now onwards; **provincial congress committees** on linguistic basis were organised.
- At this stage, some leaders like **Muhammad Ali Jinnah, Annie Besant, G.S. Kharpade, and B.C. Pal** left the Congress as they believed in a constitutional and lawful struggle.
- While some others like **Surendranath Banerjea** founded the **Indian National Liberal Federation** and played a minor role in national politics henceforward.

- The spirit of defiance and unrest gave rise to **many local struggles** such as **Awadh Kisan Movement (UP)**, **Eka Movement (UP)**, **Mappila Revolt (Malabar)**, and the **Sikh agitation for the removal of mahants** in Punjab.
- **Rajendra Prasad in Bihar** and **Vallabhbhai Patel in Gujarat** provided solid support and, in fact, leaders like them found non-cooperation to be a viable political alternative to terrorism in order to fight against a colonial government.

### Suspension of movement

- Gandhiji called off the movement in **February 1922** in the wake of the Chauri Chaura incident.
- In **Chauri Chaura, Uttar Pradesh**, a **violent mob set fire** to a police station killing 22 policemen during a clash between the police and protesters of the movement.
- Gandhiji called off the movement saying people were not ready for revolt against the government through ahimsa.
- The Congress Working Committee met at **Bardoli in February 1922** and resolved to stop all activity that led to breaking of the law and to get down to constructive work, instead, which was to include **popularisation of khadi**, **national schools**, and **campaigning for temperance**, for **Hindu-Muslim unity** and **against untouchability**.

### SIGNIFICANCE OF NON-COOPERATION MOVEMENT

- Swaraj was not achieved in one year as Gandhiji had told.
- However, it was a truly mass movement where lakhs of Indians participated in the open protest against the government through peaceful means.
- It shook the British government who were stumped by the extent of the movement.
- It **saw participation from both Hindus and Muslims** thereby showcasing communal harmony in the country.
- This movement **established the popularity of the Congress Party** among the people.
- As a result of this movement, **people became conscious of their political rights**. They were not afraid of the government.
- Hordes of people thronged to jails willingly.
- The Indian merchants and mill owners enjoyed good profits during this period as a result of the boycott of British goods. **Khadi was promoted**.
- The import of sugar from Britain reduced considerably during this period.
- This movement also established **Gandhiji as a leader of the masses**.

## ➔ AWADH KISAN MOVEMENT (UP)

- The formation of Awadh Kisan Sabha took place in the **Pratapgarh district** of Uttar Pradesh.
  - On October 17, 1920, the Kisan Sabha was formally created by Baba Ramchandra, with help from other peasant leaders like Jhinguri Singh, for the welfare of farmers.
  - The reason for such a peasant-based organization in Pratapgarh was both social as well as political.
  - The region of Oudh comprising the district of Pratapgarh, was based on an agrarian system of taluqdari with a taluqdar (landlord) at the helm, making the oppression of peasants prevalent.
  - The nationalist leaders saw this as a potent ground for popularizing the nationalist sentiments among suffering peasants.
  - The principal demands of Awadh Kisan Sabha included eradication of medieval illegal systems of **nazrana**, **bedkahili** and **begar**.
- **Nazrana** was a system of taking nazr or gifts which was usually taken by landlords from their peasants.

- **Bedakhili** was the removal of tenants from their land; and
  - **Begar** could be generally understood as work without pay.
- The significance of Awadh Kisan Sabha could be understood by the level of participation it saw and the regional spread it achieved. Many prominent leaders of the time, like Mahatma Gandhi, Jawaharlal Nehru visited and addressed the peasants under the banner of Kisan Sabha.

## ➔ EKA MOVEMENT (UP)

- The Eka Movement, also known as the **Unity Movement**, is a peasant movement that began in **Hardoi, Bahraich, and Sitapur** at the end of 1921.
- It was founded by **Congress and the Khilafat movement** and was later led by Madari Pasi. The **main reason** for the move was **high rent**, which in some areas was more than 50% of the recorded rent.
- **Oppression of thekedars** entrusted with collecting rent aided this movement.
- This movement **included small zamindars** who were dissatisfied with the British government due to high land revenue demands.
- Soon after, the Movement's leadership shifted from Congress to Madari Pasi, a low caste leader who was not willing to accept nonviolence. As a result, the movement lost contact with the nationalist class. Because the national leader in this case was Mahatma Gandhi, whose ideology was based on nonviolence.
- The Eka Movement came to an end in March 1922 as a result of severe repression by authorities.
- The failure of the Eka movement can be attributed to a **lack of proper organisation and leadership**.
- Nonetheless, it served the purpose of bringing the government's attention to the gravity of the agrarian situation.
- The government quickly passed the **Oudh Rent (Amendment) Act of 1921**, which went into effect in November 1921 and was intended to quell agrarian unrest and address some immediate peasant grievances.

## ➔ MOPLAH REBELLION OF 1921

- The Moplah Rebellion, also known as the Moplah Riots of 1921 was the culmination of a series of riots by Mappila Muslims of Kerala in the 19th and early 20th centuries against the British and the Hindu landlords in Malabar (Northern Kerala).
- It was an armed revolt.
- It was led by **Variyamkunnath Kunjahammed Haji**.

### BACKGROUND OF MOPLAH REBELLION

- Muslims had arrived in Kerala in the 7th century AD as traders via the Arabian Sea even before north India was invaded by Turks from the west.
- They were given permission to carry on trade and settle by the native rulers. **Many of them married local women and their descendants came to be called Moplahs** (which means son-in-law in Malayalam).
- In the traditional land system in Malabar, the Jenmi or the landlord held the land which was let out to others for farming.
- The **Moplahs were mostly cultivators** of the land under this system and the **Jenmis were upper-caste Hindus**.

- During Hyder Ali's invasion of Malabar in the 18th century, many Hindu landlords fled Malabar to neighbouring areas.
- During this time, the **Moplah tenants were accorded ownership rights to the lands**.
- After the death of Tipu Sultan in 1799 in the Fourth Anglo-Mysore War, Malabar came under British authority as part of the Madras Presidency.
- The **British set out to restore ownership rights to the Jenmis** who had earlier fled the region.
- **Jenmis were now given absolute ownership rights of the land** which was not the case previously.
- The peasants were now facing high rents and a lack of security of tenure.
- This caused a series of riots by the Moplahs starting from 1836.

### COURSE OF MOPLAH REBELLION

- The Khilafat Movement had started in 1919 in India in support of the restoration of the caliphate in Turkey. The Indian National Congress (INC) was aligned with it.
- The Khilafat meetings in Malabar incited communal feelings among the Moplahs and it became a movement directed against the British as well as the Hindu landlords of Malabar. There was large-scale violence.
- The prominent leaders of the rebellion were **Ali Musaliyar and Variyankunnath Kunjahammed Haji**.
- From August 1921 till about the end of the year, the rebels had under their control large parts of Malabar.
- By the end of the year, the rebellion was crushed by the British who had raised a special battalion, the **Malabar Special Force** for the riot.
- In November 1921, 67 Moplah prisoners were killed when they were being transported in a closed freight wagon from Tirur to the Central Prison in Podanur. They died of suffocation. This event is called the **Wagon Tragedy**.

## ➔ SWARAJ PARTY

- The Swaraj Party or the Congress-Khilafat Swarajya Party was formed on **1 January 1923** by **C R Das and Motilal Nehru**.
- The formation of the Swaraj Party came after various significant events like the withdrawal of non-cooperation movement, the government of India act 1919 and 1923 elections.

### BACKGROUND

- After the Chauri Chaura incident, Mahatma Gandhi withdrew the Non-Cooperation Movement in 1922.
- This was met with a lot of disagreements among leaders of the Congress Party.
- While some **wanted to continue non-cooperation**, others **wanted to end the legislature boycott and contest elections**.

- The former were called no-changers and such leaders included **Rajendra Prasad, Sardar Vallabhai Patel, C Rajagopalachari, etc.**
- The others who wanted to enter the legislative council and obstruct the British government from within were called the pro-changers. These leaders included **C R Das, Motilal Nehru, Srinivasa Iyengar, etc.**

- In **1922, in the Gaya session** of the Congress, **C R Das** (who was presiding over the session) moved a proposal to enter the legislatures but it was defeated. Das and other leaders broke away from the Congress and formed the **Swaraj Party**.



- **C R Das was the President and the Secretary was Motilal Nehru.**
- Prominent leaders of the Swaraj Party included **N C Kelkar, Huseyn Shaheed Suhrawardy and Subhas Chandra Bose.**

### ARGUMENTS BY SWARAJISTS

- Entering the councils **would not negate** the non- cooperation programme; in fact, it would be like carrying on the movement through other means—**opening a new front.**
- In a time of political vacuum, **council work would serve to enthuse the masses** and keep up their morale.
- **Entry of nationalists would deter the government** from stuffing the councils with undesirable elements who may be used to provide legitimacy to government measures.
- The **councils could be used as an arena of political struggle**; there was no intention to use the councils as organs for gradual transformation of colonial rule.

### Further,

- Keeping these factors in mind, a compromise was reached between (No-changers and Pro-changers) at a meeting in Delhi in September 1923.
- The Swarajists were allowed to **contest elections as a group within the Congress.**
- The Swarajists accepted the Congress programme with only one difference—that they would join legislative councils.
- The elections to the newly constituted Central Legislative Assembly and to provincial assemblies were held in November 1923.
- Later, both sides came to an agreement in **1924** (endorsed at the Belgaum session of the Congress in December 1924 over which Gandhi—the **only time**—presided over the Congress session) that the **Swarajists would work in the councils as an integral part of the Congress.**
- The Swaraj Party won **42 out of 104 seats** to the Central Legislature in 1923.
- It won majority in the provincial assembly of **Central Provinces.** In legislatures, in cooperation with the Liberals and the independents like Jinnah and Malaviya, they won a majority.
- The party's programme was to **obstruct the government.** They wanted to create deadlocks on every measure.
- They voiced their grievances and aspirations in the Legislative Assembly.

### AIMS OF THE SWARAJ PARTY

- Attaining **dominion status** and self-rule (Swarajya)
- Obtaining the **right to frame a constitution.**
- Establishing **control over the bureaucracy.**
- Obtaining **full provincial autonomy.**
- Getting people the **right to control government machinery.**
- **Controlling the local and municipal bodies.**
- Having an **agency for propaganda** outside the country.
- Establishing a **federation of Asian countries** to promote trade and commerce.
- Engaging in the **constructive programmes of the Congress.**

### ACHIEVEMENTS

- Swarajist **Vithalbhai Patel** became speaker of the Central Legislative Assembly in 1925.
- They **outvoted the government many times** even in matters related to budgetary grants.

- A noteworthy achievement was the **defeat of the Public Safety Bill in 1928**, which was aimed at empowering the Government to **deport undesirable and subversive foreigners** (*because the Government was alarmed by the spread of socialist and communist ideas and believed that a crucial role was being played by the British and other foreign activists being sent by the Comintern*).
- They **exposed the weaknesses of the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms**.
- They gave **fiery speeches in the Assembly** on self-rule and civil liberties. They demonstrated that the councils could be used creatively.

### Drawbacks

- They **could not coordinate their struggle inside the Assembly with the mass freedom struggle** outside.
- They **totally relied on newspapers** to carry their work and message in the Assembly to the outside world.
- Their policy of obstructionism had its flaws and limitations.
- They could not carry on with their coalition partners very far because of conflicting ideas, which further limited their effectiveness.
- The death of C R Das in 1925 further weakened the party.
- There were **internal divisions** among the Swarajists. They were divided into the **responsivists and the non-responsivists**.
- **Division:** The **responsivists (M M Malaviya, Lala Lajpat Rai, N C Kelkar)** wanted to cooperate with the government and hold offices, whereas the **non-responsivists (Motilal Nehru)** **withdrew from legislatures in 1926**.
- The party's failure to support the peasant cause in Bengal and lost support among Muslim members who were pro- peasant.
- The party was in shambles when it went into the 1926 elections, and as a result, did not perform well.
- In 1930, the Swarajists finally walked out as a result of the **Lahore Congress resolution on purna swaraj** and the beginning of the Civil Disobedience Movement.

### CONSTRUCTIVE WORK BY NO-CHANGERS

- The No-Changers devoted themselves to constructive work that connected them to the different sections of the masses.

1. Ashrams sprang up where young men and women worked among tribals and lower castes (especially in Kheda and Bardoli areas of Gujarat), and popularised the use of charkha and khadi.
2. National schools and colleges were set up where students were trained in a non-colonial ideological framework.
3. Significant work was done for Hindu-Muslim unity, removing untouchability, boycott of foreign cloth and liquor, and for flood relief.
4. The constructive workers served as the backbone of civil disobedience as active organisers.

## ➔ SPREAD OF MARXIST AND SOCIALIST IDEAS

- Ideas of Marx and Socialist thinkers inspired many groups to come into existence as socialists and communists.
- These ideas also resulted in the **rise of a left wing** within **the Congress**, represented by Jawaharlal Nehru and Subhash Chandra Bose.
- These young nationalists, **inspired by the Soviet Revolution and dissatisfied with Gandhian ideas and political programme**, began advocating radical solutions for economic, political, and social ills of the country. These younger nationalists—

- were critical of both Swarajists and No-Changers;
- **advocated a more consistent anti-imperialist** line in the form of a slogan for purna swarajya (complete independence);
- were influenced by an awareness of international currents;
- stressed the need to combine nationalism and anti-imperialism **with social justice** and simultaneously raised the question of internal class oppression by capitalists and landlords.

- The **Communist Party of India (CPI) was formed in 1920** in Tashkent (now, the capital of Uzbekistan) by **M.N. Roy, Abani Mukherji**, and others after the second Congress of Comintern. M.N. Roy was also the first to be elected to the leadership of Comintern.
- In **1924**, many communists—**S.A. Dange, Muzaffar Ahmed, Shaukat Usmani, Nalini Gupta**—were jailed in the Kanpur Bolshevik Conspiracy Case.
- In 1925, the Indian Communist Conference at Kanpur formalised the foundation of the CPI.
- In **1929**, the government crackdown on communists resulted in the arrest and trial of 31 leading communists, trade unionists, and left-wing leaders; they were tried at Meerut in the famous Meerut conspiracy case.
- Workers' and peasants' parties were organised all over the country, and they propagated Marxist and communist ideas.
- All these communist groups and workers' and peasants' parties remained an integral part of the national movement and worked along with the Congress.

## ➔ REVOLUTIONARY ACTIVITY DURING THE 1920s

### MAJOR INFLUENCES

- **Upsurge of working class trade unionism** after the War; the revolutionaries wanted to harness the revolutionary potential of the new emergent class for nationalist revolution.
- **Russian Revolution (1917)** and the success of the young Soviet state in consolidating itself.
- **Newly sprouting communist groups** with their emphasis on Marxism, socialism, and the proletariat.
- **Journals** publishing memoirs and articles extolling the self-sacrifice of revolutionaries, such as **Atmasakti, Sarathi, and Bijoli**.
- Novels and books such as *Bandi Jiwan* by Sachin Sanyal and *Pather Dabi* by Sharatchandra Chatterjee (or Chattopadhyay), a government ban on which only enhanced its popularity.

