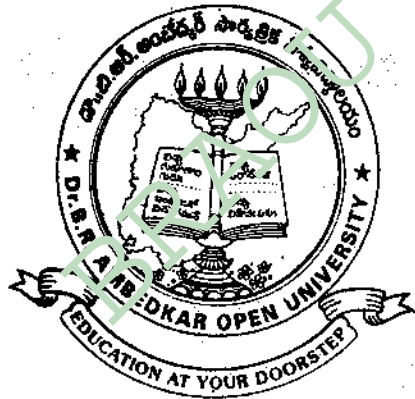


INDIAN HISTORY AND CULTURE

(1526-1989 A.D)



Dr. B.R. AMBEDKAR OPEN UNIVERSITY
HYDERABAD

2004 - 2005

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INTRODUCTION

Indian History presents a process of continuous development and growth of various institutions and practices - social, political, economic and cultural. Its different phases identified with the Ancient, Early Medieval, Later Medieval and Modern periods, are marked by significant changes not only in Indian policy, but also in Indian socio-cultural situation.

This volume deals with the historical developments starting with the rise and fall of Mughal and Maratha empires and the advent of the British. It discusses the transformations that occurred in the administrative, social, economic and cultural spheres in the respective periods. It examines the Great Rebellion of 1857 and the socio-religious movements of the 19th century such as the Brahma Samaj, the Aligarh Movement, and the Indian National Movement which dominated the political scene from 1858 to 1947. It considers the impact of the British rule on Indian agriculture, industry, education, social and religious systems. The volume thus traces the sweep of Indian history from the establishment of the Mughal rule in 1526 A.D., through the consolidation of the British empire, to the attainment of Indian Independence in 1947 and the political, social and economic developments in independent India till 1989 A.D.

This volume comprises the topics in Indian history included in the syllabus for the second year of B.A. Degree Course, which generally cover the 'core' area of the subject. The syllabus is for the sake of convenience, divided into Blocks, each of which comprises a number of units. The lessons are prepared by the experts in accordance with the format designed to enable the student to read and understand them without much difficulty.

The course material is now revised and brought into the self-instructional pattern incorporating the more information regarding contemporary developments in India. To enable the student to check his progress in the comprehension of the lesson, in each unit, questions under the heading, **Check your progress**, are given. Space is provided below those questions, to answer those questions. Students should write their answers in the space provided.

At the end of the unit, under the heading, **Check your Progress : Answers**, the answers to those questions are given briefly. The important points in each unit are given at the end with the title **Let us sum up**, Assignments, which the students of Dr. B.R. Ambedkar Open University have to answer and the examination model paper for the entire syllabus are given at the end of the volume.

The university hopes that the course material now presented in a revised form in the light of recent changes in history will be more useful for the students to learn the subject better and enhance their understanding in a more comprehensive manner.

BRAOU

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BRAOU

BLOCK - I

THE MUGHALS AND SHER SHAH

This block consists of four units dealing with the Mughals and Sher Shah. The first unit is on the political history of the Mughals upto Humayun. The last unit is on the cultural conditions during the Mughal period. There are also units on Mughal administration and economic and social conditions during the Mughal period.

BRAOU

UNIT - 1 : POLITICAL HISTORY OF THE MUGHALS UPTO HUMAYUN

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- 1.0 Objectives
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- 1.3 Babur, 1526-1530
 - 1.3.1 Early career
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 - 1.4.1 Difficulties
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 - 1.4.6 Estimation
- 1.5 Let us sum up
- 1.6 Check your progress : Answers
- 1.7 Examination model questions.
- 1.8 Books for further reading

1.0 OBJECTIVES

A study of this unit should enable you to know about :

1. the political conditions in India on the eve of Babur's invasion
2. the first battle of Panipat and establishment of the Mughal empire by Babur - Battle of Panipat - The Battle of Khanua-capture of Chanderi - Battle of Gogra - Extent of empire - Estimate of Babur and his personality.
3. the succession of Humayun, his defeat by Sher Shah and the restoration of the Mughals.

1.1 INTRODUCTION

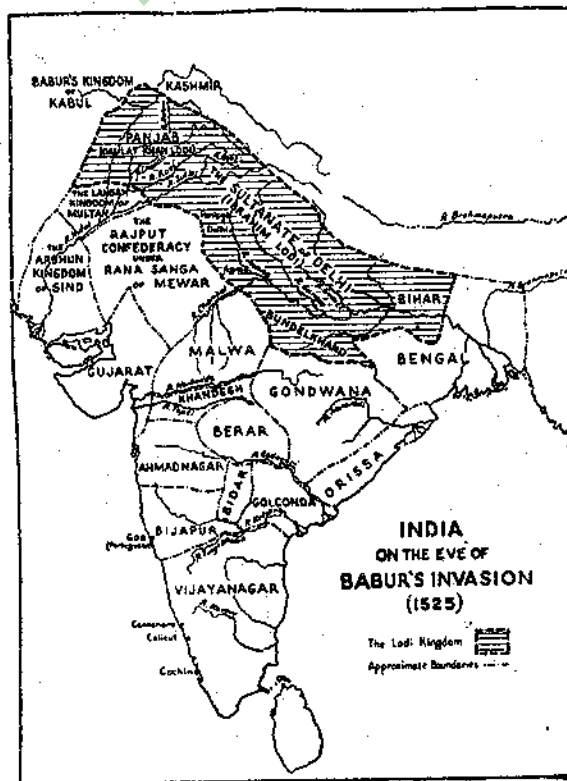
Mughals or Mongols were originally natives of Mongolia in Central Asia. They were very brave and warlike. In the 13th century, they made their first incursions into India. One of their well-known chiefs was Chengiz Khan, the dreaded Great Khan of the Mongols. Chengiz Khan, with his hordes, ravaged the north-western frontier of India and western Punjab during the reign of Iltutmish (1211-1236), a king of the slave dynasty. Subsequently, the Mongols made inroads into India from time to time during the period of the Delhi Sultanate.

During this period (1556-1707) there were six great rulers - Babur, Humayun, Akbar, Jahangir, Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb - and then this empire broke up. These six Mughal kings were known as the Great Mughals.

1.2 POLITICAL CONDITIONS IN INDIA ON THE EVE OF BABUR'S INVASION (1525)

India was a picture of political disunity characterised by big and small kingdoms ruled both by Hindu and Muhammedan political powers. Internecine strife, mutual jealous is for expansion of political power, civil war weakened the power structure of all the contemporary rules and made Babur's task very easy.

The kingdom of Delhi was ruled by Afghan Ibrahim Lodi, whose political power was limited to Delhi, Agra, the Doab, Bayana and Chanderi. Sind, Multan, Jaunpur, Bengal and Orissa formed themselves into independent principalities. Malwa, Khandesh and Gujarat were also ruled by Muhammedan princes independently. Rajasthan was also split up into a number of small kingdoms. Mewar ruled by Rana Sangram Singh was the most important



one among the Rajput states. In Deccan, the Bahmani and the Vijayanagar were the two prominent kingdoms. By the time of Babur's invasion Bahmani was splitted into five independent sultanates Berar, Ahmadnagar, Bijapur, Golkonda and Berar under different dynasties fighting among themselves and also fighting against their common enemy Vijayanagar power. Between these two groups lay the Hindu principalities of Rajputana, Orissa and Gondwana consisting of a number of independent chieftains. On the west coast the Portuguese had established their power.

Krishnadeva Raya (1509-1530) was the contemporary of Babur. Babur in his *Tuzuk-i-Baburi* records without mentioning the name that the Raja of Bijanagora was the most powerful of the pargan princes in terms of territory and army. Though, by the time of Babur's invasion, the Afghans and Rajputs in the north and Vijayanagar in the south were powerful, their perpetual warfare not only weakened them but failed to respond collectively to the threat of determined invader like Babur. Added to the political disunity, the weakness of military and division of military forces on traditional social lines and out moded military strategy and neglect of defence of northern most boundaries led to the success of Babur. Failure on the part so political power structure to learn lessons from the past. Led to the bounding of Mughal power in India as that of Delhi Sultanate in 1206 and the success of British East India Company in 1757 and 1764.

I. CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1. What was the salient feature of Political conditions of India on the eve of Babur's invasion?

1.3 BABUR, 1526-1530

Babur's invasion of India (1525) was well - timed. The whole of Northern India was simmering with faction and discontent. The rule of Ibrahim Lodi (1517-1526) was extremely unpopular. His arrogance, cruelty and ill - temper has estranged some of his own kinsmen. Daulat Khan Lodi the governor of Punjab and Alam Khan, the Sultan's uncle, turned against him and sought Babur's intervention. Babur gladly used the opportunity for invading India.

1.3.1 Early Career of Babur

Babur's full name was Zahiruddin Muhammad Babur. He was descended from Timur on his father's side and from Chengiz Khan on his mother's side. He thus united in his person the blood of two mighty conquerors and the scourges of Central Asia. Babur was born in 1483. His father, Umar Sheikh Mirza, was the ruler of Farghana, a fragment of Timur's great empire. Babur succeeded his father to the throne of Farghana at the tender age of a little over eleven. His early life was full of difficulties and he had to face terrible hardships. His great ambition of occupying Samarqand; the capital of Timur, was not

fulfilled. He was even driven out from Farghana (now a petty state in Russian Turkestan) also. He left his native land for Kabul, where he carved out a small principality for himself in 1504.

1.3.2 Conquest of India

Babur had been twenty years in Kabul before he made up his mind to conquer India of whose wealth he had heard much. Between 1517 and 1525, he made several attacks on Punjab. Babur's supreme opportunity came when he made his fifth and last invasion of India on the invitation of Daulat Khan Lodi, the powerful governor of Punjab, and Alam Khan, an uncle of Ibrahim Lodi, the Sultan of Delhi. Babur acted immediately, and he led his troops on India in November, 1525. But, both Daulat Khan Lodi and Alam Khan turned treacherous. So first Babur had to fight against them. Daulat Khan was defeated and Punjab was easily conquered. Then he marched to Delhi.

1.3.3 The First Battle of Panipat, 1526

Learning of Babur's march towards Delhi, Sultan Ibrahim Lodi advanced from his capital to give a fitting reply to Babur. Babur and Sultan Ibrahim joined in battle on the memorable field of Panipat (between Delhi and Tanesar), where India has been so often the reward of the victor. On 21st April, 1526, Ibrahim took the field with 100,000 men, supported nearly by 100 elephants. Babur's army (of 12,000 men) was much smaller than that of Ibrahim, but it was well-trained and skilled in warfare. Moreover, Babur was a veteran general and had a fine and large contingent of artillery commanded by two of his able captains, Ustad Ali and Mustafa Ibrahim, on the other hand, was "young, inexperienced man, careless in his movements, who marched without order, halted or retired without method, and engaged without foresight" and thus, was no match for Babur, a born general. But, the battle was fiercely contested and fought with equal bravery. Sultan Ibrahim was outmanouvered and his army was completely routed; Sultan Ibrahim died in the battle-field along with 15,000 of his brave men. Babur won a decisive victory, mostly because of his artillery. "By the grace of Almighty God", Babur wrote in his memoir, "*that this difficult affair was made easy to me, and that mighty army, in the space of half a day, was laid in the dust*". Delhi was occupied. Immediately after this, Babur's son Prince Humayun, occupied Agra where he got a vast treasure including the famous *Koh-i-Noor* diamond. Babur made Agra his headquarters. Thus, the Battle of Panipat made Babur king of Delhi; he was fighting three more battles before he became master of a greater part of Northern India.

1.3.4 The battle of Khanua or Kanwaha, 1527

Babur had next to face a power more formidable than that of the Sultan - the Rajput (Hindu) power led by Rana Sangram Singh (Rana Sanga), head of the premier Rajput state, Mewar, Rana Sanga was famous as a hero of hundred fights. The Rana moved to attack him. Several Rajput chiefs and some Afghan (Lodi) chiefs including Hasan Khan Mewati and Sultan Mahamud Lodi, who were supporters of the Lodi dynasty, also joined him. At Khanua or Kanwaha, Agra, the battle began in March 1527.

The Rana brought a vast army into the field, on the very sight of which, Babur's troops became dispirited. But then, Babur encouraged his men with a stirring and impressive speech. He impressed upon them that it is "*much better to die with honour than to live with*

infamy", and made them swear on God that they would not turn their face from the warfare. He broke all his wine cups and vowed never to drink and he kept his pledge. Now, the Mughals made a brave charge. Their artillery again stood them in good stead. The Rajputs were defeated in this fiercely contested fight. Rana Sanga escaped from the battle field, and died broken-hearted about two years later, in 1529. This victory of Babur weakened the powerful Rajput confederacy and made Babur's further conquests easy. This battle is more important than the first battle of Panipat, as it helped to consolidate Babur's position in India.

1.3.5 Capture of Chanderi, 1528

Babur followed up his success, by the capture of Chanderi, a fort held for the Rana by the brave Rajput chief, Medini Rai, in 1528.

1.3.6 The Battle of Gogra, 1529

After the conquest of Chanderi, Babur advanced towards Bihar where the Afghans were still in power under Muhammad Lodi, a brother of Ibrahim Lodi. In 1529, he defeated the Afghans in a battle near Patna on the bank of the Gogra. He then forced the Sultan, Nasrat of Bengal to make peace with him. The strong fortress of Ranathambhor also fell into his hands in 1529.

1.3.7 Extent of Empire

In December, 1530 Babur died. After the above mentioned battles, Babur became master of nearly the whole of Northern India. His rule extended over the Punjab, modern Uttar Pradesh and North Bihar. He also subjugated the Rajput state of Mewar. Thus, his Indian conquests extended from Punjab to the frontier of Bengal, and from the Himalayas to Gwalior.

1.3.8 Estimate

Babur's character and personality are revealed to us in his memoirs, which form one of the best and most faithful pieces of autobiography extract. These memoirs, entitled the *Tuzuk-i-Baburi*, were originally written in Turki, and were transcribed by Humayun personally. In his memoirs Babur has described the political and military events of his time and has also given pen portraits of the famous personalities of his time. The physical features of our country, the beauty of nature, the flora and fauna of the country are also described. Babur wrote "*The country of Hindustan is extensive, full of men and full of produce*". He wrote that there were only three seasons, summer, rainy season and winter in India. He described the mango as the best fruit of India. Babur described India as a "*wonderful country*" but was unhappy with the lack of gardens, waterfalls, good horses, good dogs and water melons. From these memoirs, Babur emerges as an immensely likable, as well as a very vigorous and artistic personality. Babur's early difficulties had made him brave and hard. He was full of courage and the spirit of adventure. His Turki nobles had given him the title Babur (lion or tiger). He possessed remarkable self-confidence. His will was strong and he mastered it in the face of a grave crisis.

Babur was a very cultured person. He was an accomplished poet in Turki and Persian. He was also a great writer in Turki prose as is evidenced by his memoir, written in a simple style. He was a staunch Sunni Muslim and had full faith in God, but he was not a bigot. He was rarely ferocious, and generally kind and generous.

Babur was a gifted general and was an expert in military tactics. He could conquer Northern India, within a brief span of four years. By his eloquent and soul-stirring speeches, he could infuse courage and instill confidence in his followers. From the military point of view, Babur laid the foundations of the Mughal empire by destroying the Afghan power and weakening the Rajput states. On account of his early death, he could not find time to consolidate his conquests. He was too busy with war and politics to give sufficient time to administration. As most of his work was incomplete, his son, Humayun had to face many difficulties.

Babur's place in history rests on his Indian conquests which opened the way for an imperial line. He was "*the most brilliant Asiatic prince of his age, worthy of high place among the sovereigns of any age or country*" (V.A. Smith)

1.4 HUMAYUN, 1530-1540 and 1555-1556

Humayun's full name was Nasir-ud-din Humayun. Humayun means fortunate, but it is an irony of fate that Humayun proved a very unlucky ruler.

When Humayun succeeded to the throne, as the eldest son of Babur, he was twenty-three years old. Indifference to the wishes of his father, who had asked him to treat his brothers generously, he divided the empire among his brothers. He gave Kabul and Kandahar to Kamran, Mewar and Alwar to Hindal, and Sambhal (Rohilkhand) to Mirza Askari. This act proved harmful.

1.4.1 Difficulties

The chief reason for Humayun's difficulties was that Babur had no time to consolidate his empire. As soon as he died, the Afghans of Bihar and Bengal, under Mahamud Lodi and Sher Khan, as well as Bahadur Shah, the king of Gujarat, rose in revolt. In the North - West, Humayun's own brother Kamran proved treacherous and occupied Punjab. His other brothers coveted the throne. But, Humayun's worst enemy was perhaps himself. His addiction to opium partly explains his failure. He never stuck to anything and always did things by halves. He left one enemy unsubdued behind him, while he turned to face another.

1.4.2 Wars and Encounters With Sher Shah.

In 1531-32, Humayun led an army against the Afghans. He defeated Mahamud Lodi. He besieged the fort of Chunar, where Sher Khan made a show of submission to him. At this, Humayun returned to Agra without completely subduing him. It was a great blunder on the part of Humayun. Sher Khan was thus left free to consolidate his power in the east. Humayun wasted about two years in Delhi and Agra in merry-making. This gave Bahadur Shah time to strengthen his position.

In 1535-36, Humayun set out for Gujarat, and defeated Bahadur Shah. Bahadur Shah became a fugitive for sometime. Gujarat and Malwa were conquered. After this, Humayun received the news that Sher Khan, on his departure, Bahadur Shah quickly recovered Gujarat, Malwa. Thus, Humayun had conquered and lost Gujarat and Malwa within two years.

In 1537, Humayun moved against Sher Khan, but spent so long in taking Chunar, that Sher Khan had time to capture Gaur (the capital of Bengal) and its immense treasures, and escape with them. Humayun captured Gaur, and wasted his time there for months. In the meantime, Sher Khan cut off his communications between Delhi and Bengal, so that no provisions could reach Humayun. So, Humayun had to retreat, but Sher Khan made a sudden attack on the retreating army at Chausa, near Buxar, on the bank of Ganga (1539). Humayun's army suffered heavy losses, and he himself escaped narrowly and managed to reach Agra. The victory of Chausa made Sher Khan the ruler of Bengal and Bihar. He now assumed the title of Sher Shah.

Next year, i.e., in 1540, Humayun again led an army against Sher Shah, but was decisively defeated near Kanauj and fled the country. Sher Shah became king and once again, the Afghans became the rulers of Northern India.

1.4.3 Exile

Sher Shah pursued Humayun and the fleeing Mughals to Lahore. Here, Humayun's brothers again displayed their selfishness and jealousy and refused to give asylum to Humayun. Humayun became a homeless wanderer, first in Sindh, then in Marwar and finally, in Sindh again. In the midst of his misery, his son Akbar was born at Amarkot on 23rd November, 1542. It was here that Bairam Khan, who later became famous as Akbar's guardian, rejoined him.

In 1544, Humayun reached Persia (Iran), where Shah Tamasph granted him asylum on the condition that he would declare himself a *Shia* and hand over Qandahar, after conquering it, to the Shah. In 1545, with the help of Shah's army, and after a hard fight with his brothers, Askari and Kamran, Humayun captured Qandahar and Kabul in 1545. But, as promised to the Shah, Humayun did not hand over Qandahar to him and it proved from then onward, a bone of contention between the Mughals and the Persians.

1.4.4 Restoration

Sher Shah Sur had died in the meantime. Humayun moved to India, and after defeating Sikandar Sur, the ruler of Sirhind, occupied Delhi and Agra (1555). He appointed his son, Akbar, as Governor of Punjab, with Bairam Khan as his adviser and guardian.

1.4.5 Death

Humayun was not destined to enjoy for long the throne he had recovered. He died shortly after, from the effects of an accidental fall from the staircase of his library at Delhi (January, 1556). He hardly ruled for seven months after his restoration. "*He tumbled through life and tumbled out of it*" (Lane Pole).

1.4.6 Estimation

Humayun was a cultured and very learned man. He was a brave and gallant soldier. But for his optimism and perseverance, it would have been impossible to reconquer the kingdom of India. He was generous to a fault to his brothers. But his lack of sustained effort, addiction to opium, indolence and merry making marred his natural abilities to a great extent. As a king, Humayun proved a sad failure on account of these defects in his personality.

II. CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1. Explain the significance of the first battle of Panipat and the battle of Khanua.

2. What was Babur's contribution in India?

3. Mention two important reasons for the defeat of Humayun by Sher Shah.

1.5 LET US SUM UP

1. On the eve of Babur's invasion, India was divided into a number of small kingdoms, some ruled by Muslims and some by the Hindus.
2. The foundation for the Mughal empire was laid by Babur by his victory in the battle of Panipat in 1526.
3. After the death of Babur, in Humayun's time the Mughal empire was eclipsed by Sher Shah between 1540 and 1555.

1.6 CHECK YOUR PROGRESS : ANSWERS

- I. Before Babur's invasion of India there was no political unity in the country. Several small Muslim and Hindu kingdoms existed. In the South the Vijayanagar empire existed.

- II. 1. The victory of Babur in the battle of Panipat in 1526 against Ibrahim Lodi paved the way for the establishment of the Mughal empire in India. The battle of Khanua was more important than the battle of Panipat, as Rana Sanga who was defeated in that battle was a more formidable enemy of Babur than Ibrahim Lodi.
2. Babur's chief contribution in India was laying the foundation for the Mughal empire.
3. Humayun's lack of will power and his generosity towards his brother were the two important causes for his defeat.

1.7 EXAMINATION MODEL QUESTIONS

I. Answer the following questions in about 30 lines each.

1. Give an account of the career and conquests of Babur.
2. Account for the failure of Humayun as a ruler.

II. Answer the following questions in about 15 lines.

1. What were the political conditions in India on the eve of Babur's invasion?
2. Give an account of the first battle of Panipat and the battle of Khanua and explain their importance.

1.8 BOOKS FOR FURTHER READING

1. Chopra : *Some aspects of society and culture during the Mughal age*
2. Edwards : *Mughal Rule in India*
3. Eshwari Prasad : *A short History of the Muslim Rule in India*
Medieval India, Life and times of Humayun
4. Majumdar R.C. : *The Mughal Empire, Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan Series, volume VII*
5. Majumdar, Roychoudary : *Advanced History of India*
& Datta
6. Srivatsava A.C. : *Mughal Empire*

UNIT - 2 : SHER SHAH, HIS ADMINISTRATION & ACHIEVEMENTS

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 - 2.6.5 Trade and Commerce
 - 2.6.6 Justice
 - 2.6.7 Police
 - 2.6.8 Intelligence Department
 - 2.6.9 Provincial Administration
 - 2.6.10 Sarkar
 - 2.6.11 Paragana
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 - 2.6.14 Roads and Sarais
 - 2.6.15 Currency
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- 2.7 Buildings
- 2.8 Religious Policy
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- 2.10 Successors of Sher Shah
- 2.11 Let us Sum up
- 2.12 Check your progress - Answers
- 2.13 Examination Model Questions
- 2.14 Books for further reading

2.0 OBJECTIVES

Study of this unit should enable you to know :

1. the career of Sher Shah
2. how he defeated Humayun and established the second Afghan empire in India causing the eclipse of the Mughal empire.
3. the administration of Sher Shah and
4. the end of the second Afghan empire in India.

2.1 INTRODUCTION

The Sur interregnum of the establishment of the second Afghan empire in India by Sher Shah is of great significance in Indian History. Sher Shah's defeat of Humayun in 1540 caused a temporary eclipse of the Mughal empire in India. Apart from being a great conqueror Sher Shah was a great administrator also. Within the short span of five years of his rule, he evolved an efficient system of administration which became the basis of Mughal administration. If Sher Shah had lived for some more years probably, the re-establishment of the Mughal empire in India might not have been possible.

2.2 EARLY CAREER

Sher Shah was born in 1472 A.D. He was originally known as Farid. His grand father, Ibrahim Sur traded in horses. As he was not able to get adequate income in that trade he joined the army. Sher Shah's father was Hasan Khan. He came to India from Afghanistan and settled at Bajware near Hastinapur in Punjab. It was there that Farid was born. As Farid was born to the first wife of Hasan Khan, he did not get proper care and attention, due to Hasan Khan's infatuation for his fourth wife. At the age of 22 Farid quarrelled with his father and went to Jaunpur, where he stayed with Jamal Khan, once the master of his father. It was there that Farid studied, Arabic, Persian and the lives of great kings of the past. Jamal Khan soon brought about a reconciliation between Farid and his father. As a result of it, Farid was appointed as the deputy of his father's Jagirs at Sasaram and Khawaspur in the Shababad district of Bihar. Farid showed his unmistakable abilities as an administrator, as the deputy of his father's Jagir. Jagir became prosperous due to the efficient administration of Farid from 1497 to 1518.

But due to the jealousy of his step- mother and brothers, Farid again lost the favour of his father and with that his job as the deputy of the Jagir also. So he joined the service of Ibrahim Lodi at Agra with the help of the influential Amir Daulat Khan Lodi. In 1520, when Hasan Khan died, Ibrahim Lodi granted to Farid, the Jagir of his father. His step-brother, Sulaiman tried to get that Jagir, with the help of his master, Muhammed Khan, who was the Jagirdar of Chaund. To counteract the support of Muhammed Khan for Sulaiman, Farid joined the service of Bahar Khan Lohani, the deputy of Ibrahim Lodi in south Bihar. It was during his service of Bahar Khan Lohani that Farid got the title of Sher Khan for his gallantry in killing a tiger single handed in difficult circumstances. After Ibrahim Lodi was defeated in the first battle of Panipat in 1526, Bahar Khan Lohani assumed the title of Sultan Muhammed and proclaimed himself the ruler of South Bihar. Farid was in the

service of Babur also for 15 months between 1527 and 1528, when he lost the confidence of Sultan Muhammed. But he returned to Bihar to work again in the service of Sultan Muhammed.

In 1528, when Sultan Muhammed died, his wife appointed Farid as the deputy for her son Jalal Khan who succeeded Sultan Muhammed as the ruler of South Bihar. As the deputy of Jalal Khan, he became the defacto ruler of south Bihar. In 1529, Sher Khan defeated Nasrat Khan, the ruler of Bengal, who attacked the territory of Sher Khan. The Lohani nobles of South Bihar conspired against Sher Khan and tried to dispose him off, as his influence was increasing. But they did not succeed and for fear of persecution by Sher Khan fled to Bengal along with Jalal Khan. This left the kingdom free for Sher Khan who became the Sultan of South Bihar in 1530.

2.3 CONTEST WITH HUMAYUN

Sher Khan organised the Afghans in order to drive out the Mughuls from India. When Muhammed Lodi was defeated by Humayun in 1532, in the battle of Daygrua, Sher Khan became the leader of the Afghans and tried to regain supremacy for the Afghans in India by defeating Humayun, the Mughul emperor.

The first encounter between Sher Khan and Humayun took place at Chunargarh in 1532. Humayun laid siege to the fort of Chunargarh. After four months, Humayun made peace with Sher Khan who accepted the suzerainty of the Mughal emperor. In return for that, Sher Khan was allowed to retain Chunargarh and rule over South Bihar.

In 1534, Mahmud Shah of Bengal, attacked South Bihar. He was defeated by Sher Khan in the battle of Surjagarh. This again brought Sher Khan into confrontation with Humayun for help. In 1539, in the battle of Chausa, Humayun was defeated by Sher Khan, who then assumed the title of Sher Shah, *Sultan-i-Adil*. In 1540 Sher Shah, annexed Bengal. In the same year in the battle of Bilgram near Kanauj he defeated Humayun and occupied the territory of Agra, Delhi, Gwalior and Lahore which was under the control of the Mughuls. Thus, in 1540 Sher Shah replaced the Mughul empire with the second Afghan empire.

2.4 SUPPRESSION OF REVOLT IN BENGAL

In 1541, Sher Shah's governor in Bengal Kizar Khan revolted. Sher Shah himself went there imprisoned the governor and took steps to prevent revolts in future.

2.5 CONQUESTS

In 1542, Malwa which is situated in a strategic position, between the North and South, was conquered by Sher Shah. Quadir Shah, was the master of Malwa at that time. He surrendered to Sher Shah and later fled to Gujarat. In 1543, Sher Shah attacked the kingdom of Mandu, defeated its ruler Purnamal and captured the fort of Raisin. In the same year, Sher Shah's general, Haibat Khan Niaze conquered Multan and Sind also. Another important success of Sher Shah was against the Rajput ruler Maldeva, who was the mightiest Rajput prince during his times. The defeat of Maldeva resulted in the conquest of Nagar, Ajmer, Jalor, Bihar and Jodhpur. Sher Shah attacked the Rajput Kingdom of Mewar also which was ruled by Uday Singh, a weak ruler. Uday Singh submitted to Sher Shah without any resistance.

Though Sher Shah conquered many kingdoms in Rajasthan, he did not annex those territories except Marwar and Raisen. He allowed the Rajput princess to rule over their Kingdoms when they accepted his suzerainty. Their strong forts were however kept under his control. Kalinjar in Bundelkand was also captured. The fort of Kalinjar was one of the strong forts in India. Kirat Singh the ruler of Kalinjar ably defended the fort. Artillery had to be used for conquering it. The use of artillery resulted in an explosion in which Sher Shah was seriously burnt, as a result of which he died on May 22, 1545. But before his death the fort was captured. Thus Sher Shah before he died was the master of almost the whole of North India. Only Kashmir, Assam and Gujarat in North India were not in his empire.

I. CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1. Where did Farid show his administrative abilities ?

2. When and how Sher Shah replace the Mughul empire with the second Afghan empire?

2.6 SHER SHAH'S ADMINISTRATION

According to Qanungo, Sher Shah was *'the greatest administrator and military genius among the Afghans'*. Writing about the administrative ability of Sher Shah, Keene observed *'No government, not even the British has shown so much wisdom as this patron'*. Sher Shah was a wise, just, benevolent and efficient administrator. He took keen personal interest in all matters of administration and established a sound system of administration in his empire.

2.6.1 Central Government

2.6.1.1 The Sultan

Sher Shah, like all the medieval sultans concentrated all the government powers in his own hands. He appointed ministers who looked after different departments of the government. But his ministers had no decision making powers. They were only executing authorities. The following were the important ministers during the time of Sher Shah.

2.6.1.2 Wazir

The Wazir was the finance minister. He was the head of the department of *Diwan-i-Wizariat* and looked after the income and expenditure of the government.

2.6.1.3 Arz-i-Mumalik

Arz-i-Mumalik was the head of the department of *Diwan-i-Arz*. He was the minister incharge of the army. He looked after the recruitment, organisation and payment of salaries of the army.

2.6.1.4 Diwan-i-Rasalat

The minister incharge of *Diwan-i-Rasalat* was the foreign affairs minister.

2.6.1.5 Dabir-i-Khas

Was the head of the department of *Diwan-i-Insha* and looked after the internal correspondence of the state. The royal proclamations and orders were sent by this minister. Besides the above mentioned ministers the chief Qazi, who was the highest Judge, next only to the Sultan and *Barid-i-Mumalik*, who was the head of the intelligence department were also important dignities in the government of Sher Shah.

2.6.2 Army

Like Allauddin Khilji, Sher Shah maintained a standing army. His army consisted of cavalry, infantry, elephants and artillery. The practice of maintaining the list of the soldiers existed. The practise of branding horses was also followed in Sher Shah's time. The provincial governors, subordinate rulers and the nobles also had their own armies. The soldiers were paid their salaries in cash while the officers were given jagirs.

2.6.3 Income and Expenditure

The main sources of income were land revenue, tax on trade, and Khams, that is 1/5 of the gain from a war. The main items of expenditure were the army and wars, salaries of civilian staff and the maintenance of the royal household.

2.6.4 Revenue Administration

Land revenue was the chief source of income. Sher Shah's land revenue administration was based on the twin principles of welfare of the peasants and uninterrupted regular income to the government. His system of revenue administration was one of the best in the medieval period. The following were the important features of Sher Shah's land revenue administration.

- 1) Land was classified into three categories on the basis of produce from the land.
- 2) Land was measured according to a uniform system.
- 3) 1/3 of the produce was collected as tax.
- 4) Tax was collected in cash but sometimes payment in kind was also allowed.
- 5) The peasants had to pay *jaribana* (Surveyor's fees) and *mahasilana* (tax collector's fees). Towards the above mentioned items 2 1/2 of the produce was collected.

The sultan issued instructions to the revenue officials that generosity can be shown at the time of fixing the revenue and that once it was fixed it should be strictly collected. Sher Shah believed that the prosperty of the kingdom depended on the peasants. So he took steps in safeguarding the interests of the peasants. Care was taken to see that crops were not destroyed during wars, and oppressive officials were punished.

2.6.5 Trade and Commerce

Sher Shah adopted a number of administrative measures for the promotion of trade and commerce. Duty on the commodities was collected only at two places, once at the place where they entered his empire and then in the market where they were sold. New roads were laid linking important places in the empire, and the merchants were well protected during their travels. If any merchant died during the travel, his property was guarded and returned to his family. All these measures helped the growth of trade.

2.6.6 Justice

The sultan was the highest judicial authority. Next to him, the chief *Qazi* was the highest judicial authority. Below the chief *Qazi*, there were *Qazis*. The Munsif in the Pargana and the *Munsifi-i-Munsafan* and *Shiqdar-i-Shikdaran* in Sarkar also had judicial powers.

Sher Shah was famous as a just ruler. He decided justice without any discrimination. The guilty were punished severely even if they were rich or related to him. Punishments were severe during those days. Execution, cutting off limbs, imprisonment and flogging were some of the punishments.

2.6.7 Police

The local officials were made responsible for the detection of the criminals. If in a village a criminal was not detected, the village official was punished. The loss from thefts was made good from village officials if they were not able to recover the stolen property. Abbas Khan a contemporary historian has stated that the police system in Sher Shah's empire was so efficient that people could carry ornaments on their journeys without any fear. He wrote 'a decrept old woman might place a basketful of gold ornaments on her head and go on journey and no thief or robber would come near her for the fear of the punishment which Sher Shah inflicted'.

2.6.8 Intelligence Department

Sher Shah maintained an efficient espionage system. Spies were appointed in all important places to keep the sultan informed about the activities in his kingdom. The news carriers also acted as spies. The efficient functioning of the intelligence department contributed to the political and administrative success of Sher Shah.

2.6.9 Provincial Administration

Regarding the existence of subas or provinces in the time of Sher Shah, there is controversy among the scholars. Dr. Qanungo has stated that the *Sarkar* was the largest unit of administration under Sher Shah and that there were no subas in his time. However, Dr. Paramatma Saran, Dr. A.C. Srivatsava and Dr. Pandey have stated that in Sher Shah's times subas existed for which military governors were appointed. Governors were appointed at Lahore, Malwa and Ajmer. Sher Shah, kept strict control over the provinces and except the revolt in 1541 in Bengal, which was quickly suppressed, there were no rebellions in the provinces.

2.6.10 Sarkar

Each province was divided into sarkars which can be treated as the equivalent of the modern districts. There were two important officers in each sarkar. They were *Shiqdar-i-Shikdaran* and *Munsif-i-Munsafan*. The *Shiqdar-i-Shikdaran* was responsible for the maintenance of law and order in the Sarkar. He exercised supervision over the subordinate officers and also helped the sultan in the collection of revenue. He was primarily a military officer with a strong contingent of soldiers. *Munsif-i-Munsafan* was primarily a judicial officer.

2.6.11 Paragana

Each Sarkar was sub-divided into paraganas. Each paragana had one shiqdar, one *amin* or *Munsif*, one treasurer (Fotehdar) and two karkuns. The shiqdar's duty was maintenance of law and order. The Munsif was a judicial officer dealing mostly civil cases of the two *karkuns*, one was a writer in Hindi and the other writer in Persian.

2.6.12 Village

The administration of the village was in the hands of hereditary officials like the *chaukidar* and *patwari*. The village officials assisted the higher officials in the collection of revenue and in the maintenance of law and order.

2.6.13 Transfer of Officials

Sher Shah introduced the practice of transferring his officials once in two years. But the practice was intended to help the officials. It was intended to reduce corruption.

2.6.14 Roads and Sarais

Sher Shah laid new roads and constructed *sarais* (Resting Places). During his time four important new roads were laid. They were :

- 1) Road connecting Bengal with Punjab, from Deccan to Lahore via Delhi and Agra.
- 2) Road between Agra and Jodhpur.
- 3) Road between Lahore and Multan.
- 4) Road connecting Agra with Burhanpur.

The roads were the 'veritable arteries of the empire'. Nearly 1700 sarais were constructed and on either side of the roads, shade and fruit giving trees were grown.

2.6.15 Currency

Sher Shah brought changes in the field of currency also. The currency system introduced by him lasted not only throughout the Mughul period but continued during the rule of the East India Company also. The silver rupee which weighed 180 grains, containing 175 grains of pure silver formed the basis of the modern Indian rupee.

2.6.16 Precursor of Mughul Administration

In the field of administration, though he was not an inventor, as pointed out by Dr. Paramatma Seren, Sher Shah was the precursor of Mughul administration. In the areas of revenue administration, military administration, and local administration, Akbar continued Sher Shah's policies with necessary modifications. Dr. R.P. Tripathy rightly points out that Sher Shah paved the way for the highly enlightened policy of Akbar and was his Precursor.

2.7 BUILDINGS

Sher Shah built some buildings during the short period of his rule. The Purana Qila in Delhi was built by him. The best building of Sher Shah's time was his own mausoleum at Sasaram in Bihar. V.A. Smith has described *'it is one of the best designed and most beautiful buildings in India'*.

2.8 RELIGIOUS POLICY

Sher Shah was a Sunni Muslim and practiced the principles of his religion. It can be said that Sher Shah continued the religious policy of the Turks and Afghans who ruled over the Delhi sultanate. Like them he employed both Muslims and Hindus in his government and did not show any bigotry towards the Hindus. The mausoleum of Sher Shah built in his own time at Sasaram contains Hindu and Islamic features of art, which is a testimony to his broad outlook. Though he was not devoided of the medieval outlook of the Muslim kings towards religion, his policies did not stem out of any sectarian or religious approach. His approach was somewhat similar to Akbar's though he was not able to evolve a catholic religious policy like Akbar. Just as Shivaji was the builder of the Maratha nation, Sher Shah was the builder of the Afghan nation in India. But while the Maratha nation built by Shivaji lasted for many years even after his death, the Afghan nation of Sher Shah pointed almost immediately after his death.

Eshwari Prasad points out that Sher Shah *'displayed the intelligence, the ability and the devotion of the enlightened despots of the 18th Century in Europe'*. His solicitude for the welfare of the people was reminiscent of the ideals of the benevolent despots and S.R. Sarma observes that Sher Shah was *'a combination of Babur and Fredrick the Great of Prussia'*.

"As one who able to rise to the highest position, from humble origin, as a successful conqueror and founder of an empire and as great administrator, Sher Shah is entitled for a prominent place in the history of medieval India".

2.9 ESTIMATE OF SHER SHAH

Sher Shah occupies an important place in Indian history, as one of the great rulers of India in the medieval times. Woolsey Haig describes him as *'the greatest Muslim ruler of India'*. But it is difficult to agree with that estimate as Akbar has a better claim to be ranked as the greatest Muslim ruler of India. It will be more appropriate to describe him as the greatest Afghan ruler of India. Dr. A.L. Srivastava has ranked Sher Shah next to Akbar, as a great ruler. Indeed Sher Shah had many qualities which Akbar had, and had, Sher Shah lived for some more years, probably the great Mughals might not have come back to power in India.

J.N.Sarkar and R.P.Tripathi have compared Sher Shah with Shivaji. J.N.Sarkar points out "*Shivaji and Sher Shah were not alike in character but grew up amidst like circumstances*".

2.10 SUCCESSORS OF SHER SHAH

The successors of Sher Shah were not able to preserve the Afghan empire established by him. After Sher Shah's death in 1545, there was fighting among his sons for the throne. Though Sher Shah nominated, Adil Khan to succeed him, he was rejected by the nobles and another son of Sher Shah, Jalal Khan succeeded Sher Shah to the throne, with the title of Islam Shah (1545-1553). The reign of Islam Shah was full of revolts against him. He had to spend all his time and energies in fighting against his brothers and others who tried to depose him. Though Islam Shah succeeded in defeating his enemies and consolidating his power, the Afghan empire became weak due to those conflicts. After Islam Shah's death in 1553, the Sur empire was divided into five independent kingdoms, whose rulers fought among themselves. In those circumstances it became easy for Humayun to re-establish the Mughul empire in India.

II. CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1. What were the responsibilities of the Wazir ?

2. Why did Sher Shah transfer the officials once in two years ?

3. Who was the successor of Sher Shah ?

2.11 LET US SUM UP

1. Sher Shah defeated Humayun in 1540 and became the ruler of Delhi. For five years he ruled and thus the Mughal empire in India was eclipsed between 1540 and 1555.
2. Sher Shah was a great administrator. His administrative system became the basis of the Mughal administration.
3. Sher Shah was one of the greatest rulers of medieval India. He was the greatest Afghan to rule over India.

2.12 CHECK YOUR PROGRESS : ANSWERS

- I.
1. Farid showed his administrative abilities as the deputy of the Sasaram Jagir.
 2. In 1540 Sher Shah replaced the Mughal empire by defeating Humayun in the battle of Kanauj.
- II.
1. The Wazir was the Finance minister looking after the income and expenditure of the government.
 2. Sher Shah transferred the officials once in two years to help the officials and not to reduce corruption.
 3. Jalal Khan who assumed the title of Islam Shah was the successor of Sher Shah.

2.13 EXAMINATION MODEL QUESTIONS

I. Answer the following questions in about 30 lines each.

1. Narrate the career of Sher Shah and explain how he defeated Humayun.
2. Explain the salient features of Sher Shah's administration. How was he the precursor of Mughal administration ?
3. What were the important achievements of Sher Shah ? Estimate his place in Indian history ?

II. Answer the following questions in about 15 lines each.

1. What was Sher Shah's policy towards the Rajputs ?
2. What were the salient features of provincial and local administration during the time of Sher Shah ?
3. Why did the Afghan empire in India collapsed after Sher Shah ?

2.14 BOOKS FOR FURTHER READING :

1. Sharma, L.P. : *The Mughal Empire*
2. Sharma, S.R. : *The Mughal Empire in India*
3. Srivatsava, A.L. : *Sher Shah and his successors*
4. Tripathi, R.P. : *Rise and Fall of the Mughul Empire.*
5. Qanungo, K.R. : *Sher Shah*

UNIT - 3 POLITICAL HISTORY OF THE MUGHALS FROM AKBAR

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 - 3.4.4.2 Submission of Bijapur and Golkonda
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3.0 OBJECTIVES

A study of this unit should enable you to know about :

1. the II battle of Panipat in 1556 and the consolidation of the Mughal empire.
2. the Mughal rulers, Akbar, Jahangir, Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb.
3. the religious and Deccan policies of the Mughal rulers and
4. the causes for the downfall of the Mughal empire.

3.1 INTRODUCTION

By his victory in the second battle of Panipat, Akbar consolidated the Mughal empire in India. Akbar's rule strengthened the Mughal empire in India, which flourished till the death of Aurangzeb in 1707. The history of the Mughals from Akbar to Aurangzeb, their Deccan and religious policies and the causes for the downfall of the Mughal empire.

3.2. AKBAR, 1556-1605

3.2.1 Accession, 1556

Akbar was born to Humayun and Hamida Banu Begum, (an Iranian lady whom Humayun married during his wanderings) in 1542 at Amritot in Sind, as already mentioned. When Humayun died, Akbar was only thirteen years old and was under the guardianship of Bairam Khan. Humayun had appointed Akbar as the governor of Punjab. At the time of his father's death, Akbar along with his tutor Bairam Khan, was in hot pursuit of Sikandar Sur in the Punjab. He received the news of the death of his father at Kalanaur (Gurudaspur District), where Bairam Khan celebrated his coronation on 14th February 1556, and he himself became his regent. Akbar's younger brother, Muhammed Hakim, as was the convention, was made the governor of Kabul.

3.2.2 Political Condition of India in 1556

The Political condition of India at the accession of Akbar was to a large extent, similar to that on the eve of the first battle of Panipat in 1526. In Northern India there were a number of independent kingdoms. The Portuguese were well entrenched on the west coast. In the south also, there were many independent kingdoms including the glorious and powerful empire of Vijayanagar under the defacto rule of Aliya Ramaraju. The Mughals held some portions of Punjab, Delhi and Agra. At Kabul, Akbar's half-brother, Mirza Hakim, was an independent king. The Rajput princes had increased their strength. Then, there were the representatives of Sher Shah Sur, Humayun's great rival, who put forth claims quite as strong as those of Akbar to the lordship of Hindustan.

The two Sur claimants to the throne were Muhammad Adil Shah and Sikandar Sur, nephews of Sher Shah. In Punjab, Sikandar Sur was strong, and as already noted, at the time of Akbar's accession, Bairam Khan was busily engaged in subduing him. Muhammad Ali, the other nephew of Sher Shah, had actually established himself for a time as the successor of Sher Shah's son, Islam Shah. He had retired to Chunar leaving to his capable Hindu minister Hemu, the task of safeguarding his interest in Northern India. Hemu turned out to be Akbar's worst enemy. As soon as Humayun died, Hemu captured Delhi and Agra, threw off his allegiance to Muhammad Adil Shah or Adali, and proclaimed himself as king under the title of Vikramjit, i.e. Vikramaditya.

3.2.3 Second battle of Panipat, 1556

In this crisis, Bairam Khan proved a tower of strength to Akbar, boldly advanced through Thanesar to the historic plain of Panipat, where thirty years earlier, Babur had defeated and slain Ibrahim Lodi, the Sultan of Delhi. The two armies met in battle, on the plain of Panipat, on 5th November 1556, Hemu was defeated, captured, and slain. This victory made Akbar master of Delhi and Agra, and prepared the way again for the re-establishment of the Mughal empire.

3.2.4 Akbar's Conquests

Akbar was a great imperialist and wanted to make himself the supreme ruler of Hindustan. With this aim, he set about extending his empire, and after a series of conquests, succeeded in establishing a powerful national empire.

As described above, Delhi and Agra were conquered as a result of the second battle of Panipat. In 1557, in Punjab, Sikandar Sur, who had taken refuge at Mankot, surrendered, and the pretensions of the Sur family to the sovereignty of Hindustan came to an end. Then, between 1558 and 1560, Bairam Khan enlarged the dominion by the conquest of Gwalior, Ajmer and Jaunpur.

In 1561, Akbar turned his arms against Malwa, ruled by the Afghan Chief, Baz Bahadur. After a brief resistance at Sarangpur, the capital of Malwa, Baz Bahadur submitted and Malwa was annexed. The Rajput fortress of Mirtha was taken in 1562.

3.2.4.1 Gondwana

In 1564, Gondwana was overrun and conquered by Asaf Khan, Gondwana formed the northern part of the present Madhya Pradesh. The brave Rajput queen Durgavati, ruled there as the regent of her son, Bir Narayan. She was a brave, wise and capable woman and ruled her country with wisdom and ability. When Akbar's force attacked Gondwana, Durgavati offered a brave resistance near Jabalpur. When all hope was lost, she stabbed herself to death to save her honour. Her son, Bir Narayan died fighting bravely.

3.2.4.2. Rajput States

Akbar's ambition to make himself, the unquestioned and paramount lord of India was the motivation for his attack in 1567 on Mewar, the premier state in Rajputana. Chittor was the capital of Mewar. Here, Rana Uday Singh, the founder of the city of Udaypur and head of the Rajput confederacy, was the ruler. Although several Rajput Chiefs had submitted to Akbar, and Raja Bihari Mal of Jaipur had given his eldest daughter to Akbar in marriage, Uday Singh had refused to submit and enter into marriage relations with Akbar. Moreover, he had given shelter to Baz Bahadur, the fugitive Sultan of Malwa. On this pretext in 1567, Akbar marched in person against the Rana with a large army well-equipped with a contingent of artillery. Rana Uday Singh, unable to face the attack, entrusted the defence of the fort to his brave commanders, Jai Mal and Patta Singh, and himself retired to the hills. Jai Mal and Patta fought bravely. But they were defeated and the fort was captured. Uday Singh died four years after the capture of Chittor, and his warlike son, Rana Pratap Singh, continued his relentless hostility to the Mughals. But, the fate of Chittor was sealed, and it never recovered from its fall.

In 1569, the rulers of Ranathambhor and Kalinjar submitted to Akbar. In 1570, the Raja of Jaisalmer, and Kalyan Mal, the Raja of Bikaner, made their submission, and gave

their daughters in marriage to the emperor. The same year, Jodhpur also submitted. Akbar was now master of Rajputana, although not in full sovereignty. Rajputana was reckoned as suba or province with Ajmer as its headquarters. Most of the Rajput clans, except those of Mewar, submitted to Akbar. Akbar, by his kind and considerate treatment made willing followers and devoted soldiers out of the Rajput warrior clans.

3.2.4.3 Gujarat, 1572

Gujarat was a very rich and fertile province, and had several flourishing ports. Naturally, Akbar was anxious to annex it. Muzaffar Shah III (1562-72) was the nominal king of Gujarat. In 1572, Akbar invaded Gujarat. Muzaffar submitted, and Akbar settled a small pension on him. It has now that, Akbar had his first sight of the sea. Surat, where the Mirzas were strong, was besieged and captured in 1573. The annexation of Gujarat increased the trade and income of the empire. In the same year (1573), the chief of Kangra became a Mughal feudatory. A serious rising of the Mirzas took place in Gujarat (1573). With an astonishing rapidity, Akbar marched to Ahmedabad from his newly built capital Sikri (near Agra), and crushed the revolt. In 1574-75, Todar Mal, Akbar's revenue minister, made a stable settlement of revenues in Gujarat. This later became the basis of his more famous revenue settlement of the whole empire. Gujarat added a net income of about fifty lakh rupees to the empire. The Mughal empire gained access to the sea, and an impetus was given to its commerce. The contact with the Portuguese affected Akbar and the empire in many ways.

3.2.4.4 Bengal, 1576

Sulaiman Kararani, The Afghan king of Bengal had formally acknowledged Akbar's suzerainty, but his son, Daud Khan, refused to submit to Akbar, and proclaimed his independence. So, in 1574, Akbar led an army against Daud Khan. Daud Khan was defeated (1575) and he fled to Orissa. At last, Daud Khan was killed in a battle near Rajmahal in 1576, and Bengal became a province of the empire.

3.2.4.5 Defeat of Rana Pratap of Mewar, 1576

In 1576, in a battle at the Haldi Ghat Pass (near the town of Gogunda), Rana Pratap was defeated by Man Singh. The Rana was driven to take refuge in remote forests and the strongholds of Gogunda and Kumilmir passed into the hands of the Mughals. But before his death in 1597, the Rana recovered most of them.

3.2.4.6 Kabul, Kashmir, Sind, Baluchistan, Kandahar and Orissa, 1585-1595

In 1585, Akbar's step - brother Mirza Hakim, the ruler of Kabul, died and Kabul was annexed to the Mughal empire. Raja Mansingh was sent there as governor. After this, the turbulent Pathan tribes on the North-West frontier, were subdued. Birbal who was sent against them, was killed in action. In 1586, when Akbar was in court at Lahore, the beautiful valley of Kashmir was conquered by Raja Bhagawan Das from its Sultan, Yusuf Shah. It was made a part of the province of Kabul. In 1591, in 1592 Orissa, and in 1595 Sind, Baluchistan and Khandahar, were annexed to Akbar's empire.

3.2.4.7 Deccan Conquests

After reducing Northern and Central India, Akbar turned his attention to the South. It was a favourable opportunity since the Deccan states, Bijapur, Ahmadnagar, Golkonda etc., were at war with each other at this time. Akbar sent his envoys to these states asking

them to acknowledge his overlordship, but they politely evaded Akbar's demands. At this, Akbar resorted to arms.

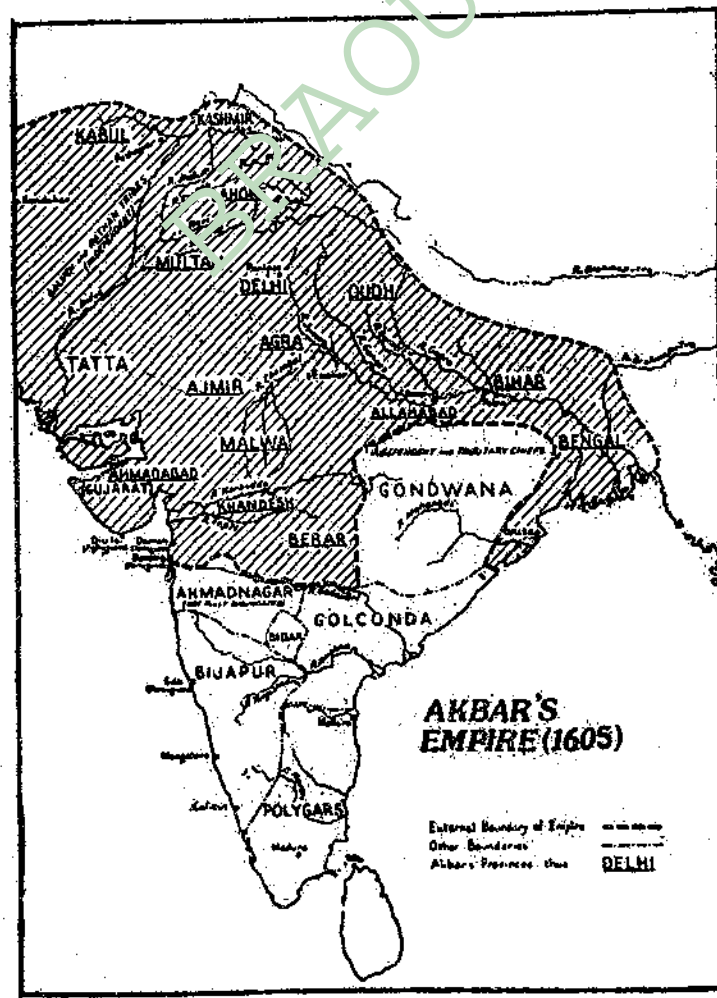
3.2.4.7.1 Ahmadnagar, 1600

Ahmadnagar was ruled by the brave Sultana Chand Bibi, an aunt of the minor king. Murad laid siege to Ahmadnagar, but as Chand Bibi defended the city gallantly, Murad achieved no success. At last, peace was made. And Chand Bibi agreed to cede Berar (1595). Later, because of court intrigues, Chand Bibi once again got involved in a conflict with Akbar. Prince Danyal besieged Ahmadnagar but, Chand Bibi was assassinated by her own officers. After her death, Prince Danyal in 1600, conquered Ahmadnagar and it was finally annexed to the empire.

3.2.4.7.2 Khandesh, 1601

Akbar's operations in the Deccan ended with the capture of the strong fortress of Asirgarh in Khandesh. The fort, standing as it did on the route from Northern India to the Deccan, was of great military importance. After a pretty long siege of one year, the fort was taken by bribing the Khandesh officers. This was the last conquest of Akbar.

Akbar divided the conquests of the Deccan into three provinces of Berar, Ahmadnagar and Khandesh, and appointed Prince Danyal as their viceroy.



3.2.5 Akbar as an Empire-BUILDER and National Monarch

By 1576, twenty years after his accession, Akbar had made himself master of the whole of Hindusthan, including the entire basins of the Indus and the Ganges. His empire by that date extended from the Arabian sea to the Bay of Bengal, and from the Himalayas to the Narmada. The territories under his rule, with their huge population, fertile plains, numerous manufacturers, and extensive commerce, made it probably the richest empire in the world. The subsequent additions to his empire, comprising a small portion of the Deccan, Orissa, Kashmir and Qandahar merely rounded off the compact empire. There were two remarkable points about this extension of the empire. First, it was effected with the willing co-operation of the Hindu princess. Second, it went hand in hand with orderly administration. The chief aim of Akbar's policy was to build up a united nation by removing all distinctions between the Hindus and Muslims. It was in pursuance of this policy that, Akbar adopted a number of conciliatory measures towards the Rajputs.

3.2.6 Akbar's Rajput Policy

Akbar's Rajput Policy was *"the result of a deliberate policy, and was based upon the principles of enlightened self-interest, recognition of merit, just and fair play"* (A.L.Srivastava). He adopted the following measures to win the love and confidence of Rajputs in particular, and of Hindus, in general.

3.2.6.1 Marriage Relations

Akbar made marriage relations with Rajput families. He married the eldest daughter of Raja Bihari Mal of Jaipur (1562), and thus, the Jaipur family became attached to the emperor. Later on, she came to be known as *Maryam-i-Zamani*, and prince Salim was born to this queen. Later on, in 1570, Akbar married the Rajput Princesses from Bikaner and Jaisalmer. Prince Salim also married a Rajput princess, daughter of Raja Bhagawandas, a brother of *Maryam - i - Zamani*. Akbar treated his Rajput relatives as members of the royal family, and gave them high ranks in the administration and army.

3.2.6.2 High Offices

Rajputs were given the highest civil and military posts. Raja Bhagawandas, Man Singh, Todar Mal, Birbal were all officers of high rank.

3.2.7 Religious policy

Akbar gave the Hindus perfect freedom of religion. During his reign, no Hindu temple was desecrated or destroyed. To win the favour of the Hindus, Akbar forbade the slaughter of animals on certain days. Hindu learning was encouraged, and Hindu religious fairs were allowed to be held freely. Akbar himself took part in Hindu festivals. (Religious policy of Akbar is dealt with in detail in lesson - 4)

3.2.7.1 Abolition of Pilgrim Tax and Jizia

In 1563, Akbar removed the tax on Hindu pilgrims and in 1564 abolished the *Jizia*. *Jizia* is a tax which every non-Muslim had to pay for practising his own religion in a Muslim state. The feelings of the Hindus that they were foreigners in their own land began to lessen.

The results of his policy were that all Hindus, especially the Rajputs who were a great military race, became devoted servants of the Mughal empire and even fought against their own people, on the side of the Mughals. They became the sword and shield of the Mughal empire. Akbar's Rajput Policy "*secured for four generations of Mughal emperors, the services of some of the greatest captains and diplomats that the medieval India produced*" (Beni Prasad). When Aurangazeb changed this policy, the Hindus were estranged, and the Rajputs became his deadly enemies, and the empire began to decline.

3.2.8 Social Reforms

It may be out of place to mention here, some of the social reforms introduced by Akbar, which shows his broad mindedness:

- (1) Child marriage was prohibited and female infanticide was discouraged.
- (2) Remarriage of Hindu widows was legalised
- (3) Efforts were made to stop the practice of *Sati*, but without much success,
- (4) Perfect religious liberty was granted.
- (5) Enslaving of the war prisoners and converting them to Islam was prohibited
- (6) The pilgrim tax and *Jizia* were abolished, the former in 1563, and the latter in 1564. This, no doubt, caused great loss to the treasury, but it soothed the hearts of the Hindus,
- (7) The study of Sanskrit was encouraged
- (8) On certain specified days, the slaughter of animals was prohibited.

I CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1. Why is the II battle of Panipat important ?

2. What were the effects of the battle of Haldighat ?

3. Mention two important features of Akbar's religious policy ?

3.3 JAHANGIR, 1605-1627

3.3.1 Early life and accession

Jahangir was born to Akbar in 1569, after Akbar had secured the blessings of a famous Muslim holy man, Shaikh Salim Chisthi. So, in honour of the saint, Jahangir was originally named as Salim. Salim had two brothers, Murad and Danyal, who died during the life time of Akbar. During the last years of Akbar's reign, Salim revolted against his father, and murdered Akbar's trusted friend and counsellor, Abul Fazl. Akbar declared his intention to make Salim's son Khusro, his successor. Salim surrendered to his father, who pardoned him and made him the heir apparent (1604), Akbar died in 1605. Salim, as the only surviving son of Akbar, became king under the title of Nur-ud-din Muhammad Jahangir. He was then thirty - six years old.

3.3.2 Reforms

As soon as he ascended the throne, Jahangir issued various orders by way of useful reforms. These are known as the twelve edicts. Some of these important reforms are (1) Abolition of barbarous punishments such as maiming by cutting off nose, ears etc., (2) forbidding intoxicating drinks and drugs, (3) abolition of many transit and customs duties such as, *tangha* and *mir bahari*, (4) prohibition of the slaughter of animals on certain specified days, (5) establishment of free hospitals and construction of wells, masjids and choultries, along trunk roads etc., In order to dispense justice, Jahangir hung a bell with a golden chain in the palace. This was the chain of justice, which when pulled enabled the king to hear the complaint direct from the sufferer.

The following are the chief events of Jahangir's reign.

3.3.3 Rebellion of Khusro, 1606

A few months after the accession of Jahangir, his eldest son, Khusro, who was a handsome, noble, enlightened and popular prince, encouraged by his uncle Raja Man Singh, rebelled. He left Agra and advanced on Lahore, and laid siege to it. Jahangir went in hot pursuit of him. The royal forces defeated Prince Khusro, who fled towards Kabul. But, as he was crossing Chenab, near Wazirabad, he was captured and put in prison. It is said that, Khusro was murdered in 1622 by Prince Khurram (Shah Jahan), instigated by Nur Jahan.

3.3.4 Execution of Guru Arjun

When Khusro was fleeing before his father, Sikh Guru Arjun Dev gave him some financial assistance and his blessings. For this, Jahangir had the guru tortured, and put him to death in 1606. Arjun Dev's martyrdom estranged the Sikhs, and they became the enemies of the Mughal empire.

3.3.5 Marriage with Nur Jahan

In 1611, Jahangir married a beautiful Iranian Lady, Nur Jahan. Her first name was Mehr-un-Nisa, but after her marriage with Jahangir, she came to be called *Nur Mahal* (Light of the palaces), and later, Nur Jahan (Light of the world).

Nur Jahan as the daughter of Persian nobleman, Mirza Ghias Beg of Khorasan, who came to India seeking his fortune, and entering Akbar's court, rose to become a small mansabdar and later, the Diwan of Kabul. While Mehr-un-Nisa was in Akbar's court, Jahangir fell in love with her. Noting this, Akbar got her married to an Afghan chief, Sher Afghan whom he made governor of Burdwan. Shortly after Jahangir came to the throne, Sher Afghan, was killed in a scuffle. After the death of Sher Afghan, Mehr-un-Nisa resisted the advances of Jahangir for four years, but at last married him in 1611. Subsequently, as queen, she was given the name, Nur Jahan.

3.3.6 Nur Jahan's Character and Personality

Nur Jahan was a very wise and accomplished woman. She was a woman of uncommon merit and exceptional talent. She was fond of Persian literature and poetry, and could compose fine verses. She possessed considerable courage and strength, and took delight in hunting expeditions. On several occasions, she had shot tigers. She was a kind and generous lady. She defrayed the marriage expenses of no fewer than five hundred poor and orphaned Muslim girls. She was devotedly loyal to Jahangir, who loved her passionately. She greatly cared for her relations. But she was not without defects. She loved power. She was highly ambitious. She was extremely jealous, and could not tolerate the rise to power of other people.

3.3.7 Nur Jahan's Influence

Nur Jahan, as soon as she married Jahangir, completely dominated him, and took the reins of power into her own hands. She became the real power behind the throne. On coins, she got her name inscribed along with that of Jahangir. She conferred high titles on her father and brother, and appointed them to high posts. Her father, Mirza Ghias, was given the title of *Itmad-ud-Daula*, and her brother that of Asad Jha. Her political influence was bad. Her favouritism and political intrigues resulted in the revolts of prince Khurram (Shah Jahan), and Mahabat Khan a famous general. These revolts darkened that last year of Jahangir's reign. Jahangir lamented: "*I have sold my kingdom to my beloved queen for a cup of wine and a dish of soup*" (Memoirs). But, Nur Jahan had some benevolent influence on her husband, in that she checked his cruelty and intemperance.

Nur Jahan became powerless after the death of Jahangir. Shah Jahan settled a decent pension on her, and she lived in Lahore. She lived for eighteen years after the death of her husband. In 1645, she died and was buried at Shahdara, near Lahore. "*Few women in world's history have displayed such masterful qualities of courage and statesmanship, as this extraordinary woman*" (Eshwari Prasad)

3.3.8 Jahangir's campaigns and conquests

3.3.8.1 War with Mewar, 1614

Rana Amar Singh of Mewar, son of the famous Rana Pratap Singh, refused to submit to Jahangir. The latter sent several expeditions against him, but without success. At last, in 1614, Prince Khurram defeated him, and he made his submission, Jahangir, however, treated Amar Singh very generously. Amar Singh was not compelled to attend the court in person. The Rana's son, Karna, was appointed to a high military command (*mansab*) in the

imperial army. Besides, Jahangir caused life-size statues of the Rana and his son to be set up under the audience window at Agra, and thus honoured them. Thus, Jahangir put an end to the Mughal-Mewar hostility. He was very proud of this success because, even Akbar had failed to bring this dynasty to its knees.

3.3.8.2 Conquest of Kangra, 1620

In 1620, Prince Khurram conquered Kangra. Jahangir was very proud of this conquest also, since Akbar failed to conquer this fort.

3.3.8.3 Loss of Qandahar, 1622

Qandahar had been conquered by Akbar. But in 1622, Shah Abbas, the king of Iran, recovered it and the city was lost to the Mughal empire.

3.3.8.4 Deccan War with Ahmadnagar

Ahmadnagar which had been conquered in 1600, declared its independence in 1610 under its able Abyssinian minister, Malik Amber. Jahangir sent Prince Khurram to annex the kingdom. Ahmadnagar fell, but the Mughals could not establish their rule there.

3.3.9 Jahangir's relations with the Europeans

3.3.9.1 Portuguese

Jahangir's relations with the Portuguese were good to begin with, and they wielded considerable influence with the emperor. But, this influence of the Portuguese did not last long, because of an act of piracy of the Portuguese, and they lost grace with the emperor. This resulted in Jahangir bestowing his favours on the English.

3.3.9.2 English

Captain William Hawkins, an English sea-captain, arrived at the court of Jahangir with a letter from king James I, praying for certain trade privileges (1608). He succeeded in obtaining permission from Jahangir to set up a trading factory at Surat. But, owing to the intrigues of the Portuguese, this permission was cancelled. Another Englishman named Edwards, with a letter from James I, was also received well by the emperor. These trade missions of Hawkins and Edwards were followed by the formal embassy of Sir Thomas Roe.

Sir Thomas Roe arrived at Agra in 1615. He was a capable and astute politician. His object was to secure some privileges for the English East India Company. He stayed here for three years, and succeeded in securing some concessions, though not a formal treaty from Jahangir. The English obtained permission to open a factory at Surat. Sir Thomas Roe's journal gives us an account of his experiences in India.

3.3.10 Khurram's Rebellion.

Ladli Begum, Nur Jahan's daughter by Sher Afghan was married to Prince Sharyar, the youngest son of Jahangir. Nur Jahan was, therefore, plotting to secure the succession of her son-in-law, Sharyar, to the throne. At this, Prince Khurram (Shah Jahan) rebelled, and marched to Agra. But, he was defeated by Mahabat Khan, and fled to Deccan, where he

joined Malik Ambar, his old enemy. In 1625, Prince Khurram (Shah Jahan) submitted to his father, sent his two sons, Dara and Aurangzeb as hostages to his father and surrendered the forts of Rohatas and Asirgarh. But, he remained in the Deccan till the death of his father.

3.3.11 Mahabat Khan's rebellion

Mahabat Khan was a famous general of Jahangir, and wielded great power and influence. Nur Jahan grew jealous of him, as his influence increased, and she wanted to lower his importance. He was accused of embezzlement, and was summoned to answer the charges. Mahabat Khan obeyed the summons. But, he had his suspicions. So, he went escorted by four or five thousand faithful Rajputs, and seized the emperor's person on the bank of the Jhelum, while he was on his way to Kabul. But, at Kabul, Nur Jahan cleverly secured Jahangir's release, and Mahabat Khan fled to the Deccan and joined Prince Khurram, who was in revolt.

3.3.12 Death of Jahangir, 1627

The last days of Jahangir were clouded by sorrows and misfortunes. He was addicted to drink, and suffered from asthma during the last years of his life. His second son, Parvez died earlier to him, while his third son Shah Jahan was in open revolt. He died in 1627 and was buried in a beautiful tomb at Shadara near Lahore.

3.3.13 Estimation

Jahangir was a versatile scholar, interested in Languages, History, Geography, Natural Science, Painting, Drawing, Music, Architecture and Horticulture. He was a good huntsman and swordsman. His authentic Memoir (*Tuzk-i-Jahangiri*), which covering nineteen years of his reign, gives us a wonderful life-like picture of himself. From them we know that he was "Mixture of Opposites".

Jahangir was a very just ruler. He was very generous and good hearted. But, occasionally he flew into passion, and then inflicted very cruel punishments. He was a drunkard, and is called a talented drunkard.

He was a lover of gardens and a lover of beauty. He laid out the Shalimar and Nishat gardens near Srinagar. He was also interested in architecture. Among his notable buildings are Akbar's tomb at Sikandara, *Itmad-ud-Duala's* tomb near Agra and a great mosque at Lahore.

3.4 SHAH JAHAN, 1627-1658

3.4.1 Accession

When Jahangir died, two of his sons, Khurram (Shah Jahan) and Sharyar were living. Sharyar was the son-in-law of Nur Jahan, Khurram was married to Mumtaz Mahal, daughter of Nur Jahan's brother Asaf Khan. When Jahangir died, Khurram was in the Deccan. Asaf Khan who desired his son-in-law to succeed, sent a fast messenger to him. Sharyar, who had proclaimed himself emperor in Lahore, was defeated by Asaf Khan in a battle near Lahore. He was blinded and imprisoned. Khurram reached Agra post-haste and occupied the throne.

3.4.2 Death of Mumtaz Mahal, 1631

Mumtaz Mahal, the dearly loved wife of Shah Jahan was the daughter of Asaf Khan, a brother of Nur Jahan. She bore to Shah Jahan eight sons and six daughters, between the years 1613 and 1631. She was originally named Arjumand Begum, and entitled Nawab Aliya Begum, or alternatively Mumtaz Mahal (the ornament of the Palace). She was a very charming and virtuous lady and was highly accomplished. She was thoroughly devoted to her husband. In 1631, she died in childbirth at Burhanpur. Taj Mahal at Agra, the unrivalled monument to her memory, built by Shah Jahan was begun in 1632.

3.4.3 Famines

During the early part of Shah Jahan's reign (1630-1632), terrible famines broke out in the Deccan and Gujarat. They took a heavy toll of life, and caused terrible misery to the people, as Peter Mundy, an English traveller notes. Shah Jahan took no sincere measures to alleviate the suffering of the people. Abdul Hamid Lahori, a historian of Shah Jahan's court observes: "*Destitution at last reached such a pitch that men began to devour each other, and the flesh of a son was preferred to his love*"

3.4.4 Deccan Wars, 1631-1636

Shah Jahan, on his accession, again began the policy of annexing the Deccan, like Jahangir and Akbar. He succeeded well in his efforts.

Soon after Shah Jahan's accession, Khan Jahan Lodi, the governor of the Deccan, revolted. He was helped by the Sultan of Ahmednagar. But at last, after three years of war, he was defeated and put to death in 1631.

3.4.4.1 Annexation of Ahmadnagar

The Sultan of Ahmadnagar, Nizam Shah, had helped Khan Jahan Lodi. War was therefore declared against Ahmadnagar, and it was annexed to the Mughal empire in 1633. An attempt for its independence was made two years later by Shahaji, father of Shivaji, but it was unsuccessful, and the Nizam Shahi kingdom was finally conquered by the Mughals in 1636.

3.4.4.2 Submission of Bijapur and Golkonda

After the conquest of Ahmadnagar, Shah Jahan turned his attention to the Shia States of Bijapur and Golkonda and required them to recognise his suzerainty and to pay tribute regularly. Golkonda submitted and agreed to pay tribute. Bijapur, however, resisted the demand for sometime. The Mughal armies, thereupon ruthlessly plundered the country, and the Sultan of Bijapur also yielded. Shah Jahan now (1676) appointed Aurangzeb, a youth of eighteen, viceroy of the Mughal Deccan, which then comprised of the provinces of Khandesh, Berar, Telangana and Daulatabad.

Thereafter, for twenty years, there was peace in the Deccan. But in 1656 war again broke out. The Sultan of Golkonda had imprisoned the son of his prime minister, Mir Jumla, who tried to acquire a semi-independent position. Mir Jumla sought Aurangzeb's help. This led to war, and Aurangzeb besieged Golkonda. Mir Jumla's son was released, but nothing more was achieved. In the same year, Bijapur was also attacked, taking advantage of the internal disturbances in that kingdom. But, Aurangzeb had to raise the siege, for he was called away to take part in the war of succession.

3.4.5 Relations with the Portuguese - Siege of Hughli

The Portuguese had established a factory at Hughli. They kidnapped Hindu and Muslim children, and forcibly converted them to Christianity. They also engaged in a cruel slave trade. They were rash enough even to Mumtaz Mahal, by detaining two slave girls whom she claimed. Shah Jahan decided to punish them, and ordered Kasim Khan, the governor of Bengal to lay siege to Hughli (1632). The Portuguese put up a brave resistance, but were defeated.

3.4.6 Central Asian Policy

Shah Jahan, like his father and grandfather, had always felt a strong desire to exercise complete control over the hilly region of Badakshan, and the more distant province of Balkh, lying between the Hindukush and the Oxus. Only if possible, the Mughal emperor wanted to possess even Trans Oxiana, and its capital Samarqand. The Uzbek chiefs there, because of internal revolts, sought Shah Jahan's intervention. Prince Murad Baksh, with Ali Mardan Khan, took possession of Badakshan and Balkh in 1646. But in 1647, the Uzbek ruler, with Persian help, compelled the Mughal forces to evacuate Balkh.

3.4.7 Qandahar

The city of Qandahar, because of its strategic position, and being on the trade route between India and Persia, was of great importance both to the Shah of Persia and the emperor of India. So, both wanted to possess it. Humayun held the city for a few years. Akbar had conquered it in 1595. But, during the reign of Jahangir, Shah Abbas of Persia had recovered it in 1622. Shah Jahan wanted to recapture it. Ali Mardan Khan, the Iranian governor of Qandahar, was for some reasons, dissatisfied with his master, Shah Abbas. Therefore, in 1638, he made over the city to Shah Jahan for a lakh of rupees, and a lucrative office under Shah Jahan. But, in 1649, the Iranians recovered the city, Shah Jahan sent two expeditions under Prince Aurangzeb (1649, 1652), and one expedition (1653) under Prince Dara Shukoh for its recovery, but without success. The three expeditions cost twelve crore rupees, more than half of the annual income of the empire. Qandahar was forever, lost to the Mughal empire. The failure to recover Qandahar clearly showed that the Mughal army had become weak. This very much lowered the prestige of the empire.

3.4.8 War of Succession, 1657-58

In September 1657, Shah Jahan fell seriously ill, at Agra. He was sixty years old then, and it was feared that he would not recover. Of his sons, Dara Shukoh, the eldest and favourite son of Shah Jahan was with him. Shuja was in Bengal. Aurangzeb was in the Deccan, and Murad, the youngest son in Gujarat. All the four brothers had large armies at their command. In the war of succession that followed, Aurangzeb defeated Dara Shukoh in the battle of Samugarh in May 1658.

Aurangzeb occupied Agra on 8th June. He deposed his father, and made him a prisoner for life, till he died eight years later in 1666. During this imprisonment, Shah Jahan was attended only by his daughter Jahanara, Aurangzeb then drew Murad into a trap, and saw that he was executed in Gwalior, in 1661. He defeated Shuja at Khajwah (near Allahabad), in January 1659. Mir Jumla, Aurangzeb's general, pursued him as far as Arakan, and then nothing further is known about him. Now, the fugitive Dara was hotly pursued, and captured near Bolan Pass. Dara, dressed in rags and made to mount a mean-looking elephant, was paraded in the streets of Delhi. Then he was declared a Kafir (infidel) and put to death. Thus, Aurangzeb secured the throne of his father.

II CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1. Mention two outstanding achievements of Jahangir.

2. What was the role of Nur Jahan in Jahangir's period ?

3. What was the aim of Shah Jahan's Deccan Policy ?

4. Why did the War of succession take place during Shah Jahan's time ?

3.5 AURANGAZEB, 1658 - 1707

3.5.1 Second Enthronement of Aurangzeb

Soon after his capture of Agra and Delhi, Aurangzeb had an informal enthronement on 21st July, 1658. He was enthroned, formally for the second time in June, 1659. He was the last of the great Mughal emperors, and ascended the throne with the title of Alamgir (conqueror of the world). He was about forty years old, when he came to the throne. He ruled for about fifty years from 1658 to 1707.

3.5.2 Two Periods of His Reign

Aurangzeb's reign can be divided into two almost equal periods, each of about twenty five years. During the first period, from 1658 to 1681, Aurangzeb became engrossed in war and political events, in Northern India, and did not bestow any special attention to

the Deccan. During the second period, from 1682 to 1707, he spent in the Deccan fighting against the Shia states of Bijapur and Golkonda and the Marathas. During this time, there was anarchy in Northern India.

3.5.3 Events in Northern India, 1658 - 1681

3.5.3.1 Invasion of Assam, 1661 - 1663

After the flight of Shuja, Mir Jumla, one of the most capable Mughal generals, was appointed as governor of Bengal. He invaded Assam, because the Raja of Cooch-Bihar and the Ahom king of Assam had captured some Mughal territory in Assam. Mir Jumla died shortly after, of a fatigue and exposure. Gauhati was lost in 1681, but Cooch-Bihar was permanently annexed.

3.5.3.2 Conquest of Arakan, 1666

After the death of Mir Jumla, Aurangzeb's maternal uncle, Shaista Khan, was appointed governor of Bengal. He invaded Arakan, and captured the island of Sondip from the Portuguese. He also strengthened the fleet, defeated the Raja of Arakan, and annexed the Chittagong district.

3.5.3.3 War with Shivaji, 1663-1680

During Aurangzeb's reign, the Marathas became very strong in the Deccan, under the able leadership of Shivaji. Shivaji captured some Mughal territory. Shaista Khan was sent to Deccan as governor, to curb the threatening activities of Shivaji. But, Shivaji made surprising night attack on him at Poona. Shaista Khan narrowly escaped death, with the loss of three of his fingers and also son. After this, first, Prince Muazzam and then, Raja Jai Singh of Amber were sent against Shivaji. Jai Singh persuaded Shivaji, under certain conditions to visit Aurangzeb's court at Agra. But, Shivaji did not observe the court etiquette, and Aurangzeb put him under house arrest. Shivaji cleverly escaped, and succeeded in reaching the Deccan. Shivaji continued his wars against the Mughals, and won back several of his forts. Shivaji died in 1680.

3.5.3.4 Jat Rebellions, 1669

Early in 1669, the Jat Peasantry of the Mathura district, close to the capital, rebelled under the leadership of one Gokul, and killed the faujdar of Mathura. They were unable to put up with the persecutory policy of the faujdar. The rebellion was put down, and Gokul was put to death. But, the Jats continued to give trouble to Aurangzeb throughout the reign, and even after his death, the Jats proved a menace to the Mughal empire. They revolted again in 1681 and 1688.

3.5.3.5 Satnami Revolt, 1672

Satnamis were a sect of Hindus. They lived in Narnaul, near Delhi and numbered about four or five thousands. They were a religious people, but carried on a little agriculture and trade also. In 1672, they revolted because a government tax-collector had insulted one of them. After some slight early success, they were defeated and crushed.

3.5.3.6 Martyrdom of Tegh Bahadur, 1675

Guru Tegh Bahadur, the ninth Guru of the Sikhs lived in Anandapur Sahib. He protested against the anti-Hindu policy of Aurangzeb. He was executed in 1657, because he refused to accept Islam. His son, Guru Govind Singh organised the Sikhs into a military organisation, and fought against the Mughals all through his life. He put up a brave fight, and sacrificed all his four sons, but never swerved from his firm resolve.

3.5.3.7 Imposition of Jizia, 1679

Aurangzeb was a staunch Sunni Muslim, so he imposed *Jizia* in 1679, which Akbar had abolished in 1564. The Hindus resented it very much.

3.5.3.8 War with the Rajputs, 1679-1681

The Rajputs were dissatisfied with the religious policy of Aurangzeb, and he too, considered them enemies. He wanted to conquer Marwar, the premier Rajput state in Northern India, and he soon got a chance for it.

Raja Jaswant Singh of Mewar, whom Aurangzeb had employed as general on the frontiers of Punjab died in 1678. Aurangzeb detained his infant son, Ajit Singh, and also Jaswant Singh's widow, at Delhi. He wanted to bring up the two infant sons of Jaswant Singh, as Muslims. But the Rajput Chief, Duraga Das Rathor, succeeded in rescuing them. This action of the emperor made the Rajputs very angry. Besides, in 1679, the *Jizia* were reimposed, which enraged them still more. At last war began between the Rajputs, and the Mughals.

Marwar, Mewar and other Rajput states joined forces. The imperialist forces led by the three sons of Aurangzeb met with several serious reverse. Then, Aurangzeb sent his fourth son, Akbar, against the Rajputs. But Akbar, who wanted to secure the throne with the help of Rajputs, went over to them, and even marched to Ajmer with a large army against his father, but he could not succeed. Aurangzeb succeeded in detaching the Rajputs from Akbar by means of a forged letter, which excited their suspicion about the good faith of Akbar. They deserted him, and he fled to Iran. Peace was made with Mewar, at last in 1681. But, Mewar continued the struggle throughout Aurangzeb's reign. The Rajputs under their veteran leader, Durga Das Rathor, carried on guerilla warfare for about thirty years. At last, in 1709, Aurangzeb's successor, Bahadur Shah, acknowledged Ajit Singh as the independent ruler of Marwar.

The Rajput war, however, proved very harmful to the Mughal empire. The Rajputs became henceforward, the most determined enemies of the Mughal empire. The Mughal Rajput alliance which had continued from Akbar's time, was broken once for all. As a result, Aurangzeb had to fight his Deccan wars without their whole-hearted help, and this proved harmful.

3.5.4 Aurangzeb's Deccan Policy

After the conclusion of the Rajput war, Aurangzeb bent his whole energy to the task of subduing the Deccan. With this aim he sent out for Deccan in 1682, and spent the last twenty six years of his life there. He was not destined to come back to Delhi. He had three

objects in going to the Deccan, viz (1) to extinguish the kingdom of Golkonda and Bijapur (2) to curb the growing power of the Marathas and (3) to remove the danger caused by the presence of his rebel son, Akbar, in the Deccan.

3.5.4.1 Conquest of Bijapur and Golkonda

Several reasons prompted Aurangzeb to go to war against these kingdoms. These were (1) These states were helping the Marathas (2) Their rulers were Shias and he was a staunch Sunni, and (3) Aurangzeb wanted to extend his empire.

At first, Aurangzeb sent his son, Azam to conquer Bijapur but did not meet with any success. Aurangzeb, therefore went there in person, and after a siege of more than a year, starved it into surrender in 1686. Its ruler, Sikandar Shah was pensioned off and Bijapur was annexed to the Mughal empire.

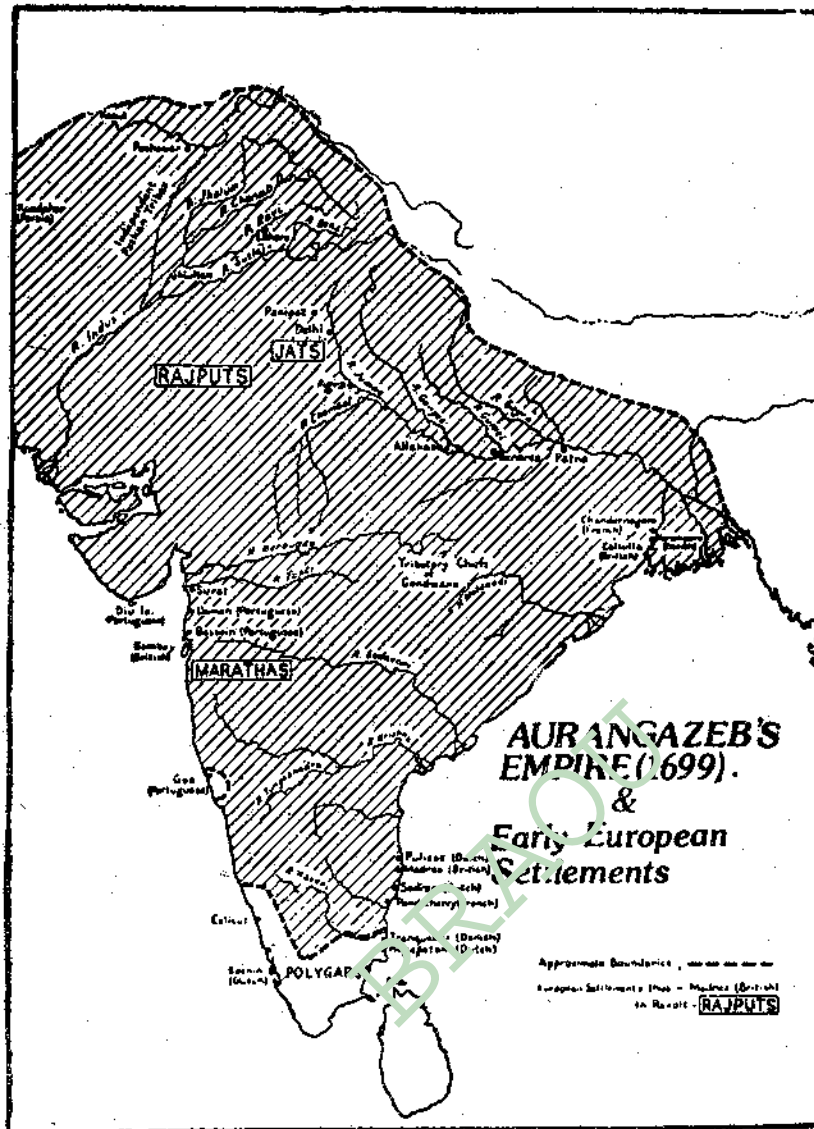
In 1687, Golkonda was besieged. Abul Hassan, the king, fought like a hero and inflicted heavy losses on Aurangzeb's army. The fort was most gallantly defended by a brave general, Abdul Razak. At last, when all hopes of success was lost, Aurangzeb bribed the guard of the fort, who opened the gate one night. Abdul Razak fought and fighting to the last, fell covered with seventy wounds, and was taken a prisoner. Abul Hassan was pensioned off, and was sent to the fort of Daulatabad. Golkonda was annexed to the Mughal empire. This conquest of the Deccan Muslim states increased the power of the Marathas, who now began to plunder the Mughal territories more boldly than ever.

3.5.4.2 War with the Marathas : Execution of Sambhaji

After the conquest of Bijapur and Golkonda, it was only the Maratha state that stood in Aurangzeb's way of becoming the sole master of the whole of India. So, Aurangzeb turned his attention to the Marathas, and was engaged in warfare with them for about twenty years, trying to break their power. But, the guerilla tactics of the Marathas did not let him achieve any success. Shivaji died in 1680. His son Sambhaji, who succeeded was brave but dissolute. He fought the Mughals with some success, but in 1689, he was captured by the Mughals and put to death. The Mughals then captured Raigarh, the stronghold of the Marathas, along with Sahu, son of Sambhaji, who was detained by Aurangzeb as a hostage. The Maratha power suffered a great set-back. It seemed that Aurangzeb would succeed in this mission, but that was not to be. It rather proved to be the beginning of his downfall.

The Marathas, however continued to fight under Raja Ram, the younger brother of Sambhaji, and gave a lot of trouble to the Mughals. When Rajaram died in 1700 his widow, Tarabai, an able and energetic woman, took the leadership and continued the struggle successfully.

The failure of Aurangzeb's long campaign against the Marathas was mainly for two reasons (1) The Mughal army had not only become weak and ease-loving, but was also quite disorganised (2) The Marathas adopted guerilla tactics and never fought in the open. They suffered very little by their defeats, and gained very much by their victories and plundering raids.



3.5.4.3 Results of the Deccan Campaigns

The Deccan campaigns proved very harmful to the Mughal empire. Continued warfare weakened the army as well as the financial condition. In Northern India, the Sikhs and the Jats rose in revolt, and the governors of the provinces did not care much for the central power. The administration grew slack and corrupt. The empire grew too large to be controlled by one man, and Aurangzeb had never trusted anybody, and had tried to look after all the affairs of a great empire in person. *"The Deccan ulcer ruined Aurangzeb"* (J.Sarkar)

3.5.5 Death of Aurangzeb, 1707

From about, 1698, if not earlier, Aurangzeb's prolonged campaign may be described as a complete failure. In spite of his best efforts, he could not crush the Maratha power. He had to return in disappointment, exhausted and broken-hearted, and died at Ahmadnagar, on 21st February, 1707. He was buried in a simple grave at Khuladabad, near Daulatabad. As Smith justly remarks, *"The Deccan was the grave of his reputation as well as of his body"*

3.6 SUCCESSORS OF AURANGAZEB

On the death of Aurangzeb, there was a war of succession among his sons. In this war, Prince Muazzam came out successful, and he ascended the throne in 1707, under the title of Bahadur Shah. He was also known as Shah Alam I. He was an inefficient old man of 64 years and was called *Shah - i - Bekhabar* (The heedless king). He ruled from 1707 to 1712. He was followed by Jahander Shah (1713) and Farukhsiyar (1713-1719). The most important event of Farukhsiyar's reign was that Banda Bahadur, the leader of the sikhs was captured and put to death. Another important event was that Dr. Hamilton, a surgeon in the service of the English East India Company, cured him of a disease and in return for the emperor granted to Company the right to carry on duty-free trade in Bengal.

3.7 INVASION OF NADIR SHAH, 1739

The Sayyed brothers, Hussain Ali, and Abdulla murdered Farukhsiyar and raised one Muhammad Shah to the throne. During Muhammad Shah's reign (1719-748) in 1739, Nadir Shah invaded India and dealt a death blow to the Mughal empire. Nadir Shah was one of the mighty warrior kings of Iran. On the pretext that Muhammad Shah did not respect his request, not to allow Afghans fleeing from Qandahar into India, Nadir Shah invaded India in 1739, and came as far as Karnal without any opposition. Then he entered Delhi and occupied the Mughal palace in the Red Fort. When a few of his soldiers were slain by the inhabitants of Delhi, Nadir Shah was mad with rage and ordered a general massacre, which lasted eight hours. Thousands were put to death and the city was sacked. Many beautiful buildings were burnt to ashes.

After a stay of about two months at Delhi, Nadir Shah went back to Iran, taking with him immense wealth including several crores of rupees, the famous *Koh-i-Noor* diamond, the Peacock Throne of Shah Jahan, and thousands of horses, camels and elephants. Besides this, the Mughal territory beyond the Indus was annexed to his empire. Nadir Shah's invasion left the Mughal empire bleeding and prostrate. Several independent kingdoms were set up. Ali Vardi Khan in Bengal, Sadat Ali Khan in Oudh and *Nizam-ul-Mulk* in Deccan became independent. Moreover, the Marathas and the Sikhs consolidated their power. For some time to come, way was cleared for the rise of the Marathas.

3.8 INVASION OF AHMAD SHAH ABDALI

Ahmad Shah was the chief of Abdali or Durrani clan of the Afghans and the ablest general of Nadir Shah. After Nadir Shah, he became the independent king of Afghanistan. From 1748 to 1767, he made seven invasions of India. He occupied Punjab and sacked the city of Delhi. His most important invasion was in 1761, when he defeated the Marathas in the third battle of Panipat. The invasions of Ahmad Shah destroyed the already weakened power of the Mughal empire. The Maratha plans of re-establishing the Hindu empire were dashed to the ground and the English were enabled to establish their authority in India.

The successors of the Mughal king Muhammad Shah were kings only in name. Only two of them deserve notice Shah Alam II, who granted the Diwani of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa to the English, and Bahadur Shah II, who was the last king of the line. The latter took part in the Revolt of 1857 and was sent as a state prisoner to Rangoon, where he died in 1862 at the age of eighty seven years.

3.9 CAUSES FOR THE DOWNFALL OF THE MUGHAL EMPIRE

3.9.1 Aurangazeb's responsibility

The decline of the Mughal empire began during the reign of Aurangazeb whose policy was, to a great extent responsible for it. But, during the life time of Aurangazeb, his prestige and energy saved it from ruin. As soon as he died, the decline began to show itself. The following were the main causes:

3.9.1.1 His Deccan Policy

Aurangazeb committed a political blunder in annexing Bijapur and Golkonda. These were the only Muslim states in the Deccan. These states had always been at war with the Marathas, but after their annexation, the Marathas had a free hand. The disbanded soldiers of these states got enlisted in the Marathas army.

Aurangazeb had to spend about 26 years in the Deccan, far from his capital. He was not destined to return to his capital. The management of affairs which depended upon his personal supervision became slack. These prolonged campaigns in the Deccan weakened his army and left the treasury empty. The soldiers, deprived of arrears of pay, mutinied. There was lawlessness everywhere. No highway was safe. The provincial governors (except Murshid Quli Khan of Bengal) refused to send the land revenue to the central government. The Deccan ulcer ruined Aurangazeb.

3.9.1.2 His Religious Policy

Aurangazeb's religious policy was an important cause of the Mughal downfall. He looked at everything from the point of view of a Sunni Muslim, and "*he allowed religion to override statesmanship*" (Eshwari Prasad). His great object was to make India a "*Land of Sunni Orthodox Islam*". He reimposed the much hated *Jizia* on the Hindus, pulled down their temples, and did his best to exclude them from public offices, so that they were disgusted with his policy. The Sikhs and the Marathas too were bitterly against him. The Rajputs who were, so to say, the sword and the shield of the Mughal empire, also became its enemies. The Shias too were estranged, many able Shias from Iran ceased to come and seek service in India.

3.9.1.3 His Personal Traits

Aurangazeb was a man of a very suspicious nature, and carried on the whole work of the government by himself. He did not trust his generals, nobles, not even his sons. The result was that, not one of his sons received any training or experience in the art of government. This proved harmful to the empire. After Aurangazeb breathed his last, there was no one who could efficiently rule the kingdom.

3.9.2 Weak Successors

His successors, right from Bahadur Shah I to Bahadur Shah II, were all indolent, irresolute, debauched and inefficient. They were mere puppets in the hands of their ministers. They cared more for their luxuries and pleasures than for the empire. One such king was Muhammad Shah Rangila. The central government, which depended upon the personality and character of the sovereign, therefore, became very weak.

3.9.3 Foreign Empire

Majority of the people in India looked upon the Mughal empire as a foreign power, and quite naturally they had no love for it. Bernier, a French traveller in India, noted, "*The great Mughal is a foreigner in Hindustan*". The Mughal empire had no popular support. It depended upon its military strength. So, when this strength became weak, the empire began to totter.

3.9.4 Absolute Rule

The Mughal system of administration was absolute and such a government can continue only so long as the king is strong and capable. A weak ruler only hastens its fall. The weak successors of Aurangzeb contributed to the ruin of the empire.

3.9.5 No law of succession

The Mughals had no fixed law of succession among their sons. The disastrous wars of succession among the sons of Jahangir, Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb did a great deal of injury to the empire. After Aurangzeb's death, for a period of thirty years, these wars had become common. In these wars, several princes, nobles and thousands of trained soldiers lost their lives.

3.9.6 Decline of the peerage

There is no denying the fact that Abdul Rahim, Asaf Khan, Mahabat Khan, Mir Jumla etc., were great statesmen. They were the pillars of the Mughal empire and they greatly strengthened it. But, they left no son, certainly no grandson, even half as able as they themselves were. Most of the peers were selfish and were busy in conspiring. This decline of the peerage was one of the causes of the downfall of the Mughal empire.

3.9.7 Weakness of the Army

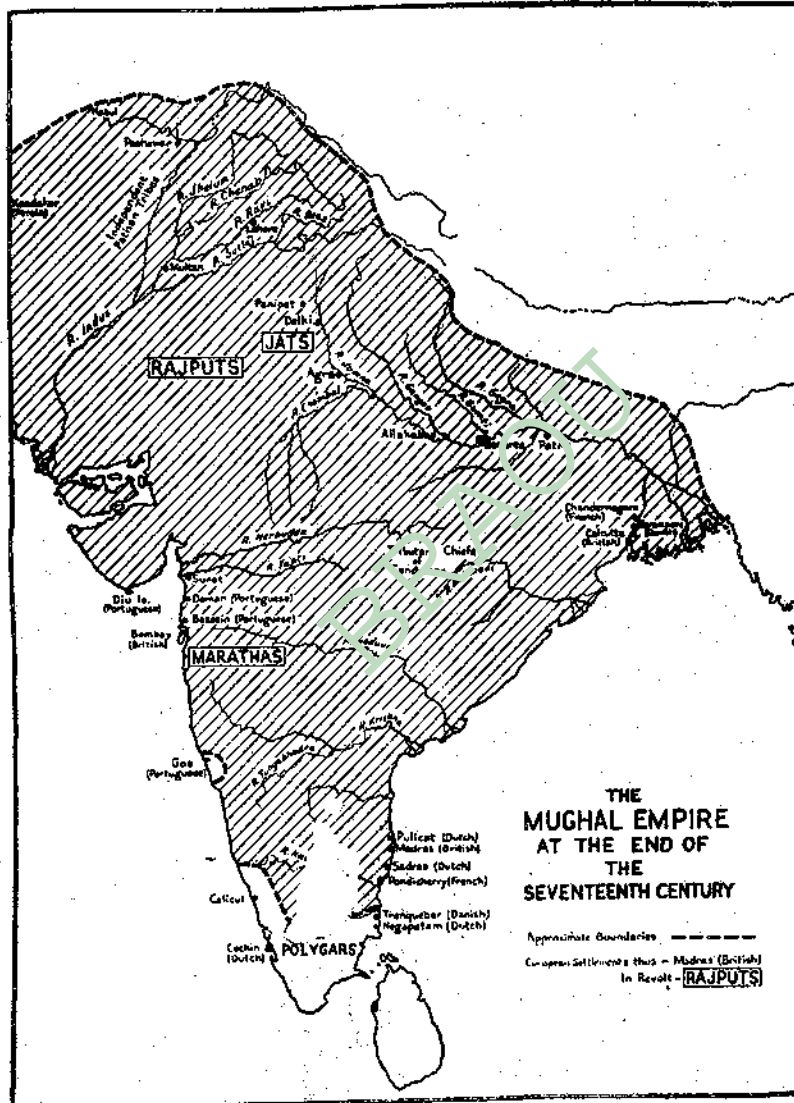
Immense wealth, hot climate, and luxury made the Mughal army ease-loving and weak. The officers went to the battle field in palanquins, and the soldiers took their women-folk with them. The bravery and heroism of the times of Babur were things of the past. This loss of efficiency became clear even in the time of Shah Jahan when the Mughal armies could not conquer Qandahar from the Persians. The main reason for the weakness of the Mughal army was that, strong and virile soldiers from the North-Western hills and Central Asia ceased to come to India. This military inefficiency was probably the principal cause of the final downfall.

3.9.8 Factions of the Royal Court

During the time of the later Mughals, the Muslim nobles were divided into two parties, the Turani and the Irani. The Turani party consisted to nobles who came from Central Asia and they were mostly Sunnis. The Irani party consisted of nobles who came from Persia and they were mostly Shias. There was no love lost between these parties and each worked for self-interest, sacrificing the interest of the empire. Their hostility weakened the Mughal rule.

3.9.9 Independence of the provinces

After the death of Aurangzeb, when no capable ruler had ascended the throne, the governors of the provinces declared their independence. Province after province slipped out of the imperial control. Alivardi Khan in Bengal, Saadat Khan in Oudh, *Nizam - ul - Mulk* Asaf Jah in the Deccan, the Rohillas in Rohilkhand, the Jats near Agra, declared their independence in the reign of Muhammad Shah Rangila. The Mughal empire got converted into a small state.



3.9.10 Foreign invasions

Taking advantage of this weakness of the empire, Nadir Shah invaded India in 1739, and annexed the trans-Indus province and Afghanistan. He took away immense wealth with him, leaving the Mughal empire weak and exhausted. After him, the Afghan chief, Ahmad Shah Abdali, made seven invasions which weakened the empire still further. These foreign invasions depleted the Mughal treasury. As a matter of fact, the fall of the Mughal empire was precipitated by the Afghan and Persian invasions.

3.9.11 Unwieldy Empire

During the reign of Aurangzeb, the empire had grown too vast and unwieldy. In those days when means of transport and communication were far from satisfactory, it was a difficult job to keep order in such a vast empire. The extent of the empire, therefore proved cause of its weakness.

3.9.12 Neglect of sea-power

The absence of a good navy or sea - power was also one of the causes of the downfall. A good navy, of course, could not have prevented the final collapse, but it could have checked the advance of the Europeans for some time.

3.9.13 Rise of Regional Powers like the Marathas and Sikhs

The Marathas and the Sikhs were increasing rapidly their power. The Marathas starting from the Deccan spread over Northern India, and the Sikhs captured the Punjab. Besides, many European nations too obtained a firm footing in the country. All this led to the rapid disintegration of the Mughal empire. In 1757, the English won the battle of Plassey, which gave them the key to the conquest of India. Within fifty years after this, they conquered Delhi (1803) and the Mughal Emperor, Shah Alam II, became a pensioner of the English.

III. CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1. What were the chief results of Aurangzeb's Deccan campaigns?

2. When did Nadir Shah and Ahmad Shah Abdali invade India?

3. Mention five important causes for the decline of the Mughal empire.

3.10 LET US SUM UP

1. By his victory in the II battle of Panipat in 1556 and by his conquests and religious policy Akbar consolidated the Mughal empire in India.
2. Nur Jahan played a dominant role during the time of Jahangir. William Hawkins and Thomas Roe of England were able to obtain certain privileges for the East India Company.
3. Shah Jahan's period (1627-58) is an important period in Mughals history. He established Mughal supremacy over Golkonda and Bijapur.
4. Aurangzeb succeeded to the Mughal throne after defeating his three brothers in the war of succession. He conquered Golkonda and Bijapur. But his Deccan and religious policies paved the way for the downfall of the Mughal empire.
5. A number of causes like the decline in the economy, the weak successors of Aurangzeb, the foreign invasions of Nadir Shah Abdali and the threat of the Marathas, brought about the downfall of the Mughal empire.

3.11 CHECK YOUR PROGRESS : ANSWERS

- I.
 1. The II Battle of Panipat is important because Akbar's victory in that battle resulted in the consolidation of the Mughal empire.
 2. In the battle of Haldighat, Rana Pratap was defeated by Akbar's general Man Singh. But Rana Pratap did not surrender to Akbar. He continued to fight against the Mughals from the jungles.
 3. Respect for all religions was the key note of Akbar's religious policy. He abolished the pilgrim and *jizia* taxes on the Hindus, he established a new religion, the *Din-i-Ilahi*.
- II.
 1. One of the important achievements of Jahangir was putting an end to the conflict of the Mughals with Mewar which was ruled by Rana Pratap in the time of Akbar. Amar Singh the son of Rana Pratap surrendered to Jahangir and he was treated with honour by Jahangir. Another important achievement of Jahangir was the establishment of just administration in the Mughal empire. Any person who felt that injustice was done to him could represent to the emperor for redressal of the injustice.
 2. Nur Jahan whom Jahangir married in 1611, played a dominant role during the time of Jahangir. She was the real power behind the throne.
 3. The aim of Shah Jahan's Deccan policy was to keep the kingdoms of the Deccan under the Mughal suzerainty. He was content with the submission of the Golkonda and Bijapur sultans to the Mughal emperor and did not annex these kingdoms.
 4. The war of succession started in the time of Shah Jahan, because Aurangzeb the third son of Shah Jahan wanted to succeed to the Mughal throne. His fear that the

emperor would favour his eldest son Dara Sukoh in the process of succession prompted him to start the war.

- III. 1. The Deccan policy of Aurangzeb was an important cause for the downfall of the Mughal empire. As stated by J.N. Sarkar the "Deccan ulcer ruined Aruंगzeb's His Deccan policy exhausted the army and also emptied the treasury.
2. Nadir Shah invaded India in 1739. Ahmad Shah Abdali invaded India seven times between 1748 and 1767. His most important invasion was in 1761 when he defeated the Marathas in the third battle of Panipat.
3. Aurangzeb's religious and Deccan policies, the decline in the economic position of the Mughal empire, the threat of the Marathas, foreign invasions, and the weak successors of Aurangzeb were mainly responsible for the decline of the Mughal empire.

3.12 EXAMINATION MODEL QUESTIONS

I. Answer the following questions in about 30 lines

1. Account for the failure of Humayun as a ruler. How are the defects in his character responsible for his failure?
2. "Akbar is the real founder of the Mughal empire" - Discuss.
3. "Akbar is the first successful conqueror of Rajput independence" (Tod) in the light of this statement discuss Akbar's Rajput Policy.
4. Shah Jahan's reign is considered as the golden age in art and architecture - Elucidate.
5. Critically examine the salient features of Aurangzeb's internal and external policies.
6. Outline the causes for the decline and disintegration of Mughal empire after Aurangzeb. How far was Aurangzeb responsible for it ?

II. Answer the following questions in about 15 lines:

1. What do you think about the causes for the failure of Humayun?
2. "Akbar was the father of Indian Nationalism" - Discuss.
3. Estimate the personality of Jahangir. What was the nature of Nur Jahan's influence on his policies?
4. Write a short note on Jahangir's relations with Europeans.
5. Critically examine the effects of Aurangzeb's Deccan policy.
6. Evaluate the Rajput policy of Aurangzeb.
7. Discuss the type of relations that existed between the Mughals and the Sikhs.
8. Explain the significance of the invasions of Nadir Shah and Ahmad Shah Abdali.

3.13 BOOKS FOR FURTHER READING

1. Beni Prasad : *History of Jahangir*
2. Chopra : *Some Aspects of Society & Culture during the Mughal Age*
3. Edwards & Garret : *Mughal Rule in India.*
4. Irfan Habib : *The Agrarian system of Mughal India*
5. Irwin William : *Later Mughals*
6. Iswari Prasad : *A Short History of the Muslim Rule in India
Medieval India, Life and Times of Humayun*
7. Karim : *Society and Culture in Medieval India*
8. Majumdar R.C. (ED) : *The Mughal Empire, Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan Series, Vol VII*
9. Majumdar, H.C. Ray,
Chaudhari & Datta : *Advanced History of India*
10. Moreland, H. : *India at the Death of Akbar
The Agrarian System of Muslim India, From Akbar to
Aurangzeb - A Study in Indian Economic History*
11. Perceival Spear : *Twilight of the Mughals*
12. Qureshi, I.H. : *Administration of the Mughal Empire*
13. Roy Chaudary : *Economic, Social and Cultural History of India*
14. Satish Chandra : *Parties and Politics in the Mughal Court*
15. Smith, V.A. : *Akbar, the Great Mughal*
16. Srivastav, A.L. : *Mughal Empire*
17. Tripathi, R.P. : *Some Aspects of Mughal Administration*

UNIT - 4 MUGHALS : ADMINISTRATION, ECONOMY, SOCIETY AND CULTURE

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4.0 OBJECTIVES

A study of this unit should enable you to know about :

1. the salient features of Mughal administration (the Central Government, Provincial Government, Military and Revenue administration) and the defects and merits of the Mughal administration.
2. the economic conditions in the Mughal empire (the conditions of Agriculture, Industries, Trade and Commerce, and the general conditions of the people).
3. the social conditions during Mughal period - the religious policy of Akbar and his successors, Bhakti movement, Literature, Art and Architecture.

4.1 INTRODUCTION

It was Akbar, who conceived and devised the Mughal administration. Babur's time in India was taken up with politics and wars aimed at the conquest of North India, and before his death in 1530, he had little time to consolidate his conquests and give it a system of administration. Humayun's career and reign were too chequered to allow him to evolve a system of administration in the kingdom bequeathed to him by his father. Therefore, it was left to Akbar, who had a successful long and prosperous reign to devise a system of administration for the Mughal empire. This system of administration devised by Akbar was "*Thoroughly organised, national, broad-bottomed, popular and modern*". As it had some foreign elements in it, it was described as "*The Perso-Arabic system in India setting*" (J. Sarkar)

The Mughal system of administration was a distinct improvement upon that of the Delhi Sultanate. Its activities were not confined to mere police and tax collecting functions. It was devised to suit the needs of a "culture state" evolved by Akbar and was concerned with trade, industry, coinage, roads, hospitals, art and learning.

Akbar introduced a remarkable system of administration and set it on a firm footing. His civil, military and revenue reforms are a visible proof of his organising ability. But, it should not be forgotten that in many of the reforms, in a large measure, Sher Shah forestalled Akbar. The land revenue system of Akbar, for which he was specially known, was an improvement over the revenue system of Sher Shah. Todar Mal made the necessary changes to suit the occasion. The military administration of Akbar too in several respects was modelled on that of Sher Shah. The system of branding horses and entering the identification marks of the troops was also adopted from Sher Shah.

The material condition of the country was prosperous under the Mughal rule. The foreign travellers, who visited India during the Mughal times, speak highly of the flourishing trade of India, its commerce and arts. Yet, the common man led a miserable life.

In this unit the religious policy of the Mughals will be explained and the development of the Bhakti movement will also be traced. An account of the development of literature, art and architecture in the Mughal period is also given in this unit.

4.2 CENTRAL GOVERNMENT

Akbar's administration was praiseworthy. Both Hindus and Muslims were admitted to public services.

Akbar was an absolute ruler. His word was law. He was not only the head of the civil administration but was also the commander-in-chief of the army. He was, however, helped by his ministers, chief among whom were the Prime Minister (*Vakil*), the Finance Minister (*Vazir*) the War Minister (*Mir Bakshi*) and the Minister of Religious Matters (*Mir Sadar*). The emperor was the fountain of all justice. He himself decided important cases and heard appeals. His policy was based on religious toleration. He did not care for the Ulemas in political affairs. The Prime Minister, called *Vakil* or *Vazir* was next to the king, and was the greatest officer in the State. Persian was the official language.

4.3 PROVINCIAL ADMINISTRATION

The empire of Akbar towards the close of his reign was divided into fifteen provinces known as Subas, each having the same type of administration. They are Agra, Allahabad, Oudh, Delhi, Lahore, Multan, Kabul, Ajmer, Bengal, Bihar, Ahamadabad, Malwa, Khandesh, Berar and Ahmadnagar. Every province was under a governor called *Subedar* or *Siphahsalar*, but officially known as the *Nazim*. He was either a member of the imperial family, or a noble of high rank. He was appointed by the emperor, and was the head of the military, police and the executive. There were also a *Diwan*, a *Faujdar*, a *Qazi*, an *Amil* and many other officers in every province. The *Diwan* looked after the revenue administration and was the rival of the *Subedar*. The *Amil* was the revenue collector, and the *Qazi* heard cases.

The provinces were divided into Sarkar and the Sarkars into Parganas. Each Paragana contained several villages. The head of the district was called *Faujdar*. He was also incharge of a small force. The head of a Paragana was called *Shiqdar*. In towns, Qazis were appointed to hear civil cases, and there was no written code. Usual punishments were imprisonment, fine, mutilation and whipping. Capital punishment, however, could be inflicted with the consent of the emperor. Village affairs were managed by the panchayats.

I. CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1. What was the role of the emperor in the Mughal administration?

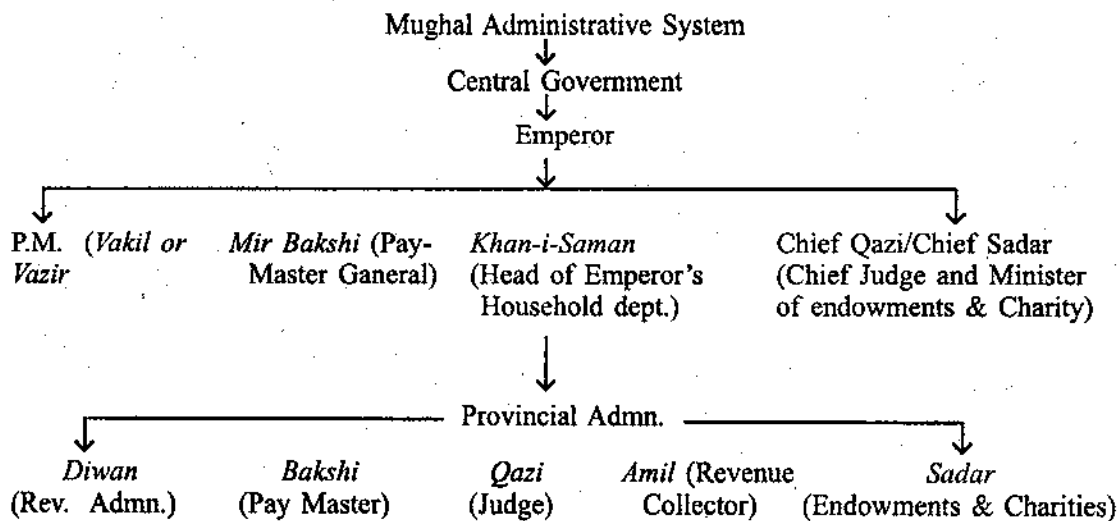
2. Who were the important officers in the Sarkar and Paragana in the Mughal Administration?

4.4 MILITARY ADMINISTRATION

Akbar had a standing army, but it was not large. Military officers called *Mansabdars* had to provide the king with the necessary quota of soldiers. According to Abul Fazal, there were thirty-three grades of these *Mansabdars*. These officers had to supply the emperor with a fixed number of horsemen when required. The lowest officers had to supply ten, and the highest 10,000 horsemen. The highest grades of the *Mansabdars* above 5,000 were reserved for members of the royal family and nobles of high rank. The *Mansabdars* were, as a rule, paid in cash, though some held *jagirs* for a temporary period. These *Jagirs* were frequently transferred from one *Mansabdar* to another. All these *Mansabdars* were responsible for the maintenance of peace and collection of revenue in their respective territories. They also heard criminal cases.

A serious defect in this system was that, these *Mansabdars* did not maintain the required number of troops, but at the time of checking, would gather men for the occasion, and showed the required number. To guard against the evil of false musters, Akbar followed the practice of Sher Shah of branding the horses, and entering the identification marks of soldiers in a register. But, he was not entirely successful. Besides these *Mansabdars*, some Rajas and chiefs, also furnished troops.

The imperial army consisted of infantry, artillery, cavalry, elephants, and the navy. Of these important branch was the cavalry, and special attention was paid to it.



4.5 LAND REVENUE ADMINISTRATION

Akbar's greatest achievement was the land revenue administration. This was carried out by Raja Todar Mal, his revenue minister. Todar Mal, following the precedent set by Sher Shah, carried out in many parts of the empire, an improved system of settlement (*Bandobast*) or assessment of the revenue based on fairly accurate measurement and classification of the kind of soil. This settlement was Ryotwari. All cultivable land was measured and classified in four grades, according to fertility. These grades were : (i) *Polaj*, which was never allowed to be fallow (ii) *Parauti*, which was occasionally left fallow for a year or two; (iii) *Chachar*, which was allowed to be fallow for three or four years, and (iv) *Banjar*, which remained fallow for five years or more. The state demand was fixed at one-third of the average produce which could be paid in cash or kind, but Akbar preferred cash payment, especially in the case of perishable articles. In order to fix the cash rates, Todar Mal took the average of actual prices during the preceding ten years.

