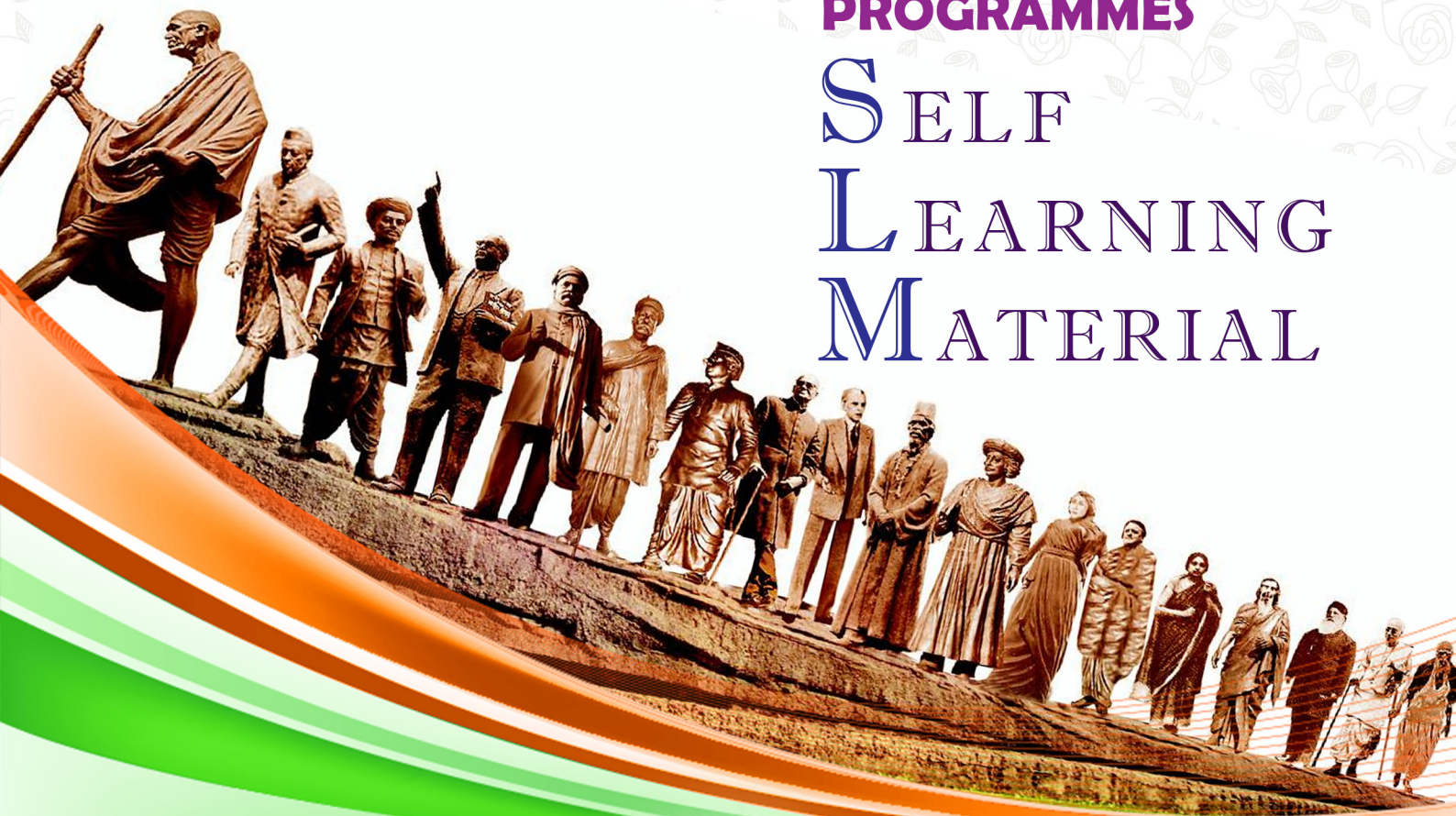


History of Indian National Movement

COURSE CODE: B21HS21AN

**ANCILLARY COURSE
HISTORY FOR UG
PROGRAMMES**

**SELF
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SREENARAYANAGURU
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The State University for Education, Training and Research in Blended Format, Kerala



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**Ancillary Course
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Feel free to write to us about anything that you feel relevant regarding the academic programme.

Wish you the best.



Regards,
Dr. P.M. Mubarak Pasha

21.11.2022

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FOUNDATION OF COLONIAL RULE IN IN INDIA

Unit 1

Advent of European Trading Companies

Learning Outcomes

Upon the successful completion of the unit, the learner would be:

- ▶ Introduced to the intricacies of the establishment and functions of the European companies in India
- ▶ Exposed to the role of European companies in establishing a colonial empire in India
- ▶ Made aware of the rivalries of the European companies in establishing their trade monopoly in India

Prerequisites

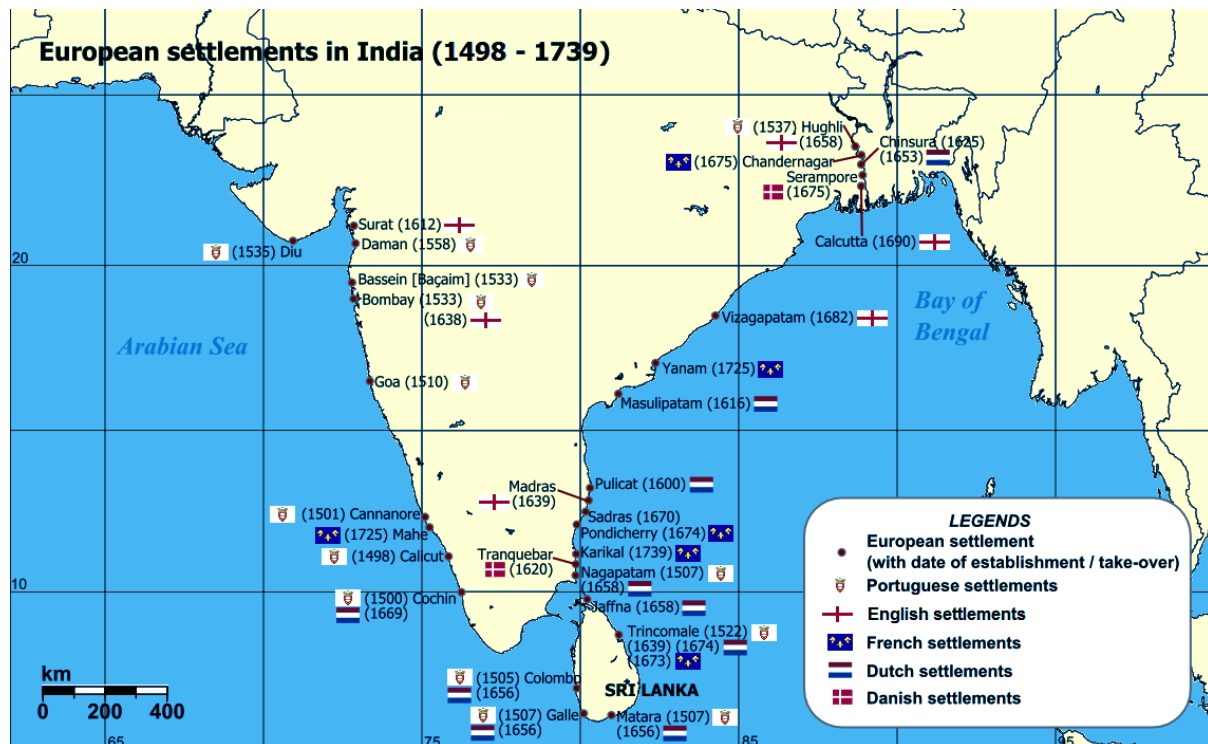
India was thrown open to colonial rule in the second half of the eighteenth century. After the discovery of a new sea-route to India in 1498, all the major European powers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries tried their chance to conquer territories and establish their rule by monopolising trade. The Europeans were well aware of the Indian wealth and entered India during the Mughal period. The role played by the European trading companies were very crucial for the success of the ambitious imperial powers in the early phase of their invasions.

The Portuguese, the Dutch, the Spanish, the French and the English trading companies were set up, and factories and forts were built to protect and safeguard their territories. In their fight for monopoly in trade and expansion of their empire, the English East India Company became victorious. Their factories were the centres of their further territorial expansion and defense as well. With the battle of Plassey (1757) and the battle of Buxar (1764), the Company started their rule in India. As a result, from a self-sufficient and flourishing economy, India had become a mere market for European products. The economy which was well-known for its handicraft industries in the fields of cotton and silk textiles, metal, precious stone works, etc., were pauperized and had become only a supplier of raw materials for English factories in England. In this unit, let us discuss the advent of the European trading Companies and their role in establishing a colonial empire in India.

Keywords

Armada, Casa da India, Colonisation

1.1.1 Advent of the European Trading Companies in India



European settlements in India 1501-1739

Source: Wikimedia commons

From the time immemorial, India maintained trade relations with European countries through several routes. Indian textiles and spices were in huge demand in the European market. The European trade in Asia was carried out by Arab merchants and navigators who bought goods from India and sold them to the Europeans. The Indian goods, especially spices, were carried to the Persian Gulf and from there to the Mediterranean. In order to avoid the intervention of these Arab intermediaries and establish their own trade relations, the European merchants sought to find a new sea-route to India from fifteenth to seventeenth centuries. This period is known as the 'Age of Exploration or discovery'. In 1498, Vasco da Gama of Portugal successfully landed in Calicut, which was an epoch-making event in the history of India.

The expeditions through land and sea led to growth in world trade. The European traders established direct trade with India as they discovered a sea-route between Europe and India. It also laid the foundation for the European colonial empires. The Portuguese possessed naval superiority and established forts in India to control the Indian Ocean trade. The European countries, such as Dutch, Spain, France and England reached India through the sea, following the Portuguese. All those countries established their trading companies in India to facilitate the trade. However, it was the British East India Company (1600 CE) which was the last to enter India and became successful in colonizing India. Let us have a detailed look at the establishment and functions of the European companies in India.



1.1.2 The Portuguese in India



Image: Vasco Da Gama's arrival at Calicut
Source: worldhistory.org

As mentioned in the previous section, Portugal was the first European country which discovered a sea-route to India and established trade with India in 1498. The initial aim of the Portuguese was to acquire the monopoly of the spice trade. The Portuguese ruler, Dom Manuel sponsored the trip of Vasco da Gama to India. Gama conducted his maiden journey to India in three ships along with 170 men, sailing around the Cape of Good Hope in Africa. They were warmly welcomed by the Zamorin, the ruler of Calicut. On August 29, 1498, when he returned from India, his ships were loaded with cargo 60 times more than the cost of his entire journey. As a result of Gama's successful expedition, Portugal sent 1200 men in 13 ships under Pedro Alvarez Cabral. Later, Gama made his second trip to Calicut on October 29, 1502, bringing a fleet of 20 ships. Gama then moved to Cochin from Calicut. During that period, Arabs dominated the trade in India. Gama realised the necessity to break the Arab dominance in order to promote European trade. Hence, he exploited the hostility between the rulers of Calicut and Cochin towards the advantage of the Portuguese trade. He founded a factory in Cochin and a prison in Cannanore before leaving for Portugal.

1.1.2.1 Establishment of the Portuguese East India Company

The Portuguese trade in India was administered by the trading company, Casa da India (1500), which was under the direct control of the Crown. It was the first joint stock company to perform trade operations in India. The yearly Indian armadas of the Portugal were managed by the Casa. However, when the Casa faced a challenging financial situation, King Sebastian of Portugal issued a decree in 1570, which authorised any Portuguese citizen to trade in India. These free trade decrees were replaced by a new system of annual monopolies in 1578. Then the Casa transferred Indian trading contracts to a private Portuguese merchant consortium, providing them with a monopoly for a year. However, in 1597, this annual contract system was abolished and the royal monopoly was reinstated.

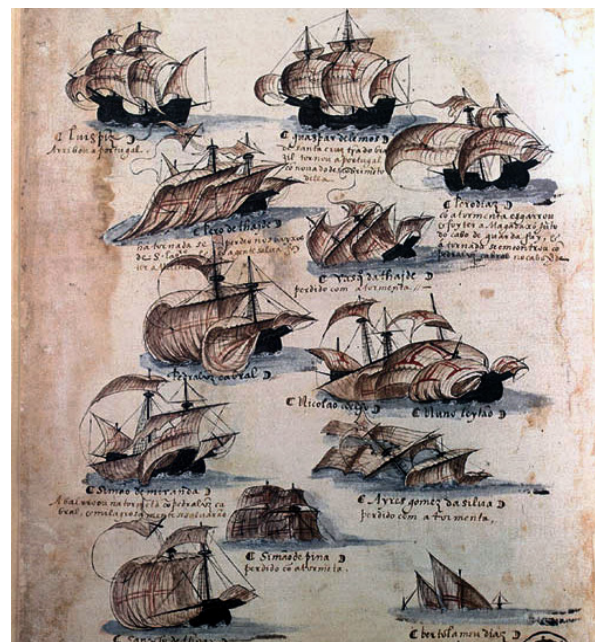


Image: Depiction of the 2nd Portuguese India Armada, fleet of Pedro Alvares Cabral, 1500
Source: Wikipedia

Towards the end of the sixteenth century, the Dutch and British East India Companies began to exert a greater influence on the Indian subcontinent and other parts of the East Indies. This led the Portuguese ruler to attempt various agreements to safeguard the Portuguese colonial empire in those areas. He established the *Conselho da India* in 1605 to place the matters of the Portuguese India under the control of the Habsburg crown. However, the council was later abolished in 1614.

1.1.2.2 The Consolidation of the Portuguese Empire in India

Meantime, the Portuguese decided to appoint a Viceroy to manage their affairs in India. The first Viceroy, Francisco de Almeida, who developed so-called “Blue Water Policy,” added a large number of ships to reinforce the Portuguese naval force. He wrecked the ships of Zamorin and those sent by the Sultan of Egypt. The Portuguese dominated Indian ocean with their naval superiority. They promoted a cartaz system, a naval trade license or pass issued by the Portuguese to control maritime trade. Those who did not purchase the cartaz were threatened by them to disrupt the trade through violence. Under this system, the Portuguese demanded money from the traders as payment for protection against piracy.

With the support of the Cochin ruler, Almeida constructed fortresses in places, such as Cochin, Cannanore and other areas along the Malabar coast. Afonso de Albuquerque (1509–1515), the successor of Almeida, is considered the founder of the Portuguese empire in India. In 1510, he overthrew Yusuf Adil Khan, the ruler of Bijapur and seized Goa. Albuquerque converted Goa into a commercial centre and built the Portuguese settlements. He channelled the ship routes

through Goa. He also promoted the marriage of Indian women with Europeans and settling down in areas under Portuguese authority.



Image: Afonso de Albuquerque

Source: Wikipedia

Under Albuquerque, the Portuguese expanded their territories through the conquest of Malacca (in Malaya) and obtained access to the trade route between India and China, Cairo and Mecca. Albuquerque further extended the empire to Hormuz (1515) in the Persian Gulf and to the spice Islands in Indonesia (East Indies).

The Portuguese established trade settlements at Goa, Cochin, Daman and Diu. **Antonio de Noronha** and **Nino da Cunha** were the two other Portuguese governors, who had a significant role in the consolidation of the Portuguese empire in India. From 1529 to 1538, Nino da Cunha served as the governor of Portuguese territories in India. In 1534, he persuaded Bahadur Shah to sign the Treaty of Bassein. Bassein and Diu came under Da Cunha's control in 1534 and 1537, respectively. Antonio de Noronha, the Portuguese Viceroy appointed in 1564, captured Mangalore and constructed a portuguese fort in 1568.

Towards the middle of the sixteenth century, the Portuguese strengthened control over Ceylon, through constructing a fort in Colombo. However, the Dutch overthrew





Portuguese fort at Diu

Source: britannica.com

them from Ceylon. They also took control of the Portuguese fort on the Malabar Coast in India. Furthermore, in 1662, the Portuguese handed over Bombay, which was under their control, to King Charles II of England, as dowry for marrying a Portuguese princess. Eventually, the Portuguese dominance was then confined to Goa, Daman and Diu as they lost all their possessions in India.

1.1.2.3 Religious Policy of the Portuguese in India

As we have discussed, the initial interest of Portuguese lay in the spice trade and adventure. Gradually, they began to propagate their religion. In order to break the Arab dominance in the Indian Ocean, they perpetuated animosity toward the Arabs and wrecked their ships. Furthermore, the Portuguese King directed the sailors to declare war on the Muslim dominance in the sea. They burned ships returning from Mecca and drowned a vessel carrying spices for Egypt's Mamluk Sultan. Apart from these, large-scale brutal conversion of non-Christians to Christianity and Latinisation of the non-Catholic group had occurred. There were instances of Portuguese atrocities towards the non-Christians.

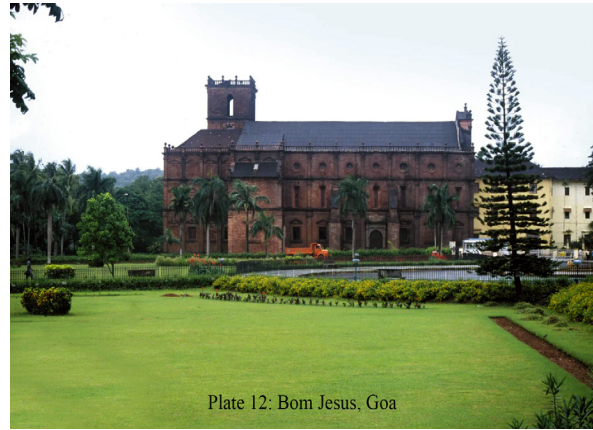


Plate 12: Bom Jesus, Goa

The Roman Catholic Basilica of Bom Jesus, 16th Century, Goa, India. Source: britannica.com

The harsh religious policy of the Portuguese invited the wrath of the Indians. To propagate religion and educate priests, the Portuguese established numerous churches and seminaries in Kerala. The propagation of Christianity was intensified with the arrival of the Jesuits. Around the coastal area in the southern part of Kerala, St. Francis Xavier baptized and converted the fishermen, lower castes and backward sections of society to Christianity.

1.1.3 The Dutch East India Company and its trade in India

The Dutch East India Company or Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie (VOC), also known as the United East India Company was a chartered company established in 1602, to meet the expanding demand for Indian spices from Asia. It was the amalgamation of the group of companies launched by traders and individuals who were interested in trading with the East. The functions of the Company include the ability to wage war, imprison and execute convicts, negotiate treaties, strike Company's own coins and establish colonies. However, the Dutch East India Company was more interested in the profitable spice trade with the islands of the East Indies such as

Java and Sumatra. However, they were soon pushed out by the other European companies.



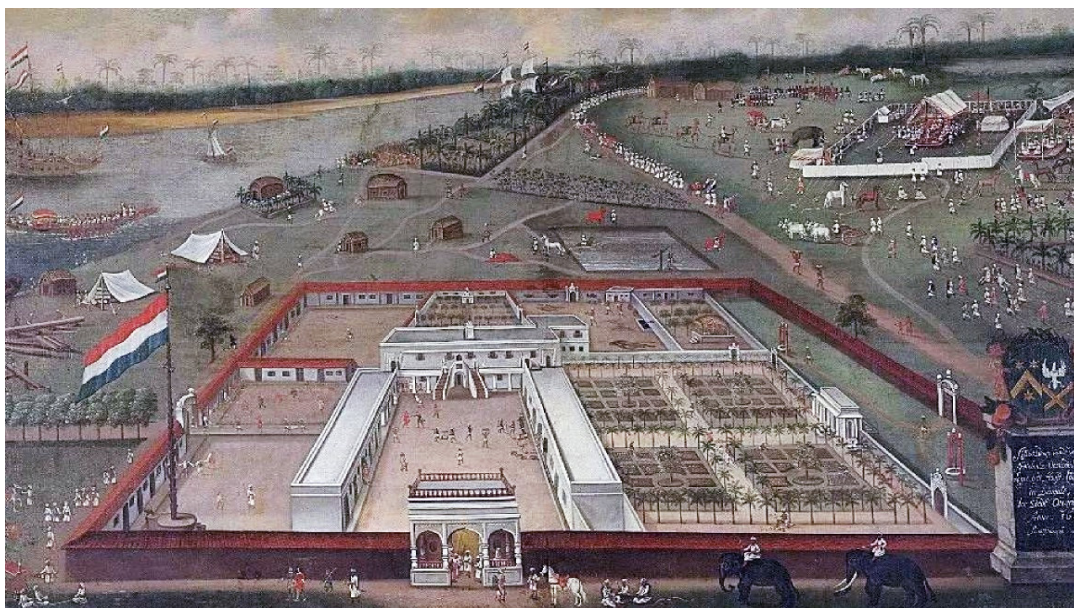
Source: Wikipedia

A fleet of Dutch naval troops led by Captain Admiral Steven van Der Hagen left Netherlands in December 1603, sailed through the ocean and arrived in India in 1604. In India, the Mughals granted them permission to set up factories and conduct trade. After a treaty was signed between the Zamorin of Calicut and Admiral Van der Hagen, the

commander of the Dutch navy, the Dutch East India Company began to trade in India on November 11, 1604. The Zamorin intended to use the Dutch to drive the Portuguese off the Malabar coast. The Dutch, who desired the same thing as well as exclusive trading privileges, agreed to assist one another. Even though, they attempted two times to overthrow the Portuguese, in 1604 and 1639, both the efforts failed. Malabar remained under the Portuguese rule.

1.1.3.1 The Dutch settlements in India

The Dutch established themselves on the Eastern coast of India, lured by the textiles of the Coromandel coast. The Dutch drove away the Portuguese, who had ruled Pulicat since 1502 and constructed Castle Geldria, which remained as their headquarters in the Coromandel coast. Meanwhile, the



Trading post of the Dutch East India Company in Hooghly, Bengal by Hendrik van Schuylenburg, 1665 CE

Source: Wikimedia commons

Vijayanagara rulers permitted them to construct their first factory in 1608, at Pulicat. They also established some factories and trading stations in places such as Masulipatnam. In addition to cotton textiles, they were interested in trading silk and indigo. They traded Coromandel Chintz, a calico fabric with a floral pattern that was used to produce traditional dresses for Dutch women. It was the costliest among their goods. Some scholars point out the active engagement of the Dutch in slave trade as there is evidence on bringing people from places, such as Bengal, Kayalpattinam and Tengapattinam to Pulicat.

The Dutch established their trading depots all over India in the following few years, from Surat in 1616 to Bengal in 1627. The Dutch depots include Broach, Cambay, Ahmedabad, Nagapatnam, Masulipatnam, Cochin, Chinsura, Agra and Patna. Moreover, the Dutch East India Company undertook control of the Spice Islands of Indonesia. They compelled the Portuguese to surrender Ceylon in 1658 after seizing Malacca from them in 1641. Although the Dutch succeeded in the Spice Islands, they faced defeat by the British in India.

In 1661, the entire Malabar region was conquered by the Dutch East India Company from the Portuguese. In the following year, Quilon and Cochin were captured. Once they had gained control, they refused to cede any further area to Zamorin, who permitted the British to build a factory in 1664. Furthermore, the Dutch acquired the trade monopoly in pepper after the defeat of the Portuguese. They acquired Pondicherry from the French in 1693, which was further taken back by the French in 1699. In the seventeenth century, the Dutch appeared to be indomitable.

1.1.3.2 Fourth Anglo-Dutch War and

the Decline of the Dutch East India Company

The Dutch East India Company entered a phase of decline towards the mid-18th century. Out of several factors that led to its collapse, the political developments had a major impact on their decline. The military power of the Company in controlling trade began to weaken. Moreover, in 1741, they fought a battle with Martanda Varma, the ruler of Travancore, known as the battle of Colachel. The Dutch endured a humiliating loss at the hands of the Marthanda Varma. After this setback, they never recovered their authority and influence in Malabar. Eventually, they were compelled to hand over control of the pepper trade to the Travancore kingdom.



The capture of Kochi and victory of the Dutch V.O.C. over the Portuguese in 1663

Source: Wikipedia

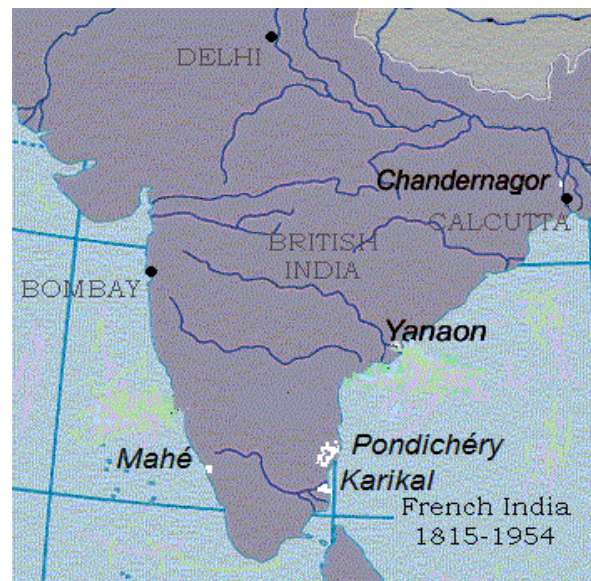
In addition, the **Fourth Anglo-Dutch War (1780–1784)** led to the downfall of Dutch East India Company. Consequently, the British naval force destroyed their ships. They also took control of Dutch trading posts in India. Hence, the Dutch East India Company faced a huge setback in settling their loans and the company went bankrupt in 1799. Its holdings were handed over to the Dutch Crown. Consequently, the Dutch possessions in India, including most of the industries and trading posts were closed. Later, on March 1,

1825, as part of the Anglo-Dutch Treaty, all Dutch possessions in India were relinquished to the British.