### PUNJAB-UNITED PROVINCES-BIHAR

- The revolutionary activity in this region was dominated by the **Hindustan Republican Association/Army or HRA** (later renamed **Hindustan Socialist Republican Association or HSRA**).
- The HRA was founded in **1924 in Kanpur** by Ramprasad Bismil, Jogesh Chandra Chatterjee, and Sachin Sanyal, with an aim to organise an armed revolution to overthrow the colonial government and establish in its place the Federal Republic of United States of India whose basic principle would be **adult franchise**.
- **Kakori Robbery (August 1925)**: looted official railway cash. **Ram Prasad Bismil, Ashfaqullah, Roshan Singh, and Rajendra Lahiri** were hanged.

## HSRA

- In 1928, under the leadership of Chandrashekhar Azad, the name of HRA was changed to Hindustan Socialist Republican Association (HSRA).
- The participants included **Bhagat Singh, Sukhdev Thapar, Bhagwati Charan Vohra** from Punjab and **Bejoy Kumar Sinha, Shiv Verma, and Jaidev Kapur** from the United Provinces.
- The HSRA decided to work under a collective leadership and **adopted socialism as its official goal**.
- The famous statement of the revolutionary position is contained in the book *The Philosophy of the Bomb* written by Bhagwati Charan Vohra.

## Saunders' Murder (Lahore, December 1928)

- The death of Sher-i-Punjab **Lala Lajpat Rai** due to lathi blows received during a lathi charge on an anti-Simon Commission procession (October 1928) led them once again to take to individual assassination.
- Bhagat Singh and Shivram Rajguru shot dead **John P. Saunders**. They had mistaken Saunders for Superintendent of **Police James Scott**, who was actually responsible for the lathi charge against Lala Lajpat Rai and his followers.

## Bomb in the Central Legislative Assembly (April 1929)

- The HSRA leadership now decided to let the people know about its changed objectives and the need for a revolution by the masses.
- **Bhagat Singh and Batukeshwar Dutt** threw a bomb in the **Central Legislative Assembly on April 8, 1929** to protest against the passage of the **Public Safety Bill** and **Trade Disputes Bill** aimed at curtailing civil liberties of citizens in general and workers in particular.
- The bombs had been deliberately made harmless and were aimed at making 'the deaf hear'. The **objective was to get arrested and to use the trial court as a forum for propaganda** so that people would become familiar with their movement and ideology.

## CHANGE IN OUTLOOK

- Even before his arrest, Bhagat Singh had **moved away from a belief in violent and individual heroic action to Marxism** and the belief that a popular broad-based movement alone could lead to a successful revolution.
- In other words, revolution could only be "by the masses, for the masses".
- That is why Bhagat Singh helped establish the Punjab Naujawan Bharat Sabha (1926) as an open wing of revolutionaries to carry out political work among the youth, peasants, and workers, and it was to open branches in villages.

## What then was the need for individual heroic action?

1. **Firstly**, effective acquisition of new ideology is a prolonged and historical process whereas the need of the time was a quick change in the way of thinking.
2. **Secondly**, these young intellectuals faced the classic dilemma of how to mobilise people and recruit them. Here, they decided to opt for propaganda by deed, i.e., through individual heroic action and by using courts as a forum for revolutionary propaganda.

## REDEFINING REVOLUTION

- Revolution was **no longer equated with militancy and violence**.
- Its objective was to be national liberation—imperialism was to be overthrown but beyond that a new socialist order was to be achieved, ending "exploitation of man by man".
- As **Bhagat Singh said** in the court, "*Revolution does not necessarily involve sanguinary strife, nor is there a place in it for personal vendetta. It is not the cult of bomb and pistol. By revolution we mean the present order of things, which is based on manifest injustice, must change.*"

**BENGAL**

- During the 1920s many revolutionary groups reorganised their underground activities, while many continued working under the Congress, thus getting **access to the masses and providing an organisational base to the Congress** in towns and villages.
- Many cooperated with C.R. Das in his Swarajist work. After Das's death (1925), the Bengal Congress broke up into two factions—one led by **J.M. Sengupta** (Anushilan group joined forces with him) and the other led by **Subhash Bose** (Yugantar group backed him).
- Because of government repression and factionalism among the revolutionaries, revolutionary activity suffered a setback, but soon many of revolutionaries started regrouping.
- Among the new '**Revolt Groups**', the most active and famous was the **Chittagong group under Surya Sen**.

**CHITTAGONG ARMOURY RAID (APRIL 1930)**

- Surya Sen had participated in the Non-Cooperation Movement and had become a teacher in the national school in Chittagong.
- He was the secretary of the **Chittagong District Congress Committee**. He used to say "*Humanism is a special virtue of a revolutionary*". He was a lover of poetry and an admirer of Tagore and Qazi Nazrul Islam.
- Surya Sen decided to organise an armed rebellion along with his associates—**Anant Singh, Ganesh Ghosh, and Lokenath Baul**—to show that it was possible to challenge the armed might of the mighty British Empire.
- They had **planned to occupy two main armouries** in Chittagong to seize and supply arms to the revolutionaries to **destroy telephone and telegraph lines** and to **dislocate the railway link** of Chittagong with the rest of Bengal.
- The raid was conducted in April 1930 under the banner of **Indian Republican Army**—Chittagong Branch. The raid was quite successful; Sen hoisted the national flag, took salute, and proclaimed a provisional revolutionary government. Later, they dispersed into neighbouring villages and raided government targets.
- Surya Sen was arrested in February 1933 and hanged in January 1934, but the Chittagong raid fired the imagination of the revolutionary-minded youth and recruits poured into the revolutionary groups in a steady stream.

**Aspects of the New Phase of Revolutionary Movement in Bengal**

- There was a **large-scale participation of young women**, especially under Surya Sen.
- These women provided shelter, carried messages, and fought with guns in hand.
- Prominent women revolutionaries in Bengal during this phase included Pritilata Waddadar, who died conducting a raid; Kalpana Dutt who was arrested and tried along with Surya Sen and given a life sentence; Santi Ghosh and Suniti Chandheri, school girls of Comilla, who shot dead the district magistrate. (December 1931); and Bina Das who fired point blank at the governor while receiving her degree at the convocation (February 1932).
- There was an **emphasis on group action** aimed at organs of the colonial State, instead of individual action. The **objective was to set an example before the youth** and to demoralise the bureaucracy.
- Some of the earlier tendency towards Hindu religiosity was shed, and there were no more rituals like oath-taking, and this facilitated participation by Muslims. Surya Sen had Muslims such as **Satar, Mir Ahmed, Fakir Ahmed Mian, and Tunu Mian** in his group.

## → VAIKOM SATYAGRAHA

- Due to the prevalent caste system in Kerala and the rest of India, low-caste Hindus were not allowed to enter into the temples.
- In Kerala, they were not allowed even to walk on the roads that led to the temples also. (Kerala state was formed in 1956; earlier it was broadly divided into **Malabar (North Kerala), Cochin and Travancore kingdoms**).
- In the Kakinada meet of the Congress Party in 1923, **T K Madhavan** presented a report citing the discrimination that the depressed caste people were facing in Kerala. In Kerala, a committee was formed comprising people of different castes to fight untouchability.
- The **committee chaired** by K Kelappan, comprised of T K Madhavan, Velayudha Menon, K Neelakantan Namboothiri and TR Krishnaswami **Iyer**.
- In **February 1924, they decided to launch a 'Keralaparyatanam'** in order to get temple entry and also the right to use public roads for every Hindu irrespective of caste or creed.

### The movement

- The movement began on **30th March 1924**. At the **Vaikom Mahadeva Temple**, there was a board that denied the entry of "lower caste" people (avarnas).
- The Satyagrahis made batches of three and entered the temple. They were resisted and arrested by the police.
- **Gandhiji, Chatampi Swamikal and Sree Narayana Guru** supported the movement.
- The movement gained prominence in the whole of India and support came from far and wide. The **Akalis of Punjab** supported by setting up kitchens to provide food to the Satyagrahis.
- Even Christian and Muslim leaders were in support of the movement. However, Gandhiji was not entirely convinced by this as he wanted the movement to be an intra-Hindu affair.
- On Gandhiji's advice, the movement was taken back temporarily in April 1924.
- After discussions with caste Hindu people failed, the leaders again started the movement. Leaders **T K Madhavan and K P Kesava Menon** were arrested.
- **E V Ramaswami Naicker (Periyar) came from Tamil Nadu to support the movement** and then he was arrested.
- On **1st October 1924, a group of savarnas (forward castes)** marched in a procession and submitted a petition to the **Regent Maharani Sethu Lakshmi Bai of Travancore**.
- **Gandhiji** also met with the Regent Maharani to convince her to open temples.

### Effects & Significance

- On 23rd November **1925**, all the gates of the temple were opened to Hindus except the eastern gate. In 1928, backward castes got the right to walk on public roads leading to all temples in Travancore.
- Finally, on November 12, **1936**, the Maharaja of Travancore issued a proclamation throwing open all government-controlled temples to all Hindus.
- This was the first time that an organized movement was being conducted on such a massive scale for the basic rights of the untouchables and other backward castes in Kerala.

## → SIMON COMMISSION

- The Indian Statutory Commission also known as **Simon Commision**, was a group of seven **Members of Parliament under the chairmanship of Sir John Simon**.



- The commission arrived in British India **in 1928 to study constitutional reform** in Britain's largest and most important possession.
- One of its members was the future leader of the **Labour Party Clement Attlee**, who became committed to **self-government for India**.

## BACKGROUND

### THE LEE COMMISSION

- It was appointed in **1923** to look into the **organisation and general conditions of service** as well as the methods of **recruitment for Europeans and Indians in the civil services**.
- Being concerned only with the superior civil services, it came to be known as the **Royal Commission on the Superior Civil Services in India**.
- The commission **suggested that the statutory public service commission**, as put forward by the Government of India Act 1919, needed to be established without delay.

### THE MUDDIMAN COMMITTEE

- Officially known as the **Report of the Reforms Enquiry Committee**, was set up in 1924, mainly to **look into the working of the Constitution** as set up in 1921 under the Act of 1919.
- Its **report was not unanimous**: while the **majority suggested** some minor changes in the structure of the Constitution, the **minority, consisting of non-official Indians**, strongly criticised the system of diarchy and wanted it to be abolished immediately and the Constitution made democratic.

### THE LINLITHGOW COMMISSION (1926)

- Officially the **Royal Commission of Agriculture** was set up to examine and report the condition of India's agricultural and rural economy.
- The commission submitted its report in 1928 and made **comprehensive recommendations for the improvement of the agrarian economy** as the foundation for the welfare and prosperity of India's rural population.
- Among other things, the commission recommended that the **quality of Indian cattle** should be improved and that this should be done by importing foreign bulls of better quality and using them to breed with Indian cows.
- The Conservative Secretary of State for India, Lord Birkenhead, who had constantly talked of the inability of Indians to formulate a concrete scheme of constitutional reforms which had the support of wide sections of Indian political opinion, was responsible for the appointment of the Simon Commission.

### About the commission

- Diarchy was introduced in India by the **Government of India Act 1919**. The Act also promised that a commission would be appointed after 10 years to review the working and progress made on the measures taken through the Act.
- The **Indian people and leaders wanted a reform** of the diarchy form of government.
- The Conservative Party-led government in the UK feared a defeat at the hands of the Labour Party in the elections due, and so hastened the appointment of a commission in 1928, even though it was due only in 1929 as per the 1919 Act.
- The **Conservative Secretary of State for India, Lord Birkenhead** was responsible for the appointment of the Simon Commission.
- The **Commission was composed entirely of British members with not a single Indian member** being included in it. This was seen as an insult to Indians who were right in saying that their destiny could not be determined by a handful of British people.
- The **Secretary of State for India, Lord Birkenhead** had **berated Indians** on account of their perceived inability to formulate a concrete scheme of reforms through consensus among all sections of the Indian political scene.

- **Clement Atlee** was a member of the Commission. He would later become Britain's Prime Minister during Indian independence and partition in 1947.

### INDIAN RESPONSE

- **Indians were outraged at their exclusion** from the Commission.
- The **Congress Party decided to boycott the Commission at their session at Madras in 1927** under the presidency of **M.A. Ansari**.
- The Muslim league had two sessions in 1927— one under **Jinnah at Calcutta where it was decided to oppose the Simon Commission**, and another at **Lahore under Muhammad Shafi, who supported the government**.
- Some others, such as the **Unionists in Punjab** and the **Justice Party in the south**, decided not to boycott the commission.
- When the Commission landed in February 1928, there were mass protests, hartals and black flag demonstrations all over the country.
- People were chanting the slogan, '**Simon Go Back.**'
- The police resorted to lathi charges to suppress the movement. Even senior leaders like Pandit Nehru were not spared.
- In Lahore, **Lala Lajpat Rai, who was leading the demonstration against the Simon Commission, was brutally lathi-charged**. He died later that year due to injuries sustained then.
- Dr B R Ambedkar had submitted a report on behalf of the **Bahishkrita Hitakarini Sabha on the education of the depressed classes in the Bombay Presidency**.

### Related information:

### UNIONIST PARTY

- In **1923**, the Unionist Party was formed in Punjab by **Sir Chhotu Ram of Rohtak district** with the help of **Sir Fazl-i-Husain**.
- The party's **main agenda was to protect the agrarian society's interests** and curtail the growing communal sentiments in the region.
- Chhotu Ram **believed that Swarjya would be easier to attain by entering the assemblies and councils and occupying more official power**.
- He advocated for proper representation of the peasants in the assemblies, boards, and local bodies and emphasized on Hindu-Muslim unity.
- His Unionist Party thus stood for self-respect, secularism, and patriotism.
- When the party **won the 1937 Provincial elections**, it fulfilled its promises to the agrarian society. It passed on legislation like the **Debtor Protection Act**, The **Restoration of Mortgage Lands Act**, The **Registration of Money-Lending Act**, The **Punjab Agricultural Produce Marketing Bill**, etc.
- Under its rule, communal harmony was restored, and the exploitation of farmers by the moneylenders and the British government finally ended.

### SIMON COMMISSION RECOMMENDATIONS

#### Provinces

- It proposed the **abolition of dyarchy and the establishment of representative government in the provinces** which should be given autonomy.
- It said that the **governor should have discretionary power** in relation to **internal security and administrative powers to protect the different communities**.
- The number of **members** of provincial legislative council **should be increased**.