During famine, the state share was reduced, and on such occasions, the farmers were given *taccavi*, i.e. loans for the purchase of seeds and cattle. The revenue collectors were especially warned not to oppress the cultivators. The result was that the cultivators were now better off, and the government revenue also increased. In the beginning, revenue settlement was made annually, but later on, it was made decennial (for ten years). This revenue system of Todar Mal with slight modifications, continued even in the time of Akbar's successors.

II CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1. Describe the *Mansabdar* system in two sentences.

2. What was the important classifications of the land revenue system during the time of the Mughals?

4.6 ECONOMIC CONDITIONS - AGRICULTURE

The improved system of revenue settlement introduced by Akbar gave an impetus to agriculture. Food was extraordinarily cheap during his reign. The chief crops of the period were barley, wheat, sugar - cane, pulses, millets, cotton, oil seeds, indigo, etc. In 1604, European traders introduced tobacco into India, and since then it came to be extensively cultivated. After

Akbar's time, gradually the conditions of the life of the common man deteriorated because of the tyranny and the rapacity of the nobles, and the provincial governors. French traveller Bernier, who travelled in India during the reign of Shah Jahan, points out that in the upper provinces, the peasants and artisans were subjected to cruel oppressions and as a consequence, agriculture was neglected.

Towards the close of Shah Jahan's reign, "*peasants themselves hungry, toiled to feed the towns and cities. India taken as a unit, parted with useful commodities in exchange for gold and silver, or in other words, gave bread for stones. Men and women living from season to season on the verge of hunger, could be content as long as the supply of food held out. When it failed, as it so often did, their hope of salvation was the slave trader, and alternatives were cannibalism, suicide or starvation*" (Moreland). Bernier says that under the Mughal government, the development of the material resources of the country was impossible. Conditions became worse under Aurangzeb, during whose long reign, endless wars, rebellions, the demands of the state, and the maintenance of the splendour of a large court, had a serious effect on agriculture, industry and trade. Yet, the lot of the common people was much better than what it was in the days of the Delhi Sultanate.

4.7 INDUSTRIES

Industries flourished under the Mughal rule, manufacture of textiles ranked first among the industries. Many textile production centres existed in Agra, Benaras, Patna, Berhampur, Bidar etc. There was silk industry in Sonargaon and Dacca, and production of shawls in Lahore. Multan, Fathapur Sikri and Jaunpur were famous for carpet manufacture. Paper was produced at Seolkot. Bihar was known for its production of saltpetre.

III. CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1. When was tobacco introduced in India ?

2. What were the important industries in the Mughal empire ?

4.8 TRADE AND COMMERCE

Both English and other foreign trade received a fillip during Mughal times. Inland trade was carried on by native trading classes. Foreign trade was concentrated in the hands

of the Arabs, the Portuguese, the French, The English etc. Peter Mundy, the English traveller, mentions that inland trade was carried on mainly on river boats. There were ship-building centres in Sindh, Cambay, Surat, Broach, Cochin, and Machilipatnam. The ships built at these centres were so sturdy and large that, fourteen to twenty five elephants could be transported on each of them. There was a land route from India to Central Asia, via Qandahar and Persia. The coming of the European traders greatly increased foreign trade. Demand for Indigo, Cotton, Raw-silk and Calico (Calicut Cloth) increased. Salt-petre from Bihar and the east coast, became an important export in the seventeenth century. The advent of Dutch and English traders benefited the localities producing indigo, cotton, calico, silk and saltpetre, which were the chief exports. But Indian ship-building suffered. Towards the close of the seventeenth century, Taffeta and Brocades were important exports. Dyeing and weaving of silk made much progress because of the demands by the English. Bengal became famous for cotton industry. The chief imports were silver, gold, copper, lead, superior woollens, spices, superior tobacco, wine, European curiosities, horses and Abyssinian slaves. The principal seaports of the Mughal empire were Lahari Bandar in Sindh, Cambay, Broach, Surat, Hughli, Machilipatnam and Sripur (near Dacca)

Like the peasant, the industrial worker also suffered greatly because of low wages and miserable conditions of life. The workers were seized by force, and made to work in the house of a noble or officer, who paid them what he liked. Towards the close of Shah Jahan's reign, *"weavers naked themselves, toiled to clothe others"*

4.9 PROSPEROUS CITIES

The economic prosperity of the times resulted in the growth of prosperous cities, like Agra, Fatehpur Sikri, Lahore etc. Ralph Fitch, and English travellers, describes Agra and Fatehpur Sikri as *"Two very great cities, either of them much greater than London and very populous"*.

Fr. Monserrate, a Jesuit missionary describes Lahore as a great city. Abul Fazal testifies to the flourishing conditions of Ahmadnagar in Deccan.

4.10 FAMINES AND PLAGUE

In spite of the flourishing economic conditions, there were local and general famines during which, peasants and common people underwent much suffering. It is recorded that, during the famines of 1555-56 and 1595-98 *"men ate their own kin"*. A kind of plague also added to the horrors of this period. During the time of Jahangir, Plague appeared in northern and western India and lasted for eight years. In the famine of 1630-32, in Gujarat and Deccan, during the reign of Shah Jahan *"Destitution at last reached such a pitch that men began to devour each other and the flesh of a son was preferred to his love"*. The English traveller, Peter Mundy, records that the government did nothing to help the people. On the whole the Mughal rulers did little to alleviate the suffering of the people in times of famine and distress.

4.11 THE PEOPLE

The benefit of the economic prosperity achieved during the Mughal period did not reach the common man, even at the fringe. *"The mass of the nobles were steeped in luxury and the mass of the people were miserably poor. The economic life of India was characterised*

essentially by inadequate production and faulty distribution". During Aurangzeb's long reign, conditions worsened. His religious intolerance, endless wars, rebellion, the demands of the state and the luxury of the court and the nobles, adversely affected agriculture, industry and trade, and ruined the economy. The situation was further aggravated by the invasions of Nadir Shah and Ahmad Shah Abdali, during the time of the weak successors of Aurangzeb.

IV. CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1. Which were the principal seaports in the Mughal empire ?

2. Why was the condition of the common people miserable in the Mughal empire even though there was plenty of wealth in the empire ?

4.12 SOCIAL CONDITIONS

The sources for understanding the social conditions of the Mughal age are meagre yet valuable information can be obtained from the accounts of contemporary European travellers and incidental references available in contemporary historical works in Persian as well as vernacular literature of the period.

In order to understand the social conditions a demographic picture of the period is needed and utilising the information of *Aini Akbari* Moreland, Shireen Moosvi and Ashok V. Desai tried to arrive at the population of India. Shireen Moosvi puts the population of India at 145 millions.

R.C. Majumdar, Roy Chowdary and K.K. Datta observe that society looked like a feudal organisation with the king at its apex. Official nobility occupied the next rank to the king. Below this nobility, there existed a small and frugal middle class. The condition of the lower orders was miserable compared to the rest of the higher social orders like the nobles and the middle class. There existed a sharp difference in the standard of living of the people depending in their social class. While the nobility rolled in wealth and comforts, the others led a frugal life. Excessive addiction to wine and womanizing was a common practice among nobility. Likewise the standard of living of the rural and urban people also was different.

The society of this period was segmented and we notice considerable inequalities among them. Babur describes that menfolk in rural areas wore only a short cloth, about the loins. While generally women wore cotton saris, we observe required variations in the use of the blouse. Wearing of the shoes among the rural folk was rare and only the richer groups used them in the villages. Generally, single room dwellings made of mud with thatched roofs were used by the villagers as houses. We find required variations in the materials used for building houses. Except for an iron pan, all the other utensils were made of earth. The diet of common people was mainly of rice, millets, pulses, vegetables and beans. Meat was a luxury to many.

In rural areas, in most parts of India the joint family was the most important institution. Generally, the family system was patriarchal property was shared by male progeny and the birth of son was favoured. Marriage was the most important social institution in rural India. Early marriage was the accepted custom. Akbar appear to have fixed 16 years for males and 14 years for females according to Abul Fazl. We are not sure this system was implemented. Dowry system prevailed among both the Hindus and Muslims.

Hindu rural folk observed many festivals like Basant Pancha- Holi, Deepavali and Sivaratri. Muslims observed Id, Shabbebarat and Muharram festivals. Talking about the mutual impact of living side by side, K.M. Asraf observes Shabbebarat was copied from the Sivaratri. He also points out that "The distinguishing features of popular celebrations were the extensive use of fire works and the illumination of houses and mosques. Dancing and singing were very popular among the rural masses".

We come to know from the *Tabaqat-i-Akbari* dated 1593 that during Akbar's period there were around 120 big cities and 3200 Qasbas or small towns. Though there are no definite evidence of population of urban centres. Irfan Habib estimates that around 15% of total population in Mughal India lived in towns.

The standard of living in urban centres also varied depending on their social and economic status. While the standard of living of the poor was very miserable, the nobles lived luxuriously. Joint family system was common and the higher classes women followed *pardah*. The tradition of *Jauhar* was very common to Rajputs. Babur describes in detail about *Jauhar* performed by Medini Rai's ladies at Chanderi.

Sati or self immolation was quite common among upper caste Hindu women. When the daughter of Mota Raja of Marwar was compelled to burn herself against her own wish, Akbar appear to have taken serious note this forced *sati*. Akbar appointed observers in every town and districts to see that women are not forced to commit *sati* against their wish. He allowed voluntary *sati*. In 1587 he initiated measures to permit widows to marry. Early marriage for boys and girls was favoured both by Hindus and Muslims. Akbar raised the minimum age limit for boys to 16 and for girls to 14. Interestingly, Akbar being illiterate, personally he took great interest in female education. He established school for girls at Fatepur Sikri. In general in this age education was beyond the reach of common woman but women of elite group had the opportunity for education. Drinking, opium eating and *bhang* were very common, prostitution was widely prevalent. Card playing was introduced by Babur. Tobacco was introduced into India during this age. On the whole, there existed visible divide in the standard of living of the rural and urban poor and rich, economic and

social status of people. Superstitions, faith in astrology common to both Hindus and Muslims. The dominant feature of this feudal pattern of society of Mughal India was spending not saving or hoarding according to Moreland.

4.13 AKBAR'S RELIGIOUS POLICY

The religious policy initiated by Akbar was a definite break from the intolerant and anti-Hindu religious policy pursued by the Delhi Sultanate (1205-1526). Earlier, Sher Shah, a strict orthodox Sunni muslim in private life, treated his Hindu subjects well, and thus set an example for Akbar to follow.

The begin with, Akbar was brought up as a Sunni muslim. But it is probable that Akbar even in boyhood was never thoroughly orthodox. From his boyhood, a variety of influences might have contributed to his broad - mindedness in matters of religion. His mother, Hamida Banu Begum, daughter of a Persian scholar, and his guardian, Bairam Khan, were both Shias. They taught him the lessons of toleration. His tutor, Abdul Latif initiated him into the great doctrine of universal toleration. Shaik Mubarak, and his two sons, Abul Fazl and Faizi, who adorned Akbar's court and were his close friends, were Sufis by faith. Their society also influenced the religious faith of Akbar. Sufism contained in it elements of Hindu mysticism (*Vedanta*). It was with Abul Fazl's support that Akbar started his new religion, the *Din-i-Ilahi*. Akbar got the Ramayana, the Mahabharata and the Bhagavadgita translated into Persian. His Hindu wives, Hindu officers and friends must have influenced his religious views to a great deal, and he began to appreciate the good points of Hinduism. Akbar got interested in the doctrines of various religions and was very much fond of religious discussions and debates. In 1575, he built the *Ibadat Khana* or the House of Worship at Fatehpur Sikri, where religious discussions and debates were held among the followers of different religions. These debates greatly influenced the religious views of Akbar. Last, but not the least, his early difficulties with his turbulent Muslim nobles might have impressed on him the need of conciliating his Hindu subjects. The pro-Hindu policy begun quite early in Akbar's reign was his own. But, "*in spite of the manifold influences which were exerted on his career, his religious policy on the whole, was substantially his own creation, bearing the stamp of his genius*" (Sathianath aiyar).

Till 1579, Akbar remained a convinced Muslim of the Sunni sect, observing all the rites and rituals required of an orthodox Muslim. In 1575, he built the *Ibadat Khana*, first for religious and philosophical discussions and debates pertaining to Islam; later, other religious systems were included in these debates and discussions. As a result, his belief in Islam became weak and shaky. Even earlier, after his marriage in 1562 with Rajput ladies, and as a result of his belief in *Sulh-i-Kull* (Universal Toleration), he boldly formulated the policy of encouraging his Hindu subjects. In 1563, he abolished tax on Hindu pilgrims. In 1564, the much hated *Jizia* was abolished.

In 1579, Akbar did an unusual thing. He preached in the mosque at Sikri and recited verses composed by Faizi, ending with the expression *Allaho Akbar*, meaning either "God is great" or "Akbar is God". In September that year, Akbar issued the infallibility decree, making the emperor supreme in religious matters which made him, "Pope as well as king". Between 1580 and 1582, he had discussions with Jesuit Fathers and Jain monks. The result of all this was that in 1582, after his victorious return from Kabul, Akbar started his own religion called *Din-i-Ilahi* (The Divine Faith). Abul Fazl was its high priest.

In *Din-i-Ilahi*, Akbar combined the good points of various religions, viz., Hinduism, Islam, Zoroastrianism and Christianity. The main doctrines of his religion were : God is one and Akbar is his Khalifa (Vice-regent). A man should use his intellect, blind faith is not religion. Every morning, the king would worship the Sun and his followers prostrated themselves before him. Each member was required to give a party on his birthday. Meat - eating was prohibited. Akbar did not use his power and prestige to convert anyone by compulsion into this religion. Among his own close friends and officers, Man Singh flatly refused to follow this religion and it died along with Akbar's death. While some think that "*as a political institution, Din-i-Ilahi entirely fulfilled Akbar's hopes*". Others severely criticised it as "*the outcome of ridiculous vanity, a monstrous growth of unrestrained autocracy. The Divine Faith was a monument of Akbar's folly, not of his wisdom*". (V.A. Smith). Whatever may be one's opinion of Akbar as the founder of a new religion, there is no denying of the fact that he was a truly spiritual man with a firm faith in God.

Akbar is accused of passing certain regulations which irritated the Muslims, such as the prohibition of cow-slaughter, removal of beards, prohibition of Haj Pilgrimages and fasting during Ramzan etc. (Badauni). A remarkable feature of Akbar's character was that he was not at all bigoted, and treated Hindus and Muslims alike, *Din-i-Ilahi* symbolises Akbar's aspiration of making the people of India, whether they are Hindus or Muslims, or any other creed, think that they belong to one country, one nation, one culture and one people. Through the creation of a national religion, he tried to foster a national state and national unity of India.

4.13.1 Religious Policy of Akbar's Successors :

Jahangir did not disturb Akbar's policy of universal toleration. But, Shah Jahan reversed this policy by his orders prohibiting the erection of new Hindu temples in the empire. It was reported that seventy-six temples had been destroyed in the district of Benaras. Aurangzeb's reign was characterised by open hostility against Hindus. In 1679, he reimposed the much hated *Jizia*. Aurangzeb hated the Shais also. One of the reasons why he destroyed the Muslim states of the Deccan was that their rulers were Shias, and their ministers were Hindus. He undid much of the good work done by Akbar, through his bigotry, Aurangzeb also estranged the Sikhs, the Marathas, the Jats and the Satnamis.

V. CHECK YOUR PROGRESS :

1. Why did Akbar start the *Din-i-Ilahi* ?

2. Why did the Sikhs, Marathas, the Jats and Satnamis revolt in the time of Aurangzeb?

4.14 BHAKTI MOVEMENT

“Bhakti” means loving devotion to personal God. It is the path of devotion for attaining salvation. The Bhaktas (devotees of personal God) do not recognise any distinction of caste or birth. They believe in the unity of Godhead, equality of man, and are opposed to religious rites and ceremonies. These people worship a personal God by ecstatic dances, music and religious songs, and believe that simple devotion and surrender to God alone lead to salvation.

4.14.1 Causes

The doctrine of Bhakti is very old among the Hindus. It is found in the Bhagavad Gita and the Upanishads. But, this movement was revived with considerable force in Northern India during the 15th and 16th centuries.

i. One reason was that, many evil practices had crept into Hinduism. Idol-worship, untouchability, distinctions of caste and religious ceremonies were on the increase. Many people were anxious to reform Hinduism.

ii. Another reason was that under the influence of Islam, several religious leaders came forward who preached the unity of Godhead, and the brotherhood of man. They raised their voice against the distinctions of caste and untouchability, and at the same time laid emphasis on Bhakti as the means of salvation.

4.14.2 Leaders of the Bhakti Movement :

The following were the most important religious leaders of the time.

4.14.2.1 Ramanuja

Ramanuja lived in the Deccan in the 12th century. He was born in a Brahman family in a village, Sriperumbudur near Madras, and spent his youth at Conjeevaram. He preached Vaishnavism in the south and declared *Bhakti* to be the sole means of salvation.

Ramanuja who is famous for his “*Vishistadwaita*” philosophy, tried to correlate the Bhakti cult to the tradition of the *Vedas*. He advocated the *Bhakti Marga* and argued that devotion to God is more important than knowledge. He also stated that the path of *Bhakti* is open to all without any caste considerations. The tradition by Ramanuja was continued by Ramananda and Vallabhacharya in the North and in the South.

4.14.2.2 Ramananda

Ramananda was born at Allahabad in a Brahman family, and lived in the 14th century. He mostly lived in Benaras. It was through him that the *Bhakti* movement became popular in North India. He was the first Hindu reformer who preached in Hindi, the language of the people.

He regarded God as a loving father, and worshiped him under the name of Rama. He had a large following. His disciples came from every caste, high and low, without any distinction. His most remarkable follower was Kabir, a weaver by the profession.

4.14.2.3 Kabir

He was born in the 15th century. There are different stories about his origin. Some say that he was born a Hindu (of a Brahman widow), and was brought up by one Niru, a Muslim weaver, and his wife Nima. Others say that he was a Muslim, who had come under the influence of the Hindus. He was a weaver by trade, and was the most famous disciple of Ramanand. He married Loi, who proved of great help to him in his mission.

Kabir preached mostly in Bengal and Bihar. He raised a powerful protest against the distinctions of caste, Brahman supremacy, going on pilgrimages, and worship of idols. He taught that Allah is the same as Ishwar, and is present everywhere. He asked the Hindus and the Muslims to live like brothers, and lead truthful, humble and pious lives. Both Hindus and Muslims were his disciples, and he did much to bring them nearer each other. His *dohas* (devotional songs) are well known over the whole of Northern India, and have an appeal of their own. He lived in the reign of Sikandar Lodi. He died at Maghar.

4.14.2.4 Guru Nanak

Nanak was born in 1469 at Talwandi (now called Nankana Sahib) in Sheikhpura district. His father Kalu, was a Patwari, and also kept a petty shop. At the age of 30, Nanak became a sadhu and travelled about the whole of India preaching his cult of *bhakti*.

His teachings were similar to those of Kabir. He preached the unity of God, laid emphasis on the worship of the True Name and believed in the necessity of a Guru for the worship of the True Name. He condemned the caste system, idol-worship, claims of the Brahmans, blind superstition, and meaningless religious rites. He laid stress on noble deeds and sincere devotion to God. His followers came to be called Sikhs. He was followed by nine Gurus.

During the closing years of his life, he settled at Kartapur (Dera Baba Nanak, Pakistan) and died there in 1538, at the age of 70.

4.14.2.5 Chaitanya

Chaitanya Mahaprabhu was born in 1485 at Nadia (Bengal) in a Brahman family. His original name was Bishambar. He was very learned. At the age of 24, he renounced the world and became a Sanyasi. He was an ardent devotee of Sri Krishna, and preached the doctrine of love and devotion to Krishna. He sang songs in praise of God and held Kirtanas.

He spent 18 years in Orissa and six years in Brindavan, Gaur and other places. Thus, he preached Bhaktivada for about 25 years. His followers are still found in Bengal, and even in Punjab. They call themselves Gopis of Krishna, and worship him by dance and music. Chaitanya Swami's disciples came from all castes. One of them was a Muslim. Chaitanya died in 1533 at the age of forty-eight. His name is very popular in Bengal, millions of people worship him as an *avatar* of Sri Krishna.

4.14.2.6 Vallabhacharya

Vallabha belonged to Andhra Pradesh. He visited the court of Krishnadeva Raya of Vijayanagar and proceeded to Mathura and other places in Northern India. He fixed up his

residence at Benaras and commented on the Brahma Sutras and the Bhagavad Gita. His philosophy is called *Suddahdvaita* or pure monism, because he completely identified the individual soul with Brahman, and does not subscribe to the distinction between the two. He preached devotion to Krishna, and inculcated detachment from worldly pleasures. His *Pushtimarga* (way of Spiritual Bliss) was understood later, as sanctioning the enjoyment of carnal pleasures in the name of God, and in imitation of Krishna's sports. It was regarded as illogical that worldly suffering should produce spiritual happiness, and the Radha cult in its objectionable form gained popularity in some parts of India. The relations between the guru and the disciple degenerated, and the doctrine of love and self-surrender was presented in a way inimical to morality and self-respect.

4.14.2.7 Vemana

The date of Vemana is disputed, but scholars tend to assign him to the 16th century. He is the greatest moralist of Andhradesa, and his *Shataka* is an extremely popular composition. He condemns meaningless attachment to the old order of things, and attacked caste, idol-worship. In simple verses some of which are humorous and satirical he condemned superstitions, rituals and social evils. He disapproved untouchability also. Humanism was the essence of Vemana's philosophy. Like Kabir and other medieval poet-saints, he more believed in the oneness of God and in universal brotherhood. However, Vemana had prejudiced views on women. He wrote that women are undependable and are a source of evil.

4.14.2.8 Tulasi Das, 1532-1623

Tulasi Das, the author of *Ram Charit Manas* was a Brahman, born somewhere on the banks of the Jamuna. He wrote his great work, *Ram Charit Manas* in eastern Hindi in about 1675. He was a great devotee of Lord Rama. He came into contact with emperor Jahangir, but was not connected with Akbar's court. His long life was devoted to inculcation of *bhakti* coupled with lofty morality, but he founded no school. He was a follower in *Advaita*. His Ramayana is "to the vast majority of the people of Hindustan, learned and unlearned alike, the sole norm of conduct". (Grierson)

4.14.2.9 Tukaram :

Tukaram born about 1600 A.D. emphasises pure heart and moral elevation, as aids to *bhakti*. He is called "the Maratha Kabir". He inculcated a rational outlook in religion and morality, and condemned both idol-worship and *advaita*. Hundreds of his simple and eloquent *abhangs* or metrical hymns, expound "the transitoriness of human life, the evil of sensual gratification, and the glory of the ascetic ideal", which profoundly appealed to Shivaji.

4.14.3 Effects of the Bhakti Movement

K.M. Panikkar had observed that "the Bhakti Movement was a new interpretation of Hinduism in terms of Islam's monotheism and egalitarianism, but its religious doctrine was that of the Bhagavadgita, whose summons were to surrender all and take refuge in God". The main effects of the *bhakti* movement may be summed up as follows :

(1) This movement reduced the distinction of caste and birth (2) The low-caste people also began to have a feeling of self-respect. (3) The superiority of Brahmans and

the domination of priests were weakened (4) The reformers preached in the local languages. This gave a great impetus to the development of vernaculars. (5) This movement reduced the bitterness of relations, between the Hindus and the Muslims, and both began to live amicably (6) The conversions to Islam declined, because now some of the good points of Islam began to be taught as Hindu doctrines.

4.15 LITERATURE AND ART

The Mughal emperors did not limit their activities to the bare minimum of police and tax-collecting functions, as was the case with many rulers of the Delhi Sultanate. They performed certain functions which were characteristic of a "culture -state", one of which was the promotion and patronage of arts and letters.

4.15.1 Literature

The first of the Mughal rulers, Babur, was a great musician and lover of Nature. He was an eminent poet in Turki and Persian, and wrote the lyrical *Diwan-i-Babur*. He was also a great writer of Turki prose, as is evidenced by his autobiography, the *Baburnama*. Humayun was a cultured man, a lover of poetry, and a student of mathematics, astronomy and astrology.

The long, victorious and prosperous reign of Akbar was conducive to the promotion of literature and fine arts. Akbar, though he lacked a formal education, and could neither read nor write, was well - read and well-informed in a number of subjects like theology, history, poetry etc., as he had the books on these subjects read to him. He owned a splendid library of 24,000 manuscripts. He was able to take an active part in the discussion of literary and abstruse subjects. Literature and art received an intelligent patronage from Akbar.

During Akbar's reign, important histories were composed by Abul Fazl, Nizamuddin, Badauni and others. The *Ain-i-Akbari* (Institutes of Akbar), Compiled by Abul Fazl, as the result of seven years labour, gives a wonderful survey of the empire. Another important work of his was *Akbarnama* or "History of Akbar". Abul Fazl was also called 'king of poets'. Nizamuddin Ahmad wrote the *Tabakat - i - Akbari* (Annals of Akbar), and Badauni was the author of *Tarikh - i - Badauni*. Gulbadan Begum, Babar's daughter, at the suggestion of Akbar, wrote the *Humayunnama*. Thanks to Akbar, some great and important works in Sankrit were translated into Persian: The *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata* by Badauni; the *Atharvaveda* by Ibrahim Sirhindi; and the arithmetical work, the *Lilavati* by Faizi. The *Baburnama* was also translated from Turki into Persian. The great Persian poets of Akbar's court were Ghizali and Faizi.

Hindi poets like Ganga Kavi, Tansen (who was also a great Musician), and Kesavadas flourished in Akbar's court. Many of the officers and generals of Akbar, Viz.. Abdur Rahman, Man Singh, Bhagawandas, Birbal were themselves good poets in Hindi. Birbal had the title Kaviraj. But, the greatest Hindi poet of the age was Tulasi Das, the author of the *Ramayana*, called *Rama Charit Manas*. It was written in Eastern Hindi. It "undoubtedly was a great poem, worthy to rank among the great classical masterpieces of the world's literature" (Keay). Tulasidas is "the greatest man of the age greater than Akbar himself" (Smith). The other great poets of his age were Surdas, the author of *Sursagar*, and Jayasi, the author of *Padmavati*.

Jahangir was a good writer in Persian, and wrote his memoir called *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*. Several historical works of some merit were composed during his time. In Shah Jahan's court, some of the great Persian, Hindi and Sanskrit scholars and poets of the age had congregated together. Mention may be made here of Panditaraj Jagannatha, a great Sanskrit poet and rhetorician. He was the author of *Rasagangadhara*, a great work on rhetoric, and *Gangalahari*, a poem in praise of Ganga, besides several other works. Dara Shukoh, son of Shah Jahan, was an author of great religious and philosophical works in Persian. His "*Mingling of Two Oceans*", is a comparative study of Islam and Hinduism. He translated 52 Upanishads into Persian, with the assistance of the pandits from Benaras.

Aurangzeb was a great scholar in Arabic and Persian with a knowledge of Turki and Hindi. He knew the Koran by heart, and was a specialist in theology and jurisprudence. He patronised the codification of Muslim law, under the name *Fatwa-i-Alamgiri*. But, he was puritan who hated poetry, music and other fine arts. He banned the writing of histories. He wanted music to be buried deep in the earth. Generally speaking, the atmosphere of Aurangzeb's court was unfavourable to the arts.

Besides Persian, Arabic and Hindi, Urdu also developed during the Mughal period. The word Urdu is derived from the Turki word 'Urdu' which means 'a military camp'. Besides the Mughals, the Deccan kings of Gujarat, Bijapur, Golkonda and Bidar patronised Urdu literature. The rule of Golkonda Md. Quli Qutub Shah (1580-1612) was himself a great poet. So was Ibrahim Adil Shah II (1580-1627) of Bijapur.

The regional languages also developed during this period.

In Marathi fine devotional poetry was produced by Eknath and Tukaram. Acqol, a Sufi poet in the kingdom of Arakan composed devotional poems in Bengali and also translated from Hindi '*the Padmavati*' during the 17th century. In Assamese, Shankara Deva (1449-1568) ushered in the bhakti movement and a new era in Assamese literature.

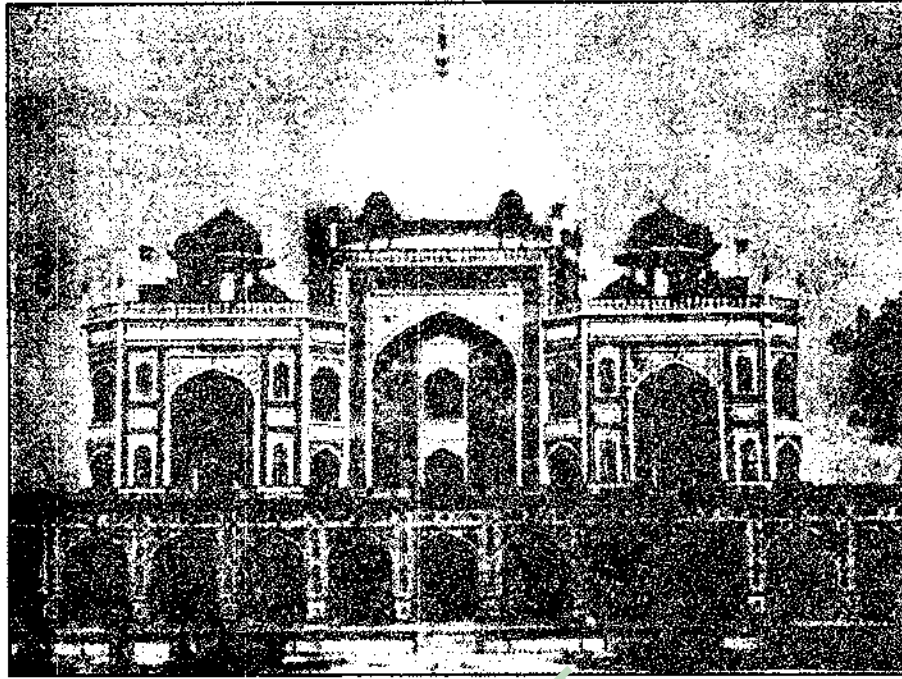
In South India Malayalam developed its separate identity.

In Telugu, the Vijayanagar period which was contemporaneous with the Mughal period, is described as the golden age of Telugu literature, due to the literary output of the famous *Asta diggajas*. After the Vijayanagar rulers the Tanjore and Madura rulers patronised Telugu literature in the 16th and 17th centuries.

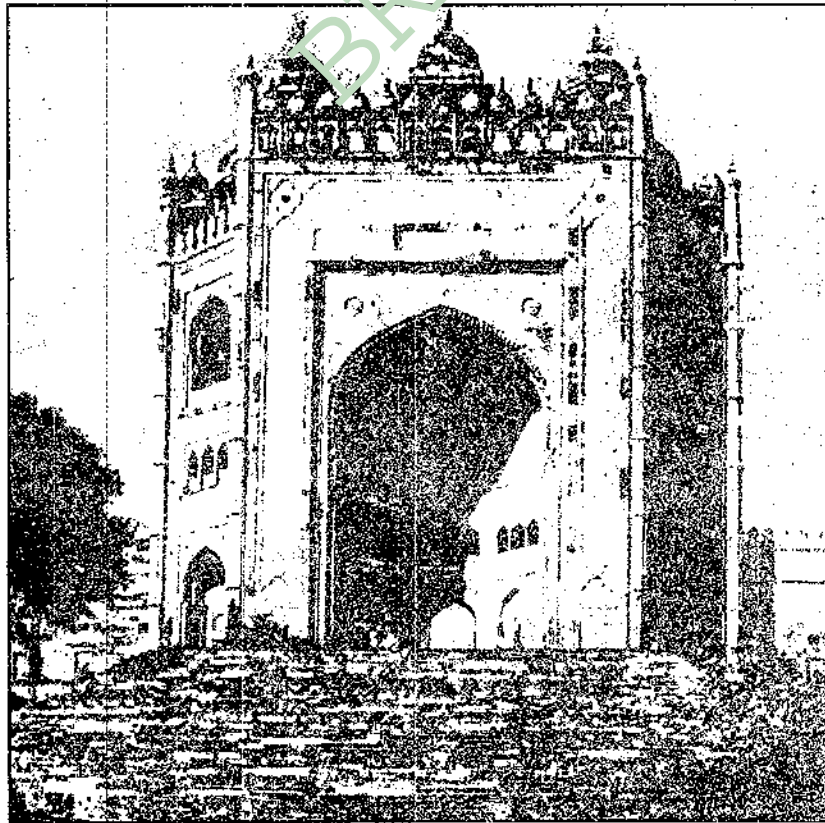
4.15.2 Architecture

The architecture of Akbar's reign is characterised by a happy blend of Hindu and Muslim (Persian) styles. The greatest architectural creation of Akbar was Fatehpur Sikri, with nine gates, and famous for its buildings of sand stone. Some important buildings here are - the Jami Masjid, the Buland Darwaza (the lofty gate), the tomb of Shaik Salim Chishti and the *Diwan -i-Khas* (private audience hall). Another great building of Akbar's time is Humayun's tomb in Delhi.

Jahangir was devoted more to painting than to architecture. The tomb of Akbar at Sikandara, and the tomb of *Itimad -ud-Daula* at Agra, were two great buildings of Jahangir's time. Jahangir had a special love for gardens, and laid such beautiful gardens as that of Shalimar in Kashmir.



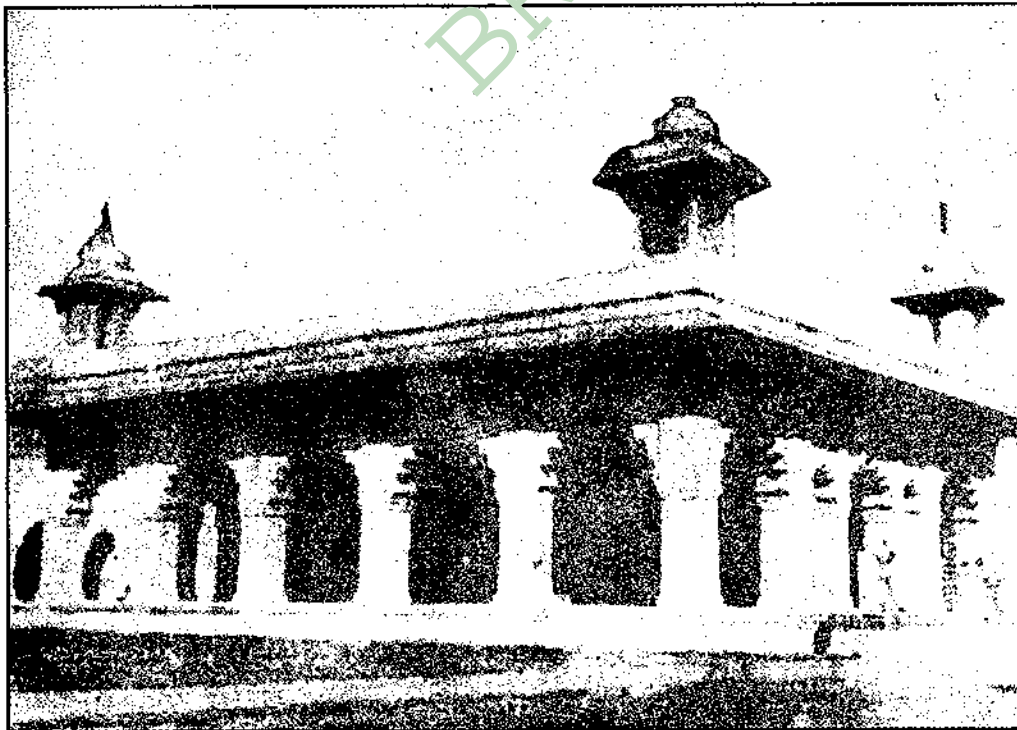
Humayun tomb, Delhi : 1565



Buland Darwaja, Fatepur Sikri : 1571



Birbal Bhawan, Fatehpur Sikri : 1572



Diwani-Khas, Delhi : 1645

The reign of Shah Jahan is unquestionably the golden age of Mughal architecture. He erected magnificent buildings at Agra, Delhi, Lahore and several other places on which he spend crores of rupees. He is, therefore, called the "Engineer King". Delhi and Agra contain the best evidence of his architectural achievements. The present city of Delhi, which was for a long time known as Shah Jahanabad, was founded by Shah Jahan, (1638-48). The Red Fort, and the *Jama-i-Masjid* at some distance from it, were his excellent creations. The *Jama-i-Masjid* is one of the biggest mosques in the world, and cost about ten lakhs, Ustad Khalil was the architect. The *Diwan-i-Am* (the hall of public audience) and the *Diwan-i-Khas* (the hall of private audience) are in the Lal Qila (Red Fort). The *Diwan-i-Khas* is a very fine building, and the following inscription was caused to be written by the emperor on one of its walls.

**If there is anywhere a Paradise on earth,
It is this, it is this, it is this.**

The most famous of Shah Jahan's buildings at Agra, is the mausoleum or Taj Mahal. This marble mausoleum was built on the banks of Jamuna, in memory of Mumtaz Mahal, the dearly loved wife of Shah Jahan. It is considered as one of the wonders of the world. Shah Jahan also was buried there. It took twenty-two years (1632-53) to build it, and cost about three crore rupees. Twenty thousand workmen were employed in its construction.

The other important buildings of Shah Jahan at Agra are the *Moti Masjid* (Pearl Mosque) and the *Mussalman Burj*. The Pearl Mosque is built inside the Agra fort at a cost of three lakh rupees. It was built in white marble and took four years to be completed. Shah Jahan also built the *Jami Masjid* at Agra. *Mussalman Burj* is a beautiful octagonal structure of marble in the fort of Agra. Shah Jahan died here. From here, he could see the Taj Mahal. In Lahore, Shah Jahan built a magnificent mausoleum of Jahangir's tomb, built by Nur Jahan. He also laid there the beautiful Shalimar gardens, under the supervision of Ali Mardan Khan. The peacock throne, and *Koh-i-Noor* diamond further added to the splendours of the empire. The Peacock throne took seven years to be completed and cost about a crore of rupees. It was made of pure gold, and was set with innumerable precious stones and jewels.

Aurangzeb's narrow religious outlook discouraged all arts, including architecture. The tomb of his first wife near Aurangabad, built in imitation of the Taj, and hence called the Taj Mahal of the Deccan is a "very mediocre production".

4.15.3 Painting

The ancient art of Indian painting received a new direction from Akbar, who induced the Hindu artists to learn Persian technique and imitate Persian style. As a result, an Indo-Persian school of painting developed gradually, and became rich in coloured drawings of high merit. This school of painting is the Mughal school. Influenced by the Mughal school, Rajputana developed its own individual styles of painting, called the *Kangra* and *Gharwal* styles.

Akbar loved painting. Of the seventeen known painters of distinguished merit of Akbar's time, seven were Hindus. Abdus Samad was the leading artist, and he bore the title *Shirin khalam* or "Sweet Pen". Among his disciples, Daswanth, the son of a domestic servant discovered by Akbar, was famous. Another great painter was Basawan. Some of the famous paintings of Akbar's time are the Chinghiznama, the Jafarnama, the Ramnama,

the Naldanama, the Kaliyadanama etc. Except for some exceptions like the frescoes of Sikri, the productions of Akbar's time have perished.

The art of painting was a passion with Jahangir, and his memoirs is full of references to the subject. During Jahangir's time the art reached its climax, and became truly Indian. The two most eminent painters were Abul Hasan and Ustad Mansur, both of whom bore the title *Nadir-uz-Zaman* (Wonder of the age). The art of painting gradually declined after Jahangir. "*With his passing, the soul of Mughal painting also departed*" (Percy Brown). Shah Jahan also patronised painting, but his main interest was architecture. All arts under Aurangzeb languished for want of patronage and painting was no exception.

4.15.4 Music

Babur was a musician of merit. Humayun also exhibited his love for music by appointing Bacchu, a musician captured during the invasion of Mandu in 1535, as his court - musician, Akbar was proficient in the theory and art of music, and his patronage of it was supplemented by that of Abdur Rahaman and Man Singh. Abul Fazl mentions thirty six great musicians of Akbar's time, including Bazbhadur of Malwa. Of these, Tansen was the greatest. Jahangir and Shah Jahan also evinced keen interest in music. Jagannatha and Lal Khan, a son-in-law of Tansen, were great musicians who adorned the court of Shah Jahan. Aurangzeb hated music, and did not foster the art.

VI. CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1. Mention one important cause for the Bhakti Movement.

2. Who was the greatest Hindi poet of the Mughal period.

3. What was the important feature of Mughal art and architecture ?

4.16 LET US SUM UP

1. Mughal administration was thoroughly organised. It was a "Perso - Arabic system in Indian setting".
2. The Mughal emperor had vast powers. In the Central Government he was assisted by a number of ministers. The Chief among them being the *Vazir* or *Vakil*.

3. The empire was divided into *Subas*. Each *Suba* was divided into Sarkars which were divided into parganas.
4. The *Mansabdari* system in which each *Mansabdar* had to supply a fixed number of horsemen to the emperor was an important feature of the Mughal administration.
5. The land revenue system of the Mughals was evolved by Todar Mal. The system was based on measurement, and classification of lands.
6. The improved system of land revenue of Akbar resulted in the development of agriculture in the Mughal empire.
7. Textile industry flourished.
8. Internal and external trade expanded. With the coming of the Europeans, external trade increased remarkably.
9. Cities like Agra and Lahore were very prosperous.
10. The people suffered much during times of famine and plague.
11. Though there was prosperity in the country the condition of the common people was miserable.
12. Akbar followed the policy of religious toleration. He started a new religion known as *Din-i-Ilahi*.
13. Jahangir continued the religious policy of Akbar, But Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb reversed Akbar's policy.
14. The Bhakti Movement was an important feature of medieval India. The leaders of the Bhakti movement like Ramananda, Kabir, Nanak and Chaitanya laid emphasis on true devotion or love for God. They said that God is one, condemned caste system and preached Hindu - Muslim Unity.
15. In the Mughal period many great books were written in Persian, their court language and in the local languages.
16. The Mughal period was a golden period for art and architecture. The art and architecture of this period was a synthesis of Hindu and Muslim styles of art and architecture.

4.17 CHECK YOUR PROGRESS : ANSWERS

- I. 1. The emperor was the head of the Government. He was all powerful. He was civil as well as military head of the Government. He was assisted by ministers appointed by him. The heads of provinces were under his control.
2. In the Sarkar, the *Shikdari-Shikdaran* and the *Munsifi-Munsafan* were the important officials. In the *Paragana* the *Shikdar* and the *Munsif* were the important officials.
- II 1. The *Mansabdari* system provided the required soldiers and horses to the Mughal emperor. The *Mansabdars* were also responsible for the collection of land revenue and for the maintenance of peace in their respective localities.

2. Classification of lands into four categories, *polaj*, *parauti*, *chachar* and *banjar*, and collection of one third of the average produce from the land was the important characteristics of the land revenue system during the time of the Mughals.
- III.1. In 1604 tobacco was introduced in India
2. Textiles, paper and saltpetre.
- IV. 1. Lahari Bandar, Cambay, Broach, Surat, Hubli, Machilipatnam and Dacca were the important seaports in the Mughal empire.
2. The life of the common people was miserable in the Mughal empire even though there was prosperity in the empire, due to the concentration of wealth in the hands of the emperor and the nobles.
- V. 1. According to V. Smith, Akbar established the *Din-i-Ilahi*, due to his pride and arrogance. It is difficult to agree with the view of V. Smith. Akbar's genuine interest in fostering Hindu-Muslim unity and his zeal for synthesis of the good features of all religions must have prompted him to create the *Din-i-Ilahi*.
2. The Sikhs, Marathas, Jats and Satnamis revolted against Aurangzeb, mainly because of his religious intolerance.
- VI. 1. The Bhakti movement arose mainly due to the evil of too many rituals in Hinduism. The influence of Islam was also a cause for the movement.
2. Tulasidas
 3. Synthesis of Hindu and Muslim styles was the important feature of Mughal art and architecture.

4.18 EXAMINATION MODEL QUESTIONS

I. Answer the following questions in about 30 lines each:

1. Explain the salient features of the Mughals administrative system.
2. How far was Mughal administration based on Sher Shah's administration?
3. Describe the economic conditions of India under the Mughals.
4. Distinguish between the religious policy of Akbar and Aurangzeb.
5. Trace the growth of the Bhakti Movement in the 15th and 16th centuries.
6. Describe briefly the social and literary conditions during the Mughal rule.
7. How did the Mughals contribute for the growth of art and architecture?

II. Answer the following questions in about 15 lines each :

1. Describe the provincial administration under the Mughals.
2. Explain the characteristics of the *Mansabdari* system.

3. What was the condition of agriculture in Mughal India ?
4. How did trade and commerce develop under Mughal rule ?
5. Critically examine the salient features of Aurangzeb's internal and external policies.
6. Outline the causes for the decline and disintegration of Mughal empire after Aurangzeb. How far was Aurangzeb responsible for it. ?
7. Describe the salient features of Mughal administration. How far was it indebted to Sher Shah Sur's administrative system ?
8. What were the economic conditions of the Mughal empire ?

4.19 BOOKS FOR FURTHER READING :

1. Chopra : *Some Aspects of Society & Culture during the Mughal Age*
2. Edwards & Garret : *Mughal Rule in India*
3. Irfan Habib : *The Agrarian System of Mughal India*
4. Iswari Prasad : *A Short History of the Muslim Rule in India Medieval India*
5. Karim : *Society and Culture in Medieval India*
6. Majumdar R.C. (ED) : *The Mughal Empire, Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan Series, Vol. VII*
7. R.C. Majumdar, Roy Chaudhari & Datta : *Advanced History of India*
8. Moreland, W.H. : *India at the Death of Akbar*
The Agrarian system of Muslim India from Akbar to Aurangzeb a study in Indian Economic History.
9. Percival Spear : *Twilight of the Mughals*
10. Qureshi, I.H. : *Administration of the Mughal Empire*
11. Srivastav, A.L. : *Mughal Empire.*

BLOCK - II :
The Marathas : India During the 18th Century

Block two consists of two units i.e. unit 5 and 6. These units are on topics relating to the rise of the Marathas, India during the 18th century and the Peshwa rule.

BRAOU

UNIT - 5 : THE MARATHAS

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- 5.2 The rise of Marathas
- 5.3 Shivaji
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 - 5.3.2 Early conquests, 1646-1648
 - 5.3.3 War with Bijapur, 1656-1662
 - 5.3.4 War with Mughals, 1663-1680
 - 5.3.5 At Agra, 1666
 - 5.3.6 Coronation, 1674
 - 5.3.7 Extent of his Kingdom
 - 5.3.8 Administration
 - 5.3.8.1 Central Government
 - 5.3.8.2 Provincial Government
 - 5.3.8.3 Revenue Administration
 - 5.3.8.4 Military Organisation
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 - 5.7.1 Causes
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- 5.8 Let us sum up
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- 5.10 Examination Model Questions
- 5.11 Books For Further Reading

5.0 OBJECTIVES

Study of this unit should enable you to know about :

1. the peshwas Balaji Vishwanath, Baji Rao I, Balaji Baji Rao and the third battle of Panipat.
2. Shivaji's career and conquest and also his administration.

5.1. INTRODUCTION

The Marathas are natives of Maharashtra. *"They are small, sturdy men, well - built, though not handsome. They are all active, laborious, hardy and persevering"* (Elphinstone). Their country is, for the most part, covered with mountains and forests. The surface is uneven and the routes are intricate. The physical features and the bracing climate have played a great part in making the Marathas active, brave, warlike and simple in their habits. The hill forts of the country have proved very useful to the Marathas.

Before the advent and rise of Shivaji, the Marathas were scattered in South India, and were not united. They were rather poor, and were mainly engaged in agriculture. Some of the Marathas were employed in the service of the Deccan Sultans. They had acquired training in the arts of administration and warfare. The religious reformers of the day like Gyancshwar, Eknath, Tukaram, Ramdas and others inspired in the Marathas, love for their country, nation and religion. The only thing needed to make them a nation was a leader, who could win for them political independence. This was achieved by Shivaji, the great Maratha leader. He freed them from the Muslim yoke, and made them a powerful nation, which dominated India in the eighteenth century.

On Aurangzeb's death, his son Bahadur Shah, as a diplomat sought to conciliate the Marathas, and so released Sahu, son of Sambhaji, and grandson of Shivaji. It divided the Marathas into two hostile factions, one supporting the cause of Sahu, and the other that of Tara Bai's son, Shivaji the third. But, in the reign of Sahu, the Peshwas became the virtual rulers of the kingdom. The reason was that Sahu, on account of his long captivity and luxurious upbringing, had become ease-loving and incompetent, and he had no capacity to carry on the work of the government. He, therefore, entrusted the reins of government to his Peshwa or Prime Minister. Balaji Viswanath, in 1713. After Sahu, the descendants of Shivaji dropped out of sight so completely, that the Maratha government came to be identified with the Peshwas. The rule of the Peshwas lasted from 1713 to 1818 i.e., a little over hundred years. There were altogether seven Peshwas, of whom, the first three are important. Of these Peshwas, Baji Rao - I was the ablest, the Baji Rao - II the weakest, and most incompetent. Poona was the capital of the Peshwas.

5.2 THE RISE OF THE MARATHAS

The rise of the Marathas as a significant political power in the 17th century in India is not an accident of history. The Marathas, Jats has a heavy past. Asoka edicts bear testimony to their existence in early historical period. In the course of early and medieval history of India, they served as subordinates and gained considerable experience. But by the 17th century, many factors - geographical location, climatic conditions, Bhakti movements, growth of literature and language influenced and shaped their psyche and made them to emerge as a considerable political force to be reckoned with and found a leader in Shivaji, who successfully roused their spirits to build a powerful kingdom of their own.

The physical features of the Maratha region exercised a profound influence in determining the character and shaping the history of the Maratha people. The Maratha region was enclosed on two sides by mountain ranges like the Sahyadri, the Satpura and the Vindhyas, and protected by the Narmada and Tapi rivers could create a number of easily defensible hill forts. As a result the conquest of this region has not become easy. Further the rugged and unproductive soil of the land and scanty rainfall made agricultural resources available to them very meagre. This made the Marathas to be very hardworking by necessity and free themselves from the vices of luxury and idleness. These precarious conditions made them to develop the qualities of self reliance, courage, perseverance, love of simplicity, a sense of social equality with pride in the dignity of man as man.

In addition to the impact of geographical factors, the Bhakti movement spearheaded by religious reformers Ekanth, Tukaram, Ramdas and Vemana preached equality of all men before God. Their preachings brought about self awakening among the Marathas. This self awakening acted as a catalyst to forget their differences based on caste or position and to think and act as one group. This feeling of oneness was further cemented by the Marathi language and literature which inspired them with noble ideals of original regeneration. Samartha Ramdas, the Guru of Shivaji, by his famous work *Dasa Bodha* not only inspired Shivaji but the rest of the people to work for ideals of social reform and founding a kingdom of their own to safeguard and preserve their own self respect. All these factors were responsible for the building of Maratha state under Shivaji.

Divergent opinions were expressed by scholars about the rise of the Marathas as a political power. Grant Dutt characterised it as the result of conflagration in the forests of Sahyadri. M.G. Ranade describes it as a national struggle of independence against foreign domination. Jadunath Sarkar and G.S. Sardesai portrayed it as the Hindu reaction against communal policies of Aurangzeb. Andre Wink is of the view that it was the result of the Mughal pressure on the Deccan sultans. Sanjiv Chandra observes that the influence of socio-economic factors led to the rise of the Marathas. Irfan Habib notices a connection between the rise of the Maratha power and the rebellious mood of the oppressed peasantry. M.G. Ranade and V.K. Rajwade expressed that it was Maharashtra dharma that led to the political independence of the Marathas characterising it as *Jaysha* or aggressive Hinduism against the *sahisnata* or tolerance, Hinduism. But contradicting this opinion, P.V. Ranade points out that Hindu hostility to Muslim hegemony was not the primary motivating factor nor the dynamic element of medieval Indian political scene. The prevalent view among some historians is that the rise of the Marathas is due to regional reaction against the centralising tendencies of the Mughal empire by mobilising local landed elements.

5.3 SHIVAJI

5.3.1 Early Career

Shivaji was born in 1627 in the fortress of Shivner, in the Western Ghats (about fifty miles from Poona) Shaji Bhonsle, father of Shivaji was related to the Sisodias of Mewar and was, a high-ranking military officer, first in the state of Ahmadnagar, and later in the state of Bijapur. He owned the territory of Poona as a *Jagir*. Besides this, he possessed a large *Jagir* in the Karnataka. Jijiabai, mother of Shivaji, came from the family of the rulers of Devagiri. She was a very religious and talented lady.

Shivaji was brought up in Poona under the careful supervision of his mother. By her example and teaching, Jijiabai did much to stimulate the zeal of her son, Shivaji, in the

defence of Hinduism. An able and talented Brahmin, Dadaji Kondadev, the manager of Shivaji's estates at Poona, was appointed Shivaji's guardian and tutor. He made Shivaji an expert soldier, and an efficient administrator. The writings of the religious reformers of Maharashtra had inspired Shivaji with boundless zeal for Hindu religion, and love for motherland. Shivaji lived in close communion with Tukaram, the famous Maratha saint. But, Guru Ramdas was Shivaji's chosen guide, friend and philosopher. The *Dasa Bodha* of Ramdas exhorts: "*Gather the Marathas together, make religion live again, our fathers laugh at us from Heaven...*" The result of all this was that, Shivaji, made up his mind to wield the Marathas into one nation and to free his country from the Muslim yoke.

5.3.2 Early Conquests 1646-1648

Shivaji began his military career at the age of nineteen. He started his career of conquest with the capture of a number of forts, in the Bijapur state. First, he captured the fort of Torna (34kms. South-West of Poona). This was followed by the capture of Chakan, Kondana, Raighar, Purandhar etc. He built a new Fort at Raighar, and made it the centre of his activities. When Shivaji attacked the fort of Kalyan, the Sultan of Bijapur got alarmed and cast Shaji Bhonsle, Shivaji's father, in prison, Through the intervention of Shah Jahan, and by ceding Kondana and Bangalore to the Sultan of Bijapur, Shivaji effected the release of his father in 1649. After this, Shivaji gave up his raids for a period of six years (1649-55) and consolidated his conquests and resources.

5.3.3 War with Bijapur, 1656-1662

In 1656, Shivaji again commenced his raids on the Bijapur territory. In 1656, he captured the fort of Javali by "*deliberate murder and organised treachery*" (J. Sarkar). In the capture of Javali, Shivaji got his defender Chandrarao More, murdered by treachery. Javali, henceforth became the strategic centre of Shivaji's military operations, in 1657, Shivaji lost a battle to the Mughals. After the retreat of the Mughal army, Shivaji continued with his conquests of the Bijapur territory. He occupied the North Konkan (the districts of Thana and Kolaba), and the fort of Kalyan. He plundered Daman, the port town of the Portuguese.

In 1659, the Sultan of Bijapur sent his general, Afzal Khan, to capture Shivaji dead or alive. Afzal Khan was somewhat successful. At last, both of them agreed to an interview. The interview took place near the fort of Pratapgarrh, where Shivaji was staying then. But both of them had lurking suspicion of each other's intentions. The conflict began as soon as they embraced each other. Shivaji slew Afzal Khan with a deadly weapon called Baghnakh (tiger's claws) and his military camp was attacked and routed. Shivaji's killing of Afzal Khan had been characterised as "preventive murder". Shivaji acquired a large booty.

5.3.4 War with the Mughals, 1663-1680

Shivaji's success against Afzal Khan encouraged him still more, and he began to ravage the Mughal territories. At this, Aurangzeb sent his maternal uncle Shaista Khan who managed to capture Poona, and afterwards spent sometime in desultory warfare. He took up his residence in the same house in which Shivaji had spent his childhood. On the night of 15th April, 1663, Shivaji entered the city with four hundred brave soldiers disguised as a marriage party, and attacked the Mughals. Many Mughal soldiers were killed. Shaista Khan himself barely escaped with his life and the loss of three fingers, but his son was slain.

In 1664, Shivaji plundered Surat, the richest - seaport on the west coast, and carried off immense booty, nearly more than a crore of rupees in value.

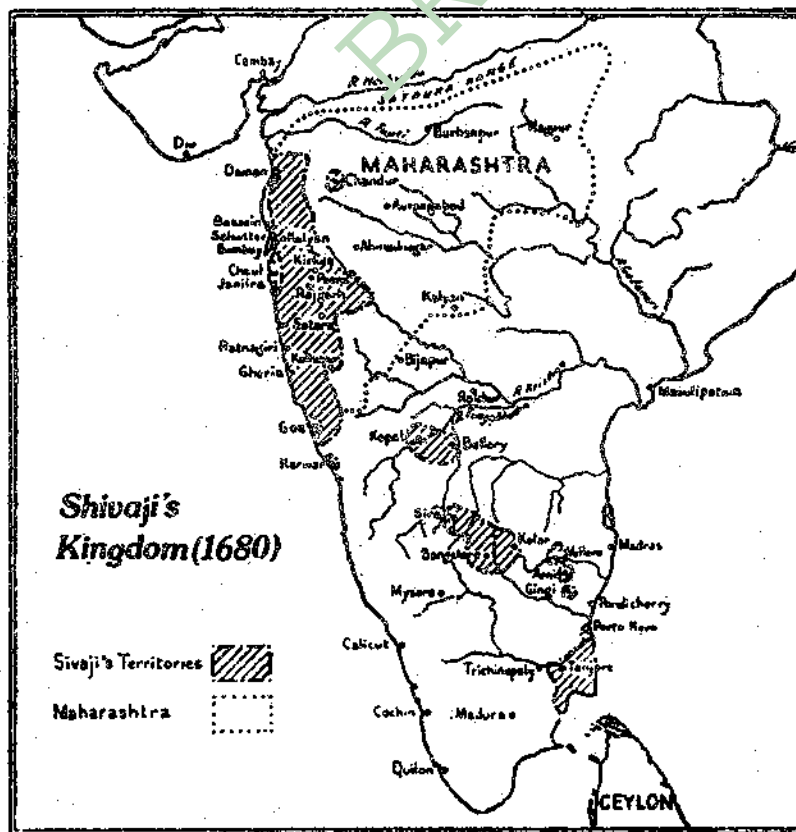
After the miserable failure of Shaista Khan, Aurangzeb sent against Shivaji, first Prince Muazzam and Mirza, Raja Jai Singh of Amber, the most capable general in his service. Raja Jai Singh was very tactful. He won a few victories, besieged Shivaji in Purandhar (1665), and persuaded him to make submission to Aurangzeb, and present himself at the court of Agra. Shivaji also ceded twenty three of his forts to the Mughals and retained only twelve for himself.

5.3.5 Shivaji at Agra, 1666

In May 1666, Shivaji along with his son Sambuji, attended the court at Agra, but he was treated with discourtesy. When he reached his lodgings, he found himself under house - arrest. But he cleverly made his escape by concealing himself in a large basket of sweets, and after many adventures succeeded in reaching the Deccan (1666). Henceforward, he became an implacable enemy of the Mughal empire. He reconquered all the forts which he had ceded to the Mughals. In 1670, he plundered Surat for a second time, and seized a booty of sixty six lakh rupees. He obtained a large booty by plundering the Mughal territories of Berar, Baglana and Khandesh.

5.3.6 Coronation, 1674

In 1674, Shivaji made Raigarh his capital and had his coronation performed with great pomp and rejoicing on 16th June, 1674. Learned Brahmins from Benaras came to perform this ceremony. Shivaji assumed the title Chatrapati. Shortly after, he conquered Jinji, Vellore, Bellary and several other forts in Karnatak. He compelled his half - brother, Venkoji, ruling over the Karnatak, to accept his suzerainty and compelled him to give half-share in the Tanjore principality.



5.3.7 Extent of his Kingdom

Shivaji's kingdom was known as Swarajya. It comprised that part of the Western Ghats and the Konkan which lies between modern Dharmapur (Ramnagar) in the north, and Karwar near Goa in the south. In the south, it included part of western Karnataka extending from Belgaum to Bellary, and from Tungabhadra to Kaveri.

I. CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1. What were the forces which influenced Shivaji to work for the unification of the Marathas ?

2. What was the capital of Shivaji's State?

5.3.8 Shivaji's Administration

Shivaji's administration, though authoritarian in the pattern of the times, was paternal and efficient. He divided the whole territory into two divisions. 1. *Swarajya*, i.e. the territory directly under his rule 2. *Mughal* i.e. the surrounding territory from which he collected *chauth* and *sardeshmukhi* taxes.

5.3.8.1 Central Government

At the head, stood the king with the eight chief officers of state or *ashta pradhan* (Council of Eight Ministers). These eight ministers were :

1. *Peshwa* or *Mukhya Pradhan*, the Chief Minister
2. *Amatya* or *Majumdar*, Finance Minister
3. *Sumanta*, Foreign Minister or Secretary
4. *Senapati* or *Sarnaubath*, Commander-in-Chief
5. *Nyayadhish*, Chief Justice
6. *Sachiv* or *Shrunavis*, Superintendent of Royal correspondence
7. *Pandit Rao, Sadr* or *Danadhyaksha*, Minister of charity and religious endowments
8. *Mantri*, King's historian and private secretary.

Shivaji carried on his government with the help of these ministers. They were paid directly by the king, and had no hereditary rights and no land grants or *jagirs* for their maintenance. They were assisted by a staff of secretaries who form the nucleus of a state bureaucracy.

5.3.8.2 Provincial Government :

The whole territory was divided into four provinces. Each province was under a governor, called *Mamlatdar* who was helped, like the king, by eight chief officers. The village chiefs were called *Patel* or *Mukhya* and *Kulkarni*. These officers were paid in cash. There were no regular courts. In the villages, cases were decided by the *Panchayats*.

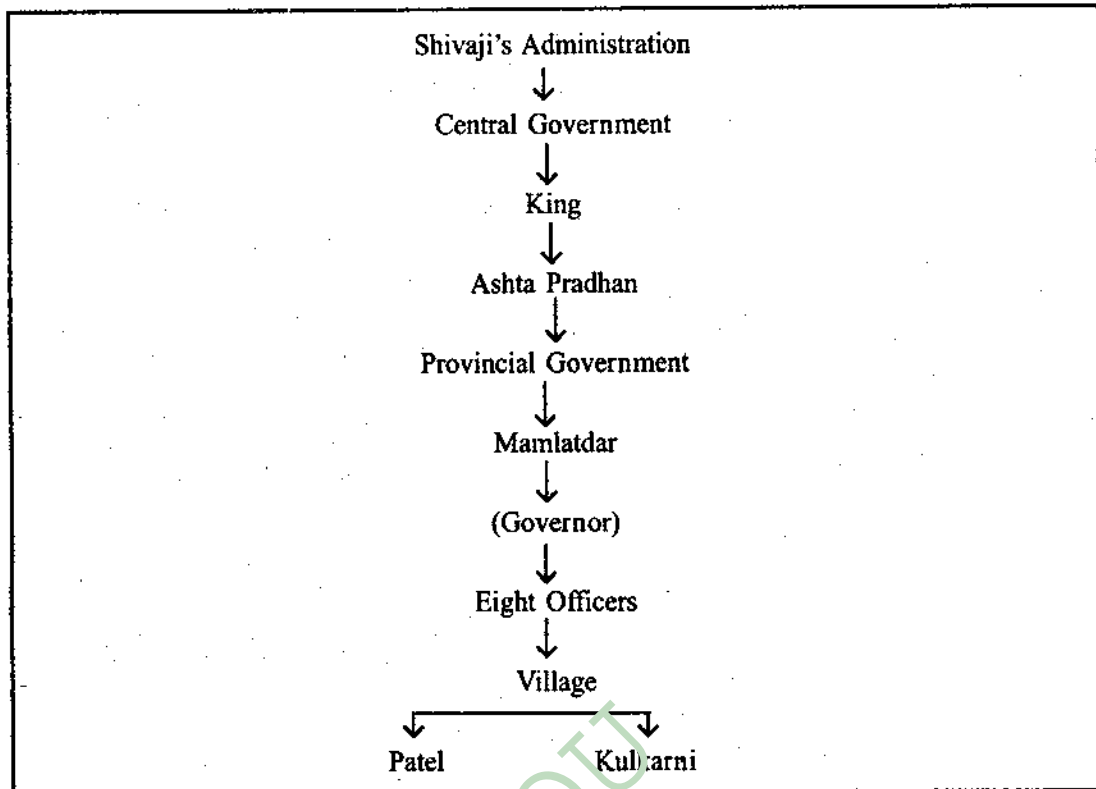
5.3.8.3 Revenue Administration :

The land revenue was fixed at two - fifths of the gross produce, payable in cash or kind. The peasant was cherished by the state, and no hardship was caused to the cultivator. An accurate survey of land for revenue purposes was carried out by Annaji, on Shivaji's orders in 1678. During famines, cultivators were advanced loans to buy seeds, cattle etc. The loans were payable in easy yearly instalments at the convenience of the cultivators. The country being hilly, land revenue was not enough. So besides land revenue there were other sources of income to the government, viz. Chauth and Sardeshmukhi. Chauth (one-fourth) was a kind of tax, which the Marathas collected from those territories which wanted to be safe from their plundering expeditions. It was one fourth of the assessed revenue of the district. Sardeshmukhi was also a tax paid, in honour of Shivaji, besides the Chauth. It was one-tenth of the revenue of the district. Booty was to be deposited with the king, and this was another source of income.

5.3.8.4 Military Organization :

The military organization of Shivaji was of a high order. He had a well - equipped standing army consisting of both infantry and cavalry. The army was organised in a sensible fashion, with a due gradation of ascending order, in units of ten from *naik* to *hazari*. The commander-in-chief was called *senapati*, and he was a member of the *Ashia Pradhan*. Besides Shivaji had a fleet of two hundred warships and about eighty cannons. The fleet was stationed at Kolaba. Shivaji "*was the first Indian ruler in the medieval age to perceive the necessity of building up a navy*" (A.L. Srivastava). At the time of his death, Shivaji's army consisted of thirty or forty thousand cavalry, and about one lakh infantry.

The soldiers were paid in cash, and were not allowed to live on plunder. Shivaji disliked the *Jagir* system for the maintenance of his officers. Special attention was paid to the defence of forts, and a large sum of money was spent for their proper upkeep. They were efficiently garrisoned, and were always kept in a state of readiness. Shivaji encouraged the system of conferring titles, privileges and rewards for distinguished service. Military discipline was excellent. No soldier was allowed to take any women to the battle - field. The penalty for this offence was death. All the booty was to be sent to the king.



5.3.9 Estimation

Shivaji was a born leader of men and a great military genius. He fought successfully against the Mughal empire, which was then at the height of its glory. His supreme achievement was that, he infused a strong spirit of unity and nationality among the Marathas, and made them a united nation, whereas formerly, they were scattered and not united into a group. As a result of his efforts, the Marathas became the most powerful political power in India in the eighteenth century.

Shivaji possessed and practised certain special virtues, which could not be expected of men in power in his time and surroundings. Shivaji's private life was a model of piety and good character. He loved his own religion, but he did not hate other religions. He respected Muslim saints also and granted lands to Muslim shrines. The Muslim historian Khafi Khan, who ordinarily writes of Shivaji's as "*The reprobate*", "*a sharp son of the devil*", "*a father of fraud*", and so forth, records that Shivaji, "*made it a rule that wherever his followers went plundering, they should do no harm to the mosques, the Book of God, or the women of anyone. Whenever a copy of the sacred Quran came into his hands, he treated it with respect, and gave it to some of his Musalman followers. When the women, whether Hindu or Muhammadan were captured by his men, and they had no friend to protect them, he watched over them until their relations came with a suitable ransom to buy their liberty*". Shivaji had a very high regard for women.

"Above all, Shivaji was a great politician, and a shrewd judge of men. He was the glory of the Marathas, and the terror of the Mughal empire. He proved a source of inspiration to his successors. Shivaji's real greatness lay in his character, and practical ability". (J. Sarkar)

II. CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1. What were the sources of revenue for Shivaji ? Did the sources ensure regular income to the government ?

2. What was the greatest achievement of Shivaji ?

5.4 BALAJI VISWANATH, 1713-1720

Balaji Viswanath was the founder of the Peshwa dynasty. He is called "*a peerless servant*" and a "*second founder of the Maratha empire*". He was a statesman of great ability. He organised the Maratha state by introducing many reforms. He made the office of the Peshwa hereditary, and Poona, his headquarters.

The most important event of his rule was his help to the Sayyad brothers. The Sayyad brothers (also known as king makers) called him to Delhi for help, and thus succeeded in deposing the Mughal emperor, Farrukhsiyar with far-reaching consequences. In return, the Marathas obtained the rights of collecting *chauth* and *sardeshmukhi* in the six provinces of Deccan. In this way Maratha influence spread over the whole of the Deccan.

Balaji Viswanath improved the financial condition of the state also. In order to bind the Maratha chiefs into a closer union, he introduced a new scheme. He allowed these chiefs to retain 2/3 of the *chauth* they collected, and to send only 1/3 to the Peshwa. His system worked well in the beginning, but later on, it proved to be one of the causes of the downfall of the Marathas. In 1720, Balaji Vishwanath died.

5.5 BAJI RAO-I, 1720-1740

Balaji Vishwanath was succeeded by his son, Baji Rao-I. He was a wise statesman, a fine soldier and an excellent rider. He was a military genius, and was gifted with plenty of commonsense. On account of his bravery and statesmanship he is regarded as the ablest of the Peshwas. He was known as the "*fighting of Peshwas and an incarnation of Hindu energy*" (Temple).

Baji Rao-I was an imperialist. While his father had tried to consolidate the Maratha power in the Deccan, he wanted to establish it in northern India. His greatest ideal was

"*Hindupad Padshahi*" or a Pan-Indian empire. His policy was to strike at the very heart of the Mughal empire. He once said to Sahu; "*Let us strike at the trunk, and the withered branches will fall off themselves.*"

During his rule, the Maratha conquered Gujarat, Malwa and Bundelkhand, and advanced as far as Delhi. The Nizam of Hyderabad came from the Deccan at the head of a large army to help the Mughal emperor, but the Maratha defeated him near Bhopal in 1738. Baji Rao-I even captured Salestte and Bassein from the Portuguese. Thus the Maratha power extended far and wide.

5.5.1 Maratha confederacy

During the reign of Baji Rao-I, some Maratha chiefs, who collected *chauth* and *sardeshmukhi* became very powerful, and were virtually independent in their own territories (1) Raghoji Bhonsle in Nagpur, (2) Pillaji Gaekwad in Baroda, (3) Malhar Rao Holkar in Indore, and (4) Ranoji Scindhia in Gwalior, all established their own states. The *Peshwa* organised them all into a group. The group is called the Maratha confederacy. The *Peshwa* was the head of this confederacy.

In 1740, Baji Rao died at the early age of forty-two. He was one of the greatest Maratha statesman.

5.6 BALAJI BAJI RAO, 1740-1761

Baji Rao was succeeded by his eighteen-year old son, Balaji Baji Rao. He was not as able as his father, but he always sought the help and advice of his cousin, Sadashiv Rao Bhao who was a very able man.

During his rule, the Maratha power was at the zenith of its glory. The Maratha chiefs were conquering new territories on all sides. Raghoji Bhonsle overran central India, and led several expeditions against Bengal. At this, Ali Vardi khan, the Nawab of Bengal, ceded to him the province of Orissa and agreed to pay *chauth* and *sardeshmukhi* for the province of Bihar and Bengal.

The *Maratha* also won several victories in the north. In 1757, they conquered Delhi from the agent of Abdali. In 1758, Raghunath Rao (also called Raghoba), the brother of the *Peshwa* captured Punjab and drove out Timur, the son and viceroy of Ahmed Shah Abdali. The ochre flag of the Marathas now waved proudly over the fort of Attack.

Thus during the reign of the third *Peshwa*, the Maratha power extended from one end of India to the other end, and they collected *chauth* and *sardeshmukhi* from the territories not under their direct control.

But, just at this time, when the Marathas were the masters of nearly the whole of India, Ahmad Shah Abdali inflicted a crushing defeat on them in the third Battle of Panipat. This was a severe blow to the Maratha power, and the *Peshwa* died of the shock (1761).

III CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1. Why did the Peshwa become Powerful ?

2. What was Baji Rao's-I policy towards the Mughal empire ?

5.7 THIRD BATTLE OF PANIPAT, 1761

This battle was fought between Ahmad Shah Abdali, the king of Afghanistan, and the Marathas.

5.7.1 Causes

The chief cause of this battle was that the Marathas under Raghunath Rao (Raghoba), the brother of the third Peshwa, had captured the Punjab which was in the dominion of Ahmad Shah Abdali, and had driven out his viceroy. Ahmad Shah Abdali, therefore, advanced against them at the head of a strong force. On 14th January, 1761, a fierce battle was fought at the historic field of Panipat.

5.7.2 Course

The Commander of the Maratha forces was Sadashiva Rao (the Bhao Saheb), a cousin of the Peshwa, and his second-in-command was Vishwas Rao, the son of the third Peshwa. Bhao was no doubt, a very able man, but he was haughty and imperious. He was advised by several experienced soldiers including Suraj Mal, the great Jat chieftain of Bharatpur, not to fight a pitched battle, but to adopt guerilla warfare. But, he paid no heed to the expert's advice. At this, Suraj Mal went back with his army. On the other hand, Ahmad Shah Abdali was able to secure the cooperation of the Rohillas and the Nawab of Oudh.

For about two months and a half, the two armies lay facing each other. Ahmed Shah Abdali cut off the line of communication of the Marathas, so that their provisions gave out, and the Maratha army was on the verge of starvation. At this, the Marathas were compelled to make a charge. There was a fierce and desperate battle, and the Marathas who were not accustomed to fight in an open field were badly defeated.

Sadashiva Rao and the Peshwa's son, Vishwas Rao, both fell and innumerable (about 2,00,000) Maratha soldiers lay dead on the field.

Mahadaji Scindhia was wounded in the leg and fled from the field. The loss of the Marathas was terrible. There was hardly a home in Maharashtra which did not lose some members of it. The Peshwa received the news of this defeat in these words, "Two pearls are dissolved, twenty seven gold mohurs have been lost, and of the silver and copper, the total cannot be cast up". This dreadful news gave such a shock to the Peshwa that he died of a broken heart, about five months later at Poona.

5.7.3 Results

1. This defeat put an end to the Maratha power and influence for sometime, and their hopes of establishing an India-wide empire were dashed to the ground. "It was a nation-wide disaster for the Marathas" (Sarkar). Describing the effects of the battle, "It was not only a defeat, but a catastrophe for the Maratha cause" (Smith), Elphinstone observed that "the history of the Mughal empire here closes itself". The Mughals did not fight in this battle their power declined.
2. The English now got an opportunity for increasing their own power, since their rivals, the Marathas and the Muslims, had been weakened. Thus the British gained by this war.
3. It became easy for the Sikhs to establish their supremacy in the Punjab. They turned out the Pathans who went back to their own country.

5.7.4 Causes for the Maratha Defeat

The main causes of the Maratha defeat were the following :

1. Ahmad Shah Abdali was a seasoned military general.
2. His army was stronger, better armed and better disciplined.
3. Bhao was haughty and did not care for the advice of others.
4. The Maratha provisions gave out, and Maratha soldiers had to starve.
5. The Maratha commanders had lost the sympathies of the Jats by disregarding their advice. On the other hand, Ahmad Shah Abdali was able to secure the co-operation of the Rohillas and of the Nawab of Oudh.
6. The Marathas fought on open ground. They were not accustomed to this kind of warfare, but were used to guerilla tactics.

IV. CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1. When was Delhi captured by the Marathas ?

 2. Why is the III Battle of Panipat important ?

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5.8 LET US SUM UP

1. Shivaji united the Marathas and freed them from the rule of Bijapur Sultan and the Mughals.
2. Shivaji's administration was paternal and efficient.
3. From the time of Sahu (grandson of Shivaji) the Peshwa (Prime Minister) became the Virtual ruler of the Maratha Kingdom.
4. The Peshwas ruled over the Maratha Kingdom from 1713 to 1818. Poona was their capital.
5. Balaji Viswanath (1713-20) was the founder of the Peshwa Dynasty. He helped the Sayyads to over throw the Mughal emperor Farruksiyar.
6. Baji Rao-I (1720-40) was the greatest of the Peshwas. He defeated the Nizam and extended his hegemony upto Delhi. The Maratha chiefs, Bhosle of Nagpur, Gaikwad of Baroda, Holkar of Indore and Scindia of Gwalior, who had become independents, were organised into a confederacy.
7. Balaji Baji Rao's (1740-61) reign witnessed the zenith of Maratha power. In 1757 Delhi was conquered from the agent of Ahmad Shah Abdali by the Marathas.
8. With the defeat of the Marathas in the third battle of Panipat, the Maratha power was vanquished.

5.9 CHECK YOUR PROGRESS : ANSWERS

- I. 1. His mother Jijiabai, Dadaji Kondadev his guardian and Tutor, and the Maratha saints Tukaram and Ramdas, who were considered by Shivaji as his gurus, influenced Shivaji to work for the unification of the Marathas.
2. The capital of Shivaji's State was Raigadh.
- II. 1. Land revenue, *Chauth* and *Sardeshmuki* and war booty were the chief sources of revenue for Shivaji. They did not ensure regular income to the government.
2. The greatest achievement of Shivaji was the unification of the Marathas.
- III. 1. The Peshwas became powerful because, Sahu the grandson of Shivaji became ease loving and incompetent and had no capacity to come on the work of the government.
2. Baji Rao's policy was to strike at the very heart of the Mughal empire.
- IV. 1. Delhi was captured by Marathas in 1757.
2. It put an end to Maratha power and gave an opportunity for Britishers to receive their own power.

5.10 EXAMINATION MODEL QUESTIONS

I. Answer the following questions in about 30 lines each :

1. Trace the career and conquests of Shivaji.
2. Give an account of Shivaji's system of administration
3. Critically estimate the place of Shivaji in history.
4. Trace the growth of Maratha power under the first three Peshwas.
5. State briefly the causes, events and the results of the Third Battle of Panipat.

II. Answer the following questions in about 15 lines each :

1. Write a brief note on the Marathas and their country.
2. Describe briefly Shivaji's conquests in the Deccan and the South.
3. How did Shivaji maintain himself against Mughal onslaughts ?
4. Give an account of the military organisation under Shivaji.
5. Assess the character and achievements of Peshwa Balaji Viswanath.
6. How did Baji Rao try to strengthen Maratha power ?
7. Account for the defeat of the Marathas in the Third Battle of Panipat.

5.11 BOOKS FOR FURTHER READING

1. Iswari Prasad : *A short History of Muslim Rule in India Medieval India*
2. Majumdar, R.C. Others : *Advanced History of India*
3. Majumdar, R.C. (Ed) : *Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan Series Vols. VII & VIII.*
4. Mehta, J.L. : *Advanced Study in the History of Medieval India, Vol. 3*
5. Sarkar, Jadunath, N : *History of Aurangzeb Fall of Mughal Empire (and) Shivaji, and his times*
6. Sen, S. : *Shivaji Chatrapati*
7. Smith, V.A. : *Oxford History of India (edited by Spear)*
8. Spear, Percival : *History of India, Vol. 2*
9. Srivastava, A.L. : *The Mughal Empire*

UNIT - 6 : RISE OF REGIONAL STATES - SOCIETY AND ECONOMY

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- 6.7 Check Your Progress : Answers
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6.0 OBJECTIVES

By Studying this unit you are expected to know :

1. about the rise of regional states after the decline of the Mughal empire and
2. the social and economic conditions in India during the 18th Century, that is, after the decline of the Mughal empire.

6.1 INTRODUCTION

In the history of India, the 18th century has been described as an age of degeneration and dark age. But in the last three decades and more an intensive debate is going on among historians regarding the nature and importance of the 18th century. It is now the considered opinion that the 18th century was a crucial period because it was a transitional period that witnessed the decline and gradual disintegration of the Mughal empire and the emergence of small and minor political powers and also the rise of British from a commercial entity to a political power. It is also described as a period of the rise of regional states like Bengal, Oudh, Punjab, Hyderabad and Mysore. Of these kingdoms, Hyderabad, Bengal and Oudh are classified as 'Succession States'. But the kingdoms of the Marathas, the Jats, the Sikhs and the Afghans belong to another category as they arose independently of the Mughal empire. A careful examination reads that Mysore under Hyder Ali and Tippu Sultan does not fit into the two above categories and in some ways the remarkable polity. It is so because it was the first state in India to initiate a process of modernization in the realm of the army and arms manufacture but also in commerce by imitating the commercial practices of the East India Company.

Another factor to be noticed is that except Mysore, none of the political powers had the vision to create a new spirit to face the challenge of the west. The same moribund social order with all its defects continued to exist at that time. West with its superior economic system and advanced scientific and technological knowledge could dissolve the centuries old socio-economic political structure by replacing it with a colonial structure in the 18th century. It is no exaggeration to suggest that this new forced change with its exploitation and appropriation of Indians provided the necessary dynamism for the emergence of modern India.

6.2 RISE OF REGIONAL STATES

6.2.1 Bengal

During the reign of the nominal Mughal emperor, Muhammad Shah Rangila (1719-1748) Ali Vardi Khan, the Governor of Bengal, declared his independence in 1741. His capital was Murshidabad. He was an able and shrewd politician. In 1756 Ali Vardi Khan was succeeded by his daughter's son, Mirza Muhammad, better known in history as Siraj-ud-Daula, a young man of twenty one. As soon as he ascended the throne, a quarrel arose between him and the English. Next year, i.e., in 1757, the English defeated him at the Battle of Plassey, and Bengal passed into the hands of the English, as the first province to be conquered by the English. Robert Clive was the conqueror of Bengal. The conquest of Bengal by the English was completed in 1764, after the Battle of Buxar.

The Battle of Plassey was only a skirmish, but politically, it is one of the most important battles in the history of the world. It gave to the English, Bengal the key to the conquest of India. By the subsequent Battle of Buxar in 1764, the English obtained the *Diwani* of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. The Battle of Buxar, from that point of view, is more important than the Battle of Plassey, as it made the East India Company a sovereign power on the main land of India.

6.2.2 Oudh

Sadat Khan who became governor of Oudh in 1722 under the Mughal emperor, subsequently became an independent king. He ruled Oudh till 1739. He treated Hindus and Muslims equally, suppressed the rebellions, zamindars and give his kingdom peace and prosperity. He was succeeded by Safdarjang who ruled till 1754. He secured the military help of the Marathas to suppress the rebellions against him.

The Nawabs of Oudh, were great patrons of art and literature. Due to the peace and prosperity in the kingdom, a distinct culture developed around Lucknow which was the principal town in Avadh kingdom. Lucknow in those days became a cultural rival to Delhi. Lucknow became famous for handicrafts also.

During the 18th century Bengal became an independent kingdom. Murshid Quli Khan who was the Mughal governor of Bengal in the beginning of the 18th century, virtually ruled as an independent king. Murshid Quli Khan died in 1727. He was succeeded by his son-in-laws Shuja-ud-din who ruled till 1739. In that year Ali Vardi Khan succeeded Shuja-ud-din, killing Shuja-ud-din's son. In 1741 Ali Vardi Khan declared himself as an independent ruler. The three rulers of Bengal mentioned above, provided Bengal with peace, prosperity and good administration. They gave equal opportunities to both Hindus and Muslims in employment and followed the policy of expansion of trade.

Sadat Khan was the progenitor of the kings of Oudh. He became the ruler of that province in 1724, and began to govern it in practical independence. In 1764, Shuja-ud-Daula, who was Nawab of Oudh and the Nawab Wazir or First Minister of the Mughal emperor as well, together with the emperor, Shah Alam II, joined Mir Kasim, the Nawab of Bengal, in a confederacy against the English for the recovery of Bengal. But, in the Battle of Buxar (1764), they were defeated. Shuja-ud-Daula and Shah Alam surrendered themselves to the English. By the treaty of Allahabad (1765) the kingdom of Oudh, with the exception of Allahabad and Kara, was given back to Shuja-ud-Daula on payment of fifty lakh rupees. Since then Oudh became a friendly buffer state between Bengal and North - West India. In 1774, Warren Hastings, the first Governor - General, helped Shuja-ud-Daula against the Rohillas, and obtained a sum of forty lakh rupees for the Company. Asaf -ud-Daula succeeded Shuja-ud-Daula. With the help of Warren Hastings, he squeezed seventy six lakh rupees from the Begums of Oudh, for payment of dues to be paid to the Company.

6.2.3 Punjab

During the time of the Mughal emperor, Ahmad Shah (1719-1748), Ahmad Shah Durrani a successor of Nadir Shah in Afghanistan, obtained a formal cession of the Punjab from the Mughal emperor. After the Third Battle of Panipat (1761), in which Durrani played a leading role and defeated the Marathas, he was compelled to withdraw from India to his native kingdom of Afghanistan, because of the non-cooperation of his Afghan followers. The Sikhs, who by this time were hammered into a military power, occupied the country between Rawalpindi and Jamuna. They occupied Lahore in 1764. The Patiala State was founded by Amar Singh in 1767, and became the chief Sikh power to the east of Sutlej. In 1792, Ranjit Singh succeeded to the headship of Sukerchakia Misl, one of the twelve Misl, or divisions into which Punjab was divided. In 1799, when only nineteen years old,

he helped Zaman Shah, ruler of the Afghan kingdom and a grandson of Ahmad Shah, in invading the Punjab. Zaman Shah was pleased with Ranjit Singh, and appointed him as governor of Lahore, with the title Raja (1799). Ranjit Singh made many conquests, and established Sikh power in Punjab and Kashmir. Ranjit Singh was a bold soldier, an efficient administrator and a clever diplomat. He established his kingdom in Punjab and conquered Kashmir, Peshawar and Multan. He built a strong, disciplined and well-equipped army. His army was trained by Europeans and western equipment was provided to the soldiers. It is said that his army was the second best in Asia. The first being the army of the English. In his government the Sikhs, Hindus and the Muslims were employed. He was a devout sikh and respected the other religions also.

6.2.4 Hyderabad

In 1722, Asaf Jah (Chin Qilich Khan) *Nizam-ul-Mulk* became Wazir of emperor Muhammad Shah (1719-48). He found it impossible to bring the government of the empire into order, and so, in 1723, retired to his province, the Deccan, where he became independent and founded the Asaf Jahi dynasty in 1724. The Deccan provinces of the empire had become independent with him. *Nizam-ul-Mulk* Asaf Jah established good administration in his kingdom. He kept the zamindars under control and tried to rid the revenue system of its corruption. He employed Puran Chand, a Hindu as his Dewan. After the death of *Nizam-ul-Mulk* in 1748, Hyderabad witnessed much political disorder.

South of the Krishna river, the coastal province of the Carnatic extended to the Maratha principality of Tanjore. This was a dependency of the Nizam who maintained his authority until his death in 1748. South of the territory of the Nizam, along the coastal strip, there was no powerful state to maintain a balance of power. After the death of the Nizam in 1748, Dost Ali, the Nawab of Carnatic, busied himself with expansion, in preparation for a bid for independence.

6.2.5 Kerala (Malabar)

Malabar and its coast were largely isolated from the rest of India by the Western Ghats. Here, the Zamorin of Calicut ruled. In the extreme south of Kerala, the power was shared between the Rajas of Cochin and Travancore. The Kingdom of Travancore became important after 1729 under Martanda Varma, who was one of the leading statesman in India of the 18th century. He organised his army on Western lines, defeated Dutch, and also developed irrigational facilities. He built roads and canals to develop foreign trade.

6.2.6 Mysore

Between Malabar and Carnatic lay the Hindu state of Mysore. Mysore was originally a part of the Hindu kingdom of Vijayanagar. It became independent under a Hindu Raja of Odeyar dynasty, after the disaster which befell the Vijayanagar empire in 1565, in the Battle of Rakshasa - Tangadi. Hyder Ali, who started his career as a soldier in the service of the Raja of Mysore, by the dint of his abilities rose to become a Faujdar and then, the commander-in-chief in the Mysore army. In 1766, on the death of the Raja, he captured the throne and became the Sultan of Mysore. He and his son Tippu Sultan, became formidable enemies of the English.

6.2.6.1 Hyder Ali, 1721-1782

He was a daring soldier, a shrewd diplomat and an able ruler. Starting as a soldier in the Mysore army he became its Commander-in-Chief and made use of Western military training, with the help of the French to strengthen the Mysore army. In 1755, he overthrew the Mysore ruler Nanjaraj and ascended the throne. Throughout his life he was engaged in wars with the Marathas, the Nizam and the British.

Though an illiterate he was an able administrator and transformed the weak Mysore kingdom into a leading power. He followed the policy of religious toleration. He died while fighting against the British in 1782 during the II Anglo-Mysore war.

6.2.6.2 Tippu Sultan

Tippu Sultan the son of Hyder Ali was the ruler of Mysore from 1782-1799. Like his father he was a brilliant Commander and an efficient ruler. Most of his life was spent in wars against the British. His strong opposition to the British reveals his statesmanship. He realised the importance of navy and tried to build a model navy. He evinced keen interest in the French Revolution, planted a 'Tree of liberty' at Srirangapatnam.

Under Hyder Ali and Tippu Sultan Mysore flourished economically.

6.3 THE NAYAKS OF SOUTH INDIA

By 1500 the entire South India became part of the Vijayanagar empire with the exception of Malabar and Tirunelveli. By 1540, Tirunelveli was also annexed by the Vijayanagar empire. We witness the emergence of the Nayak kingdoms of Madurai and Tanjore along with Ikkeri, Serji or Gingee in the 16th century itself. They remained notionally subordinate to Vijayanagar. K.A. Neelakanta Sastri is of the opinion that the defeat of Vijayanagar in 1565 and the growth of the tyranny of Palaygars led to the declaration of independence of the Nayaks of Madura, Tanjore and Serji. But contradicting the view of K.A. Neelakanta Sastry, Burton Stin traces the rise of Nayaks to the 1530's i.e. immediately after the death of Krishna Devaraya. Of these Nayak kingdoms Madura and Tanjore deserve to be studied in detail.

6.3.1 Nayaks of Madura

Madura Nayak Kingdom comprised Madura, Ramanathapuram, Tirunelveli, Tiruchinapalli, Coimbatore, Salem districts of present day and a part of Travancore. Tradition ascribes the establishment of Madurai Nayak Kingdom to Viswanath Nayaka during the reign of Krishnadevaraya. Viswanatha Nayaka ruled in 1564 and he was followed by his son Krishnappa Nayaka and he ruled from 1564 - 1572. Krishnappa's son Virappa Nayaka appears to have revolted against Venkatapati Raya II and was defeated by Venkatapati Raya. He died in 1596. We come to know Madura was ruled by Maddukrishnappa between 1603-1609 and his son MadduVeerappa between 1609-1623. Tirumalanayaka the son of MadduVeerappa is regarded as the greatest of the Madura Nayak rulers. His rule witnessed the construction of Tirumala Raya Mahal. He also patronised Telugu literature. The decline of Madura Nayaka kingdom began during the reign of his son Chokkanathia, who ruled from 1657 to 1682. His son Maddu Krishnappa ruled for 7 years. As his son Vijayaranga Chokkanatha was a child, his grand mother Mangamma acted as regent till Vijayaranga

Chokkanatha, started his rule in 1706. He ruled till 1732 and after his death, his wife Meenakshi began to rule. Because of the conspiracy of courtiers Chanda Saheb of Arcot invaded Madurai and Madurai became a part of Arcot kingdom as Meenakshi committed suicide.

6.3.2 Nayaks of Tanjore

Nayak kingdom of Tanjore comprised the districts of Tanjore, Tiruchinapalli and Pudukottai. This area was occupied by Krishnadeveraya and a close dependable relative Sevappa Nayak was appointed as its ruler by Achyuta Raya in 1535. Sevappa ruled till 1561 and he was followed by Achyuta Nayaka. He ruled from 1561 to 1614. As a loyal subordinate of Vijayanagar, he fought with Madura Nayaka king in the Vallemkota battle on behalf of Venkatapathi Raya. Since then started enmity between Madura and Tanjore. After Achyuta Nayaka his son Raghunatha ruled from 1611 to 1633. He was not only a great warrior but also a patron of Telugu literature. He is known as Krishnadeva Raya of Tanjore. His son Vijaya Raghava ruled from 1633 to 1673 and joined hands with Madura against Vijayanagar ruler. He was killed along with his son Mannardas by Chokkanatha of Madura. Tanjore became a part of Madura and step brother of Chokkanatha Alagiri became the ruler of Tanjore. But his rule was short lived as Rayasa Venkoji, a loyal servant of Vijaya Raghava dethroned him and placed on throne Chengamaladas, the grandson of Vijaya Raghava. As he became very unpopular, he was over thrown and Tanjore kingdom passed into hands of Yesoji, the step brother of Shivaji.

I. CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1. Why did regional kingdoms develop in India during the 18th century ?

2. What were the important regional kingdoms in India during the 18th century ?

6.4 ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

6.4.1 Trade and Commerce

Foreign trade was active and profitable, but it formed a fraction of India's whole economic life. European traders virtually had a monopoly on this foreign trade. The products of the interior could reach the seaports in bulk only where good means of

communications existed. Then, only rivers formed such routes for easy communication. By the third quarter of the eighteenth century, the Portuguese, the French and the Dutch who had been formidable rivals to the English, not only lost their political power, but also left the trade and commerce, virtually a monopoly of the English. By this time, the activity of the Portuguese was practically confined to Goa alone, and it was filled more with monks and soldiers than with traders. The relative trade activity of the French and the English could be gauged when it is said that, the value of French exports from India increased between 1728 and 1740 nearly ten times, but in the same years, British imports from India were more than twice as great. The English in Bengal carried on a flourishing trade in cotton goods, silk goods, yarn, sugar and saltpetre. In the south, the main articles of trade were silk goods, cotton goods consisting of muslins and Kalamkari. Because of the great demand in Europe for these cottons and silks, the weaving industry was in a flourishing condition.

In the beginning, the English could not withstand competition from the Portuguese, the French and the Dutch. The Portuguese, the French and the Dutch paid advance to the weavers for the cloth they ordered, and did not insist greatly on quality cloth. The Dutch also helped the weaver by supplying him daily provisions at fair prices. The English paid no advances, paid a lesser rate and yet insisted on quality cloth. Naturally, the weavers were not attracted by the English trader.

Therefore, the English felt the need to eliminate their rivals and acquire a monopoly in cotton trade. As a result of Industrial Revolution in England in the eighteenth century, the English adopted mercantilism in the trade of cotton goods. The machine-made cloth imported from England became a stiff competitor for indigenously manufactured cotton goods. To discourage the local weaver, further, and to his great detriment, the Company authorities levied a duty, called *mohaturfa*, on looms. By 1850, trade in silk goods also languished, not able to withstand the keen competition of silks from China and Japan, which had already found favourable markets in Europe. The Industrial Revolution had adversely effected not only trade in cotton goods; it equally affected iron industry, leather industry, etc., As more and more people developed a fascination for the imported foreign goods, the workers, in these industries, for lack of demand for their goods had to abandon them, and were compelled to seek their livelihood, came into existence.

By the middle of the eighteenth century, Malabar was no longer the exchange centre for the spice trade between East and West, for the spice ships from the East Indies bypassed the Malabar coast, on their way to Cape and Europe. While the newer trade in cloth, dyes and saltpetre was centered elsewhere, a limited and local trade in spices survived, controlled by a number of European factors.

6.4.2 Agriculture

Agriculture was the chief profession of the people, and it continued on traditional lines. Because of the decline of certain indigenous industries, the workers and artisans in these industries were compelled to eke out their livelihood as agricultural labourers, as a result, more land was brought under cultivation. Commercial crops like cotton, tobacco, oil-seeds etc, came to be cultivated more than the traditional food crops. As a result, the

welfare and prosperity of the cultivator depended more on foreign trade conditions. Tanks and wells were the main sources of irrigation, and facilities for irrigation by river water very limited. The English did not give thought to the construction of irrigational dams on rivers till the middle of the nineteenth century. Whenever seasonal rains failed, droughts and famines became events of frequent occurrence in many parts of the country. In the Bengal famine of 1769-70, one-third of the population was said to have died, and one-third of the cultivated lands to have become waste.

Pestilences generally accompanied famines, and completed the havoc. In spite of the distresses, the Company and the local potentates and zamindars, with "cruel severity" collected the revenue from the ryot, sometimes leaving him even without the bare subsistence. As a result of the above famine, Bengal and Bihar were seriously underpopulated for two generations. It dealt a blow at the whole social system. Many of the zamindars or hereditary farmers of the revenue, were ruined as a result of the inability to collect the regular assessments from a reduced and enfeebled peasantry. Any relief methods undertaken were spasmodic, temporary and uncertain.

Even though the constant wars disrupted the economy of the country during the 18th century production in the country did not decrease. India was still a large-scale manufacturer of cotton and silk fabrics, sugar, jute, dye-stuffs, minerals and metallic products like arms metal wares, saltpetre and oils. Ship building industry also flourished. Peter the Great of Russia said '*Bear in mind that the commerce of India is the commerce of the world and he who can exclusively command it is the dictator of Europe*'. The remark of Peter the Great indicates that India was a leading centre of trade and industry in the world during the beginning of the 18th century. According to Satish Chandra, agricultural or handicrafts production in India did not decline in the early 18th century. However with the British consolidating their power, conditions changed.

6.5 SOCIAL AND CULTURAL LIFE

6.5.1 Cultural Life

Caste was the central feature of Hindu society as in earlier periods. Muslim society was also divided by consideration of the differences between shias and sunnis and due to differences in status and rule. Child marriages were widely prevalent. Sati was also widely prevalent in North India. In the South the plight of the Hindu widows was pitiable.

The character of the nobles and the aristocrats degenerated. But there was no decline in the morality of the common people. A British official John Malcolm remarked in 1821 '*I do not know the example of any great population in similar circumstances, preserving through such a period of changes and tyrannical rule, so much virtue and so many qualities as are to be found in a great proportion of the inhabitants of the country*'. John Malcolm praised the absence of common vices of theft, drunkenness and violence.

Cranford, another European writer stated "*Their rules of morality are most benevolent and hospitality and charity are not only strongly indicated but I believe nowhere more universally practiced than amongst Hindus.*"

6.5.2 Education

During the 18th century elementary education was quite widespread in the country. The average percentage of literacy was not lower than what it was under the British rule later. Teachers were respected in the society. However girls education was neglected. Centres of higher education were developed by the rich Nawabs, Rajas and Zamindars. Higher education among the Hindus consisted mostly of education in Sanskrit which was mostly confined to the Brahmins. Among the Muslims higher education was imparted through Persian.

6.5.3 Christian Missions

A new and prominent feature of Indian life was the introduction of Christian missions. The early missions of eighteenth century worked from non-British stations like the Danes in Tranquebar and Williams Carey with his band of British baptists at Serampore. There followed the establishment of a network of British missions to be reinforced shortly by the Americans. They engaged in many types of activity from pure missionary activity to educational and medical activity, and the conduct of schools and colleges in populous towns and cities, all over the country. In the beginning, they were wholly unsupported by the government, but yet gained some prestige from their personal and racial connection with the ruling class. Though not patronised by the government, but with its permission, they constituted an open challenge to Hinduism and Islam. They formed an important channel by which, Western values and Western knowledge could reach India.

Cordial relations existed between the Hindus and Muslims. Common people in the villages and towns participated in all the festivals, whether they were Hindus or Muslims. Muslims took part in the Hindu festivals like *Holi*, *Durgapuja* and *Diwali* and Hindus participated in the *Muharram* procession of the Muslims.

The eighteenth century was not a "dark period" in Indian history as it is sometimes made out to be. Economically the country continued to be prosperous. Art and literature did not languish. The regional states became the centres of growth of art and literature. Social evils like child marriages and *sati* were there. But they existed even earlier. Probably in that period was that India did not try to advance like Europe with the help of science and technology. As Prof. Satish Chandra points out the 18th century in India was more a continuation of the 17th century than the precursor of the ruin witnessed under the British during the 19th century.

II. CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1. Was the period of 18th Century a period of cultural and economic decline ?

2. What was the contribution of the regional kingdoms to the development of Indian culture?

6.6 LET US SUM UP

1. After the decline of the Mughal empire, regional kingdoms of Bengal, Oudh, Punjab and Hyderabad developed. In Kerala and Karnataka also the regional kingdoms became prominent.
2. Foreign trade was dominated by the Europeans. In spite of the many wars in the 18th century, India continued to be prosperous during the 18th century.
3. The 18th century was not a dark period in Indian History as presumed by some historians.

6.7 CHECK YOUR PROGRESS : ANSWERS

- I. 1. Regional Kingdoms developed in the 18th century due to the absence of a powerful central authority.
2. Bengal, Oudh, Punjab, Hyderabad, Calicut and Mysore were the important regional kingdoms in the 18th century.
- II. 1. It is not correct to describe the 18th century as a period of cultural and economic decline.
2. In the regional states gradual relations existed between Hindus and Muslims. They became the centres of growth of art and literature.

6.8 EXAMINATION MODEL QUESTIONS

I. 1. Answer the following questions in about 30 lines each :

1. Give an account of the different independent kingdoms that came into existence after the decline of the Mughal power.
2. What was the state of society and culture in the 18th century in India?
3. Examine the economic conditions of India during the 18th century.

II. Answer the following questions in about 15 lines each :

1. Write a brief note on the activities of the christian missionaries.
2. Write about the contribution of the regional kingdoms to the development of culture.
3. Write short notes on a) Hyder Ali & b) Tippu Sultan

6.9 BOOKS FOR FURTHER READING

1. Bipan Chandra : *Modern India*
2. Majumdar, R.C. (Ed) : *Bhartiya Vidya Bhavan Series Vols. VII & VIII*
3. Majumdar, R.C. & Others : *Advanced History of India*
4. Mehta, J.L. : *Advanced study in the History of Medieval India, Vol. III*
5. Perceival Spear : *History of India, Vol. II*
6. Smith, V.A. : *Oxford History of India (edited by Spear)*

BLOCK - III

**BEGINNING AND GROWTH OF
BRITISH COLONIALISM IN INDIA**

Block three consists of seven units i.e. unit seven to unit thirteen. Starting with the early European settlements, there are lessons on British conquest of India, their administrative and economic policies before 1857 and after 1857. There is a unit on the revolt of 1857 (unit-11) also.

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UNIT - 7 : EARLY EUROPEAN SETTLEMENTS

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- 7.0 Objectives
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- 7.7 Check your progress : Answers
- 7.8 Examination Model Questions
- 7.9 Books For Further Reading

7.0 OBJECTIVES

By a study of this unit you are expected to know :

1. about the Europeans, who established their settlements in India.
2. the course of their settlement.
3. the important places of their settlements.

7.1 INTRODUCTION

India had commercial contacts with the western countries from times immemorial. From the 7th century A.D., the sea trade passed into the hands of Arabs who began to dominate the Indian Ocean and the Red Sea. They carried the Indian articles to the west and sold them in the markets there. For a long-time, Europeans wanted to have direct

contact with India. The Portuguese were the first to discover a sea route, and thus came to India for trade purpose.

7.2 PORTUGUESE

There were several causes which necessitated the discovery of a sea route to India by the Europeans. Firstly, Europe had commercial contacts with the East throughout the Middle Ages. The Indian spices and muslins were in great demand in the Western countries. The merchants of Venice and Genoa carried these articles on land route, which ran from Constantinople to Peshawar. The great want of Indian products in the European markets led to the discovery of a new sea route to India. Secondly, in 1453 A.D. the Turks defeated the Byzantine emperor and captured his capital city, Constantinople. When Constantinople fell into the hands of the Turks, they never allowed the Christians to make use of the land route to the East. Thus the fall of Constantinople was a cause for the discovering of a sea route to India.

When Vasco-da-Gama set his foot on the Indian soil, the ruler of Calicut, who was known as the Zamorin, showed a friendly disposition towards the Portuguese sailor. But, the Arab merchants who monopolised the Indian trade were hostile, as the Portuguese came to compete with them. Vasco-da-Gama and his sailors were given several presents by the Zamorin in the form of pepper, ginger, cloves, ivory goods etc. which they took to their country in 1499. The profit of the voyage was later found to be sixty times over the expenses. Therefore, the Portuguese felt much encouraged to continue maritime trade activities with India.

Vasco-da-Gama came to Calicut again in 1502, and took revenge against the Arab Moors who ill-treated him on his first visit. He treated them with great cruelty and oppression. Many of the Arabs were put in the boats and the boats were set ablaze. The Zamorin permitted the Portuguese to establish their trading centres at Calicut, Cochin and Cannanore. But, after Vasco-da-Gama left India, the Zamorin tried to attack the Portuguese in Cochin, but was defeated. They indirectly established the supremacy of the Portuguese power.

7.2.1 Almeida, 1505-09

In 1505, the Portuguese gave up the system of annual voyages, and Francisco-De-Almeida was appointed as the first Viceroy of the Portuguese possessions in India. Almeida adopted a policy which is known as "Blue Water Policy". He was not for increasing settlements on land. He wanted to concentrate on the development of naval power. According to him, if Portugal was powerful at sea, it can hold India easily, and no amount of forts and fortresses would ensure this hold.

7.2.2 Albuquerque, 1509-1515

Albuquerque succeeded to the Portuguese power in India after the death of Almeida. The new Viceroy reversed the policy of his predecessor. He wanted to occupy certain important places for trading purposes, and to administer them directly. Albuquerque also encouraged inter-marriage between Portuguese and the native women, with a view to secure a class of loyal subjects.

Albuquerque effectively followed the policy of conquest. He annexed Goa in 1510, and made it the seat of Portuguese power in India. He conquered Malacca in the Far East. In 1515, he attacked and occupied Ormuz in the Persian Gulf. He brought a large number of Portuguese officers. He appointed many Indians in his army as well as in administration. Albuquerque developed friendly relations with several native kingdoms in India, like the Vijayanagar kingdom. He died in 1515, and was buried in Goa.

Albuquerque was regarded by his countrymen as "*Albuquerque the Great*" because, he laid the foundations for the establishment of Portuguese power in the East. He had a genius for civil administration as well as for war. As Dodwell, pointed out, Albuquerque could be compared to the English conqueror, Robert Clive. "*Both were great military leaders, whose courage and insight rose with danger. Both were men of unshakable constancy, ready to meet any foe however numerous; of a high spirit which imposed itself on their followers.*"

The successors of Albuquerque were not efficient. Yet, their power did not decline immediately. They acquired Diu in 1534. In 1538, they occupied Daman. In the same year, they got permission to establish a factory at Goa.

7.2.3 Causes for the decline of the Portuguese power :

Towards the close of the 16th century, the Portuguese power started to decline steadily. There are various causes for the weakening of the Portuguese power. Portugal was small country with meagre resources. With limited resources and population, the Portuguese failed to man the Indian expeditions in full. The resources were divided between the Portuguese possessions in India and Brazil in South America. As Portugal started caring more for Brazil, their possessions in India were naturally neglected. The Portuguese government was weak at home. The conditions at home were reflected in the East also. The Portuguese administration in India was corrupt. The administrators were bent upon making huge fortunes for themselves, and their means did not matter to them. Thirdly, in 1580 Portugal was forcibly united with Spain under Phillip-II. As a result, the Spanish interests predominated the Portuguese interests. The Spaniards were more bent upon colonising the West, and took no interest in the East.

Lisbon, the capital city of Portugal which once was the depot of Europe, lost its importance. Therefore, the act of government's interest after the unification, led to the downfall of the Portuguese power in India. Fourthly, in 1588, the Portuguese fleet from Indian waters was recalled, when Spain sent the Great Armada against England. In the war, the Spanish Armada was defeated, and this failure affected the Portuguese power in India. Fifthly, in the later part of the 16th century, the Dutch and the English became predominant in India. They were more than a match for the Portuguese. In the face of such European opposition, the Portuguese lost their power by slow degrees. Sixthly, the policy of conversions and mixed marriages followed by the Portuguese governors, earned the hatred of the natives who withdrew their support. Seventhly, the downfall of the great Vijayanagar empire in 1565 A.D. drove the last nail into the coffin of the Portuguese power. The Portuguese had great commercial contact with the Vijayanagar empire. After the ruin of Vijayanagar, the Portuguese lost their great ally. Their security and commercial interests were much affected.

I. CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1. Why is Vasco-da-Gama's discovery of a sea route to India important in Indian history?

2. How did the fall of the Vijayanagar empire adversely affect the prospects of the portuguese power in India ?

7.3 DUTCH

The Dutch Netherlands revolted against the colonial rule of Phillip-II of Spain, and became free during the middle of the 16th century.

Immediately after winning independence, a group of merchants from Amsterdam started the Dutch East India company in 1602, with monopoly of trade. The Company was empowered to wage wars, occupy territories and conclude treaties. The Dutch East India Company concentrated their attention on the Spice Islands in the Far East. They claimed priority of occupation of the Islands and tried to establish their exclusive monopoly, by signing trade treaties with the native chiefs.

The Dutch and the English when they entered the Malayan Archipelago, were friendly. They championed the cause of the Protestants against the Catholics, who were supported by Portugal and Spain. But, when the British also asserted their claims to have equal rights on Eastern trade a strong rivalry arose. The rivalry between the Dutch and English increased to such an extent that in 1623, the Dutch committed what is known as the Amboyanna massacre. Some English merchants in the Island of Amboyanna were charged with plotting to capture the station. They tortured to confess their guilt, and in the process, about ten of them were killed. After this ghastly incident, the English were so much scared of the Dutch power, that they left the Malayan Archipelago, and gradually shifted towards India. The Dutch were left alone without rivals in the Far East. They conquered Malacca, and acquired Ceylon. The Dutch also occupied Indonesia which they held till 1949.

The growth of Dutch power in India was for some time very rapid. They established a factory at Masulipatnam. Their next factory was founded at Pulicat, near Nellore. Nagapatnam on the Madras coast was taken by them in 1659. Chinsura was their chief centre in Bengal.

The Dutch did not make any significant progress on the mainland of India. This was because of three main reasons. They were: firstly, the Dutch trading company closely connected with the state, and its interests were subordinated to political consideration in Europe. Secondly, the profit of trade in spices led the Dutch away from the idea of territorial conquest. Lastly, the wars in Europe decided their fate in India. The Dutch struggle with England on one-sided and the French on the other, exhausted their resources, and made their position quite weak in India.

7.4 BRITISH EAST INDIA COMPANY

The British were slow but steady, in establishing their trade settlements in India. They were the ultimate winners in the race for the conquest of India, while other European countries failed in their efforts. The British were characteristically conservative in opening the trading centres, but showed great foresight in choosing the strategic centres which had political advantages.

Several individuals from England visited India even before 1600 A.D. Thomas Stevens was the first English man who came to India in 1579, and worked as a Rector in Salsette. From there, he wrote several letters to his father explaining the conditions in India. In 1583, three English merchants namely Ralph Fitch, James Newberry, and William Leeds started overland for India. Ralph Fitch who travelled throughout India, vividly described the wealth of the country in his writings, which inspired the Britishers to visit India, and to have trade contacts. In 1587, a large Portuguese ship was captured by Francis Drake, the famous British Admiral, and the value of the cargo was found to be more than one lakh pounds. The victory of England over the Spanish Armada in 1588, was a great incentive to the establishment of a trading company. In 1599, the Dutch who hitherto had the monopoly of trade, raised the price of pepper from 3 shillings to 8 shillings a pound in English markets. The British who regarded pepper as "Black - Gold", wanted to establish direct trading contacts in order to have spices at a lesser rate.

Some London merchants grouped themselves into a Company to trade with the East, and they applied to the Government for permission. On 31st December, 1600, Queen Elizabeth granted a Charter, and thus, the East India Company came into existence. It was purely a private company, and the share-holders contributed money for maintenance of the Company. Sometimes, the profits of the Company were as high as 500 to 600 percent. The administration of the Company was headed by a "Governor". A Committee of 24 members was elected from among the share-holders to assist the Governor. From 1600 to 1612, separate voyages were undertaken, and after the completion of the individual voyage, the profits were divided among the share-holders. Later, the system of individual voyages was given up, and the method of permanent Joint Stock was adopted. The English did not concentrate on India in the beginning. Their main interest was in the Spice Islands. But, the Dutch rivalry there was so formidable, that the British left the Islands after the Amboyanna massacre in 1623. They turned their attention to the mainland of India.

The important British settlements in India were :

7.4.1 Surat

The earliest settlements of the British East India Company were established on the west coast. In 1612, a British Captain, Hawkins was sent to the court of Jahangir to get certain concessions for the English. Hawkins failed to get any favour from the Emperor,

due to the subversive influence of the Portuguese at the Mughal Court. In 1615, Sir Thomas Roe was sent as an ambassador to the court of Jahangir by James I, the King of England. By then, the Portuguese influence had considerably declined at the Mughal Court, on account of their defeat at the hands of Captain Best, a British Commander, in a naval battle of the west coast. Sir Thomas Roe obtained permission from Jahangir to trade without taxes at Surat. Thus, Surat was the first trading centre obtained by the British. In 1622, the English at Surat, went on an expedition and captured Ormuz from the Portuguese.

7.4.2 Masulipatnam

On the East coast, the British built a factory in 1613 at Masulipatnam with the Golden Firman obtained from the Golkonda Nawab. But, the Dutch rivalry in the initial stages, prevented the British to improve their prospects.

7.4.3 Madras

Francis Day, a member of the Council of the factory at Masulipatnam, selected the site where today Madras is situated, and it was purchased in 1639 from the Raja of Chandragiri. A fort was constructed there, and named as Fort St. George. In 1652, Madras was raised to the position of a Presidency. The British settlement at Madras was organised into a Municipal Corporation, and it quickly grew in size and influence.

7.4.4 Calcutta

The British had small trading factories in the East from 1633. When they acquired Balasore and Hariharopore. In 1651, a factory was set up in Hughli. But, Calcutta turned to be a major trade centre and which serve then as their capital in India, for sometime. Calcutta was built by the British on the site that was given as a present to a British surgeon, Gabriel Boughton, by the Mughal Emperor Aurangazeb for successfully treating some members of the Royal family. In 1687, Job Charnock, a British architect, laid the foundations for the construction of the city. Fort William was built, and the Company also acquired the neighbouring villages like Sultanuti, Govindapur, and Kalikata. It is said that, the name Calcutta is derived from the name of the constituent village, Kalikata. Apart from Calcutta, Falta and Khasim Bazar, were also great centres of early British trade.

7.4.5 Bombay

The English at Surat were always feeling insecure due to the Maratha raids. The Island, which today is Bombay, was acquired by the British East India Company in 1667 from Charles II, the King of England on lease. He had received it as a part of the dowry, when he married the Portuguese princess, Catherine of Braganza. The President of the Surat factory, Oxenden took keen interest, and developed Bombay, which soon became a great centre of British trade in the west coast, and acquired the status of a Presidency.

The British also had small trading centres in several other places like Cuddalore, where they built Fort St. David, and Visakhapatnam.