1.1.4 Establishment of French Settlements in India

As early as 1527, the French made an effort to establish a trade relationship with India. The French began their economic activities through the French East India Company, which was founded in 1664. It was founded to compete with the English and Dutch trading companies in the East Indies. King Louis XIV granted them the charter to conduct trade in the Eastern Hemisphere. It was formed by merging the earlier trading companies. This commercial enterprise was an initiative of King Louis XIV, in contrast to other European powers that entered India through private trading companies. **Jean Baptiste Colbert**, the French finance minister, played a crucial role in launching the French East India Company. The French East India Company founded trade centres in Surat, Pondicherry near Madras, Chandernagar in Bengal and Mahe near Mysore.

The British and French East India Companies had become the two principal European commercial enterprises in India by the 18th century. The two companies competed over trade and power. Both the French and the English were eager about dominating the growing trade with India. Moreover, the English and the French were rivals in Europe and engaged in numerous wars. Their political enmity in Europe was reflected in their commercial rivalry for domination in India. The Carnatic region, which is located along the Coromandel coast, was the site of the conflict between the two East India Companies.



Map of French India

Source: Wikipedia

In 1602, French traders reached Madagascar, Africa. Despite having colonised Madagascar, they were forced to abandon the island except for a small coastal trading post. On September 4, 1666, Aurangzeb granted a firman to Berber, a French agent in India. Later, in December 1668, Surat witnessed the establishment of the first French factory, much to the dismay of the Dutch. The French opened a second factory at Masulipatnam within a year.

WColbert deployed a fleet to India under the command of Jacob Blanquet de la Haye after realising the necessity of their presence in India. In 1672, the French were successful in driving the Dutch out of San Thome in Mylapore. The local governor, Sher Khan Lodi, who represented the Sultan of Bijapur, was persuaded by the French to support them against the Dutch. Meanwhile, the Golkonda Ruler, who was a longstanding rival of Bijapur, became friends with the Dutch. Sher Khan Lodi was the one who suggested Pondicherry (also known as Puducherry) as a viable location for their settlement. Francis



Martin was appointed as the Governor of Pondicherry and made Pondicherry the centre of French settlements in India.

It was a difficult task for the French to seize Pondicherry, as they had to face their major competitors, the Dutch. Since 1672, France and Holland had been at war continuously. The French were short on resources in India because they had diverted their resources to Chandranagore, another French outpost in Bengal. As a result, Pondicherry was an easy target for the Dutch in 1693 and remained with them for almost six years. Later, Pondicherry was reverted to the French in 1697 by the Treaty of Ryswick and officially handed over to Francis Martin in 1699.



Illustration of Pondicherry in 18th century
Source: Wikipedia

The French captured Mahe in 1725, and Karaikal in 1739. In the Bengal region, the French also had success, and they founded their settlements in Qasim Bazaar, Chandranagore, and Balasore. Another efficient French administrator in Pondicherry was Pierre Benoit Dumas (1668–1745). However, the English posed a threat to the French and they subsequently lost to the English.

1.1.5 The Danes in India

In India, Tarangambadi or Tranquebar in TamilNadu, Serampore in West Bengal,

and the Nicobar Islands were Danish and Norwegian colonies until 1813. The Danish King, Christian IV, established the Danish East India Company on March 17, 1616, through the charter. The Danish traders were not in favour of the company. The initial expedition of the Danes to Ceylon was commanded by Admiral Ove Gjedde in 1618. However, in Ceylon, the Danes were unable to secure any trading agreements. Moreover, the Portuguese sank their main ships near Karaikkal while on their return from Ceylon.

The Danish succeeded in establishing a factory at Masulipatnam despite their engagement in the Thirty Years War and the financial damage they endured. At Balasore and Pipli, small trading outposts were built. Even though the Danish investors did not favour the Danish East India Company, King Christian IV supported it. However, it was abolished after his death in 1648 by his son, Frederick.

In 1696, a second Danish East India Company was founded and the trade between Tarangambadi and Denmark was restored. They also built numerous new trading outposts. Moreover, three more adjacent villages of Tarangambadi were given as gifts by the Nayak ruler of Thanjavur. The Danish missionaries who were protestants arrived in 1706. Although the Danish established themselves in the Andaman and Nicobar islands by 1755, they were forced to leave the islands in 1848 because of the spread of malaria. The Napoleonic wars severely affected the Danish as the British damaged their possessions. Tranquebar and other settlements were transferred to the British in 1845 in addition to Serampore in 1839.

Recap

- ▶ Age of discovery or exploration
- ▶ Advent of European Trading Companies
- ▶ trade relations of India with European countries
- ▶ Arab merchants
- ▶ European merchants
- ▶ Direct trade of Europeans with India
- ▶ the discovery of a new sea route between Europe and India
- ▶ In 1498, Vasco da Gama of Portugal, Voyage through sea
- ▶ Trading companies of European countries like Dutch, Spain, France and England in India
- ▶ European Companies
- ▶ Portuguese Companies
- ▶ Casa da India (1500) and the Portuguese East India Company (1628)
- ▶ The Portuguese
- ▶ first to start a joint stock company to trade in India
- ▶ India armadas.
- ▶ Consolidation of the Portuguese empire
- ▶ religious policy
- ▶ The Dutch East India Company
- ▶ functions of the Company
- ▶ profitable spice trade with the islands of the East Indies
- ▶ Dutch settlements in India
- ▶ Anglo- Dutch war
- ▶ decline of the Dutch East India Company
- ▶ The French East India Company
- ▶ Competition with the English and Dutch trading companies in the East Indies- French settlements in India
- ▶ The Danes in India

Objective Type Questions

1. What was the role of Arab merchants in European trade with India?
2. Who were the first Europeans to discover a sea- route to India?
3. When did Vasco da Gama of Portugal set his foot in Calicut?
4. Which were the other European countries who reached India after the Portuguese?
5. Who were the last among the Europeans who entered India for trade purposes during the colonial period?
6. Which royal trading house managed the monopoly of Portuguese trade?



7. Which Portugal King issued a decree opening up trade in India to any private Portuguese national in 1570?
8. When did the Portuguese replace the free trade decree by a new system of annual monopolies?
9. When was the annual contract system abandoned and the royal monopoly resumed by the Portuguese?
10. What was the other name of Dutch East India Company?
11. When was the Dutch East India Company established?
12. What was the main agenda of the French East India Company in India?
13. Which ruler chartered the French East India Company for the purpose of trading in the eastern Hemisphere?
14. What is cartaz system?
15. Which were the major Portuguese settlements in India?

Answers

1. They acted as middle- men who bought goods from India and sold them to the Europeans.
2. The Portuguese.
3. 1498.
4. Dutch, Spain, France and England.
5. Britain and the British East India Company (1600 CE).
6. Casa da India (1500).
7. King Sebastian.
8. 1578.
9. 1597.
10. The United East India Company.
11. 1602.
12. To compete with the English and the Dutch trading companies in the East Indies.
13. King Louis XIV.
14. A naval trade license or pass issued by the Portuguese to control maritime trade.
15. Goa, Cochin, Daman and Diu.

Assignments

1. Discuss the impact of the advent of European companies on the Indian Economy.
2. Elucidate the causes for the outbreak of the First Carnatic War.
3. Describe the commercial situation in India prior to the arrival of the European companies.
4. Trace the course of the rivalries between the European companies in India.

Suggested Readings

1. Bipan Chandra, *History of Modern India*, Orient Black Swan, India, 2018.
2. Ishita Banerjee-Dube, *A History of Modern India*, Cambridge University Press, New York, 2014.
3. Sekhar Bandyopadhyay, *From Plassey to Partition*, Orient Longman, New Delhi, 2004.



Unit 2

British East India Company & Early Settlements

Learning Outcomes

Upon the completion of the Unit, the learner will be:

- ▶ introduced to the establishment and functions of the British East India company.
- ▶ able to get an outline of the rivalry between the British East India Company and other European trading companies in India.
- ▶ familiarised with the significance of various battles fought between the European countries in India and the treaties signed.

Prerequisites

Even though the Portuguese, the Dutch, the French and the Danes established their trading centers, the British, who entered last, succeeded in colonising India. Between the second half of the 17th and the middle of the 18th centuries, India became the centre of British trade. At its foundation in 1600, the East India Company was granted a monopoly over all English trade with Asia through a royal grant. Indian commodities like indigo, saltpetre and handwoven textiles were in demand in Europe. For the East India Company, cotton textile trade was crucial in India. As cotton textiles were most easily available for export in Bombay, Madras, and Calcutta, the company established their major settlements in these locations. As a result, these places expanded from mere factories to commercial centers as Indian traders and artisans began to set up their base in these areas. In this Unit, we will discuss the growth of the British East India Company, its relationship with other European companies and its activities in India.

Keywords

Trading settlements, Factories, Carnatic Wars, Anglo- French rivalry

Discussion

We are well aware that India was under British rule for many years. The British had an intention of colonising India to flourish

their economy. They were not concerned about the course of the Indian economy. They had taken steps to ensure the development and progress of the interests of their homeland.

Such steps transformed the Indian economy and reduced the country to a supplier of raw materials and a consumer of finished goods. The colonial exploitation which continued for over two centuries led to the deprivation of the Indian economy as India had to face a daunting task to recover from the economic toll of colonial rule. It is crucial to examine this interaction between the colonisers and their colonies in order to comprehend the present developments. Let us have a look at how the British established themselves in India.

1.2.1 Establishment of the British East India Company



Masulipatam in 1676

Source: Wikipedia

In 1599, a group of merchants known as Merchant Adventurers formed an English company as a joint-stock company. In 1600, they were given exclusive access to trade in the East by Queen Elizabeth through a charter that authorised English trade with eastern countries like South Africa. In 1608, Captain William Hawkins, the representative of the British East India Company was sent to the court of the Mughal emperor Jahangir to get sanction to build a factory at Surat. As a result, the emperor gave a royal farman permitting the British to open factories at the western coast.



Later, in 1615, Sir Thomas Roe, obtained the farman to establish factories throughout the Mughal empire. At Surat, the East India Company established its first factory and it remained as their centre of trade till 1687. A factory, in those days, was not a place where goods were manufactured, but it consisted of a warehouse, an office and residential quarters.

By 1623, the British established factories at Surat, Agra, Ahmedabad, Broach and Masulipatnam.

Although they initially entered India as traders, they soon realised that ruling the country would be more lucrative. Up until 1900, the East India Company held its dominance in India. Their ultimate aim in the first half of the 18th century was to trade with India and generate revenue. This changed in 1650 when a new group of British traders acquired control of the guards and sought political control to secure easy accessibility to the Indian market and keep rival Europeans out.

Meanwhile, Madras emerged as a significant British trading centre. In 1668, King Charles II transferred Bombay to the Company. Moreover, the company opened a trading centre in Fort William, Calcutta. Hence, by 1700, the East India Company expanded its trading activities by setting up three significant factories in Madras, Bombay, and Calcutta.

1.2.2 Growth of the British East India Company in India

In North India, the British attempts to fortify Surat ended up in conflict with the Mughal authorities. However, in South, the conditions were ideal for the British as they lacked a strong authority. In 1565, the Vijayanagar empire was disintegrated into

petty states and hence it did not pose a threat to the British. Hence, in 1611, they built their factory at Masulipatnam, which was the first British factory in the South. Later, they focused on Madras which they received on lease from the ruler of Chandragiri in 1639. They were granted permission to construct Fort St. George in Madras.



Fort. St. George , an 18th century engraving
Source: Wikipedia

However, in 1645, the Golkonda ruler occupied the territories under the Company's administration in Madras. Then in 1687, Aurangzeb captured Golkonda and established Mughal sovereignty over the Company holdings. However, the English continued to enjoy their privileges. Eventually, Madras became the British headquarters on the Coromandel Coast, replacing Masulipatnam. In 1668, Bombay, which was received as dowry to Charles II from the Portuguese, was transferred to the Company for a yearly rent of 10 pounds.

The Company was granted the authority to raise their military forces and the right to declare war on or negotiate peace with powers in Asia, America and Africa, under the Charter of 1683. Madras became a presidency in 1652 and 1684. Three villages in the Madras region were granted to the Company again in 1693, and five additional villages were granted in 1702.

1.2.3 The British East India Company in Bengal



Calcutta from Hughly River by William Hodges.
C1789 Source : puranakolkata.com

The British had a prolonged struggle in Bengal to secure trading privileges. Even though Shah Shuja, the second son of Shajahan and the Governor of Bengal, granted the Company trading powers, but there was no official validation of these privileges. Only in 1680, the British acquired trading privileges in Bengal. The Company declared war on the ruler who represented the Mughals as local authorities intervened with the British's trading privileges. When peace was finally restored in 1690, the Company built its first settlement at Sutanuti, which would later become Calcutta. In return for a Rs1200 annual payment, the Company acquired the zamindari rights of the villages—Sutanuti, Kalikata, and Gobindpur—in 1698. The factory which they fortified in 1696, Fort William, was transformed into the administrative centre of the presidency in 1770.

1.2.4 The Anglo-French Rivalry and the Carnatic Wars

As mentioned in the previous unit, by the 18th century, the British and the French East India Companies had emerged as the two major European trading companies in India.

Moreover, they were equally determined to monopolise the flourishing trade with India. In Europe, the English and the French were rivals and fought several wars during the mid - eighteenth century.. This political conflict in Europe further aggravated their commercial rivalry for supremacy in India. The conflict between the two East India Companies occurred in the Carnatic region which lies along the Coromandel coast. The three wars (1746–1763) that the British fought with the French to consolidate their power are known as the Carnatic wars.

1.2.4.1 The First Carnatic War (1740-1748)

In 1740, war broke out in Europe over the problem of succession to the Austrian throne. The conflicts between Britain and France in Europe also resulted in conflicts over colonial possessions in North America and India. Hence, India was affected by the Austrian War of Succession and the Seven Year's War in Europe.

Meanwhile Dupleix, the French Governor in India, captured Madras in India. Then, the British appealed to Anwar-ud-din, the Nawab of the Carnatic, to secure Madras. The Nawab sent an army against the French. However, the well- equipped French army completely defeated the large army of the Nawab and pushed them to San Thome. This caused heavy casualties to Nawab's force on the banks of river Adyar. This is known as '**the Battle of San Thome and Adyar**'.

As soon as war erupted, Dupleix pleaded with Morse, the governor of Madras, to maintain neutrality. However, the conflict was sparked when a British navy led by Commodore Barnett siezed a few of the French ships carrying Indian goods. Dupleix

was startled by the event and sought the assistance of Anwar-ud-din, the Nawab of Carnatic, to prevent war with the British. Hence, it remained peaceful for a while.



The surrender of Madras by the British
Source: Wikipedia

When the War of Austrian Succession ended in 1748, India also achieved peace. The **Treaty of Aix-La Chapelle (1748)** was signed by France and England and it concluded the first Carnatic war. The British and French agreed to end their war in India as a result of this treaty. While the French received the territories of North America, the treaty restored Madras to the English. Thus ended the First Carnatic War without any territorial gain on either side. The war, however, had raised the prestige of the French. It had also demonstrated the superiority of western method of warfare over that of the Indian.

1.2.4.2 The Second Carnatic War (1749 – 1754)

While the British and the French remained peaceful in Europe, they could not coexist peacefully in India. The Second Carnatic War was the result of the English and French

interference in local politics with a view to gaining substantial profits. The Governor-General of French India, Joseph Dupleix, intended to use the army to establish French predominance in the Deccan. Hence, he intervened in the succession conflicts in both Hyderabad and Arcot.



Dupleix meeting Muzaffar Jang

Source: Wikipedia

Furthermore, in 1748, the death of Nizam -Ul-Mulk, the ruler of Hyderabad, and the release of Chanda Sahib by the Marathas became golden opportunities for Dupleix. In Hyderabad, a bitter contest for the throne ensued between Nasir Jang and Muzaffar Jang. Nasir Jung, Nizam's son, ascended the throne after his father's death. However, he was challenged by Muzaffar Jung, grandson of Nizam. Meanwhile, similar circumstances occurred in the Carnatic region where Chanda Sahib plotted against Nawab Anwarudeen as he contested the latter's claim to the throne.

Dupleix decided to enhance French power by taking sides in these conflicts between rival claimants. His objective was to set up puppet governments that would support the French against the British. He signed two secret treaties with Muzaffar Jang and Chanda Sahib, claimants to the thrones of Hyderabad and the Carnatic respectively. In December 1750 while Muzaffar Jang ascended the throne of Hyderabad with the help of Dupleix, the

French army killed Nasir Jang.

The Nawab of Arcot and Nizam rewarded Dupleix for his support. When Muzaffar Jang sought for protection, a French force under General Bussy, which was stationed in Hyderabad, provided him protection. Nevertheless, Muzaffar Jang was killed. After Muzaffar Jang's death, Salabat Jang, the brother of Nasir Jang, was placed on the throne. In return, Salabat Jang gave four districts in the Andhra region known as the Northern Sarkars to the French Company.

Meanwhile, in the Carnatic region, Chanda Sahib received the assistance of Dupleix. Hence, Chanda Sahib defeated and killed Anwar-ud-din in '**the Battle of Ambur' (1749)** and became the Nawab. Muhammad Ali, the son of Anwar-ud-din, escaped to Tiruchirappalli. Chanda Sahib rewarded the French with a grant of eighty villages as a reward. The French had achieved tremendous success both in Hyderabad and the Carnatic. French candidates had been put on the thrones of both the places. In addition, the French had got jagirs, huge sums of money and the Northern Sarkars.

However, the success of Dupleix did not go unnoticed by the English. After Anwar-ud-din was killed in the battle, to curtail the French dominance, the British supported Muhammad Ali to become his successor. Hence, they decided to place Mohammad Ali on the throne of Arcot. The wars were won by the British under the capable generalship and cunning of Robert Clive. While the Nawab and the French paid much attention to Tiruchirappalli, Clive stormed and captured Arcot, the capital of the Carnatic. In the war that followed, Chanda Sahib was defeated, captured and executed. Mohammad Ali became the ruler of Carnatic.



Robert Clive

Source: Britannica.com

Britain and French, counterparts in

Europe, were not in favour of the conflicts in which their companies are involved in India. The French Government initiated peace negotiations. The French company criticised Dupleix for heavy losses in the company and recalled him from India. He was then replaced by Charles-Robert Godeheu, who signed the **Treaty of Pondicherry (1755)** with the British. As per the treaty, the English and French had no right to involve themselves in political affairs of the Indian subcontinent. They could only be engaged in trading activity. The Northern Sarkars was the only territorial gain that the French made after the Second Carnatic War. The Second Carnatic War restored the prestige of the British and established their control over the Carnatic.

1.2.4.3 The Third Carnatic War (1756 – 1763)

Map of India in 1763 (i.e., during the seven years war)
Source: Wikipedia



In 1756, hostilities between England and France broke out in Europe with the **Seven Years War (1756-1763)**. In India, it culminated in the third Carnatic War between these rivals. The French Government sent Count de Lally to replace Dupleix. Meanwhile, Clive was replaced by Eyre Coote. In order to strengthen his position in Pondicherry, Lally recalled Bussy from Hyderabad. Meanwhile, the British at once secured Northern Circars and Masulipatanam, which were the French possessions, from the Nizam of Hyderabad. Later, in 1760, the French were completely destroyed at the **Battle of Wandiwash (1760)** as Lally was finally defeated by Sir Eyre Coote. As a result, the French lost all of her possessions to the British and the latter remained the sole masters of India.



Vandavasi fort (site of battle of Wandiwash)
Source: Wikipedia

The war in India ended with the end of the war in Europe. The French influence in Indian politics disappeared after the third Carnatic war. Even though they restored their possessions at Chandranagore and Pondicherry in India following the Treaty of Paris (1763), they were not allowed to fortify them. Moreover, the French dream of establishing an empire in India was shattered. The French settlements were confined to Pondicherry,

Yanaon, Karaikal, Chandranagore and Mahe and Northern Circars passed into the hands of the British. Consequently, the English East India Company emerged as the strongest power in South India. They gained political and economic advantages without being challenged by any other foreign power.

1.2.5 Reasons for the success of the British East India Company

- ▶ The British East India Company was a private enterprise owned by British merchants capable of taking risks. The British Government did not interfere in the affairs of the Company. The French East India Company, on the other hand, was a Government concern. The French Government was not willing to finance the Company's heavy war expenses.
- ▶ The British Company was financially much stronger than the French. After the conquest of Bengal, it had huge resources at its command. The French Company suffered from lack of resources.
- ▶ The superior naval strength of the British contributed enormously to their success. A strong British navy helped the Company to bring reinforcement from home. Moreover, their supplies landed at their naval base in Bombay. The French naval base in distant Mauritius caused considerable delay and put them at a disadvantage.
- ▶ The French generals quarreled among themselves. But the British generals offered united resistance to the French. There was

- hardly any coordination between the French army and the navy.
- ▶ The recall of Dupleix proved disastrous to the French. Possibly, he alone could have given

the leadership which the French Company urgently needed.

Recap

- ▶ Establishment of English East India Company
- ▶ setting up of first factory at Surat
- ▶ British trading settlements Madras, Bombay
- ▶ Establishment of a trading centre at Fort William in Calcutta
- ▶ Three important factories in Madras, Bombay and Calcutta
- ▶ Growth of English East India Company
- ▶ Queen's permission and exclusive rights to trade with the east
- ▶ Royal Farman by Jahangir to Captain Hawkins
- ▶ Establishment of factories on the western coast
- ▶ Sir Thomas Roe
- ▶ Construction of Fort St. George at Madras
- ▶ Arrival of the French under the leadership of Dupleix
- ▶ Interference in the affairs of the local princes
- ▶ Victory of English in war
- ▶ Treaty of 1754
- ▶ Recall of Dupleix from India
- ▶ Battle of Wandiwash
- ▶ Defeat of the French
- ▶ Ascendancy of Siraj-ud-Daulah to the throne
- ▶ Battle of Plassey in 1757
- ▶ Defeat of Siraj-ud-Daulah
- ▶ Defeat of Mir Qasim in the Battle of Buxar in 1764
- ▶ East India Company's rule in India
- ▶ Farman of Farukhsiyar
- ▶ Anglo-French Struggle causes and effect
- ▶ First Carnatic War (1740 – 1748)
- ▶ Events and results
- ▶ Treaty of Aix-La Chapelle
- ▶ Second Carnatic War (1749 – 1754)
- ▶ Causes and events
- ▶ Treaty of Pondicherry
- ▶ Third Carnatic War (1756 – 1763)
- ▶ Seven Years' War- Causes, events and results
- ▶ Treaty of Peace of Paris



- Reasons behind the success of English and the failure of French East India Company

Objective Type Questions

1. When was the English East India Company established in India?
2. Where did the English East India Company set up their first factory in India?
3. Which ruler transferred Bombay to the Company in 1688?
4. Where were the three important factories of the English East India Company located during the 1700s?
5. Which Mughal ruler issued a trade license granting the British East India Company permission to live and trade in the Mughal Empire?
6. When did the Battle of Wandiwash happen and who was defeated in it?
7. When did the Battle of Plassey happen and who was defeated in it?
8. When did the Battle of Buxar happen and who was defeated in it?
9. Which treaty concluded the first Carnatic war?
10. Who was the Governor-General of French India during the second Carnatic war?
11. Who signed the Treaty of Pondicherry?
12. Who won the third Carnatic war?
13. When was the French East India Company formed?
14. Where did the French East India Company establish their trade centres?
15. Which French Governor captured Madras?
16. When did the war of Austrian Succession end?
17. Which French Governor signed secret treaties with Muzaffar Jung and Chanda Sahib?
18. Which region was given by Salabat Jang to the French Company?
19. Which was the capital of Carnatic and who captured it?
20. Which European war corresponds to the third Carnatic war?
21. Who defeated Count De Lally in the Battle of Wandiwash?
22. When did the Battle of Wandiwash happen?

Answers

1. 1600
2. Surat
3. King Charles II
4. Madras, Bombay and Calcutta
5. Farrukhsiyar
6. 1760, The French

7. 1757, Siraj-ud-Daulah
8. 1764, Mir Qasim
9. The Treaty of Aix-La Chapelle
10. Joseph Dupleix
11. Charles-Robert Godeheu
12. The British
13. 1664
14. Surat, Pondicherry near Madras, Chandernagar in Bengal and Mahe near Mysore
15. Dupleix
16. 1748
17. Dupleix
18. Four districts in the Andhra region known as the Northern Sarkars
19. Arcot, Robert Clive
20. Seven years' War
21. Sir Eyre Coote
22. 1760

Assignments

1. Discuss the role of the British East India Company in establishing British supremacy in India.
2. Briefly explain the cause and effect of the Anglo French rivalry in the Carnatic region.
3. Mention the factors that led to the success of British East India Company against the French East India Company in India.
4. Examine the effect of the third Carnatic war on French power in India.

Suggested Reading

1. Bipan Chandra, *History of Modern India*, Orient Black Swan, India, 2018
2. Ishita Banerjee-Dube, *A History of Modern India*, Cambridge University Press, New York, 2014.
3. Sekhar Bandyopadhyay, *From Plassey to Partition*, Orient Longman, New Delhi, 2004.



Unit 3

British in Bengal

Learning Outcomes

Upon the successful completion of the Unit, the learner would be:

- ▶ introduced to the dominance of the British East India Company in Bengal
- ▶ able to know the relationship of the Nawabs of Bengal with the British Empire
- ▶ grasping the ways in which the British received the right to duty free trade in Bengal

Prerequisites

The previous unit discussed the establishment of the British East India Company and its early settlements in India. The British acquired the trade monopoly through her East India Company and later established political dominance in India and ruled for more than two centuries. We have also discussed the British occupation of Bengal very briefly in the last unit.

The Bengal Presidency covers much of modern-day Bangladesh and West Bengal. It was one of the richest and fertile provinces of the Mughal empire. The authoritative power was vested with the Nawab of Bengal. Bengal held its economic importance for its famous saltpeter, silk and textile. Towards the beginning of the seventeenth century, the British East India Company established its profitable trade with Bengal. Rice, indigo, sugar, cotton, etc., were exported from Bengal to Europe. The enormous resources of Bengal came in handy for financing the British expansion. Hence, Bengal became the first and most important province of the British Empire. East India Company's trade in Bengal was worth £ 50,000, per annum.

