

# Pram IAS

Officers Making Officers



प्रस्थानम **Batch**

## Modern History of India

Useful for 70th BPSC and Other Examination

to the **P**oint



Series-3



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## 1. FALL OF THE MUGHAL EMPIRE

The period of the Great Mughals, which began in 1526 with Babur's accession to the throne, ended with the death of **Aurangzeb in 1707**. Aurangzeb's death marked the end of an era in Indian history. When Aurangzeb died, the empire of the Mughals was the largest in India. Yet, within about fifty years of his death, the Mughal Empire disintegrated.

*The decline and downfall of the empire was due to economic, social, political and institutional factors:*

### Aurangzeb's Policies-

- Aurangzeb failed to realize that the vast Mughal Empire depended on the willing support of the people. Aurangzeb's religious orthodoxy and his policy towards the Hindus damaged the stability of the Mughal empire. He lost the support of the Rajputs who had contributed greatly to the strength of the Empire. They had acted as pillars of support, but Aurangzeb's policy turned them to bitter foes. The wars with the Sikhs, the Marathas, the Jats and the Rajputs had drained the resources of the Mughal Empire.

### Weak Successors –

After the death of **Aurangzeb in c. 1707 CE**, a war of succession broke out among his **three sons** –

- Muazzam (the governor of Kabul),
- Muhammad Kam Baksh (the governor of Deccan) and
- Muhammad Azam Shah (the governor of Gujarat).

Muazzam emerged victorious and ascended the throne

with the title of Bahadur Shah I .

The successors of Aurangzeb were weak and were not able to hold the administration effectively. Most of them were puppets in the hands of powerful nobles. The war of succession that plagued Delhi from c.1707 – 1719 CE gradually weakened the empire.

### Role of nobility –

- After the death of Aurangzeb, the nobility assumed a lot of powers and the course of politics and state activities were guided by their individual interests. The Mughal court consisted of four groups of nobles – the Turanis, the Iranis, the Afghans and the Indian born Muslims. These groups constantly fought with each other for more power, jagirs and high offices which eventually led to the weakening of the empire.

### Lack of strong finances and foreign invasions –

- Due to the emergence of many autonomous states, the revenue resources got depleted and the continuous wars further emptied the treasury. Also, the foreign invasions of **Nadir Shah and Ahmad Shah Abdali** took a heavy toll on the imperial treasury.

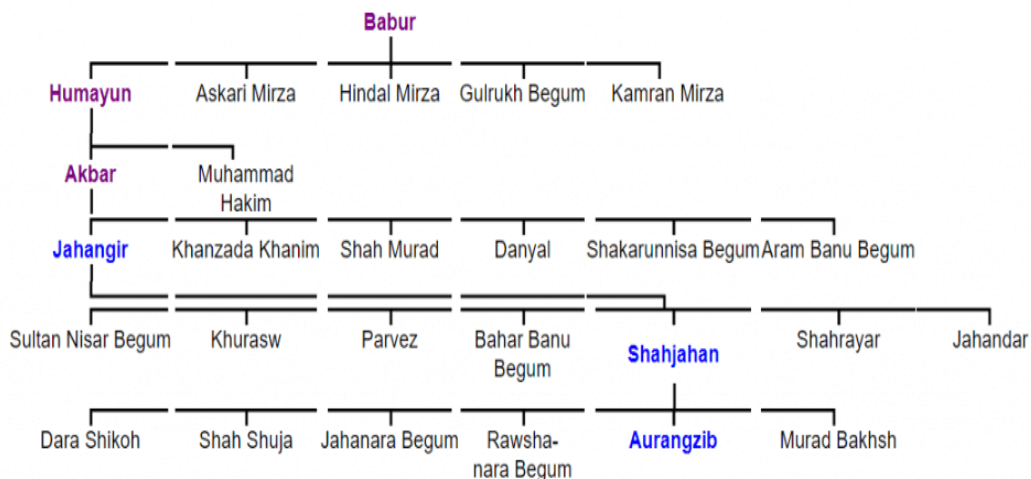
### Ineffective Mughal army and neglect of naval power –

- The Mughal army gradually became inefficient and de-motivated after losing several battles. The neglect of naval power by the Mughals also cost them dearly.

### The advent of the British –

- The emergence of British and other European colonial powers and their arrival to India was the last nail in the coffin of any hope of survival of the Mughal empire. The western colonial powers were militarily and financially superior and politically informed of the

## Mughal Empire Family Tree



Indian conditions.

### Rise of Regional Powers and States

The regional states that emerged during this period can be divided into **three categories**-

- **Successor States**;-The founders of these states were important and influential high **mansab** Mughal nobles. They established some of the formidable provincial kingdoms on the basis of their growing strength and administrative ability. **Though they had declared independence from the Mughal rule, they never broke ties with the Mughal state.**

The prominent states that belonged to this category were

#### Bengal:

- Bengal in the 18th century comprised Bengal, Bihar and Orissa.
- Murshid Quli Khan was the Diwan of Bengal under Aurangzeb.
- Farrukhsiyar appointed him Subedar (governor) of Bengal in 1717.

#### Hyderabad

- **The State of Hyderabad** was founded by Qamar-ud-din Siddiqi, who was appointed Viceroy of the Deccan, with the title of **Nizam-ul- Mulk**, by Emperor Farrukhsiyar in 1712.
- He established a virtually independent state but returned to Delhi during the reign of Emperor Mohammad Shah.
- In 1724, he was reappointed Viceroy of the Deccan with the title of Asaf Jah.

#### Awadh:

- The subah of Awadh comprised Benaras and some districts near Allahabad.
- Saadat Khan Burhan-ul-Mulk was appointed Governor of Awadh by the Mughal Emperor.
- But he soon became independent.

#### Independent States;-

- The **second category** of regional states that emerged in the 18th century had served very well under the Mughals and as a result were allowed to enjoy considerable autonomy in their watan jagirs

such as the **Rajput states**. Mysore (under **Haidar Ali**), Kerala (King Martanda Varma), and Rajput States (Raja Sawai Singh of Amber).

#### Rebellion states –

- The states that had emerged after rebelling against the Mughal authority belonged to this category. The **Sikhs, the Jats Afghan** and the **Marathas** belonged to this group, and among them, Marathas consolidated their position in Western India
- They started making plans for a greater Maharashtra empire.

## 2. Later Mughals Empire

1. Bahadur Shah (c. 1707 – 1712 CE)
2. Jahandar Shah (c. 1712 – 1713 CE)
3. Farrukh Siyar (c. 1713 – 1719 CE)
4. Rafi-us-Darajat (c. 1719 CE)
5. Rafi-us-Daula (c. 1719 CE)
6. Muhammad Shah (c. 1719 – 1748 CE)
7. Ahmad Shah (c. 1748 – 1757 CE)
8. Alamgir II (c. 1754 – 1759 CE)
9. Shah Alam II (c. 1759 – 1806 CE)
10. Akbar II (c. 1806 – 1837 CE)
11. Bahadur Shah Zafar (c. 1837 – 1857 CE)

#### Bahadur Shah (1707-1712)

**Mu'azzam** ascended throne in 1707 at the age of 63, after having killed his brothers in the battle field, under the title of **Bahadur Shah** ( also known as **Shah Alam-I**).

- He was given the title of “**Shah-i-Bekhabar**” by Mughal historians like **Khafi Khan**.
- A person of mild temper, learned and dignified, was too old. He could not prevent the decline of the empire due to his sudden death in 1712.
- He followed a **liberal policy** towards the **nobles**, granted them the territories of their preferences and promoted them. This led to the worsening of the state finances.
- It is also believed that the real power was in the hands of the wazir, Zulfiqar Khan.
- He showed a **tolerant attitude** towards **Hindus**, **though he never abolished jizya**.
- His policy towards the Marathas was also half-hearted reconciliation. He did not recognize Shahu (whom he released) as the rightful Maratha king. He granted Maratha the **sardeshmukhi** of the Deccan,

but failed to grant the **Chauth** and thus could not satisfy them fully. Marathas, thus, continued to fight among themselves as well as against the Mughals.

- Jat chief **Charuman** and the Bundella chief **Chattrasal** joined him in his campaign against the Sikhs.

### Jahandar Shah (1712 - 1713)

- **Bahadur Shah's** death followed a fresh war of succession among his four sons, **Jahandar Shah, Azim-us-Shah, Jahan Shah** and **Rafi-is-Shah**. The last three were killed in the course of war and *Jahandar Shah managed to ascend the throne.*
- The fate did not allow him to rule, and Azim-us-Shah's son **Farrukhsiyar** took his toll and ascended the throne.
- Jahandar Shah's favourite lady, **Lal Kanwar** (a dancing girl) dominated the court.
- Jahandar Shah was the **first puppet** ruler in Mughal India. He was supported by **Zulfiqar Khan (wazir)** who had the reins of the executive in his hands.

- **Zulfiqar Khan** built friendly relations with the Marathas, the Rajputs and different Hindu chieftains.
- He abolished jizya and gave the title of "**Maharaja**" to Ajit Singh (Marwar) and **Mirza Raj Sawai** to Jai Singh of Amber.
- He also granted the **Chauth and Sardeshmukhi** of the Deccan to Shahu. However, the old policy of suppression was continued against Banda Bahadur and the Sikhs.
- Zulfiqar also tried to improve the financial situation of the empire by checking reckless grants of jagirs and offices.
- He also made **mansabdars** maintain the official quota of troops.
- However, he is infamous in history for introducing the evil practice of **Ijarah** (revenue farming).
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### Farrukhsiyar (1713 - 1719)

- Farrukh Siyar defeated his brother Jahandar Shah at Agra in c. 1713 CE.
- He ascended the throne with the support of the **Saiyyad brothers** (the kingmakers) –
  - **Saiyyad Abdullah Khan** (Wazir) and
  - **Hussain Ali Khan** (Mir Bakshi).

- The Saiyyad brothers killed Zulfiqar Khan and appointed themselves to key positions.
- The Saiyyad brothers tried to make peace with the **Marathas, the Jats, the Rajputs** and were also successful in **suppressing the Sikh revolt**. It was during this time that Banda Bahadur, the Sikh leader, was executed.
- In c. **1717 CE**, Farrukh Siyar granted many trading privileges to the **East India Company** and also exempted customs duties for its trading through Bengal.
- In c. **1719 CE**, the Saiyyad brothers forged an alliance with Balaji Vishwanath (Maratha ruler) and with the help of Maratha troops, the Saiyyad brothers killed Farrukh Siyar.

### Rafi-ud-Darajat, Rafi-ud-Dallah (1719)

- The King-makers (the Sayyid Ministers), '**Abdullah** and **Hussain Ali**, raised to the throne two phantom kings, **Rafi-Ud-Darajat & Rafi-ud-Dallah**, sons of **Rafi-us-Shan**. But within few months the Sayyids who determined to rule through the Imperial puppets thought that a youth of eighteen named **Roshan Akhtar**, son of **Jahan Shah** could be a better docile agent of them.
- Rafi-us-Daula was titled as **Shah Jahan II**.
- He ruled for a very short period and died of consumption (Tuberculosis).

### Muhammad Shah (1719 - 1748)

- **Roshan Akhtar** ascended the throne as **Muhammad Shah** in 1719.
- Sayyid brothers were soon killed by Muhammad Shah In 720, with the help of Nizam-ul-Mulk, Chin Qilich Khan and his father's cousin Muhammad Amin Khan.
- He appointed Muhammad Amir Khan, who killed Hussain Ali Khan, as wazir under the title of Itmad-ud-Daula.
- However, independent states emerged during his reign, the Deccan under Nizam-ul-Mulk, Awadh under the leadership of Saadat Khan and Murshid Quli Khan reigned Bihar, Bengal and Orissa.
- The weakness of the **Mughal empire** was exposed when **Nadir Shah invaded India**, imprisoned the Mughal emperor and looted Delhi in c. 1739 CE.

#### **Invasion of Nadir Shah (c. 1739 CE)**

Nadir Shah was the Emperor of **Iran**. He was a national hero there who drove the Afghans out of Iran.



**Reasons for invasion:**

- When Nadir Shah invaded Afghanistan, some of the Afghan nobles took shelter under Rangeela.
- Also, **Saadat Khan** and **Nizam-ul-Mulk** invited Nadir Shah to invade India.
- Mughal Emperor Muhammad Shah surrendered and he had to take Nadir Shah to his capital. The entire treasury was looted and the soldiers indulged in a gruesome massacre of the general population including women and children at Delhi.
- Nadir Shah almost emptied the treasury and also took away the famous **Kohinoor** and the **Peacock throne**.

**Ahmad Shah(1748 - 1754)**

- Son of Muhammad Shah Rangeela and Kudsiya Begum (a **dancing girl**).
- **Ahmad Shah Abdali** (ruler of Afghanistan) invaded Delhi many times, and Punjab along with Multan was ceded to him.
- The empire abruptly reduced to a small district round **Delhi**.
- The emperor was deposed and blinded in 1754 by the wazir **Ghazi-ud-din Imad-ul-mulk**, a grandson of the deceased Nizam-ul-mulk of the Deccan who now played a role of King maker.

**Alamgir-Ii (1754 - 1759)**

- He adopted the same title as the great **Aurangzeb**, and called himself '**Alamgir-II**'.
- He was the second son of Jahandar Shah and was raised to the throne by Imad-ul-Mulk after he deposed Ahmad Shah.
- Had to face repeated invasions of **Ahmad Shah Abdali**.
- The famous **Battle of Plassey** (23 June c. 1757 CE) was fought during his tenure. The Battle of Plassey helped the British East India Company to seize control of Bengal.
- He was also murdered by his wazir, Imad-ul-Mulk.

**Shah Alam-Ii (1759 - 1806)**

- Having been blinded by the Afghan chief **Gulam Qadir**, he was saved by the **Maratha Sindhia**.
- After 1803, the year in which the **British** took **control of Delhi** and this unlucky sovereign had to throw himself ultimately on the protection of the English and live as their pensioner till his death in AD 1806.

- He was the **first Mughal** ruler who became an East India Company pensioner.
- The **Battle of Buxar** was fought in c. **1764 CE** between the forces under the command of the British East India Company, led by **Hector Munro** and the combined armies of
  - **Mir Qasim** (Nawab of Bengal),
  - **Shuja-ud-Daula** (Nawab of Awadh) and the
  - **Mughal Emperor Shah Alam II**.

The war was brought to an end by the Treaty of **Allahabad (c. 1765 CE)** under which **Diwani rights** (right to collect land revenue) of **Bengal, Bihar and Orissa** were granted to the British East India Company.

**Akbar Ii (1806 - 1837)**

He was the son of Shah Alam II and remained only under British protection as in c. **1803 CE**, the British had captured Delhi.

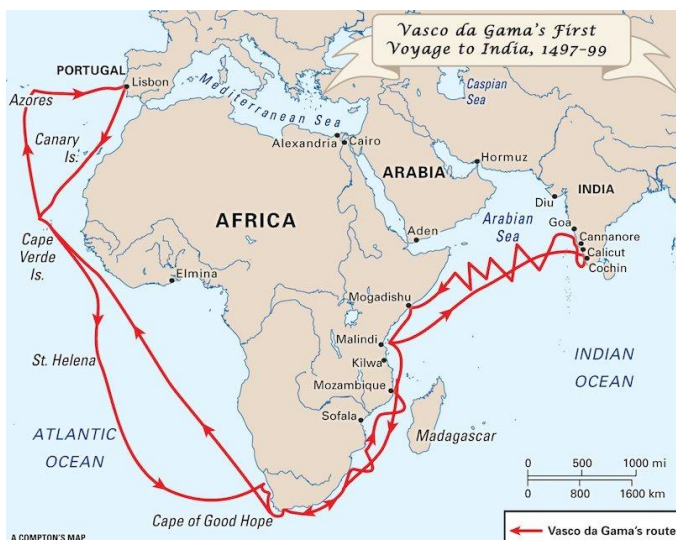
- He conferred the title of "**Raja**" on **Ram Mohan Roy**.
- He was a great poet and is credited with the introduction of the Hindu-Muslim unity festival **Phool Walon Ki Sair**.

**Bahadur Shah-Ii (1837 - 1858)**

He was the **last ruler of the Mughal Empire**. He was an accomplished poet and his pen name was **Zafar** (victory).

- He participated in the **revolt of c. 1857 CE**. After the revolt was suppressed, he was deported to **Rangoon (Burma)** where he died in c. **1862 CE**.

### 3. The Advent of Europeans



The commercial contacts between India and Europe were very old via the land route either through the Oxus valley or Syria or Egypt. With the discovery of the new sea route via the Cape of Good Hope by Vasco da Gama in 1498, trade increased and many trading companies came to India and established their trading centres.

They started as traders but with the passage of time, in order to safeguard their commercial interests, they aimed at dominating the **politics of India**. Thus, the commercial rivalry among the European powers resulted in **political rivalry** and this not only brought them into conflict with each other but with Indian rulers too. **Ultimately, the British succeeded in establishing their rule in India.**

#### Portuguese

The Portuguese were the first Europeans to arrive in India and the last to leave.

- In c. 1498 CE, Vasco da Gama of Portugal discovered a new sea route from Europe to India. He sailed around Africa via the Cape of Good Hope and reached Calicut.
- He was welcomed by the **Zamorin**, the Hindu ruler of Calicut and returned to Portugal in the next year making huge profits from the Indian cargo that was **worth 60 times** the cost of his expedition.

- In c. 1500 CE, another Portuguese **Pedro Alvares Cabral arrived in India** and Vasco da Gama also made a second trip in c. 1502 CE.
- The Portuguese established trading settlements at **Calicut, Cochin and Cannanore**.
- The **first governor** of the Portuguese in India was **Francis de Almeida**.
- In c. 1509 CE, **Afonso de Albuquerque** was made the governor of the Portuguese territories in India and in c. **1510 CE, he captured Goa** from the ruler of **Bijapur (during the reign of Sikander Lodhi)** and thereafter, **Goa became the capital** of the Portuguese settlements in India.
- At that time **Portuguese were the strongest naval power in India**.
- In 1530 CE, **Nino da Cunha** captured **Diu and Bassein** from **Bahadur Shah of Gujarat**. They also established settlements at **Salsette, Daman and Bombay** on the west coast and at **San Thome near Madras and Hugli in Bengal on the east coast**.
- However, the Portuguese power declined in India by the end of the 16th century and they lost all their acquired territories in India except **Daman, Diu and Goa**.

#### Factors for Decline of the Portuguese in India

- a) The governors that succeeded Afonso de Albuquerque were weak and less competent which eventually led to the decline of the Portuguese Empire in India.
- b) **Rise of the english** and dutch commercial ambitions challenging the portuguese supremacy;
- c) 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.
- d) **The Portuguese discovered Brazil** in Latin America and began to pay **much more attention to it than its territories in India**.
- e) **Rampant corruption**, greed and selfishness along with piracy and clandestine trade practices of the portuguese administration in india;

- f) 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.

### Portuguese Contributions to India

- They brought **tobacco cultivation to India**. 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). Their major economic interest was in the **Indonesian Spice Islands**, from which they made a large profit
- Dutch Factories in India **Masulipatnam (1605)**, Andhra Pradesh, They also created commercial terminals in Pulicat (1610), Surat (1616), Bimlipatam (1641), Karikal (1645), Chinsurah (1653), Cassimbazar (Kasimbazar), Baranagore, Patna, Balasore, Nagapatam (1658) and Cochin (1663).
- Their major base in India was Pulicat (Tamil Nadu), which was subsequently superseded by Nagapattinam.
- The **English** were also gaining importance in the Eastern trade at this time, posing a severe threat to the Dutch economic interests..
- After years of fighting, both parties reached an **agreement in 1667**, in which the British promised to relinquish all claims to Indonesia and the Dutch agreed to leave India to focus on their more successful commerce in Indonesia.
- They had a monopoly on the black pepper and spice trade. **Silk, cotton, indigo, rice, and opium** were the most significant Indian goods sold by the Dutch.
- Also, the **Anglo-Dutch competition** lasted around seven years, during which time the Dutch lost one by one their colonies to the British until the Dutch were eventually beaten by the English in the Battle of **Bedara in c. 1759**.

### The English

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** and was popularly known as the **East India Company**.

- 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.
- With **Captain Thomas Best’s** victory over the Portuguese (1612), **Jahangir permitted the East India Company to set up a factory at Surat**. The English established their factory at Surat (1613).
- In c. **1615 CE**, **Sir Thomas Roe** came to the Mughal court as ambassador of **James I**, the king of England
- Subsequently Sir Thomas Roe secured permission from Jahangir (**Imperial farman**) to **to trade and establish factories in different parts of India**.
- The city of Calcutta grew from the development of three villages **Sutanuti, Gobindapur and Kalikata** secured from the Mughal governor of Bengal. The fortified settlement was named **Fort William (1700)** and it became the **seat of British power in India till 1911**.
- The **English opened their first factory** in the south at **Masulipatnam**.
- Farrukhsiyar’s Farmans In 1717, the Mughal Emperor Farrukhsiyar’s farmans, called Magna Carta of the East India Company, gave significant privileges to the Company in Bengal, Gujarat and Hyderabad.
- 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**.
- 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.

- In c. 1690 CE, an English factory was established at a place called **Sutanuti** by **Job Charnock**. Later, it developed into the city of Calcutta where **Fort William** was built and which later became the **capital of British India**.
- British settlements in Madras, Bombay and Calcutta became the nuclei of flourishing cities.

### French in India

- The French East India Company was founded in c. 1664 CE by **Colbert**, a minister under **Louis XIV**.
- In c. 1668 CE, the **first French factory** was set up at **Surat** by **Francis Caron**.
- In 1673 CE, **Francois Martin** founded **Pondicherry (Fort Louis)**, which became the headquarters of the French possessions in India and he became its first governor.
- 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**.
- 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 India (Carnatic war)

The Anglo-French rivalry in India coincided with the wars between the English and French in Europe.

#### Causes

- For protection and expansion of commercial interests.
- Political developments in the south India and Europe provided pretexts to contest their claims which culminated in three Carnatic wars.

### First Carnatic War (1740-48)

- It was an extension of the Anglo-French rivalry in Europe and ended in 1748 with the **Treaty of Aix-La Chapelle**.

### Second Carnatic War (1749-54)

#### Fought between:

- Different claimants to the posts of the Nizam of Hyderabad, and the Nawab of the Carnatic; each claimant being supported either by the British or the French.

#### People involved:

- **Muhammad Ali and Chanda Sahib** (for the Nawabship of the Carnatic or Arcot);
- **Muzaffar Jung and Nasir Jung** (for the post of the Nizam of Hyderabad).

#### Result:

- Muzaffar Jung became Hyderabad's Nizam.
- Muhammad Ali became the Nawab of the Carnatic.

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

| Groups | Claimants for Nizam's post (Hyderabad) | Claimants for Nawab's post (Carnatic) | European Support |
|--------|--|---------------------------------------|------------------|
| 1      | Muzaffar Jung                          | Chanda Sahib                          | French           |
| 2      | Nasir Jung                             | Muhammad Ali                          | English          |

### Third Carnatic War (1758-63)

- **Fought between:** The French and the British
- **People involved:** Count de Lally (French General), British Lieutenant-General Sir Eyre Coote
- A decisive war, known for the Battle of **Wandiwash** (1760-61); An echo of the Anglo-French struggle in Europe.
- By the **Treaty of Paris (1763)**, the French were allowed to use Indian settlements for commercial purposes only and fortification of settlements were banned.

### Causes of the French Failure

- The **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.
- The French Army had a strength 300 European Cavalry, 2,250 European infantry, 1,300 sepoy (soldiers), 3,000 Mahrattas and 16 pieces of artillery **while** the English deployed about

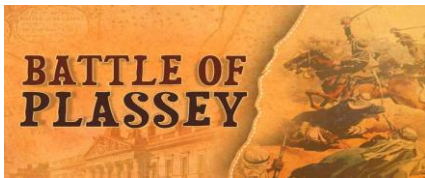


80 European Horses, 250 Native horses, 1,900 European Infantry, 2,100 sepoys.

- 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.
- The victory at the **Battle of Plassey** opened up the British to a rich area, namely Bengal.
- The British had many capable and able soldiers like Robert Clive, Stringer Lawrence and Sir Eyre Coote.

## 4. Rise of East India Company

### BENGAL



#### Causes of the Battle of Plassey

Majorly, the reasons for the Battle of Plassey to take place were:

- The rampant **misuse of the trade** privileges given to the British by the Nawab of Bengal
- Non-payment of tax and duty by the workers of the British East India Company
- **Fortification of Calcutta** by the British without the Nawab's permission
- Misleading Nawab on various fronts by British
- An asylum was provided to Nawab's enemy Krishna Das

#### Participants of Battle of Plassey and their Role

##### Siraj-Ud-Daulah (Nawab of Bengal)

- Involved in Black-Hole Tragedy (imprisoned 146 English persons who were lodged in a very tiny room due to which 123 of them died of suffocation)
- Adversely affected by the rampant misuse of trade privileges by the EIC
- Attacked and seized the English fort at Calcutta, it brought their hostility into the open

##### Robert Clive (EIC)

- Gave asylum to political fugitive Krishna Das, disappointing Siraj-Ud-Daulah
- Misuse of trade privileges
- Fortified Calcutta without the nawab's permission

##### Mir Jafar (Commander-in-Chief of Nawab's arm)

- Bribed by East India Company (EIC)
- Was to be made the Nawab by EIC for conspiring against Siraj-Ud-Daulah
- Cheated Siraj-Ud-Daulah during the battle

##### Rai Durlabh (One of the Commanders of the Nawabs Army)

- Joined his army with Siraj-Ud-Daulah's but did not participate in the battle Betrayed Siraj

##### Jagat Seth (Influential Banker)

- Involved in the conspiracy involving the imprisonment and ultimate killing of Nawab Siraj-Ud-Daulah

##### Omi Chand (Bengal Merchant)

- One of the principal authors of the conspiracy against Nawab and associated with the treaty negotiated by Robert Clive before the Battle of Plassey in 1757

The Battle of Plassey was a war fought between the **British East India Company** and the **Nawab of Bengal** and his close allies, who were mainly the French troops. The battle was won on **June 23, 1757**, leading to the **consolidation of the British** in Bengal and later expanding other territories of India.

The Battle of Plassey was fought at **Palashi**, on the banks of the **Bhagirathi River** near **Calcutta** and **Murshidabad** which was the **public capital of Bengal**.

#### Effects of Battle of Plassey

- **Mir Jafar** was crowned as the Nawab of Bengal
- Mir Jafar was unhappy with the position and instigated the Dutch to attack the British in order to consolidate his foundation.
- **Battle of Chinsura** was fought between the Dutch and British forces on November 25, 1759.

- The British installed **Mir Qasim** as the Nawab of Bengal.
- The British became the paramount European power in Bengal.
- Robert Clive was titled “Lord Clive”, Baron of Plassey and also obtained a seat in the British House of Commons.
- Post the victory, the British **started imposing severe rules and regulations** on the inhabitants of Bengal in the name of tax collection.

## Battle of Buxar 1764



### Background

- Before the battle of Buxar, one more battle was fought. It was the Battle of Plassey, that gave the British a **firm foothold** over the region of Bengal.
- As a result of the Battle of Plassey, **Siraj-Ud-Daulah** was dethroned as the Nawab of Bengal and was replaced by **Mir Jafar** (Commander of Siraj’s Army.)
- After Mir Jafar became the new Bengal nawab, the British made him their puppet but Mir Jafar got involved with Dutch East India Company.
- Mir Qasim (son-in-law of Mir Jafar) was supported by the British to become the new Nawab and 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.

### A few reasons which were the key to the Battle of Buxar are given below:

- **Mir Qasim** wanted to be independent and shifted his capital to **Munger Fort from Calcutta**.

- He also **hired foreign experts** to train his army, some of whom were in direct conflict with the British.
- 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.

When the battle **broke out in 1763**, English gained successive victories at Katwah, Murshidabad, Giria, Sooty and Munger. 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).

Mir Qasim’s soldiers met the English army troops directed by Major Munro in 1764.

- The joint armies of Mir Qasim 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.

### 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:

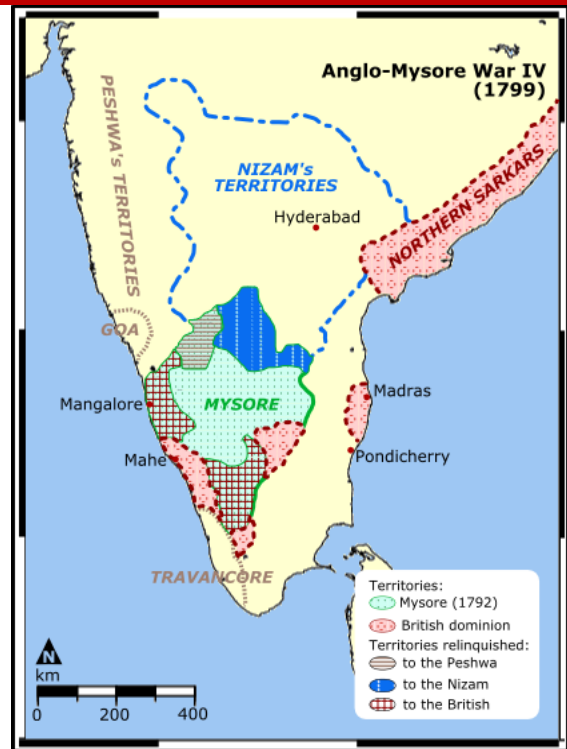
- Shah Alam was commanded to reside at Allahabad which was ceded to him by Shuja-Ud-Daulah under the Company’s protection
- The emperor had to issue a Farman granting the **Diwani of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa** to the East India Company in lieu of an annual payment of **Rs 26 lakh**;

- 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.

**Dual Government in Bengal (1765-72)**

- After the battle of Buxar, Robert Clive introduced the dual system of government, i.e., the rule of the two—the **Company and the Nawab**
- In Bengal in which both the **diwani**, (collecting revenues,) and **nizamat** (police and judicial functions), came under the control of the Company.
- The **Company exercised diwani rights as the diwan** and the **nizamat** rights through **its right to nominate the deputy subahdar**.
- The Company acquired the diwani functions from the emperor and nizamat functions from the subahdar of Bengal.
- The nawab was responsible for maintaining peace and order, but he depended both for funds and forces upon the Company because the latter controlled the army and revenues.
- 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 **did away with the dual system in 1772**.

**Mysore**



After the battle of **Talikota (1565)** many small kingdoms emerged from remnants of vianagar empire . In 1612 a **Hindu kingdom** under the Wodeyars emerged in the region of Mysore. Chikka Krishnaraja Wodeyar II ruled from 1734 to 1766. **Haider Ali** who was appointed as a soldier in the army of Wodeyars became the de-facto ruler of Mysore with his great administrative skills and military tactics. He set up a modern army and trained them along European lines. He also took French support in training his army

**British Conquest of Mysore**

- First Anglo-Mysore War (1767-69);** Treaty of Madras
- Second Anglo-Mysore War (1779-1784);** Treaty of Mangalore
- Third Anglo-Mysore War (1790-92);** Treaty of Seringapatam
- Fourth Anglo-Mysore War (1799);** Mysore is conquered by British forces

**First Anglo-Mysore War (1767-69)**

- 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. War continued for a year-and-a-half without any conclusion. 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**

### Second Anglo-Mysore War (1780-84)

- When The **Marathas attacked Mysore** in 1771. 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
- When the **English attacked Mahe**, a French possession under Hyder Ali's dominion, he declared war on the English in 1780
- Hyder Ali forged an alliance with the **Nizam and the Marathas** and defeated the British forces in Arcot
- **Hyder Ali died in 1782** and the war was continued by his son **Tipu Sultan**
- **Sir Eyre Coote**, who had earlier defeated Hyder Ali many times, ended the war inconclusively with the **Treaty of Mangalore**

### Third Anglo-Mysore War (1790-92)

The Treaty of Mangalore was not enough to resolve the conflicts between **Tipu Sultan and the British**. Both were aiming to establish their own political supremacy over the Deccan.