7.5 THE FRENCH

Following the example of the Portuguese, the Dutch and the English, the French also organised Company, to trade with the East Indies. As early as 1611, Louis XIII, the King of France granted letters of patent for the establishment of a trading Company. But, the

attempt failed. In 1664, the first French company for trade was established by Colbert, the minister of Louis XIV. The Government of France took keen interest to project the interests of the French company. In 1667, the first French trading centre was established at Surat by Francis Caron. Two years later, another French factory came up in Masulipatnam. Caron also obtained from the Nawab of Golkonda, exemption of import and export duties on French goods.

After Caron, Martin was appointed the Director - General of the French possessions in India, in 1672. Martin is regarded as the real founder of the French power in India. He obtained from the Nawab of Carnatic, a piece of land on the east coast, 15 miles north of Cuddalore. A town was built on the site, which came to be known as Puducheri (New Town), familiarly known as Pondicherry and this later became the capital for the French in India. The French had their settlement also at Chandranagore, Balasore and Khasim Bazar. In 1725, they got Mahe on the Malabar coast, and on the east coast, Karaikal was acquired in 1739. Thus by 1740, the French was a great power to reckon with, in India.

As the French power grew in Pondicherry their influence fell considerably in the north. Surat went out of their hands in 1714, and Masulipatnam was not flourishing. Similarly, Chandranagore also was exposed to the designs of the English and the Dutch. In 1742, when Duplex, became the Governor of Pondicherry. The French Company entered upon a new phase of conquest and political adventure. This Naturally resulted in a protracted struggle against the British East India Company.

II. CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1. What were the important early settlements of the British in India ?

2. Which were the Chief Centres of French power in India ?

7.6 LET US SUM UP

1. Vasco-da-Gama's discovery a sea-route to India in 1498, changed the course of Indian History.
2. The Portuguese were the first Europeans to establish their settlements in India. Their power and influence began to decline from the end of the 16th century.
3. The Dutch were the next to come to India. Their chief centre was Chinsura in Bengal.

4. The British East India Company was established on 31st December, 1600. The important British settlements were Surat, Masulipatnam, Madras, Calcutta and Bombay.
5. The French came to India after the British. Their important centre of power was Pondicherry.

7.7 CHECK YOUR PROGRESS : ANSWERS

- I.
 1. Vasco-da-Gama's discovery of Sea-route to India is important in Indian history because it opened the gates of India to the Westerners first for trade and later for political hegemony.
 2. The Portuguese power in India was adversely affected by the fall of Vijayanagar empire as the Portuguese trade in India mostly depended on the support given to them by the Vijayanagar rulers.
- II.
 1. Surat, Masulipatnam, Madras, Calcutta and Bombay were the early settlements of the British in India.
 2. Pondicherry, Masulipatnam and Chandranagore were the chief centres of French Power in India.

7.8 EXAMINATION MODEL QUESTIONS :

I. Answer the following questions in about 30 lines each

1. What reasons prompted the European powers to establish their settlements in India?
2. Give an account of the establishment of the British East India Company and its early settlements in India.
3. Discuss the Portuguese attempts to colonise India. What policies did the Governors adopt and with what success ?

II. Answer the following questions in about 15 lines each

1. Give an account of the Portuguese authority in India in the 18th century.
2. Examine the causes that led to the weakening of the Portuguese power in India.
3. Discuss the position of French authority in India in the early 18th Century.

7.9 BOOKS FOR FURTHER READING

- | | | |
|---------------------------|---|---|
| 1. Bipan Chandra | : | <i>Modern India</i> |
| 2. Dodwell | : | <i>Cambridge History of India Vol. V</i> |
| 3. Malleson, G.B. | : | <i>History of the French in India</i> |
| 4. Mukherjee, Ramakrishna | : | <i>The Rise and fall of the East India Company.</i> |
| 5. Sen, S.P. | : | <i>The French in India</i> |
| 6. Spear, Percival | : | <i>History of India Vol. II</i> |

UNIT - 8 : THE BRITISH CONQUEST OF INDIA, 1748 - 1856

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- 8.0 Objectives
- 8.1 Introduction
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8.0 OBJECTIVES

Study of this unit should enable you to know :

1. how the British were able to establish their paramountcy in India.
2. the Anglo-French Wars (Carnatic Wars).
3. the Anglo - Mysore and Maratha Wars.
4. the subsidiary alliance system of Wellesley and
5. the conquests and the doctrine of lapse policy of Dalhousie.

8.1 INTRODUCTION

The European powers came to India with the sole object of trade. After establishing trading centres, each of the powers wanted to possess monopoly of the trade, in order to increase profits. Therefore, they came into conflict with each other. Both France and England wanted to have not only control over trade, but also possess territory as means for supremacy. Therefore, they were engaged in a bitter struggle in the Deccan. The British also scored a victory in Bengal in the Battle of Plassey, and thus laid the foundation for the establishment of British power in India. The expansion of the British supremacy was carried on by the successive Governors - General.

8.2 ANGLO - FRENCH RIVALRY IN THE SOUTH

Though the Mughal empire began to decline by the beginning of the eighteenth century, the British found that the scope for the establishment of their political power was very much restricted in the north, due to the influence of the Marathas on one side, and the Nawabs like Ali Vardi Khan and others on the other. But in the South, after the death of Nizam-ul-Mulk, the Subedar of the Deccan, the conditions favoured the British to interfere in the internal affairs of the native rulers to their advantage. The struggle for power between the English and the French in the south resulted in the form of the Three Carnatic Wars. Out of them, the First and the Third Wars were fought, because of the rival sides taken by France and England during the Austrian War of Succession and the Seven Year's War in Europe. The Second Carnatic War was due to the interference of the British and the French in the affairs of the native states like Arcot and Hyderabad.

8.2.1 First Carnatic War 1744-48

The Austrian War of Succession broke out in Europe, in March, 1740. The spirit of rivalry spread to India between the British and the French. The British navy under Barnett reached India to help the British authorities. But, Dupleix the French Governor at Pondicherry, sent an appeal to De la Bourdonnais, the French Governor of Mauritius, for help. Dupleix himself set out from Pondicherry with an army by land route. On 21st September, 1746, the French attacked the British, and occupied Madras.

Anwar-ud-din, the Nawab of Arcot sent a huge army to reconquer Madras from the French. The Arcot forces attacked the Fort, but a small French army under captain Pradise defeated the Nawab's force at St. Thome on the banks of the river Adayar. Madras remained in the hands of the French. In 1748, the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapalle brought the Austrian War of Succession to an end. According to one of the terms of the Treaty, Madras was given back to the British.

8.2.2 Second Carnatic War, 1749-54

The success of the French in the First Carnatic War whetted Dupleix's political ambition. He wanted to interfere in the internal affairs of the native states in order to reduce the British influence. The developments at Hyderabad and at Arcot provided opportunities for the French interference.

In 1748, the Nizam of Hyderabad, Nizam -ul-Mulk, died and a civil war broke out between his son, Nasir Jung and grandson Muzaffar Jung. During the same time, Chanda-Sahib, a son-in-law of the late Nawab of Arcot, Dost Ali, began to conspire against Anwar-ud-din, who had been appointed Nawab by the Nizam. Chanda Sahib sought the help of Dupleix in order to get the throne of Arcot. (The Carnatic Nawab was also known as Arcot Nawab)

Dupleix invited Muzaffar Jung to the Carnatic in order to settle the affairs there first. He promised to deal with Nasir Jung later. In 1749, Dupleix, Muzaffar Jung and Chanda Sahib attacked Anwar-ud-din, and killed him in the Battle of Ambur. Chanda Sahib became the Nawab of Carnatic.

The English who were not very powerful at the time, did not want to keep quiet. They encouraged the Raja of Tanjore against Dupleix and Muzaffar. The British invited Nasir Jung from Hyderabad in order to check the power of Dupleix. Their intention was to place Nasir Jung on the throne of Hyderabad and Muhammad Ali the son of Anwar-ud-din on the throne of Arcot. Nasir Jung accordingly, arrived in the Carnatic, but was killed in one of the battles in 1753. Muzaffar was declared as the Nizam of Hyderabad. While Chanda Sahib became the undisputed Nawab of the Carnatic, Dupleix was recognised as the representative of the Nizam in the South. He was given Villianallur, a village near Pondicherry as Jagir and also the title "Dupleix Sahib". Muzaffar left Pondicherry in 1751 along with a French force under the leadership of General Bussy, to Hyderabad. Muzaffar Jung himself was killed near Cuddapah, on his way to Hyderabad. However, Bussy reached Hyderabad with the army, and made Salabath Jung, the younger brother of Nasir Jung, as the new Nizam. Salabath gave the French the Northern Circars (Ganjam, Visakhapatnam, Godavari and Krishna District). The French power became dominant both in the Carnatic and the Hyderabad.

The tables were suddenly turned against the French by Robert Clive. He defeated Arcot forces at Arni, and then at Kaveripak. Chanda Sahib was killed by the Raja of Tanjore. The French disaster at Trichinopoly sealed the fate of Dupleix. The Directors of the French Company removed Dupleix in 1754. Godeheu who was appointed in his place, concluded a treaty with the British, Salabath Jung was recognised as the Nizam of Hyderabad. Muhammad Ali became the Carnatic Nawab. French power declined with the departure of Dupleix from India.

8.2.3 Third Carnatic War, 1756 - 63

Like the First Carnatic War, the Third Carnatic War was the result of the conflict between England and France in Europe. The Seven Year War broke out in Europe between England and France, and as a result hostilities broke out between the two companies in India. The French Government made a determined attempt to oust the English from India, and sent a strong force headed by Count-de-Lally in April, 1757.

Count-de-Lally attacked and conquered Fort St. David in 1758. He wanted to attack Tanjore, but the attempt ended in failure, seriously damaging the reputation of the French. Lally's next move was to capture Madras. He called Bussy from Hyderabad. This was a great mistake of Lally, as Bussy's departure from Hyderabad weakened the French position

there. The English seized Northern Circars. A decisive battle was fought at Wandiwash in 1760 A.D., when the English commander Sir Eyre Coote, defeated the combined forces of Lally and Bussy. Pondicherry was captured by the British. Mahe and Jings were also lost by the French. The French position in India declined completely.

The Seven Years War came to an end in Europe in 1763 with the Treaty of Paris. The French settlements in India were restored, but they were not allowed to fortify them and keep troops. They were to serve only as centres of trade. The English established their supremacy over Indian trade by getting rid of all European rivals. Now, they set out with the task of conquering India.

I. CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1. Who among the Europeans started the policy of political interference in the affairs of the kingdoms in India ?

2. Who was responsible for the success of the British in the Carnatic Wars ?

8.3 BRITISH OCCUPATION OF BENGAL

In 1756, Ali Vardhi Khan, the Nawab of Bengal died, and was succeeded by his grandson (daughter's son) Siraj-ud-Daula. Siraj was an young man of 23 years, and hated the presence of the British in Bengal. The British, at the time made some fortification at Calcutta, and even mounted guns on the walls of Fort William. Besides this, the English gave offence to Siraj by giving asylum to political offenders from Bengal. Finding this authority flouted in his own dominions, Siraj-ud-Daula launched an offensive against the English. He captured the English factory at Kashim Bazar, and marched against Calcutta, in June 1756.

After the attack on Calcutta, several British people were captured by the Nawab army and as many as 146 were dumped in a small room of 18 feet long and 14 feet wide on 20th June. The story goes that out of them only 23 survived the next morning. When the prison room was opened, the rest having perished due to suffocation. This incident known familiarly as "Black Hole Tragedy", is considered by many as a pure myth created by J.I. Holwell. In the first place, it is physically impossible to dump 146 people in a small room of 18 feet long and 14 feet wide. Secondly, Clive's complete silence about such a tragedy suggests that it never happened. Lastly, the non-availability of the names of those English men who were the prisoners on the day, adds confirmation to the theory that "Black Hole" is only a figment of the imagination.

8.3.1 Battle of Plassey, 1757

When the news of the capture of Calcutta reached Madras, the authorities immediately despatched an army to Bengal under the command of Robert Clive. A naval force also, was sent under the leadership of Admiral Watson. Calcutta was reconquered in the beginning of 1757, and the Nawab was compelled to agree to all the demands of the British. He accepted to restore all the English possessions in Bengal.

Robert Clive hatched a conspiracy in which Mir Jafar, the Commander-in-Chief and several other officers of the Nawab had joined. It was planned to make Mir Jafar as the Nawab who in turn, would reward the services of the Company, and pay compensation for their earlier losses. Aminchand, a Punjab money-lender played an important role in arriving at a secret understanding with Mir Jafar. Clive enacted a counter plot against Aminchand when he demanded 5% of the total amount of money in the Bengal treasury. He drafted two treaties; one a real one, and another a false one. When Watson refused to sign the false treaty, Clive had the signature forged on the document.

Robert Clive collected an army of 3,200 men and proceeded against, Murshidabad, the then capital for the Bengal Nawab. The Nawab's large army of 50,000 was commanded by Mir Jafar. Who had entered into secret league with the British. Both the armies met at Plassey on 23rd June, 1757. The Battle of Plassey was a battle only in name. The major part of the Nawab's army, led by traitors, took no part in the fighting. Mir Jafar was merely a spectator in the battle-field. Siraj was captured and put to death.

Mir Jafar was proclaimed as the Nawab of Bengal. The New Nawab gave the Company the trade concessions which Siraj had abolished. The Company obtained the 24 parganas, which two years later became Clive's *Jagir*. Clive was rewarded with 2,34,000 by the Nawab. The British became the masters of Bengal and Bihar. In 1758, Clive was appointed as the Governor of Calcutta.

The Battle of Plassey and the subsequent plunder of Bengal, placed vast resources at the disposal of the English. It cleared the way for the British mastery of Bengal, and eventually of India. Bengal was then, the most prosperous province, and the vast resources of Bengal helped the English to raise large armies. Before the Battle of Plassey, the English were merely one of the European Companies trading in Bengal, and suffering various exactions at the hands of the Nawab's officials. After Plassey, the British virtually monopolised the trade and commerce of Bengal.

8.3.2 Battle of Buxar, 1764

After serving as the Governor of Bengal for two years, Robert Clive went to England in 1760. His place was taken up by Vansittart. Mir Jafar was not able to meet the heavy demands of money made on him by the Company. Therefore, Vansittart deposed Mir Jafar, and placed his son-in-law, Mir Khasim, on the throne at Murshidabad. The new Nawab granted the English, the Districts of Burdwan, Midnapore, and Chittagong. Mir Khasim, Unlike his father-in-law was well-educated and was skillful in finances. He increased the revenues and improved the province. Mir Khasim shifted the capital of Bengal from Murshidabad to Monghyr. He abolished the trade privileges to the English. All this was resented by the English, and they discovered that Mir Khasim was refusing to play the role of a mere puppet. Therefore, the English deposed him in 1763, and enthroned Mir Jafar again as the Nawab of Bengal.

Mir Khasim went to Oudh and organised a confederacy with Shah Alam II, the Mughal Emperor, and Shuja-ud-Daula, the *Vazir* of Oudh. The combined armies of the three powers numbering over 50,000 met an English army of 7,000 commanded by Major Hector Munro, on the battle - field of Buxar on 22nd October, 1764. The allies were completely defeated, and Mir Khasim ran away from the battle - field. Shuja escaped to the Rohilla region, and Shah Alam made peace with the British. The Battle of Buxar completed the work of Plassey. The British mastery of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa was firmly established. When Mir Jafar died in February 1765, the English signed a new treaty with his son and successor, Nazim-ud-Daula by which, the Nawab disbanded most of his army, and agreed to administer through a Deputy Subedar appointed by the Company. From the Emperor, Shah Alam II, the Company secured the *Divani* or the right to collect revenue of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. Thus, the control over Bengal was firmly established by the British after the battles of Plassey and Buxar.

8.4 GROWTH OF BRITISH POWER IN INDIA

In 1722, the Company appointed Warren Hastings as the Governor of Bengal with instructions to reform the administrative set up. His appointment opens a new chapter in the history of East India Company. Warren Hastings laid the real foundations of the British Empire in India. The policy of British expansion was ably carried on by his successors like Cornwallis, Wellesley, Lord Hastings and Lord Dalhousie.

8.4.1 Conquests of Warren Hastings

Warren Hastings, after being appointed as Governor of Bengal immediately turned his attention to the expansion of British influence in India. In 1722, he concluded the Treaty of Benares by which, Kara and Allahabad were sold to the Nawab of Oudh for Rs. 50 Lakhs. The company also agreed to give him military aid whenever he needed.

Warren Hastings has been criticised for the harsh treatment he meted out to the Rohilla Afghans settled in the north-west of Oudh. The people of Rohilkhand were frequently attacked by the Marathas and therefore, their ruler, Hafiz Rahmat Khan entered into a treaty with the Nawab of Oudh. According to it, he promised to pay 40 lakhs to the Nawab of Oudh, if he supported him against the Maratha invasion. The Marathas withdrew in 1773, but Shuja, though he had never sent any force, demanded the promised 40 lakhs. Shuja was supported by Warren Hastings in leading an expedition against the Rohillas, who were defeated in the war. Hafiz Rahamat was killed, and about 20,000 Rohillas were turned out from the country. Rohilkhand was annexed by Oudh.

Warren Hastings spent considerable time and energy on Maratha affairs also. The Third Battle of Panipat in 1761, gave a heavy blow to the Maratha power. In 1722, after the death of Madhava Rao his brother Narayana Rao became the Peshwa. But, his uncle, Raghoba got him killed, and seized the throne. The Maratha chiefs under the leadership of Nana Farnavis deposed him, and placed Madhava Rao-II, the posthumous son of Narayana Rao, on the throne. As the English supported Raghoba, the First Maratha war began in 1775. All the Maratha chiefs were united behind the Peshwa. Warren Hastings sent two armies from Bengal which captured Ahmedabad in 1780. The British also seized Gwalior from the Maratha Chief, Mahadaji Scindhia. The Scindhia for peace, and consequently the war ended in 1782, by the Treaty of Salbai. The English acknowledged Madhava Rao-II as the Peshwa, and Raghoba was granted a pension of three lakh rupees annually.

In 1766, The East India Company entered into an alliance with the Nizam of Hyderabad to help him against Hyder Ali of Mysore, in return for which the Nizam had ceded to the English a part of his territory known as Northern Circars. The British alliance with the Nizam provoked Hyder Ali. In the first Mysore War (1767-69) that Hyder Ali and his son, Tippu recorded several victories over the British, and they even reached the suburbs of Madras. Hyder Ali virtually dictated the terms of the Treaty of Madras to the British in 1769. According to it, both the parties agreed for mutual aid in case either party was attacked by a third power. But, in 1771 when Hyder Ali was attacked by the Marathas, the English did not help him, and this led him to distrust the British.

Hyder Ali had been preparing for a conflict with the English, ever since they refused to help him in his fight against the Marathas. He took many French men into service, and secured arms and stores from the French and improved his army. War broke out between Hyder Ali and the British in 1780. During the early phase of the war, Hyder Ali was successful against the British army in several battles and occupied almost the whole of the Carnatic. The conclusion of the Maratha war in 1782 saved the English from total defeat. Sir Eyre Coote defeated the Mysore army at Porto Novo in July 1781. Sholingar, Nagapatnam and Trincomali were also captured by the British. In spite of these reverses, Hyder continued to fight in a vigorous manner. Hyder died of cancer on December 7, 1782 at Narasinga Rayanipet, 8 miles east of Chittoor. The War however, was continued by the son, Tippu. But, as both sides were tired of war, a peace treaty was signed on 11 May, 1784 at Mangalore. They agreed to restore each other's territories taken during the war.

8.4.2 Cornwallis and the Third Mysore War 1790-92

The Treaty of Mangalore did not terminate the hostilities between the British and the Mysore Nawab. Tippu saw clearly that the British power was the main danger to his independence. The British on the other hand, looked upon him as their most formidable rival.

Cornwallis concluded an alliance with the Nizam and the Marathas. In 1790, he came to Madras and marching through Vellore, captured Bangalore. He took several hill forts of Tippu, and marched against Srirangapatnam. Finding his position helpless, Tippu sued for peace, and the Treaty of Srirangapatnam was concluded in 1792. According to the Treaty, Tippu agreed to give half of his territory. He was also to pay a war indemnity of 3 1/2 crores of rupees and send two of his sons as hostages, till the promised money was paid. The English got Malabar, Coorg, Dindigal and Bara mahal. The Marathas got the territory on the north-west, and the Nizam on the north-east of Mysore. Tippu's kingdom was much reduced in extent, and the British supremacy was on the increase.

8.4.3 Wellesley

Immediately after assuming office the Governor-General Wellesley waged war against Tippu Sultan of Mysore. After the defeat in the Third Mysore War, Tippu had been working to strengthen himself to launch a fresh attack against the British. Wellesley therefore, concluded a treaty with the Nizam and the Marathas. He personally came to Madras and prepared for the attack.

Mysore was invaded from both East and West. An army was despatched from Bombay, and another from Madras, under the leadership of General Stuart and General Harris. Tippu was defeated in an encounter at Malavalli (Mysore District) whereupon, he opened negotiations

for peace. He was asked to part with half of his dominions and 2 crores of Rupees. Tippu was not willing to pay, but was prepared to fight like a soldier and die. The British army under Sir Arthur Wellesley, who later became famous as the Duke of Wellington, stormed Srirangapatnam and defeated Tippu's forces. Tippu was killed in battle on 4th May, 1799.

Wellesley annexed a large part of Mysore, which included Canara, Coimbatore, and Srirangapatnam. Mysore was surrounded on all sides by British territory. The Nizam was also richly rewarded for his help. Krishna Raja, a child of the Hindu family which was dispossessed by Hyder Ali, was placed on the Mysore throne. The capture of Mysore was an event of great importance next to the battle of Plassey and Buxar in Bengal.

After the death of Tippu, the Marathas were the only power that still remained against the British. There was a confederacy among the Gaikwad of Baroda, the Scindhia of Gwalior, the Holkar of Indore and the Bhonsle of Nagpur. The Peshwa was regarded as the head of the Maratha Confederacy, but towards the close of the 18th century, a bitter struggle for power for leadership. Bajji Rao-II was opposed by Yashwant Rao Holkar and Daulat Rao Scindhia. Bajji Rao fled to Bassein, and sought the help of the British.

As the Maratha camp was divided, Wellesley, the Governor-General took advantage and defeated them one after the other. The armies of Scindhia and Bhonsle were defeated at the Battle of Assaye in September 1803. Aligarh, Delhi and Agra were occupied by the British forces. Scindhia and Bhonsle surrendered large parts of their territories like Ahmednagar, Broach, the territory between Ganga and Yamuna, Cuttack and Balasore. The Second Maratha War gave a great blow to the Maratha power. Lord Wellesley asked Holkar to accept his Subsidiary Alliance. On his refusal to do so, he declared war against Holkar in 1804, and thus, the Third Maratha War broke out. The power of Holkar could not be completely broken, as Wellesley was recalled from India in 1805. Peace was concluded with Holkar in January, 1805 by the Treaty of Rajghat.

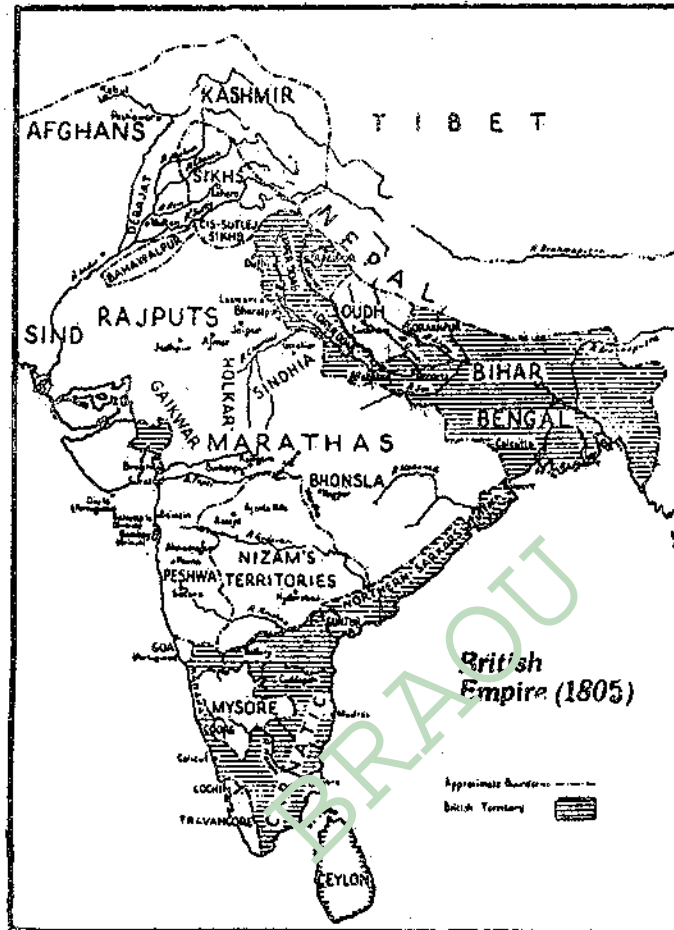
8.4.3.1 Subsidiary Alliance System

Wellesley's tenure of Governor-Generalship is famous for the Subsidiary Alliance that was introduced by him. This system was meant to bring Indian states under the British control. It increased the political power of the British in India.

According to the Subsidiary Alliance, the Indian State which accepted it, was to surrender all its external relations to the care of the Company, and was to make no wars. It can however, conduct negotiations with other states through the Company. The native rulers of large States must cede some territory to the British for the maintenance of the army, while a smaller state was to pay money annually. The rulers should accept a Resident at the capital, and should not appoint a European in their service without the consent of the British. The Company should not interfere in the internal affairs of the native state, but should protect it against foreign enemies.

The Subsidiary System helped the British in building their empire in India. Indian States were disarmed, and British protection was established over them. It enabled the Company to maintain a large standing army at the cost of Indian princes. The French advance in India was effectively stopped by the British, the arbiter in inter-state disputes. The Company acquired large tracts of land with sovereignty. But, the treaty proved disastrous to the native rulers. When an Indian State accepted Subsidiary Alliance, it became subordinate to the Company, and lost its independence. The British Residents interfered with the

day-to-day affairs of administration. The payment of subsidy which was usually large, impoverished the people of the State. The officers of the Subsidiary army were highly paid, and they lavished the State's money. The native troops when disbanded, were thrown out of employment, and many became highway robbers.



Among the prominent Indian States that accepted Subsidiary Treaty were, the Nizam of Hyderabad, the ruler of Mysore, the Raja of Tanjore, the Nawab of Oudh, the Peshwa, the Nawab of Arcot, the Scindhia, the ruler of Berar, the Rajput rulers of Jodhpur, Jaipur and Bharatpur.

8.5 HASTINGS 1813-23

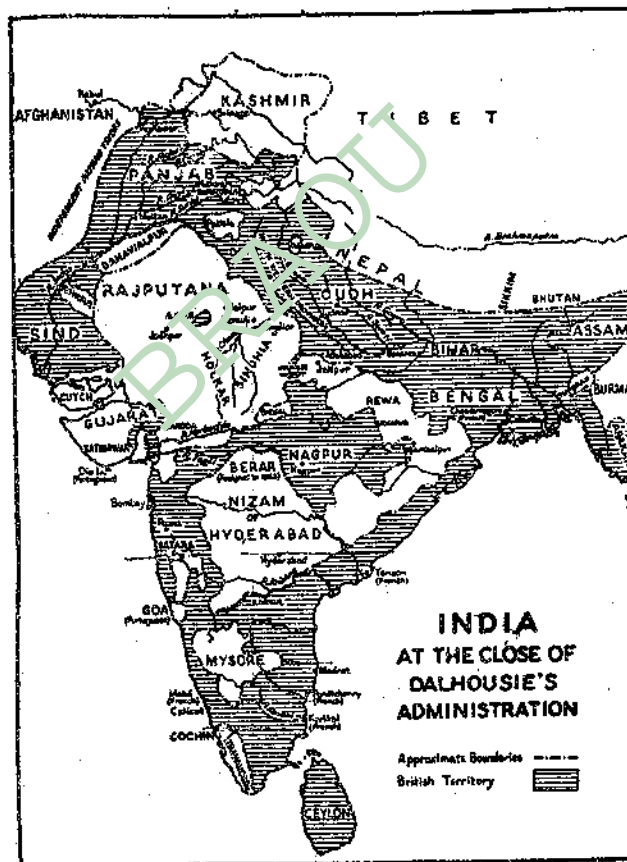
After the departure of Wellesley, the Company administration followed the policy of non-intervention till 1813, when Lord Hastings joined as the Governor-General. The new Governor-General followed the policy of Wellesley, as far as the native states were concerned. He dealt effectively against the Gurkhas of Nepal, and signed the Treaty of Sagauli in 1816.

In 1817, the Marathas made an attempt to their independence and lost power. The Peshwa organised a united front of the Maratha chiefs, and attacked the British Residency at Poona in November 1817. The Maratha army was defeated, and all the chiefs were forced to surrender large parts of their territories. The office of the Peshwa was abolished, and the Peshwa, Bajji Rao, was given a pension of 8 lakhs of Rupees annually. Holkar and Bhonsle had to accept subsidiary British forces. It is evident that the power of the Marathas was completely crushed, and henceforth, they were not in a position to rise again.

8.6 DALHOUSIE AND THE DOCTRINE OF LAPSE

Dalhousie's rule as Governor-General of India from 1848 to 1856, was one of the most momentous. He greatly contributed to the building up of the British empire in India. If there was a possibility of annexing an Indian State, Dalhousie did not miss it. He wanted to tear the mask of Mughal sovereignty, and dispossess Indian princes. He also believed the British administration was superior to that of the Indian native chiefs, and therefore, decided to bring all the Indian States under the direct control of British.

Dalhousie waged two major wars, the Second Sikh War and the Second Burmese War. There was much territorial acquisition and commercial gain by these wars. He sent an expedition against Sikkim, and a large part of it was occupied. In 1856, he annexed Oudh on the ground of mismanagement. Dalhousie stopped the pension to the Mughal Emperor and abolished the title of the Nawab of Arcot. The rent paid to the king of Darjeeling was stopped. Berar, the richest province of the Nizam of Hyderabad was brought under the Company, on the pretext of non-payment of annual tribute.



Most of the other acquisitions made by Dalhousie were through his famous "Doctrine of Lapse". The doctrine meant that, in the absence of natural heirs (successors), dependent states were to lapse to the paramount British power. These states were not allowed to be passed on the adopted sons. During the period of Dalhousie, many states like Jhansi, Satara, Sambalpur, Nagapur, Jaipur, Bhopal, Udaipur and many others were annexed, using the Doctrine of Lapse. In his ruthless policy, Dalhousie was never conscious of the fact that he was wounding the religious sentiments and disregarding the traditions of the Indians. His policy created unrest and suspicion on the part of the Indian native rulers. This was largely responsible for the Revolt of 1857.

II. CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1. Why is the battle of Buxar important?

2. What were the policies adopted by Wellesley and Dalhousie to expand the British empire in India?

8.7 LET US SUM UP

1. The Carnatic Wars were an extension in India of the Anglo-French rivalry in Europe. They were also the consequence of Europeans taking sides in the political conflicts among the Indian rulers.
2. In the first Carnatic war the French were successful.
3. Dupleix the French Governor in India was recalled due to the French defeat in India in the second Carnatic War.
4. The French power in India declined by the end of the third Carnatic War.
5. The battle of Plassey in 1757 and the Battle of Buxar in 1764 laid the foundation for the British empire in India.
6. In the time of Warren Hastings, the first two Mysore wars and the Anglo-Maratha war took place. The Third Mysore war took place in the time of Cornwallis. During the time of Wellesley and IV Anglo-Mysore war and the II Anglo-Maratha war took place. All those wars expanded the hegemony of the British in India.
7. The Subsidiary Alliance system of Wellesley and the Doctrine of lapse of Dalhousie were instruments adopted by the British for the expansion of their empire in India.

8.8 CHECK YOUR PROGRESS : ANSWERS

1. Dupleix the French Governor-General started the policy of political interference in the affairs of the kingdoms of India.
2. Robert Clive was responsible for the success of the British in the Carnatic Wars.

- II. 1. The battle of Buxar is important because it finally established the mastery of the British over Bengal, Bihar and Orissa and also because by the treaty concluded with Shah Alam II the Mughal emperor, the *Diwani* or the right to collect revenue in those three provinces was secured by the British.
2. Wellesley adopted the Subsidiary Alliance System and also waged wars against the native kingdoms to establish British supremacy. Dalhousie adopted the Doctrine of Lapse policy and also waged wars to establish the paramountcy of the British in India.

8.9 EXAMINATION MODEL QUESTIONS

I. Answer the following questions in about 30 lines each

1. Describe briefly the Anglo-French conflict in the South and its results.
2. Give a brief account of the establishment of the British supremacy over Bengal.
3. Give an account of the expansion of the British political authority in India upto 1857.

II. Answer the following questions in about 15 lines each

1. Discuss the position of French authority in India in the early 18th Century.
2. Briefly mention the causes and significance of the Battle of Plassey.
3. Write a short note on the Subsidiary Alliance System of Wellesley.

8.10 BOOKS FOR FURTHER READING

- | | |
|----------------------------|--|
| 1. Anderson, G | : <i>British Administration in India</i> |
| 2. Arnold, E. | : <i>Dalhousie's Administration of British India</i> |
| 3. Aspinall, A. | : <i>Cornwallis in Bengal</i> |
| 4. Bairdwood, Sir George | : <i>Dawn of British Trade to the East Indies</i> |
| 5. Blunt, Sir Edward | : <i>The Indian Civil Service</i> |
| 6. Bruce, John | : <i>Annals of the East India Company</i> |
| 7. Dodwell, H.H. | : <i>Cambridge History of India Vol.V.
Dupleix and Clive</i> |
| 8. Duff, Grant | : <i>History of the Marathas</i> |
| 9. Malleon, G.B. | : <i>History of the French in India</i> |
| 10. Mukherjee, Ramakrishna | : <i>The Rise and Fall of the East India Company</i> |
| 11. Roberts, P.E. | : <i>History of British India</i> |
| 12. Sardesai, G.S. | : <i>New History of the Marathas</i> |
| 13. Sen, S.P. | : <i>The French in India (1763-1816)</i> |
| 14. Sen, Surendranath | : <i>Anglo-Maratha Relations</i> |
| 15. Shaik Ali, KB. | : <i>British Relations with Hyder Ali and Tippu Sultan</i> |
| 16. Spear, Percival | : <i>History of India, Vol.II.</i> |

UNIT-9 : COMPANY RULE; ADMINISTRATION & ECONOMIC POLICY

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- 9.0 Objectives
- 9.1 Introduction
- 9.2 Regulating Act, 1772
- 9.3 Pitt's India Act, 1784
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- 9.7 Economic Policy of the British
- 9.8 Let us sum up
- 9.9 Check Your Progress: Answers
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9.0 OBJECTIVES

A study of this unit should enable you know about:

1. the Regulating Act and Pitt's India Act.
2. the administrative set up of the British in India till 1857.
3. the land revenue systems and other economic policies of the British in India till 1857.

9.1 INTRODUCTION

After obtaining the Diwani powers in 1765, the British established what is familiarly known as the Double Government in Bengal. Under this system, the British Governor allowed the Indian officials to collect the revenue on behalf of the Company. This system contained several disadvantages for the natives because, the Indian officials had responsibilities

without powers; and the Company was vested with powers without responsibilities. The servants of the Company, often indulged in malpractices and the finances were at their lowest ebb. There were huge debts, and the army was not always successful against native rulers like Hyder Ali. Many thought that the only solution of the difficulty was that the British Government should take a more active share in the management of the Company affairs.

9.2 REGULATING ACT, 1772

With a view to define the political powers of the Company clearly, and to keep its affairs under check, the British Parliament passed in 1772 the Regulating Act. The Act brought changes in the Constitution of the Board of Directors of the Company, and made them subject to the control and supervision of the British Government. The Governor of Bengal was designated as the Governor-General, with a Council of four members. The Provinces of Madras and Bombay were placed under the general supervision of the Governor-General. A Supreme Court was established at Calcutta, with one Chief Justice and three other ordinary Judges. The annual salaries for all the high ranking Company officials were indicated.

The Regulating Act was only a half-measure, and it was vague in many respects. The sovereignty was not taken up either by the Crown or by the Company. It did not ensure an efficient administration of the Company in India, as the powers of the Governor-General were not clearly indicated. The exact powers and functions of the Supreme Court were not well defined.

9.3 PITT'S INDIA ACT, 1784

William Pitt, the Prime Minister felt it necessary to frame a Bill to remove the defects of the Regulating Act. This was passed in 1784 and came to be called Pitt's India Act. The new Act took away all the powers of the Company Directors. The British Parliament became more powerful in matters of the administration of the Company. A Board of Control was set up, with six Commissioners. Their duties were "to superintend, direct, and control all acts, operations and concerns". This Board became the real governing authority for British India. The Governor-General was made more powerful in matters of administration. The members in his Council were reduced to three. The Company was divested of all its political authority, though it continued to enjoy the monopoly of trade. In 1813, by the Charter Act, the trade monopoly also was terminated. The Government continued to be in the hands of the Company, but under the over-all supervision of the Board of Control.

9.4 ADMINISTRATIVE SET UP

By the terms of the Regulating Act, the Governor of Bengal became the Governor-General, and his powers were extended by the Pitt's India Act of 1784. In 1833, the Governor-General of Bengal was proclaimed as the Governor-General of India. Calcutta continued to be the headquarters. The Governor-General was assisted by a Council. The members were originally selected by the Crown, but later appointed by the Crown. The size of the Council varied from time to time.

9.4.1 Civil Services

The administration heavily depended on the civil service, the army and the police. As the main aim of the British was to increase trade within the country, they gave great importance to the maintenance of law and order for the smooth transit of their goods. The Civil Service in India owes its origin to the period of Lord Cornwallis. He abolished the private trade carried on by the Company officials, and prohibited the acceptance of presents. But, he made them into a separate service with high salaries. He believed that the British and Europeans by their birth and training were fit to rule the country. Subordinate jobs were given to the Indians. It was Wellesley who established a College at Calcutta for the training of the young civil servants. The Directors of the Company established in 1806 an East Indian College at Haileybury in England. This College continued to function till 1858, and it was made compulsory that those aspiring for a job in India, should attend the Hailesbury College. The Charter Act of 1853 threw open the Covenanted Civil Service through competitive examination.

It is to be noted that Lord Cornwallis, promoted by honest motives of reform, excluded all Indians from the higher posts in the service of the Company. Indians in large numbers were taken only for subordinate posts. According to Sir Thomas Munro, "There is perhaps no example of any conquest in which, the natives have been so completely excluded from all share in the government of their country as in British India."

9.4.2 The Army

The British East India Company from its inception was greatly in need of an army to protect its trading centres from its rivals during the process of territorial expansion. While the high ranking officers were from the mother country, the soldiers were all drawn from India. The Subsidiary Alliance enabled the British to disband the native armies and introduce armies on Western lines. British armies were posted in key places throughout the country. This helped the Company to have a vigil over the native states, and also to protect their trade. There were a number of instances where the Indian soldiers were loyal to the British pay-masters, and helped them in their fight against Indian Kingdoms.

9.4.3 The Police

Like the civil service, the Company administrators also gave prime importance to the police set up. Cornwallis for example, created police force to maintain law and order. He carved out thanas, 20 square miles in extent, and posted *Darogas* in-charge of the *thanas*. The District Superintendents were appointed to head the police set up at the District level. Even in Police, Indians were excluded from highly paid superior posts, and Europeans alone were taken to such positions. The Company officials in India found that, the maintenance of law and order in the country was both important and expensive. Meanwhile, Lord Hastings was engaged in suppressing the Pindarees. Because of the devoted zeal of Lord William Bentinck, Sir William Sleeman and others, the bands of robbers known as *Thugs*, who were bound to each other by ties of secrecy and brotherhood, were put down in Central India. Though the Police force was reorganised largely under the administration of the Crown, the initiative was taken under the Company.

The usual forms of punishment in medieval India were imprisonment, mutilation and flogging. The Company administration did bring changes in the modes of punishment. Yet, the conditions in prisons were far from satisfactory. The prisoners were herded together in overcrowded and insanitary jails. Most of the prisons were literal death traps of disease. But, these conditions were improved after John Howard took to suggest reforms in the prison conditions, towards the end of the eighteenth century. The prison came to be meant not merely as a place of punishment, but also one where the character of the delinquent may be improved by steady discipline, and by learning a trade which he can practice after his release.

9.5 LAW COURTS

In the early days of its rule, the Company was satisfied with the provision of courts for the trial of cases between Europeans alone. Early in the eighteenth Century, Mayor's Courts were established in the three Presidency towns viz, Madras, Bombay and Calcutta. At the time the Company got *Diwani*, criminal justice remained in the hands of the Nawab. The collection of revenues, and the administration of civil justice came under the East India Company. This system soon proved a failure. Warren Hastings revised the judicial system. In the Districts, the Collector was placed in charge of the local Civil Court, where he was assisted by both Hindus and Muslims. For petty cases, there were subordinate Judges. Over and above these were the provincial Courts of appeal and finally, the *Sadr-Diwani Adalat*. For criminal justice, *Sadr-Nizamat Adalat* was established.

After the Regulating Act came into effect, a Supreme Court was established at Calcutta, with a Chief Justice and three other Judges, who were appointed by the Crown. But, there was vagueness in the functioning of the Supreme Court as to what law it should follow. The Supreme Court administered justice according to the principles of English law, but the *Sadr* Courts followed the laws of the Hindus and the Muslims. These Courts, with their conflicting ideas of justice, continued for several years.

The codification of civil and criminal law, and the rearrangement of Courts, was taken up by the administration of the Company. With a view to retain the best of both the eastern and western systems of judiciary, a member exclusively for law matters was appointed in the Governor-General's Council in 1833. Lord Macaulay was thus the first law member, and it was mostly due to his efforts, that the Indian Penal Code and the Codes of civil and criminal procedure, came into being. Several writers bear testimony to the excellence of these codes. Sir John Strachey has said about the criminal procedure code that "*Among all the laws of India, there is none more important than this, which regulates the machinery by which peace and order are maintained, and by which crime is prevented and punished.*" These codes made the judges and lawyers, as well as the officials and others, thoroughly acquainted with the laws.

The British also introduced in India, the concept of the rule of law and also equality before law. Under the pre-British Governments, the judicial administration was constrained with caste considerations. However, the British erased this inequality; as such distinctions were disallowed. Yet, the British had separate law courts to try the Europeans by the European judges. The British law courts proved that justice was expensive. They were known for delay and uncertainty. The poor especially, suffered much on account of the evils with which the courts came to be associated.

I. CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1. What is the significance of the Regulating Act?

2. By the Pitt's India Act which body became the real governing authority for British India?

3. Which were the three pillars of the British Government in India?

9.6 LAND REVENUE SETTLEMENTS

After acquiring territorial sovereignty, the East India Company wanted to continue the existing system of land tenures with few changes in order to ensure security, continuity and some degree of uniformity. The officials of the Company were ignorant of the complicated Indian land revenue system. They tried to understand the regional variations in land relations, and finally, India was divided into a number of areas in which different types of land revenue systems came into being. The most important of such systems were 1. The *Zamindari* or the Permanent Land Revenue Settlement; 2. The *Ryotwari* System; and 3. *Mahalwari* System.

9.6.1 The Zamindari System

The East India Company after taking over Bengal in 1765, continued to appoint the revenue officials appointed by the Mughals for the purpose of collecting the land revenues. There was the system of tax farming by which every year, the estates were leased out to the highest bidders. This system had several drawbacks. Therefore, Warren Hastings introduced a settlement for five years. This was known as quinquennial settlement. But, the Home Government favoured only the annual settlement. Cornwallis came to India in 1786 as Governor-General, and one of the important things which attracted his attention was the Land Revenue Settlement. As P.E. Roberts says, "*Cornwallis found agriculture and trade decaying, ryots and zamindars sinking into poverty and money-lenders, the only flourishing*

class in the community." Cornwallis had definite instructions to reform revenue administration in India. In 1790, he introduced the Decennial Settlement, which was meant to continue for 10 years. But, before the expiry of the stipulated period, Cornwallis converted the ten years settlement into Permanent Settlement in 1793. Thus, Cornwallis raised the *zamindars* from the position of the revenue agents to the rank of land owners, and fixed the amount of revenue they had to pay to the Government on a permanent basis, for all time to come.

The Permanent Settlement of Cornwallis created in the *zamindars* a limited proprietary right in the land. The *zamindars* were relieved of all the magisterial and police powers. As long as they paid revenue to the Government on time, they were left free in their relation with their tenants. If they failed to pay the rent regularly, a part of their land was to be disposed of, to recover the land revenue.

There were a number of advantages for the British, on account of the Permanent Land Revenue Settlement. The Company was assured of the exact amount of the revenue every year. They could plan their expenditure, as they were sure of the collection of the fixed amounts. Cornwallis expected that the Permanent Settlement would create a loyal class of landed aristocrats, viz. the *zamindars* who would defend the British against their rivals in India. It was found that these *zamindars* were loyal to the British Government during the days of the 1857 Revolt. The *Zamindari* Settlement freed the land from the evils of periodical assessment, and made the procedure of land revenue collection easy. The British East India Company could make use of the Revenue officers for judicial work.

The demerits of the Permanent Settlement were many. As the *Zamindars* were given proprietary rights, the rights of the tenants were ignored. They were left to the tender mercies of the landlords and the *zamindars*, who could charge any amount of money as rent and on non-payment, evict the cultivators. Contrary to the expectations, the *zamindars* did not take much interest in the development of the lands. They became mere absentee landlords, living most of the time in Calcutta. The existence of the "Sunset Laws" brought ruin to many *zamindars* when they could not pay the amount on the particular day to the Government. As the revenues in Bengal were fixed on a permanent basis, the Bombay and Madras Presidencies were instructed to increase land taxes very frequently. According to Baden Powell, "*The Permanent Settlement disappointed many expectations and produced several results that were not anticipated*". As Holmes pointed out, "*the Permanent Settlement was a sad blunder. The inferior tenants derived from it no benefit whatsoever. The Zamindars repeatedly failed to pay their rent charges, and their estates were sold for the benefit of the Government.*"

9.6.2 Ryotwari Settlement

If Cornwallis was the author of the Permanent Land Revenue System, Sir Thomas Munro is considered as the innovator of *Ryotwari* System, the settlement was with the individual farmer. This system was first introduced in 1792 in Baramahal (Salem) in Madras Presidency by Captain Reid, the Collector. But, this did not become very popular. One of the assistants of Reid namely, Thomas Munro, made it popular in the Ceded Districts, where he was appointed as the Principal Collector in 1800.

Munro found that *Ryotwari* Land System gave great sense of private property in the land. He made the settlement with the land owners. The produce was ascertained, and the Government share was fixed, which was not more than one-third. As a rule, the lands under *Ryotwari* were measured, and the land records were maintained. The ryots were given

pattas for their lands from the Ceded Districts, the *Ryotwari* System found its way to many other parts in the Madras Presidency. Tanjore, Coimbatore, Arcot, Malabar, etc., came under the *Ryotwari* System.

9.6.3 Mahalwari Settlement

In some parts of Punjab, Agra and Oudh, a different land revenue settlement was introduced by the British. This was known as *Mahalwari* Settlement. In this settlement, the village proprietors were settled with a collective land rent; and they were jointly responsible for the payment of land rent. This was a half-measure between Permanent Settlement and the *Ryotwari* Settlement. As the settlements were made with the landlords where they existed, and with village communities where they held land in common tenancy, the land tax was fixed on a moderate rate. The word *mahal* means an estate; as the system took into consideration the whole village or an estate as a unit, it came to be called as the *Mahalwari* Settlement.

The land policies of the British hit the peasants adversely. As Karl Marx has said, *"the Zamindari and Ryotwari were both of them agrarian revolutions,....opposed to each other, the one aristocratic, the other democratic, the one a caricature of English landlordism, the other of French Peasant- proprietorship... both made not for the people, who cultivate the soil, not for the holder who owns it, but for the Government that taxes it."* The peasants had to pay high land revenue to the Government. They were at the mercy of the *Zamindars* who frequently raised rents beyond limits, charged illegal dues, and compelled them to perform forced labour. The condition of the peasants in the *Ryotwari* areas was no better. Here, the Government levied excessive land revenue. The Government did not do anything to improve agriculture, and consequently the peasants had to suffer. When the peasants failed to pay land revenue, they either sold a part of their land, or borrowed money from the money-lenders at a very high rate of interest. Gradually, the peasants sank deeper and deeper into debt, and lands increasingly passed into the hands of money-lenders. The peasantry was crushed under the triple burden of the Government, the landlord and the money-lender. The result was that, impoverishment of the peasantry continued unabated.

9.7 ECONOMIC POLICY OF THE BRITISH

Till the Battle of Plassey in 1757, the East India Company was mainly a trading Company. It brought goods or precious metals into India, and bought Indian goods which were sold in England and other western countries. The trading activities of the Company greatly benefited the Indian manufacturers, who were thus able to increase their production for export to other markets. This naturally was objected to by the British manufacturers who felt jealous of the popularity of Indian goods in their country. Though several laws were passed to prevent Indian goods for sale, Indian products continued to enjoy a wide foreign market till the middle of the eighteenth century.

But, when the Company became a territorial power in India after 1757, the nature of its trading activities also underwent changes. The Company could make use of its political and military power to force the Indian manufacturers to sell their goods at a low price only to the British Company. Money was advanced by the Company officials to weavers and other manufacturers, and thus tied them to the Company for trade purposes. The Company also tried to eliminate rival traders by using its political power. As a result, there was no increase in the production of goods, and the wealth of the country and its economy showed a steady decline.

The Industrial Revolution in England during the second half of the eighteenth century gave birth to a hitherto unknown powerful class of manufacturers. They could not tolerate the Company's monopoly to trade in India, and they began to protest against it. By the Charter Act of 1813, the trade monopoly of the Company came to an end, and trade with India was thrown open to all British subjects. As India was under the control of England, it became an economic colony of Industrial England. The nature and structure of India's economy was determined by the needs of the British economy. On account of such an economic policy adopted by the British East India Company, the Indian industry was hard hit. Indian handicrafts and other village industries were ruined.

II. CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1. Which were the three important land revenue systems of the British in India?

2. Who introduced the *ryotwari* system?

3. When was the trade monopoly of the East India Company abolished?

9.8 LET US SUM UP

1. With the Regulation Act of 1772, the Company rule in India came under the control and supervision of the British Government.
2. The Pitt's India Act of 1784, provided more powers to the British Parliament to exercise control over the Indian affairs. The Act abolished the Board of Directors and established a Board of Control.
3. The British administration in India, heavily depended upon the civil services, the police and the army.
4. The *Zamindari*, *Ryotwari* and *Mahalwari* were the three important land revenue systems in British India.
5. By the 1813 Charter Act the trade monopoly of the East India Company in India was abolished. Due to British imperialism in India, Indian economy became subservient to British economy.

9.9 CHECK YOUR PROGRESS : ANSWERS

- I. 1. The Regulating Act is significant because it established the control and supervision of the British Parliament over East India Company's administration in India.

2. The Board of Control with six Commissioners, replaced the Board of Directors of the East India Company after the passing of the Pitt's India Act in 1784. The newly constituted Board of Control became the real governing authority for British India.
 3. The *Zamindari*, *Ryotwari* and *Mahalwari* were the important land revenue systems in British India.
- II.
1. The civil services, the police and the army were the three pillars of British rule in India.
 2. Sir Thomas Munro introduced the *ryotwari* system.
 3. The trade monopoly of the East India Company was abolished by the Charter Act of 1813.

9.10 EXAMINATION MODEL QUESTIONS

I. Answer the following questions in about 30 lines each.

1. Give an account of the administrative changes brought about by Cornwallis.
2. Describe briefly the merits and demerits of the various revenue settlements introduced by the British during the 18th and 19th centuries

II. Answer the following questions in about 15 lines each.

1. What were the economic policies of the British Rulers in India upto 1857 ?
2. Write a short note on the Regulating Act of 1772.
3. Write briefly on the provisions of Pitt's India Act of 1784.

9.11 BOOKS FOR FURTHER READING

1. Anderson, G. : *British Administration in India*
2. Arnold, E. : *Dalhousie's Administration of British India*
3. Aspinall, A : *Cornwallis in Bengal*
4. Braidwood, Sir George : *Dawn of British Trade to the East Indies*
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UNIT - 10 : SOCIAL AND CULTURAL AWAKENING DURING THE FIRST HALF OF THE 19TH CENTURY

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10.0 OBJECTIVES

A study of this unit should enable you to know about :

1. the impact of western education on India,
2. the social reform leaders like Henry Derozio, Raja Ram Mohan Roy and Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar and Jyotiba Phule,
3. the reforms advocated by them and their impact on the society.

10.1 INTRODUCTION

With the establishment of the British rule in India, there came a link with the West. As a result, modern ideas which were developed in the West started to flow into India. The intellectual life of the Indian people started to undergo great changes, influenced by such ideas as democracy and sovereignty of the people, rationalism, humanism, and scientific thinking. These new ideas helped Indians not only to take a critical look at their existing society, economy, and the form of the government, but also to understand and assess the nature of British imperial rule in the country.

10.2 SOCIAL AND CULTURAL POLICIES OF THE COMPANY

Till, 1813 the British followed the policy of non-interference in the religious, social and cultural life of the country. Many of the enlightened Englishmen who came to India as rulers thought that Indian civilization and culture should be preserved intact, and not changed according to western ideas. They also felt that sweeping changes and rapid modernisation would only rouse opposition from the people. But, after the outbreak of Industrial Revolution and the growth of modern capitalism, new ideas began to come up even in England. Rationalism, that is faith in reason and science, and humanism or sympathetic understanding of man, were the most important of such ideas. The Radicals could not reconcile themselves with the existing institutions like the caste system, untouchability, low status of women, and many other social evils. They wanted that Indian society be modernised by the removal of such practices. The policy of modernising the Indian society was taken up by the Christian missionaries also although they were mainly interested spreading Christianity.

When India came into contact with the West, Europe had been electrified by reformers like Luther, Bacon, Hume, Hobbes, Bentham, Tom Paine, and others. It was the age that glorified the ideals of French Revolution-liberty, equality and fraternity. It was the age which proclaimed the supremacy of reason over faith, and science over superstition. The educated Indians were exposed to these ideas. It was this elite class, though small in numbers, that came to constitute the intellectual leadership of the country, and led the movements for social, religious and political reforms.

10.3 WESTERN EDUCATION

The modernisation of Indian society and national awakening in the first half of the 19th century, was largely confined to the educational and social fields. The Hindu College was started in Calcutta in 1817. It was only became the centre of all intellectual and academic activities, but also acquired a stature of national importance in the 19th century. A number of other educational institutions were also started for teaching English and imparting liberal education. In 1836, in Calcutta alone, there were 6,000 students studying English. There were several schools teaching English.

The encouragement of the modern type of education in schools and colleges was made easy, by the introduction of English as medium of instruction during the Governor-Generalship of Lord Bentinck was guided by practical considerations. He believed that science would be the popular subject to be taught, and therefore, he felt English would be suitable. Sanskrit, for many British administrators, was a "dead" language. He was not opposed to the vernacular languages, and this is to be seen from the fact that he made them as court language. Bentinck, however was anxious to foster the growth of a small educated class which would know English, and through that knowledge bring western ideas to Indian thought. Bentinck was ably supported by Lord Macaulay, the Law Member. Macaulay in his famous minute of February 1825, made clear that *"We must do our best to form a class of persons, Indian in blood and colour, but English in taste, in opinions, in morals, and intellect. To that class, we may...leave by degrees..., fit vehicles for conveying knowledge to the great mass of population"*.

It was felt that the Government of India would be able to train clerks, and that there would be greater demand for British goods. Prominent Indians like Ram Mohan Roy also believed that only through the study of western knowledge, India could progress instead

of remaining backward. In 1835 therefore, the Government of India under Bentinck passed a resolution declaring that *"the great object of the British Government ought to be the promotion of literature and science among the natives, and the funds appropriated for education should be best employed on English education alone."*

English education gave not only educated personnel to man the administration at the lower levels, but also brought the educated Indian directly into touch with contemporary western thought and learning. The result of such an influence of the western social and cultural trends on Indian mind was the change of Hindu thought processes was first felt in Bengal.

10.3.1 Christian Missionaries :

William Wilberforce and Charles Grant the chairmen of the court of Directors of the East India Company who worked for the spread of Christianity advocated the westernisation of India in the hope that it would facilitate the spread of Christianity. The schools and colleges and the hospitals which the Christian missionaries started in India also paved the way for the modernisation of India.

The Christian missionary activities were closely connected with the urge for social reforms. Many high caste Hindu families paved the way by converting themselves to Christianity. Among the most important were Kalbinari De, the author of "Bengal Peasant Life". Kalicharan Benerji, the Registrar of Calcutta University, and Krishna Mohan Benerji. For a while, it appeared as though Bengal was led by its youth to have mass conversions into Christian faith.

10.4 BENGAL RENAISSANCE

The Bengal renaissance in the second quarter of the 19th century, was brought about by the educated middle class which wanted to break away from the traditional path. The Hindu College in Calcutta led the way to an intellectual resurgence in Bengal. Henry Louis Derozio of Portuguese origin, was appointed as a teacher in that College in 1826. To him, truth and beauty were a passion, and their attainment was worth more than anything else. His idealism and enthusiasm through Young Bengal Movement impressed his students widely. The Bengal youth were so much influenced by Derozio that the orthodox sections demanded his dismissal. He started daily newspaper "The East Indian", and till he died in 1831, he wrote on the necessity of breaking old traditions. The Hindu College produced another remarkable teacher, who inspired the contemporary youth. He was Dr. Richardson.

Thanks to such men of letters, Bengal gained intellectual importance, and continued to possess that importance for a very long time even after. These teachers and other intellectuals did not care much for nationalism, as they despised everything that was traditionally Indian, but encouraged intellectual freedom. The movements nurtured in Europe, found renewal in India. The late 18th century poet philosophers such as Shelly and Byron were much admired. The students learned to hate superstition. They showed a passionate desire for liberty and truth, for freedom from religious dogmas and social tyranny, for independence of thought and human dignity. The schools and colleges provided scope for debates on questions of free will, free ordination, fate, faith, sacredness of truth, attributes of God, futility of idol worship and the uselessness of priesthood. There were occasions when they threw beef-bones into the houses of orthodox brahmins and would enact mock conversions to Islam. They showed great interest in social reform.

10.4.1 Raja Ram Mohan Roy, 1774-1833

It was not only the intellectual ferment of the newly educated youth, influenced by western thought that occurred in Bengal. The influence of these youths on the society was quite considerable. The first effects of their impact were witnessed mainly in the religious and social reforms of the period. Of those who stirred the Indian mind, the most important was Raja Ram Mohan Roy.

Ram Mohan is rightly regarded as the first greater leader of modern India, and the father of Bengal Renaissance. His Brahma Samaj became the symbol of revolt. It was a movement like the Reformation in Europe. As Bipan Chandra Pal wrote in *Brahma Samaj and Battle of Swaraj of India*. While claiming the right of private judgement in the interpretation of ancient scriptures, "*Raja never repudiated their authority, nor did he, while seeking to assert the right of individual conscience to determine for itself what was right or wrong. He tried really to reconcile individual reason with ancient scriptures, and individual conscience with social authority*".

Therefore, it was not rejection of religion or even a revolt against it. What the Brahma Samaj and Ram Mohan Roy stood for, was the revival of the ancient religion of the Vedas, and the rejection of the authority of the priests, and their interpretation of the religious texts. It was a movement aimed at eradication of evils that had come into Hindu society in the name of religion. It was a revolt against medieval dogmas and superstitions. Therefore, the object of the Samaj at the initial state was purely social reform. After the death of Ram Mohan, when Devendra Nath Tagore became its head, the Brahma Samaj was transformed into a religious sect. Keshab Chandra Sen, the next leader to the Samaj went a step further, and declared freedom of human spirit from the rituals and social taboos, as the basic aim of the Samaj.

While Ram Mohan Roy was the central figure of the awakening during the early 19th century, there were a number of followers who came from the educated middle class in Bengal. Among the prominent names were Dwaraka Nath Tagore, Prasanna Kumar Tagore, Nand Kishore Bose, Tarachand Chakrabarty, Kalinath Munshi, and Chandra Sekara Deb. They belonged to different castes and classes. The challenge of Raja Ram Mohan and others naturally alarmed the orthodox sections. A new organisation called Dharma Sabha was founded in 1830, to protect the religion and its dogmas from criticism; but soon, it disintegrated. The educated middle class was no more an isolated group. It soon became a cohesive social force.

10.4.2 Social Reforms

10.4.2.1 Sati

The movement for social reforms was also led by the new educated middle class in Bengal, in the Deccan Districts of Bombay Presidency, and also in the Madras Presidency. It is true that Sati was abolished by the Governor-General Lord William Bentinck through a regulation in 1829. But, this was possible due to the ground already prepared by public opinion. The Government was thus following the public opinion, and not leading it.

The very fact that the abolition of *Sati* was almost quietly accepted by the people in Bengal shows that a strong sentiment against the Sati was already created there. The evil of Sati was not widespread in Madras and Bombay Presidencies, as in Bengal still, the legislation for its abolition in those presidencies was also made in 1830. In the native states, the rulers followed the example of the British India, and took steps to abolish Sati.

10.4.2.2 Female Education

There were other reforms aimed at the removal of disabilities of women. The newly emerging class, influenced by western thought, advocated the promotion of female education, encouragement of widow remarriage, and the suppression of polygamy. In the promotion of women's education, the lead came first from Christian missionaries. But, the schools established by them attracted girls only from lower classes. As these schools were meant for conversion of girls to Christianity, they did not become popular. Therefore, till the new elite class was drawn into the field, women's education did not make any headway. Raja Baidyanath Roy made a donation of Rs.20,000 to establish a Central Girls School in 1826. Pandit Gauri Mohan Vidyalankar made a strong plea for female education. A native Christian missionary, K.M.Benerjee played an important part in the spread of women's education in Bengal. He encouraged tuition at home to women and girls belonging to rich families by European ladies living in Calcutta. But, the biggest contribution to the cause of female education was that of Pandit Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar.

10.4.3 Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar

Among the Indian leaders who strived for reforming Indian society, the name of Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar is next only to Raja Ram Mohan Roy. He was a profound scholar and reformer. He was born in a poor family in 1820, and he had to face several odds to educate himself. He was appointed as an Inspector of Government Schools, and became the Principal of the Sanskrit College in Calcutta. He was a keen student of Western culture and ideas, and thus came to represent the best of both the cultures.

Vidyasagar's effort in reforming Indian society were varied and many. But, his great contribution was for the upliftment of women in India. He was more than anyone else responsible for the enactment of the Widow Remarriage Act. He organised a powerful movement for it. As a result of his efforts, a law was passed in 1856, making the remarriage of widows legal. Convinced of the necessity of women, Vidyasagar established a number of girls High Schools.

Raja Ram Mohan Roy gave the initiative for suppression of the evil system of child marriages and of marrying young girls to rich old men. In many cases, it meant denial of married life to those girls. Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar, Ram Narain Tarakarathna and others also were active leaders. The movement took time to gather force. In 1855, the Maharaja of Burdwan presented a petition to the legislative council urging for its intervention in suppressing the evil of polygamy. In 1857, the Governor of Bengal promised to introduce a bill, but this was not done because of the Revolt of 1857. In 1863, several petitions signed by about 20,000 people were presented to the Government for the enactment of a law to remove this evil. Though the Government did not pass a legislation, the public opinion grew so strong on account of the work of the social reformers that the evil died a natural

death.

I. CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1. Who was the initiator of the Young Bengal Movement?

2. What were the factors which helped Bentinck to abolish Sati by law in 1829?

10.5 MAHARASHTRA AND THE SOUTH

The impact of western ideas and urge for reform was not confined to Bengal alone. Movement for religious and social reforms sprang up in western India also. The leading lights in such movements in Bombay Presidency were, the rich merchants who were close to the British colonial administration, and also the young Maratha-educated middle classes who had the benefit of English Education.

The initiative to spread English education in Bombay Presidency came from official sources. Elphinstone took the initiative, and established educational institutions. The high caste Hindus and Parsis who took to English education, came under the influence of Western education. By 1840, there were two colleges, the Elphinstone Native Education Institution, and the Hindu College at Poona. There were three Government English High Schools at Poona, Thana, and Panvel, and nearly 115 Government District Schools in the Bombay Presidency. By 1855, sufficient progress was made in English education that, there were enough teachers to man the schools already started.

The object of the educational policy of the Bombay Government was stated to be, to obtain the cooperation of influential natives. The high caste Hindus who had the tradition of learning, became the main beneficiaries of western education introduced by the British. In Bombay city, the Parsis were the first to take to English education. The Chitpawan Brahmins in Maharashtra, Parsis in Bombay City, Gujarathi Hindus in Bombay and Ahmedabad, were the first natives to come under the influence of western education and realise its advantages. They contributed as the educated elites in spreading English education among the other sections. Prominent among such readers were, Bal Shastri Jambhekar who founded the first Anglo-Maratha weekly, Bombay Durpun which exhorted the British to grant Indians a share in the administration, and criticised British policies. Ramakrishna Viswanath published a book on the history of India in Marathi, in which he criticised the British administration. He said that everything would be well if the British established closer contacts with the Indians. Gopala Hari Deshmukh who wrote for the paper, Prabhakar analysed the reasons for India's loss of independence.

Along with the western education, movements for religious and social reform sprang up. The Paramahansa Mandali of Maharashtra founded in 1849 preached the worship of

one God, and took the lead in violating caste rules. Associations for propagating popular science and women's education, came up. Jyothiba Phule and Vishnu Sastry Pandit started a widow remarriage movement. These thinkers and reformers wanted the reorganisation of Indian society on the basis of western education and humanistic values.

As in Bengal and Bombay, Madras also was influenced by the advent of European thought through English education. According to the Minutes of Elphinstone, a High School in Madras was opened in 1841. The native people did not show great enthusiasm for western learning in the beginning. But by 1853, English education gained greater encouragement. The system of grants-in-aid to private institutions was introduced in August. But, the major credit for the spread of English education, goes to the missionaries and rich merchants.

The Church Missionary Society of Machilipatnam established schools at Machilipatnam, Elur and Vijayawada. The Pennsylvania Synod Society and the American Baptist Mission established schools in Guntur and Prakasam districts. In the early 19th century Enugula Veera Swamaiah (1780-1836) advocated social reform. A resident of Madras, he criticised untouchability, caste system, Sati and child marriages. He contributed to the spread of English Education also in the Madras Presidency.

II. CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1 Who was the reform leader of Bengal who carried on vigorous propaganda for widow remarriage?

2 Who were the early social reform leaders of Maharashtra?

10.6 LET US SUM UP

1. Till 1813 the British followed the policy of non-interference in social, religious and cultural matters in India.
2. English education changed the thinking and aspirations of the Indians.
3. Raja Ram Mohan Roy started the Brahma Samaj and carried on the social reform movement.
4. In Maharashtra and the South also the social reform movement started in the second half of the 19th century.

10.7 CHECK YOUR PROGRESS : ANSWERS

- I. 1. Henry Derozio

2. Public opinion created by Raja Ram Mohan Roy against Sati and the influence of western education on some Indians helped Bentinck to abolish Sati.

II. 1. Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar.

2. Jyotiba Phule and Vishnu Shastri.

10.8 EXAMINATION MODEL QUESTIONS

I. Answer the following questions in about 30 lines each:

1. Critically examine the social and cultural policies of the East India Company upto 1857.
2. Discuss the various currents of thought of the Bengal Renaissance.

II. Answer the following questions in about 15 lines each :

1. What do you know about the young Bengal Movement?
2. State the religious views of Raja Ram Mohan Roy.
3. Describe the efforts that were made in the 19th century to improve the condition of women.
4. Trace the activities of the Socio-Religious reform movements in Maharashtra and the South.

10.9 BOOKS FOR FURTHER READING

1. Antonova, K. & Others : *A History of India, Vol. III*
2. Bhatia, B.M. : *History and Social Developement*
3. Bipan Chandra : *Modern India*
4. Dayal, B : *The Development of Modern Indian Education*
5. Dutt, R.P. : *India Today*
6. Mukherjee, S.N. : *History of Education in India*
7. Spear, Percival : *History of India, Vol. II*
8. Zacharias, H.C.E. : *Renascent India*

UNIT - 11 : THE REVOLT OF 1857

Contents

- 11.0 Objectives
- 11.1 Introduction
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- 11.8 Check your progress : Answers
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11.0 OBJECTIVES

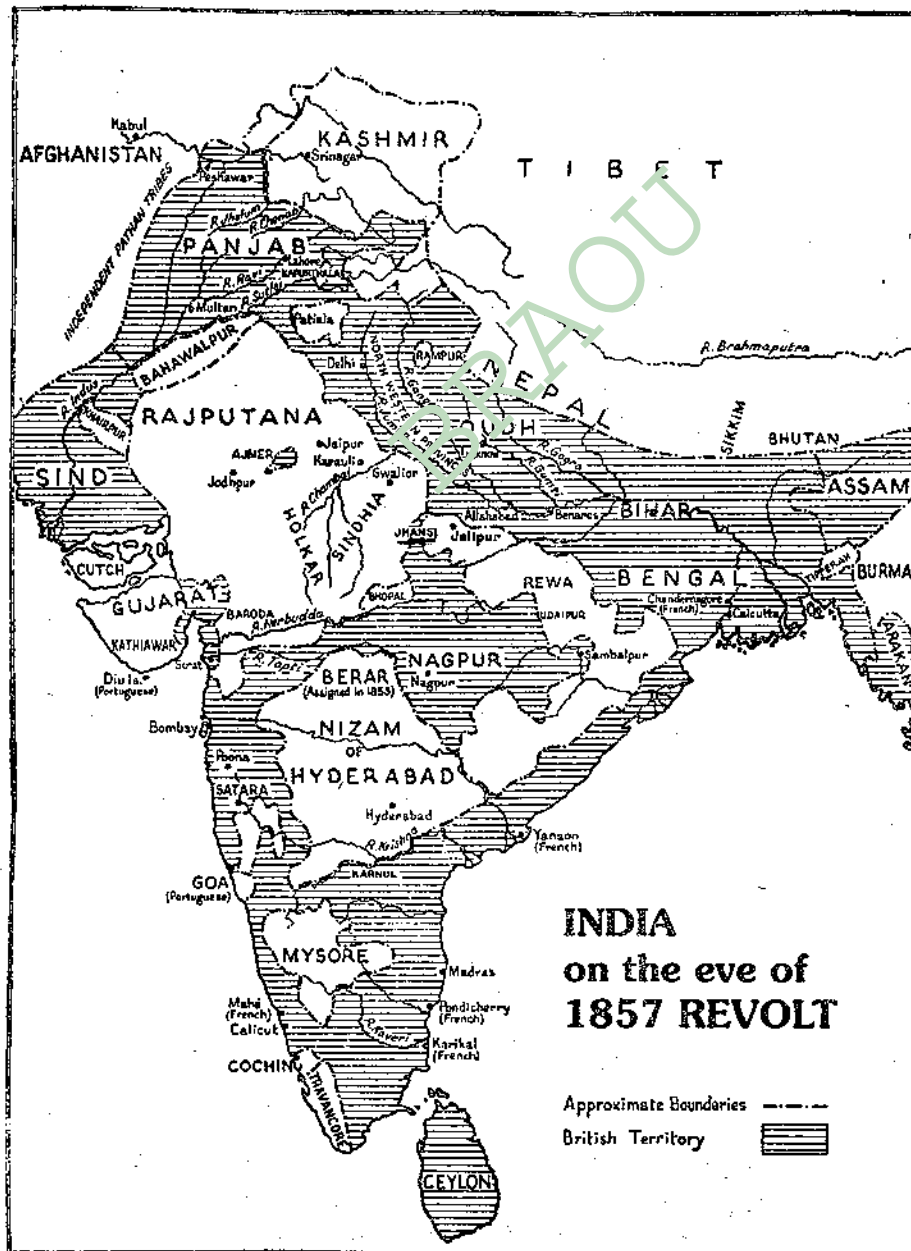
By studying this unit you are expected to know about the following:

1. causes of the 1857 Revolt
2. course of the Revolt
3. causes for the failure of the Revolt
4. nature of the Revolt

11.1 INTRODUCTION

The Great Revolt of 1857 was an important event in the history of modern India. Exactly a century after the Battle of Plassey, the British Company was shaken to its foundations on account of the Revolt. As a result of it, the Company administration came to an end, and Indian territories were transferred to a more responsible administrative set up under the British Crown. The record of the East India Company had been one of increasing conquests and commercial exploitation. During the five decades that preceded the rising of 1857, the

place of conquests and annexations had quickened. The normal life of the Indians was greatly disturbed. Therefore, it proved comparatively difficult to organize and administer the country. The resentment and hatred of Indians against the British was made evident on numerous occasions. As early as 1804, the pategars of Chittoor (Andhra) rose against the Company, and refused to pay the *Peishcush*. Two years later, there occurred the famous Vellore Mutiny in which a number of European military officials were killed. The Bareilly rising of 1816, the Kole insurrection of 1831-33, the 1848 revolt of the Rajas of Kangra and Jaswar, were few such risings against the Company. The Revolt of Narasimha Reddy of Koilkuntla in Andhra in 1846, was a heroic attempt on the part of local chief to openly exhibit his resentment against the British. The Santhal rebellion in 1855, was an example of how the dissatisfied tribal peasant hated the British rule. But, the most important and significant of such revolts has been the one which broke out in 1857.



11.2 CAUSES FOR THE REVOLT

The Revolt of 1857 was the result of several deep rooted causes which were accumulating for a number of years. The various causes for the Revolt may be grouped under Political, Social, Religious, Economic and Military categories.

11.2.1 Political causes

According to Ishwari Prasad, "*Dalhousie's sweep of the princely houses carrying in its wake a complete disruption of the social and economic systems, galvanised into being a political discontent, which found expression in this great rebellion*". In fact, Dalhousie's annexations created suspicion and uneasiness in the minds of almost all the ruling princes in India. The right of adoption was denied to the Hindu princes. The annexation of Satara, Jaipur, Sambalpur, Bhagalpur, Udaipur, Jhansi and Nagpur was resented by the Hindus. Royalties of the Nawab of Carnatic and the Raja of Tanjore were abolished. The pension of Peshwa Baji Rao's-II adopted son was stopped. Even the most faithful and loyal Indian rulers could not be sure of their existence in the future. The common belief was that annexations were not because of the Doctrine of Lapse, but due to the '*Lapse of all Morals*' on the part of the East India Company.

The feelings of the Indian Muslims were greatly hurt, when the house of the Mughals was humbled by the announcement that after the death of Bahadur Shah-II, the Mughals would lose the title of Emperors, and his successors would have to leave the Red Fort. The annexation of Oudh by Lord Dalhousie threw thousands of nobles, gentlemen officers and soldiers out of the job. The British provided no alternative employment to them. The British confiscated the estates of the *Zamindars* and the *Talukdars*. It created dissatisfaction among all the classes of the people of Oudh. The armies of the annexed states were disbanded. Thousands of families lost their means of income. They spread hatred against the English.

11.2.2 Social and Religious causes.

It is said that physical and political injustice could be borne, but social inequality and religious persecution touches the very conscience of the people. The British Company administration interfered with the social and religious, life of the people. The practice of Sati was abolished. Child marriages, infanticide, and polygamy were forbidden, widow remarriage was legalised. The Christian missionaries began to convert the Hindus and the Muslims to Christianity. They made violent attacks on Islam and Hinduism.

The Chairman of the Directors of the East India Company, Mangles declared in the House of Commons: "*Providence has entrusted the extension of the empire of Hindustan to England in order that the banner of Christ should wave triumphant from one end of India to the other*". The missionaries were given ample facilities. Rumours were current in India that Lord Canning had been specially selected and charged with the duty of converting the Indians to Christianity. The Religious Disabilities Act of 1856 said that a change of religion did not debar a son from inheriting the property of his father.

The introduction of telegraphs, steam-ships and railways also, began to be looked upon as indirect instruments for changing their faith, and thus created fear and suspicion

among the people. The spread of western culture and education gave a blow to the honour and influence of the *Pandits* and *Maulvis*. They began to rise a cry "*Our religion and customs are in great danger*". The people also joined them. There was unrest and feeling of discontent among the masses, because they believed that the Government was interfering in their social order, destroying their religious customs and beliefs, and converting them to Christianity.

11.2.3 Economic causes

The most important cause of the popular discontent was the policy of economic exploitation followed by the English. The British exploited the economic resources of India and enriched themselves at the cost of the Indians. They carried away India's wealth to their country. Indian industries began to decline. The Indian silk and cotton goods could not compete in the foreign markets, as heavy duties were imposed on them. The growing poverty of the masses and famines, caused widespread discontent. The destitutes became desperate, and joined the Revolt in the hope of improving their lot. The annexation of Indian native states produced startling economic and social effects. The Indian aristocracy was deprived of power and position. Thousands of *jagirs* were confiscated in the Deccan. When the army of the Nawab was disbanded, the native soldiers lost their means of livelihood and Oudh became a hot bed of discontent. Only the English were appointed to the high posts. The British wanted to reduce the Indians to the position of "*hewers of wood and drawers of water*". In short, the economic policy of the British impoverished not only the peasants, artisans, handicraftsmen, but the *zamindars* and other landlords also. All of them turned against the British rule, and sincerely attempted to end it.

11.2.4 Military causes

From the days of Lord Auckland, the discipline in the army had suffered a serious setback. Lord Dalhousie had made this fact clear to the home authorities that "*the discipline of the army from top to bottom, officers and men alike, is scandalous*". The Indian army consisted of both Europeans and Indians. The Europeans were known as soldiers, while the Indians were called as Sepoys. There was a feeling of discontent and unrest among the Indian Sepoys. The disparity in numbers between European and Indian troops was always growing greater. In 1856, Indian army consisted of more than two lakh natives whereas, the strength of the British soldiers was less than 45 thousand. There were no fellow feelings between the Indian and English soldiers. Indian soldiers were considered inferior to the English soldiers. They had helped the English to establish their empire in India, but were treated with contempt by the British officers. The Sepoys were not given proper remuneration. Their salaries were low, the prospects of promotion very meagre, and the service conditions were very hard. No Indian could rise higher than a Subedar. This encouraged the Indian soldiers to take arms against the English.

11.2.5 Immediate cause

The immediate cause for the Revolt of 1857 was the greased cartridges. In 1856, Canning introduced the new Enfield Rifle. The loading process of the new rifle involved bringing the cartridge to the mouth, and biting off the top with mouth. In January 1857, a rumour was set afloat in the Bengal regiments that the greased cartridges contained the fat

of pigs and cows. This affected the religious sentiments of both Hindus and Muslims. The refusal of the Sepoys to use the greased cartridges was regarded by the authorities as an act of insubordination. On 29th March, 1857, the Sepoys at Barrackpore refused to use the greased cartridges. A Sepoy, Mangal Pandey, attacked and killed a European officer. At Meerut, about 85 sepoy who refused to use the greased cartridge, were court-martialled and sentenced to long terms of imprisonment. On 10th May, the Sepoys broke out in open rebellion, shot their officers released their fellow Sepoys and marched towards Delhi.

I. CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1. Which policy of Dalhousie was mainly responsible for the 1857 Revolt?

2. How did the economic policies of the British contribute to the 1857 Revolt?

11.3 COURSE OF THE REVOLT

The Meerut rebels were joined by the Sepoys at Delhi. They killed several European officers and captured the city. Bahadur Shah-II was proclaimed as the Emperor of India. The loss of Delhi was a serious loss of prestige to the English. Soon, the rebellion spread to Northern and Central India. Lucknow, Allahabad, Kanpur, Bareilly, Benares, Cawnpore, Agra, Jhansi, and Bundelkhand, became scenes of battles. The Sikhs in Punjab kept quiet. Hyderabad also remained quiet. India, South of the Vindhyas, remained practically undisturbed.

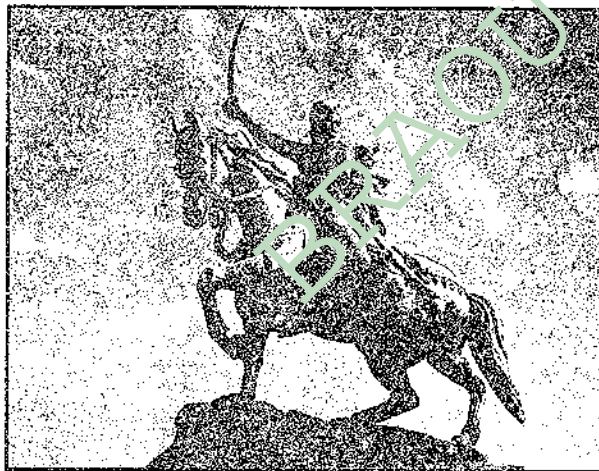


Scene depicting the battle between the British infantry and the rebel forces outside Kanpur

The recapture of Delhi would be of great psychological importance for the British, and therefore, all efforts were directed towards that end. Troops from the Punjab were rushed, and took their position on the north of Delhi. In September 1857, Delhi was recaptured by Sir Johan Nicholson. The Emperor was captured and sentenced to life imprisonment. He was deported to Rangoon where he died in 1862. His two sons were shot dead before his eyes. The Mughal Empire thus came to an end. Thousands of people and Sepoys were put to death mercilessly, under the supervision of General Neil.

The Rebellion broke out in Lucknow on 4th June. The Residency was edged by the Indian rebels, and the Resident, Sir Henry Lawrence was killed. General Havelock came to rescue them, but failed to do so and lost a large number of soldiers. General Neil who had organised large-scale killings in Delhi, was himself slain. In November, Colin Campbell reached Lucknow with fresh reinforcements. He defeated the rebels and recaptured Lucknow. But, the guerilla activity continued till September 1858.

Kanpur was captured by the Sepoys in June, 1857. Nana Saheb was proclaimed as the Peshwa. The British garrison under Hugh Wheeler surrendered. Nana was joined by Tantia Tope. The recapture of Kanpur was closely associated with operations at Lucknow. Campbell occupied Kanpur on 6th December, 1857. Tantia Tope escaped, and joined the Rani of Jhansi.



Jhansi Lakshmi Bai

In June 1857, the troops at Jhansi mutinied. Rani Lakshmi Bai, the widow of Raja Gangadhar Rao, was proclaimed the ruler of the State. Sir Hugh Rose recaptured Jhansi on 3rd April 1858. But, the Rani and Tantia Tope marched towards Gwalior, where they were hailed by the Indian Soldiers. But the Scindhia remained loyal to the British, and took shelter at Agra. Gwalior was recaptured by the English in June, 1858. The Rani died fighting on the battle-field. Tantia ran away but was captured, tried and hanged. With their deaths, the great Rebellion of 1857 came to an end.

There was large-scale killing during and after the rebellion. For every European killed, several hundreds of Indians were killed. Young boys who merely waved rebel flags at the passing Europeans, were executed. Six thousand people were killed in Allahabad alone. Muslims were sewn up in pig skins and thrown into rivers. The meat of the cow was forced down the throats of the Hindus. The object of these killings was to strike terror into the minds of the Indians.

11.4 CAUSES FOR THE FAILURE OF THE REVOLT

The rebels failed to achieve their aim, and the rebellion ended in failure. There are a number of causes for such a failure. In the first place, the rebellion was localised, restricted, and poorly organised. It did not spread over the entire country. The Bombay and Madras armies remained loyal. Sindh, Rajasthan, Kashmir, East Bengal and most of Punjab did not take part. The resources of the British empire were superior to those of the rebels. The Crimean and the Chinese Wars were concluded by 1856, and the British troops poured into India during the Rebellion. The Indian Sepoys had very few guns, and therefore, fought with swords and spears. On the other hand, the European soldiers were equipped with the latest weapons of war. The telegraphic system, postal system and other means of communication, were controlled by the British. These factors contributed to the success of the British.

The 1857 rebellion was mostly feudal in character. While some rulers in Oudh, Rohilkhand and other parts in North India led the rebellion, other chiefs like the Rajas of Patiala, Jhind, Gwalior, Hyderabad etc., helped the British in its suppression. All the loyal chiefs and *zamindars* were richly rewarded by the British.

The revolt was also improperly organised. The leaders of the rebellion were not lacking in bravery, but were deficient in experience in organising concerted operations. There was no common plan of action. The uprisings in different parts were not well coordinated.

The rebels had no common ideal before them except the anti-foreign sentiments. The leaders of the revolt were not good general. No doubt Nana Saheb, Tantia Tope and Rani of Jhansi were brave and patriotic, but they lacked the qualities of generalship and military training, which the British had in abundance. The East India Company had generals like Lawrence brothers, Nicholson, Outram, Havelock, Edwards etc. who had fought tough battles and were thus able to control the situation.

11.5 NATURE OF THE REVOLT

Historians have held divergent views about the nature of the Revolt of 1857. While some called it as a mere 'mutiny' confined to the army, others described it as a religious war against the Christians, or a racial struggle for supremacy between the blacks and the whites, still others described it as a struggle between the Eastern and the Western civilizations.

Ashok Mehta in his book on the Rebellion of 1857, states that it was national in character. Vir Savarkar described it as the first planned War of National Independence. Historians like R.C. Majumdar, and S.N. Sen pointed out that the rebellion of 1857 was not the result of careful planning, nor were there any master minds behind it. During the trial of Bahadur Shah, efforts were made to prove that he was a party to preplanned conspiracy. The evidence collected did not convince even the British officers. In fact, the course of the trial made it clear that the uprising was much a surprise to Bahadur Shah as to the British.

The rebellion of 1857 cannot be considered a totally nationalist struggle. The leaders like Bahadur Shah-II, Nana Saheb, and even Jhansi Lakshmi Bai were fighting for their personal cause. The movement failed to enlist support except in few places. The most

important elements who fought against the British were the Sepoys. The Sepoys had their own grievances similar to those which had led them to local mutinies on many previous occasions. While thus, the British historians called it purely a mutiny, the Indians regarded it as the First War of Independence. Though it began as a mutiny of the Sepoy's but soon, it had engulfed the people of various regions and took the shape of national movement for freedom.

11.6 EFFECTS OF THE REVOLT

Though the revolt of 1857 was suppressed, it had shaken the edifice of the British rule to its very foundations. Lord Cromer said: "*I wish the young generation of the English would read, mark, learn and inwardly digest the history of the Indian Mutiny; it abounds in lessons and warnings*". After the revolt the English deliberately followed the policy of divide and rule. Their strict control over key positions both in civil and military administration was maintained.

The Indian administration was transferred from the East India Company to the Crown by the Queen's Proclamation of 1st November, 1858. In England, the Act of 1858 provided for the appointment of a Secretary of the State for India, who was to be assisted by an advisory council of fifteen members. Thus, the former directors of the Company were inducted into the Indian Council. In India, the Governor-General continued to function with the additional title of 'Viceroy'. The Act made the Crown directly responsible for the management of Indian affairs.

The Queen's proclamation declared against the extension of territorial possessions and promised to respect the right, dignity and honour of native princes at their own. General pardon was granted to all offenders except those who were guilty of directly taking part in the murder of British subjects. The Indian native states which served the British loyally, were richly rewarded. The *Talukdars* of Oudh who had joined the British in large number during the rebellion, were reinstated. These *Talukdars* took pride in calling themselves the "Barons of Oudh" and became the supporters of the British in India.

The Proclamation assured that racial discrimination for recruitment to offices will be removed. It was announced that education, ability and integrity only will be considered. Therefore, the Indian Civil Service Act was passed in 1861, which provided for an annual competitive examination to be held in London for recruitment to the Government Civil Service.

The rebellion of 1857 made the British to pay more attention to the military set up. It was thoroughly reorganised. The strength of the European troops in India was increased, and the number of Indian troops reduced. The general formula followed was that, in Bengal the proportion between the European and Indian troops was to be 1:2, while for Bombay and Madras it was 1:3. All the high offices in army were reserved for the Europeans.

It was felt that one of the basic causes for the Rebellion of 1857 was the lack of contact between the British administrators and the Indian public. The Indian Councils Act, 1861 provided for larger representation of natives in order to avoid misunderstanding.

The after effects of the revolt on communal front were the most unfortunate. Racial bitterness was the worst legacy of the struggle. The British felt that Indians were sub-human creatures, half-gorilla and half-negro, and could be kept in check by superior force only. The agents of British imperialism in India dubbed the entire Indian people as unworthy of trust, and subjected them to all kinds of insults. The Government was modelled on the basis of "master race". As a result, the gulf between the rulers and the ruled widened. The Rebellion of 1857 was a great struggle of the Indian people against British imperialism. It roused national feelings among the people, and paved the way for the rise of the National Movement.

II. CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1. Which were the areas in which the 1857 revolt did not take place?

2. What was the most important effect of the 1857 revolt?

11.7 LET US SUM UP

1. A number of political, social, religious, economic and military causes were responsible for the 1857 revolt.
2. The important centres of the revolt were Meerut, Delhi, Lucknow, Allahabad, Kanpur, Bareilly, Benaras, Agra and Jhansi. There was large scale killing of people on both sides.
3. The Revolt failed due to various circumstances. Its failure was inevitable due to the superiority of the British in all respects.
4. The revolt started as a military revolt but ended as a national movement for freedom.
5. After the revolt India came under the direct administration of the British government and the rule of the East India Company ended.

11.8 CHECK YOUR PROGRESS : ANSWERS

- I. 1. The Doctrine of Lapse policy of Dalhousie was mainly responsible for the 1857 revolt.

2. The economic policies of the British impoverished the Indian peasants, increased unemployment and caused economic hardships to all in the country. The discontentment thus caused by the economic policies contributed to the 1857 revolt.
- II. 1 The 1857 revolt did not take place in Bombay, Punjab, Sindh, Rajasthan, Kashmir and the South.
2. The most important effect of the 1857 revolt was the direct rule of the British government over India.

11.9 EXAMINATION MODEL QUESTIONS

I. Answer the following questions in about 30 lines each:

1. Describe the causes that led to the revolt of 1857.
2. Critically examine the immediate and the long-term effects of the 1857 Revolt.

II. Answer the following questions in about 15 lines each:

1. Trace the main events of the Revolt of 1857.
2. Why did the 1857 Revolt fail?

11.10 BOOKS FOR FURTHER READING

- | | | |
|-------------------------|---|--|
| 1. Holmes, T.R.E. | : | <i>History of the Indian Mutiny</i> |
| 2. Khan, Sir Syed Ahmed | : | <i>The Causes of the Indian Revolt</i> |
| 3. Majumdar, R.C. | : | <i>The Mutiny and Revolt of 1857</i> |
| 4. Mehta, Ashok | : | <i>Eighteen Fifty Seven</i> |
| 5. Sen, S.N. | : | <i>Eighteen Fifty Seven</i> |
| 6. Spear, Percival | : | <i>History of India, Vol.II</i> |
| 7. Thompson, E. | : | <i>The other side of the Medal</i> |
| 8. Thompson & Garret | : | <i>Rise and fulfilment of British Rule in India.</i> |

UNIT - 12 : EDUCATION, GROWTH OF THE PRESS AND NEW LITERARY TRENDS

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12.0 OBJECTIVES

From a study of this unit you are expected to know about :

1. the circumstances leading to the introduction of English education in India.
2. the role of Christian missionaries in the spread of education.
3. the Wood's Despatch.
4. the impact of English education of India.
5. the growth of the Indian press and,
6. the new literary trends in the country.

12.1 INTRODUCTION

The history of the development of Indian education under the Company's administration can be divided into two distinct periods. The first period from 1772 to 1818 was a period of beginning; and the second period from 1818 to 1857 was a period when decisions of great importance were arrived at. In the first phase, England was engaged in the War of American Independence and in the mighty conflict with Revolutionary and Napoleonic France. Reforms

in education therefore were not thought of. During the second phase, England enjoyed peace, as the Napoleonic wars were over. Also during this period, there were administrators who had clear views on the expansion of education in India, viz., Elphinstone, Munro and Bentinck.

When the British East India Company acquired territories in various parts of India, it found that Hindus and Muslims had their educational institutions which were closely linked with their respective religions. Sanskrit was taught by *Pandits* in the *Pathasalas* to the Hindus, and the *Maulvis* taught the Muslims in the *Madarsas*. The Company in the beginning, did not think of disturbing the existing system. But, the numerous political developments in the country had created conditions which were not conducive for educational progress. The loss of political power deprived the native schools of learning and their public endowment. In a letter addressed to the Court of Directors dated 21st February, 1784, Warren Hastings referred to the decayed condition of schools in every capital town and city of India.

12.2 EARLY BRITISH ATTEMPTS FOR SPREAD OF EDUCATION

The British East India Company became a ruling power in Bengal in 1765. Though the Company's Court of Directors refused to take the responsibility for the education of the people of India, the officers of the Company working in India urged the Directors to do something for the promotion of learning. There were some half-hearted efforts of the Company to foster oriental learning. Warren Hastings established the Calcutta *Madarasa* in 1781 for the study of Persian and Arabic. The aim of this school as he pointed out, was "*to qualify the sons of Mohammedan gentlemen for responsible and lucrative officers in the State*". A few years later, John Owen, Chaplain to the Bengal Presidency, requested the Government to establish schools for the purpose of teaching English to the natives. But, no one took it seriously. However, in 1791 the efforts of Jonathan Duncan, the British Resident at Benares bore fruit, and a Sanskrit College was set up on Benares for the preservation and cultivation of laws, literature and religion of the Hindus... and specially to supply qualified Hindu assistants to European Judges.

In 1792, when the Government of England was debating over the renewal of the Charter of the East India Company, Wilberforce, a member of the British Parliament suggested the sending of teachers and missionaries in large numbers to India. But, his suggestion was ignored at that time, because the Parliament felt that it would be improper to give the people of India any learning other than what they possessed.

Charles Grant, one of the Directors of the East India Company suggested that the Company should improve the educational facilities by providing knowledge of English language, which he said, would serve as a "key to the world of new ideas". His conclusion was that as the Muslim rulers had taught Persian to the Indians, in the same way the Englishmen should teach English to the people of India. He wanted that schools teaching English were made available, and gradually the Indians were trained as teachers of English. Adding to such suggestions to the Company, the Christian missionaries decried the attempts to revive an out-of-date system of native education, and advocated the teaching of western literature and Christian religion through the medium of English. The Scrampole missionaries in particular, were very enthusiastic for the spread of education. Mention may be made of

Fort William College set up by Lord Wellesley in 1800 for the training of the civil servants of the Company in the languages and customs of India. The College published an English-Hindustani Dictionary, a Hindustani grammar and several other books. But, the Board of Directors ordered the closure of the College in 1802.

The Company administration made a small beginning towards the development of education in India in 1813, when the Charter Act passed in that year provided an annual expenditure of one lakh of rupees *"for the revival and promotion of literature, and the encouragement of the learned natives of India, and for the introduction and promotion of a knowledge of the sciences among the inhabitants of the British territories in India"*. The administrative needs of the Company needed Indian well-versed in the classical and vernacular languages. In the judicial department, Indians conversant with Sanskrit, Arabic or Persian were required to sit as examiners with English judges, and expound Hindu or Muslim laws from Sanskrit or Persian books. The knowledge of Persian and vernaculars was much needed in the Political Department for correspondence with the rulers of Indian States. The clerical staff in the Revenue and Commercial Departments had contacts with the uneducated masses, and for them knowledge of vernacular was a compulsory necessity. But, for higher positions in the service of the Company, English as well as vernacular language was needed.

12.3 CHRISTIAN MISSIONARIES

The Christian missionaries have concentrated on the spread of education from the beginning. In 1717, the Danish missionaries opened two charity schools in Madras. They also opened such schools in several other places. Missionaries like Carey, Marshman and Ward, started their work at Serampore in 1793. By 1820, the missionary societies were doing a lot of work in this field, but their primary object was not to educate the people, but to preach Christianity. The missionaries realised that the spread of English would help the spread of Christianity. In Bombay, the Wilson College and in Madras, the Christian College, were started. In 1853, the St. John College came into being in Agra. Mission Colleges were also founded later in Masulipatnam and Nagapur. The Bible classes were made compulsory in these institutions. The aim of the missionaries was to *"combine the useful secular education, with that of a decidedly religious education"*.

12.4 CAUSES FOR THE POPULARITY OF ENGLISH LEARNING

The most important factors that gave a fillip to English language and Western learning were the economic factors. Indians in large numbers wanted to take to the new learning, for it provided jobs in the Company administration. There were also progressive leaders in India who advocated the spread of English education. Raja Ram Mohan Roy, for example did not like Government's proposal to strengthen the Calcutta *Madarasa* or the Sanskrit College at Calcutta, or establishing more oriental colleges in Bengal. He formed an association for funding an institution where the Hindus were to receive instruction in European languages and sciences. The Hindu College was founded in 1817. In the next year, the Bishop of Calcutta opened an institution which was to serve the double purpose of training young Christians as preachers, and for providing knowledge of English to Hindus and Muslims.

While advocating the spread of English education, Ram Mohan Roy made it clear that *"Youths will not be fitted to be better members of society by the Vedantic doctrines"*

which teach them to believe that all visible things have no real existence." Advocating the importance of modern scientific learning, He wrote: *"The Sanskrit system of education would be best calculated to keep the country in darkness, if such had been the policy of the British Government. But, as the improvement of the native population is the object of the Government. It will consequently promote a more liberal and enlightened system of instruction, embracing Mathematics, Natural Philosophy, Chemistry, Anatomy with other useful sciences"*.

The Court of Directors also were now convinced of the uses of imparting English languages and western-education among the Indians. The Directors were happy at the prospect of having qualified Indians to help them in the administration. Elphinstone, the Governor of Bombay urged for the establishment of schools for teaching English and European sciences. In a communication to the commissioners for Indian affairs, Elphinstone wrote thus: *"I conceive it is more important to impart a high degree of education to the upper classes than to diffuse a much lower sort of it among the common people. The most important branch of education is that designed to prepare natives for public employment."* He established a school at Bombay where English was taught "classically", and where instruction was also given in that language on history, geography and science. In 1833, he set up a similar school at Poona. In 1834, Wood started the Elphinstone College at Bombay. This was primarily meant to bring out people who could qualify for high employment in civil administration.

12.5 BATTLE BETWEEN ORIENTALISTS AND ANGLICISTS

The demand for the study of English had increased tremendously and English books were sold in large numbers. In order to satisfy the popular demand, English classes were held in the Calcutta *Madarasas* and in the Sanskrit College. Such classes also were held in Agra College, started in 1811. A controversy began as to whether instruction should be given through English, or through Arabic and Persian. To settle the controversy the Government appointed a Committee. Within the Committee there were two groups, the Orientalists led by H.T. Prinsep, who advocated the policy of giving encouragement to oriental literature; and the Anglicists (Anglicans) or the English party which favoured the adoption of English as a medium of instruction. The equal division of parties in the Committee made it extremely difficult for it to function effectively. Often the meetings came to deadlock. As a member of the Committee, Lord Macaulay wrote a Minute on educational policy dated 2nd February, 1835 and placed it before the Council. Macaulay favoured the view point of the Anglicist party. He showed great contempt for Indian customs and literature. He remarked that *"a single shelf of a good European library was worth the whole native literature of India and Arabia."* Regarding the uses of English, he wrote: *"whoever knows that language has ready access to all the vast intellectual wealth which all the wisest nations of the earth have created and handled in the course of ninety generations... In India, English is the language spoken by the ruling class. It is likely to become the language of commerce throughout the seas of the East."* He wanted to have "brown Englishmen" to fill the lower cadres of Company's administration.

12.6 INTRODUCTION OF ENGLISH

Lord William Bentinck, the Governor-General approved the Minute of Lord Macaulay, and a resolution was passed on 7th March 1825, accepting it. By this, it had become the object of the Company Government to promote European literature and sciences through the medium of English language. It was also decided to spend funds for that purpose. The 'Macaulayan System' was a systematic attempt on the part of the British Government, to educate the upper classes of India through the medium of English language. Educating the masses of India was not the aim of Macaulay. He made this clear when he said "*It is impossible for us with our limited means to attempt to educate the body of the people.*" He believed that the English-educated people would act as a class of interpreters, and in turn enrich vernacular languages and literature and that, the knowledge of western sciences and literature would reach the masses.

When it was declared that all the funds were to be made use of for the spread of English education, there was a petition from the Muslims of Calcutta. They said that the evident object of the Government was the conversion of the natives. Therefore, in order to remove the misgivings of the Muslims, the Governor-General, Lord William Bentinck declared a policy of strict neutrality. He made it clear that: "*In all schools and colleges, interference and injudicious tampering with the religious belief of the students, mingling direct or indirect teaching of Christianity with the systems of instruction, ought to be positively forbidden.*"

In 1864, the Government declared that for any public employment, preference would be given to those who had been educated in western science, and were familiar with the English language.

12.7 WOOD'S DESPATCH ON EDUCATION 1854

Sir Charles Wood, the President of the Board of Control was a firm believer in the superiority of English race and institutions, and believed that these institutions could serve as models for the rest. Wood prepared in 1854, a comprehensive Despatch to the Court of Directors on the scheme of future education in India. This despatch has been called as the "*Magna Carta of English education in India*". It set forth a scheme of education for wider and more comprehensive than anyone which had been suggested earlier.

Charles Wood's Despatch declared that the aim of education was the diffusion of the improved arts, science, philosophy and literature of Europe. As to the medium of instruction, it declared that for higher education, English language was the most perfect medium, while vernacular languages was to be the medium of instruction at the primary school level. It recommended a system of Grants-in-Aid to encourage private enterprise. A Department of Public Instruction under the charge of a Director in each of the provinces, was to review the progress of education, and submit an annual report to the Government. Wood's Despatch also provided for the establishment of three Universities at Calcutta, Bombay, and Madras on the model of the London University. The Universities were to hold examinations and confer degrees, and they were not teaching bodies. The Despatch emphasised the importance of vocational instruction, and the need to establish technical schools and colleges, Teacher Training Institutions on the model prevailing then in England, were recommended. Women education was given great importance in Wood's Despatch.

Almost all the proposals in Wood's Despatch were implemented. The Department of Public Instruction was organised in 1855, and it replaced the earlier Committee of Public Instruction. The three Universities of Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay came into existence in 1857. Due to the untiring efforts of Bethune, girls schools were started on modern footing, and were brought under the Government's grant-in-aid and inspection system. The ideals and methods advocated in Wood's Despatch dominated the field for about fifty years. During this time, there was rapid westernisation of educational system in India. The indigenous system gradually gave place to the western system of education. Most of the educational institutions during this period were run by European headmasters and principals. The missionary activities played their own part in managing educational institutions. Till the Hunter Educational Commission was appointed in 1882, Wood's Despatch was followed in the field of educational policies.

12.8 IMPACT OF ENGLISH EDUCATION

The spread of modern western education and thought, helped the Indians to imbibe a modern, rational, secular and democratic outlook. English learning created a uniformity of thought and roused political awakening in India. Many Indians and western scholars tried to rediscover India's past through the study of ancient Indian history, Indian scriptures, coins, monuments etc. The study revealed to the Indians the glory of their past and richness of their culture and civilisation. Western education led to the revival of India's cultural past in literature, religion, philosophy, art and archaeology. The Western scholars rediscovered the greatness of the Mauryas, the imperial Guptas, the Pallavas, the Chalukyas etc. The rediscovery of India's past helped the Indians to gain confidence and take pride in their country, its history and culture. Western learning encouraged the vernacular languages and many books were written in the regional languages. As a result, the masses began to have common views, feelings, ideas and aspirations.

I. CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1. Why was the Fort William college established?

2. Why did Raja Ram Mohan Roy support the introduction of English education in India?

12.9 GROWTH OF THE PRESS

The press also played an important part in disseminating western thought and learning in India. The newspapers also were responsible in spreading the message of patriotism and creating political awakening. The history of the Indian press begins with the coming of Europeans. The Portuguese were the first who brought a printing press to India, and the first book was published in Goa in 1557. In 1684, the British East India Company set up a printing press in Bombay. Newspapers were not published in the Company's territories for about a century, for the fear that news of the malpractices and abuses of 'private trading' would reach the authorities in England. It was in the second half of the eighteenth century that the Anglo-Indians and Europeans started their journals. The object of these journals was amusement and information.

In 1780, the first newspaper in India, The Bengal Gazette was started as a weekly, by James Augustus Hickey. The journal criticised Warren Hastings, the Governor-General, and therefore, it was stopped in 1782. There were a number of news papers which came up after The Bengal Gazette. They were: The Calcutta Gazette (1784). The Bengal Journal (1785), Oriental Magazine of Calcutta (1785), The Calcutta Chronicle (1786), The Madras Courier (1788), The Bombay Herald (1785), etc., The circulation of these early newspapers was very limited, as the journals were aimed to cater to the intellectual entertainment of the Europeans and Anglo-Indians. In the absence of Press Laws, the newspapers were at the mercy of the Company Officials.

It was Lord Wellesley who imposed censorship of newspapers for the first time in 1799. It was the time he was engaged in bitter struggle against the French on one hand, and with Indian native states like Tippu on the other. He never wanted the publication of any matter that would affect his influence. Wellesley wanted the newspapers to clearly print in every issue the name of the printer, editor and the proprietor. The publisher should also submit all the material for precensorship by the Government. Those who violated these rules were generally punished with deportation to England. In 1807, the censorship Act was extended to cover journals, pamphlets and even books.

Lord Hastings (1813-1823) emphasised the importance of the freedom of press, and tried to put his liberal ideas into practice. He removed the pre-censorship of the press. But, some regulations were issued according to which the editors were required to desist from publishing offensive remarks against highly placed officials. On account of the abolition of censorship, new journals came into existence. In 1818, J.S. Buckingham started The Calcutta Journal. He was a very bold and fearless man. He did not spare even the Chief Justice, the Governor of Madras or the Lord Bishop of Calcutta. Like Hicky, Buckingham was also deported from the country.

The Government deputed Sir Thomas Munro to examine and report on the problems of the press in India. He pointed out that in the case of European press in India, it did not provide any serious threat. But in case of Indian press, Munro expressed the view that a free press may corrupt and disaffect the Indian army, and work for the overthrow of the British power. According to him, "*A free press and domination of strangers are things which are quite incompatible and cannot long exist together*".

Based on the recommendations of Thomas Munro, the Government issued Press Regulations in 1823. According to these new regulations, no press was to be established, nor any paper or book was to be printed, without obtaining a licence from the Government. All the papers and books printed under the system of licences were to be submitted to the Government for inspection. Magistrates were authorised to attach unlicensed presses. Though leaders like Raja Ram Mohan Roy and Dwaraka Nath Tagore protested against such regulations, they came into force on 15th April, 1823.

Lord William Bentinck adopted a liberal attitude towards the press. Though the Press Regulations were not removed, he gave considerable latitude of discussion to the press. It was Charles Metcalf who repealed the obnoxious ordinance of 1823. He earned the title "Liberator of the Indian Press". Lord Macaulay also supported the cause of free press in India. The liberal press policy of the Government resulted in the rapid growth of newspapers in India.

The Rebellion of 1857 led the Government to reimpose the restrictions on press. Accordingly, Act XV of 1857 introduced licensing restrictions in addition to the existing registration procedure. The Act also prohibited using or keeping printing presses without licence. The Government was also empowered to prohibit the publication or circulation of any newspaper. This Act was a precautionary measure and its duration was limited to one year. They were however withdrawn after the mutiny. The restrictions introduced by Metcalf however continued in force.

12.10 NEW LITERARY TRENDS

The impact of the Western literary ideas and techniques was clearly visible on the development of Indian languages and literatures in the 19th century. Contact with European spirit through English literature, brought in a real Indian renaissance in the field of literature. The beginning, however was made in Bengal. The history of Bengali prose literature is to be traced to the foundation of the Fort William College in Calcutta. Among the early contributors in this line were Raja Ram Mohan Roy and Ishwara Chandra Vidyasagar. Bankim Chandra Chatterji, the composer of *Bande Mataram*, was the first Bengali novelist. Among the great poets of the century were Michael Madhusudan Datt, Hem Chandra Benerji and Nabin Chandra Sen; and Rabindranath Tagore was a bright literary star. In prose, poetry, novel, short-story and drama, Bengali literature had a phenomenal growth during the century.

Like Bengali, Hindi prose owes its origin partly to the efforts of the Christian missionaries to translate religious texts and of the authorities of Fort William College in Calcutta to prepare suitable textbooks for the use of their students. One of the greatest makers of modern Hindi was Bharatendu Harish Chandra of Benaras. The Arya Samaj promoted the growth of Hindi by adopting it as its medium of preaching and propaganda.

The progress of Marathi literature was stimulated by the development of higher education following the foundation of the University of Bombay. The great novelist, Hari Narayan Apte was also a social reformer. In Gujarat, the progress of English education and the efforts of the Christian missionaries, gave great impetus to the native literature. An outstanding literary figure, Narmada Shankar fought against social orthodoxy. In Tamil Nadu, literature quickened into new life under the influence of English education and

missionary activities. New trends in Telugu literature were taken up by Kandukuri Veeresalingam, who was influenced by English literature. He was the forerunner of a number of new literary forms and trends in Telugu literature. The new trends in literature, in their turn, made numerous social reform movements possible, in the later part of the 19th century, as the reform ideas were easily conveyed to the people through vernaculars.

The efforts of the English East India Company and the Christian missionaries to promote education in Western lines and the resultant increase of educated elite in India made it possible for the growth of print media. Both, the spread of education and the press, disseminated Western thought and Western cultural values among the Indian educated classes. The indirect impact of this was awakening of patriotism and a critical attitude towards Indian culture. Another important impact of this knowledge explosion was the borrowing of literary ideas and techniques into the Indian languages and literatures in the 19th century. No doubt, India is well known for its ancient literary output in Sanskrit, Prakrit and other vernacular languages. But the immediate impact was the introduction of new literary trends such as novel, short story, drama and essay (Prose). Till then most of the literary output in India was in classical poetry.

The impact of western ideas can be witnessed first in Bengal. The founding of the Fort William College in Calcutta promoted the growth of Bengali prose literature. Raja Ram Mohan Roy and Iswara Chandra Vidyasagar belong to the category of early contributors of Bengali prose literature. Bankim Chandra Chattajee, the author of 'Bande Mataram', was the well known Bengali novelist. Among the Bengali poets of this age, Michael Madhusudan Datt, Hema Chandra Benerjee, Nabin Chandra Sen and in particular Rabindranath Tagore (of later period) were the notable ones. Bengal witnessed a phenomenal growth in the literary output in the form of prose, poetry, novel, short story and drama.

The other vernacular languages like Hindi, Tamil, Marathi, Telugu and Gujarati also progressed well during this period. Bharatendu Harish Chandra of Benaras was one of the greatest makers of modern Hindi. Hindi language could become very popular in northern India as Aryasamaj adopted it as its medium to spread its ideology.

The establishment of Bombay University stimulated the progress of Marathi literature and also higher education in the Bombay presidency. Another factor to be noted was that almost all the literary figures of this period were advocates of social reform as well as nationalist ideas. Hari Narain Apte belongs to this class of writers. In Gujarat, Narmada waged a fearless battle against social orthodoxy. In Tamil Nadu also, the greatest Tamil poets Subrahmanya Bharati and Ramalinga Swamigal played a critical role in stimulating the people of Tamil Nadu. In Andhra desa, Kandukuri Veeresalingam, Gurajada Apparao and Gidugu Rama Murthy adopted prose and drama as media to propagate ideas of social emancipation of women, women's education, widow remarriages. Kandukuri and Gurajada by their writings became the forerunners of modernity in Andhra.

The outstanding impacts of new trends in vernacular literatures could be seen even on the uneducated and illiterate classes who became aware of the existing social evils. They felt the need for reform along with exploitation of economy and society by the British throughout India. The spread of new literary trends in vernacular languages hastened the process of modernisation along with the spread of patriotic urge in the minds of both the commoners and the educated.

II. CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1. What were the recommendations of Wood's Despatch regarding medium of instruction?

2. How did English education influence Indian Languages and Literature?

3. Who started the First Newspaper in India?

12.11 LET US SUM UP

1. The first step in the direction of promoting education in India was taken in 1813 when the Charter Act provided for an annual grant of Rs. one lakh for the provision of education in India.
2. The Christian missionaries also contributed to the spread of education in India by establishing schools and colleges.
3. Ram Mohan Roy said that English language and western education should be promoted in India. His support for English education helped the cause of English education in India.
4. In view of Macaulay's note in favour of English education William Bentinck decided to introduce English education in India.
5. The Wood's Despatch of 1854 was a blueprint for the educational development of India. Till 1882, the proposals in Wood's Despatch constituted the most important policies in the field of education.
6. English education helped the Indians to imbibe modern western thinking and outlook. It served as common language and helped the growth of national consciousness among the people.
7. English and vernacular press developed during the late 18th century and 19th century. While the English press owned by English men was not subjected to any restrictions, the Indian press was subjected to restrictions.
8. Indian languages and literature were enriched in the 19th century due to the influence of western ideas and literary forms.

12.12 CHECK YOUR PROGRESS: ANSWERS

- I. 1. The Fort William college was started in 1800 by Wellesley, to provide training to the Civil Servants of the Company.
2. Raja Ram Mohan Roy supported the introduction of English education in India, as he thought that English education alone would enable the Indians to have modern scientific learning.
- II. 1. Wood recommended that the vernacular should be the medium of instruction of the primary level and English at the higher level.
2. The influence of English education was responsible for the introduction of new ideas and forms of writing in Indian languages. English education also contributed to the renaissance in Indian literature.
3. In 1780, James Augustus Hickey started the first newspaper in India. It was known as the Bengal Gazette.

12.13 EXAMINATION MODEL QUESTIONS.

I. Answer the following questions in about 30 lines each.

1. Discuss the educational policy of the British in India upto 1857 Revolt.
2. State the impact of the English education in India. How did it affect the literary trends in India during the 19th Century?

II. Answer the following questions in about 15 lines each.

1. What were the efforts made by the British to foster oriental learning in the early phase of its rule?
2. Discuss the role of Christian Missionaries in the spread of English education.
3. Briefly describe the growth and impact of the Press in India in 19th century.

12.14 BOOKS FOR FURTHER READING

1. Bastain A.L (Ed.) : *Cultural History of India*
2. Benerjee, S.N. : *A Nation in the Making*
3. Bhatia, B.M. : *History and Social Development*
4. Bipan Chandra : *Modern India*
5. Dayal B. : *The Development of Modern Indian Education.*
6. Dutt, R.P. : *India Today*
7. Mukherjee S.N. : *History of Education in India*
8. Nagarajan S : *History of Journalism in India*
9. Ramakrishna V : *Social reforms in Andhra*
10. Spear, Percival : *History of India, Vol.II*
11. Thompson, E : *The Other Side of the Medal*
12. Thompson Garret : *Rise and Fulfilment of British Rule in India*

UNIT-13 : AGRICULTURE, COLONIALISM, DEINDUSTRIALISATION

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13.0 OBJECTIVES

A study of this unit should enable you to have an understanding of the following :

1. features of traditional Indian economy,
2. the impact of British rule on Indian agriculture and incidence of famines in India.
3. famine relief policy of the British in India
4. the investment of British capital in India in the railways and the irrigation projects
5. the growth of plantations, coal, iron, steel, textile and jute industries during British rule in India.
6. managing agency system.
7. indigenous and foreign capital and deindustrialisation.