**Centre**

- The report **rejected parliamentary responsibility** at the centre.
- The **governor general was to have complete power** to appoint the members of the cabinet.
- And the **Government of India would have complete control** over the high court.

- It also recommended that **separate communal electorates** be **retained** (and extended such electorates to other communities) but only until tensions between Hindus and Muslims had died down.
- There was to be **no universal franchise**.
- It **accepted the idea of federalism** but not in the near future; it suggested that a **Consultative Council of Greater India** should be established, which should include representatives of both the British provinces as well as princely states.
- It suggested that the **North-West Frontier Province** and **Baluchistan** should get local legislatures, and both NWFP and Baluchistan should have the right to be represented at the centre.
- It **recommended that Sindh should be separated from Bombay**, and **Burma should be separated from India** because it was not a natural part of the Indian subcontinent.
- It also suggested that the **Indian army should be Indianised** though British forces must be retained.

## ➔ NEHRU REPORT

**BACKGROUND**

- When the Simon Commission came to India in 1928, it was vehemently opposed by Indians especially the Congress Party for the lack of a single Indian in the Commission.
- So, the **Secretary of State for India, Lord Birkenhead** challenged the Indian leaders to draft a constitution for India, implicitly implying that Indians were not capable of finding a common path and drafting a constitution.
- The political leaders **accepted this challenge** and an **All Party Conference** was held and a committee appointed with the task of drafting a constitution.

- This committee was **headed by Motilal Nehru with Jawaharlal Nehru as the Secretary**. Other members were **Ali Imam, Tej Bahadur Sapru, Mangal Singh, M S Aney, Subhas Chandra Bose, Shuaib Qureshi and G R Pradhan**.
- The draft constitution prepared by the committee was called the Nehru Committee Report or Nehru Report. The report was submitted at the Lucknow session of the all-party conference on August 28, 1928.
- This was the first major attempt by Indians to draft a constitution for themselves.

**RECOMMENDATIONS**

- **Dominion status for India (like Canada, Australia, etc.)** within the British Commonwealth. (This point was a bone of contention with the **younger set of leaders including Jawaharlal Nehru and Subhas Chandra Bose who favoured complete independence**.)
- **Nineteen fundamental rights including the right to vote for men and women above 21 years of age**, unless disqualified.
- **Equal rights for men and women as citizens**.
- **No state religion**.
- **No separate electorates for any community**. It did provide for reservation of minority seats.
- It **provided for reservation for seats for Muslims at the centre and in provinces** where they were in a minority and not in Bengal and Punjab. Similarly, it provided for **reservation for non-Muslims in the NWFP**.

- A **federal form of government with residual powers with the centre**. There would be a bicameral legislature at the centre. The ministry would be responsible to the legislature.
- The Indian Parliament at the Centre to consist of a **500-member House of Representatives** elected on the basis of adult suffrage, a **200-member Senate** to be elected by provincial councils;
- The **House of Representatives to have a tenure of 5 years** and the Senate, one of 7 years;
- **Governor-General to be the constitutional head** of India. He would be appointed by the British monarch. Paid out of Indian revenues, who would act on the advice of the central executive council responsible to the Parliament.
- A proposal for the **creation of a Supreme Court**.
- The **provinces would be created along linguistic lines**.

#### DELHI PROPOSALS OF MUSLIM LEAGUE

- The issue of communal representation was controversial. In **December 1927**, many **Muslim leaders met Motilal Nehru at Delhi and suggested a few proposals**. These were accepted by Congress at its Madras session.
- These were '**Delhi Proposals**' :

- **joint electorates in place of separate electorates with reserved seats for Muslims;**
- **1/3rd representation of Muslims in the Central Legislature.**
- **Representation to Muslims in Punjab and Bengal in proportion to their populations.**
- **Formation of three new provinces with a Muslim majority – Sindh, Baluchistan and North-West Frontier Province (NWFP).**

#### RESPONSE

- However, the **Hindu Mahasabha** was opposed to the formation of the new provinces and the communal representation in Bengal and Punjab. They pressed for a **strictly unitary system**.

#### CONCESSION OFFERED TO HINDU MAHASABHA

- The report made concessions to the Hindu group by stating that **joint electorates would be the system followed with reservation of seats for Muslims only where they were in a minority**.
- Sindh would be created into a new province (by severing from Bombay) only after dominion status was granted and weightage would be given to the Hindu minority there.
- Political structure **proposed broadly unitary**, as **residual powers rested with the centre**.

#### COUNTER RESPONSE BY MUSLIM LEAGUE

- **At the all-party conference held in Calcutta in 1928** to discuss the report, Jinnah made three amendments to the report:
  - 1/3rd representation of Muslims in the Central Legislature.
  - Reservation to Muslims in Punjab and Bengal in proportion to their populations until adult suffrage was established.
  - Residual powers to be vested with the provinces and not the centre.
- Since these demands of Jinnah were not met, he gave the '**Fourteen Points**' in **March 1929**, which served as the basis of all future agenda of the League.

## → JINNAH'S FOURTEEN POINTS

1. Federal constitution with residual powers with the provinces.
2. Provincial autonomy.
3. **No constitutional amendment without the agreement of the states.**
4. All legislatures and elected bodies to have adequate Muslim representation without reducing Muslim majority in a province to minority or equality.
5. Adequate Muslim representation of Muslims in the services and in self-governing bodies.
6. 1/3rd representation of Muslims in the Central Legislature.
7. 1/3rd Muslim members in the central and state cabinets.
8. Separate electorates.
9. No bill to be passed in any legislature if 3/4th of a minority community considers it against its interests.
10. Any reorganisation of territories not to affect the Muslim majority in Bengal, Punjab and the NWFP.
11. Separation of Sindh from Bombay Presidency.
12. Constitutional reforms in the NWFP and Baluchistan.
13. Full religion freedom for all communities.
14. Protection of the religious, cultural, educational and language rights of Muslims.

### RESPONSE OF THE YOUNGER SECTION OF THE CONGRESS

- Younger section led by Jawaharlal Nehru and Subhas Chandra Bose were also angered.
- The younger section regarded the **idea of dominion status in the report as a step backward**, and the developments at the All Parties Conference strengthened their criticism of the dominion status idea.
- Nehru and Subhas Bose **rejected the Congress' modified goal and jointly set up** the Independence for India League.

## → BARDOLI SATYAGRAHA

- The Bardoli Satyagraha, 1928 was a movement **led by Sardar Vallabhai Patel for the farmers of Bardoli against the unjust raising of taxes.**
- The Bardoli Taluk in modern-day Gujarat was hit by floods and famines in 1925, which adversely affected crop yield. This affected the farmers financially.
- Ignoring the plight of the farmers, the **Bombay Presidency increased the tax rates by 22%.**
- Despite petitions and appeals from civic groups and farmers to review this unjust hike in tax rates in lieu of the grave situation, the government decided to go ahead with tax collection.
- In **1927, the local Congress Party** published a report to show that the farmers could not carry the burden of the enhanced assessment. But the authorities did not budge.
- In **January 1928, farmers in Bardoli invited Vallabhai Patel** to launch the protest movement wherein all of them resolved not to pay taxes.
- Patel agreed to take on the leadership role. He informed them of the possible consequences of their move such as confiscation of land and property and imprisonment.
- Patel got in touch with the government and apprised it of the situation. He got the reply that the government was unwilling to make any concessions.
- **Gandhiji also lent support to the movement** through his writings in 'Young India' magazine.

### The Movement

- Patel was an exemplary commander of his non-violent 'army' in Bardoli.

- He divided the taluk into camps and organised hundreds of men and women under the camps.
- The **volunteers came from Hindu, Muslim and Parsi communities** also.
- From the camps, volunteers issued news bulletins, campaigns and also made speeches educating the masses about the need to be disciplined and prepared for austerity. Door-to-door campaigning was also done.
- A large number of women took active part in the movement. It was **these women who gave Patel the moniker ‘Sardar’**.
- Those **who paid taxes or were supportive of the British were socially boycotted**.
- They also worked for the **betterment of the Kaliparaj caste** (farmers who worked as landless labourers).
- They **resisted eviction and confiscation (jabti) in unique ways**. They had informers in the government offices who would give prior information as to if and when a jabti notice was going to be carried out. The whole village would then move to another place and the officers would be faced with an empty village when they arrived to confiscate the property.
- **K M Munshi and Lalji Naranji** resigned from the Bombay Legislative Council.
- Although the movement was local, it received nation-wide attention and support.

### Effects

- Fearing things could go out of hand, the government set up the Maxwell-Broomfield commission to look into the matter.
- The **revenue was reduced to 6.03%**.
- The **peasants were returned their confiscated land**.
- Patel emerged as a national leader after the success of the Bardoli Satyagraha. He showed his remarkable organising skills.

### Criticism

- It **did not raise the problem of Hali Pratha** (a kind of bonded labour system).
- It is said that the movement was **an experiment on Satyagraha** as a method of freedom struggle. The basic problems of the peasants were not addressed.

## → POLITICAL ACTIVITY DURING 1929

- Gandhi travelled incessantly during 1929, preparing people for **direct political action**—telling the youth to prepare for the fiery ordeal, helping to organise constructive work in villages, and redressing specific grievances (on lines of the Bardoli agitation of 1928).
- The **Congress Working Committee (CWC)** organised a **Foreign Cloth Boycott Committee** to propagate an aggressive programme of boycotting foreign cloth and public burning of foreign cloth.
- Other developments which kept the political temperature high during 1929 included the **Meerut Conspiracy Case (March)**, **bomb explosion in Central Legislative Assembly** by Bhagat Singh and B.K. Dutt (April), and
- The coming to power of the **minority Labour government led by Ramsay MacDonald** in England in May and **Wedgewood Benn** became the Secretary of State for India.

## → IRWIN'S DECLARATION (OCTOBER 31, 1929)

Before the Simon Commission report came out, the declaration by Lord Irwin was made. The **purpose behind the declaration** was to “**restore faith in the ultimate purpose of British policy**”. It said:



- The natural issue of India's constitutional progress as they contemplated is the **attainment of Dominion status**. However, there was **no time scale**. The dominion status promised by Irwin would not be available for a long time to come. There was in reality nothing new or revolutionary in the declaration.
- Lord Irwin also **promised a Round Table Conference** after the Simon Commission submitted its report.

## → DELHI MANIFESTO

- On **November 2, 1929**, a conference of prominent national leaders issued a 'Delhi Manifesto', which put forward certain conditions for attending the Round Table Conference:
  1. that the purpose of the Round Table Conference **should be not to determine whether or when dominion status** was to be reached **but to formulate a constitution for implementation of the dominion status** (thus acting as a constituent assembly) and the basic principle of dominion status should be immediately accepted;
  2. that the **Congress should have majority representation** at the conference; and
  3. there should be a **general amnesty for political prisoners and a policy of conciliation**.
- Viceroy Irwin rejected the demands put forward in the Delhi Manifesto. The stage for confrontation was to begin now.

## → POORNA SWARAJ

- Jawaharlal Nehru, who had done more to popularise the concept of purna swaraj, was nominated the **president for the Lahore session** of the Congress
- The Indian National Congress, on **19 December 1929**, **passed the historic 'Purna Swaraj'** – (total independence) resolution .
- The following major decisions were taken at the Lahore session:
  - The Round Table Conference was to be boycotted.
  - Complete independence was declared as the aim of the Congress.
  - Congress Working Committee was authorised to launch a programme of civil disobedience, including non-payment of taxes, and all members of legislatures were asked to resign their seats.
  - **January 26, 1930** was fixed as the **first Independence (Swarajya) Day**, to be celebrated everywhere.

### December 31, 1929

- At midnight on the banks of River Ravi, the newly adopted tricolour flag of freedom was hoisted by Jawaharlal Nehru amidst slogans of Inquilab Zindabad.

## → CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE MOVEMENT (CDM) and aftermath

### ELEVEN DEMANDS PUT BY M.K. GANDHI

To carry forward the mandate given by the Lahore Congress, Gandhi presented 11 demands to the government and gave an ultimatum of **January 31, 1930** to accept or reject these demands. The demands were as follows:

### Issues of General Interest

1. Reduce expenditure on army and civil services by 50 per cent.
2. Introduce total prohibition.
3. Carry out reforms in Criminal Investigation Department (CID).
4. Change Arms Act allowing popular control of issue of firearms licences.
5. Release political prisoners.
6. Accept Postal Reservation Bill.

### Specific Bourgeois Demands

1. Reduce rupee-sterling exchange ratio
2. Introduce textile protection.
3. Reserve coastal shipping for Indians.

### Specific Peasant Demands

1. Reduce land revenue by 50 per cent.
2. Abolish salt tax and government's salt monopoly.

- With no positive response forthcoming from the government on these demands, the **Congress Working Committee invested Gandhi with full powers** to launch the Civil Disobedience Movement at a time and place of his choice.
- By February-end, Gandhi had decided to make **salt the central formula** for the movement

### IDEA

- Gandhiji chose to break the salt tax in defiance of the government.
- Some members of Congress were skeptical of the choice and other Indians and the British dismissed this choice of salt with disdain.
- The then **Viceroy, Lord Irwin was hardly perturbed by the threat of a salt protest** and the government did nothing to prevent the salt march from taking place.
- But **Gandhiji's choice of using salt was nothing short of brilliant** because it touched a chord with every Indian.
- **It was a commodity required by all and the poor people were hurt because of the salt tax.**
- Indians had been making salt from **seawater free of cost until the passing of the 1882 Salt Act** that gave the British monopoly over the production of salt and authority to impose a salt tax. It was a criminal offence to violate the salt act.
- Gandhiji also hoped to unite Hindus and Muslims as the cause was common to both groups.
- The **salt tax accounted for 8.2% of the British Raj revenue from tax** and Gandhiji knew that the government could not ignore this.

### THE COURSE OF THE SALT SATYAGRAHA

- Gandhiji **informed Lord Irwin of his plan on 2nd March 1930.**
- He would lead a group of people from his Ashram at Sabarmati on **12th March 1930** and walk through the villages of Gujarat.
- On reaching the coastal **village of Dandi, he would make salt from seawater** thereby breaking the salt act.
- Gandhiji started the march as planned with 80 of his followers. They were given strict instructions not to resort to any kind of violence. Thousands of people thronged the path to witness the historic event.
- At the end of every day, Gandhiji would address thousands of people and attack the government in his speeches.
- Gandhiji talked to foreign journalists and wrote articles for newspapers on the way. This pushed the **Indian independence movement into the forefront of world media. Gandhiji became a household name in the West.**

- **Sarojini Naidu joined him on the way.** Every day more and more people joined him and on **5th April 1930**, they reached Dandi.
- At this time, there were about 50,000 people participating in the march.
- On the morning of **6th April 1930**, Gandhiji broke the salt law by making salt. Thousands of people followed suit.