The British were granted the right to trade in India by the Mughal emperor. However, the British India Company refused to pay taxes by misusing the trade licenses. All the Nawabs of Bengal, from Murshid Quli Khan to Alivardi Khan had refused to the British interpretation of the farman of 1717. They had compelled the Company to pay lump sums to their treasury. Nevertheless, the East India Company had ruled Bengal until 1857, when it was annexed by the British Crown and combined with the neighboring territories of Bihar and Orissa to form the Eastern Provinces. In this Unit, let us discuss the British intervention in Bengal.

Keywords

Farman, Dastaks, Nawabs, Duty-free, Trade, Revenue

Discussion

1.3.1. Bengal before the British Occupation

By 1761 the Mughal empire had a nominal role and remained as mere symbolic authority. It has enabled the local powers to assert their independence. It also signified a decentralisation of power as a few states asserted their independence. Bengal, Hyderabad and Awadh were the three successor states that virtually exercised autonomy in matters of execution of power at the local level. The province of Bengal gradually became independent of Mughal control after Murshid Quli Khan became the governor or Nizam of Bengal in 1717 and he consolidated his position further. He was the last governor of Bengal appointed by the Mughal emperor.



Nawab Alivardi Khan

Murshid Quli made Bengal a constant revenue paying surplus area. He sent the annual Bengal revenue to Delhi regularly. Murshid Quli named his daughter's son Sarfaraz Khan his successor. Later, in 1727, Sarfaraz Khan took control of the two provinces of Bengal and Orissa. However, Sarfaraz Khan was ousted by the army commander Alivardi Khan with the help of a few powerful zamindars. Alivardi Khan deposed and killed Sarfaraz Khan and made himself the Nawab.

Alivardi's reign marked a virtual break with the Mughals. Alivardi Khan did not permit the British and the French to fortify their factories in Calcutta and Chandernagore. In 1756, after the death of Alivardi's death, his grandson Siraj Ud-daula became his successor.

1.3.2. British Occupation of Bengal



view of Calcutta from fort William
Source : Wikipedia

The history of British rule in Bengal dates back to 1680, when the East India Company secured a trading charter from the Mughal emperor Aurangzeb. Aurangzeb granted them the right to duty free trade in Bengal

in return for an annual payment of Rs. 3000. Further, in 1690, the Company established its first settlement at Sutanuti (Calcutta) and fortified it in 1696 and called as Fort William. Two years later, in 1698, they secured the Zamindari rights of three villages named Kalikata, Sutanuti and Gobindpur on an annual payment of 1200 rupees in return. In 1770, the Fort William became the headquarters of the Bengal presidency.

It took a long time for the British to receive the trading rights in India. In 1717, a farman, issued by Mughal emperor Farruksiyar, granted the Company the right to carry on duty free trade, to rent thirty eight villages around Calcutta and to use the royal mint. The employees of the Company, though permitted to carry on private trade, were entitled to pay taxes like the Indian merchants. This farman became a new source of conflict between the Company and the new autonomous ruler of Bengal who refused to extend duty free provision. The conflict between the Bengal Nawab and the British East India company had started since 1717.

1.3.2.1 Conflicts between Nawabs and British

The farman of 1717 was a perpetual source of conflict between the Company and the Nawab of Bengal. The company refused to pay the taxes by misusing the trade license or dastaks. The Nawab, who faced a major loss in his revenue from trade, protested against the misuse of the dastak or permit by Company's servants who carried on private trade.

The Nawabs of Bengal did not firmly put down the increasing tendency of the British company to use military force after 1707. The Nawabs who had the power to deal with the Company's threats believed that a mere trading company could not threaten their

power.



Murshid Quli Khan

The army of Murshid Quli Khan consisted of only 200 cavalry and 4000 infantry. The Nawab of Bengal neglected to build a strong army of their own. He launched repeated invasions of the Marathas. In 1755, the English Company began renovating the fortifications of Calcutta without the Nawab's permission. The conflict between the Nawab and the Company assumed critical dimensions when Siraj -ud-duala became Nawab in 1756.

Calcutta was not the healthiest place to live, but its location closer to the Bay of Bengal than Hughli made it a convenient settlement. The English East India Company became a landlord of the villages around Calcutta. They built the fortified structure of Fort William. Bengal made the Company's most startling conquests.

1.3.3 Impact of British Occupation of Bengal

The 'farman' granted to the British by the Mughal Emperor allowed them to conduct free trade in Bengal. They were also not required to pay trade permits or dastaks for the movement of such goods. However, these were abused

by the company's employees, resulting in revenue loss for Bengal. When Siraj-ud-Daulah, Alivardi Khan's grandson, ascended to the throne in 1756, he demanded that the British had to trade on the same terms as the Indian merchants. When the British refused it and began to strengthen their fortifications, the situation deteriorated. This resulted in **the Battle of Plassey (1757)**, in which Siraj-ud-Daulah was treacherously defeated by the cheating of Mir Jaffar and Rai Durlabh. This brought the British enormous prestige and revenue. The position of British in India was transformed from a commercial to a territorial power.



Robert Clive at Battle of Plassey
Source: nam.ac.uk

The British replaced Siraj-ud-daula with Mir Jaffar. When Mir Jaffar failed to pay the British tribute and tried to assert independence, they placed Mir Qasim on the

throne. He realised that to fight against the British, it required both revenue and an army. Finally, he eliminated all internal trade duties. This enraged the British, who defeated Mir Qasim in the **Battle of Buxar (1764)**.

The British East India Company's occupation of Bengal had a profound impact on the region. As mentioned, the East India Company's armies, led by Robert Clive, defeated the forces of the Nawab of Bengal in the Battle of Plassey in 1757. The Battle resulted in the treaty of Allahabad in 1765, in which the Mughal emperor surrendered the control over Bengal. Robert Clive became the first governor General of Bengal.

In the battle of Buxar, not only the Nawab but the Delhi emperor was also defeated by the British army. With the political developments in Bengal, the British became a territorial power in India. Consequently, the East India Company was given the authority to collect taxes and raise an army in Bengal, which it used to further expand its territories. This caused a great deal of resentment among the Bengali people who felt that their sovereign rights had been violated by the East India Company's occupation. We will discuss in detail the battles fought between the nawabs of Bengal with the British, in the next unit of this block.

Recap

- ▶ The English East India Company had a profound impact on the people and economy of Bengal.
- ▶ The East India Company had been trading in Bengal since the early 17th century.
- ▶ In the mid-18th century, the East India Company started to make a major impact on Bengal.
- ▶ The British gradually took over Bengal.



- ▶ In 1757, the East India Company defeated the Nawab of Bengal at the Battle of Plassey.
- ▶ The British East India Company became the dominant power in Bengal.
- ▶ The Company ruled Bengal for almost 200 years.
- ▶ Nawabs of Bengal
- ▶ British Occupation of Bengal
- ▶ Conflicts between Nawabs and the British
- ▶ Impact of British Occupation of Bengal

Objective Type Questions

1. When did Murshid Quli Khan become the Governor or Nazim of Bengal?
2. Who was the last Governor of Bengal appointed by the Mughal emperor?
3. Who became the successor of Murshid Quli Khan?
4. Who granted the Company the right to duty free trade in Bengal in return for an annual payment of Rs. 3000?
5. When did the English Company begin renovating the fortifications of Calcutta without the Nawab's permission?
6. Which Mughal Emperor issued a farman in 1717?
7. When did Siraj ud-daula come to the throne?
8. What was the result of the Battle of Plassey?
9. Who became the first Governor General of Bengal?
10. Who became the Governor or Nazim of Bengal in 1717?

Answers

1. 1717
2. Murshid Quli Khan
3. Sarfaraz Khan
4. Aurengzeb
5. 1755
6. Farrukhsiyar
7. 1756
8. Treaty of Allahabad in 1765
9. Robert Clive
10. Murshid Quli Khan

Assignments

1. Examine the factors that led to the British Occupation of Bengal.
2. Describe the causes of the conflict between the British East India Company and the Nawabs of Bengal.
3. Analyse the impact of the British occupation of Bengal.
4. Briefly explain the significance of the farman issued in 1717 by Farrukhsiyar.

Suggested Reading

1. Ishita Banerjee-Dube, *A History of Modern India*, Cambridge University Press, New York, 2014.
2. Sekhar Bandyopadhyay, *From Plassey to Partition*, Orient Longman, New Delhi, 2004.
3. Bipan Chandra, *History of Modern India*, Orient Black Swan, India, 2018.

Unit 4

Battles of Plassey and Buxar

Learning Outcomes

After the successful completion of the unit, the learner will be:

- ▶ able to explain the historical importance of Battles of Plassey and Buxar
- ▶ able to explain the role of the battles of Plassey and Buxar in making the British a territorial power in India
- ▶ introduced to the concept of 'dual government'

Prerequisites

The Battle of Plassey was an important event in the history of British India. It paved the way for the British occupation of Bengal and eventually of the whole of India. The rich revenues of Bengal enabled them to organise a strong army to conquer the rest of India. The victory of Plassey enabled the English East India Company to amass untold wealth in Bengal. In this unit, let us discuss the historical importance of the battles of Plassey and Buxar in establishing the British Colonial empire in India.

Keywords

Dual government, Jagir, Dastak, Diwani

1.4.1 The Battle of Plassey (1757)



Siraj-ud-daula

The battle of Plassey was fought in the region of West Bengal in 1757. Robert Clive led the troops of the British East India company against the forces led by Siraj-ud-daula, who succeeded his grandfather Alivardi Khan and became the last Nawab of Bengal in 1756. The English victory in the Carnatic had already made Siraj-ud-daula apprehensive of the growing power of the East India Company. Even though he wanted to curb their power, he faced opposition within his own court, which helped the British win the Battle of Plassey.



Robert Clive and Mir Jafar after the Battle of Plassey

Meanwhile, the English started fortifying Calcutta without obtaining permission from the Nawab. This amounted to ignoring his sovereign power. The infuriated Nawab marched to Calcutta and occupied Fort William in June 1756. Most of the English soldiers fled to Fulta.

Siraj-ud-daula after conquering Calcutta marched back to Murshidabad. Siraj's success, however, was short-lived. At the beginning of 1757, Robert Clive arrived with a strong military force and reconquered Calcutta. He compelled the Nawab to concede all the demands of the British, including the right to fortify Calcutta.

The British, however, were not satisfied and wanted to install a puppet Nawab on the throne of Bengal. Hence, Clive entered into a conspiracy with the commander of the Nawab's army, and others to overthrow Siraj-ud-daula. Mir Jafar was promised to be made as the Nawab of Bengal in return for a huge sum of money as reward to the Company. The British then presented the Nawab with an impossible set of demands. This resulted in the war, in which the two armies met at the

field of Plassey, just over 20 miles south of Murshidabad, on 23 June 1757.

The unsatisfied followers of Nawab such as Mir Jafar and other Bengali generals were ready to ally with the British Empire. Mir Jafar was promised the throne of Bengal by the British East India Company. This secret alliance with the British led to the defeat of Nawab. Siraj-ud-daula died when he tried to escape from the war with his troops but he was killed by Miran, the son of Mir Jafar.

The Battle of Plassey established the stronghold of the British in Bengal. The fateful battle of Plassey was a battle only in name. The major part of the Nawab's army under Mir Jafar was not engaged in the fighting. Even though, the Nawab was forced to flee, he was captured and put to death by Mir Jafar's son, Miran.

1.4.2. Results of Battle of Plassey

The Battle of Plassey made the English the virtual masters of Bengal. It placed the vast wealth of Bengal in the hands of the British. These resources helped them to win battles in the Carnatic. The victory in the battle of Plassey transformed a mere trading company into a political power. It paved the way for the establishment of British rule in India.



The Battle of Plassey

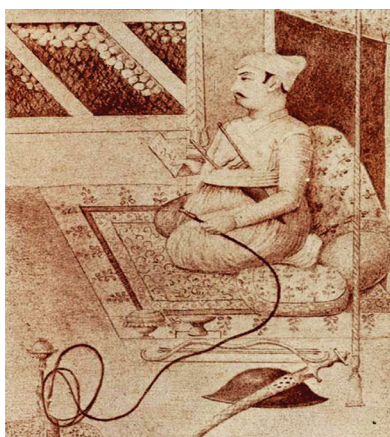
Mir Jafar, who was a weak and inefficient

ruler, became a puppet in the hands of the British. He had gifted a jagir to Clive and rich presents to others in the Company in return for the Nawabship. The treasury had become empty and Mir Jafar was unable to meet the ever-increasing demands of the Company and its officials. Hence, Mir Jafar was deposed and his son-in-law Mir Qasim was placed on the throne. Later, Mir Qasim handed over the zamindars of Burdwan, Midnapore and Chittagong as a reward to the Company.

1.4.3 Battle of Buxar (1764)

Mir Qasim was the last Nawab of Bengal who endeavoured to reassert the royal authority. To consolidate his power, he introduced several reforms and organised a disciplined and well equipped army trained by Europeans. To improve his finances, he attempted to check the misuse of dastak (or permit) by the Company's servants who carried on duty-free private trade.

This abuse ruined honest Indian traders through unfair competition and deprived the Nawab of large revenue. Mir Qasim undertook a drastic step of abolishing all duties on internal trade, and thus put English and Indian merchants on the same footing. As this attempt made the English furious and they could not accept such a huge loss, he decided to overthrow him.



Mir Qasim

In 1763, when the war broke out between Mir Qasim and the British, the Nawab was defeated and escaped to Awadh. Mir Jafar was reinstated on the throne. Hence, Mir Qasim formed an alliance with the Nawab of Awadh and Shah Alam II, the Mughal Emperor. The combined army decisively defeated at the Battle of Buxar in 1764. Mir Qasim fled from the scene.

The Battle of Buxar is one of the most decisive battles of Indian history. It finally established the British as masters of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa and gave them control over Awadh and the Mughal Emperor. The reinstatement of Mir Jafar as the Nawab sealed the fate of independent Nawabship in Bengal. In the battle of Buxar, the British East India Company led by Hector Munro, defeated Mir Qasim, the Nawab of Bengal in 1764. This event has been called the most decisive moment in the history of the British in Bengal as this victory ensured the dominance of the British East India Company in Bengal.

1.4.3. The Treaty of Allahabad (1765)

In 1765, the Treaty of Allahabad was signed by Robert Clive with Shuja-ud-daula and Shah Alam II. According to the terms of the treaty, Awadh was restored to Shuja-ud-daula on payment of 50 lakhs of rupees to the Company. The districts of Kora and Allahabad were taken away from Awadh. In return, the Company promised to protect Awadh from external threats.

The districts of Kora and Allahabad were given to the Mughal Emperor. In addition, an annual payment of 26 lakhs of rupees was given to the Emperor. In return the Mughal Emperor granted the Diwani of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa to the East India Company. The Diwani gave the Company

the right to collect revenue from these provinces. This marked the first step towards the direct administration of Bengal by the

Company. The Company got the legal right to control Bengal.



Shah Alam handing over the treaty of Allahabad

The British East India Company, which was a joint-stock company established in 1600, ruled India as a commercial-military enterprise from 1757 to 1859. The Company's first ship docked at Surat port in present-day Gujarat in 1608. The Company started its first factory in the present-day Andhra Pradesh in 1613. Company rule in India began after the Battle of Plassey in 1757 and following the Battle of Buxar, the expansion of British rule in India gained momentum.

1.4.4 Dual Government in Bengal (1765)

In 1765, a dual government was established in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. By virtue of the Diwani, the East India Company directly collected revenue from these areas. At the same time the Company enjoyed military power and criminal jurisdiction over these areas. However, the administration

of the kingdom was left in the hands of the Nawab. This arrangement was called 'dual government'. Thus, the Nawab was burdened with the responsibility of administering the country without the resources for running it efficiently.

The Company which had control over the resources had no responsibility of administering the country. Obviously, the Company was unwilling to spend the revenue it collected on the administration and welfare of the people. This system of dual government resulted in utter misery for the people as the revenue officials extorted money from poor peasants who were forced to starve. In addition, the year 1770 witnessed the most severe famine of the century. About one-third of the population perished in the famine. At the time of Clive's departure to England, the British were no longer mere traders in Bengal, but were legally the rulers of the province.



Recap

- ▶ The battle of Plassey was fought in the region of West Bengal in 1757.
- ▶ Robert Clive led the troops of the British East India company.
- ▶ Robert Clive arrived with a strong military force and reconquered Calcutta at the beginning of 1757.
- ▶ The Battle of Plassey made the English the virtual masters of Bengal.
- ▶ Mir Jafar - Mir Qasim was the last Nawab of Bengal who endeavoured to reassert royal authority.
- ▶ In 1763, war broke out between Mir Qasim and the English.
- ▶ The British East India Company defeated the Nawab of Bengal in 1764.
- ▶ In 1765, the Treaty of Allahabad was signed by Clive with Shuja-ud-daula and Shah Alam II.
- ▶ Dual government in Bengal 1765.
- ▶ The Company set its main settlements in Bombay, Madras, and Calcutta.

Objective Type Questions

1. Who led the troops of the British East India company against the forces led by Siraj-ud-daula?
2. In which battle Mir Qasim and his allies Shah Alam II and Nawab of Awadh were defeated by the British army?
3. Who led the troops of the British East India Company against the forces led by Mir Quasim?
4. Which incident established the stronghold of the British in Bengal?
5. When did the Nawab Siraj ud- daula marched to Calcutta and occupied Fort William?
6. When was the dual government established in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa?
7. Which province was restored to Shuja-ud-daula on payment of 50 lakhs of rupees to the Company?
8. When was the Treaty of Allahabad signed?
9. Which was the English Company's first ship dock?
10. In which battle the Bengal's Nawab Siraj ud-Daulah was dethroned?

Answers

1. Robert Clive
2. Battle of Buxar
3. Hector Munro

4. The Battle of Plassey
5. June 1756
6. 1765
7. Awadh
8. 1765
9. Surat port
10. The Battle of Plassey

Assignments

1. How the battle of Plassey paved the way for the establishment of British rule in India? Discuss.
2. Discuss the consequences of the Battle of Buxar.
3. Examine the significance of the dual government.
4. Analyse the importance of the Treaty of Allahabad.

Suggested Reading

1. Ishita Banerjee-Dube, *A History of Modern India*, Cambridge University Press, New York, 2014.
2. Sekhar Bandyopadhyay, *From Plassey to Partition*, Orient Longman, New Delhi, 2004.
3. Bipan Chandra, *History of Modern India*, Orient Black Swan, India, 2018.
4. R.C. Majumdar, *History of the Freedom Movement in India*, Vol.I, Firma K.L. Mukhopadhyay, Calcutta, 1971.



CONSOLIDATION OF BRITISH POWER

Unit 1

Lord Wellesley and Subsidiary Alliance

Learning Outcomes

Upon completion of the unit, the learner will be able to :

- ▶ describe the system of subsidiary alliance
- ▶ identify Lord Wellesley's aggressive interference in the internal affairs of the states.
- ▶ analyze the expansion of British rule in India
- ▶ explain how Indian states lost their independence.

Prerequisites

Lord Wellesley's administration had made the English East India Company the master of India. In the six years of his administration he made it clear that the Company's primary interest was no longer commercial. In India he achieved a number of successes during the first years of his administration. He claimed that an all India paternalistic despotism was necessary to impose stability on the Indian States. Lord Wellesley intended to bring all Indian states under British control. He also took advantage of the disunity among the Indian states and for him it was easy to bring these states into his system of subsidiary alliances. He also interfered in the internal affairs of the Maratha empire and obtained a subsidiary alliance with the Peshwa.

Keywords

Wellesley, Expansionist Policy, System of Subsidiary Alliance, Anti-British Alliance, Treaty of Rajghat

2.1.1 Wellesley

Under the governorship of Lord Wellesley, who arrived in India in 1798 at a period when the British were engaged in a global battle for survival with France, the British Empire in India underwent a significant expansion. The British had up to that point adhered to the principle of consolidating their successes and resources in India and expanding their

territory only when it was possible to do so without endangering the main Indian powers. The timing was right, according to Lord Wellesley, to subjugate as many Indian states as possible. Mysore and the Marathas, the two biggest Indian empires, had lost influence by 1797. India's political environment was favourable for an expansionist agenda because it was simple and profitable to be

aggressive. Additionally, Britain's commerce and industrial classes wanted to see their country grow strong and powerful in India.

2.1.2 Subsidiary Alliance



Lord Wellesley

Wellesley used three strategies to accomplish his political goals: the Subsidiary Alliance structure, direct conflict, and annexation of formerly subjugated monarchs' lands. Even though the custom of providing an Indian ruler with a paid British force was relatively old, Wellesley gave it a clear shape by using it to subject the Indian States to the Company's supreme authority. The ruler of the allying Indian State was required to accept the permanent stationing of a British military within his territory and to pay a stipend for its upkeep under his Subsidiary Alliance arrangement. All of this was reportedly done for his safety but was actually a way for the Indian monarch to pay tribute to the Company. In certain cases, the ruler ceded

some of his land in lieu of making a yearly subsidy payment. The Subsidiary Treaty also frequently stipulated that the Indian ruler would consent to the posting of a British Resident to his court, that he would not hire any Europeans without British consent, and that he would not engage in negotiations with any other Indian rulers without first seeking the Governor's approval. In return, the British agreed to protect the king against his adversaries. Additionally, they promised not to meddle in the internal issues of the ally state, but they rarely followed it.

2.1.2.1 Subsidiary Alliance- Disaster for Indian States:

When an Indian state signs a subsidiary alliance, it is essentially handing away its independence. It lost the ability to defend itself, maintain diplomatic ties, hire foreign expertise, and arbitrate disputes with its neighbours. In fact, the Indian king lost all remaining authority over foreign affairs and bowed down to the British Resident who meddled with the government's day-to-day operations. Additionally, the mechanism had a tendency to cause the protected state's internal degradation. The British-provided supplementary army came at a very high expense that was actually much more than the state's means of support. Payment of the arbitrarily fixed and artificially inflated subsidy always caused the state's economy to suffer and left its citizens in poverty. The armies of the protected states were disbanded as a result of the system of subsidiary alliances. Millions of soldiers and officers lost their inherited means of support, causing suffering and degradation throughout the nation. Furthermore, since they no longer feared their citizens, the leaders of protected regimes often neglected and oppressed them. They were completely shielded by the British



from both local and international foes, so they had no reason to be excellent rulers.

2.1.2.2 Subsidiary Alliance -

Advantage to the British

The British, on the other hand, greatly benefited from the Subsidiary Alliance arrangement. At the expense of the Indian states, they could now sustain a sizable army. Since every conflict would take place in the territory of either the British ally or the British enemy, they were allowed to fight wars far from their own borders. They were in charge of the protected ally's defence and foreign policy, and they had a strong force stationed right in the middle of their territory. As a result, they had the ability to topple the ally and grab their territories at any time by claiming they were ineffective. The British viewed the Subsidiary Alliances system as "a strategy of fattening allies as we fatten oxen, until they were worthy of being devoured," in the words of a British writer.

2.1.2.3 Subsidiary Alliance with Nizam

In 1798, Lord Wellesley signed his initial subsidiary agreement with the Nizam of Hyderabad. The British promised to defend his state from Maratha incursions, thus the Nizam was required to remove his French-trained soldiers while maintaining a supplementary army of six battalions. Another pact was signed in 1800 that enlarged the subsidiary force and required the Nizam to give the Company a portion of his holdings instead of money.

2.1.2.4. Subsidiary Alliance with the Nawab of Awadh

In 1801, the Nawab of Awadh was

compelled to ratify a subsidiary treaty. The Nawab was forced to give the British approximately half of his empire, which included Rohilkhand and the area between the Ganga and the Jamuna, in exchange for a larger subsidiary force.

Additionally, the Nawab lost his independence, even inside the portion of Avadh that he took with him. Any instructions or recommendations given by the British government regarding the internal management of his State must be obeyed. British officers were to take charge of and oversee the restructuring of his police force. His own army was essentially abolished, and the British were free to station soldiers anywhere they pleased in his state.

Third Anglo-Mysore war

Wellesley dealt with Mysore, Carnatic, Tanjore, and Surat even more harshly. Of course, Tipu of Mysore would never consent to a subsidiary treaty. Instead, he never accepted the fact that he had lost half of his land in 1792. In preparation for the inescapable conflict with the British, he never stopped working to fortify his soldiers. He started talking about forming an alliance with France during the French Revolution. In order to form an anti-British alliance, he sent emissaries to Afghanistan, Arabia, and Turkey.

Fourth Anglo-Mysore War

Before French assistance could reach Tipu, the British troops struck him in 1799 and decimated him in a quick but bloody conflict. Tipu continued to reject offers of humiliating peace agreements. "Better to die like a soldier, than to live a miserable life depending on the unbelievers, in the list of their pensioners, rajas and nabobs," he proclaimed with pride. On May 4, 1799, he died; a hero's death while

defending his city, Seringapatam. To the very end, his troops remained loyal to him. The British and the Nizam, who was an ally of the British, received about half of Tipu's domains. The descendants of the original rajas from whom Haidar Ali had usurped power received the reconstituted kingdom of Mysore. The new Raja was forced to sign a special subsidiary alliance pact authorising the governor-general to assume control of the state in an emergency. In actuality, the Company was pushed to completely depend on Mysore. The Fourth Anglo-Mysore War had a significant impact on completely eliminating the French challenge to British Supremacy in India.

Lord Wellesley & Carnatic, Tanjore, Surat State

In 1801, Lord Wellesley coerced the puppet Nawab of Carnatic into signing a new treaty that required him to relinquish his country to the Company in exchange for a sizable annuity. The Carnatic was now annexed to the regions taken from Mysore, including the Malabar, to create the Madras Presidency as it existed until 1947. Similar events occurred in Tanjore and Surat, where the monarchs' lands were seized when they abdicated.