13.1 INTRODUCTION

The establishment of the British rule produced severe impact on the Indian economy. The British policies were conditioned not only by the need to economically consolidate their position, but also by the changes that were taking place within the system of colonial exploitation in India. The exploitation of India as a source of raw materials, and commodity market as early as 1850 or 1860, constituted the main form of colonial plunder. Increase of the exploitation of the country for agricultural produce and raw materials for capitalist England, necessitated the creation of conditions more favourable to the growth of agricultural output through commercial crops. The British land revenue policies resulted in the phenomenal growth of landless agricultural labour and this in turn led to a number of scarcity conditions and severe famines.

The East India Company was mainly interested in trading, and therefore, concentrated on exporting of Indian manufactured products. The Company provided financial advances to those industries which provided articles for export. After the Industrial Revolution in England, after 1760, the English manufacturers became antagonistic to this policy of encouraging Indian industries. Export of Indian products had adverse effects on the development of English industries. Therefore, East India Company came under pressure to see that Indian industries were not patronised. Therefore, in course of time, the Company had completely reversed its policy, and favoured exporting raw materials instead of finished goods.

After the Indian administration was transferred from the Company to the Crown in 1858, the British Government adopted the policy of laissez faire. The interference of the State in the economic affairs including the industrial matters, was thought unjustifiable. In India, the Indian handicrafts started declining rapidly, as those articles could not compete with cheap British products manufactured in factories. This decline of Indian handicrafts, which started by the end of the 18th century, was very rapid after the middle of the 19th century, when the Government adopted free trade policy. The artisans and workers engaged in industries like cotton textiles, were forced out of such industries, and were

compelled to take to agriculture. India gradually became an exporter of food grains and other agricultural raw materials like cotton, jute, oil-seeds etc., and importer of British manufactured goods. The policy of free trade transformed India from a country where various industries were flourishing upto the middle of the 18th century., into purely an agricultural country exporting raw materials by the middle of the 19th century.

13.2 THREE PHASES OF BRITISH COLONIAL EXPLOITATION

R.C. Dutt has classified three successive phases of British exploitation of India. According to him, the first phase between 1757 and 1813, was a mercantile phase. During this period, the Company engaged in direct monopoly trade by investing surplus revenues in the purchase of finished goods at low prices. The Industrial Revolution in England dramatically changed the whole pattern of trade, and the years from 1813 to 1858 saw the age of free trade and industrial capitalist expansion during this period, India was converted into a market for British goods, and a source for raw materials. This was also the time when the traditional handicrafts were completely uprooted. From 1858 onwards, financial imperialism began to increase, and capital exportation became the order of the day. Several British- controlled banks came up, as also several export-import firms and managing houses. With all these, in the third phase, the drain of wealth was more dominant.

13.3 TRADITIONAL INDIAN ECONOMY

The village formed the nucleus of the old Indian economic life. Self-sufficiency was the product of isolation, brought about by the lack of means of communication and transport. Prior to the construction of roads and railways the villager had but very few contacts with the outside world. As Ibetson observed, the Indian village *"grows its own food, it makes its implements, moulds its own domestic vessels; its priests live within its walls, it does without a doctor and looks to the outside world for little its salt, its spices, the fine clothes for its holiday clothes, and the coin in which it pays its revenue"*.

The use of money was very rare, and a kind of barter economy prevailed in the villages. There was direct exchange of goods and remuneration for services in kind, grain being the standard of valuation. In the old economic order, custom reigned supreme. Land rents paid by the cultivators to the landlord were mostly customary. Wages also were regulated by custom. The artisans received customary payments in the form of annual grain allowances.

The inhabitants of the village were divided into three groups. They were: the agriculturists, the village officers; and the village artisans. The agriculturists comprised the land-owning as well as tenant classes. They undertook cultivation, themselves being the managers, organisers, and experts of their petty farms, and personally carried their produce to the markets. The most important village officer was the Patel or Headman who was responsible for peace and order of the village and collection of land rents. There was the village accountant known as *Patwari* or *Kulkarni*, who was incharge of village records. There were *Vetty*, *Talari*, and other watch and ward staff. The Village Panchayat served as the arbitration court.

Almost every village possessed several artisans like carpenter, black-smith, potter, barber, cobbler, watchman, goldsmith, petty shopkeeper, oil - monger, priest etc., The majority of the artisans were servants of the village, who catered to the needs of the body of cultivators. They were paid grain allowances at the time of harvest. The independent artisans like weavers were paid for their work. Each Village, thus, was provided with a complete equipment of artisans and menials. The village *Chamar* skinned the dead cattle, cured their hides, and made the sandals or leather- buckets. Local carpenters made the ploughs, black-smiths their spears, potters the utensils for cooking. Each village had its own oil-pressers, its own washermen, barbers and scavengers. The various classes of artisans thus, had their own definite sphere within which they worked and lived.

Though villages were large in number than towns and cities, the Indian urban centres cannot be ignored. Prof. D.R. Gadgil has mentioned that most of the towns in India were of three types. They were: 1. Towns which are important as places of pilgrimage; 2. Some towns as seats of kings and Nawabs; and 3. Towns as commercial centres.

Unlike village handicrafts, urban industry reached high watermark of excellence during the pre-British days. Textiles was the most important urban industry. Cotton textiles particularly, were the most important. Dacca Muslin was called as "the shadow of the substance" and the "woven air". Muslins were made not only at Dacca, but also at Krishnanagar, Chanderi and other places. Masulipatnam was famous for *Chintzes* and Paithan for *Pitaambers*. Few other places were famous for double fabrics, damasks, fine sarees, shawls and *pugris*. Alame labad was known for *dhothis* and *dupathas*. Upto 1850, some of the fine cotton textiles were exported. Dacca muslins were used to wrap mummies of Egyptian kings in ancient days. In recent times, the blue *Kalamkaries* from Visakhapatnam were largely exported to Europe.

Like cotton, silk and clothes were widely produced in India. Benares, Sambalpure Ahmedabad, Baroda, Cambay, Surat, Mysore, Berhampore, Arni etc., were great centres for silk. There was considerable amount of export trade in Indian silk for fabrics. There were centres famous for embroidery, dyeing and designs. Calico-printing was prosperous in Jaipur and other places in Rajasthan. The woollen shawls made in Kashmir were world famous. Woollen carpets was made in Amritsar, Jaipur, Agra, Warangal, etc. Jewellery of exceptional quality was made of gold and silver in many urban centres. Hyderabad and Moradabad were famous for in-laid metal-ware. Carving work in ivory, wood, stone, and marble was carried in places like Mysore and Travancore. Indian glass-ware also found its way abroad.

13.4 IMPACT OF BRITISH RULE

As consequence of the advent of the British rule, radical changes started taking place in India. This was very vivid after 1850 in the sphere of administration, transport and communications, agriculture, commerce, industry, as also in the social and political institutions in the country. The most important aspect has been the impact of the British rule on the traditional Indian economy.

The first impact of the British rule resulted in the breakdown of the static rigidity of the village life and the village organisation. This was because of the administrative centralization. With the development of transport and communications, the village autonomy has come to an end. The growth of the spirit of individualism, and the migration of villagers to towns and cities, also contributed to the disintegration of the village economy. The construction of the network of railways, roads, and the introduction of motor transport, broke down the isolation of the village. Adding to it, the industrial revolution in England after 1760, also contributed to the destruction of the self-sufficiency of the Indian village. The village artisan received a rude shock when faced with the mass production of factory goods, and many industries collapsed due to this unequal competition. Vessels and implements of iron, brass and copper were commonly used, and the prices were within the reach of almost all the classes, as these goods were all produced in mass production and not by individual handicrafts.

After the advent of the British rule, India's exports were mainly of industrial raw-materials like raw cotton, jute, minerals, and agricultural produce. Imports from England consisted mostly of manufactured goods made in the factories of England. Therefore, the urban handicrafts in India were unable to face the challenge posed by free imports into India of cheap manufactured goods, produced on large scale. The Government of India which was an alien government, was interested in safeguarding the interest of the mother-country and therefore, did nothing to render help to these unfortunate handicraftsmen. This process is known as deindustrialisation.

During the pre-British days, the demand for luxury and semi-luxury goods produced by urban handicrafts came substantially from the courts of Nawabs and Rajas, who were great patrons of such handicrafts. As the British conquered India, the Nawabs and Rajas disappeared, and with them the nobles and chieftains also disappeared. Therefore, the demand for luxury goods declined. The *Karkhanas*, which were royal factories attached to courts and employed skilled craftsmen making arms, painters, jewellers, engravers and others also, were closed.

The place of the old nobility was taken up by English officials, and the western-educated Indian middle class which tried to imitate the British masters. This new middle class did not encourage the sophisticated handicrafts, but they were satisfied with factory-made cheaper goods. Along with the British rule, new fashions became popular in matters of dress, and other household requirements. This had an adverse effect on the demand for urban handicrafts.

Another cause for the decline of Indian handicrafts was the free trade policy adopted by the British after the middle of the 19th century. This made the British goods flood Indian markets free of duties. The Government did nothing to preserve or protect the Indian handicrafts. Therefore, the native goods found it impossible to face the competition with factory-made cheap English goods. The Arms Act introduced by the Government prohibited Indians wearing arms. This brought about the decline in the production of arms, which earlier provided employment to a large number of skilled workers. Thus, the advent of the rule heralded a steady decline of Indian handicrafts, both urban and rural.

I. CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1. What was the important feature of the traditional Indian economy?

2. Why did the Indian handicrafts decline during British rule?

13.4.1 Impact on Agriculture

The Indian peasants, before the British Rule, adopted simple methods of farming with rotation of crops, and using natural manures. If there was any surplus, it was sold in the local or near by market. The East India Company realised towards the end of the 18th century that there were export potentialities for some agricultural products like indigo, cotton, jute and oilseeds. This was because of two important causes. Firstly, the Industrial Revolution in England naturally necessitated the importation of various types of raw materials like cotton and jute. Secondly, on account of the increase of industries in England, the British Government began to impose restrictions on the importation of Indian exports. But, export of agricultural commodities was encouraged. The development of transport helped the Indian peasant to change from 'cultivation for house consumption' to 'cultivation for the market'. Subsistence economy was replaced by exchange economy. This change might be called "Commercialisation of Agriculture."

There were a number of causes for the introduction of commercial crops. In the first place the British land policies demanded cash payments of land revenue instead of kind. Farmers therefore, were to switch over to commercial crops. The growth of merchant-class flocking villages to collect different agricultural products for trade, induced farmers to grow commercial crops for sales. They advanced loans, and had the crops grown according to their wishes. The transport and communication facilities linked villages with outside world. After the construction of roads and railways after 1850, and the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869, the prices of agricultural commodities in India came to be linked with world prices. The British Government encouraged production of cotton, jute and other raw materials for the industries in England. The American Civil War (1861-1865) was an important factor which gave a fillip to the growth of commercialization of agriculture in India. During the Civil War, the British Mills could not get cotton from America and therefore, turned to India for the much needed cotton.

On account of the introduction of commercial crops, the cultivator was compelled to sell a part of his produce immediately after the harvest at the prevailing rate. He had to buy it back at a higher price later on for his needs. Thus, a major part of the produce came into the market, instead of being kept at home for consumption. Commercialization had progressed well in those tracts where the crops were largely grown for export. For example, the predominant crops were rice in Burma, wheat in Punjab, jute in Eastern Bengal and cotton in Gujarat and Berar.

The great increase in the foreign demand for Indian agricultural produce did not help the farmer in a significant way. This was due to lack of technological improvement, as well as weak agricultural organisation. The rise in prices did not benefit the peasants. The Indian peasant often was not the owner of the land, and therefore, was not able to introduce any improvements in the methods of cultivation. Therefore, there was hardly any increase in the productivity of the land.

In some parts of the country, the agriculturists easily adopted the commercial crops instead of the conventional crops. Regional specialization of crops was one of the distinguishing results of the commercialization of agriculture. Though this shift was a turning point in Indian agriculture, it brought about a disastrous effect on the supply of food in the country. The famines of 1866 in Bengal and in Orissa, were very severe mainly because of the diversion of area from food crops to that of commercial crops. An important result of the commercialization of Indian agriculture was the break-up of the former isolation, and the self-sufficiency of villages and linking village markets to outside markets.

13.4.1.1 Growth of agricultural indebtedness

One of the greatest disadvantages on account of the introduction of money rents and commercial crops has been the growth of agricultural indebtedness. The British land policies resulted in peasants' debt and the gradual transfer of land to non-cultivating money-lenders. To remedy such evils, several steps were taken to prevent alienation of lands. For example, the Deccan Agriculturist Relief Act, the Central Provinces Tenancy Act etc., laid restrictions on the transfer of land. Similarly, the Punjab Land Alienation Act prohibited the transfer of land to outsiders.

Though the Government took steps to prevent large-scale transfers, it could not prevent the fraudulent practices of money-lenders. It also failed to check the growth of the farmer's indebtedness. There was steady increase of land transfers due to the increase of the land value. The money-lender not being an agriculturist, the transfer only left cultivation in the hands of old cultivator now paying a high rent. He is reduced to the mere position of tenant-at-will.

The main purpose for which the peasants borrowed money were to pay current expenses of cultivation, to acquire new land, to make permanent improvements on the land, to pay old debts, to build or repair living houses, to pay revenue to Government, to meet the expenses connected with marriages and other social events, to buy jewellery etc. The other important causes for the rural indebtedness have been the excessive pressure of population on land, decline of cottage industries, sub-division and fragmentation of land etc.

The Deccan riots of the seventies of the 19th century forced the Government to realise the gravity of the situation created by rural indebtedness in the countryside. In the beginning, the Government concentrated on regulation of money-lending as a remedial measure, but later turned attention to eliminate the root cause of the problem, and therefore, concentrated on institutional financing. The Usurious Loans Act, Legislation regarding the Licensing and Control of money-lenders; restriction of the alienation of land; the development of co-operative societies; land mortgage banks, etc., were steps in the direction of providing the needed finances for the inputs of the farmer.

13.4.2 Incidence of Famines

The land policies of the British, coupled with the introduction of commercial agriculture, increased pressure of population on land, and the consequent sub-division and fragmentation, unorganised credit-growth of landless agricultural labour etc., made agriculture unremunerative. When these factors were added to the failure of rains, utter scarcity conditions and famines devolved on the already suffering masses. Before 1850, failure of rains usually resulted in the scarcity of food grains in that particular region. These famines were of local in nature, as it was not possible to bring food grains from other regions due to lack of transport facilities. But, with the development of communication facilities, the nature of famines also changed.

Indian agriculture depended heavily on monsoons, which were unpredictable. The irrigational works were comparatively neglected by the British, in preference to railways which were given higher priority for defence and other considerations. Absence of alternative occupations in villages resulted in low income of the villagers, who were exposed to the dangers of starvation whenever agriculture failed.

Famines have caused immense havoc on agricultural production as well as on population. Agricultural growth gets reduced not only during the years of famine, but in subsequent years also, due to low investment capacity of the farmer. Famines also wiped out past investment in land, and therefore, the recurring famines have been the greatest obstacle for agricultural progress. Before 1860, famines in India meant absolute scarcity of food grains and fodder due to the failure of rains. Such famines used to take heavy toll of human lives and cattle. But, after the improvements in transport facilities, the famine relief works came to be organised by the Government, and food grains could be rushed from other parts of the country. Deaths by starvation and cattle mortality were reduced. Yet, undernourishment of a vast number of people caused various diseases and epidemics which in turn, took heavy toll of human lives. There used to be large migration of people during the famines. The vast masses of rural people faced immense misery during famines.

The earliest famine during the reign of the East India Company occurred in 1770 in Bengal, Bihar, and Orissa. Nearly one-third of the total population in those regions died during this famine. In 1783, there was a severe famine which affected the entire North India, Rajputana, Bombay, and Madras provinces. Failure of rains and invasion of locusts were responsible for this famine. In 1790, there was a serious famine engulfing Bombay, Gujarat, North Circars, Orissa, and parts of Madras. During 1802-04, rains failed in the entire region from U.P. in the north, to Madras in the south. Food was transported from other parts to relieve scarcity. Revenue authorities did not show any sympathy, and there

was no reduction or remission of land revenue. From 1800 to 1854, there were altogether six famines in Madras, three in Bombay and two in northern India.

The Great Rebellion in 1857, and the acts of retribution that followed, greatly interfered with cultivation. In 1866, Orissa faced a very serious famine. Campbell's Committee which was subsequently appointed to investigate the famine relief measures held that, the intensity of the famine was due to the failure to forecast development, particularly in relation to Orissa's isolation, and lack of communication facilities, and the blind reliance on "laws of supply and demand."

In 1866, Rajputana was afflicted with famine, which caused heavy mortality, proportionately greater than any other famine during the contemporary period. There was a complete failure of the *Kharif* crop in 1868, and to make things worse, the next year there was an invasion of the locusts. During the 1873-74 famine in Bengal and Bihar, famine-works were opened, and relief was provided.

During 1876-78 occurred one of the dreadful famines in South India, where several thousands of people died like flies. Due to complete lack of fodder, cattle perished on a large-scale. The famine was so widespread and severe, that the Famine Commission of 1880 described it as the worst experienced one, since the beginning of the British rule in India.

After 1880, the Government adopted relief measures as indicted by the Famine Commission and therefore, the intensity of the famines was comparatively less. But still, the private traders were still solely responsible for the movement of food grains during times of famines. The closing years of the 19th century saw another widespread famine which affected Central Provinces, Rajputana, Southern Punjab and Central Bombay. This famine was responsible for the appointment of another Famine Commission under the Chairmanship of Sir Mac Donnell. Its report was submitted in 1901. There were quite a number of other severe famines even during the 20th century the major one being, the Bengal famine of 1945. It is estimated that about 3 million people died during the famine. This was essentially a man-made famine, as the British administration failed to move food grains from other parts of the country into Bengal.

13.5 FAMINE RELIEF POLICY

During the pre-British period, the local rulers used to have granaries at capital towns to feed soldiers during wars. These granaries were used during famines to give relief to the people. During famines, the rulers used to undertake works of construction of roads, canals, tanks, forts, temples, etc. to provide employment to the affected people. Private charity also used to supplement Government's relief measures. But, the effectiveness of the famine relief measures used to be limited, because of the absence of information about the conditions of the people affected, and the lack of transport facilities.

During the period, 1760 to 1857, the East India Company did not pay attention to the problems of famine and famine relief. The Company was busy with wars and conquests and making profits in trade and commerce. But, in the early part of the 19th century, the Company did try to solve the problems of famine-affected people with some half-hearted measures. It was not till 1833, that the Company accepted the responsibility of providing work to the famine affected people.

After the 1857 Rebellion, the British crown took the responsibility of governing India, and therefore, the famine-relief works also became a part of the administration. After the Great Famine of 1876-78, the Government of India appointed the First Famine Commission in 1778 under the presidentship of Sir John Strachey, and the Commission submitted its report in 1880. The report suggested many preventive and protective measures for the famine relief. The Second Famine Commission (1898) under the presidentship of Sir James Lyall suggested free grant for relief works, particularly in villages, more liberal remission of land revenue, and special attention to the weaker sections of the society.

The severe famine of 1899 led to the appointment of the Third Famine Commission under Sir Antony Mac Donnel. The Commission emphasized the moral strategy of putting heart into the famine affected people, building up their will-power by rendering assistance, by granting *taccavi* loans, by the suspension of land revenue, etc. It also suggested starting of cooperatives to encourage the principle of self-help, and extension of irrigation works. The tragic famine in Bengal in 1943, led to the appointment of Wood Head Commission which recommended that the Government should take the responsibility of providing food to all the famine-affected people. It also suggested monopoly of procurement of foodgrains by the State, and the distribution of foodgrains through a chain of fair-price shops at reasonable prices.

In spite of the advance that had been made over the years in fixing the responsibility of different administrative agencies in famine-relief operations, the actual working out of relief policy depended largely on the ability and disposition of the local functionaries. Moreover, the funds earmarked were also effectively utilised to improve the working of the agricultural economy, as only very small contribution from such funds was made available for the construction and protection of irrigation works, and other measures on permanent basis.

II. CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1. Why did the indebtedness of the peasants increase during British rule?

2. What were the important recommendations of the Second Famine Commission.

13.6 GROWTH OF BRITISH CAPITAL IN INDIA - RAILWAYS AND IRRIGATION

In the middle of the 19th century, India came to be used as a sphere of investment for British capital. The major outlet for British investment in India was provided by the railways. The arrangement of the railway network rapidly extended into the interior from the main ports. The building of railways was designed in such a way, as to facilitate the exploitation of the country by the British colonialists. Another important sphere for the British capital investment was the construction of irrigation projects. They were built in regions where crops were cultivated for export. Railways and irrigation works were as a rule owned by the British. The other important fields of British investment were plantations, factories, mines, etc.

13.7 PLANTATION INDUSTRIES

Tea has been India's main plantation industry since the beginning of the 19th century. The Government under Bentinck started an experimental farm in 1835 and few years later, it was sold to the Assam Tea Company. In 1852, the first private garden was initiated and this led soon to other private tea gardens coming up. By the end of the century, the industry has expanded so much that Indian tea was able to push out China tea practically from the United Kingdom. In the beginning of the 20th century, the increased production of tea in India resulted in a heavy fall in its price. But, after the beginning of the World War, the prices rose high, and there was a great increase in production alone. The tea gardens opened up hitherto waste tracts, and provided employment for a large number of labourers.

Coffee plant was introduced in India in the 16th century; but, systematic cultivation of coffee began only after 1830. The chief centres of production were Mysore, Coorg, Travancore, Wynad, Nilagiris, etc. During the decade 1860-1870, the exports of coffee expanded by ten-fold. Labour for coffee plantation was recruited from neighbouring districts. As in tea plantations, there was an Act giving the European coffee planters control over labour.

Rubber plantation industry is relatively a new one. It was introduced during the closing years of the 19th century, and made rapid progress in the early years of the present century. The strategic importance of rubber was realised during World War II. Internal consumption of rubber increased, and the Rubber Production and Marketing Act was passed. The chief centres of rubber production are Kerala, Madras and Coorg. Unlike rubber, indigo was cultivated from ancient days in Gujarat and western India. Trade in indigo was carried on by the East India Company. Towards the end of the 18th century, the trade declined owing to the American competition. The East India Company brought planters from West Indies, and started the industry in Bengal. It progressed upto 1850. The European planters gave monetary advance to the peasants, and compelled them to cultivate certain percentage of lands with indigo, and handover the product to the planters. The oppression by the planters led to the revolt of indigo cultivators ("Blue Mutiny") in Bengal, in 1859. Thereafter, the industry gradually migrated to United Provinces. From 1897, Indigo plantations declined, because of the competition from German synthetic dyes.

13.8 COAL MINING INDUSTRY

The Industrial Revolution that broke out in the western world was based on coal as the main source of power. Even after electric power came into use, the importance of coal has remained virtually unchanged, as a large proportion of electricity generated comes only from thermal power. Coal-mining in India started in the Ranigunj coal fields in Bengal in 1820. But, until the railways were opened, the demand for coal in the country was very limited. Railways were also useful in the transport of coal. The growth of the factory system also helped in giving encouragement to coal industry. The Bengal coal-fields produced nearly 95 per cent of the total Indian coal. As the railway network developed, the demand for coal rose in all parts of the country. The output of coal in the Bengal coalfields rose from about 3 lakh tons in 1857 to over 10 lakh tons.

In the beginning, the capital for opening up coalfields came from Europeans but towards the 19th century, Indian entrepreneurs also began to enter this industry. From the technical point of view, the coal industry's problems have been extensively investigated by a number of committees like the Indian Coal Committee, the Coal Mining Committee, and the Indian Coalfields Committee.

13.9 COTTON MILL INDUSTRY

The first cotton mill in India was set up in 1838, at Calcutta. But, the successful mill was the one established in Bombay by a Parsi merchant, Cowasji Nanabhoy Davar in about 1853. Rapid expansion of cotton mills started from the last quarter of the 19th century. The period from 1860 to 1870 was not favourable to the industry, because of the high price of cotton due to the American Civil War. After 1885, improved machinery was introduced, and there was healthy expansion. From the beginning, the industry was financed and controlled by the Indians.

The development of cotton industry in India had its effects on Lanchashire. In 1882, as a result of the agitation by the British cotton mills, all the import duties were abolished in India. Yet, there was expansion of cotton mill industry. In the beginning, the industry was only a spinning industry, but during 1890-95, the weaving side also expanded rapidly. The Bombay and Ahmedabad spinning industry successfully competed with the mills in Lanchashire, and also with the mills in China and Japan.

Towards the end of the 16th century, the cotton mills began to face a number of problems. The outbreak of plague in Bombay in 1896, gave rise to scarcity of labour, and a rise in wages. With the outbreak of World War I, India lost some important markets for exports of cotton yarn and piece goods. Mill machinery and mill stores, etc. could not be secured from England, which was engaged in War. The number of mills therefore declined, during the period of the War. In 1921, revenue considerations led the Government of India to adopt in 1930, the Cotton Textile Industry Protection Act which raised the general and *ad valorem* duty on cotton goods to 15 per cent on British goods, and 20 per cent on the non-British goods. In 1930, a Tariff Board for the cotton mills industry was set up.

The Second World War (1939-45) created conditions favourable for the Industry's expansion. But in 1951, there were 378 cotton mills in the country of which, 103 were exclusively spinning mills, while the rest were composite units.

13.10 JUTE INDUSTRY

Jute was the basis of hand-spinning and hand-weaving industry in Bengal from very old times. Ropes and gunny bags were the main articles made out of this industry. The predominance of jute industry in Bengal was due to the monopoly of raw jute controlled by able and industrious Scottish managers, with an abundant supply of cheap Indian labour. Trade in Jute has been very important from the early days of the East Indian Company. Till about 1830, the manufacture of the gunny bags and jute cloth was the monopoly of the Bengal handloom weaver. Jute manufacturing industry started to develop after 1830. By 1838 regular export of Indian jute cloth began.

In 1870, there was a great jute boom. New companies soon came into being, and the export of manufactured jute increased. By 1880, there were 22 jute mills in India, which employed about 22,000 people. At the beginning of the 20th century, the progress of the jute industry was rapid, and by 1924, there were 64 mills employing more than 2 lakh people. The war period gave a great fillip to the jute industry on account of the large demand for sand bags, and jute cloth for the use of the army.

The jute industry was extremely well-organised. Most of the mills were concentrated in a small area on the banks of Hoogly, near Calcutta. In 1884, the jute mills Association was founded to control the trade. The chief problems that faced jute mills were labour troubles. Although jute mills earned very high profits, they did not offer good working conditions or living conditions to the employees. The Depression of 1929, led to the appointment of Jute Enquiry Committee in 1932.

III. CHECK YOUR PROGRESS.

1. The development of the railways in India during British rule did not benefit the country. Why?

2. Why did the Indigo plantations decline after the 19th century.

13.11 IRON AND STEEL INDUSTRY

The smelting and forging of iron appears to have been followed in India from very ancient days. But, attempts to introduce European process of iron smelting in India started in the early years of the 19th century. One of the first attempts was made by Josiah Marshall Heath, a retired officer, and a friend of the English novelist, Charles Dickens, Heath is reported to have established an iron works at Porto Novo in South Arcot District, in 1830 under a grant from the East India Company. But, his experiments proved unsuccessful. During this time, efforts were made in the Bengal Presidency to set up a modern iron works. The Barker Iron Works established in 1875 had to be closed down in 1879. The Government took over the Works in 1881, and after a few years, handed it over to the Bengal Iron and Steel Company. In 1905, the Company opened a steel section, but the steel production was uneconomical, because of competition from cheap European Steel. In 1919, a new Company called Bengal Iron Company was incorporated to take over the assets of the earlier Company.

Jamshedji Tata was the founder of the Indian steel industry. He was attracted to the idea of producing iron and steel in India, after reading the report of a German expert on iron deposits in the Central Provinces. He established the Tata Iron and Steel Works in 1907, at Sakchi, which was renamed as Jamshedpur. Steel production began in 1912, and by 1920, the steel producing capacity rose to 2 lakh tons per year. The Government assisted the Tata Steel Industry in acquiring land, granting concessions, by purchasing Steel for rails, and in many other ways.

Taking Tata's efforts as an example, another Company was floated by Burn and Company at Hirapur, which started producing pig-iron in 1922. A number of other iron and steel companies also came into existence after World War I. After the War, the European steel industry began to compete with the Indian Steel Industry. The Tata Works were handicapped by this competition, and applied for protection. The Government extended protection by higher import duties. Therefore, the iron and steel industry increased in output and efficiency since 1927.

World War II created boom conditions for steel industry. The prices were controlled by the Government, and increase in the cost of production was taken into account in fixing the price. Protective duties were discontinued. After the War, expansion schemes were taken up by the units concerned.

13.12 OTHER INDUSTRIES

Sugar manufacture was carried indigenously from very ancient times. Indian sugar was in great demand in many countries in Asia and Europe. The East India Company exported sugar from Bengal for many years, but later, the British government started getting sugar from West Indies. Western methods of refining sugar were introduced in India about the middle of the 19th century. After 1863, India started importing sugar from Mauritius, where British planters had built sugar factories with the help of indentured Indian labourers. Towards the end of the 19th century, the European sugar from beet-root was also introduced in 1894. During the First World War, duty on sugar was increased by 10 per cent. The high rate of protective duty brought about a sudden fall in sugar imports, and consequently there was a rapid expansion of sugar factories in the country. The cane breeding station at

Coimbatore has been engaged in improving the varieties of sugar-cane, while the Institute of Sugar Technology at Kanpur has evolved a number of new methods to improve the extraction of sugar from the cane. By 1936, India not only became self-sufficient in sugar, but was in a position to export to neighbouring countries.

The paper industry also expanded in the later part of the 19th century. In 1870, the first paper mill, namely Bally Mill was established on the banks of the Hoogly. In 1882, the Titagur Paper Mills, and in 1894, the Imperial Paper Mill at Kakinada, were established. These early mills used imported wooden pulp, or pulp made of Sabai grass. From 1918, the Indian bamboo pulp was utilised for the manufacture of paper. Paper mills also existed in Lucknow and Poona. The use of straw from Indian paddy for the manufacture of paper began in the Carnatic Paper Mills, which started production in Andhra in 1927-28. On the eve of the World War II, there were 11 paper mills in Bengal, Bombay, U.P., Madras and Travancore. The growth of paper mill industry was helped by the protection it received from 1925. In spite of a remarkable expansion in domestic production, imports of paper and paper boards have been rising as the demand for writing material increased with the spread of literacy.

The huge livestock population of India must have become the basis for flourishing leather industry; but until recently, most of the hides and skins have been exported. Though indigenous process of leather making was known during the middle ages, superior leather with the help of imported chemicals was turned out only after the establishment of the Government Factory at Kanpur in 1860. Tanning of cowhides received an impetus during the World War, with the expansion of the manufacture of army boots. The Madras Government made pioneering efforts to introduce 'chrome tanning' in the leather industry. Similarly, glass factories also came to be established in the last decade of the 19th century. After the World War I, imports increased, and a Tariff Board recommended protective duties for a period of two years. Towards the end of 1930's imports of glassware had begun to decline, and the industry started to work profitably. By 1945, India had 96 glass factories with a production of 1.5 lakh tons of glass.

The Portland cement production in India started in 1904 in Madras, but this factory was soon closed. During 1912-13, three new cement factories came into being in Porbunder (Gujarat) Katuri (Madhya Pradesh) and Bundi (Rajasthan). But together, they produced less than 1000 tons annually. The industry continued to expand even during the years of depression, and on the eve of the World War II, the production of cement was nearly 12 lakh tons. During the War period domestic demand for cement declined owing to the short supply of steel, a complementary material. The match manufacturing unit for the first time, was started in 1895 in Ahmedabad. The industry consisted of a large number of small units. Several chemical and engineering industries also were established, but they expanded only during the early decades of the present century.

13.13 MANAGING AGENCY SYSTEM

One feature of the management of Indian industries was the universal prevalence of the managing agency system. The system was formed for floating a concern and to take over its management. Indian industrial development owes much to the pioneering work done by the managing agency system. Some of the biggest industrial enterprises have been

floated and administered by this system. The origin and development of the managing agency system was due to the shyness of Indian capital, lack of investing public, and competent directorate, etc. The growth of the managing agency was due to the European business establishments, which were operating in India. People with money who had neither experience nor the initiative to start new industrial undertakings, were ready to entrust their funds to the managing agents in whom they had confidence. In course of time, many Indian managing agency houses were also established. Among the leading managing agency houses were, the Birla Brothers. The Tata Sons and Company, the Sahu Jain Ltd., the Dalmia Jain Ltd., Jaipuria Bros., Nowrosji Wadia and Sons etc., were the most important.

The managing agents performed several functions. They did preliminary work to bring the concern into existence. Almost all our industries like cotton, iron and steel jute and cement, have come into existence through their venture. They run the routine machinery and carry on the administration. The managing agents make provisions for initial fixed capital, capital for reorganisation, modernisation, and even extension. They also purchase materials and machinery, self finished., goods arrange for insurance, and stock-in-trade on behalf of the company they manage. In short, the managing agents were promoters, financiers, managers and agents all combined.

13.14 INDIGENOUS AND FOREIGN CAPITAL

With the coming of the British rule, the wealthy nobility of Muslims in India were deprived of some of their wealth, but the commercial classes were allowed to carry on their activities. During the early years of the East India Company's rule, there was economic chaos due to unsettled political conditions. But, after 1770, native traders and financiers were active participating in mercantile activities. But, with the introduction of more mechanised methods of production using up a large capital, Indian investment became scarce. Even then, by the beginning of the present century, the amount of indigenous capital in registered joint-stock companies was estimated to be Rs.37 crores.

The claim that British rule was an agency of modernisation rests ultimately on facts like railway construction, the development of plantations, mines, factories through British capital and the introduction of capitalist production relations and modern methods of banking and industrial management. The railway network was entirely geared to British commercial and strategic needs, and Indian businessmen were often discriminated in freight charges. The bulk of railway equipment was imported from England, and the development of the ancillary engineering industries consequently remained very inadequate. Plantations, mines, jute mills, banking insurance, shipping etc., promoted through agency system implied significant commercial innovations. How far they contributed to the progress of India, is altogether a different matter.

Foreign capitalists began to invest in Indian industries with the primary object of high profits. Labour was cheap in India compared to their own country, raw materials also were available at a cheaper rate. The country itself and the neighbouring countries served as potential markets. The colonial government and officials showed all favours to the foreign capitalists. There was complete absence of heavy or goods industries, without which there could be no rapid development of industries. The natives could not derive any benefit out of the foreign-owned industries. Majority of the technical staff was foreign. They brought most of their equipment from foreign countries. The Indian had a solitary gain, and that was the creation of unskilled labour. They worked for long hours and for low wages.

13.14.1 Deindustrialisation

Colonialism or colonial rule in India had two faces. One face was the naked exploitation of Indian, agriculture and ruination of indigenous industries keeping their selfish interests in mind. Another face was the promotion of plantation, coal, iron, steel, textile and jute industries during the second half of the 19th century through British investment through the managing agency system.

In the second half of the 19th century, an important development we witness was the establishment of large scale machine based industries which heralded the machine age in India. A critical examination of the policy of the British in India reveals that their motto was not the promotion of industries beneficial to the people of India. It was a subtle way, to deindustrialise or killing shortly the industrial potential of India through the protective measures to safeguard their interests.

In the words of Bipan Chandra, the industrial progress in India was exceedingly slow and painful because of the opposition of the British manufacturers and they brought pressure on the Government of India to positively discourage industrial developments in India. Further, the British government never loose measures to protect the infant industries of India against the competition of powerful western industrial enterprises. Still, the British government retruded to give any financial help to the newly founded industries in India as it was done in other countries. The British government's discriminatory attitude can be further explained by their conditions of 1920-1930. Due to the increased pressure of the growing nationalist movement and the Indian capitalist class, the government of India reluctantly granted some tariff protection to industries owned by foreigners, but not the industries of the indians. Moreover, the Government of India treated British imports under the category of imperial preferences ignoring the vehement protests of Indian capitalist class.

The Industrial progress or development in India in the second half of the 19th century and the early part of the 20th century was very shadow and superficial. Consequently the British merchant class thrived and the industrial and agricultural economy of India remained that of abject proverty. The social consequence of the industrial policy of the British was the emergence of two classes among indians namely the Industrial capitalist class and the working class. Thus deindustrialisation in India was the consequence of British colonial policies.

IV. CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1. Which were the industries which developed in India during th 19th and early 20th century?

2. What was the important feature of the British industrial policy in India?

13.15 LET US SUM UP

1. R.C. Dutt has classified the economic exploitation of India into three phases :
 - I phase, 1757-1813 - mercantile phase
 - II phase, 1813-1857 - India became a market for British manufactured goods
 - III phase, 1858-1947 - Drain of Indian wealth increased.
2. In India before the British rule, the village had a self-sufficient economy. Textile industry was highly developed in the country.
3. British rule in India resulted in the destruction of the self-sufficiency of the Indian village. The handicrafts both in rural and urban centres died.
4. The pressure on land increased due to destruction of handicrafts and the number of commercial crops increased.
5. The indebtedness of the peasants increased due to the heavy land revenue collection.
6. The incidence of famines increased during British rule.
7. The British evolved a famine relief policy. The first famine commission headed by John Strachey enunciated preventive and relief measures.
8. From the middle of the 19th century, India became a sphere of investment for British capital. The railways, irrigation projects, plantations, coal mines etc., were the areas in which British capital was invested.
9. Tea, Coffee, rubber and Indigo plantations were developed by the British.
10. Coal-mining started in Bengal in the early 19th century and after the introduction of railways, the output of coal from the coal mines rose from 3 lakh tons to 10 lakh tons.
11. The first cotton mill was set up in 1838 at Calcutta. During the 19th and 20th centuries the Textile industry in the country developed.
12. The Jute industry also developed. By 1924 there were 64 jute mills in the country.
13. The Iron and Steel industry also developed. Jamshedji Tata was the founder of the Indian Iron and Steel industry.

14. Paper, Sugar, Leather, Cement, Glass, Chemical and Engineering industries also developed during the 20th century.
15. The managing agency system developed. The managing agents were promoters, financiers, managers and agents all combined in one.
16. Indian investment in industries also increased. Industrial progress of India during the British rule was slow, and intended mostly for the benefit of the British.

13.16 CHECK YOUR PROGRESS : ANSWERS

- I. 1. Village self-sufficiency was the main feature of traditional Indian economy.
2. The Indian handicrafts declined during British rule because the British did not patronise them. The free trade policy followed by the British and the heavy competition of manufactured goods from England were also important causes for the decline of the Indian handicrafts.
- II. 1. Indebtedness of the peasants increased during British rule mainly because of the land revenue policies of the British. Unable to pay the heavy land revenue the peasants took huge debts.
2. The second Finance Commission headed by James Lyall in 1898 recommended grants for relief works in villages, liberal remission of land revenue and special programmes for the weaker sections of the society.
- III. 1. The development of the railways in India during British rule was done with the sole motive of strengthening British hold on India. Hence, it did not result in much benefit for the country.
2. The Indigo plantation declined after the 19th century, due to the discovery of synthetic dyes by the Germans.
- IV. 1. Plantations, mining, iron and steel, textiles, jute, cement, paper, sugar, glass etc. were the industries which developed in India during the 19th and early 20th centuries.
2. The most important feature of British industrial policy in India was to exploit the raw materials of India for using them in the industries of England and also to use India as a market for the finished products of Britain.

13.17 EXAMINATION MODEL QUESTIONS.

I. Answer the following questions in about 30 lines each:

1. How did the British rule disrupt the village economy and ruin the Indian handicrafts?
2. Explain the impact of British rule on Indian agriculture.

3. Examine the incidence of famines during the 19th century and explain the relief measures organised during the British period.
4. Trace critically the fields of British capital investment in India and its effects.
5. Discuss the origin and development of cotton, jute, iron and steel industries in India.
6. Bring out the main features of the development of modern industries in India.

II. Answer the following questions in about 15 lines each:

1. Explain the three-phase classification of British exploitation.
2. Trace the pattern of traditional village economy.
3. How did the British foreign capital affect indigenous capital?
4. How did the plantation industries develop during the British period.
5. Write about the development of coal mining industry during the British period.

13.18 BOOKS FOR FURTHER READING

1. Majumdar R.C. (ed) : *The Mughal Empire, Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan series, Vol.VII*
2. Chopra : *Some Aspects of Society & Culture during the Mughal Age*
3. Edwards & Garret : *Mughal Rule in India*
4. Iswari Prasad : *A Short History of the Muslim Rule in India*
Medieval India
5. Majumdar R.C.,
Roy Chaudhari & Datta : *Advanced History of India*
6. Moreland, W.H. : *India at the Death of Akbar*
7. Karim : *Society and Culture in Medieval India*
8. Perceival Spear : *Twilight of the Mughals*
9. Qureshi, I.H. : *Administration of the Mughal Empire*
10. Srivastav, A.L. : *Mughal Empire*

BLOCK - IV : INDIAN NATIONAL MOVEMENT

This block deals with the Indian National Movement. In this block there are fourteen units i.e. unit fourteen to unit twenty seven. The religious and social reform movements in 19th century, genesis of the Indian National Congress and the various phases of the Indian National Movement from 1885 to 1947 are dealt in various units of this block.

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UNIT-14: RELIGIOUS AND SOCIAL REFORM MOVEMENTS

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- 14.12 Swami Vivekananda 1863-1902
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14.0 OBJECTIVES

A study of this unit should enable you to know about :

1. the social reform movements during the 19th and 20th centuries among the Hindus like the Brahma Samaj, Arya Samaj, the Theosophical society and the Ramakrishna Mission.
2. the reform movements among the muslims like the Aligarh movement.
3. the reform movements among the Parsis and the Sikhs.

14.1 INTRODUCTION

The reform movements had two trends religious and social, supplementing each other continuously. The religious trend found expressions in the growth and activities of institutions like the Brahma Samaj, the Prarthana Samaj, the Ramakrishna Mission, the Arya Samaj and the Theosophical Society.

The social trend manifested in itself demands for the cultivation of European ideas, the remarriage of the widows, the inter-caste marriage and the education for women. The reformers pleaded for the abolition of the Purdah, child-marriage, polygamy and caste distinctions. They urged for the removal of discriminations against the Harijans, the age of consent and women's rights of inheritance.

14.2 BRAHMO SAMAJ



The first half of the 19th century was marked by a strong wave of reforming activities in religion and society. The starting point of socio-religious movement was in Bengal and the name of Raja Ram Mohan Roy stands foremost in this activity. It was a period of transition from medievalism to the modern age. Raja Ram Mohan Roy (1772-1833), the founder of Brahma Samaj (1828), was profoundly influenced by European liberalism. He was a great religious reformer and a humanist. He realised the

necessity of radical reform in the socio-religious spheres if the country was to emerge from the slough of despondency. In his mystic philosophical outlook, he was deeply influenced by the monotheism and anti-idolatry of Islam, the deism of Sufism, the ethical teachings of Christianity and the liberal and rationalist doctrines of the west. He is rightly known as the father of Indian renaissance.

Brahma Samaj was a forum for the followers of all-religions and a matrix for the evolution of a casteless society. The followers believed in the unity of God and discarded the worship of images. Ram Mohan Roy denounced caste system, domination of orthodox brahmins, rituals and idol worship. The main aim of Brahma Samaj was to purify the Hindu religion and restore its old glory based on the Vedas and Upanishads. Ram Mohan stood for a rational approach to religion. He vehemently denied the allegation that he was founding a new sect. The Brahma Samaj under his leadership crusaded against *sati* and child marriage. Though he denounced caste system and idol worship,

surprisingly to the last day of his life he wore the sacred thread of the Brahmins. He remained a Hindu till his death.

The cardinal principle of Brahmo Samaj was the worship of one God. It proclaimed the principle of universal brotherhood. It inculcated respect for all religions and scriptures. But, it had no faith in any scriptures as an authority. Brahmo Samaj was a socio-religious reform movement. It valued the modern western culture and organised educational institutions in the country for its spread among the people.

In the words of Ramsay MacDonald "*the Brahmo Samaj was unwilling to desert Hinduism, but was willing to become liberal and respond to the impact of western faiths*"

After the death of the Raja, the Samaj was raised by Devendranath Tagore and Keshav Chandra Sen who were men of wide culture and variegated experiences. Let us examine their role in revitalising this organisation.

14.2.1 Devendranath Tagore 1817-1905

Devendranath Tagore was a product of the best in the traditional Indian learning and the new thought of the west. He established '*Tattva Bodhini Sabha*' a cultural organisation. A monthly "*Tattva Bodhini Patrika*" which became the official organ of Brahmo Samaj, was established by him. Iswara Chandra Vidya Sagar and Rajendra Lal Misra contributed valuable articles to this magazine.

Tattva Bodhini Sabha was founded to teach Vedas and Upanishads. Devendranath Tagore ardently believed in the vedas as a divine revelation and the sole foundation of the religious beliefs of the new church. He employed a number of preachers to spread and propagate the doctrine. In 1843, Devendranath Tagore effected total reorganisation of Brahmo Samaj and put new life into it. The Samaj actively supported the movement for widow remarriage, women's education and the abolition of polygamy.

Under the leadership of Akshaya Kumar Dutta, the younger among the followers of Brahmo Samaj, gradually developed a critical attitude towards the infallibility of the Vedas, and Devendranath. Also Dutta compiled select passages from the Upanishads inculcating the idea of one God. He framed a new covenant for the religious organisation, embodying the principles of natural and universal theism. In the later years, Devendranath devoted himself fully to religious and philosophical studies.

14.2.2 Keshava Chandra Sen 1838-1884

Keshava Chandra Sen was the next leader of the Brahmo Samaj. He joined the Brahmo Samaj in 1857. He popularised the Brahmo Samaj movement and visited various places in India to propagate the new faith. Keshava Chandra Sen's dynamic personality, fervent devotion, passionate enthusiasm and great eloquence popularised the movement. Under him the doctrine of Brahmo Samaj was more and more adapted to the doctrine of pure Christianity. He had tremendous missionary zeal and energy for social reform. Under his dynamic leadership, inter-caste marriages, people of all the caste dining together, widow-remarriage and removal of purdah were pursued with greater vigour.

He sincerely pleaded for the education of women and vehemently opposed the practice of polygamy.

Devendranath Tagore was alarmed and dissatisfied with the new trends in Brahmo Samaj. Keshava Chandra Sen was charged with inconsistency and expelled from the Samaj. Thus, by 1865, the Brahmo Samaj was divided into two camps - the conservatives and the progressives - known as Adi Brahmo Samaj and Nava Vidhan Brahmo Samaj, led by Devendranath Tagore and Keshava Chandra Sen respectively.

Keshava Chandra Sen established the Nava Vidhan Brahmo Samaj. It had assimilated many principles not only from the Hindu scriptures, but also from the Christian, Buddhist, and Muslim scriptures. In 1878, he broke away from the Brahmo Samaj of India on theological grounds and on the controversial question of his fourteen year old daughter's marriage with the Hindu Maharaja of Cooch-Bihar. Those who differed with Keshava formed a different organisation called *Sadharan Brahmo Samaj*.

The influence of Brahmo Samaj was felt in different parts of the country and the role of Keshava Chandra Sen is noteworthy. In Madras, a theistic society was established in 1864, named Veda Samaj which was later called the Brahmo Samaj of South India. Keshava Chandra Sen's brilliant speech in Madras in 1864 tremendously impressed V. Rajagopalacharyulu and Subbarayulu Chetty. Their efforts resulted in the establishment of Veda Samaj.

Famous Bengali Brahmo missionaries like Pandit Sivanath Sastry, Hemachand Sarkar and Satish Chandra Chakravarty preached the principles of *Nava Vidhan Brahmo Samaj* the organisation established by Keshava Chandra Sen.

Mannava Butchayya Pantulu from Andhra who settled in Madras city, was credited with the achievement of enrolling many enthusiastic people into the fold of Brahmo Samaj. He was widely respected for his courage and conviction, frankness, and simplicity.

Profoundly influenced by Sivanath Sastry's brilliant exposition of the principles of Brahmo Samaj, Butchayya Pantulu was ably assisted by Raghupati Venkata Ratnam who was a student of Madras Christian College, in spreading the new message. Venkata Ratnam was actively associated with social service. Pandit Sivanath Sastry described Rajahmundry, Bapatla and Masulipatnam as important centres of Brahmo Samaj in Andhra.

Let us briefly examine the impact of Brahmo Samaj on social and political life of the country.

The Brahmo Samaj was a religious reform movement aiming at the liberation of individual from the shackles of superstition. The Brahmo Samaj inaugurated a new era for the Indian people by proclaiming the principles of individual freedom, national unity, solidarity and collaboration and the democratisation of all social institutions and social relations. It popularised social reforms and has done a good deal in putting down social evils like child marriage, *sati*, polygamy and caste tyranny. The Brahmo Samaj laid emphasis on human dignity, strongly opposed idolatry and severely criticised social evils. Brahmo Samaj was the first organised expression of the national awakening in India.

The Brahmo Samaj, along with its religious movement, included in its programme items of social reform. It was the precursor of the subsequent social reform movements started by Ranade and others in other parts of the country.

14.2.3 Prarthana Samaj

Another theistic organisation which owed its inspiration of Brahmoism is Prarthana Samaj started in Maharashtra in 1867. It was started in Bombay under the leadership of Dr. Atmaram Pandurang. This organisation came into existence under the enthusiastic guidance of Keshava Chandra Sen. The members of Prarthana Samaj were dedicated theists, followers of the great religious tradition of Maratha and Saints like Nam Dev, Tukaram and Ramdas. The visits of leading Brahmo Samajists, namely Keshava Chandra Sen, Navinchandra Rai, P.C. Majumdar and Babu Mahendranath Bose to Bombay, gave considerable impetus to the work of Prarthana Samaj.

Rational worship, the disapproval of caste, the introduction of widow-remarriage, the encouragement of women's education, the abolition of child-marriage were some of the main objectives of Prarthana Samaj. It also carried out social reforms and opened orphanages, houses for widows, asylums and night schools. The Samaj started a paper called '*Subodha Patrika*'. The Samaj had been the centre of many activities for social reform in western India. The Samaj had its branches in Bombay and Madras provinces. Prof. R.G. Bhandarkar, Narayan Ganesh Chandravarkar and Pandita Ramabai Saraswati were some of the distinguished members of the Samaj.

Let us briefly examine the contributions of great social reformers in western India. They bravely led the social reform movement in spite of stiff resistance from traditional quarters.

14.3 M.G. RANADE 1842-1901



M.G. Ranade was undoubtedly the moving spirit behind social reforms in Western India. An eminent social reformer, a brilliant scholar, a great educationist and an outstanding jurist, Ranade was one of the eminent participants in the formation of the Indian National Congress. He contributed articles on social and economic subjects in the *Sarvajanika Sabha* Journal. He strongly supported the concept of the remarriage and the welfare of the widows. He favoured the raising of the age of marriage. He denounced polygamy and the dowry system and supported female education. He organised the Indian National Social Conference in Madras in 1887 to discuss burning social problems.

Ranade was also a pioneer in the field of education. He ardently believed that western education would play a vital role in the transformation of the country. He was one of the founder members of the Deccan Education Society which established several educational institutions in Maharashtra.

Ranade was deeply religious. He believed in total reforms - social, economic, religious and educational.

14.4 SATYA SHODHAK SAMAJ AND JOTIBA PHULE 1827 - 1890



Jotiba Phule organised a powerful non-brahmin movement for emancipation of women, removal of untouchability and to work for Dalits. His education, personal experience and association with Christian missionaries made him critical of prevailing Hindu religion and customs to emancipate the depressed classes and to make them conscious of their rights by educating them, Phule founded "The Satya Shodak Samaj" in 1873. He also founded "The Dinabandhu Sarvajanik Sabha" in 1884.

In 1854, Jotiba Phule opened a school for the untouchables and started a private orphanage to help widows. He established a caste school for low caste women at Pune and thus championed the cause of women's education. To carry forward his activities in an organised manner, he wrote two critical works. (1) **Sarvajanik Satya Dharma Pustak** (2) **Gulamgiri**.

The aim of Phule movement was to save the low castes from the hypocritical Brahmins and their opportunistic scriptures. His aim was to rouse the masses and to lead them to an organized resistance against the unreasonable claims of the priestly class. In the words of Phule "*education and organization were meant to create unity and a sense of identity to go back to pre-Brahmin Religious traditions*". This movement spread like a wildfire in Maharashtra and Dr. B.R. Ambedkar was started to have been influenced by it.

14.5 PANDITA RAMABAI SARASWATHI 1858-1922



The title Pandita was conferred on her as a recognition of her scholarship. With a missionary zeal, she extensively travelled in India to educate Hindu women and thereby emancipate them from social injustice and tyranny. She was a well-known Sanskrit scholar, who has developed a hatred for the abuses of Hindu religion and society. She lost her educated Shudra husband two years after her marriage. She established the Mahila Arya Samaj at Pune to promote female education and to discourage child-marriage. In 1883, she went to England and U.S.A. and in her lectures, she highlighted the deplorable condition of Indian womanhood. Her tour enabled Indians and foreigners to understand the miserable condition of Indian women. After her return from foreign countries she started Sharada Sadan in Bombay - a boarding house and school for widows. 'Mukti Sadan' was started by her in Pune to rehabilitate the famine victims. She rendered invaluable services for the emancipation of Indian women.

14.6 D.K. KARVE 1858-1962

A distinguished educationist, he became a Professor at Ferguson College, Pune in 1892. He married a widow in 1893 and he established the Widow Marriage Association. He started the Hindu Widow Home in 1896 and also opened a hostel for the children of women who had remained as widows. He founded the Indian Women's University

in 1916 and served as its Vice-Chancellor in 1932. He started primary schools in 50 villages on voluntary basis by collecting donations. Karve was conferred 'Bharat Ratna', the highest award for rendering magnificent service to the country in the field of social reform.

In South India, many reformers were influenced by western education. Though Veda Samaj under the guidance of V. Rajagopalacharyulu, and Subbarayulu Chetty made a good beginning in the sphere of religious reform, it could not achieve a major break through. Both were dead by 1862 and reform movements suffered a setback.

Sreedharulu Naidu, a devoted Brahmo trained at Calcutta, stepped in to fill the vacuum. He became the Secretary of the Veda Samaj around 1869. He prepared the new covenants which replaced the old ones. In the new covenants, the emphasis on social reform was conspicuously absent. He established South Indian Brahmo Samaj in 1871. He translated Devendranath Tagore's standard work, the '*Brahma Dharma*' into Telugu and Tamil. He revived the Brahmo monthly journal '*Tattva Bodhini*' and managed the journal efficiently. He undertook missionary tours to Bangalore, Mangalore, Tanjore and many other towns spreading the message.

I. CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1. What were the important principles of Brahmo Samaj?

2. Who established the Adi Brahmo Samaj and the Nava Vidan Samaj?

3. Who were the important leaders associated with the Prarthana Samaj?

14.7 ARYA SAMAJ



Swamy Dayananda Saraswati founded Arya Samaj in 1875 and started its activities at Lahore in 1876. He believed in the infallibility of the Vedas. He was a profound scholar in Sanskrit and a fearless crusader against evil practices in Hindu society. He preached the worship of one God, denounced idol worship, orthodoxy, caste system and untouchability. He also advocated social reform, upliftment of women, abolition of child-marriage and supported widow remarriage. His notable work '*Satya Prakash*' - a commentary on the Vedas, gave an effective strength to Hinduism in Punjab. Dayananda preached directly to the masses and did not confine his teachings to an intellectual elite. He started the 'Suddhi' movement with a view to achieve the ideal of unifying India, nationally, socially and religiously. He threw open the doors of the Hindu society to the non-Hindus - Christians and Muslims.

Swamy Dayananda Saraswati and his disciple, Swamy Shraddanand gave a strong fillip to the 'Shuddhi' movement, and many were accepted in the Hindu fold with honour. Dayanand Saraswathi was a great nation-builder and a strong advocate of Hindu religion and culture. Swamy Dayananda Saraswathi did commendable work for cow protection in India.

After his death, the work of the Samaj was carried on by Lala Hansraj, Lala Lajpat Rai, Swamy Shraddananda, Pandit Guru Dutt and others.

Swamy Dayananda Saraswati and his followers contributed a major share for the popularisation of social reform and national education. The benefits of western education were realised by the Arya Samajists. Under the inspiration of Lala Hansraj and Lala Lajpat Rai, the D.A.V. (Dayanand Anglo-Vedic) trust was created to impart western education. A network of D.A.V. schools and colleges were spread in many parts of the country side with western learning, they popularised Hindu culture and philosophy. The D.A.V. trust is one of the biggest educational societies in the country and is responsible for managing a vast number of educational institutions.

Those who still opposed western education, founded '**gurukulas**', where education was imparted in ashrams according to the Vedic principles.

Arya Samaj represents militant Hindu revivalism. It first sought to purify the Hindu society of its rampant evils. One of the main objects of Arya Samaj was to prevent the conversion of Hindu to other religions and this led to start a crusade against other Religions. Restricted to a narrow Hindu basis and with a negative attitude to Islam, the Samaj in course of time led the Muslims to mobilise on a corresponding communal basis.

14.8 SOCIAL REFORM MOVEMENTS IN SOUTH INDIA

14.8.1 KANDUKURI VEERESALINGAM 1848-1919



Kandukuri Veeresalingam, the leader of the reform movement in Andhra, was born at Rajahmundry. He studied Telugu and English, and became a teacher. He served different schools as Head Master, and then joined the Government Arts College at Rajahmundry.

Veeresalingam contributed enormously to enrich Telugu literature. He sincerely believed that books should be intelligible to all, and that books must be written in easy style. He was credited with the creation of a new style of Telugu prose. For his monumental contributions to Telugu prose, the title '**Gadya Tikkana**' was given to him. He used simple language so that people could easily understand his ideas on reform. He pleaded for mass education through the medium of vernacular language. A brilliant scholar and prolific writer, he was trenchant critique of caste and superstition. He started a journal '**Viveka Vardhani**' in 1874. He was totally dedicated to the cause of eradication of social evils. He was an ardent supporter of women's education. He believed that the progress of a nation depended much upon the education of its women. A dynamic personality in the field of social reforms, he condemned child-marriage, supported widow-remarriage and carried out an intensive campaign for the rehabilitation of the widows. He worked for the abolition of nautch practices and battled against corruption and dishonesty.

He established widow homes, orphanages and schools to help the needy women and children. He founded the '**Hitakarini Trust**' at Rajahmundry and it managed various institutions started by him.

Influenced by Butchaiah Pantulu, Veereslingam was drawn into the Brahma fold. Veeresalingam started the first Prarthana Samaj at Rajahmundry in 1878 and he was very closely associated with the activities of Brahma Samaj. He gave up sacred thread and became a practising Brahma, following the lead given by Desiraju Peda Bapaiah in 1906.

14.8.2 RAGHUPATI VENKATARATNAM NAIDU 1862 - 1939

A brilliant scholar, an eminent educationalist and an inspiring orator, Raghupati Venkata Ratnam Naidu was associated with 'social purity' movement in Andhra. Profoundly influenced by great teachers like Devendranath Benerjee and Gangadhara Mukherjee in his early career he was drawn into the fold of Brahmoism since childhood. The reforms introduced by Ram Mohan Roy and Bentinck created an indelible impression on his mind. He evinced keen interest in social reform. He was closely associated with the editorial boards of '**Brahma Prakasika**', '**The Fellow Worker**' and '**People's Friend**'. He contributed many articles in support of the social purity movement. A vigorous movement was launched against nautch parties and associations were formed and lectures were arranged to educate the people about the evil effects of this obnoxious

practice. He became the Principal of Pittapuram Rajah's College at Kakinada, from then onwards, Kakinada became an important centre of Brahmoism. He devoted all his energy and wealth to propagate Brahmoism. Influenced by Venkata Ratnam, the Rajah of Pittapuram liberally donated huge amounts to establish number of choultries and hospitals for women and liberally donated to the schools and colleges. The Rajah started two hostels at Pittapuram for boys and girls belonging to the scheduled castes and provided them with all amenities. The Rajah of Pittapuram was responsible for the construction of a Brahma Mandir at Kakinada. Venkataratnam was elected as the Vice-Chancellor of Madras University and he held the high office with great distinction. He became an important member of local bodies, Assembly and Senate and played a major role in their activities.

14.8.3 DESIRAJU PEDA BAPAI AH

Desiraju Peda Bapaiah led an ideal and exemplary life at Bapatla and many people were drawn into the Brahma fold under his spell. He was a student of Venkata Ratnam at Machilipatnam. At Madras, Peda Bapaiah was associated with the Andhra leaders of the Madras Brahma Samaj - Butchajiah Pantulu and Venkataratnam. He was one of the great Brahmos of Andhra from among the younger generation. He was well-versed in Brahma scriptures. He became a practising Brahma in 1905 and Veeresalingam followed his example.

14.8.4 NARAYANA GURU AND S.N.D.P. YOGAM MOVEMENT 1854-1928



Narayana Guru worked for a new social order based on the principles of equality and justice, and gave the religious reform movement in Kerala a social content. He was born in a poor Ezhava family near Trivendrum, a great scholar of Sanskrit, Tamil and Malayalam and a writer of devotional songs. He worked throughout his life for the moral and social advancement of backward communities. He revolted against the severities of the caste system and succeeded in abolishing animal sacrifices in the name of religion.

In 1903, he founded 'Sri Narayana Dharma Paripalana Yogam' for the social, economic, educational and cultural progress of the Ezhavas and other depressed classes. He also advocated inter-caste marriages as a means of breaking down the barriers of caste and evolving a casteless and classless society. He organised some temple right movements. Though belonged to lower caste, He installed the idol at Aravaipuram temple in 1880. He worked for a new social order based on the principles of equality and justice. For millions of people Narayana guru became a saint, a scholar, philosopher poet and social reformer and then his Sri Narayana Dharma Paripalana Yogam Movement's achievements are praiseworthy.

14.8.5 RAMASWAMY NAICKER'S SELF-RESPECT MOVEMENT

A champion of the downtrodden castes, Ramaswamy Naicker led self-respect movement, in Tamil Nadu region. He vehemently deplored Brahminical supremacy in

the society and exhorted non-brahmin communities to keep their self-respect and maintain it at all costs.

Born at Erode on 17-9-1879 in an orthodox prestigious family, Ramaswamy Naicker was determined to oppose social evils like social inequity and untouchability, with all the strength at his command. After a critical study of religious works and discussions with orthodox scholars, he developed a rational outlook and later became an atheist.

Naicker became the Chairman of Erode Municipality. After joining the Congress Organisation, he actively participated in the Civil Disobedience Movement. He became President of the Tamil Nadu Congress Committee. He successfully led an agitation in Travancore State against the restrictions imposed on untouchables and he emerged as a mass leader. While he was in prison, his wife Nagammal successfully led the movement by rousing women in Kerala.

Naicker strongly felt that the Congress was dominated by Brahmins and demanded reservations for non-brahmins in jobs and Assembly seats. He was dissatisfied with the attitude of the Congress party towards non-brahmins and described it as a citadel of brahmins. Aiming to destroy it, he left the Congress in 1925.

When Naicker launched the self-respect movement, Justice Party was in existence and it also opposed brahminical domination. Hence, when the party lost the 1936 general elections and was on the verge of extinction, Naicker resurrected the Party.

The non-brahmin classes conference was held at Madura in 1936 and re-emphasised to oppose brahminical domination. Rama Swamy Naicker's self-respect movement and the Justice Party worked in close relation. Rama Swamy Naicker became a great leader of Justice Party and non-brahmin movement.

4.9 BRAHMO PRARDHANA SAMAJ

The Brahma idea's spread in Maharashtra where Paramahansa was founded in 1849. In 1867, under the guidance of Keshab the prarthana Samaj (Prayer Congregation) was established in Bombay. In Bombay the followers of Prarthana Samaj never looked upon themselves as adherents of a new religion or of a new sect outside and along side of the general Hindu body but simply as a movement within it. Apart from worship of one God, the main emphasis has been a social reform, upon works rather than faith. They believed that the true love of God, lay in the service of God's children. Their approach was not confrontation with Hindu orthodoxy but they relied on education and persuasion.

In the field of social reform the focus was on four objects (1) Disapproval of Caste system (2) Raising the age of marriage, for both males and females (3) widow remarriage (4) women's education.

The prominent leaders of the samaj were Justice Mahdev Govind Ranade (1842-1901) R.G. Bhandarkar (1837-1925) and N.G. Chandavarkar (1855-1923). The Depressed classes mission, the social service league and the Deccan educational society have done creditable work in the field of social and educational reforms.

Mahadev Govind Ranade was considered to be the real founder of Prarthana Samaj in Maharashtra. He is described as the prophet of cultural renaissance in western India. Ranade strongly condemns (1) Dependent status of women, (2) narrow sub-castes (3) seclusion of women (4) prohibition of foreign travel (5) Restrictions on inter dining among various castes (6) untouchability. Ranade started a purity movement consisting of anti dancing admission of converts from other faith and reduction on extravagant marriage expenses. His movement in due course gained all India status.

Ranade's aim was to have a purified and reinterpreted Hinduism in the light of modern theistic philosophy. Ranade and Karve launched the widow remarriage movement aiming at making widows self supporting by giving them training as teachers and nurses. The social reform movement under prarthana Samaj had a profound influence on Maharashtra.

14.10 THEOSOPHICAL SOCIETY

Theosophical Society was founded in 1875 in New York by Madame Balavatsky and Col. Olcott. They came to India in 1879, and in 1886 made Adyar, near Madras, the headquarters of the Society. The Theosophists respect all religions as expressions of divine wisdom and are opposed to forced conversions. They aimed at the revival of Hinduism and believed in the transmigration of the soul as a determining factor in the rebirth. They also believed in occult mysticism.

In 1889, Mrs. Annie Besant became a member of the Theosophical Society. She declared her faith in the Vedas and Upanishads and propagated Vedic Philosophy and took pride in ancient Indian culture. She adopted India as her home. She propagated a strong protest against early marriage. An educationist, Mrs. Besant was responsible for starting several institutions, including the Central School at Benares, which was the nucleus for the Banares Hindu University. The Society also established schools and colleges in South India.

Mrs. Annie Besant wrote several books on education, theosophy and politics. She founded the Home Rule League in 1916, and started two journals, the 'New India' and the 'Common Weal'. She went to jail for the cause of Indian people and also started Home Rule Movement. She was made the president of the Indian National Congress in 1917 at Calcutta. Her political activities for achieving independence of India, and her social reforms, made her a great leader and a world figure.

14.11 RAMAKRISHNA PARAMA HANSA 1834-1889

Ramakrishna Parama Hansa was a man of enlightened and liberal outlook. He was a great devotee of Goddess Kali. He mixed freely with Muslim and Christian priests, and believed that all religions were paths that led to the same God. To Ramakrishna, religion was an all-embracing spirituality. Essentially as a spiritual leader Ramakrishna gave his people a sense of self-respect and self-reliance. He laid great stress upon prayers than upon rites and ritual. He stood for social reforms and he preached that selfless service done to man was selfless service to God. Ramakrishna's spiritual cosmopolitanism brought to the Indian mind a new vision of the spiritual unity of mankind.

14.12 SWAMI VIVEKANANDA 1863-1902



The most famous disciple of Ramakrishna was Vivekananda. He was a great religious and social reformer. He carried the message of his master all over India and even beyond its geographical boundaries. His dynamic exposition of the Vedanta created a profound impression among westerners. He stirred the west when he spoke about Hinduism and the Universalism in the Parliament of Religions at Chicago on the 11th September, 1893. Thereafter, he frequently toured and lectured in the U.S.A.,

England and other Continental countries as a cultural ambassador of India. He established Ramakrishna Mission at Belur to train workers entirely devoted to the cause of selfless national service. Swamy Vivekananda pleaded for social justice and reforms, preached self-reliance and upheld the cause of the downtrodden. He denounced poverty, superstitions and sins, encouraged mass education and inspired people for the service of the poor and less fortunate human beings.

14.13 RAMAKRISHNA MISSION

Ramakrishna Mission was established by Swami Vivekananda in 1896 to carry on humanitarian relief work and social work. The Ramakrishna Mission aimed at protecting India from the materialistic influences of western divination. It idealised Hinduism including its practice of idol worship and polytheism. The Mission with its various branches all over India, has been doing monumental humanitarian and social service by opening dispensaries, establishing schools, colleges, libraries and orphanages. It thus laid emphasis not on personal salvation, but on social good or social service. Ramakrishna Missions were established in several cities of the U.S.A. and Europe as well as in India, with the object of interpreting Vedic Philosophy to the people. The Mission had always rendered ungrudging help to the people in times of distress caused by famine or flood or other calamity. In particular, the welfare of the dumb millions of Indians forms the main task of the mission.

II. CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

- 1.1. What was the important work of Kandukuri Veeresalingam Panthulu in the field of social reform?

2. What is the important teaching of E.V. Ramaswamy Naicker?

3. How did the Arya Samaj differ from the Brahmo Samaj?

4. How did Swami Vivekananda contribute to the Indian Renaissance?

14.14 AHMADIYA MOVEMENT

The founder of Ahmadiya movement was Mirja Ghulam Ahmed (1839 - 1908). He began his work as a defender of Islam against the onslaughts of Arya Samaj and Christian missionaries. In 1889 he called himself as Messiah and later to be an incarnation of Hindu Krishna and Jesus. Just like Brahmo Samaj, the Ahmadiya movement based itself on the principles of universal religion of all humanity. Ghulam Ahmed was influenced by western liberalism, theosophy and religious reform movements of Hindus. He opposed Jihad (holy war) against non-muslims and aimed at fraternal relations with all people. The movement spread western liberal education among Indian Muslims and a network of schools and colleges were started to serve the cause of muslims.

14.15 WAHABI MOVEMENT

The earliest organised Muslim response to western influences appeared in the form of Wahabi Movement. It was essentially a revivalist movement. The followers of Arab religious reformer by name Abdul Wahab are known as Wahabi's. The founder of Wahabi Movement in India was Fakir Sayyad Ahmed Berelvy of Raiberely. It was initially a religious reform movement of Islam attacking the corruption that crept into Muslim society. It ultimately took the shape of agrarian revolts, Jihad against sikhs and after annexation of Punjab war against the British.

In other words, Saiyad Ahmed's ambition was to revive and restore muslim power in India by overthrowing the Sikhs in Punjab and British in Bengal. Ahmed gave training to his followers in use of arms. The views of the secret sect spread rapidly to the Kabul, Frontier provinces, Bengal, Bihar and Central Provinces. But Ahmedi was killed in 1831.

After his death, Wahabi movement was carried on by his followers in North-West Frontier Province. Some are of the opinion that the Wahabi movement was much better planned than the uprising of 1857. It offered most serious, well planned challenge to British supremacy in India from 1830-1860. But the Wahabi's never came into conflict with Hindus. Sensing the seriousness of the movement the British struck at the roots of the movement by adopting vigorous and strong measures and as a result the spirit of the movement was destroyed by 1870.

14.16 ALIGARH MOVEMENT



During the 19th century, the Muslims as a class remained aloof from the main stream of political activity. The loss of political power after the decline of the Mughal Empire frustrated them. The British held the Muslims mainly responsible for the great Revolt of 1857 and the anti-Muslim policy of the British Government after the Mutiny intensified the anti-British feeling of the Muslims. The Muslims adopted a hostile attitude towards western education. The influence of western ideas among Muslims was also far-reaching, mainly through the work of Sir Sayyad Ahmad Khan.

The first national awakening among the Muslims aimed at making the Indian Muslims politically conscious and spreading modern education among them. Sir Sayyad Ahmad Khan was the founder of this movement. It was at Aligarh that the Mohammedan Anglo-Oriental College was established in 1875. This college was founded as the central educational institution for the Indian musalmans with the support of the leading Muslim gentry of North India and the active cooperation of Salar Jung, the prime minister of Hyderabad. The Aligarh movement had strong British official and non-official support from the beginning. Its doors were open to all communities, but under the influence of its Principal Beck, the college acquired a character of its own. This college developed into the Aligarh University in 1890.

Along with it, an All India Muslim Educational Conference was also organised. The Aligarh movement, which is the central factor of Islamic renaissance in India, had two very important results. It was the first step towards the integration of Indian Muslims. The Muslim population now had a central institution which provide them with a common intellectual background and fostered a common ideology. The Aligarh Movement aimed at spreading the western education among the Muslims without weakening their allegiance to Islam. The Movement elevated Urdu to the position of a national language for Indian Islam. The educated elite among Muslims were provided with a separate language and separate ideology. In due course, the Muslims were able to claim to be a separate nation.

The Aligarh Movement aimed at evolving social reforms. It condemned polygamy, purdah, easy divorce and advocated that women should receive western education. The Aligarh Movement was based on liberal interpretation of the Quran. It tried to harmonise Islam with the modern liberal culture. A large number of distinguished Muslims like Chirag Ali, Altaf Hussain Ali, Maulana Shibli Naujani carried on the work of Sir Sayyad Ahmad Khan and developed the University as a nursery for future Muslim leaders.

Sir Sayyad Ahmad Khan, the architect of Islamic renaissance was an ardent patriot and nationalist. He held that the Hindus and Muslims in India formed one nation. He was a great believer in religious toleration. He was opposed to communal friction. In spite of liberal views, Sir Sayyad was definitely opposed to the Congress Movement from the very beginning. He held that if the British government conceded to the Congress demands for a democratic government, political power would pass into the hands of the Hindu majority. This fear of Hindu domination converted him into a sectarian leader, and ultimately in 1906 i.e. after his death, the Muslims formed a rival political party to the Indian National Congress, called the Indian Muslim League, to safeguard the interests of the Indian Muslims. It demanded separate electorates, reservation of seats for Muslims in the legislature and weightage for them in the services.

14.17 PARSIS



Malabari

Religious reform has begun among the parsis in Bombay in the middle of the 19th century. The Parsi community took cause of its purification. In 1851, the '**Rehnumai Mazdayasan Sabha**' or Religious Reform Association was founded by the enlightened Parsis to reform their creed and Society. This Sabha insisted on the pristine purity of Zoroastrian religion. They started a weekly journal called '**Rast Goftar**' for social and religious reform. Naoroji Furdonji, Dadabhai Naoroji and S. S. Bengali were the leading Parsi reformers.

Religious Reform Association campaigned against the entrenched orthodoxy in the religious field and initiated the modernisation of Parsi social customs regarding education of women, marriage and social position of women in general.

B.M. Malabari, a Parsi leader of great influence, strove hard for the cause of women and children, and founded the '**Seva Sadan**' for the social welfare work. In course of time, the Parsis became socially the most westernised section of Indian society.

14.18 AKALI MOVEMENT

Under the influence of religious awakening, the Sikhs also tried to purify their sect and society. The revivalist movement among them appeared when the Khalsa College was established at Amritsar by the progressive Sikhs in 1890. The Shiromani Gurudwara Prabhandhak Committee was started by the Sikhs to get rid of the corrupt *Mahants* and to reform the Gurudwaras. But, the reform movement gained momentum after 1920 when Akali Movement rose in the Punjab. The main aim of the Akalis was to purify the management of the Gurudwaras or Sikh shrines.

14.19 IMPACT OF THE MOVEMENTS

The socio-religious reform movements had a great impact. They contributed to the spread of English education in India, for the modernisation of the country, for eradication of social evils, for the purification of Hinduism and for the regeneration of India.

The movements were also responsible for the awakening of national consciousness among the Indians and thus for the beginning of the Indian National Movement. The

self-confidence and pride in the past inculcated among the Indians, by these movements fostered national consciousness among the Indians and prepared them for the national movement.

III. CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

III.1. What were the important ideas of Sir Sayyad Ahmad Khan?

2) Who were the important Parsi leaders who worked for reforms among the Parsis?

3) Why was the Shiromani Gurudwara Prathbandak Committee started?

14.20 LET US SUM UP

1. Raja Ram Mohan Roy, the founder of Brahmo Samaj was the father of the socio-religious reform movements of the 19th century.
2. The Arya Samaj, Theosophical society and the Ramakrishna Mission also worked for socio-religious reforms.
3. Sir Sayyad Ahmad Khan was the leader of the reform movement among the Muslims. The Aligarh college which was established in 1875 became the centre of the Islamic reform movement.
4. The Rehnumai Mazdayasan Sabha (Religious Reform Association) which was established in 1851 worked for reforming the parsi society.
5. The Khalsa college established at Amritsar in 1890 was the nucleus of the reform activity among the sikhs. The reform movement among the sikhs gained momentum after 1920 when the Akali movement was started.

14.21 CHECK YOUR PROGRESS: ANSWERS

- I.1. The Brahmo Samaj was opposed to idol worship and polytheism. It stood for universal brotherhood of man. It worked to purify the Hindu religion, by eliminating the practices which had crept into even though they had no sanction of the ancient religious works like the vedas and the upanishads.
2. The Adi Brahmo Samaj was established by Devendranath Tagore and the Nava Vidan Samaj by Keshava Chandra Sen.
3. Dr. Atmaram Pandurang, Prof. R.G. Bhandarker, N.G. Chandravarkar and Pandita Ramabai were the prominent leaders who were associated with the Prarthana Samaj.
- II.1. Kandukuri Veeresalingam Pantulu carried on a vigorous campaign and took constructive steps for widow remarriage, women's education and for abolition of child marriages. That was his important work in the field of social reform.
2. E.V. Ramaswamy Naicker opposed the Brahmin domination in the society and wanted the non-Brahmins to uphold their self-respect.
3. Arya Samaj's important slogan was 'go back to Vedas'. The Arya Samaj was not influenced by christian doctrine or practices, whereas Brahmo Samaj was influenced by them. The Arya Samaj through the **shuddhi** movement reconverted muslims and christians to Hinduisim. In Brahmo Samaj there was no such movement. These were the basic differences between Brahmo Samaj and the Arya Samaj.
4. The dynamic exposition of Vedanta, Hinduism and Universalism.
- III.1. Sir Sayyad Ahmad Khan wanted the muslims to take the English education. He believed that it was the way to the progress of the muslims. He was also in favour of the muslims supporting the British Government.
2. Dadabhai Naoroji, S.S. Bengali and Naoroji Furdorji were the prominent Parsis who worked for reforms among the Parsis.
3. The Siromani Gurudwara Prabhandak was started to get rid of the corrupt Mahants and to reform the Gurudwaras.

14.22 EXAMINATION MODEL QUESTIONS

I. Answer the following questions in about 30 lines each.

1. Describe the main principles of Brahmo Samaj and its impact on the social and political life of the country.
2. What were the main objectives of Prarthana Samaj? State the contribution of Ranade in propagating the reform movement in the Maharashtra region.
3. Trace the services of Veeresalingam and Raghupati Venkataratnam Naidu for the cause of social reform in the Andhra region.

4. Briefly discuss the efforts made by Swami Vivekananda and the Ramakrishna Mission in the religious and social spheres. What ideas inspired them?
5. Describe briefly the main features of the Aligarh Movement and examine the role played by Sir Sayyad Ahmad Khan.

II. Answer the following questions in about 15 lines each.

1. State the differences of Keshava Chandra Sen with Devendranath Tagore.
2. What were the main features of the Self-respect Movement that was launched by Ramaswamy Naicker?
3. Trace the role of Dayanand Saraswati as a social and religious reformer.
4. Write briefly about the Theosophical Society and its leading member, Mrs. Annie Besant.
5. Narrate the efforts that were made by the Parsis and the Sikhs in the field of socio-religious reforms.

14.23 BOOKS FOR FURTHER READING

- | | | |
|---------------------------------------|---|--|
| 1. Bipan Chandra | : | <i>Modern India</i> |
| 2. Desai A.R. | : | <i>Social background of Indian nationalism</i> |
| 3. Majumdar R.C. | : | <i>Advanced History of India</i> |
| 4. Mitra S.N. | : | <i>Resurgent India</i> |
| 5. Natarajan and Prema
Ramakrishna | : | <i>Political and cultural history of India, Vol.II</i> |
| 6. Ramakrishna V | : | <i>Social reforms in Andhra</i> |
| 7. Percival Spear | : | <i>History of India Vol.II</i> |
| 8. Tarachand | : | <i>History of the Freedom Movement in India, Vol.III</i> |
| 9. Zacharias H.C.E | : | <i>Renaissant India</i> |

UNIT - 15 : BACKGROUND AND GENESIS OF THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

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- 15.2 Causes for political awakening
- 15.3 Early Associations
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- 15.5 Surendranath Benerjee 1848-1925
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- 15.9 First session of the Congress
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15.0 OBJECTIVES

A study of this unit should enable you to know about :-

1. the early political associations which existed in India during the 19th century before the establishment of the Indian National Congress.
2. theories relating to the origin of the Indian National Congress and the objectives of the Indian National Congress.
3. Surendranath Benerjee and A.O. Hume.

15.1 INTRODUCTION

The intellectual awakening in India during the 19th century was mainly due to the structural changes brought out under the impact of British rule which resulted in the

creation of new social classes among them, the most important being the educated intelligentsia, who under the influence of western culture initiated social movements. It led to the grasp of the exploitative nature of the British rule and the contradiction between the economic interests of the Indian and the British. This awareness resulted in the birth of nationalism in India.

15.2 CAUSES FOR POLITICAL AWAKENING

One of the significant results of the British conquest of India was the establishment of a centralised state. This brought about for the first time in Indian history, a real and basic political and administrative unification of the country. The uniformity of the British administration universal peace, political unity and spread of western political ideas brought about political awakening in the country. The entire country was economically developed as one unit.

The introduction of English as a medium of instruction brought about linguistic unity of the country. Educated Indians were profoundly influenced by western knowledge of science, literacy and politics. The contribution of educated Indians brought about political awakening in the country. They were imbued with a new spirit of patriotism and progressive outlook.

Western thought fostered the growth of the spirit of deep nationalism in India. Political consciousness and aggressive patriotism were borrowed from the west and it profoundly affected the course of Indian history. It is aptly pointed out by Tilak that Indian nationalism was the off-spring of the impact of British rule.

In the 19th century, a number of remarkable intellectuals of Bengal, gave lead to the rest of Indian cultural and political matters. Out of their efforts, the new nationalist movement ultimately took shape.

15.3 EARLY ASSOCIATIONS

Though the first great struggle of the Indian people for freedom from British imperialism could not succeed in 1857, yet it paved way for the rise of modern national movement. After the 1857 rebellion, the leadership of Indian resistance to British rule was transferred from the hands of the traditional upper classes to the English educated community, full of new ideas about nationalism, civil liberty and constitutional government. The leadership provided by the new intelligentsia was imbued with the ideas of modern nationalism and democracy.

15.3.1 Land Holders Society.

The earliest public association in modern India was the Land Holders Society as association of the landlords of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa founded in 1837 with the purpose of promoting the class interests of the landlords. Then in 1843, the Bengal British Indian Society was organised to protect and promote general public interest. These two organisations merged in 1851 to form the British India Association. Similarly, East India Organisation was organised by Dadabhai Naoroji in 1866 in London to discuss the Indian question and to influence British public to promote Indian welfare. Branches of the association were organised by him in important Indian cities.

15.3.2 Madras Native Association.

Madras Native Association and Bombay Association were established in 1852. M. Vijayaraghavachari, G. Subrahmani Aiyer, Anandacharulu and others formed Madras Mahajana Sabha in 1881 and the Bombay Residency Association was founded in 1885. Feroze Shah Mehta, K.T. Telang and Badruddin Tyabji were founder members of this Association. Justice Ranade and others organised Pune Sarvajanika Sabha. The Pune Sarvajanika Sabha brought out a quarterly journal under guidance of Justice Ranade and valuable articles were contributed to this journal by eminent scholars, particularly on the problems of Indian economic conditions.

15.3.3 British India Association.

British India Association realised the need for carrying on political agitation on an all India basis. The Association demanded equality before law without any discrimination between the Indians and the Europeans as well as trial by Jury. It also demanded for throwing open all offices including Indian Civil Service without any reservation to Indians. The Indian intelligentsia organised political associations in big cities and through those organisations various problems that affected the country were focussed and discussed.

15.3.4 Indian Association

One of the most important associations of pre-Congress nationalist organisations was the Indian Association of Calcutta, founded in 1876. Its leading spirit was Surendranath Benerjee. The main objectives of the Association were, 1) the Unification of the Indian races and people on the basis of common political interest and aspirations. 2) the promotion of friendly feeling between Hindus and Muhammadans. 3) the creation of a strong body of public opinion in the country. 4) the inclusion of the masses in great public movements of the day.

Surendranath Benerjee toured all over India and his brilliant oratory won him wide acclaim and he became a popular leader destined to play an important role in the political life of the nation. When the age limit of the competitors for the Indian Civil Service examination was lowered from 21 to 19, the Indian Association started an all India agitation against the measure. The Association proved effective during the Ilbert Bill controversy. The British officials of India were surprised to see the vigour of the agitation organised by the Association in favour of the bill. This Association also criticised legislation against the Indian Press and the abolition of the revenue tariff, thus giving Lancashire cotton goods an advantage over Indian goods. This Association became an important public forum during the regime of Rippon.

To give a concrete shape of this Indian nationalism based on political unity, the Indian Association conceived the idea of an All India Conference. It held its first national conference at Calcutta in 1883 and discussed most of the political issues that were agitating the minds of the educated Indians. It adopted a programme very similar to the one adopted by the Indian National Congress with which it merged in 1886.

15.4 ANAND MOHAN BOSE

Anand Mohan Bose was influenced by Dadabhai Naoroji while studying in London. As a result of the revolution of political thought in Bengal by the middle of the 19th century, Mohan Bose along with Surendranath Benerjee was involved in hectic political activity in Bengal. The emergence of political nationalism with aspiration for colonial self-government became an accomplished fact. In a long speech delivered at Brighton, he suggested for the formation of a representative assembly and senate in India, the young nationalists of Bengal led by S.N. Benerjee and Anand Mohan Bose founded the Indian Association in 1876. In the first session of the National Conference in Calcutta in 1883, Anand Mohan Bose in his opening speech remarked that it was the first stage towards a 'National Parliament'. Later on, he was elected as a President of the Indian National Congress.

15.5 SURENDRANATH BENERJEE 1848-1925

Surendranath Benerjee was brilliant writer and a moving orator. He passed the Indian Civil Service examination in 1871 and started his career as an Assistant Magistrate at Sylhet. He was unjustly turned out from the civil service. He took up a teaching position at Free Church College, Calcutta. Later, he founded the Rippon College. He founded the Indian Association of Calcutta in 1876, and he was the first Indian leader to move for the creation of a National Fund to secure political advancement by constructive agitation. He laid the foundation of Indian nationalism which sought to cut across the Hindu and Muslim nationalism that had been developing side by side. He extensively toured the country and delivered brilliant speeches and thus roused national consciousness among people. National Conference convened by him became the precursor of the Indian National Congress. Twice he presided over the Congress Sessions; in 1895 at Pune, and in 1902 at Ahmedabad. He was a Moderate leader in Indian politics having total faith in the British sense of justice and political concepts.

15.6 BIRTH OF THE CONGRESS

India had become politically conscious and were aware of the need for an all-India organisation for drafting a common political programme. The first conference met at Bombay on 28th December 1885 under the name Indian National Congress with W.C. Benerjee as President and A.O. Hume and K.T. Telang as Secretaries. The credit goes to A.O. Hume for conceiving the idea of starting the Indian National Congress. He is aptly called the Father of Indian National Congress.

15.7 A.O. HUME 1829-1912

He was born in a liberal Scottish family and was a member of the Indian Civil Service (I.C.S.). Hume served the administration in several high posts with great distinction. He worked as the Secretary to the Government of India in 1870 and he frankly expressed his views without regard to the wishes of the superiors. As his views did not find favour with his superiors, he retired in 1882. He sympathised with the aspirations of the educated Indians. In March 1882, he called upon the Calcutta University Graduates to make "*a resolute struggle to secure freedom for themselves and their*

country". He was the guiding spirit of the first session of the Congress held at Bombay in December 1885 and for several years served as its General Secretary with great distinction and devotion. In 1889, he helped in the setting up of the British Committee of the Congress in London, which started its journal "India"

15.7.1 Lord Dufferin

It was during the tenure of Governor-General Lord Dufferin that A.O. Hume enlisted the official favour for starting an association for the moral, social and political regeneration of the people of India. Hume recognised that the popular discontent against the British government and threatened to explode into a revolution. This situation prompted Hume to interview Lord Dufferin.

Hume's original idea was to bring together the leading Indian intellectuals to discuss important social problems. On the other hand Lord Dufferin preferred the organisation to perform the role of loyal opposition in India. The Viceroy wanted the *"Indian politicians to meet yearly and point out to the government in what respects the administration was defective and how it could be improved"*.

Soon after, Hume in collaboration with outstanding liberal intellectuals in the country, founded the Indian National Congress. In the beginning, the Government's attitude towards the Congress was friendly. Government officials actively participated in the deliberations of the first meeting of the Congress. Congress members were invited to a garden party by the Governor-General Lord Dufferin in Calcutta in 1886 and the Governor in Madras (1887). The Viceroy Dufferin even gave it guarded approval.

But, Lord Dufferin on the eve of his retirement, expressed his disapproval of the policy and the methods of Indian National Congress and described it as represented by micro-cosmic minority. Thus, there was a change in the attitude of the government during the tenure of Lord Dufferin itself.

15.8 SAFETY VALVE THEORY

Let us analyse the prevailing conditions of unrest among the educated middle class intellectuals. The growing discontent among the educated middle class intellectuals gained momentum especially after 1870 and almost threatened to reach an explosive point by 1883. The anti-popular measures of Lord Lytton's Government for instance the Vernacular Press Act, seriously increased discontent. The Arms Act further deprived the Indians of the right to carry arms without licence and the latter was not easily granted.

Indian National Congress was founded in December 1885 by 72 delegates drawn from all over the country. A.O. Hume, a retired English Civil Servant played a crucial role in the formation of Indian National Congress.

This gave rise to the safety valve theory. As per the safety valve theory national congress was founded by A.O. Hume and others under the official direction, guidance and advise of the then Viceroy Lord Dufferin, to provide a safe, peaceful and constitutional outlet or safety valve for the rising discontent among the masses which was leading to a popular and violent revolution. As per the theory the violent revolution

was in the offing at that time and it was avoided by the foundation of Congress in 1885. In the words of Lala Lajpath Rai Congress was a product of Lord Dufferin's brain and it was founded with the objective of saving British Empire from danger. R. Palme Dutt also opined that the Congress was brought into existence through a plan secretly arranged with Viceroy Dufferin. M.S. Golwalkar the R.S.S. Chief was of the opinion that they founded Congress as a safety valve to keep the rising nationalism under control and to destroy national consciousness. Lala Lajpath Rai further held the view that Hume and the basis of evidence, available to him about the threat to British rule, decided to create a safety valve for the discontent.

Bipan Chandra describes the safety valve theory as a myth. He questions the existence of secret reports about impending revolt which was the main plank for safety valve theory.

W.C. Benerjee describes the congress is the hand work of Marquis Dufferin. He further stated that Hume thought of bringing together leading politicians of India once in a year to discuss social matters. But Dufferin asked Hume to do the opposite and start a body to discuss politics, so that the government could keep itself informed of Indian opinion.

Lord Dufferin in his St. Andrew's Church dinner speech in 1888 publicly criticised congress for pursuing politics rather than to take it to social reform which would benefit millions. He expressed the same opinion in his letters to Secretary of State. The private papers of Dufferin put an end to the theory of safety valve theory.

Neither Dufferin nor his fellow governors of Bombay and Madras were sympathetic to the congress. Dufferin attacked the congress in 1888 by stating that we cannot allow the congress to exist if it follows the path of politics. All this indicates that the congress was not the brain child of Dufferin as a safety valve.

From the beginning congress was not conceived as a party but as a movement. The main objective of early congress leaders was to lay foundation of a secular and democratic national movement to politically educated people, to develop all India leadership group, to develop and propagate anti-colonial and nationalist ideology.

A.O. Hume acted as the chief organiser for founding Congress. The congress leaders co-operated with him. The congress leaders cooperated with Hume as they did not want to arouse the official hostility at an early stage of their work.

Bipan Chandra, *"If Hume and other English liberals hoped to use the congress as a safety valve, the congress leaders hoped to use Hume as a 'lightning conductor'"*

The Ilbert Bill controversy during the regime of Lord Rippon further embittered relations between the British and the Indians. The bill named after Sir Ilbert, of the Viceroy's executive council, aimed at removing judicial inequalities in the powers of the Indian and British magistrates, it was a liberal and reasonable measure. The controversy generated bitterness between the British and the Indians. The racial arrogance of the Britishers and their policy of discrimination was resented by the Indians.

India, in the eighties, was in a state of ferment. The Indian Association established by Surendranath Benerjee in 1876 was gaining popularity and the National Conference organised by it in 1883 displayed the truly national character of the organisation. Therefore, Hume was convinced that was an imminent danger of a terrible upheaval, and that some thing must be done to counteract it. He wanted the Congress to act as a 'safety valve' for popular discontent. That the Congress was designed as a safety valve for revolutionary discontent was made clear by Hume himself: "*A safety valve for the escape of the great and growing forces generated by our own action, was urgently needed and no more efficacious safety valve than our Congress movement could possibly be devised*". He believed that the National Congress would provide a peaceful and constitutional outlet among the educated Indians and would thus help to avoid the outbreak of a popular revolt. He wanted to prevent the union of a discontented nationalist intelligentsia with a discontented peasantry.

Even Hume's motives were mixed ones. He was also moved by motives nobler than those of the safety valve. He possessed a sincere love for India and its poor cultivators. Hume was a liberal-minded person and believed in the rightness of the Indian demand for progressive reforms. He not only founded the Congress, but stuck to the organisation after 1888, even when the Association began to be looked on with suspicion by the Government. He guided the Association throughout its difficult period. Hume was not a tool of British imperialism.

Indian leaders felt that an organisation inaugurated by a distinguished Britisher would not be unwelcome to the British Government. If Hume hoped to make the Congress a safety valve Indian leaders hoped that it would be a lightning conductor to nullify British opposition.

I CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1. Who were the founders of the Indian Association of Calcutta? What were its important objectives?

2. What is meant by the Safety Valve Theory?

We have already studied how the Indian Association founded by Anand Mohan Bose and Surendranath Benerjee rapidly gained prestige. This Association became an important public forum during the tenure of Rippon. The first National Conference held under its auspices in Calcutta in 1883, was attended by hundreds of delegates, both Hindu and Muslim. The second session of the Conference was held in Calcutta in December 1885. The same questions that were discussed already in the first two sessions of the National Conference were discussed at the Bombay session of the Indian National Congress.

15.9 FIRST SESSION OF THE CONGRESS.

The Indian National Congress met in Bombay on 28th December 1885, the day following on which the National Conference concluded its second session.

As the members of the two conferences had similar views and shared common aspirations, the members of the National Conference joined the Congress and heartily cooperated with it. Thus, the National Conference lost its separate identity, and the members cooperated with the Indian National Congress. It is a striking testimony to the growth of a feeling of national unity that without any difficulty, the Indian National Conference silently merged itself into the Indian National Congress.

On 28th December, 1885 at 12.00 noon, in the hall of the Gokuldas Tejpal Sanskrit College, the first National Congress met under the Presidentship of W.C. Benerjee, and A.O. Hume and K.T.T. Telang were elected as Secretaries. A national political organisation, which was to guide subsequently India's struggle for freedom, had come into existence. The birth of the Congress was the most significant event in the history of Indian struggle for freedom.

It was attended by almost all outstanding leaders of Indian nationalism. Seventy delegates attended the session. The most important among them were Feroz Shah Mehta, Dadabhai Naoroji, Dinshaw Wacha and W.S. Apte, P.Rangaiah Naidu, P.Anandacharyulu, Subramaniya Aiyar from Madras, and Kesava Pillai from Anantapur. Among the representatives, there were editors of the well known newspapers like Indian Mirror, the Kesari, The Hindu, The Tribune etc. The delegates of Indian National Congress consisted mostly of lawyers, journalists, industrialists, traders, teachers and landlords.

The following were the main objectives as enumerated by the President of the session. W.C. Benerjee. 1) The development of close relations between the national workers, 2) the dissolution of race, creed and provincial prejudices among all lovers of the country, and further development and consolidation of the feeling of national unity among them. 3) the recording of the conclusions on vital Indian problems reached by educated Indians after earnest discussions of these problems; and 4) Outlining of the programme of work for the next year.

At this session, Congress passed many resolutions. It demanded the abolition of Indian Council. In another resolution, the Congress requested for the creation of a Royal Commission to enquire into the working of the Indian Administration. Another resolution was passed by the Congress demanding the Government to hold simultaneous examination for the Indian Civil Service and the raising of the age of candidates. The

Congress demanded the admission of elected members to existing legislative councils and creation of councils in the North-West Frontier Province, Oudh and Punjab. The proceedings began with declarations of loyalty and gratitude for the blessings of British rule.

Thus, the demands, of the first Congress, started and directed by the liberal politicians, were modest and restricted to administrative reform and introduction of the elective principle in legislatures. Further, Hume, on behalf of the congress, at the close of the session, proposed cheers for Victoria, the Queen-Empress, thereby stressing the loyalist character of the Congress.

II CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1. Who was the President of the first session of the Indian National Congress. Where was it held?

2. What were the important resolutions passed in the first session of the Indian National Congress.

15.10 LET US SUM UP

1. The British India Association, The Madras Native Association, Madras Mahajana Sabha, Poona Sarvajanik Sabha, Bombay Presidency Association were some of the important political associations existing in India before the establishment of the Indian National Congress?
2. The most important of the Associations in India before the Indian National Congress was the Indian Association of Calcutta founded in 1876 by Surendranath Benerjee.
3. The Indian National Congress was established in 1885. A.O. Hume was its founder. It is suggested that Hume established the Congress to provide a safety valve for British rule in India. This theory is known as the safety valve theory.

15.11 CHECK YOUR PROGRESS : ANSWERS

- I.1. Surendranath Benerjee and Anand Mohan Bose were the founders of the Indian Association of Calcutta. Its important objectives were 1) to promote unity among the Indians and 2) to create public opinion on important issues.
2. It is said that A.O. Hume established the Indian National Congress as a safety valve for the escape of the steam of discontentment among the educated Indian to protect the British empire in India. This is the meaning of the safety valve theory.
- II.1. W.C. Benerjee was the president of the first session of Indian National Congress which was held in the Gokuldas Tejpal Sanskrit college at Bombay.
2. The first session of the Indian National Congress held in 1885 passed resolutions, demanding
 1. abolition of Indian Council
 2. appointment of a Royal Commission to enquire into the working of the Indian administration.
 3. raising of age limit for the Indian Civil Service examination and holding the examination in India also and,
 4. inclusion of elected members in legislative councils.

15.12 EXAMINATION MODEL QUESTIONS

I. Answer the following questions in about 30 lines each:

1. Bring out the main factors that contributed for the rise of nationalism in India during the second half of the 19th century?
2. Describe the factors that led to the establishment of the Indian Association. What were its aims and achievements?
3. Give a critical appraisal of the foundation of the Indian National Congress?

II. Answer the following questions in about 15 lines each:

1. Mention the various associations other than the Indian Association, that were founded before the Indian National Congress. Examine the nature and aims of these associations.
2. Examine the contribution of Surendranath Benerjee to the Indian National Movement?

15.13 BOOKS FOR FURTHER READING

1. Bipan Chandra : *Modern India*
2. Bipan Chandra, Tripathi & Barun De : *Freedom Struggle*
3. Majumdar, R.C. & Others : *Advanced History of India*
4. Majumdar, R.C. : *History of the Freedom Movement in India, Vol.II*
5. Percival Spear : *History of India, Vol.II*
6. Sumit Sarkar : *Modern India (1885-1947)*

BRAOU

UNIT-16: INDIAN NATIONAL MOVEMENT : EARLY PHASE.

Contents :

- 16.0 Objectives
- 16.1 Introduction
- 16.2 Moderate Phase
- 16.3 Economic Critique of British imperialism
 - 16.3.1 Drain theory
- 16.4 Assessment of Early Phase of Indian National Movement
- 16.5 Political Mendicancy
- 16.6 Seed time of Indian nationalism
- 16.7 Let us sum up
- 16.8 Check your progress : Answers
- 16.9 Examination Model Questions
- 16.10 Books for further reading

16.0 OBJECTIVES

After studying this unit you should be able to have a knowledge of :

1. the aims, methods and achievements of the congress between 1885 and 1905

16.1 INTRODUCTION

Although the 19th century did not mark the beginning of the national struggle for freedom it set the stage by creating the ideal of Indian nationalism and stimulating the spirit of patriotism and freedom. The resolutions passed by the Indian National Congress as its opening session reveal the loyalist character of the organisation. The liberal leaders who dominated the Congress had immense faith in the British democracy.

The chief aims of the Indian National Congress were three-fold: 1) to bring about better relations between the Indians and the British; 2) to fuse the various communities of India into one homogeneous nation; 3) to demand greater share in the administration of the country.

In the initial stages, in criticising government policy, the Congress always maintained great dignity and moderation. It was not a militant or anti-British organisation in the early stages. There is no doubt that with the foundation of the Indian National Congress in 1885, the struggle for India's freedom was launched in a small, hesitant and mild manner. It gained strength and stature, and later involved the Indian people in powerful militant campaigns against the foreign rulers.

16.2 MODERATE PHASE

The period from 1885-1905 is known as the period of moderate nationalism. During this period, the main objective of the congress was to demand and obtain gradual reforms in the Indian administration. During this period, the Congress was dominated by the 'Moderates'.

The second session was held in Calcutta in December, 1886 under the presidentship of Dadabhai Naoroji. 436 delegates elected by different organisations and groups attended the session. From this session, the Congress became truly national in character. During this session, Surendranath Benerjee took a leading part and the new political organisation was impregnated with the advanced political ideas of Bengal.

In the very first session, the Congress demanded for simultaneous examinations for Indian Civil Service in India and England. At the second Congress, a sub-committee was appointed to formulate certain details regarding the conduct of these examinations. The Congress also passed a resolution requesting the Government to separate executive from judiciary.

In December, 1887 the Congress met in Madras, and a resolution was passed by the Congress requesting the Government to accept Indian claims for administration into higher grade of military services on the plea of India's loyalty to the British Crown. The delegates were invited by the Governor to a Garden Party at the Government Guest House.

Thus, the Congress gradually developed into a powerful political organisation of an all-India character. It focussed the political ideas of English-educated Indians and gave them a definite shape and form. The Congress was founded on the twin rocks of unswerving loyalty to the British Sovereign and strictly constitutional agitation. The leaders who guided the destinies of Congress during this period (Moderates) ardently believed that they would achieve their political aims by constitutional agitation. Though they were severe critics of the evils of British imperialism, they were admirers of British rule which they regarded as a divine dispensation to uplift India from her backwardness. They had immense faith in high sense of justice and the fair play of the Englishmen. The annual gathering of leading representative men from different parts of India gave reality to the ideal of Indian unity, developed patriotic feelings and awakened political consciousness among a steadily increasing circle of English-educated Indians.

During the Congress sessions, the leaders made forceful speeches condemning the colonial policy of the British resulting in the impoverishment of the country and demanding remedial measures. The Indian National Congress opened an agency in London in 1888, and soon its activities had their impact on the British government.

At its inception, the intelligentsia, the upper stratum of the educated classes and the commercial bourgeois formed the main social basis of the Indian National Congress. The programme of the Congress reflected the interest of these groups of Indian society. The liberals stood for representative institutions and elective principles. They demanded legislatures by the people and control of the executives. Thus, within a few years the Congress organisation gained immense prestige and enormous influence.

The early British response to the rise of the Congress was friendly. The Congress delegates were entertained by the English governors at garden parties. But, the harmony did not persist for long. Lord Dufferin ridiculed the Congress and refuted its claim of beginning the sole representative body of the people.

The British officials had hoped that the National Congress would keep itself busy with the academic discussions conflicted to a handful of the politically conscious Indians. But the Congress leaders started a campaign of agitation among the people against various acts of omission and commission by Government. They were holding meetings, publishing pamphlets and leaflets. The British authorities considered the new development as sedition. "*The nationalistic economic agitation exposed the real, exploitative face of imperialism*". (Bipan Chandra)

From then onwards, the British officials launched a vicious and vitriolic campaign against the Congress and its leaders. The nationalists were branded as '*Disloyal Babus*', '*Seditious Brahmins*' and '*Violent Villains*'. The Congress was described as a '*factory of sedition*' and the Congress men as '*disappointed candidates for office and discontented lawyers, who represent no one but themselves*'.

Curzon, the Viceroy, in 1900 declared that '*the Congress is tottering to its fall, and one of my great ambitions, while in India, is to assist it to a peaceful demise*'. He described the Congress as that '*unclean thing*'.

The British authorities realised that the growing unity of the Indian people posed a major threat to their rule. In order to weaken the Congress, and to counter the growing influences, it adopted a policy of divide and rule. The British officials therefore encouraged Sir Sayyad Ahmad Khan, Raja Shiva Prasad of Benares and other pro-British forces to start an anti-Congress movement. They also tried to drive a wedge between Hindu and the Muslims. The British authorities made an attempt to incite the upper and middle class Muslims against the national movement. The divide and rule policy was not confined to Hindus and Muslims only. "*An effort was made to turn the traditional feudal classes against the new intelligentsia, province against province, caste against caste and group against group*" (Bipan Chandra).

16.3 ECONOMIC CRITIQUE OF BRITISH IMPERIALISM

The establishment of British rule in India was an entirely novel phenomenon for India, not comparable with any other earlier foreign invasions. Every previous ruling class whether it had originally come from outside or was indigenous, had accepted structural unity of India's social and economic life and tried to adjust with it. It had become Indianised and had struck deep roots in the soil of the country. On the other hand, the Britishers stayed in India as an alien ruling class for short periods, and never tried to merge themselves with the people of India. The country was made a field of imperialistic exploitation. They established peace and order, security of life and property; but the so-called Pax Britannica was the peace of the graveyard. The rise and progress of British imperialism led to revolutionary changes in various aspects of national life.

The most enduring work of the early nationalists was their economic critique of imperialism. British imperialist ruling classes systematically carried on economic

exploitation through trade, industry and finance. The political unity and the uniformity of the administration helped the Britishers to aim a strangle hold on Indian economy and to direct the economic forces for their own benefit. The early nationalist leaders clearly pointed out that the essence of British economic imperialism was subordination of the Indian economy to the British economy. They vigorously opposed the transformation of India into a supplier of raw materials, a market for British manufactures and a field of investment for foreign capital. As a result of British economic exploitation, India became a colonial and agricultural appendage of the British structure.

Dadabhai Naoroji declared that British rule was "*an everlasting, increase and everyday increasing foreign invasion*" that was "*utterly, though gradually destroying the country*". The initial nationalist leaders pointed out that the official economic policy of the government ruined India's traditional handicrafts. The Indian handicrafts unable to withstand competition of cheap machine made goods became increasingly unimported. The decay of Indian handicrafts led to unemployment on a vast scale. The leaders also opposed the Government's policy of import of foreign capital for investment in the Indian railways, plantations and industries. In their opinion, this policy of the government led to the suppression of Indian capital and further strengthened the British hold on India's economy and polity. They sought administrative measures to keep out the foreign capital. They stressed the need for modernisation of Indian life in all fields, and in particular the development of modern industry as vital for the abolition of poverty. As rapid modernisation required active state assistance, they suggested to the Government to render assistance for rapid industrialisation of the country and to protect native industries. They advised the Government to follow a policy of protection and urged the Government to start industries such as steel and mines as the Indian capitalists were not permitted to start industries in those fields.

The early nationalists also popularised the idea of Swadeshi as a means of promoting Indian industries. Many Swadeshi stores were opened. A powerful Swadeshi campaign was organised in Maharashtra during which, students burnt foreign cloth in public places.

The most important factor which hampered the progress of Indian industries was the tariff policy of the government. The British introduced or charged their commercial policies with the sole object of crushing Indian industries. The nationalists organised a powerful all-India agitation against the abandonment of tariff duties on imports from 1857 to 1880 and against imposition of cotton excise duties in 1849 and 1896.

The early nationalists carried on a persistent agitation for the reduction of the heavy land revenue demand. They also agitated for improvement in the working conditions of the plantation labourers. They demanded abolition of the salt tax and other taxes that hit the poor and the lower middle classes hard. They criticised the official policy of promoting foreign trade and railway development with a view to promote imports of manufactures and exports of raw materials. They further wanted that trade and transport policies should be geared to internal economic development.

16.3.1 Drain Theory

One of the most powerful weapons in the nationalist armoury of anti-imperialist criticism was the Drain Theory. Dadabhai Naoroji was the first Indian leader to draw the attention of the fact that British policy was draining India's wealth. He dedicated his whole life to the propagation of this theory which he considered as the fundamental reason for the oppressive British rule in India. He expressed his views in the book "Poverty and un-British rule in India". It states that "*India is suffering seriously in several ways and is sinking in poverty*".

The Drain theory stated that there was a continuous flow of wealth from India to British. The flow of wealth was due to the unfavourable balance of trade to India due to excess imports. A large part of India's capital and wealth was being drained out or exported to British. India did not get any return either in the form of interest or loans or a share in the British capital invested in India. Apart from that India had to pay heavily towards the administrative costs like the payment of salaries and pensions to the civil and military officials serving in India.

Prominent leaders like Ranade and R.C. Dutt, also pointed out the evils of drain. This theory was popularised by the nationalists as it enabled the common man to grasp the existence of colonial exploitation. Thus by attacking the drain, the early nationalists revealed the exploitative nature of colonial imperialism. The effects of the British policy lead to economic backwardness, under-development and impoverishment of India.

I CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1. What were the methods adopted by the Moderates to achieve their aims.

2. What was the important contribution of the Moderates in the economic sphere.

3. What is meant by the Drain theory?

16.4 THE ASSESSMENT OF EARLY PHASE

The early phase of National Movement spreading from 1885 to 1905 can be called as the period of moderate nationalism. It succeeded in setting the stage for creation of the ideal of Indian Nationalism and for promoting the spirit of patriotism and freedom. The National Movement though started in a small, hesitant and mild manner gained strength in due course of time. In the early phase the congress was dominated by the moderates.

The moderates were the first in the 19th century to develop an economic critique of colonialism. This criticism was perhaps the most important contribution to the development of National Movement in India. The Moderates initially adopted a positive attitude towards the British rule with the hope that British would help in modernizing India. They further expected that Britain would develop India's productive forces with the help of science and technology. They were fully aware of the defects of colonial rule but yet they expected good sense will prevail and Britain will build India. They slowly realised that the social development was not up to the mark and it was leading to under development. Dadabhai Naoroji, Govinda Ranade, R.C. Dutt critically proved that the economic policies of the British and their colonial rule was the main obstacle to Indian economic development. They further felt that the British imperialism was to subordinate the Indian economy to British economy. Hence in that opinion the essence of British colonialism was to transform India into a supplier of food stuffs and raw materials and a field for investment of British capital.

Hence the early Nationalist leaders organised Nationalist economic agitation the moderates felt that the British rule was responsible for the impoverishment of India. The moderates declared that their main objective was economic transformation of India with the help of modern technology. They further felt that industrial and commercial progress of India will unite, diverse people of India, into a single nation.

The main objective of Moderates was to achieve Industrialization of India through Indian capital as they felt foreign capital was an evil which exploited and impoverished India. In brief Indian Nationalists strongly believed that genuine economic development was possible only through Indian capital.

The Moderates succeeded in highlighting the progressive ruin of India's traditional handicrafts due to the deliberate policy of British to help the British manufacturers. They were critical of free trade policy adopted by British as it was a major obstacle to rapid industrial development of India.

The focal point of the nationalist of colonialism was 'The Drain Theory'. The well known advocate of the Drain Theory Dadabhai Naoroji emphatically stated that the economic policies of Britain were draining and bleeding India. He launched a raging campaign against the Drain and further stated that the Drain was the basic cause of India's poverty and fundamental evil of British rule in India. R.C. Dutt also vehemently attacked the drain stating because of the most prosperous country on earth was transformed into a land of famines. By launching an attack on the drain the nationalists succeeded in conveying the essence of imperialism.

The Moderates further felt that the British policy on trade and industry and capital resulted in the backwardness of India. Dadabhai Naoroji didn't accept the theory that the British were benevolent and provided security to India. He argued 'It was a mask to exploit Indian ruthlessly'.

The early Nationalists were moderate in political methods still loyal to British rule but they did cut at the political roots of the British empire and sowed the seeds of disaffection and disloyalty and even sedition. Hence the period from 1875-1905 can be described as a period of intellectual unrest spreading national consciousness. In a nutshell *'the early Nationalists laid strong and enduring foundation for the national movement to grow upon'*.

16.5 POLITICAL MENDICANCY

The Moderates who dominated the Indian National Congress convened Congress Sessions every year, discussed political, economic and administrative problems of the country and passed resolutions. The legal agitation of the Moderates was based on their faith in the British sense of justice and devotion to the British political concept. The Indian National Congress under their direction was oriented in a western way and it demanded for reforms in the administration, so that educated Indians can find a berth in it. The Moderates of this period were mostly men of ideas and not of action. They followed the method of petitions, representations and deputations in order to convince the government about the justice of their demand. This method was often ridiculed as 'political mendicancy', which means political begging for the sake of few concessions. They were afraid of conflict and open confrontation with the British authorities. Their policy was to get gradual reforms in a strict constitutional way.

16.6 SEED TIME OF INDIAN NATIONALISM

The period from 1885-1905 was the seed time of Indian Nationalism: and the early nationalists in spite of many defeats laid, strong foundations for the growth of the national movement. This policy was opposed and severely criticised by militant nationalists under the leadership of Tilak and others. They pointed out that mere speeches and passing of resolutions would not force the British to transfer power into Indian hands. They denied that India could progress under the benevolent guidance and control of the British. They deeply hated foreign rule and they declared categorically that Swaraj or independence was the goal of the national movement.

In Bengal, Bankim Chandra Chatterji wielded his mighty pen to bring into ridicule the '**mendicant policy**' of the Congress which only put up an annual show for three days. Aurobindo exposed the vulnerability of a gentle and sophisticated Indian National Congress in a series of articles.

Tilak was a bitter critic of the political policy of 'mendicancy' followed by the moderates. Tilak wrote in the '*Kesari*' in 1896 that for twelve years the Congress men had been shouting hoarse. It produced no more effect on the government than the sound of a gnat. "Let us now try" he added "strong constitutional means". Extreme nationalist leaders - Tilak, Bipin Chandra Pal, Lajpat Rai and others disapproved of the '**mendicant policy**' for securing reforms, and decided upon a bold assertion of rights with the strength of the mass of people.

II CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1. What was the contribution of early nationalists?

2. What is political mendicancy?

3. Who were the two extremist Leaders of early 20th Century?

16.7 LET US SUM UP

1. The Congress between 1885 and 1905 was an organisation of the Moderates. Its aims and methods were moderate during that period. It was a period of 'Political Mendicancy'.
2. The most important achievement of the early nationalists was the criticism of the economic imperialism of the British rule in India.
3. The period between 1885 and 1905 can be described as the 'seed-time' of Indian nationalism.