- The **Third Anglo-Mysore War** began when **Tipu attacked Travancore**, an ally of the English and the **only source of pepper for the East India Company**.
- The **British** sided with Travancore and attacked Mysore. The **Nizam and the Marathas** who were jealous of Tipu's growing power joined the British.
- The war was concluded with the **Treaty of Seringapatam, 1792**.

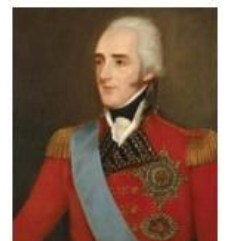
- Under this treaty, nearly **half of the Mysorean territory was taken over** by the alliance of the British, Nizam and the Marathas.
- Besides, a war damage of **three crore rupees** was also taken from Tipu.
- **Half** of the war indemnity was to be paid immediately while the rest was to be given in installments, for which **Tipu's two sons were taken as hostages by the English**.

### Fourth Anglo-Mysore War (1799)

- In 1796, when the Hindu ruler of the Wodeyar dynasty died, Tipu declared himself as the Sultan and decided to avenge his humiliating defeat in the previous war.
- **In 1798, Lord Wellesley**, an imperialist to the core, **succeeded Sir John Shore** as the new Governor General.
- Tipu's growing friendship with the French raised concerns for Wellesley. Tipu **also refused** to accept the Subsidiary Alliance of Lord Wellesley.
- The war began on **April 17, 1799** and ended on **May 4, 1799** with the fall of Seringapatam.
- Tipu was defeated first by British General Stuart and then by General Harris.
- Tipu Sultan died in the war and all his treasures were confiscated by the British.
- The new state of Mysore was handed over to the old Hindu dynasty (Wodeyars) under a minor ruler Krishnaraja III, who accepted the subsidiary alliance.

### Subsidiary Alliance

In 1798, Lord Wellesley introduced the Subsidiary Alliance system in India, under which the ruler of the allying Indian state was compelled to pay a subsidy for the maintenance of British army in return for getting protection from the British against their enemies.



Wellesley

- It provided for the posting of a **British Resident at the ruler's court** restricting the ruler from



employing any European in his service without the approval of the British.

- Sometimes the ruler ceded part of his territory instead of paying annual subsidy.
- The first Indian ruler to sign the **Subsidiary Alliance was the Nizam of Hyderabad.**

Those native princes or rulers who would enter into Subsidiary Alliance were not free to declare war against any other power or enter into negotiations without the consent of the British.

- The princes who were comparatively strong and powerful were permitted to retain their armies, but their armies were placed under British generals.

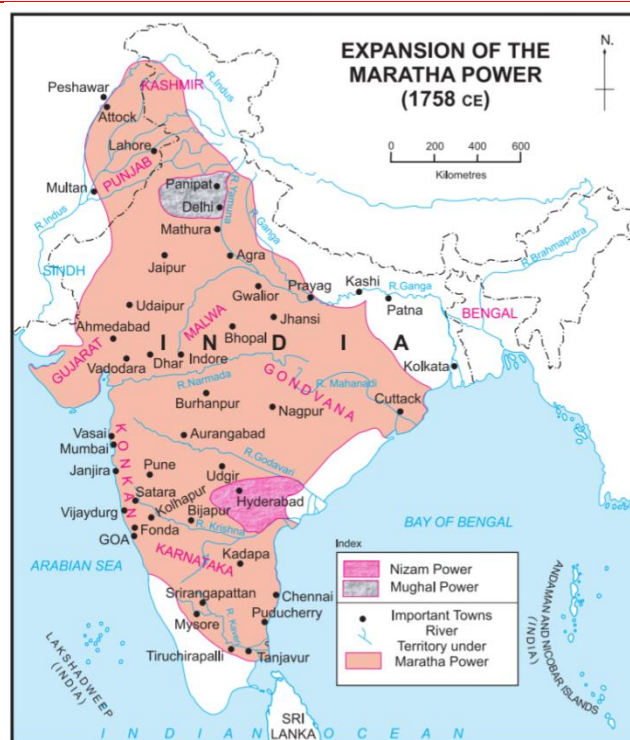
The Subsidiary Alliance was a policy of **non-interference in the internal affairs of the allied state**, but this was a promise seldom kept by the British.

The payment of the arbitrarily-fixed and artificially-bloated subsidy invariably disrupted the economy of the state and impoverished its people.

On the other hand, the British could now maintain a large army at the cost of the Indian states.

- They controlled the defence and foreign relations of the protected ally, and had a powerful force stationed at the very heart of his lands.

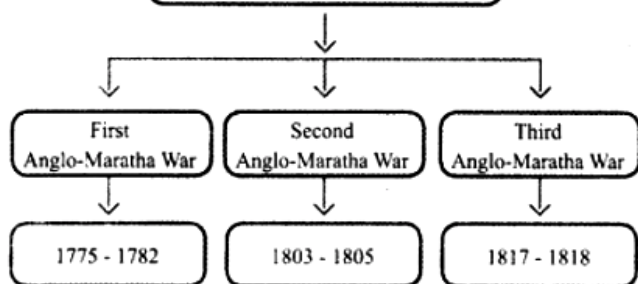
## Maratha



### First Anglo-Maratha War (1775 - 1782)

- The third **Peshwa Balaji Baji Rao** died in 1761 due to shock after his defeat at the Third Battle of Panipat.
- His son **Madhavrao I** succeeded him. Madhavrao I was able to recover some of the Maratha power and territories which they had lost in the Battle of Panipat. The English were aware of the growing Maratha power. When Madhavrao I died, there was a **tussle for power** in the **Maratha camp**.
- His brother **Narayanrao** became the Peshwa but his uncle **Raghunathrao** wanted to become the Peshwa. For this, he sought the **help of the English**
- So, the **Treaty of Surat in 1775** was signed according to which Raghunathrao ceded Salsette and Bassein to the English and in return he was given **2500 soldiers**.
- The British and army of Raghunathrao attacked the Peshwa and won.
- The British **Calcutta Council** under **Warren Hastings** annulled this treaty and a new treaty, the Treaty of **Purandhar was signed in 1776** between

### Anglo-Maratha Wars



the Calcutta Council and **Nana Phadnavis**, a **Maratha minister**.

- Accordingly, Raghunathrao was given a pension only and Salsette was retained by the British.
- But the British establishment at **Bombay** violated this treaty and **sheltered Raghunathrao**.
- In 1777, Nana Phadnavis went against his treaty with the Calcutta Council and granted a port on the west coast to the French. This led the British to advance a force towards Pune. There was a battle at **Wadgaon** near Pune in which the Marathas under **Mahadji Shinde** secured a **decisive victory over the English**.
- The **English were forced to sign the Treaty of Wadgaon in 1779**.
- There was a series of battles at the end of which the Treaty of **Salbai** was signed in **1782**. This ended the **first Anglo-Maratha war**.

### Second Anglo-Maratha War (1803 – 1805)

#### Background

- 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, such as
  - The **Peshwas at Pune**.
  - The Gaekwads at Baroda.
  - The Holkars at Indore.
  - The Scindias at Gwalior.
  - The Bhonsles at Nagpur.

There were internal squabbles among themselves.

- Baji Rao II (son of Raghunathrao) was installed as the Peshwa after the death of Madhavrao II.
- In the Battle of Poona in 1802, **Yashwantrao Holkar**, the chief of the Holkars of Indore defeated the Peshwas and the Scindias.
- **Baji Rao II sought British protection and signed the Treaty of Bassein with them**.
- As per this treaty, he ceded territory to the British and agreed to the maintenance of British troops there.

- The **Scindias** and the **Bhonsles** did not accept this treaty and this caused the **second Anglo-Maratha war in central India in 1803**.
- The **Holkars** also joined the battle against the English at a later stage.

#### RESULTS

- All the Maratha forces were defeated by the British in these battles.
- 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 Rajghat 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**.

### Third Anglo-Maratha War (1817 – 1818)

- After the second Anglo-Maratha war, the Marathas made one last attempt to rebuild their old prestige. They wanted to retake all their old possessions from the English. They were also unhappy with the British residents' interference in their internal matters.
- The chief reason for this war was the **British conflict with the Pindaris** whom the British suspected were being protected by the Marathas.
- The Maratha chiefs **Peshwa Bajirao II, Malharrao Holkar and Mudhoji II Bhonsle** forged a **united front against the English**.
- Daulat Rao Shinde, the fourth major Maratha chief was pressured diplomatically to stay away.
- But the British victory was swift.

#### Results

- The **Treaty of Gwalior** was signed in 1817 between **Shinde and the British**, even though he had not been involved in the war. As per this treaty, Shinde gave up Rajasthan to the British. The Rajas of

Rajputana remained the Princely States till 1947 after accepting British sovereignty.

- The **Treaty of Mandasor** was signed between the **British and the Holkar** chief in 1818. An infant was placed on the throne under British guardianship.
- The Peshwa surrendered in 1818. He was dethroned and pensioned off to a small estate in Bithur (near Kanpur). Most parts of his territory became part of the Bombay Presidency.
- His adopted son, **Nana Saheb** became one of the leaders of the Revolt of 1857 at Kanpur.
- The territories annexed from the Pindaris became the **Central Provinces** under British India.
- This war led to the end of the Maratha Empire. All the Maratha powers surrendered to the British.
- This was one of the last major wars fought and won by the British. With this, the British controlled most parts of India barring Punjab and Sindh directly or indirectly.

## 5. India Under Company Rule

### Introduction

#### Beginning of Rule:

- The British East India Company was established as a trading company in 1600 and transformed into a ruling body in 1765.

#### Interference in Internal Affairs:

- After the **Battle of Buxar (1764)**, the East India Company got the **Diwani** (right to collect revenue) of **Bengal, Bihar and Orissa** and gradually, it started interfering in Indian affairs.

#### Exploitation of Power:

- The period from 1765-72 saw **duality in the system of government** where the Company had the authority but no responsibility and its Indian representatives had all the responsibility but no authority. This resulted in:
  - **Rampant corruption** among servants of the Company.
  - **Excessive revenue collection** and oppression of peasantry.

- The **Company's bankruptcy**, while the servants were flourishing.
- **Response of British Government:** To bring some order into the business, the British government decided to regulate the Company with a gradual increase in laws.

### Acts Introduced by British Government

#### Regulating Act, 1773

##### Company Retains Possessions:

- This act permitted the company to retain its territorial possessions in India but sought to regulate the activities and functioning of the company.

##### Control over Indian Affairs:

- Through this act, for the first time, the British cabinet was given the **right to exercise control over Indian affairs**.

##### Introduction of Governor-General:

- It changed the post of Governor of Bengal to "**Governor-General of Bengal**".
- The administration in Bengal was to be carried out by the governor-general and a council consisting of 4 members.
- **Warren Hastings** was made the first Governor-General of Bengal.
- The Governor of Bombay and Madras now worked under the Governor-General of Bengal.

##### Establishment of Supreme Court:

- A Supreme Court of judicature was to be established in Bengal (Calcutta) along with appellate jurisdictions where all subjects could seek redressal.
- It comprised one chief justice and three other judges.
- In 1781, the Act was amended and the Governor-General, the Council and the **servants of the government were exempted from the jurisdiction** if they did anything while discharging their duties.

## Pitt's India Act, 1784

### Dual Control System:

- It established the **dual system** of control by the British government and the East India Company.
- The Company became a subordinate department of the State and its **territories in India were termed 'British possessions'**.
- However, it retained the control of commerce and day-to-day administration.

### Court of Directors and Board of Control Established:

- A **Board of Control** was formed to exercise control over the Company's civil, military and revenue affairs. It consisted of:
  - The **chancellor of exchequer**
  - A **secretary** of state
  - Four **members of the Privy Council** (appointed by the Crown)
- The important political matters were reserved to a **secret committee of three directors (Court of Directors)** in direct touch with the British government.

### Governor-General and Commander-in-Chief:

- The council of governor-general was **reduced to three members including the commander-in-chief**.
- In **1786**, **Lord Cornwallis** was granted the **power of both the governor-general and the commander-in-chief**.
- He was allowed to override the council's decision if he owned the responsibility for the decision.

## Charter Act, 1793

### Extension of Powers to Governor-General:

- It extended the overriding power given to Lord Cornwallis over his council, to all future Governor-Generals and Governors of Presidencies.

### Appointments of Senior Officials:

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

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

### Payments of Officials:

- It laid down that the members of the Board of Control and their staff were to be paid out of the Indian revenues (it continued up till 1919).

The Company was also asked to pay 5 lakh pounds annually to the British government (after paying its necessary expenses).

## Charter Act, 1813

### Demand of English Traders:

- The English traders demanded a share in the Indian trade.
- This demand was particularly in view of loss of trade due to the Continental System of **Napoleon Bonaparte** who sought to cripple England commercially.

### End of Company's Monopoly:

- By this, the **Company was deprived of its commercial monopoly** and '**the undoubted sovereignty of the Crown**' over the possessions of the East India Company was laid down.
- However, the company was allowed to enjoy the **monopoly of trade with China and trade in tea**.

### Assistance to Learned Natives:

- A sum of Rs.1,00,000 annually was provided for the **revival of literature, encouragement of learned Indian natives** and **promotion of scientific knowledge** among the Indians.
- This was the first step towards acceptance of the principle of State responsibility for education.

## Charter Act, 1833

### Company's Trade Situation:

- The lease of 20 years provided to the Company (under Charter Act, 1813) for the possession of territories and the revenue collection was further extended.
- However, the **Company's monopoly over trade with China and in tea ended**.



**European Immigration:**

- All restrictions on European immigration and the acquisition of property in India were lifted which paved the way for the wholesale European colonisation of India.
- **Introduction of Governor-General of India:**
- The post name of Governor-General of Bengal was converted into "**Governor-General of India**".
- He was given the **power to superintend, control and direct all civil and military affairs** of the Company.
- All **revenues were raised under his authority** and he had **complete control over the expenditure** too.
- **William Bentinck** became the first Governor-General of India.

**Law Commission:**

- It was established under this act for the consolidation and codification of Indian Laws.
- It **added a fourth ordinary Member** to the Governor-General's Council for India who was to be a legal expert in the making of laws.
- **Lord Macaulay** was the first to be appointed as the fourth ordinary Member.

**Charter Act, 1853****Company's Trade Situation:**

- The Company was to continue possession of territories unless the Parliament provided otherwise.
- The **Company's patronage over the services was dissolved**; the services were now thrown open to a competitive examination.

**Fourth Ordinary Member:**

- The **law member became the full member** of the governor-general's executive council.

**Indian Legislative Council:**

- **Local representation** was introduced in the Indian legislature. This legislative wing came to be known as the **Indian Legislative Council**.
- However, promulgation of a law required the assent of the governor-general who could veto any Bill of the legislative council.

**Government of India Act, 1858****Outcomes of 1857 Revolt:**

- The **Revolt of 1857** had **exposed the Company's limitations** in administering under a complex situation.
- The revolt offered the opportunity as the **demand for divesting the Company of its authority** over the Company's territory.

**End of Company Rule:**

- The dual system introduced by the Pitt's India Act came to an end now **India was to be governed by and in the name of the Crown** through a **secretary of state** and a council of 15.
- The council was just advisory in nature.

**Introduction of Viceroy:**

- The title of **Governor-general of India was replaced with the Viceroy** which increased the prestige of the title holder if not his authority.
- The Viceroy was **appointed directly by the British government**.
- The first Viceroy of India was **Lord Canning**.

**Reforms under the Governors-General during the Company Rule**

**Lord Cornwallis (governor-general, 1786-93):** He was the first to bring into existence and organise the civil services.

- He abolished the District Fauzdari Courts and established circuit courts at Calcutta, Dacca, Murshidabad and Patna.

**Cornwallis Code:** Under this code:

- There was a separation of revenue and justice administration.
- European subjects were also brought under jurisdiction.
- Government officials were answerable to the civil courts for actions done in their official capacity.
- The principle of sovereignty of law was established.

**William Bentinck (governor-general 1828-1833):**

He abolished the four Circuit Courts and transferred

their functions to the Collectors.

- Established a **Sadar Diwani Adalat** and a **Sadar Nizamat Adalat** at **Allahabad** for the convenience of the people of Upper Provinces.
- The **English language replaced Persian** as the official language of courts.
- Also, the suitor was now provided the option to use Persian or a vernacular language in courts.
- A **Civil Procedure Code (1859)**, an **Indian Penal Code (1860)** and a **Criminal Procedure Code (1861)** were prepared as a result of the codification of laws.

## 6. Socio-Religious Reform Movement (SRRM)

**What are social religious reform movements?**

- The Indian society in the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century was **caste ridden, decadent and rigid**.
- It followed certain practices which are not in keeping with humanitarian feelings or values but were still being followed in the name of religion.
- Some enlightened Indians like **Raja Ram Mohan Roy, Ishwar Chand Vidyasagar, Dayanand Saraswati** and many others started to bring in reforms in society so that it could face the challenges of the West.
- The reform movements could broadly be classified into two categories:
  - **Reformist movements** like the Brahmo Samaj, the Prarthana Samaj, the Aligarh Movement.
  - **Revivalist movements** like Arya Samaj and the Deoband movement.
- The reformist as well as the revivalist movement depended, to varying degrees, on an appeal to the lost purity of the religion they sought to reform.
- The only difference between one reform movement and the other lay in the degree to which it relied on tradition or on reason and conscience.

**What are the Factors which gave Rise to Reform Movements?**

**Presence of colonial government on Indian soil:**

- When the British came to India they introduced the English language as well as certain modern ideas.
- These ideas were those of liberty, social and economic equality, fraternity, democracy and justice which had a tremendous impact on Indian society.

**Religious and Social Ills:**

- Indian society in the nineteenth century was caught in a vicious web created by religious superstitions and social obscurantism.

**Depressing Position of Women:**

- The most distressing was the position of women.
- The killing of female infants at birth was prevalent.
- Child marriage was practiced in society.
- The practice of polygamy prevailed in many parts of country.
- The widow remarriage was not allowed and the sati pratha was prevalent on a large scale.

**Spread of Education and Increased Awareness of the World:**

- From the late 19th century a number of European and Indian scholars started the study of ancient India's history, philosophy, science, religions and literature.
- This growing knowledge of India's past glory provided to the Indian people a sense of pride in their civilization.
- It also helped the reformers in their work of religious and social reform for their struggle against all types of inhuman practices, superstitions etc.

**Awareness of the Outside World:**

- During the last decades of the nineteenth century, the rising tide of nationalism and democracy also found expression in movements to reform and democratise the social institutions and religious outlook of the Indian people.
- Factors such as growth of nationalist sentiments, emergence of new economic forces, spread of education, impact of modern Western ideas and culture and increased awareness of the world strengthened the resolve to reform.

**Important Hindu Socio-Religious Reform Movements And Their Founders**

| Movement              | Leaders  |
|-----------------------|--|
| Brahmo Samaj          | Raja Rammohan Roy, Keshub Chandra Sen, led by Debendranath Tagore. |
| Atmiya Sabha          | Raja Rammohan Roy  |
| Tattvabodhini Sabha   | Debendranath Tagore  |
| Prarthana Samaj       | Atmaram Pandurang, Keshab Chandra Sen                              |
| Young Bengal Movement | Henry Vivian Derozio   |
| Arya Samaj            | Swami Dayanand Saraswati   |
| Ramakrishna Mission   | Swami Vivekananda  |

**Important Muslim Socio-Religious Reform Movements**

| Movements          | Leaders  |
|--------------------|--|
| Wahabi Movement    | Syed Ahmed                                     |
| Ahmadiyya Movement | Mirza Ghulam Ahmad                             |
| Aligarh Movement   | Syed Ahmad Khan                                |
| Deoband Movement   | Muhammad Qasim Nanautavi, Rashid Ahmad Gangohi |
| Barelvi Movement   | Syed Ahmad Rai Barelvi                         |

**Important Sikh Socio-Religious Reform Movements**

|                    |   |
|--------------------|---|
| Nirankari Movement | Baba Dayal Das                                |
| Namdhari Movement  | Baba Ram Singh                                |
| Singh Sabha        | Thakur Singh Sandhawalia and Giani Gian Singh |

**What was the Brahmo Samaj Movement?**

- Raja Ram Mohan Roy founded **Brahmo Sabha** in **1828**, which was later renamed as **Brahmo Samaj**.
- Its chief aim was the worship of the eternal God. It was against priesthood, rituals and sacrifices.
- It focused on **prayers, meditation and reading of the scriptures**. It believed in the unity of all religions.
- It was the **first intellectual reform movement in modern India**. It led to the emergence of **rationalism and enlightenment** in India which indirectly contributed to the nationalist movement.
- It was the forerunner of all social, religious and political movements of modern India. It split into two in 1866, namely **Brahmo Samaj of India** led by **Keshub Chandra Sen** and **Adi Brahmo Samaj** led by **Debendranath Tagore**.
- **Prominent Leaders:** Debendranath Tagore, Keshub Chandra Sen, Pt. Sivnath Shastri, and Rabindranath Tagore.
- Debendra Nath Tagor 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.
- Rammohan Roy progressive ideas met with strong opposition from orthodox elements like Raja Radhakant Deb who organised the **Dharma Sabha** to counter Brahmo Samaj propaganda.

**Prarthana Samaj**

- The Prarthana Samaj was established in Bombay by Dr. Atma Ram Pandurang in 1876 with the objective of rational worship and social reform.
- The two great members of this Samaj were R.C. Bhandarkar and Justice Mahadev Govind Ranade.
- They devoted themselves to the work of social reform such as inter-caste dining, inter-caste marriage, widow remarriage and improvement of the lot of women and depressed classes.

- The four point social agenda of Prarthana Samaj were
  - Disapproval of caste system
  - Women education
  - Widow remarriage
  - Raising the age of marriage for both males and females
- Mahavdev Govind Ranade was the founder of the Widow Remarriage Association (1861) and the Deccan Education Society.
- He established the Poona Sarvajanic Sabha as well.
- To Ranade, religious reform was inseparable from social reform.
- He also believed that if religious ideas were rigid there would be no success in social, economic and political spheres.
- Although Prarthana Samaj was powerfully influenced by the ideas of Brahmo Samaj, it did not insist upon a rigid exclusion of idol worship and a definite break from the caste system.

### Satyashodhak Samaj?

- **Jyotiba Phule** organized a powerful movement against upper caste domination and brahminical supremacy.
- He founded the **Satyashodhak Samaj (Truth Seekers' Society) in 1873.**
- The main aims of the movement were:
  - Social service
  - Spread of education among women and lower caste people
  - Phule's works, **Sarvajanic Satyadharma** and **Ghulam gin**, became a source of inspiration for the common masses.
  - Phule used the symbol of **Rajah Bali** as opposed to the brahmins' symbol of Rama.
  - Phule aimed at the **complete abolition of the caste system and socio-economic inequalities.**
  - This movement gave a sense of identity to the depressed communities as a class against the Brahmins, who were seen as the exploiters.

### Arya Samaj Movement?

- The Arya Samaj Movement was **revivalist in form though not in content**, as the result of a reaction to Western influences.
- The first Arya Samaj unit was formally set up by **Dayananda Saraswati** at Bombay in 1875 and later the headquarters of the Samaj were established at Lahore.
- **Guiding principles of the Arya Samaj are:**
  - God is the primary source of all true knowledge;
  - God, as all-truth, all-knowledge, almighty, immortal, creator of Universe, is alone worthy of worship;
  - The Vedas are the books of true knowledge;
  - An Arya should always be ready to accept truth and abandon untruth;
  - Dharma, that is, due consideration of right and wrong, should be the guiding principle of all actions;
  - The principal aim of the Samaj is to promote world's well-being in the material, spiritual and social sense;
  - Everybody should be treated with love and justice;
  - Ignorance is to be dispelled and knowledge increased;
  - One's own progress should depend on the uplift of all others;
  - Social well-being of mankind is to be placed above an individual's well-being.
- The nucleus for this movement was provided by the **Dayanand Anglo-Vedic (D.A.V.)** schools, established first at Lahore in 1886, which sought to **emphasise the importance of Western education.**
- The Arya Samaj was able to **give self-respect and self confidence to the Hindus** which helped to undermine the myth of superiority of whites and the Western culture.
- The Arya Samaj started the **shuddhi (purification) movement** to reconvert to the Hindu fold the converts to Christianity and Islam.
- This led to increasing communalisation of social life during the 1920s and later snowballed into communal political consciousness.
- The work of the Swami after his death was carried forward by Lala Hansraj, Pandit Gurudutt, Lala Lajpat Rai and Swami Shradhanand, among others.



- Dayananda's views were published in his famous work, Satyarth Prakash (The True Exposition).

### Young Bengal Movement?

- The young Bengal movement was a movement led by thinkers of the **Hindu College of Calcutta**. These thinkers were also known by the name Derozians.
- This name was given to them after one teacher of the same college, **Henry Louis Vivian Derozio**.
- Derozio **promoted radical ideas** through his teaching and by organizing an association for debate and discussions on literature, philosophy, history and science.
- They cherished the ideals of the **French Revolution (1789 A.D.)** and the liberal thinking of Britain.
- The Derozians also **supported women's rights and education**.
- The main reason for their **limited success** was the **prevailing social condition** at that time, which was not ripe for the adoption of radical ideas.
- Further, **support from any other social group or class was absent**.
- The Derozians **lacked any real link with the masses**, for instance, they failed to take up the peasants' cause.
- In fact their radicalism was bookish in character. But, despite their limitations, the Derozians carried forward Roy's tradition of public education on social, economic, and political questions.

### Ramakrishna Movement?

- **Ramakrishna Paramhansa** was a mystic who **sought religious salvation** in the traditional ways of renunciation, meditation and devotion.
- He was a saintly person who recognized the fundamental oneness of all religions and emphasized that there were many roads to God and salvation and the service of man is the service of God.
- The teaching of Ramakrishna Paramhansa formed the basis of the **Ramakrishna Movement**.
- **The two objectives of the movements were:**
  - To bring into existence a band of monks dedicated to a life of renunciation and practical spirituality, from among whom

teachers and workers would be sent out to spread the Universal message of Vedanta as illustrated in the life of Ramakrishna.

- 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 color, as veritable manifestations of the Divine.
- **Swami Vivekananda** established Ramakrishna Mission in 1897, named after his Guru Swami Ramakrishna Paramhansa. The institution did extensive educational and philanthropic work in India.
- He also represented India in the first Parliament of Religion held in Chicago (U.S.) in 1893.
- He used the Ramakrishna Mission for humanitarian relief and social work.
- 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 Shiva. Life itself is religion.
- By service, the Divine exists within man. Vivekananda was for using technology and modern science in the service of mankind.

### Wahabi/Walliullah Movement?

- The teachings of Abdul Wahab of Arabia and the preachings of **Shah Waliullah** inspired this essentially revivalist response to Western influences and the degeneration which had set in among Indian Muslims and called for a return to the true spirit of Islam.
- He was the first Indian Muslim leader of the 18th century to organise Muslims around the two-fold ideals of this movement:
  - **Desirability of harmony among the four schools of Muslim jurisprudence which had divided the Indian Muslims** (he sought to integrate the best elements of the four schools),
  - **Recognition of the role of individual conscience in religion** where conflicting

interpretations were derived from the Quran and the Hadis.

- The teachings of Walliullah were further popularised by **Shah Abdul Aziz and Syed Ahmed Barelvi** who also gave them a **political perspective**.
  - Un-Islamic practices that had crept into Muslim society were sought to be eliminated.
  - Syed Ahmed called for a return to the pure Islam and the kind of society that had existed in the Arabia of the Prophet's time.
  - India was considered to be **dar-ul-Harb (land of the kafirs)** and it needed to be converted to dar-ul-Islam (land of Islam).
- Initially, the movement was directed at the Sikhs in Punjab but after the British annexation of Punjab (1849), the movement was directed against the British.
- During the 1857 Revolt, the Wahabi's played an important role in spreading anti-British feelings.
- The Wahabi Movement fizzled out in the face of British military might in the 1870s.

#### Titu Mir's Movement?

- **Mir Nithar Ali**, popularly known as **Titu Mir**, was a disciple of **Sayyid Ahmed Barelvi**, the founder of the Wahabi Movement.
- Titu Mir adopted **Wahabism and advocated the Sharia**. He **organised the Muslim peasants of Bengal against the landlords**, who were mostly Hindu, and the British indigo planters.
- The **movement was not as militant as the British records made it out to be**, only in the last year of Titu's life was there a confrontation between him and the British police.

#### What was the Faraizi Movement?

- The movement, also called the **Faraizi Movement** because of its **emphasis on the Islamic pillars of faith**, was founded by **Haji Shariatullah in 1818**.
- Its **scene of action was East Bengal**, and it aimed at the **eradication of social innovations or un-Islamic practices** current among the Muslims of the region and draw their attention to their duties as Muslims.

- Under the leadership of **Dudu Mian**, the movement became revolutionary from 1840 onwards.
  - He gave the **movement an organisational system from the village to the provincial level** with a khalifa or authorised deputy at every level.
  - The **Faraizi** organised a paramilitary force armed with clubs to fight the zamindars who were mostly Hindu, though there were some Muslim landlords too, besides the indigo planters.
  - **Dudu Mian asked his followers not to pay rent**.
  - The organisation even **established its own Law courts**.
- Dudu Mian was arrested several times, and his arrest in 1847 finally weakened the movement. The movement survived merely as a religious movement without political overtones after the death of Dudu Mian in 1862.

#### What was the 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 as the **standard-bearer of Mohammedan Renaissance**, and based itself, like the Brahma 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.
  - However, the Ahmadiyya Movement, like **Bahatism which flourished in the West Asian countries, suffered from mysticism**.

### What was the Aligarh Movement?

- **Sir Syed Ahmad Khan** is, first and foremost, known for his pioneering role in transforming the educational opportunities for Muslims.
- He realised that Muslims could only make progress if they took to modern education. For this he started the Aligarh movement.
  - It was a systemic movement **aimed at reforming the social, political and educational aspects of the Muslim community.**
  - The movement **undertook to modernise Muslim's education by adapting English as a medium of learning and western education** rather than just focusing on traditional teachings.
- 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 advocated a critical approach and freedom of thought and not complete dependence on tradition or custom.
- Sir Syed established the **Scientific Society in 1864**, in Aligarh to translate Western works into Indian languages to prepare the Muslims to accept Western education and to inculcate scientific temperament among the Muslims.
  - The **Aligarh Institute Gazette**, a magazine published by Sir Syed was an organ of the Scientific Society.
- In 1877, he founded the **Muhammadan Anglo Oriental College** on the pattern of Oxford and Cambridge universities. The college later grew into **Aligarh Muslim University.**
- The Aligarh Movement **helped in the Muslim revival.** It gave them a common language— **Urdu.**
- Sir Syed also **pushed for social reforms and was a champion of democratic ideals and freedom of speech.**

- He was **against religious intolerance, ignorance and irrationalism.** He denounced purdah, polygamy and easy divorce.
- **Tahzebul Akhlaq (Social Reformer in English)**, a magazine founded by him, tried to awaken people's consciousness on social and religious issues in a very expressive prose.