Lord Wellesley & Marathas

The Marathas were the only significant Indian power that was still independent of British rule. Wellesley now shifted his attention to them and actively meddled in their private matters. During this period, the Maratha Empire was a coalition of five powerful leaders. However, they were all embroiled in a bloody fratricidal war and unaware of the genuine threat posed by the swiftly approaching stranger.

The Peshwa and Sindhia had frequently accepted Wellesley's offers of a subsidiary

alliance. However, Nana Phadnis had avoided the trap because of his keen vision. When Holkar defeated the united troops of the Peshwa and Sindhia on October 25, 1802, the day of the important festival of Diwali, the cowardly Peshwa Baji Rao II fled into the arms of the English and on the crucial final day of 1802, at Bassein, signed the Subsidiary Treaty. Wellesley was mistaken in one way: the proud Maratha leaders would not just give up their long heritage of independence. The triumph had been a little too simple. But even in this dangerous situation, they refused to cooperate against their common foe. Gaekwad assisted the British while Holkar watched as Sindhia and Bhonsle fought the British. Bhonsle and Sindhia took care of Holkar's wounds while he took up arms. In addition, the Maratha commanders did not adequately prepare for battle since they miscalculated the enemy's greatly enhanced strength.

The Second Anglo Maratha War

The united troops of Sindhia and Bhonsle were defeated by the British armies under the command of Arthur Wellesley in the South at Assaye in September 1803 and at Argaon in November. On November first, Lord Lake defeated Sindhia's army at Laswari and took control of Aligarh, Delhi, and Agra. The blind Indian Emperor once more received a pension from the Company. The Maratha allies were forced to file a peace suit, and both joined the company as subsidiary allies. They gave over a portion of their lands to the British, allowed British citizens to use their courts, and made a vow not to hire any Europeans without first getting permission from the British. The coast of Orissa and the regions between the Ganga and the Jamuna came under total British rule.

Wellesley now shifted his focus to Holkar when the Peshwa turned into an unhappy puppet in their hands but Yeshwant



Rao Holkar proved to be more than a match for the British. Holkar's ally, the Raja of Bharatpur, inflicted significant losses on Lake, who futilely attempted to breach his fort, as he battled British soldiers to a standstill. Furthermore, Sindhia started to consider working with Holkar after putting his long-standing animosity towards the Holkar family. On the other hand, the East India Company's shareholders learned that their approach of expanding by war was expensive and lowered their earnings. Debt for the Company rose from £17,000,000 in 1797 to £31,000,000 in 1806. Additionally, Britain's coffers were running out just as Napoleon was reemerging as a serious menace to Europe. British statesmen and the Company's Directors believed that the time had come to put a stop to future growth, cease wasteful spending, and digest and consolidate Britain's recent successes in India. Wellesley was consequently sent back to India, and in January 1806, the Company and Holkar signed the Treaty of Rajghat, which returned the majority of Holkar's holdings to him.

strategy had been scrutinised. Nevertheless, it had led to the East India Company rising to the top of the Indian power structure. Tipu was putting on weight the entire time. He also requested assistance from the French. But in 1799, he waged a bloody battle and perished before the French aid could reach him.

The Peshwa (Poona), Gaekwad (Baroda), Sindhia (Gwalior), Holkar (Indore), and Bhonsle were among the five groups that made up the Marathas during this period (Nagpur). These factions were at war all the time even if Peshwa was the official leader. Holkar defeated Peshwa Baji Rao II, who then signed the convention of Subsidiary alliance. Even then, the British would only have been able to overcome them if they had united as one. But even in the face of immediate peril, they remained divided. So, one or more factions watched and the others engaged in battle with the British and fell to them one by one. However, Wellesley's expansionist approach cost the government too much money. He was therefore called back from India.

Subsequently, Wellesley's expansionist

Recap

- ▶ Lord Wellesley who came to India in 1798
- ▶ By 1797 the two strongest Indian powers, Mysore and the Marathas, had declined in power
- ▶ The Indian States were compelled to accept the permanent stationing of a British force within his territory and to pay a subsidy for its maintenance
- ▶ The system of Subsidiary Alliances also led to the disbandment of the armies of the protected states
- ▶ The British controlled the defense and foreign relations of the protected ally.
- ▶ Lord Wellesley signed his first Subsidiary Treaty with the Nizam of Hyderabad
- ▶ Lord Wellesley forced a new treaty upon the puppet Nawab of Carnatic
- ▶ The Marathas were a confederacy of five factions namely the Peshwa (Poona), Gaekwad (Baroda), Sindhia (Gwalior), Holkar (Indore), and Bhonsle (Nagpur)

Objective Type Questions

1. When did Lord Wellesley come to India?
2. Who were the two strongest Indian powers, who had declined in power by 1797?
3. Which were the three methods Wellesley relied on?
4. When did the Nawab of Avadh was forced to sign a Subsidiary Treaty?
5. With whom Lord Wellesley signed his first Subsidiary Treaty?
6. Which was described as “a system of fattening allies as we fatten oxen, till they were worthy of being devoured”?
7. Who proudly declared that it was “better to die like a soldier, than to live miserable dependent on the infidels, in the list of their pensioners, rajas and nabobs.”?
8. Who were the only major Indian powers left outside the sphere of British control?
9. Which were the five factions of the Maratha Confederacy?
10. Who was forced to sign a Subsidiary Treaty in 1801?

Answers

1. 1798
2. Mysore and the Marathas
3. The system of Subsidiary Alliances, outright wars, and assumption of the territories of previously subordinated rulers
4. 1801
5. Nizam of Hyderabad in 1798
6. The system of Subsidiary Alliances
7. Tipu Sultan
8. The Marathas
9. The Peshwa (Poona), Gaekwad (Baroda), Sindhia (Gwalior), Holkar (Indore), and Bhonsle (Nagpur)
10. The Nawab of Awadh

Assignments

1. Discuss the nature of Wellesley’s expansionist policy
2. How subsidiary alliance acted as a disaster for Indian States?
3. Detail the consequences of the Second Anglo Maratha War



Suggested Reading

1. Sekhar Bandyopadhyay, *From Plassey to Partition*, Orient Longman pvt ltd, New Delhi, 2004.
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3. Barbara D. Metcalf and Thomas R.Metcalf, *A Concise History of Modern India*, Cambridge University Press, New York, 2006.
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Unit 2

Land Settlements: Permanent-Ryotwari

Learning Outcomes

Upon completion of the unit, the learner will be able to :

- ▶ comprehend the consequences of the British land Revenue systems
- ▶ understand how the British overcome the new problems of land settlement in South and South-Western India
- ▶ grasp the modifications introduced in the revenue system
- ▶ explain how the English East India company maximizes its income as land revenue

Prerequisites

The major concern of the English East India Company's administration in India was to collect as much revenue as possible. Agriculture was the main source of income during that period. In 1765 The English East India Company acquired the Diwani for control over the revenues of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. The company followed the old system of revenue collection till 1773. In 1773 the company decided to manage the land revenues directly. Warren Hastings offered the right to collect revenue to the highest bidders. But his experiment failed. It was at this stage the idea of fixing the land revenue at a permanent amount emerged.

Keywords

Diwani Right, The Permanent Settlement, Ryotwari System, Mahalwari system

2.2.1.Land Revenue Policy

The Company needed Indian revenues to meet the cost of the conquest of the whole India and the consolidation of their rule in India. They had to pay for the employment of thousands of Englishmen in superior administrative and military positions at

salaries. They fully depended on the Indian revenue to meet these ends. To meet the costs of economic and administrative charges, they fully penetrate Indian villages and the far-flung areas. They collected revenue from Indian peasants. All the major changes in the administration and judicial system were geared to the collection of land revenue.



2.2.2. Permanent Settlement or Zamindari System 1793



Lord Cornwallis

The Permanent Settlement was introduced in Bengal and Bihar in 1793 by Lord Cornwallis. It had two special features. Firstly, the zamindars and revenue collectors were converted into so many landlords. They were the agents of the government in collecting land revenue from the peasants. They were also considered the owners of the entire land. Their right of ownership was made hereditary and transferable. Secondly, the zamindars were to give 10/11 of the rental they derived from the peasantry to the state and keep only 1/11 for themselves.

2.2.3. Condition of Cultivators

The cultivators were reduced to the low status of mere tenants. They were deprived of long-standing rights to the soil and other customary rights. The rate of land revenue was fixed very high. John Shore planned the permanent settlement and was later implemented by Governor General Cornwallis. The Permanent settlement

enabled the company to maximize its income through land revenue. It was later extended to Orissa, the Northern Districts of Madras and the District of Varanasi.

2.2.4. Ryotwari system

This system of land revenue was instituted in the late 18th century because it brought new problems of land settlement in South and South-Western India. In these regions there were no zamindars with large estates with whom settlement of land revenue could be made. The introduction of the zamindari system failed in these states. In 1820 many Madras officials led by Reed and Munro recommended a new settlement system which was made directly with the actual cultivators. This system is known as the Ryotwari system. Under this system the cultivator was to be recognised as the owner of this plot of land subject to the payment of land revenue. They had ownership rights: could sell, mortgage or gift the land. This system was practised in the Madras and Bombay provinces, as well as Assam and Coorg provinces.



Thomas Munro

Under the Ryotwari system, the taxes

were directly collected by government from the peasants. The rates were 50% in dryland and 60% in the wetland. The rates were high and unlike the Permanent System, they were open to being increased. If they failed to pay the taxes, they were evicted by government officials. Ryot means peasant cultivators. Here there were no middlemen as in the Zamindari system. But, since high taxes had to be paid only in cash (no option of paying in kind as before the British) the problem of moneylenders became visible. They further burdened the peasants with heavy interests.

2.2.5. Mahalwari System

The Mahalwari system was a modified version of the Zamindari settlement. It was introduced in 1822 and it was reviewed under Lord William Bentinck in 1833. This system was introduced in the North-West Frontier, Agra, Central Province, Gangetic Valley, Punjab, etc. This system had elements of both the Zamindari and the Ryotwari systems. The revenue settlement was to be made village by village (mahal) with landlords or heads of families who collectively claimed to be the landlords of the village. Each individual farmer gave his share. Ownership rights were with the peasants. It introduced the concept

of average rents for different soil classes. The state share of the revenue was 66% of the rental value. The settlement was agreed upon for 30 years. This system was called the Modified Zamindari system because the village headman virtually became a Zamindar.

2.2.6. Consequences of the British land Revenue systems

The value of land increased. Land was not previously privately owned. Even kings and farmers did not regard land as their private property. Farmers turned away from producing food crops in favour of cash crops as a result of the extremely high taxes. This resulted in food insecurity and even famines. Pre-British times saw moderate agricultural product taxes. The British set a very high standard farmers became more indebted as a result of the insistence on paying revenue in cash. In due course, moneylenders acquired land. Loans were offered to farmers and labourers who were unable to repay them, which led to the emergence of bonded labour. 75% of the agricultural land in India was owned by 7% of the peasants (Zamindars/landowners) when it was freed from British domination.

Recap

- ▶ The Company needed Indian revenues to meet the cost of the conquest of the whole of India and the consolidation of their rule in India
- ▶ The Permanent Settlement was introduced in Bengal and Bihar in 1793
- ▶ The Permanent settlement enabled the company to maximize its income as land revenue
- ▶ The cultivators were reduced to the low status of mere tenants
- ▶ In 1820 many Madras officials led by Reed and Munro recommended a new settlement system. This system is known as the Ryotwari system
- ▶ Under the Ryotwari system, the taxes were directly collected by government from the peasants



- ▶ The Mahalwari system was a modified version of the Zamindari settlement. It was introduced in 1822
- ▶ Due to the very high taxes, farmers resorted to growing cash crops instead of food crops. This led to food insecurity and even famines

Objective Type Questions

1. Who was Sir Thomas Munro?
2. Mention the places where the Ryotwari system was instituted?
3. In which system the peasants or cultivators were regarded as the owners of the land?
4. What is the meaning of the word 'Ryot'?
5. Who introduced the Mahalwari system in 1822?
6. Who was the revenue collector under the Mahalwari system?
7. Which system was called the Modified Zamindari system?
8. Which system introduced the concept of average rents for different soil classes?
9. Which system had elements of both the Zamindari and the Ryotwari systems?
10. Who wrote "We have no right to seize Sind, yet we shall do so, and a very advantageous, useful humane piece of rascality it will be"?

Answers

1. Governor of Madras
2. Madras and Bombay areas, as well as Assam and Coorg Province
3. Ryotwari System
4. Ryot means peasant cultivators
5. Holt Mackenzie
6. Revenue was collected by the village headman or village leader
7. The Mahalwari system
8. The Mahalwari System
9. The Mahalwari System
10. Charles Napier

Assignment

1. How did the revenue policy of the British affect the entire structure of Indian rural society? Discuss

Suggested Reading

1. Burton Stein, *The Making of Agrarian Policy in British India 1770-1900*, Oxford University, Bombay, 1992.
2. Ishita Banerjee-Dube, *A History of Modern India*, Cambridge University Press, New York, 2014.
3. Sekhar Bandyopadhyay, *From Plassey to Partition*, Orient Longman, New Delhi, 2004.
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5. Thirthankar Roy, *An Economic History of Early Modern India*, Routledge, New York, 2013.
6. R.C. Majumdar, *History of the Freedom Movement in India*, Vol.I, Firma K.L. Mukhopadhyay, Calcutta, 1971.

Unit 3

Dalhousie and the Doctrine of Lapse

Learning Outcomes

Upon completion of the unit, the learner will be able to :

- ▶ understand how Lord Dalhousie implemented his policy of annexation through Doctrine of Lapse
- ▶ grasp how the Doctrine of Lapse became a major cause of the Great Revolt of 1857
- ▶ explain how the English East India company maximized its income as land revenue

Prerequisites

Lord Dalhousie was the Governor General from 1848 to 1856, who devised the policy of the Doctrine of Lapse. The Doctrine of Lapse was a policy of annexation extensively applied by the English East India Company until 1859. According to this doctrine, any princely state under the direct or indirect control of East India Company, should the ruler not produce a legal heir, would be annexed by the company. By using his doctrine of Lapse, Dalhousie annexed the territories of Indian rulers who died without a male heir. Indian rulers were constantly pressured to grant concessions to the Company. The rivalry among the Indian rulers prevented the formation of a joint front. During this period, the Company decided to raise its own army in India. The size of the Company's army steadily increased and created an environment of scare.

Keywords

Doctrine of lapse, The Policy of annexation, Nawab Wajid Ali Shah, Appa Sahib, Rani Laxmi Bai

2.3.1 Dalhousie (1848-1856)

In 1848, Lord Dalhousie arrived in India as the Governor-General. His prime aim was to extend direct British rule in India. He believed that British administration was far superior to the corrupt and oppressive administration of the native rulers. He also believed that British exports to the native states of India were

suffering because of the maladministration of these native rulers.

He implemented his policy of annexation and its chief instrument was the Doctrine of lapse by which he annexed many small states like Satara in 1848, Nagpur and Jhansi in 1854, etc. This doctrine meant that in the absence of natural heirs, the sovereignty of the dependent

state or states created by the British were to lapse to the Company or the paramount power. This was a major cause of the Great Revolt of 1857. He also wanted to conquer Awadh, but his doctrine wouldn't work there because the Nawab had many heirs. Thus, Dalhousie accused Nawab of having mis-governed the state, and annexed it on that pretext, in 1856.



Dalhousie

Several former rulers' titles and pensions were also rejected by Dalhousie. The Nawabs of Carnatic, Surat, and the Raja of Tanjore lost their titles as a result. The son of former Peshwa Baji Rao II, Nana Saheb, had his pay and pension terminated by Dalhousie.

2.3.2 Doctrine of Lapse

Dalhousie pursued an expansionist strategy with remarkable vigour. As a result, the British Indian empire quickly expanded to its maximum size. The native rulers were portrayed as symbols of violence and bad governance by the British writers in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century. Dalhousie expressed this sentiment and suggested that India needed to be saved from this political stalemate. The ugliest face of imperialism was concealed behind this, which appeared to be liberal attire. The Industrial

Revolution in Britain had just begun. The British bourgeoisie wanted to expand India's market for industrially polished goods. Dalhousie gave them a helping hand by establishing British sovereignty over the local states. He did this to ensure that British goods could enter the markets of those states.

It further stipulated that an adopted son's succession could only be legitimate with the approval of the British Government. This specific annexation policy was not created by Dalhousie. The Court of Directors had stated this rule as early as 1834. The Doctrine of Lapse had been used against Mandavi in 1839, Kolaba and Jalaun in 1840, and Surat in 1842 by Dalhousie. Without regard for the Hindus' religious beliefs or the law, Dalhousie forcefully applied this philosophy.

2.3.3. Annexation of Kingdom of Satara (1848)

In 1848, the Maratha Kingdom of Satara became the Doctrine of Lapse's first victim. The Satara ruler Appa Sahib passed away in 1848 without a legitimate heir. He had adopted a child just before he passed away, but he had not asked for approval from the Company. Lord Dalhousie deemed this adoption to be invalid, and as a result, the State passed to the company. The successor to Bahadur Shah was required to vacate the famous Red Fort and go to a more modest abode at the Qutab, as Dalhousie announced in 1849.

2.3.4 Annexation of Jhansi (1854)

Jhansi rose to prominence as the most well-known of the Princely realms. Raja Gangadhar Rao's widow Rani Laxmi Bai campaigned for the rights of her adopted son when he passed away. She repeatedly tried to get her right but failed, so in 1857 she rebelled against the British.



The next victims of the Doctrine of Lapse were Jaitpur and Sambalpur (1849), followed by Baghat (1850), Udaipur (1852), Jhansi (1853), and Nagpur (1854). Lord Canning later annulled the annexations of Baghat and Udaipur. The domestic government rejected the idea to acquire the tiny Rajput kingdom of Karauli on the grounds that it was a “protected ally and not dependent”.

2.3.5. Annexation of Avadh (1856)

Since the Battle of Buxar, Nawab Wajid Ali Shah, the Nawab of Avadh, had sided with the British. Over the years, they have shown the utmost loyalty to the British. The Doctrine of Lapse could not apply to the Nawab of Avadh because he had numerous heirs. He was finally accused of mismanaging his state and delaying the implementation of reforms. In 1856, Dalhousie thus annexed the state of Avadh.

There was strong opposition to the annexation of Awadh in India. The Company's troops and Awadh both experienced insurrection as a result of its annexation. The leaders of the native states were in a panic as a result.



Nawab Wajid Ali Shah

The Doctrine of Lapse played a significant role in the uprising against the British, particularly in the states that it victimised. When the citizens, troops, and overthrown rulers of those states banded together to fight the British in 1857, it became abundantly evident what this meant. The adoption was made legal when Crown's rule was established under the Viceroyalty of Lord Canning.

Recap

- ▶ Lord Dalhousie arrived in India as the Governor-General
- ▶ He implemented his policy of annexation and its chief instrument was the Doctrine of Lapse
- ▶ Lord Dalhousie annexed Satara in 1848, Nagpur and Jhansi in 1854, etc.
- ▶ Dalhousie also refused to accept the titles of many ex-rulers or to pay their pensions
- ▶ Doctrine of Lapse had been applied to Mandavi in 1839 to Kolaba and Jalaun in 1840 and Surat in 1842
- ▶ Jaitpur and Sambalpur were the next victims (1849), Baghat (1850), Udaipur (1852), Jhansi (1853), and Nagpur (1854) also became the victims of the Doctrine of Lapse

- ▶ Dalhousie annexed the state of Avadh in 1856
- ▶ The Doctrine of Lapse became an important reason for unrest against the British
- ▶ During the Viceroyalty of Lord Canning, when Crown's rule was established, the adoption was legalised

Objective Type Questions

1. Who introduced the Doctrine of Lapse?
2. What do you mean by Doctrine of Lapse?
3. Who was the first prey to the Doctrine of Lapse?
4. Who was Appa Sahib?
5. Who reversed the annexations of Baghat and Udaipur?
6. When did Dalhousie annex the state of Avadh?
7. When did the Doctrine of Lapse apply to Mandavi?
8. When did Dalhousie announce that the successor to Bahadur Shah would have to abandon the historic Red Fort?
9. Why did the proposal to annex the little Rajput state of Karauli was disallowed by the home government?
10. When was the Maratha Kingdom of Satara annexed?

Answers

1. Lord Dalhousie
2. In the absence of natural heirs, the sovereignty of the dependent state or states created by the British were to lapse to the Company or the paramount power.
3. The Maratha Kingdom of Satara
4. The king of Satara
5. Lord Canning
6. 1856
7. 1839
8. 1849
9. On the ground that it was a "protected ally and not dependent".
10. 1848



Assignment

1. Analyse the significance of Doctrine of Lapse and how it became a reason for unrest against the British?

Suggested Reading

1. Ishita Banerjee-Dube, *A History of Modern India*, Cambridge University Press, New York, 2014.
2. Sekhar Bandyopadhyay, *From Plassey to Partition*, Orient Longman, New Delhi, 2004.
3. Bipan Chandra, *History of Modern India*, Orient Black Swan, India, 2018.
4. R.C. Majumdar, *History of the Freedom Movement in India*, Vol.I, Firma K.L. Mukhopadhyay, Calcutta, 1971.

Unit 4

Macaulay and English Education

Learning Outcomes

Upon completion of the unit, the learner will be able to :

- ▶ comprehend the education system existed in pre-colonial India
- ▶ understand the role of East India Company to the development of education in India
- ▶ identify the concept of “downward filtration theory”.
- ▶ explain the contributions of Lord Macaulay to the system of education in India

Prerequisites

Education has increasingly become a major issue since the time of the British period. The British became successful in helping to revolutionise the intellectual life in India through the introduction of modern education. Both the Christian missionaries and a large number of enlightened Indians played an important role in the spread of modern education. They began to exert pressure on the British to encourage and promote modern secular westernised education in India.

Thomas Babington Macaulay consolidated the British empire by propagating English laws and English culture. He argued that it was the duty of England to teach Indians what was good for their health. He pointed out that the Indians themselves preferred an English education to their own. Thomas Babington Macaulay was fully credited with the introduction of English education in India.

Keywords

Downward filtration theory, Orientalists, Anglicans, Bethune School

Discussion

2.4.1 Education in Pre-colonial India

Since the Vedic age, Indian education had always been of a classical and spiritual rather than of a practical nature. During this period, it was communicated through the

sacred classical languages of the Hindus and the Muslims, namely Sanskrit, Arabic and Persian. They taught subjects like scriptures, grammar, logic and the classics.

The Hindus and Muslims were educated through Pathshala and Madrasa respectively.



Instruction in these schools was given in the vernaculars. The aristocracy did not send their children to these schools but preferred to educate them at home. The majority of the Indians were unwilling to educate their girls on account of social prejudice and superstition.

2.4.2 The Role of East India Company in the Development of Education in India

Since trade and financial gain were the British East India Company's main goals, they were initially unconcerned with the advancement of the educational system. They intended to reign in India by educating a small portion of the elite and middle classes to produce a class that was "Indian in blood and colour but English in taste" and would serve as a channel between the government and the general populace. The "downward filtration theory" was another name for this. The British implemented the following policies and programmes to advance education in India.

British Interest in Oriental Learning

A few high officials of the East India Company were attracted to the classical aspects of Indian education. They had spent most of their career in India. Foremost among them was Warren Hasting who came to India as a servant of the English East India Company in 1751. Later he became the Governor of Fort William of Bengal in 1772. He developed a great love of Indo-Persian Culture. With the support of Warren Hasting, Nathaniel Halhed wrote "A Code of Gentoo Laws" in 1776. In 1779, Charles Wilkins brought out his book in Sanskrit Grammar. In 1781 the Calcutta Madrasa was established. The institution was very popular and attracted scholars from far off places. The courses like natural philosophy, Quranic theology, law, geometry, arithmetic and logic were imparted all on Islamic lines.

The Asiatic Society of Bengal

Another important British official of the East India Company who was greatly attracted to higher learning in India was William Jones. William Jones wrote Grammar of the Persian Language and translated the works of Persian Poets. He came to India as a judge of the Supreme Court in Calcutta. He had set out to create a learned society in Calcutta. On 15 January 1784, The Asiatic Society of Bengal was formed to uphold "enquiry into the history and antiquities, arts, science and literature of Asia". It gave a great filip to ancient learning in India by discovering, editing and publishing rare Sanskrit manuscripts, besides bringing out the journal, Asiatic Researches. William Jones developed a greater taste for Sanskrit learning.

Charles Grant

Charles Grant was another important figure of the modern Education system in India. He was the first Englishman to argue for the introduction of English education with a view to introducing Christianity in India. He came to India in 1767. Charles Grant believed that the abuses of the Indian society (Sati, Female Infanticide and Purdah System) could be removed by the introduction of Christianity. He urged the establishment of English Schools.

In his book "The Way to Wealth" Benjamin Franklin said, *An investment in knowledge pays the best interest*. Education is a powerful tool to unlock the golden door of freedom that can change the world. With the advent of the British Rule in India, their policies and measures breached the legacies of traditional schools of learning which resulted in the need for creating a class of subordinates. To achieve this goal, they instituted a number of acts to create an Indian canvas of English

colour through the education system.

The chronological development of Education during the British Period in India is discussed below :

2.4.3 The Charter Act of 1813

Charles Grant and William Wilberforce who were missionary activists compelled the East India Company to give up its non-intervention policy and make way for spreading education through English in order to teach western literature and preach Christianity. Hence, the British Parliament added a clause in the 1813 charter that Governor-General-in-Council gave less than one lakh for education and allowed the Christian Missionaries to spread their religious ideas in India.