16.8 CHECK YOUR PROGRESS : ANSWERS

- 1.1. The moderates scrupulously adopted peaceful and constitutional methods to achieve their aims.
2. The important contribution of the moderates in the economic sphere was exposure of the exploitationist nature of British economic policies in India.
3. According to the Drain theory, the Wealth of India was drained into England, resulting in the impoverishment of India.

- II.1. The early nationalists spread national consciousness and laid strong foundation for the national movement to grow upon.
2. The moderates followed method of petitions, representations and deputations in order to convince government.
3. B.G. Tilak and Aurobindo were the two important extremist leaders of the early part of the twentieth century.

16.9 EXAMINATION MODEL QUESTIONS

I. Answer the following questions in about 30 lines each.

1. Discuss the nature, aims and methods of the Indian National Congress under the leadership of the Moderate leaders.
2. Explain the salient features of the economic critique of British Imperialism that developed in the late 19th century.

II. Answer the following questions in about 15 lines each.

1. "The period from 1885-1905 was the seed time of Indian nationalism" Comment.
2. Write a brief note on Dadabhai Naoroji's Drain Theory.

16.10 BOOKS FOR FURTHER READING

1. Bipan Chandra : *Modern India*
2. Bipan Chandra, Tripathi & Barun De : *Freedom Struggle*
3. Majumdar, R.C. : *Advanced History of India*
4. Desai, A.R. : *Social Background of Indian Nationalism*
5. Merhrotra : *Towards India's Freedom & Partition*
6. Perceival Spear : *History of India, Vol. II*
7. Sumit Sarkar : *Modern India (1885-1947)*
8. Sushobkan Sarkar : *Bengal Renaissance and other Essays*

UNIT-17: GROWTH OF MILITANT NATIONALISM AND ITS PROGRAMME

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 - 17.7.2.9 Gadar Party
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- 17.10 Post-split events
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- 17.14 Books for further reading.

17.0 OBJECTIVES.

Study of this unit should enable you to know about :-

1. the differences between the Moderates and the Extremists
2. the partition of Bengal and the spread of the Swadeshi movement
3. the activities of the revolutionaries and
4. the Surat split.

17.1 INTRODUCTION.

Militant nationalism (Extremism) emerged as powerful factor in the Indian Politics towards the end of the 19th century under the dynamic leadership of Lala Lajpat Rai, Balagangadhar Tilak and Bipin Chandra Pal. The second phase of the national movement from 1906 to 1920 is generally known as the period of Extremist Nationalism or Militant Nationalism. During this period the Congress developed a militant programme.

17.2 DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE MODERATES AND THE EXTREMISTS

The Extremists were opposed to British rule. The Extremists were convinced that the British rulers would not part with power till the Congress adopted a more agitational programme. They demanded Swaraj or the political emancipation of the country, advocated boycott of British goods as an economic pressure on the government and pleaded for Swadeshi. The leaders advocated Swaraj or complete freedom from British control on the ground that every nation had an inalienable right freedom. Since armed rebellion was not practicable, they advocated passive resistance or non-cooperation. The leaders also felt that resistance by a few would be of no use and therefore, the resistance must be a mass movement. In order to enthuse the masses, they gave a religious colour to the movement and Bankimchandra's 'Vandemataram' song was used as an invocation to deified Motherland.

The Extremists were against the policy of what was called political begging. They denounced the economic exploitation of India and they suggested boycott of foreign goods. The Moderates, on the other hand, had unlimited faith in the British democracy. They looked to Britain for guiding the Indian people to overcome their social and cultural backwardness and for training them in the art of representative government. They had great faith in the justice and generosity of the English people.

The Indian liberals considered the interests of Britain and India as allied rather than antagonistic. Hence, they were loyalists. Under the leadership of the Moderates, the Congress did not represent the masses, but only interpreted their grievances. The Moderates believed in orderly progress and they were opposed to any revolutionary change and rejected all sudden changes and militant methods of struggle.

Let us analyse the essential difference between the Moderates and the Extremists in aims and methods. The two differed on fundamental points. These differences centered round two main points, the political goal and the method of achieving it. As regards the

goal, Tilak summed up his idea in one sentence "*Swaraj is my birth right and I will have it*". In the opinion of the Extremists, Swaraj means complete autonomy without dependence on the British rule.

On the other hand, the Moderates ardently believed that there was no alternative to British rule for a long time. A staunch Moderate, Gokhale said, "*Only mad men outside lunatic asylums could think or talk of independence*". The Moderates held this view on account of the backwardness of the Indians in many fields and their lack of training in self-government.

As regards the method, the Extremists rejected petitioning as mad and prescribed organised passive resistance as a programme of action. In boycott, the extremists found an effective weapon for injuring British interests. They had an abiding faith in the strength of the masses, and they prepared to win freedom through mass action.

The Extremist leaders reminded the people of their glorious past and the superiority of the Vedic culture. Their teachings nursed the spirit of nationalism in the country. They instilled among their countrymen a confidence in the future. Tilak tried to provide nationalism with a dynamic philosophy by drawing from the ancient Hindu religion.

The teachings and methods adopted by Bipin Chandra Pal and Aurobindo reflected to some extent were religious in nature.

Thus, the national movement aiming at national freedom from the British rule assumed the tinge of a religious movement. Nationalism was expressed in some religious symbols. So, under the influence of militant leaders, the growth of militant nationalism was associated with Hindu revivalism. This had its debilitating effect on national movement in the coming years.

17.3 MASS MOBILISATION

Tilak's dynamism found favour with the masses and he became a national hero. He struck a new note in Indian politics during the Bombay famine of 1896, he asked the people to take their stand on their right and boldly demand the benefits of the famine relief code. Tilak's ideas got a profound stimulus in the Swadeshi movement which created a suitable atmosphere for the awakening of the masses. He became the living symbol of new nationalism.

By 1905, India possessed a large number of leaders who had acquired during the previous period valuable experience in guiding political agitations and leading political struggles. Triple leadership of Lal-Bal-Pal stressed the need of constitutional agitations to rouse political consciousness and to gather all forces under one banner.

In order to arouse the national spirit among the masses and to establish a close contact between them and the educated classes, Tilak initiated Shivaji festival and Ganapathi Utsav. Shivaji's fight against Muslims for the sake of Hinduism was held out as the chief inspiration to nationalism. Shivaji was glorified as a great freedom fighter and exhortations were made to emulate the example of this national hero to free the country from the British yoke. Tilak infused a new self-assertiveness and self-confidence

into the people, because he knew that the real strength behind the political demand lies in the people and not in the resolutions passed by the Congress year after year.

The Extremists developed anti-liberal attitude for they were dissatisfied with the mendicant policy followed by the Congress under liberal domination. The resolutions passed by the Congress year after year were unheeded by the British authorities and some younger elements were disillusioned with the constitutional methods of the moderates. In Bengal, disillusionment with the Congress was voiced by Aswini Kumar Dutt who described the Amraoti Session of 1897 as a "three day Tamasha". Tilak, a bitter critic of the policies followed by the liberals, pointedly declared "we will not achieve any success in our labours if we croak once a year like a frog".

Thus, the Extremists ridiculed the docile policy, followed by the liberal leaders and succeeded in harnessing the growing in the country into a militant national movement known as the Swadeshi movement (1905).

In Bengal, the worship of Kali and Durga was revived so as to inspire the people to arms against the usurpers of India's birth of freedom. Nationalism became identified with religion, and motherland was personified as Durga. Old Gods and Goddesses were interpreted in a way suitable for rousing national sentiment and hopes among the people, and this was an inspiring symbolic representation of the race spirit. Bankim Chandra's 'Vande Mataram' song was used as an invocation to deified Motherland.

Anti-cow slaughter movement was launched and encouraged as the cow was considered to be a holy symbol of Hinduism and sacred to the Hindus. This movement was very powerful in Punjab, as Punjab was influenced by the reforming activities of Arya Samaj.

17.4 PARTITION OF BENGAL

Lord Curzon was the arch-priest of British imperialism. His autocratic regime had roused a wave of indignation and national consciousness. His anti-Indian administration had infused a new national spirit in the Indian National Congress. Lord Curzon committed the greatest mistake of his life when he partitioned the province of Bengal. Bengal was a big province including the whole of Bihar, Orissa and Chhota Nagpur. On the grounds of administrative convenience, the partition was justified. But, people were not convinced by the argument of the Viceroy. The partition was ostensibly for better administration of a vast province, but really for curbing the radical Bengal nationalists. "*Bengal united is a power. Bengal divided will pull different ways, one of our main objects is to split up and thereby weaken a solid body of opponents to our rule*" (Risely).

When Lord Curzon set about partitioning Bengal, he had the sinister motive of creating a Muslim - majority province, and thereby creating a rift between the Hindus and Muslims. He instigated the Muslims in favour of his proposal. The partition was a clever move in the game of the British policy of divide and rule.

Ever since the Bengalis came to know of Lord Curzon's scheme in 1903, they started their agitation. Between December 1903 and October 1905, more than 3000 public meetings were held. The political associations and newspapers made a tearing

and raging campaign against the measure and a representation signed by about 70,000 people was submitted to the Secretary of State for India. But, all these were ignored and Partition officially came into effect on October 16, 1905.

The people tried to avert this by all lawful means. Never in the history of British India, was any measure of Government opposed so vehemently, or persistently and with such unanimity. "*Curzon's obstinate refusal to pay any heed to the popular view in this matter sounded the death-knell to the method of constitutional agitation*" (R.C. Majumdar).

The Partition was universally resented. It brought about united opposition of all political groups. The Partition had brought about a disruption in Bengali family life. The pride of the Bengalis was hurt and they decided to launch an agitation to redress the harm which Partition had done. The people of Bengal considered Partition as an "*attack on the growing solidarity of Bengal nationalism*" and felt that they had been "humiliated, insulted and tricked". Public meetings were held to condemn the move of the government. Pledges were taken and resolutions passed. In October, 1905 when the Partition was effected, Bengal plunged into grief.

"*The Partition announcement fell like a bombshell*" writes Surendranath Benerjee. "We felt that we had been insulted, humiliated and tricked. We felt that it was a deliberate blow aimed at the growing solidarity and self-consciousness of Bengali-speaking population".

The whole of East and West Bengal was in flames, and entire country was affected by the events in Bengal. Poet Kavindranath Tagore, Sri Gurudas Benerjee, a judge and the Maharajas of Mymensingh and Kasim Bazar joined in the protest. When prayers and petitions failed to achieve, they decided to force the Government to concede by adopting some concrete measures. A suggestion to boycott all British goods especially Manchester cloth, caught the imagination of the people. All over Bengal, hundreds of public meetings were held to pass the resolution for boycotting British goods. After passing the resolution, the people shouted 'Vande Mataram' which became the war cry. Slogans of Swaraj, Swadeshi, Boycott and national education, emerged during the anti-partition campaign. Soon, the idea of Swadeshi and Boycott movements originating in Bengal, engulfed the whole country.

Bengal was partitioned, and Curzon returned to Britain, but India was never the same again. The pains of partition were the birth pangs of Indian bourgeoisie nationalism. The agitators held public meetings and took out processions reciting 'Vande Mataram'. The people decided to boycott the foreign goods and used Swadeshi. The Bengal Government resorted to repressive measures. Veritable reign of terror prevailed in Bengal. The Day of Partition was observed all over Bengal as a day of mourning. As a symbol of unity between the divided provinces, people observed Rakhi Bandhan. A National Fund was started by Surendranath Benerjee in a public meeting in order to give liberal financial aid to the weaving industry. A sum of Rs. 70,000/- was collected in the meeting itself for the promotion of Swadeshi movement. Leaders like Surendranath Benerjee and Bipin Chandra Pal, toured throughout the new province to whip up the patriotic spirit of the people and to inspire them to join the protest.

I CHECK YOUR PROGRESS:

1. What was the important difference in the aim of the Extremists and the Moderates.

2. Why did the people of Bengal oppose the partition of Bengal?

17.5 BOYCOTT OF BRITISH GOODS

The leaders forged a new weapon of economic pressure-boycott of foreign goods, and use of Swadeshi articles. The people decided to boycott the foreign goods and used Swadeshi. Bonfire of imported textiles was organised in many places. The boycott movement was a tremendous success. There was a great slump of cotton trade in Bengal. Later, boycott was extended to other British goods such as salt, sugar and luxury goods. As the movement progressed, it assumed wider dimensions. It developed into the idea of non-cooperation with the British in every field, with the object of securing freedom for India.

Boycott of British goods and heavy demand for Swadeshi goods led to a great demand for indigenous products. The purely economic aspect of the movement was superseded by the new meaning and significance attached to it by Aurobindo. It became a concrete symbol of nationalism.

Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi observed *"in 1908 that the real awakening (of India) took place after the Partition of Bengal that day may be considered to be the day of the partition of the British Empire"*.

The Swadeshi movement gave a great deal of encouragement of Indian Industries. Swadeshi textile mills, match and soap factories, potteries and tanneries were established everywhere. Acharya P.C. Ray set up his Bengal Chemicals factory. Rabindranath Tagore helped to open a Swadeshi store. Many zamindars and merchants joined hands with political leaders to establish banks and insurance companies.

Swadeshi movement brought about a new trend in the realm of culture. There was a flowering of nationalist poetry, prose and journalism. The patriotic songs composed by eminent poets such as Rabindranath Tagore, Rajanikant Sen and Mukunda Das at this time are sung in Bengal to this day.

17.6 SPREAD OF THE SWADESHI MOVEMENT

To encourage the spread of national spirit, Balagangadhar Tilak and Lajpat Rai spread the idea of national education. Between 1906 to 1909, a number of national schools were started in different parts of the country. At Calcutta, a college was opened in 1906 under the principalship of Aurobindo Ghosh. A National College was also begun in 1909 at Machilipatnam by the Andhra National Council of Education.

Due to the growing strength of nationalist sentiments, the Swadeshi Movement has spread from Bengal to other parts of India. Boycott and Swadeshi Movement assumed all India character by the end of 1905. Movements of support for Bengal's unity and boycott of foreign goods were organised in Bombay, Madras and Northern India. All nationalist leaders, Tilak, Bipin Chandra Pal, Aurobindo, Lajpat Rai and others organised a countrywide campaign through the press and the platform to popularise the boycott. The Movement spread rapidly. The British trade, was appreciably curtailed. Mass meetings, demonstrations and *hartals* took place. Tilak played a leading role in spreading the Swadeshi movement to the rest of the country.

Tilak carried to Western India, the cult of boycott and Swadeshi. He initiated a great bonfire of foreign cloth at Pune. He opened cooperative stores as the head of the Swadeshi Wastu Pracharini Sabha. A Swadeshi weaving company was formed at Pune. "*Our nation is like a tree*" wrote Tilak in the '*Kesari*' of which, "*the original trunk was Swarajya, and branches were Swadeshi and Boycott*".

The Anti-Partition Movement was courageously led by Tilak, Bipin Chandra Pal and Aurobindo Ghosh. Heroic students of Bengal played a prominent part in the Swadeshi agitation. But, the nationalists propagated Swadeshi and organised picketing of shops selling foreign cloth. Severe disciplinary action was taken against them. Many students were fined, expelled from schools and colleges, arrested sometimes beaten by the police with lathis. In spite of these repressive measures, the students could not be cowed down.

Women actively participated in the Swadeshi Movement. They enthusiastically joined processions and picketing. Thus, urban middle class women began to take an active role in the nationalist movement.

The Muslims took part in large numbers in the beginning, but many other middle and upper middle class Muslims remained neutral. Some upper class Muslims led by the Nawab of Dacca even supported Partition. In this communal attitude, the Nawab of Dacca and others were encouraged by the officials.

Anti-Partition Movement, in spite of its popular character, did not really affect or involve the peasantry in Bengal. It was confined on the whole, to the towns and to the upper and lower middle classes of the Province.

The British government was shaken by the prevailing political unrest and reacted sharply. During 1905-1909, thousands of people were arrested and sent to jails, peaceful and non-violent processionists were subjected to lathi charges. Students were severely dealt with. People were beaten indiscriminately to create terror. Curbs were imposed on

the press and many editors like Aurobindo Ghosh, editor of the 'Bande Mataram', Upadhyaya, editor of the 'Sandhya' and Bhupendranath Dutt, editor of the "Yugandhar" were prosecuted and punished. To suppress the Movement, the British authorities arrested, and deported. Tilak was tried and sentenced to six years vigorous imprisonment in 1908. With the arrest and imprisonment of leaders, the Movement lost its momentum. By 1909, the British had reasserted their authority.

17.7 REVOLUTIONARY NATIONALISTS

Now, we will study the heroic role of Revolutionaries who by their supreme sacrifice gained a lasting place in the history of the nation. The Revolt of 1857 was not the end of India's armed resistance to the British Raj. The repression of the Government, the blunting of the constitutional agitation and the impatience of extremism were responsible for the growth of individual revolution. The cult of bombs and guns, secret societies and assassination of hated British officials made their appearance following the Swadeshi Movement (1905).

The setting up of organisations like 'Anushilan' and 'yugantar' in eastern India, and 'Abhinava Bharathi' in western India, marked the progress of revolutionary activities throughout the country. Now, let us study the growth of revolutionary movement in a graphic manner.

Revolution was one of the phases of militant nationalism, although it radically differed from the the political extremism of Tilak. the revolutionaries believed that without violence it was impossible to uproot British imperialism which was maintained by brute force. They believed in a violent action with a view of demoralising the administration and its Indian collaborators. The revolutionaries considered it their duty to kill the Englishmen who were exerting their authority in India. The revolutionary activity was prominent towards the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century. secret murders, destruction of the government property and sabotage, were advocated to achieve the freedom of India. The main centre of these revolutionary and terrorist activities were Bengal, the Punjab and Maharashtra.

Suppression of the Swadeshi Movement drove militant nationalism underground. Several secret and revolutionary parties started functioning in different parts of the country and particularly in Bengal. Hundreds of young men in Bengal who believed in violent revolutionary movement and terrorism joined these parties. Taking their inspiration from the Irish revolutionaries and the Russian Nihilists, they pinned their faith in the violent cult of the bomb.

The earliest storm centre of revolutionary nationalism was Maharashtra. On the diamond Jubilee Day of Queen Victoria's coronation, two brothers, Damodar and Balakrishna Chapekar of Puna had assassinated Rand and Ayerest two unpopular British officers.

17.7.1 Lal, Bal, Pal

They were the famous trio who played an important role in the National Movement. They were the outstanding revolutionary Nationalists.

LAL :-

The first among them was Lala Lajapath Rai popularly known as Lal. He was a famous extremist leader from Punjab, popularly known as Sher-e-Punjab (Punjab Kesari). He was one of the three pillars of extremism, the others being Bala Gangadar Tilak and Bipin Chandra Pal. He was a philanthropist, a fearless journalist, a social reformer and a staunch nationalist. He was inclined to extremism and had fighting spirit. He led a massive agrarian movement in Punjab in 1907 and deported to Burma. He actively participated in the Non-Cooperation Movement. He led Hindu Sanghatan Movement along with Malavya and his main objective was Hindu Muslim unity. On 30th October 1928 while leading the anti-Simon Commission Procession in Lahore he was brutally lathi charged and died 18 days later due to the injuries. He was a prolific writer deeply interested in journalism. He was the founder of Urdu Daily 'The Bande Mataram' and English weekly 'The People'. His objective was to work for the all round development of masses. His contribution to the spread of modern education was remarkable. He is rightly described as a man of vision.

BAL :-

Among the extremist leaders Balgangadhar Tilak was considered to be outstanding Revolutionary known as Lokamanya, the uncrowned king of India, who popularised the cult of Patriotism. His contribution to freedom struggle was monumental and he is considered, to be one of the makers of modern India. He believed in close contact with the masses. Through celebration Ganapati and Navarathri festivals he tried to rouse national spirit in Maharashtra. Being influenced by Ranade he fought against the evils of his time. He was the founder of *Maratha* and *Kesari* newspapers. Millions of Indians were impressed by his Patriotic writings. He was responsible for introduction of extremism in national movement. He demanded 'Swaraj'. He stated '*Swaraj is my birth right*'. He was the first Congress leader to suffer several terms of imprisonment. He played a leading role in organising the nationalist party in collaboration with Lal and Pal. He believed in service and sacrifice. British described him as the "*Father of unrest in India*". He launched no-tax campaign in famine stricken areas. Many consider him as the living symbol of new nationalism. He was a great scholar and his *Gita Rahasya*, critique of Vedas reveals his eminence and insight in vedic literature. He was associated with the formation of Deccan Educational Society. Some describe him as an extremist in politics but moderate in social reforms.



LAL, BAL, PAL

PAL :-

Bipin Chandra Pal popularly known as Pal was one of the famous trio. He is popularly known as the "*Father of revolutionary thought in India*". He started his political career by joining the Indian National Congress in 1886. He was a great exponent of Indian Swaraj outside the British Empire. He published a Bengali weekly 'Paradarshak' and worked as Asst. Editor of the "The Bangali Public Opinion" and "The Tribune". He was opposed to the caste system and other rigid rules relating to inter dining and inter mixing. He was a noted writer and a powerful speaker. His famous work was '**Memories of My Life and Times**'. He played an active role in the national movement. He toured the country very widely to rouse the spirit of patriotism during the freedom struggle.

17.7.2 Indian Revolutionaries Abroad

The contribution to the cause of national independence made by India living in foreign countries, was quite considerable and noteworthy. The Indian revolutionaries abroad added a new dimension to our struggle for freedom.

The outbreak of World War I gave fresh enthusiasm to the revolutionary movement against British rule in India. Many revolutionaries were sent with a plan to organise centres in England, France, North America and Japan. The members of the Gadar party were jubilant when World War-I broke out. They thought that Britain's difficulties should be exploited to further the cause of India's freedom. They also received encouragement from Germans, who promised to supply arms, ammunitions and money to organise a general revolt in India. So the Gadar party sent revolutionary enthusiasts to India to liberate the country in collaboration with Indians. Nearly 3000 men reached India in different batches at different times, through different routes. During the First World War, the revolutionaries sent missions to West and South-East Asian countries, and even established a provisional Government in Afghanistan. In collaboration with Germany, they planned to supply the Indian revolutionary organisations with recruits, funds and arms. They were not puppets in the hands of the Germans.

The Germans made great efforts to export large quantities of weapons to India from U.S.A., but their efforts did not succeed. The alertness of the British Navy was mainly responsible for the failure of the Germans. The plan of concerted rising in Bengal, the Punjab and the U.P, with German arms during 1914-15 could not be achieved between Indian revolutionaries abroad and in India.

After the defeat of Germany in the World War-I, Indian revolutionaries scattered to different places. Though the Gadar party continued to exist after the World War-I, it lost its importance and eventually disappeared.

Now let us study the role of important revolutionaries during this period, and their heroic contributions to the Freedom Struggle

17.7.2.1. Obaidullah 1871-1944

Maulana Obaidullah was a convert from the Sikh community. Under the advice of his teacher, Mohammed Al Hasan, he organised the "*Jamial-Al-Ansar*". In

1915, Mohammed Al Hasan in pursuance of his plan to remove the British from India, sent Obaidullah to Kabul. Amir Habibullah Khan showed some interest in the plan, and advised Obaidullah to cooperate with the Indian National Congress. On the recommendation of Dr. Ansari, a Congress Committee was organised in Kabul under the presidentship of Obaidullah. This committee was later affiliated to the Indian National Congress. The Amir did not give much encouragement to the Indo-German mission which had visited Kabul then.

Indian independence committee founded in Berlin sent a mission to Kabul. The members of the mission were Raja Mahendra Pratap, Maulana Barkatullah and Maulana Obaidullah. Provisional Government of India was established with Raja Mahendra Pratap as life President, Barkatullah as Prime Minister and Obaidullah himself to be the minister of India. Punjab young men who had fled to Kabul were enrolled as officers of the revolutionary army. The daring plans of the revolutionaries suffered a set back after the defeat of Germany and Turkey in World War I. Obaidullah was forced to leave Afghanistan. From Afghanistan, he went to Moscow and Ankara. He witnessed changes brought about by Russian Revolution and Turkish revolution under Ata Mustapha Kamal Pasha. In 1939, he returned to India. From 1939 to 44, he preached his gospel. Unlike fanatics, he considered Islam as the expression of fundamental thought of humanity, the basic principles of all faiths, the manifestation of the nature of God. Obaidullah is best remembered in the revolutionary annals as one of the two authors of the famous 'Silk Letters'.

17.7.2.2 Barkatullah 1864-1928

Mohammed Barkatullah went to England in 1895. He came into close contact with the Indian Nationalists there. After his return to India, he associated himself with the Bengali revolutionaries following the Swadeshi days. In 1909, he went to Japan and published for sometime a journal, "*Islam Fraternity*". Under British pressure, the journal was stopped by the Japanese Government. In Tokyo, he came into prominence on account of anti-British propaganda. He worked as a teacher of Urdu in the Tokyo school of foreign languages. After his dismissal by the Japanese Government in 1914, he went to Berlin. Barkatullah became the Prime Minister of the provisional Government of India established in Afghanistan. Due to the unhelpful attitude of the Afghan Government, Barkatullah left for Germany to work on the India Independence Committee in collaboration with Lala Hardayal, Dr. Champaka Raman Pillai and others. In Germany, he edited and published a journal, "*Naya Islam*". Through his writings, he roused anti-British ideas among Indian Prisoners of War. After the end of the War, he toured European countries pleading for India's freedom. In 1921, he visited Russia and returned to Germany. In 1928, he died in exile.

17.7.2.3 Raja Mehendra Pratap

The formation of the "Provisional Government of India" on December 1st, 1915 with Raja Mahendra Pratap as 'life President' was an important landmark in the nationalist activities abroad. He was to be the president till a regular government was established in India by the Indian National Congress. He had left India in December 1914 and had subsequently joined the Indian Society at Berlin. He had been sent with the Turko-

German mission to Afghanistan in 1915, bearing Jihad, Fatwas and letters from the Kaiser and the Sultan of Turkey to the Amir of Afghanistan, the ruling princes in India. Barkatullah became the Prime Minister of the provisional government and Obaidullah became the minister for India. The plans of the revolutionaries could not succeed due to the defeat of Germany and Turkey in World War-I.

17.7.2.4 Madam Cama 1861-1936



Madam Cama

Born in a prosperous Parsi family of Bombay she stayed in London since 1902. Her association with Dadabhai Naoroji, Shyamji Krishna Varma, roused political consciousness in her. She was stated to have been inspired by the Italian Revolutionary Mazzini. She attended the Indian National Socialist Congress at Stuttgart, and she unfurled the Indian flag (National flag) at the meet. In her hard hitting speech at the meet, she accused British for exploiting India recklessly. She held the British Govt. of India responsible for famine and plague in India.

She was very closely associated with French socialist party, with revolutionaries like Savarkar, Sardar Singh Rana, Mukund Desai, Virendranath Chattopadhyaya in London and Hardayal and Shaklatvala in Paris.

An advocate of armed revolution, She started the journal "Bande Mataram" to propagate her ideas. During World War-I, Madam Cama was interned by the French Government, later, she joined hands with the French Communists and became very close to the Russian Bolsheviks. After residing in Paris for 30 years, Madam Cama was allowed to return to India. She died in 1936.

17.7.2.5 Lala Hardayal 1884-1939

Hardayal was one of the most brilliant products of the Punjab University. He won the state scholarship in 1905 and proceeded to England. He joined the Oxford University. Hardayal associated himself with the anti-British activities of Shyamji Krishna Varma in Europe. He visited India briefly with a view to organise revolutionary activities against the British Raj. Returning to Europe in 1908, he preached his ideas of violent revolution against the British Raj. After some months stay in France, he left for U.S.A. He founded the Gadar Party. A brilliant orator, he carried on the revolutionary propoganda through the party organ "Gadar". On the complaint of the British representative, Hardayal was arrested, and proceedings were begun against him under the Immigration Law. After his release on bail, he left America, and went to Geneva in Switzerland. He resumed his activities by publishing "Vande Mataram".

When the war broke out, Hardayal and some other revolutionaries transferred their activities to Germany and sought the aid of the German government in the liberation of India. In Berlin, he organised the Indian Independence Committee and successfully enlisted the support of Germany in its favour. The defeat of Germany disrupted his plans and paralysed his activities.

17.7.2.6 Virendranath Chattopadhyaya, 1878-1946

He was a brother of Sarojini Naidu. He went to England to pursue higher studies. He came into contact with Savarkar and became an active revolutionary. He developed very close relations with Madam Cama's "Bande Mataram" group in Paris. In England, he was associated with the publication of "Talwar", another revolutionary journal. He was elected as the Secretary of the Indian Independence Committee founded in Berlin in 1914. After the outbreak of the Russian Revolution, Chattopadhyaya went to Sweden to establish a branch of the Berlin Committee and came into contact with the leading Bolsheviks. After the end of World War-I, he began to lean towards Socialist ideals and became pro-Russian in attitude and temperament. The later part of his life is shrouded in mystery.

17.7.2.7 Champak Raman Pillai, 1891-1934

Champak Raman Pillai was a daring revolutionary from Tamil Nadu. He left India in 1908, and finally settled in Germany. He believed in the extermination of the British Raj with the support of Germany. He started the Indian Nationalist Party in Berlin along with Lala Hardayal, Tarak Nath Das and Barkathullah.

During the First World War, Pillai organised the Indian National Volunteer Corps in Germany and tried to enlist Indian soldiers in Europe against England. In 1916, he reached Afghanistan and acted as Vice-President in the provisional government of India established by Raja Mahendra Pratap. After the end of the First World War, he formed the League of the Repressed Nations, a forum of the representatives of the colonial people. During the later years, he made attempts to bring Germany closer to India.

17.7.2.8 Gadicherla Hari Sarvottama Rao, 1883-1960

He was born in 1883 in Kurnool. He completed his school education in Kurnool and higher education in Madras. While he was a student of teachers training college in Rajahmundry, Bipin Chandra Pal, visited Rajahmundry. Having been inspired by the speeches of Bipin Chandra Pal, Gadicherla participated in Vande Mataram movement. Though debarred from the college, declared ineligible for government job, Gadicherla spread the Vande Mataram movement to nook and corner of Andhra Desa and he is described as "Founder of Politics in Andhra".

He was a great Nationalist. He started a paper "Swarajya" and strongly attacked the British rule. He underwent imprisonment for three years and subjected to several sufferings. In 1914 as Secretary of Home Rule League he widely travelled Andhra and propagated Swadesi movement. He was one of the founder of National College in Machilipatnam. He participated in Non-Cooperation Movement. He joined Swaraj party in 1925. He was elected to Madras Legislative Assembly.

Gadicherla supported Andhra movement and he presided the meeting held in 1919. He was one of the instrument for Shri Bag Agreement. In 1928 Gadicherla was responsible for naming ceded districts as Rayalaseema.

He was famous not only as a nationalist but also as editor, sponsor of Grandhalaya movement, propagator of adult education. He was the editor for Swarajya paper. He wrote several books - History of Abraham Lincoln, Madras Land Revenue System - Moral and Dharma Vote. In 1934 he was elected as president of Grandhalaya organisation of Andhra. He established several libraries. As president of South India Adult Education Council he did yeoman service for adult education.

In 1948 he was appointed as the president of educational plan of Andhra. He established Gurukula educational institute. He started Rytu Sangha's to solve their problems. To eliminate untouchability he arranged inter dining in his house. He died in 1960. He was an all sided genius.

17.7.2.9 The Gadar Party

Many Indians went to countries like United States of America, Canada and Britain. Some went there for higher studies, and majority of them went there seeking employment. In 1912 the Indians residing in America started Hindi Association in Portland. Its president was Baba Sobhan Singh Bhakna. In 1913. The Hindi Association came to be called as Hindustani Gadar Party. 'Gadar' means revolution. The Gadar party was aimed at inciting revolt against Great Britain. In other words the main objective of Gadar party was to emancipate India from British rule by adopting revolutionary methods and to establish an Indian government basing upon equality and justice. The party published a paper called 'Gadar' published in Hindi and Urdu. Lala Hardayal became secretary of the Gadar party. Ugan'tar Ashram was the centre of activity of Gadar party in United States of America. The Gadar paper enabled the party to establish its branches in Malaya, Burma, Sayam, Indonesia, Hongkong, Philippines, China, Japan, Africa, Australia and Newzealand.

It was a party of non-resident Indians. Lala Hardayal played a prominent part in spreading the activities of the Gadar Party through pamphlets and party paper. After Hardayal, Sobhan Singh Bhakna built collective leadership into party. The party members were trained in all methods of warfare. When the World War-I broke out the party leadership thought it is appropriate to go to India to incite the Indian soldiers to revolt against the British Government. They planned revolts in all British Colonies. They expected help from Turkey and Germany in the liberation of India. Afterwards they expected help from Soviet Union also.

17.7.2.9.1 Darsi Chenchaiiah

The other notable members of Gadar party were Prithvi Singh, Madam Cama and Darsi Chenchaiiah. As per the plan of Gadar heroes Bengali revolutionaries, weapons from Germany and money from Indians living abroad should reach India to carry out revolution. The Gadar leaders made several sacrifices. The Gadar party has no organisational strength required for a secret revolutionary party. Hence the party was suppressed ruthlessly by the British by implicating the Gadar leaders in several conspiracy cases.

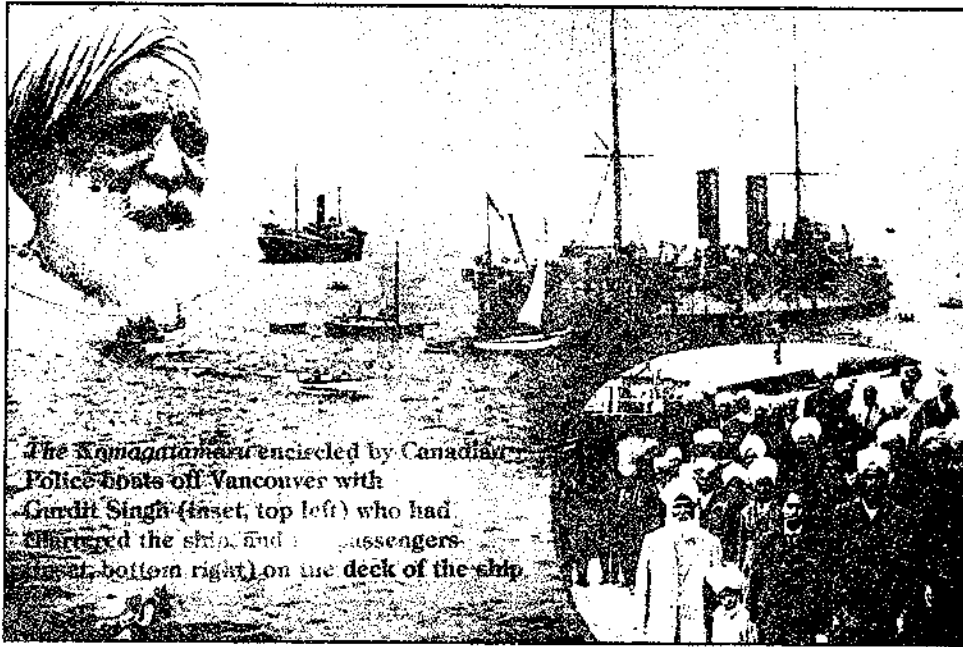
Darsi Chenchaiiah from Andhra Desa was a remarkable member of the Gadar Party. He played an active part in the Gadar movement and he was entrusted with several tasks of the party to be carried out.

In fact Darsi Chenchaiiah went to United States of America for higher studies and joined California University in Berkeley. Having been inspired by the speeches of Lala Hardayal he joined Gadar Party and became one of the founder members of the party.

He was given the assignment of helping revolution in Burma. The plan was to liberate Burma with the help of Gadar heroes from Asia and America with the intention inciting revolt in India, with the help of Germany. Chenchaiiah met Sunyat Sen the nationalist leader of China whose message was "*to dethrone British in India till such time no salvation for weaker nations*". He was the coordinator for revolutionary forces in Burma border. But the plans did not succeed. Chenchaiiah was caught and imprisoned. He could withstand all the sufferings and humiliations of jail life with courage and determination. The charges against him were that he brought ship load of weapons and secret documents for Gadar revolution. Threats to Court Marshal and shoot him were of no use. He was asked to divulge the secrets of Gadar party movement. The British wanted to involve him in Lahore conspiracy case. He was jailed for a long time. The jail authorities were dumb founded by the conduct of Chenchaiiah as a detenu. He was released in December 1919. During World War-II time also he was once again taken into custody. He retired from politics in October 1948.

17.7.2.10 Komagata Maru Incident

An off-shoot of the revolutionary activities abroad, was the "Komagata Maru Case". This incident helped the activities of the Gadar Party. A number of Sikhs from India travelled by a Japanese ship, "Komagata Maru", under the leadership of Gurudut Singh to enter British Columbia in Western Canada. The Canadian authorities refused them permission to land, and the ship had to return. After undergoing many difficulties and hardships, the ship reached Budge harbour about 17 miles from Calcutta on 26th Sept. 1914. The authorities kept a special train waiting to carry the passengers under heavy police guard as they suspected them to be revolutionaries. When the passengers refused to get into the train they were forcibly dragged out and pushed into the train. Then the passengers used American revolvers. In the shooting that took place, some Sikhs fell down and many were wounded. Babu Gurudut Singh also received injuries, but he escaped and went underground. Next day, the rest of the Sikhs were apprehended and sent by train to Punjab. The Government suspected that the Party was the nucleus of the most dangerous revolutionary movement. On the other hand, discontentment and public anger rose high against the attitude of the British Government. Those Sikhs who returned to the Punjab, built revolutionary centres and organised revolutionary agitation among the people.



17.7.3 Rise of Extremism

At the beginning of the twentieth century, political consciousness among Indians was steadily growing. The nationalist writers and agitators blamed British rule for the poverty of the people. The general mood of discontent had spread to the rural gentry, the peasantry and the workers. The Congress from 1885 to 1906 submitted many petitions and led deputations without getting much success. The Moderate leaders of the Congress could not achieve the desired results. The consequent disenchantment in the country soon led to the emergence of public men who propagated a more militant form of nationalism. They were building up their influence in various parts of the country. Lala Lajpat Rai in the Punjab, Bipin Chandra Pal in Bengal and Lokamanya Balagangadhar Tilak in Maharashtra. They provided dynamic leadership to the people and roused the nation to life. The extremists led by Balagangadhar Tilak and Lajpat Rai did not have any faith in the professions of the British government. They preached the message of self-respect and asked the nationalists to rely on the character and capacities of the Indian people. They believed in a more radical programme which would entail a long drawn struggle for political emancipation.

17.7.3.1 Causes for the Growth of Extremism

The response of the authorities to the demands of the Moderates was not at all encouraging. The Indian Councils Act of 1892 did not satisfy even the Moderate leaders. They too were disillusioned with the indifferent attitude of the British administration. Disillusionment was so great that people began to question the constitutional methods of the Moderates.

A disastrous famine swept over the country at the close of the century, resulting in great economic distress. India was also visited by, bubonic plague of a virulent type which took a heavy toll of life. These events undermined the British Rule in the eyes

of the people. There was wide-spread criticism of the Government and the ranks of the extremists began to swell with youth and active people. All these things made the British administration totally unpopular.

From almost the beginning of the national movement, a school of militant nationalism had existed in the country. The early intellectual leadership was provided by leaders such as Raj Narain Bose and Ashwini Kumar Dutt in Bengal and Vishnu Shastri Chiplunkar in Maharashtra.

The Congress under the leadership of the Moderate leaders could not keep pace with the wave of nationalism which was sweeping over India during the last quarter of the 19th Century. In Bengal, periodical literature, poems, songs, novels and dramas were produced in great number and they roused patriotism and nationalism in every heart. Bankim Chandra Chatterjee, the author of 'Anandmath' and the 'Vande Mataram' hymn was its high priest.

Bankim Chandra Chatterjee's hymn to motherland began with 'Vande Mataram'. It later became a stirring call for patriotism and sacrifice. He identified love of the country with the cult of the Mother-Goddess. The main theme of his famous novel 'Anandmath' is woven round a band of self-sacrificing ascetics who abandoned their home and family, and dedicated themselves to the cause of the motherland, which was equated with Goddess Kali.

17.7.3.2 Lokamanya Balagangadhar Tilak

Undoubtedly, the most outstanding leader among Extremists, was Balagangadhar Tilak. For his monumental contributions to the Indian Freedom Struggle, he will go down in history as one of the makers of Modern India. Influenced by Agarkar, Ranade and Naoroji, he waged a battle against the evils of his time, both political and social. Along with G.G. Agarkar, he founded two news papers, one in English called the '*Maratha*' and the other in Marathi called the '*Kesari*'. Tilak was a dynamic orator and writer. Already his foresight and patriotic articles in a Marathi newspaper, *Kesari* had swayed the minds of millions of people. He denounced the British attitude towards the famine of 1896-97 when thousands fell victims to hunger and pestilence. He launched a no-tax campaign in famine-stricken areas for which he was arrested and sentenced to eighteen months imprisonment. Following the Partition of Bengal (1905), he laid stress on Swadeshi, National Education, Boycott, and Swaraj. He became the living symbol of new nationalism. Tilak was a great scholar and his great work '*Gita Rahasya*' revealed his scholastic eminence and deep insight into the Vedic literature. In this great work, Tilak reinterpreted the Gita and declared action to be its central theme.

17.7.3.3 'Aurobindo 1872-1950

Aurobindo Ghose was one of the most outstanding leaders of militant nationalism. Bengal school of militant nationalism was influenced by the neo-Vedantic movement of Swami Vivekananda and it was also based on the religious mysticism of Hinduism. An outstanding student of the classics in Cambridge, he passed I.C.S. examination with

great distinction. He spurned the I.C.S. in 1892, and returned to India and plunged into literary activity. He composed a number of poems. He wrote a series of aggressive articles in the 'Indu Prakash' of Bombay between August 1893 and March 1894 under the heading 'New Lamps for Old'. *"In an ear, when democracy and similar big words slide so glibly from our tongues, a body like the Congress which represents not the mass of the population but a single and very limited class, could not honestly be called national"*. Aurobindo defined nationalism thus. *"Nationalism is not a mere political programme. Nationalism is a religion that has come from God. It is an attitude of the heart, of the soul"*. The partition of Bengal in 1905 brought him out into the open, as a political leader, he maintained very close contact with Bipin Chandra Pal and Tilak and challenged the Moderates in the Congress. He was associated with Bipin Chandra Pal in running "Bande Mataram". He started the Bengali daily 'yugantar'. The Bengal National College was founded in 1906 with Aurobindo as Principal. Along with Tilak and Bipin Chandra Pal, Aurobindo also suggested the methods of constitutional agitation and boycott of foreign goods as a means to achieve freedom for India.

17.7.3.4 Revivalist Complexion

Militant nationalist leaders drew inspiration from the memories of the Vedic past of the Hindus, the great phase of the reigns of Chandragupta and Ashoka, the heroic deeds of Rana Pratap and Shivaji and the heroism of Laxmi Bai, the Queen of Jhansi. The Philosophers of militant nationalism believed in the special genius of India. They believed that Hindu culture can reach its glorious heights only when the country is independent from the control of the alien government, institutions and culture. Nationalism was expressed in religious terms and clothed in religio-mystical form.

The founders of the new nationalism were subsequently criticised for basing the movement of Swaraj on the Hindu religion and traditions of the Hindu Society. Unlike the early moderate nationalists, the militant nationalists did not realise the full significance of India being a country with many religions, castes and regions. The militant nationalists gave great fillip to the national movement. In spite of this, some of their actions led to resurgence of communalism and caused a set back to national unity. They tended to identify the Indian nation with the Hindus and Indian culture with Hindu religion.

A nationalist movement ought to be based on a programme of the secular interests of the people. Perhaps, one of the reasons why the Muslims did not join the national movement in the year 1905 and the following period was because Indian Nationalism was openly based by its leaders on the Hindu ideology. By this act, they cut off the Muslim masses from the National Movement and opened the way to the Government's counter move with the formation of Muslim League in 1906.

To set the record straight this does not, of course, mean that the militant nationalists were anti-muslim or even communal minded. On the contrary, many of them, especially Tilak were all for Hindu-Muslim unity. Most of them were modern and progressive in their thinking.

17.8. ACTIVITIES OF THE REVOLUTIONARIES

Bengal became an important storm centre of terrorism. The revolutionary movement was organised by Barindra Kumar Ghosh, younger brother of Aurobindo Ghosh and Bhupendranath Dutt, younger brother of Swami Vivekananda. In order to impart an emotional spirit of sacrifice and moral strength, a spiritual colouring was given to the Movement. They spread the message of the Gita regarding dedicated action without attachment. They had firm faith in the success of their movement. In 1906, Barindra and Bhupendranath Dutt, brought out the paper, '*Yugandar*'. The paper served as a powerful vehicle of revolutionary propaganda. In addition to *Yugandar*, there were '*Vande Mataram*', '*Sandhya*', '*Nav Shakti*' etc.

Barindra exhorted the Bangali youth to courageously resist the repressive policy of the British administration and to offer their blood as price for freedom. Secret societies modelled on the Russian and Italian secret societies were organised to carry out their terrorist activities. Some of them functioned under the guise of physical culture clubs or associations. The most important among them was "*Anushilan Samiti*" organised by Barindra Kumar Ghosh and his associates, '*yugandar*' of Calcutta was another important secret society.

'*Anushilan Samiti*' had five hundred branches all over the province. With its two main centres at Calcutta and Dacca and numerous branches throughout the province, '*Anushilan Samiti*', was the rallying point of the terrorists. The Samiti distributed revolutionary literature and built underground groups. When the British officers began to harass the revolutionaries the latter decided to punish them.

On December 6th, 1907, the terrorists made an attempt to blow up the Lieutenant Governor's train by a bomb near Midnapore. In the same month, Mr. Allen a former District Magistrate of Dacca was shot in the back. The next target of public fury was Mr. Kingsford. As a magistrate posted in Calcutta, he had earned notoriety for awarding long-term sentences to the revolutionaries. In 1908, Khudi Ram Bose and Prafulla Chaki threw a bomb at a carriage which they believed Kingsford was travelling. The attempt to assassinate him failed. Prafulla Chaki shot himself dead. But, Khudi Ram Bose, barely fifteen at that time, was tried and hanged. His popularity rose sky high. He was given a hero's funeral and thousands of mourners participated in it.

The revolutionaries ran a bomb factory in Calcutta. The police raided the factory, and recovered several bombs, explosive materials and certain letters. This was termed the Alipur Conspiracy Case. Thirty-nine people including Aurobindo Ghosh, Barindra Kumar Ghose and Harindra Ghosain were arrested. Ghosain turned approver and he was killed. Two were hanged, and 36 got heavy punishments. Asutosh Biswas, who acted as the public prosecutor, was shot dead. Aurobindo Ghosh was acquitted, for want of evidence. Some of the accused, including Barindra, were transported for life. In November, 1908, a daring attempt was made to shoot Sir Andrew Fraser, the Lieutenant - Governor. The terrorists of Bengal never spared the police officers, magistrates, traitors, betrayers and approvers.

The most striking figure among the Maharashtra revolutionaries was, Vinayak

Damodar Savarkar. In association with his brother Ganesh Savarkar, he started a society called 'Mitra Mela' which was later transformed into revolutionary association, named 'Abhinava Bharat'. The activities of 'Abhinava Bharat' society were directed by Ganesh Savarkar.

In Punjab also, secret organisations were very active. Incidents in Bengal further inflamed the Punjabies. The Fiftieth anniversary of the Revolt of 1857 was approaching and speakers frequently called upon the Sikh regiments to revolt. Ajit Singh was the heart and soul to terrorist movement, and was helped by Aga Haider and Syed Hyder Riza. Deportation of Lajpat Rai and Ajit Singh quietened the things for a while.

In the Madras Presidency, the people were inspired by the eloquent speeches of Bipin Chandra Pal, Chidambaram Pillai openly spoke of absolute independence. The other prominent leaders were Subrahmanya Siva, Nilakanta Brahmachari, Tirumalacharya and others.

The terrorists added a colourful and inspiring chapter to the history of our Freedom Movement. Their desperate deeds and daring plans, cool action, and indifference to death, won them a lasting place in the history of the nation. As this movement was confined only to a small group of men, and as there was no base among the people, it was bound to fail the Moderates openly disowned them, and many Extremists were reluctant to accept them.

17.9 SURAT SPLIT

Till 1905, the Indian National Congress was under the influence of Moderates who believed in purely constitutional methods. Their resolutions, memorials to the government and long speeches in the Annual Congress Sessions did not invoke any response from British Raj.

Political discontent among the people was further accentuated by the high handed measures of Lord Curzon during his career as Viceroy. *"His curtailment of the powers of the Calcutta Corporation, his Official Secrets Act, his officialisation of the Universities which made education costly and finally his Partition of Bengal broke the back of loyal India and roused a new spirit in the nation"* (Pattabhi Sitaramayya)

Moderate leaders like Surendranath Benerjee and Gopalakrishna Gokhale, were stunned at this deliberate blow aimed at the Bengali speaking population. Gokhale went to London and requested the Secretary of State for India to revoke the Partition of Bengal. But, Lord Morley ignored his fervent appeal. Indians lost their faith in the constitutional method. Gokhale admitted that *"young men are beginning to ask what was the good of the constitutional method, if it was only to end in the Partition of Bengal"*.

After 1905, when differences arose between the Moderates and the Extremists inside the Congress, the British rulers made a determined bid to create split. The Extremists challenge produced in the Congress and ultimately led to the split at the Surat Session in 1907.

We will deal with the details leading to the split in the Indian National Congress.

The Congress met at Banares in December, 1905 almost immediately after the Partition of Bengal took effect. Gokhale presided over the session. The Extremist section of the Bengal delegation desired that the Congress should give its seal of approval to the Boycott Movement. Gokhale, in his presidential address at Benares Session condemned the Partition of Bengal, and supported the Swadeshi movement. The Prince of Wales was to visit India in 1906. The government was keen that the royal visitor should not be shown any discourtesy. The Moderates wanted to pass a resolution welcoming the Royal Party. The Extremists and the Bengali delegates were opposed to it. The resolution was passed in the absence of the delegates from Bengal.

Throughout the year 1906, there were angry discussions and mutual recriminations between the Moderates and the Extremists over their respective policies and programmes. While the latter wanted to extend the mass movement in Bengal as well as in the rest of the country, the Moderates wanted to confine the movement to Bengal and even there to limit it to Swadeshi and Boycott. The Extremists in Bengal had been joined by large groups in the Congress belonging to other provinces and each party prepared for a trial of strength. In 1906, the Congress held its session at Calcutta. The Extremist party wanted to elect Tilak as President, but they were out-manoeuvred by the Moderates, who induced Dadabhai Naoroji to accept the post. Dadabhai Naoroji, the Grand Old Man of India, was universally loved and respected by all Congress men. Dadabhai electrified the nationalist ranks by openly declaring in his presidential address that the goal of the Indian National Movement was 'Self-government or Swaraj', like that of the United Kingdom or the colonies. The Extremists compelled the Moderates to pass resolutions on all the four important points of their programmed Swaraj, Swadeshi, Boycott and National Education. Calcutta Session marked the victory of the Extremist group. These resolutions were a victory to the Extremists and were not to the liking of the Moderates.

Although the Congress had ratified the Extremist proposals at Calcutta session, the Moderates were still not prepared to execute them. Prior to the 1907 Congress Session, Lord Minto started negotiations with Moderates for further reforms. This was a move to win over the Moderates and divide the National Movement. The Extremists were confused by these negotiations and were afraid that Moderates may not take a bold stand. Hence, they decided to capture the Congress organisation at the 1907 session. The venue of the Congress Session was shifted from Nagpur, a strong hold of the Extremists to Surat, where Feroze Shah Mehta, the Moderate leader, had a great following. When the Congress met at Surat in 1907, both groups vied with each other to capture the majority. Tilak made all possible attempts to avoid open conflict by evolving some compromise, but he failed. The new constitution of the Congress drafted by Gokhale showed a clear change in the objective of the Congress, from what it had accepted the previous year. Tilak was opposed to any dilution of the goal of the Congress. He also agreed to a joint committee to settle the dispute, but the Moderates adopted uncompromising attitude.

When the Congress met, the Moderates proposed the name of Ras Behari Ghosh for the Presidentship, while the Extremists proposed the name of Lala Lajpat Rai. Lajpat Rai withdrew his name. The Extremists pressed for open election, but with no

effect. Then, the meeting was adjourned amidst noisy and unruly scenes. The next day, Ras Behari Ghose occupied the chair. When he got up to deliver his presidential address, Tilak ascended the platform and demanded that he should be allowed to speak. The request was rejected, but Tilak refused to submit to the ruling of the chair. The net result was that, a free fight took place in the Congress pandal, the police were called in and the Moderate leaders, by adopting a new constitution excluded the Extremists from the Congress. The Surat fiasco thus, divided the Congress into two camps - one led by Tilak, and the other by Gokhale.

17.10 POST SPLIT EVENTS

The Government began to suppress the Extremist Movement with a vengeance. It rendered indirect help to the Moderates by arresting most of the Extremist leaders. To placate the Moderate nationalists, the British government announced constitutional concessions through Minto-Morely Reforms of 1909. As soon as the regulations with provision for the separate communal electorates were published, the Moderates were quite disillusioned. For nine years after the Surat split, the Moderates ruled over the Congress in splendid isolation, with their old ideals and programme. But, the country had lost faith in them and the Congress had very little following.

The Extremists also went into wilderness for the time being. Aurobindo gave up politics and retired to Pondicherry. Tilak was sent to jail for six years.

The sufferings of the people were not vain. Lord Crew, Secretary of State for India realised Partition had been a festering sore, and the cause of all anarchical agitation in Bengal. The injustice to the Bengalis was undone by the unification of Bengali-speaking regions by a proclamation of March 22, 1912. At the same time, the seat of the central government was shifted from Calcutta to Delhi.

An agitation which was started to rectify provincial injustice, assumed the dimensions of a national struggle. It left us a legacy of military nationalism, which became a permanent feature of the National Movement. People of different political classes began to act together with dedicated patriotism, in order to overcome a grave political wrong. The era of 'political mendicancy' had ended.

II CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

- 1). Who were the important revolutionaries of India in the early part of the twentieth century ?

2) What is the significance of the Surat Congress of 1907 ?

17.11 LET US SUM UP

1. There were fundamental difference between the Moderates and the Extremists in their aims, approach and methods. While the extremists wanted mass mobilisation for carrying on the anti-British Movement, the Moderates believed only in constitutional and peaceful methods.
2. The partition of Bengal in 1905 fostered the nationalist spirit among the Indians.
3. The Swadeshi Movement which was the result of the partition of Bengal, spread to many parts of the country. Boycott of British goods was advocated by the Extremists as part of the Swadeshi Movement.
4. The revolutionaries were also active in the early part of the twentieth century.
5. In 1907 at Surat the split took place in the Congress due to difference between the Moderates and the Extremists.

17.12 CHECK YOUR PROGRESS : ANSWERS

- I 1) The aim of the Extremists was Swaraj or complete independence for India whereas the aim of the Moderates was self-government within the British empire.
- 2) The people of Bengal opposed the partition of Bengal because it divided the Bengalis, Hindus and Muslims.
- II 1) Savarkar brothers, Kudiram Bose, Prafulla Chaki and Vanchi Iyer were the important revolutionaries of the early years of the twentieth century.
- 2) The Surat Congress of 1907 resulted in the open split between the Extremists and the Moderates in the Congress. This is the significance of the Surat Congress.

17.13 EXAMINATION MODEL QUESTIONS

I. Answer the following questions in about 30 lines each :

1. Examine the main differences between the aims and methods of the Moderates and the Extremists.
2. Describe how Hindu revivalism influenced the nationalist movement in Bengal and Maharastra. What were its consequences in the long run ?
3. Trace the events leading to the partition of Bengal and examine its consequences.

4. Examine the rise of Individual Terrorism and the Revolutionary Movement during the period of Militant Nationalism and survey the effects.

II. Answer the following questions in about 15 lines each :

1. What were the implications and impact of the Boycott and Swadeshi Movements ?
2. How did the Extremist leaders try to spread the Anti-Partition Movement ?
3. Examine the events that led to the split in the Indian National Congress in 1907.
4. Analyse the effects and significance of the Vande Mataram Movement.

17.14 BOOKS FOR FURTHER READING

1. Bipan Chandra : *Modern India*
2. Bipan Chandra & Others : *Freedom Struggle*
3. Desai A.R. : *Social background of Indian nationalism*
4. S. Gopalakrishnan : *Political movements in South India*
5. Majumdar R.C. : *Advanced History of India*
6. Majumdar R.C. : *History of the Freedom Movement in India Vol. II*
7. Natarajan and Prema Ramakrishna : *Political and cultural history of India, Vol. II*
8. Spear P. : *History of India Vol I*
9. Sumit Sarkar : *Modern India*
10. Tarachand : *History of the Freedom Movement in India Vol. II*

UNIT - 18 : THE MUSLIM LEAGUE AND THE GROWTH OF COMMUNALISM

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- 18.2 British Policy of Divide and Rule
- 18.3 Aligarh Movement - Syed Ahmed Khan
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- 18.9 Hindu Maha Sabha
- 18.10 Hindu-Muslim Relations
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- 18.14 Let us sum up
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18.0 OBJECTIVES

Study of this unit should enable you to have knowledge regarding :-

1. the causes for the growth of Communalism in India,
2. events leading to the establishment of the Muslim League
3. the birth of Hindu Mahasabha and,
4. the causes and the conditions of the Lucknow Pact of 1916

18.1 INTRODUCTION

Communalism, like its anti-thesis nationalism, was a child of British imperialism. The rise of communal politics created bitterness in the country. The Muslim League formulated the theory that the Hindus and Muslims in India were of two different nations. This unscientific interpretation was matched by the Hindu communal outburst that the Hindus formed the Indian nation and that followers of other religions were foreigners.

The Muslims had ruled over India centuries before the British have established control over the land. As ex-rulers of India before the British, they developed a superiority complex. Later, as a conquered race, they nursed a great deal of resentment against the British rule. In between the two communities - The Hindus and the Muslims - The East India Company was favouring the Hindus in the beginning. The British felt that the Muslims were hostile to their rule, and important jobs in the Company were denied to them. Many Muslims were engaged in indigenous crafts. With the destruction of cottage industries in India, many Muslims lost employment. They were mostly kept out of the ranks of the army. The Indian Muslims were economically ruined as a race. In matters of education prevented them from taking advantage of the new system of English education as late as 1872.

Though the rebellion of 1857 was a joint effort of both Hindus and Muslims, still the British viewed it as a Muslim attempt to revive the Mughal rule. The rebellion was ruthlessly crushed by the British authorities. The post-Mutiny period was politically and culturally perhaps the darkest period in the history of the Indian Muslims. For a few decades after the Rebellion of 1857, the British Government nursed a grudge against Muslims. The Muslims were suppressed and debarred from occupying important posts both in the civil administration and in the military. They also bitterly resented the attitude of the authorities. This state of affairs continued till the advent of Sir Sayyad Ahmed Khan on the political scene.

18.2 BRITISH POLICY OF DIVIDE AND RULE

Sir William Hunter, in his book, *"The Indian Musalmans (1871) pointed out that the Muslims were too weak to rebel, and he stressed the paramount need for initiating a new policy of the Anglo-Muslim co-operation."* Lord Lytton also thought it *'expedient now to take them into alliance rather than continue to antagonise them'*

With the rise of the Nationalist Movement, the British authorities favoured the Muslims. Thus, from the very beginning, the British authorities followed a policy of 'divide and rule' to perpetuate their rule. The authorities encouraged communal and separatist tendencies in Indian politics. They claimed to be the champions of the Muslim minority, and went all out to win over to their side Muslims, Zamindars, landlords and the educated middle class. They also fostered other divisions in Indian society. They promoted provincialism by talking of Bengali domination. They tried to utilise the caste structure to turn the non-Brahmins against Brahmins and the lower castes against higher castes. In U.P. and Bihar where Hindus and Muslims had always lived in peace, the British statesmen actively encouraged the movement to replace Urdu as a court language by Hindi. The complexity of the Indian social situation was utilised by the alien rulers for their own purpose. The British authorities re-organised the army on the basis of caste and religious distinctions. Thus, separatist tendencies among people were encouraged by the authorities.

18.3 ALIGARH MOVEMENT - SYED AHMED KHAN

The Government began to patronise the Muslims in order that they may cease to join hands with the Congress. Syed Ahmed Khan was the first Muslim leader to organise

a movement for uniting the Muslims and instilling into them a desire for western education and culture. He worked for the establishment of good relations between the British Government and the Indian Muslims. He was the architect of Islamic renaissance and his work was as important for the Muslims, as that of Ram Mohan Roy for the Hindus. He was great educationist and social reformer. He infused in Muslims a desire to acquire the western education. In pursuance of his aim, he founded a Mohammedan Anglo - Oriental College at Aligarh, which in course of time became the Aligarh Muslim University. The Aligarh College played a dominant rôle in revitalising the Muslim community. The Aligarh College created a modern Muslim intelligentsia which was imbued with the spirit of political loyalty to the British Government and enthusiasm for Western culture.

Sir Syed Ahmed Khan was of nationalist views in the beginning. During this stage, Syed Ahmed believed in the close cooperation of the Hindus and the Muslims. He advocated Hindu-Muslim unity. He described the Hindus and Muslims as *"Two eyes of a beautiful bride that was India"* and appealed to the people *"to become one heart and soul and act in unison"*. He said *"If united, we can support each other. If not, the effect of one against the other would tend to the destruction and downfall of both"*.

It is a great tragedy of Indian history that such an ardent patriot and nationalist played an important role in the rise of a separatist tendency along communal lines. He became an arch-enemy of the Congress and nationalism. As a loyal friend of the British, he became the champion of Anglo-Muslim alliance. Principal Beck of Mohammedan Anglo-Oriental College, Aligarh convinced Sir Syed that *"while the Anglo - Muslim alliance would ameliorate the condition of the Muslim community, the nationalist alignment lead them once again to sweat, toil and tears"*. Mr. Beck impressed upon him the need of cooperation with the Britishers in the interest of his own community. Sir Syed Ahmed, the apostle of Muslim nationalism declared in a speech in 1883 that the Hindus and Muslims were two warring nations who could not lead a common political life.

The foundation of the Indian National Congress had a great reaction upon Sir Syed. Sir Syed opposed the Indian National Congress and dissuaded the Muslims from joining it. He ardently believed that the Congress demand for representative institutions on democratic lines and a greater share in the administration of the country was a great peril to the Muslim interest. He warned his co-religionists that representative legislature of the British type would result in the domination of the Hindus in the greater part of India always. The Muslims would never be in power. Sir Syed was afraid that the Muslims would be overwhelmed by the Hindus with their superior economic power and greater education, without the support of the British Government to the Muslims. He therefore, advised a policy of loyalty to the British Government and opposed the Congress. He said that a democratic regime means - majority rule and majority rule in India would mean Hindu rule. Hence, he advocated Anglo-Muslim alliance, and became an arch-enemy of the Congress.

Syed Ahmed succeeded in keeping back the bulk of the Muslims from the Congress. He became a full - fledged loyalist and in 1888, he founded the Patriotic

Association in League with Raja Shiva Prasad of Benares, to act as a rival of the Congress. It was a reactionary body, which began to oppose the progressive views of the Congress and pledged loyalty to the British.

One of the important causes for the growth of communal and separatist trend of thinking among the Muslims was the educational backwardness of Muslims. Muslim upper classes consisted mostly of Zamindars and aristocrats. They displayed anti-British attitude and they were conservative by nature, and showed hostile attitude towards modern education. Hence, the number of educated Muslims remained very small in India. Modern western thought with emphasis on science, democracy and nationalism did not spread among Muslim intellectuals who remained backward and staunchly conservative. On the other hand, the Hindus who received western education, stole a clear march over the Muslims and occupied many important posts in the administration. Later as a result of the efforts of Syed Ahmed Khan, Badruddin Tyabji and others, modern education spread among Muslims.

The new middle class was almost absent among the Muslims. The role of Muslims in the growth of trade and industry is negligible. Only very few educated Muslim persons displayed interest in trade, commerce and business. Taking advantage of this situation, the reactionary landlords secured hold over the Muslim masses, and maintained their influence.

Landed aristocracy (Zamindars and Landlords) among the Hindus and the Muslims became vehement supporters of British rule out of self interest. Among Hindus, landlords were pushed out of leadership by modern intellectuals and the rising middle class. But unfortunately, the Muslim masses were dominated by the landlords.

18.4 CAUSES FOR THE GROWTH OF COMMUNALISM

The rise of Muslim communalism is associated with Syed Ahmed Khan, for all practical purpose, he became a pawn in the British game of creating communal divisions in India.

Educated Muslims could not find many opportunities in trade and business and hence, they inevitably looked for government jobs. Educated unemployed had very few opportunities and it became very easy for the British officials and the loyalist Muslim leaders to incite the educated Muslims against the educated Hindus. The Muslim leaders exhorted the educated Muslims to remain loyal to the British so that, government would reward them with government jobs and other favours.

While dividing Indian history into Ancient and Medieval periods the British historians identified Ancient period as Hindu period and Medieval period as Muslim period. Turk, Afghan and Mughal dynasties ruled during the Medieval period. All these dynasties were described as Muslims and the period itself was referred to as the Muslim period. A strong impression had been created that all rulers were Muslims, and all Hindus were the ruled. The British historians ignored the fact that the rulers as a class, (both Hindus and Muslims) treated the masses (both Hindus and Muslims) as inferior creatures, and used them for their own benefit. The tax - collectors oppressed both Hindus and Muslims. The British historians did not lay stress on the composite culture of India.

It should be noted that both Muslims believed theoretically in the supremacy of regions, in individual and collective life, and both in their daily life followed similar ways and customs. In language, dress, food and drink household apartments, marriage, funeral and other ceremonies business and so forth, both had much in common. Both mingled and lived together in towns and villages. Language and culture have not separated the two religionists into watertight compartments. For example, a Madrasi Hindu and a Madrasi Muslim have more affinity than a Madrasi Muslim and a Punjabi Muslim. In spite of religious differences and occasional conflicts, Hindus and Muslims were living together as good neighbours. These occasional differences could not wipe out the cultural assimilation that had been evolved through centuries.

Medieval Indian history was described by the British historians as one long story of Hindu-Muslim conflict and their mutual relations as bitter, distrustful and hostile. Muslim rule was described as foreign rule. Medieval Muslim rulers were described as foreigners simply because, they were born Muslim, and Rana Pratap and Shivaji were described as national leaders who fought the foreigners. Generally all Muslims, even the Hindu converts were treated as foreigners. Much emphasis was placed on ancient Indian culture, and medieval Indian culture was almost excluded. These trends in the presentation of history encouraged communalism.

The growth of militant nationalism was another important factor which contributed to the growth of Muslim communalism. The emphasis of Extremist nationalist leaders - (Lal - Bal - Pal and Aurobindo) on Hindu ideology and traditions roused apprehensions among the Muslims. They were great patriots, and were not communal or anti-Muslim. They favoured Hindu-Muslim unity yet, this situation was fully exploited by communalists. Thus, the Hindus did not try to allay the Muslim fears in this respect. Instead of doing so, some staunch Hindu nationalists, further alienated them by describing the Mughal rulers as foreigners. This Hindu tinge, proved to be particularly harmful, as clever British and pro-British propagandists exploited it to poison in the minds of the Muslims. The British tacticians terrified the Muslims by telling them that they would be worse under the domination of the Hindus. So, a large number of educated Muslims became indifferent towards Nationalist Movement, and developed separatist trends.

The Partition of Bengal in 1905 was another important step towards driving a wedge between the two communities. By setting up a separate Muslim provinces of Eastern Bengal, the Government of India wanted to reward the Muslims for their loyalty. The division of Bengal on communal lines was described by the Indian nationalists as a device to gather the support of the backward Muslim community against the politically advanced Hindus.

18.5 DEPUTATION TO LORD MINTO

In 1906, Lord Minto had formed a committee to consider the necessity of further reforms for India. Another sinister step towards communal disharmony was the introduction of communal electorates. Here again, bureaucracy played a major role. Archbold who succeeded Beck as Principal of Aligarh College, staged the whole affair, in league with Dunlop Smith, the Viceroy's private secretary. They decided that a deputation of the leading Muslims under the leadership of Aga Khan should wait on the

Viceroy, Lord Minto. They should put forward a demand for separate communal electorates and weightage. This led to a deputation of Muslims headed by His Highness the late Aga Khan. Lord Minto met them at Simla on 1st October, 1906. This deputation claimed separate electorates, communal representation from Imperial Legislative Council down to district boards, and weightage to Muslims, something which was absolutely essential to protect their legitimate interests. They also pleaded for more state aid for setting up new Muslim universities; and to give preference to Muslims in regard to nominations in the Governor - General's Council.

18.5.1 Grant of 'Separate Electorates' and Weightage representation

The Viceroy was wholly sympathetic towards their demands presented in the address by the deputation. He assured the deputation that their political interests would be fully safeguarded. Lord Minto said *"You justly claim that your position should be estimated not merely on your numerical strength, but in respect to the political importance of your community and the service it has rendered to the empire. I am entirely in accord with you"*. He also agreed that any electoral representation in India aimed at granting a personal enfranchisement regardless of the beliefs and traditions of the different communities, would be doomed to mischievous failure. Lord Minto's statement showed how the British government gave encouragement to Muslim communalism right from the beginning. In this way, Lord Minto injected the poison of communalism into the body politic of India. Though, Lord Morley, the liberal Secretary of State for India was opposed to communal electorates, the Viceroy had his way and the Act of 1909 introduced this vicious principle. Lord Minto recognised Muslims as an autonomous community, with separate political interest by granting them weightage and separate electorates.

One sinister effect of this official policy on Indian politics was that the Muslims, were driven farther from the Congress and the Hindu, and they became close to the British to acquire more political gains. The system of communal representation widened the gulf between the two communities leading to separatist tendencies which ultimately resulted in the partition of the country in 1947.

The Act of 1909 favoured Muslims by giving them representation disproportionate to their population. The Hindus and Muslims were to vote separately for their respective nominees, as a result of which they were never united in a real manner except during the days of the Khilafat Movement for a short time.

I. CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1. Why did Syed Ahmed Khan oppose the entry of Muslims into the Indian National Congress?

2. Mention two important causes for the growth of the feeling of separatism among the Muslims:

18.6. BIRTH OF THE MUSLIM LEAGUE

The Muslim League, the first political organisation of the Muslims, mainly composed of the top stratum of the Muslim community and its professional classes, was founded in 1906. All India League was founded under the leadership of Aga Khan and Nawab Salimullah of Dacca. The League was dominated by the vested interests of the Nawabs, Zamindars and old nobility and did not have the support of the Muslim masses. The British officialdom was also interested in it so as to stand against the Congress.

The main objectives of the All India Muslim League were defined as under:

1. Promotion of feelings of loyalty to British government.
2. Protection of feelings of loyalty to the British government.
3. Prevention of the rise of hostility towards other communities.

The formation of the Muslim League was a landmark in the political evolution of the Indian Muslims. It was, from the day of its birth, and unpatriotic and anti-national organisation with the main aim of promoting loyalty towards the British government. The first conference of the All India Muslim League was held at Amritsar under the presidentship of Sir Syed Ali Imam. The League leaders at the conference demanded more weightage to the Muslims in the Legislative Councils and in civil services. In the Governor - General's Executive Council, it demanded equality of representation with the majority community.

The demands put forth by the League at its Amritsar session held in 1908 revealed its communal as well as the upper and the middle class character. The League thereby expressed the interest and struggle of the Muslim professional classes for jobs and posts. The Muslim League's political activities were directed not against the foreign rulers, but against the Hindus and the national Congress. The Secretary of the League very frankly said that, "*no political unity with the Congress is possible because they and the Congressmen do not have common political objectives.*"

The Muslim League failed to enlist the support of the entire Muslim intelligentsia. Its communal character proved distasteful to all the nationalist Muslims. Even Mr. Jinnah for many years opposed the communal policy of the League. In the Allahabad Session of the Congress in 1910, he moved a resolution condemning the system of communal representation. His resolution was seconded by Maulana Mazhar-ul-Huq, who advocated for greater friendship and understanding between the Hindus and Muslims.

Nawab Syed Mohammed, Maulana Shibli Naumani, Maulana Mohammed Ali and Maulana Azad not only refused to have any dealing with the League, but also attacked the communalism and loyalty of the League. Progressive Muslim leaders like Syed Wazir Hussain, Hasan Imam and Hakim Azmal Khan did not see eye to eye with the League.

18.7 EVENTS LEADING TO THE LUCKNOW PACT

After the introduction of Minto - Morley reforms, certain events happened which brought the League nearer to the Congress. The annulment of the partition of Bengal made them to think that the Government was no longer out to oblige them at the cost of the Hindus. The Muslim League's Head Office was shifted from Aligarh to Lucknow, thus freed from the sinister influence of Beck. According to Muhammad Ali, *"the reversal of the Partition of Bengal at the clamours of the Hindus showed the Muslims that in cooperating with the British Government, they were leaning upon a broken reed"*. Lord Hardings, the new Viceroy, followed a policy of neutrality. The British attitude towards the Muslim States in Europe put a severe strain on Muslim loyalty. According to Muhammad Ali, *"It was a true instinct, that the Muslims chose to cooperate with the British as against the Hindus. The attitude of England towards the enemies of Turkey, Persia and Morocco had begun to alienate the sympathies of Indian Musalmans from England ever since 1911"*.

The most important cause for this friendship was the policy of England towards Turkey. During the Turko - Italian War and Balkan Wars, the Indian Muslims expected that British would support Turkey, but they were badly disappointed. They began to feel that British were not sincere friends of the Muslims. Moreover, some enlightened Muslims like Muhammad Ali, Shaukat Ali and Jinnah wanted the League to give up its policy of servility to the British, and to take part in the fight for freedom. Eventually the Muslim League gave up its dogmatism, and drifted closer to the Congress creed. In the session of the League held at Lucknow in 1913, the object of the League was changed, and in the place of promotion of loyalty towards British Government, *"attainment under the aegis of the British Crown, of self-government suited to India"* was substituted.

18.8 THE LUCKNOW PACT

The Congress Session of 1913 welcomed the change in the attitude of them, and warmly appreciated the adoption by the All India Muslim League of the ideal of self - government for India within the British Empire. They welcomed the harmonious working and cooperation of the various communities in the country. In 1915, the League had its annual session at Bombay, where the Congress also met. A large number of Congress leaders - Gandhiji, Malavya, Sarojini Naidu, and others attended the League session. The Presidents - S.P. Sinha (Congress) and Mazharul Haq (League), exchanged views. In 1916, the Congress and the League again held their sessions at the same time at Lucknow. They came closer, and the famous Congress - League Pact was signed at Lucknow in 1916.

According to this Pact, the provinces should be free as much as possible from the

control of the central government in matters of finance and administration. The Congress conceded the League demand for separate electorates in all the provinces (Punjab and Bengal included). In the Muslim majority provinces, the Muslim representation was to be twice as much as the ratio of the respective population of Hindus and Muslims. Thus, the right of minorities to weightage, was also conceded. The minorities were given the right to voting out a legislation, which concerned them, and to which they were opposed. The Lucknow Pact was the achievement of two political bodies, dominated by leaders possessing similar ideological backgrounds and intellectual approach. Jinnah, Muhammed Ali and Ansari on the one side, and Muzumdar, Surendranth Benerjee, Motilal Nehru and Tilak on the otherside, spoke on the same lines. They dealt with topics like Home Rule, responsible government and constitutional amendment. Tilak played an important role in bringing the two together. Lucknow Pact was the first instance of collaboration between the two organisations. It marked an important step forward in Hindu-Muslim unity.

The Indian National Congress was criticised for agreeing to these communal provisions in the Pact. In fact, this implied that the Congress itself had accepted communalism as an existing reality. But, the Congress accepted it as a lesser evil because, if the Hindus and Muslims pulled in different directions, as struggle for freedom would become almost impossible. The Congress expected that after the pact, the Muslims League would join the Congress to fight for freedom with a sense of unity and brotherhood. But, later event proved that the Congress was entirely mistaken in its calculation. The communal demands once accepted, continued to figure in all the later constitutional schemes like 1919 or 1935 reforms. The Hindu-Muslim unity created by the Pact was short-lived and illusory. The Congress could not deny or oppose communal representation of the later years. Ultimately, this led to the partition of India.

18.9 HINDU MAHA SABHA

As Minto-Morely Reforms had weighed the balance too far in favour of the Muslims many Hindus were annoyed. Hence, a purely communal organisation called Hindu Maha Sabha was established to protect the rights of the Hindus. Hindu Maha Sabha was established in the year 1916. Many Congressmen had sympathy with its objects. It received the patronage of the leaders like Pandit Madan Mohan Malavya, Lala Lajpat Rai and V.D. Savarkar. Even the British government was inwardly glad with the formation of this mainly cultural organisation as against the Congress which had political ambitions.

As a result of the colonial policies adopted by Britain in India congenial atmosphere was provided for the birth and growth of communal organisations in India. One such organisation was Hindu Maha Sabha.

The genesis and early history of Hindu Maha Sabha are in obscurity. In the year 1910 some prominent Hindus of Allahabad decided to organise an All India Hindu Maha Sabha. In 1911 the Punjab Hindu Maha Sabha organised a conference at Amritsar. The Hindu Maha Sabha set up its head quarters at Haridwar and used to organise Akhila Bharatiya Hindu Conference at Haridwar on the occasion of important Hindu festivals. The first session of All India Hindu Maha Sabha was held in 1915 presided by the

Maharaja of Kasim Bazar.

The Sudden withdrawal of Non-Cooperation Movement in 1922 led to communal riots. The Hindus of Malabar coast and Multan were worst affected. As a result the need for revival of Hindu Maha Sabha was considered by some prominent people. Pandit Madan Mohan Malavya was one of the founder members of Hindu Maha Sabha, Laj Path Rai and N.C. Kelkar also became its members.

Malavya strongly defended the setting up of Hindu Maha Sabha. To check the proselyting activities of Muslims and Christians Malavya felt that Hindus should organise themselves. It was further intended to counter the exaggerated claims of Muslim League for representation in the elected bodies and to obtain fair deal for Hindus.

In the early phase *shuddhi* and *Sanatha* became the watch words of Hindu Maha Sabha. Malavya felt Hindu Maha Sabha had social and cultural mission. Its main objective in the beginning was to remove the social abuses in Hindu society. Malavya felt that Hindu Maha Sabha would supplement and strengthen the National Congress as the Maha Sabha deals the socio-cultural and non-political issues.

V.D. Savarkar became the president of Hindu Maha Sabha in 1938 and was re-elected several times. Under his leadership Hindu Maha Sabha developed a political programme. He did not like the policy of 'appeasement' adopted by National Congress towards Muslims. To counter the same Savarkar propagated the concept of Hindu Rashtra.

After Savarkar, Dr. S.P. Mukherjee became the leader of Hindu Maha Sabha and he imparted more national outlook. In due course extreme communalism had stepped in. As against the demand of Muslim League for creation of Pakistan, Hindu Maha Sabha raised the slogan of "Akhand Hindustan" to protect Hindu religion, Hindu culture and Hindu civilisation. This attitude hardened the Muslims demand for creation of Pakistan.

In due course Rastriya Samyukt Samaj became the offshoot of Hindu Maha Sabha.

18.10 HINDU - MUSLIM RELATIONS

In 1923, Muhammad Ali, presiding over the annual session of the Congress at Kakinada, appealed to the Muslims that they should unite with Hindus and it would help the Pan-Islamic objectives. He also pointed out that the British policy ran counter to the Islamic goals. His appeal went unheard in communal politics.

The revival of the old communal spirit resulted in many petty quarrels between the two communities. Many regrettable events between Hindus and Muslims occurred in Malabar, Agra and elsewhere. There were serious communal clashes at different places. While the Muslims organized a definite communal movement, called "*Tanjeem*" and "*Tabligh*" the Hindus became militant under the Hindu Maha Sabha. Each began to suspect the motives of the other.

The National Liberal Party which represented the moderate section of the Muslims was routed in the election of 1923. The Khilafat Movement also ceased to function after Mustapha Kamal Pasha abolished the Caliphate in 1924. This led to the revival of the

All India Muslim League. Its activities which had been suspended for four years, recommenced with the meeting held at Lahore in May, 1924 with Mohammed Ali Jinnah as President. The Muslim League declared that Swaraj was its object. But, it proceeded to lay down some basic and fundamental principles in any constitution for India, acceptable to the Muslims.

18.11 REVIVAL OF MUSLIM LEAGUE

The Muslim League demanded federal constitution for India with full autonomy for provinces, the functions of the Central Government being confined to matters of general common concern. The mode of representation in the legislature and all other elected bodies should guarantee adequate and effective representation and should continue to be, by means of separate electorates as it present. No bill of resolution should be passed in any elected body if it is opposed by 3/4th of the members of any community which feels itself affected by it. The meeting gave an economic interpretation of the communal discord by saying that as the *"majority of the Muslims is poor and the majority of Hindus is in better circumstances. The poor Muslim is ready to rob the rich Hindus at the slightest provocation"*.

18.12 COMMUNAL RIOTS

Serious communal riots vitiated the political atmosphere of India from 1923 onwards. It was unfortunate that though the Hindus and Muslims lived together side by side for more than seven hundred years, they still remained as two distinct units because of deep-rooted social, political and religious causes. Many prominent leaders of both the communities made sincere efforts to eliminate the causes of discord by drawing up an agreed settlement for guiding the relations between the two communities. A committee had been appointed in 1921 to draw up an Indian National Act. Dr. Ansari and Lala Lajpat Rai prepared the draft and presented it in 1923. Meanwhile, the Bengal Congress Committee, under the inspiration of C.R.Das approved of a Hindu - Muslim Act for Bengal. The Act provided for representation in the legislative council on the basis of population with separate electorates. Representation to local bodies was to be in the proportion of 60 to 40 in every district, 60 to the majority community, and 40 to the minority community. 55% of the government posts should go to the Muslims. No music should be allowed before a mosque. But, this Act which generated a lot of debate, was defeated at the open session of the Congress.

In May 1923, one of the worst communal riots broke out in Calcutta, when an Arya Samajist procession played music while passing before a mosque. The riots continued for several days and many were killed on both sides. There were a series of riots in 1924 on the occasion of Bakrid and Delhi was the worst hit. Street fightings took place in Nagpur, Jabalpur and other towns. Order was restored only after the Military opened fire. The most serious outbreak occurred at Kohat in the North-West Frontier Province, a predominantly Muslim area. The trouble arose over a pamphlet issued by *Sanatana Dharma Sabha*, containing an anti-Islamic poem. The Hindus of the town were attacked, and the police failed to prevent the raid. The woeful tale of this tragedy formed a subject of discussion in the Indian National Congress, the Muslim

League and the Hindu Mahasabha.

The Hindu - Muslim relations continued to deteriorate in 1925 and 1926. As many as thirty communal riots took place mostly in UP and Bengal. In 1926, Motilal Nehru and Abul Kalam Azad issued a manifesto proposing to establish a non-communal association to be called Indian National Union. This organisation was not founded at all. In the same year, Sir Abdul Rahim started Bengal Muslim Party consisting of the Muslim non-Swarajist members of the Bengal Council. He justified his action on the ground that all political organisations in India had in fact been of a communal character. The communal hatred reached its climax when Swami Shradhdhananda was stabbed by a Muslim. All efforts by the Congress and Moderates had failed to bridge the gulf between the two communities. These differences had a definite say on the politics of the country, and on the Freedom Movement.

It had been observed earlier, how the communal problem defied solution in the Round Table Conferences, and how the British took advantage of the differences between the Hindus and the Muslims to wreck the National Movement. Muhammad Ali, who was the follower of the Mahatma in 1920 Satyagraha Movement, said in Bombay in 1930 "We refuse to join Mr. Gandhi, because his movement is not a movement for the complete independence of India; but, for making the seventy millions of Indian Musalmans dependents of the Hindu Maha Sabha". But, the influence of Ali brothers on the Muslim Community was on the wane and Jinnah emerged as the spokesman of the community.

18.13 JINNAH

Muhammad Ali Jinnah was a great tactician. He stood head and shoulders above the other Muslim leaders in exploiting the communal sentiments for political ends. The acceptance of the Nehru constitution by the Congress and his failure to carry the convention with him, hurt his ego. He dubbed the action of the Congress as anti-Muslim and called for meeting of the Muslim League in Delhi in March, 1929. Here, he repudiated the Nehru Constitution and laid down his famous "Fourteen points", comprising the minimum demands of the Muslim community.

The main demands were : 1) The form of future constitution should be Federal with the residuary powers vested in the provinces. A uniform measure of autonomy shall be granted to all the provinces 2) All legislatures in the country and other elected bodies shall provide adequate and effective representation to the minorities 3) The Muslim representation of communal groups shall be, by means of separate electorates 4) Any territorial redistribution shall not in any way affect the Muslim majority in Punjab, Bengal and North -West Frontier Province. Sindh should be separated from the Bombay Presidency 5) Full religious liberty shall be guaranteed to all the communities. The constitution should embody adequate safeguards for the protection of Muslim culture, education, language and personal laws 6) Any cabinet either central or provincial, should have 1/3rd the Muslim minority as members.

The lapse of Nehru's Report and the death of the National Muslim Party left the field open for Jinnah. He began to press for more and more communal representation. The chance of adjustment between the two communities steadily receded and they drifted further apart. Even though Muslims were divided into several parties, They were united in their claims in any future Constitution of India.

Jinnah, Ali Brothers, Muhammad Shafi and all other Muslim leaders welcomed the proposal of the First Round Table Conference. They demanded the Muslim representatives in the Conference should truly represent the community. In other words, they made it clear that Nationalist Muslims have no place at the meeting. The British welcomed this proposal as it suited their 'Divide and Rule' policy. The First Round Table Conference was attended by all prominent Muslim leaders. They declared in clear terms that no constitution would be acceptable to them, unless their interests were sufficiently safeguarded. The Muslim leaders alone were competent to decide whether the proposed safeguards were adequate or not. This demand was more or less accepted by the Conference.

In the Second Round Table Conference, all the efforts of Gandhi to arrive at an agreement with Muslim League failed, necessitating an arbitration by Mac Donald, the Prime Minister of England. The Communal Award given by him was triumph for the Muslims. It practically conceded what was regarded as unfair even by the Simon Commission. The Communal Award gave separate electorates not only for Muslims, but also to Sikhs and Anglo-Indians and provided special seats for the Depressed classes.

After the Poona Pact, a unity conference was held at Allahabad in November, 1932. A committee was appointed to reach an agreement on all outstanding differences on constitutional problems. The committee had agreed for the joint electorates subject to the provision that no candidate should be declared successful, who had not secured 30% of votes polled by his own community. The Muslim representation in the central legislature was agreed at 32%. Before the committee finalised its deliberations, the British Government announced that it agreed to allot 33% (1/3) seats in Central legislature to Muslims and also to create a separate Sindh Province. This British diplomacy of "Divide and Rule" and the attitude of Jinnah made it quite clear that Hindu-Muslim unity was impossible during the British rule. The partition of India was only a logical step to this growth of communalism during the period under study.

II. CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1) Why is the Lucknow Pact important ?

2) When and why did Jinnah put forth the fourteen demands ?

3) When was the communal award announced, what was its main feature ?

18.14 LET US SUM UP

- I. 1. A number of factors were responsible for the growth of communalism in India. The educational backwardness of the Muslims, the divide and rule policy of the British and the association of Hindu religious symbols in the national movement were some of the important factors which promoted a feeling of separatism among the Indian Muslims.
2. The Muslim League was established in 1906 by Prince Aga Khan and the Nawab of Dacca.
3. The Lucknow pact of 1916 created a temporary accord between the Muslim League and the Congress.
4. The absence of movement which could unite Hindus and Muslims resulted many communal riots between 1923 to 1927. Suppressing Jinnah emerged as the leader of the Muslim League by 1930.

18.15 CHECK YOUR PROGRESS - ANSWERS

- I 1) Syed Ahmad Khan opposed the entry of Muslims into the Indian National Congress because he believed that the Muslims would gain only by remaining loyal to the British Government and not by joining an organisation where loyalty to the British Government was suspected by the British Authorities.
- 2) The policy of divide and rule pursued by the British and the fear of domination by the majority community promoted the feeling of separation among the Indian Muslims.
- II 1) The Lucknow Pact is important because it was an important step towards Hindu-Muslim unity. It was the first instance of the Indian National Congress and the Muslim League coming together in the interests of gaining self-Government for India.
- 2) Jinnah put forth the fourteen demands in 1929 in the Delhi meeting of Muslim League. He thought that there were minimum demands for protecting the interests of Muslims in India.
- 3) The communal award was announced in 1932. It provided for the separate electorates not only to Muslims but also for Sikhs, Anglo-Indians and depressed classes.

18.16 EXAMINATION MODEL QUESTIONS

I. Answer the following questions in about 30 lines each.

1. Write about the rise of Muslim Communalism and its effects.
2. Describe the 'Divide and Rule' policy of British and examine its effects.
3. Examine the factors responsible for the birth of Muslim League and write about its main objectives.
4. Examine the relations between Congress and Muslim League upto 1916.

II. Answer the following questions in about 15 lines each.

1. What was the reason for the backwardness of Muslims, which the British took pretext to split the Hindus & Muslims ?
2. Write a short note on Hindu Mahashaba.
3. Briefly write the condition and significance of Lucknow Pact.
4. Examine the role of Sir Syed Ahmed Khan in the Indian National Movement.
5. Examine revival of Communalism and the Muslim League attitude towards the British Govt.

18.17 BOOKS FOR FURTHER READING

1. Agarwal, R.C. : *Constitutional history of India and national movement.*
2. Bipan Chandra : *Modern India*
3. Bipan Chandra & others : *Freedom Struggle*
4. Desai, A.R. : *Social background of Indian nationalism*
5. Majumdar R.C. : *Advanced History of India*
6. Majumdar, R.C. : *History of Indian Freedom Movement*
7. Natarajan and Prema Ramakrishna : *Political and cultural history of India Vo. II*
8. Spear P. : *History of India Vol. II*
9. Sumit Sarcar : *Modern India*
10. Tarachand : *History of the Freedom Movement in India, Vol. III*

UNIT - 19 WORLD WAR-I AND HOME RULE MOVEMENT

Contents :

- 19.0 Objectives
- 19.1 Introduction
- 19.2. Impact of the World War-I on the Indian National Movement.
- 19.3. Attitude of the Nationalists towards the war
- 19.4 Home Rule Movement - Annie Besant and Tilak
- 19.5 Montague's Declaration
- 19.6 Rowlatt Act
- 19.7 Let us sum up
- 19.8 Check your progress; Answers
- 19.9 Examination Model Questions
- 19.10 Books for further reading

19.0 OBJECTIVES

After studying this unit you should have an understanding of the following :

- 1) impact of the World War-I on the Indian National Movement.
- 2) aim, course and achievements of the Home Rule Movement under the leadership of Annie Besant and Tilak.
- 3) significance of Montague's declaration of 1916.

19.1 INTRODUCTION

The First World War which broke out in August 1914 worked as a catalyst to the Indian National Movement. It accelerated the pace of the Movement and defined its objectives in clear terms. It formed a watershed in Modern Indian development. It provoked a revolution in the Indian consciousness which in turn found expression in the rise of Mahatma Gandhi. Before 1914, the Government of India on the whole held the initiative, but after 1918 it was grasped by the Congress.

19.2 IMPACT OF THE WORLD WAR-I ON THE INDIAN NATIONAL MOVEMENT

The outbreak of the War saw an outburst of loyalty to the British. A wave of loyal sentiment swelled all over India. When the World War-I broke out there was little active political life in the country, Lokamanya Tilak was in prison and his party was suppressed. The National Congress representing the Moderates only, met once a year and passed some academic resolutions and did nothing else. Nationalism was at a low ebb. In 1914, the Congress at Madras resolved to convey its profound devotion to the throne and expressed its firm resolve to stand by the empire at all hazards and at all costs.

The other sections of the society the princes, landlords, merchants and non-political classes competed with the politicians in joining the chorus of loyalty. Thus, when the War began, there was great enthusiasm in the country. The people of India were willing to serve the Government in every possible way. Indian soldiers rendered splendid service to the empire at critical movements of the War. The War also gave impetus to the industrial development of Modern India. As the War dragged on, the Indians gave up the feeling that the British were superior to them morally and economically. To Allied armies in the Middle East, India became a vital supply base for vast quantities of small arms and ammunition, clothing and food supplies.

The general body of Indians whole-heartedly supported the War efforts with a view to be rewarded after the termination of the War, in the form of political advancement. The Allies declared that, they were fighting to make the world safe for democracy. Indians who were helping the Allies expected that the government should at least declare that they would grant self-government in India after the War. But, they did not realise fully that the different powers were fighting the First World War precisely to safeguard their existing colonies.

As the War proceeded, a handful of people made huge profits but the great majority felt the strain more and more and discontent grew. Extortion of money for War Fund resulted in financial bankruptcy of the country and political awakening in the masses. The attitude of India towards empire and its people was radically altered. The myth of the invincibility of the British arms and the superiority of the white man was exploded.

During the course of the World War I, Indian industries grew rapidly and new War - time industries were developed. British and Indian Capitalists prospered and obtained huge profits at the cost of the poor Indian masses. But, unfortunately, the position of the workers became miserable in spite of the rise in wages, as there was a corresponding abnormal rise in the prices of the necessaries of life. For the first time, Indian capitalists became strong enough to exert pressure on the Government. During War time, the British Government encouraged large scale industries and steps were taken for rapid industrialisation in India.

19.3 ATTITUDE OF THE NATIONALISTS TOWARDS THE WAR

We will now examine the attitude of the leaders towards the First World War of 1914-18.

Congress demanded political reform as a price for Indian loyalty. As soon as Tilak was released in 1914, he was hailed as the great leader and apostle of nationalism. He was accorded a hero's reception by the nationalist elements. Tilak also decided to support the effort of the government. He declared "*at such a crisis it is the duty of every Indian, be he great or small, rich or poor, to support and assist His Majesty's Government to the best of his ability*".

Gandhiji became a self-appointed, recruitment Sergeant for the army. He actively helped recruitment, so that India could qualify for Swaraj through '*the good offices of the statesmen of the Empire*'.

Though Muslims were unhappy at the attitude of the British Government towards Turkey, yet the Muslim troops courageously fought against the Turks in Mesopotamia.

Tilak returned to India in 1914, riding on the crest of a wave of popularity, and by his dynamism infused a new life in Indian politics. His presence gave a stimulus to patriotic favour. But, the National Congress was in the hands of the Moderate group. In 1914, Mrs. Annie Besant whole-heartedly supported the Indian Struggle for independence. At first, she tried to unite the two sections of the Congress, but failed. A large section of the Congress men felt that they should make peace with Tilak, but Feroz Shah Mehta and Gokhale opposed this move. With the death of Gokhale and Feroz Shah Mehta in 1915, the Moderate group became leaderless. Mrs. Besant utilised the opportunity for prevailing upon both the groups to work together. The Congress changed its constitution in order to make it possible for the Extremists to join the Congress. The growing nationalist feeling in the country and the urge for national unity, produced two historic developments in 1916 at the Lucknow session of the Indian National Congress. A compromise was arrived between the two wings of the Congress, the Moderate and the Extremists as both of them had attended the Lucknow session. The Lucknow Congress was the first united Congress since 1907. Tilak re-entered the Congress not as a repentant sinner, but as a conquering hero. The Congress accorded him an unprecedented ovation. His entrance into the Congress pandal was greeted with wild bursts of joy and enthusiasm. From then onwards, Tilak was the uncrowned king of Indian Politics. The Lucknow Congress of 1916 marks the revival of the National Congress, and it began to be really a national organisation of the bourgeoisie.

The Lucknow Congress of 1916 was notable for another reunion, a Hindu-Muslim one. Tilak exercised his tremendous influence in persuading the delegates to accept the terms of the agreement between the Congress and the Muslim League. But for Tilak's powerful advocacy and undisputed leadership among the nationalist delegates, Lucknow Pact would not have been approved.

The Congress and the All India Muslim League put up common political demands before the Government.

19.4 HOME RULE MOVEMENT - ANNIE BESANT AND TILAK

Mrs. Annie Besant became immortal in our history by her devotion to the service of India by starting the Home Rule Movement, which was an important chapter in the story of our Freedom Movement. Till 1914, Mrs. Annie Besant had devoted her energies to religion, education and social reforms. She now transferred her attention to the political field. She started the '*Common weal*' an English weekly in 1914, and the daily '*New India*' in August, 1914 "*to press forward the coming changes in India and to claim steadily Indian's place in the empire*". She wrote a series of articles on the history of the Freedom Movement under the caption, "*How India wrought for Freedom*". After joining the Congress in 1914, she initiated negotiations with Tilak to persuade him to rejoin the Congress. She presented India's case for self-government, in a forceful and dignified way. As the Congress proved too unwieldy a machinery to

realise nationalist aspirations, both Mrs. Annie Besant and Tilak independently thought of the Home Rule Movement. Mrs. Besant and Tilak gave inspiring lead to the Home Rule Movement. Mrs. Besant started the Home Rule League at Gokhale Hall, Madras in September 1916, and Tilak Started the same Home Rule League at Pune. Swaraj or independence, the goal of nationalism became the war cry of the Home Rule Movement, which was carried on jointly by Besant and Tilak on the basis of a plan agreed upon between them. The two Leagues the one of Tilak and the other of Mrs. Besant pooled their work and carried forward a vigorous propaganda. Mrs. Besant came to Pune and addressed a meeting under the chairmanship of Tilak. The Home Rule League raised the slogan of Swadeshi, National Education and Home Rule for India.



Home Rule Delegation

The Home Rule Movement openly launched the struggle for freedom. It caught the imagination of the people and carried the whole of India along with it. Tilak made a direct appeal to the people in a simple language and ushered in a mass movement. It was during this agitation that Tilak gave the popular slogan "*Home Rule is my birth right, and I will have it*". The two leagues made rapid progress and the cry of Home Rule resounded throughout the country.

Mrs. Besant also was engaged in an equally vigorous '**raging, tearing propaganda**'. By her hurricane tours, she awoke India out of their slumber. The Movement gained an irresistible momentum and the Government was alarmed at the growth of the movement. As the result of such vigorous propaganda, the Movement reached its peak in 1917.

The repression of the government was directed against the Home Rule Movement. Heavy security was demanded from Besant '*New India*' which was forfeited. In 1917, she was interned at Ootacamund. Her internment and that of other leaders like B.P.Wadia and Arundale made the Home Rule League popular. The high-handedness of the authorities raised a storm of protests all over the country. Public fury compelled the government to release Mrs. Besant.

Orders of externment were issued from Punjab and Delhi against Tilak and Pal in 1917. The Congress in recognition of her valuable services elected her as president in 1917. However, Home Rule League did not make much impression on the political horizon, as the Movement fizzled out after Montague's momentous announcement of 1917. This changed the entire complexion of the Indian political scene, and there was a general feeling that there was no need for further agitation in favour of Home Rule.

This Movement ushered in a new phase. Unlike the earlier Swadeshi Movement, it was an All India Movement and was not restricted to one province. A nationalist India had grown out of the ashes of the old policy of mendicancy and the dream of the Extremists was realised. This movement was responsible for the high idealism exhibited by the participants in the subsequent phases of the freedom movement.

19.5 MONTAGUE'S DECLARATION

The unity between moderate nationalists and the militant nationalists and between the National Congress and the Muslim League aroused great political enthusiasm in the country. Even the British Government felt it is necessary to placate the Nationalists. It was decided to satisfy the wide - spread demands of the Indians for constitutional reforms in recognition of their loyal services to Great Britain during the War. On 20th August, 1917, Montague, the Secretary of State for India made the following momentous announcement. "The policy of His Majesty's Government, with which the Govt. of India are in complete accord, is that the increasing association of Indians in every branch of the administration and gradual development of self-governing institutions with a view to the progressive realisation of responsible government in India, as an integral part of the British Empire."

The Declaration was a masterpiece of vagueness and ambiguity. True to the usual game of British diplomacy, it was non-committal. The Moderates welcomed it as the 'Magna Carta' of India. The Extremists thought that the sacred promises made in the declaration were meant to fool the nationalists.

One of the important effects of Montague's Declaration was that Moderates separate themselves from the Extremists. In 1907, the Extremists were literally expelled from the Congress by the Moderate group. On the other hand, in 1918 the Moderates walked out the Congress organisation. With their walk out from the Congress, they walked out of the history of India's struggle for freedom. Henceforth, they lived only in their past glory.

Montague visited India in November, 1917, and held discussions with Lord Chelmsford, as to how the British pledge should be implemented. The report prepared by him and agreed upon by the Viceroy of India, was published in 1918. It served as the basis of the Government of India Act, 1919. These reforms were known as Montague - Chelmsford or Montford Reforms. The reforms were introduced in 1921.

I CHECK YOUR PROGRESS.

1. When and where was the Home Rule League of Annie Besant established ?

2. Why were the Indian leaders not happy with the declaration of Montague in 1917?

19.6 ROWLATT ACT

Many causes were responsible for the enactment of the Rowlatt Act by the Government. During the War, the Government had dealt with revolutionary crime under the Defence of India Rules, which was to expire at the end of the War. The liberty of the people was restricted. Special laws were passed to control the revolutionary movement. Instead of more freedom, there was to be more repression. These bills were based on the report of a Committee presided by Justice Rowlatt. Hence, they were known as Rowlatt Bills. Two bills were introduced in the Imperial Legislative Council in February, 1919. These bills were called the 'Black Bills' all over the country, irrespective of political differences, all Indians denounced these bills. Though all the Indian members of the Legislative Council opposed the bills, the Government passed the Rowlatt Act in March, 1919. Gandhiji threatened Satyagraha if the Bills became law. The Rowlatt Acts of 1919 were an insult to the dignity and self-respect of the Indians. These had been passed to suppress political activities, and gave the government wide powers to arrest and imprison people suspected of seditious activities without trial. The Habeas Corpus Act was suspended, and the press gagged. These measures had been passed in view of the growing political unrest in country.

II. CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1) What were Rowlatt Acts ?

19.7 LET US SUM UP

1. Indians supported the British in the first World War expecting self-government after the war.
2. The Home-Rule Movement started by Mrs. Annie Besant and Tilak in 1916 roused the national consciousness of the Indians and forced the British Government to announce certain measures to pacify the Indians.
3. Montague's declaration in 1916 satisfied only the Moderates.

19.8 CHECK YOUR PROGRESS : ANSWERS

- I 1) Annie Besant started the Home Rule League at Madras in September, 1916.
- 2) The Indian leaders were not happy with the declaration of Montague because it was considered to be too vague and non-committal and also because the Indian leaders thought that the declaration contained empty promises only.
- II 1) The bills which were passed to control the Revolutionary Movement in the year 1919 were called the Rowlatt Acts.

19.9 EXAMINATION MODEL QUESTIONS

I. Answer the following questions in about 30 lines

1. Briefly describe the effects of the First World War on Indian National Movement.
2. Critically examine the work of the Home Rule Movement.

II. Write short Notes on the following questions in about 15 lines each.

1. Examine the attitude of the Political parties and nationalist leaders regarding India's participation in the First World War.
2. What did the Montague's Declaration of August, 1917 promise and what are its significant results?

19.10 BOOKS FOR FURTHER READING

1. Agarwal, R.C. : *Constitutional History of India and national movement*
2. Bipan Chandra : *Modern India*
3. Bipan Chandra & Others : *Freedom struggle*
4. Desai, A.R. : *Social background of Indian nationalism*
5. Majumdar R.C. : *Advanced History of India*
6. Majumdar, R.C. : *History of Indian Freedom Movement*
7. Natarajan and Prema Ramakrishna : *Political and cultural history of India, Vol. II*
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9. Sumit Sarcar : *Modern India*
10. Tarachand : *History of the Freedom Movement in India, Vol. III*

UNIT 20 : CONSTITUTIONAL REFORMS

Contents :

- 20.0 Objectives
- 20.1 Introduction
- 20.2 Constitutional Reforms
- 20.3 Indian Councils Act of 1892
- 20.4 Circumstances leading to the 1909 Reforms
- 20.5 Provisions of the Act of 1909
- 20.6 The Indian Criminal Law Amendment Act 1908
- 20.7 Background to the 1919 Act
 - 20.7.1 Influence of Russian Revolution
 - 20.7.2 Influence of the Sinn Fein Movement of Ireland
 - 20.7.3 Nationalist Party - Egypt
- 20.8 Provisions of the 1919 Act
 - 20.8.1 Dyarchy in Provinces
 - 20.8.2 Changes in the Central Government
- 20.9 Nationalist response to the Act.
- 20.10 Circumstances leading to the Act of 1935
- 20.11 Provisions of the Act
- 20.12 Criticism of the Act
- 20.13 Let us sum up
- 20.14 Check your progress : Answers
- 20.15 Examination Model Questions
- 20.16 Books for further reading

20.0 OBJECTIVES

Study of this unit should enable you to have knowledge of the following :-

1. the circumstances leading to the Indian Councils Act of 1892 and its provisions.
2. the circumstances leading to the passing of the 1909 Reforms Act and its provisions.
3. the circumstances leading to the passing of the 1919 Reforms Act and its provisions.
4. the circumstances leading to the Act of 1935, its provisions and response of the Indian leaders.

20.1 INTRODUCTION

Indian National Congress since its inception in 1885 in all its annual sessions demanded for constitutional reforms. Indian Councils Act of 1892 is a milestone in the march of constitutional development of India. For the first time the election principle was accepted and introduced by the Act. The Act however failed to satisfy the progressive demand of people.

Minto-Morley Reforms of 1909 were yet another important milestone in the constitutional history of India. It was already noted that the regime of Lord Curzon was a period of repression and reforms. Under Curzon, the ideals of local self government, educational autonomy, and freedom of the press were eroded. His autocratic regime had roused a wave of indignation and national consciousness. The Partition of Bengal fostered anti-British feelings. It roused the discontent of the people. The people passionately believed that Curzon had deliberately divided the Bengali people because of their political activity, and raised the backward Muslims of East Bengal as a counterpoise. All his actions hurt the national sentiments and roused popular indignation against the British Government. The Swadeshi-Boycott Movement generated greater national consciousness and determination. The Act of 1919 practically swept the Minto-Morley constitution and introduced important changes as regards the structure and character of both the provincial and central Government. The Act of 1935 is an important landmark in India. As it provided on all India federation. The circumstances leading to the Acts of 1892, 1909, 1919 and 1935, their provisions and the response of the Indians are discussed in this unit.

20.2 CONSTITUTIONAL REFORMS

One of the aims of the Indian National Congress at the time of its formation was to demand greater share in the administration of the country. In its initial career, the Indian National Congress had limited impact on the political horizon. Its immediate constitutional demands were : 1) The establishment of legislative councils in all provinces 2) The acceptance of the principle of election for electing members of the imperial and provincial legislative councils; 3) The right of the council to discuss the budget.

The Indian National Congress from 1885 to 1891 in all its annual sessions demanded improvements in the Councils Act of 1892.

Lord Dufferin, the Viceroy sympathised with these demands and persuaded the Home Government to incorporate them in the Indian Councils Act of 1892.

20.3 INDIAN COUNCILS ACT OF 1892

It was yet another milestone in the march of constitutional development in India. The 1892 Act was a great improvement and three changes which are made are worth noting:

1. The number of Indian members was increased both in Governor-General's Council and in the Governor's Councils in the provinces.

2. Indirect election was introduced as a matter of practice though not legally in the Act for the Indian members. Members began to be nominated on the recommendations

of bodies like District Boards, Municipal Councils, Chambers of Commerce, University Senates etc.

3. The functions of the Councils are considerably enlarged. By the Act of 1861, the functions of the Council were limited only to legislative business. Another notable achievement of the Act was the granting of the right to members of the imperial and presidency Councils to discuss the budget and ask questions.

For the first time, the elective principle was accepted and introduced by the Act. The Act also authorised the members to ask questions and discuss the budget. The right of the members to discuss and criticise the financial policies of the executive laid the foundation of parliamentary government.

This Act however failed to satisfy the progressive opinion in the country. The retention of the official majorities at the centre and the provinces was resented. The system of indirect election was considered inadequate. The members had no right to vote on the budget. In a short time the non-official members realised the futility of their criticism. The Act of 1892 marked an advance towards greater Indian representation in legislatures. However, the Act did not concede the elective principle as demanded by the Congress. The Moderate emphasis, on the sophisticated constitutionalism resulted in a clash with the rising Extremist leadership in the Congress at Surat in 1907. Now, let us examine the factors responsible for the rise of Extremism.

20.4 CIRCUMSTANCES LEADING TO THE 1909 REFORMS

The defeat of Russia by Japan in 1904 exploded the belief in the invincibility of the white race. The Indians began to shed their inferiority complex and feel confident of removing the British rule. The Japanese victory convinced the Indian youth that the British rule was certainly not a divine gift. Under the dynamic leadership of Gokhale, there was a tremendous upsurge uniting all communities for a common cause in the demand for constitutional reforms.

Just about this time, Labour Party came to power in England, and the Liberals who on principle stood for freedom and autonomy, agreed to look into the grievances of the people. Though the Labour Party in England did not subscribe to the Indian demand for Swaraj, it was mainly sympathetic to grant a greater share in the administration to the Indians. John Morley, the new Secretary of State, was a man of enormous learning. An idealist and a great liberal, he was in favour of pacifying the Indian National Congress, although he did not favour the establishment of responsible government in India. He was admired and almost blindly adored by many educated Indians. Morley's formula for governing India was unfaltering repression on the one hand, vigour and good faith in the reform on the other. He considered a judicious admixture of the carrot with the stick as more effective than by stick alone. The Government followed a policy of repression - cum- concession.

Lord Minto, the successor of Lord Curzon established contacts with moderate Congress leaders and arrived at certain conclusions. Minto did not want to ignore the existence of Congress as he realised that it was the predominating factor in the affairs of the country. He looked upon Gokhale as the most acceptable type of Congressman

though he considered Gokhale's ideas and ambitions as unrealistic. He wanted to favour the loyalists (Moderates) and suppress the seditious Congressmen.

Extremist propaganda and terrorist activities made a strong impact on British statesmen. The Secretary of State and Governor - General agreed to contain the influence of the Extremists. At the same time, they realised that Indians could not be fooled indefinitely. The rulers have decided to apply the twin remedies of repression and concession to fight political unrest.

As a result of the growth of militant school of nationalism, the British Government adopted a policy of divide and rule, and announced constitutional concessions through the Indian Councils Act of 1909, which are known as the Minto-Morley Reforms of 1909. The main idea of the Government was to drive a wedge between the Hindus and the Muslims and to divide the Congress into Moderates and Extremists.

The Act of 1909 was a further advance in the position of the Councils over the Act of 1892. This was to satisfy the moderate elements of the Congress, and Gokhale was consulted by the British Government before enacting the new Act. The introduction of separate electorates was a device adopted by Lord Minto to win over the Muslims and set them against the Congress movement.

20.5 PROVISIONS OF 1909 ACT

The overall responsibility and supremacy of the Secretary of State continued. He was responsible to the Parliament for a good Government in India. Two Indians were appointed members of the Indian Council in 1907. It continued to be a consultative body only. Mr. Morley appointed Mr. K.G. Gopal and Syed Hussain Bilgrami to Indian Council.

One Indian member was appointed to the Viceroy's Executive Council. S.P. Sinha had the distinction of being nominated as the first Law Member of the Council.

The Executive Councils of Bombay and Madras were enlarged from three to four members each, and another Executive Council was established in Bengal in 1909, and in Bihar and Orissa in 1912. Another significant feature of the Act was the appointment of the Indians to the Executive Councils.

The Act provided for the enlargement of the Councils, both Central and Provincial. The number of the additional members i.e. (Indians) was considerably raised in the Imperial as well as the Provincial Councils. The number of additional members of the provinces, was similarly increased.

The central and provincial legislatures consisted of official and non-official members. The non-official members were elected on an indirect basis. They were elected by landlords, chambers of commerce, local bodies and universities. Government also conceded the Muslim League's demand of separate or communal electorates. Hence, Muslim representatives were elected by Muslims only.

The Act of 1909 retained the majority of official members. The strength of the Central Legislative Council was raised to a maximum of sixty members, of whom

twenty-eight were officials, and thirty-two non-officials, of whom twenty seven were elected on an indirect and communal basis, and five nominated by the Viceroy.

The Act dispensed with the official majority in the provincial legislatures. The total strength of the provincial Legislative Councils varied from major to minor provinces. The combined strength of official and non-official members still outnumbered the elected members. They formed a solid pro-Government bloc to support all the moves of the Government. In the major provinces, it was raised to a maximum of fifty, consisting of official and non-official members. The legislature was given the right to move resolutions on the budget and other matters of public interest. The Viceroy had the right to veto its resolutions in the interest of the public.

The most unfortunate provision of the new Act was the undue importance that it gave to communal interests. The Act favoured the Muslims by giving them representation disproportionate to their population. A fixed number of seats were reserved for the Muslims in the Councils as well as in public services. Separate constituencies of Muslim electorate were created to further widen the gulf between the Hindus and the Muslims.

By giving special preference to Muslims, the Act in turn, did gross injustice to non-Muslims. For example, a Muslim who paid income tax on Rs.3,000/- was given the right to vote. On the other hand, a Hindu, a Christian, or a Parsi was denied the voting right, even if his taxable income was Rs 3 lakhs. A Muslim graduate of 5 years standing was given the right to vote. But, a graduate of another community could not claim voting right even after 20 years of graduation.

The Governor-General was empowered to make detailed regulations for giving effect to the proposal of elective principle. He suggested a restricted and discriminatory franchise. The electorate for returning the representatives were divided on the basis of class, community, and interest. The voting qualifications also differed from province to province. For the Central legislature, there were four kinds of electorate - general, special, class electorate and Muslims, while for the provincial legislature, the electorate was divided into first three categories.

The Reforms of 1909 created a lot of confusion. These Reforms certainly marked the beginning of representative government, but no responsibility was given. In the system of elections, the number of voters was very much limited, leading to corruption. The Act gave importance to vested interests like landlords and chambers of commerce. The non-official members elected on communal or indirect basis had very little say in the administration or law-making. There was always friction between the official and non-official members of the Councils. The provision of separate electorates did a lot of harm to Indian nationalism. This provision introduced the venom of communalism in Indian politics from which it could never recover.

The Reforms of 1909 did not satisfy the aspirations of the nationalists. In spite of the drawbacks, the Moderates welcomed the reforms. But, soon they were disillusioned. The disappointed Moderates began to lean towards Extremists. In the first decade of the twentieth century, the Government added to its armoury a number of weapons such as Criminal Law Amendment Act 1908, and Indian Press Act 1910 to suppress the growing opposition.

I. CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1. What were the three important effects of 1892 Council Act of 1892

2. Mention the important motives of the British government in announcing the Minto-Morley reforms.

3. Which was the most criticised provision of the 1902 Act ?

20.6 THE INDIAN CRIMINAL LAW AMENDMENT ACT, 1908

This Act made drastic changes in criminal law and procedure in order to secure speedy trial. This Act had a provision to commit persons to a tribunal of three High Court Judges. Bail could be refused to the accused, and appeals against the judgements would be prohibited. The Act gave power to the Government to declare an association of persons unlawful, if it constituted a danger to public peace.

The Indian Press Act of 1910 laid down heavy fines and forfeiture of press for seditious publications. This led to a serious curtailment of civil liberties, such as freedom of the press, platform and assembly.

20.7 BACKGROUND TO THE 1919 ACT

Now, let us trace the background to the introduction of the Montague - Chelmsford Reforms of 1919. Within five years of the inauguration of the Minto Morley reforms, the First World War (1914-1918) broke out. The British statesmen declared that the War was fought to establish the principle of self-determination and to make the world safe for democracy. India helped England with men, money and material. The Indian soldiers fought side by side with troops from England and other Commonwealth countries on the battle - fields of Europe and the Middle East. At the end of the hostilities, the Indian

people looked forward to a reward for their War-time services. Tilak and Mrs. Besant vigorously launched the Home Rule Movement. The Lucknow Pact (1916) signed between the Congress and the League lent new dimensions to the national struggle. The League and the Congress at their respective sessions, passed similar resolutions demanding self-government as early as possible. The British Government felt the need to reconcile the Moderates once again.

The First World War had a tremendous significance on the Indian mind. With the outbreak of the War, World politics began to change rapidly, and during the War years, Indian Nationalism had matured. The momentous events in Russia, Ireland and Egypt profoundly influenced Indian intelligentsia. While the Home Rule agitation was in full swing, the Russian Revolution of 1917 broke out.

20.7.1 Influence of Russian Revolution

Russian Revolution was the greatest single event which profoundly influenced the political development of India during this century. It revealed the immense strength and energy of the common people, and it electrified the common people in the colonial world. The triumph of the Russian Revolution in November, 1917 shook the entire world. The first breach was created in the solid structure of imperialism. Oppressed people everywhere were inspired by a new hope. The Russian Revolution brought home to the colonial people the important lesson that immense strength and energy resided in the common people. The establishment of the First Socialist State in the world had a tremendous impact on the youth of India. Lenin's decrees distributing land among the landless excited the intelligentsia. Russian appeals on behalf of the oppressed nationalities created a favourable impression on the youth. The success of the Russian Revolution led to the growth of the labour movement, of the peasant agitation and the establishment of Communist Party. Revolutionary Russia's unilateral renunciation of unequal treaties with small neighbours, created a profound impact on the minds of the Indians.

20.7.2 Influence of the Sinn Fein Movement of Ireland

Ireland's fight for freedom from Great Britain was watched by the Indian leaders. The Irish patriots for the first time used the weapon of boycott against the landlords, and boycott became a powerful instrument of political warfare. In 1902, Griffith founded the Irish League, and formulated the policy of Sinn Fein (we ourselves). From then onwards, Sinn Fein became the battle cry of the fighters for Home Rule in Ireland.

The Sinn Feiners wanted Ireland to be self-reliant. They did not believe in Parliamentary action. They preached 'direct action' a kind of non-cooperation with the British Government. The struggle was to be essentially a peaceful one. In the beginning, Sinn Fein ideas spread slowly among the youth of Ireland. In 1906, the labour party came to power in England. In spite of the Party's sympathy towards Ireland's freedom, the Party could not do much, due to the domination by the Conservatives in the House of Lords. At last, the Home Rule Bill was passed in 1914. Simultaneously, the First World War broke out. During the First World War, when the British authorities introduced conscription, Irish people protested and were prepared to resist, if necessary.

In 1916 during the Easter weeks, a rising broke out in Dublin, and an Irish Republic was proclaimed. This proclamation gave a further stimulus to the Indian national movement. The British authorities crushed the 'Easter Rising' and rebel leaders were shot down by the authorities. Though the rebellion was crushed, it created a powerful impression on the Irish People. Sinn Fein ideas became popular and spread rapidly. The Irish guerillas of Michael Collins continued a desperate fight against the British. The heroic struggle of the brave Irish people won the admiration of the Indian intelligentsia, and inspired them to fight against British Imperialism.

20.7.3 Nationalist Party in Egypt

Egypt too was under the colonial rule of British. By the end of 19th Century, new middle class emerged as a result of the growth of foreign trade. Jaglool Pasha, who was born in the peasant family became the member of middle class, later he became the leader of the struggle for liberation of Egypt and also Nationalist Party. He became the undisputed leader of Egypt. Peasant class admired Jaglool Pasha. Middle class adored him, but the elite did not liked him. The Nationalist Party under the leadership of Jaglool Pasha gained its popularity during the first world war.

While India was in a ferment, the government, aware of the anti-governmental sentiments, once again decided to follow the policy of the 'Carrot and Stick' Montague, the Secretary of State for India, declared in the House of Commons that the British policy in India would henceforth be directed towards securing the association of Indians in every branch of administration, and progressive realisation of responsible government of India.

The above declaration was followed by the publication of the Montague Chelmsford Report in July, 1918. On the basis of this report, the Parliament passed an Act in 1919, entitled Government of India Act, 1919. Montague Chelmsford Report was published in 1918.

20.8 PROVISIONS OF 1919 ACT

The Act of 1919 practically swept away the Minto-Morley constitution, and introduced important changes as regards the structure and character of both the provincial and central governments.

20.8.1 Dyarchy in Provinces

The most important feature of the Act was that, dyarchy was introduced in the provinces. The word 'dyarchy' means rule by two authorities or double governments. Provisional subjects were divided into two categories - 'Reserved' and 'Transferred'. The Reserved subjects were administered by the Governor of each province with the help of Executive Councillors. They were not responsible to the Legislative Council. The members of the Executive Council varied from two to four in different provinces. They were appointed by the Crown. By convention, half the number of the nominees were Indians. Subjects like Finance, Law and Order were scheduled under 'Reserved subjects'.

The transferred subjects were administered by the Governor with the help of Indian Ministers. They were elected representatives of the people and were responsible to the legislature. The ministers held office during the pleasure of the Governor. Other subjects such as education, public health, and local self-government were called Transferred subjects. While some spending departments were "Transferred", the Governor retained complete control over the finances.

The size of the provincial Legislative Council was considerably enlarged. The Legislative Council was elected on restricted franchise on the basis of separate electorates. While 70% were elected 30% were nominated members. A president presided over its deliberations. The Legislative Councils were invested with powers to make laws for the peace and good government of the territories, constituting the provinces. The members were given the right of asking questions and supplementaries, and also could reject the budget. However, the Government could restore it if necessary. The privileges of the provincial legislature were almost similar to those of the central legislature. The Governors had almost the same overriding powers over the legislature as the Governor - General has over the Central Legislature.

20.8.2 Changes in the Central Government

A bicameral legislature was installed at the Centre. The Upper House was called the Council of States and the Lower House the Legislative Assembly. The members were elected on the basis of communal electorates. The Council of State was chosen for five years and the Legislative Assembly for three years. But, the Governor - General could dissolve or prorogue or extend the life of the Chambers under special circumstances.

Of the members of the Council of State, thirty four were elected, and forty six nominated. Out of the nominated members, not more than twenty were officials and the rest were non-officials. It was elected on a restricted franchise and the right to vote was given to only wealthy land owners or merchants or the former members of provincial legislatures, members of University Senates or Chairmen of Municipal committees. It enjoyed co-ordinate legislative powers with the Lower House. Its approval was necessary for enacting any law. However, in the case of money bills it had very limited power. It was presided over by a president, nominated by the Viceroy from among its members.

The Legislative Assembly consisted of 145 members, of whom, 105 were elected, and 40 nominated, out of whom 26 were officials, 14 non-officials. The Viceroy nominated the President for a period of four years. After that period, the President was elected by members of the Assembly from among themselves. The Deputy President was elected by the Assembly from the inception of the Reforms.

Jointly with the Council of States, the Legislative Assembly enacted laws of the whole of British India. All finance bills were introduced in it, and its approval had to be obtained before taxes could be raised in the country and money spent by the Government. A bill could become law only if both Houses passed it, and in case of a deadlock, the Governor - General might convene a joint session of the two Chambers.

The functions of the Government were divided into 'Central Subjects' and 'Provincial Subjects'. Defence, Foreign affairs, Railway, Posts, and Telegraphs, Civil

and Criminal Law, Commerce, Coinage, Currency etc., were treated as central subjects. Internal law and order, Justice, Jails, Education, Local self-government, Irrigation, Agriculture, Sanitation, Public Health etc., were treated as provincial subjects. Thus, by dividing the subjects between centre and provinces, and declaring certain heads of revenue as purely provincial, the Act gave some independence to the provinces.

The Act relaxed the control of the Secretary of State and the British Parliament over the entire Indian administration. The Secretary of State was responsible for laying down the Indian policy to be followed by the Viceroy. His salary was drawn from British revenues. The powers of the Secretary of State were slightly reduced in relation to provincial governments. For the first time, provision was made for the appointment of a High Commission for India in London for performing some agency functions.

Some changes were also introduced in the composition of the Governor-General's Executive Council. The Act also provided for the inclusion of three Indians in the Six members Council of the Governor - General. The Governor - General and his Council formed the Chief Executive body of the country. He was the head of the Government of India, and wielded vast powers. He presided over the meetings of the Executive Council. He need not follow majority decisions. He had the power to overrule his Councils. All bills passed by the legislature need his approval to become laws. Certain bills had to get his previous consent before they could be introduced in the legislature. He enjoyed special powers, namely the power of veto, or certification and of issuing ordinances. He had the power to issue ordinances in case of emergency or when the legislature was not in session. But, they had to be approved by the legislature within six months.

The Act of 1919 did not introduce any fundamental change in the composition and powers of the Central Executive Council. The unrestricted and despotic powers of the Governor - General were left untouched. The Central legislature got no effective control over him. As before, the superintendence, direction and control of entire administration - both civil and military, remained vested in him. The Executive Council was purely an advisory body. Hence, he was not bound to act on the advice of the Council.

The expansion of the Executive Council simply enabled the Governor-General to add a few more Indian 'yes-men' to his Council. The supremacy of the Governor - General and his Executive Council, and the dictatorial powers of the Governor - General, were not checked by the Act.

20.9 NATIONALIST RESPONSES

The Indian reaction was hostile. Tilak regarded the Montague scheme as 'entirely unacceptable'. Mrs. Besant denounced it as "*the scheme is unworthy of England to offer and unworthy of India to accept it*".

In 1918, the Congress considered the scheme, and passed a resolution. While accepting that some proposals in the Report constituted an advance in some directions, the Congress declared that the scheme as a whole was 'disappointing and un-satisfactory'. The Muslim League also adopted a similar resolution. The Congress demanded that full

responsible government should be granted at once to the provinces. Moderates like Surendranath Benerjee, Setalwad, Chandravarkar and Rahamtullah welcomed the scheme.

During the War years, the Nationalist Indians were led to believe that after the War, they would be granted self-government. But, their hopes were dashed when Montague - Chelmsford Reforms were announced. The Reforms fell far short of their expectations. The nationalists were disappointed with the provisions of the Act. This did not provide a responsible central government, and dyarchy did not mean the transfer of power to Indian hands. The Reforms of 1919 were in the nature of half-way house. The constitutional concessions continued in the Act were considered as totally inadequate. Desabandhu Chittaranjan Das and Bipin Chandra Pal and others, rejected the reforms proposed by the Act of 1919 on the ground that they were inadequate and unsatisfactory. Tilak stood for a policy of responsive cooperation and Gandhiji was in favour of working earnestly to make the Reforms a success.

In spite of this, the Congress asked the British Government to take early steps to establish full responsible government in India in accordance with the principle of self-determination. It resolved to work the Reforms '*so far as may be possible, with a view to bring about the early establishment of responsible government of India*'.

A small minority, the so-called Moderates led by Surendranath Benerjee, left the Congress in 1918, and formed 'National Liberal Federation of India' known as Liberal Party and decided to give a fair trial to the reforms. This split, however, did not weaken the Congress as a political force. From 1919 onwards, the Congress gained further strength. The year 1919 marked by a phenomenal growth of the mass movement.

II CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1) What was the most important provision in the 1919 Act ?

2) Why did the congress leaders feel that the 1919 reforms were disappointing ?

20.10 CIRCUMSTANCES LEADING TO THE ACT OF 1935

After the publication of Simon Commission's Report, and its condemnation by all sections of the public in India, the British Government called for the First Round Table

Conference in London. As the Congress leaders were in prison, the Government appointed men belonging to other parties, communities and interests and who were pro-British, to represent India. After prolonged deliberations, they felt the need of Indian National Congress being represented in the constitutional talks. The Second Round Table Conference was attended by Gandhi as the sole representative of the Congress. The communal representation proved a stumbling block and the parties had agreed to the arbitration of Ramsey Mac Donald, the Prime Minister of England. He gave the Communal Award on 16th August, 1932 which provided separate electorates for minorities and the Depressed classes. Mahatma Gandhi wrote to the Secretary of State for India warning him that he would resist with his life, for the grant of separate electorates to the Depressed classes, and accordingly, undertook a fast unto death. His life was saved by the compromise arrived at, by the Indian leaders through the Poona Pact. The Third Round Table Conference was held between 17th Nov, 1932 and 24th December, 1932. The Congress did not attend the Conference. The delegates of the Conference discussed the reports of the various committees appointed by the earlier conference, and finalised a few more points.

After finalising the entire scheme regarding the future constitution of India, the British government issued a "White Paper" on it. This reported in detail the working basis of the new constitution with a dyarchy at the centre, and a responsible government in the provinces. The Indian public opinion condemned the "White Paper". Despite criticism, the British Government referred the Paper to the Joint Select Committee of the British Parliament. The Committee headed by Linlithgow, had 32 members, 16 from the House of Lords and 16 from the House of Commons. The Committee invited representatives from British India and the Indian States. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, M.R. Jayakar and some other prominent individuals testified before the Committee. The Committee submitted its report on 22nd November, 1934.

On the recommendation of the Joint Select Committee, the bill was drafted and introduced in the House of Commons in February, 1935. The Labour Party criticised the Bill as unsatisfactory, and limited in scope. The Labour members tried to amend the Bill in such a way as to recognise the dominion status of India. On the other hand, the conservatives led by Winston Churchill tried to introduce reactionary provisions into the bill. All the amendments were lost. The bill was passed by the House of Commons and then, by the House of Lords with few amendments which were approved by the House of Commons. The bill received the final assent on 2nd August, 1935 and became famous as the Government of India Act, 1935.

20.11 PROVISIONS OF THE ACT

1) The Act provided for an All India Federation. In British India, there was a lot of disparity between the Indian States and the provinces directly ruled by the British. Hence, the creation of a Federation posed peculiar problems. The Princely States were under the complete control of the Political Department of India, while the provinces had some type of democratic governments.

The Act provided that the provisions automatically would join the Federation. But, for Indian States, however insignificant or small the State may be, there was free

option. The ruler of the State, who wanted to accede to the Federation, had to sign an Instrument of Accession in favour of the Crown. Only on the acceptance of this Instrument of Accession, a State was deemed to be a part of the Federation. While the provinces were to be alike in respect of the position of the quantum of Legislative and Executive powers in the federations, the States were to differ regarding the extent of their powers in the Federation.

2) The Indian States were to send 125 members to the Federal Assembly, and 104 members to the Council of State. The provinces were to send 250 and 156 members respectively to the Federal Assembly and the Council of State. The members of the Indian States would be nominated by their respective rulers and those from the provinces were to be elected on communal lines.

3) The Act of 1935 divided the powers into three lists, namely federal list, provincial list and concurrent list. While the Federal government and provincial government had exclusive jurisdiction to pass laws on the subjects given in their lists, both could pass laws over the subjects mentioned in the concurrent list. But, if there was already a law passed by Federal government on any subject of the concurrent list, the provincial government was forbidden to pass any laws on the same. The Governor-General had the discretion to allot the residuary powers either to the Federal Government or to the Provinces.

4) The Act of 1935 provided for dyarchy at the centre. Certain Federal subjects known as the Reserved, half would be administered by the Governor-General with the help of three Councillors appointed by him. The subjects were Defence, External affairs, Religious affairs and the administration of Tribal areas. The other Federal subjects would be administered by the Governor-General with the advice of a Council of Ministers, whose number should not exceed ten. The Federal Ministry would be formed on the usual cabinet lines, but it has to include the representatives of Indian States nominated by the respective rulers, and also the representatives of important minorities. The Ministry had a collective responsibility and was responsible to the Federal Legislature.

5) The Federal Legislature was to be bicameral, consisting of the Federal Assembly and the Council of States. The Federal Assembly would be elected for a period of 5 years on the basis of communal electorates and limited franchise. The members of the Council of States were to be nominated by the rulers of Indian States and elected from the provinces. It was a permanent body of which, 1/3rd of the members would retire every 3 years.

6) The powers of the Indian legislature were restricted. On certain subjects like the Army Act, the Air Force Act, or any matter pertaining to the sovereign authority or succession of the Royal family, the legislatures, both Federal and provincial, had no jurisdiction to pass any laws. They would not make any law amending any of the provisions of the Act of 1935. They could not pass any legislation which discriminated against the British interests in commerce and other spheres. There were many non-votable items in the Budget. They constituted 80% of the Budget. If the two houses of Federal legislature differed with respect to any demand, a joint sitting would be summoned and the decision of the majority was to prevail.

The Governor-General had the power of veto over any bill. He could either send it back for reconsideration or reserve it for the Emperor's consideration.

7) The Act provided for the establishment of a Federal Court consisting of a Chief Justice and two Judges. The Court had jurisdiction over the states and the provinces. It had original and appellate powers. It interpreted the constitution, and regulated the provinces and federal Government so that they acted within their Jurisdiction only. However, the final authority in this matter rested with the Privy Council sitting in London.

8) The Act of 1935 abolished the India Council of the Secretary of State. The Governors and Governor-General were made strictly responsible to the Secretary of the State. The control of the Home Government over Indian affairs was lessened.

9) The most important characteristic of the Act was the provision of the ministers. The Governor was expected to summon the majority party leader to be the Chief Minister and had to appoint other ministers on his advice. The Governors were instructed to encourage collective responsibility among the ministers. They had complete control over the Budget; and they had a free hand in the method of proposing taxes. The Governors had the power to dismiss ministers.

To a large extent, responsible Government was envisaged in the provisions under so many limitations.

10) The Constitution of 1935 was rigid. The British Government alone was given the authority to amend the constitution.

11) The Act provided for elaborate safeguards. One was the denial of legislative powers to Indian Legislature on a large number of subjects. Secondly, there was the grant of powers to the Governor - General at the centre, and to the Governors in the provinces to overrule their ministers.

20.12 CRITICISM OF THE ACT

The Act of 1935 was a definite improvement over the earlier Acts which had a number of limitations in establishing a responsible Government in India. The Federal set-up was improper. The Act gave choice to Indian States to join or not to join the Federation. Moreover, the number of seats allotted to the States in the Federal Legislature were far above the proportion. These members of the Federal Legislature were nominated by the rulers and not elected. Once Dr. Keith described the proposed Federation as "*a bastard Federalism*".

The Reserved hold of the powers of the Federal legislature on non-votable items of the budget ranging to 80%, the overriding powers of the executive over the legislature, made a mockery of a responsible and democratic Government. The powers of the Secretary of State or Privy Council was a hurdle to the Indianisation of the administration. "*The Legislature is so curiously composed and its procedure is ingeniously contrived, that it will find it difficult to function freely and independently*".

The Indians were not given control over the Government of their country. They

could not change or even amend their constitution. That power lay with the Parliament of England.

The physical form of Government at the centre was detested. When it was experimented in the State in 1919, it was a failure. Coming to the provincial autonomy, there is a world of difference between the real significance of the word 'autonomy' and the so-called autonomy as given by the British Parliament in India "*The provincial autonomy is a mere farce and far from a living reality. It was merely a shame*"

The Act of 1935 by providing communal electorates on the basis of Communal Award, cut at the roots of Indian nationalism and solidarity.

III. CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1. What were the bases for the 1935 Act ?

2. What were the important features of the Act relating to provinces ?

20.13 LET US SUM UP

1. The Indian Councils Act of 1892 was an important achievement of early Congress.
2. The Minto-Morley reforms were announced to contain the propaganda of the extremists and the activities of the revolutionaries. The reforms were also intended to strengthen the hands of the Moderates.
3. Separate electorates for the Muslims were created by the Minto-Morley reforms.
4. The Home-Rule movement, the development during World War-I, the impact of the Russian revolution and the Sinn Fein Movement in Ireland were responsible for the 1919 reforms.
5. The most important effect of the 1919 reforms was the creation of dyarchy in the provinces.
6. The 1935 Act provided for a Federation in India. This provision relating to Federation were not implemented.

7. 1935 ended dyarchy in the provinces and provided for provincial autonomy.
8. The Indians were not satisfied with the 1935 Act. Jawaharlal Nehru described it as *"a machine with strong brakes and no engine"*. Pandit Madan Mohan Malalvya said, *"The new Act has been thrust upon us. It has somewhat democratic appearance outwardly, but it is absolutely hollow from inside"*. *"It is indeed a far cry between the Government Act and Dominion Status"* was the opinion of Shanmukhan Chetty, while RajaGopalachari said that, *"the new constitution was worse than dyarchy"*, Jinnah called the 1935 scheme as *"thoroughly rotten, fundamentally bad, and totally unacceptable"*.

20.14 CHECK YOUR PROGRESS : ANSWERS

- I 1. a) Increase of Indians in the Governor-General's Council.
- b) Indirect election
- c) Right to discuss and ask questions in the budget.
2. The British Government announced the Minto - Morley reforms to pacify the Indians. It was intended to contain the nationalist agitation and to strengthen the moderates.
3. The provision relating to separate electorate for the Muslims was the most criticised one in the 1909 Act.
- II 1) The most important provisions in the 1919 Act related to dyarchy in the provinces.
- 2) The Congress leaders felt disappointed with the 1919 Act because it did not provide for the establishment of self-government in India.
- III 1) The Simon Commission report the proceedings of Round Table conferences and the "white paper" prepared on the subjects were the basis of 1935 Act.
- 2) The important provisions of the Act relating to the provinces was the abolition of dyarchy and Provision for provincial autonomy.

20.15 EXAMINATION MODEL QUESTIONS

- I. Answer the following questions in about 30 lines each.
- 1) What were the political motivations behind the Minto-Morley Reforms of 1909 ?
 - 2) Discuss the main features, merits and defects of the Minto-Morely Reforms.
 - 3) Examine the salient features of the Mont-Ford Reforms of 1919 and bring out their merits and defects.
 - 4) Summarise Montague's momentous Declaration. What was the response of national leaders and political parties?
 - 5) Critically analyse the main provisions of the Act of 1935.

II. Answer the following questions in about 15 lines each.

- 1) Briefly narrate the background to the Mont-Ford reforms.
- 2) What was the impact of Russian Revolution on Indian Nationalist movement.
- 3) What was the reactions of Indians to 1935 Act.

20.16 BOOKS FOR FURTHER READING

1. Agarwal, R.C. : *Constitutional History of India and national movement.*
2. Bipan Chandra : *Modern India*
3. Bipan Chandra & Others : *Freedom struggle*
4. Desai, A.R. : *Social background of Indian nationalism*
5. Majumdar R.C. : *Advanced History of India*
6. Majumdar R.C. : *History of Indian Freedom Movement Vol. II*
7. Natarajan and Prema Ramakrishna : *Political and cultural history of India, Vol. II*
8. Spear P. : *History of India Vol. II*
9. Tarachand : *History of the Freedom Movement in India, Vol. III*

UNIT 21: EMERGENCE OF GANDHI AND THE NON-COOPERATION MOVEMENT

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- 21.2 Gandhi in South Africa
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- 21.10 Non-Cooperation Movement in Andhra
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- 21.11 Boycott of the visit of Prince of Wales.
- 21.12 Peasant Struggle in U.P.
- 21.13 Moplah Rebellion
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- 21.16 Check your progress : Answers
- 21.17 Examination Model Questions
- 21.18 Books for further reading

21.0 OBJECTIVES

Study of this unit should enable you to have knowledge on the following :-

1. circumstances leading to emergence of Gandhi as the national leader- his activities in South Africa, Champaran, Ahmedabad and Kheda.
2. agitation against the Rowlatt Act.

3. the Jallianwallabagh massacre
4. the Khilafat movement and
5. the Non-Cooperation Movement - its aims, methods, course and end.

21.1 INTRODUCTION

The most important event in Indian politics in 1919 was the emergence of Mahatma Gandhi as a political leader. He played a dominant role in the Freedom Movement of India, and introduced many novel methods and new experiments in Indian Politics. The Non-Cooperation Movement between 1920 and 1922 was carried on under his leadership.

21.2 GANDHI IN SOUTH AFRICA

Gandhi was born on 2nd October, 1869, in Porbandar, Saurashtra in the State of Gujarat. He went to England in 1888 and returned to India as Barrister-at-law. In May, 1893, he proceeded to Natal in South Africa, as the Lawyer of a firm of Porbandar Muslims. He was deeply shocked by the political and social discrimination imposed by law and usage upon the Indian residents in South Africa. He himself received the most humiliating treatment on many occasions. The Natal Government deprived the Indians of their right to elect members of the Natal Legislative Assembly. Shocked by this, Gandhi set up a permanent political organization called Natal Indian Congress. The Government passed a bill for disenfranchisement of the Indians and also imposed an annual per capita tax upon the indentured Indian Labour. In spite of all adverse and objectionable acts, Gandhi was loyal to the British rule, and he believed in the good nature of British rule.

Very soon, the South African Government passed a law which affected nearly ten thousand Indians in Transval, who were to be registered with finger prints like criminals on pain of severe penalties. Gandhi felt that this was sheer injustice, and engaged himself in a grim struggle with the white settlers there. It was in the course of resistance against the legislation that Gandhi first used his new political weapon, which came to be known as 'Satyagraha'. He asked the Indians to defy the 'Black Act' by refusing to register and give finger prints and to go to prison and if need be, die. Gandhi organized Satyagraha along with 150 men, courted imprisonment. An agreement was reached. Gandhi adopted similar Satyagraha against the Act passed in 1907, preventing the Indians from entering Transval. In defiance of the Act, he led a body of Indians to cross the border. He was imprisoned once again. The Supreme Court of South Africa gave a judgement that all marriages are illegal, if they were not performed in accordance with Christian rites and registered. Gandhi requested the Government to pass special legislation to validate Indian marriages. Gandhi led the 'Satyagraha' of women. He along with his wife, Kasturba, were imprisoned.

About 6000 miners went on a strike at New Castle in sympathy with the Indian community. They were thrown out from their lodgings. Still they did not yield. Gandhi became their leader, and led the Satyagraha of 2,000 men. He was whipped, and sentenced to 9 months imprisonment. The strikers were brutally whipped and kicked. Those brave men were united and put up with all tribulations. The Government even resorted to

firing. The whole Indian community was united as one man against the tyranny of whites. Ultimately, Gandhi was invited for negotiations by Smuts, the British Governor. The Act was annulled, Hindu, Muslim and Parsi marriages were held valid, indentured labour from India would be stopped from 1920, and the wives of the already freed Indian Labour could join them. Thus, the Satyagraha begun by Gandhi in 1906 ended with the Indian Relief Act, 1914. It was a great success. Gandhi, by then, was the acknowledged leader of the Indians in South Africa and his name and fame travelled to India.

21.3 MEANING OF SATYAGRAHA

Gandhi introduced the same principle and technique of Satyagraha in Indian politics. Under his able leadership, this 'Satyagraha' became the main political weapon. Gandhi himself defined it as 'Passive Resistance'. But, he explained the fundamental difference between passive resistance and satyagraha. While passive resistance was the weapon of the weak and did not exclude the use of force for the purpose of gaining one's end, Satyagraha had been conceived as a weapon of the strongest and excluded the use of the violence or force in any shape or form. Love had no place in passive resistance, whereas Satyagraha is the law of love. Non-Violence forms the basis of Satyagraha. It eschewed violence absolutely as a matter of principle at all stages and in all forms. The idea behind it is not to destroy the opponent but to convert or win him over by sympathy, patience and self-suffering. 'Satyagraha' hates all evil, never compromises with it, but approaches the evil door through love. It has infinite trust in human nature and its inherent goodness. It is the victory of soul-force over the brute force. Gandhi said "*I believe that non-violence is infinitely superior to violence, forgiveness is more manly than punishment*". Gandhi referred to Non-Cooperation and Civil Disobedience as the two offshoots of Satyagraha. The aim of Satyagraha is the conversion of the opponent by self-suffering. "*Non-violence in its dynamic condition means conscious suffering*". Gandhi said that Satyagraha was a moral, but not a physical weapon. It involves self-chosen suffering, and thus creates self-mastery and strength of will. It raises political warfare to a higher plane. It works on the conscience of those against whom it is being used, creates in them a sense of guilt, saps their confidence and makes them impotent. Thus, Satyagraha triumphs over the opponent even though he is physically stronger. Hence, people, powerless in a political and military sense, can fall back on Satyagraha as their only weapon.

Gandhi arrived in India from South Africa in 1915. Then, World War-I was in full swing, and Germany was gaining ground. Gandhi felt that he was a misfit in Indian politics, and kept himself aloof for sometime. Gandhi, on the advice of Gokhale, set up a Satyagraha Ashram at a small village, then moved it to Sabarmati in Ahmedabad. By then, there was the indenture system of recruiting Indian labourers for the British colonies. Gandhi felt it an evil, and toured all over the country to build up an agitation to abolish it. He also announced that Satyagraha would be launched, and immediately, British Government announced the abolition of the system.

21.4 CHAMPARAN SATYAGRAHA

But, the Champaran Satyagraha was more impressive, and Gandhi became a national hero. Champaran, a district in Bihar was very backward. The peasantry, most of them, lived on the indigo plantations which were in the control of European planters. The peasants were excessively oppressed, and they were compelled to grow indigo on at least 3/20th of their land, and to sell it at prices fixed by the planters. Similar conditions had prevailed earlier in Bengal, but as a result of major revolt between 1859 and 61 which was also called the 'Blue Mutiny' the peasants had won their rights from indigo planters.

The peasants of Champaran heard of Gandhi's campaigns in South Africa and invited him to help them. Gandhi reached Champaran in 1917, and had a glimpse into the naked poverty in which the peasants of India lived. He was accompanied by Babu Rajendra Prasad, J.B. Kripalani, Mahadev Desai and Mazhar-ul-Huq. When the party reached Mothihari, Gandhi was served with a notice to quit the place immediately. He defied the order, was tried in courts, and he pleaded guilty. He said that his defiance of the order was "*not for want of respect for lawful authority, but in obedience to higher law of our being, the voice of conscience*". These words as well as the personality of the Mahatma showed that a new leader had risen on the Indian political scene. Thousands of people joined Gandhi in his protest. Government withdrew the case against Gandhi and appointed a committee to enquire into the grievances of the cultivators. The Champaran Agrarian Bill was passed, and it was a great triumph for the Mahatma and his new weapon, 'Satyagraha'.

21.5 AHMEDABAD STRIKE AND KHEDA STRUGGLE

After this, Gandhi plunged himself heart and soul into the mill worker's strike in Ahmedabad. He undertook fast unto death, and mill-owners relented by giving the workers 35% increase in wages. From there, Gandhi moved to Kheda in Gujarat, and supported the cultivators demand for suspension of revenue assessment, as the yield of crops fell below 25%. The Government refused. Gandhi was joined by Vallabhai Patel and other leaders. The Government ultimately, accepted the demands of cultivators. Thus, the weapon, of 'Satyagraha' began to work wonders in India.

21.6 AGITATION AGAINST THE ROWLATT ACT

After the end of the First World War, ignoring the unanimous opinion of the Indian people, the Government passed the Rowlatt Act in March, 1919. The adoption of this repressive Act was a turning point in the career of Mahatma Gandhi. His patience came to an end, as he was totally disillusioned with the British attitude. He decided to try to oppose it with Satyagraha. On 6th April, 1919 Gandhiji started a countrywide agitation against the Rowlatt Act. He called upon the people to observe a total *hartal* and the country responded to his call admirably. On that day *hartals*, strikes and demonstrations took place throughout the country. Political demonstrations, *hartals* and strikes were growing. Political discontent was rising among the people and for the first time the nationalist movement was acquiring a mass basis. Processions were taken out to express public resentment against the oppressive legislation. The day passed off

peacefully in most places. In Delhi, violent clashes took place between the authorities and the public. Local leaders invited Gandhiji to visit Delhi. Similar disturbances had broken out in Punjab. Gandhiji was prohibited from entering Punjab and Delhi. He was forcibly removed from the train near Delhi and was sent to Bombay. His arrest spread like a wild fire throughout the country and led to more violent outbursts by the public and further repression by the Government. The Hindus and Muslims cooperated with each other. But Mahatma Gandhi suddenly suspended the agitation in view of the violent incidents.

21.7 JALLIANWALLABAGH TRAGEDY

The Rowlatt Act led to a chain of events of which, the Jallianwallabagh tragedy was the most important event that stirred the nation, and led to the Non-Cooperation Movement of Mahatma Gandhi.

To protest against the arrest of the Congress leaders Dr. Satyapal and Dr. Saifuddin Kichlu, a meeting of peaceful Congressmen was held at Jallianwallabagh, Amritsar on 13th April, 1919. The place was surrounded by British troops, and the people inside were trapped in an area which had only one exit, and which too was blocked by the army. Unprovoked, General Dyer ordered his troops to open fire, and a large number of people were killed and wounded in cold blood. The massacre of unarmed people at Jallianwallabagh, Amritsar and the rule of Martial law in the Punjab, embittered the people to the farthest degree. Despite people's demand for the punishment of those responsible for the senseless massacre, the criminals responsible for the heinous deed were allowed to go scot-free.

Under public pressure, the Hunter Commission was appointed by the Government to enquire into the justification of firing at Jallianwallabagh. For all practical purposes, the Commission exonerated General Dyer. His action was declared only as "*a grave error of judgement which exceeded the reasonable requirements of the case*".

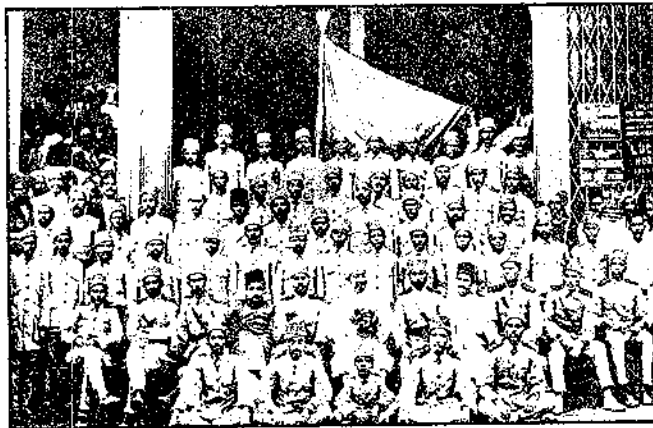
There was an outburst of condemnation from every side. Rabindranath Tagore renounced his Knighthood. The Congress had appointed its own committee of enquiry consisting of Motilal Nehru, Fazlul Huq, M.R. Jayakar, C.R. Das, Abbas Tyabji and Gandhi. This committee in its report accused General Dyer of using oppressive methods, and fixed the responsibility on him for the blood bath at Jallianwallabagh. The committee condemned vehemently the reign of terror and anarchy that was let loose on Punjab after the occurrence of Jallianwallabagh tragedy. They demanded compensation for the families of the dead and the wounded. But, these demands went unheeded by the Government.

The Jallianwallabagh massacre transformed Gandhi a co-operator with the British Government in December 1919, to a leader of the Non-Cooperation Movement in September, 1920. Mahatma Gandhi became the undisputed leader of the Congress and vitalised its activities by his dynamic policy. Gokhale was his political mentor and his political philosophy had a profound impact on Gandhiji's personality. In 1915, he had returned to India and had lent his wholehearted support to the British army. In recognition of his services, he was awarded the Kaiser-I-Hind medal. But, he became disillusioned

with Mont-Ford reforms, and with the indignity of the Rowlatt Act. The Punjab tragedy brought Gandhiji into the forefront of Indian Politics. He was convinced that mass awakening was necessary for a successful struggle. He was the first national leader who recognised the role of the masses and mass action in the struggle for national liberation. His simplicity and integrity made a deep impression on the people. He infused a new spirit of patriotism in the farmers and workers and enlisted their support in the struggle for freedom. He identified himself with poor villagers, lived like them and virtually became a symbol of nationalist India. On August 1st, 1920 Lokamanya Tilak, the great architect of nationalist India passed away. India was stunned by the news and was in tears. The death of Tilak left the field clear for Mahatma Gandhi, and he dominated the Indian political horizon for the next three decades. Under Gandhiji's leadership, the Congress ceased to be an organisation dominated by intellectual and upper classes and assumed a national character.

21.8 KHILAFAT MOVEMENT

The Pan - Islamic Movement gathered force at the end of the First World War and the entire Muslim community was upset over the defeat of Turkey. Its Sultan was also the Caliph or head of the Muslims and as such, was venerated by Muslims all over the world. The Muslims of India regarded the treatment of Turkey as a great betrayal on the part of the British, and a storm of indignation broke out among them. Under the leadership of Mohammed Ali, Shaukat Ali, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad and others, the Khilafat movement was launched. It aimed at restoring the Sultan's dignity and honour. It was in connection with the Khilafat agitation that Gandhiji played a leading part in Indian politics. An All India Khilafat conference was held at Delhi in November 1919, under the presidentship of Mahatma Gandhi.



Khilafat Volunteers

Gandhiji saw in this Movement vast possibilities of achieving Hindu-Muslim unity, and putting up a joint fight against British imperialism. He extended the full support of the Congress to the Khilafat Movement. Hartals and protest meetings were jointly organised. Unprecedented scenes of the Hindu Muslim unity were witnessed in different parts of the country.

Gandhiji objected to the way in which the government was breaking its pledges to the Muslims of India, regarding the fate of Turkey after the War. He advised the

Hindus to join the Khilafat agitation, and thus help Muslims in their hour of need. Gandhiji's handling of the Hindu-Muslim problem profoundly affected the course of the struggle for independence.

It is relevant to recall that the first priority of Mahatma Gandhi was Hindu-Muslim unity. Though a devout Hindu, Gandhi's cultural and religious outlook was universalistic and not narrow. He wrote "*Indian Culture is neither Hindu, Islamic nor another wholly. It is a fusion of all*". He wanted Indians to honour their cultural traditions, and at the same time acquire the best that other cultures had to offer.

The Khilafat Movement brought about unity between Hindus and Muslims in their opposition to British rule. Gandhi urged the Muslims to adopt Non-Cooperation 'as the only effective remedy' to meet the injustice created by the Allies peace terms offered to Turkey. The Central Khilafat Committee accepted the advice.

The special session of the Congress was held in September, 1920 at Calcutta and was presided over by Lala Lajpat Rai. By then, Tilak was dead, and in the tense and gloomy atmosphere, the Congress decided on the controversial and momentous issue on Non-Cooperation. The resolution was sponsored by Gandhi, and backed by a large section. Finally, after a prolonged debate, the motion was carried by 2/3rd majority in the open session of the Congress. So, the die was cast and a new type of grim struggle began.

At Nagapur session in December 1920 the Congress declared that the goal of the Congress was to attain "Swaraj" within the British empire, if possible, and outside if necessary. The Congress till then was pledged to employ constitutional means to attain its objective. To achieve its end, the Nagapur session resolved to adopt all peaceful and legitimate means. By withdrawing the candidates from election to the reformed Councils, the Congress in effect rejected the Reform scheme.

I CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

- 1) Who were the people to whom Gandhi lent his support in Champaran, Ahmedabad and Kheda ?

- 2) What is the importance of the date 13.4.1919 ?

3) Why did Gandhi support the Khilafat Movement ?

21.9 NON - COOPERATION MOVEMENT

The Non-Cooperation Movement envisaged by Mahatma Gandhi had two aspects, positive and negative. The promotion of Swadeshi, especially the revival of hand-spinning and to wear *khadi*, removal of untouchability, Hindu Muslim unity, prohibition of alcoholic drinks and the collection of 'Swaraj' Fund were the positive programmes. The negative side is usually called the triple boycott : boycott of legislatures, courts and educational institutions. The ideas of passive resistance and civil disobedience were not there clearly in the programme, but were tacitly permitted. The boycott was also extended to the surrendering of titles and honours conferred by the British. The boycott of foreign goods was a part of the promotion of Swadeshi.

Immediately after the non-cooperation resolution was passed, the Mahatma made an extensive tour of the country. He explained to the masses about the Movement, emphasising more on the positive aspect of the Non-Cooperation Movement. The All India Congress Committee held its meeting at Vijayawada in March, 1921, and this gave a lot of stimulus for the National Movement in Andhra. Lakhs of people from far off villages gathered to see Gandhi and the host of national leaders. They sang songs in praise of them. The Committee decided to collect donations for "Swaraj Fund" and the response was overwhelming. Women parted with their gold cheerfully. It was decided to picket liquor shops. This policy was also a great success and the resultant fall in the revenues to the Government was substantial.

The All India Congress Committee met at Bombay, and passed a resolution "to collect foreign cloth for destruction or use outside India at their option". The city of Bombay displayed great enthusiasm over this and made a spectacular demonstration of burning foreign cloth. Similar bonfires were organised in other towns.

The movement of boycotting the Councils was not a success. As the Congress did not contest elections, all the seats were filled by non-Congressmen. But the Congress, however succeeded in proving to the World that the elected Legislative Council had no claim to represent the people of India. Motilal Nehru and C.R. Das were great lawyers and enjoyed princely incomes. Their boycott of legal profession was a great sacrifice. They were followed by thousands of lawyers, yet, the British Courts functioned without much difficulty.

The programme of boycotting schools and colleges was a partial success. Thousands of students left their colleges and studies. A number of national schools and colleges were established. The National College at Masulipatnam was an example.

21.10 NON-COOPERATION MOVEMENT IN ANDHRA

The impact of the Non-Cooperation Movement on Andhra was significant. In response to the call given by the Congress the people of Andhra observed boycott of elections, English educational institutions and courts. They further gave up titles. Participated in no-tax campaign movement against alcoholism and encouraged Swadeshi movement. Prohibition of foreign clothing and agitation against toddy was carried out very seriously. In response to a call given by Gandhiji. The top Andhra leaders resigned and actively participated in the movement. Ayyadevara Kaleswara Rao resigned for his Legislative Council membership. Famous advocates like Unnava Lakshminarayana gave up their profession and boycotted courts. Many a students left the English educational institutions. Famous Kala Venkat Rao discontinued his studies and joined the movement.

Inspiration of the call given by Nagapur Congress of December 1920. The State Congress of Andhra Desa took up several programmes. The message of Swarajya was spread to the nook and corner of Andhra Desa through poems, songs, bhajans, dramas etc. Garimella Satyanarayana was imprisoned for writing a poem on the movement, women folk of Andhra Desa have participated in the movement in large numbers. Prominent women who participated in the movement were Unnava Lakshmi Bayamma and Duvvuri Subbamma.

The All India Congress Committee meeting was held in Vijayawada on 31 March 1921. The famous participants from Andhra were Tengaturi Prakasam Panthulu, Pattabhi Seetharamaiah, Bulusu Samba Murthy, Duvvuri Subbamma and Madapati Hanumantha Rao from Telangana. It was well attended and *Ramadandu* organised by Duggirala Gopala Krishnaiah carried out the organisational work in a splendid way. In this meeting the tricolour flag prepared by an Andhra "Pingali Venkayya" was accepted as the National Congress Flag.

The anti liquor movement gained actual movement. consequently the income from Abkari Tax came down by 50%. In 1921 November when the British Prince visited India *hartals* were conducted through out Andhra. Many village officers submitted resignations to their jobs. As a result collection of land revenue became a big problem during this period.

During the Non-Cooperation Movement three important things took place in Andhra area and they are to be remembered forever.

21.10.1 Chirala-Perala Struggle

Even before the call given by All India Congress Committee on November 5th 1921, to take up civil disobedience programmes in the states, the Chirala-Perala movement, civil disobedience programmes of Palanadu followed by No-Tax Movement in Pedanandipadu were taken up in Andhra.

Chirala and Perala now in Prakasam district are two villages having a population of 15000 at that time. In combination with Jandrapeta and Veeraraghavapeta, the villages were called as Chirala union with an annual income of Rs. 4000/-. But in 1919 the

Madras Government converted Chirala and Perala into a separate Municipality and as a result the tax burden as, the people rose up by ten times. Small ryots, weavers, workers of Chirala and Perala who were unable to pay the enhanced burden submitted a representation to government to cancel the municipality and restore the earlier Chirala union. But the government refused to pay heed to their request and initiated steps to collect enhanced taxes vigorously. Consequently the people of Chirala and Perala resolved to boycott the Municipality.

At this critical juncture Duggirala Gopala Krishnayya took over the leadership of the movement and he directed to people not to pay taxes. Duggirala raised a voluntary organisation called "Ramadandu" to take up social service No-Tax Campaign in Chirala and Perala was a grand success. After the conclusion of A.I.C.C. meet at Vijayawada, Gandhiji visited Chirala and advised the people to carry on the movement peacefully.

On the advise given by Gandhiji the people of Chirala and Perala left their homes en masse and started living in temporary huts built on the outskirts of Chirala known as Ramnagar with the hope that the newly constituted Municipality will be cancelled. But the people of Ramnagar had a tough time for 1 1/2 years as they were haunted by natural calamities and harassment of government offices. The rehabilitation efforts of Ramadandu were not sufficient to raise adequate funds. Duggirala Gopala Krishnayya who went to Berhampur for raising funds was imprisoned. And no other leader was forthcoming to lead the movement. Hence the people of Chirala and Perala, dejected and demoralised were forced to return to their homes in Chirala and Perala.

21.10.2 Palanadu Satyagraha

The people of Palanadu area of Guntur district were basically poor living on the income from cattle rearing and forest produce. Taking advantage of their innocence and poverty the forest officials harassed them to pay taxes for grazing their cattle in forests and for collecting fire wood and leaves from the forest. This area was seriously affected by the severe drought of 1921. The people of this area submitted representation to forest officials not to collect taxes during the drought and famine period. But the officials paid deaf ears.

Consequently the people of Macherla, Veldurti, Sirigiri Padu, Raja Chintalapadu and surrounding villages started defying the forest regulations. They also placed the forest officials under social boycott. This movement took a serious turn and the forest officials were forced to vacate their houses.

So the government took it very seriously when some Congress leaders visited the area to study the conduct of the movement. The collector insulted them and put them in jail. As a result the people started attacking the police and defied all forest regulations. They went to the extent of stating that Swarajya has dawned.

In retaliation the forest officials conducted a raid on Mutpur forest and impounded 300 cattle in Minchalapadu village. Angered by this three hundred strong villagers, attacked the police which culminated in police firing killing Kanneganti Hanumanth Rao and three others. When the situation was going out of hand the government tried to suppress the movement by bringing more forces and by adopting a policy of divide

and rule. But the repressive policy of government and sudden calling off the Non-Cooperation Movement at the national level resulted in the collapse of the forest Satyagraha in Palanadu.

21.10.3 No-Tax Campaign in Pedanandipadu

In accordance with the Andhra Congress resolution in Jan 1922, the No-Tax Campaign Movement conducted in Pedanandipadu of Guntur district was historic and won all round appreciation.

The Guntur District Congress Committee led by Konda Venkatappayya, Gollapudi Seetharamaiah decided to start a no-tax campaign in the district. Many a people believed that the successful conduct of the movement will result in economic bankruptcy of the government and it will be forced to negotiate with the Congress. The village officials who were in receipt meagre pay but heavy responsibilities submitted their resignations and joined the movement. The main reason for resignation of village officers was abolition of the posts of Assistant Karanam, Headman and Vetti. As a result the revenue collections came to a standstill.

The movement was led by Parvataneni Veeraiah Chowdary who was known for his honesty and insight which earned him the title 'Andhra Shivaji'. The villagers of Pedanandipadu extended their whole-hearted cooperation to the movement by refusing to pay taxes, and by boycotting the government officials. The conciliatory efforts and the threats to abolish hereditary rights of village officers were not fruitful. The movement gained so much momentum that some observers have gone to the extent of describing it as a revolt.

Agitated by the intensity of the agitation, government adopted several methods to suppress the movement. The efforts to recruit people was resisted by Santi Sena a voluntary organisation. The tricks to disassociate Muslims and Kammias by offering incentives did not succeed. Then government resorted to suppress the movement with the help of army and by adopting repressive measures against the people. Lord Wellington rightly commented that the no-tax campaign in Pedanandipadu shook the foundation of the British empire in India.

But unfortunately such a successful movement was withered away by the policy adopted by the Congress leaders. There was disagreement on the no-tax campaign in Pedanandipadu in the Congress ranks. The fact finding Congress committee which visited Pedanandipadu while appreciating the peaceful conduct of the movement conveyed their fear that it might turn violent. Consequently Mahatma Gandhi wrote a letter to Konda Venkatappayya to stop the movement. Acting on this the government resorted to repressive methods, by jailing all the leaders and punishing all the participants severely.

21.11 BOYCOTT OF THE VISIT OF PRINCE OF WALES

One of the spectacular successes of the Movement was the boycott of the visit of Prince of Wales. The Indian public generally interpreted this visit as an attempt to exploit the traditional sentiments of India and a deliberate counter poise to the Non-Cooperation Movement. The A.I.C.C. meeting at Bombay in July, 1921 gave a call to

boycott the visit of the Prince of Wales. When the Prince of Wales landed in Bombay, the city observed 'hartal'. The crowds in thousands attended the boycott meeting addressed by Gandhi, and a huge bonfire was made of foreign cloth. There was violence and rioting, and Gandhi was deeply disappointed by the events. As a result, he suspended the Civil Disobedience Movement, which was to be launched at Bardoli in November, 1921.

However, the *hartal* boycotting the visit of the Prince of Wales at other places including Calcutta, was peaceful.

The violent acts in Bombay were taken advantage of, and there was a demand from the English men, for drastic action. So, the Congress and the Khilafat organisations were declared as unlawful. Public meetings and processions were banned. Some efforts were made for a peaceful compromise. But, they were in vain. Many Congressmen were sentenced to rigorous imprisonment. Various types of police terrorism were resorted to, such as indiscriminate arrests of men and women and beating them, maltreatment of arrested persons, and detention in custody without trial, etc. In some instances, the European soldiers "*madly roamed the streets, revolvers in hands ready to shoot down whoever interfered.*"

The policy of repression unleashed by the British, made the people to long impatiently for further struggle. The movement had spread to the masses. Thousands of peasants in Uttar Pradesh and Bengal had responded to the fall of non-cooperation. In Punjab, the Sikhs were leading a movement, known as the 'Akali' movement.

21.12 PEASANT STRUGGLE IN UTTAR PRADESH

Early in 1921, agrarian troubles erupted in the districts of Raebareli and Faizabad in Uttar Pradesh. Troubles arose due to the refusal of the tenants to pay some of the illegal and oppressive cesses which were imposed by landlords and often realised with the help of the police and the magistrate. The Magistrate sentenced the ryots, because they were under the influence of the Non-Cooperation Movement. A great riot raged in many villages 10,000 people gathered at the jail of Munshiganj. The police disposed them of by opening fire. Another riot took place at Racharwan, in which several police constables were killed. Many such riots took place, and the Government alleged that these agrarian troubles are created only by the Non-Cooperationists. The leaders took law and order into their hands, collected cesses, and promised Swaraj for ryots if they refused payment of rent to the Zamindars.

21.13 MOPLAH REBELLION

The Moplahs, descendants of Arab immigrants, settled on the Malabar coast, for several centuries. Nearly a million of them, poor and ignorant of the world, lived peacefully along with the Hindus, like any other Muslim sect in India. During the British rule, they revolted quite a few times, but the most terrible uprising happened in 1921. The rebellion broke out as an offshoot of the Khilafat Movement. The Muslim ryots were aggrieved of the repressive policies of the landlords belonging to both the communities.

The violent speeches of Khilafat leaders and the resolutions of Khilafat Conference, excited the Moplahs. Knives, swords and spears were secretly manufactured, collected, and preparations were made to proclaim the coming of the Kingdom of Islam. On August 20, 1921 the District Magistrate of Calicut, with the help of troops and police attempted to arrest certain leaders, who were in possession of arms at Tirurangadi. A bitter encounter took place, and it was the signal for immediate rebellion. Roads were blocked, telegraph lines were cut, and the railway tracks were destroyed. The police stations were attacked. Many Europeans were killed. Few escaped and ran away. The Moplahs declared Swaraj, the area was called Khilafat Kingdom. In the course of the Movement, Hindus were also massacred and their temples destroyed and some forcible conversions were also made.

The Government had to send strong reinforcements from various parts to the Malabar coast. The rebels took to the hills. It took a long time to capture them. By the end of the year 1921, the situation was well in hand and the rebellion was suppressed. The Moplahs lost 3,000 people in the encounters, and the troops also suffered heavy casualties. The Muslim leaders have considered Moplahs as martyrs.

In December, 1921 the Congress held its session at Ahmedabad. By then, 40,000 Congress workers were in jail, including the Congress President - elect, C.R.Das. The Congress passed the resolution to continue the Non-Cooperation Movement. The Congress advised all Congress workers to organise mass Civil Disobedience, as the masses were sufficiently trained in non-violent methods. After these preparations, Gandhi wrote a letter to the Viceroy communicating his decision of mass Civil Disobedience at Bardoli in Surat District. He asked the Viceroy to revise his policy; set free all prisoners convicted for non-violent activities, and to free the press from governmental interference. He gave an ultimatum to the Viceroy that unless these demands were met within seven days, he would start mass Civil Disobedience as his imperative duty. The Government of India took up the challenge, and depended on their police and army to counter and control the Movement. Gandhi proceeded to Bardoli to lead the campaign in person. The whole of India watched the great battle in a spirit of animated suspense. But, the battle was lost before it began. Gandhi cried halt to the Movement because of Chauri-Chaura incident.

21.14 CHAURI-CHAURA INCIDENT AND THE END OF THE NON-COOPERATION MOVEMENT

Chauri - Chaura was a village in Gorakhpur district of U.P. On the 5th February, 1922; 3,000 peasants took up a procession and the police opened fire on them. When their ammunition was exhausted, the angry crowd attacked the police station, set fire to it and threw the police men into fire. Twenty two police men were burnt to death. There was another mob outbreak at Bareilly. These incidents pained Gandhiji who took a serious view of them. He felt that nationalist workers had not yet properly understood nor were trained in the practice of non-violence, without which, he was convinced, Civil Disobedience could not be a success. He also felt that the mighty British would be able to crush any violent movement. So, he decided to suspend the movement. The Congress Working Committee met at Bardoli, and passed a resolution stopping all

activities which would lead to breaking of the laws. The Congress men were asked to devote their time for positive programme.

The Bardoli Resolution stunned the country. The younger leaders of Congress were critical of the decision of Gandhiji. Subhas Chandra Bose wrote "*to sound the order of retreat just when public enthusiasm was reaching the boiling point, was nothing short of a national calamity*". Nehru felt that Gandhi punished the whole of India for the sins of a single place. The Government took advantage of the situation, arrested Gandhi and charged him with spreading disaffection against the Government. Gandhi was sentenced to six years jail after a historic trial.

Thus, ended the Non-Cooperation Movement. Very soon, the Khilafat also lost its relevance, when Mustafa declared Turkey a secular State. The Khilafat agitation had made an important contribution to the Non-Cooperation Movement. It brought urban Muslims into the nationalist movement, though they parted ways at a later date. In spite of Non-Cooperation and Civil Disobedience Movements ending in a failure, the National Movement had been strengthened in many ways. The masses of India were brought into the fold of the Freedom Movement. It gave them tremendous self-confidence and self-respect, which no set backs could shake. The Movement that began in 1920, with all its ups and downs, sustained the Freedom Movement till India became free.

II. CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1) What were the important programmes of the Non-Cooperation Movement ?

2) Who was the leader of the Chirala - Perala Movement ?

3) Who was the leader of the Pedanandipadu No-Tax Campaign ?

4) Why did Gandhi stop the Non-Cooperation Movement ?

21.15 LET US SUM UP

1. Gandhi emerged as the national leader by 1919. His work in South Africa and his struggles in Champaran, Ahmedabad and Kheda and his protest movements against Rowlatt Act elevated him to the status of a national leader.
2. The Jallianwallabagh massacre is a turning point in Indian history, with it the anti-British feeling in India became strong.
3. Gandhi supported the Khilafat movement to forge Hindu-Muslim unity.
4. The Non-Cooperation Movement was the first great mass movement in India's struggle for freedom. Constructive activities were also part of the movement. It ended in 1922 with Chauri Chaura incident.

21.16 CHECK YOUR PROGRESS : ANSWERS

- I 1) In Champaran, Gandhi supported the cause of the Indigo planters. In Ahmedabad he supported the demand for Higher wages of the Mill workers and at Kheda he supported the peasants who opposed the increase in land revenue.
- 2) It was on 13.4.1919 that the Jallianwallabagh massacre took place. It strengthened the anti-British feeling in India.
- 3) Gandhi supported the Khilafat movement because he considered it as great opportunity to forge unity between the Hindus and the Muslims.
- II 1) Boycott of British goods, boycott of schools and colleges, boycott of British courts and their councils, boycott of the visit of Prince of Wales were the important boycott programmes of the Non-Cooperation Movement. It had constructive programmes also like establishment of national schools and colleges, weaving of khaddar cloth and the promotion of Swadesh spirit.
- 2) Duggirala Gopalakrishnaiah was the leader of the Chitala - Perala struggle.
- 3) The leader of the Pedanandipadu No-tax campaign was Parvataneni Veeriah Chowdary.
- 4) Gandhi stopped the Non-Cooperation Movement because of the outbreak of mob-violence at Chauri - Chaura.

21.17 EXAMINATION MODEL QUESTIONS

I) Answers the following questions in about 30 lines each.

- 1) Explain the circumstances which led to the emergence of Gandhi as a national leader.
- 2) Explain the salient features of the Non-Cooperation Movement and its effects.
- 3) Give an account of the Non-Cooperation Movement in Andhra.

II) Answer the following questions in about 15 lines each.

- 1) What is the significance of the Rowlatt Satyagraha ?
- 2) What is the significance of the Jallianwallabagh tragedy ?
- 3) What is the importance of the Khilafat movement ?

21.18 BOOKS FOR FURTHER READING

1. Maulana A. Azad : *India Wins Freedom*
2. Judith Brown : *The emergence of Mahatama Gandhi*
3. Louis Fisher : *Mahatma Gandhi*
4. Jawaharlal Nehru : *Discovery of India*
5. Majumdar R.C. : *History and culture of the Indian People, Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan Series Vo. X*
6. Kesavanarayana B. : *Political and Social Movements of Andhra 1900 -1950*
7. Majumdar, R.C. : *History of the Freedom Movement in India Vol II*
8. Sumit Sarkar : *Modern India*
9. Tarachand : *History of the Freedom Movement in India Vol. 3*

UNIT 22 : THE NATIONAL MOVEMENT AND THE RISE OF THE LEFT WING 1922-1930

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22.0 OBJECTIVES

A study of this unit should enable you to know :-

1. the circumstances leading to the emergence of the Swaraj Party, its aims, methods and achievements.
2. the emergence of the Communist Party in India.
3. the revolutionary activities between 1922 and 1930, and the Meerut and Lahore conspiracy cases.
4. the protest movement against the Simon Commission and,
5. the significance and contents of the Nehru report.

22.1. INTRODUCTION

The period between 1922 and 1929 witnessed certain important developments in India. It was the period during which the Swaraj Party emerged and a new dimension developed for the national movement. It was the struggle for freedom from within the legislatures. During this period the left forces also emerged in the country. The Communist Party was established in 1925 and even within the Congress Party leaders like Jawaharlal Nehru also represented the youth of the nation, in these days advocated socialist ideas. Jawaharlal Nehru and others were also influenced by the Russian Revolution. However due to the absence of a big political movement there were frequent communal clashes during this period in various parts of the country. The visit of the all-white Simon commission in 1928 again galvanised the people and during the same year the challenge posed by Montague was taken up by the Indian leaders and the Nehru report was prepared. The Nehru report was the first constitutional document prepared by the Indian leader during the freedom struggle.

22.2 THE SWARAJ PARTY

After the Non-Cooperation Movement was called off, a section of the Congressmen felt that they should give up the boycott of legislatures and fight the Government inside the Councils set up by the Government of India, by its Act in 1919. This led to a split in the Congress ranks, a section headed by Motilal Nehru and C.R.Das supporting the Council entry and another headed by C.Raja Gopala Chary, opposing the entry. The former were called pro-changers and the latter were known as no-changers.

The question was heatedly debated at the Annual Session of the Congress at Gaja in December, 1922. The President C.R. Das made a strong plea for Council entry in his address. But, the resolution of Raja Gopala Chary in support of continuing the boycott of legislatures was carried by large majority, C.R.Das resigned the presidentship and along with Motilal Nehru and others, formed a new party within the Congress called Congress - Khilafat Swaraj Party, simply known as Swaraj Party. The new party acquired strength by good propaganda and a compromise formula was arrived at soon, at the Congress Session held at Delhi in September, 1923. The resolution declared "*while reaffirming its adherence to the principle of Non-Cooperation, that this Congress declares that such Congressmen as have no religious or to other conscientious objections against entering the legislatures are at liberty to stand as candidates and to exercise the right of voting at the forthcoming elections*".

The elections to the Councils were to be held in November, 1923 and Swaraj Party began to make preparations without delay to contest the elections. They issued a manifesto explaining the party's policy and programme. The party made it clear that it was an integral part of the Congress and believed in non-violence and non-cooperation. The party on entering the Legislative Assembly, would demand the right of framing its own constitution. If this was refused, they would resort to a policy of "*uniform continuous and consistent obstruction with a view to make government through the Assembly and Councils impossible*". The Swaraj Party's contest in elections created great enthusiasm all over the country. Considering the short time the Party had to prepare for elections, its success was remarkable. It routed the Moderate or Liberal Party. Even Surendranath

Benerjee was defeated. The Swaraj Party captured majority seats in Central Provinces. In Bengal, it was the single largest party; in U.P, Assam and Bombay, they were strong, but few were elected in Madras and Punjab, and none in Bihar and Orissa.

In the Legislative Assembly, the Swarajists had 48 members, and another Independent group led by Jinnah had a strength of 24. The Swaraj Party wanted to join the Independent group so that they can constitute a majority and draw up a new programme to work within the Assembly. They can move resolutions and support measures necessary for the growth of national life and constructive programme of the Congress. So, the Swaraj Party revised its policy of uniform, continuous and consistent obstruction. The Independents though supporting the Swaraj Party, voted with the Government now and then. By 1925, the Swaraj Party walked out of the Assembly protesting against the attitude of the Government over the reforms issue. Motilal Nehru said "*The cooperation we offered has been contemptuously rejected and it is time for us to think of other ways to achieve our object*". He concluded his speech saying "*There is no more use for us here. We go out into the country, to seek the suffrage of the electorates once more. We do not give up the fight.....*" Thus, the Swaraj Party's career in the Councils came to an end. The Swaraj Party during its brief performance in the Assembly, fully voiced the national aims and aspirations. For the first time, the Assembly wore the appearance of a truly National Assembly.

22.3 GANDHI AND SWARAJ PARTY

The whole of India was agitated when Gandhi was moved in January 1924, from the prison to a hospital in Poona for an operation. The Swaraj Party gave a notice of resolution in the Assembly, demanding the release of Gandhi. Even before the resolution was moved in the Assembly, Gandhi was released on health grounds. As soon as Gandhi recovered his health, he held prolonged discussions with Motilal Nehru and C.R.Das. He was not satisfied with the arguments of Motilal, and was still opposed to the Council entry. Motilal also was critical of the programme of Gandhi. There was a showdown in June 1924 at the A.I.C.C. meeting held at Ahmedabad. Gandhi proposed to disqualify for the membership of any Congress Executive Board, those who did not fully subscribe to the Non-Cooperation Movement. This was opposed by Motilal. When the motion was carried by a majority, Nehru and Das with their followers left the meeting. But a compromise was arrived at between Gandhi on one side, Das and Nehru on the other. The Congress would work for the constructive programme like spinning, weaving, removal of untouchability, promotion of Hindu Muslim unity and the Swaraj Party as an integral part of the Congress, on behalf of it, would make its own rulers and work in the provincial and central legislatures.

Meanwhile, there was some change in the attitude of C.R.Das. He defended the ideal of dominion status as against Independence and offered cooperation with the government had some secret understanding. But, before the suspicion could be established, C.R.Das died in June, 1925. After his death, the party was threatened with a split. The faction, in favour of cooperation grew in strength. However, by the end of July 1926, Lajpat Rai resigned from the Swaraj Party. Malavya tried to unite all the groups, but failed. When the elections of 1926 were announced, the Swaraj Party was

replaced by three groups, the Swarajists, the Responsivists and the communalists. Since then, the party ceased to play any effective part in politics.

22.4 RISE OF THE LEFT WING 1920-1929

Bolshevik Revolution of Soviet Russia in 1917 inspired the Indian Revolutionaries and more so the non-resident revolutionaries. It is believed that the Indian Revolutionaries living in America maintained relations with Bolsheviks and sought their help for liberation of India. However it is true that the Bolshevik Revolution had strengthened the leftist groups in national movement to play an important role in India's Freedom Struggle.

After the glorious Bolshevik Revolution the leftist groups in India started organising themselves as a concerted group to play an active role in the National movement from 1920-29. The real inspiration for the leftist groups was 'Lenin's Theory of 1920'. Afterwards the leftist groups started playing active role in the National movement to certain demands. The leftist groups set full independence as their motto and worked for the elimination of the hold of imperialists on the economic front, abolition of feudalism and princely states, demanding provision for democratic rights to all Indians. For this they believed that power must be transferred to different sections of Indian people namely, workers and peasants to play an important role in driving out the British through peoples revolution and establish democratic republic. The leftist groups felt the need for unity as a single group to have an effective say in the national movement. But the arrest of leftist leaders involving them in Kanpur conspiracy case delayed the process. The British government was afraid of the rise of leftist groups inspired by Bolsheviks in the national movement. The British tried to suppress the leftist groups by adopting repressive methods. By doing so the British wanted to separate the leftist movement from National Movement.

22.4.1 Emergence of the Communists

Indian Communism sprang from roots within the National Movement itself. Many people sought new roads to political and social emancipation helped by Bolshevik leader Borodin, Mahendra Nath Roy (M.N. Roy) founded Communist Party in Mexico in 1919. M.N. Roy went to Soviet Russia and attended the Second Congress of Communist International held in 1920.

With the zeal of a new covert M.N. Roy along with others crossed Afghanistan reached Tashkant in U.S.S.R and founded the Communist Party of India. Thereby the end of 1922 M.N. Roy had established secret links with the communist groups in India which came out of Non-Cooperation and Khilafat movement, S.A. Dange, Muzaffar Ahmed, Ghulam Hussain were foremost among them. In 1922, Sripada Amruta Dange published a weekly called "Socialist" the first communist journal published in India, ultimately the Communist Party of India was founded in 1926. Till 1929 the Indian communist party on the whole tried to work within the nationalist main stream even though they sharply criticised the Congress leadership for its many compromises with imperialism. Through out this period they differed with Gandhi. They praised him as a great humanist, but all of a sudden by 1928, the communist International described Gandhi as a bourgeoisie leader.

The British government became panicky with the emergence of communist party in India. They began a policy of repression. The communist leaders were charged with a series of conspiracy cases. Muzaffar Ahmed, S.A. Dange, Shaukat Usman and Wali Gupta were jailed in the Kanpur conspiracy case. This almost led to the establishment of Communist Party in India.

The Communist Party of India organised formation of workers and peasants party (W.P.P.) with the objective of working with Congress to give it a more radical orientation and make it the party of the people for achievement of complete independence and ultimately of Socialism. Along with Youth Leagues and other leftist forces the Workers and Peasants Party played an important role in creating a strong left wing within the Congress and in giving the National Movement a left word direction.

The rapid growth of Communists, and Workers and Peasants Party influence over the national movement was checked and virtually wiped out during 1929 by two developments.

- a) The British adopted a strong repressive policy against the communists involving them in a series of conspiracy cases.
- b) The British Government tried to believe the trade union movement by isolating the communists from National Movement by involving many leaders in Meerut conspiracy case of 1929.

Consequently the trade union movement was deprived of leadership. Further the communists inflicted a deadly blow on themselves by serve in connection with the National Congress declaring Congress as a bourgeoisie party hand in hand with the imperialists.

22.4.2 Rise of Peasant Movements

The masses of India were, in general very poor and there had been no improvement in their living conditions for ages. While the population began to increase by leaps and bounds, the agricultural productivity was stagnant. The 1920's were also the decade of the land revenue revisions which became due in Bombay and Madras Presidencies. The workers were put to much hardship through wage cuts and retrenchment in cotton textiles, Jute and railway workshops. The Indian textiles had to face competition for Lancashire mills and also from Japan. The lower classes were restive. The tribal rebellion of Rampa Chodavaram led by Ailuri Seeta Rama Raju was an example of mass discontent with the local British administration and their methods of exploitation. But, these masses had belief in the Congress and Gandhi. They felt that Non-Cooperation Movement would also provide them economic emancipation. Rajasthan throughout 1920's remained a centre of anti-feudal peasant movements and the peasants there, resorted to Satyagraha. In Alwar State, in May 1925, there was a massacre of peasants who protested against the 50% increase of land revenue. 150 people were killed and 600 were wounded. The Congress, however, refused to get officially involved in any movement in the Princely States.

Disillusioned by repeated Congress failures to take up the peasants demands, some activists by the mid -1920's were attracted towards new ideologies. In 1922, the demand for the abolition of the Zamindari system was raised, and in 1925, Baba

Ramachandra referred to Lenin "as the dear leader of the Kisans". The Congress dominated as it was by middle and upper middle class leaders, was not responsive to the demands of the peasants. Of course, some leaders like Acharya N.G. Ranga founded the Kisan Organisations in Andhra and opposed the enhancement of land revenue.

22.4.3 Meerut Conspiracy Case

By 1929 the British Government decided to check the communist influence in the National Movement and Trade Union Movement. In a sudden swoop in March 29, 1929 thirty two radical and trade union activists were taken into custody including three British Communists namely - Phillip Spratt, Ban Bladely and Lester Hutchinson, who came to India for organising trade union movement in India. This was done to behead the trade union movement and isolate the communists from the main national movement. They were brought to Meerut for trial which became famous as the 'Meerut Conspiracy Case.' The communist offices were searched and a plenty of incriminating material was found. After a long trial most of the accused were found guilty and sentenced to different terms of imprisonment. It is interesting to note that the accused gained the sympathy of Indian nationalists of all shades. The team of lawyers who defended them included Jawaharlal Nehru, K.N. Katju, Ansari and M.C. Chagla. Gandhiji visited them. Nehru stated that the trial was one phase of the offensive which the government had started against the labour movement. The Meerut case gave a lot of publicity to the communists and it is aptly commented "the Meerut conspiracy case placed communism on a sure putting in India".

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1.1 What was the aim of the Swaraj Party ?

2. Who were the accused in the Meerut Conspiracy Case ?

22.5 COMMUNAL CLASHES

The 1920's witnessed the revival of the communal organisations. While the Muslim League was revised by Jinnah in 1924, the Hindu Maha Sabha, a communal organisation of the Hindus, was founded as a counter poise to All India Muslim League. While Hindu Maha Sabha in its initial stages worked for the preservation of Hindu culture and

for the removal of social abuses like child marriage and untouchability, later it entered the area of politics as rival to the Muslim League. A number of communal clashes occurred, and the worst of them was the Kohat incident in the North-West Frontier Province. (refer to Lesson No.26) some of the important national leaders also were swayed by communalistic concepts.

Gandhi also asserted Hindu-Muslim unity repeatedly, and tried to intervene to improve the situation. In September, 1924, he went on a 21 days fast at Delhi in Maulana Mohammed Ali's house to do penance for the inhumanity revealed in the communal riots. But, his efforts were of no avail. There was general political apathy. Gandhi stood aloof from politics. The Swarajists were divided. Communalism was on the rise. Gandhi wrote in May, 1927, that "*My only hope lies in prayer and answer to prayer*". The future of the country appeared to be dark indeed.

22.6 SIMON COMMISSION

Despite all this, the glow of nationalism was burning. When the British Government announced the appointment of the Simon Commission to go into the constitutional progress in India, the country entered a new era of political struggle.

In November 1927, the British Government appointed the Indian Statutory Commission, known popularly after the name of its chairman, as the Simon Commission. All the members of the Commission were Englishmen and they were to make recommendations for constitutional reforms in India. What angered the Indians was, the total exclusion of them from the Commission and the foreigners sitting in judgement upon India's fitness for self-government. This was felt as a direct insult to the Indians and a deliberate violation of the principle of self-determination. The announcement was greeted by protests from all Indians. The AICC meeting in Madras presided over by Dr. Ansari, decided to boycott the Commission "*at every stage and in every form*". This decision was supported by the Muslim League as well as the Hindu Maha Sabha. So, the Simon Commission united, atleast temporarily, the different groups and parties in the country. The Simon Commission was boycotted at all places. "**Simon Go Back**" became the slogan of the nationalists. Still, the Commission visited important places, collected evidences and submitted a report.

22.7 NEHRU REPORT 1928

All important Indian leaders and parties decided to meet the British challenge by agreeing to draw a constitution of India. As a gesture of solidarity, the Muslim League even accepted the principle of joint electorates, provided certain seats were reserved for the Muslims. The All Party conference met at Delhi and Poona, and appointed a sub-committee to draw up the Constitution. The Committee was headed by Motilal Nehru. Ali Imam, Tej Bahadur Sapru and Subhas Chandra Bose were its members. The Sub-Committee gave its report in August, 1928, which came to be known as Nehru Report. The Committee recommended '**Dominion Status**' as the next immediate step. They recommended that India should be a Federation built on the basis of linguistic provinces. The executive should be reserved for religious minorities for a period of 10 years.

The Nehru Report was presented to the All Party Conference held at Calcutta in December, 1928. By then, the enthusiasm engendered by the opposition to Simon Commission, had slowly withered away. The Muslim League as well as the Hindu Maha Sabha and the Sikh League had raised a number of objections. They were once again divided on different lines. Mohammad Ali Jinnah put forth his *fourteen demands* claiming separate electorates, 1/3 rd of seats in Central Legislature for Muslims, more seats for Muslims in Bengal and Punjab on the basis of population. The Hindu Maha Sabha denounced the report as pro-Muslim. Thus, the Nehru Report was put in cold storage and once again, the communal groups foiled the prospects of national unity.

22.8 REVIVAL OF REVOLUTIONARY ACTIVITIES

The suspension of the Non-Cooperation Movement by Gandhi in 1922, and his imprisonment shortly after, was followed by the revolutionary activities. The disillusionment with the established Congress led to renewed attraction for the methods of revolutionary activities. The Bengali journals like '*Atma Sakthi*' and '*Saradhi*' published several articles praising the sole-sacrifices of old revolutionaries in Bengal. The earlier publications, '*Anusilana*' and '*Yugantar Samajists*' revived their activities. Surya Sen led the terrorist activities by dacoities and murder of officials. Bombs were manufactured on a large scale. The Government took alarm, and made several arrests and passed a new ordinance to deal with terrorists activities. The revolutionary movement was not confined to Bengal alone. There was a large network of revolutionary centres in U.P. At a conference held in October, 1924, at Kanpur, a central All India Organisation was set up known as Hindusthan Socialist Republican Association. The object of the Association was stated to be to establish a Federal Republic of India by an organized and an armed revolution. It was thoroughly organised by Ramprasad Bismil. He had decided to commit dacoity of only government money. His gang's notable exploit was in August 1925, when they raided a train of the Northern Railway and looted the money from the Guard's van at a place called Kakori. The Government unearthed the plot and arrested the Kakori revolutionaries, they were tried. Four were sentenced to death, four others were transported for life. When Ramprasad was hanged, his last words were "*I wish the downfall of the British Empire*". His colleague, Roshanlal went to jail with "*Vande Mataram*" on his lips. Another accused, Asfaqulla just before hanging, said "*I tried to make India free and attempt will not end with my life*".

22.8.1 Bengal

There was some relative calm of the revolutionary activities after 1927. The Government also relaxed some of the laws and released some of the detenues. But, within a fortnight, the Chittagong armoury was raided. This was perhaps the most daring of the revolutionary activities in India. The raid formed a part of a plan to launch simultaneous attacks at various places. Surya Sen was the leader. He made regular military preparations for the attack. Four batches of volunteers were enrolled, one to capture auxiliary force armoury, one to massacre the Europeans in the club, and the other to destroy the telephone exchange and telephone office. Both armouries were captured, and the sentries were shot dead. They carried away revolvers, rifles and ammunition. They forgot to carry the cartridges. The Telegraph office was partly destroyed.

They declared provisional Independent Government of India with Surya Sen as President. Then, the counter attack by the police force began and the raiders were forced to retreat into hills. Meanwhile, some terrorists cut the telegraph lines tried to derail a goods train and interrupt railway communications. The revolutionaries had to wander for 3 days in the forests without food. The British attacked them with machine guns. On both sides, there were heavy casualties. Surya Sen and a few others were at large, for a long-time. The British ransacked the whole district, but could not capture the leader. The Chittagong incident had inspired the younger section of revolutionaries. In May 1930, the leaders of the Yugantar Party in Calcutta drew up a programme of terrorism, and made arrangements for the manufacture of bombs. Between 1930 -33, there were 20 murders 10 cases of bomb throwing, 8 bomb explosions and an armed raid. Many European Officers belonging to Judicial and Police Departments were the victims. The trial of the Chittagong raid ended in 1932, and 14 of the accused were transported for life. Surya Sen, after many heroic escapes, was caught and was hanged in February 1933.

22.8.2 Lahore Conspiracy Case :

The Police terrorism and the imprisonment of most of the leaders, effectively stopped the activities of the Hindustan Republican Association for sometime after the Kakori case in Bengal. Chandra Sekhar Azad took the leading part in reorganising the revolutionary movement. The first act of importance of the Association was the murder of Mr. Saunders, The Asst. Superintendent of Police of Lahore. Earlier, when the Simon Commission had arrived at the Lahore Railway Station, the police assaulted Lala Lajapat Rai, the great Indian leader. He died shortly after the attack. To avenge his death, Bhagat Singh shot Saunders dead, and escaped. The people of Lahore were put to terrific suffering by the police. People began to feel that they have to suffer the consequences of the crimes of the revolutionaries, who escape after committing the crime. To remove such a feeling, Bhagat Singh and his friend, Batukeshwar Datt attended the Assembly on April 8, 1929. They threw bombs on the floor of the Assembly, and took care that no one was injured. They dropped some copies of Communist pamphlets in the Assembly. Their intention was to get arrested.

The bomb throwing in the Assembly was followed by the discovery of a huge bomb factory at Lahore, with materials enough to prepare 7,000 bombs. Another bomb factory was discovered at Shahrampur. The police arrested the leaders, and instituted the Lahore Conspiracy Case against them. Then, the case became famous by the hunger strike of the under trial prisoners. The Lahore Conspiracy Case gave a death blow to the Hindus of the Socialist Republican Associations. Chandra Shekar Azad evaded arrest, and planned an armed revolution. The police made all efforts to get at him, and finally, in February 1931, he surrendered to the police. They shot him dead, and thus, ended the career of a great revolutionary in India. This was a serious blow to the underground organisation. Bhagat Sigh, Sukh Dev and Raj Guru were executed on 23rd March 1931, despite popular protest. These three, in a letter to the Jail Superintendent affirmed "*Very soon, the final battle will begin. Its outcome will be decisive. We took part in the Struggle and are proud of having done so*".

The tumultuous enthusiasm for the revolutionary heroes, stirred the younger section and even Gandhi had bow to pressure before the new force in the Karachi session. The notable feature of the revolutionary movement was that they had a definite ideology. According to them, force when aggressively applied is violence and therefore, not justified. But, when it was used for a legitimate cause, it had its moral justification. They also had a comprehensive ideal of revolution. Their programme was both constructive and destructive. After destroying the British Raj, they wanted to place India on a socialistic foundation. The revolutionary movement did not die out in 1934. Once again, it was manifest in 1942 during the Quit India Movement.

The leftist Movement and also the Revolutionary Terrorism were the two important streams that contributed to the growth and realisation of the Freedom Movement in India.

II CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1. Why was the Simon Commission boycotted ?

2. What is the significance of the Nehru Report, 1928 ?

3. Who were the revolutionaries involved in the Kakori Case ?

22.9 LET US SUM UP :

1. In 1922 the Swaraj Party was established by C.R.Das to carry on the struggle for freedom from within the legislatures.
2. Left forces emerged during the 1920's. The Communist Party was established, which gained popular sympathy during the Meerut Conspiracy case in 1929.

3. Revolutionary activities were revived with the establishment of the Hindustan Republican Association in 1924. Surya Sen, Ram Prasad, Asfaqulla, Bhagat Singh, Raj Guru and Sukh Dev were the important revolutionaries in those days. Their aim was to overthrow the British Government in India and establish a Socialist Republic in India.
4. Between 1922 and 1928 communal clashes took place frequently at rural places during this period. Gandhi went on fast to bring about communal unity.
5. The protest agitation against the Simon Commission created a new life to the Indian freedom struggle.

22.10 CHECK YOUR PROGRESS : ANSWERS

- I. 1. The aim of the Swaraj Party was to fight for the freedom of India from within the legislatures.
2. Trade union and communist leaders were the accused in the Meerut Conspiracy Case.
- II 1. The Simon Commission was boycotted because it did not contain even a single Indian.
2. The Nehru Report, 1928 is significant because it was a fitting answer to the challenge of Montague and also because it was the first constitutional document prepared by the Indian leaders containing a blueprint for free India's construction.
3. Ram Prasad Bismil and Asfaqullah Khan were the important revolutionaries who were involved in the Kakori case.

22.11 EXAMINATION MODEL QUESTIONS :

I. Answer the following questions in about 30 lines each :

1. Account for the birth of Swaraj Party and trace its relations with the Congress.
2. Narrate the origin of the left-wing in the National Movement and examine its political activity.
3. Discuss the extremist activities in India during the 20's with reference to their ideas and methods and examine their influence on the Freedom Movement.

II. Answer the following questions in about 15 lines each:

1. Briefly explain the policies and programmes of the Swarajists.
2. What was the purpose of the Simon Commission and what was the Indian reaction?
3. Write a brief note on the Nehru Report, 1928.
4. Explain briefly the extremist activity in Bengal in the 1920's.

22.12 BOOKS FOR FURTHER READING

1. Bipan Chandra : *Modern India*
2. Bipan Chandra : *Freedom Struggle in India*
3. Jawaharlal Nehru : *Autobiography*
4. Jawaharlal Nehru : *Discovery of India*
5. R.C. Majumdar (Ed) : *History and culture of the Indian people, Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan Series Vol X.*
6. Sumit Sarkar : *Modern India*
7. Tarachand : *History of the Freedom Movement in India Vol. III*

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UNIT 23 : CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE MOVEMENT

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23.0 OBJECTIVES

A study of this unit should enable you to understand :-

1. the significance of the Lahore Congress of 1929
2. the Salt Satyagraha
3. Gandhi - Irwin Pact
4. the Round Table Conference and
5. the final phase of the Civil Disobedience Movement.

23.1 INTRODUCTION

The Civil Disobedience Movement which began with the Salt Satyagraha in 1930 is an important phase in India's struggle for freedom. The decision to start the Civil Disobedience Movement was taken in the historic Lahore Congress held in 1929. The Civil Disobedience Movement witnessed the mobilisation of million of Indians for the struggle for freedom. Under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi the Civil Disobedience

Movement became a continent-wide mass movement against the foreign rule. The movement was halted by the Gandhi-Irwin Pact.

23.2 LAHORE CONGRESS

The year 1929 is yet another milestone in the history of the national movement. In July 1929, the Congress Working Committee passed a resolution calling upon the Congressmen to resign their seats in the Legislative Assemblies. When this matter was referred to the Congress General Body, Mahatma Gandhiji was in favour of the boycott of the Council and he was supported by Motilal Nehru and Jawaharlal Nehru. This clearly showed the emergence of Mahatma Gandhi once again into active politics and his creed of non-cooperation caught the imagination of the people and became popular.

In 1929, the Labour Party won the general elections in England and Ramsey Mac Donald became the Prime Minister of England. He invited Lord Irwin, the Viceroy of India for consultation on the constitutional progress in India. Irwin on his return to India gave a statement that the Simon Commission's proposals have been accepted by the British Government. A conference would be summoned soon to discuss the reforms. Further, he declared *"I am authorised on behalf of His Majesty's Government to state clearly that, in their judgement, it is implicit in the declaration of 1917 that the natural issue of India's constitutional progress, as then contemplated, is the attainment of Dominion Status"*. This statement was criticised by both the Conservative and Labour parties in England as well as by the press. This protest had done its work.

The Labour Party had no absolute majority in Parliament. So, when Gandhi, Nehru and other Congress leaders met Irwin and sought for a definite assurance that the Dominion Status would be granted to India, the Viceroy was unable to give it. Gandhi thereupon declared that he was in favour of Independence for India.

In this background, the Congress met at Lahore on December 29, 1929 in a tense atmosphere. By then, a number of political leaders were arrested. The Congress chose Jawaharlal Nehru as President. He was youthful and dynamic. He lent a special glamour to the session. The Lahore session of Congress passed a lengthy resolution. While the Congress appreciated the efforts of Viceroy towards a settlement of the national movement for Swaraj, it was also of the opinion that nothing would be gained in the existing circumstances. Hence, no need to attend the First Round Table Conference. The resolution further said that the Nehru Committee's Report was to be considered as lapsed and *"hopes that all Congressmen will henceforth devote their exclusive attention to the attainment of complete independence for India"*. As a first step towards organising a campaign for independence, the Congress resolved to boycott the central and provincial legislature, to resign their seats, and to abstain from participating directly or indirectly in future elections. While the Congress appealed to its workers to prosecute the constructive programme, it authorised the Working Committee, whenever it deemed fit, to launch upon a programme of Civil Disobedience including Non-Payment of taxes.

Thus, once again the Civil Disobedience Movement was revived at the Lahore Congress. Gandhi who was somewhat upset by the recurring violence in the country, wanted to prevent the same by channelising the resurgent spirit of the youth through the

non-violent campaign of civil disobedience. This resolution was the handiwork of Gandhi. On the midnight of December 31st, 1929, Nehru, the Congress President arrived in a solemn procession and hoisted the tri-colour flag of Indian Independence. *"A thrill of joy shook the vast audience and infused them with a new hope and a distant vision of the glorious future of India"*.

The Lahore Congress discarded the idea of Dominion Statute in favour of the goal of complete Independence or Poorna Swaraj. It was decided that 26th January, 1930 should be observed all over India as "*Poorna Swaraj Day*" and a declaration was to be read on that occasion to the people in the villages and towns. The declaration is a long one. It detailed as to how the British Government ruined India and presented a future policy. It asked people to prepare for non-violent civil disobedience and to carry out the instructions of the Congress from time to time for the purpose of establishment of "*Poorna Swaraj*". The Independence Day was celebrated with great enthusiasm all over the country. Some Congressmen have resigned their seats in the legislature. A large number of Congressmen were arrested and sentenced.

The Congress Working Committee met at Sabarmati in February 1930 and passed a resolution on civil disobedience. It authorised Mahatma Gandhi to start the movement and emphasised the need that it should be non-violent. The resolution appealed to all those who are cooperating with the government to withdraw their cooperation and renounce the benefit and throw themselves into final struggle of freedom.

23.3 CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE MOVEMENT 1930

23.3.1 Salt Satyagraha, 1930

Once the civil disobedience resolution was passed, all eyes were turned towards Sabarmati as to how and when the Mahatma would launch action. There was excitement all over the country. Mahatma decided to launch the "*Satyagraha*" campaign by manufacturing salt at Dandi, a village on the West coast of Gujarat. He wanted to break the salt law in public view. He informed his decision to the Viceroy and asked for an interview. It was refused. The Viceroy had replied that Dandi's action not only involves breaching of law, but there was also danger to public peace.

On 12th March, 1930 Gandhi with a number of associates set on foot to Dandi, some 200 miles away from Sabarmati District. The Dandi march was a tremendous success. Hundreds of villagers flocked from all sides, and gave a tumultuous welcome to the marchers. The Mahatma reached Dandi on 6th April, and he and his party picked up some salt thus, making a technical breach of law. The Dandi march was planned and executed in an exemplary way. The 200 miles sojourn through villages was by itself the greatest propaganda to the Civil Disobedience Movement. The Dandi march became a pilgrimage of the Nationalists and the breach of salt law was a signal for a country wide repetition of the agitation. Wherever natural conditions did not permit the manufacture of salt, there was violation of other laws. An intensive campaign of the boycott of foreign cloth and British goods was started, with the help of numerous volunteer organisations. In Bombay and Central Provinces, the forest laws were defied. A campaign for non-payment of land revenue and other taxes began in Gujarat and Uttar Pradesh.

Abdul Ghaffar Khan, known as the Frontier Gandhi began as non-violent anti-government movement in the North - West Frontier provinces, Thus, the civil disobedience movement picked up momentum in a short time.



Mahatma Gandhi on his historic Dandi march, 1930

Mahatma announced his intention of trading the salt depot of Dharasana in Surat District. But, before he set out for the place, he was arrested and put in prison. Then, a number of leaders and volunteers from all parts of Gujarat hurried to Dharasana. Thousands of people who took part in the raids on salt depots were mercilessly beaten and arrested. The heroic non-violent fight put up by the volunteers and their martyrdom was widely reported by the foreign correspondents. Mr. Webb Miller, the correspondent of the United Press, U.S.A. gave a graphic picture of the civil disobedience movement, and of the wonderful spirit of self-sacrifice and self-discipline which Gandhi had, by his example, instilled in the minds of his followers.

In April 1930, Gandhi made an appeal to the women of India to take up the work of picketing and that of spinning. The response was tremendous. Thousands of women who had never before come out of their seclusion, courted arrest. The awakening of women of India was a surprise to everyone and this was another example of Mahatma Gandhi's influence on Indian society. The passive resisters grew in numbers, and they were inspired to greater efforts and sacrifices for the country.

I. CHECK YOUR PROGRESS :

1. What is the significance of 26th January, 1930 ?

2. When and where did Gandhi break the salt laws ?

23.3.2 Policy of Repression

The British government did not at first take the Civil Disobedience Movement very seriously and looked upon it with ridicule and contempt. In a short-time, they realised the mistake and understood the gravity of the situation. They wanted to crush it completely, so let loose upon the people a policy of repression. New ordinances were passed authorising the government to curtail the liberty of the individual in various ways. The government passed an Emergency Press Ordinance and in 1920, nine newspapers were made throughout the width and breadth of the country. Many false charges like stealing and noting were framed against the volunteers. Nearly 75,000 people were put in prison. All the leaders, including the Congress President Nehru, were detained. Gandhi was arrested on 4th May, 1930. The whole country seemed to be in prison.

The government also unleashed a veritable reign of terror to cow down the people. The police and military resorted to brutal and indiscriminate assaults on unarmed men and women. The police repression was not only condemned by the Indian press, but also by the foreign journalists. In stray incidents, the mobs also resorted to stone throwing. But, in general, it was "*triumph of non-violence over armed force,*" and "*it gave Gandhi's idea of non-resistance, its first spectacular victory*".

23.4 FIRST ROUND TABLE CONFERENCE, 1930

The Simon Commission's Report was published in June, 1930. It recommended that the new Constitution should, as far as possible, contain within itself provision for its own development. The ultimate Constitution of India must be Federal in its nature. There should be full autonomy in the provinces including the department of law and order. The governor should be given overriding powers in certain matters like internal security. The provincial councils should be enlarged. The lower house of the central legislature to be called the Federal Assembly, should be enlarged and elected by the provincial councils. The upper house, the Council of States should remain unchanged. A provincial fund should be constituted to provide adequate resources to the provinces without infringing upon their autonomy. The Governor - General should select and appoint the members of the Cabinet. He should be the defacto head of the government. The High Courts should be under the administrative control of the Government of India. The functions and membership of the Council of the Secretary of State for India should be reduced. The presence of the British officers and troops in India would be essential for many years.

In accordance with the declaration of the Viceroy in 1929, a conference of the representatives of the British government and those of India had to be held to discuss the constitutional proposals. Accordingly, the First Round Table Conference was inaugurated in November, 1930, by the King of England, and was presided over by Ramsey Mac Donald, the Labour Prime Minister. It was attended by 16 members from British Parties, 16 from British Indian States and 57 from British India. The Congress refused to send its representatives. The other Parties were represented by their leaders.

The Indian leaders demanded for Dominion Status for India and a responsible

government at the centre. They advocated the introduction of British parliamentary system. The ruling Indian princes agreed to the idea of a federation with self-government. While some progress was made by the committee on the Federal structure, a new complication had arisen when Dr. B.R. Ambedkar demanded that depressed classes should be treated as a separate community for electoral purposes. Besides, another serious obstacle came from the Muslim representatives who declared that *"no constitution has any chance of success, unless the minorities are fully satisfied"*. The effort of the liberal Muslims to patch up the differences have failed. The Muslim delegation declared. *"no advance is possible or practicable whether in the provinces or in the central government without adequate safeguards for the Muslims of India and that no constitution would be acceptable to the Muslims of India without such safeguards"*.

In view of the disagreement, the Conference was adjourned. The Prime Minister of England, while conceding some constitutional reforms, said that as to the communal controversy, *"It was the duty of the communities to come to an agreement among themselves"*. He also said that the government was anxious to put the new constitution in operation without delay, and expressed the hope that the leaders of Civil Disobedience would take part in the cooperative work that lay ahead.

The Working Committee of the Congress met in January, 1931, two days after the Round Table Conference was adjourned and refused to give recognition to the Conference. They considered the statement of the British Prime Minister as vague, hence, there was no need to change the policy of the Congress. The Committee urged the people to carry on the struggle with unabated vigour. Meanwhile, the British government ordered the release of all the detained Congress leaders to provide them an opportunity to discuss the offer made by the British Prime Minister.

23.5 GANDHI - IRWIN PACT

The leaders who attended the Round Table Conference made an appeal to the Congress to reconsider their boycott move and requested Gandhi to meet the Viceroy. Gandhi and Irwin met in February, 1931. The Working Committee of the Congress passed a resolution authorising Gandhi to negotiate a settlement in the name of the Congress. Later, other Congress leaders joined Gandhi in the talks. The negotiations dragged on for several days. When the settlement was reached, it was approved by the Working Committee. The Pact was signed by the Viceroy and Gandhi on 5th March, 1931.

According to the terms of the Pact, it was decided to discontinue the Civil Disobedience Movement. As regards the constitutional question, it would be discussed further at the Round Table Conference. Federation has been accepted as an essential part. So also, the reservations and safeguards were accepted as essential to the interests of India. In the future discussion on the scheme of constitutional reforms, the representatives of the Congress also would participate. The government promised to withdraw all the pending cases against the Satyagraha and to withdraw all the emergency ordinances. The Government also agreed to permit peaceful picketing against foreign goods without any violation of ordinary laws. The government permitted the people living in the salt areas to make it for their use, but not for commercial purposes.

The Congress agreed to discontinue the Civil Disobedience Movement and participate in further discussions on the scheme of constitutional reforms. It was felt by many that Gandhi -Irwin Pact went against the spirit of the Lahore Resolution demanding *Poorna Swaraj*. Though Gandhi denied this, it was clear that Congress gave up the demand for Independence and substantially receded from its old stand, which had led to the boycott of the First Round Table Conference. The Pact was resented by many and particularly by the youth organisations. Subhas Chandra Bose criticised the Pact and the youth Congress condemned the agreement. But, the followers of Gandhi argued that the Pact was a victory to the Congress. Their argument was not convincing. The reasons for Gandhi to accept the Pact might have been that, he realised that in the unequal right with the government, the chances of success for the Congress were very few and a timely compromise was preferable. Such decisions were inevitable in a popular movement.

Whatever may be the reasons for the compromise by Mahatma Gandhi the Pact accomplished the fact that for the first time in the history of British-India, the British Government accepted to treat the Indian National Congress on a footing of equality as a political opponent. The Congress was the accredited agent to settle the terms of peace. The British government consciously or unconsciously accorded the Congress a status and authority to speak for political India.

The Civil Disobedience Movement which suddenly came to an end, had great importance in the struggle for "Swaraj". It has shown the awakening of political consciousness among the masses and gave evidence of the high moral inspiration of the leadership of Mahatma.

In its session at Karachi, the Congress considered the Gandhi - Irwin Pact. The younger sections were not happy with the agreement. They were furious over the news of the execution of the three youths Bhagat Singh, Raj Guru and Sukdev, who were convicts in the Lahore Conspiracy Case. The news filled the whole country with grief, and cast a gloom over the Congress session. The youth felt that Gandhi did not press the matter with the Viceroy to commute the sentences of capital punishment. Hence, Gandhi was greeted with black flags at the Karachi session. A resolution was also moved at the Congress session to place its record, its admiration of the bravery and sacrifice of the late Bhagat Singh and his comrades. Another unfortunate incident also happened. While the Congress was in session, a serious Hindu-Muslim riot broke out in Kanpur. Disorder, arson and loot spread like a wildfire.

In this surcharged atmosphere, the Congress session endorsed the Gandhi-Irwin Pact with a self-deluding rider that "*the Congress desires to make it clear that the Congress goal of Poorna Swaraj remains intact*". Then, the Working Committee decided on the delegates to attend the Second Round Table Conference. After prolonged discussions, it was unanimously decided that Gandhi should be the sole representative. Gandhi was worried by the communal riots and felt that the success of the Conference would depend entirely upon a previous agreement between the Hindus and the Muslims. The Working Committee offered a scheme of communal settlement.

Meanwhile Lord Irwin was succeeded by Lord Wellington as the Viceroy. He

resumed the policy of repression by serious violations of the agreement. Gandhi informed the Viceroy that he would not go to England for the Round Table Conference. After an interview with the Viceroy, who promised to hold an enquiry into the complaints, Gandhi agreed to attend the Conference.

23.6 THE SECOND ROUND TABLE CONFERENCE, 1931

The Second Round Table Conference began in London in September 1931. Mahatma Gandhi attended the Conference as the sole representative of the Congress. His presence in London created a great sensation among the different classes of people. Gandhi delivered many speeches elaborating his ideas of peace and goodwill and requested the British public to extend their sympathy and support for the Indian Freedom Movement.

The two main problems of the Conference were, namely to sort out the details of the Federal structure and to work out a plan acceptable to the minorities. Gandhi stuck to the Karachi resolution and demanded that "*Responsible Government*" must be established immediately, in full, both at the centre and in the provinces. He also opined that it should include complete control over finance, army, defence and external relations. Gandhi claimed that the Congress represented the whole of India. There was an unending discussion of the communal problem. In spite of many negotiations, it proved impossible to derive any scheme which all the parties would be willing to accept. Dr. B.R. Ambedkar had proposed to Gandhi an agreement, whereby a certain number of seats would be reserved in the Legislature for the depressed classes. Gandhi did not accept the idea, and Dr. Ambedkar joined hands with the other minorities. The representatives of Muslims, Depressed classes, Anglo-Indians and others, informed that they had reached an agreement among themselves. This was not acceptable to the Hindu and Sikh representatives. Hence, there was a deadlock.

Mahatma argued that the minorities question should not take precedence over the fundamental question of framing constitution for India. Finally, the members agreed to accept the arbitration of Mac Donald on the communal question. When he announced his decision, it was considered as a proposal rather than an award. The Second Round Table Conference completed the structure of federal judiciary and federal legislature. It distributed the financial resources between the centre and provinces. It also finalised the mode of the accession of States to the Federation. Except these, no constitutional progress was conceded by the British, and Gandhi landed in India with nothing achieved. It was felt that the new government in England (though headed by Mac Donald, it was dominated by the Conservatives) had made up its mind to break up the Conference and to fight the Congress. In this, the Muslims had become the strong allies of the British. Added to this, there was lack of harmony among the Indian delegates. Thus, the Second Round Table Conference also failed in its purpose of arriving at a *satisfactory constitution* for India.

23.7 THIRD ROUND TABLE CONFERENCE, 1932

The Third Round Table Conference met in November, 1932. The Congress boycotted the same. The Conference mainly dealt with the problems of franchise, Federal

finance and States. The new features agreed upon were, the extension of franchise to a large proportion of the adults and election of the Federal Upper chamber by the provincial legislature. By then, the attitude of the princes changed and they became less sympathetic towards the Federal idea. On the whole, by the time the Third Round Table Conference ended in 1932, enthusiasm had become less among the Indian members as regards a satisfactory settlement on the constitution.

23.8 FINAL PHASE OF CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE

The Congress suspended the civil disobedience movement after the Gandhi - Irwin agreement. The British Government promised fair enquiry into the alleged police excesses in connection with the collection of revenue in Surat District. But, the enquiry was unfair and one-sided and the Congress representatives withdrew from the enquiry committee. There was an acute economic crisis in Uttar Pradesh in 1931. The Congress launched a no-rent campaign which was also given up due to Gandhi-Irwin Pact. The government did not provide remissions as promised and demanded that the peasants should pay their dues. Thereupon, the Congress advised the peasants not to pay the rent. As a result, the Congress leaders including Nehru and Purushottamdas Tandon were arrested. In the North-West Frontier Province, the Red Shirt Organisation of Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan was banned and thousands of the volunteers were imprisoned. Many such incidents occurred in other parts of the country also. There were some terrorist activities by the nationalists, as a result of the ill-treatment of prisoners and the atrocities committed on the volunteers of no-tax campaign. The government in the name of retaliation for terrorist outrages, committed brutal reprisals.

So, when Gandhi returned from London, he found repressive ordinances in force in Bengal, Uttar Pradesh, North-West Frontier Province and other areas. He sent a telegram to the Viceroy complaining that the good will was lost because of the government's attitude and the Viceroy replied justifying the repressive acts of the administration. This made it clear that a new policy was formulated by the Government of India to strike at the Congress. Thereupon, the Congress Working Committee requested the government to institute a public and impartial enquiry into the events that led to the passing of these ordinances. The Working Committee also informed the government that if no satisfactory reply was forthcoming, they might resume Civil Disobedience Movement. The reply was negative as well as insulting. The Viceroy refused the possibility of an interview with Gandhi as long as there was a threat of resumption of Civil Disobedience. The government justified its policy and began promulgating four new ordinances and arrested both Gandhi and Patel. By then, Nehru and Gaffar Khan were in prison. It was unfortunate that the government was backed by the non-official Europeans. Thus, the last phase of the Civil Disobedience Movement began.

The Movement spread like wildfire. Thousands of people courted arrest. The no-tax campaign was pursued on a mass scale. There was picketing by the women volunteers. Bonfires of the foreign cloth were common sights in all towns and villages. The liquor shops were also picketed. Processions were held in contravention of police orders. Picketing and boycotting of British goods, banks and insurance companies were the main parts of the programme. The volunteers hoisted the national flag on public buildings.

and issued unauthorised pamphlets and distributed them to the police.

The government began the repressive measures in a crude and cruel manner. There was no rule of law. The police indulged in the beating of women and children also. They often opened fire on the alleged offence of stone throwing. Raids and searches were made all over India. Beating and other forms of torture in police lockup were resorted to. The police terrorised the villagers. They looted and pillaged their properties. The British rule in India sank to the level of brutal tyrannies of medieval times.

23.9 END OF CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE

While the Civil Disobedience Movement was continuing in full force, in spite of the repression of Government, Gandhi suddenly took a decision to go on fast unto death, opposing the separate electorates. He said that he would give up his fast only when common electorates were restored. This caused great anxiety over the whole country and the Civil Disobedience Movement was sidetracked. Anxious consultations took place over a period and Dr. B.R. Ambedkar won his point. The agreement was reached by Poona Pact, by which 18% of the seats were allotted to the Depressed classes. The British government agreed for the same. Gandhi gave up his fast.

Since then, the Civil Disobedience Movement lost its momentum. Gandhi lost interest in it, his mind was fully occupied by the untouchability campaign. Gandhi asked the Congress President to suspend the Civil Disobedience Movement for six weeks and appealed to the Government of India to withdraw the ordinances and release the prisoners. The Viceroy refused to concede the request of Gandhi.

The informal meeting of the Congressmen at Poona decided to give up the Mass Civil Disobedience Movement and favoured Individual Civil Disobedience. Slowly, the Movement waned away.

II CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1. Who was the Prime Minister of England during the Round Table Conferences ?

2. Why did Subhas Chandra Bose and others criticised the Gandhi - Irwin Pact ?

23.10 LET US SUM UP

1. The Lahore Congress of 1929 is an important turning point in the history of India's struggle for freedom. In that conference "Poorna Swaraj" was declared as the goal of the Congress.
2. The Salt Satyagraha created tremendous national consciousness among the Indians.
3. The Salt Satyagraha or Civil Disobedience movement was halted by the Gandhi - Irwin Pact in 1931.
4. Problems relating to the future constitution of India were discussed in the three Round Table Conferences. The discussion did not result in any.

23.11 CHECK YOUR PROGRESS : ANSWERS

- I. 1. On 26th January 1930, the Indian Tri-colour Flag was hoisted all over India and the day was observed as the Independence day. That is the significance of that day.
2. Gandhi broke the salt laws at Dandi on April 6, 1930.
- II. 1. Ramsey Mac Donald was the Prime Minister of England during the Round Table Conferences.
2. Subhash Chandra Bose and others criticised the Gandhi - Irwin Pact because it did not contain any reference to Independence of India.

23.12 EXAMINATION MODEL QUESTIONS.

- I. Answer the following questions in about 30 lines each :
 1. Trace the events leading to the launching of the Civil Disobedience Movement.
 2. Examine the factors that contributed for the failure of the Round Table Conferences.
 3. Critically examine the Gandhi - Irwin Pact and state its importance.
 4. Trace the Hindu-Muslim relations between 1920 - 28 and give reasons for the communal riots.
- II. Answer the following questions in about 15 lines each :
 1. Bring out the importance of the Dandi march.
 2. Discuss the nature of the communal problem in the early 30's. What is the problem of separate electorates.
 3. Bring out the impact of Civil Disobedience Movement on the Freedom Struggle.
 4. Write a note on the Second Round Table Conference.

23.13 BOOKS FOR FUTHER READING

1. Bipan Chandra : *Modern India*
2. Bipan Chandra : *Struggle for freedom in India*
3. Jawaharlal Nehru : *Discovery of India*
4. Judith Brown : *Civil Disobedience*
5. Louis Fisher : *Mahatma Gandhi*
6. Majumdar R.C. (Ed) : *History and culture of the Indian People, Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan Series Vol. X*
7. Majumdar R.C. : *History of the Freedom in India. Vol III*
8. Sumit Sarkar : *Modern India*
9. Sen S.N. : *History of Freedom Movement in India*

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UNIT 24: THE RISE OF CONGRESS SOCIALIST PARTY

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- 24.4 Congress and World Affairs.
- 24.5 People's Movement in Princely States
- 24.6 Let us sum up
- 24.7 Check Your Progress : Answers
- 24.8 Examination Model Questions
- 24.9 Books for further reading

24.0 OBJECTIVES

A study of this unit should enable you to have an understanding of :-

1. the growth of socialist ideas among Congress leaders and establishment of the Congress Socialist Party.
2. the beginning of the people movement in the princely states.

24.1 INTRODUCTION

The 1930's witnessed the growth of Socialist ideas within and outside the Congress party. As the impact of the great depression of 1929 was less in Socialist countries than the Capitalist countries, more and more educated people were attracted towards the Socialist ideas. India also influenced by the changes in the world as the youth of the Congress showed their inclination towards the Socialist ideas the path was paved for the establishment of Congress Socialist Party.

24.2 GROWTH OF SOCIALIST IDEAS

The 1930s witnessed the rapid growth of socialist ideas within and outside the Congress. In the previous lesson, we have studied the founding of the Communist Party and the Revolutionary Organisation that professed socialism as their creed. Even within the Congress, the socialist ideals began to say the young, In 1929, there was the Great Depression. It destroyed the economic structure of the entire world. There was large-scale unemployment. It caused economic distress and social imbalances. In the capitalist countries, there was a steep decline in production and foreign trade. At one time, there were 12 millions unemployed in U.S.A. 6 millions in Germany and 3 millions in Britain. But, the U.S.S.R. industrial production has gone up, and there were no evil

effects of the depression. While the capitalist system fell into disrepute, many educated people were attracted towards the Socialist ideas. The workers and peasants also were drawn towards Marxism, Socialism and ideas of economic planning.

The economic depression worsened the Indian economic scene. The prices of agricultural products fell to 50%, wages were substantially reduced. While the peasants began to demand land reforms, abolition of zamindaries and debt relief, the workers demanded union rights, better conditions of work and reasonable wages. Many Kisan organisations were found. The peasants also began to take active part in national politics.

24.2.1 Jawaharlal Nehru's Socialist Ideas

The left-wing ideology found its response in the Congress and Jawaharlal Nehru was elected as the Congress President for the years 1936 and 1937, and Subhas Chandra Bose for the years 1938 and 1939. Jawaharlal from the beginning, was a radical in politics. His prison life brought about critical difference between him and Gandhi. He represented an ideological alternative. His letters to his daughter later published as 'Glimpses of World History' and his autobiography, marked the height of Nehru's commitment of socialist ideas. Nehru made clear his theoretical difference with Gandhi in letters and articles published as 'Thither India'. He repeatedly emphasised the need to combine socialist objectives with radical social and economic programmes. Many British officials considered Nehru as 'The high priest of Communism'.

Nehru, in his presidential address to the Lucknow Congress in 1936, urged the Congress to accept socialism as its goal, to bring it closer to the peasantry and the working class. This was the best way of weaning away the Muslim masses from the influence of their reactionary communal leaders. Nehru said "I am convinced that the only key to the solution of the world problems and of India's problems lies in socialism, when I use this word, I do so not in a vague humanitarian way, but in the scientific and economic sense. This involves vast and revolutionary changes in our political and social structure, the ending of vested interests in land and industry, as well as feudal and autocratic Indian States system. That means the ending of private property except in a restricted sense and the replacement of the present profit system by a higher ideal of cooperative service. In short, it means a new civilization, radically different from the present capitalist order".

24.3 CONGRESS SOCIALIST PARTY

In the Nasik prison meeting in 1933, the idea of a distinct Socialist younger group working within the Congress, but trying to push it leftwards, had been discussed. The active members were Jayaprakash Narayan, Achyut Patwardhan, Yusuf Meharali, Ashok Mehta and Minoos Masani. The UP Congress leader, Sampurnanand drew up a formula for a tentative Socialist Party. This was formally started at a conference in Patna and it was presided over by Acharya Narendra Dev.

The Congress Socialist Party's (CSP) ideology ranged from mixed up radical nationalism to Marxian scientific socialism. Though the C.S.P. was in Congress, it was sharply opposed to its conservative leadership and ready to cooperate with the Non - Congress leftist groups. Nehru was sympathetic to C.S.P., but never joined it. The

rightwing Congress leaders condemned the C.S.P. and Pattabhi Sitaramayya went to the extent of calling the founders of the Party as "scum". The C.S.P. became popular in UP and Bihar. When Narendra Dev organised a general strike of workers and peasants, Gandhi found it as too dangerous and intoxicating, C.S.P. was able to develop close connections with the emerging Kisan Sabha movement in Bihar and Andhra. N.G.Ranga started Indian Peasant Institute at Nidubrolu in Andhra to train Kisan cadres. In Bihar, a section of the Congress leadership encouraged the Kisan Movement. Slowly the members of the C.S.P. left Congress and either joined the Communist Party or founded different Socialist parties in India during the early years of Indian Independence.

Outside the Congress the Socialist tendencies led to the growth of the Communist Party under the leadership of P.G. Joshi, and in 1939, Subhas Chandra Bose and his left - wing followers founded the 'Forward Bloc'.

24.4 CONGRESS AND WORLD AFFAIRS

The Congress had from its inception in 1885, opposed the use of Indian resources and the Indian Army to serve the colonial interests of Britain in Africa and Asia. It had gradually developed a national foreign policy based on opposition to the spread of imperialism. In February 1927, Jawaharlal Nehru, on behalf of the Indian National Congress attended the Congress of Oppressed Nationalities at Brussels. This Congress was organised by the political exiles and revolutionaries from the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, who were suffering from economic and political imperialism. The Brussels Congress was called to coordinate and plan the common struggle of the oppressed nationalities against imperialism and colonialism. Many intellectuals of Europe with left - wing leaning to attend the Conference. In his address to the Brussels Congress, Nehru said "*We realise that there is much in common in the struggle which various subjects, semi-subjects and oppressed peoples are carrying on today. Their opponents are often the same, although they sometimes appear in different guises and the means employed for their subjection are often similar*". The Congress at Brussels founded the League to fight imperialism, and Nehru was elected as a member of the Executive Council of the same.

In 1927, the National Congress meeting at Madras warned the British Government that India would not support British in any war undertaken by her to further its imperialistic ambitions. In the 1930's the Congress took a firm stand against imperialism in any part of the world. They supported national movements in Asia and Africa. The Congress condemned Fascism which was rising its ugly head in Italy, Germany and Japan. The Congress gave full support to the people of Spain, Ethiopia, China and Czechoslovakia, when they were invaded by the Fascist forces. The Congress fully recognised that the future India was closely interlinked with the coming struggle between Fascism and the forces of Socialism, Freedom and Democracy. Nehru, in his Presidential address to the Lucknow Congress, stressed the Party's opposition to any participations of Indian Government in a war between imperialist powers. He offered full cooperation to the progressive forces of the world, to those who stood for freedom and the breaking of political and social bonds, for "*in their struggle against Imperialism and Fascist reaction, we realise that our struggle is a common one*". Nehru said that Fascism and

Imperialism stood out as the two faces of now decaying capitalism. Socialism in the West, the rising nationalism in the East and other dependent countries, were opposed to the combination of Fascism and Imperialism.

24.5 PEOPLE'S MOVEMENT IN PRINCELY STATES

During this period, we see another important development in the spread of national movement to the princely States. The economic, political and social conditions that prevailed in these States were more severe than in the provinces ruled by the British. Peasants were oppressed, land revenue was excessive, education was retarded and there were no health or social services. In several states slavery, serfdom and forced labour were common. The bulk of the revenues was spent on the luxuries of the princes. The British gave direct and indirect support to the rule of the princes to counter the national movement.

The people of these princely states were also influenced by the nationalist sentiment and began to organise themselves to fight for democratic rights and popular governments. In 1927 All India States People's Conference was founded. The Civil Disobedience Movement of 1930 produced a deep impact on these people and stirred them into political activity. Popular struggles were waged in many States especially Rajkot, Jaipur, Kashmir, Hyderabad and Travancore. The National Congress supported the States People's Struggle waged against the princes. The Congress urged the princes to introduce democratic representative governments in their States and grant fundamental civil rights to their people. The Congress demanded independence not only for the British - ruled India, but also for the princely States. It also spread a new consciousness of unity all over India.