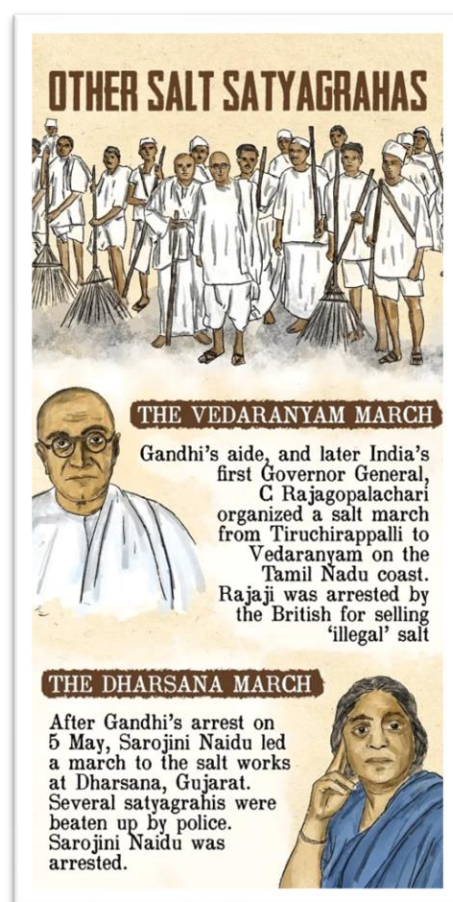
### Effects

- There was widespread civil disobedience carried on by the people. **Apart from the salt tax, other unpopular tax laws were being defied like the forest laws, chowkidar tax, land tax, etc.**
- The government tried to suppress the movement with more laws and censorship.
- The **Congress Party was declared illegal**. But this did not deter the satyagrahis who continued the movement. There were some incidents of violence in Calcutta and Karachi but Gandhiji did not call off the movement, unlike the previous time with the non-cooperation movement.

### PROMINENT PLACES

- **C Rajagopalachari led a similar march on the southeast coast from Trichy to Vedaranyam** in Tamil Nadu. He too was arrested for making salt.
- **K Kelappan led a march in the Malabar region** from Calicut to Payyanur.
- In **Orissa**, under **Gopalbandhu Choudhuri**, a Gandhian leader, salt satyagraha proved effective in the coastal regions of Balasore, Cuttack, and Puri districts.
- In **Bihar**, Champaran and Saran were the first two districts to start salt satyagraha. In Patna, **Nakhas Pond** was chosen as a site to make salt and break the salt law under **Ambika Kant Sinha**. However, very soon, a very powerful **no-chaukidari tax agitation** replaced the salt satyagraha (owing to physical constraints in making salt).
- In **Peshawar**, the **Satyagraha was organised and led by Gandhiji's disciple, Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan**. In April 1930 he was arrested. Khan's followers (called **Khudai Khidmatgars**) whom he had trained in Satyagraha had gathered in a marketplace called the Qissa Khwani Bazaar. Started the first Pushto political monthly Pukhtoon.
- **Manipur and Nagaland:** These areas took a brave part in the movement. At the young age of 13, Rani Gaidinliu, a Naga spiritual leader, who followed her cousin **Haipou Jadonang**.

- **Thousands of women** also took part in the Satyagraha.
- **Foreign clothes were boycotted. Liqueur shops were picketed.** There were **strikes** all over.
- On May 21, 1930, there was a protest against the **Dharasana Salt Works** by peaceful non-violent protestors led by **Sarojini Naidu**. The police lathi-charged the protestors brutally and it resulted in the deaths of 2 people with several others being injured. This event was reported in the international media and there was a condemnation of British policies followed in India.
- The British **government was shaken by the movement**. Also, its non-violent nature made it difficult for them to suppress it violently.
- This movement had **three main effects**:
  - It pushed **Indian freedom struggle into the limelight in western media**.



- It brought a **lot of people including women and the depressed classes directly** in touch with the freedom movement.
- It showed the **power of the non-violent Satyagraha** as a tool in fighting imperialism.

### GOVERNMENT RESPONSE

- The government's attitude was puzzled and perplexed. It faced the classic dilemma of '**damned if you do, damned if you don't**', **if force was applied**, the Congress cried 'repression', and if little action taken, the Congress cried 'victory'.
- In **July 1930**, the **viceroy, Lord Irwin**, suggested a **round table conference** and reiterated the **goal of dominion status**.
- He also accepted the suggestion that **Tej Bahadur Saprú** and **M.R. Jayakar** be allowed to explore the possibility of peace between the Congress and the government.

## ➔ FIRST ROUND TABLE CONFERENCE 1930

- The Viceroy of India, **Lord Irwin**, and the Prime Minister of Britain, **Ramsay MacDonald**, agreed that a round table conference should be held, as the recommendations of the Simon Commission report were clearly inadequate.
- The first Round Table Conference was held in London between November 1930 and January 1931. It was opened officially by **King George V** on November 12, 1930 and chaired by Ramsay MacDonald.
- This was the first conference arranged between the British and the Indians as equals.

### Participants

- 58 political leaders from British India.
- 16 delegates from the native princely states.
- 16 delegates from the three British political parties.
- The **Indian National Congress decided not to participate in the conference**. Many of the INC leaders were imprisoned due to their involvement in the civil disobedience movement.
- Among the British-Indians, the following representatives attended the conference: Muslim League, Hindu Mahasabha, Justice Party, Sikhs, liberals, Parsis, Christians, Anglo-Indians, Europeans, landlords, labour, women, universities, Sindh, Burma, other provinces, and the representatives from the Government of India.
- The GoI was represented by Narendra Nath Law, Bhupendra Nath Mitra, C.P. Ramaswami Iyer, and M. Ramachandra Rao.

### OUTCOME

- Nothing much was achieved at the conference. It was **generally agreed that India was to develop into a federation**, there were to be safeguards regarding defence and finance, while other departments were to be transferred. But little was done to implement these recommendations and civil disobedience continued in India.
- The British government **realised that the participation of the Indian National Congress was necessary** in any discussion on the future of constitutional government in India.

## → GANDHI-IRWIN PACT

- On **January 25, 1931**, Gandhi and all other members of the Congress Working Committee (CWC) were released unconditionally.
- Members of the **Indian Liberal Party** such as Tej Bahadur Sapru, C.Y. Chintamani, and Srinivasa Sastri appealed to Gandhi to talk with the Viceroy.
- The **CWC authorised Gandhi** to initiate discussions with the viceroy.
- As a result of these discussions, a pact was signed between the **viceroy, representing the British Indian Government**, and **Gandhi, representing the Indian people**, in Delhi on **March 5, 1931**.
- This Delhi Pact, also known as the **Gandhi-Irwin Pact**, placed the Congress on an equal footing with the government.

### DEMANDS ACCEPTED BY LORD IRWIN

1. immediate release of all political prisoners not convicted of violence;
2. remission of all fines not yet collected;
3. return of all lands not yet sold to third parties;
4. lenient treatment to those government servants who had resigned;
5. right to make salt in coastal villages for personal consumption (not for sale);
6. right to peaceful and non-aggressive picketing; and
7. withdrawal of emergency ordinances.

The viceroy, however, **turned down two of Gandhi's demands**.

1. public enquiry into police excesses, and
2. commutation of Bhagat Singh and his comrades' death sentence to life sentence.

### Gandhi on behalf of the Congress agreed:

1. to **suspend the civil disobedience movement**, and
2. to **participate in the next Round Table Conference** on the constitutional question around the three linchpins of **federation, Indian responsibility**, and **reservations and safeguards** that may be necessary in India's interests (covering such areas as defence, external affairs, position of minorities, financial credit of India, and discharge of other obligations).

### CDM'S COMPARISON TO NON-COOPERATION MOVEMENT

1. The stated objective this time was **complete independence** and not just a vaguely worded swaraj.
2. The methods **involved violation of law from the very beginning** and not just non-cooperation with foreign rule.
3. There was a **decline in forms of protests** involving the intelligentsia, such as lawyers giving up practice, students giving up government schools to join national schools and colleges.
4. No **major labour upsurge** coincided with the movement.
5. The **massive participation of peasants and business groups** compensated for decline of other features.
6. The **number of those imprisoned** was about three times more this time.
7. The **Congress was organisationally stronger**.



## ➔ KARACHI SESSION

- The Karachi Resolution was **passed by the Indian National Congress at its 1931 Karachi session** under the presidentship of Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
- Karachi session of Indian National Congress was held on **March 31, 1931**.
- The Session was conducted in the shadow of three major events.

- **First**, Mahatma Gandhi had just been released from prison following his Salt Satyagraha.
- **Second**, the Gandhi-Irwin pact had just been concluded which had brought the civil disobedience movement to an end.
- **Third**, the British government had, a week before the session, executed Bhagat Singh and two of his associates in connection with the Kakori Conspiracy case.

- The Resolution is three pages long and is mostly written in a **quasi-legal style**.
- It reiterated the **Congress Party's commitment to 'Purna Swaraj' or 'complete independence'**.
- In addition to resolution on **Fundamental Rights** which protected civil liberties, the Resolution for the first time put forward a **National Economic Programme**.

### NATIONAL ECONOMIC PROGRAMME INCLUDED:

- substantial **reduction in rent and revenue** in the case of landholders and peasants
- **exemption from rent** for uneconomic holdings
- **relief from agricultural indebtedness**
- control of **usury**
- better conditions of work including a **living wage, limited hours of work and protection of women workers** in the industrial sector
- right to workers and peasants to form **unions**
- **state ownership and control** of key industries, mines, and means of transport

- The Resolution also, which seems to be a **Gandhian influence, prohibited intoxicating drinks and drugs**.
- The socio-economic provision in the Karachi Resolution went on to influence the Constituent Assembly in drawing up **Part IV of the Indian Constitution** – the Directive Principles of State Policy.

## ➔ SECOND ROUND TABLE CONFERENCE

- The Second Round Table Conference was **held in London from 7 September 1931 to 1 December 1931**
- The Indian National Congress nominated **Gandhi as its sole representative**. **A. Rangaswami Iyengar and Madan Mohan Malaviya** were also there.

### Participants

- British delegates belonging to various political parties including the British Prime Minister, **James Ramsay Macdonald**.
- **The Government of India** was represented by C.P. Ramaswami Iyer, Narendra Nath Law, and M. Ramachandra Rao.
- Indian **princely states** represented by Maharajas, princes and divans.



- **British Indians represented by:**

- **Indian National Congress (INC)** – Mahatma Gandhi, Rangaswami Iyengar, Madan Mohan Malaviya
- **Muslims** – Md. Ali Jinnah, Aga Khan III, Muhammad Iqbal, etc.
- **Hindus** – M R Jayakar, B.S. Moonje etc.
- **Depressed classes** – Dr B R Ambedkar and Rettamalai Srinivasan.
- **Sikhs** – Sardar Ujjal Singh and Sardar Sampuran Singh
- **Parsis** – Cowasji Jehangir, Homi Mody, and Phiroze Sethna.
- **Women** – Sarojini Naidu, Begum Jahanara Shahnawaz, and Radhabai Subbarayan.
- **Industry** was represented by **Ghanshyam Das Birla, Sir Purshottamdas Thakurdas, and Maneckji Dadabhoy.**
- **Labour** was represented by N. M. Joshi, B. Shiva Rao, and V. V. Giri.
- Liberals, Justice Party, Europeans, Anglo-Indians, landlords, Burma, Sindh and other provinces.

## ISSUES

- The session started on 7 September 1931. The major difference between the first and the second conference was that the INC was participating in the second one. This was one of the results of the Gandhi-Irwin Pact.
- Another difference was that unlike the previous time, **British PM Macdonald was heading not a Labour government, but a National government.** The Labour Party had been toppled two weeks before in Britain.
- The Prime Minister, Ramsay MacDonald headed the **Conservative- dominated cabinet** with a weak and **reactionary secretary of state for India, Samuel Hoare.**
- At the conference, Gandhi (and therefore the Congress) **claimed to represent all people of India** against imperialism.
- The **other delegates, however, did not share this view.**
- Many of the delegates were conservative, government loyalists, and communalists, and these groups were used by the colonial government to neutralise the efforts of Gandhi.
- Because of the participation of a large number of groups, the British government claimed that the **Congress did not represent the interests of all of India.**
- The session soon got deadlocked on the **question of the minorities.** Separate electorates were being demanded by the Muslims, depressed classes, Christians, and Anglo- Indians. All these came together in a 'Minorities' Pact'.
- The British **decided to grant a communal award** for representing minorities in India by providing for **separate electorates for minority communities.** Gandhi was against this.
- In this conference, Gandhi and Ambedkar differed on the **issue of separate electorates for the untouchables.** Gandhi was against treating untouchables as separate from the Hindu community. This issue was resolved through the Poona Pact 1932.

## Outcome

The lack of agreement among the many delegate groups meant that no substantial results regarding India's constitutional future would come out of the conference. The session ended with MacDonald's announcement of:

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

- The government refused to concede the basic Indian demand of freedom. Gandhi returned to India on December 28, 1931.

- Congress Working Committee decided on **December 29, 1931** to **resume the civil disobedience movement**.
- After the CWC decided to resume the civil disobedience movement, **Viceroy Willingdon refused a meeting with Gandhi on December 31. On January 4, 1932, Gandhi was arrested.**

## → THIRD ROUND TABLE CONFERENCE

- The Third Round Table Conference took place between **17 November 1932 and 24 December 1932**.

### Participants

- Only 46 delegates in total took part in this conference.
- The **INC and the Labour Party decided not to attend it**. (The INC wasn't invited).
- Indian princely states were represented by princes and divans.
- **British Indians** were represented by the Aga Khan (Muslims), Depressed classes, women, Europeans, Anglo-Indians and labour groups.

### Outcome

- Not much was achieved in this conference also.
- The recommendations of this conference were published in a **White Paper in 1933** and later discussed in the British Parliament.
- The recommendations were analysed and the **Government of India Act of 1935 was passed on its basis**.

## → COMMUNAL AWARD

- The **Communal Award** was announced by the British prime minister, Ramsay MacDonald, on **August 16, 1932**.
- The Communal Award, based on the findings of the Indian Franchise Committee (also called the Lothian Committee), established separate electorates and reserved seats for minorities, including the depressed classes, which were granted 78 reserved seats.
- Thus, this award **accorded separate electorates** for Muslims, Europeans, Sikhs, Indian Christians, Anglo-Indians, depressed classes, and even to the Marathas for some seats in Bombay.
- The award was perceived by the national leaders led by the Congress as another manifestation of the British policy of divide and rule.

### Main Provisions of the Communal Award

- Muslims, Europeans, Sikhs, Indian Christians, Anglo-Indians, depressed classes, women, and even the Marathas were to get separate electorates. Such an arrangement for the depressed classes was to be made for a period of 20 years.
- In the provincial legislatures, the seats were to be distributed on communal basis.
- The existing seats of the provincial legislatures were to be doubled.
- The Muslims, wherever they were in minority, were to be granted a weightage.
- Except in the North West Frontier Province, 3 per cent seats were to be reserved for women in all provinces.
- The depressed classes were to be declared/accorded the status of minority.