### Deoband Movement

- 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 **Mohammad Qasim Nanotavi** and **Rashid Ahmed Gangohi** 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.**
- 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 Mohammedan Anglo-Oriental Association.**
- Some critics attribute Deoband's support to the nationalists more to its determined opposition to Syed Ahmed Khan than to any positive political philosophy.
- **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.

### Religious Reform among the Parsis?

- Religious reform began among the Parsis in Mumbai in the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. In 1851, the **Rahanumai Mazdayasnan Sabha or Religious Reform Association** was founded by **Nauroji Furdonji, Dadabhai Nauroji, S.S. Bengalee** and others.
- They started a journal called **Rast Goftar**, for the purpose of social-religious reforms among the Parsis.
- They also played an important role in the **spread of education**, especially among girls.
- They campaigned against the **entrenched orthodoxy in the religious field** and initiated the **modernization of Parsi social customs** regarding the **education of girls' marriage** and the **social position of women** in general.
- In course of time, the Parsis became socially the most westernized section of Indian society.

### What was Religious Reform among the Sikhs?

- Religious reform among the Sikhs was started at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century when the **Khalsa College** started at Amritsar.
  - Through the efforts of the **Singh Sabhas (1870)** and with British support, the Khalsa College was founded at Amritsar in 1892.
  - This college and schools set up as a result of similar efforts, promoted Gurumukhi, Sikh learning and Punjabi literature as a whole.

After 1920 the Sikh momentum gained momentum when the **Akali Movement** rose in Punjab.

- The chief object of the Akalis was to improve the management of the Gurudwaras or Sikh Shrines that were under the control of priests or Mahants who treated them as their private property.
- In 1925, a law was passed which gave the right of managing Gurudwaras to the **Shiromani Gurudwara Prabandhak Committee**.

### Theosophical Movement

- A group of westerners led by **Madame H.P. Blavatsky** and **Colonel M.S. Olcott**, who was 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 society also **sought to investigate the unexplained laws of nature and the powers latent in man**.
- The Theosophical Movement came to be allied with the Hindu renaissance.
  - **It opposed child marriage and advocated the abolition of caste discrimination, uplift of outcastes, 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 had come 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 **Banaras Hindu University** in 1916.
- **Annie Besant also did much for the cause of the education of women.**

Significance:

- The Theosophical Society **provided a common denominator for the various sects and fulfilled the urge of educated Hindus.**
- However, to an average Indian the **Theosophist philosophy seemed to be vague and lacking a positive programme**, to that extent its **impact was limited to a small segment of the westernised class.**
- As religious revivalists, the **Theosophists did not attain much success**, but 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

### Significance of Reform Movements?

- The orthodox sections of **society could not accept the scientific ideological onslaught of the socio-religious rebels.** As a result of this, the reformers were subjected to abuse, persecution, issuing of fatwas and even assassination attempts by the reactionaries.
  - However, in spite of opposition, these movements **managed to contribute towards the liberation of the individual** from conformity born out of fear and from uncritical submission to exploitation by the priests and other classes.
- The **translation of religious texts into vernacular languages**, emphasis on an individual's right to

interpret the scriptures and simplification of rituals made worship a more personal experience.

- The movements emphasised the **human intellect's capacity to think and reason.**
- The reform movements gave the **rising middle classes the much needed cultural roots to cling to, and served the purpose of reducing the sense of humiliation** which the conquest by a foreign power had produced.
- A **realisation of the special needs of modern times**, especially in terms of scientific knowledge, and thus promoting a modern, this-worldly, secular and rational outlook was a major contribution of these reform movements.
- Socially, this attitude reflected a **basic change in the notions of 'pollution and purity'.**
- The reform movements **sought to create a favourable social climate for modernisation.** To that extent, these movements **ended India's cultural and intellectual isolation** from the rest of the world.
- This cultural ideological struggle was to **prove to be an important instrument in the evolution of national consciousness** and a part of Indian national resolve to resist colonial cultural and ideological hegemony.
- However, not all these progressive, nationalist tendencies were able to outgrow the sectarian and obscurantist outlook.
- This was possibly due to the divergent duality of cultural and political struggles, resulting in cultural backwardness despite political advancement.

### Limitations of Reform Movements?

- One of the major limitations of the religious reform movements was that they had a **narrow social base**, namely the **educated and urban middle classes**, while the needs of the vast masses of peasantry and the urban poor were ignored.
- The tendency of reformers to appeal to the greatness of the past and to rely on scriptural authority encouraged mysticism in new garbs and **fostered pseudo-scientific thinking** while

exercising a check on the full acceptance of the need for a modern scientific outlook.

- These tendencies **contributed, at least to some extent, in compartmentalising Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs and Parsis**, as also alienating high caste Hindus from low caste Hindus.
- The **emphasis on religious and philosophical aspects of the cultural heritage got somewhat magnified** by an **insufficient emphasis on other aspects of culture**—art, architecture, literature, music, science and technology.
- The Hindu reformers **confined their praise of the Indian past to its ancient period and looked upon the medieval period of Indian history essentially as an era of decadence.**
  - This tended to create a notion of two separate peoples, on the one hand, on the other, an **uncritical praise of the past was not acceptable to the low caste sections of society** which had suffered under religiously sanctioned exploitation during the ancient period.
  - Moreover, the past itself tended to be placed into compartments on a partisan basis.
- Many in the Muslim middle classes went to the extent of turning to the history of West Asia for their traditions and moments of pride.
- The **process of evolution of a composite culture which was evident throughout Indian history showed signs of being arrested** with the rise of another form of consciousness, communal consciousness—along with national consciousness among the middle classes.
  - Many other factors were certainly **responsible for the birth of communalism in modern times**, but undoubtedly the nature of religious reform movements also contributed to it.
- On the whole, however, whatever the net outcome of these reform movements, it was out of this struggle that a new society evolved in India.

## Evaluation of the Impact of Socio-Religious Movements

### Positive Aspects

- These movements were able to contribute to the **liberation of the individual** from fear-based conformity and uncritical submission to exploitation by priests and other classes.
- The movements emphasized the **ability of the human intellect to think and reason.**
- The reform movements **provided the rising middle classes** with much-needed **cultural roots to cling to**, as well as a means of alleviating the sense of humiliation caused by a foreign power's conquest.
- A major contribution of these reform movements was recognising the unique needs of modern times, particularly in terms of scientific knowledge, and thus promoting a modern, this-worldly, secular, and rational outlook.
- The reform movements sought to **create a social climate conducive to modernization.**

### Negative Aspects

- One of the major limitations of religious reform movements was that they had a **narrow social base**, namely the **educated and urban middle classes**, while the vast majority of peasants and urban poor were ignored.
- The reformers' proclivity to appeal to the greatness of the past and to rely on scriptural authority encouraged mysticism in new guises and **fostered pseudo-scientific thinking** while putting a brake on full acceptance of the need for a modern scientific outlook.
- Above all, these tendencies contributed, to some extent, to the **compartmentalization of Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs, and Parsis**, as well as the alienation of high-caste Hindus from low-caste Hindus.
- The evolution of a composite culture, which had been visible throughout Indian history, appeared to be stalled with the rise of another form of consciousness, **communal consciousness**, alongside **national consciousness** among the middle classes.

## 7. Revolt of 1857



The Indian Mutiny of 1857-59 was a widespread but unsuccessful rebellion against the rule of British East India Company in India which functioned as a sovereign power on behalf of the British crown.

### The Revolt

- It was the first expression of organised resistance against the British East India Company
- It began as a revolt of the sepoys of the British East India Company's army but eventually secured the participation of the masses.
- The revolt is known by several names: **the Sepoy Mutiny** (by the British Historians), **the Indian Mutiny**, **the Great Rebellion** (by the Indian Historians), **the Revolt of 1857**, **the Indian Insurrection**, and **the First War of Independence** (by Vinayak Damodar Savarkar).

### Causes of The Revolt

#### Political Cause

- **British policy of expansion:** The political causes of the revolt were the British policy of expansion through the **Doctrine of Lapse** and direct annexation.
  - A large number of Indian rulers and chiefs were dislodged, thus arousing fear in the minds of other ruling families who apprehended a similar fate.
- **Rani Lakshmi Bai's** adopted son was not permitted to sit on the throne of Jhansi.
  - Satara, Nagpur and Jhansi were annexed under the **Doctrine of Lapse**.

- Jaitpur, Sambalpur and Udaipur were also annexed.
- The annexation of Awadh by Lord Dalhousie on the pretext of maladministration left thousands of nobles, officials, retainers and soldiers jobless. This measure converted Awadh, a loyal state, into a hotbed of discontent and intrigue.

#### Social and Religious Cause

- The rapidly **spreading Western Civilisation** in India was alarming concerns all over the country.
- An act in 1850 changed the Hindu law of inheritance enabling a Hindu who had converted into Christianity to inherit his ancestral properties.
- The people were convinced that the Government was planning to **convert Indians to Christianity**.
- The **abolition of practices like sati and female infanticide**, and the legislation legalizing widow remarriage, were believed as threats to the established social structure.
- Introducing **western methods of education** was directly challenging the orthodoxy for Hindus as well as Muslims
- Even the introduction of the railways and telegraph was viewed with suspicion.

#### Economic Cause

- In rural areas, peasants and zamindars were infuriated by the **heavy taxes on land** and the **stringent methods of revenue collection** followed by the Company.
- Many among these groups were unable to meet the heavy revenue demands and repay their loans to money lenders, eventually losing the lands that they had held for generations.
- Large numbers of **sepoys belonged to the peasantry class** and had family ties in villages, so the grievances of the peasants also affected them.
- After the Industrial Revolution in England, there was an **influx of British manufactured goods** into India, which ruined industries, particularly the textile industry of India.
- Indian handicraft industries had to compete with cheap machine-made goods from Britain.

## Military Causes

The Revolt of 1857 began as a **sepoys mutiny**:

- Indian sepoy formed more than 87% of the British troops in India but were considered inferior to British soldiers.
- An Indian sepoy was paid less than a European sepoy of the same rank.
- They were required to serve in areas far away from their homes.
- In 1856 Lord Canning issued the General Services Enlistment Act which required that the sepoy must be ready to serve even in British land across the sea.

### Lord Canning

Charles John Canning was the statesman and governor general of India during the Indian Mutiny of 1857. He became the first viceroy of India in 1858.

The important events during his tenure include:

- The Mutiny of 1857, which he was able to suppress successfully
- Passing of Indian Councils Act, 1861 which introduced portfolio system in India
- Withdrawal of "Doctrine of Lapse" which was one of the main reasons of mutiny of 1858
- Introduction of Code of Criminal Procedure
- Enactment of Indian High Courts Act
- Indian Penal Code (1858)

### Immediate Cause

The Revolt of 1857 eventually broke out over the **incident of greased cartridges**.

- A rumour spread that the cartridges of the new enfield rifles were greased with the fat of cows and pigs.
- Before loading these rifles the sepoy had to bite off the paper on the cartridges.
- Both Hindu and Muslim sepoy refused to use them.
- Lord Canning tried to make amends for the error and the offending cartridges were withdrawn but

the damage had already been done. There was unrest in several places.

- In March 1857, **Mangal Pandey**, a sepoy in **Barrackpore**, had refused to use the cartridge and attacked his senior officers.
- He was hanged to death on 8<sup>th</sup> April.
- On 9<sup>th</sup> May, 85 soldiers in Meerut refused to use the new rifle and were sentenced to ten years' imprisonment.

## Centres of The Revolt

The revolt spread over the entire area from the neighbourhood of Patna to the borders of Rajasthan. The main centres of revolt in these regions namely **Kanpur, Lucknow, Bareilly, Jhansi, Gwalior and Arrah** in Bihar.

### Lucknow:

- it was the capital of Awadh. Begum Hazrat Mahal, one of the begums of the ex-king of Awadh, took up the leadership of the revolt.

### Kanpur:

- the revolt was led by **Nana Saheb**, the adopted son of Peshwa Baji Rao II.
- He joined the revolt primarily because he was deprived of his pension by the British.
- The victory was short-lived. Kanpur was recaptured by the British after fresh reinforcements arrived.
- The revolt was suppressed with terrible vengeance.
- Nana Saheb escaped but his brilliant commander Tantia Tope continued the struggle.
- Tantia Tope was finally defeated, arrested and hanged.

### Jhansi:

- the twenty-two-year-old Rani Lakshmi Bai led the rebels when the British refused to accept the claim of her adopted son to the throne of Jhansi.
- She fought gallantly against the British forces but was ultimately defeated by the English.

### Gwalior:

- After Rani Lakshmi Bai escaped, she was joined by Tantia Tope and together they marched to Gwalior and captured it.
- Fierce fighting followed where the Rani of Jhansi fought like a tigress but died, fighting to the very end.



- Gwalior was recaptured by the British.

**Bihar:**

- the revolt was led by Kunwar Singh who belonged to a royal house of Jagdispur, Bihar.

**Suppression and The Revolt .**

The Revolt of 1857 lasted for more than a year. It was suppressed by the middle of 1858.

- On July 8, 1858, fourteen months after the outbreak at Meerut, peace was finally proclaimed by Lord Canning.

**Why did the Revolt Fail?**

Limited uprising: although the revolt was fairly widespread, a large part of the country remained unaffected by it.

- The revolt was mainly confined to the Doab region.
- The large princely states, Hyderabad, Mysore, Travancore, and Kashmir, as well as the smaller ones of Rajputana, did not join the rebellion
- The southern provinces did not take part in it.
- No effective leadership: the rebels lacked an effective leader. Although Nana Saheb, Tantia Tope and Rani Lakshmi Bai were brave leaders, they could not offer effective leadership to the movement as a whole.
- Limited resources: the rebels lacked resources in terms of men and money. The English, on the other hand, received a steady supply of men, money and arms in India.

| Places of Revolt      | Indian Leaders            | who suppressed the revolt |
|-----------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------|
| Delhi                 | Bahadur Shah II           | John Nicholson            |
| Lucknow               | Begum Hazrat Mahal        | Henry Lawrence            |
| Kanpur                | Nana Saheb                | Sir Colin Campbell        |
| Jhansi & Gwalior      | Lakshmi Bai & Tantia Tope | General Hugh Rose         |
| Bareilly              | Khan Bahadur Khan         | Sir Colin Campbell        |
| Allahabad and Banaras | Maulvi Liyakat Ali        | Colonel Ocell             |
| Bihar                 | Kunwar Singh              | William Taylor            |

- No participation of the middle class: The English educated middle class, the rich merchants, traders and zamindars of Bengal helped the British to suppress the revolt.

**Results of The Revolt**

**End of company rule:**

- The great uprising of 1857 was an important landmark in the history of modern India.
- The revolt marked the end of the East India Company’s rule in India.

**Direct rule of the British Crown:**

India now came under the direct rule of the British Crown.

- This was announced by Lord Canning at a Durbar in Allahabad in a proclamation issued on 1 November 1858 in the name of the Queen.
- The Indian administration was taken over by Queen Victoria, which, in effect, meant the British Parliament.
- The India office was created to handle the governance and the administration of the country.
- Religious tolerance: it was promised and due attention was paid to the customs and traditions of India.

**Administrative change:**

The Governor General’s office was replaced by that of the Viceroy.

- The rights of Indian rulers were recognised.
- The Doctrine of Lapse was abolished.
- The right to adopt sons as legal heirs was accepted.

**Military reorganisation:**

- The ratio of British officers to Indian soldiers increased but the armoury remained in the hands of the English. It was arranged to end the dominance of the Bengal army.

**Conclusion**

The revolt of 1857 was an unprecedented event in the history of British rule in India. It united, though in a limited way, many sections of Indian society for a common cause. Though the revolt failed to achieve the desired goal, it sowed the seeds of Indian nationalism.

**Doctrine of lapse:**

The notable British technique called the **Doctrine of Lapse** was first perpetrated by **Lord Dalhousie** in the late 1840s. It involved the British prohibiting a Hindu ruler without a natural heir from adopting a successor and, after the ruler died or abdicated, annexing his land. To those problems added the growing discontent of the Brahmans, many of whom had been dispossessed of their revenues or had lost lucrative positions.

**Books written on the Revolt of 1857**

- The Indian War of Independence by- **Vinayak Damodar Savarkar**
- Rebellion, 1857: A Symposium by -**Puran Chand Joshi**
- The Indian Mutiny of 1857 by- **George Bruce Malleson**
- Great Mutiny by- **Christopher Hibbert**
- Religion and Ideology of the Rebels of 1857 by- Iqbal Hussain

Excavation of Truth: Unsung Heroes of 1857 War of Independence by-**Khan Mohammad Sadiq Khan**

**8. Various Political Association Before INC**

**1. Bangabhasha Prakasika Sabha**

- Bangabhasha Prakasika Sabha was founded in 1836 by the associates of Raja Rammohan Roy.
- It came into being before the existence of the Indian National Congress (INC).
- It worked for administrative reforms, the association of Indians with the administration, and spread of education and helped in arousing general will and laying down a path towards modern nationalism among the masses.

**2. Zamindari Association (Bengal Landholders Society)**

- The Zamindari Association, also known as the 'Landholders' Society,' was established in 1838 to protect the landlords' interests.

- This organization was formed by Prasanna Kumar Tagore, Dwarkanath Tagore and Radhakant Deb in 1836.
- Despite its limited objectives, the Landholders' Society marked the beginning of organized political activity and the use of constitutional agitation methods for the redressal of grievances.
- It believed in safeguarding the interests of landlords and used constitutional methods so as to fulfill their objectives.
- The political organizations worked through long petitions to the British Parliament demanding administrative reforms, association of Indians with the administration, and the spread of education, etc.

**3. Bengal British India Society**

- It was formed by **William Adam**, a friend of Raja Ram Mohan Roy in 1843 in England.
- It advocated improving the situation of Indians by letting the world know about the extreme circumstances in which the British were keeping the Indians.
- They used constitutional and legal means to achieve their objectives.

**4. British India Association**

- This organization was formed by merging the Bengal Landholders Society and British India Society together in 1851.
- This organization used to submit petitions addressing the grievances of common people.
- For instance, they submitted a petition to the British Parliament and provided suggestions for the new Charter Law of the company.
- This led to the acceptance of one such suggestion in the Charter Act of 1853 and the Governor General's Council for Legislative purposes was expanded by the addition of 6 new members.
- Due to the absence of a constructive political policy this organization could not operate pan-India.
- \*For detailed notes of this topic, check this link [British India Association](#)

**5. East India Association**

- It was started by Dadabhai Nawrojee in London in 1867.

- It advocated for generating awareness among people of the UK about the conditions in India and generate popular support among British People for Indian well being.
- It is also known as the predecessor association to the Indian National Congress.
- It challenged the notion of Asians being inferior to the Europeans by the Ethnological Society of London in 1866.
- It had presence in Bombay, Madras and Calcutta in 1869.

### 6. Indian League

- The Indian League was founded in 1875 by Sisir Kumar Ghosh with the goal of "stimulating a sense of nationalism among the people" and encouraging political education.
- This organization was associated with nationalist leaders such as Ananda Mohan Bose, Durgamohan Das, Nabagopal Mitra, Surendranath Banerjee, and others.

### 7. Indian National Association (Indian Association of Calcutta)

- This organization was formed by Bengali Nationalists such as **Anand Mohan Bose and Surendranath Banerjee in 1876.**
- Pro landlord policies and conservative outlook by the British India Association led to unrest amongst the young Bengali nationalists.
- Their objectives included reforming civil services examinations, generating and unifying a public opinion on political issues of national importance.
- They had presence in various Indian cities and therefore were able to expand their membership amongst the masses.
- It later merged with the Indian National Congress.

### 8. Poona Sarvajanik Sabha

- Poona Sarvajanik Sabha was established in 1870 by M.G. Ranade, G.V. Joshi, S.H. Chiplankar and his associates.
- It was a sociopolitical organization in British India which worked as a mediating body between the government and people of India in order to popularize the peasants' legal rights.

### 9. Bombay Presidency Association

- The Bombay Presidency Association was established by **Pherozshah Mehta, K.T Telang, and Badruddin Tyabji in 1885.**
- It was founded in response to Lytton's reactionary policies and the Ilbert Bill controversy.
- The Bombay Presidency or Bombay Province, also known as Bombay and Sind (1843–1936), was an administrative subdivision (province) of British India, with its capital in Bombay, the first mainland territory acquired in the Konkan region with the Treaty of Bassein (1802).

### 10. Madras Mahajan Sabha

- Madras Mahajan Sabha was a Madras Presidency-based Indian nationalist organization.
- It is regarded as a forerunner of the Indian National Congress, along with the Poona Sarvajanik Sabha, the Bombay Presidency Association, and the Indian Association.
- **M. Veeraraghavachariar, G. Subramania Iyer, and P. Ananda Charlu** founded the Madras Mahajana Sabha in May 1884.

### 11. Bombay Association (Bombay Native Association)

- It was started in **1852** by **Jaggannath Shankersheth** along with Sir Jamshedji Jejibhai, Jagannath Shankarshet, Naoroji Fursungi, Dr. Bhau Daji Lad, Dadabhai Naoroji and Vinayak Shankarshet.
- It is also known as the first political party/organization of Bombay Province.
- They advocated to address public grievances through Legal agitational means.

### 12. Madras Native Association

- This organization was formed by **Gazulu Lakshminarasu Chetty** in 1849 in the Madras Presidency.
- It was the first political organization in Madras.

## Limitations

### Limitations of Political Association Before INC

- These associations helped in the generation of nationalism, political will and demands of the Indian public, however their activities were limited.
- They were concerned mostly with resolving the local issues.
- The members and leaders of these organizations were also limited to one or adjoining provinces.
- There was absence of national unity in the case of political association which only emerged after the formation of Indian National Congress.

## 9. Foundation of Indian National Congress (INC)

Indian National Congress (INC) was formed by **A.O Hume in the year 1885**. It was originally known as the **Indian Nation Union**.



- The INC was **India's first national political movement**, with the initial goal of involving more Indians in the country's governance.
- Its purpose was later upgraded to **complete independence**. After independence, it grew into a major political party in the country.
- The INC was a moderate organization in its early years, limiting its methods to **constitutional methods and dialogue**.
- **newspapers, and literature** in addition to the Indian National Congress.

### Objectives of INC

- To promote friendly relations between nationalist political workers from various parts of the country.
- To develop and consolidate a sense of national unity regardless of caste, religion, or province.
- To formulate popular demands and present them to the government.
- To train and organize public opinion in the country.
- To provide an outlet—"a **safety valve**"—for the growing popular discontent with British rule.

- Through a pan-India organization, establish a democratic, nationalist movement.
- To raise awareness about colonial exploitative policies and Indian political rights. To that end, Congress focused on increasing representation in councils, Indianization of civil services, and other issues.

### First Session of INC in 1885

- With the cooperation of leading intellectuals of the time, A.O. Hume organized the first session of the Indian National Congress in **December 1885 at Gokuldas Tejpal Sanskrit College in Bombay**.
- The **Indian National Conference** was founded by **Surendranath Banerjea and Ananda Mohan Bose**.
- The first session drew **72 delegates** from all Indian provinces. There were 54 Hindus, 2 Muslims, and the remaining members were Jain and Parsi.
- **Womesh Chandra Bonnerjee** presided over the first session. Following that, the Congress met in December every year, in a different part of the country each time.

### Foundational Theories of INC

- Safety Valve Theory (Lala Lajpat Rai)
- Conspiracy Theory (R P Dutt)
- Lightning Conductor Theory (G.K Gokhale)



### 9. Important Indian National Congress Sessions

| Year | Location          | President   | Importance  |
|------|-------------------|---|---|
| 1885 | Bombay            | W C Bonnerjee   | 1st session attended by 72 delegates  |
| 1886 | Calcutta          | Dadabhai Naoroji  | National Congress and National Conference   |
| 1887 | Madras            | Syed Badruddin Tyabji                                     | Appeal made to Muslims to join hands with other national leaders  |
| 1888 | Allahabad         | George Yule   | First English president   |
| 1896 | Calcutta          | Rahimtullah M. Sayani                                     | National song 'Vande Mataram' sung for the first time   |
| 1905 | Benares           | Gopal Krishna Gokhale                                     | Expressed resentment against the partition of Bengal  |
| 1906 | Calcutta          | Dadabhai Naoroji  | The word 'Swaraj' was mentioned for the first time  |
| 1907 | Surat             | Rash Behari Ghosh   | Party splits into extremists and moderates  |
| 1908 | Madras            | Rash Behari Ghosh   | Previous session continued  |
| 1909 | Lahore            | Madan Mohan Malaviya                                      | Indian Councils Act, 1909   |
| 1910 | Allahabad         | Sir William Wedderburn                                    | –   |
| 1911 | Calcutta          | Bishan Narayan Dhar                                       | 'Jana Gana Mana' sung for the first time  |
| 1912 | Bankipore (Patna) | Raghunath Narasinha Mudholkar                             | –   |
| 1916 | Lucknow           | Ambica Charan Mazumdar                                    | Lucknow Pact – joint session with the Muslim League   |
| 1917 | Calcutta          | Annie Besant (1847 – 1933)                                | First woman president of the INC  |
| 1918 | Bombay And Delhi  | Syed Hasan Imam (Bombay) And Madan Mohan Malaviya (Delhi) | Two sessions were held. First in Bombay in August/September Second in Delhi in December   |
| 1919 | Amritsar          | Motilal Nehru   | Jallianwala Bagh massacre strongly condemned  |
| 1920 | Nagpur            | C Vijayaraghavachariar                                    | –   |
| 1924 | Belgaum           | M K Gandhi  | –   |
| 1925 | Kanpur            | Sarojini Naidu (1879 – 1949)                              | First Indian woman president  |
| 1926 | Guwahati          | S Srinivasa Iyengar                                       | –   |
| 1927 | Madras            | M A Ansari  | –   |
| 1928 | Calcutta          | Motilal Nehru   | All India Youth Congress formed   |
| 1929 | Lahore            | Jawaharlal Nehru  | Resolution for 'Poorna Swaraj.' Civil Disobedience movement for complete independence to be launched, 26 January to be observed as 'Independence Day'.              |
| 1930 | No Session        | –   | –   |
| 1931 | Karachi           | Vallabhbhai Patel   | Resolution on fundamental rights and national economic progress. Gandhi-Irwin pact endorsed. Gandhi nominated to represent INC in the second round table conference |
| 1932 | Delhi             | Amrit Ranchhodddas Seth                                   | –   |

|         |          |                        |  |
|---------|----------|------------------------|--|
| 1936    | Faizpur  | Jawaharlal Nehru       | First rural session/first session to be held in a village  |
| 1938    | Haripura | Subhas Chandra Bose    | National planning committee set up under Nehru   |
| 1939    | Tripuri  | Subhas Chandra Bose    | Bose was elected but had to resign since Gandhi supported Pattabhi Sitaramayya. Instead, Rajendra Prasad was appointed |
| 1940    | Ramgarh  | Abul Kalam Azad        | –  |
| 1941-45 | –        | –                      | No session because of arrest   |
| 1946    | Meerut   | Acharya Kripalani      | Last session before independence   |
| 1948    | Jaipur   | Pattabhi Sitaramayya   | First session after independence   |
| 1950    | Nashik   | Purushottam Das Tandon | Resigned in 1951; Nehru became President   |

## National Movement (1885 – 1919)

### 10. Early Phase Indian National Congress

#### Introduction

- **Indian National Congress(INC)**, a political party of India was formed in 1885,
- INC was **formed in 1885** by **Allan Octavian Hume**, a retired British civil servant. Other founding members include Dadabhai Naoroji and Dinshaw Wacha
- The **first session** of the Indian National Congress was held in December 1885 in Bombay with seventy two delegates
- More than just a political party, Congress was an assembly for **politically-minded individuals** who were interested in reform
- Initially, the Congress was formed with the **intention** of discussing problems faced by the people of the country irrespective of caste, creed, religion or language
- It was basically a movement of the upper and middle class, western-educated Indians in its moderate phase

#### Foundation

- In 1883, Hume had outlined his idea for a body representing Indian interests in an open letter to graduates of the University of Calcutta.
- It aimed to obtain a greater share in government for educated Indians and to create a platform for civic and political dialogue between them and the British Raj
- Hume organized the first meeting in Bombay with the approval of the Viceroy Lord Dufferin.
- **Umesh Chandra Banerjee** was the first president of Congress; the first session was attended by 72 delegates, representing each province of India
- 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

#### Aims and Objectives of the Congress

- The main aims of the Indian National Congress in the initial stage were to:
- Find 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

### The Moderate Phase

The period between 1885 to 1905 is referred to as the Moderate Phase of Congress

**The prominent Moderate leaders include:**

#### *Dadabhai Naoroji*

- Known as the Grand Old man of India
- He became the first Indian to become a member of the House of Commons in Britain
- Authored 'Poverty and Un-British rule in India', which focused on the economic drain of India through British policies

#### *Womesh Chandra Bannerjee*

- First president of INC
- Lawyer by profession. First Indian to act as Standing Counsel

#### *G Subramanya Aiyer*

- Founded 'The Hindu' Newspaper, where he criticised British imperialism
- Co-founded the Madras Mahajana Sabha

#### *Gopal Krishna Gokhale*

- Regarded as Mahatma Gandhi's political guru
- Founded the servants of India Society

#### *Surendranath Banerjee*

- Also called 'Rashtraguru' and 'Indian Burke'
- Found the Indian National Association which later merged with the INC
- Founded newspaper 'The Bengalee'

#### *Moderate Approach*

- The Early Nationalists believed in **patience and conciliation** rather than confrontation, adopting orderly progress and constitutional means to realise their aims
- To **educate the people**, to **arouse political consciousness**, and to **create powerful public**

**opinion** in favour of their demands they organised annual sessions

- **Processions and meetings** were held, speeches delivered and discussions held on various economic, social and political questions
- They also **drafted petitions and memorandums** before submitting them to the government.
- To influence the British government and to **enlighten the British public** and its political leaders, the Early Nationalists **sent deputations** of leading Indian leaders to England

#### *Achievements of Moderate Nationalists*

- They created a **national awakening** among the people that made Indians conscious of the bonds of common political, economic, and cultural interests that united them
- They also **trained people** in politics by popularising the ideas of democracy, civil liberties, secularism and nationalism
- They carefully **analysed the political economy** of British rule in India, and put forward the "**drain theory**" to explain British exploitation of India
- The efforts of the Early Nationalists also led to the **implementation of various social reforms** such as:
  - the appointment of a Public Service Commission
  - A resolution of the House of Commons (1893) allowing for **simultaneous examination** for the Indian Civil Service in London and India.
  - Appointment of the **Welby Commission on Indian Expenditure (1895)**
- The early nationalists worked with the **long-term objective** of a democratic self-government.
- Their demands for constitutional reforms were meant to have been conceded in 1892 in the form of the **Indian Councils Act**
- Through an incessant campaign, the nationalists were able to spread modern democratic ideas, and soon the **defence of civil rights** became an integral part of the freedom struggle
- It was due to the increased consciousness that there was a **great public outrage** at the arrest of

Tilak and several other leaders and journalists in 1897 and at the arrest and deportation of the Natu brothers without a trial

### Evaluation of Early Work of Congress

- Whatever may be the drawback in the demands put forward by the Congress, it was a **national body** in true sense of the term
- There was nothing in its programme to which any class might take exception
- Its doors were open to all classes and communities.
- Its programme was broad enough to accommodate all interests.
- It may be said that it was not a party, but a movement.
- It must be said to the credit of the nationalist leaders that though they belonged to the urban educated middle class, they were too broad-minded and free from narrow and sectional class interests.
- They kept in mind the larger interests of the people in general

## 11. The Extremist (1905-1920)

The rise of **extremism** on the Indian political scene was not sudden. In fact it had been growing steadily since the uprising of 1857.