I CHECK YOUR PROGRESS :

1. In which Congress Session did Jawaharlal Nehru urged the Congress to accept socialism as its goal ?

2. When was the Congress Socialist Party established and who were its important members ?

3. When was the All India People's Conference established ?

24.6 LET US SUM UP

1. Due to the impact of the Russian Revolution young Congress leaders like Jawaharlal Nehru urged the Congress to accept the socialist ideology. In 1934 the Congress Socialist Party was established as a part of the Congress. Its active members were Jaya Prakash Narayan, Achyut Patwardan, Ashok Mehta and Minoo Masani.
2. The peoples movement in the princely states became active with the establishment of the All India State People's Conference in 1927.

24.7 CHECK YOUR PROGRESS : ANSWERS

1. In the Lucknow session of the Congress Jawaharlal Nehru urged the Congress to adopt socialism as its goal.
2. The Congress Socialist Party was established in 1934. Jayaprakash Narayan, Achyut Patwardhan, Ashok Mehta and Minoo Masani were its important members.
3. The All India People's Conference was established in 1927.

24.8 EXAMINATION MODEL QUESTIONS

I. Answer the following questions in about 30 lines each :

1. Account for the growth of Socialist ideas in the Congress.
2. Briefly discuss the interest of the Congress in World Affairs.

II. Answer the following questions in about 15 lines each :

1. Write a brief note on Jawaharlal Nehru's socialist ideas.
2. Give an account of the spread of the national movement in the princely states.

24.9 BOOKS FOR FURTHER READING

1. Bipan Chandra : *Modern India*
2. Bipan Chandra : *Struggle for Freedom in India*
3. Jawaharlal Nehru : *Discovery of India*
4. Judith Brown : *Civil Disobedience*
5. Louis Fisher : *Mahatma Gandhi*
6. Majumdar R.C. (Ed) : *History and culture of the Indian People, Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan Series, Vol. X*
7. Majumdar R.C. : *History of the Freedom in India Vol. III*
8. Sen S.N. : *History of Freedom Movement in India*
9. Sumit Sarkar : *Modern India*

UNIT 25 : NATIONAL MOVEMENT, 1935 - 1946

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 - 25.8.2 Shift in the Policies of Mahatma Gandhi in respect of non-violence in the course of National Movement
- 25.9 Quit India Movement
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- 25.11 Wavell Plan
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- 25.14 Check your progress : Answers
- 25.15 Examination Model Questions
- 25.16 Books for further reading

25.0 OBJECTIVES

A study of this unit should be able you to have knowledge of :-

- 1) circumstances leading to the 1935 Act, its provisions and the criticism against it.
- 2) the working of the Congress Ministries in the provinces from 1935 to 1939.
- 3) the national movement between 1935 and 1939.
- 4) reaction of the Indian leaders to World War-I.
- 5) the Cripps mission.
- 6) the causes, course and nature of Quit India Movement.

7. the efforts of Subhas Chandra Bose to liberate the country by waging a war against the British and the role of the Indian National Army.
8. Simla Conference.

25.1 INTRODUCTION

The 1935 Act is an important landmark in the constitutional development of India. The circumstances leading to the passing of the Act, its provisions and the response of the Indian leaders to it are discussed in this unit. The working of the congress ministries in the provinces after the enactment of the Act of 1935 and the progress of the national movement between 1935 and 1939 are also discussed in this unit.

The period of the second World War was a crucial period in the history of India's struggle for independence. The British tried to win the support of the Indians for their effort. The Cripps Mission was a part of that effort. After its failure the historic Quit India Movement took place. During the war period from outside India, Subhas Chandra Bose made a heroic effort to liberate India by fighting against the British with the assistance of the enemies of the British. Finally when the war was coming to an end. The Simla Conference was held in 1945 by Wavell, the Viceroy to solve the Indian Political problems. All these developments are discussed in this unit.

25.2 NATIONAL MOVEMENT DURING 1935-1939

Gandhi retained his influence on the Congress, but its character was some what changed by the emergency of new creeds of Socialism and Communism. The emergency of a socialist left-wing in the Congress was clearly noticeable in 1934. It was a sure indication of the resurgence of radical or left-wing forces in the country. This was accompanied by great awakening among the peasantry and the students. The All India Kisan Sabha, All India Students Federation and All India Trade Union Congress were found during the period. In the literary world too, there was an attempt to organise progressive writers, whose ideas were leftist and whose writings were for the masses.

In 1935, Jawaharlal Nehru was elected as the Congress President. Though the Congress condemned the Act of 1935, it decided to contest elections, against the known views of Nehru. The A.I.C.C. was entrusted with the work of preparing an election manifesto. Nehru had included three socialists Jayaprakash Narayan, Narendra Dev and Achyut Patwardhan into the Working Committee. Nevertheless, Nehru was slowly persuaded by Mahatma Gandhi. It was said that while the intellectual Nehru fought against Gandhi's theory and programme, the emotional Nehru submitted to his authority. In 1936, Nehru was re-elected as the President, and by then, Soviet Russia adopted a new constitution. By that time, capitalism was liquidated in U.S.S.R. There was all enthusiasm in the Congress to declare the solidarity of the Indian people with the U.S.S.R. But, by then, there was a marked change in Nehru who said "*The Congress today stands for full democracy of India and fights for a democratic state, not for socialism*".

A general election under the new Act of 1935 was held in 1936-37. It forced the

Congress to come into close contact with the masses. The structure that was extended to nearly 3 1/2 crores of people, aroused political consciousness among them. The Congress had secured absolute majority in the legislative assembly in Madras, U.P. Central Provinces, Bihar and Orissa. It was the biggest single party in Bombay, Bengal, Assam and North-West Frontier Province. In Sind and the Punjab, it was a minority.

The all important questions of accepting office by the Congress came up. It was discussed in the All India Congress Committee meeting at Delhi in March, 1937 and after two days, of deliberations, the A.I.C.C. was authorised to permit the acceptance of office in provinces, where the Congress commanded a majority, provided that the Governors of those provinces would not use their powers of interference. The Governors of the provinces refused to give such an assurance and there was a deadlock. Finally, it was resolved by the declaration of the Viceroy that it was their intention to eliminate any clash of opinion, that would break down the machine of the Government. There upon, the Working Committee permitted Congressmen to accept office, and Congress ministries were formed in the States, where the Party commanded a majority.

The next Congress session met in Gujarat in 1938. The unanimous election of Subash Chandra Bose, the leader of the radical party, as President of Congress was a definite proof of the growing influence of the younger sections in the Congress. Their socialist ideas were different from the orthodox Congress views held by Gandhi. The Congress felt that the Federation would be a success only if the Princely States also introduced representative institutions and 'Responsible Government'. They should grant civil liberties and follow the provincial method of election to the Federal Assembly. This could be achieved only through struggle with the Princely States and hence, the Congress decided to establish state people's organisations and Congress committees in the Indian States. The A.I.C.C. (All India Congress Committee) meeting supported people's resistance in Mysore and wished them all success. They appealed to the people to extend their support to this non-violent moment for civil rights and liberties of the people of the State.

The difference between Gandhi and Bose began to grow during this period. In 1939, Bose entertained a desire for re-election and Gandhi opposed it. There was a contest and Bose got elected over Pattabhi Sitaramayya, whose candidature had been proposed by Gandhi. Gandhi refused to be on the Working Committee of the Congress. He took it as a personal defeat. The members of the Working Committee resigned and notice was given for a formal resolution saying that "*Mahatma Gandhi alone can lead the Congress and the working Committee may be constituted in accordance with his wishes*". When Bose contacted Gandhi to name the personnel of the Working Committee, the latter refused. Thereupon, Bose resigned, and Rajendra Prasad was elected as the Congress President.

Subhas Chandra Bose now organised a new party known as 'Forward Bloc'.

25.3 CONGRESS MINISTRIES AT WORK 1935-1939

The Act of 1935 had a number of limitations on the working of provincial autonomy. Hence, the Congress ministers could not change the basically imperialist

character of the British administration in India. Though they failed to introduce radical reforms, they did try to improve the condition of the people within the narrow limits of the powers given to them by the Act of 1935. The Congress ministers drastically reduced their salaries to Rs. 50/- and travelled mostly in II or III class in the railways. They paid greater attention to health and education. They helped the peasants by passing tenancy legislation. They promoted civil liberties. Trade Unions felt free to demand higher wages. Freedom of press was enhanced. In general, the people felt that they were breathing the air of self-government and liberty.

The Congress by forming ministries in the provinces where they had a absolute majority, provided a steady and stable administration. They had a definite programme, with active leaders. However, the Party exercised supervision over the functioning of the ministries. A Parliamentary sub-committee was appointed with Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Dr. Rajendra Prasad and Vallabhai Patel to be in close and constant touch with the work of the Congress parties in all the legislatures. In general, the Congress ministries worked with a dedicated spirit.

The Congress ministries lost no time in removing the restrictions on personal liberty, by setting free the political prisoners. Ban on Communists and other associations was lifted, prosecutions withdrawn, security deposits of newspapers were refunded. The Congress manifesto of 1937 excited much interest among the masses. They expected that the Congress would remove poverty, unemployment and indebtedness of the peasantry. There were no substantial reforms in this regard. There was keen disappointment and frustration. By the end of 1938, in U.P. there were organised campaigns of lawlessness. Crops were looted, and the protection of armed police became necessary to protect the crops. Not much was done in the field of industrial labour also.

But, there were three great social reforms for which the Congress ministries deserve special credit. These are all associated with the name of the Mahatma Gandhi. These are primary education, prohibition and improving the lot of Depressed classes, which included some reforms against untouchability. The governments of U.P., Bihar and Bombay have taken up the idea of Basic Education. The campaign against illiteracy and for the adult population was an outstanding achievement. Prohibition, though a substantial financial loss, was experimentally introduced in limited areas by the Congress ministries. New administrative changes were made enforcing prohibition and preventing the illicit distillation of country liquor. The Congress ministries adopted several measures to improve the lot of the Depressed classes. Free education was provided. The Bombay Government passed an Act that it was an offence to refuse Harijans entry into a temple.

25.4 COMMUNAL POLITICS BETWEEN 1935-1939

Immediately after the election of 1937 was over, there was a parting of the ways between the Congress and the Muslim League. Jinnah, giving his presidential address of the Muslim League in 1937 at Lucknow, condemned the Congress policy as purely Hindu, and pointed out the Muslim ministers in the Congress cabinets do not command the confidence or respect of the Muslim legislators. Now, Jinnah stood openly as the leader of the Muslim community. All the previous efforts for Hindu Muslim unity had been vain. Many of the independent Muslim legislators joined the League. Within three

months after the Lucknow session, the League had established 170 new branches. The Muslim League carried out an unceasing and virulent campaign against the Congress ministries, and even organised direct action at many places.

By 1939, the Muslim League chose the most extreme proposal, namely a separate State for the Muslims. In September 1939, the Working Committee of the League declared that Muslim India was "*irrevocably opposed to any Federal objective, which must necessarily result in a majority community rule on the grounds of democracy and a parliamentary system of Government*". In February 1940, Jinnah declared that the constitutional settlement must be governed by the fact that India was not one nation, but two and the Muslims of India would not accept the arbitration of anybody, but would determine their own destiny. The Muslim League session at Lahore in March 1940 attended by one lakh members passed a resolution to the effect that India should be partitioned on communal basis.

25.5 THE SECOND WORLD WAR

The Second World War began with the attack on Poland by Germany on 1st September, 1939. England and France, the allies of Poland, declared war on Germany. At first, Japan and Italy remained neutral, but soon both joined Germany. The British Dominion and India also joined the War.

25.5.1 The Resignation of Congress Ministries

When War was imminent in Europe, the Indian National Congress made its position quite clear. In 1936 itself, Nehru in his Presidential address, said "*Every war waged by imperialist powers will be an imperialist war, whatever the excuse put forward, therefore we must keep out of it*". The Congress also made it clear that India "*cannot fight for freedom unless she herself is free*." In pursuance of this policy, the Congress Working Committee issued a directive to the provincial Congress government not to assist in any way the war preparations of the British government and to be ready to resign than deviate from the Congress policy.

When the War began actually, the Princes of the States and also non-Congress ministries pledged full support to the British. The Congress refused to co-operate in any way. Gandhi and Nehru had sympathy for England, and Bose opposed them. On 18th September, 1939, the Working Committee of the Congress adopted a resolution drafted by Pandit Nehru. It condemned the ideology of Fascism, and Nazism. It also took serious objection to the Viceroy's proclamation of war and promulgation of war ordinances. All were promulgated without India's consent. The Congress demanded that the British Government declare in unequivocal terms what their war aims were in regard to democracy and imperialism. They also wanted to know how those aims were to be applied to India, and whether they included the elimination of imperialism in India, and was for the treatment of India as a free nation.

The Viceroy in his statement reiterated that Dominion Status was the goal of British policy. The Congress Working Committee felt that the statement was unfortunate and only an endorsement of the old imperialist policy. Thereupon, the Congress directed the Congress ministries to resign, and all the Congress ministries resigned by November,

1939. The Congress in its session at Ranagarh in March, 1940 presided over by Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, emphatically protested about the declaration of India "as a belligerent country without any reference to the People of India". and reiterated that "nothing short of complete independence can be accepted by the people of India."

I. CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1. Why did Subhash Chandra Bose resign as President of the Congress in 1939 ?

2. Why did the Congress Ministries resign in 1939 ?

25.5.2 Congress and League's Reactions:

The Muslim League saw the resignation of Congress ministries as an opportunity to stage a comeback to the political scene, after its debacle at the 1937 general elections. As we have seen in the earlier lessons, the Congress policy of absorption rather than independent cooperation, when the formation of U.P. Ministries came up, had infuriated Mr. Jinnah, the President of the League. The mass contact programme of Nehru, the communalism of the Hindu Maha Sabha and the attitudes and actions of the British, sowed the seeds of suspicion in the minds of Muslim League leaders. The gulf between the Congress and the League widened. Therefore, the League celebrated the resignation of Congress ministries as the day of deliverance. It offered wholehearted support and cooperation to the Government.

Early in 1940, Jinnah enunciated the two-nation theory. He asserted that religiously and culturally, Hindus and Muslims formed two separate and distinct nations. In the Lahore session in March 1940, the League passed a resolution demanding the division of India into Hindusthan and Pakistan, on the basis of the two-nation theory. Initially, very few Muslim leaders took the concept of Pakistan, seriously or literally. Even for Jinnah it probably began as a bargaining counter, useful to block possible British constitutional concessions to the Congress and gain additional favours for the Muslims. On the other hand, the British, for the moment, felt that the concept of Pakistan was useful to maintain a constitutional deadlock in India. The British Government therefore, while encouraging Jinnah within limits, had no intention of surrendering to all his demands. However, with the passage of time, the roots of the demand for Pakistan became an article of faith with Jinnah. Thereafter, all the proposals to solve the tangled problem evaded solution till the League's demand was conceded in 1947.

25.5.3 August Offer

Meanwhile, in the summer of 1940, War in Europe took a bad turn for the Allies and Britain was subjected to devastating air attack and bombardment by Germany. The Congress not wanting to "*seek independence out of British ruin*" offered help to Britain, provided that a provisional government consisting of all important political parties of India was set up immediately. The Viceroy, in reply gave the "August Offer" in 1940. The August Offer announced That (1) after the War, government would set up a constitution making body to form a Constitution for India (2) the present Executive Council would be expanded to include Indian leaders (3) the Viceroy's War Council consisting of representatives of British India and Indian States would be set up, (4) the government would give due weightage to the minority demand in the new scheme of reforms.

The Viceroy invited all the political parties to cooperate, but the Congress rejected the offer saying that the expansion of the Executive Council was no substitute for a national government, which it had asked. Moreover, the Congress resented the minority issue and complained that the minorities were being given the power of veto. The Muslim League, on the other hand, welcomed the British assurance to the Minorities regarding their demands.

25.6 INDIVIDUAL SATYAGRAHA

The Congress did not want to take advantage of the British troubles, and at the same time it wanted to register its protest against British Policy. Therefore, under the guidance of Mahatma Gandhi, individual Congressmen were allowed to offer Satyagraha. Mass action of any kind was forbidden. However, individual Satyagraha did not have any marked effect on the British policy. The constitutional deadlock continued for over a year and a half.

25.7 CRIPPS MISSION

In 1941, two major changes occurred in the course of the War. Nazi Germany attacked the Soviet Union in June 1941. It had already occupied Poland, Belgium, Holland, Norway, France and most parts of Eastern Europe. Secondly, Japan launched a surprise attack on the American fleet at Pearl Harbour in December, 1941. Thus, the Soviet Union and the U.S.A. were dragged into the War, against the Axis Powers (Germany, Italy and Japan). Japan joining the War in late 1941, quickly overran Philippines, Indo-China, Indonesia, Malaya and Burma. It occupied Rangoon in March 1942. This brought the War to India's door step.

The British Government, now desperately wanted the active participation of Indians in the War effort. Moreover, the President of United States, F.D. Roosevelt put pressure on the British Prime Minister, Winston Churchill to come to some settlement with the Indian leaders. Therefore, Churchill sent Sir Stafford Cripps, a seasoned diplomat for constitutional reforms. Hopes were roused in India, as Cripps was a known friend of Nehru and held a sympathetic attitude to the Indian national struggle. He met the leaders of all the Indian political parties and made the following proposals in March, 1942.

1. A constitution making body would be set up after the War.
2. Its members would be elected by the Lower House of Indian Legislature.
3. It envisaged a federation of British India and Indian States as a dominion within the British Commonwealth.
4. Britain would accept the Constitution framed by the constitution making body, subject to the following conditions.
 - a) If any British province did not wish to join the federation, it could retain its present position, and the British government would give it the same status as the rest of the Indian Union.
 - b) A treaty would be signed between the Constitution making body and the British Government, covering all subjects regarding transfer of power, including the rights of the minorities.
 - c) The power of the Viceroy would remain as hitherto, and he would be responsible for the defence of the country.

Thus, the Cripps Mission offered Dominion Status, and at the same time, granted the provinces the right to secede from the Union. This provision was a concession to the League's demand for partition. But, the League rejected the proposal as Britain had not conceded partition outright. The Congress too, offered objections. The interim arrangement was unsatisfactory as the powers of the Viceroy remained undiminished and he was still responsible for the defence of the country. The Congress demanded a national government to rouse popular enthusiasm and the support of the people to repel the Japanese invasion. The congress also objected to the provision for a province to secede from the Union, as it was a great threat to Indian unity. Finally, the truth of the matter was the fact that the long-term offer of Dominion Status was, as Gandhiji remarked, "*a post-dated cheque drawn on a failing bank*", since the very foundation of the British empire seemed to be uncertain at the moment.

25.8 QUIT INDIA RESOLUTION

The failure of the Cripps Mission embittered the people of India. Frustrated and disappointed at the failure of its efforts to solve the political deadlock, the Congress was convinced that as long as British ruled the country, the communal problem would not be solved. It did not like the British attitude of treating the Congress as a Hindu communal organisation, and accepting Jinnah's contention that the League was the sole representative of the Muslim community. Congress held that the British were secretly supporting the intransigence of the League and therefore, they should quit. Moreover, the immediate withdrawal of the British, it felt, alone could save India from the Japanese invasion.



Gandhiji with Mahadev Desai and Jawaharlal Nehru
at AICC meeting at Bombay, 1942

In order to force its demand, the Congress passed the Quit India Resolution on August 8, 1942 at the Bombay session. It proposed the starting of a non-violent mass struggle. Addressing the Congress delegates, Gandhiji said. *"I therefore want freedom immediately, this very night, before dawn if it can be had. Here is a mantra, a short one, that I gave you. You may imprint it on your hearts and let every breath of you give impression to it. The mantra is "Do or Die". We shall either free India or die in the attempt; we shall not live to see the perpetuation of our slavery"*.

25.8.1 The Kurnool Circular

The Quit India movement produced powerful impact on the people of India. All the regions including Andhra Desa responded to this movement in a significant way. The well known 'Andhra Circular' was prepared by Kala Venkat Rao on July 29th, 1942. It was sent to Bombay through Dr. Pattabhi Seetharamaiah seeking clearance from the Congress Working Committee. It was believed that the All India Congress Committee gave its approval to the circular. A copy of the circular was found in the Congress office of Kurnool during police raids. Hence it came to be called as 'Kurnool Circular'.

In the Andhra circular a detailed programme of action to be taken up during Quit India Movement was given. The contents were that the movement should be carried on peacefully defying prohibitory orders. Advocates should give up their practice, boycott courts and English educational institutions. Call was given to destroy railway lines and bridges to disrupt transport facilities. It was further suggested not to pay taxes except municipal taxes. Picketing of military recruiting centres is to be taken up and people are advised to withdraw all their deposits from banks and stop clearing bank loans. Unfurling of national flags on all buildings was suggested. The economic measures were suggested to disrupt the economic sector culminating in the bankruptcy of British government.

25.8.2 Shift in the Policies of Mahatma Gandhi in Respect of Non-Violence in the Course of National Movement

Mahatma Gandhi played such a pivotal role in the Indian National Movement from 1920 onwards that he became its supreme leader. After the controversial Rowlatt

Act of 1919 and the tragic massacre of Jallianwallabagh of April 13, 1919 made Gandhiji to chalkout a militant movement. He gave a call for Non-Cooperation Movement basing upon the strict principle of non-violence. Call was given to people to carry on the movement peacefully. When the Non-Cooperation Movement was turning violent and after the violent incidents of Chauri Chaura, Gandhiji took the drastic step of calling off the movement. Every section of the Congress was unhappy with his decision. More so, the Muslims were hurt by stoppage of the movement in the midst.

For Gandhiji non-violence was a matter of principle. What he said was that violence was not to be eschewed as a principle. But there was no need for it as non-violence was equally powerful. The historian Bipan Chandra states "*infact non-violence was in same essential ways integral to the nature of Indian national movement as a hegemonic movement based on wide mass mobilization. It was because of mass character of the national movement that non-violence became one of its basic elements. The adoption of non-violent forms of struggle enabled the mass of the people who could not have participated in a movement that adopted violent forms. The adoption of non-violent principle enabled women also to participate in the struggle for freedom in large number. In fact a non-violent mass movement put the rulers on the horns of a dilemma. If they hesitated to suppress a peaceful movement it amounts to giving up administrative authority. If they supress it by force they were afraid of public reaction all over the world.*"

The adoption of non-violence was also linked to the fact that a disarmed people had any other alternative. In other words Bipan Chandra States in a war position, the non-violence of a mass movement was a way of becoming equal in political resources to the armed colonial state. Further the disarmed Indian People would not be able to withstand massive government repression and the use of violence would provide justification to the government for launching a massive attack on the popular movement. Such heavy action would lead to political positivity. Bipan Chandra states mass movements in which millions participate have to be, by their very nature non-violent. In Indias case non-violent struggle was a revolutionary in character as an armed struggle in other context.

India is the concrete example of a long drawn out hegemonic struggle in which state power is not seized in a single historical movement of revolution but through a prolonged political process based on moral, political and ideological on a national or societal plane. The study of Indian National Movement and in particular of Gandhian political strategy and style of leadership has a certain significance for the revolutionary, that is basic transformation of democratic hegemonic states and societies.

25.9 QUIT INDIA MOVEMENT

Before the Congress could start the Movement, the Government, which was fully prepared for such a mass movement, struck hard. Early, the next morning, Gandhiji and other prominent Congress leaders were arrested and the Congress was declared an illegal organisation.

The news of these arrests left the country aghast, and a spontaneous movement of protest arose everywhere. Stikes, hartals and demonstrations were organised throughout

the country. Left to themselves, leaderless and without any organisation, the people reacted in whatever way they could do. The symbols of British authority—police stations, post offices, railways etc, became the main targets of the wrath of the people. Students, peasants and workers formed the backbone of this revolt. In many places, the British temporarily lost control over many towns, cities and villages. British authority disappeared in parts of U.P., Bihar, West Bengal, Orissa, Madras and Maharashtra. Thus, the revolt of 1942 surpassed all previous Congress led movements in its intensity of anti-British militancy. Lord Linlithgow privately described the developments since 9th August, 1942 as *“by far the most serious rebellion since that of 1857, the gravity and extent of which we have so far concealed from the world for reasons of military security”*.

The Government, on its part, went all out to crush the revolt of 1942. The press was gagged. Demonstrating crowds were machine gunned and even bombed. In Tenali, Guntur and Bhimavaram, the police resorted to lathi-charge and opened fire. With an iron hand and great difficulty, the Government succeeded in restoring normalcy by the end of 1942. Though the revolt was suppressed in a short time, its importance, as Bipan Chandra says, lay in the fact that *“it demonstrated the depth that national feelings had reached in the country and the great capacity for struggles and sacrifices that the people had developed.”*

With the arrest of all the Congress leaders and the suppression of the revolt of 1942, there was hardly any political activity inside the country till the end of the War in 1945. On March 23, 1943, the Muslim League celebrated the Pakistan Day and renewed its pledge to achieve a separate homeland for the Muslims. Bengal was faced with a famine in 1943 when over three million people died of hunger and pestilence. There was deep anger among the people, for the Government could have prevented the famine from taking such a heavy toll. However, this anger found little political expression.

II. CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1. What were the important provisions of the Cripps proposals ?

2. When was the Quit India resolution passed ?

25.10 SUBHASH CHANDRA BOSE AND THE I.N.A. (INDIAN NATIONAL ARMY)

Political activity, absent inside the country however, found expression outside the country's frontiers. Subhas Chandra Bose, who had escaped from India in 1941, established contacts with Nazi Germany. Early in 1943, he left the Japan (an Axis Power) to organise an armed struggle against the British rule with Japanese assistance. He returned to Singapore to become the leader of the Indian National Army. The Indian National Army (I.N.A.), popularly known as the Azad Hind Fauz had been established in September, 1942 under General Mohan Singh, a captain of the British Army and Rash Behari Bose, an old terrorist revolutionary. It was established with the sole purpose of conducting a military campaign for the liberation of India. With Subhas Chandra Bose as its leader, the I.N.A. recruited large numbers of Indian residents in South East Asia and Indian soldiers and officers captured by the Japanese forces in Malaya, Singapore and Burma. Soon, the I.N.A. joined by the Japanese army in its march on India from Burma, reached the frontiers of India, thus bringing the war to our doorstep. I.N.A. men hoped to enter India as liberators with Subhas Chandra Bose as the head of the Provisional Government of free India.

However, the I.N.A. and the Japanese army could not march beyond Imphal in Assam. The Japanese soon met reversals in South - East Asia, which was gradually lost to the British. With the collapse of Japan in 1944 - 45 the I.N.A. too, met defeat and surrendered to the British. Bose or Netaji, as he was called, was killed in an aeroplane crash on his way to Tokyo.



Subhash Chandra Bose and I.N.A.

In assessing the significance of the last phase of Bose's career, it is important to distinguish between immediate achievement and ultimate impact. The I.N.A. did not amount to very much in sheer military terms and was bound to fail. But, its impact was mainly psychological. By organising the I.N.A., Bose had set an inspiring example of patriotism before the Indian people and the Indian army. In November, 1945 a British move to put the I.N.A. men on trial, immediately sparked off massive demonstrations all over the country. Even more significant, probably, was the link between the I.N.A. experience and the wave of disaffection in the British Indian army during the winter of

1945-46. They culminated in the Great Bombay Naval strike of February 1946 and was known as the Revolt of the Indian Navy (RIN). Quite possibly, it was the single most important reason behind the British decision to make a quick withdrawal in 1947.

In May 1944, Gandhiji was set free because of ill-health. In September, he initiated a series of discussions with Mr. Jinnah to solve the communal problem. While Gandhiji proposed a federal government with minimum powers and maximum provincial autonomy, Jinnah adamantly stuck to his two-nation theory. He made it clear that he would be satisfied with nothing less than partition of the country. Consequently, no agreement was reached.

25.11 WAVELL PLAN

With the termination of War in Europe in early 1945, there was no justification whatsoever for the continuance of the autocratic British rule in India. Further, as the General Elections were coming up in June 1945, the Tory leader, Churchill, wanted to show the British voters that his Party was interested in having political settlement in India. Moreover, Britain wanted to secure the greater cooperation of the Indian people in the prosecution of war against Japan which had not yet accepted defeat. Therefore, in the name of ending the constitutional impasse, Viceroy Wavell renewed the Cripps offer of 1942 in March, 1945 and offered to reconstruct the Viceroy's Executive Council. Apart from the Viceroy and the Commander-in-Chief, the Executive Council was to consist of Indians, selected from among the leaders of Indian political parties, on the basis of parity between "Caste Hindus" and "Muslims".

What this proposal, in effect, meant that the seats in the Council were to be reserved not for the political parties as such, but for the religious communities. This was unacceptable for both the parties. The Congress Party refused to look upon itself as a Hindu organisation, but rather as a nationwide secular organisation, the Muslim League, on the other hand, claimed that it alone represented Indian Muslims and could therefore, not accept that Muslim members of the Congress be admitted to the Council.

25.12 SIMLA CONFERENCE, 1945

To carry out his proposals, the Viceroy summoned a conference of all Indian political parties at Simla in June. He set free all the Congress leaders who had been languishing in prisons since 1942. As seen earlier, the Conference ended in failure. The Congress would not yield to the League's demand of being recognised as the sole representative body of the Muslims. The only result of this Conference was that the hands of Mr. Jinnah were strengthened because Lord Wavell virtually gave him the power of veto which resulted in the failure of the Conference. It was clear that the British rulers wanted a worsening of differences between the Congress and the League and the overall deterioration of the Hindu - Muslim relations in the country, so that it could retain its colonial regime for a longer period of time.

The sudden ending of the Second World War in August, 1945 with the dropping of atom bombs over Hiroshima and Nagasaki, the two cities in Japan, opened a new chapter in the history of the Indian National Movement. There were no organised movements for attaining Swaraj since then, but external and internal circumstances

developed in such a manner, that the British were forced to take the decision to leave India. The coming of the Labour Party to power in England, the economic dislocation due to the War, the voluntary upsurge of the masses on certain issues, like the trial of INA men and the spirit of protest exhibited by the armed forces, convinced the British that they could no longer hold India under their possession. The Labour Party, therefore, changed the policy of "divide and rule" into "divide and quit". It decided to hold fresh elections to Indian Councils (both Central and Provincial), to reconstitute the Viceroy's Executive Council immediately after the elections, and summon a constitution making body as soon as possible. In the next lesson, we will study how these decisions were carried out, and how the transfer of power was effected.

III. CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1. Who was the founder of I.N.A. ?

2. Why was the Simla Conference of 1945 arranged ?

25.13 LET US SUM UP

1. The Congress Ministries in the provinces implemented some welfare measures. Basic education was introduced, prohibition policy was implemented and steps were taken to improve the lot of the Harijans. The Congress Ministries resigned in 1939 as a protest against the involvement of India in World War-II without consulting the people's representatives.
2. The Congress leaders protested against the involvement of India in World War-II without consulting the Indians.
3. The Cripps Mission came to India in 1942 to get the cooperation of the Indians for the war effort. The mission proposed dominion status for India after the war. The Mission failed.
4. The Quit India Movement which started on August 8, 1942 was by far the most serious rebellion against the British after 1857.
5. The Simla conference convened by Viceroy Wavell in 1945 to settle the political problem in India, failed.

6. Subhash Chandra Bose and the INA under his leadership tried to liberate the country by fighting against the British forces.

25.14 CHECK YOUR PROGRESS : ANSWERS

- I. 1. Subhash Chandra Bose resigned as Congress President in 1939 because of the opposition to him from Gandhi.
2. The Congress Ministries resigned in 1939 as a protest against the involvement of India in the Second World War, without consulting the people's representatives.
- II. 1. The Cripps Mission offered dominion status for India after the war. It also proposed the convening of the constituent assembly after the war.
2. The Quit India resolution was passed on August 8, 1942.
- III. 1. Mohan Singh was the founder of the I.N.A. It was developed and reorganised by Subhas Chandra Bose.
2. The Simla Conference of 1945 was arranged to discuss the proposals of Viceroy Wavell for solving the political problem of India.

25.15 EXAMINATION MODEL QUESTIONS :

I. Answer the following in about 30 lines each :

1. Analyse the political developments in the country during the 1935-39 period.
2. Explain the proposals of the Cripps Mission and the reasons for its failure.
3. Analyse the features of the Quit India Movement and its effects.
4. Estimate the role of Subhas Chandra Bose in the Indian National Movement.
5. Critically examine the main provisions of the Act of 1935.

II. Answer the following questions in about 15 lines each :

1. Critically estimate the work of the Congress ministries between 1937 and 1939.
2. What was the reaction of the Indians to the 1935 Act ?
3. Estimate the role of I.N.A. in India's struggle for freedom
4. Write short notes on the Simla Conference

25.16 BOOKS FOR FURTHER READING

1. Bipan Chandra : *Modern India*
2. Bipan Chandra : *Freedom Struggle*
3. Chopra, Puri & Das : *A Social, Cultural and Economic History of India Vol. III*

4. Jawaharlal Nehru : *Discovery of India, Autobiography*
5. Judith Brown : *The Emergence of Mahatma Gandhi.*
6. Louis Fisher : *Mahatma Gandhi*
7. Mahajan V.D. : *India Since 1926*
8. Majumdar, R.C. (Ed). : *The Struggle for Freedom, Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan Series, Vol X*
History of the Freedom Movement in India Vol. III
9. Perceival Spear : *History of India, Vol II*
10. Seshagiri Rao, B : *Freedom Movement in Guntur District*
11. Sumit Sarkar : *Modern India*
12. Tara Chand : *History of Freedom Movement in India, Vol. IV*

BRAOU

UNIT-26 : TRANSFER OF POWER, PARTITION AND INTEGRATION OF INDIAN STATES

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- 26.0 Objectives
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- 26.7 Atlee's Declaration
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 - 26.11.2.1 Socio-economic Political conditions
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 - 26.11.3 Kashmir
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26.0 OBJECTIVES

Study of this unit should enable you to have an understanding of :-

1. the factors which made the British to decide in favour of leaving India.
2. the proposals of the Cabinet Mission.
3. the 'Direct Action' of Muslim League in favour of Pakistan and communal riots.
4. Mountbatten's Plan for partition and its acceptance of congress leaders.
5. the effects of partition and,
6. the integration of the princely states such as Junagadh, Hyderabad, Kashmir in the Indian Union.

26.1 INTRODUCTION

The Labour Party, which came to power in Britain in 1945, did not give rise in the beginning, to any major changes in the British policy in India. In July, Lord Wavell and the Labour Party prime minister Atlee discussed the future of India, and announced that the government would implement the measures outlined in the Cripps proposal of 1942. The elections to Central and Provincial Legislature were also announced. There was nothing new in this proposal as the elections, were already long overdue. However, the British had to make amendments to its policy on India, because of the serious anti-colonial upsurge in the post-War period.

26.2 ECONOMIC DISCONTENT

Various developments in 1945 and the following year added to the internal tensions in India and helped to advance further, the unfolding of a mass anti-colonial movement. The deteriorating economic situations, inflation, unemployment and food shortage as consequences of the war, gave rise to a new wave of labour and peasant unrest. Strikes and hartals became almost everyday events in many parts of the country. Further, the economic struggle of the working class was now coordinated with the political demonstrations of the students. There was also a consolidation of cooperation between various political factions of trade union organisations. Peasant unrest too, rose in the country. Radical peasant movements in Telangana, Tebgha in Bengal, and the Travancore region took the form of anti-feudal struggles, demanding land, and the removal of land rent and exploitation by landlords.

26.3 I.N.A TRIALS

Another popular movement broke out in November 1945 when the trial of the officers of the Indian National Army (INA) began. The Court-martial sentenced Shah Nawaz Khan and two other officers to long term imprisonment. But, the Indian Public considered them to be the champions of national independence who has taken up arms against the colonial regime. Therefore, the imprisonment of I.N.A. officer aroused the indignation of patriotic Indians. Mass demonstrations in Calcutta and later in other towns of the country broke out. They developed into political strikes in which workers, students, traders etc., took an active part. The Government, therefore, thought it expedient to release the INA officers, although the Court-martial found them guilty of "*waging war against the king*".

26.4 REVOLTS IN THE ARMY

The climax of this political ferment came in February 1946 when sections of the armed forces began to be drawn into the movement. The Indian naval ratings at Bombay revolted. They fought a seven hour battle with the army and navy and surrendered only when the Indian national leaders asked them to do so. There were also widespread strikes in the Indian Air Force. The police and the administration also showed signs of nationalist leanings. All these developments made it clear to the British rulers that they could no longer suppress the national movement.

26.5 CABINET MISSION

As a result of these popular actions and the confident and defiant mood of the people that the British decided to quit India. In March 1946, a Cabinet Mission was sent to India to negotiate with Indian leaders, the terms for the transfer of power to India. After holding talks with the leaders of various Indian political parties, and Cabinet Mission rejected the Muslim leader's demand for a separate Pakistan. In May 1946, the Mission made the following suggestions :

1. The dominion of India would consist of a Union of Provinces and Princely States. The Central Government would retain only Defence, Foreign Affairs and Communications, with the Provinces enjoying maximum autonomy.
2. The Provinces of British India would be united into three groups. The Hindu - dominated zone, the Muslims - dominated west zone, and the Muslim majority areas of Assam and Bengal. The Provinces of three zones would free to form groups of their own for common purposes, mutually agreed upon by them.
3. Any question concerning a major communal issue in the legislature would be decided by a majority of the representatives of each of the major communities as well as the majority of all the members, present and voting.
4. A Constituent Assembly would be formed to frame a Constitution for India. Each province would be allotted a fixed number of seats in proportion to its population. The seats allotted to each province would be further divided between various communities in proportion to their population in the provinces. The members of Constituent Assembly would be elected by the elected members of the Legislature Assemblies of the provinces.
5. An interim government enjoying the support of the major political parties would be formed as early as possible.



Cabinet Mission Members, 1946

Thus, the plan of the Cabinet Mission certainly had the merit of preserving the unity of India, and yet conceded to a large extent to the demand for Pakistan by providing for the grouping of the Muslim majority provinces. The plan had a mixed reaction. The Congress, after due deliberation, accepted the long term part of the plan, but rejected the proposal for an Interim Government. It would not yield to the League's claim of being the sole representatives of Indian Muslims, and thus holding its exclusive right of nominating the members of the Muslim quota in the Interim Government. On the other hand, the Muslim League initially accepted the plan, but soon withdrew from participating in the Interim Government as well as in the working of the Constituent Assembly. The June elections to the Constituent Assembly had given the Congress 205 seats and the League 73 seats. The League was apprehensive that it would be outvoted in the Assembly. It was this apprehension that made the League reject the plan.

In July, Lord Wavell put up a new proposal before the Congress and the League. He proposed the formation of an interim Government with the Congress having six seats and the League five seats. Insisting on a parity with the Congress, the League rejected the proposal. The Congress, however, accepted the proposal and formed the Interim Government with Pandit Nehru as its Vice-President.

26.6 DIRECT ACTION BY MUSLIM LEAGUE

The League, at this juncture announced that it would now embark on an open or unconstitutional struggle for the creation of Pakistan. It passed a Direct Action Resolution condemning the Government and the Congress for the political deadlock and set August 16th, 1946 as "*the day of protest*". The day of protest ushered in communal violence. Hindu-Muslim riots began in Calcutta and soon engulfed large parts of Bengal, Bihar, U.P. and Bombay. Gandhi, at this juncture, spoke out in sharp condemnation of the riots and visited the places of Hindu-Muslims riots.

The Muslim League soon realised that the Congress had grasped power at the centre by joining the Interim Government. Fearing isolation, the League decided to join it after a tacit agreement with the Viceroy and the Congress that it would give a fair trial to the Cabinet Mission Plan and join the Constituent Assembly. In October, the League's representatives were inducted into the Government. But, the League over the interrupted bickerings ensured between the Congress and the League over the interpretation of the Cabinet Mission proposals. The League finally to join the Constituent Assembly whose first meeting was held in December, 1946. Thus, the Cabinet Mission Plan virtually became a dead document.

Meanwhile, the economic situation in the country continued to deteriorate and this served to fan the mass actions in towns and villages. In the course of the year 1946, there were more than two thousand strikes. In Kanpur, and Calcutta, striking workers were shot at by the police. In Bengal, Telangana and parts of Punjab and Central India, there was agrarian unrest. These, peasant uprisings fought feudal oppression and demanded land and low rents. In Kashmir, the National Congress headed by Shaik Abdulla, launched the 'Quit Kashmir' movement directed against the feudal order of the Kashmir Maharaja. Hand in hand with these mass movements, there was communal violence.

26.7 ATLEE'S DECLARATION

In these circumstances, the British Prime Minister clearly read the dangers to the political system which the British had built realising that the present state of uncertainty was fraught with danger. Atlee decided to fix the deadline for the transfer of power, so that the responsibility for a political settlement fell on Indian political parties. On February 20th, 1947, Atlee announced that the British would hand over power to India by June, 1948. Power would be handed over to one Central Government or more. The hint of partition and possibly even balkanisation into numerous States was very clear. The hope of the Congress to secure the lever of power in time to prevent partition had now faded with the new time limit. If no settlement was reached, the government machine would be handed over to the Government of various provinces. Fragmentation rather than partition was the most pressing danger, the Congress felt.

The League, heartened by Atlee's announcement, intensified its struggle for the achievement of Pakistan by using direct action tactics. As a result, communal violence renewed and engulfed the whole of northern India within no time. The chain of tragic events that developed due to communal passions and prejudices were aided and abetted by the alien government. This caused a change of heart in Congress leaders like Sardar Patel and Pandit Nehru. They came to hold the view that the historical development of communalism, both Hindu and Muslim over the last 50 years had created a situation where the alternative to partition was chaos and anarchy. It was owing to this fateful conviction that, in March, 1947, the Congress Working Committee in the name of having a realistic approach, passed a resolution conceding the partition of Punjab.

26.8 MOUNTBATTEN PLAN AND THE PARTITION OF INDIA

It was in these circumstances, that Lord Wavell was replaced by Lord Mountbatten as the Viceroy, in March, 1947. After making an estimate of the Indian political and communal situation, Lord Mountbatten proceeded ahead with the work of India's partition. In plain terms, he endorsed that there could be no coercion of one community over the other, of majority over the minority and if the work of partition could be accomplished successfully, its responsibility *"is to rest finally upon the Indians themselves"*. Even Gandhiji admired the sincerity of Lord Mountbatten and he frankly said that although the new Viceroy was against partition like the Congress, *"Yet if both of us (Hindus and Muslims) cannot agree on anything, then the Viceroy is left with no choice"*.

Thus, came the Mountbatten Plan in June, 1947. The plan had the following proposals:

1. The date of British withdrawal was advanced from June 1948 to August 1947, when power would be transferred to successor government in India. India was to be partitioned into two; India and Pakistan.
2. On the withdrawal of the British authority, the Indian States would be free to decide whether they would join either India or Pakistan. In any case, British paramountcy over the princely states would lapse.
3. The Provinces of Bengal and Punjab were to be partitioned after ascertaining the

desire of the people. The provincial assemblies of these provinces were to meet and decide upon the unity or partition of the province. If they decided on the partition of Bengal and Punjab, Boundary Commission was to be set up to demarcate the boundary line.

4. The existing Constituent Assembly was to continue to work and draft a Constitution for India and Pakistan was to have a separate Constituent Assembly.

The two main political parties professed dissatisfaction but, nevertheless accepted the Mountbatten Plan as the best practicable solution of the tangled Indian problems so far as it could be envisaged at that movement. Although the League was not fully satisfied with the "*truncated and moth-eaten Pakistan*", it accepted the Plan. We have already seen that the Congress Party had come to accept partition, as the only alternative to chaos and communal brutalities. Gandhiji bitterly opposed the partition but later, in deference to the wishes of the Congress Party, accepted it. The Congress, however did not accept the two nation theory. It agreed to the separation of only those areas where the influence of Muslim League was predominant. In the North-West Frontier Province and Sylhet district in Assam where the influence of the League was doubtful, a plebiscite was to be held. Thus, the Congress leaders refused to accept the partition on the basis of Hinduism and Islam, as the two-nation theory would suggest.

I. CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1. According to the Cabinet Mission's proposals which subjects were to be with the centre ?

2. Why did the Congress accept partition ?

26.9 TOWARDS INDEPENDENCE

As the plan was accepted by the major political parties of India, a machinery was set up at the centre, as well as in the provinces to decide the assets and liabilities of India and Pakistan. The Armed forces and other service personnel were asked to submit their options. The provincial assemblies of Punjab and Bengal decided upon the division of their provinces. Muslim majority districts were separated from the non-Muslim majority areas. The latter joined the Indian Union. The Boundary Commission headed

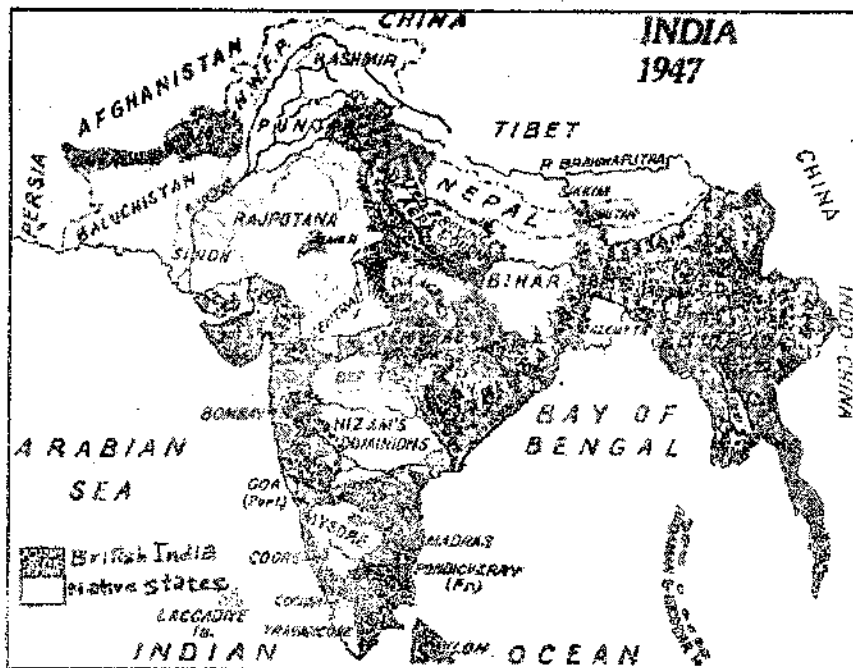
by Sir Radcliff set to work on drawing the boundary line and completed its work by August, 15. In the meantime, on account of the pressure of the people of the Princely States, the masterful diplomacy of Sardar Patel, with the cooperation of Mountbatten integrated 500 and odd Princely States into the Indian Union. The integration of only three native States, Hyderabad, Junagadh and Kashmir remained to be undertaken.



Nehru-Declaration of Indian Independence - August, 1947

In July, 1947 the British Parliament ratified the Mountbatten Plan as the Independence of India Act. It fixed upon August 15th, 1947 as the date for the transfer of authority. Accordingly, at midnight on 14th, in the early hours of 15th August, a special session of the Constituent Assembly was held in Delhi, and the Indian flag was unfurled at Red Fort. The Constituent Assembly solemnly declared the Independence of India, as a part of the British Commonwealth and appointed Lord Mountbatten as the first Governor-General of the new Indian Dominion. The heroic struggle of several generations of freedom fighters had been crowned with success at last. This victory of the national movement marked the beginning of a new period in the history of India that of independent development. In a memorable address to the Constituent Assembly meeting on 14th midnight, Pandit Nehru giving expression to the feeling of the people, said :

"Long years ago we made a tryst with destiny, and now the time comes when we shall redeem our pledge, not wholly, or in the full measure, but very substantially. At the stroke of midnight hour, when the whole world sleeps, India will awake to life and freedom. A moment comes, which comes but rarely in history, when we step out from the old to the new, when an age ends, and when the soul of a nation long suppressed, finds utterance. It is fitting that at this solemn moment, we take the pledge of dedication to the service of India and her people and to the still larger cause of humanity we end today a period of ill fortune and India discovers herself again. The achievement we celebrate today is but of incessant striving so that we may fulfil the pledges we have so often taken".



26.10 COMMUNAL FRENZY : GANDHI'S ASSASSINATION

The joy and elation of national triumph was accompanied by pain and sadness. A communal orgy with indescribable brutalities affected both the new States. Millions of people both Hindus and Muslims became victims of communal passions and were uprooted from their homes. Hindus and Muslims who were lucky to escape the communal holocaust, migrated to India or Pakistan as refugees, leaving their properties and relations behind. These migrations and dislocation of vast numbers of people further fanned the communal flames, resulting in mass-scale destruction of life and property, especially in the border States.

The symbol of this tragedy at the time of national triumph was the forsaken figure of Gandhi. He was not taking part in the Independence Day celebrations, but touring the hate-torn land of Bengal, trying to tame the communal passions. As a sign of protest against the killings of Muslims, he began a hunger strike. Gandhi's stand on Hindu - Muslim unity was an article of faith. At a time when the reactionary religious propaganda was rampant, Gandhi's stand on Hindu-Muslim unity evoked among the chauvinists and reactionary circles. On 30th January, 1948, an assassin Nathuram Godse who disagreed with Gandhism shot Mahatma Gandhi dead at a prayer meeting in Delhi. Gandhi, the man who gave the message of non-violence, truth and love, the man who gave courage and manliness to the Indian people, the man who symbolised all that was best in the Indian culture, died a martyr to the cause of Hindu-Muslim unity to which he was always devoted.

26.11 INTEGRATION OF PRINCELY STATES

According to the Independence of India Act, 1947, the British Paramountcy over the Indian States (Princely states) ceased. This meant that the rulers of these Princely States were free to choose their future course independently. However, they were advised to accede either to the Indian Union or to Pakistan. Legally, the way

was laid open for the balkanisation of the sub-continent. However, the problem of Indian unity was solved, as we shall see, by the masterful diplomacy of Vallabhai Patel, ably assisted by V.P. Menon, the Secretary of Home Affairs. Some enlightened rulers, like the Maharaja of Patiala, who was the Secretary of the Chamber of Princes realised the necessity of merging their States with the Indian Union. In other cases, firmness and ruthlessness and Patel's diplomacy succeeded in bringing the 554 and odd Princely States into the Indian Union. Writing about the integration of Princely States. Percival Spear says *"At times it was ruthless; but the whole process was made palatable and almost agreeable by the suave skill of the States Department Secretary, V.P. Menon. He was the velvet glove on the mailed fist. He could explain the pleasures of integration so convincingly that in the end, apart from Kashmir, only the State of Hyderabad presented a real problem. Of course, the important factor that led to the integration of Princely States was the desire of the people of these States to pool in their lot with the Indian people."*

Even before Independence in 1947, a special ministry to deal with the principalities was set up. It was headed by Sardar Vallabhai Patel, the Home Minister. In a series of negotiations between Sardar Patel and the Princes, a formula for incorporating the Princely States into the Indian Union was evolved. Many of the rulers concerned signed an Instrument of Accession to the Indian Dominion before the Independence Day. In accordance with these treaties, the princess retained their rights to all their estates, both personal and real. They could not be called to account for any actions they had perpetrated, before the Instrument of Accession was signed. They were also granted state pensions. Civil servants from the Princely States were also given certain guarantees, like secure employment, pension etc. Of course, some rulers did not sign the instrument of accession immediately. But Sardar Patel and V.P. Menon made it clear that *"India cannot afford to be generous at the cost of its integrity"*. This firmness, along with the clearcut position adopted by the Indian Government on the subject of integration and the anti-feudal movements that were taking shape in some of the Princely States (like Hyderabad, Orissa, Bhopal, Travancore and Kashmir) obliged the rulers to hurry and sign the instrument of accession. Thus, during the period of 1947-49, about 554 Princely States joined India and the remainder became a part of Pakistan. This process of integration into the Indian Union proceeded smoothly on the whole, except in the case of Junagadh, Hyderabad and Kashmir.

26.11.1 Junagadh

75 per cent of the population of Junagadh in Kathiawar peninsula was Hindu. It had many Hindu and Jain Shrines, including the famous Jagannath temple. Its Muslim ruler was an eccentric man who had once organised the wedding of his two pet dogs. Although Junagadh's interest were interwoven with those of the Indian Union, the Nawab declared that he intended to join Pakistan. This decision of the Nawab led to serious unrest in Junagadh. The Indian Government was compelled to send troops into the Princely State in February, 1948 and hold a plebiscite. The vast majority of the voters came out in favour of integration with India, and the ruler of Junagadh fled to Pakistan.

26.11.2 Hyderabad

26.11.2.1 Socio-economic Political Conditions

The socio-economic conditions prevalent in Hyderabad which includes Telangana under Nizam's rule were pathetic. The social system was no different from the feudal system of medieval Europe. The landlords were called as *Deshmukhs* who held hundreds of acres under their sway. The poor ryots tilled the lands as bonded labour. The ryots who followed money from landlords had to render free service to their lords. The Jagir system came into existence under Asaf Jahi rule.

Land was mostly in the hands of *Deshmukhs*, *Jagirdars* and native princess who harassed the people in a despotic way. Landless poor constituted majority section in Telangana. Ryots were reduced to abject poverty, slavery and the people who resisted were mercilessly killed.

The rule of Nizam was despotic and his officers also behaved in the same way. People were awarded punishments without trial. Fundamental religious organisations and Razakars subjected to people to inhuman treatment.

The socio-economic and political conditions prevalent in the Telangana area under Nizam's rule led to the armed struggle in that area in the 20th Century. The credit of carrying out armed struggle goes to the communists led by Duchalapalli Sundarayya, Ravi Narayana Reddy, Chandra Rajeshwara Rao and Baddam Ella Reddy.

The main objectives of Armed struggle were to liberate the Telangana area from the despotic rule of the Nizam, to provide protection to the people from the exploitation of feudal lords and to acquire ownership rights over the land to the people to secure livelihood for them. The Armed struggle though violence won the appreciation of the public.

By 1945 the Telangana people were politically awakened and started resisting the exploitation of landlords. In fact the armed struggle started with **Palakurthi incident** of Jangaon taluka. The villagers revolted against their Deshmukh, Visunuri Ramachandra Reddy when his goondas attacked the villagers. The consequent hartal and police firing at Kadivendi on 4th June, 1946 led to the death of comrade Doddi Komarayya, the angered villagers burnt the house and mango groves of the Deshmukh.

In due course this struggle developed into a people's movement. Initially starting with protecting the crops of the ryots launched land grabbing movement and distributing the same to poor ryots. This movement spread like a wildfire engulfing the *talukas* of Suryapet, Bhongir, Huzurnagar. The efforts of government to suppress the movement ruthlessly failed.

In the armed struggle many participants lost their lives. The sacrifices made by the participants are ever remembered. By November 1946 Communist Party was banned in Telangana and the armed struggle was stopped due to repressive activities of the government.

The armed struggle was revived by the communist party in September 1947 to

resist the activities of Razakars. Communist guerilla squads were raised, who captured arms from police, Razakars and distributed lands to the poor with the public support obtaining spontaneously. The armed struggle was a grand success. The incidents of Hamebad and Cheemarole villages was an indication of the intensity of public support to the armed struggle and it is not out of place to mention about the dare devil acts of comrade Erra Satyam in the movement.

26.11.2.2 Ittehadul Muslim Organisation and Razakars.

Ittehadul Muslim organisation came into existence in 1927 to protect the interests of muslims. It was inactive till 1938. In 1939 - 1940 Nawab Bahadur Yar Jung became its president and started challenging the sovereignty of Nizam. Initially the Nizam also welcomed and encouraged the organisation. Bahadur Yar Jung was stated to have been responsible for 1,80,000 Harijans into Islam. The organisation was opposed to army reforms that paved the way for democratic government.

In due course of time Ittehadul Muslim Organisation decided to raise a corps of volunteers who came to be called as Razakars. The Razakars wore special uniform and weapons also. In 1946 Kasim Razvi became the president and the Razakar organisation became a private military body. Razvi's plan was to raise 5 lakh volunteers. The combined armies of Nizam and Razakars resorted to arson and looting. In the beginning Nizam was under the impression that Razakar organisation was a source of strength for him.

The Razakars became highly aggressive. They resorted forcible extortion of money, rapes, and murders. Law and order broke down and life became miserable. The communists had to revive the armed struggle to resist the Razakars. Nizam became a silent spectator.

The Nizam was reluctant to Join Indian Union. But the prevailing situation forced him to sign 'Standstill Agreement' with Indian Union in November 1947. But he carried on secret parleys with Pakistan. He tried to purchase arms of foreign countries directly. Ordnance factories were also set up in Hyderabad. The representatives of Ittehadul Muslim Organisation visited foreign countries to purchase aeroplanes and arms.

Kasim Razvi became very aggressive planning to march to parliament in Delhi. He dared to declare "*we will unfurl our flag on the Red Fort*". The government of India was keenly watching the situation. It deputed K.M. Munshi for spot study. On the basis of report submitted by K.M. Munshi the Indian government passed orders for initiating '*police action*' against Hyderabad.

26.11.2.3 Police action

On September 13, 1948 the Indian forces under Major-General J.N. Chaudary entered Hyderabad. The police action is described as 'operation polo'. Nizam surrendered and ceasefire was agreed upon. Thus the police action resulted in the accession of Hyderabad to Indian Union and the people of Hyderabad and Telangana were freed from the menace of Razakars.

The armed struggle revived by communists to resist the Razakars was withdrawn in 1950. The armed struggle though failed to achieve peoples rule in Telangana had

many other achievements to its credit. The sacrifices made by communists to secure strength and livelihood for poor people of Telangana is praiseworthy. As a result of the movement the evil institution, prevailing in Telangana such as Jagirdar system, bonded labour, Kauldari system, Baghila were eliminated. Slavish mentality disappeared and they became free. Finally the armed struggle movement succeeded in promoting awakening in the Telangana people.

26.11.3 Kashmir

The Princely State of Jammu and Kashmir presented a perplexing problem to the Indian Union. Bordering on India and Pakistan, the State could have joined either. In view of the numerical strength of Muslims in this State, Pakistan was naturally anxious to bring the State under its control. To understand the Kashmir problem, a brief background is necessary. Jammu and Kashmir with a population of 4 million, had a Muslim population of three million. The ruler was a Hindu Maharaja. In 1931, Shaikh Abdulla had founded the National Conference and had developed friendly relations with the Congress Party. In May, 1946, Shaikh Abdulla was jailed for having launched the Quit Kashmir Campaign against the Maharaja.

Gandhiji at this time, visited the State and persuaded the Maharaja to release Shaikh Abdulla. In September, the Shaikh gave a call for "*Freedom first and accession later*" as it was for the people, and not the Maharaja to decide their future. Before any development in this direction could take place, the Pathan tribesmen of Pakistan advanced into the State. The units of the Pakistan regular army joined the tribesmen in their advance into Jammu and Kashmir. The administration of the Maharaja collapsed. He therefore, sought the assistance of the Indian Government. On October, 26th he formally acceded to the Indian Union, whose airborne troops saved the situation in the nick of time. This step was ratified by Shaikh Abdulla the leader of the National Conference, an organisation enjoying popular support.

On October, 31st an Interim Government was formed with Shaikh Abdulla as its head. This government with the help of Indian troops, successfully repelled the Pakistani infiltration. However, Pakistan occupied some territory which was christened as the Azad Kashmir (Free Kashmir). In December, 1947, the Interim Government of Jammu and Kashmir appealed to the Security Council of the U.N. to stop this act of aggression on the part of Pakistan. The conflicting claims of India and Pakistan were put forward before the Security Council, but it could not arrive at a peaceful settlement. Meanwhile, India and Pakistan fought a war for over a year till the U.N. Commission arranged a ceasefire between them in January, 1949. Earlier the Indian Government had offered to hold a plebiscite for seeking the people's verdict on the States accession to India. Following the subsequent developments including Pakistan's failure to comply with the conditions of the U.N. resolution regarding the withdrawal of troops from occupied areas, the offer of plebiscite lost its validity. In 1951, the Constituent Assembly met in Jammu and Kashmir to frame a Constitution for the State. It ratified the accession of the State of Jammu and Kashmir as an integral part of the Indian Domain. Pakistan retained her defacto control over the Azad Kashmir area, which her troops occupied in 1947.

Thus, the integration of the States was worked out in a firm and ruthless manner. We may now conclude this discussion about the Independence and consolidation of India with the following quotation from V.P. Menon. *"To have dissolved 554 States by integrating them into a pattern of the Republic, and to have democratised the administration in all erstwhile States, should steal us on to the attainment of equal success in other spheres. For the first time, India has become an integrated whole in the real sense of the term, though this is but the foundation on which to build a prosperous welfare state. An amorphous mass of aspirations has to be integrated. Life has to be made meaningful for the millions who have led a twilight existence."*

II. CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1. Who was the chief of the Boundary Commission set up for demarcating the boundary between India and Pakistan ?

2. When was Hyderabad integrated with the India Union ?

26.12 LET US SUM UP

1. The deteriorating economic situation in the country, the naval revolt and its spread to the airforce and the army made it inevitable for the British to transfer power in India to the Indians.
2. The cabinet mission made proposals for an undivided India, with a weak centre and autonomous states. The proposals were not accepted by the Muslim League.
3. The Muslim League intensified its movement for the partition of the country. Their 'direct action' resulted in communal riots.
4. Mountbatten's Plan for partition and transfer of power was accepted by the Congress leaders, to avoid war in the country.
5. The integration of nearly 554 princely states in the Indian Union was achieved with great tact and patience by Sardar Vallabhai Patel.

26.13 CHECK YOUR PROGRESS : ANSWERS

- I. 1. Defence, Foreign Affairs and communications only were to remain with the Central Government according to the proposals of the Cabinet Mission.
2. The Congress accepted partition mainly to avoid a Civil War in the Country.
- II.1. Radcliff was the chief of the Boundary Commission set up to demarcate the boundary between India and Pakistan.
2. Hyderabad was merged with the Indian Union on September 17, 1948.

26.14 EXAMINATION MODEL QUESTIONS

I. Answer the following questions in about 30 lines each :

1. Outline the various anti-colonial activities in the country since the end of the Second World War.
2. Trace the events leading to Atlee's announcement of February, 1947 and discuss its consequences.
3. Describe the process of integration of Princely States before Independence.

II. Answer the following questions in about 15 lines each:

1. Briefly outline the proposals of the Cabinet Mission.
2. Explain the attitude of the Muslim League towards the Interim Government.
3. Explain how Hyderabad and Kashmir were integrated with the Indian Union.

26.15 BOOKS FOR FURTHER READING

1. Bipan Chandra : *Modern India*
2. Bipan Chandra : *Freedom Struggle*
3. Chopra, Puri & Das : *A Social, Cultural and Economic History of India. Vol. III*
4. Modson : *The Great Divide*
5. Mahajan, V.D. : *Indian National Movement*
6. Majumdar, R.C. (Ed) : *The Struggle for Freedom, Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan Series, Vol X.*
7. Majumdar, R.C. : *History of the Freedom Movement in India, Vol. III*
8. Malhotra : *Towards India's Freedom and Partition*
9. V.P. Menon : *Transfer of Power in India*
Integration of Indian States
10. Percival Spear : *History of India, Vol. II*
11. Sumit Sarkar : *Modern India*
12. Tarachand : *History of Freedom Movement in India, Vol. IV*

UNIT 27 : INDIA ON THE EVE OF INDEPENDENCE.

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 - 27.4.3.4 Sikhs
- 27.5 Salient features of Indian Constitution
- 27.6 Let us sum up
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27.0 OBJECTIVES

A study of this unit should enable you to know about :-

1. the social conditions in India by 1947, the problems arising out of partition that is communal riots and the refugee problem.
2. the economic conditions in India by the time the country became independent and
3. cultural conditions in the country by 1947.

27.1 INTRODUCTION

By the time India became independent lot of social, economic and cultural changes took place in the country. Due to partition of the country the refugee problem and communal problem had to be faced. In this unit a detailed account of those matters is given.

27.2 SOCIAL CONDITIONS

Conditions in the Indian society, on the eve of Independence, had been influenced by the then political events in the country, as well as the prevalence of a new atmosphere. The latter, in turn was created by the spread of Western education and the growth of political or national consciousness. Violent and tragic incidents got mixed up in the situation with some salient measures of reform. In brief society in India on the eve of independence was a product of western impact and the political struggle for freedom.

27.2.1 Communal Riots

These commenced on 16th August, 1946 when the Muslim League, led by Mohammed Ali Jinnah, gave a call to all the Muslims to observe it as 'Direct Action Day'. Religious passions were whipped up for political considerations, with consequences highly detrimental to the country's unity and integrity.

The Direct Action call virtually turned out to be a violent and bloody civil war between the followers of the two religious faiths. Bengal and Punjab, the two provinces governed by the Muslim ministries, became the prime centres for these outrages. Indiscriminate butchery of innocent persons of a community residing in remote part of the region was resorted to. Thus, the raids on Hindus in Noakhali in Eastern Bengal was matched by the attacks on Muslims in Bihar. As the authorities, provincial and British, took no measures to bring the situation under immediate control, the atrocities continued for about a week. The result was indescribable. An idea of it could be had in recording of Leonard Mosley that "*between dawn on the morning of 16th August 1946, and dusk three days later, the people of Calcutta hacked, battered, burned, stabbed or shot 6,000 of each other to death and raped and maimed another 20,000.*"

From then onwards, whenever the Muslim League failed to get its inflexible and unreasonable demands totally accepted, it resorted to the already tried method of arousing communal tempers and indulging in mass killings. Thus, in mid 1947 when the Viceroy

Lord Mountbatten decided on partition as the only possible solution to resolve the crisis, the League which failed to receive support for its extreme demand of the undivided allotment of Punjab and Bengal to Pakistan, took to communal rioting. In Punjab, Delhi and North-West Frontier Province, looting, stabbing and arson took place on resulting in the death of thousands of people and loss of property worth crores of rupees.

27.2.2 Refugee Problem

The sense of joy and achievement that was associated with the attainment of Indian Independence on 15th August, 1947, was marred by the massacres that again stalked the land in connection with the movement of the refugees and the supreme sacrifice made by Gandhiji in arranging their settlement. The Radcliff Boundary Commission estimated that in Bengal, 16% of Muslims would remain in West Bengal and 42% of Non-Muslims would stay in East Bengal. In Punjab, about 38% of the area and 45% of the population were assigned to East Punjab. The award of the Commission, which was announced on 17th August, divided the Sikh community into two almost equal groups, which fact they bitterly resented. Within days of this, Sikhs and Hindus fell on the Muslims of the East Punjab, and Muslim on the Sikhs in West Punjab. There was general fighting accompanied by every kind of atrocity. Soon, long convoys started marching east and west, seeking shelter in the other dominion. The Bombay Force of 50,000 Indian troops failed to control the situation. The tide of refugees caused an explosion of communal strife in Delhi in early September. The Muslim community was uprooted and for a time, the stability of the government was threatened. The death toll was put by Judge G.D. Khosla after a judicious analysis, at the staggering figure of 5,00,000. Apart from this holocaust, there was a huge involuntary exchange of population. It is reckoned that about five and a half million travelled each way across the new India-Pakistan border in the Punjab. In addition, about 4,00,000 Hindus migrated from Sind, and well over a million moved from East Pakistan to West Bengal.

When the massacres subsided, the new government was faced with the problem of the settlement of the refugees. Gandhi came to Delhi from Bengal in October and now directed his efforts to resolve the issue. In January, 1948, he took a fasting in support of two demands. They related to the payment to Pakistan of her agreed assets which has been withheld owing to the Kashmir dispute, and the restoration of peace in the capital. He was once again so steadfast that only when the money had been paid and a peace pact, including the evacuation of the mosques that were all the while filled up with refugees, had been signed, did he give up his fast on 18th January, 1948. But he was not destined to live much longer after this noblest and most courageous moment of his life. In fact, he himself, vexed by the atrocious communal riots and the partition, expressed such a desire on the occasion of his birthday in 1947. He said that *'he would pray to the Almighty to take him away from the scenes of butchery and savagery.'* Accordingly, 12 days later, Gandhiji recuperated from his fast, on his way to Birla Mandir, walked on Friday, January 30, 1948, an assassin, Nathuram Vinayak Godse, a young ultra-nationalist Hindu, bowed before him, receiving Gandhiji's blessings and then shot him dead. No less than Jesus of Nazareth, he died for all mankind, of all that we have known, Gandhiji was the wisest and the best - as was said of Socrates in days of old. Thus, the saintly and selfless Father, paid with his life for keeping the country and the countrymen united.

27.2.3 Education

The special features that marked the progress of education during the period 1905-47 may be analysed as the following.

1. Increase in the number of pupils receiving instruction, specially among women, Muslims and Depressed classes, who lagged far behind others during the preceding period
2. There were a larger variety of subjects in which instruction was provided. Besides Arts, Commerce and Sciences, these included Medicine, Engineering, Agriculture, Law, the Basic Education sponsored by Gandhi, etc.
3. There was a steadily increasing trend towards the study of scientific and technical subjects in place of humanities. This is very much in keeping with the trend in the contemporary world.
4. A steady growth of a spirit of research in both Arts and Science subjects. It may be noted here that outstanding research and intellectual efforts of men like Sir J.C. Bose, the Botanist, Dr. C. V.Raman, the Physicist, Tagore, the Poet, Sir Muhammad Iqbal, the Punjabi poet and thinker, Sir Jadunath Sarkar, the historian and Dr. Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan, the Philosopher, have brought India into the mainstream of contemporary world studies
5. Stress was laid on the training of teachers in schools, training colleges had been established for this purpose.
6. Unitary, residential, and teaching Universities such as the Benaras Hindu University, the Aligarh Muslim University and the Visvabharati University at Shantiniketan, were established in place of, or in addition to, the affiliating and examining Universities. It is significant to note in this regard that education became so firmly rooted in the public mind that it could attract investments from rich patrons or communities.

But, the educational growth during the period had some shortcomings or deficiencies. First, the progress was not commensurate with the needs and reasonable expectations of the country, this was particularly true in the field of primary education. Secondly, the rate of literacy was much low. Education was mostly confined to the upper middle classes. By and large the poorer sections of the society were not literate because of lack of opportunities and due to economic backwardness. Thirdly, the British neglected the development of scientific and theological education. Then, there was the grave problem of the unemployment of the educated, which steadily increased throughout the period under review. It was also believed that the educational system was not based on, or rooted in our national culture, and hence, was most unsuitable for the healthy growth of the personality.

27.2.4 Condition of Women

Improvement took place in the position and condition of women during the period under review in sections of the society which were benefited by education. The spread

of education among women and their active participation in the social conferences and the National Movement since 1905, not only caused them to be fully conscious of their rights and privileges, but also made them confident and courageous to defend and work for them. The propaganda and the efforts of a number of social organisations like the Indian National Social Conference and the All India Women's Conference, led to the introduction of some beneficial legislative measures. These relate to the raising of marriageable age of girls and boys to 14 and 18 respectively, or in other words, the forbidding of child marriages, giving the Hindu widow a share in her husband's property, the right to demand partition of property, the banning of the institution of *Devadasis* or temple ladies whose number exceeded two hundred thousand in Madras. Voluntary organisations such as the Widow Homes and Seva Sadans, came to the rescue of the needy and destitute women.

The two World Wars, particularly the second one, led to the expansion of Government departments and gave scope for the employment of women in large numbers. This economic freedom, along with the national struggle for freedom, brought such changes upon the intellectual, moral and social outlook of women of the upper classes during the period of 30 years, as were not witnessed during the preceding seven hundred years. Free social intercourse between men and women, co-education, use of public transport along with men, monogamy and inter-caste marriage have further contributed to bring about equality in the status of women along with men.

27.2.5 Caste System

The evils of the caste system did not make any deep impression on the people and even the Indian National Social Conference, on the whole, took a defensive attitude.

But, the spirit engendered by the social and economic forces of the new age brought about cracks in the walls of the citadel, during the period under review. Inter-dining became an almost accepted practise, atleast in labour areas. Students hostels, general hotels, or common messes and even social and ceremonial parties have become common. Inter-marriages took place not only between the upper castes, but even between upper castes and depressed classes. It is important to realize that although the caste system was gradually crumbling down, its place was gradually taken by the new social classes created by the educational and economic conditions. Prominent among these were the educated middle class, landlords, peasant-proprietors, agricultural labourers, officials, businessmen, merchants etc.

But, in spite of the obvious divisive tendencies, these class divisions were a much lesser evil than the caste system. For these new divisions, not being based on birth, were more flexible and less rigid than the caste and the admission of new members was always open. There was also no formal restriction in regard to inter-dining and inter-marriage.

27.2.6 Depressed Classes and Untouchability

These classes or untouchables formed nearly one-fifth of the total Hindu population. For centuries, they had been subjected by their orthodox brethren to disabilities of a most vexatious and oppressive character, such as prohibiting them from

admission to public schools, hospitals, courts of Justice, public offices, temples and the use of public wells. In the present century, the All India Depressed Federation, the All India Depressed Classes Association and the Harijan Sevak Sangh, strived to improve the conditions of these classes. The first one was organised by Dr. B.R. Ambedkar, who belonged to the scheduled castes. He devoted his entire life to fight against caste tyranny. Having despaired of obtaining social justice at the hands of the caste Hindus, he wrote in 1945, the provocative and famous work, entitled what Congress and Gandhi have done to the untouchables to Buddhism. Harijan Sevak Sangh, on the other hand, was organised by Mahatma Gandhiji in 1932, mainly to work for the educational, economic and social uplift of the Depressed classes. He and other Congress leaders realized that the British and the Muslim League tried to capitalize on this hated caste barrier.

Though the Harijan Sevak Sangh and other organisations succeeded to a considerable extent in providing free education, temple entry, medical aid and water supply to the members of the Depressed classes in different parts of the country. It cannot be denied that the most important factor that contributed to the amelioration of the Depressed classes was the new spirit of the times created by the World Wars, the national struggle for freedom and the great economic and other changes that were sweeping the country. Modern systems of transport, railways, buses, trams-where all had to sit together, modern industrial establishments where orthodox Hindu and Depressed class labourers had to work, live and fight (in the cases of strikes) side by side, the great national struggle where all classes united together to fight for a noble and inspiring causes, all these brought classes and creeds together in physical contact and spelt doom to untouchability. The value of individuals and their equality, not only in the eyes of the law, but also as laid down and guaranteed in the democratic Constitution of India of 1950, had dealt a mortal blow to the deep - rooted sense of superiority inherent in orthodox Hindus. Endorsement of any disability arising out of 'untouchability' has been declared an offence, punishable according to law.

27.2.7 Sea Voyage

One great reform that silently took place, without any legislation or great agitation, was the removal of restriction on sea-voyage. In the first decade of this century, a young man of orthodox Hindu family proceeding abroad across the seas, even for education, would find himself an out-caste on his return and could at best be readmitted into society by performing purification ceremonies for committing a sin. The need and facilities for foreign education, commercial journeys caused by economic necessity, other forces of time succeeded in removing the last traces of such restriction and Hindu men and women proceeding abroad in large numbers, hardly caused a ripple in the placid waters of the society.

27.2.8 Social Welfare Schemes

Various Schemes were introduced for the welfare of children, youth and workers.

27.2.8.1 Child Welfare

Child welfare programmes were taken up for regularising the activities for providing education, health, entertainment among children. Various developmental

organisations like Bharat Scouts and Guides, National Cadet Corps were started in schools and colleges. Apart from them, St. Ambulance Association, Childrens Literary Publications, Children's clubs, Akasvani Programmes for childrens are catering the needs of children. Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA) Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA) are working for youth welfare. Colleges and universities are taking up National Social Service (NSS) activities.

27.2.8.2 Adult Education

Adult Education Programmes gained its momentum from the year 1937. Between 1938-42 the number of Adult education centres rose to 1,88,777; 78,18,189 adults joined the centres. The educated adults number rose to 29,04,068. In the year 1940, Central Educational advisory committee critically examined the situation and evolved an extensive programme. The committee established adult education branch at Jamia Milia. It also envisaged literature for neo adult literates. Delhi Adult Education Course conducted 1st conference on adult education. In this connection, Indian adult education centre was established.

27.2.8.3 Labour Welfare

The Factories Act of 1911 improved the condition of women and children working in the factory and limited the work of children to six hours a day, adults to twelve hours per day . By the Act of 1922, a person under 15 was considered a child and children under 12 could not be employed in a factory. The Act of 1945 provided for holiday to workers with pay.

Labour leaders like, N.M Joshi took up the organisation of educational, craft training, recreation and co-operative facilities for workers of identified mills, such as those of the Currimbhoy group and the Tata Mills. The managements of these establishments have borne the expenses for these activities, amounting to Rs. 1,00,000 per year for five years till 1922. Further under the auspices of the Social Service League, an All India Industrial Welfare Conference was started in 1922, where workers welfare was discussed by delegates from all industrial centres and an All India Industrial Worker's Organisation was planned. Later, in 1924, Joshi established a Textile Technical School for training workers on the model of training schools in western countries.

I. CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1. What were the problems which required the immediate attention of the government of independent India ?

2. What were the factors which resulted in an improvement in the position of women and depressed classes ?

3. State how the 1911 Factories Act helped the labourers ?

27.3 ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

The country, on the eve of Independence was groaning under the weight of various exploitative policies of the British. Agriculture, industry, trade and such other component sectors of the economy, had been subordinated to the promotion of their English counterparts. The impact of this peculiar and dangerous policy can be analysed under the following heads :

27.3.1 Stagnation and Deterioration of Agriculture

Different factors led to stagnation and inefficiency in Indian agriculture, resulting in low productivity. First comes the pressure on land, leading to small and uneconomical land holdings. The extreme poverty of the majority of the peasants and their subjection to rack renting by both the Government and the landlord, deprived them of either the capacity or the incentive to go in for improved techniques of production. Agricultural efficiency has been further affected by the fact that, unlike the rich landlords in England and other European countries, the Indian absentee landlords never tried to invest their capital in land to increase its productivity. They, on the other hand, preferred to increase their income by further squeezing higher rents from their tenants.

The Government, on its part, made no effort to improve the situation either by increasing the irrigational sources, or by the spread of agricultural as well as primary education in the rural areas. As a result, agricultural technology remained primitive and outdated. The use of iron ploughs, inorganic fertilizers and improved seeds, turned out to be very meagre and insignificant. As an instance, it would be seen that as late as 1951, there were only 9,30,000 iron ploughs in use, while wooden ploughs numbered as many as 31.8 millions. The ultimate consequence was extremely low yield per acre and hence general poverty of the peasant and the country.

27.3.2 Peasant Impoverishment

There was progressive impoverishment of the peasants under the British rule. Heavy assessment of land formed one of the principal causes of suffering. It mattered little whether the cultivators in an area were under the *Zamindari*, *Ryotwari* or *Mahalwari* revenue settlement. Unbearable and ever increasing rents or land revenue collection, became the uniform characteristic. In *Zamindari* areas of course, the peasants had been compelled to pay a number of illegal dues and also perform forced labour or beggary. The land revenue demand, at times, proved so excessive that it amounted to one-third or one-half of the produce. Some of the English administrators and writers, like Cornwallis and Bishop Heber stated that this was far higher than what the Native Princes earlier demanded.

The assessment was oppressive, but its collection was all the more rigorous and unmerciful. Even when the crop was not good or failed completely, there was no let up or relaxation in the tax collection, which in turn, forced the helpless farmers to fall into the hands of moneylenders, or else get their lands auctioned. The moneylenders who enjoyed full legal and administrative sanction for their transactions, operated in such a nefarious and fraudulent manner that the cultivators who came under their umbrella, were ultimately forced to part with their sole and meagre holdings to their creditors. Having been deprived of their traditional holdings, the peasants became agricultural labourers to eke out their livelihood. The cultivators, very often to meet the immediate and pressing demands of the Government, the landlord or the moneylender-cum-merchant, were forced to sell their produce immediately after harvest at whatever price they could get, without taking advantage of the market conditions. The most sorrowful fact of the situation was that, in return for such heavy and exacting collections from the peasants, the Government spent very little either in improving irrigation, rural transport, education or health conditions.

27.3.3 Rise of New Landlordism

This trend which developed in the later half of the British rule, signifies the fact that besides old *Zamindars*, a number of moneylenders, merchants and rich peasants began to acquire more and more lands. They did not cultivate these lands by themselves, but found it convenient and profitable to lease out their lands to land-hungry tenants at exorbitant rents. Another reason for these non-cultivating classes turning to land, was the absence of effective outlets for investment of their capital in industry. But the more distressing factor was that, due to over crowding of land and tenant competition for acquiring land on lease, there occurred many sub lettings, numbering in some cases in Bengal, as high as fifty, the condition of the helpless cultivating tenants, who had ultimately to suffer the unbearable burden of maintaining this army of superior landlords, was deplorable beyond description. Many of them remained little better than slaves.

27.3.4 Ruin of Artisans and Craftsmen

Varied factors like the competition with the cheaper imported machine goods from Britain, the construction of railways, oppression of the craftsmen by the English officers in practising their crafts, high import duties and other restrictions imposed on

the import of Indian goods into Britain and Europe. The gradual disappearance of Indian rulers and their courts who had been the main customers of the handicraft products and the British policy of exporting raw materials from India, had all together led to the ruin of Indian handicrafts, both urban and rural. The situation became all the more alarming with the fact that modern machine industries also did not grow. The result that followed was that the ruined craftsmen and artisans were forced to resort to agricultural labour or petty tenancy, to eke out their livelihood. This increasing pressure on agriculture was one of the major causes of the extreme poverty of India under the British rule.

27.3.5 Industrial Development

Industrial progress in India during the period was very slow and stunted. It was mostly confined to cotton, jute, sugar and cement industries and tea plantations. Again, out of these, cotton and jute textiles in 1946, accounted for 40% of all the workers employed in factories. In terms of production as well as employment, the modern industrial development of India was meagre, compared with the economic development of other countries, or with India's economic needs. This can be gauged from the fact that out of a population of 357 millions in 1951, only about 2.3 millions were employed in modern industrial enterprises.

Various factors such as the controlling of Indian industries by British capital, Government's railway policy discriminating against Indian products, almost total absence of heavy or capital goods industries, deliberate denial of protection to Indian industries *so as to promote* British manufacturers, inadequate arrangements for technical education, etc. had contributed towards the insignificant appendage of British to provide raw materials to its industries and also serve as a dumping ground for the latter's finished products.

27.3.6 Currency Experiments

During the last years of British rule, the experiments with the currency system proved very harmful to India. The immediate concern of the British Government was to finance its war expenses in India. Since the Indian Rupee was tied to Sterling under the prevailing Sterling Exchange Standard, the Government could transfer Sterling to the Reserve Bank to get rupees in exchange for war costs. The Sterling was however kept at London. In India, in exchange, the currency circulation in notes was increased to a very great extent. Towards the end of the war, the circulation had reached abnormal heights. The supply of money rose from 1,922 crores in 1944-45 to 2,303 crores in 1947-48. The result of this circulation was unprecedented inflation in India. The purchasing power of the Rupee fell considerably. The prices of goods went up abnormally. Thus, at the time of independence, India was suffering all the evil consequences of the British wartime financial measures.

27.3.7 Trade and Wealth Drain

An important aspect of India's foreign trade during the first half of the 20th century was a slow, but significant change in the commodity composition of both the exports and imports. Throughout this period, exports were dominated by primary products

and imports by manufactured goods. But, their preponderance steadily decreased over time.

During the two World Wars, India exported more goods to Britain than it imported from it. But, this favourable balance in the commodity trade was negated by the unfavourable balance of services and non-commercial transactions. The service transactions included the well-known Home Charges, i.e. the cost of establishment of Secretary of State for India, recruitment of army and civil servants, purchase of stores and material for railway construction, interest on the sterling debt, shipping etc. The non-commercial transactions included on the debit side, remittances by non-Indian residents of the country and the savings of the emigrants which, together came on an average to Rs. 2 crores per year. In other words, the advantages gained by India through her export surplus were wiped off by this huge drain of wealth that became obligatory on account of India being a part of the British empire.

27.3.8 Economy in Totality

Thus, in 1947 when the British transferred power to India, we inherited a crippled economy with a stagnant agriculture and an underdeveloped industry, commercial gains swallowed by huge drain, a proletariat and a peasantry steeped in poverty. As Jawaharlal Nehru wrote in his *Discovery of India* "*India was under an industrial capitalist regime, but her economy was largely that of the pre-capitalistic period, minus many of the wealth-producing elements of that procapitalist economy. She became a passive agent of modern industrial capitalism suffering all its ills and with hardly any of its advantages*". It was this dead weight of a stagnant economy which the national government had to move after 1947.

27.4 CULTURAL CONDITIONS

Western education and outlook had its clear and strong impression on the cultural conditions of India in 1947. Rationality and humanism characterised the intellectual climate even though a predominant section of the population was steeped in ignorance and superstition. Western influence, however, did not affect the autonomy or the independent growth of Indian literature, art and religion. She was increasingly ready to face the West on its own terms, to learn, to absorb and to teach in her turn.

27.4.1 Literary Growth

In some of the literary branches like prose, the first tentative beginnings made in the 19th century grew to full development in the present century. The most rapid and spectacular progress was, however, achieved in the field of novel and short story-writings: *Gora* written by Rabindranath Tagore in Bengali, *Sesh Prasna* by Sarat Chandra also in Bengali, *Godan* by Premchand in Hindi, *Veyipadagalu* by Viswanatha Satyanarayana in Telugu, *Malapalli* by Unnava Lakshmi Narayana, are some of the famous novels written during the first half of the 20th century. These have all become noted for the realistic and idealistic treatment of social characters, with a patriotic fervour in the background. In short story-writing, once again Rabindranath Tagore in Bengali, Veluri Sivarama Sastri, Palagummi Padmaraju, etc., all in Telugu, are some of the notable figures. There were also some Indians, who during this period, earned

distinction as novelists and short story writers in English. Raja Rao, Mulk Raj Anand and R.K. Narayan, stand out prominent among them. Tagore's *Gitanjali* and Aurobindo's *Savitri* in poetry and the latter's *The Divine Life* in prose, also belong to the famous Indo-Anglican compositions of the period.

Literary criticism and drama writing also figures significantly during this period. They attracted much attention and recognition. The dramatists belonged to the old generation, but the dramas shifted their emphasis from the old devotional sentiments to the new political spirit and their scenes shifted from the Puranas to social and economic history, very much a part of the contemporary experience. Rabindranath Tagore in Bengali, Jayashankar Prasad, Bhagavathicharan Varma, Ilachand Joshi, etc., in Hindi, Gurbaksh Singh and Kirpa Singh in Punjabi, P.K. Atre and M.G. Rangnekar in Marathi, Gurazada Appa Rao, Viswanatha Satyanarayana, P.V. Rajamannar, Narla Venkateswara Rao and Acharya Atreya etc. in Telugu, were some of the notable dramatists of the period. Dr. C.R. Reddy, former Vice-Chancellor of the Andhra University, Panuganti Lakshminarasimha Rao and Indrakanti Hanumanta Sastri, stood-out as prominent Telugu literary critics. In the field of poetry which has been developing since five centuries, idealistic, lyrical and revolutionary trends had evolved in the period. The growth of a number of monthly journals and magazines in different languages, testified to the wide-ranging spread of intellectual activity. Sanskrit, Arabic, Persian and Urdu, had also developed different literary forms, though not of the same magnitude as witnessed in the various other vernaculars. Rabindranath Tagore who was awarded the Nobel Prize for literature in 1913 and gained recognition as a world-poet, stood as the trend-setter in every branch of literature that evolved during the period. But in overemphasis on English resulted in the neglect of vernaculars during this period.

27.4.2 Art and Architecture

The impact of the west, that followed in the wake of the establishment of British rule in India, ruined whatever was left of the native artistic traditions. With the coming of the Europeans, western styles and modes inevitably came to be introduced into India. The impact of such foreign conditions, however, did not seem to have encouraged or facilitated the emergence of a purposeful and effective architectural style that could hope to equal or rival the past heritage of the country. In spite of the patronage extended, no western style could take firm roots in India. Then, there was a reaction in favour of the utilization of native styles by rational and intelligent adaptations to suit modern conditions.

The paintings executed by the British artists in India consisted of large size oil paintings, miniature paintings and water colour drawings. The reaction to the westernization of Indian art had been led by E.B.Hawell and Rabindranath Tagore, both of whom had been associated with the Government School of Art in Calcutta. The necessity of an intimate acquaintance with the past traditions of the country and even of Iran and Japan and of recapturing their glories was emphasized. The latter's style was described to have been a combination of the Western and Eastern modes, without any detriment to the character of the Indian art tradition. Since the late thirties of the present century, the individualistic movement in art has gained considerable ground.

With it there is the growing revolt against the fetters of tradition, past or present. Painters in methods of expression, and there have appeared fresh trends and fresh directions as to the way of handling colours, and of organising forms in terms of new styles based on individual imagination.

27.4.3 Religious conditions

Several changes took place in the new and existing caste principles and practices. The political tensions on the eve of independence had tremendous impact on religions. Liberal, democratic national and revolutionary forces have been influencing the religions. Though the religions differ in the basic principles, approaches, all of them contributed their might to achieve freedom.

27.4.3.1 Hinduism

Though Hindus did not loose their faith in idol worship, religious rites and rituals, they got influenced by the preachings of Ramakrishna, Vivekananda, Aurobindo and Ramana Maharshi. Efforts have been made to instill openness and universalism, while advocating the uniqueness of all religions, the narrowness of religions been severely criticised. Aurobindo preached that human beings are searching to realise themselves and in this soul search only they can reach God. The Ramakrishna Missions which have been established at various places worked as the centres to advocate liberal forms of Hinduism.

27.4.3.2 Arya Samaj

Arya Samaj extended its activities to educational, social and religious fields. It started higher education institutions to cater the needs of western as well as the indigeneous education. The Anglo Vedic College of Lahore and Gurukul of Kangra are the examples of the efforts of Arya Samaj for the spread of education. In the social sphere, Arya Samajists worked for the betterment of womens status, removal of untouchability. However its efforts to stop religious conversions and reconverting them into Hindus made it an Communal institution.

27.4.3.3 Brahmo Samaj

New branch called sanatana Brahmo Samaj was established as a result of rift between the Brahmo Samajists. This Samaj advocated that Democratic principles have to be inculcated in the religious institutions. However Brahmo Samaj lost its uniqueness when it tried to incorporate the positive aspects of all religions and lost the peoples attraction. Except the principle of idol worship, Hindus never differed with Brahmo Samajists. Though Brahmo Samaj existed for short span, it opened a new era in the socio-religious history of India.

27.4.3.4 Sikhs

Inspired by new developments Sikhs are also drawn towards new reforms, khalsa college at Amritsar, Sikh Sabhas at various places, a new journal called Sikh Advocate have been started for the welfare of Sikhs. Sikhs have taken up the activities of removal of caste system. Boycott of child marriages, prohibition, Widow remarriages, promotion

of English education as a part of social reforms. The Akalis emerged not only as a religious force but also as rational and political party.

This development present before us a mixed picture. Leaving the problems of religious rites and refugees, the social vision inculcating itself equality and progress. Though western influence is more on culture, Indian art maintained their nativity.

II. CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1) What kind of an economy did Independent India inherit from the British ?

2) Who was the trend-setter in Indian literature during the 20th century ?

27.5 SALIENT FEATURES OF INDIAN CONSTITUTION

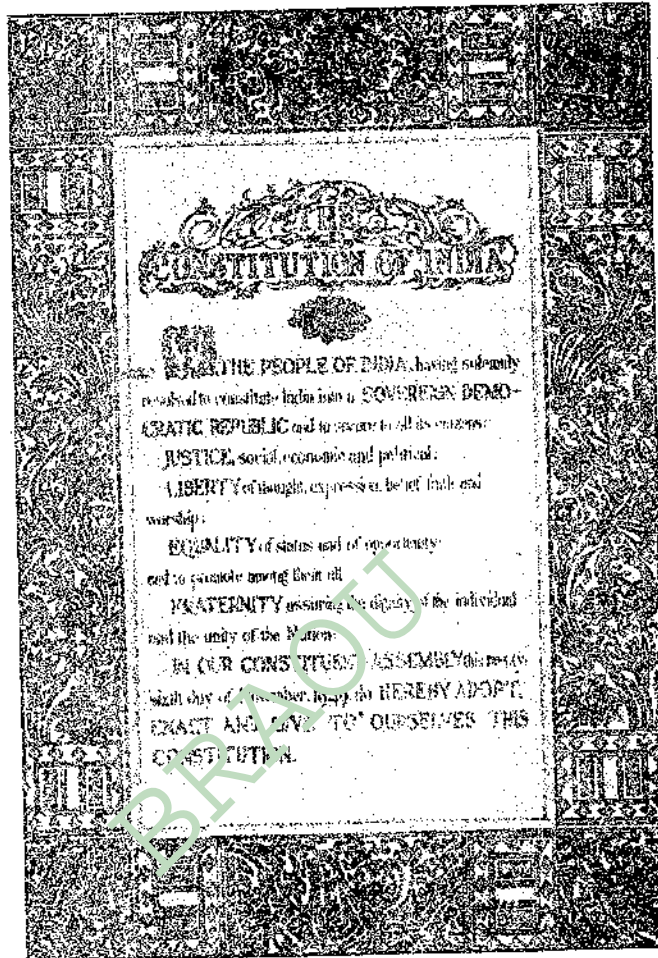
The most significant development in the history of India after attaining independence was the drafting of constitution for independent India. To achieve fullness to our independence this job was taken up in right earnest. As per the Independence Act of 1947, provision was made for constituting a Constituent Assembly which was empowered to draft constitution for independent India.

On August 29 - 1947 the Constituent Assembly appointed a committee consisting of seven members headed by Dr. B.R. Ambedkar to take up the responsible task of drafting the constitution. This committee had wide-ranging discussions with all sections of the people and the draft was ready by July 1948. The draft was discussed at length clause by clause and after some additions and deletions was accepted by the Constituent Assembly on 26th Nov, 1949. The new Constitution came into force w.e.f. January 26, 1950 and India became a Sovereign Democratic Republic.

The Indian Constitution is a written one containing Nine Schedules and Twelve Parts. It is the Voluminous Constitution in the World containing all the detailed provisions relating to central and state administrative systems and their relations. Besides that provision relating to fundamental rights, Directive Principles of State Policy and safeguards to the downtrodden were incorporated.

The main objectives of the Constitution are declared to be "*to provide social and economic justice, political freedom and equal opportunities to all its citizens.*" India is

declared to be a Sovereign Democratic Republic provision is made to safeguard the fundamental Rights incorporated in the constitution by empowering the Judiciary to protect the same. Of course Directive Principles of State Policy incorporated in the constitution are only guide lines to the government to achieve its objectives.



Preamble of the Constitution of India

Our constitution provides for a federal system in which the centre and the state governments are partners. Our constitutional fathers chose parliamentary system for our country.

Indian Constitution Provides for a secular state wherein all religions are equal in the eyes of Government and there is no provision for state religion. Our foremost feature of our constitution is creation of an independent Judiciary conferring the most important right of Judicial review to safeguard the tenets of constitution. In other words Judiciary is given to interpret the tenets of our constitution and to decide the constitutionality or otherwise of the laws passed by central or state governments. It is further empowered to declare any laws passed by either central or state governments as null and void if they are violative of any provisions of the constitution.

27.6 LET US SUM UP

1. The country was confronted with communal riots and influx of millions of refugees as a result of the partition of the country.

2. During the 20th century, education spread to more people, there was an improvement of the status of women, the position of the depressed classes improved and the caste system began to scramble. But the progress achieved in education and other social welfare areas was not commensurate to the requirements of the country.
3. The economy which independent India had inherited from the British was crippled and stagnant.
4. In the cultural field, the western impact produced few trends in literature. But the overemphasis on English resulted in the neglect of the vernaculars. In the field of art and architecture, the 20th century witnessed the construction of buildings on the western model. The period also witnessed renaissance in the field of art under the leadership of Rabindranath Tagore.

27.7 CHECK YOUR PROGRESS : ANSWERS

- I 1) The communal riots and the refugees problem were the problems which required the immediate attention of the government of independent India.
- 2) The spread of education, modern communications, the liberation struggle and the reform of women and depressed classes.
- 3) The 1911 Factories Act helped the labourers by reducing their number of working hours. By that Act the number of working hours for children was reduced to 6 hours a day and for adults to 12 hours a day.
- II 1) Independent India inherited from the British a stagnant and crippled economy. With low yield in agriculture, without a broad modern industrial base in the place of the revised handicrafts and the people steeped in poverty due to the economic imperialism of the British.
- 2) Rabindranath Tagore was the trend setter in Indian literature during the 20th century.

27.8 EXAMINATION MODEL QUESTIONS

I. Answer the following questions in about 30 lines each.

- 1) What were the causes and effects of the communal riots that took place on the eve of Independence?
- 2) State the nature of the refugee problem and the way it was resolved.
- 3) Describe the efforts made up for the amelioration of the depressed classes and the removal of untouchability.

II. Write short notes on the following in about 15 lines each.

- 1) Labour Welfare measures introduced by the British in the first half of the 20th century.
- 2) Salient features of Indian Economy upto 1947.
- 3) Growth of literature and art in India in the first half of the 20th century.

27.9 BOOKS FOR FURTHER READING

1. Bipan Chandra : *Modern India*
2. Chopra, Puri & Das : *A Social, Cultural and Economic History of India. Vol.III*
3. Gopal S. : *Jawaharlal Nehru A Biography Vol.III*
4. Hodson : *The Great Divide*
5. Sadith Brown : *Modern India*

BRAOU

BLOCK V

INDEPENDENT INDIA, 1950 - 1969

This block consists of four units dealing with the important developments in independent India in the spheres of political, economic, social and also its foreign policy from the year 1950-1969.

BRAOU

UNIT-28 : POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS FROM 1950 TO 1989

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28.0 OBJECTIVES

To trace the Political Development that has taken place in India from 1950 to 1989. To understand the important events that have taken place in our country from the Prime Ministership of Jawaharlal Nehru to Rajiv Gandhi.

28.1 INTRODUCTION

The period from 1950 to 1989 is considered to be very significant in the history of India as it covers the first four-decades, of independent India. Hence, this lesson deals with the important events relating to the times of Pandit Nehru, Lal Bahadur Shastri and Indira Gandhi. An account of causes leading to the imposition of Emergency in 1973 is also given. A brief account of the working of political system in India during that period and Janata rule of 1977-1979 is also given. Factors leading to the birth of Coalition concept is also dealt with. This lesson ends with the Prime Ministership of Rajiv Gandhi and his efforts to build India of 21st Century.

28.2 THE PRIME MINISTERSHIP OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU 1947 - 1964

As the first Prime Minister of Independent India Jawaharlal Nehru controlled the destiny of India for nearly two decades. His efforts to achieve political and economic stability to our country are noteworthy. He successfully handled the problems arising out of Partition especially, communal riots and refugee Problem. The matters relating to integration of states and drafting of Constitution were taken care of. The infant independent India was well served by Jawaharlal Nehru.

28.2.1 Lok Sabha Elections 1952 - 1962

The credit of successfully conducting elections to Lok Sabha in 1952, 1957 and 1962 goes to Nehru. After India became a Sovereign Democratic Republic, the elections to First Lok Sabha were held in 1951-52. In spite of the rift in the Congress Party due to formation of *Kisan Majdoor Party*. The National Congress won 364 seats out of 489 seats in Lok Sabha. The resounding victory enabled the government to initiate all out efforts for the consolidation of our country. The success of Congress Party won 371 seats out of 494 seats was repeated in the elections held for Second Lok Sabha in 1957. Further in spite of formation of *Swatantra Party* by Rajaji, Ranga and Minoo Masani the Congress Party secured 361 Lok Sabha seats out of 494 seats in the elections held in 1962.

28.2.2 Non Alignment Policy

Jawaharlal Nehru's efforts to enunciate the policy Non-Alignment are praiseworthy. The sum and substance of the policy was not to align with any of the power blocks and to strive for promotion of international co-operation and peace. Jawaharlal Nehru played an active role in the enunciation of the *Pancha Sheel* along with Chou Enlai of China and Marshal Tito of Yugoslavia. The Non-Aligned Meet at Bandung in 1957 was a significant step in the direction of Non-alignment to promote international co-operation for the cause of peace. The credit of recurring recognition of international Community for the Non-Aligned group goes to Jawaharlal Nehru.

28.2.3 Five Year Plans 1952

Jawaharlal Nehru was a staunch believer in achieving the economic progress of the country through systematic planning. Borrowing the concept from Soviet Russia the first five year plan was introduced in 1952. A detailed analysis of the five year plans is provided in the unit of this book.

28.2.4 States Reorganisation - 1956

Since independence, there was a strong demand for reorganisation of states on linguistic basis. To meet the same, initially Dhar Committee was constituted to look into the matter which in turn rejected the reorganisation on linguistic basis. Consequent upon popular movement in Andhra and the martyrdom of Potti Sriramulu, the Central government was compelled to constitute the first linguistic state of Andhra in 1953, as the pressure for reorganisation was mounted from several states, the parliament has set up Fazal Ali Commission to look into the matter. On the recommendations made by the Fazal Ali Commission "*the States Reorganisation Act*" was passed by parliament in 1956. The Act provided for the creation of new state of Andhra Pradesh. Provision was made for creation of new states of Kerala, Bombay Presidency. In 1960 Bombay Presidency was split into Maharashtra and Gujarat. Punjab Reorganisation Act was passed in 1960. Thus the States Reorganisation was an important development after 1947.

28.2.5 War with China - 1962

Consequent upon the occupation of several thousand square miles of Indian Territory in the North-East by China, India led to war unprovoked and imposed war with China. Some Political observers feel that it is an irony that the two countries who enunciated the *Pancha Sheel* were at war in 1962. The defeat of India in this war was humiliating and Jawaharlal Nehru never recovered from this shock.

28.3 THE PRIME MINISTERSHIP OF LAL BHADUR SHASTRI 1964-65

With the death of Jawaharlal Nehru on May 27, 1964, a significant era came to an end. The smooth succession of Lal Bahadur Shastri as the next Prime Minister is stated to have displayed to the world the maturity and strength of Political system in India. Lal Bahadur Shastri's period was considered to be full of excitement and high drama. The period witnessed the glorious victory of India in the Indo-Pak War of 1965 followed by Tashkent Agreement and ended with the sudden death of Lal Bahadur Shastri at Tashkent.

28.3.1 Anti-Hindi Movement

One important event relating to the period was anti-Hindi agitation. That shook the Southern States of India. The Southern states felt that Hindi is being imposed on them as official language by force and started resisting. The agitation took a violent turn leading to lawlessness in Tamilnadu. Lal Bahadur Shastri handled the agitation with care and tact. The agitation subsided as the government agreed to continue English as Associate Language even though Hindi becomes official language of India from 26th January 1965.

28.3.2 Indo-Pak War of 1965 and Tashkent Agreement

In 1965 Pakistan tried to occupy Kashmir by force which culminated in the Indo-Pakistan war. Prime Minister Lal Bahadur Shastri exhibited firmness, self-confidence, self-restraint, wisdom and flexibility in handling the situation of war and peace. In spite of the support extended by China to Pakistan. The undeterred Prime Minister Lal Bahadur Shastri with the goodwill and support of Soviet-Russia could inflict a crushing defeat on Pakistan. Lal Bahadur Shastri could achieve it without antagonising the other western powers.

With the initiative of Soviet Russia ceasefire was agreed upon and the Indo-Pakistan representatives met in Tashkent for peace talks. Pakistan was represented by its president Ayub Khan and the Indian delegation was led by the Prime Minister Lal Bahadur Shastri. The Tashkent agreement was signed on 3rd January 1966. As per the terms of the agreement both India and Pakistan agreed to resolve their difference peacefully without resorting to force it was a historic achievement and it was acclaimed by many as an act of courage and statesmanship of Prime Minister Lal Bahadur Shastri. But the sudden demise of Lal Bahadur Shastri in Tashkent immediately after signing the agreement was a severe jolt to the Indians.

I. CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1.1. What was the objective of Non-Alignment policy?

2. When did States Reorganisation Act was passed?

3. What was the significance of Tashkent Agreement?

28.4 THE PRIME MINISTERSHIP OF INDIRA GANDHI 1966-77 AND 1980-84

After the sudden demise of Lal Bahadur Shastri Mrs. Indira Gandhi, daughter of Jawaharlal Nehru has taken over as the Prime Minister of India on 24 January, 1966. Initially she was stated to have been shaky but in due course of time, she consolidated her position and could launch path breaking policies.

Mrs. Indira Gandhi assumed office as Prime Minister at a very critical juncture. Her problems were many she had to tackle the strained relations with western countries and after effects of Indo-Pak War of 1965. She had to solve the economic crisis created by Indo-Pak war and severe drought conditions prevailing then. She had to face the challenges from the revolts of Nagas and Mizos, anti-Hindi agitation in the South, anti-cow slaughter agitation, the agitation for creation of Punjabi Subha. Within she was facing the challenge from the syndicate, the hard core in the Congress Party. To strike a blow to the syndicate, Mrs. Indira Gandhi was stated to have diverted the attention of the Congress Party by stressing the need for implementation of leftist economic reforms. To secure peoples mandate for her policies Indira Gandhi has taken the calculated risk of going to polls in 1971.

28.4.1 Path Breaking Policies and Decisions

With the sole objective of bailing a new society based upon democratic and socialistic principles, Indira Gandhi was started to have taken up certain path breaking policies and decisions. With the main objective of eliminating poverty and as a measure to extend helping hand to the poorer sections, the drastic step to Nationalise fourteen Commercial Banks was taken. Another drastic decision taken by Indira Gandhi was abolition of privy purses paid to the native rulers. Some political analysts observe that those path breaking decisions were strictly in conformity with democratic norms with the main objective of eliminating poverty. Several legal and judicial hurdles that came in the way of implementation of path breaking policies were eliminated by taking up Constitutional amendments after her resounding victory in the elections held in 1971. After her glorious victory in 1971 elections, Mrs. Indira Gandhi launched a new programme called '*Garibi Hatao*'. By taking up several measures to provide more employment opportunities, supply of essential commodities through fair price shops, to provide more educational and medical facilities to the poorer section of the country.

28.4.2 Elections of 1967

Elections were held for both Lok Sabha as well as for Legislative Assemblies of several states in 1967. The elections were significant in several respects. Congress won 283 seats out of 520 Lok Sabha Seats. The Congress majority in Lok Sabha was reduced substantially to the extent of eighty seats. Some political observers are of the opinion that the result was an indication of people's displeasure against the Congress rule from 1947 to 1967. In a way it led to the split of Congress Party in 1969. Similarly in 1967 elections, the Congress Party suffered a major setback and it led to the formation of coalition government in several states. Congress Party was unseated in six states and as a result the coalition experiment came into being in several states after 1967 elections. United Front government was formed in Kerala headed by E.M.S. Nambudripad. In

West Bengal also a coalition government of 18 parties headed by Ajoy Mukherji came to power. Coalition governments were formed in Punjab, Bihar and *Samyukta Vidayak Dal* coalition government in Uttar Pradesh after 1967 elections.

28.4.3 Mid Term Polls - 1971

The path breaking economic measures initiated by Indira Gandhi were resisted by a section of her own party and as a result the party was split in 1969. The supporters of Indira Gandhi were stated to have encouraged her to obtain mandate from the people. The result was mid term polls of 1971. In this mid term polls Indira Gandhi won a remarkable victory by securing 342 seats out of 518 Lok Sabha seats. This victory enabled Indira Gandhi to overcome the legal and judicial obstacles that stood in the way of implementing her economic reforms by taking up Constitutional amendments.

28.4.4 Indo-Pak War of 1971 and the Simla Agreement

The oppressive rule of West Pakistan over East Pakistan led to revolt. The ruthless measures taken by Pakistan rulers resulted in the killing of thirty lakh East Pakistani people and as a result the people of East Pakistan started migration to India on large scale. The refugee influx imposed a very heavy economic burden on India.

Further on 3rd December 1971 Pakistan violated India's air space. Many Indian cities were bombarded to prevent India from helping the East Pakistan Revolt. The result was war of 1971. At that juncture Indira Gandhi has taken the daring step to help the revolt in East Pakistan and to work for liberation of East Pakistan. In spite of Chinese support to Pakistan and the American intervention threat by despatch of Seventh Naval Fleet to Bay of Bengal, Indira Gandhi handled the situation in a splendid way which resulted in the liberation of East Pakistan and the birth of Bangladesh. Some political analysts are of the opinion that the masterly diplomacy of Indira Gandhi in signing the Indo-Soviet treaty of friendship on 9th August 1971 was instrumental for her record victory in this war. India won an outstanding victory in the Indo-Pak War of 1971. Ninety three thousand Pakistani soldiers were captured as Prisoners of War and five thousand square miles of Pakistan territory was occupied by India. In spite of grand victory over Pakistan, Indira Gandhi agreed to solve the problems by meeting the Pakistani counterpart in Simla. The historic Simla Agreement was signed on 3rd July 1972. As per the terms of the agreement both the countries agreed to resolve their differences through bilateral discussions peacefully without resorting to force. It was further agreed upon to organise 1949 ceasefire line as new Line of Control in Kashmir.

28.4.5 Causes Leading to the Imposition of Emergency and its Consequences

During 1973-75 Indira Gandhi faced several challenges. The severe drought conditions prevailing in the country to serious economic crisis. Prevalence of bribery and corruption greatly affected the administrative system in the country. According to some political observers the authorization style of functioning of Indira Gandhi led to large-scale dissatisfaction. At this critical juncture, Jaya Prakash Narayan came out from self-exile and started a movement in Bihar. The movement spread like a wildfire to all parts of the country. Jaya Prakash Narayan gave a historic call for achieving *Total Revolution* in the country. The National Railway strike of 1974 shook the economic

foundations of the country. Just like a bolt from the blue, the Allahabad court pronounced its Judgement on 16th June 1975 setting aside the election of Indira Gandhi to Parliament in 1971 elections. As Indira Gandhi was reluctant to step down, Jaya Prakash Narayan gave a call for organizing a march to parliament. Further Jaya Prakash Narayan gave a call to defence forces and police to revolt against the central government. Placed in such a desperate situation, Indira Gandhi has taken a fatal decision of imposing emergency on June 25th 1975.

By virtue of the imposition of emergency the central government acquired extraordinary powers. In the opinion of some observers democracy was transformed into despotic rule. In a swift move all opposition party leaders were taken into custody. Strict censorship was imposed on the press. Provisions of M.I.S.A. (Maintenance of Internal Security Act) and D.I.R. (Defence of India Rules) were enforced and lakhs of people were arrested and jailed. The treatment meted out to them was stated to be inhuman. Thus, Jaya Prakash Narayan's movement was crushed with a heavy hand. The efforts to bring about some social and economic changes in the period through twenty-point programme did not succeed. This period has been the rise of Sanjay Gandhi, second son of Indira Gandhi, exercising extra constitutional powers. His ruthless activities to promote Adult Literacy programs, family planning methods, and his efforts to destroy the slums and beautification of the capital city Delhi led to resentment of people on large scale. In a way Sanjay Gandhi contributed his bit for the downfall of his mother Indira Gandhi in 1977. In the opinion of some political observers *"the imposition of emergency developed a political typhoon in the country which swept away Indira Gandhi from Power in 1977."*

28.5 ELECTIONS OF 1977

In spite of authoritarian rule during emergency period Indira Gandhi has resorted to the gamble of going to polls in 1977. The Congress led by Indira Gandhi tasted a humiliating defeat and could secure only 154 out of 544 Lok Sabha seats. The Janata Party consisting of Bharatiya Lokdal, Jana Sangh and Socialists swept the polls by winning 295 Lok Sabha seats and formed government at the centre. Further the Congress Party failed to secure absolute majority in several states. Hence the 1977 General Elections started the pattern of coalition governments both at the centre as well as in several states. Consequently coalition governments were formed in Kerala, Punjab, Bihar, Uttar Pradesh and Rajasthan.

28.6 JANATA RULE 1977-1979

As the Janata party secured absolute majority in 1977 General Elections the Janata government was formed on March 27, 1977 with Morarji Desai as the Prime Minister. As the coalition partners who pulling apart Morarji Desai submitted resignation on July 28, 1979. Then Charan Singh of Lok Dal formed a Coalition government at the Centre, which lasted for a short while and submitted resignation without facing the Parliament. Thus, the Janata coalition experiment at the center caused a lot of dissatisfaction in the people as it failed to provide a stable government in spite of having thumping majority in Lok Sabha.

28.7 MID TERM POLLS OF 1980

Due to the dramatic fall of Janata government mid term polls to Lok Sabha were held in 1980. People who were fed up with the Janata rule gave a thumping majority to Congress which secured 353 out of 544 Lok Sabha seats and thus, secured 2/3 majority. Coalition government was swept away in 13 states and three centrally administered union territories. Thus, the coalition experiment received a severe jolt in the mid term polls of 1980.

As a result of the grand success of Congress, Indira Gandhi once again became Prime Minister in July 1980. The last four years of Indira Gandhi were full of problems. Terrorism has become order of the day in Punjab. Having been placed in a separate situation, Indira Gandhi ordered for 'Operation Blue Star' to come out Sikh terrorists headed by Brindenwala from the Golden Temple, Amritsar. Consequently the Sikhs were deeply hurt and the cumulative result was assassination of Indira Gandhi by her own Sikh security guards on 31st October 1984. That was the tragic end of Indira Gandhi who controlled the destinies of India for over 16 years.

28.8 THE PRIME MINISTERSHIP OF RAJIV GANDHI

The tragic assassination of Mrs. Indira Gandhi was a big shock for the Indians. Yet the selection of Rajiv Gandhi, the son of Indira Gandhi as her successor was smooth. Some political analysts observe that this smooth succession once again proved the strength and effectiveness of Indian political system in dealing with such crises. Rajiv Gandhi assumed office on 31st October 1984. Though young and inexperienced, he tried to give a new shape to the administration. He is described by some as "Mr. Clean" and some people have gone to the extent of compare him with John F. Kennedy of America. In his first Radio broadcast to the nation Rajiv Gandhi stressed "*the value of secularism*" and pledged to "*thwart the designs of forces both internal and external, which were out to divide the country. There is only one India and that belong to all of us.*" His main objective seems to be to build a strong and stable India of 21st century and to establish a new economic international order to promote international cooperation. He started to take some daring decisions and in some cases he failed too. But Rajiv Gandhi was tragically assassinated by human bomb on May 22, 1992 in the campaign of 9th Lok Sabha elections at Seriperumbudur, Tamilnadu.

28.8.1 Lok Sabha Elections of 1984

The first major decision of Rajiv Gandhi after assuming office as Prime Minister was to go in for 8th Lok Sabha elections. It was a spectacular victory for congress. Congress swept the polls by winning 415 out of 542 Lok Sabha seats. Some political analysts observe that sympathy wave of Indira Gandhi's tragic assassination was responsible for this landslide victory. The thumping majority obtained by Congress in the 1984 polls might have encouraged Rajiv Gandhi to take up drastic steps.