The Act had its own importance because it was the first instance that the British East India Company acknowledged for the promotion of education in India. With the efforts of Raja Ram Mohun Roy, the Calcutta College was established for imparting Western education. Also, three Sanskrit colleges were set up in Calcutta.

2.4.4 General Committee of Public Instruction, 1823

This committee was formed to look after the development of education in India which was dominated by Orientalists who were the great supporters of Oriental learning rather than the Anglicans. Hence, they exerted paramount pressure on the British India Company to promote Western Education. As a result, the spread of education in India got discursive between Orientalist-Anglicist and Macaulay's resolution came across with a clear picture of the British education system.

2.4.5 Thomas Babington Macaulay

Thomas Babington Macaulay was an



outstanding author, historian, linguist, orator, politician, statesman, and thinker. He is typically credited with designing the educational system in India during British control. He was recognised as one of his era's greatest literary giants. He left his impact on the British parliament as a member. In 1838, he immigrated to India and joined the Governor-Executive General's Council as a member of the law department. Governor-general Lord William Bentinck also chose him to lead the general committee on public instruction.

On February 2, 1835, Macaulay penned his well-known minute, in which he lauded everything Western and sharply attacked nearly everything Indian, including astronomy, culture, history, philosophy, and religion. Based on this, he argued that India should adopt a national education system that would best serve the interests of the British Empire. His minutes were approved, and in March 1835, Lord William Bentinck issued his proclamation, putting an end to all the debates and establishing the foundation for all educational initiatives implemented during the British era in India.

2.4.5.1. Lord Macaulay's Minute

Lord Macaulay, argued in a famous minute on 2 February 1835 that Indian languages were not sufficiently developed and that Oriental learning was completely inferior to European learning. His policy was an attempt to create a system of education that educated only the upper strata of society through English. Persian was abolished as the court language and English became the court language. Printings of English books were made free and available at a very low price. English education was allotted more funds as compared to oriental learning. In 1849, John Elliot Drinkwater Bethune founded Bethune School. The Agriculture Institute was

established at Pusa (Bihar). The Engineering Institute was established at Roorkee.

2.4.6 Wood's Dispatch (1854)

Wood's Dispatch was another important step in the development of education in India. It is considered as the "Magna Carta of English Education in India" and contains a comprehensive plan for spreading education in India. It states the responsibility of the State for the spread of education to the masses. It recommended the hierarchy education level- at the bottom, vernacular primary school; at district, Anglo-vernacular High Schools and affiliated colleges, and affiliated universities of Calcutta, Bombay, and Madras Presidency. Recommended English as a medium of instruction for higher studies and vernacular at school level.

2.4.7 Hunter Commission (1882-83)

In 1882, W.W. Hunter established the Hunter Commission to assess the accomplishments of the Wood Dispatch of 1854. This Commission emphasised the state's function in expanding and enhancing basic and secondary education. It highlighted the handover of power to municipal and district boards. It suggested splitting secondary education into two tracks: literary up to the university level and vocational for commercial

careers.

2.4.8 Sadler Commission

It was formed to study the problems of Calcutta University and their recommendations were applicable to other universities also.

Their observations were as follows:

1. 12-year school course
2. 3-years degree after the intermediate stage.
3. Centralised functioning of universities, unitary residential-teaching autonomous body.
4. Recommended extended facilities for applied scientific and technological education, teacher's training, and female education.

Hence, we can say the British education system was influenced by the aspiration of Christian Missionaries. It was injected to ensure a cheap supply of educated Indians to increase a number of subordinate posts in administration and in British business concerns. That's why the emphasis on English as a medium of instruction also glorified British conquerors and their administration.

Recap

- ▶ Indian education had always been of a classical and spiritual rather than of a practical nature
- ▶ The Hindus and Muslims were educated through Pathsala and Madrassa respectively
- ▶ Initially, the British East India Company was not concerned with the development of the education system
- ▶ Between 1822 and 1838 elementary education was quite popular in villages of British India

- ▶ A few high officials of the East India Company were attracted to the classical aspects of Indian education
- ▶ William Jones wrote *Grammar of the Persian Language* and translated the works of Persian Poets
- ▶ On 15th January 1784, The Asiatic Society of Bengal was formed
- ▶ The British East India Company acknowledged the promotion of education in India
- ▶ Macaulay came to India in 1838 and joined as the law member of the Executive Council of the Governor-General
- ▶ Lord Macaulay, argued in a famous minute that Indian languages were not sufficiently developed
- ▶ Wood's Dispatch was another important step in the development of education in India
- ▶ The Hunter Commission was formed to evaluate the achievements of Wood Dispatch of 1854 under W.W Hunter in 1882
- ▶ The Sadler Commission was formed to study the problems of Calcutta University and their recommendations

Objective Type Questions

1. Who is generally regarded as the architect of the system of education in India during the British rule?
2. Where was the Agriculture Institute established?
3. When did Lord William Bentinck issue his proclamation?
4. Who founded Bethune School?
5. Who wrote the book "The Way to Wealth"?
6. Which Commission was formed to evaluate the achievements of Wood Dispatch of 1854?
7. Who was Thomas Babington Macaulay?
8. Which act gave one lakh for education and allowed the Christian Missionaries to spread their religious ideas in India?
9. What is popularly known as "Magna Carta of English Education in India"?
10. Who was appointed as the president of the general committee on public instruction?



Answers

1. Thomas Babington Macaulay
2. Pusa
3. 1935
4. John Elliot Drinkwater Bethune
5. Benjamin Franklin
6. Hunter Commission
7. A law member of the executive council of the governor-General
8. 1813 Charter Act
9. Wood's Dispatch
10. Thomas Babington Macaulay

Assignments

1. Analyse the role of Macaulay in the formulation of a policy of educational programmes during the British period in India.
2. Discuss The Role of East India Company in the Development of Education in India

Suggested Reading

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4. Ishita Banerjee-Dube, *A History of Modern India*, Cambridge University Press, New York, 2014.
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BLOCK - 03

RESISTANCE TO BRITISH RULE

Unit 1

Economic Impact of British Rule

Learning Outcomes

Upon the completion of this unit, the learner will be able to :

- ▶ explain the economic exploitation of India under British rule
- ▶ describe the various ways of economic decay in British India
- ▶ analyze the impact of British economic policies upon the various sections of Indian society
- ▶ explain the pathetic conditions of agriculture and industry under the British rule

Prerequisites

The Indian economy underwent a fast shift as a result of British economic policies. British made the majority of their profit from exporting Indian goods between the years 1600 and 1757. Ingeniously, the British government devised economic programmes for the Indians. As a result of these measures, India was always dependent on them. The conventional Indian economic structure had been entirely destroyed by these actions. The primary reason the British came to India was to engage in trade. Britain had to deal with the Industrial Revolution during that time. Because of this, they need a large quantity of raw materials for their factories, most of which came from India. They also required a suitable market to sell their final goods. India could provide them with both of these things: a sizable supply of raw materials and an ideal market for the sale of those finished goods. Indian economy was therefore most significantly impacted by British control when it became the hub of British trade. The whole economic structure of the nation was further altered by this.

Keywords

Artisans, Bengal, Economy, Famines, Madras, Peasantry, Warren Hastings, Zamindars

3.1.1 Disruption of the Traditional Economy

The economic policies followed by the British led to the rapid transformation of India's economy into a colonial economy

whose nature and structure were determined by the needs of the British economy. In this respect the British conquest of India differed from all previous foreign conquests.

The previous conquerors had overthrown

Indian political powers, but had made no basic changes in the country's economic structure; they had gradually become a part of Indian life, political as well as economic. The peasant, the artisan and the trader had continued to lead the same type of existence as before.

The fundamental economic model—the self-sufficient rural economy—had been upheld. The only thing that had changed when the ruling class changed was the people in charge of taking the excess from the peasants. The conquerors from Britain, however, were very different. The conventional Indian economic structure was completely ruined by them. Additionally, they were never integrated into Indian culture. They continued to live like outsiders in the country, making use of its resources and taking its riches as a form of tribute. There were a wide range of outcomes from this subjection of the Indian economy to British trade and manufacturing interests.

3.1.2 Ruin of Artisans and Crafts-men

The urban handicrafts sector, which had for centuries made India's reputation synonymous with quality in the markets of the entire civilised world, collapsed suddenly. Competition from Britain's cheaper imported machine-made goods was a major factor for this downfall. We are aware that the British enforced a one-way free trade policy on India after 1813, and that this was followed immediately by an invasion of British goods, particularly cotton textiles. Indian products manufactured using archaic methods could not compete with commodities manufactured on a large scale by potent steam-powered machinery. Once the railways were constructed, the decline of Indian industry, especially rural artisan industries, accelerated. By using the railways, British manufacturers

were able to access the most isolated areas in the nation and displace the local traditional industries. The steel rail “pierced the armour of the isolated self-sufficient town, and its vital blood ebbed away,” as the American author D.H. Buchanan put it. The spinning and cotton-weaving sectors took the biggest hit. Textiles made of silk and wool fared no better, while industries producing iron, pottery, glass, paper, metals, firearms, ships, oil-pressing, tanning, and dyeing suffered a similar fate.

Other effects of the British conquest, aside from the importation of foreign commodities, also had a role in the collapse of Indian industry. Many Bengali craftsmen were forced to leave their traditional occupations due to the oppression that the East India Company and its servants inflicted on them in the second half of the eighteenth century. They were forced to sell their goods below market value and to be paid less than the going rate for their services. Normally, the Company's encouragement of their export would have boosted Indian handicrafts, but this persecution had the reverse effect. The development of modern manufacturing industries in Britain, coupled with the high import duties and other restrictions placed on the import of Indian goods into Britain and Europe during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, resulted in the virtual closure of European markets to Indian manufacturers after 1820.

These industries also suffered greatly from the eventual removal of Indian kings and their courts, who were the primary consumers of the handicrafts produced. For instance, the manufacturing of military armaments in the Indian states was entirely dependent on the British.



All of the military and other government supplies were bought in Britain by the British themselves. Moreover, British politicians and military men, who almost exclusively bought goods made in their own country, replaced Indian kings and nobles as the governing elite. Due to this, handicrafts became more expensive and lost some of their ability to compete with imports.

The towns and cities that were renowned for producing Indian handicrafts also fell into decline. Cities that had survived the devastation of war and pillage perished during British occupation. Many other thriving industrial cities, including Murshidabad, Surat, and Dhaka, were completely depopulated. Urban populations made up only 10% of the total population by the end of the nineteenth century.

The Governor-General, William Bentinck, observed in 1834 that “the agony barely finds a parallel in the history of commerce.” The Indian plains are becoming whiter due to the cotton weavers’ bones. The tragedy was made worse by the fact that, unlike in Britain and western Europe, the decline of old industries was not accompanied by a rise in contemporary machine industries. The damaged handicraftsmen and artisans were unable to find new employment as a result of this ongoing phenomenon. They had no choice except to go into agriculture. Additionally, the British occupation of the villages disturbed the equilibrium of the local economy. The rural economy’s ability to sustain itself was gradually destroyed as rural crafts were gradually lost, severing the link between agriculture and rural household industry.

In contrast, millions of rural artisans lost their traditional means of subsistence and were forced to work as agricultural labourers

or petty tenants with small plots. Millions of peasants who had previously supplemented their income by part-time spinning and weaving now had to rely almost exclusively on agriculture. They increased the weight of people on the land.

As a result of British annexation, the nation lost its industrial base and became more dependent on agriculture. The percentage of the population that was dependent on agriculture rose from 63.7 percent to 70 percent between 1901 and 1941 alone, while there were no data for the prior time period. One of the main reasons for the tremendous poverty that existed in India under the British rule was the mounting pressure on the agricultural sector. In India, now served as an agricultural colony of Britain’s industrial sector, which depended on it for raw commodities. The cotton textile business was the one place where the transformation was most obvious. India used to be the world’s greatest exporter of cotton products, but it was now primarily an importer of British cotton items and a producer of raw cotton.

3.1.3 Impoverishment of the Peasantry

The peasant was also progressively impoverished under the British rule. Although peasants were then free from internal wars, their material condition deteriorated and they steadily sank into poverty. In the very beginning of the British rule in Bengal, the policy of Clive and Warren Hastings of extracting the largest possible land revenue had led to such devastation that even Cornwallis complained that one-third of Bengal had been transformed into “a jungle inhabited only by wild beasts”, nor did the improvement occur later. In both the permanently and the temporarily settled Zamindari areas, a lot of

the peasants remained helpless. They were left to the mercy of the zamindars who raised rents to unbearable limits, compelled them to pay illegal dues and to perform forced labour and menial labourers. Furthermore, zamindars resort to such measures that oppressed the peasants in diverse other ways.

The condition of the cultivators in the Ryotwari and Mahalwari areas was no better. The government took the place of the zamindars and levied excessive land revenue which was in the beginning fixed as high as one-third to one-half of the produce. Heavy assessment of land was one of the main causes of the growth of poverty and the deterioration of agriculture in the nineteenth century. Many contemporary writers and officials noted this fact. For instance, Bishop Heber wrote in 1826: 'Neither Native nor European agriculturist, I think, can thrive at the present rate of taxation. Half of the gross produce of the soil is demanded by the government. ... In Hindustan [Northern India] I found a general feeling among the King's officers... that the peasantry in the Company's Provinces are on the whole worse off, poorer and more dispirited than the subjects of the Native Provinces; and here in Madras, where the soil is, generally speaking, poor, the difference is said to be still more marked. The fact is, no Native Prince demands the rent which we do'.

Even though the land revenue demand went on increasing year after year—it increased from Rs. 15.3 crore in 1857—58 to Rs. 35.8 crore in 1936—37—the proportion of the total produce taken as land revenue tended to decline, especially in the twentieth century as the prices rose and production increased considerably. No proportional increase in land revenue was made, as the disastrous consequences of demanding extortionate revenue became obvious. But by

now the population pressure on agriculture had increased to such an extent that the lesser revenue demand of later years weighed on the peasants as heavily as the higher revenue demand of the earlier years of the Company's administration.

Moreover, by the twentieth century, the agrarian economy had been ruined and the landlords, moneylenders and merchants had made deep inroads into the village. The evil of high revenue demand was made worse because the peasant got little economic return for his labour. The government spent very little on improving agriculture. It devoted almost its entire income to meet the needs of the British-Indian administration, making the payments of direct and indirect tribute to England, and serving the interests of British trade and industry. Even the maintenance of law and order tended to benefit the merchant and the moneylender rather than the peasant.

The harmful effects of an excessive land revenue demand were further heightened by the rigid manner adopted in its collection procedure. Land revenue had to be paid promptly on the fixed dates even if the harvest had been below normal or had failed completely. However, in 'bad years' the peasant found it difficult to meet the revenue demand even if he had been able to do so in 'good years' (based on the increased output which he received through agrarian activities). Whenever the peasant failed to pay land revenue, the government put up his land on sale to collect the arrears of revenue. However, in most cases the peasants themselves took this step and sold part of their land to meet the government's demand. In either case they lost their land.

More often the inability to pay revenue drove the peasants to borrow money at high



rates of interest from the moneylender. They preferred getting into debt by mortgaging their land to a moneylender or to a rich peasant neighbour to losing it outright. They were also forced to go to the moneylender whenever they found it impossible to make both ends meet in their life. But, there were instances where the farmers found themselves strangled with debt issues where it seemed practically impossible for them to get out of the same. The moneylenders charged high rates of interest and through cunning and deceitful measures, such as false accounting, forged signatures; thereby making the debtors sign for larger amounts than they had borrowed from the former ones. This led the peasant deeper and deeper into debt till they parted with their land.

The moneylenders were greatly helped by the new legal system and the new revenue policy. In pre-British times, the moneylenders were subordinated to the village community. They could not behave in a manner totally disliked by the rest of the village. For instance, they could not charge usurious rates of interest. In fact, the rates of interest were fixed by the usage and public opinion. Moreover, they could not seize the land of the debtors; take possession of the debtor's personal assets like jewellery, or crops. By introducing transferability of land, the British revenue system enabled the moneylenders or the rich peasants to take possession of the land.

Even the benefits of peace and security established by the British through their legal system and police were primarily reaped by the moneylenders in whose hands the law placed enormous power. They also used their power to turn the expensive process of litigation in their favour and to make the police serve their purposes. Moreover, the literate and shrewd moneylenders could easily take advantage of

the ignorance and illiteracy of the peasants to turn the complicated processes of law in their favour.

Gradually, the cultivators in the Ryotwari and Mahalwari areas sank deeper and deeper into debt where increased land passed into the hands of moneylenders, merchants, rich peasants and other elite rich classes. The process was repeated in the zamindari areas where the tenants lost their tenancy rights and were ejected from the land or became subtenants of the money lenders. The process of transfer of land from cultivators was intensified during periods of scarcity and famines. The Indian peasants hardly had any savings for critical times and whenever crops failed, they fell back upon the moneylenders not only to pay land revenue but also to feed themselves and their family.

By the end of the nineteenth century, the moneylenders had become a major curse of the countryside and an important cause of the growing poverty of the rural people. In 1911, the total rural debt was estimated to be Rs 300 crore. By 1937, it amounted to Rs 1800 crore. The entire process became a vicious circle. The pressure of taxation and growing poverty pushed the cultivators into debt, which in turn worsened their poverty - stricken situation in an alarming way. In fact, the farmers often failed to understand that the money lenders were an inevitable cog in the mechanism of imperialist exploitation and turned their anger against the latter. The moneylenders appeared to be the visible cause of farmers' impoverishment.

For instance, during the Revolt of 1857, wherever the peasantry rose in revolt, quite often its first target of attack was the money lenders and their account books. Such peasants actions soon became a common occurrence.

The growing commercialisation of agriculture also helped the money lenders-cum-merchants to exploit the farmer. The poor peasants were forced to sell their products just after the harvest and at whatever price they could get as they had to meet in time the demands of the government, the landlords and the money lenders. This placed the farmers at the mercy of the grain merchants who were in a position to dictate terms and who purchased the farmers' products at much less rate than the existing market price. Thus, a large share of the benefit of the growing trade in agricultural products was reaped by the merchants who were very often also the village money lenders.

The loss and overcrowding of land caused by de-industrialisation and lack of modern industry compelled the landless peasants and ruined artisans and handicrafts men to become either tenants of the money lenders and zamindars by paying rack-rent or agricultural labourers at starvation wages. Thus the peasantry was crushed under the triple burden of the government, the zamindars or landlords, and the money lenders.

After the above centres of power had taken their share, not much was left for the farmers and their family to subsist on. It has been calculated that in 1950-51 land rent and moneylenders' interest amounted to Rs 1400 crore or roughly equal to one-third of the total agricultural products for the year. The result was that the impoverishment of the peasantry continued along with an increase in the incidence of famines. People died in millions whenever droughts or floods caused failure of crops and scarcity.

3.1.4 Ruin of Old Zamindars and Rise of New Landlordism

The first few decades of British rule witnessed the ruin of most of the old zamindars

in Bengal and Madras. This was particularly so with Warren Hastings' policy of auctioning the rights of revenue collection to the highest bidders. The Permanent Settlement of 1793 also had a similar effect in the beginning. The heaviness of land revenue—the government claimed ten-elevenths of the rental—and the rigid law of collection, under which the zamindari estates were ruthlessly sold in the case of delay in payment of revenue, wreaked havoc for the first few years. Many of the great zamindars of Bengal were utterly ruined and were forced to sell their zamindari rights.

By 1815, nearly half of the landed property of Bengal had been transferred from the old zamindars, who had resided in the villages and had traditions of showing some consideration to their tenants, to merchants and other rich classes. They usually lived in towns and were quite ruthless in collecting to the last pie what was due from the tenant irrespective of difficult circumstances.

Being utterly unscrupulous and possessing little sympathy for the tenants, these new landlords began to subject the latter to rack-renting and ejectment. The Permanent Settlement in north Madras and the Temporary Zamindari Settlement in Uttar Pradesh were equally harsh on the local Zamindars. However, the condition of the zamindars soon improved radically irrespective of the adverse conditions they were facing in these regions. In order to enable the zamindars to pay the land revenue in time, the authorities increased their power over the tenants by obliterating the traditional rights of the tenants. The zamindars were now all set out to push up the rents to the utmost limit. Consequently, they rapidly grew in comfort and prosperity whereby they were able to lead a luxurious life when compared with the rest of the population.



In the Ryotwari areas too the system of landlord-tenant relations began to spread in a gradual manner. As we have seen above, more and more land passed into the hands of money lenders, merchants and rich peasants who usually got the land cultivated by tenants. One reason why the Indian moneyed classes were keen to buy the lands was the absence of effective outlets for investment of their capital in the industry. Another process through which this landlordism spread was that of subletting. Many owner-cultivators and occupancy tenants, having a permanent right to hold land, found it more convenient to lease out land to land-hungry tenants at exorbitant rent than to cultivate it all by themselves. In time, landlordism became the main feature of agrarian relations not only in the zamindari areas but also in the Ryotwari ones.

A remarkable feature of the spread of landlordism was the growth of subinfeudation or intermediaries. Since the cultivating tenants were generally unprotected and the overcrowding of land led the tenants to compete with one another to acquire land, the rent of land went on increasing rapidly. The zamindars and the new landlords found it convenient to sublet their right to collect rent to other eager persons on profitable terms. But as rents increased, sub-lessees of land in turn sublet their rights in land. Thus by a chain-process a large number of rent-receiving intermediaries between the actual cultivator and the government sprang up in these places.

In some cases like that in Bengal their number even went up to as high as fifty. The condition of the helpless cultivating tenants who ultimately had to bear the burden of maintaining this horde of superior landlords was precarious beyond imagination. Many of them were little better than slaves. An extremely harmful consequence of the rise

and growth of zamindars and landlords was the political role they played during India's struggle for independence. Along with the princes of protected states having British affiliation, many of them became the chief political supporters of the foreign rulers and opposed the rising national movement. Realising that they owed their existence to British rule, they tried hard to maintain and perpetuate it.

3.1.5 Stagnation and Deterioration of Agriculture

Overcrowding in agriculture, excessive land revenue demand, growth of landlordism, increasing indebtedness resulted in the growing impoverishment of cultivators. Indian agriculture began to stagnate and even deteriorate resulting in extremely low yields per acre. Overall agricultural production fell by 14 per cent between 1901 and 1939.

The overcrowding in agriculture and increase in subinfeudation led to subdivision and fragmentation of land into smallholdings most of which could not maintain their cultivators. The extreme poverty of the overwhelming majority of peasants left them without any resources with which to improve agriculture by using better cattle and seeds, more manure and fertilisers, alongside improved techniques of production. Nor did the farmer, rack-rented by both the government and the landlord, have any incentive to do so. After all, the land they cultivated was rarely their property and the bulk of the benefit which agricultural improvements would bring was likely to be reaped by the horde of absentee landlords and moneylenders. Subdivision and fragmentation of land also made it difficult to effect improvements.

In England and other European countries, the rich landlords often invested capital in

their land to increase its productivity with a view to sharing in the increased income. Nevertheless in India the absentee landlords, both old and new, performed no useful function. They were mere rent-receivers who had often no roots in the land and who took no personal interest in it beyond collecting rent. They found it possible and therefore preferred to increase their income by further squeezing their tenants rather than by making productive investments in their lands.

The government could have helped in improving and modernising the agriculture. However, the government refused to recognise any such responsibility. A characteristic of the financial system of British India was that, while the main burden of taxation fell on the shoulders of the peasant, the government spent only a very small part of it on him. An example of this neglect of the peasant and agriculture was the stepmotherly treatment meted out to public works and agricultural improvement.

While the Government of India had spent by 1905 over 360 crore of rupees on the railways which was demanded by British business interests, it spent in the same period less than 50 crores of rupees on irrigation and related activities. Even so, irrigation was the only field in which the government took some steps forward initiating some drastic changes in the same field.. At a time when agriculture all over the world was being modernised and revolutionised, Indian agriculture was technologically stagnating; hardly any modern machinery was used. What was worse was that even ordinary implements were centuries old. For example, in 1951, there were only 930,000 iron ploughs in use while wooden ploughs numbered upto say, 31.8 million.

The use of inorganic fertilisers was

virtually unknown, whereas a large part of animal manure, i.e., cow-dung, night-soil and cattle bones, were wasted for no apparent reason. In 1922—23, only 1.9 percent of all cropped land was under improved seeds. By 1938-39, this percentage had gone up to only 11 percent. Furthermore, agricultural education was completely neglected. In 1939 there were only six agricultural colleges with 1306 students. There was neither a single agricultural college in Bengal, Bihar, Orissa and Sind, nor could peasants make any improvements through self-study. There was hardly any spread of primary education or even literacy in the rural areas among the peasants and labour class.

3.1.6 Development of Modern Industries

An important development in the second half of the nineteenth century was the establishment of large-scale machine-based industries in India. The machine age in India began when cotton textile, jute and coal-mining industries were started in the 1850s. The first textile mill was started in Bombay by Cowasjee Nanabhoy in 1853, and the first jute mill in Rishra (Bengal) in 1855. These industries expanded slowly but continuously in almost all major regions in India in due course of time. In 1879 there were 56 cotton textile mills in India employing nearly 43,000 persons. In 1882 there were 20 jute mills, most of them in Bengal, employing nearly 20,000 persons.

By 1905, India had 206 cotton mills employing nearly 196,000 persons. In 1901 there were over 36 jute mills employing nearly 115,000 persons. The coal-mining industry employed nearly one lakh people in the year 1906 itself. Other mechanical industries which developed during the second



half of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth centuries were cotton gins and presses, rice, flour and timber mills, leather tanneries, woolen textiles, sugar mills, iron and steel works, alongside mineral industries, such as salt, mica and saltpeter.

Cement, paper, matches, sugar and glass industries developed during the 1930s. Nonetheless all these industries had very stunted growth owing to certain situations of this time period. Most of the modern Indian industries were owned or controlled by British capital. Foreign capitalists were attracted to Indian industry by the prospect of high profit. Labour was extremely cheap; raw materials were readily and cheaply available; and for many goods, India and its neighbours provided a ready market. For many Indian products, such as tea, jute and manganese, there was a ready demand the world over.