- Though the uprising was brutally suppressed by the British, the ideas of '**Swadharma**' and '**Swaraj**', which had kindled the uprising continued to linger on as an undercurrent among the Indian people

The '**peaceful**' methods used by the moderate leaders were not effective in making the British Government accept their demands.

- As a result a number of politically conscious people became frustrated and disillusioned.
- At the end of the 19th century, a strong feeling arose among the people that more **radical political action** was needed to force the British to accept popular demands

**Various international events** also gave impetus to the growth of extremism in India.

1. **Revolutionary movements** in Ireland, Russia, Egypt, Turkey, China and the Boer War in South Africa made the Indian leaders aware that the British rule could only be challenged by putting a united stand against it
2. **The defeat of the Italian Army** by the Ethiopians in 1896, and the Russian Army by the Japanese in 1905, showed that **the Europeans were not invincible**

All these instilled a sense of self-respect and self-confidence in the Indian Nationalists

They became **prominent** after the **Partition of Bengal in 1905**

Their radical ideology and programme became popular during the movement against Partition of Bengal, also known as the '**Swadeshi Movement**'

### *Ideology and Methods*

Unlike moderates, the extremist leaders neither believed in the goodness of the British rule nor in their sense of justice and fair play

Since exploitation of India was the chief motive of the British, the extremists did not expect them to take a sympathetic view of the popular demands of the Indian people.

- Therefore, it was **necessary to use pressure** to make them accept the demands, not by petitioning or praying like the moderates, but **by openly agitating against them**

The Extremist programme involved the following activities:

1. '**Boycott**' of foreign goods and promotion of '**Swadeshi**' goods to give impetus to the growth of indigenous industry and commerce.
2. **Non-cooperation** with the bureaucracy; this included 'boycott' of governmental activities.
3. Establishment of schools and colleges that gave education in the Indian languages and instil in the students pride for the glorious heritage of India, make the students nationalistic and public spirited in character and knowledgeable, self-reliant and independent in spirit



4. ‘ **Passive Resistance**’ to British rule by non-payment of revenue and taxes and by organising separate ‘indigenous administrative institutions’ parallel to those of the British at the level of villages, talukas and districts
5. **Public meetings and processions** emerged as major methods of mass mobilisation. Simultaneously they were forms of popular expression
6. **The swadeshi spirit** also found expression in the establishment of swadeshi textile mills, soap and match factories, tanneries, banks, insurance companies, shops, etc. These enterprises were based more on patriotic zeal than on business acumen

Further, The Extremist leaders **disfavoured the use of violence** against British rule and **did not approve the methods** of political murder and assassination used by the Indian revolutionaries.

- However, they did take a **sympathetic view** of the activities of the revolutionaries

### Significance of the Extremists

- There was a **fundamental change in the nature of Indian nationalism** under extremist leadership due to their forceful articulation of the demand for ‘Swaraj’ and use of more radical methods than those of the moderates.
  - Their concept of Nationalism was emotionally charged and based on **rich interpretation** of Indian religious traditions.
  - The Extremist leaders tried to **reorient Indian religious traditions** to worldly life and link them with the national liberation struggle
  - Example: Aurobindo Ghose reinterpreted Vedanta philosophy, which advocated unity of man and God and based his concept of nationalism on it
- The extremists emphasised the **mobilisation of people** against foreign rule by launching political movements.
- If the nation was not ready to undertake political movement, then it was the duty of the leaders to prepare the people for it
  - The extremists were ready to suffer imprisonment, deportation and other physical

suffering for the sake of mobilising the masses for struggle against foreign rule.

The demonstrations, processions undertaken by the extremists brought about an **involvement of the common people** in agitations against British rule.

- They also made use of popular symbols like Shivaji, and religious symbols like God Ganapati and Goddess Kali for mobilising the people

### Prominent leaders of the Extremist Period

#### Lala Lajpat Rai

- Known as the Lion of Punjab
- He found the National School at Lahore under the influence of Arya Samaj

#### Bal Gangadhar Tilak

- He was also known as Lokamanya Tilak
- He found the Deccan Education Society and was the co-founder of Fergusson College
- He gave the slogan, “Swaraj is my birthright and I shall have it”
- Kesari(Hindi) and Mahratta(English) were the newspapers started by him
- He started the All India Home Rule League in 1916

#### Bipin Chandra Pal

- He is known as the father of revolutionary thoughts in India
- Together the above leaders were referred to as the Lal-Bal-Pal triumvirate of assertive nationalists

#### Aurobindo Ghosh

- He started an English newspaper called Bande Mataram

### Differences between the Moderates and the Extremists

When the failure of moderate politics became quite apparent by the end of the 19th century, reaction set in from within the congress circles and this new trend is referred to as the ‘Extremists’ trend. This extremism developed in three main regions and under the leadership of three important individuals-

- Bipin Chandra Pal in Bengal,
- Bal Gangadhar Tilak in Maharashtra and
- Lala Lajpat Rai in Punjab.

## Comparison between Moderates and Extremist Leadership of Congress

| Basis                 | Moderates  | Extremists  |
|-----------------------|--|---|
| <b>Phase</b>          | <b>1885-1905</b>   | <b>1905-1920</b>  |
| <b>Aim</b>            | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Aimed at administrative and constitutional reforms.</li> <li>2. Wanted more Indians in the administration and not to an end of British rule.</li> <li>3. They were secular in their attitudes, though not always forthright enough to rise above their sectarian interests. They knew the exploitative nature of British rule but wanted its reforms and not expulsion.</li> </ol> | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Aim of getting Swaraj</li> <li>2. Wanted to end the tyranny rule of British.</li> </ol>   |
| <b>Ideology</b>       | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. They believe in the efficacy of peaceful and constitutional agitation.</li> <li>2. They had great faith in the British sense of justice and fair play.</li> <li>3. They were inspired by the ideas of western philosophers like Mill, Burke, Spencer and Bentham. Moderates imbibed western ideas of liberalism, democracy, equity and freedom.</li> </ol>                         | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. They were radical in their approach. Demands of extremists were aggressive.</li> <li>2. They believed in atmashakti or self-reliance as a weapon against domination.</li> <li>3. Ideological inspiration was Indian History, Cultural heritage, national education and Hindu traditional symbols. Hence, they revived the Ganapati and Shivaji festivals to arouse the masses.</li> <li>4. They wanted to inculcate pride in India's glorious culture to generate the spirit of nationalism. They invoked goddesses Kali or Durga for strength to fight for the motherland.</li> <li>5. Guided by four: principles Swarajya, Swadeshi, Boycott of foreign goods and National education to make the Indian aware.</li> </ol> |
| <b>Methodology</b>    | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. They follow the principles of 3P: Petition, Prayer and Protest.</li> <li>2. They believed in cooperation and reconciliation.</li> </ol>  | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. They believe in <b>militant methods</b>.</li> <li>2. They follow the principle of atmashakti or self-reliance as a weapon against domination.</li> <li>3. Method of Non-Cooperation.</li> <li>4. They advocated democracy, constitutionalism and progress.</li> </ol>   |
| <b>Leaders</b>        | A.O. Hume. W.C. Banerjee. Surendra Nath Banerjee, Dadabhai Naoroji, Feroze Shah Mehta. Gopalakrishna Gokhale. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya. Badruddin Tyabji. Justice Ranade and G.Subramanya Aiyar   | Lala Lajpat Rai, Lokmanya Bal Gangadhar Tilak. Bipin Chandra Pal, Aurobindo Ghose, Rajnarayan Bose, and Ashwini Kumar Dutt  |
| <b>Social Support</b> | Zamindars and Upper middle classes in towns  | Educated middle and lower middle classes in towns   |
| <b>Contribution</b>   | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Economic Critique of British Imperialism</li> <li>2. Constitutional Reforms and Propaganda in Legislature</li> </ol>   | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Demand of Swaraj</li> <li>2. Mass movement</li> <li>3. Spread of national education</li> </ol>  |

|  |  |  |
|--|--|--|
|  | <p>3. Campaign for General Administrative Reforms<br/>4. Defence of Civil Rights</p> | <p>4. Upliftment of downtrodden<br/>5. Nationalism<br/>6. Support to revolutionary movements<br/>7. Rise of communalism<br/>8. Encouraged co-operative organisation<br/>9. Set up charitable association for rural sanitation, preventive police duties, regulation of fairs and pilgrim gatherings for providing relief fund during famines and other calamities.</p> |
|--|--|--|

The factors that led to the rise of and extremist trend within the Congress circles

## 12. Partition of Bengal



### 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 20<sup>th</sup> century. **Calcutta** was the capital of the province and also of British India.
- 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**.
- Initially, 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.
- As per Curzon, after the partition, the two provinces would be **Bengal (including modern West Bengal, Odisha and Bihar)** and **Eastern Bengal and Assam**.
- 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

- There was widespread political unrest in the province after Curzon announced the partition.
- Many people in Bengal regarded this partition as an insult to their motherland. There was a huge cry

for the unity of Bengal. Rabindranath Tagore composed the famous song '**Amar Sonar Bangla**' which later became the **national anthem of Bangladesh**.

- Many Muslims from the Bengali Muslim community welcomed this move since they thought that it would advance their educational, economic and political interests if they became the majority in the new province.
- **Lord Curzon** also promised to start a university in Dhaka. This was also seen as an opportunity for Muslims to develop in education and improve their standard of living.
- The general protest in the rest of the country was against this partition. The people saw through the 'divide and rule' policy of the British authorities.
- The chief aim of such a partition was only to create a rift between the two communities and hampering the unity and nationalism in the country.
- The agitation had started much before the date of the partition itself. On the date of the partition, people observed a day of mourning. Tagore asked Hindus and Muslims to tie rakhis to each other as a mark of protest.
- A few Muslims also were against the partition.
- **The Swadeshi and Boycott movements in the national struggle started** as a result of this partition.
- People started boycotting British goods which had flooded the Indian market and had dealt a blow to the indigenous industry.
- The partition did succeed in creating a communal rift in the country and even contributed to the birth of the Muslim League in 1906.

## 13. Swadeshi and Boycott Movement

### INTRODUCTION

#### Emergence of Nationalism:

- It was only in the 19<sup>th</sup> Century that the concept of a national identity and national consciousness emerged.
- The social, economic and political factors had inspired the people to define and achieve their national identity.

### CAUSES OF GROWING NATIONALISM:

#### Recognising True British Intents:

- The British government was not conceding any of the important demands of the Indians.
  - The economic miseries of the 1890s further exposed the exploitative character of colonial rule.

#### Growth of Confidence:

- A feeling started gaining currency that the masses had to be involved in the battle against the colonial government to gain freedom.

#### Increasing Awareness:

The spread of education led to an increased awareness among the masses about the British policies.

- Rise in unemployment and underemployment and resultant poverty further aggravated the discontent among the radical nationalists.

#### International Influences:

- The Indian nationalists were inspired by the nationalist movements worldwide in Ireland, Japan, Egypt, Turkey, Persia and China which demolished the myths of European invincibility.

#### Conservative Policies of Lord Curzon:

- Administrative measures adopted during **Lord Curzon's** rule such as the Indian Universities Act, the Calcutta Corporation Act and primarily the **Partition of Bengal** led to nationwide protests.
  - The Swadeshi Movement; one of the most successful movements of the



Pre-Gandhian era, was an outcome of the Partition of Bengal.

## 14. Swadeshi Movement

### BACKGROUND:

- The movement had its roots in the **anti-partition movement** which was started to oppose Lord Curzon's decision of dividing the province of Bengal.
- The **Anti-Partition Campaign** was launched by **Moderates** to exert pressure on the government to prevent the unjust partition of Bengal from being implemented.
- The petitions were written to the government, public meetings were held and the ideas were spread through newspapers such as **Hitabadi, Sanjibani** and **Bengalee**.
- The partition led to protest meetings in Bengal under which the pledge to boycott foreign goods was first taken.

### SWADESHI MOVEMENT PROCLAMATION:



- In August 1905, at Calcutta Townhall, a massive meeting was held and the **formal proclamation of the Swadeshi Movement was made**.
- The message was propagated to boycott goods such as **Manchester cloth and Liverpool salt**.
- After the partition came into force, widespread opposition was shown by the people of Bengal by singing **Vande Mataram**.
  - Rabindranath Tagore also composed **Amar Sonar Bangla**.
  - People tied **Rakhis** on each other's hands as a symbol of unity.

- Although the movement was confined majorly to Bengal, it spread to a few different parts of India:

- In Poona and Bombay under **Bal Gangadhar Tilak**
- In Punjab under **Lala Lajpat Rai and Ajit Singh**
- In Delhi under **Syed Haider Raza**
- In Madras under **Chidambaram Pillai**.

### CONGRES REACTION:

- The Indian National Congress (INC) in a meeting in 1905 resolved to **condemn the partition of Bengal** and support the anti-partition and Swadeshi Movement.
- The radical nationalists wanted the movement to be taken outside Bengal and go beyond just the boycott of foreign goods.
  - However, the moderates, dominating the Congress, were unwilling to go that far.
- In the 1906 **Congress Session held at Calcutta**, the INC under the presidentship of **Dadabhai Naoroji** declared **self-government or Swaraj as the goal of INC**.

### RISE OF THE RADICAL NATIONALISTS:

- The Extremists (or the **Garam Dal**) gained a dominant influence over the Swadeshi Movement in Bengal after 1905 till 1908; it is also known as the **"Era of Passionate Nationalists"**.
- **Lala Lajpat Rai, Bal Gangadhar Tilak** and Bipin Chandra Pal (**Lal-Bal-Pal**) were important leaders of this Radical group.
- **The reasons for the same were:**
  - Failure of the Moderate-led Swadeshi movement.
  - Divisive tactics of the governments of East Bengal and Western Bengal.
  - Violent measures of the British to suppress the movement.
- In addition to boycotting the Extremists gave a call for boycotting government schools and colleges, government service,

courts, legislative councils, municipalities, government titles, etc.

- Tilak gave the slogan “**Freedom is my birthright and I shall have it**”.

#### **PARTICIPATION OF PEOPLE:**

- **Students:** School and college students were the **most active participants of the movement**.

- Student participation was visible in Bengal, Poona (Maharashtra), Guntur (Andhra Pradesh), Madras and Salem (Tamil Nadu).

- The police adopted a repressive attitude towards the students. The students found guilty were fined, expelled, beaten, arrested and disqualified for government jobs and scholarships.

- **Women:** Traditionally home-centered women too took active part in the movement.

- **Stand of Muslims:** Some of the Muslims participated, however, most of the upper and middle class Muslims stayed away.

- They **supported the partition** on the belief that it would provide them a Muslim-majority East Bengal.

#### **IMPACT OF SWADESHI MOVEMENT**

##### **Decline in Imports:**

- It resulted in significant decline in the foreign imports during 1905-1908.

##### **Growth of Extremism:**

- Movement resulted in growth of extreme nationalism amongst youth which took to violence and wanted to bring an instant end to British dominance.

##### **Morley-Minto Reforms:**

- It forced British dispensation to offer some concessions to Indians in forms of **Morley-Minto reforms** in 1909.
- **Gopal Krishna Gokhale** played an important role in framing these reforms.

##### **Establishment of Swadeshi Institutions:**

- Inspired by Rabindranath Tagore’s

- **Shantiniketan**, the Bengal National College and a number of national schools and colleges in various parts of the country were set up.
- In August 1906, the **National Council of Education** was set up to organise the national education system.
- A **Bengal Institute of Technology** was set up for technical education.

##### **Growth in Swadeshi Industries:**

- It led to establishments of swadeshi textile mills, soap and match factories, tanneries, banks, insurance companies, shops, etc.
  - It also revived the Indian Cottage Industry.
  - Indian industries saw regeneration with reawakening of use of indigenous goods.

##### **Boycott of Buyers and Sellers:**

- The foreign goods including clothing, sugar, salt and various other luxury items were not only boycotted, but they were also burned.
  - The Swadeshi movement also led to social boycott of not only buyers but also sellers of foreign goods.

#### **THE GRADUAL SUPPRESSION OF THE SWADESHI MOVEMENT**

##### **Government Repression:**

- By 1908, the Swadeshi Movement was almost over in an open phase due to government’s violent repression.

##### **Absence of Leaders and Organisation:**

- The movement failed to create an effective organisation. It was rendered leaderless as most of the leaders were either arrested or deported by the time.
  - Maintaining the high intensity of such a mass movement was a difficult task in absence of effective leaders.

##### **Internal Conflicts:**

- The internal conflicts and difference in ideologies among the leaders did more harm to the movement than good.

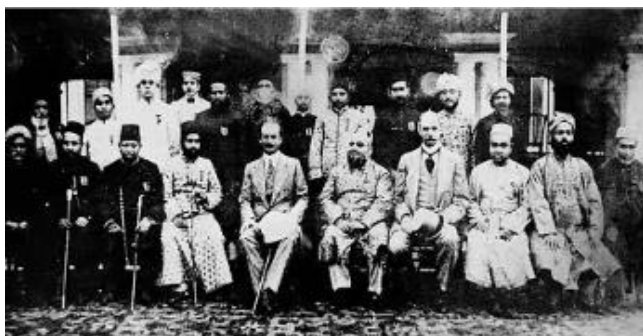
##### **Limited Extent:**

- The movement failed to reach the peasantry and was confined to the upper and middle classes only.

### Annulment of Participation of Bengal

- The partition of Bengal was annulled in 1911 by **Lord Hardinge** primarily to curb the revolutionary terrorism.
- **Bihar and Orissa** were taken out of Bengal and **Assam** was made a separate province.
- The annulment was not taken well by the Muslims, consequently, the British **shifted the administrative capital from Calcutta to Delhi**, as the place was associated with Muslim glory.

## 15. Muslim League (1906)



**All India Muslim League 1906**

- On **December 30, 1906**, Muslim League was formed under the leadership of **Aga Khan, the Nawab of Dhaka and Nawab Mohsin-ul-Mulk** to safeguard the rights of Indian Muslims. Initially, it gets great support from the British but when it adopted the notion of Self-rule then they get destitution from them. The Amritsar session of the League, held in 1908, under the presidentship of **Sir Syed Ali Imam**, demanding a separate electorate for the Muslims, this was conceded to them by his **Morley-Minto Reform 1909**.
- Maulana Muhammad Ali started an **English Journal 'Comrade'** and an **Urdu Paper 'Hamdard'** to propagate his anti-league views. He also started '**Al-Hilal**' which served as a mouthpiece of his Nationalist views.

### Factor promoting the Muslim league

- **British Plan**- Dividing Indian on communal lines and adhered separatist attitude in Indian politics. For example- Separate electorate, Played caste politics between non- Brahmins and Brahmins.

- **Lacks of Education**- Muslims were isolated from western and technical education.
- **Loss Sovereignty by Muslims**- 1857 revolt makes British to think that Muslims are dangerous for their colonial policy. As they were established their rule after dethroning the Mughal rule.
- **Expression of Religious Colour**- Most of the historians and radical nationalists glorified India's one side of our composite culture. They praises were biased because Shivaji, Rana Pratap etc were paraises but they remained silent on Akbar, Sher Shah Suri, Allauddin Khalji, Tipu Sultan etc.
- **Economic backwardness of India**- Lack of Industrialisation causes acute unemployment and British attitude towards cottage industry was pathetic.

### Objectives

- To protect Muslims' political rights and bring them to the attention of the government and to prevent the spread of prejudice against other Indian communities among Muslims.
- To foster feelings of loyalty to the British government among Indian Muslims, and to dispel any misconceptions about the government's intentions regarding any of its measures.
- Profiting from and advancing the political rights and interests of India's Muslims, as well as respectfully representing their needs and aspirations to the government.
- To prevent any feelings of hostility toward other communities among Indian Muslims, without prejudice to the League's aforementioned objectives.

## 16. Surat Session of INC, 1907

# Surat Split



The **conflict** between the various nationalist strands culminated in the **Surat Split in December 1907**. Rash Behari Ghosh presided over the Surat Congress session in 1907, despite opposition from Tilak and others. At the Surat session, Congress leaders were divided into two factions: **Moderates and Extremists**. This schism was also visible at the **Banaras Session of Congress (1905)**, when some leaders, such as Tilak, criticized the moderates' methods and suggested passive resistance. They also believed that boycotting British goods and government institutions was a good idea.

### Background of the Surat Split.

- The years from 1885-1905 was known as the period of the moderates because they dominated the Indian National Congress. The Moderates used **petition, prayers, meetings, leaflets, pamphlets, memorandum and delegations** to present their demands to the British government.
- Their **only notable achievements** were **expansion of the legislative council** by the **Indian Councils Act of 1892**. This created dissatisfaction among the people.
- The 1907 INC meeting was to be held in Nagpur. The **Moderates** supported **Rash Bihari Ghosh**.
- Gopal Krishna Gokhale moved the meeting place from Nagpur to Surat fearing that in Nagpur, Bal Gangadhar Tilak would win.
- An INC meeting was shifted from Nagpur to Surat. Since Surat was in the home province of Bal Gangadhar Tilak, he could not preside over the meeting. But what **outraged** the extremists was that he was **not even given permission to speak**. but in 1907 the two groups permanently split.

### Important Points regarding the Surat Split

The dream of a 'Surat Split' was already conceived by **Curzon** when he made the statement '**Congress was tottering to its fall and one of the biggest ambitions in my life is to give it a peaceful demise**'.

- In fact, the difference between the moderates and the extremists presented an **opportunity to the British**.
- The moderates were quite reluctant to pass the motion on the demand for **Swaraj**. **The Arya-samajist notion of Swaraj and Swadeshi**, was the hallmark of the programme of the extremists.
- In the initial days, there were many Congress leaders who opposed the **notion of Swaraj, the demand for Swaraj, and extremist politics**, but in the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century, some of the veteran Congress leaders like **Dadabhai Naoroji, and G.K. Gokhale**, had the word, 'Swaraj' in their minds.

### For Example,

- **In 1905 (Banaras Session of the INC)**: Gokhale was the President and for the first time he had a discussion over 'Swaraj'.
- **In 1906**, Dadabhai Naoroji (**who was the President of the INC session at Calcutta**), and in his Presidential address, used the word Swaraj. Thus, the word, 'Swaraj' wasn't untouchable to them, but they were reluctant to pass the resolution over 'Swaraj'.
- **In 1907, Surat Session**: The two main objectives placed by the extremists were that:
  - Demand for the resolution of **Swaraj**
  - **Lala Lajpat Rai to be made the President of the INC**
- These two demands were not acceptable to the moderates. Thus, instead of Lala Lajpat Rai (November 17 1928), the moderates supported the idea of **Rash Behari Ghosh** as the President. This was the first time that there was to be an election in the INC for Presidentship. In between the election, the extremists were expelled from the INC, and the moderates had complete command over the affairs of the INC. **Rash Behari Ghosh became the President of the Surat session**.



- The **Surat split** was a **victory of the British policy of Divide and Rule**, and after a long time, the British believed that they were in control of the affairs of the moderates over the INC.
- In **1909: Separate electorates** were granted to the **Muslim community** during a time when the Congress was at its lowest ebb. The most critical and vocal elements were not a part of the INC. Thus the British had taken absolute advantage over the INC.

However, there are some reservations over the split of the INC at Surat:

- This was because the extremists did not form a separate organization at first. They were merely indifferent from the activities of the Congress. And when they were expelled from the INC, the British Government was looking for an opportunity to settle scores with the extremists.
- Thus **Bal Gangadhar Tilak was imprisoned for 6 years** (on the pretext that it was an 'offence to preach nationalism').
- Lala Lajpat Rai was expelled from Punjab, and
- Bipin Chandra Pal had overnight turned 'moderate'.
- Thus the extremist view no longer remained active in the field of Indian politics. This again encouraged the British to pursue the aggressive policy of Divide and Rule. Thus the **'Surat split' need not be called a 'split', as the extremists merely remained indifferent to the INC, and did not form a separate organization.**
- In **1916**, they reunited with the Congress in the **Lucknow session**

## 17. Indian Council Act (Morley-Minto Act) 1909

- **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.**

### Major provisions of the Morley-Minto reforms

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

1. **Central Legislative Council** – from **16 to 60 members**
2. **Legislative Councils of Bengal, Madras, Bombay and United Provinces** – **50 members each**
3. **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:**

- 1) **Ex officio members:** Governor-General and members of the executive council.
- 2) **Nominated official members:** Government officials who were nominated by the Governor-General.
- 3) **Nominated non-official members:** nominated by the Governor-General but were not government officials.
- 4) **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**.
- **Satyendra P Sinha** was named to the Viceroy's Executive Council as the first Indian member (after great pressure from Morley).
- The **Secretary of State's Council** on Indian Affairs has been **expanded by two Indians**.

### Significance

- It was a forward step towards the responsible association of elected Indians with the administration.
- The members for the first time got an **opportunity to criticize the executives** and make suggestions for the better administration of the country.

### Defects

- To increase the divide between Muslims and Hindus, **separate constituencies were created**.
- The size of the councils was expanded, but not their functions or powers.
- The Governor-General's and veto power were not affected by the Act.
- Members were able to discuss the budget, but they were **unable to make any significant changes** to it.
- They **could ask questions but not compel** the executives to respond to the resolutions, which were more like recommendations to the government.

## 18. Ghadar Party-1913

At the beginning of the 20th century, the burgeoning Indian Independence Struggle had led to a rise of nationalist sentiments not just in the Indian

subcontinent but also among **students and emigres around the world belonging to the same region**. Revolutionary intellectuals like **Lala Har Dayal** (Born on October 14, 1884) and **Taraknath Das** attempted to organize these students while imparting nationalist ideas. The Ghadar Party, initially named the **Pacific Coast Hindustan Association** was formed in was formed on **15 July 1913 in the United States** under the leadership of **Lala Har Dayal, Sant Baba Wasakha Singh Dadehar, Baba Jawala Singh, Santokh Singh and Sohan Singh Bhakna as its president**. The Ghadar party found a large support base among Indian expatriates living in the United States, Canada, East Africa and Asia. Upon the outbreak of the **First World War in 1914, some members of the Ghadar Party arrived in Punjab** to foment an **armed revolution for the independence of India**. They were also successful in **smuggling arms and inciting the Indian soldiers** in the British Army to mutiny. The resultant uprising, now known as the Ghadar Mutiny was harshly put down by the British with 42 mutineers being executed following the Lahore Conspiracy Case trial. Yet, the Ghadar Party continued their fight against colonialism from 1914 to 1917, with the **support of Imperial Germany and the Ottoman Empire** as both were part of the Central Powers opposed to the British.

## 19. Komagata Maru Incident

- The **Komagata Maru incident** is about a Japanese steamship called '**Komagata Maru**' that voyaged from **Hong Kong (part of British Empire) to Vancouver** (major city in western Canada, ), It was carrying 376 passengers who were **immigrants from Punjab, India**. Of these, only **24 were granted admittance in Canada** when the ship docked in Vancouver.
- At that time, Canada had laws restricting entry of migrants of Asian origin. Following a two month stalemate, the ship and its 352 passengers were escorted out of the dock by the Canadian military and forced to sail back to India.

**With the Komagata Maru incident, the situation in Punjab worsened. The reasons being:**

- The ship was carrying the majority of **Sikh and Punjabi Muslims passengers**.

- While the ship returned to **Calcutta in September 1914**, the passengers were asked to take Punjab-bound train, which they refused and in conflict 22 people died

### Significance of the movement

- Violation of human rights like arbitrary detention helped Indian independence fighters to expose the true face of British administration
- Journey of Komagata maru touched various ports during the course where the delivery of political lecture helped rally the support of other countries
- Exposition of Asian Exclusion Act-the discriminatory immigration laws for Asians only allowed the leaders to raise question on Whiteman's burden theory as they denied in acceptance of that "burden"
- Ghadar Party used the incident to rally support with the intention to organize a massive uprising against the British Empire

### People Associated with the Ghadr Party Response:

- **Kartar Singh Saraba and Raghubar Dayal Gupta** left for India.
- **Rashbehari Bose and Sachin Sanyal** were asked to lead the movement.

### Concerns

- The Ghadarites efforts failed due to lack of support from the general population
- Could not impact the colonial structure as well.

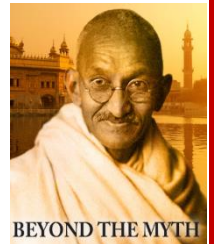
### Conclusion

- The legacy of this movement is never forgotten .The recent apology made by Canada to India regarding the incident shows the importance of this movement.

## 20. Mahatma Gandhi

### Key Points

- **Birth:** 2<sup>nd</sup> October 1869 in Porbandar (Gujarat)
- **Brief Profile:** Lawyer, politician, social activist, and writer who became the leader of the nationalist movement against the British rule of India.



### Satyagrah:

In **South Africa (1893-1915)**, he had successfully **fought the racist regime** with a novel method of mass agitation, which he called satyagraha.

- The idea of satyagraha **emphasised the power of truth** and the **need to search for truth**.
- It suggested that if the **cause was true**, if the **struggle was against injustice**, then **physical force was not necessary** to fight the oppressor. Without seeking vengeance or being aggressive, a satyagrahi could win the battle through nonviolence. This could be done by **appealing to the conscience of the oppressor**.
- People – including the oppressors – **had to be persuaded to see the truth**, instead of being forced to accept truth through the use of violence. By this struggle, **truth was bound to ultimately triumph**.
- The **International Day of Non-Violence is observed on 2<sup>nd</sup> October**, the birthday of Mahatma Gandhi.
- **Gandhi Peace Prize** is given for social, economic and political transformation through non-violence and other **Gandhian methods**.

### Return to India:

- He **returned to India from South Africa on 9<sup>th</sup> January 1915**.
  - **Pravasi Bharatiya Divas (PBD)** is celebrated on 9<sup>th</sup> January every year to mark the contribution of Overseas Indian community in the development of India.

**Satyagraha Movements in India:**

Mahatma Gandhi believed that the dharma of non-violence could unite all Indians.

- In **1916** he travelled to **Champaran in Bihar** to inspire the peasants to struggle against the **oppressive plantation system**.
- In 1917, he organised a satyagraha to **support the peasants of the Kheda district of Gujarat**. Affected by crop failure and a plague epidemic, the peasants of Kheda could not pay the revenue, and were demanding that revenue collection be relaxed.
- In **1918**, he went to **Ahmedabad** to organise a satyagraha movement amongst **cotton mill workers**.
- In **1919**, he decided to launch a **nationwide satyagraha against the proposed Rowlatt Act (1919)**.

- The Act gave the government enormous powers to repress political activities, and allowed detention of political prisoners without trial for two years.
- On **13<sup>th</sup> April, 1919** the infamous **Jallianwalla Bagh incident** took place. Seeing violence spread, Mahatma Gandhi **called off the movement (18<sup>th</sup> April, 1919)**.

**Non-Cooperation Movement (1920-22):**

At the **Calcutta session of the Congress in September 1920**, he convinced other leaders of the need to start a non-cooperation movement in **support of Khilafat as well as for swaraj**.