- The depressed classes were to get 'double vote', one to be used through separate electorates and the other to be used in the general electorates.
- Allocation of seats were to be made for labourers, landlords, traders, and industrialists.
- In the province of Bombay, 7 seats were to be allocated for the Marathas.

### Response of Congress

- While strongly disagreeing with the Communal Award, the Congress **decided neither to accept it nor to reject it.**
- The **effort to separate the depressed classes from the rest of the Hindus** by treating them as separate political entities was **vehemently opposed by all the nationalists.**

### M.K. Gandhi's response

- Gandhi argued, the **question of abolishing untouchability would get undermined**, while separate electorates would **ensure that the untouchables remained untouchables** in perpetuity.
- He said that what was **required was not protection of the so-called interests of the depressed classes** but **root and branch eradication of untouchability.**
- And to press his demands, he went on an **indefinite fast on September 20, 1932.**
- Now leaders, including B.R. Ambedkar, M.C. Rajah, and Madan Mohan Malaviya got together to hammer out a compromise contained in the Poona Pact.

## ➔ POONA PACT

- The Poona Pact was an agreement **between M K Gandhi and B R Ambedkar** signed in the **Yerwada Central Jail, Poona on September 24th, 1932** on behalf of the depressed class for the reservation of the electoral seats in the Legislature of the British Government.
- It was signed **by Ambedkar on behalf of the depressed classes** and by **Madan Mohan Malviya on behalf of Hindus** and Gandhi as a means to end the fast that Gandhi was undertaking in jail as a protest **against the decision made by British prime minister Ramsay MacDonald to give separate electorates to depressed classes** for the election of members of provincial legislative assemblies in British India.

### Important Facts

- Dr Ambedkar was **in favour of a separate electorate for the Depressed Classes** and this was laid down **by him in the First Round Table Conference.** He was representing the Depressed Classes in the conference.
- Due to public pressure to end the fast unto death, **Dr Ambedkar and Gandhi made the Poona Pact which laid down reserved seats for the Depressed Classes in the provincial legislatures for which elections would be through joint electorates.**
- So, in total there were **147 reserved seats in Provincial legislatures and 18 per cent of the total in the Central Legislature.**
- This system **would continue for ten years unless a mutual agreement consents** to terminate it earlier.
- Fair representation of the Depressed Classes would be ensured by all means.
- Nobody would be discriminated against on the basis of caste on matters regarding election to the local bodies or in public services appointments.

## POST- POONA PACT

- Gandhi gave up all his other preoccupations and launched a whirlwind campaign against untouchability—first from jail and then, after his release in August 1933, from outside jail.
- While in jail, he set up the **All India Anti-Untouchability League** in **September 1932** and started the **weekly Harijan** in January 1933.
- After his release, he shifted to the **Satyagraha Ashram in Wardha** as he had vowed in 1930 not to return to Sabarmati Ashram unless swaraj was won.
- Starting from Wardha, he conducted a **Harijan tour** of the country in the period from November **1933 to July 1934**, covering 20,000 km, collecting money for his newly set up **Harijan Sevak Sangh**, and propagating removal of untouchability in all its forms. He urged political workers to go to villages and work for social, economic, political, and cultural upliftment of the Harijans.
- Throughout his campaign, Gandhi was attacked by orthodox and reactionary elements. They also offered support to the government against the Congress and the Civil Disobedience Movement. The government obliged them by defeating the **Temple Entry Bill in August 1934**.

## → COURSE AFTER CDM

Three perspectives were put forward on what the nationalists should work on immediately after CDM.

1. There should be **constructive work** on Gandhian lines.
2. There should be a **constitutional struggle** and participation in elections to the Central Legislature (due in 1934) as advocated by M.A. Ansari, Asaf Ali, Bhulabhai Desai, S. Satyamurthy, and B.C. Roy among others. They argued that:

- elections and council work could be utilised to **keep up the political interest and morale** of the people;
- participation in elections and council work **did not amount to faith in constitutional politics**;
- another political front would help **build up Congress and prepare the masses** for the next phase;
- this approach would give the Congress a certain amount of prestige and confidence, and **a strong presence in councils would serve as an equivalent to the movement**.

3. A **strong leftist trend** within the Congress was critical of both constructive work and council entry. Instead, this section favoured resumption and continuation of **mass struggle**.

- In May **1934**, the All India Congress Committee (AICC) met at Patna to set up a Parliamentary Board to fight elections under the aegis of the Congress itself.
- In **October 1934**, **Gandhi announced his resignation from the Congress** to serve it better in thought, word, and deed.

## → GOVERNMENT OF INDIA ACT 1935

- The Government of India Act was passed by the British Parliament in August 1935.
- It was the longest act enacted by the British Parliament at that time.
- It was divided into two separate acts namely, the **Government of India Act 1935** and the **Government of Burma Act 1935**.

## BACKGROUND

- There was a growing demand for constitutional reforms in India by Indian leaders.
- India's **support to Britain in the First World War** also aided in **British acknowledgement** of the need for the inclusion of more Indians in the administration of their own country.

- The Act was based on:

- Simon Commission Report
- The recommendations of the Round Table Conferences
- The White Paper published by the British government in 1933 (based on the Third Round Table Conference)

### MAIN PROVISIONS

<b>Creation of an All-India Federation</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• This <b>federation was to consist of British India and the princely states.</b></li> <li>• The provinces in British India would have to join the federation but this was not compulsory for the princely states.</li> <li>• This federation never materialised because of the lack of support from the required number of princely states.</li> </ul>
<b>Division of powers</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• This Act <b>divided powers between the centre and the provinces.</b></li> <li>• There were three lists which gave the subjects under each government.               <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ <b>Federal List (Centre)</b></li> <li>▪ <b>Provincial List (Provinces)</b></li> <li>▪ <b>Concurrent List (Both)</b></li> <li>▪ <b>The Viceroy was vested with residual powers.</b></li> </ul> </li> </ul>
<b>Provincial autonomy</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The Act gave <b>more autonomy to the provinces.</b></li> <li>• <b>Diarchy was abolished at the provincial levels.</b></li> <li>• The Governor was the head of the executive.</li> <li>• There was a Council of Ministers to advise him. The ministers were responsible to the provincial legislatures who controlled them. The legislature could also remove the ministers.</li> <li>• Provinces were given independent financial powers and resources. Provincial governments could borrow money on their own security.</li> <li>• However, the <b>governors still retained special reserve powers.</b></li> <li>• Governor was to be the <b>Crown's nominee and representative</b> to exercise authority on the king's behalf in a province.</li> <li>• <b>Governor was to have special powers</b> regarding minorities, rights of civil servants, law and order, British business interests, partially excluded areas, princely states, etc.</li> <li>• Governor could take over and indefinitely run administration.</li> </ul>
<b>Diarchy at the centre</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The subjects under the <b>Federal List were divided into two: Reserved and Transferred.</b></li> <li>• The <b>reserved subjects were controlled by the Governor-General</b> who administered them with the help of three counsellors appointed by him. They were <b>not responsible to the legislature.</b> These subjects included defence, ecclesiastical affairs (church-related), external affairs, press, police, taxation, justice, power resources and tribal affairs.</li> <li>• The <b>transferred subjects were administered by the Governor-General with his Council of Ministers (not more than 10).</b> The Council had to act in confidence with the legislature. The subjects in this list included local government, forests, education, health, etc.</li> <li>• However, the <b>Governor-General had 'special powers'</b> to interfere in the transferred subjects also.</li> </ul>

<b>Bicameral Legislature</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• A <b>bicameral federal legislature</b> would be established.</li> <li>• The <b>two houses were the Federal Assembly (lower house) and the Council of States (upper house).</b></li> <li>• The <b>federal assembly had a term of five years.</b></li> <li>• <b>Both houses had representatives from the princely states also.</b> The representatives of the princely states were to be nominated by the rulers and not elected.</li> <li>• The representatives of British India were to be elected. Some were to be nominated by the Governor-General.</li> <li>• 80 per cent of the budget was non-votable.</li> <li>• Bicameral legislatures were introduced in some provinces also like Bengal, Madras, Bombay, Bihar, Assam, and the United Provinces.</li> </ul>
<b>Federal Court</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• A <b>federal court was established at Delhi</b> for the resolution of disputes between provinces and also between the centre and the provinces.</li> <li>• It was to have 1 Chief Justice and not more than 6 judges.</li> </ul>
<b>Indian Council</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The <b>Indian Council was abolished.</b></li> <li>• The Secretary of State for India would instead have a team of advisors.</li> </ul>
<b>Franchise</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• This Act introduced direct elections in India for the first time.</li> </ul>
<b>Reorganisation</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Sindh was carved out of Bombay Presidency.</li> <li>• Bihar and Orissa were split.</li> <li>• Burma was severed off from India.</li> <li>• Aden was also separated from India and made into a Crown colony.</li> </ul>

### Other points

- The British Parliament **retained its supremacy over the Indian legislatures** both provincial and federal.
- A **Federal Railway Authority was set up** to control Indian railways.
- The act provided for the **establishment of Reserve Bank of India.**
- The **Act also provided for the establishment of federal, provincial and joint Public Service Commissions.**
- The Act was a milestone in the **development of a responsible constitutional government** in India.
- The Government of India Act 1935 was replaced by the Constitution of India after independence.
- The Indian leaders were not enthusiastic about the Act since despite granting provincial autonomy the governors and the viceroy had considerable 'special powers'.
- The act **enfranchised 14 per cent** of British Indian population.
- Separate communal electorates were a measure through which the British wanted to ensure the Congress Party could never rule on its own. It was also a way to keep the people divided.

### STRATEGY- POST ACT OF 1935

- In early **1937**, elections to provincial assemblies were announced, and, once again, the debate on the future strategy to be adopted by the nationalists began.
- **Jawaharlal Nehru, Subhash Bose, and Congress socialists** and **communists** were opposed to office acceptance.



- As a counter-strategy, the **leftists** proposed entry into the councils with an aim to create deadlocks, thus making the working of the act impossible (older Swarajist strategy).
- Gandhi opposed office acceptance in the CWC meetings, but by the beginning of 1936, he was willing to give a trial to the formation of Congress ministries.

• In its **sessions at Lucknow** in early **1936** and **Faizpur in late 1937**, the Congress decided to fight elections and postpone the decision on office acceptance to the post- election phase.

- The Congress won 716 out of 1,161 seats it contested. (There were 1,585 seats in the legislative assemblies of the **11 provinces**.)
- It got a majority in all provinces, except in **Bengal, Assam, Punjab, Sindh**, and the **NWFP**, and emerged as the largest party in **Bengal, Assam**, and the **NWFP**.
- **Punjab**: Unionist Party under the leadership of Sikandar Hayat Khan formed the Government.
- In the meanwhile, the All India Muslim League, annoyed with the Congress for not sharing power with them established the Pirpur Committee in 1938 to prepare a detailed report on the atrocities supposedly committed by the Congress ministries.
- In its report the committee charged the Congress with interference in the religious rites, suppression of Urdu in favour of Hindi, denial of proper representation and of the oppression of Muslims in the economic sphere.

### HARIPURA AND TRIPURI SESSIONS

- Subhas Chandra Bose along with Jawaharlal Nehru, opposed the Motilal Nehru Report which spoke for dominion status for India.
- Bose was all for **full independence**; he also announced the formation of the **Independence League**.
- When the Lahore Congress session under Jawaharlal Nehru's presidency adopted a resolution that the Congress goal would be 'Poorna Swaraj', Bose fully endorsed the decision.
- He was **again fully active in the Salt Satyagraha Movement in 1930**, forcing the government to arrest him. He was vehemently against the suspension of the Civil Disobedience Movement and the signing of the Gandhi-Irwin Pact in 1931, especially as the government refused to negotiate on the death sentence for Bhagat Singh and his associates.
- From all this we get a clear idea that Bose was a man of action and radical ideas.

### HARIPURA

- At the Congress meeting in **Haripura, Gujarat, in February 1938**, Bose was unanimously elected president of the session.
- Bose talked of economic development of the country through planning and was instrumental in setting up a **National Planning Committee** later.
- The **session adopted a resolution that the Congress** would give moral support to those who were agitating against the **governance in the princely states** to support the **Praja Mandal Movement**.
- In **January 1939, Subhas Chandra Bose** decided to stand again for the president's post in the Congress. Gandhi was not happy with Bose's candidature.
- Bose said he represented the "**new ideas, ideologies, problems, and programmes**" that had come out of the "the progressive sharpening of the anti- imperialist struggle in India".
- However, **Sardar Patel, Rajendra Prasad, J.B. Kripalani**, and some other members of the Congress Working Committee pointed out that it was in the various Congress bodies, such as the working committee, that ideologies and programmes were developed; moreover, the position of the Congress president was more of a constitutional one, representative and symbolic of the unity of the nation.
- They **favoured the candidate** supported by Gandhi, namely, **Pattabhi Sitaramayya**.
- Bose won the election by 1580 votes against 1377; he got the full support of the Congress Socialist Party and the communists. Gandhi congratulated Bose on his victory but also declared that "Pattabhi's defeat is my defeat".

**TRIPURI**

- In March 1939, the Congress session took place at **Tripuri, in the Central Provinces** (near Jabalpur in present Madhya Pradesh).
- The working committee, the ruling body of the Congress, is not elected, but nominated by the president.
- Subhas Chandra Bose had accused the **working committee leaders of being ready to reach a compromise with the government** on the **matter of federation**.
- Now, those leaders felt they could not work with a president who had publicly cast doubts on their nationalistic principles and resigned from the working committee.
- Bose in his presidential speech he **prophesied that an imperialist war** was about to take place in Europe. He emphasised to raise the issue of Swaraj and submit our national demand to the British government in the form of an ultimatum.
- He was in favour of giving a **six-month ultimatum to Britain** to grant the national demand of independence; if the ultimatum was rejected, he said, a mass civil disobedience movement should be launched.
- Gandhi, on the other hand, was firm in the belief that it was not the time for such ultimatums as neither the Congress nor the masses were yet ready for struggle.
- Bose wanted an immediate struggle led by Gandhi, whereas Gandhi was firm in his belief that the time was not ripe for struggle.
- Bose had misjudged the support he had got in his election. In the circumstances, Bose saw no option but to resign. He resigned from the president's post in April 1939. This led to the election of **Rajendra Prasad as president of the Congress**.
- In May, Bose and his followers formed the Forward Bloc as a new party within the Congress.