On the other hand, profitable investment opportunities at home were getting fewer. At the same time, the colonial government and officials were willing to provide all help and give all favours. Foreign capital easily overwhelmed Indian capital in many of the industries. Only in the cotton textile industry did Indians have a large share from the beginning, and in the 1930s, the sugar industry was developed by the Indians. Indian capitalists also had to struggle from the beginning against the power of British managing agencies and British banks.

To enter a field of enterprise, the Indian businessmen had to bend before British managing agencies dominating that field. In many cases even Indian-owned companies were controlled by foreign-owned or controlled managing agencies. The Indians also found it difficult to get credit from banks, most of which were dominated by British financiers.

Even when they could get loans they had to pay high interest rates while foreigners could borrow on much easier terms. Of course, gradually the Indians began to develop their own banks and insurance companies. In 1914, foreign banks held over 70 percent of all bank deposits in India; by 1937, their share had decreased to 57 percent.

British enterprises in India also took advantage of their close connection with British suppliers of machinery and equipment, shipping, insurance companies, marketing agencies, government officials and political leaders to maintain their dominant position in Indian economic life. Moreover, the government followed a conscious policy of favouring foreign capital as against Indian capital. The railway policy of the government also discriminated against Indian enterprise; railway freight rates encouraged foreign imports at the cost of trade in domestic products. It was more difficult and costlier to distribute Indian goods than to distribute imported goods.

Another serious weakness of Indian industrial effort was the almost complete absence of heavy or capital goods industries, without which there can be no rapid and independent development of industries. India had no big plants to produce iron and steel, or to manufacture machinery. A few petty repair workshops represented engineering industries and a few iron and brass foundries represented metallurgical industries. The first steel in India was produced only in 1913. Thus India lacked basic industries such as steel, metallurgy, machine, chemical and oil. India also lagged behind in the development of electric power.

Apart from machine-based industries, the nineteenth century also witnessed the growth of plantation industries, such as indigo, tea

and coffee. They were almost exclusively European in ownership. Indigo was used as a dye in textile manufacture. Indigo manufacture was introduced into India at the end of the eighteenth century and flourished in Bengal and Bihar. Indigo planters gained notoriety for their oppression over the peasants who were compelled by them to cultivate indigo. This oppression was vividly portrayed by the famous Bengali writer Dinabandhu Mitra in his play *Neel Darpan* in 1860. The invention of a synthetic dye gave a big blow to the indigo industry and it gradually declined.

The tea industry developed in Assam, Bengal, south India and the hills of Himachal Pradesh after 1850. Being foreign-owned, it was helped by the government with grants of rent-free land and other facilities. In time, the use of tea spread all over India and it also became an important item of export. Coffee plantations were developed during this period in south India. The plantation and other foreign-owned industries were of hardly any advantage to the Indian people. Their profits went out of the country. A large part of their salary bill was spent on highly paid foreign staff. They purchased most of their equipment abroad. Most of their technical staff was foreign.

Most of their products were sold in foreign markets and the foreign exchange so earned was utilised by Britain. The only advantage that Indians got out of these industries was the creation of unskilled jobs. Most of the workers in these enterprises were, however, extremely low paid, and they worked under extremely harsh conditions for very long hours. Moreover, conditions of near-slavery prevailed in the plantations. On the whole, industrial progress in India was exceedingly slow and painful. It was mostly confined to cotton and jute industries and tea plantations

in the nineteenth century, and to sugar and cement in the 1930s.

As late as 1946, cotton and jute textiles accounted for 40 percent of all workers employed in factories. In terms of production as well as employment, the modern industrial development of India was paltry compared with the economic development of other countries or those with India's economic needs. It did not, in fact, compensate even for the displacement of the indigenous handicrafts; it had little effect on the problems of poverty and overcrowding of land. The paltriness of Indian industrialization is brought out by the fact that out of a population of 357 million in 1951 only about 2.3 million were employed in modern industrial enterprises.

Furthermore, the decay and decline of the urban and rural handicraft industries continued unabated after 1858. The Indian Planning Commission calculated that the number of persons engaged in processing and manufacturing fell from 10.3 million in 1901 to 8.8 million in 1951, even though the population increased by nearly 40 per cent. The government made no effort to protect, rehabilitate, reorganise and modernise these old indigenous industries. Moreover, even the modern industries had to develop without government help and often in opposition to British policy. British manufacturers looked upon Indian textile and other industries as their rivals and put pressure on the Government of India not to encourage but rather to actively discourage industrial development in India. Thus British policy artificially restricted and slowed down the growth of Indian industries.

Furthermore, Indian industries, still in a period of infancy, needed protection. They developed at a time when Britain, France, Germany and the United States had already



established powerful industries and could not therefore compete with them. In fact, all other countries, including Britain, had protected their infant industries by imposing heavy customs duties on the import of foreign manufacturers. But India was not a free country. Its policies were determined in Britain and in the interests of British industrialists who forced a policy of Free Trade upon their colony. For the same reason the Government of India refused to give any financial or other help to the newly founded Indian industries as was being done at the time by the governments of Europe and Japan for their own infant industries. It would not even make adequate arrangements for technical education which remained extremely backward until 1951 and further contributed to industrial backwardness. In 1939 there were only 7 engineering colleges with 2217 students in the country.

Many Indian projects, for example, those concerning the construction of ships, locomotives, cars and aeroplanes, could not get started because of the government's refusal to give any help. Finally, in the 1920s and 1930s under the pressure of the rising nationalist movement and the Indian capitalist class, the Government of India was forced to grant some tariff protection to Indian industries. But, once again, the government discriminated against Indian-owned industries.

The Indian-owned industries, such as cement, iron and steel, and glass were denied protection or given inadequate protection. On the other hand, foreign dominated industries, such as the match industry, were given the protection they desired. Moreover, British imports were given special privileges under the system of 'imperial preferences' even though Indians protested vehemently. Another feature of Indian industrial development was that it was extremely lopsided regionally.

Indian industries were concentrated only in a few regions and cities of the country. Large parts of the country remained totally underdeveloped.

This unequal regional economic development not only led to wide regional disparities in income but also affected the level of national integration. It made the task of creating a unified Indian nation more difficult. An important social consequence of even the limited industrial development of the country was the birth and growth of two new social classes in Indian society—the industrial capitalist class and the modern working class. These two classes were entirely new in Indian history because modern mines, industries and means of transport were new.

Even though these classes formed a very small part of the Indian population, they represented new technology, a new system of economic organisation, new social relations, new ideas and a new outlook. They were not weighed down by the burden of old traditions, customs and styles of life. Most of all, they possessed an all-India outlook. Moreover, both of these new classes were vitally interested in the industrial development of the country. Their economic and political importance and roles were, therefore, out of all proportion to their numbers.

3.1.7 Poverty and Famines

A major characteristic of British rule in India, and the net result of British economic policies, was the prevalence of extreme poverty among its people. While historians disagree up on the question whether India was getting poorer or not under British rule, there is no disagreement on the fact that throughout the period of British rule most Indians always lived on the verge of starvation. As time passed, they found it more and more difficult

to find employment or make a living. British economic exploitation, decay of indigenous industries, failure of modern industries, high taxation, drain of wealth to Britain and a backward agrarian structure, led agricultural activities to stagnation. Along with, the exploitation of the poor peasants by the zamindars, landlords, princes, moneylenders and merchants accelerated the same. The state gradually witnessed the extreme poverty of Indian people. This prevented the progress of India's colonial economy and it fell down to very poor economic condition.

The poverty of the people found its culmination in a series of famines which ravaged all parts of India in the second half of the nineteenth century. The first of these famines occurred in western Uttar Pradesh in 1860-61 and took over 2 lakhs of Indian lives. From 1865-66 a famine engulfed Orissa, Bengal, Bihar and Madras and took a toll of nearly 20 lakhs of lives, Orissa alone losing 10 lakh people in such circumstances created a panic-stricken situation among the natives of India. More than 14 lakhs of people died in the famine of 1868-70 in western Uttar Pradesh, Bombay and Punjab. Many states, like Rajasthan, another affected area, lost one-fourth to one-third of their then population.

Perhaps the worst famine in Indian history till then occurred from 1876—78 in Madras, Mysore, Hyderabad, Maharashtra, western Uttar Pradesh, and Punjab. Maharashtra lost 8 lakh people, and Madras nearly 35 lakh. Mysore lost nearly 20 percent of its population and Uttar Pradesh lost over 12 lakhs. Drought led to a country-wide famine in 1896-97 which affected over 9.5 crores of people of whom nearly 45 lakh died. The famine of 1899-1900 followed quickly and caused widespread distress. In spite of official efforts to save lives through provision of famine relief, over 25

lakhs of people died.

Apart from these major famines, many other local famines occurred. William Digby, a British writer, has calculated that, in all, over 28,825,000 people died during famines from 1854 to 1901. Another famine in 1943 carried away nearly three million people in Bengal alone. These famines and the high losses of life caused by them indicate the extent to which poverty and starvation had taken root in India. Many English officials in India recognised the grim reality of India's poverty during the nineteenth century. For example, Charles Elliott, a member of the Governor-General's Council, remarked: "I do not hesitate to say that half the agricultural population do not know from one year's end to another what it is to have a full meal." William Hunter, the compiler of the Imperial Gazetteer, conceded that "forty million of the people of India habitually go through life on insufficient food." The situation became even worse in the twentieth century. The quantity of food available to an Indian declined by as much as 29 percent in the 30 years between 1911 and 1941.

There were many other indications of India's economic backwardness and impoverishment. Colin Clark, a famous authority on national income, has calculated that during the period 1925-34, India and China had the lowest per capita incomes in the world. The income of an Englishman during that time was five times that of an Indian. Similarly, the average life expectancy of an Indian during the 1930s was only 32 years in spite of the tremendous progress that modern medical sciences and sanitation had made at that particular point in time. In most of the West European and North American countries, the average age was already over 60 years.



India's economic backwardness and poverty were not due to the niggardliness of nature. They were man-made. The natural resources of India were abundant and capable of yielding, if properly utilised, a high degree of prosperity could have been achieved in a short span of time. But, as a result of foreign rule and exploitation, and of a backward agrarian and industrial economic structure—in fact as the total outcome of its historical and social development—India presented the paradox of poor people living in a rich country. The poverty of India was neither a product of its geography ; of the lack of natural resources or of some 'inherent' defect in the character and capabilities of the people, nor was it a remnant of the Mughal period or of the pre-British past.

It was mainly a product of the history of the last two centuries. Prior to this, India was no more backward than the countries of Western Europe. Moreover, the differences in the standards of living at the time was unaffordable among other countries of the world. Precisely, during this period, the countries of the West developed and prospered in an unprecedented manner, India was subjected to modern colonialism and

was prevented from developing further in the areas of their expertises. The economic situation retained their status quo till 1750 globally, however after this period, standards of living and economic differences began to reflect in the world economy due to the impact of Industrial Revolution and the activities initiated by the imperialist powers like Britain in their colonies like India and other Afro-Asian nations during this time period.

The basic fact is that the same social, political and economic processes that produced industrial development and socio cultural progress in Britain produced and maintained economic underdevelopment, alongside social and cultural backwardness, in India. The reason for this is obvious. Britain subordinated the Indian economy to its own one and “re-moulded” the basic social trends in India based on their needs and necessities. The result was stagnation of India's agriculture and industries; exploitation of its peasants and workers by the zamindars, landlords, princes, moneylenders, merchants, capitalists and the foreign government and its officials; and the spread of poverty, disease and semi-starvation.

Recap

- ▶ Destruction of India's traditional Economy under the British
- ▶ Demolition of Artisans and Craftsmen
- ▶ New landlord system
- ▶ Poor situations of agriculture and peasantry
- ▶ Ruin of the Indian owned traditional businesses
- ▶ Poverty, famine and unemployment of the working class
- ▶ West developed and prospered in an unprecedented manner
- ▶ India subjected to modern colonialism
- ▶ The disparity in income of the English and Indian

Objective Type Questions

1. In which year was the Permanent Settlement act established?
2. Who introduced the Mahalwari system in India?
3. Where did the first famine occur in the nineteenth century?
4. What was the average life expectancy of an Indian during the 1930s?
5. Who wrote the famous Bengali play, 'Neel Darpan'?
6. When did the first textile mill start in Bombay?
7. Which were the prominent centers of tea Industry in India after 1850?
8. Where was the first jute mill started?

Answers

1. 1793
2. William Bentick
3. Uttar Pradesh
4. 32
5. Dinabandhu Mitra
6. 1853
7. Assam, Bengal, South India and the hills of Himachal Pradesh
8. Rishra (Bengal) in 1855

Assignments

1. Analyse the changes in Indian economic policies during British rule and after independence.
2. Bring out the economic changes that happened globally ever since the introduction of the Industrial Revolution to the world.
3. Critically evaluate the imperialistic activities of European nations in their colonies leading to economic issues and famine with special reference to Indian economy.
4. Discuss the difficulties faced by indigenous and small scale industries of India owing to the corrupted and exploitative rule of the British in India.



Suggested Reading

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3. Dube, Ishita Banerjee, *A History of Modern India* (Delhi: Cambridge University Press, 2015)
4. Grover B.L., Grover S., *A New Look at Modern Indian History*, S. Chand and Company, New Delhi, 2001.
5. Sarkar, Sumit, *Modern India, 1885-1947* (Delhi: Macmillian, 1985).

Unit 2

Revolt of 1857

Learning Outcomes

Upon the completion of this unit, the learner will be able to :

- ▶ explain reasons and importance of the revolt of 1857
- ▶ analyse the effects of the 1857 revolt
- ▶ identify various British policies that resulted in the revolt
- ▶ familiarise with the reasons for the failure of the revolt

Prerequisites

People often get lost between the terminologies of “revolt” and rebellion” as both signify to rise against an oppressive rule or power structure. However rebellion is used to mention an unrest or an uprising to gain concessions or privilege from an oppressive power. In the case of a revolt, it’s all about overthrowing that power or the authoritarian figure all together paving the way for their freedom. In this context we have a revolt to deal with and that also against the British yoke by native Indians, involving sepoys, kings, native rulers, people belonging to various strata of the then society, etc. It is obvious that their ultimate aim was to overthrow the British rule in India as people were so much suffering under their oppressive and corrupt rule for centuries. This is very much reflected in the revolts that took place in Babylon, Egypt and other places in ancient period up to those that took place in America, France, etc., in the later years. Even though their causes differ, they always attain the same nature. However, some succeed while others fail due to varying reasons in their endeavours as far as these revolts are considered.

The revolt of 1857 is significant from the viewpoint that it was the first time ever since the Indian colonisation by English East India Company that they rose in open protest against their rule. In this, people from almost all strata of the society took part without any caste, creed, gender, class or community disparities.

We could understand that *The East India Company* had substantial parts of India under its control by the first half of the 19th century, but it still had two goals: to maintain its conquests and to profit from trade. There was no cap on the level of the company’s avarice and betrayal to achieve these goals. Many of the native dominions were forcibly incorporated into the British Empire before 1857. There was a great deal



of animosity toward the British among the various sectors of the Indian population due to the East India Company's reign from 1757 to 1857. The Mughal era's collapse was a psychological shock to Muslims, many of whom had benefited from positions of power and favouritism under the Mughals and other Muslim provincial emperors. The company's commercial policy destroyed the artisans and craftsmen, while the company's varied land income policies—particularly the permanent settlement in the north and the Ryotwari settlement in the south—put the peasants on the road to poverty and misery. Rising tensions among people as a result of the overall unhappiness finally sparked the 1857 uprising. In this unit, we will investigate the revolt's origins, consequences, and long-term ramifications of the British rule.

Keywords

East India Company, Doctrine of Lapse, Permanent Settlement, Revolution, Subsidiary Alliance

3.2.1 Causes of the Revolt of 1857

The revolt of 1857 started on 10th May when the Company's Indian soldiers at Meerut rebelled. This is often termed as the 'Sepoy Mutiny' by the British, dubbed as the 'First War of Independence' against the British rulers by nationalist historians. The revolt became an important part of history despite having diversified opinion about the same among historians from different parts of the world. Indian soldiers thereafter killed their European officers and marched towards Delhi. They entered the Red Fort and proclaimed the aged and powerless Mughal Emperor Bahadur Shah Zafar, as the Emperor of India.

This rebellion was a major anti-colonial movement against the aggressive imperialist policies of the British. In fact, it was an economic, political and social struggle against the British rule. This severe outburst of anger and discontent shook the foundations of colonial rule in large parts of India. We will now study the causes of dissatisfaction among the Indian people which made them rebel against the then British rule.

a) Political causes: The annexation method of colonial expansion became a significant source of unhappiness for the Indian emperors. The British sought to acquire land and amass as much wealth as they could for England. With the help of their annexation strategy known as the **Doctrine of Lapse** and **Subsidiary Alliance**, the British Empire was able to absorb a number of sovereign kingdoms. The monarchs of these kingdoms, which were under British protection, had passed away without leaving a legitimate heir to their throne. As a result, their adopted sons were no longer able to legitimately inherit the land or collect the pension that the British had given them. The Maratha States of Satara, Nagpur, Jhansi, and several other small kingdoms were thus annexed by Lord Dalhousie. When Bajji Rao II passed away, the pension he had been given was revoked, and Nana Saheb's request to receive it was turned down. Many Indian kings disapproved of the East India Company's influence. Prior to the Doctrine of Lapse, the Indian kings had the power to choose an heir to the throne even if he was childless, but they now needed the

British government's permission first for such an adoption procedure. The annexation policy had an impact on all those who were reliant on the rulers, including troops, artisans, and even nobility. Even the traditional classes of scholars and priests lost the favours they were receiving from them. Numerous zamindars, aristocrats, and poligars lost control of their properties and the wealth generated by them.

The British-loyal Nawab also objected to Awadh being annexed on the basis of bad governance. When the British took over Awadh, no alternative employment was offered to those who lost their occupations. Even the peasants were required to pay more taxes and more for land. The majority of people saw the Britishers ongoing meddling with traditional beliefs, traditions, and norms as a danger to their religion. The gap between the British authorities and the populace grew as they grew more haughty.

(b) Economic Causes: Another important cause of the revolt was the disruption of the traditional Indian economy and its subordination to the British economy. The British had come to trade with India but soon decided to exploit and impoverish the country. They tried to take away as much wealth and raw material from here as they could. The Britishers kept high posts and salaries for themselves. They used political control to increase their trade on foreign goods. All means were used to drain India of her wealth. The Indian economy now suffered under the British policies. Since they worked against the interests of Indian trade and industry, Indian handicrafts completely collapsed. The craftsmen who received royal patronage were impoverished when the states were annexed. They could not compete with the British factory made products where machines were used. It made India into an

excellent consumer of British goods and a rich supplier of raw materials for the industries in England. The British sold cheap, machine made clothes in India which destroyed the Indian cottage industry. It also left millions of craftsmen unemployed. The British also sent raw materials to England for the factories there. This left little for the Indian weavers to survive upon.

The Britishers also imposed heavy duties on Indian made goods. Now they could reap huge profits as there was no competition for their goods. Thus, the British drained India of her wealth and her natural resources in a systematic way. What other measures did the British take to exploit India? They in fact compelled the native Indians to buy raw materials and sell their finished goods in their home country at the rate fixed by them. They introduced steamships and railways which in turn opened up a vast market for the British and facilitated export of Indian raw materials abroad. The railways connected the raw material producing areas with the exporting ports. As a result British goods flooded the Indian market. But do you know that the railways played an important role in the national awakening of the country too. They let people and ideas come closer together, something that the British had never anticipated. In 1853, Dalhousie opened the first telegraphic line from Calcutta to Agra. They also introduced the postal service to India. Since land was the major source of revenue for them, the British thought of various means to extract revenue from the land. The colonial policy of intensifying land revenue demand led to a large number of peasants losing their land to revenue farmers, traders and moneylenders. This was done through the Ryotwari and Mahalwari systems.

'Permanent Settlement' policy of Bengal,



Bihar and Orissa did not recognise the hereditary rights of the peasants on land. On the other hand, if they failed to pay 10/11th of the entire produce, their property could be sold off. To prevent this situation the peasants often borrowed money from the moneylenders at a high rate of interest. Sometimes they even sold their property to the moneylenders. Even the officials harassed the peasants who dared not seek justice at the courts for fear of further harassment. The new class of zamindars that were created by the British became their political allies. They supported them in times of need and acted as buffers between the British and the people. Some of them even supported the British against the freedom movement. The economic decline of peasantry and artisans was reflected in 12 major and numerous minor famines from 1770 to 1857. All these factors helped to spread an anti-British feeling which ultimately culminated in the revolt of 1857.

(c) Social and Religious Causes: The British were not very sensitive to the feelings of the vast mass of Indian people. Social reforms against sati, female infanticide, widow re-marriage and education of women, made many people unhappy. With an objective to convert people, the Christian missionaries opened schools and colleges. It made the people believe that the Government was in collusion with the missionaries tried to eradicate their religion and convert them to Christianity. The passing of **Act XXI of 1850** enabled converts to Christianity inherit ancestral property. The new law was naturally interpreted as a concession to Christian converts which further created anxiety and fear among the people. The religious sentiments of the sepoys were hurt in 1806 in the Madras presidency. The Hindus were asked to remove their caste marks from their foreheads and the Muslims were asked to trim their beards. Though the sepoy uprising was put down, it was evident that the British

neither understood nor cared for the Indian soldiers. The loyalty of the sepoys was further undermined by certain military reforms which required them to serve overseas. This outraged their religious feelings. They had an aversion to overseas services, as travel across oceans meant loss of caste for them.

(d) Discontent in the Army: The soldiers in the East India Company's army came from peasant families which were deeply affected by the governments' policies. Indian soldiers were not given posts above that of subedars. Some sepoys wanted special bhatta/allowance if sent on overseas duty. Sometimes they were paid, but most of the time they were not. They, therefore, started distrusting their officers. These instances contributed in their own way to the revolt of 1857. The soldiers had other grievances too. They were paid salaries less than their English counterparts. As a result, the morale of the Indian sepoy was very low. On the other hand, when the soldiers refused to cross the 'black water' that is oceans and seas because their religion forbade it, the British were ruthless on them.

(e) Immediate Cause: Strong resentment was rising among the Indians and they were waiting only for an occasion to revolt. The stage was all set. Only a spark was needed to set it on fire. Introduction of greased cartridges in 1856 provided that fire. The government decided to replace the old-fashioned musket, 'Brown Bags' by the 'Enfield rifle'. The loading process of the Enfield rifle involved bringing the cartridge to the mouth and biting off the top. There was a rumour among the Sepoys in January 1857 that the greased cartridge contained the fat of cow and pig. The cow is sacred to the Hindus and the pig is forbidden to the Muslims. The sepoys were now convinced that the introduction of greased cartridges was a deliberate attempt

to defile Hindu and Muslim religion and their religious feelings. This sparked off the revolt of sepoys on 29 March 1857.

Course of the Revolt

A sepoy called Mangal Pandey was the first soldier who openly disobeyed orders. He killed two English officers at Barrackpore near Calcutta on 29 March 1857. He was arrested, tried and executed. The regiments of Barrackpore were disbanded. The news about Mangal Pandey soon reached other parts of the country and resulted in open revolts.

The most decisive uprising occurred at Meerut where 85 sepoys of the cavalry regiment were sentenced to 2-10 years imprisonment for refusing to use greased cartridges. The very next day, on 10th May 1857, three regiments broke into open mutiny. They killed British officers and broke open the prison to release their comrades. They began to march towards Delhi, where they were joined by the local infantry and the common people. The rebels captured Delhi and killed many British officers. They declared the Mughal Emperor Bahadur Shah as the emperor of India. From Delhi the revolt spread to other places. In Kanpur, Nana Sahib was declared the Peshwa. His troops were commanded by Tantya Tope and Azimullah. At Lucknow, Begum Hazrat Mahal was assisted by Maulvi Ahmadullah. In Jhansi, Rani Lakshmi Bai and in Arrah, Kunwar Singh led the revolt. Khan Bahadur Khan was the leader in Bareilly. The loss of Delhi greatly lowered the prestige of the British. To recover their lost prestige, they took help of the loyal forces from Punjab. The siege lasted four months and Delhi was finally recaptured on 10th September 1857. It took another ten months of fighting before the Governor-general, Lord Canning, could proclaim the end of the Mutiny on 8th July 1858. Stiff resistance had been offered to the

British force by the heroic trio of the rebellion – Rani Lakshmi Bai of Jhansi, Tantya Tope and Kunwar Singh. Rani Lakshmi Bai led the rebel ranks. Mounted on horseback, she boldly faced the British cavalry but when her horse stumbled and fell, she was killed. According to the British commander-in-chief, Sir Hugh Rose, “She was the best and bravest military leader of the rebels”. Kunwar Singh was killed in another battle in Bihar. Tantya Tope was captured while he was asleep. He was hanged after a trial. This was the end of the heroic trio and the rebellion was finally suppressed by the British. The old Emperor Bahadur Shah along with his two sons was taken prisoner. After a trial, he was deported to Rangoon, where he died in 1862, at the age of 87. His sons were shot dead at Delhi without a trial.

The revolt was started by the sepoys but was joined in large numbers by the civilian population. The participation of peasants and artisans made the revolt a widespread and popular event. In some areas, the common people revolted even before the sepoys. All this shows that it was clearly a popular revolt. It was characterised by Hindu-Muslim unity. Unity between different regions also existed. Rebels in one part of the country helped people fighting in other areas. According to some scholars, the revolt should be seen as the first nationalist struggle in India for independence from foreign rule. The Revolt of 1857 was also considered as not one movement but many. It was not a class revolt either.