- At the **Congress session at Nagpur in December 1920**, the Non-Cooperation programme was adopted.
- In February **1922**, Mahatma Gandhi decided to **withdraw the Non-Cooperation Movement** after the **Chauri-Chaura incident**.

**The Salt March and the Civil Disobedience Movement:**

For several years after the Non-cooperation Movement ended, Mahatma Gandhi focused on his social reform work.

- In **1930**, Gandhiji declared that he would lead a march to **break the salt law**.

According to this law, the state had a monopoly on the manufacture and sale of salt.

- The march was over 240 miles, from Gandhi's ashram in Sabarmati to the Gujarati coastal town of Dandi, where they broke the government law by gathering natural salt found on the seashore, and boiling sea water to produce salt.
- This **marked the beginning of the Civil Disobedience Movement**.
- In 1931, Gandhi accepted a truce (**the Gandhi-Irwin Pact**), called off civil disobedience, and agreed to attend the **Second Round Table Conference** in London as the sole representative of the Indian National Congress.
- After returning from London, Mahatma Gandhi **relaunched the Civil Disobedience Movement**. For over a year, the movement continued, but **by 1934 it lost its momentum**.

**Quit India Movement:**

- With the outbreak of **World War II (1939-45)**, the nationalist struggle in India entered its last crucial phase.
- The failure of the mission of **Sir Stafford Cripps**, a British cabinet minister who went to India in March 1942 with an offer that Gandhi found unacceptable, the British equivocation on the transfer of power to Indian hands, and the encouragement given by high British officials to conservative and communal forces promoting discord between Muslims and Hindus impelled Gandhi to demand in the summer of **1942** an immediate British withdrawal from India—what became **known as the Quit India Movement**.

**Social Work:**

He worked for the **upliftment of untouchables** and gave them a new name '**Harijan**' meaning the children of God.

In September 1932, **B.R. Ambedkar** negotiated the **Poona Pact** with Mahatma Gandhi.

His **symbol of self-reliance - the spinning wheel** - became a popular symbol of Indian Independence Movement.

- He played a key role in pacifying people and **averting the Hindu-Muslim riots** as tensions rose before and during the partition of the country.
- He founded the **Hindustani Prachar Sabha** in 1942 at Wardha in Maharashtra. The aim of the organisation was to promote Hindustani, a link language between Hindi and Urdu.

**Books Written:**

- Hind Swaraj, My Experiments with Truth (Autobiography)

**Death:**

He was shot dead by Nathuram Godse on 30<sup>th</sup> January, 1948.

30<sup>th</sup> January is observed as **Martyrs' Day**.

## 21. The Lucknow Pact, 1916

The Lucknow Pact is an agreement between the Indian National Congress (INC) and the All India Muslim League reached at a joint session of both the parties held at Lucknow in 1916.

**Background to Lucknow Pact**

- When the Muslim League was formed in 1906, it was a relatively **moderate organisation** with a pro-British stance.
- After the First World War, the **Viceroy Lord Chelmsford** had solicited reform suggestions from Indians in return for the Indian support to the British war effort.
- 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.'

**Reforms suggested in the Lucknow Pact**

- **Self-government** in India.
- **Abolition of the Indian Council.**
- Separation of the **executive from the judiciary.**
- **Salaries of the Secretary** of State for Indian Affairs to be paid from British coffers and not the Indian funds.
- **1/3<sup>rd</sup> representation** to be given to **Muslims** in the **Central Government.**
- The number of Muslims in the provincial legislatures to be laid down for each province.
- **Separate electorates for all communities until a joint electorate is demanded by all.**
- Introduction of a system of **weightage for minority representation** (it implied giving minorities more representation than their share in the population).
- **Increasing the term of the Legislative Council to 5 years.**
- **Half the members of the Imperial Legislative Council to be Indians.**
- All elected members to be elected directly on the basis of adult franchise. **4/5<sup>th</sup> of the members of the provincial legislatures** to be elected and **1/5<sup>th</sup> to be nominated.**

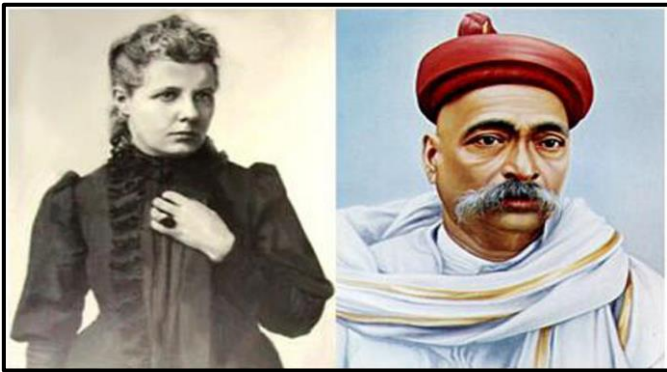


- Members of the Legislative Council to elect their President themselves.

### 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 INC also tacitly accepted that **India consisted of two different communities with different interests**.

## 22. HOME RULE MOVEMENT (1915-1916)



- Between the years 1916 and 1918, the Indian independence movement witnessed the growth and spread of the home rule movement spearheaded by leaders like **Bal Gangadhar Tilak** and **Annie Besant**.
- The aim of the home rule movement was the **attainment of home rule or a dominion status** for India under the British Empire along the lines of countries like **Canada and Australia**.

### Foundation

- There were two home rule leagues launched.
- **Tilak** launched the **Indian Home Rule League** in **April 1916 at Belgaum**.
- **Annie Besant** launched the **Home Rule League** in **September 1916 at Madras**.
- They had the common objective of achieving self-government in India.

- Tilak's league worked in Maharashtra (except Bombay), Karnataka, Berar and the Central Provinces.
- Besant's league worked in the rest of the country.
- Tilak's league had its headquarters in Delhi. It had 6 branches. Besant's league had 200 branches and was a looser organisation compared to Tilak's.
- 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.

### 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.
- **Many members of the Congress and the Muslim League** joined the league. Many prominent leaders like **Muhammad Ali Jinnah, Joseph Baptista, G S Kharpade and Sir S Subramanya Iyer** were among its members.
- 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.

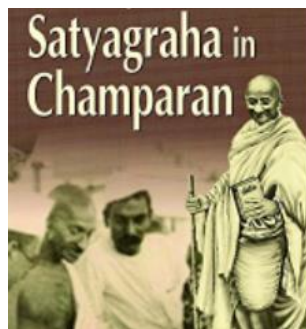
### Failure and Decline

- The 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 precluded 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**.

## 23. CHAMPARAN SATYAGRAHA (1917)

### Background

- Champaran is a district in the state of Bihar where tens of thousands of landless serfs, indentured laborers, and poor farmers were forced to grow indigo and other cash crops instead of food crops.



- The European planters had forced the peasants to grow indigo on 3/20 of the total land area (called **tinkathia system**).
- When German synthetic dyes replaced indigo at the end of the nineteenth century, **European planters demanded high rents and illegal dues** from the peasants in order to maximize their profits before the peasants could switch to other crops.
- Furthermore, the peasants were forced to sell their produce at European-determined prices.
- These items were purchased from farmers at a very low cost.
- They were oppressed by the landlords' brutal militias and were given negligible compensation, leaving them in extreme poverty.
- Even though they were in the grip of a **devastating famine**, the British government **imposed a heavy tax** on them and insisted on raising the rate.
- Without food and money, the situation became increasingly unbearable, and peasants in Champaran revolted against the government in indigo plant cultivation in 1914 (at Pipra) and 1916 (Turkaulia).

### Features

- Gandhi was asked by **Rajkumar Shukla**, a local, to investigate the problems of farmers in the context of **indigo planters** in Champaran, Bihar.
- When Gandhi arrived in Champaran, accompanied by Rajendra Prasad, Mazharul- Haq, Mahadev Desai, Narhari Parekh, and J.B. Kripalani, the authorities ordered him to leave immediately.
- Gandhi defied the order and chose to face the consequences. This method of passive resistance or civil disobedience in the face of an unjust order was novel at the time.
- Finally, the authorities relented and allowed Gandhi to conduct an investigation.
- Gandhi was able to persuade the authorities to abolish the tinkathia system and compensate the peasants for the illegal dues extracted from them.
- As a compromise with the planters, he agreed to compensate them for only 25% of the money taken.

- Within a decade, the planters had abandoned the area. Gandhi had won India's first battle of civil disobedience.
- **Brajkishore Prasad, Anugrah Narayan Sinha, Ramnavmi Prasad, and Shambhusharan Varma** were also prominent leaders associated with the Champaran Satyagraha.

#### Conclusion :

- Gandhi's win in Champaran, made him a hero among the masses and existing leadership, who were already his admirers for his work in south Africa, so this set a stage for him to take batons of movement until its success.

### 24. AHMEDABAD MILL STRIKE (1918)

- **Ahmedabad Mill Strike of 1918** is considered the **first hunger strike** led by **Gandhi**. In 1918, Mahatma Gandhi intervened in a dispute between **Ahmedabad workers and millowners**. To force a compromise, he embarked on a death-defying fast. He also backed the **peasants of Khaira in Gujarat** in their fight against the collection of land revenue after their crops failed. **Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel** gave up his lucrative legal practice to assist Gandhi at this time.

#### Background

- In the dispute between Ahmedabad Mill owners and workers, the mill owners desired to take the bonus.
- **Workers demanded a 50% wage increase** in order to cope with wartime inflation (which doubled the prices of food grains, cloth, and other necessities) brought on by Britain's involvement in World War I.
- The mill owners were only willing to offer a 20% wage increase. The employees went on strike.
- The mill owners' relations with the workers deteriorated, with the striking workers being arbitrarily dismissed and the mill owners deciding to bring in weavers from Bombay.

- The mill workers turned to **Anusuya Sarabhai** for assistance in their fight for justice.
- **In March 1918**, Gandhi intervened in a dispute between **Ahmedabad cotton mill owners and workers** over the cessation of the plague bonus.

#### Features

- **Anusuya Sarabhai**, a social worker and the sister of **Ambalal Sarabhai**, one of the mill owners and president of the **Ahmedabad Mill Owners Association** (founded in 1891 to develop the textile industry in Ahmedabad), was asked for assistance in fighting for justice.
- Anusuya Behn approached Gandhi, whom the mill owners and workers respected, and asked him to intervene and help resolve the impasse between the workers and the employers.
- Despite the fact that Gandhi was Ambalal's friend, he took up the workers' cause.
- Gandhi called on workers to go on strike and demand a 35% rise in wages rather than a 50% increase.
- While on strike, Gandhi advised the workers to remain nonviolent. When negotiations with mill owners failed, he embarked on his **first fast unto death** in order to strengthen the workers' resolve.
- However, the fast had the effect of putting pressure on the mill owners, who eventually agreed to refer the matter to a tribunal.
- The strike was called off. In the end, the tribunal awarded the workers a 35% wage increase.

#### Conclusion

- These encounters brought Gandhi into close contact with the masses, whose interests he actively promoted throughout his life. In fact, he was the first Indian nationalist leader to associate his life and way of life with the lives of ordinary people. Over time, he came to represent poor India, nationalist India, and rebellious India.

## 25. KHEDA SATYAGRAHA-1918

*Kheda Satyagraha of 1918* is known to be the **first non-cooperation movement** led by **Mahatma Gandhi**. This satyagraha was centred on the **peasant-Patidar community of Kheda**, who refused to agree to a **23 percent tax hike imposed** on them despite a disastrous crop failure and **outbreak of plague and cholera**. With the help of stalwarts such as **Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel**, Gandhiji's team members such as **Indulal Yagnik, Shankarlal Banker, and Mahadev Desai**, among others, travelled across the countryside raising awareness about farmers' rights.

### Background

- **Farmers** in Gujarat's Kheda district were in **distress** due to **crop failure**.
- The government refused to remit land revenue and insisted on collecting it in full.
- Mahatma Gandhi advised the peasants to withhold payment of revenue until their demand for its remission was met as part of the experiment.
- When it was discovered that the government had issued instructions that revenue be recovered only from those peasants who could afford to pay, the struggle was called off.
- During the Kheda movement, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel became a follower of Gandhiji.

### Features

- **Crops in Gujarat's Kheda district failed due to drought in 1918**. So Farmers were entitled to remission under the **Revenue Code** if the yield was less than one-fourth of the normal produce.
- The **Gujarat Sabha**, comprised of peasants, petitioned the province's highest governing authorities, requesting that the revenue assessment for 1919 be suspended.
- The government, on the other hand, remained steadfast and stated that **if the taxes were not paid, the farmers' property would be seized**.

- Gandhi requested that the farmers not pay the taxes. Gandhi, on the other hand, was primarily the spiritual leader of the struggle.
- **Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel** and a group of other devoted Gandhians, including **Narahari Parikh, Mohanlal Pandya, and Ravi Shankar Vyas**, went around the villages, organising the villagers and telling them what to do, and providing the necessary political leadership.
- Patel and his colleagues **organised the tax revolt**, which was supported by **Kheda's various ethnic and caste communities**.
- The revolt was notable for its adherence to discipline and unity.
- Even when the government seized the farmers' personal property, land, and livelihood for non-payment of taxes, the vast majority of Kheda's farmers did not desert Sardar Patel.
- Finally, the government attempted to reach an agreement with the farmers. It **agreed to suspend the tax for the current year and the following year**, to reduce the rate increase, and to return all confiscated property.

### Conclusion

- The movement's greatest achievements were that it remained nonviolent, that peasants were educated about their rights, and that the community remained steadfast in its demand for a tax holiday that year. The struggle at Kheda sparked a new wave of awakening among the peasantry. They realised that they would not be free of injustice and exploitation until their country attained complete independence.

# National Movement

## PART-2(1919 – 1939)

### 26. Rowlatt Satyagraha (1919)

#### Background

- **The Rowlatt Act** was the popular name for the **Anarchical and Revolutionary Crimes Act of 1919** passed by the British Indian government.
- This Act was termed the '**Black Act**' by the Indian public because of its **unjust and restrictive nature**.
- The Act was passed by the Imperial Legislative Council on **18<sup>th</sup> March 1919**. It basically extended the emergency provisions imposed by the 1915 Defence of India Act that was passed during the First World War.
- The Act gave the government the power to imprison any person suspected of terrorist activities for a maximum period of **two years without trial**.
- The Rowlatt Act also severely curbed the freedom of the press.
- All the Indian members of the Imperial Legislative Council opposed the bill. Despite this, the bill was passed.
- This Act which gave the police huge powers was opposed by the people. The Act was described as "**No Dalil, No Vakil, No Appeal**".
- All Indian leaders opposed the Act. While the government was adamant about passing the bill, Gandhi thought that constitutional measures would be in vain and so he **proposed a nationwide hartal in protest**.
- This was known as the Rowlatt Satyagraha and **April 6<sup>th</sup>** was the designated date for the hartal to begin. People would refrain from going to work and hold meetings against the repressive act.
- The government clamped down heavily on the people. There were violent clashes in many parts. While the hartal was successful in Delhi, Punjab and a few other places witnessed violence. **In the**

wake of the violence, *the hartal was suspended by Gandhi*.

- The protests were very intense in Punjab. Two Congress leaders **Dr. Satya Pal and Dr. Saifuddin Kitchlew were arrested**.
- The army was deployed in Punjab where martial law was enacted. The infamous Jallianwala Bagh massacre took place in Amritsar on **13<sup>th</sup> April 1919**. The people had gathered at the enclosed garden to celebrate Baisakhi and also to condemn the arrest of the two leaders. Colonel **Reginald Dyer** arrived there with his troops and without warning fired upon the unarmed crowd. According to the inquiry conducted by the Indian National Congress later, **about 1500 people were killed that day**.
- In March 1922, the Rowlatt Act and 22 other acts were repealed by the government.

### 27. Jallianwala Bagh Massacre- 1919

- The situation in Punjab was alarming as there were riots and protests against the Rowlatt Act.
- **Punjab was put under martial law**, which meant that it became unlawful for more than 4 people to assemble at a place.
- The Lieutenant-Governor of Punjab at that time was **Michael O'Dwyer**. Lord **Chelmsford** was India's Viceroy.
- On the day of the festival of **Baisakhi on 13th April 1919 in Jallianwala Bagh**, a public garden in Amritsar, a crowd of non-violent protestors had gathered. Also, among the crowd were pilgrims who had come to celebrate Baisakhi.
- General Dyer came there with his troops and blocked the only narrow entrance to the garden.
- Then, without warning, he ordered his troops to fire at the **unarmed crowd**, which included children as well.
- The indiscriminate firing went on for about 10 minutes until the 1650 rounds of ammunition were exhausted. This resulted in the deaths of at least 1000 people and injured more than 1500 people.

- This tragedy came as a rude shock to Indians and totally destroyed their faith in the British system of justice.
- National leaders condemned the act and Dyer unequivocally.
- However, Dyer was appreciated by many in Britain and the British in India, although some people in the British government were quick to criticize it. Those who criticized his actions included **Winston Churchill** and former **Prime Minister H.H Asquith**.
- The government set up the **Hunter Commission** to inquire into the massacre. Although the commission condemned the act by Dyer, it did not impose any disciplinary action against him.
- He was relieved of his duties in the army in 1920.
- In protest against the massacre and the British failure to give due justice to the victims, **Rabindranath Tagore gave up his knighthood** and **Gandhiji relinquished his title 'Kaiser-e-hind'** bestowed on him by the British for his services during the Boer War in South Africa.
- **Michael O'Dwyer**, the then Lieutenant-Governor of Punjab, who had approved the actions of Brigadier-General Dyer, was **assassinated by Udham Singh** in London in 1940 as revenge against the massacre. Udham Singh is believed to have witnessed the massacre as a child.

## 28. Khilafat and Non-Cooperation Movement-1920

### Introduction

**Mass Movements:** Two mass movements were organized in 1919-1922 to oppose the British rule in India are the **Khilafat movement and the Non-Cooperation movement**.

- The movements, despite having different issues, adopted a unified plan of action of **non-violence and non-cooperation**.
- This time period saw the **unification of Congress and the Muslim League**. Many political demonstrations took place with the joint effort of both these parties.

### Causes of the Movements:

The following factors served as the background to the two movements:

- **Government Hostilities:** The **Rowlatt Act**, the imposition of martial law in Punjab and the **Jallianwalla Bagh massacre** exposed the brutal and uncivilised face of the foreign rule.
  - The **Hunter Commission** on the Punjab atrocities proved to be eyewash.
  - The House of Lords (of the British Parliament) endorsed General Dyer's action.
- **Discontented Indians:** The **Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms** with their ill-conceived scheme of Dyarchy failed to satisfy the rising demand of the Indians for self-government.
- **Economic Hardships:** The economic situation of the country in the post-War years had become alarming with a rise in prices of commodities, decrease in production of Indian industries, increase in burden of taxes and rents etc.
  - Almost all sections of society suffered economic hardship due to the war and this strengthened the anti-British attitude.

### Khilafat (Caliphate) Issue

- **Turkey's Alliance against British:** The Muslims all over the world, including India, regarded the sultan of Turkey as their spiritual leader, Khalifa (Caliph).
  - During the First World War, Turkey had allied with Germany and Austria against the British.

### Discontented Indian Muslims:

- The Indian Muslims supported the government during the First World War with an understanding that the sacred places of Ottoman Empire would be in the hands of Khalifa.
  - However, after the War, the **Ottoman Empire was divided, Turkey was dismembered and the Khalifa was removed from power**.



- This angered the Muslims who took it as an insult to the Khalifa. The Ali brothers, **Shoukat Ali and Mohammad Ali** started the Khilafat Movement against the British government.
- This movement took place between 1919 and 1924.

### Khilafat Committee:

In early 1919, the **All India Khilafat Committee** was formed under the leadership of the Ali brothers, **Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Ajmal Khan and Hasrat Mohani**, to force the British Government to change its attitude to Turkey.

- Thus, the grounds for a country-wide agitation was prepared.
- An **All India Khilafat Conference** was held in Delhi in November 1919 and the call was made to boycott the British goods.

### Demands of Indian Muslims:

In India, the Muslims demanded from the British that:

- The Khalifa's control over Muslim sacred places should be retained.
- The Khalifa should be left with sufficient territories after territorial arrangements.

### Congress' Initial Stand:

The support of the Congress was essential for the Khilafat movement to succeed.

- Although **Mahatma Gandhi** was in favour of launching Satyagraha and non-cooperation against the Government on the Khilafat issue, the **Congress was not united on this form of political action.**
- The Congress, later, felt inclined to provide its support as it was a **golden opportunity to unite the Hindus and Muslims** and to bring Muslim participation in such mass movements.
- The Muslim League also decided to give full support to the Congress and its agitation on political questions.

## The Non-Cooperation Khilafat Movement

### Role of Mahatma Gandhi:

#### 1. Beginning of the Gandhian Movements:

The Non-Cooperation Movement was the beginning of the Gandhian Movement against the British.

- Mahatma Gandhi returned to India in 1915 and started organising peasants and labourers protests, such as those in **Kheda, Champaran** and **Ahmedabad**, against the atrocities that were being inflicted upon them.

#### 2. Beginning of Non-Cooperation:

By the repressive measures of the Jallianwala Bagh Massacre and the denial of justice, Gandhi observed that "the only effective means to vindicate national honour and to prevent a repetition of the wrongs in future is the **establishment of Swaraj**".

- Consequently, the non-co-operation campaign was inaugurated by Mahatma Gandhi on 1<sup>st</sup> August, 1919.
- The Movement was initiated in support of the **Khilafat Movement.**

### During the Movement:

#### Spread of Non-violence Message:

Millions of the countrymen stopped their work on that day as a mark of their support to Gandhi and as antipathy towards the Government.

- Gandhi along with Ali-brothers made extensive tours to **preach the message of national unity and non-cooperation** with the government.

#### Boycott of British Titles and Goods:

- The programme of non-cooperation consisted of a **surrender of British titles and honours, boycott of British Courts, Legislatures and educational institutions** as well as the **boycott of foreign-made goods.**
- People lit public bonfires of foreign cloth. The **imports of foreign cloth fell** drastically between 1920 and 1922.

**Promotion of Swadeshi:**

- The boycott led to the promotion of **Swadeshi** goods especially hand-spun and **hand-woven Khadi** cloth, the removal of untouchability, the promotion of Hindu-Muslim unity and abstention of alcoholic beverage.
  - **Charkha** became a household article.

**People's Response to the Movement:**

- 1) **Students:** Students in thousands left schools and colleges established by the Government and **joined the movement in large numbers.**
- 2) **Middle Class People:** They **initially led the movement** but later showed a lot of reservations about Gandhi's programme.
- 3) **Businessmen:** The economic boycott **received support** from the Indian business group because they had benefited from the nationalists' emphasis on the use of swadeshi.
- 4) **Peasants:** There was a **massive participation by the peasants.** However, it further led to the confrontation between the 'lower and upper castes'.
  - The movement gave an opportunity to the toiling masses to express their real feelings against the British as well as their Indian masters and oppressors.
- 5) **Women:** Women participated in large numbers, **gave up purdah** and offered their ornaments for the Tilak Fund.

- They took active part in picketing before the shops selling foreign cloth and liquor.
- The Tilak Swaraj Fund was announced by Mahatma Gandhi after one year of the beginning of the Non-Cooperation movement.
- The Fund was a homage to Bal Gangadhar Tilak on his first death anniversary, aimed at collecting Rs 1 crore to aid India's freedom struggle and resistance to the British rule.

**Government's Response:** The police resorted to firing which took the lives of a number of people.

- Congress and Khilafat Volunteer Organizations were declared unlawful and illegal.

- Public meetings were banned and most of the leaders barring Gandhi were arrested.

**Important Personalities Involved:**

- Eminent persons like C Rajgopalachari, **Vallabhbhai Patel**, Gopabandhu Das, Ajmal Khan, **Subhash Chandra Bose** and **Jawaharlal Nehru** joined the movement.
- **Motilal Nehru** and **Chitranjan Das** also joined the movement by giving up their legal profession.

**Withdrawal of Non-Cooperation Movement:**

In February 1922, at **Chauri Chaura**, Uttar Pradesh, twenty two policemen were brutally killed by the violent mob after the conflict between the mob and the policemen of the Thana.

- The news shocked Gandhi too much. Not happy with the increasingly violent trend of the movement, he **immediately announced the withdrawal of the movement.**
- Most of the nationalist leaders including C.R. Das, Motilal Nehru, Subhash Bose, Jawaharlal Nehru, however, **expressed their disagreement at Gandhi's decision to withdraw the movement.**
- In March 1922, **Gandhi was arrested** and sentenced to six years in jail.

**Causes of Failure of the Movement**

**No Negotiations by Government:** The movement began showing signs of fatigue as it was not possible to sustain any movement at a high pitch for very long.

- The Government seemed to be in no mood for negotiations.

**Loss of Relevance of Khilafat Issue:** The central theme of the agitation, the Khilafat question, dissipated soon.

- In November 1922, the people of Turkey rose under **Mustafa Kamal Pasha** and **deprived the**

**Sultan of political power.** Turkey was made a secular state.

- A European style of legal system was established in Turkey and extensive rights were granted to women.
- Education was nationalised and modern agriculture and industries developed.
- In 1924, the Khilafat was abolished.
- **Lack of Active Response:** In places like Calcutta, Bombay and Madras, which were centres of elite politicians, the response to Gandhi's call was very limited.
  - The response to the call for resignation from the government service, surrendering of titles, etc., was not taken seriously.
- **No Abstinance from Violence:** People had not learnt or fully understood the method of non-violence.
  - The Chauri-Chaura incident marred the spirit of the movement leading to the withdrawal of Non-Cooperation movement.

### Impact of Non-Cooperation Movement

- **Maximum Extent of the Movement:** With the Non-Cooperation Movement, nationalist sentiments reached every nook and corner of the country and politicised every strata of population: the artisans, peasants, students, urban poor, women, traders etc.
- **Establishment of Swaraj and Swadeshi Institutions:** National institutions like Gujarat Vidyapith, Kashi Vidyapith, Bihar Vidyapitha, the Bengal National University, Jamia Milia Islamia and the National Muslim University were established.
  - It gave birth to the strongest idea of having Swaraj, the love for the use of Khadi and becoming a Swadeshi.
- **Instilling Unity among Indians:** The country had been united by specific anti feelings, grievances against the British projecting Gandhi as the only unchallenged leader of the century.
  - The Khilafat issue was not directly linked to Indian politics but it provided the

immediate declaration to the movement and added advantage of cementing Hindu-Muslim unity against the British.

- **Impacts on the Economic Front:** Foreign goods were boycotted and the import of foreign cloth halved between 1921 and 1922.
  - In many places merchants and traders refused to trade in foreign goods or finance foreign trade.

### Some Important Events

The Treaty of Sevres with **Turkey** was signed in May 1920 which completely dismembered Turkey. In June 1920, an all-party conference at Allahabad approved a programme of boycott of schools, colleges and law courts, and asked Mahatma Gandhi to lead it. On August 31, 1920, the **Khilafat Committee** started a campaign of non-cooperation and the movement was formally launched. In September 1920, at a special **session in Calcutta**, the Congress approved a non-cooperation programme till the Punjab and Khilafat wrongs were removed and swore was established. In **December 1920**, at the Nagpur session of the Indian National Congress; the programme of non-cooperation was endorsed. Some important organisational changes were made: a Congress Working Committee (CWC) of **15 members** was set up to lead the Congress from now onwards.

## 29. Nagpur Session of Congress

This session was held at a time when major program of **Non-Cooperation** was initiated in 1920

The following **resolutions** were adopted at the Nagpur Session:

- The programme of **non-cooperation was endorsed**
- An **important change** was made in the Congress: now, instead of having the attainment of self-government through constitutional means as its goal, the Congress decided to have the **attainment of swaraj** through peaceful and legitimate means, thus committing itself to an extraconstitutional mass struggle

• Some important organisational changes were made:

- a congress working committee (CWC) of 15 members was set up to lead the Congress from now onwards;
- provincial congress committees on linguistic basis were organised;
- ward committees was organised; and
- entry fee was reduced to four annas

- Gandhi declared that if the non-cooperation programme was implemented completely, swaraj would be ushered in within a year

• Other developments at the session include:

- Many groups of revolutionary terrorists, especially those from Bengal, also pledged support to the Congress programme
- The adoption by the Congress of the non-cooperation movement initiated earlier by the Khilafat Committee gave it a new energy, and the years 1921 and 1922 saw an unprecedented popular upsurge

Significance of the Session

When the session concluded on December 31, 1920, **history had been created.**

- Mahatma Gandhi emerged as the **supreme leader of Congress**, and a **new chapter** was set to be written in the Indian struggle for Independence with the non-cooperation movement.
- The historic Nagpur Session not only saw **solid emergence of Mahatma Gandhi** in national politics but also passage of all-important resolution on non-cooperation movement.
- The session also saw Congress changing its creed while adopting a new Constitution.

**It truly marked the change of gears of the freedom struggle.**

- A **galaxy of eminent leaders** of time *Mahatma Gandhi, Mohd Ali Jinnah, Pt Motilal Nehru, Pt Madan Mohan Malaviya, Sardar Patel, C R Das, Lala Lajpat Rai, Bipinchandra Pal, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad* and a host of others arrived in the city and **debated and discussed** various important matters to shape India's freedom struggle.
- In the words of **Dr B Pattabhi Sitaramayya**, known as historian of Congress, "The Nagpur Congress

really **marked a new era** in recent Indian history. The old feelings of impotent rage and importunate requests gave place to a new **sense of responsibility** and a **spirit of self-**The Nagpur Congress laid a heavy duty upon the Nation, and the All India Congress Committee, under the advice of the Working Committee, set itself seriously to its task."

**Impact of the Session**

The **resolution on non-cooperation** had many shades including

- Renunciation of voluntary association with the then government
- Refusal to pay taxes
- Boycotting schools aided or controlled by the government
- Nationalising educational institutions
- Call to lawyers to suspend their practice
- Economic boycott of foreign goods
- Encouraging hand-spinning and hand-weaving
- Boycott of legislative council elections etc

**In another resolution**, people were asked to **popularise Ayurvedic and Unani systems** of medicine by establishing ***schools, colleges, and hospitals***

- Following boycott call, thousands of students across the country shifted to national educational institutions
- The **no-vote campaign** turned out to be a remarkable success in some parts of the country. Numerous lawyers left their profession and dedicated themselves to the cause of national movement.

In January 1921, **Bajaj donated Rs 1 lakh** to **Tilak Memorial Swaraj Fund** to support lawyers who had participated in non-cooperation movement.

- Thus, the Nagpur session committed congress to program of **extra-constitutional mass actions**. And it ushered in a **new era** in Indian History, as it gave way to new sense of **responsibility** and **self-reliance**

### 30. Swaraj Party



Deshabandhu Chittaranjan

Motilal Nehru

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.**

#### Aims of the Swaraj Party

The Congress-Khilafat Swarajya Party or the Swaraj Party aimed for:

- Attaining dominion status.
- Obtaining the right to frame a constitution.
- Establishing control over the bureaucracy.
- Obtaining full provincial autonomy.
- Attaining Swarajya (self-rule).
- Getting people the right to control government machinery.
- Organising industrial and agricultural labour.
- 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.

#### Significance of Swaraj Party

- Gandhiji and both the pro-changers and the no-changers realised the importance of putting up a united front in order to get reforms from the government.
- So, it was decided that the Swarajists would contest elections as a separate 'group' within the **Congress Party**.
- The Swaraj Party won 42 out of 104 seats to the Central Legislature in 1923.
- The party's programme was to obstruct the government. They wanted to create deadlocks on every measure.
- They boycotted all official functions and receptions held by the government.
- They voiced their grievances and aspirations in the Legislative Assembly.