## → START OF SECOND WORLD WAR

- On September 1, 1939, Germany attacked Poland—the action that led to the Second World War. On September 3, 1939, Britain declared war against Germany and the British Government of India declared India's support for the war without consulting Indian opinion.
- Though the Congress did not like the unilateral action of the British of drawing India into the war without consulting the Indians, it decided to support the war effort conditionally. The hostility of the Congress to Fascism, Nazism, militarism, and imperialism had been much more consistent.
- The Indian offer to cooperate in the war effort had two basic conditions:

1. After the war, a constituent assembly should be convened to determine political structure of a free India.
2. Immediately, some form of a genuinely responsible government should be established at the Centre.

- The official Congress position was adopted at the **Wardha session** of the Congress Working Committee.
- The CWC resolution condemned Fascist aggression. It said that

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

- The Congress leadership wanted “to give every chance to the viceroy and the British Government”.

**GOVERNMENT'S RESPONSE**

It was entirely negative. Viceroy Linlithgow, in his statement, made on **October 17, 1939**, tried to use the Muslim League and the princes against the Congress. The government:

- **refused to define British war aims** beyond stating that Britain was resisting aggression;
- said it would, as part of **future arrangement**, consult “**representatives of several communities, parties and interests in India, and the Indian princes**” as to how the Act of 1935 might be modified;
- said it would immediately **set up a “consultative committee”** whose advice could be sought whenever required.

### Congress Ministries Decide to Resign

On October 23, 1939, the CWC meeting:

- rejected the viceregal statement as a reiteration of the old imperialist policy;
- decided not to support the war; and
- called upon the Congress ministries to resign in the provinces.

### PAKISTAN RESOLUTION—LAHORE (MARCH 1940)

- The Muslim League passed a resolution calling for “**grouping of geographically contiguous areas where Muslims are in majority** (North-West, East) into independent states in which constituent units shall be autonomous and sovereign and adequate safeguards to Muslims where they are in minority”.

## ➔ AUGUST OFFER

- During the Second World War, the **Indian National Congress (INC) leaders were upset with the British government for having pulled India into a war without the consent of Indians.**
- Lord Linlithgow had declared India to be at war with Germany without consultation.
- France had fallen to the **Axis Powers** and the Allies were suffering many reverses in the war. There was also a **change of government in Britain and Winston Churchill** became the British Prime Minister in 1940.
- The British government were keen to get Indian support for the war. **Britain herself was in danger of being occupied by the Nazis** and in this light, the INC softened its stand. It said that support for the war would be provided if power was transferred to an interim government in India.
- Then, the Viceroy Linlithgow made a set of proposals called the ‘**August offer**’. For the first time, the right of Indians to frame their own constitution was acknowledged.

### TERMS OF THE AUGUST OFFER

- A **representative Indian body would be formed after the war** to frame a constitution for India.
- **Dominion status was the objective** for India.
- The **Viceroy’s Executive Council would be expanded right away to include for the first time more Indians than whites.** However, defence, finance and home portfolios were to remain with the British.
- An **advisory war council was to be established.**
- No future constitution to be adopted without the consent of minorities.
- He also said that before any real constitutional reform could be done, the **differences between the INC and the Muslim League** would have to be resolved.

### Response of the Indian leaders

- The INC **rejected this offer at its meeting at Wardha in August 1940**. It demanded complete freedom from colonial rule.
- **Jawaharlal Nehru** remarked that the “*dominion status concept was as dead as a doornail*”.
- Gandhi said that the declaration had widened the gulf between the nationalists and the British rulers.
- The Muslim League welcomed the **veto assurance given to the League**, and reiterated its position that partition was the only solution to the deadlock.

### Evaluation

- For the first time, the **inherent right of Indians to frame their constitution was recognised** and the Congress **demand for a constituent assembly was conceded**.
- **Dominion status was explicitly offered**.
- In July **1941**, the viceroy’s executive council was enlarged to give the Indians a majority of **8 out of 12 for the first time**, but the British remained in charge of defence, finance, and home.
- Also, a **National Defence Council** was set up with purely advisory functions.

## → INDIVIDUAL SATYAGRAHA

- Towards the end of 1940, the Congress once again asked Gandhi to take command. Gandhi now **began taking steps which would lead to a mass struggle** within his broad strategic perspective.
- He **decided to initiate a limited satyagraha** on an individual basis by a few selected individuals in every locality.
- The **aims of launching individual satyagraha** were:

1. to show that nationalist patience was not due to weakness;
2. to express people’s feeling that they were not interested in the war and that they made **no distinction between Nazism and the double autocracy** that ruled India; and
3. to give another opportunity to the government to accept Congress’ demands peacefully.

- The **first three satyagrahis were Vinoba Bhave, Nehru and Brahma Datt**. All three were jailed.
- The satyagrahis also started a march towards Delhi which was called the ‘**Delhi Chalo Movement**’.
- The movement failed to pick up steam and was aborted in December 1940.
- After the failure of the August Offer, the British government sent the Cripps Mission to India in a bid to garner Indian support for the war.

## → CRIPPS MISSION

- The Cripps Mission was sent by the British government to India in **March 1942 to obtain Indian cooperation for the British war efforts in the 2<sup>nd</sup> World War**. It was headed by **Sir Richard Stafford Cripps**.
- Stafford Cripps was a **left-wing Labourite**, the leader of the **House of Commons**, and a **member of the British War Cabinet** who had actively supported the Indian national movement.

### BACKGROUND

- Japan was advancing outside the **eastern borders of India** and the **fall of Burma was a jolt** to the British in the war.

- The threat of a Japanese invasion on India was looming and **Indian support was essential for Britain's war efforts.**
- Britain was facing pressure from the US and other allied leaders over its own imperial policies in India and **also to secure Indian cooperation** for the Allied war effort. This also led the British government to send Cripps to India.

### PROPOSALS OF CRIPPS MISSION

- **Setting up of an Indian dominion.** This dominion would have the freedom to remain with the British Commonwealth or to secede from it. It would also be at liberty to take part in international organisations.
- **A Constituent Assembly would be formed to frame a new constitution** for the country. This Assembly would have **members elected by the provincial assemblies** and also **nominated by the princes.**
- **Any province unwilling to join the Indian dominion could form a separate union and have a separate constitution.**
- The **transfer of power and the rights of minorities** would be safeguarded by negotiations between the Constituent Assembly and the British government.
- In the meantime, until this new constitution came into force, **India's defence would be controlled by the British and the powers of the Governor-General would remain unaltered.**

### SIGNIFICANCE

- For the first time, the **British government acknowledged India's right to be a dominion.**
- Indians could **frame their own Constitution.**
- The proposal of **giving freedom to the provinces to be a separate union** turned out to be a **model for the country's partition in 1947.**
- The **right to cede from the Commonwealth indicated full sovereignty** at a later stage.
- In the interim period, Indians were **guaranteed a good share in the administration.**

### Failure

- The proposals were **seen as too radical by the British and as too conservative by the INC** who wanted complete independence.
- The Mission **was rejected by the INC, the Muslim League and other Indian groups.**
- The **Hindu Mahasabha and the Liberals were against the right of states to secede.**
- The **Depressed Classes objected** because they were apprehensive about their status in a country where they would be in a minority.
- It is also believed that the mission failed because of a clear **lack of support for it by the Viceroy Linlithgow, British PM Winston Churchill and the Secretary of State for India, Leo Amery.**
- Gandhi described the scheme as **"a post-dated cheque".**

#### INC rejected the Cripps Mission for the following reasons:

1. The **offer of dominion status** instead of a provision for complete independence.
2. Representation of the **princely states by nominees** and not by elected representatives.
3. The INC was **against the provinces' right to separately form unions** as this was damaging to national unity.

#### Muslim League rejected the Cripps Mission for the following reasons:

1. They **did not like the idea of a single union** of India.
2. They **protested the method for the Constituent Assembly's creation** and also against the procedure to decide on the provinces' accession to the Indian union.

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| <p>4. They were also <b>against the Governor-General's power being retained</b> as against him being only a constitutional head.</p> <p>5. They also protested the <b>lack of share in defence</b>.</p> <p>1. There was <b>no concrete plan for the immediate transfer of power</b>.</p> | <p>3. Thought that the proposals denied the Muslims the right to self-determination and the creation of Pakistan.</p> |
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## → QUIT INDIA MOVEMENT

- After Cripps' departure, Gandhi framed a resolution calling for British withdrawal and a non-violent non-cooperation movement against any Japanese invasion.
- The **CWC meeting at Wardha (July 14, 1942)** accepted the idea of a struggle.
- The **reasons** were several:

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| <p>1. The <b>failure of the Cripps Mission to solve the constitutional deadlock</b> exposed Britain's unchanged attitude on constitutional advance.</p> <p>2. There was popular discontent because of rising prices and shortage of rice, salt, etc.</p> <p>3. <b>News of reverses suffered by the British in South-East Asia and an imminent British collapse</b> enhanced popular willingness to give expression to discontent. The Japanese troops were approaching the borders of India.</p> <p>4. Popular faith the <b>stability of British rule was so low</b> that people were withdrawing deposits from banks and post offices.</p> <p>5. The manner in which the <b>British evacuated from South-East Asia</b> leaving the subjects to their fate (two roads were provided—Black Road for Indian refugees and White Road exclusively for European refugees), and the <b>route of a European power by an Asian power shattered white prestige</b> and the British behaviour towards the Indian subjects in South-East Asia exposed the racist attitude of the rulers.</p> |
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### 'QUIT INDIA' RESOLUTION

- In **July 1942**, the **Congress Working Committee met at Wardha** and resolved that it would authorise Gandhi to take charge of the non-violent mass movement. The resolution generally referred to as the **'Quit India' resolution**.
- **Proposed by Jawaharlal Nehru and seconded by Sardar Patel**, it was to be approved by the All India Congress Committee meeting in Bombay in August.
- The Quit India Resolution was **ratified at the Congress meeting at Gowalia Tank, Bombay, on August 8, 1942**. The meeting also resolved to:

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| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ demand an <b>immediate end</b> to British rule in India.</li> <li>○ declare <b>commitment of free India</b> to defend itself against all types of Fascism and imperialism.</li> <li>○ <b>form a provisional Government of India</b> after British withdrawal.</li> <li>○ <b>sanction a civil disobedience movement</b> against British rule.</li> <li>○ Gandhi was <b>named the leader of the struggle</b>.</li> </ul> |
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- The movement gave the **slogans 'Quit India' or 'Bharat Chodo'**. Gandhi gave the slogan to the people – **'Do or die'**.
- Gandhi's instructions to various sections of the public:

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| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ <b>Government servants:</b> do not resign your job but proclaim loyalty to the INC.</li> <li>○ <b>Soldiers:</b> be with the army but refrain from firing on compatriots.</li> <li>○ <b>Peasants:</b> pay the agreed-upon rent if the landlords/Zamindars are anti-government; if they are pro-government, do not pay the rent.</li> <li>○ <b>Students:</b> can leave studies if they are confident enough.</li> </ul> |
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- **Princes:** support the people and accept the sovereignty of them.
- **People of the princely states:** support the ruler only if he is anti-government; declare themselves as part of the Indian nation.

### SPREAD OF THE MOVEMENT

- In the **early hours of August 9, 1942**, in a single sweep, all the top leaders of the Congress were arrested and taken to unknown destinations.
- The British government responded to the call of Gandhi **by arresting all major Congress leaders** the very next day. **Gandhi, Nehru, Patel, etc. were all arrested.**
- This left the **movement in the hands of the younger leaders** like **Jayaprakash Narayan and Ram Manohar Lohia.**
- New leaders like **Aruna Asaf Ali emerged out of the vacuum of leadership.**
- The **Congress Working Committee, the All India Congress Committee, and the Provincial Congress Committees were declared unlawful** associations under the Criminal Law Amendment Act of 1908.
- The **general public attacked symbols of authority** and hoisted national flags forcibly on public buildings. Satyagrahis offered themselves up to arrest, bridges were blown up, railway tracks were removed, and telegraph lines were cut.
- Many nationalists went underground and took to subversive activities.
- The main personalities taking up underground activity were Rammanohar Lohia, Jayaprakash Narayan, Aruna Asaf Ali, Usha Mehta, Biju Patnaik, Chhotubhai Puranik, Achyut Patwardhan, Sucheta Kripalani, and R.P. Goenka. **Usha Mehta** started an **underground radio** in Bombay.

### PARALLEL GOVERNMENTS

- Parallel governments were established at many places:

<b>Ballia (in August 1942 for a week)</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• under <b>Chittu Pandey</b>. He got many Congress leaders released.</li> </ul>
<b>Tamluk (Midnapore, from December 1942 to September 1944)</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>Jatiya Sarkar</b> undertook cyclone relief work, sanctioned grants to schools, supplied paddy from the rich to the poor, organised Vidyut Vahinis, etc.</li> </ul>
<b>Satara (mid-1943 to 1945)</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• named "<b>Prati Sarkar</b>", was organised under leaders like <b>Y.B. Chavan, Nana Patil</b>, etc.</li> <li>• Village libraries and Nyayadan Mandals were organised, prohibition campaigns were carried on, and 'Gandhi marriages' were organised.</li> </ul>

### RESPONSE TO QUIT INDIA MOVEMENT

- **Youth**, especially the students of schools and colleges, remained in the forefront.
- **Women**, especially school and college girls, actively participated, and included Aruna Asaf Ali, Sucheta Kripalani, and Usha Mehta.
- **Workers** went on strikes and faced repression.
- **Peasants** of all strata were at the heart of the movement. Even some **zamindars participated**. These peasants concentrated their offensive on symbols of authority, and there was complete absence of anti-zamindar violence.
- **Government officials**, especially those belonging to lower levels in police and administration, participated resulting in erosion of government loyalty.
- **Muslims** helped by giving shelter to underground activists. There were **no communal clashes** during the movement.

- The **Communists did not join the movement**; in the wake of Russia (where the communists were in power) being attacked by Nazi Germany, the communists began to support the British war against Germany and the 'Imperialist War' became the 'People's War'.
- The **Muslim League opposed the movement**, fearing that if the British left India at that time, the minorities would be oppressed by the Hindus. On **March 23, 1943** Pakistan Day was observed.
- The Hindu Mahasabha boycotted the movement. The Princely states showed a low-key response.
- The movement lasted till **1944**.

### Importance

- Despite heavy-handed suppression by the government, the people were unfazed and continued their struggle.
- Even though the government said that independence could be granted only after the end of the war, the movement drove home the point that **India could not be governed without the support of the Indians**.
- The movement **placed the demand for complete independence** at the top agenda of the freedom movement.
- Public morale and anti-British sentiment were enhanced.

## → INDIAN NATIONAL ARMY

- The Indian National Army (Also known as the **Azad Hind Fauj**) was an armed force formed by **Indian Nationalists in 1942**, through the patronage of the Imperial Japanese Army, to secure the Independence of India.