The peasantry did not rebel against the landlords. They only directed attacks against money-lending grain dealers or the representatives of the British Indian government. But their policies strongly influenced the way a particular region as a whole was going to react. The Revolt



in Awadh as well as in other regions, was popular, in that it pertained to people as a whole and was carried out by them. Talukdars and peasants in Awadh fought together against a common foe. But there is no doubt that the revolt of 1857 was the first time that soldiers of the Indian army recruited from different communities, Hindus and Muslims, landlords and peasants, had come together in their opposition to the British. It also provided the necessary foundation for the later successful anti-colonial struggles against the British.

The main centers of the revolt were Meerut, Delhi, Kanpur, Lucknow, Jhansi, Bareilly and Arrah. Some important leaders of the revolt were Bakht Khan, Nana Sahib, Tantia Tope, Azimullah, Begum Hazrat Mahal, Maulvi Ahmadullah, Rani Lakshmi Bai, Khan Bahadur Khan and Kunwar Singh. The revolt failed to end British rule in India. The major reasons for its failure were – its localised and unorganised nature, weak leadership and lack of weapons and finances.

3.2.2 FAILURE OF THE REVOLT

Although the revolt was a big event in the history of India, it had very little chance of success against an organised and powerful enemy. It was suppressed within a year of its outbreak. We must now look into the causes for the failure of the “Revolt of 1857” as various elements led to its failure. There was no unity of purpose among the rebels. The sepoys of Bengal wanted to revive the ancient glories of the Mughals while Nana Saheb and Tantia Tope tried to reestablish the Maratha power. Rani Lakshmi Bai fought to regain Jhansi, which she had lost as a result of British policy of the Doctrine of Lapse.

Secondly, this rising was not widespread; it remained confined to North and Central India. Even in the north, Kashmir, Punjab,

Sind and Rajputana kept away from the rebels. The British managed to get the loyalty of the Madras and Bombay regiments and the Sikh states. Afghans and Gurkhas also supported the British. Many Indian rulers refused to help the rebels. Some were openly hostile to them and helped the British in suppressing the revolt. The middle, upper classes and the modern educated Indians also did not support the revolt.

Thirdly, the leadership of the movement was weak. Indian leaders lacked organisation and planning. The rebel leaders were no match to the British soldiers. Most of its leaders thought only of their own interests. They were motivated by narrow personal gains. They fought to liberate only their own territories. No national leader emerged to coordinate the movement and give it purpose and direction. Lakshmi Bai, Tantia Tope and Nana Saheb were courageous but were not good military generals. With the escape of Nana Sahib and the death of Bahadur Shah Zafar, came the end of Peshwaship and the Mughal rule. The rebels were short of weapons and finances. Whatever few weapons existed were old and outdated. They were no match to the sophisticated and modern weapons of the British. The rebels were also poorly organised. The uprisings in different parts of the country were not coordinated. Often the sepoys behaved in an uncontrolled manner. On the other hand the telegraphic system and postal communication helped the British to speed up their operation. The English mastery of the sea enabled them to get timely help from England and crush the revolt ruthlessly.

3.2.3 Aftermath of the Revolt

The revolt of 1857 was a turning point in the history of India. It showed the people of India that they could unitedly challenge British rule and also inspired future generations to fight for

independence. The revolt also led to a number of changes in the British policy, which made the people feel that their rights were being safeguarded. The revolt of 1857 was thus a significant event in the history of India, and it is important to understand all its causes and effects. Furthermore, we could see that there was a restructuring in the administration of India that took place right after the revolt. The control over the Indian colony was changed from the English East India Company to the hands of the British Royal Crown itself so that India came under the direct control of the British Royal Family. Attempts were also made to correct the financial misappropriations to a certain extent.

One thing to be noticed here is that the possibilities of the Indian army were explored to a great level in this revolt. People from various strata of the society despite having any disparities learned to stand together for a common goal setting aside their differences for a while. Hindu-Muslim unity was achieved for a certain time period to face off against a common enemy, the British. New administrative changes were initiated and the Act of Good Governance of India was passed in the year 1858. Similarly, a council known as the Indian Council, was established to consult and take decisions on the matters concerning India. The Secretary of State was to preside over the Council which constituted 15 members, with nine of them having spent at least ten years in the state.

Further changes were also initiated with regard to the Queen's Proclamation of 1858, in which the title of "The Governor-General" was changed to that of the "Viceroy", whereby Lord Canning became the first Viceroy of British possessions in India. As per the proclamation, it ensured that all those treaties and contracts made with Indian Princes and

other rulers would be preserved as such under the rule of the Crown. Furthermore, it was promised that from then on it would assure a good governance devoid of corruption and exploitation. The proclamation provided the provision to practise any religion as per one's wishes and opposed forcible conversions of any sort.

Following the revolt, the British lost their trust in Indians who worked alongside them in the army adorning the rank of a 'sepoy'. They became more suspicious and cautious about the activities of Indians in the army which made them adopt precautionary measures to stop any future mutinies. So, in order to ensure loyalty and effectiveness inside the army, the proportion of Britishers in the army was increased considerably. The recruitment of Indian soldiers to the British army began to be limited. Moreover, separate British troops were stationed in all major areas alongside Indian soldiers in the British army to curb any kind of plot or disruption that might occur within the army or civilians. In short, the British army was re-moulded in a new way where trust, discipline and loyalty became the cornerstone of its existence in India.

Emerging national consciousness was an end result of the revolt. The then Indian natives, rulers and people from different sections of the society became aware of the corruption and exploitation meted out by the Company officials. Even though each and everyone had their own personal reasons for going against the authoritarian regime, a common cause united them all which was to attain freedom from the British foreign rule. It created momentary alliances for the time being between different communities and castes to achieve their aim. These measures instilled a kind of patriotic feeling among people and made them fight for a common



cause despite all other things.

Crown.

The new British administration under the Crown concentrated more on maintaining animosity between rulers of India and among different castes and communities of India by exploiting their differences. This is the ultimate culmination and expansion of their 'divide and rule' policy through which they could maintain their control over India by splitting up the people. In this way, they were able to eradicate the possibility of a united resistance as they witnessed in the case of the 1857 revolt. They generated racial animosity among the natives through their policies and rules so that it felt like that they favoured one section of the society while going against the other. They maintained this trend all throughout the administration ever since it came under the hands of the British Royal

Conclusion

The 1857 revolt was caused by a number of factors, chief among them was the increasing power of the British East India Company and the resentment it bred in Indian subjects. The company's monopoly on trade, its exemption from taxation, and its ever-growing landholdings created great inequality and injustice. In addition, British policies such as the Doctrine of Lapse and the Vernacular Press Act further angered the Indians. Students studying this period of Indian History should be aware of all these causes to gain a complete understanding of one of India's most significant uprisings.

Recap

- ▶ Policies like the Doctrine of Lapse and the ones of similar nature created a situation where native rulers were prompted to go against the British regime
- ▶ Economic exploitation as well as corruption by British officials was another cause of the revolt
- ▶ The humiliating treatment meted out to the sepoys also made them to turn against the British
- ▶ Suppression of natives socially and religiously also made the civilians turn against them
- ▶ The use of greased cartridges in guns and the issues related with Mangal Pandey triggered the spark for starting the revolution
- ▶ Revolt failed due to lack of uniformity and proper planning
- ▶ Advanced warfare techniques, technologies and the efficiency of British Generals alongside their strategies were the other causes for its failure
- ▶ Changes in administration, military and governing strategy can be considered as the main consequences of the revolt
- ▶ The revolt united the natives for the very first time against the foreign rule
- ▶ Revolt of 1857 is often defined as the 'First War of Independence' by nationalist historians

Objective Type Questions

1. Who killed two English officers at Barrackpore and started the revolt?
2. Who led the revolt in Jhansi?
3. Who was declared the 'Emperor of India' by the revolters?
4. Who led the revolt in Arrah?
5. Who was the Governor-General during the 1857 revolt?
6. Who was declared as the Peshwa in Kanpur?
7. Who was the British Commander-in-Chief during the revolt?
8. Who assisted Begum Hazrat Mahal in Lucknow?
9. Who led the revolt in Bareilly?
10. Who commanded the troops of Nana Sahib?

Answers

1. Mangal Pandey
2. Rani Lakshmi Bai
3. Bahadur Shah Zafar
4. Kunwar Singh
5. Lord Canning
6. Nana Sahib
7. Sir Hugh Rose
8. Maulvi Ahmadullah
9. Khan Bahadur Khan
10. Tanya Tope and Azimullah

Assignments

1. Critically evaluate the changes that happened in the British Army after the revolt of 1857.
2. Bring out the salient features of the 'Doctrine of Lapse' which is considered one of the main reasons for the revolt.
3. Give an account of the socio-religious reasons that made the civilian population to support the revolt against the British.
4. Elaborate on the major events that determined the course of the 'First War of Independence' in India.



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Unit 3

Impact of the Revolt

Learning Outcomes

Upon the completion of this unit, the learner will be able to :

- ▶ explain the real consequences after the revolt of 1857.
- ▶ analyse the fate of the East India Company after the first war of independence in India.
- ▶ identify the transformative changes that occurred from 1858 onwards.
- ▶ give a glimpse about the rule of India under the British Crown and the changes that occurred from then on.

Prerequisites

Revolutions and rebellions have a major role in bringing about drastic changes in the existing system. It does have the capacity to overthrow any authoritarian regime in no time. However, its consequences differ based on the demands and needs of the rebels or the opposing group. It often attains a mass character in almost all cases as we have seen in many places, mostly in Asia and Africa. In these places unrests among the masses created a kind of anti-authoritarian feeling, leading them to come in direct conflict with the ruling authority. The results thus achieved were either in terms of treaties partially approving their demands or it resulted in the complete usurping of the ruling power. In the case of India, it resulted in the direct and indirect impact upon the people of the then society.

As we all know the British ruled over India as their colony for more than three centuries. In the initial stages it was monitored by the English East India Company and later by the British Crown itself. It won't be wrong to say that a systematic and uniform form of administration came into being from 1858 onwards when it eventually came under the control of British rule officially. Many changes that we see even now as the remnants of British rule are actually the net result of their rule here. They made some drastic changes in the administration as well as in the way in which India must be ruled. Likewise, we could also see the way in which Indian society underwent drastic transformations ever since the revolt of 1857. In short, it paved the way for the future united struggles against British rule in India.

The impact of revolt was also remarkable with respect to all sections of the then society whether it be social, economic or political. India came under the direct control



of the British Royal family and the the English East India Company was disbanded. Necessary changes were made in the Council and other aspects which posed real issues during the time of the English East India Company. Even though, these changes seemed to be somewhat welcoming, they proved to be otherwise in the long run, as they came in direct conflict with the interest of the native population of India. Further details regarding this will be disclosed in this particular unit.

Keywords

Legacy, Revolt, Administrative Changes, Native Responses

The Revolt of 1857 was the first indication that Indians were prepared to unite behind the revolter to put an end to the British rule. Despite failing to accomplish their goal, they were successful in spreading the seeds of nationalism among the Indians. The Indians grew more conscious of the heroes who gave their lives during the Revolt. In contrast, it marked the start of the mistrust between Hindus and Muslims, which the British eventually sought upon to maintain their dominance in India.

3.3.1 The Legacy Of The Revolt

The Revolt of 1857 is unique in a sense that cut across caste, community and class barriers. Indian people for the first time put up a unified challenge to the British rule. Though the efforts of the rebels failed, the British government was pressured to change their policy towards India. In August 1858, by the Act for the Better Government of India, both the Board of Control and the Board of Directors were abolished. The office of the Secretary of State for India was created with an Indian Council of 15 members to assist the Viceroy of India, designation earlier known as Governor General in India. In August 1858 the British crown assumed control of India from the East India Company and in 1877

Queen Victoria was crowned Empress of India. This brought to an end the rule of the East India Company. In the proclamation of 1st November 1858 the Queen announced a continuation of the Company's policies. India became a colony of the British Empire. The Indian rulers were assured of their rights to succession after adoption. The crown promised to honor all the treaties and the agreements made by the company with the rulers of Indian States. By now the British had become distrustful of the Hindu-Muslim unity. They decided to follow the policy of divide and rule. They kept a tight control over key positions both in the civil and military administration. To give expression to this pledge the Indian Civil Service Act of 1861 was passed, which provided for an annual competitive examination to be held in London for recruitment to the coveted Civil Service.

The revolt played a pivotal role in Anglo-Indian history. The British became cautious and defensive about their empire, while many Indians remained bitter and would never trust their rulers again. It was not until the emergence of Indian National Congress in 1885 and Mahatma Gandhi that Indians gathered their momentum for home rule. One group which kept away from trouble and opposition to the British was the English-

educated Indians. This group owed its rise to the conditions of the new rule. Some of its members were descendants of the new Bengali zamindars, a class created by the Permanent Settlement in Bengal. It is curious to note that some members of this elite group would turn against the British some thirty or forty years after the 1857 Revolt. The Army had been mainly responsible for the crisis of 1857. Hence, radical changes were introduced to the army. The strength of European troops in India was increased and the number of Indian troops reduced from the pre- 1857 figure. All Indian artillery units with the exception of a few mountain batteries were disbanded, even the artillery was kept with the British soldiers. On the other hand, there were attempts to play natives against natives on the basis of caste, religion and region. All the big posts in the army and the artillery departments were reserved for the Europeans. There was mutual distrust and fear between Indians and the British. It was increasingly realised that one basic cause for the Revolt of 1857 was the lack of contact between the ruler and the ruled. Thus, a humble beginning towards the development of representative institutions in India was made by the Indian Councils Act of 1861. The emotional after effects of the Revolt

were perhaps the most unfortunate. Racial bitterness was perhaps the worst legacy of the struggle.

Oppression and exploitation of the people were the main reasons for the rebellion and resistance to British rule in India. Being evicted from their lands, peasants and tribals became labourers on their own lands. Different forms of taxes made their life miserable. Those who were engaged in small cottage industries had to close their factories as a result of the import of British manufactured goods. All these changes and unresponsive attitude of the British administration compelled the peasantry to vent their grievances through rebellions. Unfortunately these rebellions were not successful before the organised British armed forces but they paved the way for future challenges to the British Raj in India. The Revolt of 1857 was a big challenge to British authority. It was led by the sepoys and supported by the common people. Economic, political, social, religious and military causes were responsible for the Revolt of 1857. The greased cartridges incident was the immediate cause of the revolt. A large part of India was affected by the revolt.

Recap

- ▶ The main consequence or impact of the revolt of 1857 was the transfer of power to the Royal British Crown from the British East India Company.
- ▶ It exposed the inefficiency of the English East India Company in handling administration of India.
- ▶ Council of India Act, 1858 was issued which ushered in an array of changes as foreseen by the British empire.
- ▶ Viceroys began to govern over India as the representative of the British royal family.
- ▶ The Board of Control was abolished.
- ▶ A new system in ministry better known as India House and a Secretary of



- State appointed to ensure better administration in India.
- ▶ Hindu-Muslim unity could be considered one among the major impacts of the revolt.
- ▶ A sense of mass mobilisation towards the goals of nationalism and freedom from British rule was achieved successfully.
- ▶ Individual uprisings and martyrdoms highly inspired future struggles against such oppressive ruling patterns.

Objective Type Questions

1. What is considered the direct impact of the revolt of 1857?
2. What was the main reason for the revolt?
3. Mention the name given to the revolt of 1857 by the British?
4. Who called the revolt of 1857 as “The First War of Independence”?
5. Name the Councils Act issued after the revolt?
6. Who was the ruler of Britain in 1858 when the power got transferred from the English East India Company to the British Crown?
7. What was the name of the proclamation issued from Britain in the year 1858 pertaining to Indian administration?
8. Name the council that got abolished immediately after the transfer of power to the British royal family?
9. What was the change that took place in the army soon after the transfer of power after the revolt?
10. Which was the administrative body that took office after abolishing the Board of Control?

Answers

1. Transfer of power from English East India Company to the British Royal Crown.
2. Oppressive, exploitative and corrupted rule of the British
3. Sepoy Mutiny
4. Veer Savarkar
5. Indian Councils Act
6. Queen Victoria.
7. Queen Victoria’s Proclamation
8. Board of Control.
9. Artillery and the number of troops were considerably reduced.
10. India House.

Assignments

1. Write a report on the influence of British administration under the Royal Crown in Indian democratic apparatus.
2. The remarkable changes happened in India under the control of the Queen as compared to the period governed by the British East India Company.
3. Bring out the characteristic features of the administrative changes initiated by the British soon after the revolt.
4. Discuss the global impact of the revolt of 1857 with vivid illustrations.

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Unit 4

Anti British Revolts after 1857 – Santhals- Bhils- Moplah uprisings

Learning Outcomes

Upon the completion of this unit, the learner will be able to :

- ▶ describe the nature of resistance movements in India against the British
- ▶ elucidate on the underlying reasons behind resistance against the foreign rule
- ▶ evaluate the cause, course and impact of civil uprisings, peasant revolts and tribal resistance movements regarding the Indian Freedom Struggle
- ▶ analyse the significance of local resistance movements in the history of India, especially under the rule of Britishers

Prerequisites

People's response to a regime can be found out from their resistance or through the cooperation of the authority governing that region. Local resistance movements have their own significance. There might be various reasons behind such resistances. Which played a major role in mobilising people of a certain region based on a cause for which they were ready to fight for and considered it a matter of pride even to lose their life in that process.

Considering the circumstances of the demands of the masses, people from different parts revolted with their own demands which can be broadly classified as civil uprisings. Meanwhile, those arose as a part of peasant unrests were categorised as peasant movements in which they usually stood against the policies of zamindars, revenue system and the corruption of the British officials. There was yet another category comprising tribes where their demand differed from the former two and they also did rise against the British on various occasions with their own leaders and objectives. One of the major benefits of such movements that united people and taught them to stand firm for a common cause is discussed here. However, it couldn't achieve mass popularity or proved to be a big threat to the British. Lack of communication, proper planning and bigger goals led to their decadence in due course of time. This unit will discuss the nature, cause and impact of various resistance movements that happened in India against the British.

Keywords

Resistance, Causes, Origin, Civil Uprisings, Peasant Movements, Tribal Revolts.

Discussion

Popular uprisings against the rulers and their officials were prevalent in pre-colonial India, with the high land income demand, corrupt practices, and harsh attitude of the authorities being some of the motivating elements. The creation of colonial power and its policies, on the other hand, had a considerably greater annihilative effect on the Indians as a whole. However, there were several instances of resistance to the British rule before the 1857 revolt, indicating that there was growing dissatisfaction against the alien government.

3.4.1 Origin of the Resistance

There were many reasons behind the rise of popular uprisings against the British. Some of their rules were characterised by corruption, exploitation, and economic ruin of Indian wealth by systematically weakening its indigenous industries. Policies and reforms initiated by the colonial powers had much harmful effect upon the Indian society as a whole. The Company kept their promise to themselves and turned a deaf ear towards the demands and grievances of the public. The colonial legal and police systems were corrupted and biased and hence always sided with landlords, merchants, zamindars and moneylenders which led to suppression of the rights of poor people in the society. The condition of the tribal people was much worse as they experienced constant incursions into their private spaces from strangers like the British government, which in turn made them more hostile and disgruntled towards the British.

3.4.1.1 Causes of the Resistance

The following are the key causes of people's discontent and uprisings against Company rules:

1. Colonial land revenue settlements, high weight of additional taxes, evictions of peasants from their farms, and encroachment on tribal territories.
2. Exploitation in rural life was being accompanied by an increase in the number of intermediary revenue collectors, tenants, and moneylenders.
3. Expansion of revenue administration over tribal territory, resulting in tribal people's loss of control over agricultural and forest areas.
4. Promotion of British manufactured products, imposition of severe charges on Indian industries, particularly export duties, resulting in the annihilation of the Indian handloom and handicraft industries.
5. Destruction of indigenous industry caused employees to migrate from industry to agriculture, putting strain on land/agriculture.
6. The term 'civil' refers to anything that isn't related to defence or military, but we have included here uprisings led by the deposed native rulers or their descendants, former zamindars, landlords, poligars, and officials of the conquered.
7. Although the power-wielding classes were at the heart of these upheavals, the major support came from rack-rented peasants, jobless craftsmen, and demobilised soldiers.



3.4.2 Causes of Civil Uprisings

Rapid changes in the economy, administration, and land revenue system occurred during Company rule, which were detrimental to the people. Several zamindars and poligars who had lost control of their lands and earnings as a result of colonial authority, held personal grudges against the new authorities. Traditional zamindars' and poligars' egos were bruised when they were demoted in status by government officials and a new class of merchants and moneylenders emerged. Millions of craftsmen were destitute as a result of colonial policies that destroyed Indian handicraft industries. Their misery was worsened by the departure of their traditional supporters and buyers -princes, chieftains, and zamindars.

As religious preachers, priests, pundits,

maulavis, and others were reliant on the traditional and bureaucratic elite, the priestly classes fostered hostility and resistance against alien control. The priests were directly affected by the demise of zamindars and feudal rulers. The British rulers' foreign nature, which has always been alien to this region, and their disdainful attitude toward the native people harmed the latter's pride. In most cases, these revolutions reflected shared conditions, even though they occurred at different times and in different places. The semi-feudal commanders of civil uprisings had a traditional worldview and were backward-minded. Their main goal was to return to older systems of government and social ties. These revolutions arose from local causes and concerns, and their repercussions were localised.

Important Civil Uprisings

Civil Uprisings	Time Period	Significance
Sanyasi Revolt	1763 — 1800	<ul style="list-style-type: none">► The Sanyasi revolt was a late-eighteenth-century rebellion in Bengal, in the Murshidabad and Baikunthpur forests of Jalpaiguri under the leadership of Pandit Bhabani Charan Pathak.► In the 18th century, the Sanyasis who rose against the English were not always individuals who had given up the world.► The uprisings were marked by equal participation of Hindus and Muslims.

Revolt in Midnapore and Dhalbhum	1766–74	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ► In cases of dispute between the Indian peasants and the English revenue collecting authorities, the zamindars of Midnapore sided with the farmers. ► By the 1800s, the zamindars of Dhalbhum, Manbhum, Raipur, Panchet, Jhatibuni, Karnagarh, and Bagri, who lived in the huge Jungle Mahals of the west and north-west Midnapore, had lost their zamindari. ► Damodar Singh and Jagannath Dhal were key figures in the uprisings.
Revolt of Moamarias	1769–99	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ► The Moamoria insurrection of 1769 was a powerful threat to the authority of Assam's Ahom monarchs. ► The Moamarias were low-caste peasants who followed Aniruddhadeva's (1553–1624) teachings, and their growth paralleled that of other North Indian low-caste communities. ► Their uprisings weakened the Ahoms and allowed others to assault the territory. ► Despite the fact that the Ahom kingdom survived the uprising, it was devastated by a Burmese invasion and eventually fell under British authority.
Civil Uprisings in Gorakhpur, Basti, and Bahraich	1781	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ► In order to pay for the war against the Marathas and Mysore, Warren Hastings devised a scheme to employ English officers as Ijaradars (revenue farmers) in Awadh. ► In 1781, the zamindars and farmers revolted against the oppressive taxes, and within weeks, all of Hannay's subordinates were either slain or besieged by zamindari guerrilla troops
Revolt of Raja of Vizianagaram	1794	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ► The English and Ananda Gajapatiraju, the monarch of Vizianagaram, signed a deal in 1758 to jointly expel the French from the Northern Circars. ► The raja rose up in revolt, backed by his subjects. ► In 1793, the English captured the raja and sentenced him to exile with a pension. The raja was adamant in his refusal. ► In 1794, the raja was killed in a fight at Padmanabham (now in Visakhapatnam, a district in Andhra Pradesh). The Company took control of Vizianagaram.

Civil Rebellion in Awadh	1799	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▶ In Benares, Wazir Ali Khan was given a pension. However, in January 1799, he assassinated George Frederick Cherry, a British citizen who had invited him to lunch. ▶ Wazir Ali's soldiers also killed two other Europeans and assaulted the Benares Magistrate. ▶ The entire episode became known as the Benares Massacre. ▶ Wazir Ali was able to raise a force of many thousand soldiers, but General Erskine was able to beat them.
Kutch Rebellion	1816 –32	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▶ The British meddled in the Kutch's internal feuds, prompting Raja Bharmal II to gather Arab and African forces in 1819 with the goal of driving the British out of his realm. ▶ In favour of his newborn son, the British defeated and removed Kutch monarch Rao Bharamal. ▶ The regency council's administrative innovations, along with excessive land valuation, sparked significant dissatisfaction.
Rising at Bareilly	1816	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▶ When Mufti Muhammad Aiwaz, a revered old man, petitioned the town magistrate in March 1816, the dispute became religious. ▶ The scenario became even worse when a lady was hurt by police while collecting taxes. ▶ The Mufti's supporters and the police got into a brutal brawl as a result of this incident. ▶ Within two days following the incident, armed Muslims from Pilibhit, Shahjahanpur, and Rampur rose up in revolt to defend the faith and the Mufti. ▶ The revolt could only be put down with the strong deployment of military troops, which resulted in the deaths of over 300 insurgents, as well as the wounding and imprisonment of many more.