#### 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.
- They were able to defeat the Public Safety Bill in 1928.
- They exposed the weaknesses of **the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms**.



- They gave fiery speeches in the Assembly on self-rule and civil liberties.

### 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.
- **Some of them could not resist the perks of power.** **Motilal Nehru** was a member of the Sken Committee and **A Ramaswamy Iyengar** was a member of the Public Accounts Committee.
- **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. 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 was in shambles when it went into the 1926 elections, and as a result, did not perform well.
- The **party's failure to support the peasant cause** in Bengal led to a loss of support of many members.
- **The party merged with the Congress in 1935.**

## 31. Simon Commission, 1927



The **Indian Statutory Commission** also known as **Simon Commission**, was a group of seven Members of Parliament under the chairmanship of Sir John Simon (**later, 1st Viscount 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. It came to be known as the Simon Commission after its chairman Sir John Simon.

### Why Was Simon Commission Sent to India?

- To **expand** the participation of Indians in government affairs, the Parliament of the United Kingdom had passed an act called '**The Government of India Act 1919.**'
  - The act introduced the **system of diarchy** in British India, which was opposed by Indian nationalist leaders, who demanded the administration to review the system
- The act envisaged a **system of review of reforms** after ten years to study and analyse the constitutional progress and to bring in more reforms.
- Though the review was due in the year 1929, the Conservative government, which was in power back then, decided to form the Commission that would study the constitutional progress of India in the late 1920s
- The **reason** behind forming the Commission earlier was the Conservative government's fear of losing to the 'Labour Party' in the upcoming elections

**Other recommendations include:**

- The **special power** for the safeguarding of province and the protection of minorities comes under the Governor powers
- The **representation of provinces** and other areas constituted on the basis of population at the Federal Assembly ( at the Centre)
- **Recommended Dominion Status** for Burma and should be provided its own Constitution
- Recommended the representation of Council of State could not be chosen on the basis of Direct Election but by Indirect Election through Provincial Council which is more or less just like Modern day election procedure as Proportional Representation.

Since the Conservative government did not want the 'Labour Party' to take over British India, it constituted a commission consisting of seven British MPs to study the constitutional progress in British India as promised earlier.

**Why Was Simon Commission Boycotted?**

- People in India were **infuriated and felt insulted**, for the Commission, which had been constituted to analyse and recommend constitutional reforms for India, **did not have a single Indian member**.
  - The Simon Commission was strongly opposed by the Congress and other nationalist leaders and common people
- Many protests were carried out individually as well as in groups, urging the British administration to review the constitution of the Commission.
  - In December 1927, the Indian National Congress in its meeting in **Madras** resolved to boycott the Commission
  - Led by Mohammed Ali Jinnah, some of the members of the 'Muslim League' too, had made up their minds to boycott the Commission.

**Protests and death of Lala Lajpat Rai**

The Commission, headed by Sir John Allsebrook Simon, reached India on February 3, 1928.

- As soon as the Commission's arrived in Bombay, it was greeted by thousands of protestors, who demanded the Commission to go back. Many were

seen holding placards and other sign boards that had the words '**Go Back Simon**' written on them.

- There were nation-wide strikes and people greeted the Commission with black flags. Wherever the commission went, it received the same response.
- On 30 October 1928, the Commission arrived in **Lahore** where it was met by protesters waving black flags
- The protest was led by the Indian nationalist Lala Lajpat Rai, who had moved a resolution against the Commission in the Legislative Assembly of Punjab
- The protesters blocked the road in order to prevent the commission members from leaving the railway station.
- In order to make way for the Commission, the local police led by Superintendent James Scott began beating protestors.
- Lala Lajpat Rai was critically injured, and never recovered later and died of cardiac arrest on 17 November 1928

**Aftermath of the Commission**

- In its May 1930 report, the Commission proposed the **eradication of diarchy system** and suggested the **establishment of representative government** in various provinces.
- Much before the Simon Commission's report, Motilal Nehru submitted his '**Nehru Report**' in September 1928 to counter the Commission's charges, which suggested that Indians still lacked constitutional consensus.
- The 'Nehru Report' pushed for dominion status for India with complete internal self-government.
- While the report was still to be published, the British government tried to calm down people by saying that the opinion of Indians will be taken into account in any such future exercise and that the natural outcome of constitutional reforms will be dominion status for India
- **The Government of India Act 1935** was a result of the recommendations of the Simon Commission.

## 32. Nehru Report, 1928

The Motilal Nehru Report 1928 was a report compiled by a committee led by Pt. Motilal Nehru. This committee was formed after Lord Birkenhead, India's Secretary of State, asked Indian leaders to draft a constitution for the country. The Congress debated the report, which called for India to be granted Dominion Status. The primary goal of the Nehru Report was to grant India dominion status within the British Commonwealth.



Motilal Nehru

### Background

- In December 1927, at the annual session of Congress in Madras, a resolution was passed calling for a boycott of the Simon Commission "at every stage and in every form." Other political factions joined the suit as well.
- On the day the Simon Commission arrived in Bombay on February 3, 1928, a complete hartal was observed in Mumbai. People came out in procession wherever the commission went.
- But the commission had to carry out its mandate. It paid two visits in 1928 and 1929 before submitting its report in May 1930.
- The Indian leaders, however, were not going to accept it. **Lord Birkenhead, the secretary of state for India, challenged these congressmen to prepare a draft of India's constitution.**
- The political leaders accepted the challenge, prompting a call for an **All Party Conference in February and May 1928.**
- The All Parties Conference resulted in the formation of a committee, chaired by Motilal Nehru, to draft the proposed constitution.
- The committee's secretary was Jawaharlal Nehru, and its members included Ali Imam, Tej Bahadur Sapru, M.S. Aney, Mangal Singh, Shuaib Qureshi, Subhas Chandra Bose, and G. R. Pradhan.

- The "Nehru Committee Report" was prepared as a draft constitution. This report was presented to the Lucknow conference of all parties on August 28, 1928. However, Jinnah voted against the report.

### Recommendations

- India should be granted Dominion Status with a **Parliamentary form of government** and a **bi-cameral legislature** consisting of a **Senate and a House of Representatives.**
- The **Senate will have 200 members** elected for seven years, while the **House of Representatives will have 500 members elected for five years.**
- The **Governor-General** will make decisions based on the advice of the **Executive Council.** It will be collectively accountable to the legislature.
- In India, a federal form of government should be established, with the **Centre retaining residuary powers.**
- There will be **no separate electorate for minorities** because it incites communal feelings; therefore, it should be abolished and a **joint electorate established.**
- There will be **no reserved seats for Punjabi and Bengali communities.** However, **Muslim seats may be reserved in provinces with a Muslim population of at least 10%.**
- The **judiciary must be separate from the executive.**
- At the Centre, **Muslims should account for one-quarter of the population.**
- **Sind should be separated from Bombay** if it can demonstrate financial independence.

### Muslim League's Reaction

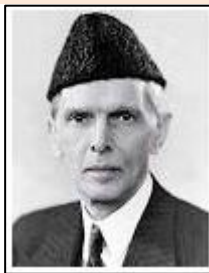
The League leaders, with a few exceptions, rejected Nehru's proposals. In response, **Mohammad Ali Jinnah drafted his Fourteen Points in 1929**, which became the core demands made by the Muslim community in exchange for their participation in an independent united India. Their main concerns were as follows:

- **Separate electorates** and weightage were provided to the Muslim community by the 1916 Congress-Muslim League agreement Lucknow Pact, but were rejected by the Nehru Report.

- **Residuary powers** — Muslims realised that while they would be a majority in the North-East and North-West provinces of India, and thus control their provincial legislatures, they would always be a minority at the Centre.
  - As a result, they demanded, in contravention of the Nehru Report, that **residuary powers be devolved to the provinces.**
- The Committee has adopted a narrow-minded policy to ruin the political future of Muslims.

### Jinnah's Fourteen Points

1. The provinces retain residual powers under a federal constitution.
2. **Autonomy for provinces.**
3. There can be no constitutional amendment without the consent of the states.
4. All legislatures and elected bodies must have adequate Muslim representation without reducing a province's Muslim majority to a minority or equality.
5. Adequate Muslim representation in the armed **forces** and in **self-governing bodies.**
6. Muslims make up **one-third of the Central Legislative Assembly.**
7. Muslims make up **one-third of central and state cabinet members.**
8. Divide the electorate.
9. **No bill shall be passed** in any legislature if **three-quarters of a minority community believes it is detrimental to its interests.**
10. Any reorganisation of territories must not have an impact on the **Muslim majority in Bengal, Punjab, or the NWFP.**
11. **Sindh was separated from the Bombay Presidency.**
12. Reforms to the constitution in the NWFP and Baluchistan.
13. All communities have complete religious freedom.
14. Muslims' religious, cultural, educational, and linguistic rights must be protected.



### Outcome

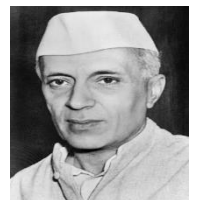
- The Nehru report infuriated Muslim political circles in Bengal, who saw it as a threat to Hindu dominance.
- The principle of separate electorates had become the sine qua non of Muslim politics in Bengal, and its sudden rejection was viewed by Hindus as a betrayal of the Muslim cause.
- They claimed that because of their provincial majority, they should be granted a majority in the legislature, and that separate electorates should be maintained to protect them from economic and educational exploitation of Hindus.
- Hindus saw no logic in these demands and instead claimed that, despite being a population minority, they fully deserved their current majority in the house based on past services and current capacity.

### Conclusion

- The Nehru Report demanded that India's Fundamental Rights not be forfeited. The reports had drowned out an inspiration from the American Bill of Rights, which served as the foundation for the Fundamental Rights provision in the Indian Constitution. Unfortunately, the Nehru Report was not adopted by the All Party Convention in Calcutta in December 1928. Some communal leaders from the Muslim League, the Hindu Mahasabha, and the Sikh League objected.

## 33. Lahore Session, 1929

The 1929 Congress session was held in **Lahore**. This session was significant because the prominent party Indian National Congress adopted the **Poorna Swaraj or complete independence** resolution in Lahore. This session was **presided over by Jawaharlal Nehru** with backing from Gandhi. He **hoisted the Indian tricolor flag on the bank of the Ravi river.**



**Highlights of this session:**



- The Congress convention began in Lahore in December 1929 and Pandit Nehru was the president of the convention. He mentioned in this session that “there’s only one goal ahead of us, which is full freedom.”
- The declaration of Purna Swaraj was propagated at the INC on 19th December 1929. In this session, members agreed that the Congress and Indian nationalists should fight for Purna Swaraj, or that they should rule itself entirely independently.
- The Congress approved a motion for complete Independence and also the President of Congress hoisted the flag of Complete Freedom on the bank of the Ravi on the midnight of 31 December 1929, in front of huge crowds.
- This was the day when for the first time the nationalists unfurled the tricolour
- Congress hence decided to observe **26th January 1930** as the **total independence or Purna Swaraj Day**.
- The Working Committee of Congress was authorized to start preparations for the launch of the Civil Disobedience Movement by initiating the non-payment of taxes and resignation of its members from legislatures.
- Jawaharlal Lal Nehru drafted the Poorna Swaraj Resolution, and Mahatma Gandhi drafted the **"Declaration of Independence" pledge in 1930.**

## 34. Civil Disobedience Movement (1930-1931)

The Civil Disobedience Movement began with Gandhi's well-known Dandi March. Gandhi set out on foot from the Sabarmati Ashram in Ahmadabad on **March 12, 1930**, with **78 other Ashram members** for Dandi, a village on India's western seacoast about 385 kilometres from Ahmadabad. On **April 6, 1930**, they arrived in Dandi. Gandhi broke the salt law there.



**The Programme of the movement was as follows:**

- a) Salt law should be violated everywhere.
- b) Students should leave colleges and government servants should resign from service.
- c) Foreign clothes should be burnt.
- d) No taxes should be paid to the government.
- e) Women should stage a Dharna at liquor shops, etc.

### Spread of Movement

- Once the way was cleared by Gandhi's ritual at Dandi, defiance of the salt laws started all over the country
- Gandhi's arrest came on May 4, 1930 when he had announced that he would lead a raid on Dharasana Salt Works on the west coast
- The onset of Monsoon made the salt manufacture difficult and the Congress switched to other forms of mass struggle, all characterised by a similar pattern of careful choice of social issues, followed by their broadening and radicalisation through a variety of populist initiatives, such as:
  - non-payment of revenue in ryotwari areas;
  - no-chowkidara-tax campaign in zamindari areas; and
  - violation of forest laws in the Central Provinces.
- Social boycott of Police and lower level administrative officials led to many resignations



### IMPORTANCE OF SALT

- As Gandhi famously stated, "There is no other item outside of water that the government can tax in order to reach the starving millions, the sick, the maimed, and the completely helpless. It is the most inhumane poll tax that man's ingenuity can concoct."
- In an instant, salt connected the ideal of swaraj to a very real and universal grievance of the rural poor (and with no socially divisive implications like a no-rent campaign).
- Salt, like khadi, provided a meagre but psychologically important income for the poor through self-help.
- Like khadi, it provided urban adherents with the opportunity to identify symbolically with mass suffering.

### **Gandhi's Efforts**

Gandhi was still not sure of his action. Before launching the movement he once again tried for compromise Government. He placed 'eleven points' of administrative reform and stated that if **Lord Irwin** accepted them there would be no need for agitation

#### **The important demands were:**

- The rupee-Sterling ratio should be reduced
- Land revenue should be reduced by half and made a subject of legislative control
- Salt tax should be abolished and also the government salt monopoly
- Salaries of the highest grade services should be reduced by half
- Military expenditure should be reduced by 50% to begin with
- Protection for Indian textiles and coastal shipping
- All Political prisoners should be discharged

### **Response at Different Places**

#### **Tamil Nadu**

- In April 1930, C. Rajagopalachari organised a march from Thiruchirapalli to Vedaranniyam on the Tanjore (or Thanjavur) coast to break the salt law.
- The event was followed by widespread picketing of foreign cloth shops and anti-liquor campaign

#### **Malabar**

- Kelappan, a Nair Congress leader famed for the Vaikom Satyagraha, organised salt marches

#### **Andhra Region**

- District salt marches were organised in east and west Godavari, Krishna and Guntur. A number of sibirams (military style camps) were set up to serve as the headquarters of the Salt Satyagraha.

#### **Bengal**

- Bengal provided the largest number of arrests as well as the highest amount of violence.
- Midnapur, Arambagh and several rural pockets witnessed powerful movements developed around salt satyagraha and chaukidari tax.
- During the same period, Surya Sen's Chittagong revolt group carried out a raid on two armouries and declared the establishment of a provisional government

#### **Bihar**

- **Champan and Saran** were the first two districts to start salt satyagraha
- However, very soon, a very powerful non-chaukidari tax agitation replaced the salt satyagraha (owing to physical constraints in making salt)

#### **Peshawar**

- Here, **Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan's** educational and social reform work among the Pathans had politicised them. Gaffar Khan, also called Badshah Khan and Frontier Gandhi, had started the first Pushto political monthly **Pukhtoon** and had organised a volunteer brigade '**Khudai Khidmatgars**', popularly known as the 'Red-Shirts', who were pledged to the freedom struggle and non-violence

#### **Dharasana**

- On May 21, 1930, Sarojini Naidu, Imam Sahib and Manilal (Gandhi's son) took up the unfinished task of leading a raid on the Dharasana Salt Works.
- The unarmed and peaceful crowd was met with a brutal lathicharge

**United Provinces**

- A no-revenue campaign was organised; a call was given to zamindars to refuse to pay revenue to the government. Under a no-rent campaign, a call was given to tenants against zamindars

**Efforts for truce**

The government's attitude throughout 1930 was ambivalent as it was puzzled and perplexed. 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 Sapru and M.R. Jayakar be allowed to explore the possibility of peace between the Congress and the government

Further, In August 1930 Motilal and Jawaharlal Nehru were taken to Yeravada Jail to meet Gandhi and discuss the possibility of a settlement. Here, Nehru and Gandhi unequivocally reiterated the demands of:

- right of secession from Britain;
- complete national government with control over defence and finance; and
- An independent tribunal to settle Britain's financial claims.

**However, talks broke down at this point.**

When almost all leading Congress leaders were put **behind bars**, this was probably the context for Gandhi's rather sudden retreat. He initiated a talk with Irwin on 14 February 1931, which culminated in the Delhi Pact of **5 March 1931**. The pact is popularly called **Gandhi-Irwin pact**.

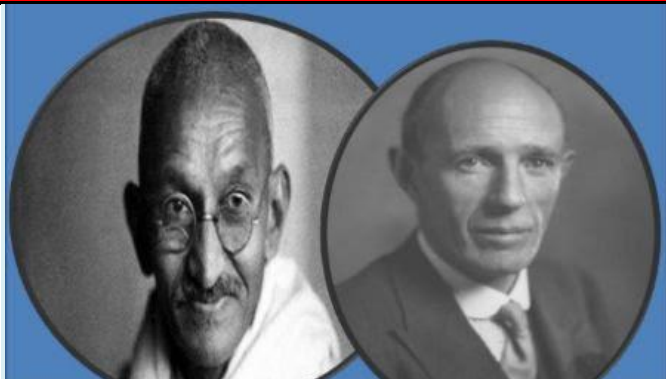
**35. Round Table conferences**

The **three round table conferences** were a series of conferences that took place for peaceful outcomes between the British Government and the political personalities of India. **The First round table conference took place from 12th November, 1930 to 19th January, 1931** in which majority of the Indian politicians of the Indian National Congress decided not to take part. **Gandhi's Civil Disobedience** was one of the prime reasons. Hence, its outcomes were very minimal.

**Second Round Table Conference**

- To overcome the ineffectiveness of the First Round Table Conference, the Second Round Table Conference took place from **7th September 1931 to 1st December 1931** and was held in London along with the active participation of Gandhi and the Indian National Congress who were specially invited for the Conference.
- Also, **On the failure of the second Round Table Conference**, the Congress Working Committee decided on **December 29, 1931 to resume the civil disobedience movement**

### 36. Gandhi-Irwin Pact, 1931



Gandhi-Irwin Pact

**Gandhi-Irwin Pact**, was an agreement signed on March 5, 1931, between Mohandas K. Gandhi, leader of the Indian nationalist movement, and Lord Irwin, British viceroy (1926–31) of India

It marked the end of a period of **civil disobedience (satyagraha)** in India against British rule that Gandhi and his followers had initiated with the Salt March (March–April 1930)

#### Background

- Before the pact, **Lord Irwin**, the Viceroy, had announced in October 1929 a vague offer of 'dominion status' for British-occupied India in an unspecified future and a **Round Table Conference to discuss a future constitution**
- By the end of 1930, thousands of Indians, including Jawaharlal Nehru, were in jail. The Civil Disobedience movement had generated worldwide publicity, and Irwin was looking for a way to end it
- Gandhiji was **released from custody** in January 1931, and the two men began negotiating the terms of the pact
- Gandhiji was authorised by the then President of the Congress, Sardar Vallabh Bhai Patel and Congress Working Committee (CWC), to negotiate with Lord Irwin
- He told the people that the nation had suffered a great deal and needed an interval to fight the next phase with more vigour
- The outcome of these talks was the Gandhi Irwin pact
- Also, the **Gandhi-Irwin Pact**, also known as the Delhi Pact, equalized Congress and the government and was to lay the groundwork for the Round Table Conference to be held in England

#### Third Round Table Conference

- The Third Round Table conference took place between **17th November, 1932 and 24th December, 1932** in London.

#### Outcomes

- This round table conference also proved to be a setback as nothing of importance was discussed as there was absence of the political Leaders and Maharajas.
- The proposals / recommendations of this round table conference were noted down and published in a White paper in the year 1933 which were later discussed in the parliament of British.
- The proposals / recommendations of the round table conference were then analysed by the British parliament.
- The Government of India Act of 1935 was passed based on this.

### 37. Communal Award

- The **Communal Award** (also known as **MacDonald Award**) was created by the British prime minister **Ramsay MacDonald** on **16 August 1932**; and was announced after the Round Table Conference (1930–32)
- This was Britain's unilateral **attempt to resolve the various conflicts among India's many communal interests**
- 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 **seventy-eight** reserved seats

#### Background

- When **Morley – Minto Reforms Act of 1909** made provision for a **separate electorate** for the **Muslims**, many leaders of the Depressed Classes felt that they should also demand for reservation of seats for their representatives in legislative bodies.
- Later, **Dr B.R. Ambedkar** in his testimony to the **Simon Commission**, had stressed that the **depressed classes** should be treated as a distinct,

independent minority **separate from the caste Hindus**

- But the **Simon Commission rejected the proposal of separate electorate** for the **depressed classes**; however, it retained the concept of **reserving seats**
- Eventually, the depressed class leaders succeeded in forcing the British Government to get invitation for their representatives in the **Round Table Conference at London** to deliberate on the prospective constitutional amendments.
- In the **Second Round Table Conference** held in London, Ambedkar again raised the issue of separate electorate for the depressed classes.
  - *Gandhi, who had declared himself the sole representative of India's oppressed masses, rejected Ambedkar's proposal*
- Amidst such efforts, a **consensus** on the minority representation could not be worked out among the Indian delegates. In the wake of such a situation, **Ramsay MacDonald**, who had chaired the committee on minorities, offered to mediate on the condition and came up with the offer of an award

### Separate Electorates

Under a **separate electorates** system, each community was allocated a number of seats in the legislatures and only members from these communities would be eligible to vote to elect a representative of the same community to legislative assembly

### 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** 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

#### *Gandhiji*

#### *Ambedkar*

- He supported the Communal Award
- According to Ambedkar, Gandhi was ready to award separate electorates to Muslims and Sikhs. But Gandhi was reluctant to give separate electorates to scheduled castes

Thus, on the whole, the Communal Award was nothing but '**a sign of determination** [of the British Government] to warp the Indian question towards electoral politics'

## 38. Poona Pact 1932

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.

### Significance of Poona Pact

- Certain seats for the provincial legislatures would be reserved for the Depressed Classes. The number of seats was based on the total strength of the Provincial Councils. The number of seats reserved for the provinces was
  - 30 for Madras,
  - 8 for Punjab,
  - 14 for Bombay with Sindh,
  - 20 for the Central Provinces,
  - 18 for Bihar and Orissa,
  - 30 for Bengal,
  - 7 for Assam and
  - 20 for the United Provinces.

So, in **total there were 147 reserved seats.**

- For each of these seats, the members of the Depressed Classes who could vote would form an electoral college. This Electoral College would elect a panel of four candidates who belong to the Depressed Classes. These candidates would be elected on the basis of a single vote. Four candidates getting the highest number of votes would be elected.
- Then these four candidates would stand in the election for the assembly along with the general candidates where the general electorate would vote. The members of the Depressed Classes hence got a 'double vote' since they could vote under the general electorate also.
- In the **Central Legislature, 19% of the seats would be reserved** for the Depressed Classes.
- 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.
- A certain sum of money from the educational grant would be allotted for the education of the Depressed Classes in all provinces.

## 39. 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

1. This Act divided powers between the centre and the provinces.
2. There were three lists which gave the subjects under each government.
  - Federal List (Centre)
  - Provincial List (Provinces)
  - Concurrent List (Both)

The Viceroy was **vested with residual powers**

### Provincial autonomy

- The Act gave *more autonomy to the provinces.*
- **Diarchy was abolished at the provincial levels.**
- The **Governor** was the **head of the executive.** (*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.*)
- However, the governors still retained special reserve powers.
- The British authorities could still suspend a provincial government.

### Diarchy at the centre

- The subjects under the Federal List were divided into two: **Reserved and Transferred.**

### Reserved

- The reserved subjects were **controlled by the Governor-General** who administered them with the help of **three counsellors appointed** by him. They were not responsible to the legislature. These subjects included *defence, ecclesiastical affairs (church-related), external affairs, press, police, taxation, justice, power resources and tribal affairs.*

### The transferred subjects

- The transferred subjects were administered by the **Governor-General** with his **Council of Ministers** (not more than 10). The Council had to act in confidence with the legislature. The subjects in this



list included local government, forests, education, health, etc.

- However, the Governor-General had '*special powers*' to interfere in the transferred subjects also.

### **Bicameral Legislature**

- A **bicameral federal legislature** would be established.
- The two houses were the **Federal Assembly (lower house)** and the **Council of States (upper house)**.
- **The federal assembly had a term of five years.**
- **Both houses** had representatives from the princely states also. The representatives of the princely states were to be nominated by the rulers and not elected. The representatives of British India were to be elected. Some were to be nominated by the Governor-General.
- Bicameral legislatures *were introduced in some provinces also* like **Bengal, Madras, Bombay, Bihar, Assam and the United Provinces.**

### **Federal Court**

1. **A federal court was established at Delhi** for the resolution of disputes between provinces and also between the centre and the provinces.
2. It was to have **1 Chief Justice and not more than 6 judges.**

### **Indian Council**

1. The **Indian Council was abolished.**
2. The **Secretary of State** for India would instead have a team of advisors.

### **Franchise**

1. **This Act introduced direct elections in India for the first time.**

### **Reorganisation**

2. **Sindh was carved out of Bombay Presidency.**
3. **Bihar and Orissa were split.**
4. Burma was severed off from India.
5. Aden was also separated from India and made into a **Crown colony.**

### **Other points**

1. The British Parliament retained its supremacy over the Indian legislatures both provincial and federal.

2. A **Federal Railway Authority** was set up to control Indian railways.
3. The act provided for the establishment of **Reserve Bank of India.**
4. The Act also provided for the establishment of **federal, provincial and joint Public Service Commissions.**
5. The Act was a milestone in the development of a responsible **constitutional government in India.**
6. The Government of India Act 1935 was replaced by the Constitution of India after independence.

## **40. The revolutionary movement in India for the freedom struggle**

### **The First Case: Chapekar Brothers (1897)**

- The first political assassination of a British officer in India post-[1857 Revolt](#).
- Brothers Damodar, Balkrishna and Vasudeo Chapekar shot at WC Rand, ICS, Chairman of the Special Plague Committee in 1897.
- Rand's military escort Lieutenant Ayerst died on the spot whereas Rand died a few days later due to wounds.
- The brothers were against the atrocities committed by the British authorities under Rand during the plague epidemic in Pune.
- The government in order to curb the spread of the epidemic ended up harassing Indians and employing extreme measures.
- All the three brothers were hanged for the assassination.

### **Alipore Bomb Conspiracy Case (1908)**

- Also called Muraripukur conspiracy or Manicktolla bomb conspiracy.
- Douglas Kingsford was an unpopular British Chief Magistrate who was the target of the bomb thrown at Muzaffarpur (Northern Bihar).
- Unfortunately, the carriage at which the bomb was targeted contained two English ladies and not Kingsford. The two women died in the attack.
- Revolutionaries who threw the bomb were Prafulla Chaki and Khudiram Bose.
- Chaki committed suicide while Bose, then only 18 years of age, was caught and sentenced to death by hanging.
- The other people who were tried in the case were Aurobindo Ghosh and his brother Barin Ghosh,

Kanailal Dutt, Satyendranath Bose and more than 30 others.

- They were all members of the Anushilan Samiti in Calcutta.
- Aurobindo Ghosh was acquitted due to lack of evidence and others served varying life-terms in prison.

#### Curzon Wylie's Assassination (1909)

- The India House was an organisation in London involved in the freedom struggle of India mainly engaging Indian students in the UK as its participants.
- Patrons of this organisation included Shyamji Krishna Varma and Bhikaiji Cama.
- India House became the centre of revolutionary activities for Indian independence outside India.
- The organisation was liquidated after the assassination of an army officer Curzon Wylie by its member Madan Lal Dhingra in 1909.

#### Howrah Gang Case (1910)

- Also known as Howrah-Sibpur Conspiracy case.
- In this case, 47 revolutionaries associated with the Anushilan Samiti were arrested and tried for the murder of Inspector Shamsul Alam.
- Alam was investigating the revolutionary activities of the Samiti and was trying to link and consolidate the murders and robberies into a single case.
- The case brought to light the work of revolutionary Jatindranath Mukherjee.
- Despite attempts, the case could not establish the links, mainly due to the decentralised nature of the Samiti.
- Of all the accused, only Jatindranath Mukherjee and Narendranath Bhattacharjee were sentenced to one-year imprisonment.

#### Delhi-Lahore Conspiracy Case (1912)

- Also known as the Delhi Conspiracy Case.
- This was an assassination attempt on Lord Hardinge, the then Viceroy of India.
- The revolutionaries were led by Rashbehari Bose.
- A homemade bomb was thrown into the viceroy's howdah (elephant-carriage) during a ceremonial procession in Delhi. The occasion was the transfer of the British capital from Calcutta to Delhi.
- Lord Hardinge was injured while an Indian attendant was killed.
- Bose escaped being caught whereas a few others were convicted for their roles in the conspiracy.

#### Kakori Conspiracy (1925)

- This was a case of a train robbery that occurred near Kakori in Uttar Pradesh.
- The attack was led by the youth of the Hindustan Republican Association (later renamed Hindustan Socialist Republican Association) including Ram Prasad Bismil, Ashfaqulla Khan, Chandrashekhar Azad, Rajendra Lahiri, Thakur Roshan Singh and others.
- It was believed that the train carried money bags belonging to the British government.
- One person was killed during the robbery.
- The revolutionaries were arrested and tried in court.
- Bismil, Khan, Lahiri and Roshan Singh were sentenced to death. Others were sentenced to deportation or imprisonment.

#### Chittagong Armoury Raid (1930)

- Also known as Chittagong Uprising.
- This was an attempt by revolutionaries to raid the police armoury and the auxiliary forces armoury from Chittagong (now in Bangladesh).
- They were led by Surya Sen. Others involved were Ganesh Ghosh, Lokenath Bal, Pritilata Waddedar, Kalpana Dutta, Ambika Chakraborty, Subodh Roy, etc.
- The raiders were not able to locate any arms but were able to cut telephone and telegraph wires.
- After the raid, Sen hoisted the Indian flag at the police armoury.
- Many of the revolutionaries involved escaped but some were caught and tried.
- The government came down heavily on the revolutionaries. Many were sentenced to imprisonment, deported to the Andaman, and Surya Sen was sentenced to death by hanging. Sen was brutally tortured by the police before he was hanged.

#### Central Assembly Bomb Case (1929) & Lahore Conspiracy Case (1931)

- Revolutionaries Bhagat Singh and Batukeshwar Dutt sought to draw attention to their revolution by throwing a bomb along with leaflets in the Assembly House at Delhi.
- They did not attempt to escape and were arrested and jailed for the act.
- Their intention was not to hurt anyone but to popularise their revolutionary activities and philosophy.

- Bhagat Singh was re-arrested in connection with the murder of a British police officer, JP Saunders. This case was called the Lahore Conspiracy Case.
- Saunders was killed mistakenly as the real target was another police officer, James Scott, who was responsible for the lathi charge that killed Lala Lajpat Rai.
- Others involved in this killing were Sukhdev, Rajguru and Chandrashekhar Azad.
- They were all members of the Hindustan Socialist Republican Association (HSRA).
- While in prison, Bhagat Singh, Rajguru and Sukhdev along with other political prisoners went on a hunger strike to demand better conditions of prisoners in the jails.
- After the trial, all three were sentenced and executed by hanging in March 1931. Azad was martyred the same year in February in a gun battle with the police in a park in Allahabad.