### BACKGROUND OF THE INA

- Following the outbreak of World War II, Japan invaded South East Asia.
- At the time 70,000 troops were stationed in the region, most of them **along the Malayan coast**.
- Japan conducted a lightning campaign which culminated in the **fall of the Malayan peninsula and Singapore in 1942**.
- In the **Singapore campaign alone**, 45,000 Indian prisoners of war were captured. It was from these prisoners of war that the **Japanese decided to create an auxiliary army which would fight against the British**.
- The **first INA was formed** under Mohan Singh, a former officer of the British Indian Army captured during the Malay campaign. Conditions in the prisoner of war camps, as well as resentment against the British in general, saw many prisoners of war volunteer join the Indian National Army
- The initiative received considerable support from the Imperial Japanese Army and from the ethnic Indian population of South-East Asia. However, **disagreements between Mohan Singh and Japanese Army Command** regarding the autonomy of the Indian National Army led to the disbandment of the first INA in December 1942.

### SUBASH CHANDRA BOSE AND THE SECOND INA

- Although Mohan Singh had angered the Japanese Army Command through his actions, they relented to form a second Indian National Army.
- **Mohan Singh himself recommended that Subash Chandra Bose for the leadership role**.
- The **activities of Subash Chandra Bose in India had forced the British authorities** to imprison him, but he escaped. On **January 26, 1941**, he reached Peshawar under the pseudo-name **Ziauddin**, helped by Bhagat Ram.
- He **reached Berlin in 1941**. Bose met Hitler under the pseudo name, **Orlando Mazzotta**.

- With the help of Hitler, the **'Freedom Army'** (Mukti Sena) was formed, which consisted of all the prisoners of war of Indian origin captured by Germany and Italy.
- **Dresden, Germany**, was made the office of the Freedom Army.
- Bose came to be called **'Netaji'** by the people of Germany. He gave the famous slogan, **'Jai Hind'** from the **Free India Centre, Germany**.
- Although the German leadership were sympathetic to his cause, **logistic problems prevented them from granting any support** to his quest for raising an army to fight the British.
- However, the Japanese were ready to support him and upon their personal invitation, Subash Chandra Bose arrived in **Singapore in July 1943** to take command from **Rashbehari Bose** of what would be known as the **second Indian National Army**, now known by its alternative name as the **Azad Hind Fauj**.
- But before that in **June 1943**, **Subhas Chandra Bose (under pseudo name Abid Hussain)** reached Tokyo and met the Japanese prime minister, **Tojo**.
- It must be noted that it was on the organisational spadework done **by Rashbehari Bose that Subhas Bose could build up the Indian National Army**. Subhas Bose became Supreme Commander of the INA on August 25 1943.
- On **October 21, 1943**, Subhas Bose formed the **Provisional Government for Free India** at Singapore with **H.C. Chatterjee** (Finance portfolio), **M.A. Aiyar** (Broadcasting), **Lakshmi Swaminathan** (Women Department), etc. The famous slogan—"Give me blood, I will give you freedom" was given in Malaya.
- After **Gandhi, Nehru, Maulana Azad and himself**, Netaji subhas Chandra Bose named the INA brigades/regiments.
- A women's regiment called the **Rani Jhansi Regiment** was also formed.

#### OPERATIONS OF THE AZAD HIND FAUJ

- The INA headquarters was **shifted to Rangoon (in Burma) in January 1944**, and the army recruits were to march from there with the war cry **"Chalo Delhi!"** on their lips.
- On **November 6, 1943**, Andaman and Nicobar islands was given by the Japanese army to the INA; the islands were renamed as **Shahid Dweep** and **Swaraj Dweep** respectively.
- On **July 6, 1944**, **Subhas Bose addressed Mahatma Gandhi as 'Father of Nation'**—from the Azad Hind Radio (the first person to call Gandhi, 'Father of Nation'). He asked for Gandhi's blessings for "India's last war of independence".
- One INA battalion commanded by **Shah Nawaz** was allowed to accompany the Japanese Army to the Indo-Burma front and participate in the Imphal campaign.
- Although the INA saw initial success during the early phases of the operation, they were forced to withdraw during the battle of Imphal and battle of Kohima (Fought on April 4th, 1944) which saw the disastrous defeat for the Japanese Army at the hands of the British.
- The INA lost a substantial number of men and material in this retreat. A number of units were disbanded or used to feed into new divisions of the now declining Japanese Army
- Following the **Japanese defeat in World War 2**, most of the members of the INA were captured by the British. Subash Chandra Bose himself eluded capture and was reported to have died in a plane crash near Taiwan in September 1945.
- **Note:** S.C. Bose political guru was Chittaranjan Das.

## → C R FORMULA 1944

- During the Second World War, the British government, under the viceroyalty of **Lord Linlithgow** had said that any move towards an Indian statehood would be possible **only if the Indian National Congress (INC) and the Muslim League resolve their differences**.
- The League was increasingly demanding a separate nation of Pakistan for the Muslims whereas the INC was against the partitioning of the country.
- To **break this deadlock** between the two major political parties in India, **C Rajagopalachari**, INC member who was close to **Mahatma Gandhi**, proposed a set of plans called the **C R Formula** or **Rajaji Formula**.
- This was the **first acknowledgement by a Congressman about the inevitability of the partition** of the country and a tacit acceptance of Pakistan.

### PROPOSALS

- The **Muslim League would join hands with the INC to demand independence** from the British.
- Both **parties would cooperate and form a provisional government** at the centre.
- After the war, a **commission would be entrusted with the task of demarcating those areas with an absolute majority of Muslims and a plebiscite** to be held in those areas where all the inhabitants (Muslims and non-Muslims) would vote based on adult suffrage whether to form a separate sovereign nation or not.
- In **case of partition, joint agreements to be made** for the safeguarding of **defence, communications and commerce**.
- The above terms to come to fruition only if Britain transfers full powers to India.
- In **1944, Gandhi and M A Jinnah held talks** on the basis of the Rajaji Formula.
- The talks were a failure as Jinnah had objections to the proposal.

### JINNAH'S OBJECTIONS

- He **wanted the INC to accept the Two-Nation Theory**.
- He **did not want the entire population of the Muslim majority areas to vote on the plebiscite**, but only the Muslim population in those areas.
- He was also **against the idea of a common centre**. Also, Jinnah wanted separate dominions to be created before the English left India.
- The **Sikhs also looked upon the formula unfavourably because the formula meant a division of Punjab**. Although the Sikhs were a big chunk of the population, there were not in the majority in any of the district.
- The INC, which was hitherto opposed to the partition of the country was willing to give some concessions to get the League on board for talks for independence, but the League was more interested in Pakistan than freedom.

## → DESAI-LIAQAT PACT, 1945

- M.K. Gandhi convinced that the British rulers would not grant independence to India unless and until the Congress and Muslim League reach some conclusion on the future of the country or the immediate formation of the Interim National Government.
- Hence, **Gandhi directed Bhulabhai Desai**, the leader of the Congress party in the **Central Legislative Assembly**, to talk with the league leaders and find a way out of the political deadlocks.

- **Bhulabhai Desai met Liaqat Ali Khan, deputy leader of the Muslim League in the Central Legislative Assembly**, and both of them came up with the draft proposal for the formation of an interim government at the centre, consisting of-

- an equal number of persons nominated by the Congress and the league in the central legislature;
- 20% of the seats in the central legislature will be designated for minorities.

## → WAVELL PLAN AND SHIMLA CONFERENCE

- The Wavell Plan was **first presented at the Shimla Conference in 1945**. It was named after Viceroy of India, **Lord Wavell**.
- The Shimla Conference **was convened in order to agree on the Wavell Plan for Indian self-government**, which **provided for separate representations on communal lines**.
- Both the plan and the **conference failed** on account of the Muslim League and the Indian National Congress not coming to an agreement.

### BACKGROUND

- The Second World War had **caused many socio-economic problems** in the British Empire, especially when it came to maintaining their overseas colonies.
- Thus the **British Government saw it fit to grant India the freedom** it had been demanding for so long. In addition, the Quit India Movement and an increase in revolutionary activity only made the British position in India tenuous at best.
- **Lord Wavell, who became the Viceroy in 1943, was charged with presenting a formula for the future government of India** that would be acceptable to both the Indian National Congress and the All-India Muslim League, allowing for a smooth transition of power.
- Lord Wavell was considered an apt person for this task as he had been the head of the Indian Army and thus had a better understanding of the Indian situation.

### PROPOSAL

- In May 1945 Wavell visited London and discussed his ideas with the British Government.
- These London talks resulted in the formulation of a definite plan of action which was officially made public simultaneously on **14 June 1945 by L.S. Amery, the Secretary of State for India**.
- The Wavell Plan proposed the following:

- The **Viceroy's Executive Council was to have all Indian members** except the Viceroy himself and the Commander-in-Chief.
- The council was to **have a 'balanced representation' of all Indians** including 'caste-Hindus', Muslims, Depressed Classes, Sikhs, etc. Muslims were given 6 out of 14 members which accounted for more than their share of the population (25%).
- The Governor General was to **exercise his veto on the advice of ministers**.
- The **foreign affairs portfolio would be transferred from the Governor-General to an Indian member**. The defence would be handled by a British general until the full transfer of power was made.
- A conference would be convened by the Viceroy to get a list of all the members recommended to the Council from all parties concerned. In case a joint list was not agreed upon, separate lists would be taken from the parties. This was to be the **Shimla Conference**.
- If this plan worked, similar councils would be formed in all provinces comprising of local leaders.

### WHAT HAPPENED AT THE SHIMLA CONFERENCE?

- Lord Wavell **invited 21 political leaders including Mahatma Gandhi and M A Jinnah to Shimla**, the summer capital of British India to discuss the **Wavell Plan on June 25th, 1945**.

- The **conference was a failure** because the League and the Congress could not settle their differences.
- **Jinnah insisted that only League members could be the Muslim representatives in the Council, and opposed to the Congress nominating Muslim members.** This was because Jinnah wanted the League to be the sole representative of Muslims in India. Congress would never agree to this demand.
- In the Wavell Plan, there were **6 Muslim representatives out of 14 members, which was more than the Muslim share of the population.** Despite this, the League wanted the power of veto to any constitutional proposal which it believed was not in its interest. Congress opposed this unreasonable demand also.
- Jinnah refused to give the names to the council unless the government acknowledged that only the Muslim League was the exclusive representative of Indian Muslims.
- The Wavell Plan, thus, was dissolved with the failure of the conference. And with it the last chance to avoid partition.
- After this, the war ended and a new Labour government was elected in Britain. This new government was intent on giving independence to India without much delay and sent the Cabinet Mission with that purpose.

## → CONGRESS ELECTION CAMPAIGN AND INA TRIALS

Elections were held in the **winter of 1945–46.**

### Election Campaign for Nationalistic Aims

- The most significant feature of the election campaign was that **it sought to mobilise the Indians against the British;** it did not just appeal to the people for votes.
- The election campaign **expressed the nationalist sentiments against the state repression of the 1942 Quit India upsurge.** This was done by glorifying martyrs and condemning officials.
- The **government failed to check such speeches.** This had a devastating effect on the morale of the services. The prospect of the return of Congress ministries, especially in those provinces where repression had been most brutal, further heightened the fears of those in government services. A 'gentleman's agreement' with the Congress seemed necessary to the government.
- Mass pressure against the **trial of INA POWs**, sometimes described as **"an edge of a volcano"**, brought about a decisive shift in the government's policy.
- The British had initially decided to hold public trials of several hundreds of INA prisoners besides dismissing them from service and detaining without trial around 7,000 of them. They compounded the folly by holding the **first trial at the Red Fort in Delhi in November 1945** and putting on dock together a **Hindu, Prem Kumar Sehgal, a Muslim, Shah Nawaz Khan, and a Sikh, Gurbaksh Singh Dhillon.**
- Another issue was provided by the use of Indian Army units in a bid to restore French and Dutch colonial rule in Vietnam and Indonesia: this enhanced the anti-imperialist feeling among a section of urban population and the army.

### CONGRESS SUPPORT FOR INA PRISONERS

- At the first post-War Congress session in **September 1945 at Bombay**, a strong resolution was adopted declaring Congress support for the INA cause.
- **Defence of INA prisoners** in the court was organised by **Bhulabhai Desai, Tej Bahadur Sapru, Kailash Nath Katju, Jawaharlal Nehru, and Asaf Ali.**
- **INA Relief and Enquiry Committee** distributed small sums of money and food, and helped arrange employment for the affected.



- Fund collection was organised.

## ELECTION RESULTS

### Performance of the Congress

- It got **91 per cent** of non-Muslim votes.
- It captured **57 out of 102** seats in the Central Assembly.
- In the provincial elections, it got a majority in most provinces except in **Bengal, Sindh, and Punjab**.
- The Congress majority provinces included the **NWFP and Assam** which were being claimed for Pakistan.

### Muslim League's Performance

- It got 86.6 per cent of the Muslim votes.
- In the provincial elections, it got a majority in **Bengal and Sindh**.
- Unlike in 1937, now the League clearly established itself as the dominant party among Muslims.
- In Punjab, A Unionist-Congress-Akali coalition under **Khizr Hayat Khan** assumed power.

## REBELLION BY NAVAL RATINGS (RIN)

On **February 18, 1946**, some 1100 Royal Indian Navy (RIN) ratings of HMIS Talwar went on a strike to protest against:

- racial discrimination (demanding equal pay for Indian and white soldiers);
  - unpalatable food;
  - abuse by superior officers;
  - arrest of a rating for scrawling 'Quit India' on HMIS Talwar;
  - INA trials; and
  - use of Indian troops in Indonesia, demanding their withdrawal.
- The rebellious ratings hoisted the **tricolour, crescent**, and the **hammer and sickle flags** on the mast of the rebel fleet. Other ratings soon joined and they went around Bombay in lorries holding Congress flags threatening Europeans and policemen.

## → CABINET MISSION 1946

- Cabinet Mission was a high-powered mission sent in **February 1946** to India by the **Atlee Government (British Prime Minister.)**
- The mission had three British cabinet members – **Pethick Lawrence** (Secretary of State for India), **Stafford Cripps** (President of the Board of Trade), and **A.V. Alexander** (First Lord of Admiralty).
- **Pethick Lawrence** was the chairman of the mission.
- The Cabinet Mission's aim was to **discuss the transfer of power** from British to Indian leadership.

## STAND

- The Congress demanded that **power be transferred to one centre** and that minorities' demands be worked out in a **framework ranging from autonomy to Muslim-majority provinces to self-determination or secession** from the Indian Union—but, only after the British left.

- The **British bid for a united and friendly India** and an active partner in defence of the Commonwealth, because a divided India would lack in defence and would be a blot on Britain's diplomacy.
- The **British policy in 1946 clearly reflected a preference for a united India**, in sharp contrast to earlier declarations.