28.8.2 Rajiv Gandhi's Policies

Rajiv's main objective seems to be to save the country from fear and poverty. He launched several schemes for the upliftment of downtrodden and to build India of 21st

century. Through, "Indira Awas yojana" steps were taken to provide dwelling units, drinking water facilities and to improve the living conditions of downtrodden sections of the society. In connection with birth centenary of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Rajiv launched "Jawahar Rojgar Yojana" scheme aiming at providing employment to one member of each family for 50-100 days in a year. Rupees 2,100 crores were allotted to give the scheme a big push. His 20 points economic programme was meant to improve the living conditions of the tribal people. He firmly believed that the fruits of scientific and technological development should be utilised for the betterment of common people.

Rajiv Gandhi launched three Major Missions :-

1. Creation of Six Technological missions.
2. Giving a big push to Electronic revolution.
3. Framing a Bill to give Constitutional basis to Panchayat Raj institution in order to establish responsive administration.

Rajiv Gandhi's most ambitious initiative was creation of six Scientific Missions.

1. To provide drinking water to all villages.
2. To take up National immunization programme.
3. To improve literacy at all levels using Satellite Linked Communication Aid.
4. To achieve 'White Revolution' by supply of milk, and dairy products.
5. To supply improved variety of oil seeds.
6. To manufacture Indigenous Telecom. Equipments.

These missions have done a lot and Rajiv was ably assisted by Sam Patroda a famous telecom engineer. He helped Rajiv to stand to centre for development of Telemetric and undertook the development of Digital switching system. Rajiv gave a big boost to computer culture. He was stated to have bear totally fascinated by the power and potential of micro-chip.

Rajiv Gandhi formulated a new computer policy. The main thrust was to increase the use of computer in all establishments. Concrete benefits from computerization were seen in Rajiv's resume. The Electronic City of Bangalore, the Indian VAsian of Silicon Valley developed and became a glowing point for the development of electronic industry. He was able to impress the American President Ronald Regan and clear to sale of super computer for weather forecasting. The other areas of high technology which received special attention were that of Space and Nuclear research.

Soon after assuming office Rajiv Gandhi launched a new education policy to achieve:

1. 100% literacy by the beginning of 21st century.
2. To improve facilities for vocational training to tackle the problem of unemployment.

3. Launched 'Operation Black Board' scheme to provide basic amenities and teaching aids to school. He stressed the need for distance education through Radio and T.V. and established Indira Gandhi Open University. To take up the challenges of new education policy the Ministry of education was restructured as the Ministry of "Human Resource Development".

In order to upgrade the status of woman, the national perspective plan was prepared in 1988 which recommended 50% reservation for women in the grass root functionaries and 30% reservation for woman in Panchayats.

Rajiv's efforts to establish responsive administration were commendable. He wanted to establish Panchayat Raj institutions to remove the evil of dependency from the people. But the Panchayat Raj bill was finalized only in the regime of P.V. Narasimha Rao.

The most outstanding achievement of this period was the signing of Punjab Accord in July and the Assam Accord on August 1985 and Rajiv was hailed as a great statesman and peacemaker. Rajiv Gandhi's leadership, of 1987 drought relief was commendable. But Rajiv Gandhi has his own shortcomings. Thakkar Commission enquiry report on Indira Gandhi assassination was handled most casually by him, similarly, regarding Ranganath Mishra's report to probe the root causes for Delhi riots after the assassination of Indira Gandhi, no action was taken against the enquiry which has been initiated.

28.8.3 Shah Bhanu Case

Rajiv Gandhi was stated to have been free from communal bias, just like his grand father. But he bungled in handling several communal matters. Rajiv Gandhi deeply hurt the feelings of the Sikhs in two ways. 1) He didn't take action on the culprits of Delhi riots that broke out after the assassination of Indira Gandhi in accordance with Ranganath Mishra's Report. 2) His fervent attack on Anandpursahab resolution during the election campaign of 1984 further embittered his relations with Sikhs. The handling of Shah Bhanu controversy shows Rajiv's confused approach to important issues. Shah Bhanu a Muslim woman claimed for maintenance allowance from her ex-husband. The court granted maintenance as per section 125 of C.P.C. and the Supreme Court also upheld the decision of lower Court. Rajiv Gandhi was stated to have appreciated the stand taken by the courts on the matter and he is stated to have said, "There cannot be any compromise with fundamentalism."

Afterwards Z.A. Ansari a Cabinet Minister of Rajiv's cabinet strongly attacked the judgement of Supreme Court in Shah Bhanu case and many believed the Honourable Minister attacked only after obtaining clearance from the Prime Minister. The government was forced to enact the Muslim Act (Protection of Rights and Divorce) under pressure from Muslim league amending Section 125 and 127 of C.P.C. The new law laid down that unless the husband and wife both agree to be governed by the code, their personal law will prevail. As per Muslim Personal Law, muslim women cannot claim maintenance allowance from their ex-husband permanently. Due to the weaning policy of Rajiv Gandhi, his credentials reached lower ebb.

28.8.4 Ayodhya - Shilanyas

Controversy over the Muslim Women's Bill not only strengthened the Muslim fundamentalism, it also led to Hindu fundamentalism.

Having been in receipt of intelligence report conveying unrest in Hindus over Muslim Woman Act, Rajiv Gandhi's counsellor advised him to reopen the Ayodhya shrine to satisfy the Hindus. Muslim leaders were stated to have been informed that it was in return for Muslim Woman Act. For which the Muslim spokesmen willingly agreed. Arun Nehru a close confidant of Rajiv Gandhi confirmed: *"Ayodhya was a package deal - a tit for tat for the Muslim Woman Bill. But nobody has foreseen the serious repercussions of the decision which culminated in the demolition of Babri Masjid in 1992.*

Encouraged by the government plan to open the shrine Vishwa Hindu Parishad ranks stepped up a campaign to build Rama Janma Bhoomi temple at the disputed site. 1,50,000 bricks were stocked at the disputed site. Central government was stated to have convinced to declare a part of disputed land as undisputed and as that portion Vishwa Hindu Parishad decided to lay the foundation stone. The Shilanyas were performed on 9th November. To cap it all Rajiv Gandhi started his election campaign from Ayodhya with the Slogan *"I will achieve Rama Rajya."* But the entire strategy bungled.

28.8.5 Anti-Defection Law, 1985

Rajiv Gandhi promised to provide a clean administration. In order to eliminate political corruption and immoral defections prevailing in the political parties and in order to provide stability to government Rajiv Gandhi has taken up a Constitutional amendment. Consequently the anti-defection came into force with effect from January 1985. In other words floor crossings in legislatures is made punishable with disqualification. Only a split in any party is allowed provided 1/3 of its members in the legislature defeated from the parent party.

Concerned at the high cost of Justice for the poor, Rajiv Gandhi introduced the system of Lok Adalats and free legal aid to poor to provide them with speedy and cheap justice. The Consumer Protection Act was passed in, and consumer courts were set up.

28.6.6 Bofors Scandal

A series of scandals shook the foundation of the Congress government led by Rajiv Gandhi. It relates to the purchase of "Howitzer Guns" from Bofors Company of Sweden. The opposition parties alleged that 67 crores of rupees changed hands in the dealing which Win Chadda and Hinduja's stated to have played a major role. In spite of having extraordinary majority in Lok Sabha the Congress Party led by Rajiv Gandhi was not able to repulse the attack effectively.

28.8.7 9th Lok Sabha Elections, 1989

With the hope of winning peoples verdict for his schemes Rajiv Gandhi went for 9th Lok Sabha elections in 1989, but the results of the elections were a repetition of

1977 elections. Some observe that the people who were not fully impressed with the vision and schemes of Rajiv Gandhi voted him out of power, Congress failed to secure absolute majority in Lok Sabha. The Congress Party secured 194 out of 545 Lok Sabha seats. The result was formation of Janata Dal coalition government led by V.P. Singh. The coalition government didn't last long because of anti- Mandal agitation and consequent mid term polls.

Some political analysts are of the opinion that, but for the tragic assassination of Rajiv Gandhi by a human bomb, he would have swept the polls held in 1991/92 and would have shot back to power to realize his dreams of new international economic order and strong India of 21st century.

II. CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1. What were the terms of Simla Agreement ?

2. What was the court verdict in Shah Bhanu Case ?

3. What is Bofors Scandal ?

28.9 LET US SUM UP

1. The Prime Ministership of Jawaharlal Nehru was noteworthy for Non-Alignment policy, five year plans, States Re-organization and the China War of 1962.
2. The Prime Ministership of Lal Bahadur Shastri was noteworthy for Indo-Pak War of 1965 and Tashkent Agreement.
3. The Prime Ministership of Indira Gandhi was remarkable for path breaking measures and controversial emergency and its consequences.

4. The Prime Ministership of Rajiv Gandhi relates to his all out efforts to build a strong India of 21st Century.

28.10 CHECK YOUR PROGRESS : ANSWERS

- I 1. The objective of Non-Alignment policy was to promote international cooperation for the cause of peace.
2. States Reorganisation Act was passed in the year 1956.
3. As per the Tashkent agreement both India and Pakistan agreed to resolve their differences peacefully without resorting to force.
- II 1. The terms of Simla agreement was a) both India and Pakistan agreed to resolve their differences peacefully without resorting to force. b) to organise 1949 ceasefire line as the new Line of Control in Kashmir.
2. The court granted maintenance from her husband Shah Bhanu as per Section 125 of C.P.C.
3. Bofors Scandal relates to the purchase of Howitzer Guns from Bofors company of Sweden. 67 crores of rupees changed hands in dealing in which Win Chadda and Hinduja played a major role.

28.11 EXAMINATION MODEL QUESTIONS

I. Answer the following questions in about 30 lines each

1. Give an account of the significance of the elections between 1952-1962 ?
2. Give an account of causes leading to the imposition of emergency and its evil consequences.
3. Analyse the anti-poverty programmes taken up by Rajiv Gandhi.

II. Write Short notes on following in about 15 lines.

1. States Re-organization of 1956.
2. Significance of 1977 elections.
3. Bofors scandal.

28.12 BOOKS FOR FURTHER READING

1. Aditya Agarwal : *Rajiv Gandhi a profile*
2. M. Chalapathi Rao : *Jawaharlal Nehru*
3. Dan Molaes : *Mrs. Gandhi*
4. S.S. Gill : *The Dynasty*
5. Hodda S. Sloughton : *Indira Gandhi*
6. Michael Edward : *Nehru*
7. C.P. Srivastava : *Lal Bahadur Shastri*
8. Vishnu Dutt : *Indira Gandhi Promises to make*

UNIT-29 : PLANNING AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT (1950-89)

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29.0 OBJECTIVES

A Study of this unit should enable you to understand :-

1. the development strategies and planning.
2. growth and performance of Indian Economy in the field of Agriculture, Industry, Foreign Trade.
3. problems of Indian Economy such as poverty, unemployment and fiscal crisis.
4. dynamics of Political Economy of Development.

29.1 INTRODUCTION

India was a virtually underdeveloped country on the eve of its independence from 200 years of Colonial rule in 1947. The two centuries of Colonial exploitation have left

the Economy poor, backward and dependent on external world for foodgrains, manufactured goods and industrial capital. Indian agriculture was poor and technologically traditional fraught with frequent famines and droughts, incapable of producing food for its people. The deindustrialisation process, it had destroyed the traditional handloom industry, throwing out millions of weavers out of employment. The British had followed policies that have systematically benefited the English firms and marginalised the Indian industry. Its policies completed the transformation of the country into a primary product exporters, and destroyed all capacity to export any finished goods, for example, our textiles exports economy became negligible by the turn of century. The economic drain out of the country from royalties alone was estimated to be 4 percent of GDP per annum. The per capita income estimated by Dadabhai Naoroji - a prominent exponent of drain theory, placed it at 6.7 percent of UK's per capita income in 1920. The National income growth was merely 0.5 percent over period of fifty years during 1900-1949. The employment in manufacturing sector declined from 130 million in 1875 to 17 million in 1895. The adverse terms of trade has systematically eroded the region's potential to accumulate and grow. To put in nutshell, on the eve of independence. Indian inherited a stagnant and underdeveloped economy with problem of feeding its teeming millions, a task of building modern industry, and to modernise the society.

Since independence India made considerable progress in development. It has chosen a strategy of Planning and Mixed Economy for the three decades, whose results can be said to be mixed. It has certainly developed considerably compared to its growth in previous half-a-century. However, compared to several other developing countries, its growth remained lower. In the following sections we discuss the development of Indian economy between 1950-89 in two sections. In the first section, we discuss Planning and Performance of agriculture, industry, foreign trade, poverty, employment and unemployment and fiscal crisis. In the second section the Political Economy of development is discussed before sum up.

29.2 DEVELOPMENT STRATEGIES OF PLANNING

At the historical juncture of Indian independence, Planning was reigning as the most effective instrument to achieve rapid transformation of poor agrarian economy into a modern industrial one (*Planning is a development instrument through which one can fashion an economy's structure and performance. It is massive statistical exercise of pooling information on various sectors in the economy such as agriculture, industry, infrastructure, foreign trade and social sectors, particularly, on the output response to investment. Given the capital-output ratios, investments are allocated in accordance with the targeted growth rates. The investment targets are conveyed to respective ministries of departments for the execution*). With a successful experimentation of planning in erstwhile Soviet Union and East European countries, it was not only a role model for the several post-colonial countries, it was even being adapted by advanced countries such as France and Sweden. It was Jawaharlal Nehru in India, who influenced Congress in 1938 towards setting up of National Planning Committee (NPC). It consisted of leading industrialists, like Purushottam Das Thakurdas, Walchand Hirachand, A.D. Shroff, Ambala Sarabhai, etc. two economists - K.T. Shah and Radhakamal Mukherjee.

and engineers such as Vishveshwarayya, political leaders who has socialist credentials such as K.C.Kumarappa, N.M. Joshi, besides Nerhu himself. The Committee decided that state should own and control key industries and services, mineral resources, railways, waterways, shipping etc. The Plan aimed at doubling the standard of living in 10 years (*10 percent annual growth rate of National income*). Besides the Plan prepared by NPC, there were other plans such as 'peoples plan' prepared by communists under M.N. Roy, Gandhian plan by Shriman Narain. There was also capitalist path of unplanned 'free market' economy strategy where market forces takes care every need in society.

Public opinion in the country also favoured a planned strategy with a Central role assigned to State in catalysing the development process. A large majority of economists shared a common opinion that the key to increase productivity and raising the levels of real income lies in raising the rate of Capital formation (*Capital formation or 'capital accumulation' means growth of stock of capital, i.e. productive equipment which can be machinery, tools and implements, land under crops, factories, engines, transport, irrigation and so on*). It is believed that only state can raise the required level of savings and also channel it into productive investment. Finally a strong state intervention is a logical outcome of the goals of achieving '*social, economic, and political justice in all walks of life*' enshrined in the Constitution and; right to livelihood for all, prevention of concentration of wealth and production, balanced regional growth in the Directive Principles. Preserving the Political and Economic *status quo* in the country, it was decided that the Mixed Economy strategy, where public and private sectors co-exist for the mutual and overall benefit, would be the overall framework for planning. It had the features of mixing democratic character with quasi-federal structure and a planned economy. The economist-architect of Indian planning was Prof. P.C. Mahalonobis who headed the first three Planning Commissions, under the blessings of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru was instrumental in shaping the policies during the first two decades (*A Central Statistical Organisation was set up for collecting, processing and publishing the data on various economic variables on regular basis at all India level for making helping the planning*). Planning Commission was accorded Constitutional status by an Act of the parliament. While it enjoyed the Constitutional status, the chief weakness that remained was that it had no authority regarding the implementation of it.

The basic long-term objectives of the Indian planning were rapid growth, full employment, modernisation, self-reliance, and social justice. In a poor country with a low per capita income and low standard of living of majority, raising National income becomes an obvious priority. The planners in the four decades, however, did not follow one single model of growth strategy. First Plan aimed at overall growth. The Second Plan prepared under the aegis of Prof. P.C. Mahalonobis was based on a heavy industry strategy. This was followed even in the Third Plan. However, it is since Fourth Plan onwards two major changes were introduced, one aiming at overall sectoral growth (i.e., agriculture as well as industry) and the other at a progressive liberalisation of trade for industrial growth. The common understanding was that if 5 percent annual growth rate were achieved, it would take care of growth, unemployment, poverty and raising the overall standard of living. Given the capital productivity of 4 percent, it requires an investment (and savings) of 20 percent per annum. Among the other objectives, the objective of Modernisation was aimed both at technological modernisation

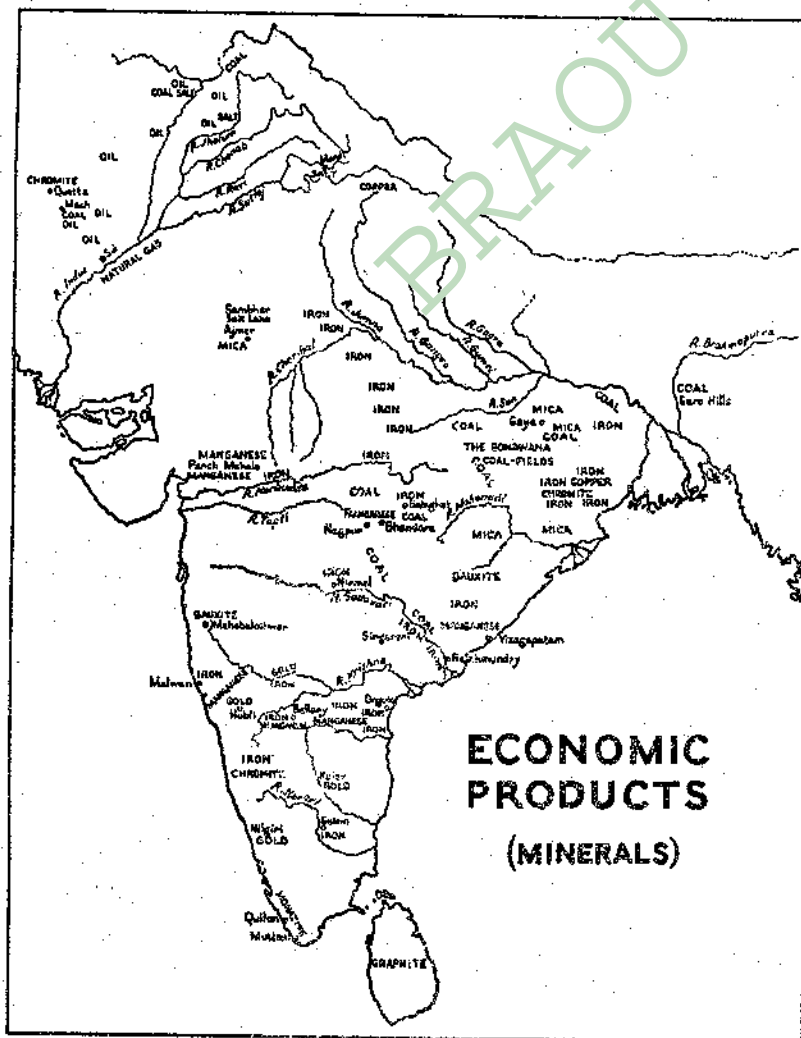
and also at reforming tenurial systems, agrarian structure, and organisational structures of private business. Self-reliance was also an imperative, which implies progressive reduction and ultimate elimination of dependence on foreign aid, foreign capital, and imports of crucial items.

29.3 INDIAN ECONOMY : GROWTH AND PERFORMANCE

The performance of Indian economy can be analysed in terms of three phases, namely, between 1951 to 1966, 1966 to 1974, and 1974 to 1989, taking the policies and changes in trends into consideration. We elaborate in the following :

29.3.1 Period Between 1951-1966

The growth in National income achieved during this period is not significant. For the fifteen years during the first three Five Year Plans the Gross Domestic Product grew at rate of 3.5 percent per annum against the Plan target of 5.4 percent as the agricultural and industrial growth rates lagged behind. However, the Plans did succeed in extending land under cultivation and irrigation, removing, abolishing intermediaries, absentee landlords, and conferring land to some of the tenants. Similarly, in industry, a large and diverse industrial base with greatly enlarged capacity in basic sectors such as iron and steel, cement, chemicals, machine tools, transport and communication was established.



But during the Third Plan, several events took place that has rocked the economy such as successive droughts in the sixties on one hand, and an unexpected rise in the defence expenditure due to wars with China and Pakistan have levelled off the foreign aid. The productive public investment was diverted and crippled the economy completely during 1962-65. India also faced a serious balance of payments crisis forcing it to approach IMF (International Monetary Fund) for short adjustment. IMF imposed its conditionality to devalue its currency. However, the devaluation done in 1966 had miserably failed to realise its aim of improving the exports, but resulted in massive inflation through rise in import costs. Planning was temporarily suspended for three years in 1966 for serious rethinking on changes in the strategy. There was overemphasis on heavy industry and an under-emphasis on agriculture. Perhaps this was possible due to a relatively favourable food aid from U.S. under P.L. 480, which started drying up with India's increasing closer ties with the then U.S.S.R. The Plan holiday has also coincided with rapid changes in leadership at Centre and States. The Nehruvian consensus over long-run management of the economy broke down in the wake of split in the Congress Party in 1967. The growing political unrest such as Naxalite movement in West Bengal and parts of Andhra sent serious signals to government. The disappointment caused by slow growth, growing poverty and misery of vast masses, unemployment had generated a widespread feeling that poverty cannot overcome by the mere trickle down effect of growth of income in general. Many left-leaning leaders in Congress raised a need for a policy of direct assault on poverty in terms of anti-poverty programmes.

29.3.2 Period Between 1966-1974

There were two things that were felt to be urgently addressed. First, a balanced growth of agriculture and industry and the second, an improvement of foreign exchange position through improving exports. Therefore, the emphasis shifted to improve the long neglected strategy to boost agriculture, though a massive hike in allocation of investment to increase irrigation and new agricultural technology. And an objective of building self-reliant growth through reducing the dependence on imports was incorporated into the planning. One of the most significant things ever happened during the time was the Nationalisation of 14 major commercial banks. This is a major step for directing resources into agriculture as expansion of Banking network into rural areas was made possible.

However, Fourth Plan did not come out with any radically different strategy than what was being followed, except raising the targets of GDP to be achieved. The main problem of resource constraint could not be effectively addressed. The suggestions for agricultural taxation suggested by the eminent British economist, Nicholas Kaldor, was thwarted by the agrarian lobby. The foreign resource constraint continued effect the economic performance. The performance of the economy during the fourth plan period was no better. The GDP grew again by only 3.5 percent against the target of 5.5 percent (Which was sarcastically termed as "Hindu Growth Rate" by the late economist Raj Krishna). In fact some key indicators such as total fixed capital formation (*private plus public real investment*) showed a marked declaration. The defence expenditure taken the place of productive investment due to Bangladesh war. The only consolation was provided by the improved performance of agriculture, due to the spread of Green

Revolution. The domestic foodgrain output started showing signs of achieving long awaited self-reliance. The measures to economise foreign dependence partially succeeded in reducing current account deficit.

29.3.3 Period Between 1974-1989

The Fifth Plan commenced amidst an international crisis of the first oil shock in 1973, where the OPEC countries unilaterally increased the crude oil prices that has affected almost all countries. That has sent the domestic inflation rates to a historic level of 25 percent. There was a balance of payment problem on the other hand. The unstable agriculture, widespread black marketing by the traders and political turmoil in the country has posed one of the biggest threats to Indian Economy during this period. However, the time measures taken the authorities has stabilised the economy towards mid seventies. The ruthless crackdown on black marketers, a tight monetary policy and an improved and vigorous foodgrain performance has finally bailed the economy out of the crisis. By 1975 India has achieved hundred percent self-sufficiency in foodgrains. A large drawing of debt from IMF also enabled the country to overcome balance of payments problem. By 1976-77, economy has fully recovered. The efforts to promote exports, through liberalised import regime and a policy of export-subsidies, customs tax, rebates, etc., have also succeeded. The GDP growth rate during the fifth plan period between 1974-79 registered an improvement. The tempo of Growth and Capital formation was brought down by the second oil shock in 1979 has once again hit the economy. However, the impact of second oil shock was temporary as India's crude oils imports have substantially came down since the domestic production from Bombay High has started. The second factor was that the remittances of expatriate Indians came as great help in avoiding short-term payments crisis.

The performance of Indian Economy has really picked up Sixth Plan period during 1980-85. For the first-time in the history of our planned effort, the real GDP has recorded an annual growth rate of 5.5 percent, exceeding the target rate of 5.2 percent. The growth rate thus for the first time came over the traditional growth rate of 3.5 percent. The source of this strength certainly came from all the key sectors in the economy. Agricultural sector became more resilient and less vulnerable to bad weather. There was also a marked increase in the output of petroleum, power, natural gas, cement, fertilisers, and coal. During the sixth plan there was also some decline in poverty. According to Planning Commission the number of people living below poverty has declined from 48.3 percent in 1977-78 to 37.4 percent in 1985. Such improvement in poverty eradication came from the wide variety of anti-poverty programmes as well as strong growth of employment in agriculture and non-agricultural sector. While economic performance improved than compared to the first two decades, the reliance on internal and external debt to finance the state expenditure led to a situation of debt trap for the state (*Debt trap is a situation where one borrows further to pay the interest and principal, called debt servicing*). We would discuss these in detail in the later sections.

I. CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1. Who was the architect of Indian planning?

2. What were the objectives of Indian planning?

3. What was the achievement during Sixth five years plan?

29.4 AGRICULTURE

Agriculture occupies paramount place in our economy. First, India like any Third World country, had been an agrarian economy with largest of its population residing in rural areas and depended on agriculture and allied activities for their subsistence. Second, at the time of Independence rural population was almost 85 percent and share of agriculture in the National income was more than 70 percent. With such large share of population in agriculture sector directly and indirectly, they also constitute a major source demand for the industrial sector is the second most important factor. The growth of agriculture therefore holds an important key for the industrial sector. Third, in a poor country with large population, substantial share of peoples' expenditure is consumed on foodgrains, thereby, the availability of foodgrains becomes a most important aspect. Thereby, the foodgrain availability is the most crucial aspect in avoiding inflationary pressures in the economy. Fourth, the issue of poverty eradication is closely linked to employment and income generation in agriculture. Fifth, agriculture provides very important raw materials to industry such as cotton, oilseeds, sugarcane, tobacco, jute, etc. Finally, the agricultural exports significantly contribute to country's foreign exchequer. The development of agriculture therefore held the key for overall development of the economy.

However, the Indian agriculture has come up a long, difficult and hard way in its course of development. On the eve of Independence, Indian agriculture is a semi-feudal

structure, brought with millions of acres under *Zamindaries* and *Jagirs* and several varieties of exploitative intermediaries in different regions. The agricultural land consequently was highly unequally distributed. On the other hand, the poor capital formation and technologically backward agricultural practices placed a poor aggregate output and a much less per capita output. The abolition of *Zamindaries*, *Jagirs* and other intermediaries in 1950s is major step in terms of land reforms that has released thousand of acres of land for cultivation. The stimulus of agricultural growth during this decade entirely came from area expansion. The intermediary abolition, however, was done at a huge public expense in paying hefty compensations. However, the land reform efforts came only thus far and no further; the location and distribution of surplus land for distribution to weaker sections was eschewed for the period. Finally, Indian agriculture for a long time, large portion of it is rain-fed and thereby the affected by the vagaries of monsoon. Because of this, the agricultural output has been subjected to high level of fluctuations and instability. The expansion of assured irrigation became a *sine qua non* for stabilising the output of the sector.

The problems of agriculture were never so acute as in sixties, the import dependence of foodgrains has steadily grown from 2.4 million tons in 1951 to 6.4 million tons. An expert team of economists and agronomists, sponsored by the Ford Foundation of United States, submitted a report, titled '**India's Food Problem: Steps to Overcome**', on an invitation from Government of India in 1965. It has suggested a quick introduction of new technology in agriculture, particularly; the high yielding varieties of seeds in major foodgrains, application of fertilisers, a rapid spread of assured irrigation, and infrastructural facilities. The strategy was introduced initially on a pilot basis in few states, and later in different parts, popularly known as 'Green Revolution'. The spread of new technology was however, limited by the availability of assured irrigation. Also along with it a subsidised-credit system through a network of commercial banks, setting up rural banks, and agricultural co-operative banks in an important instrument of the strategy. Moreover, it was thought that to provision of a stable price support system is imperative to producers for a continuous investment and growth. The price support thus constituted, first, announcing of support and procurement prices that guarantee the farmer a definite rate of return. To operationalise this, Food Corporation of India was set up in 1966, to procure foodgrains during the time of bumper harvests and thus prevent the prices from falling at announced procurement prices. FCI also procured foodgrains to supply the foodgrains to poor people at subsidised rates through ration shops, and also keep enough buffer stocks to release them in the market if prices escalate because of loss of crop.

The impact of Green Revolution is telling, it clearly marked a structural change in Indian agriculture. The traditional agriculture has steadily transformed into a modern and commercial enterprise. The foodgrain output steadily went up since 1967-68 from a level of 95 million tons to 125 million tons in 1975 and 170 million tons in 1989-90. Similarly, the non-foodgrain output has also increased significantly. Oilseeds increased from 7 million tons to 18 million tons, and sugarcane from 57 million tons to 240 million tons during the same time. India by 1975 achieved complete foodgrain self-sufficiency. The most important achievement of new technology is its impact on employment generation, encouraging non-farm employment in rural areas indirectly, and reducing poverty in the Green revolution areas.

However, there are several promises remained unfulfilled in the course of such development process. First of all, the objective bringing an egalitarian structure in the society, a Constitutional obligation is completely sidelined with the neglect of land reforms and land redistribution. On the top of it, when a technological package is implemented on such agrarian structure, on the agrarian elite has consolidated completely and land reforms have not only become a forgotten objective, but also a politically infeasible one. Second, the interclass inequalities have exacerbated as big farmers benefited more than small farmers. Third, the new technology has benefited mostly the fine cereals such as wheat and rice, and led to a decline of coarse cereals and a distortion in the cropping pattern of several regions. Fourth, the benefits of Green Revolution, for long-time, confined only to few pockets in few states such as Punjab, Haryana, Western U.P., Coastal Andhra, and parts of Tamil Nadu and West Bengal. This has created serious regional imbalances in the country. Fifth, the soft policies of subsidies on power, credit, inputs like irrigation and fertilisers have pushed the state into serious fiscal crisis.

29.5 INDUSTRY

The Industrial growth was highly influenced, shaped by the kind of policies followed under the various plans. Besides that, the very of structure of industry owes itself to the strategy followed in the planning. We discuss the Industrial policies in various plans and later the performance of the industry in the following :-

29.5.1 Industrial Policies

The first major regulatory framework was the system of Industrial licensing for private industries, introduced by the Industries (Development and Regulation) Act, 1951. The ambit of this Act extended to a comprehensive set of about of 36 'scheduled' industries, which included defence industries, capital goods, fuels, telecommunications, transport, fertilisers, chemicals, cement, timber, rubber, glass, ceramics, besides a host of consumer goods like textiles, drugs, paper, sugar, food and other leather products. Within these industries, in order to set a new unit, or expand the capacity, or to introduce new products one would have for a licence from a Licensing Committee set by the Act. The objectives such licensing system is to promote a balanced regional development, prevention of concentration of economic power, encouragement of labour-intensive and small scale industry, to economise foreign exchange requirements and so on. However, the Industrial policy of 1951 did not have clarity in objectives and way to achieve them, the economic basis being much too weak.

The second Industrial policy resolution had much clear-cut objectives. The objectives of second policy resolution drawn during the second plan were: (i) to accelerate the rate of Economic growth and industrialisation, (ii) to develop Heavy industries and machine making industries, (iii) to expand public sector, (iv) to build a large and growing Co-operative sector, (v) to reduce inequalities in income and wealth, (vi) to prevent private Monopolies and concentration of economic power. Schedule A of the resolution consisted of 17 industries (including defence, capital goods, minerals, iron and steel, ship building, rail, air transport, telecom, and electricity) reserved for exclusive public sector operation. Schedule B including 12 industries such as various intermediate

goods (fertilisers, aluminium, machine tools, drugs, plastics, synthetic, rubber etc.,) and road and sea transport which were intended to be progressively owned by the state while private sector is allowed to participate. All the remaining industries are left for the private initiative. The strategy was that if initial focus were laid on infrastructure and machine making industries, then the consumer goods industries growth would be made easy. Since, private sector will not invest in heavy and basic industries where long gestation investment and low profit areas, state would invest instead of them, so that a balanced and self-reliant industrial growth can be achieved.

In order to achieve the intended objectives the legal mechanisms were also devised. The promulgation of Monopolies and Restrictive Trade Practices (MRTP) in 1970 aimed at regulating the growth and expansion of large industrial houses with gross assets exceeding Rs. 20 crores. The import Trade and Control Order of 1955 subjected almost all commodities to quantitative restrictions and high customs tariffs to give protection to local industries. The Foreign Exchange and Regulation (FERA) Act of 1973 was promulgated to discourage and control foreign equity holdings in Indian companies to prevent foreign control of Indian industries. Similarly, issue of public equity by companies is kept under control and regulation by an enforcement authority called Controller of Capital Issues. Thus, the Industrial Policy between 1956-73 has been highly regulatory one on the domestic or foreign capital from growing. While these acts were meant to curb monopoly growth, encourage regional balance and so on, there is large body of criticism that none of them in fact forked in realising any of their objectives. Instead, they created unnecessary bureaucratic control, corruption, delays in clearing projects, export discouragement, creation of barriers for competition and thereby allowing monopolies to operate, technological obsolescence and so on. Following the criticism, there was a progressive liberalisation of many of provisions of the above mentioned acts since the beginning of early eighties. Indira Gandhi government during 1979 and later more Rajiv Gandhi government in 1983 onwards pursued a progressively liberalised policies.

29.5.2 Industrial Performance 1950-1989

It is possible to understand the Indian industry's performance in terms of three periods: first, between 1950-66 when the growth proceeded at substantial pace, the second, is between 1966-80, during which growth has dropped appreciably, is described as industrial retrogression. And finally the third period during 1980-89, the industry has picked up once again, some economists tended to call it 'the turn around'.

During the first phase, during 1950-66, the Industrial growth has accelerated, particularly, in metal, machinery, chemicals, paper and wood that grew at rate more than 10 percent per annum. Consumer goods grew rather slowly, for instance, food, tobacco, textiles and leather products grew under 5 per cent per annum. The second phase, 1966-80, was marked by a slow down in heavy and basic industries and intermediate goods industry. On the other hand, the growth is particularly pronounced in consumer goods industry, which grew at 14 per cent. Even though certain capital goods industries such as electrical machinery have picked up, the growth of other basic, intermediate and capital goods continued to be between 4 to 7 percent per annum. In summary, the diversification of industrial output in favour of producer goods was

concentrated during the first phase, upto the end of the Third Five Year Plan. The focus of growth had shifted to the consumer durable sector towards the end of the period, reflecting a phenomenon of rising incomes among the middle classes. The rise in public sector employment is often attributed for the emergence of this demand pattern towards consumer durables such as automobiles, electric and electronic gadgets, textiles etc. The availability of consumer durables was perhaps made possible by the fillip given to the supply side from a more liberalised regime of eighties, which permitted for greater foreign collaborations between Indian business and foreign manufacturers.

The share of public sector in GDP has grown from 5 percent in 1950 to 27.2 percent during 1987-88. The contribution of public sector in terms of capital formation was particularly manifested during early part in fifties, while its importance in output grew gradually. A significant aspect of public sector is its contribution to growth of employment; it employed 21 percent of total industrial workers by 1960-61, which grew to 35.5 percent by 1985-87. While the share of public sectors' investment has gradually increased from 25 percent during 1950-51 to 48 percent 1987-88, its gross savings declined from 17 percent to 9.3 percent. This is one of the reasons for the fiscal crisis, the state has landed in eighties that led to drastic changes in nineties. It is poignant to note, is the rise of private sector in eighties compared to first two decades in several sectors of the industry.

Even though industrial performance of India has been moderately good with overall growth and diversification, the productivity of factors of production has been quite poor compared to several other countries. The main reason, felt by several economists, is the overriding emphasis on savings and investments as sole determinants of growth and neglecting other important issues such as quality, efficiency, and cost of production. The export pessimism and specious attitude towards foreign capital is said to have led to technological obsolescence. Average capital productivity consequently continuously rose until some level of liberalisation was allowed so that some technological upgradation was made possible. It also a fact that domestic industry has made no attempt to encourage native research and development to attain any degree of self-reliance and independence.

29.6 FOREIGN TRADE

India's approach to Foreign Trade in the initial years was influenced by its experience with colonial exploitation, therefore remained rather pessimistic and always aimed at becoming self-reliant through a strategy of import-substitution. However, the reliance on imports is *sine qua non* in a modern development process and international trade can play a positive role in technology transfer and capital formation. The initial foreign exchange reserves, came in the form of war reparations, served the import requirements in the early years. Thereafter, there was a clear need to improve our exports and earn foreign exchange. This has particularly gone to serious proportions by mid sixties. However, the export performance remained disappointing for first 25 years after independence. Between 1960 and 1979 India's exports as a share of its GDP went up from 13 percent to 15 percent while its share in the world trade has come down from 2 percent to 0.5 percent during the same.

During the first decade of planning, India witnessed a stagnation in export earnings during 1950's. It has slightly improved during sixties where they grew at 4 percent per annum in value as well as volume terms. In seventies, it reached 6 percent per annum in volume terms and 16 percent in value terms. Yet India's share of exports in world trade declined to 0.42 percent in seventies from 3 percent in forties. Notably the period between 1950-73 was time bound trade was booming and India's share was declining. There was a complete stagnation of export growth in the eighties causing lot of concern. The decline especially took place during 1977 to 1984. On the other hand the import content of Indian exports as well as domestic industrial production steadily increased due to liberalisation policies since 1979. The imports grew at 25 percent per annum while exports grew between 16 to 18 percent in value terms. The deficit is managed by short-term and long-term external borrowing. The remittances of non-resident Indians steadily grew since mid seventies and as well as the domestic crude oil production have gone up have together enhanced the credit worthiness of India abroad. Thereby, India increasingly resorted to borrowing from commercial sources at high interest rates to sustain its growth rates. The result is that at the end of 1989 India's external debt reached a staggering level of Rs.89,836 crores (40 percent of Gross Domestic Product). Debt servicing burden formed thirty percent of its total export earnings. The Non-Resident Indian Deposits and short-term capital flows were encouraged on large-scale to finance the short-term needs, which is referred as 'hot money', that could flow out of the country at any critical juncture. And it did flow out during the balance of payments crisis during Gulf War.

29.7 POVERTY

India is a poor country. At the time of Independence it was much poorer. In 1951, India's per capita income was \$65 per annum (Rs.244). In any poor country generally the share of poor people will be large. India's poverty has not only an economic dimension but also has a social dimension - poverty levels increase progressively down the caste hierarchy. In India for operational convenience, a definition of absolute poverty was evolved according to which "anyone who can afford to consume food giving 2300 calories per male and 2100 calories per female a day is said to be below the poverty line". There are various empirical studies in India over the magnitude of people living below poverty line. According to the study by Ahluwalia (1984) percentage of people living below poverty line was 54 percent in 1951, it decreased to 39 percent in 1961, increased to 67 percent in 66, decreased to 41 percent by 1971 and to 39 percent in 1989. Again poverty levels are concentrated more in poorer states such as U.P., Bihar, M.P., and Orissa. Studies have shown that two factors contributed to decline in poverty one is the agricultural productivity. In all Green revolution areas incidence of poverty came down rapidly with increased employment and real wages. The second factor is the role of organisation in getting the minimum wages in states like Kerala and good public distribution system has also reduced incidence of poverty.

A number of programmes since Fifth Five Year plan are commissioned to alleviate poverty in India with varying degrees of success. It was realised that a direct attack on poverty was necessary even while growth of National income takes care of poverty indirectly. Variety of anti-poverty programmes introduced such as: (i) individual beneficial

targeted ones like Integrated Rural Development Programme (IRDP); (ii) employment guarantee programmes such as Crash Scheme for Rural Employment (CSRE), Food for Work Programme (FWP), and National Rural Employment Programme (NREP); and development of ecologically disadvantageous areas like Drought Prone Areas Programme (DPAP), Minimum Needs Programme (MNP) etc. Under direct beneficiary programmes highly subsidised credit to purchase cattle, bullock carts, ploughs, sheep, etc. were provided. Under the employment guarantee programmes, public works were undertaken to provide employment to the poor in dry seasons and part of their wage was given in the form of foodgrains. Apart from these there are several state level programmes such as distributing surplus lands to scheduled castes and other weaker sections, provision of land for building houses, giving pucca houses, provision of highly subsidised foodgrains to poorest of the poor, mid-day meal schemes for children, child feeding programmes etc. which were also undertaken for poverty eradication. There is a varying degree of success as far as the impact is concerned due to several limitations in designing and implementation of programmes. The limitations ranged from ignoring the priorities of beneficiaries, leakages, wrong identification of poor, corruption to politicisation. However, despite several of these limitations it is difficult to say that anti-poverty programme have contributed nothing, if not to the expected levels.

29.8 EMPLOYMENT AND UNEMPLOYMENT

India had been traditionally, agriculturally dominant economy with 85 percent of total workforce engaged in it during 1950. There has been a considerable change in the structure since then, even though there is no radical change. There are three crucial features. First, the share of agriculture dependent workforce has come down to 66 percent by 1987-88. Second, the share of workforce in industry and services has grown to 10 and 19 percent during the same time. Among the total employment, the share of workers in unorganised sector has grown from 67 percent to 76 percent during 1977 to 1987. Thirdly, there is steady decline in self-employed persons and a rise in casual labourers. This is due to small and marginal farmers giving up their agriculture possibly by leasing their lands and becoming casual labour.

The total employment during 1972-73 to 1987-88 in India has grown at a rate of 2.21 per cent per annum. Rural employment has grown at rate of 1.75 percent and urban employment at 4 percent (*This should be seen against the population rate of 2.11 percent during the same period. Clearly the employment growth rate was slightly more than population rate*). Again the rate of growth of employment was faster in sixties and seventies than in eighties (*Rate of growth has to be understood as pace of growth. In eighties, there is growth in absolute terms, but pace of such growth has come down compared to earlier times*). The rate of growth of employment in agriculture steadily fell from 2.32 percent during 1972-78 to 1.2 percent during 1977-83 and to 0.65 percent during 1983-88, despite the so-called Green revolution. Among the non-agricultural sectors, there was a rapid growth of employment in manufacturing industry in sixties and seventies, which fell from 5.10 percent in 1972 to 2.10 percent to 1987. It is only in the construction industry and transport sector there was an increase in rate of growth of employment from 2.4 percent to 7 percent. Another revealing feature of employment structure was that there has been a steady growth of unorganised labour, with higher growth rate of employment.

Despite having the full employment as objective in the planning, it is a miserable failure of the state in achieving it. While unemployment grew visibly it also a fact that it is very difficult to measure the incidence of unemployment, as majority does not register with employment exchange (*Even the available measures of unemployment are not very reliable*). Still going by available statistics, the unemployment has risen over period between 1950-89. The number of educated registered unemployed in 1961 were 5.9 lakhs and it has gone up to one crore by 1989, while that of registered unskilled unemployed went up from 18 lakhs to 3.63 crores during the same time. The share of poor and illiterate and unskilled unemployed is more than educated and skilled ones. However, in terms of rates of growth, there is steady decline from fifties to sixties and seventies.

29.9 FISCAL CRISIS

The increasing role of state in stabilising the Economy and catering to the Fundamental obligations to citizens such as providing social, economic and human infrastructure has posed serious problem of raising commensurate resources for the state. The failure of the government in mobilising resources led to an increasingly resort to internal and external borrowing by the state and consequently serious fiscal crisis. The total taxes as percentage of GDP has gone up from 6.5 percent in 1950 to 19 percent in 1987. Where as the ratio of total taxes to total government expenditure has fallen from 73 percent to 65 percent during the same. The tax structure got lopsided with direct tax share as a percentage of total tax revenue coming down from 37 percent in 1950 to 15 percent during 1985 while share of indirect taxes went up from 63 percent to 85 percent. The share of income tax, out of total taxes has come down from 21 percent to 7.85 percent during the same time. The reliance of commodity taxation and decreasing tax base of state over period indicated the increasing failure of state in resource mobilisation. On other hand, there is large-scale evasion of taxes by individuals, companies and businessmen, leading to huge black money. The estimates have pointed out that the share of black economy is equivalent to that of official one. The state relied on deficit financing to finance its expenditure.

29.10 POLITICAL ECONOMY AND DEVELOPMENT

The Political Economy is a study of the politico-economic behaviour of different interest groups or classes in a bourgeoisie society. Such an analysis is important since it would be pretentious to speak only in politically neutral terms such as growth, investment, employment, development, and etc., as risks, opportunities and benefits go to individuals unequally in a capitalist society. In a bourgeoisie society state is often an agent of dominant propertied classes and mediator between the dominant and the deprived classes. The question then is what are really the dominant classes and the otherwise in India. India, with its historical legacy of feudal origins, by and large undisturbed by the Colonial rule, has not begun as a liberal bourgeoisie society. Because of this reason the Indian democracy is often described by some as '*semi-feudal democracy*'. There are already different classes in existence at the time of independence. The course of state policies also gave birth to new classes. It is worth classifying them for analytical convenience to club them into three dominant classes, namely, an industrial

bourgeoisie class; a rural landed oligarchy and urban bureaucratic class. Each of these classes is again a cohort of those with varied power and influences. For instance, industrial classes consist of traditionally dominant business families emerged into big business houses, such as Tatas, Birlas etc. and newly emerging small and medium scale industrialists. The landed oligarchy includes traditional feudal castes with large land holdings and rich entrepreneurial farmers from irrigated rich areas with medium holdings. The bureaucratic class consists of various civil servants at State and Central levels and other officials working at high offices of the Government departments. The first two classes command political influencing through supporting political parties directly and indirectly and receive economic benefits in return (*The peculiar problem of Indian society is that even though these are classes that operate with identical material class interests, the individuals are divided and regrouped under different castes and social hierarchy*).

The industrial bourgeoisie was protected by the state through its system of licences, permits, loans from public sector banks, import quotas, foreign exchange allocations, tax exemptions, land allocations, export subsidies etc. The top 20 business houses in 1976 controlled 65 percent of market. The supremacy of Tatas and Birlas always went unchallenged. The many policies of the state that went in the name of protecting Indian industry and even regulating the monopolies have only contributed to the serving the interests of big business. Similarly there is a huge amount of debts taken by small and big industrialists that could not be recovered due to deliberate defaulting using political interests. Similarly, the state also landed in trouble by supplying several raw materials, minerals, fuels, power and infrastructural facilities through public sector at subsidised rates and left itself with sick units. Compared to all other classes, this class can be considered to be the most favoured in the process.

The landed oligarchy has succeeded in subverting the implementation of land reforms and keeping the agricultural incomes beyond taxation (*Which is often described as lack of 'political will' on the part of state in implementing them, while the fact of the matter is all political parties have leaders with landed background guarding their own interests and that of their kin and kith*). On the other hand they have succeeded in getting huge subsidies, say power, irrigation, fertilisers, or for credit that have enormously benefited them. Even though the promotion of agriculture was in the interests of nation in general, the promotional policies have certainly benefited these groups more than proportionately. The introduction of new technology with subsidies has enabled to diversify into profitable cultivation from usurious activities. The price support policies that are intended to benefit the farmers have increasing cost of living of ordinary people. The power subsidies have crippled state electricity boards financially. The interests of landed oligarchy have been controlled to an extent in the larger interests of nation. The movement restrictions of foodgrains, export-ban of major agriculture commodities and compulsory levy procurement etc. are often severely resented by the farmers' lobbies. However, compared to the level of subsidies they received (on irrigation, fertilisers etc.) what they lost is certainly less. It was imperative for the state to regulate the agriculture for the potential disastrous implications of free play of market interests.

The bureaucratic class has too managed a considerable clout in shaping policies

to gain control over industry, trade and agriculture. This class in establishing licence permit-quota-inspector raj and squeeze exorbitant bribes from various sections has exploited the continuation colonial administrative policies and practices. The class also managed attractive periodic pay revisions through which they made themselves into the 'the dominant consumerist middle class'. The corruption has become a universal phenomenon in the country where unless one wets the hands of officials it is impossible to get even a small thing done in a government department. Such class also emerged at an enormous expense of state in creating large administration and bureaucracy, even though creating public employment. The privileged urban location of real estate assets enabled them to capitalise huge gains in increasing urbanisation. The position of this class vis-a-vis can not be located exactly. The class as whole is a clear beneficiary of the policies of the state.

At the same time Indian state did follow several welfare policies to the benefit of deprived sections too such as subsidised food sales through Public Distribution System (PDS), loans through anti-poverty programmes, free education till higher education levels, public hospitals and so on. Though some poor might have certainly benefited out of those, it is the haves that made of a greater use of provisions public utilities may it be education or health or PDS. The labour laws protected the organised labour, but could not address the grievances of unorganised labour. The minimum wages were frequently denied in several states. The welfare state policies have a token impact on the lives of the poor. The absolute poor in country remained at more than one third of the population after four decades of development. Moreover, the poor who often belonging to lower social hierarchy of caste system were completely sidelined and deprived. The populist programmes started by the state to attract the political support, notably, by Indira Gandhi through the slogans of *Garibi hatao* and 20-point programme were merely consolatory. However, most notable point is that after three, two and half decades, the governments are forced to undertake some measures to address the immediate problems of poverty and hunger.

Finally, Indian State also had the compulsion to negotiate with the rest of the world and still retaining its sovereignty. It experimented with Planning and Mixed economy strategy with an inwardly looking trade strategy, as long as Soviet power existed to balance the American aggression in the world. The existence of Eastern Bloc made possible for it to exercise its relative autonomy with the World Capitalist system. The lack of self-reliance and capitalist class capable of bringing dynamic and vibrant growth has led to progressive acceptance of liberalisation and foreign capital. The failure of public sector to produce the expected fillip has led to disillusionment over Planning and State. It was forced to liberalise its trade regimes and internal policies that restricted the entry of foreign capital. On the whole, even though it performed better in latter decades, India's performance remained behind several Third World countries like East Asian countries and some Latin American ones.

II CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1. What were the aim of Monopolies and Restrictive Trade Policy (MRTP)?

2. Give a list of Anti-Poverty Programmes.

3. What were the welfare policies taken by Government to benefit deprived sections?

29.11 LET US SUM UP

India's economic development during 1949-89 is marked with achievements, as well as failures. The Planning strategy in a Mixed economy framework was followed during the contemporary historical context for a quick transition into a Modern economy. The strategy has overemphasised heavy industry growth, underestimated the importance of balanced growth and export promotion. It also over estimated the domestic potential of Indian industrial bourgeoisie in promoting completely self-reliant growth. The overemphasis of public sector participation landed the sector in uneconomical areas, contributing to the fiscal burden of the state. The introduction of Green revolution since mid-sixties saved the country from famines and external dependence. The steady agricultural consolidation stabilised the performance of industry and economy as whole. Progressive liberalisation was imperative for increasing competitiveness of exports and the industry, facilitating technological upgradation. The growth of exports in the later half period and remittances from abroad improved the foreign exchanges of the country and improved the credit-worthiness of nation. That has enabled the country to borrow heavily and which contributed to growing interest burden in the later phases. Despite the hectic efforts for Growth and Development, India remained an underdeveloped country with poverty, illiteracy, malnutrition, hunger and unemployment. India's performance remained worse than many Asian and Latin American countries in terms of per capita income, exports, and industrial and agricultural growth rate. The benefits of growth and development in the four decades benefited industrialists, big farmers and

bureaucratic class, with minor shareholders such as public sector workers, professionals, middle farmers, etc. The poor belonging to unorganised sector workers, may it be agricultural workers or urban informal sector workers benefited little in the process. India at the end of eighties with its achievements and failures, problems and prospects prepared for the full-fledged liberalisation policies in the globalising world.

29.12 CHECK YOUR PROGRESS ANSWERS

- I. 1. The economist-cum-architect of Indian planning was Prof. P.C. Mahalanobis.
2. The objectives of the Indian Planning were rapid growth, full employment, self-reliance, and social justice.
3. The achievements of six Five Year-Plan were
 - a) The growth of GDP to 5.8 percent.
 - b) Agricultural sector became more reliant and to vulnerable to bad weather.
 - c) Marked increase in the output of Petroleum, Power, natural gas, cement, fertilisers.
 - d) Decline in poverty for 48.3 to 37.4.
- II.1. The Monopolies and Restrictive Trade Practices, aimed at regulating the growth and expansion of large 'industrial' houses with gross assets exceeding Rs.20 crores.
2. The anti-poverty programmes were
 - 1) Individual beneficial targeted ones like Integrated Rural Development Programme (IRDP),
 - 2) Employment guarantee programmes like Crash Scheme for Rural Employment (CSRE), Food for Work Programme (FWP), National Rural Employment Programme (NREP) Drought Prone Areas Programmes (DPAP) and Minimum Needs Programme (MNP).
 - 3) Subsidised food sales through Public Distribution System (PDS) loans through anti-poverty programmes, free education till higher education levels and public hospitals so on.

29.13 EXAMINATION MODEL QUESTIONS

I. Answer the following questions in about 30 lines each.

1. Explain the development strategy of India in the post-independent phase.
2. How did Indian economy performed in the four decades between 1950-89 and how did the policies changes effected the growth?
3. What are the major achievements and failures in the performance of Indian economy?
4. What are the political economy dynamics of Indian economic development?

II. Answer the following questions in about 15 lines each.

1. Write about the National Planning Commission.
2. What were the anti-poverty programmes undertaken during the fifth five year plan?
3. Write about the fiscal crisis.

29.14 BOOKS FOR FURTHER READING

1. Lucas, E.B. Robert and Papenek, Lucas (1988) : *The Indian Economy: Recent Development and Future Prospects, (edited), Oxford University Press, Delhi.*
2. Choudhuri, Pramit (1978) : *The Indian Economy: Poverty and Development, Vikas Publishers, Delhi.*
3. Tomlinson, B.R. (1998) : *The Economy of Modern India 1860-1970, Cambridge University Press.*
4. Mukherjee, Dilip (1998) : *Indian Industry: Problems and Prospects, Oxford University Press, Delhi.*
5. Dutt, Ruddar and Sundaram (1998) : *Indian Economy, S. Chand and Co. Delhi.*
6. Ministry of Finance, Government of India : *Economic Surveys 1979-80, 1984-85, 1983-94.*

UNIT-30 : SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT

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30.0 OBJECTIVES

A study of this unit would enable you to know :

1. the meaning of Sanskritization, Westernization and Secularism.
2. the status of women, constitutional and legislation provisions, five year plan provisions and women's movement, and their contribution for women's development.
3. the educational development at primary and higher levels, and its role in promoting equity and science and technology.
4. developmental measures for the advancement of SC's and ST's.

30.1 INTRODUCTION

The basic issues in social development today are equality and empowerment. Equality is both an end in itself as a fundamental basis of all human rights as well as a means for achieving social and economic development. In a country of India's diversity and vastness, equality is the only basis for holding the society together. This reality was clearly perceived and grasped by the leaders of India's independence movement. After independence, they proceeded swiftly and firmly to enshrine equality in the Indian Constitution. There are provisions in the Constitution for ensuring and fostering inter-personal, inter-social groups and inter-regional equality. The Constitution guarantees to all its citizen, irrespective of sex, religion, caste and creed, social, economic and political justice and equality of status and opportunity. It enjoins upon the state to avoid concentration of wealth and means of production in the development process and secure redistribution of material resources. In its Directive Principles of State Policy, the Constitution lays down objectives, including time-bound targets, to be realised in diverse fields of national endeavour.

30.2 SOCIO-CULTURAL DEVELOPMENT

Development implies a desirable form of social change. It consists of growth in the desirable direction of a number of characteristics of a society and not merely one or a few of them. For instance, growth in education, equitable distribution of wealth, wage and salary, a rational population policy and harmonious relationships among the minority and majority communities are some of the development criterion in our society. In India, we call them as means to achieve the principles of socialism, secularism and democracy.

30.2.1 Modernization

This term is used to discuss the social change. It is also a value-loaded term. Many sociologists by modernization imply as if it is desirable in itself. It is, however different from the contrast to tradition. Ours is a country with the long tradition, some of these traditions, which do not fit in with new technologies, have to be given up, like with the availability of cooking gas, use of firewood and the traditional choolah is being given up. It is modernization which may not be development has, it is not wholistic. It does not include as such the principles of nutrition and other social changes. Modernization is now an integral part of development strategy and encompasses all levels of cultural and structural systems. The community development project, introduction of land reforms and village

panchayats have earned the cultural norms and role structures of modernity to each and every village in India.

30.2.2 Sanskritization

Sanskritization is a concept studied in depth by the noted Indian social anthropologist Prof.M.N Srinivas and is seen to be present in caste societies. It is a process, which specifically explains the upward mobility of a sub-caste group in a caste hierarchy. In any society people try to follow norms, morals and customs of people having higher status in society. When a group of persons belonging to a lower sub caste starts adopting the ways of an upper caste group, the process of Sanskritization sets in. This process is considered to be in operation only when there is social acceptance and not due to legal compulsion.

The Lingayats of Mysore sanskritized themselves, over a period of eight centuries. In recent times Sanskritization has widely spread both specially and structurally. The Illavans of Kerala, the gold smiths of south India, the Ramgaria's of Punjab, the Chamars of Uttar Pradesh and many other castes have tried to sanskritized their way of lives. The motive force of Sanskritization is not cultural imitation but an expression of challenge against socio-economic deprivations.

30.2.3 Secularism

India is a secular state, where religion is separated from state. The Constitution guarantees fundamental right of religion and worship to all citizens. Constitution prescribes that the state should not discriminate citizens on the basis of religion of faith. The state allows all citizens to pursue their own religious practices, only limited by factors of public morality and public welfare. Though the Constitution declared the state as a secular state, critical observers notice many obstacles in the practice of these principles. The society lacks strong secular foundations. In politics religion is used as an important weapon. Some political parties are also formed basing on religion. In the electoral politics the religious sentiments quite often are exploited. A narrow political interest dominates the actions of some politicians. As a result, religion acquires importance in politics. Communal tensions pose a grave danger to the integrity of the country. The Indian Constitution envisages democracy, socialism and secularism as an integrated trio. These are the foundations on which the democratic edifice of India is sought to be established.

Secularization is a wider process than Sanskritization, while Sanskritization covers all sections of the society. Secularization has more appeal for urban educated class and sanskritization attracts mainly lower castes. Secularization is the gift of modern age, a by-product of westernization. Sanskritization is related with traditions and conservatism.

30.2.4 Government effort to promote cultural development:

The diverse cultures of India are recognised and it is thought necessary to promote them as tributaries flowing into the main stream of Indian culture. The formation of linguistic states is recognition of this principle. *"The central and state government programmes reflect the lofty ideals of the Constitution of India. In the first decade of independence, in spite of many odds, certain programmes were launched in the field of culture"*.

During the last five decades, both at the central and state levels the government launched a few limited programmes keeping other priorities in view. Some of them are :-

- A gradual introduction of courses on Indian civilisation, culture and arts in education system.
- The strengthening of cultural institutions already active in the preservation, fostering and dissemination of culture, such as the Archeological Survey of India and the establishment of the national museum and nationalising other museums, e.g. Salarjung, Rhuda aksh, Rampur Raza, Victoria memorial and so on.
- The establishment of three national academies- Sangeet Natak Kala Academy, Lalit Kala Academy and Sahitya Academy, National Museum in New Delhi. Along with these, Indian council for cultural relations is also established.

India after independence tried to establish cultural contacts with many other countries. Finally there was a concerted effort to create institutions for particular specialisations, e.g. Islamic studies, Buddhist studies, classical languages, especially Sanskrit, modern Indian languages and finally English and European languages.

30.3 EDUCATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

There is a general observation that the development of education in society runs parallel to the socio-economic structures and evolution of that society. Indeed, more can be said, *'The education development is ultimately determined by the economic and political needs of society and, in a class divided society, by the needs of the dominant classes in society'*

We may re-call the early debates between the Orientalists, supported initially by the British, and the Occidentalists like Raja Ram Mohan Roy who were pleading for a modern western type of education for our people. We may re-call also the British policy of utilizing the division in Indian society, to keep sections away from the move for modern education as well as from the general movement for independence. To the name of Raja Ram Mohan Roy can be added the names of Vidyasagar, Jotiba Phule, Savitribai Phule, Syed Ahmed Khan, Gokhale who tried unsuccessfully in 1912 to get a legislation passed to make education compulsory. Mahatma Gandhi, Maharshi Karve and Dr. Ambedkar made significant contribution to the development of progressive educational ideas.

30.3.1 Constitutional Provisions

The 73rd and 74th Constitutional Amendment Acts have provided a new perspective for decentralised educational planning and management. Under Directive Principles of State Policy Article 39 states in section (e) that *"the health and strength of workers, men and women, and the tender age of children are not abused"* and that *"citizen are not forced by economic necessity to enter avocation unsuited to their age or their strength"*. The major thrust of Article 45 is symbolized by the words and phrases free and compulsory, for all children, and until they complete the age of fourteen.

30.3.2 Education Commissions

The government set up two commissions immediately after 1947 to make recommendations in the field of education. These were the University Education Commission (1948) under the chairmanship of Dr. S.Radhakrishnan, and the Secondary Education Commission (1952) under the chairmanship of Dr.Lakshmanaswami Mudaliar. The Radhakrishnan report noted the *"urgent need of technicians"*. It said *"...there is an urgent need for such occupations and skills all over the country... which will train a large and growing body of ambitious youth for employment as technicians, in various existing industries. They will ensure a continuous flow of skilled workers for several modern industries which are being started."*

The Mudaliar Commission report also stressed this need and recommended the setting up of technical schools, polytechnics, the strengthening of multipurpose education, central technical institutions, etc. In 1964 the government appointed a new commission in order to review the situation in the light of the new phenomenon in the rise of the educated unemployed. This commission under the chairmanship of Dr.D.S.Kothari gave its report in 1966. This report, entitled Education and National Development, gave a comprehensive picture of the new crisis. It recommended the 10 plus 2 plus 3 pattern of education to replace the old pattern of a four-year university degree education following eleven years of school education.

In 1969 the government appointed the Gajendragadker Commission on governance of universities. This commission has recommended drastic changes in the structure of the universities to give the state government's greater control on them. The document states that, educational planning can only take place within the light of constraints. The issues, *"alternative scenario have to be considered in the light of constraints not only of financial resources, but also of the political, social, cultural and organizational milieu"*.

30.3.3 Primary Education

Universalisation of elementary education, a constitutional obligation under Article 45 of the Directive Principles, was to be achieved by 1960. Today, India's educational system has grown into one of the largest in the world, with an enrolment of about 105 million children in about 0.57 million primary schools and 0.27 million non-formal education centers, and an enrolment of about 38.7 million in about 0.15 million upper primary schools. Despite the trends of increasing enrolments, there has not been much success in preventing dropouts.

30.3.4 Higher Education

There was rapid spectacular growth in the number of institutions of higher education and the enrolment of students in the tertiary sector. There were only 25 universities and 700 colleges in India in 1947. By the mid-1990's the number of universities including deemed universities and institutions of national importance had risen to 214 and is still growing. There were 8210 colleges in 1994 and that number too is raising with every academic session making a head-count somewhat difficult. The number of students in the higher education sector was a little over 100,000 in 1947. By 1994 that number had grown to over 5 million or fifty times. After the adoption of the Constitution the first important sign of central administration in co-ordinating the entire education sector of the country, same with

the enactment of the University Grants Commission Act, 1956, leading to the establishment of an autonomous UGC as the apex body of the entire university system.

Women's enrolment in institution of higher education has grown from a mere 0.04 lakh in 1950-51 to 15.9 million in 1993-94, recording an increase of about 40 times during this period. The number of women enrolled per 100 men enrolled went up by more than 3 times during this period, from 14 in 1950-51 to 49 in 1993-94. The enrolment has increased progressively from 27.7 per cent in 1981-82 to 29.6 percent in 1985-86 and 33.05 percent in 1993-94. The number of colleges meant exclusively for women has also gone up from 644 in 1981-82 to 874 in 1990-91, recording an increase of over 35 percent during the decade. The University Grants Commission is assisting universities in promoting Women's studies as a critical instrument for the social and academic development of women.

30.3.5 Equality in Education

The growth in educational facilities since Independence was expected to minimize inequalities in the sectors of social development. However, within a quarter of a century since independence, it was not necessarily accompanied by equalization of opportunities for all. It was noted that, initially educational opportunities were utilized by the advantaged sections of the society, and that, as a consequence, inter-group and intra-group disparities tended to get accentuated. Efforts to promote education among Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes have over a period of time yielding good results.

30.3.5.1 Promotion of Women's Education

The National Policy on Education (1986) states that, "*education will play a positive, interventionist role in the empowerment of women...*". This concern is significant because the education of women is important not only for the development of education itself but also for the development of the entire society. Some of the special efforts made to promote the education of girls are:

- Under Operation Black Board, the government of India has provided assistance for the creation of 93,303 posts of primary school teachers, mainly to be filled by women.
- According to the latest reports, 69,926 posts have been filled. Of these 57.39 percent have gone to women.
- The Mahila Samakhya (Education for Women's Equality) project has been under implementation in Karnataka and Uttar Pradesh, with the main objective of motivating women to participate in education and providing non-formal, adult and vocational education.
- Admission of girls to the extent of 28 percent has been ensured in Navodaya Vidyalayas.

30.3.5.2 Promotion of Education among SC's and ST's:

The government adopted measures for the equalization of SC's and ST's population with the non- SC, ST population at various levels of education through out the country. They are :

- a) Incentives to families to send children to school regularly till they reach the age of fourteen.
- b) Pre-metric scholarship schemes for children of manual scavengers.
- c) Recruitment of teachers of SC's and ST's.
- d) Establishment of Balwadi, residential schools including Ashram schools on a large scale.

30.3.6 Science and Technology

The important aspect of education is the adoption of science and technology. The new techniques of production emerged during the course of human development. The development of printing technology is a remarkable case of rapid stride in human knowledge. The big change in food production due to the impact of science and technology is another progress. The development in information technology in recent times seems to indicate a phenomenon, which we had witnessed in the development of mankind.

I. CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

- 1) What is meant by Sanskritization?

- 2) What are the three major aspects of New Education Policy?

- 3) Name two Commissions set up for educational development after independence?

30.4 WOMEN'S DEVELOPMENT

There can be no social development until women, who constitute half of the human resources, become equal and active participants in the development process.

30.4.1 Women's status

The status of women in India has many facets. They redetermining the status, some indicators are significant variations between regions, some of which are backward. In indices such as illiteracy and education, male-female ratio, female participation in economic activity etc, are taken into consideration.

30.4.1.1 Sex-ratio

Though the number of female population increased in India over the years, female sex ratio has steadily declined over the years. In 1901 there were 972 female per thousand male, while this number has declined to 928 in 1991. The reasons of declining of female sex ratio are, the neglect of birth of the girl child, high rate of female infant mortality rate, death during child birth and female infanticide etc.

30.4.1.2 Literacy

In spite of the various provisions in the Constitution, even after the fifty five years of Independence a vast segment of the female population in India remains illiterate. Though the percentage of illiteracy has increased among in Indians over the years from 15.34% in 1961 to 39.42% in 1991.

30.4.1.3 Employment

Women play an important role in Indian economy both urban and rural women are engaged in variety of occupation about 80% of women are employed in the unorganised sector, because of illiteracy and lack of skills and training. They got low wages though they put in long hours of work, about two-fifths of women workers are Scheduled Caste and 22% of Scheduled Tribes are agricultural labourers. The visibility of women in various professions and government employment is a recent phenomena. Among the women working in the organised sector about 50 percent are primary school teachers, about 15 percent of each are secondary school teachers, clerks and typists the balance comprises, lawyers, administrators, college teachers, artists etc.

30.4.2 Constitutional and Legislative provisions:

The preamble of the Constitution of India resolved to secure to all its citizens Social-justice, economic and political liberty of thought, expression, belief, faith and worship. Equality of status and opportunity and to promote among them, fraternity assuring the dignity of individual and the unity of the nation. Indian women are beneficiaries of these rights in the same as Indian men. Article 14 ensures equality before law and Article 15 prohibits any discrimination. Article 16(1) guarantee equality of opportunity for all citizens in matter relating to employment or appointment to any office under the state.

Besides the preamble, the Directive Principles of the State Policy embodies the major policy goals of the welfare state. Besides providing a formal structure of equality, the government, as it is found in many of the Third World countries, used law as a major plank to change society. In the early fifties, Nehru and Ambedkar initiated the process of the enactment of the Hindu Code Bill. Dr. B.R Armedkar the law minister after independence, submitted a Bill which raised the age of consent and marriage upheld monogamy, gave

women the right to divorce, maintenance and inheritance and treated dowry as "stridhan", women's property. Strong opposition from the conservative sections of society, led to Bill being postponed. Ultimately, the sections of the Bill were passed as four separate Acts. The Hindu Marriages Act (1955), The Hindu Succession Act, the Hindu Minority and Guardianship Act and Hindu Maintenance and Adoption Act (1956). The Maternity Benefits Act (1961), The Dowry Prohibition Act (1961) etc, are some of the measures of relief for all women, irrespective of caste, creed or religion. Significant legal measures have been introduced during the last decade.

The Criminal Law (second amendment) Act 1983 provides crucial amendments concerning women in the Indian Penal Code. A nationwide anti-rape movement during 1980 forced the government to review the rape law. In 1984, Government conceded to the demand of women, to establish family courts (1984) for speedy conduct of matrimonial disputes. The establishment of women's cell and the creation of a ministry for women's affairs are positive steps in the direction of improving the position of women.

30.4.3 Women's development during Five Year Plan period:

In the first five-year plan (1951-56) the women's question was perceived primarily as a social one by a major section of the political leadership and the bureaucracy. In the absence of any governmental missionary for welfare related activity the Central Social Welfare Board (CSWB) and Community Development Programmes (CDP) undertook number of welfare measures through voluntary organizations. This third, fourth and fifth plans continued the same approach declining support to strategies of organisation building and human resource development. Some priority was occurred to women's education after the report of the National Committee of Women's Education (1958-59).

Planners however failed to address the major problems of poverty, illiteracy non-enrolment, and dropout amongst girls. This neglect by the state came in for severe criticism in the report of the Committee on the Status of Women in India (CSWI). It was only with the change of government in 1977 after national emergency that some serious exercises in policy review had taken up between 1977-1980. Report of the working group of adult education programme for women 1977-78, and report of the National Committee on the participation of women in agriculture and rural development 1979-80, conceptualised the basic problems and strategies for women's development in India. The institution of women's quota and the magic formula of one third made it appearance within the Training of Rural Youth for Self-Employment (TRYSEM) Programme. There was a greatest emphasis on the provision of gainful employment to the unemployed, particularly women and youth by actual plan document (chapter 14) demonstrated some advance in the use of feminist language (the role of the predominantly patriarchal order in confining women in an oppressive environment). Another break through was the issue of effective representation of women in Panchayat Raj institutions. The government of India decision to prepare a National Perspective Plan (NPP) for women began a flurry of activities under the aegis of the Women and Child Development. A parallel move was the appointment of the National Commission for Self-Employed Women (NCSEW) -to help articulate the problems, needs and aspirations of working women.

30.4.4 Women's movements

The accumulated impact of the marginalisation process was first documented by the Committee on the Status of Women in India (CSWI) in its report 'Towards Equality' in 1975. Far more probing analysis of the structures and their new forms has been done since by the widening numbers of women's studies scholars, and has emerged also from the increasing vigour of the renewed women's movement.

The critique of micro-economic development policies began at different plane, through the constituency that is sought to represent was the same impoverished majority. The movement was then confined mostly to urban, educated women in the informal sector (SEWA, WWF, Annapurna Mahila Mandal) soon became visible, rising fundamental question of identity, priorities and objectives.

A sustained campaign built up through the conferences of women's studies, which brought academics, activists, political workers and a sprinkling of planners together between 1981 and 1985 finally led to the incorporation of a section on Education for Equality in the New Education Policy of 1986.

Two more institution innovations – resulting from the increasing interaction between poor rural women, urban women's organizations and the state during the 70's and 80's are:

- a) The principle of joint ownership (patnas) by husband and wife of land – productive or for homesteads – or other assets transferred by the state to landless households representing a modification of the male headship ingrained in legal systems and development policies.
- b) The expansion of women's elective representation through reservation of 1/3 seats for them in all Panchayat institutions under the 73rd (Constitutional) Amendment 1992. The same principle has also been extended to the urban bodies by the 74th Amendment.

In January 1985, the late Rajiv Gandhi announced (through the President's address to Parliament) that women's issues would be given greater priority by the new government. Some senior officials within the Ministries of Social Welfare who then held responsibilities for Women's and Children's Welfare and Development, Rural Development and Labour and Employment.

By 1986-1987 however, the political climate has changed radically. Fundamentalist movements of the minority and majority communities were setting the agenda, and the Government's policy of appeasement generally dealt a blow to gender equality. This was demonstrated most sharply by the Muslim Women's (Protection of Rights on Divorce) Act 1986, (Shabanu case) and the paralysis of governance after the Deorala Sati incident in 1987.

30.5 DEVELOPMENT OF SCHEDULED CASTES AND SCHEDULED TRIBES

The caste system in India originated about 2500 years ago. Here, we are concern with aspect of higher hierarchy of high and low. Dr.B.R.Ambedkar a brilliant lawyer emerged as a major leader of depressed classes by the late 20's. In 1936 he formed independent labour party which sought combined with peasants, workers and contested and won a few seats in

the 1937 provincial elections to the Bombay Legislative Assembly. The extension of primary education and health facilities, the anti-poverty programme, the rural employment of guarantee schemes, rural income generating schemes such as subsidies and loans for the dairying and goat rearing, the literacy campaign, the campaign for the abolishment of child labour have all being crucial. The provision of house sites in villages by Indira Gandhi an innovative new schemes started in Andhra Pradesh enables Scheduled Castes to purchase lands in the market, with the help of grants and loans provided by the government.

30.5.1 Constitutional Provisions

The preamble to the Constitution of India places '*social Justice, economic and political*' as the first among the objectives of constituting India into a Sovereign Democracy Republic.

- Article 14 of the Constitution guaranteed equality before law.
- Article 15 prohibited discrimination on the grounds of religion, caste, sex or place of birth as well as disabilities in regard to access to public places. It also specifically laid down that nothing shall prevent the state from making any special provisions for the advancement of any socially and educationally backward classes of citizen or for the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes.
- Article 16 provided for equality of opportunity in the matter of public employment.
- Article 17 abolished untouchability forbidding its practice in any form, untouchability a permissible offence.
- Article 23 prohibited forced labour and,
- Article 24 barred the employment of children below fourteen years in any factory.

30.5.2 Reservations

- Article 330 and 332 provided for reservation of seats for the members of the scheduled castes and Scheduled Tribes in the parliament and Legislative Assembly of the states.
- Article 335 enabled the reservation in appointment services and posts under the government for the scheduled castes and tribes.
- Article 338 envisaged initially a special officer, after the amendment in 1990, the setting up of a National Commission,
- Article 339 for the Scheduled Areas and the welfare of Scheduled Tribes.

The population of scheduled castes in India according to the 1991 census is 13.82 crore which is about 16.48 percent, of the scheduled tribes in 1991 census 6.78 crore which is around 8.08 percent of the total population. Protection of Civil Rights Act, 1955 and the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes (prevention of atrocities) Act 1989 are special legislations for social protection of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. There are also other protecting measures of special relevance to SC's and ST's such as the Minimum Wages Act 1948, the Bonded Labour (Abolition) Act 1936 and the Child Labour (prohibition and regulation) Act 1986 the schedule of the Constitution prohibiting transfer of land to non-tribals.

With a view to ensure the various provisions of Constitution implemented satisfactorily, a special officer called Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes was appointed in November, 1950 under Article 338(1) of Constitution. In July 1978, a multi-member body called the Commission for SC's and ST's was set up. This Commission was renamed as National Commission for SC's and ST's in September 1987. This commission was given constitutional status by 65th amendment Act in 1990.

30.5.3 Allocations During Five Year Plans

The expenditure for the development of the Scheduled caste in the central sector was only Rs 5.97 crore in the first five year plan (1951-56), it raised to Rs 67.76 crore in fourth five year plan (1969-74), Rs 842.82 crore in the sixth plan (1980-85), Rs1, 234.15 crore in 7th plan (1985-90) and about Rs2, 291 crore in the 8th plan (1992-97). State plan was 3,000 crore in the 6th plan but increased to 6,916 crore in the 7th plan and is reached about Rs.19,000 crore in the 8th plan. The expenditure of special Component Plan which was adapted for the development of S.C's during 6th plan increased from 6.32 percent in the sixth plan to 7.74 percent in the seventh plan and around 10.53 percent in the Eighth five year plan. The central assistance which was started with a token provision of Rs 5 crore in 1978-79 increased to Rs. 600 crore in 6th plan. Rs. 876 crore in the seventh plan and Rs 1,125 crore in the Eighth plan.

The state government with substantial Scheduled Castes population have set up the Scheduled Castes Development Corporation (SCDC) to enable the members of the Scheduled Castes to take up viable income generating activities. The government of India established the National Scheduled Caste Finance and Development Corporation (NSFDC) in 1989 to provide support to the economic development programs for the Scheduled Castes. Following the Untouchability Offence Act enacted in 1955 was replaced by the Comprehensive Protection of Civil Rights Act enacted in 1976. The number of cases registered under the protection of Civil Rights Act was 3406 in 1992 and 1581 in 1993 showing a declining trend over the years.

II. CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1. What are the legislative enactments for women's development ?

2. Write Constitutional provisions for the welfare of SC's and ST's.

30.6 LET US SUM UP

In this unit we have discussed about the various facets of social change which contributed for the socio-cultural development such as modernization, sanskritization.

The historical process of development education, educational policy of the government, the role of education as an agent of social change is also dealt with. The indicators of status of women, the Constitutional and legislative provisions and various efforts of government for women's development and the issues of the women's movement have been discussed. The Constitutional provision for the upliftment of SC's, ST's who have been socially, politically, economically and culturally excluded from main stream Indian life is also discussed in this unit.

The tragedy of Indian social situation today is the breach of contract embodied in the Constitution in realizing the equality and social justice. Inequalities between men and women, between upper and lower caste still exists within the hierarchical social order.

Though there has been some improvements, still there is a long way to achieve the total equality and empowerment which are the basis of social development.

30.7 CHECK YOUR PROGRESS : ANSWERS

- I) 1. Adaption of higher status by lower castes by adapting the symbols of higher castes is called Sanskritization
2. a) Quantitative expansion
b) Equity and Excellence
c) National, Humanistic and Scientific values.
3. a) University Education Commission (1948) under the chairmanship of Dr. Radhakrishnan.
b) The Secondary Education Commission (1952) under the chairmanship of Dr. Lakshmanaswami Mudaliar.
- II) 1. a) Special Marriage Act 1954.
b) The Maternity Benefit Act 1961.
c) The Dowry Prohibition Act 1961.
d) Family Courts Act, 1984.
2. a) Article 15 - prohibition of discrimination on the grounds of religion, caste, sex, or place of birth.
b) Article 16 - Equality of opportunity.
c) Article 17 - Abolishes untouchability and its practices.
d) Article 23 - Abolishes forced labour.

30.8. EXAMINATION MODEL QUESTIONS

I. Answer the following questions in about 30 lines each:

1. Describe the efforts made for the Development of Education in India during the period 1950 to 1989 A.D.
2. Discuss the measures taken up by the Government for the women's development during the period 1950-1989 A.D.
3. Write about the Constitutional provisions and the plan allocations for the development of SC 's & ST's.

II. Answer the following questions in about 15 lines each:

1. Write a brief note on Modernization.
2. Write about the efforts made by the Government to keep up Secularism.
3. Examine briefly the contribution of Modern Education in the fields of science and technology.

30.9 BOOKS FOR FURTHER READING

1. Bina Agarwal : *Structures of Patriarchy: State, Community and Household Modernizing Asia.*
2. Bipan Chandra : *India after independence.*
3. Brij Raj Chauhan : *India, A socio-economic profile.*
4. Ghaushym Shah : *Social transformation in India.*
5. Muchkund Dubey : *Indian Society Today*
6. Usha Sharma B.M (ed) : *Women Education in Modern India*
7. Srinivas M.N : *Social change in Modern India -- Dimensions of social changes in India.*
8. Subramanian S. : *50 years of Indian Independence.*
9. Towards Equality : *Report of the Committee on status of women in India, Ministry of Education and Social Welfare, GOI 1975.*
10. Vina Majumdar : *Symbols of power: Women in changing society.*

UNIT-31 : INDIA'S FOREIGN POLICY

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31.0 OBJECTIVES

A study of this unit should enable you to understand :-

1. factors that influence the foreign policy of any country.
2. the foreign policy of India : The Non-Alignment Policy.
3. the Problems solved by Non-Alignment Policy.
4. the Principles, Summits, Impact, Contributions, Problems and Prospects of Non-Alignment Policy.
5. impact of Globalisation and Liberalisation.

31.1 INTRODUCTION

V.K. Krishna Menon, (a distinguished member of Jawaharlal Nehru's cabinet and Head of Indian delegation to the U.N.O) once remarked that "*there is nothing foreign about foreign policy. Foreign policy is an extension of a country's domestic policy*". Though this remark appears to have been made in a lighter vein, there is substantial truth in this statement. Foreign policy to be realistic and successful must necessarily be rooted in a country's domestic conditions. Foreign policy of any country must preserve, protect and promote the national interests and at the same time must be aware of its responsibilities as a member of the comity of nations or international community. It must keep a reasonable balance of its own interests and the larger interests of the international society. One must not be pursued at the cost of the other. The policy pursued by a country in relation to other countries and international bodies such as the United Nations Organization can be considered as the foreign policy of that country. It may be noted here, that the Directive Principles of State Policy, (Part IV of the Indian Constitution) enjoined on the state the following goals in pursuing foreign policy."

Clause 51 : Promotion of International Peace and Security.

The State shall endeavour to :-

- a) Promote international peace and security
- b) Maintain just and honourable relations between nations
- c) Foster respect for international law and treaty obligations in the dealings of organised peoples with one another; and
- d) Encourage settlement of International disputes by arbitration.

31.2 INFLUENTIAL FACTORS

The foreign policy of any country is greatly influenced by the following factors. They are

- I. 1. Geographical
2. Historical

3. Demographic
4. Economic and Industrial
5. Scientific and technological
6. Ideological
7. Natural Resources
8. Governmental
9. Military preparedness

31.2.1 Geographical

It is obvious that countries, which have natural frontiers such as seas, rivers, deserts, mountains, thick forests, enjoy a degree of safety denied to other states not having them. England and Ireland state, had never been defeated, during the past several centuries though badly threatened particularly during the World War-II. These geographical advantages are fast losing their relevance in these days of air and missile warfare. It may also be noted that though these innovations shatter the enemies capabilities yet in physically occupying the enemy territory these geographical factors still pose formidable difficulties.

31.2.2 Historical

The History of a country is and can be a major factor in shaping the foreign policy. Emperor Asoka's rule and Buddhism have had a profound impact on Nehru's policies. There are equally potent historical forces that shaped our foreign policy. The primacy accorded to truth, Non-violence, Non-aggression and in keeping with the historical traditions. The contemporary example of Indo-Pak relations is yet another example of History's influence on India's foreign policy.

31.2.3 Demography

Demography refers to population. Population can influence the foreign policy. If a country's population grows to such an extent that the resources of that country cannot sustain them, then the country may go in for a policy of aggression and colonial expansion. The aggressive and expansionist foreign policies of Japan and Germany just before Second World War were among other things, prompted by their increasing populations. But after Second World War population control policies have successfully come into vogue, though not in India.

31.2.4 Economic and Industrial

The Economic and Industrial development of a country required cheap raw materials and assured markets leading to the adoption of colonial or imperial foreign policies in the wake of Industrial revolution. When colonialism or imperialism is impossible to pursue, the country may seek liberal trading opportunities with other countries. A climate of international peace and cooperation will facilitate trade exchanges. If a country is backward in economic growth and industrial development it needs assistance from foreign countries or international bodies.

31.2.5 Scientific and Technological

Countries which are scientifically and technologically advanced can follow more independent and forward looking foreign policies. These countries are generally assertive or dominant in their policies.

31.2.6 Ideological

Ideological similarities can introduce a note of harmony and friendship or alternatively strain the relations of different countries. The capitalist western democracies under the leadership of England and U.S.A. on the one hand and the Communist or Socialistic states led by Soviet Russia on the other hand were hostile to each other in the years following second world war, to such an extent that their relations had come to be described as cold war. The socialistic pattern of society, which the Congress governments pursued at the center, won for India the goodwill of Russia and the East European countries. Indian democratic ideology made a favourable impression in America and European countries. India is respected and supported as the world's largest democracy, a country possessing:

31.2.7 Natural Resources

Natural resources such as minerals and metals in abundance is likely to become a strong industrial power. The Industrial strength enables a country to be independent in its dealings with other countries. It is interesting to note here that Japan became the world's second biggest economic power though it is devoid of natural resources. Japan was importing raw materials turning out finished products and then successfully competing with other countries. This is made possible because of the hardwork and discipline of the Japanese people. Much the same is true of Jews in Israel to some extent. In recent times most countries have been paying more attention to the development of human beings. Human resources are the most precious, if properly developed they can overcome any difficulties and shortages.

31.2.8 Governmental

The Nature of the government has important bearing on foreign policy. Democratic countries are by and large less secretive than dictatorships. The free press, the legislative sessions and the press briefings are just unavoidable in a democracy. Contrary to this a dictatorship can take decisions unfettered by public opinion and ethical considerations; consequently dictatorship can spring surprises, take quick decisions just to protect and promote their interests even if it involves aggression and war.

31.2.9 Military Preparedness

Military Preparedness can make for a strong and uncompromising foreign policy. High degree of military preparedness can also have deterrent effect on possible aggressors. Foreign policy can be very effective when it is adequately supported by high alert on the part of military. We have curiously discussed the relevant factors that influence a country's foreign policy.

I. CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1. How does science and technology influence the foreign policy ?

31.3 NON-ALIGNMENT POLICY

The foreign policy of India, when India became an independent state in 1947 (15.8.47) cold war between the capitalist democracies led by America and England and the communist block of countries led by Russia became a threat to world peace. All most all the countries joined either of the two-blocks peace looked very fragile. Armaments race, acrimonious propoganda, frantic search for friends and allies military alliances and counter alliances kept the world all the time on the brink of another dreadful war. The peace looked like an uncertain interlude between two wars one that just ended and the other, which might break out anytime. The world dangerously sat on a powder keg.

31.3.1 Background

At this supremely dangerous hour in world's history, India attained independence and true to the Directive Principles of State Policy quoted above India began to play a positive role in reducing tensions between the rival power blocs, in short, dousing the raging fire of cold war. The policy chalked out by India, known as the policy of Non-Alignment was well suited to assuage ill feelings and ruffled tempers of the countries involved in cold war. India became a consistent and tireless champion of understanding, tolerance and mutual accommodation. India's statesmen like Jawaharlal Nehru and Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan eloquently espoused the new policy of Non-Alignment, which came like a breath of fresh air in an atmosphere poisoned with cold war rhetoric. This policy was initially misunderstood and maligned. For example, John Foster Dulles USA's Secretary of State described India's foreign policy as immoral, short sighted and stupid. Russia and China too were critical of India's foreign policy though not as vehemently as America. The Indian foreign policy slowly began to win many of the newly independent states of Asia and Africa. As the super-powers (U.S.A. and U.S.S.R.) began to appreciate India's mediatory role, Non-Alignment became respectable in Afro-Asian world and plausible in European countries. India's foreign policy was described in the first two years of independence as "neutrality". Neutrality conveys a note of unconcern or indifference to other countries even when moral issues are involved which is not expected of a country like India, great in moral traditions. Therefore, Jawaharlal Nehru, the first Prime Minister, said, "*India is not and cannot be neutral in case of a clash between the forces of justice and injustice.*" Therefore to avoid the possible misunderstanding of the foreign policy he began to call it a policy of Non-Alignment. Non-Alignment means that India shall not join either of the two power blocs. India will

keep aloof and distant from the two-military groupings. They are the Anglo-American group of capitalist democracies and the other communist group of states under the leadership of Soviet Russia. Alignment with either group would not serve the interests of either India or world peace. Membership in either group means supporting that group in all international issues, foregoing the freedom to judge issues on their merits. In other words it amounts to mortgaging ones freedom of thought and action.

Further unconditional support to either group would only stoke the fires of cold war, aggravating the existing tensions, bitterness and hostility. Therefore it was thought that by not joining the rival groups India would retain its independence of judgement. Independent judgement on the part of India, a big country in Asia, can have a moderating influence on the rival groups, inducing them to be more sober. By remaining Non-Aligned India can devote its time, attention and energy to developmental or constructive activities. It is also likely that because of its Non-Alignment policy India might get the support of the two super powers, namely U.S.A. and U.S.S.R for its developmental activities. In fact it may be mentioned here that India's efforts of development in Industrial and Economic fields received the support from both the rival camps.

31.3.2 Non-Alignment Policy

The Non-Aligned foreign policy, though it kept India's defenses weak for a time, in the long run it proved helpful to Indian industry and agriculture. Further the consistent pleas of India that America and Russia must give up their provocative cold war postures and live in amity and concord was vindicated by the adoption of detente (relaxation of tensions) by super-powers towards sixties. As India was Non-Aligned both the rival groups found India suitable to play a mediatory role when the superpowers clashed, as in the case of Korean crisis and Vietnam War.

Non-Alignment played a very positive and constructive role in fighting injustice in all its forms in the international arena. It was opposed to imperialism, colonialism, racialism, military alliances, armaments, economic exploitation and use of force in international affairs. It supported the freedom movements in colonies. It sought to widen the base of the U.N.O. and strengthen it. It tried to unite the Third World Countries on common forum to bring moral and democratic pressure on the former imperial countries. A few examples may be noted here in support of the positive role of Non-Aligned policy.

31.3.3 Indonesia Crisis

Before the outbreak of Second World War Indonesia was being governed by Holland, an imperial power. But the Japanese forces drove the forces of Holland out of Indonesia during world war-II and occupied it. With the defeat of Japan in the Second World War, Indonesians asserted their freedom. Holland tried to re-occupy Indonesia. Pandit Nehru organised a meeting called the Asian Relation's Conference, which met on 23.3.1947 in Delhi. 28 countries and 243 delegates attended this conference, chaired by Smt. Sarojini Naidu, Jawaharlal Nehru inaugurated the conference. The following lines taken from the inaugural address throw a great deal of light on India's policy vis-a-vis other countries, and also Nehru's interest in forging close ties with Asia. "Asia

is once again finding herself Apart from the fact that India herself is emerging into freedom and independence, she is the natural centre and focal point of the many forces at work in Asia. For too long we of Asia have been petitioners in the western courts and chancelleries. That story must now belong to the past. We propose to stand on our own feet and to cooperate with others who are prepared to cooperate with us. We do not intend to be the play thing of others."

This conference roundly denounced the efforts of Holland to reoccupy Indonesia as a colony. The mounting International opinion against Holland compelled Holland to recognize.

31.3.4 Suez Canal Crisis

India played a sterling role in fighting the efforts of imperialists to gain hold over Suez Canal in July 1956.

Anglo-French company excavated the Suez Canal in 1860 connecting Mediterranean Sea and the Red Sea. This new sea route reduced the distance of the European countries to the East by a few thousand miles. The Anglo-French company took the land required for the canal from Egypt on lease for 100 years. The Egyptian government badly needed funds to construct Aswan dam. Though several European governments promised help they did not keep their word. Egyptian government nationalized the canal just a few years before the expiry of the lease agreement so that the tolls collected from vessels using the canal, can be used to finance Aswan dam. The Anglo-French company realized profits several times their investment even earlier to 1956. Incensed by the nationalisation of the canal England and France started bombing raids on Egypt. Israel too joined these two European powers. India strongly opposed this Anglo-French military venture as a revival of intolerable imperialism through back door. Russian Prime Minister Nikita Khrushchev threatened aerial raids against London and Paris, which brought an end to hostilities. In the hostilities, U.S.A. did not support either England or France. *"In the end Britain and France, together with Israel had been branded throughout the world as aggressors for their gunboat diplomacy and were obliged to withdraw without realising any of their objectives."* (Anthony Nuttings)

30.1.5 Congo Crisis

The 1960 Congo crisis is one, in which India played a big role mobilising the support particularly of Afro-Asian Countries besides countries of other continents who had deplored the role of Union Minere Company (in which Belgian, French and England capitalists had a stake) which instigated and aggravated civil war in Congo. The civil war took a heavy toll of human life. It caused the death of two prominent personalities, Patrice Lumumba, Prime Minister of Congo and Dag Hammerskjold the Secretary-General of the United Nations Organization.

Congo was ruled by Belgium from 1870 to 1960, Congo became a free country. It was a federal country consisting of 6 states, or provinces. Patrice Lumumba was the Prime Minister of Congo. Then Congo is a very rich source of copper, which has wide-ranging Industrial application. Union Minere Company jointly owned the copper mines in Congo. Patrice Lumumba's Government nationalised these copper mines. The Union

Minere Company officials encouraged Moïse Tshombe Chief of Katanga Province to revolt against the federal government promising to make him a Head of Katanga State.

This Union Minere Company supplied Moïse Tshombe with money and mercenaries from Europe. The experienced mercenaries plunged Congo in a most perilous civil war. The Mercenaries supporting Moïse Tshombe attacked the forces of the federal government of Patrice Lumumba. The federal state of Congo was thus under imminent threat of dismemberment. These seasoned mercenaries attacked the capital Leopoldville and killed the Prime Minister and also his wife brutally. The world was aghast at these events.

The United Nations Organization was urged by African States to interfere, in Congo, restore normalcy and preserve the territorial integrity of the state of Congo. Dag Hammarskjöld was prepared to help the hapless Congo. England, France, Belgium, Russia and China (not a member of the UN) opposed the involvement, for each of these states had its selfish interests to pursue in Congo. America did not support European powers. A U.N. military force assembled in response to the Secretary-General's appeal, landed itself in Congo commenced its operations against the civil war. Secretary-General Dag Hammarskjöld wanted to inspect these operations. His aircraft starting from New York reached Paris and after a brief halt left for Congo. The plane carrying the Secretary-General exploded into pieces on its way to Congo claiming the life of the Secretary-General. Notwithstanding this setback the UN armed forces under the lead of General Inderjit Rikhiye played a splendid role in subduing civil war. Further Indian experts drafted by the U.N.O. restored law and order and successfully trained Congolese in managing their affairs. All the while there was a malicious campaign in the western press particularly in England, France and Belgium against India's role in Congo and imputing motives to India. India played here a positive and constructive role. It preserved Congo's territorial integrity. It quelled the civil war. It gave a working administrative apparatus to the State of Congo. It helped the U.N.O. in discharging its functions creditably.

31.4 PANCHASHEEL

The foreign policy of Non-Alignment gained greater significance and appeal with the Principles of "Panchasheel", which can be viewed as an application or a derivative of the spirit of Non-Alignment. Jawaharlal and Chou-en-lai, Prime Minister of China issued a joint declaration (Agreement on Trade and intercourse between the Tibetan region of China and India) on 28.06.1954 embodying these five principles which are well designed to ensure peace, harmony and cooperation among Nations.

31.4.1 Principles

These Principles are as follows :

- 1) Mutual respect to territorial integrity and sovereignty.
- 2) Mutual non-aggression.
- 3) Mutual non-interference in the internal affairs of states.

- 4) Promotion of mutual cooperation and equality.
- 5) Peaceful co-existence among nations.

The two Prime Ministers declared that they should follow these principles in their relations with other Asian Countries and in their relations with other countries as well. In the Bandung (Indonesia) conference of 1955, 10 principles of international conduct were accepted with these 5 as the core. These five principles were widely endorsed and accepted by several Afro-Asian States in Course of time. It was thought that these five principles or Panchasheel, if extensively used in international relations would remove tensions and apprehensions paving way for durable peace. By assuring territorial integrity and sovereignty of States, aggression is abjured and further the peaceful co-existence is promoted among states subscribing to this "Panchasheel". Soviet Union, Indonesia, Burma, Afghanistan, Yugoslavia, Poland, Saudi Arabia, Laos, Vietnam and Liberia are among many other states to appreciate the "Panchasheel", seeking wider application of the principles in international relations. Marshal Tito President of Yugoslavia expressed the view that these principles are capable of warding off another world war.

The Indian foreign policy of Non-Alignment was widely accepted by the Independent of States of Asia and Africa and the number of states following Non-Alignment touched 100. Thus Non-Aligned foreign policy became an international movement.

31.5 SUMMITS

There have so far been seven non-aligned summit meetings as follows.

1. Belgrade Summit of Non-aligned States 1961.
2. Cairo Summit of Non-aligned States 1964.
3. Lusaka Summit of Non-aligned States 1970.
4. Algiers Summit of Non-aligned States 1973.
5. Colombo Summit of Non-aligned States 1976.
6. Havana Summit of Non-aligned States 1979.
7. New Delhi Summit of Non-aligned States 1983.
8. Zimbabwe Summit of Non-aligned States 1986.
9. Belgrade Summit of Non-aligned States 1989.

31.6 IMPACT OF NON-ALIGNED MOVEMENT

The Non-Aligned movement made a great impact not only among the Third World Countries but also began to strongly influence the deliberations of the U.N.O. The western countries had slowly shed their earlier prejudices against Non-Alignment and began to view it as a positive policy contributing to world peace. Thus Non-Alignment has come a long way in establishing itself as a viable policy for promoting world peace.

That the policy of Non-Alignment propounded by India has acquired a uniqueness in international affairs is obvious. Its significance lies in showing a new way to world peace, a way based on peaceful co-existence, so completely different from the barren confrontation, advocated by the champions of cold war.

31.7 CONTRIBUTIONS

We may briefly note its specific contributions, which are as follows:

Non-alignment policy helped countries trampled under the heel of imperialism, colonialism and racialism to emancipate themselves.

The newly liberated countries of Asia and Africa acquired a new dignity and status by virtue of Non-Alignment. Countries suffering under the exploitation of imperialism, colonialism and racialism and living far from the so called civilized world, acquired the status of decisively influencing international events.

Non-Alignment gave a new voice of confidence and courage to the weak, backward and undeveloped countries. These countries became dynamic, vibrant and articulate enough to induce the former imperial countries to mend their ways. They were made to revise their approaches and attitudes to the exploited countries.

Non-Alignment played a helpful role in solving the tangled problems, a legacy of cold war in Korea, Vietnam and Congo. Their united and decisive stand during the Suez Crisis or Congo crisis showed to the depredatory West that they can no longer be manipulated as play things. Non-Alignment played a mediatory role to ease the tensions between the East and the West. Non-Aligned countries constituting 2/3 majority in the United Nations General Assembly are in a position to tilt the resolutions and to dilute and weaken cold war belligerence. These nations further influenced the United Nations to focus urgently on global economic reforms to help the exploited countries and also to take a positive stand on disarmament. The Non-Aligned group in the U.N.O. had influenced the U.N.O. in 1974 to formulate a New International Economic Order (NIEO) which will benefit all member states. The import of the New Economic Order has far-reaching implications covering as it does reforms in the whole range of Economic, Social, Cultural and Legal systems of the member-states. Above all Non-Alignment policy brought the third World countries on a common forum.

31.8 PROBLEMS AND PROSPECTS OF NON-ALIGNMENT

The increasing popularity of Non-Alignment had brought in its wake a few problems diluting the original stand of Non-Alignment. Countries of Latin America like Cuba which had military ties with communist group of countries and Pakistan which was a member of America sponsored military alliances such as SEATO (South East Asia Treaty Organization) joined the Non-Aligned movement.

Detente (relaxation of tensions) between the Anglo-American group of countries and communist group of countries led by Russia, rendered Non-Alignment, in the eyes of some critics, rather irrelevant, mediatory role of Non-Alignment between the power blocs practically disappeared. It was therefore argued that Non-Alignment (lost its relevance) is outdated.

India founder of Non-Alignment policy had entered into a peace treaty with Russia in 1971 December during Indo-Pak war on the issue of Independent Bangladesh. During the course of war America moved an Air Craft carrier into Bay of Bengal to weaken India's war-effort against Pakistan. It was obvious that America moved the Air Craft carrier in support of Pakistan. At this dangerous moment, India as a precautionary measure entered into a "20 year treaty of peace, friendship and cooperation with Soviet Russia". This treaty was not a military alliance, yet critics saw in this treaty a departure from Non-Alignment Policy.

It must be remembered now, that the nature of international problems has changed rapidly, communism declined in Russia and other countries. America and the West had no rival to challenge their supremacy. In the meantime some Asiatic countries like China, South Korea, Indonesia, Malaysia, and India considerably improved their industrial strength in addition to Japan and old Industrial power. Western countries had to compete with the Industrial goods of the orient. It is now held that the western world and America naturally concerned as they are, with retaining their unrivalled industrial supremacy, are rather trying to take unfair advantage of the Third World Countries by manipulating the GATT (General Agreement on Trade and Tariffs) and liberalisation. The developing Afro-Asian countries have before them two problems. They are :-

1. Mutual help and cooperation in Industrial, commercial and technological areas, and
2. United stand against the unending exploitative tendencies on the part of the stronger and more advanced countries. In India as well as in her neighbouring countries, people are agitated. The Hindu Newspaper dated 05.10.99 contained the following statement under the caption, "India must take the lead in thwarting West's designs".

In an exclusive interview to The Hindu the Sri Lankan Minister for Fisheries and Aquatic resources, Mr. Mahinda Rajapaksa, said he fully supported the idea of India taking the lead in providing the much needed support to the smaller nations of the region vis-a-vis the "Imposing attitude" of the developed countries, who think they could "dominate us" by virtue of their economic, scientific or military powers. We should not suspect the moves of India which has never had a History of grabbing anyone else's land or enterprise. What is required is to come under a common umbrella and give India a free hand to judiciously negotiate a profitable deal from the developed nations. Similarly globalization and liberalization are held to be detrimental not only to the Indian Industry but to the industrial growth of developing countries by a number of intellectuals.

31.9 GLOBALIZATION AND LIBERALIZATION

A National seminar on "Globalisation and its implications for developing economics" held in New Delhi on 02.10.1999 strongly focussed on the evil consequences of globalization and liberalization. It was held that native enterprises would be ruined, consumption of luxury goods would be promoted foreign capital would control indigenous industry, unemployment would rise, foreign exchange shortages and

indebtedness would escalate. To illustrate the baneful scenarios it is pointed out that 180 Multinational Corporations (American, Japanese, French, German, British and Swiss) conduct almost half of world's 'Free trade'.

31.10 LET US SUM UP

India's foreign policy will therefore have to be reformulated in the light of emerging western economic challenges and in concert with other developing countries India must squarely and stoutly confront the perils looming large on the international horizon.

II. CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1. What was role played in Non-Alignment Policy in Indian Foreign Policy ?

2. Who signed the Panchasheel agreement ?

3. What was the significance of Non-Alignment Policy ?

31.11 CHECK YOUR PROGRESS : ANSWERS

- I.1. The Countries which are scientifically and technologically advanced can follow more independent and forward looking foreign policies.
- II.1. Non-Alignment played a positive role in fighting injustice in all forms in international areas. It opposed to imperialism, Racism, Colonialism, Military alignment, armaments and economic exploitation.
- 2. Jawaharlal Nehru the then Prime Minister of India and Chou-en-lai the then Prime Minister of China, signed the Panchasheel.

3. The significance of Non-Alignment policy is that it showed a new way to world peace, a way based on peaceful co-existence.

31.12 EXAMINATION MODEL QUESTIONS.

I. Answer the following questions in about 30 lines each.

1. Analyse the factors that influence the foreign policy of any country.
2. Write about the Principles, Summits, Contributions and Impact of Non-Alignment policy.

II. Answer the following questions in about 15 lines each.

1. How does demography influence the foreign policy ?
2. What was India's role in solving Congo Crisis.
3. What are the evil effects of Globalization ?

31.13 BOOKS FOR FURTHER READING

1. Anthony Nuttings : *The Prime Ministers*
2. Bipan Chandra : *India after Independence*
3. Damodaram A & Bajpai U.S. : *Indian foreign Policy : The Indira Gandhi years.*
4. Gupta MG : *Indian foreign Policy : Theory and Practice*
5. Nanda : *Indian Foreign Policy : The Nehru years.*
6. Satchidananda Murty : *Indian Foreign Policy*
7. Sharma, Shri Ram : *Indian Foreign Policy : Annual Survey - 1971*
Indian Foreign Policy : Annual Survey 1981
Indian Foreign Policy : Annual Survey 1982

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Department of History

INDIAN HISTORY AND CULTURE (1526 - 1989)

SYLLABUS

BLOCK-I : THE MUGHALS AND SHERSHAH

- Unit - 1 : Political History of the Mughals upto Humayun
- Unit - 2 : Shershah : Administration and Achievements
- Unit - 3 : Political History of the Mughals from Akbar
- Unit - 4 : Mughals : Administration, Economy, Society and Culture

BLOCK-II : THE MARATHAS : INDIA DURING THE 18TH CENTURY

- Unit - 5 : The Marathas
- Unit - 6 : Rise of Regional States : Society and Economy

BLOCK-III: BEGINNING AND GROWTH OF BRITISH COLONIALISM IN INDIA

- Unit - 7 : Early European Settlements
- Unit - 8 : The British Conquest of India: 1748 - 1856
- Unit - 9 : Company Rule : Administration and Economic Policy
- Unit - 10 : Social and Cultural awakening during the first half of the 19th century
- Unit - 11 : The Revolt of 1857
- Unit - 12 : Education, Growth of the Press and New Literacy Trends
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BLOCK-IV: INDIAN NATIONAL MOVEMENT

- Unit - 14 : Religious and Social Reform Movements
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- Unit - 17 : Growth of Militant Nationalism and its Programme
- Unit - 18 : The Muslim League and the growth of Communalism
- Unit - 19 : World War-I and Home Rule Movement
- Unit - 20 : Constitutional Reforms
- Unit - 21 : Emergence of Gandhi and the Non-Cooperation Movements
- Unit - 22 : The National Movement and the Rise of Left Wing (1922 - 1929)
- Unit - 23 : Civil Disobedience Movement
- Unit - 24 : The Rise of Congress Socialist Party
- Unit - 25 : National Movement, 1935 - 1946
- Unit - 26 : Transfer of Power, Partition and the Integration of Indian States
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BLOCK-V : INDEPENDENT INDIA, 1950 - 1989

- Unit - 28 : Political Development
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FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

Subject : History

PAPER II : INDIAN HISTORY AND CULTURE (1526-1989 A.D.)

Time : 3 Hours]

[Max. Marks : 100

[Min. Marks : 35

SECTION-A

(Marks : 4x15 = 60)

Instructions to the candidates :

- 1) Answer any four of the following questions in about 30 lines each.
క్రింది ప్రశ్నల్లో ఏ నాల్గింటికైనా ఒక్కొక్కదానికి సుమారు 30 పంక్తుల్లో జవాబులు వ్రాయండి.
- 2) Each Question carries fifteen marks.
ప్రతి ప్రశ్నకు 15 మార్కులు.
1. Explain the political conditions in India on the eve of Babur's invasion and estimate his personality.
బాబర్ దండయాత్రనాటి భారతదేశ రాజకీయ పరిస్థితులను వివరించి అతని వ్యక్తిత్వాన్ని పరిగణించండి.
2. What was the religious policy of Akbar ?
అక్బర్ మత విధానమెట్టిది?
3. What were the forces that helped Shivaji to work for the unification of the Marathas?
మహారాష్ట్రుల ఐక్యతకు పాటుపడేందుకు ఏయే శక్తులు శివాజీకి దోహదం చేశాయి?
4. Give a critical appraisal of the foundation of the Indian National Congress.
భారత జాతీయ కాంగ్రెస్ స్థాపనకు సంబంధించిన విషయాలను విమర్శనాత్మకంగా తెలపండి.
5. Analyse the salient features of British industrial policy in India.
భారతదేశంలో బ్రిటీష్వారి పారిశ్రామిక విధాన ముఖ్యలక్షణాలను విశ్లేషించండి.
6. How did the Home Rule Movement contribute for the cause of Indian Freedom?
భారత స్వాతంత్ర్యానికి స్వపరిపాలనోద్యమం ఎలా దోహదమైంది?
7. Trace the main events and the significance of the Quit India Movement.
క్విట్ ఇండియా ఉద్యమ ముఖ్య సంఘటనలు, ప్రాముఖ్యతను సమీక్షించండి.
8. Write the significance of Non-alignment movement and write about its success.
అలీన విధాన ప్రాముఖ్యతను తెల్పి, దాని విజయాలను గురించి చర్చించండి.

SECTION-B

(Marks : 5x8 = 40)

Instructions to the candidates :

- 1) Answer any five of the following questions in about 15 lines each.
క్రీంది ప్రశ్నల్లో ఏ ఐదింటికైనా ఒక్కొక్కదానికి సుమారు 15 పంక్తుల్లో జవాబులు వ్రాయండి.
- 2) Each Question carries eight marks.
ప్రతి ప్రశ్నకు 8 మార్కులు.
9. Discuss Mansabdari system.
మన్సుబదారీ విధానాన్ని చర్చించండి.
10. Explain the system of 'Ashtapradhans'.
'అష్టప్రధానుల' పద్ధతిని వివరించండి.
11. Examine the religious and social ideas of Kandukuri Veereshalingam.
కందుకూరి వీరేశలింగంగారి మత, సాంఘిక భావాలను పరిశీలించండి.
12. What do you know about the Young Bengal Movement?
యువ బెంగాల్ ఉద్యమాన్ని గురించి ఏమి తెలిసిందేమిటి?
13. State the importance of Khilafat Movement.
ఖిలాఫత్ ఉద్యమ ప్రాధాన్యతను తెల్పండి.
14. What was the role of Bhagat Singh in the Indian National Movement?
భారత జాతీయోద్యమంలో భగత్ సింగ్ నిర్వహించిన పాత్ర ఎట్టిది?
15. Discuss the main features of Dyarchy that was introduced under the Act of 1919.
1919 చట్టంక్రింద ప్రవేశపెట్టబడిన ద్వంద్వ ప్రభుత్వ ముఖ్య లక్షణాలను చర్చించండి.
16. Analyse the role of Indian National Army in the Indian National Movement.
భారత జాతీయోద్యమంలో భారత జాతీయ సైన్యం (INA) యొక్క పాత్రను విశ్లేషించండి.
17. What was the significance of Tashkant agreement.
తాష్కెంట్ ఒప్పంద ప్రాధాన్యత ఏమిటి?
18. What were the legislative enactments made for the women's development in independent India.
మహిళాభివృద్ధికి స్వతంత్ర్య భారతదేశంలో చేయబడిన శాసనాలేవి?

Dr. B.R. AMBEDKAR OPEN UNIVERSITY

UNDERGRADUATE COURSES II YEAR

SUBJECT : HISTORY

COURSE II : INDIAN HISTORY AND CULTURE,(1526-1989 A.D.)

ASSIGNMENT NO. 1

N.B.

1. Do not copy the answer from any book.
2. As far as possible try to answer the questions independently in your own words.
3. If it is necessary to quote from any source, mention the source from which you are quoting.
4. Use your own foolscap paper for writing the assignments.
5. Leave sufficient margin for the comments of the evaluator.
6. Completion of this assignment normally should not take more than two hours.

I. Answer the following questions in about 30 lines each.

1. Outline the causes for the downfall of the Mughal empire. How far was Aurangzeb responsible for it ?

మొగల్ సామ్రాజ్య పతనానికి కారణాలను చెబుస్తూ, ఔరంగజేబు దానికి ఎంతవరకు కారకుడో వివరించండి.

2. What was the state of society and culture in the 18th Century India ?

18వ శతాబ్దిలో భారతదేశంలో సమాజ, సంస్కృతుల పరిస్థితి ఎలా ఉంది?

II. Answer the following questions in about 15 lines each.

1. Estimate Shershah's place in History ?

చరిత్రలో షేర్షా స్థానాన్ని పరిగణించండి.

2. What were the important achievements of Balaji Baji Rao ?

బాలాజీ బాజీరావు సాధించిన ముఖ్య పునకార్యాలేవి?

Dr. B.R. AMBEDKAR OPEN UNIVERSITY

UNDERGRADUATE COURSES II YEAR

SUBJECT : HISTORY

COURSE II : INDIAN HISTORY AND CULTURE.(1526-1989 A.D)

ASSIGNMENT NO. 2

N.B.

1. Do not copy the answer from any book.
2. As far as possible try to answer the questions independently in your own words.
3. If it is necessary to quote from any source, mention the source from which you are quoting.
4. Use your own foolscap paper for writing the assignments.
5. Leave sufficient margin for the comments of the evaluator.
6. Completion of this assignment normally should not take more than two hours.

I. Answer the following questions in about 30 lines each.

1. Explain the impact of British rule on Indian Economy.
భారతదేశ ఆర్థిక వ్యవస్థపై బ్రిటిష్ రాజ్య ప్రభావాన్ని తెల్పుండి.
2. Give an account of the Non-Cooperation Movement in Andhra.
ఆంధ్రలో సహాయనిరాకరణోద్యమాన్ని గురించి వివరించండి.

II. Answer the following questions in about 15 lines each.

1. What were the main features of the famine relief policy of the British.
బ్రిటిష్ వారి క్షామ నివారణ విధాన ముఖ్యలక్షణాలేవి?
2. Discuss the important aspects of Montague-Chelmsford reforms.
మాంటేగ్ చెమ్స్ఫోర్డ్ సంస్కరణల ముఖ్యాంశాలను చర్చించండి.

Dr. B.R. AMBEDKAR OPEN UNIVERSITY

UNDERGRADUATE COURSES II YEAR

SUBJECT : HISTORY

COURSE II : INDIAN HISTORY AND CULTURE (1526-1989 A.D)

ASSIGNMENT NO. 3

N.B.

1. Do not copy the answer from any book.
2. As far as possible try to answer the questions independently in your own words.
3. If it is necessary to quote from any source mention the source from which you are quoting.
4. Use your own foolscap paper for writing the assignments.
5. Leave sufficient margin for the comments of the evaluator.
6. Completion of this assignment normally should not take more than two hours.

I. Answer the following questions in about 30 lines each.

1. Estimate the role of the revolutionaries in India's struggle for freedom.
భారత స్వాతంత్ర్య సమరంలో విప్లవవాదుల పాత్రను అంచనా వేయండి.
2. Examine the Policies undertaken by Government for the Women's Development?
మహిళల అభివృద్ధికై ప్రభుత్వం చేపట్టిన పథకాలను సమీక్షించండి.

II. Answer the following questions in about 15 lines each.

1. Mention the important provisions of Gandhi - Irwin Pact.
గాంధీ - ఇర్విన్ ఒడంబడిక ముఖ్యాంశాలను తెల్పండి.
2. Estimate the role of Non-alignment in solving the Suez canal crisis.
సూయజ్ కాలువ వివాదం పరిష్కరించుటలో అలీన విధాన పాత్రను పరిగణించండి.

BRAOU