#### 41. Provincial Elections and Formation of popular Ministries in Provinces, 1937

- Provincial elections were held in British India in the winter of 1936-37 as mandated by the **Government of India Act 1935**.
- Elections were held in **eleven provinces** – Such as:- **Madras, Central Provinces, Bihar, Orissa, United Provinces, Bombay Presidency, Assam, NWFP, Bengal, Punjab and Sindh.**

#### Election results

- The results were very encouraging for the Congress
- Congress had clear majority in five provinces i.e. United Provinces (U.P.), Bihar, Madras, Central Provinces (C.P.), Orissa.
- Of the total of 1,585 seats, it won **707 (44.6%)**.
- In Bengal, NWFP, Assam and Bombay, Congress emerged as the single largest party, whereas in Punjab and Singh its performance was poor
- Congress formed its own government in 7 provinces i.e. Bombay, UP, Madras, Orrisa, Central Provinces, Bihar, NWFP.( own government in 7 provinces i.e. Bombay, UP, Madras, Orrisa, Central Provinces, Bihar, NWFP.)
- The All-India Muslim League failed to form the government in any province.

- The Indian National Congress emerged in power in eight of the provinces – the three exceptions being Bengal, Punjab, and Sindh.
- The performance of Congress in reserved constituencies was not at all satisfactory except in the labour seats

#### Office Acceptance

- The decision of office acceptance **had been left pending** due to differences within the Congress. The AICC met in March 1937 to decide over the issue. Rajendra Prasad moved a resolution for '**conditional acceptance**' of office which was accepted.
- The **Congress ministries resigned in October and November 1939**, in protest against Viceroy Lord Linlithgow's action of declaring India to be a belligerent in the Second World War without consulting the Indian people.
- On **22 October 1939**, all Congress ministries were called upon to tender their resignations."
- On 2 December 1939, Jinnah put out an appeal, calling for Indian Muslims to celebrate **22 December 1939 as a "Day of Deliverance"** from Congress.

### Freedom to Partition

(1939 – 1947)

1. August Offer, 1940
2. The Individual Civil Disobedience
3. Two-Nation Theory
4. Demand for Pakistan, 1942
5. Cripps Mission, 1942
6. Quit India Movement
7. Azad Hind Fauj
8. Indian National Army
9. N.A. Trials
10. I.N. Rebellion
11. Rajagopalachari Formula, 1945
12. Desai – Liaqat Plan
13. Wavell Plan and Simla Conference 1945
14. General Elections in India, 1945
15. Naval Mutiny, 1946
16. Cabinet Mission, 1946

17. Jinnah's Direct-Action Resolution

18. Indian Independence Act 1947

## 42. August Offer, 1940

The **August Offer** was made by **Lord Linlithgow, Viceroy of India, in August 1940**. It is known as '**The August Offer**' since it was **presented in the month of August**. The viceroy Linlithgow made the August Offer promising to **establish an advisory war council**, to expand and include more Indians in the Viceroy Executive Council, and to set up a representative Indian body to frame the Constitution of India. In return, the British wanted the support of Indians in the Second World War.

### Proposal

- The British government proposed **dominion status** as an objective for India.
- Following the war, a representative Indian body would be formed to draft a constitution for the country.
- The Viceroy's Council would be extended, allowing more Indians to participate than whites.
- An advising war council would be constituted after the war.
- The British government, however, refused to grant complete independence.
- The British will retain control of the defense, finance, and home affairs, as well as all Republic of India services.
- Viceroy further indicated that the disagreement between the **Indian National Congress (INC)** and the **Muslim League** will be addressed before any constitutional reform.
- Minorities were guaranteed that their views will be taken into account in a future constitution.

### Response to August Offer

- **The Congress rejected** the August Offer of 1940 because *they desired complete independence, but they were offered **Dominion status instead***.
- The League likewise turned down the offer, stating that *they would accept nothing less than the country's separation*.
- Following this, Mahatma Gandhi launched the **Individual Satyagraha** to affirm the right to free expression. Because he did not desire violence, he avoided a mass satyagraha.

- **Vinoba Bhave, Nehru, and Brahma Datt** were the **first three satyagrahis**. All three were sentenced to prison.
- The satyagrahis also started the '**Delhi Chalo Movement**,' which was a march towards Delhi.
- The movement did not gain traction and was abandoned in December 1940.
- Following the August Offer's failure, the British government dispatched the **Cripps Mission** to India in an attempt to gain Indian support for the war.

### Evaluation of August Offer

- For the first time, Indians' **inherent right to write their own constitution was recognized**, and Congress' demand for a constituent assembly was granted.
- The offer of Dominion status was made explicitly.
- The viceroy's executive council was expanded in July 1941, giving the **Indians a majority of 8 out of 12 for the first time**, but the British remained in charge of defense, finance, and home affairs.
- In addition, a **National Defence Council** with purely advisory functions was established.

### Conclusion

Despite the rejection of The August Offer, the British still needed Indian cooperation for the war. As a result, they tweaked the August Offer a bit and came up with the Cripps Proposal in 1942. The August Offer provided the groundwork for constitutional drafting, and Congress agreed to organize a constituent assembly.



### 43. Individual Satyagraha

#### Individual

**Satyagraha** arose directly as a result of the **August Offer**. The British made the August offer during a critical period of the war in 1940. The August Offer was rejected by both **Congress and the Muslim League**. It began with the **Civil Disobedience**



**Movement**, but M.K Gandhi focused on Individual Satyagraha. This was a movement that sought not only independence but also the right to free expression. Satyagrahi's demand was to use **freedom of speech to oppose the war** by issuing an anti-war declaration.

#### Background

- The government was adamant that no constitutional progress could be made until Congress reached an agreement with Muslim leaders.
- It passed the ordinance after ordinance restricting freedom of expression, freedom of the press, and the right to form associations.
- Congress asked Gandhi to take command once more near the end of 1940.
- Within his broad strategic perspective, Gandhi now began taking steps that would lead to a mass struggle.
- He made the decision to launch a limited satyagraha on an individual basis by a few selected individuals in each locality.

#### Features

- The purpose of the Individual Satyagraha was **not to gain independence** but to affirm the **right to free expression**.
- Another reason for this Satyagraha was that a mass movement could turn violent.
- Gandhiji had a different opinion. He did not want to build a free India on the ruins of the British

Empire. He wanted to refute British propaganda that India was enthusiastically supporting the war of her own volition.

- On September 27, 1940, he met **Lord Linlithgow**. He explained to the Viceroy that he wished to oppose the war. He also wanted to ask his people to do so, because this war was not being fought to protect India's interests.
- The Viceroy refused to accept his request, forcing him to launch his campaign.

#### Aims of Individual Satyagraha

- To give the government another chance to accept the demands of Congress peacefully.
- Satyagrahi's demand was to use freedom of speech to oppose the war by issuing an anti-war declaration.
- If the government does not arrest the Satyagrahi, he or she will repeat the action in villages and march toward Delhi (**Delhi Chalo Movement**).

#### Involvement in Individual Satyagraha

- **Vinoba Bhave** was the first person chosen to offer an individual satyagraha. On October 17, 1940, he began his campaign at **Paunar**, only five miles from Wardha.
- In a speech, he asked the people not to participate in the Government's war effort for three reasons:
  - the Government's refusal to establish a Provisional National Government;
  - dragging India into the war without her consent or consultation;
  - denial of freedom to preach against the war.
- **Vinoba Bhave delivered anti-war speeches** in *Surgaon, Saloo, and Deoli* for three days in a row, from October 18 to 20, 1940. **On October 21, 1940, he was arrested and sentenced to three months in prison.** When presented in court after being arrested, he plead guilty and said that he did it with a clear goal in his mind.
- On October 25, 1940, the government issued orders prohibiting all anti-War propaganda in order to combat Congress propaganda.



- Gandhiji saw this as a challenge and chose **Jawaharlal Nehru** as the second Satyagrahi after Vinoba Bhave.
- **Before Nehru could launch his campaign, the government arrested him on October 31, 1940**, at the Cheoki railway station near Allahabad for violating the Defence of India Rules.
  - *He was sentenced to four and a half years in prison for seditious speeches.*
- **Brahma Dutt**, an ashram inmate, was the third person chosen to offer **an individual satyagraha**.

### Conclusion

Before Gandhiji called a halt to the individual civil disobedience campaign for the Christmas holiday, several ex-ministers, members of the Working Committee and All-India Congress Committee, and around 400 members of the Central and Provincial Assemblies had been **arrested**. Maulana Azad and Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel were prominent among them. It quickly gained traction, and by the end of January, the total number of voluntary arrests had surpassed **2,250**. Within a few months, over 20,000 people had been convicted.

## 44. Quit India Movement-1942



The **Quit India Movement**, also known as the **August Movement** or **August Kranti**, was a rallying call issued by **Mahatma Gandhi** from the **Bombay session of the All-India Congress Committee** in Mumbai on **August 8, 1942**. It was a part of Mahatma Gandhi's **Civil Disobedience Movement**, which aimed to end British rule in India.

### Background

- Following Cripps' departure, Gandhi drafted a resolution calling for British withdrawal and a nonviolent non-cooperation movement in the event of a Japanese invasion.
- The idea of a struggle was accepted at the CWC meeting in Wardha on July 14, 1942.
- The Congress Working Committee met in Wardha in July 1942 and decided to give Gandhi command of the nonviolent mass movement.
- The resolution is commonly known as the 'Quit India' resolution.
- It was to be approved by the All India Congress Committee meeting in Bombay in August, as proposed by Jawaharlal Nehru and seconded by Sardar Patel.
- Mahatma Gandhi began the Quit India movement at Gowalia Tank Maidan in Mumbai, popularly known as **August Kranti Maidan**.
- The slogans of the movement were "**Quit India**" and "**Bharat Chodo.**" Gandhi gave the people the mantra, "**Do or die.**"
- It was supposed to be a peaceful, nonviolent movement to persuade the British to grant India independence, according to the Congress doctrine.

### Resolution

- On August 8, 1942, the Congress meeting in **Gowalia Tank, Bombay**, ratified the Quit India Resolution. The meeting also agreed:
  - To demand that British rule in India be ended immediately;
  - Declare free India's commitment to defend itself against all forms of Fascism and imperialism;
  - Form a provisional Government of India following British withdrawal; and
  - Sanction a civil disobedience movement against British rule.

### Instructions of Mahatma Gandhi

Gandhi gave a set of instructions to diverse groups of people. They were as follows:

- **Government employees** - Instead of resigning, pledge your allegiance to the INC.
- **Soldiers** - Stay with the army but don't fire on your comrades.
- **Landlords/ Zamindars** - If the landlords/Zamindars are anti-government, pay the agreed-upon rent; if they are pro-government, do not pay the rent.
- **Students** - If they are confident enough, they can leave their studies.

- **Princes** - You must stand behind the people and embrace their sovereignty.
- **People of princely states** - Only support the monarch if he is anti-government; declare yourselves as Indian citizens.

### Reasons

- **The Second World Conflict had begun in 1939, and Japan, as one of the Axis Powers opposing the British in the war, was gaining ground on India's north-eastern frontiers.**
- The British had abandoned their colonies in Southeast Asia, leaving its people to fend for themselves. The Indian public, who had misgivings about the British ability to defend India from Axis assault, was not impressed by this move.
- Gandhi also stated that if the British were to leave India, Japan would have no cause to invade the country.
- Hearing about British military defeats, and wartime hardships such as high prices for key necessities fueled animosity of the British government.
- The INC called for a major civil disobedience movement when the **Cripps Mission** failed to provide any type of constitutional solution to India's challenges.

### Phases

The Quit India Movement can be studied in three phases.

#### *The First Phase (Rampage by Public)*

- The general public attacked authority symbols and forcibly hoisted national flags on public buildings.
- Satyagrahis surrendered to arrest, bridges were blown up, railway tracks were removed, and telegraph lines were severed.
- This type of activity was most prevalent in the eastern United Provinces and in Bihar.
- Students reacted by striking in schools and colleges, marching in processions, writing and distributing illegal news sheets (Patrika), and acting as couriers for underground networks.
- Ahmedabad, Bombay, Jamshedpur, Ahmednagar, and Poona workers went on strike.

#### *The Second Phase (Underground Activities)*

- Many nationalists fled to the underground and engaged in subversive activities.
- Socialists, Forward Bloc members, Gandhi ashramites, revolutionary nationalists, and local organizations from Bombay, Poona, Satara, Baroda, and other parts of Gujarat, Karnataka, Kerala, Andhra Pradesh, United Provinces, Bihar, and Delhi took part in these activities.
- Rammanohar Lohia, Jayaprakash Narayan, Aruna Asaf Ali, Usha Mehta, Biju Patnaik, Chhotubhai Puranik, Achyut Patwardhan, Sucheta Kripalani, and R.P. Goenka were among the key figures involved in underground activity.
- **Usha Mehta** founded an **underground radio station** in Bombay.
- This phase of underground activity was intended to maintain popular morale by maintaining a line of command and guidance for the distribution of arms and ammunition.

#### *The Third Phase (Parallel Governments)*

Parallel governments were established in many places, including

- **Ballia** (for a week in August 1942) under **Chittu Pandey**. Many members of Congress were released as a result of his efforts.
- **Tamluk** (Midnapore, from December 1942 to September 1944) - Jatiya Sarkar worked on cyclone relief, sanctioned school grants, distributed paddy from the rich to the poor, organized Vidyut Vahinis, and so on.
- **Satara** (mid-1943 to 1945) - dubbed "**Prati Sarkar**," it was organized by leaders such as Y.B. Chavan, Nana Patil, and others. Village libraries and Nyayadan Mandals were established, as were prohibition campaigns and 'Gandhi marriages.'
- Businessmen (through donations, shelter, and material assistance), students (as couriers), simple villagers (by refusing to provide information to authority), pilots and train drivers (by delivering bombs and other material), and government officials, including police, all provided active assistance (who passed on secret information to the activists).

#### **Impact**

- Following Gandhi's demand, the British administration arrested all prominent Congress

leaders the next day. **Gandhi, Nehru, Patel**, and others were detained.

- As a result, newer leaders like **Jayaprakash Narayan** and **Ram Manohar Lohia** took over the movement.
- **Aruna Asaf Ali**, for example, emerged from the leadership vacuum.
- This movement resulted in the detention of almost 100,000 people. To put an end to the unrest, the authorities used violence. Mass floggings and lathi charges were used.
- Women and children were not exempt from the massacre. In total, about ten thousand persons were killed by police shootings.
- The INC was declared illegal. Its leaders were imprisoned for virtually the whole war. Gandhi was released in 1944 because of ill health.
- The people reacted strongly to Gandhi's demand. However, there were isolated incidents of violence and damage to government property due to the lack of leadership. Many structures were set ablaze, power lines were cut, and communication and transportation links were disrupted.
- Some parties were opposed to the movement. **The Muslim League**, the Communist Party of India, and the Hindu Mahasabha were all against it.
- The League opposed the British leaving India without first splitting the nation. In reality, Jinnah urged more Muslims to join the army.
- Because the British were associated with the Soviet Union, the Communist Party supported the British war effort.
- From outside the nation, **Subhas Chandra Bose** was organizing the **Indian National Army and the Azad Hind government**.
- **C Rajagopalachari**, a member of the INC, resigned because he did not support complete independence.
- The Indian bureaucracy, in general, as opposed to the Quit India Movement.
- Strikes and demonstrations took place across the country. Despite the absence of support from the communists, workers supported the movement by refusing to work in the factories.
- The movement's main focus areas were Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Maharashtra, Madhya Pradesh, and Karnataka. The uprising continued until 1944.

### Significance

- The campaign continued without the command of Mahatma Gandhi or any other leader, who were all imprisoned when it began.

- People from all walks of life turned out in large numbers.
- Students, workers, and peasants were the movement's backbone, while the upper classes and bureaucracy remained mostly loyal.
- Loyalty to the government has deteriorated significantly.
- This also demonstrated the depths to which nationalism had progressed.
- The movement established the fact that it was no longer possible to rule India without the consent of the Indian people.
- Although a certain degree of the popular initiative had been sanctioned by the leadership itself, subject to the limitations of the instructions, the element of spontaneity was higher than before.
- Furthermore, Congress had spent a long time ideologically, politically, and organizationally prepared for the struggle.
- Following the uprising among the masses, the British began to seriously consider the topic of Indian independence.
- In the 1940s, it changed the nature of political negotiations with the British empire, paving the path for India's independence.
- The movement was significant in that it put the demand for independence on the immediate agenda of the national movement. There could be no India after Quit India.

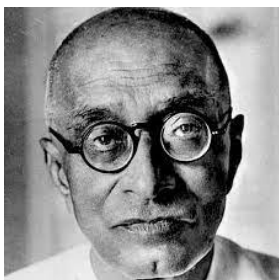
### Conclusion

The Quit India Movement was a watershed moment in the sense that it established the stage for future Indian politics. The freedom struggle was owned by 'We the People' who fought for India's independence in the Quit India Movement. Throughout this conflict, ordinary people demonstrated unrivaled heroism and militancy. The repression they faced was the harshest, and the circumstances under which they offered resistance were the most adverse.

## 45. Rajagopalachari Formula, 1945

### Background

- **Rajagopalachari's formula** (or C. R. formula or Rajaji formula) was a proposal formulated



by C. Rajagopalachari to **solve the political deadlock** between the All India Muslim League and the Indian National Congress on the independence of British India.

- **The League's position** was that the Muslims and Hindus of British India were of **two separate nations** and henceforth the Muslims had the right to their own nation.
- The Congress, which included both Hindu and Muslim members, was **opposed** to the idea of partitioning India.
- To add to the situation, with the advent of the **Second World War** the British administration sought to **divide the Indian political elite** into two factions so as to make sure that the Indian independence movement does not make large progress, taking advantage of the war.
- It was at such a juncture, that Rajagopalachari devised a proposal for the Congress to offer the League.

### The Rajagopalachari Formula

The main points in the CR Plan were:

- Muslim League to endorse Congress demand for independence.
- League to cooperate with Congress in forming a provisional government at centre.
- After the end of the war, the entire population of Muslim majority areas in the North-West and North-East India to decide by a plebiscite, whether or not to form a separate sovereign state.
- In case of acceptance of partition, agreement to be made jointly for safeguarding defence, commerce, communications, etc.
- The above terms to be operative only if England transferred full powers to India.

### Reactions to the formula

- The formula was a **tacit acceptance** of the **League's demand for Pakistan**. And Gandhiji **supported** the formula.

- **Jinnah** wanted the Congress to **accept the two-nation theory**.
- He wanted only the Muslims of North-West and North-East to vote in the plebiscite and not the entire population. He also opposed the idea of a common centre.
- While the **Congress was ready to cooperate** with the League for the independence of the Indian Union, the League did not care for independence of the Union. It was only interested in a **separate nation**.
- Further, Hindu leaders led by Vir Savarkar **condemned** the CR plan

### Causes of failure of the proposal

- Although the formulation supported the principle of Pakistan, it **aimed** to show that the provinces that Jinnah claimed as Pakistan contained **large numbers of non-Muslims**.
  - Jinnah had claimed provinces then regarded as Muslim majority regions. Thus, If a plebiscite was placed, Jinnah ran a risk of partitioning Punjab and Bengal
- Furthermore, the decision of Muslims to secede from India, according to the CR formula, would be taken not just by Muslims alone, but by a **plebiscite of the entire population** even in the Muslim majority districts.
  - This might well have **diluted the enthusiasm** of the people of these provinces about going partition. Hence Jinnah rejected the initiative.



## 46. Desai - Liaquat Proposals (AD 1945)

**Desai** being the leader of the Congress in the Central Assembly and a friend of **Liaquat Ali** (Leader of Muslim League), met him in January 1945 gave him proposals for the formation of Interim Government at centre. After Desai's declaration, Liaquat Ali published the list of an agreement which given below:



- Nomination of equal number of persons by both in the Central Executive.
- Representation of the minorities in particular of the Schedule caste and the Sikhs.
- The government was to be formed and was to function with the framework of the existing Government of India Act, 1935.

### Conclusion

M.K Gandhi's attempt to resolve the political deadlock by persuading Bhulabhai Jivanji Desai to make an attempt to appease the league leaders, but the proposal were not formally endorsed either by the Congress or the League

## 47. Wavell Plan and Shimla Conference

In October 1943 the British Government decided to replace Lord Linlithgow with **Lord Wavell** as the Viceroy of India. Before assuming the charge, Wavell worked as the Chief of the Indian army and thus had quite an understanding of the Indian situation. Right after assuming charge as Viceroy, Wavell's most important task was **to present a formula for the solution of the Indian problem which was acceptable for both the Congress and the Muslim League**. After doing his basic homework, in May 1945 he visited London and discussed his suggestions with the British Government. The London talks resulted in the formulation of a definite plan of action which was



officially made public simultaneously on June 14, 1945. The plan, known as Wavell Plan presented the following proposals:

1. If **all the Indian political** parties would help the British in the war then the **British Government would introduce Constitutional Reforms** in India after the war.
2. Viceroy's Executive Council would be immediately reconstituted and the number of its members would be increased.
3. In that **Council, there would be equal representation of high-class Hindus and Muslims. Muslims were given 6 out of 14 members which accounted for more than their share of the population (25%).**
4. Other minorities including low-caste Hindus, Shudders, and Sikhs would be given representation in the Council.
5. **All the members of the Council, except the Viceroy and the Commander-in-Chief, would be Indians.**
6. **An Indian would be appointed** as a member of **Foreign Affairs** in the Council. However, a British Commissioner would be appointed to look after the matters relating to the trade.
7. **Defense of India** was to be in the hands of a British authority till Power was transferred to the Indian hands
8. Viceroy **would convene a meeting** of the Indian politician including the leaders of Congress and the Muslim League **so that they could nominate the names of the members of the new Council.**
9. If this plan is approved for the Central Government then the same type of popular ministries comprising of the political leaders would be formed in all the provinces.

**To discuss the proposal with the Indian leaders, Wavell summoned a conference in Simla on June 25, 1945.**

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.

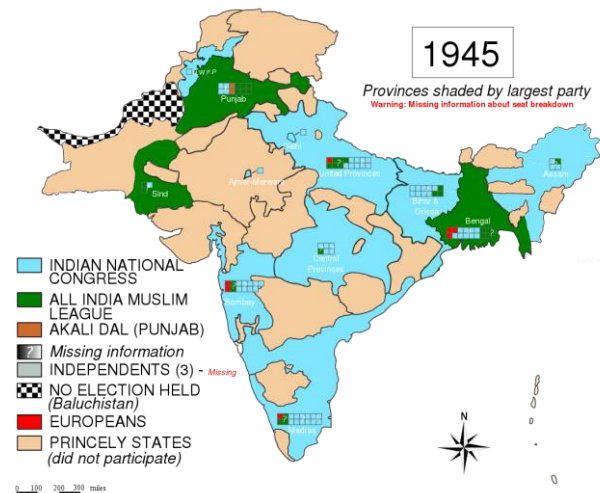
1. **The conference was a failure** because the League and the Congress could not settle their differences.



2. 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.***
3. 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.***
4. 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.
5. The Wavell Plan, thus, was dissolved with the failure of the conference. **And with it the last chance to avoid partition.**
6. 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.**

The failure of the Wavell Plan and the Shimla Conference was a watershed moment for the Indian Independence struggle. All steps taken to prevent partition had been met with failure, meaning that it was inevitable.

## 48. General Elections in India, 1945



### General Election (1945-46)

- The first Simla Conference had broken down on July 14, 1945, on the controversial issue of the representative culture of the All India Muslim League (AIML). Also, once World War II was over the new government in Britain took control.
- The new government gave some new instructions to the Viceroy of India. So, on August 21, 1945, the Viceroy Lord Wavell announced that elections to the central and provincial legislatures would be held in the coming winter.
- As for the first phase, it was decided that election to the central legislative assembly would be followed by the election to the provincial assemblies.
- **The Muslim League announced that it would fight the elections on the two clear-cut issues –**
- Pakistan is the national demand of the Muslims of India and the Muslim League is their sole representative organization.
- Soon after the announcement regarding the general election, the Muslim League started preparation to **contest them**. The League's position in 1945 was entirely different from what it had been at the time of the previous election held in 1937. It was now well established as a mass organization with branches in every province, district, tehsils, and village. To cope with the finance of the election **Quaid-i-Azam** asked the Muslims in his characteristic style **"give us the silver bullets and we will finish the job."**
- Elections for the **Central Legislature were held in December 1945**. Though the *franchise was limited*,

the turnover was extraordinary. League's performance was even more impressive as it managed to win all the 30 seats reserved for the Muslims.

- The results of the provincial election held in early 1946 were not different. Congress won most of the non-Muslim seats while Muslim League captured approximately 95 percent of the Muslim seats. On the other hand, the League celebrated **January 11, 1946, as the Day of victor.**

## 49. Cabinet Mission

The **Cabinet Mission** was a high-powered mission sent to India by the **Atlee government** in **February 1946**. Three British cabinet members served on the mission: (**Pethick Lawrence**, Secretary of State for India; **Stafford Cripps**, President of the Board of Trade; and **A.V. Alexander**, First Lord of the Admiralty) to find ways and means for a negotiated, peaceful transfer of power to India. The mission's chairman was Pethick Lawrence.

### Background

- **Clement Atlee**, the British Prime Minister, initiated the formation of the Cabinet Mission.
- It was made up of **three members**: Lord Pethick-Lawrence, AV Alexander, and Sir Stafford Cripps.
- The then **Viceroy Lord Wavell** was involved in the process although he was not an official member.
- The Congress Party and the Muslim League, which were at odds on almost every issue at the time, had fundamental ideological differences that were preventing them from finding common ground.
- Congress desired a strong central government with few powers delegated to the provinces.
- The League sought strong safeguards for the rights of Muslims, the world's largest minority group in India.
- Because both parties had significant ideological differences and were unable to find common ground, the mission issued its own set of proposals in May 1946.

### Objectives

- To reach an agreement with Indian leaders on the creation of a constitution for India.
- Creating a constitution-making body (the Constituent Assembly of India).

- To form an Executive Council with the support of the major Indian political parties.

### Arrival of Cabinet Mission

- On March 24, 1946, the Cabinet Mission arrived in Delhi. It held lengthy discussions with Indian leaders from all parties and groups on the issues of:
  - interim government; and
  - principles and procedures for drafting a new constitution that would grant India independence.
- Because the Congress and the League were unable to reach an agreement on the fundamental issue of India's unity or partition, the mission proposed its own constitutional solution in May 1946.

### Proposal for Cabinet Mission

- **Rejection of the demand for a full-fledged Pakistan because:**
  - such a formation of Pakistan would include a large non-Muslim population—38% in the North-West and 48% in the North-East;
  - the very principle of communal self-determination would demand separation of Hindu-majority western Bengal and Sikh- and Hindu-dominated Ambala and Jalandhar divisions of Punjab.
  - deep-rooted regional ties would be jeopardized if Bengal and Punjab were partitioned;
  - partition would cause economic and administrative problems, such as the problem of communication between Pakistan's western and eastern regions; and
  - the division of the armed forces would be dangerous.
- **The provinces would be divided into three sections/groups:**
  - **Group A** includes Madras, the Central Provinces, Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Bombay, and Orissa.
  - **Group B** consists of Punjab, Sindh, the NWFP, and Baluchistan.
  - **Group C** consists of Bengal and Assam.
- At the provincial, section, and union levels, there is a three-tiered executive and legislature.
- **Provincial assemblies** were to elect a constituent assembly through proportional representation

(voting in three groups: general, Muslims, and Sikhs).

- This constituent assembly would consist of 389 members, with provincial assemblies sending 292, chief commissioner's provinces sending 4, and princely states sending 93.
- Members of groups A, B, and C were to sit separately in the constituent assembly to decide the constitution for provinces and, if possible, groups as well.
- The entire constituent assembly (all three sections A, B, and C combined) would then convene to draft the union constitution.
- A centralized command would be in charge of defense, communication, and external affairs. India was to have a **federal structure**.
- In the central legislature, communal questions were to be decided by a simple majority of both communities present and voting.
- Provinces were to have full autonomy and residual powers, and **princely states** would no longer be subject to the British government's supremacy. They would be free to enter into an arrangement with successor governments or the British government.
- After the first general elections, a province would be free to leave a group, and after 10 years, a province would be free to call for a reconsideration of the group or the union constitution.
- Meanwhile, the constituent assembly was to form an **interim government**.

### Reaction of the Parties

- The Cabinet Mission's long-term plan was accepted by the **Muslim League on June 6, 1946**, and by **Congress on June 24, 1946**.
- Elections for the Constituent Assembly were held in provincial assemblies in July 1946.
- Nehru stated on **July 10, 1946**, "We are not bound by anything except that we have decided to go into the Constituent Assembly".
  - It implied that the Constituent Assembly was sovereign and would decide the rules of procedure.
- The likelihood is that there will be no grouping because the NWFP and Assam would object to joining sections B and C.
- **On July 29, 1946**, In response to Nehru's statement, the League withdrew its acceptance of the long-term plan and issued a call for "**direct**

**action"** beginning on August 16 to achieve Pakistan.

### Congress Reaction

- The Cabinet Mission Plan, according to the Congress, was opposed to the creation of Pakistan because grouping was optional; only one constituent assembly was envisaged, and the League no longer had a veto.
- Provinces should not have to wait until the first general election to break away from a coalition. They should be able to choose not to join a group in the first place.
- Compulsory grouping runs counter to the frequently stated insistence on provincial autonomy.
- The absence of a provision in the constituent assembly for elected members from the princely states (they could only be nominated by the princes) was unacceptable.

### Muslim League Reaction

- Pakistan, according to the Muslim League, was implied in the compulsory grouping.
- Sections B and C should be forced to form solid entities in preparation for future secession into Pakistan.
- The League expected Congress to reject the plan, prompting the government to invite the League to form an interim government.

### Reasons for Failure of Cabinet Mission

- The Congress was opposed to the idea of provinces being divided into groups based on the Hindu-Muslim majority and competing for control at the center. It was also contrary to the concept of a weak center.
- The Muslim League did not want the proposals changed.
- Since the plan was rejected, the mission proposed a **new plan in June 1946**. This plan proposed dividing India into two parts: a Hindu-majority India and a Muslim-majority India, later renamed Pakistan.
- A list of princely states that could join the union or remain independent was also compiled.
- The **second plan was rejected by Jawaharlal Nehru's Congress Party**. Instead, it agreed to be a constituent assembly member.

- The Viceroy convened a meeting of 14 men to form an interim government. There were five members from the Congress, five from the League, and one each from the Sikh, Parsee, Indian Christian, and scheduled caste communities.
- The League and the Congress were both given the authority to appoint five members to the Viceroy's interim council.
  - The Congress nominated Zakir Hussain as one of the members, which the League objected to, claiming that the League only represented Indian Muslims and no other party. It was boycotted by the Muslim League.
- The Congress leaders joined the viceroy's interim council, and Nehru became the leader of the interim government. The new government began the task of writing the country's constitution.
- In most provinces, including the NWFP, Congress-led governments were formed. The League formed governments in Bengal and Sind.
- The new central government was opposed by Jinnah and the League. He vowed to agitate for Pakistan and urged Muslims to demand it by any means necessary. **On August 16, 1946**, he called for a "**Direct Action Day**."
- This call sparked widespread communal rioting across the country, with 5000 people killed on the first day in Calcutta alone. Riots erupted in a number of other areas, most notably Noakhali and Bihar.
- As a result of the riots, there was a call for the country to be partitioned. **Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel** was among the first Congress leaders to recognize the inevitability of partition as a means of putting an end to the brutal violence.