• On **March 15, 1946**, the **Prime Minister of Britain, Clement Attlee** said: “...*though mindful of the rights of minorities... cannot allow a minority to place their veto on advance of the majority.*” This was a far cry from the Shimla Conference where Wavell had allowed Jinnah to wreck the conference.

### Objectives

- To **obtain an agreement with the Indian leaders** as to the framing of a constitution for India.
- To **formulate a constitution-making body** (the Constituent Assembly of India).
- To **establish an Executive Council** with the support of the major Indian parties.

### PROPOSALS

- The **Dominion of India would be granted independence, without any partition.**
- The provinces would be divided into three groups/sections:

- **Group A:** Madras, Central Provinces, UP, Bihar, Bombay and Orissa
- **Group B:** Punjab, Sindh, NWFP and Baluchistan
- **Group C:** Bengal and Assam

- The Muslim-majority provinces were grouped into two groups and the remaining Hindu-majority in one of the groups.
- The **central government at Delhi would have powers over the defence, foreign affairs, communications and currency.** The rest of the powers would be vested with the provinces.
- A **constituent assembly would be set up for writing a new constitution** for the country.
- **Communal questions** in the central legislature were to be decided by a simple majority of both communities present and voting.
- **Provinces were to have full autonomy and residual powers.**
- Princely states **were no longer to be under paramountcy** of the British government. They would be free to enter into an arrangement with successor governments or the British government.
- After the **first general elections**, a province was to be **free to come out of a group** and after 10 years, a province was to be free to call for a reconsideration of the group or the union constitution.
- An **interim government would be established until a new government was formed** on the basis of the constitution written by the constituent assembly.

- The **Congress was not keen on the idea of the groupings of provinces on the basis of Hindu-Muslim majority** and vying for control at the centre. It was also against the idea of a weak centre. The Muslim League did not want any changes to the proposals.
- **Congress** stated that provinces **should not have to wait till the first general elections** to come out of a group. They should have the option of not joining a group in the first place.
- **League** stated that grouping should be compulsory with sections B and C developing into solid entities with a view to future secession into Pakistan.

- **July 1946 Elections** were held in **provincial assemblies for the Constituent Assembly.**

### COMMUNAL CARNAGE AND THE INTERIM GOVERNMENT

- From **August 16, 1946**, the Indian scene was rapidly transformed. There were communal riots on an unprecedented scale, which left around several thousands dead.

- The worst-hit areas were Calcutta, Bombay, Noakhali, Bihar, and Garhmukteshwar (United Provinces).

## → INTERIM GOVERNMENT

- Wavell was now eager to somehow get the **Congress into the Interim Government**, even if the League stayed out
- Fearing mass action by the Congress, a **Congress-dominated Interim Government headed by Nehru was sworn in on September 2, 1946**, with Nehru continuing to insist on his party's opposition to the compulsory grouping.
- Despite the title, the Interim Government was little more than a continuation of the old executive of the viceroy (Wavell overruled the ministers on the issue of the release of INA prisoners in his very last cabinet meeting in March 1947).
- Wavell quietly brought the Muslim League into the Interim Government on **October 26, 1946**.

### MINISTERS OF INTERIM GOVERNMENT (SEPTEMBER 2, 1946–AUGUST 15, 1947)

1. **Jawaharlal Nehru**: Vice President of Executive Council, External Affairs and Common Wealth Relations
2. **Vallabhbhai Patel**: Home, Information and Broadcasting
3. **Baldev Singh**: Defence
4. **Dr. John Mathai**: Industries and Supplies
5. **C. Rajagopalachari**: Education
6. **C.H. Bhabha**: Works, Mines and Power
7. **Rajendra Prasad**: Agriculture and Food
8. **Jagjivan Ram**: Labour
9. **Asaf Ali**: Railway
10. **Liaquat Ali Khan (Muslim League)**: Finance
11. **Ibrahim Ismail Chundrigar (Muslim League)**: Commerce
12. **Abdur Rab Nishtar (Muslim League)**: Communications
13. **Ghazanfar Ali Khan (Muslim League)**: Health
14. **Jogendra Nath Mandal (Muslim League)**: Law

## → HURDLES BY LEAGUE

- The League **did not attend the Constituent Assembly** which had its first meeting on **December 9, 1946**.
- Consequently, the Assembly had to confine itself to passing a general '**Objectives Resolution**' **drafted by Jawaharlal Nehru** stating the ideals of an independent sovereign republic with autonomous units, adequate minority safeguards, and social, political, and economic democracy.
- The League **refused to attend informal meetings of the cabinet** to take decisions.
- The League **questioned the decisions and appointments made by the Congress** members.
- Liaquat Ali Khan as the finance minister restricted and encumbered the efficient functioning of other ministries.
- The League had only sought a foothold in the government

### ATTLEE'S STATEMENT OF FEBRUARY 20, 1947

- A **deadline of June 30, 1948** was fixed for transfer of power even if the Indian politicians had not agreed by that time on the constitution.

- The British would **relinquish power either to some form of central government** or in some areas to the existing provincial governments if the constituent assembly was not fully representative, i.e., if the Muslim majority provinces did not join.
- **British powers and obligations vis-a-vis the princely states would lapse** with transfer of power, but these **would not be transferred to any successor government** in British India.
- Mountbatten would replace Wavell as the viceroy.
- The statement contained clear hints of **partition** and even **Balkanisation of the country** into numerous states.

## ➔ MOUNTBATTEN PLAN (3rd JUNE 1947)

- Lord Mountbatten came to India as the last Viceroy and **was assigned the task of a speedy transfer of power by the then British Prime Minister Clement Atlee.**
- In **May 1947, Mountbatten came up with a plan under which he proposed that the provinces be declared independent successor states** and then be allowed to choose whether to join the constituent assembly or not. This plan was called the '**Dickie Bird Plan**'.
- Jawaharlal Nehru when apprised of the plan, vehemently opposed it saying it would lead to Balkanisation of the country. Hence, this plan was also called **Plan Balkan.**
- Then, the viceroy came up with another plan called the **June 3 Plan.** This plan was the last plan for Indian independence. It is also called the **Mountbatten Plan.**

- British India was to be partitioned into **two dominions – India and Pakistan.**
- The **constitution framed by the Constituent Assembly would not be applicable to the Muslim-majority areas (as these would become Pakistan).** The question of a separate constituent assembly for the Muslim-majority areas would be decided by these provinces.
- As per the plan, **the legislative assemblies of Bengal and Punjab met and voted for the partition.** Accordingly, it was decided to partition these two provinces along religious lines.
- The **legislative assembly of Sind would decide whether to join the Indian constituent assembly or not.** It decided to go to Pakistan.
- A referendum was to be held on NWFP (North-Western Frontier Province) to **decide which dominion to join.** NWFP decided to join Pakistan while Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan boycotted and rejected the referendum.
- The **date for the transfer of power was to be August 15, 1947.**
- To fix the international boundaries between the two countries, the Boundary Commission was established chaired by **Sir Cyril Radcliffe.** The commission was to demarcate Bengal and Punjab into the two new countries.
- The **princely states were given the choice to either remain independent or accede to India or Pakistan.** The British suzerainty over these kingdoms was terminated.

## ➔ INDIAN INDEPENDENCE ACT 1947

- On **July 5, 1947** the British Parliament passed the Indian Independence Act which was based on the Mountbatten Plan, and the **Act got royal assent on July 18, 1947.**
- The Act was implemented on **August 15, 1947.**
- The Act provided for the creation of **two independent dominions** of India and Pakistan with effect from August 15, 1947.
- Each dominion was to have a **governor general** to be responsible for the effective operation of the Act.

- The constituent assembly of the each new dominion **was to exercise the powers of the legislature** of that dominion, and the existing Central Legislative Assembly and the Council of States were to be automatically dissolved.
- For the **transitional period, i.e., till a new constitution** was adopted by each dominion, the governments of the two dominions were to be carried on in accordance with the Government of India Act, 1935.
- As per the provisions of the Indian Independence Act, 1947, Pakistan became independent on August 14 while India got its freedom on August 15, 1947.
- M.A. Jinnah became the first Governor General of Pakistan. India, however, decided to request Lord Mountbatten to continue as the Governor General of India

## ➔ NEWSPAPERS AND JOURNALS

YEAR	NAME	NEWSPAPER/JOURNAL	FOUNDER
1780	Bengal Gazette	English newspaper	James Augustus Hicky
1819	Samvad Kaumudi	Bengali weekly newspaper	Ram Mohan Roy
1822	Mirat-ul-Akbar	Persian language journal	Raja Ram Mohan Roy
1853	Hindoo Patriot	English weekly	Madhusudan Ray
1854	Rast Goftar	Gujarati Newspaper	Dadabhai Naoroji
1858	Som Prakesh	Weekly newspaper	Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar
1862	Indian Mirror	Newspaper	Devendra Nath Tagore
1868	Amrita Bazar Patrika	Newspaper	Sisir Kumar Ghosh and Motilal Ghosh
1871	Tahzib-ul-Akhlaq	Journal	Sir Syed Ahmed Khan
1878	Hindu	Newspaper	Vir Raghavacharya and G.S. Aiyar
1881	Kesari	Marathi Newspaper	B.G. Tilak
1888	Sudharak	Newspaper	Gopal Ganesh Agarkar

1896	Prabuddha Bharata	English monthly journal	P. Aiyasami, B. R. Rajam Iyer, G. G. Narasimhacharya, and B. V. Kamesvara Iyer at the behest of Swami Vivekananda
1899	Udbodhana	Magazine	Swami Vivekananda
1903	Indian Opinion	Newspaper	M. K Gandhi
1905	Bande Mataram	English language newspaper	Aurobindo Ghosh
1910	Bombay Chronicle	English-language newspaper	Firoze Shah Mehta
1911	Comrade	Weekly English newspaper	Maulana Mohammad Ali
1912	Al-Balagh	Urdu weekly newspaper	Abul Kalam Azad
1912	Al-Hilal	Urdu weekly newspaper	Abul Kalam Azad
1913	Pratap	Hindi language newspaper	Ganesh Shankar Vidyarthi
1914	New India	English-language daily newspaper	Annie Besant
1919	Independent	Newspaper	Motilal Nehru
1919	Young India	Weekly journal	M. K Gandhi
1920	Mook Nayak	Marathi weekly	B.R. Ambedkar
1924	Hindustan Times	English daily newspaper	Sunder Singh Lyallpuri
1929	Nav Jeevan	Weekly newspaper	M. K Gandhi
1932	Harijan	Weekly journal	M. K Gandhi
1936	Free Hindustan	Journal	Tarak Nath Das
1936	Hindustan Dainik	Hindi newspaper	M.M. Malviya



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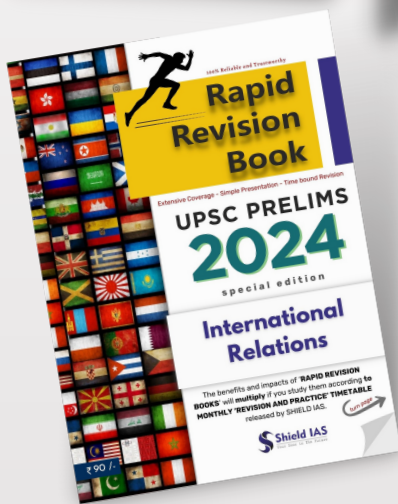
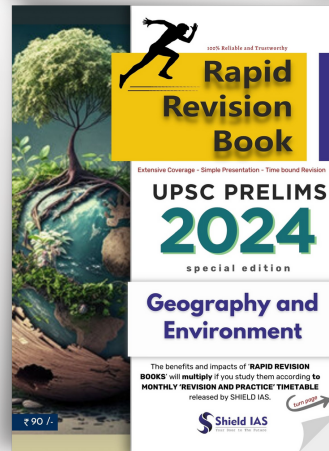
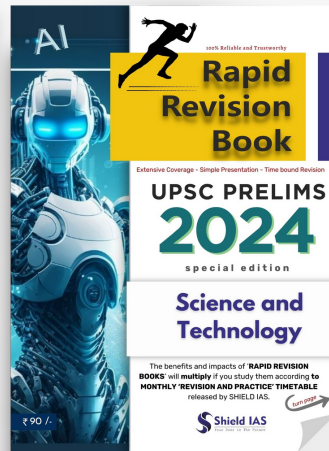
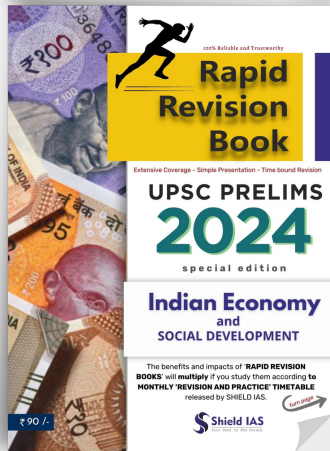
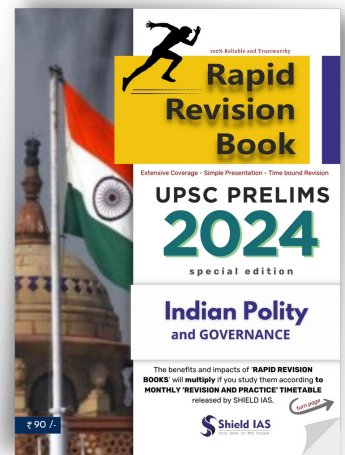
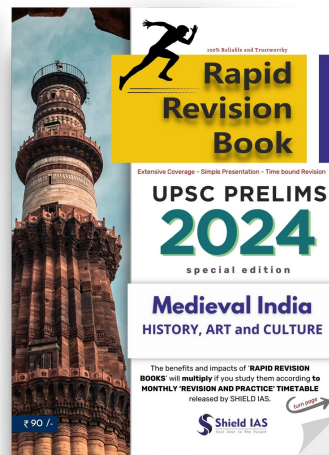
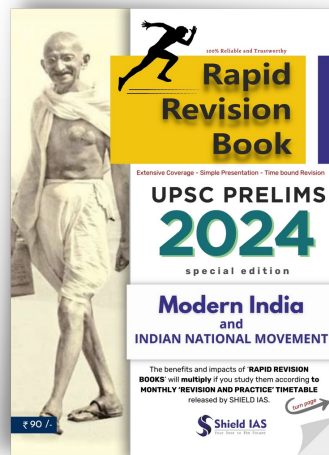
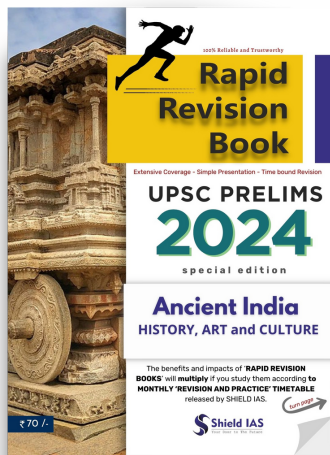
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