### Conclusion

Congress and the Muslim League, respectively, accepted the Cabinet Mission on June 24, 1946, and June 6, 1946, respectively. The League then withdrew from the agreement and urged direct action to secure Pakistan's independence. Following the collapse of Cabinet Mission 1946, Atlee issued a statement in which he set a date for the transfer of power and evacuation from India.

## 50. Mountbatten Plan (June 1947)

### Background

- 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**.
- This plan was called the '**Dickie Bird Plan**', **Plan Balkan**, **June 3 Plan**, **Mountbatten Plan**.
- The June 3 Plan included the principles of **partition, autonomy, sovereignty** to both nations, right to make their own constitution.
- Above all, the Princely States such as **Jammu and Kashmir were given a choice to either join India or Pakistan**. The consequences of these choices would affect the new nations for decades to come.
- This plan was **accepted by both the Congress and the Muslim League**. By then, the Congress had also accepted the inevitability of the partition.
- This plan was put into action by the **Indian Independence Act 1947** which was passed in the British Parliament and received the royal assent on **18 July 1947**.

### Provisions of 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 monarch would no longer use the title '**Emperor of India**'.
- After the dominions were created, the British Parliament could not enact any law in the territories of the new dominions.
- Until the time the new constitutions came into existence, the Governor-General would assent any law passed by the constituent assemblies of the dominions in His Majesty's name. **The Governor-General was made a constitutional head.**

On the midnight of **14th and 15th August 1947**, the dominions of **Pakistan and India** respectively came into existence. **Lord Mountbatten** was appointed the first Governor-General of independent India and **M .A. Jinnah** became the Governor-General of Pakistan.

### 51. Indian Independence Act 1947

The **Indian Independence Act**, based on the **Mountbatten Plan**, was passed by the British Parliament on **July 5, 1947**, and **received royal assent on July 18, 1947**. The Act went into effect on **August 15, 1947**. This act divided British India into two new sovereign republics, India and Pakistan.

#### Provisions

- On the fifteenth of August, 1947, the British authority left India.
- On this day, India separated into two sovereign provinces, India and Pakistan, and each of these states became sovereign.
- The powers that the British government in India used to have were to be transferred to each of those states.
- A border commission led by Mr. Redcliff partitioned Punjab and Bengal and determined its boundaries.

- The Secretary of State for India's office will be abolished.
- Every territory was to have a Governor-General, who would be appointed by the Queen of England at the Dominion government's request. He was not to act on his judgment or discretion, but rather as the state's constitutional head of state.
- The regulations must be enacted by a sovereign legislature in each Domain. There would be no automatic application of any legislation approved by the British Parliament to India.
- Both countries will have a Constituent Assembly that will serve as a legislative body.
- Until a Constituent Assembly in any dominion formulates a Constitution, it will function as closely as practicable with the 1935 Act.
- Provincial governors will serve as the provinces' constitutional heads.
- The practice of reserving Secretary of State positions should be abandoned. After the handover of authority to both dominions, government employees who desire to quit must do so.
- On August 15, 1947, British rule over India's states and tribal regions came to an end. In this arrangement, power will be passed to states rather than dominions, and states will be free to choose whether to participate in India or Pakistan.
- The UK government's engagement with India will now be managed through the Office of Commonwealth Affairs.
- The title of King and Emperor of India was surrendered by the King of England.
- East Bengal, West Pakistan, Sindh, and British Baluchistan are all Pakistani provinces.
- If the NWFP votes to join Pakistan in a referendum, this territory will join Pakistan as well.

#### Independence Act 1947 - Impact

- The enactment of the Indian Independence Act of 1947 was a watershed moment in the country's constitutional history.
- It was "the climax of a protracted chain of events," as Attlee described it, "the accomplishment of the British mission" in India.



- In the House of Lords, **Lord Samuel** described the Law as "a peace treaty without war."
- The Act's passage was applauded by Indian politicians as well. **Dr. Rajendra Prasad**, for example, stated that "the time of British dominance over India ends today," and that "our relationship with the United Kingdom will continue to be built on equality, kindness, and mutual understanding."
- The law represented the start of a new period of freedom in India, but it did not satisfy a vast number of people and politicians.
- As **Maulana Abul Kalam Azad** put it, "August 14 for Muslims in Pakistan is a day of grief for Hindus and Sikhs."
- Despite these flaws, it cannot be denied that the Indian Independence Act of 1947 signified the end of British control in India and the start of a free India.

### Repeal of the Act

- Both provinces were given the authority to revoke any act of parliament that affected them, including the Indian Independence Act.
- By adopting their respective constitutions, India and Pakistan later abrogated the 1947 Independence Act.
- The Indian Independence Act of 1947 was effectively **repealed by Section 395** of the Indian Constitution and Section 221 of the Pakistan Constitution of 1956.
- The position of dominion was dissolved with the passage of the Indian Constitution, and India became a republic.
- The British Parliament, however, has failed to contribute to the repeal of the 1947 Indian Independence Act.
- Even though the new constitution lacks the legal authority to repeal legislation, this is done to break the chain of law and establish the constitution as an independent legal system.

### Conclusion

The enactment of the Indian Independence Act of 1947 was a watershed moment in the country's constitutional history. The law signaled the start of a new period of freedom in India, although many Indians were dissatisfied with it. Despite these flaws, there can

be no doubt that the Act brought an end to British rule in India

## 52. Tribal Revolts in the 18th and 19th Centuries

### Major Tribals Uprising

1. Rangpur Peasant Uprising
2. Bhil Revolt
3. Mysore Rebellion
4. Kols Rebellion
5. Mappila Uprising
6. Santhal Rebellion
7. Ramosi Uprising
8. Munda Rebellion
9. Bhagat Movement

Tribal people had been living in peace with nature for a very long time before the British started to enter their lands.

### Causes of Tribal Revolts

- The main activities of Tribal households were shifting agriculture, hunting, fishing, and gathering. The influx of non-tribals into the tribal lands introduced the concept of settled agriculture, which led to the loss of lands for Tribals.
- Condition of tribals reduced to mere landless agricultural laborers.
- Moneylenders were introduced in these areas to help the local population, but it worsened the conditions of Tribals even more.
- The Joint Ownership system of the tribal population was replaced with Private Ownership.
- Restrictions were imposed on the use of forest produce, shifting agriculture, and hunting practices.
- Tribal society was traditionally egalitarian compared to mainstream society which was marked by caste and class distinctions. As the non-tribals entered their lands, they gave the most lower ranks to the tribal people which worsened their condition even more.
- A Forest Department was set up in 1864 by the government mainly to control the rich resources of Indian forests.

- The Government Forest Act of 1865 and the Indian Forest Act of 1878 established complete government monopoly over the forested land.
- Christian Missionaries also entered the scene and started to convert the tribal people into Christians.

### Major Tribal Uprising

#### Peasant Uprising of Rangpur, Bengal (1783 AD)

- This revolt took place in Bengal in the year 1783.
- The peasants were made to grow certain crops as ordered by the British Raj Government Officials.
- These peasants had their complaints regarding this, but the officials didn't pay any attention to them.
- When this continued for a longer period, the peasants took law into their hands.
- Led by Dirjinarain, they went ahead and attacked the local storekeepers who had strong links with the contractors and also attacked a few Government officials.
- But later on, the Britishers managed to suppress this revolt by the use of immense military and monetary powers they possessed.

#### Bhil Revolt (1818-31 AD)

- The region to which the Bhils belong is known as Khandesh.
- This is a region of Maharashtra.
- The Britishers had entered into their region in 1818 and started intruding into the territory of the Bhils. The local Bhil Tribe was not at all in the position to accept any change within their territory by the Britishers.

#### The Rebellion of Mysore (1830-31 AD)

- When Tipu Sultan finally lost to the British Rulers, the Britishers imposed a special form of an alliance called the Subsidiary Alliance.
- This alliance had made it mandatory for the local rulers to pay an increased amount in their revenue.
- Hence the control of the Zamindars on the land of the local peasants had increased multifold.
- Due to this, the peasants got highly aggrieved and suspicious of the roles of the Zamindars in the process.

- Due to this, the farmers got into an ugly tussle against the Zamindars and the British Rulers, under the leadership of Sardar Malla.
- However, the revolt was brutally suppressed by the Britishers and they regained control of the province of Nagar.

#### Kols Rebellion (1831-32 AD)

- The Kols are a tribal community of Singhbhum, in the state of Jharkhand.
- The issue that the tribal population of the Kols had with the British rule was that they had started selling the land to the local merchants at lower costs and as a result, they had found it difficult to sustain their livelihood.
- The major areas for the uprisings against the British rule by these tribal communities had taken place in the districts of Ranchi, Hazaribagh, Palamau, and Manbhum.

#### The Mappila Uprising (1836-54 AD)

- Mappila is a tribe, which is the descendant of the Arab Settlers as well as converted Hindus.
- They had been primarily working as cultivators, landless labourers, small traders, and fishermen.
- The impact of the land revenue rules laid down by the British East India Company on the locals made their lives very difficult.
- When the whole thing got very tough for the farmers and they could no longer resist this change, they ended up revolting against the Britishers and had to put up an armed rebellion against British Rule.
- The British armed forces suppressed it too.

#### The Santhal Rebellion (1855-56 AD)

- The name of the region where this revolt occurred is the Santhal region of the various parts in the states of Bihar, Jharkhand, West Bengal, and Odisha.
- The leaders of this revolt were Sidhu and Kanhu.
- This revolt, like earlier ones, came up due to the oppression of the local landlords by the powerful landlords, moneylenders, and the police, along with the British Raj.

**Ramosi Uprising (1822-29 AD)**

- The Ramosi Uprising was a two-phased revolt, undertaken by the tribal communities.
- It had the initial phase of the protest taken up by the tribals of the locality under the leadership of Chittu Singh in the year 1822.
- Later on, the second phase of the revolt had a series of revolutionary events organised by the tribals of the region between the years 1825 and 1829.
- The main reason for this uprising was the new structure of the British Administration, which the tribals believed to be highly unfair to them and had no other choice than to revolt against the Britishers for the same.

**The Munda Rebellion (Ulgulan Revolt) (1899-1900 AD)**

- This uprising is also known as the **Ulgulan revolt which means “great commotion”**.
- This is one of the most famous uprisings against the British Rule prevalent within the country.
- The main figure of the revolt was the great tribal revolutionary, Birsa Munda.
- The region of this revolt was the Chotanagpur Region near Ranchi.
- The reasons were pretty much similar to all the other revolts discussed earlier.
- The land of the tribals was the main cause of concern for the farmers.

**Jatra Bhagat and Tana Bhagat Movement (1914 AD)**

- This movement was basically targeting the lifestyle of the Colonial and British Rulers.
- The leader of the revolt, Jatra Bhagat, started the movement with the idea that there should be complete removal of British ethics from the lifestyle of the tribal population.
- He, along with Tana Bhagat, stressed monotheism, abstention from meat, liquor, and tribal dance.

1. Peasant Movements – Background
2. Indigo Revolt (1859 - 1860)
3. Pabna Agrarian League (1878 - 1880)
4. Deccan Riots (1867)
5. Changed Nature of Peasant Movement after 1857
6. Kisan Sabha Movement (1857)
7. Eka Movement (1921)
8. Mappila Revolt (1921)
9. Bardoli Satyagraha (1926)
10. All India Kisan Sabha (1936)
11. Impact of Peasant Movements

**Background**

- The impoverishment of the Indian peasantry was a direct result of the transformation of the agrarian structure as a result of colonial economic policies, the ruin of handicrafts leading to overcrowding of land, the new land revenue system, and the colonial administrative and judicial system.
- Peasants in zamindari areas faced high rents, illegal levies, arbitrary evictions, and unpaid labour. The government levied heavy land taxes in Ryotwari areas.
- Fearing the loss of his only source of income, the overburdened farmer frequently approached the local moneylender, who took full advantage of the former's difficulties by extracting high interest rates on the money lent.
- Often, the farmer was forced to mortgage his land and cattle. The mortgaged items were sometimes seized by the moneylender. Over large areas, actual cultivators were gradually reduced to the status of tenants-at-will, sharecroppers, and landless labourers.
- Peasants frequently resisted exploitation, and they soon realised that their true adversary was the colonial state.
- In some cases, desperate peasants turned to crime to escape intolerable conditions. These crimes included robbery, dacoity, and social banditry.

**53. Peasant Movements (1857 - 1947)**

**Indigo Revolt (1859 - 1860)**

- In Bengal, indigo planters, nearly all of whom were Europeans, exploited local peasants by forcing them to grow indigo on their lands instead of more lucrative crops like rice.
- The planters forced the peasants to take advance payments and enter into fraudulent contracts, which were then used against them.
- The planters intimidated the peasants through kidnappings, illegal confinement, flogging, attacks on women and children, cattle seizure, house burning and demolition, and crop destruction.
- The peasants' rage erupted in 1859, when they decided not to grow indigo under duress, led by Digambar Biswas and Bishnu Biswas of Nadia district, and resisted the physical pressure of the planters and their lathiyals (retainers), backed by police and the courts. They also formed a counter-force to the planters' attacks.
- The Bengali intelligentsia played an important role in supporting the peasants' cause by organising mass meetings, preparing memoranda on peasants' grievances, and assisting them in legal battles.
- The government formed an indigo commission to investigate the issue of indigo cultivation. Based on its recommendations, the government issued a notification in November 1860 stating that ryots could not be forced to grow indigo and that all disputes would be resolved through legal means.
- However, the planters were already closing down factories, and by the end of 1860, indigo cultivation had all but disappeared from Bengal.

**Pabna Agrarian League (1878 - 1880)**

- During the 1870s and 1880s, large parts of Eastern Bengal experienced agrarian unrest as a result of zamindars' oppressive practises. The zamindars raised rents above the legal limit and prevented tenants from acquiring occupancy rights under Act X of 1859.
- To achieve their goals, the zamindars used forcible evictions, cattle and crop seizures, and lengthy, costly litigation in courts where the poor peasant was at a disadvantage.

- With enough of the oppressive regime, the peasants of Yusufshahi Pargana in Patna district formed an agrarian league or combination to oppose the zamindars' demands.
- Though peasant discontent persisted until 1885, the majority of cases had been resolved, partly through official persuasion and partly due to zamindars' fears.
- Many peasants were successful in acquiring occupancy rights and resisting increased rents. In addition, the government promised to enact legislation to protect tenants from the worst aspects of zamindari oppression. The Bengal Tenancy Act was passed in 1885.

**Deccan Riots (1867)**

- The Ryotwari system heavily taxed the ryots of western India's Deccan region. Again, the peasants were caught in a vicious network, this time with the moneylender as the exploiter and main beneficiary. These moneylenders were mostly outsiders—Marwaris or Gujaratis.
- Conditions had deteriorated due to a drop in cotton prices following the end of the American Civil War in 1864, the government's decision to increase land revenue by 50% in 1867, and a string of poor harvests.
- The growing conflict between moneylenders and peasants resulted in a social boycott movement organised by the ryots against the "outsider" moneylenders in 1874.
- The government was successful in suppressing the movement. The Deccan Agriculturists Relief Act was passed in 1879 as a conciliation measure.

**Changed Nature of Peasant Movement after 1857**

- Peasants emerged as the primary force in agrarian movements, fighting for their own demands directly.
- The demands were almost entirely focused on economic issues.
- The movements were aimed at the peasants' immediate adversaries: foreign planters, indigenous zamindars, and moneylenders.
- The struggles were aimed at achieving specific and limited goals and resolving specific grievances.



- These movements were not aimed at colonialism.
- The goal of these movements was not to end the peasant subordination or exploitation system.
- The territorial scope was limited.
- There was no long-term organisation or continuity of struggle.
- The peasants became acutely aware of their legal rights and asserted them both inside and outside of the courts.

### **Kisan Sabha Movement (1857)**

- The Awadh taluqdars reclaimed their lands after the 1857 revolt. This strengthened the taluqdars' (large landlords') grip on the province's agrarian society.
- The majority of cultivators were subjected to high rents, summary evictions (bedakhali), illegal levies, renewal fees, or nazrana.
- Food and other necessities were more expensive during the First World War. This aggravated the plight of the UP peasants.
- Kisan Sabhas were organised in UP primarily due to the efforts of Home Rule activists. Gauri Shankar Mishra and Indra Narayan Dwivedi established the United Provinces Kisan Sabha in February 1918. Madan Mohan Malaviya backed them up. By June 1919, the UP Kisan Sabha had 450 branches.
- Because of differences in nationalist ranks, the Awadh Kisan Sabha was formed in October 1920.
- The movement faded quickly, owing in part to government repression and in part to the passage of the Awadh Rent (Amendment) Act.

### **Eka Movement (1921)**

- 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 Khalifat 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, as well as the practise of share rent, contributed to this movement.

- The Eka meetings were marked by a religious ritual in which a hole representing the Ganga was dug in the ground and filled with water, a priest was brought in to preside.
- The assembled peasants vowed that they would pay only recorded rent but pay it on time, would not leave when ejected, would refuse to do forced labour, would not help criminals and would abide by Panchayat decisions, they would not pay revenue without receipt, and they would remain united under
- 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.

### **Mappila Revolt (1921)**

- The Mappilas were Muslim tenants who lived in the Malabar region, where the majority of the landlords were Hindus.
- During the nineteenth century, the Mappilas also expressed their resentment of landlord oppression. Their complaints centred on a lack of tenure security, high rents, renewal fees, and other oppressive exactions.
- The Mappila tenants were especially encouraged by the local Congress body's demand for government legislation governing tenant-landlord relations. The Mappila movement eventually merged with the ongoing Khilafat agitation.
- Mappila meetings were addressed by leaders of the Khilafat-Non-Cooperation Movement such as Gandhi, Shaukat Ali, and Maulana Azad. Following the arrest of national leaders, leadership passed to local Mappila leaders.

### Bardoli Satyagraha (1926)

- After Gandhi's arrival on the national political scene, the Bardoli taluqa in Surat district experienced intense politicisation.
- The movement began in January 1926, when the government decided to increase land revenue by 30%. The Congress leaders quickly protested, and a Bardoli Inquiry Committee was formed to look into the matter.
- The committee determined that the revenue increase was unjustified. Vallabhbai Patel was appointed to lead the movement in February 1926. The women of Bardoli bestowed upon him the title "Sardar."
- The Bardoli peasants decided under Patel to refuse payment of the revised assessment until the government appointed an independent tribunal or accepted the current amount as full payment.
- Massive tension had built up in the area by August 1928. There was talk of a railway strike in Bombay.
- Gandhi arrived in Bardoli to be on standby in case of an emergency. The government was now looking for a graceful exit. It stipulated that all occupants must first pay the increased rent (not actually done).
- Then, a committee investigated the situation and determined that the revenue increase was unjustified, recommending only a 6.03 percent increase.

### All India Kisan Sabha (1936)

- In April 1936, Swami Sahjanand Saraswati was elected president, and N.G. Ranga was appointed general secretary.
- A kisan manifesto was issued, and a periodical was launched under the direction of Indulal Yagnik.
- In 1936, both the All India Kisan Sabha(AIKS) and the Congress met in Faizpur.
- The AIKS agenda had a strong influence on the Congress manifesto (particularly the agrarian policy) for the 1937 provincial elections.

### Impact of Peasant Movements

- Though these revolts did not aim to remove British rule from India, they did raise awareness among Indians.

- The peasants became acutely aware of their legal rights and asserted them both inside and outside of the courts.
- Peasants emerged as the primary force in agrarian movements, fighting for their own demands directly.
- During the Non-Cooperation Movement, various Kisan Sabhas were formed to organise and agitate for peasant demands.
- These movements weakened the landed class's power, contributing to the transformation of the agrarian structure.
- Peasants felt compelled to band together and fight exploitation and oppression.
- These insurgent movements paved the way for a slew of other uprisings across the country.

### Conclusion

- Because of the peasantry's lack of differentiation and the all-encompassing nature of the anti-imperialist struggle, the Peasant Movement was able to unite all sections of the peasantry, including landless labourers, in its anti-feudal and anti-imperialist crusade. The nonviolent ideology had given the peasants who took part in the movement a lot of strength. The movement also contributed to the rise of nationalism.

## 54. All India Kisan Sabha (1936)

The All India Kisan Sabha (also known as the Akhil Bharatiya Kisan Sabha) is the peasant or farmers' wing of the Communist Party of India, an important peasant movement founded in 1936 by Sahajanand Saraswati during the Indian National Congress Lucknow Session in 1936.

### Background

- The Kisan Sabha movement began in Bihar under the leadership of Sahajanand Saraswati, who founded the **Bihar Provincial Kisan Sabha (BPKS) in 1929** to mobilize peasant grievances against zamindari attacks on their occupancy rights, igniting India's farmers' movements.

- The peasant movement gradually grew in strength and spread throughout the rest of India.
- All of these radical peasant developments culminated in the formation of the All India Kisan Sabha at the Indian National Congress's Lucknow session in April 1936, with Swami Sahajanand Saraswati elected as its first president.
- **Other prominent members of this Sabha included** N.G. Ranga, E.M.S. Namboodiripad, Indulal Yagnik, Sohan Singh Bhakna, Z.A. Ahmed, Pandit Karyanand Sharma, Pandit Yamuna Karjee, Pandit Yadunandan (Jadunandan) Sharma, Rahul Sankrityayan, P. Sundarayya, Ram Manohar Lohia
- The **Kisan Manifesto**, issued in August 1936, demanded the abolition of the zamindari system and the cancellation of rural debts; in October 1937, it adopted the **red flag as its banner**.
- Soon after, its leaders grew increasingly estranged from Congress and clashed with Congress governments in Bihar and United Provinces.

### Features

- The **All India Kisan Sabha was founded in April 1936** in Lucknow by Swami **Sahjanand Saraswati as president and N.G. Ranga as general secretary**.
- A kisan manifesto was issued, and a periodical was launched under the direction of **Indulal Yagnik**.
- In 1936, both the AIKS and the Congress met in Faizpur.
- The All India Kisan Sabha agenda had a strong influence on the Congress manifesto (particularly the agrarian policy) for the 1937 provincial elections.

### Objectives

- The Kisan Sabhas' initial goal was to foster mutual understanding between peasants and landlords. However, due to the landlords' obstinate and oppressive attitude, the Kisan Sabhas were forced to adopt a militant stance.
- They did, however, continue to spread nationalist ideology among the peasants in support of the Congress' political programme.
- The goal of All India Kisan Sabha was to abolish landlordism and provide free land to agricultural and other rural laborers.

- To raise the rural masses' standard of living while also developing agriculture and industry.
- It wanted to put an end to the exploitation of agricultural and other rural laborers.

### Outcome

- The movement became more dominated by Socialists and Communists as it moved away from the Congress.
- Members of the Congress were prohibited from becoming members of Kisan Sabhas during the Haripura session of the Congress in February 1938.
- When peasant movements faced severe repression in Princely States, Congress leaders did not intervene.
- During the Congress's Haripura session in 1938, the schism was obvious.
- By May 1942, the **Communist Party of India (CPI)** had taken control of the All India Kisan Sabha in all Indian states, including Bengal.
- It took the Communist Party's People's War stance and avoided the Quit India Movement, which began in August 1942, despite the fact that it would lose its popular base.
- Many of its members disobeyed party orders and participated in the revolution.
- It was more difficult for prominent members like N.G. Ranga, Indulal Yagnik, and Swami Sahajananda to address peasants without adopting a watered-down pro-British and pro-war stance. They quickly left the organization.

### Conclusion

Swami Sahajanand Saraswati had a concrete legal vision for the formation of Indian society through the empowerment of peasants and workers, but he and his Kisan Sabha lacked a constitutional vision for the emerging independent nation of India. The All India Kisan Sabha was a well-known peasant struggle that began in the twentieth century against the Zamindari System. It helped farmers, peasants, and other agricultural and rural labourers improve their living conditions.

**55. List of Governors-General of Bengal**

| Year/Governor General of Bengal | Major Reforms & Events   |
|---------------------------------|--|
| 1772-1785<br>Warren Hastings    | <b>First Governor-General of Bengal</b><br>End to the dual system of administration<br>Regulating Act of 1773<br>Supreme Court at Calcutta<br>Asiatic Society of Bengal<br>First Anglo-Maratha War and Treaty of Salbai<br>First English translation of Bhagavad Gita<br>Pitt's India Act-1784 |
| 1786-1793<br>Lord Cornwallis    | Establishment of Appellate courts and lower grade courts<br>Establishment of Sanskrit college<br>Third Anglo-Mysore War and Treaty of Seringapatam<br>Introduction of Permanent Settlement and civil services  |
| 1793-1798<br>Sir John Shore     | Charter act of 1793<br>Policy of Non-intervention<br>Battle of Kharda  |
| 1798-1805<br>Lord Wellesley     | Introduction of Subsidiary Alliance System<br>Fourth Anglo- Mysore war and the Treaty of Bassein<br>Second Anglo – Maratha war<br>Establishment of Madras presidency<br>Establishing Fort William College at Calcutta  |
| 1805-1807<br>Sir George Barlow  | The Acting Governor-General of India until the arrival of Lord Minto,<br>Diminished the area of British territory because of his passion for economy and retrenchment,<br>The Mutiny of Vellore took place in 1806   |
| 1807-1813<br>Lord Minto I       | Concluded the treaty of Amritsar with Maharaja Ranjit Singh in 1809,<br>Introduced the Charter Act of 1813   |

|                            |   |
|----------------------------|---|
| 1813-1823<br>Lord Hastings | The policy of Non-intervention came to an end<br>third Anglo-Maratha war<br>Abolition of Peshwaship<br>Establishment of the Ryotwari System in Madras (By Thomas Munroe) and Bombay<br>Mahalwari system in north-western Provinces and Bombay |
| 1823-1828<br>Lord Amherst  | The annexation of Assam leading to the first Burmese war of 1824,<br>The mutiny of Barrackpore in 1824  |

**56. Governors-General of India**

| Year Governors-General of India    | Major Reforms  |
|------------------------------------|--|
| 1828-1835<br>Lord William Bentinck | First Governor-General of India (Charter Act of 1833 made Governor-General of Bengal as Governor-General of India.)<br>Abolition of Sati<br>Suppression of Thugee, infanticide and child sacrifices.<br>English Education Act of 1835<br>Medical College and Hospital, Kolkata |
| 1835-1836<br>Lord Charles Metcalfe | 'Liberator of the Indian press detached all restraints on an open press  |
| 1836-1842<br>Lord Auckland         | Dedicated himself to the improvement of native schools and the expansion of the commercial industry of India<br>The first Anglo-Afghan war   |
| 1842-1844<br>Lord Ellenborough     | Sindh was annexed  |
| 1844-1848<br>Lord Hardinge I       | First Anglo Sikh War (1845-46)   |



|  |   |   |  |
|--|---|---|--|
| Lord Dalhousie<br>(Governors-General of India) | introduced 'Doctrine of Lapse'<br>Doctrine of Good<br>Charles Wood Dispatch<br>Post Office Act, 1854<br>1st Railway line connecting Bombay and Thane<br>Established engineering college in Roorkee<br>Second Anglo-Sikh War<br>First telegraph line<br>Establishment of the Public Works Department<br>Abolition of titles and pensions.<br>Started Competitive examination for Indian Civil Services<br>Widow Remarriage Act |   | was killed by Sher Ali Afridi in Port Blair<br>Establishment of Statistical Survey of India  |
|  | 1856-1857<br>Lord Canning   | Three universities at Calcutta, Madras and Bombay in 1857 were established<br>Revolt of 1857 took place<br><b>Note</b> – Post-1857 Revolt, Governor-General of India was made Viceroy of British India and Canning became the first Viceroy of India/British India. | Lord Northbrook<br>1872 – 1876<br>Civil Marriage and Arya Samaj marriage introduced<br>Universal Marriage Act introduced in 1872<br>Intercaste Marriage allowed<br>Kuka Movement in Punjab   |
|  |   | Lord Lytton<br>1876 – 1880  | Vernacular Press Act, 1878<br>Arms Act, 1878<br>Nationalist view – Due to High rate of taxation purchasing power had reduced.<br>Government view – Drought is natural phenomena due to which people became poor<br>Ignored severe famine and organized durbar. Proclaimed Queen Victoria "The Empress of India"<br>Abolished tax on cotton for British traders<br>Maximum age to take up civil services exam lowered from 21 to 19 |
|  |   | Lord Ripon<br>1880 – 1884   | Was the most loved Governor-General<br>Repealed the controversial Arms and Vernacular press act<br>Set up Local self-governments – Panchayats and Municipal Boards due to which he was known as Father of Self Government<br>2 new universities opened – Punjab University 1884, Allahabad University 1887<br>Illbert Bill – Indian judge cannot try English Judge<br>Appointment of Hunter Commission                             |

**57. Viceroys in India from 1858 to 1947**

| Viceroy Tenure               | Achievement   |   |
|------------------------------|---|---|
| Lord Canning<br>1858-1862    | Abolished doctrine of lapse   |   |
| Lord Elgin<br>1862 – 1863    | Wahabi Movement   |   |
| Lord Lawrence<br>1864 – 1869 | Establishment of High court in Calcutta, Madras during his reign.<br>Anglo-Bhutanese war  |   |
| Lord Mayo<br>1869 – 1872     | Financial Distribution between centre and state introduced for the first time<br>First Census in 1872<br>Mayo College for the royal elite was set up<br>Lord Mayo was the only Governor-General who was killed in India. He |   |
|                              | Lord Dufferin<br>1884 – 1888  | III Anglo--Burmese war (1885--1886)<br>Indian National Congress was founded in 1885   |
|                              | Lord Lansdowne<br>1888 – 1894   | Indian Councils Act, 1892 (Indirect election was introduced for the first time)<br>Factory Act, 1891  |
|                              | Lord Elgin II<br>1894 – 1899  | First British Officer called Rands was killed.<br>He was killed by Chapekar (Ramkrishna & Damodar) Brothers. This was the first political murder. |
|                              | Lord Curzon<br>1899 – 1905  | Indian Universities act – to control Indian Universities  |

|                                 |  |
|---------------------------------|--|
|                                 | Raleigh Commission<br>Partition of Bengal<br>Curzon-Kitchener controversy  |
| Lord Minto II<br>1905 – 1910    | Morley – Minto reforms   |
| Lord Hardinge II<br>1910 – 1916 | Mesopotamian Campaign<br>Transfer of Capital from Calcutta to Delhi<br>Hindu Mahasabha was established by Madan Mohan Malaviya |
| Lord Chelmsford<br>1916 – 1921  | Home Rule League Movements<br>Rowlatt Act was passed<br>Montague – Chelmsford reform was passed                                |
| Lord Reading<br>1921 – 1926     | Swaraj Party was formed<br>Chauri – Chaura incident took place   |
| Lord Irwin<br>1926 – 1931       | Launch of civil disobedience movement and Dandi march<br>First round table conference was held                                 |
| Lord Willingdon<br>1931 – 1936  | Second & Third Round Table Conference<br>Poona pact was signed<br>Communal award was started                                   |
| Lord Linlithgow<br>1936 – 1944  | Cripps Mission<br>Quit India movement  |
| Lord Wavell<br>1944 – 1947      | CR Formula 1944<br>Launch of Direct Action day<br>Wavell Plan & Shimla conference  |
| Lord Mountbatten<br>1947-48     | June 3rd Plan<br>Last Viceroy and First Governor-General of free India   |