Paika Rebellion	1817	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▶ The Paiks of Odisha were the traditional landed militia (meaning “foot soldiers”) who had hereditary land tenures in exchange for their military duty and policing tasks. ▶ Bakshi Jagabandhu Bidyadhar was the military commander of the Raja of Khurda’s army. ▶ The Company took away Jagabandhu’s ancestral estate of Killa Rorang in 1814, leaving him destitute. ▶ The entry of a group of Khonds from Gumsur into Khurda territory in March 1817 lit the fuse. ▶ Paika Bidroh was the name given to the insurrection (rebellion). ▶ For a time, the rebels’ early success galvanised the whole province of Odisha against the British administration. ▶ The Paika Rebellion was successful in obtaining huge remissions of arrears, reductions in assessments, a moratorium on the sale of defaulters’ properties at will, a new settlement on permanent tenures, and other liberal governance adjuncts.
Waghera Rising	1818 –20	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▶ The Waghera leaders of Okha Mandal were forced to take up arms due to resentment of the alien authority, as well as the demands of the Gaekwad of Baroda, who were backed by the British administration. ▶ During the years 1818–1819, the Wagheras made incursions into British territory. ▶ In November 1820, a peace deal was made.
Ahom Revolt	1828	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▶ After the First Burma War (1824–26), the British promised to leave Assam. ▶ Instead of leaving after the conflict, the British tried to absorb the Ahoms’ regions under the Company’s rule. ▶ This triggered a revolt in 1828, led by Gomdhar Konwar, an Ahom prince, and his countrymen, including Dhanjay Borgohain and Jairam Khargharia Phukan. ▶ The rebels formally installed Gomdhar Konwar as king at Jorhat. ▶ Finally, the Company adopted a conciliatory stance and gave up Upper Assam to Maharaja Purandar Singh Narendra, reuniting the Assamese ruler with a portion of his realm.



Surat Salt Agitations	1840	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▶ In 1844, a strong anti-British feeling led to attacks against Europeans by the local Surat populace over the government's decision to raise the salt levy from 50 paise to one rupee. ▶ The administration dropped the extra salt fee in response to public outcry. ▶ In 1848, the government was compelled to cancel its plan to implement Bengal Standard Weights and Measures in the face of a persistent campaign of boycotting and passive resistance by the people.
Wahabi Movement	1830-61	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▶ Syed Ahmed of Rai Bareilly, influenced by the teachings of Saudi Arabia's Abdul Wahab (1703–87) and Delhi's Shah Waliullah, formed the Wahhabi Movement, which was primarily an Islamic revivalist movement. ▶ Syed Ahmed denounced Western influence on Islam and called for a restoration to genuine Islam society as it was in the Arabia of the Prophet's day.

3.4.3 Peasant Movements

1. Peasant uprisings were demonstrations against evictions, increase in land rents, and the greedy tactics of moneylenders, with the goal of granting peasants occupation rights, among other things.
2. There were peasant revolts and rebellions, however many of them were led by local leaders.
3. The following is a list of peasant movements in India up until the commencement of the 1857 Revolt (and its immediate aftermath).

3.4.3.1 Important Peasant Movements

- ▶ **Peasant Atrocities:** In Zamindari districts, peasants paid excessive rents, illegal levies, arbitrary evictions, and unpaid labour. The government charged a high land tax in these regions.

- ▶ **Massive Losses for Indian Industries:** The movements arose as a result of British economic policies that resulted in the demise of traditional handicrafts and other small industries, resulting in the transfer of ownership and overburdening of agrarian land, as well as massive debt and impoverishment of the peasantry. The British government's economic policies are utilised to protect landlords and moneylenders while exploiting peasants.

On several instances, the peasants rose in protest against this injustice.

Peasants Movements	Time Period	Significance
Narkelberia Uprising	1782–1831	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▶ The Muslim tenants of West Bengal were encouraged by Mir Nithar Ali (1782–1831), also known as Titu Mir, to rise up against landlords, mostly Hindus, who imposed a beard-tax on the Faraizis and British indigo planters. ▶ This revolution, which is often regarded as the first armed peasant movement against the British, quickly took on a religious overtone. ▶ The uprising ultimately came to be known as the Wahhabi Movement.
The Pagal Panthis	1825	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▶ Karam Shah formed the Pagal Panthi, a semi-religious organisation made up primarily of the Hajong and Garo tribes of Mymensingh district (formerly Bengal). ▶ However, the tribal peasants banded together under Karam Shah's son, Tipu, to combat the zamindars' persecution. ▶ From 1825 through 1835, the Pagal Panthis raided zamindars' homes because they refused to pay rent. ▶ To safeguard these peasants, the government established an equitable arrangement, but the movement was severely quashed.

Faraizi Revolt	1838-57	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▶ The Faraizis were followers of Haji Shariatullah of Faridpur in Eastern Bengal, who created a Muslim sect. ▶ They campaigned for fundamental reforms in religion, society, and politics. Shariatullah and his son Mohsin Uddin Ahmad, also known as Dudu Miyan (1819–62), gathered their supporters with the goal of driving the English out of Bengal. ▶ The tenants' fight against the zamindars was also backed by the sect. ▶ The Faraizi uprisings lasted from 1838 to 1857. Majority of Faraizis embraced the Wahhabi movement.
Moplah Uprisings	1921	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▶ Increased income demands and field size reductions, along with state harassment, culminated in widespread peasant revolt among the Moplahs of Malabar. ▶ Between 1836 and 1854, there were twenty-two rebellions. None of them, however, were successful. ▶ The second Moplah rebellion happened when the Congress and Khilafat supporters began organising Moplahs during the Non-Cooperation Movement. ▶ However, the Congress and the Moplahs were separated by Hindu-Muslim divisions. The Moplahs had been defeated by 1921.

3.4.4 Tribal Revolt

Tribal movements were the most common, militant, and violent of all movements during British rule.

3.4.4.1 Causes of Tribal Revolts

Shifting agriculture, hunting, fishing, and the usage of forest products were the tribals' mainstays. The practice of settled agriculture was established with the inflow of non-tribals into the tribals' customary territories. The tribal population lost land as a result of this. The tribals were confined to working as agricultural labourers without land. Money

lenders were introduced by the British into tribal communities, resulting in serious exploitation of the native tribes. Under the new economic structure, they were forced to work as bonded labourers. The concept of joint ownership of land was supplanted by the concept of private property in tribal communities. Forest products, changing agriculture, and hunting techniques were all subject to limitations. For the tribals, this resulted in a loss of livelihood.

In contrast to mainstream culture, which was characterised by caste and class divisions, tribal life was typically egalitarian. The

arrival of non-tribals or outsiders pushed the tribals to the bottom of society's ladder. The government established a Forest Department in 1864, primarily to manage the vast riches of Indian forests. The Government Forest Act of 1865 and the Indian Forest Act of 1878 gave the government total control over wooded territory. The Christian missionaries' activity also caused social instability in tribal civilization, which the tribes hated.

3.4.5 Tribal Revolts (1857 - 1900)

The tribal groups were an important and integral part of native Indian life. Before their annexation and subsequent incorporation in the British territories, they had their own social and economic systems. These systems were traditional in nature and satisfied the needs of the tribals. Each community was headed by a chief who managed the affairs of the community. They also enjoyed independence regarding the management of their internal affairs. The land and forests were their main source of livelihood. The forests provided them with basic items which they required for survival. The tribal communities remained isolated from the non-tribals. The British policies proved harmful to the sustenance of tribal society. This destroyed their relatively self-sufficient economy and communities. The tribal groups of different regions revolted against the Britishers. Their movements were anti-colonial in nature because they were directed against the colonial administration. The tribals used traditional weapons, mainly bows and arrows and often turned violent. The Britishers dealt severely with them. They were declared criminals and antisocial. Their property was confiscated. They were imprisoned and many of them were hanged. The tribal movement in India remained confined to some regions only. But it did not lag behind other social groups in terms of

participation in the anti-colonial movements. We shall now read about some major tribal revolts that took place against the British rule:

(i) The Santhal Rebellion (1855-57)

The area of concentration of the Santhals was called Daman-i-Koh or Santhal Pargana. It extended from Bhagalpur in Bihar in the north to Orissa in the south stretching from Hazaribagh to the borders of Bengal. The Santhals like other tribes worked hard to maintain their lives in the forests and wild jungles. They cultivated their land and lived a peaceful life which continued till the British officials brought with them traders, moneylenders, zamindars and merchants. They were made to buy goods on credit and forced to pay back with a heavy interest during harvest time. As a result, they were sometimes forced to give the mahajan not only their crops, but also plough, bullocks and finally the land. Very soon they became bonded labourers and could serve only their creditors. The peaceful tribal communities were now up in arms against the British officials, zamindars and money lenders who were exploiting them. Sidhu and Kanu were leading Santhal rebel leaders. They gave a heroic fight to the British government. Unfortunately, the Santhal Rebellion was crushed in an unequal battle but it became a source of inspiration for future agrarian struggles.

(ii) Munda Rebellion (1899-1900)

One of the most important and prominent rebellions which took place after 1857 was the Munda Rebellion. The Mundas traditionally enjoyed certain rights as the original clearer of the forest which was not given to the other tribes. But this land system was getting destroyed in the hands of the merchants and moneylenders long before the coming of the British. However, when the British actually



came into these areas they helped to destroy this system with a rapid pace when they introduced contractors and traders. These contractors needed people to work with them as indentured labourers. This dislocation of the Mundas at the hands of the British and their contractors gave birth to the Munda Rebellion. The most prominent leader of this rebellion was Birsa Munda, who was more aware than the others as he had received some education from the Missionaries. He encouraged his tribe people to keep the tradition of worshipping of the sacred groves alive. This move was very important to prevent the Britishers from taking over their wastelands. He attacked Police Stations, Churches and missionaries. Unfortunately the rebels were defeated and Munda died in prison soon after in 1900. His sacrifice did not go in vain. The Chotanagpur Tenancy Act of 1908 provided some land ownership rights to the people and banned bonded labour of the tribe. Birsa Munda became the architect of Munda Rebellion and one who is remembered even today.

An indentured labourer was one who had to work for others on a contractual basis for a fixed period of time. The person had to work in a foreign/ new place and in return would be given payment for travel, accommodation and food.

(iii) Jaintia and Garo Rebellion (1860-1870s)

After the First AngloBurmese War, the British planned the construction of a road connecting Brahmaputra Valley (present day Assam) with Sylhet (present day Bangladesh). The Jaintias and the Garos in the North-Eastern part of India (present day Meghalaya) opposed the construction of this road which was of strategic importance to the British for

the movement of troops. In 1827, the Jaintias tried to stop work and soon the unrest spread to the neighbouring Garo hills. Alarmed, the British burnt several Jaintias and Garo villages. Hostilities increased with the introduction of House Tax and Income Tax by the British in the 1860s. Jaintias leader U Kiang Nongbah was captured and publicly hanged and the Garo leader Pa Togan Sangma was defeated by the British.

(iv) The Uprising of the Bhils (1818-1831)

The Bhils were largely concentrated in Khandesh (present day Maharashtra & Gujarat). Khandesh came under British occupation in 1818. The Bhils considered them as outsiders. On the instigation of Trimbakji, rebel minister of Baji Rao II they revolted against the Britishers.

(v) The Kol Uprising (1831-1832)

The Kols of Singhbhum in the Chhotanagpur area enjoyed autonomy under their chiefs but the entry of the British threatened their independence. Later the transfer of tribal lands and the coming of moneylenders, merchants and British laws created a lot of tension. This prompted the Kol tribe to organise themselves and rebel. The impact was such that the British had to rush troops from far off places to suppress it.

(vi) The Mappila Uprisings (1836-1854)

The Mappilas were the Muslim cultivating tenants, landless labourers and fishermen of Malabar region. British occupation of Malabar region and their new land laws along with the atrocities of the landlords (mainly Hindus) led the Mappilas to revolt against them. It took many years for the British to crush the Mappilas.

Important Tribal Revolts

Tribal Revolts	Significance
Paharias Rebellion (1778)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▶ Due to their geographical isolation, the Paharias had always preserved their independence before the British arrived. ▶ The Paharias invaded the plains populated by settled agriculturists frequently because their means of existence were insufficient, especially during times of famine. ▶ These attacks also served as a means of establishing control over the established populations. ▶ The British launched a savage onslaught on the Pahariyas in the 1770s, with the goal of tracking them out and murdering them. ▶ The Pahariyas uprising, headed by Raja Jagganath in 1778, is noteworthy. The British began a pacification campaign in the 1780s.
Chuar Uprising (1776)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▶ The Chuar uprising was a series of peasant rebellions against the East India Company that took place between 1771 and 1809 in the area around the West Bengal villages of Midnapore, Bankura, and Manbhum. ▶ Chuar uprising erupted in response to the jungle zamindars' increased earnings. The money was difficult to generate because the forest region produced little. ▶ The East India Company's tax and administrative policies (including the Permanent Settlement) as well as the police restrictions enforced in rural Bengal rendered the practise of employing local paiks obsolete, since they were eventually replaced by professional police. ▶ In 1799, the British violently repressed the insurrection.
Kol Mutiny (1831)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▶ The Kols were a tribe that lived in the Chotanagpur region. Moneylenders and merchants arrived alongside the British. ▶ The Kols were forced to sell their holdings to outside farmers and pay exorbitant taxes as a result. ▶ As a result, many people became bonded labourers. ▶ The Kols were especially irritated by British judicial policies. ▶ In 1831-1832, the Kols organised themselves and revolted against the British and moneylenders, resulting in an insurgency.

Ho and Munda Uprisings (1820–37)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▶ The revolt lasted until the Ho tribes were forced to succumb in 1827. ▶ However, in 1831, they staged another insurrection, this time with the help of the Mundas of Chotanagpur, to oppose the newly implemented farming tax policy and the influx of Bengalis into their district. ▶ Despite the fact that the uprising ended in 1832, the Ho activities continued until 1837.
The Santhal Rebellion (1833; 1855– 56)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▶ The landlords exploited the Santhals ruthlessly, charging excessive interest rates (often as high as 500 percent) that ensured the tribals would never be able to repay their loans. ▶ They were stripped of their land and forced to work as bonded labourers. ▶ Extortion, forcible deprivation of property, abuse and violence, deceit in business agreements, willful trampling of their crops, and so on were the injustices they had to cope with. ▶ They assassinated a large number of moneylenders and Company agents. The uprising was ferocious and huge in scope. ▶ The British brutally quashed the insurrection, killing around 20000 Santhals, including the two leaders.
Khond Uprising (1837–56)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▶ Between 1837 and 1856, the Khonds of the mountainous areas spanning from Odisha to the Andhra Pradesh districts of Srikakulam and Visakhapatnam revolted against Company control. ▶ Chakra Bisoi, a youthful raja, led the Khonds, who were supported by the Ghumsar, Kalahandi, and other tribes, in their opposition to the abolition of human sacrifice, increased taxes, and the arrival of zamindars into their territories. ▶ The insurrection came to an end with Chakra Bisoi's disappearance.

Koya Revolts	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▶ The Koyas of the eastern Godavari track (now Andhra) revolted in 1803, 1840, 1845, 1858, 1861, and 1862, aided by Khonda Sara leaders. ▶ Under Tomma Sora, they revolted once again in 1879–80. ▶ Their grievances included police and moneylender persecution, new restrictions, and rejection of their traditional rights to forest regions. ▶ After Tomma Sora's death, Raja Anantayyar organised another revolt in 1886.
Bhil Revolts	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▶ The Bhils of the Western Ghats controlled the mountain routes that connected the north with the Deccan. ▶ They rose against Company control in 1817–19 due to starvation, economic suffering, and misgovernment. ▶ To quell the insurrection, the British utilised both force and conciliatory measures. ▶ The Bhils, however, revolted again in 1825, 1831, and 1846. ▶ Later, a reformer named Govind Guru assisted the Bhils of south Rajasthan (Banswara and Sunth states) in organising to fight for a Bhil Raj by 1913.
Koli Risings	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▶ The Kolis of Bhils rose up in revolt against the Company's control in 1829, 1839, and again in 1844–48. ▶ They opposed the imposition of Company's control, which resulted in widespread unemployment and the removal of their fortifications.
Ramosi Risings	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▶ The Ramosis or Western Ghats hill tribes, had not accepted British control or the British system of administration. ▶ They organised in 1822 under Chittur Singh and devastated the land around Satara. ▶ There were other eruptions in 1825–26 under Umaji Naik of Poona and his follower, Bapu Trimbakji Sawant, and the unrest lasted until 1829. ▶ The commotion flared again in 1839 at the deposition and exile of Raja Pratap Singh of Satara, and it exploded again in 1840–41. ▶ Finally, a stronger British force was able to restore order in the region.

Tribal Revolts in North East

Revolts	Significance
Khasi Uprising	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▶ After occupying the steep terrain between the Garo and Jaintia Hills, the East India Company desired to construct a route connecting the Brahmaputra Valley with Sylhet. ▶ A considerable number of outsiders, including Englishmen, Bengalis, and plains labourers, were imported to these regions for this purpose. ▶ The Khasis, Garos, Khamptis, and Singphos banded together under Tirath Singh to drive the outsiders out of the plains. ▶ The movement grew into a widespread revolution against British administration in the region. ▶ By 1833, the overwhelming English armed force had put down the rebellion.
Singphos Rebellion	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▶ The Singphos movement in Assam in early 1830 was quickly put down, but they continued to organise revolts. ▶ The British political agent was killed in an insurrection in 1839. ▶ In 1843, Chief Nirang Phidu organised a rebellion that resulted in an attack on the British garrison and the deaths of numerous troops.

Recap

- ▶ British imperialistic policy and activities of corrupt officials paved the way for various local rebellions and revolts.
- ▶ Many civil uprisings erupted owing to the protest against the exploitation of the British.
- ▶ Peasant movements lashed out against the zamindars and the revenue system that made them socially and economically weak.
- ▶ Tribal revolts represented the needs of indigenous people who were killed by the Britishers.
- ▶ Local revolts and rebellions failed to assume a mass character.
- ▶ Their demands lost farsightedness and they were ready to settle for trivial things.

- ▶ Lack of proper planning, efficient leadership and proper communication led to its failure.
- ▶ Local rebellions and revolts did help the essence of freedom struggle to enter into the minds of common people.
- ▶ It generated awareness among the people about the exploitation by the British in India.
- ▶ These unrests carried on the spirit of freedom struggle without any hindrances
- ▶ It acted as an inspiration for other resistance movements all around the globe.

Objective Questions

1. Which region in India did Santhal tribes mostly inhabit?
2. Name one of the most significant rebellions that took place after the 1857 mutiny?
3. What is considered the main cause of the Jaintia-Garo uprising against the British?
4. When did the Khol mutiny happen?
5. Who headed the Paharias rebellion in the year 1778?
6. Which part of South India did the Khol mutiny concentrate on?
7. Who led the Khond Uprising against the British?
8. Name the reformer who assisted Bhils of south Rajasthan to fight for a Bhil Raj in the year 1913?
9. Which were the two major tribal rebellions that erupted against the British in the north-eastern region?
10. Name the movement led by Singphos in the early half of the Nineteenth century?

Answers

1. Daman-i-Koh or Santhal Pargana
2. Munda Rebellion
3. Attempt of the British to construct a road between Brahmaputra Valley and Sylhet
4. 1831.
5. Raja Jagganath
6. Chotanagpur Plateau
7. Chakra Bisoi
8. Govind Guru
9. Khasi Uprising and Singphos Rebellion
10. Singphos Movement.



Assignments

1. Make a report on local riots that occurred in and around your region pertaining to the Indian freedom struggle.
2. Initiate a case study on the contributions of peasant uprisings and tribal anti-British movements to liberate India from the oppressive reign of the British.
3. Enumerate the underlying reasons behind the tribal resistance movements in colonial India.
4. Discuss the role of communal elements in the resistance movements against the British with special reference to Malabar Rebellion of 1921.

Suggested Readings

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EMERGENCE OF NATIONAL CONSCIOUSNESS IN INDIA

Unit 1

Nationalism as an Ideology - Anti-Colonial Content

Learning Outcomes

After reading this unit, the learner will be able to:

- ▶ identify the causes for the rise of national consciousness in India
- ▶ analyse the impact of social reform movements in the history of Modern India
- ▶ explain the role of anti-caste movements in the making of modernity in India
- ▶ describe the different political associations in India which helped in developing nationalism

Prerequisites

Nationalism refers to the feeling of oneness that emerges when people living in a common region share the same historical, political, cultural background or language, and have the same cultural values and consider themselves as one nation. The factors which promoted the growth of nationalism in India were: economic exploitation, repressive colonial policies, socio-religious reform movements, rediscovery of India's past, influence of western education, role of the press and development of rapid means of transport and communication. Indian Nationalism can trace back its roots to Pre-Colonial India, but was fully developed during the Indian independence movement which campaigned for independence from British rule. Nationalism quickly rose to popularity in India through the united anti-colonial coalitions and movements.

Keywords

Nationalism, Western Education, National consciousness, Colonialism

4.1.1 Causes of the rise of Indian National Movement

The rise of national consciousness in India took place towards the latter half of the 19th century only. Before that, there were struggles and battles against British colonialism but they were all confined to smaller areas and in any

case, did not encompass the whole of India. In fact, some scholars at the time did not consider India to be a country. Though political union had occurred in the past under great kings like Ashoka and Akbar and under the Marathas, to an extent, they were not permanent. However, cultural unity was always seen and foreign

powers always referred to the subcontinent as India or Hind as being one entity, despite being ruled by many rulers.

It can be said that the national movement, with the political and social emancipation of the people as its aim, arose in India in 1885, with the formation of the Indian National Congress. The factors leading to the National consciousness at that time were:

Western education

Macaulay had instituted a western educational system in India with the sole aim of creating a class of educated Indians who could serve their colonial masters in the administration of the 'natives'. This idea sort of backfired because it created a class of Indians who became exposed to the liberal and radical thoughts of European writers who expounded liberty, equality, democracy and rationality. Also, the English language united Indians from various regions and religions.

Vernacular languages

The 19th century also saw the revival of vernacular languages. This helped the propagation of the ideas of liberty and rational thought to the masses. British imperialism put an end to the old social order of the country. This was resented by many Indians.

Socio-religious reform movements

Socio-religious reform movements of the 19th century helped a great deal in the rise of nationalism in India. These movements sought to remove superstition and societal evils prevalent then, and spread the word of unity, rational and scientific thought, women empowerment, and patriotism among the people. Notable reformers were Raja Ram Mohan Roy, Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar, Jyotiba Phule and so on.

Economic policies of the British

The oppressive economic policies of the British led to widespread poverty and indebtedness among the Indians, especially farmers. Famines which led to the deaths of lakhs were a regular occurrence. This led to a bitter sense of suppression and sowed the seeds of a yearning for liberty from foreign rule.

Political unity

Under the British, most parts of India were put under a single political set-up. The system of administration was consolidated and unified throughout all regions. This factor led to the feeling of 'oneness' and nationhood among Indians.

Communications network

The British built a network of roads, railways, post, and telegraph systems in the country. This led to increased movements of people from one part of the country to another and increased the flow of information. All these accelerated the rise of a national movement in India.

Growth of the modern press

Latter half of the 19th century saw the rise of the Indian press, both in English and in the regional languages. This factor helped in the dissemination of information.

Lord Lytton's policies

Lord Lytton was the Viceroy of India from 1876 to 1880. In 1876, there was a famine in south Indian which saw the deaths of almost 10 million people. His trading policies were criticised for having aggravated the famine. Also, he conducted the grand Delhi Durbar in 1877, spending huge amounts of money at a time when people were dying of hunger.



Lytton also passed the Vernacular Press Act 1878 which authorised the government to confiscate newspapers that printed ‘seditious material’. He also passed the Arms Act 1878 which prohibited Indians from carrying weapons of any kind without licenses. The act excluded Englishmen.

Legacy of the Revolt of 1857

After the Revolt of 1857 and its bitter crushing by the British, there was deep racial tension between the British and the Indians.

Ilbert Bill controversy

In 1883, the Ilbert Bill was introduced, which gave Indian judges the power to hear cases against Europeans, by the then Viceroy Lord Ripon and Sir Courtenay Ilbert, the legal advisor to the Council of India. But there was a huge outcry against this bill from Britishers in India and in Britain. Arguments made against this bill displayed the deep racial prejudice the English had for Indians. This also exposed the true nature of British colonialism to the educated Indians.

4.1.2 Administrative Measures and Policies of the British

Due to the factors we have mentioned above, the British were also facing problems in maintaining effective control of the government. To overcome these deficiencies, the British evolved some administrative measures and new policies. These measures also helped in the development of national consciousness among the Indians. Let us now examine these policies and their effects.

Unified System of Administration

For a better exploitation of the Indian resources the British brought large parts of the country under a uniform system of administration. Land revenue administration,

police, law and order machinery and the judicial system were some of the important measures adopted for bringing about this uniformity in administration.

Communication Network

Post and telegraph services were extended and improved. All the major towns were linked with telegraph. After 1853, work on Railway lines was started. The plan was to link the presidencies with each other and the hinterland with major ports. The main advantage of Railways for the British was a cheap mode of transport to carry goods to ports and back. But once the railway network developed, passenger traffic also increased, and people living at distant places got new opportunities to interact with one another.

Printing Press

The introduction of the printing press made the transmission of ideas and learning less expensive. A number of newspapers and periodicals started appearing. Through these publications, the problems in different parts of the country could be shared by people. You can guess from your own experience how the press could play an important role in the development of national consciousness among the literate sections of the people.

New Education System

The British introduced a new system of education which was mainly derived from the West - both in form and content. The main idea behind this system was to create a loyal section of Indians who would effectively carry out clerical and lower administrative tasks for the British. As Macaulay put it, the idea was to form “a class of persons, Indians in blood and colour, but English in taste, in opinions, in morals, and in intellect”. However the modern educational system familiarised the educated

classes with the ideas of equality, liberty and nationalism, in an atmosphere of growing disillusionment with colonial rule. The education system itself bred disillusionment as it was elitist, serving only a small section, while as many as 92% of the Indians were illiterate even in 1921. So the educated Indians turned towards the contemporary nationalist movements in Europe (like German unification, Italian unification and nationalist movement against the Turkish empire). They were exposed to the works of liberal writers and thinkers like Godwin, Shelley, Bentham, John Stuart Mill, Herbert Spencer, Rousseau, Voltaire, Mazzini and Garibaldi. The Indians who were studying in England found on their return to India that they were denied all the rights which were taken for granted in European countries.

British Policy of Expansion

The British in the beginning conquered different areas to establish their hold. But this policy of expansion continued. They kept extending their territories by annexing Indian states, one after the other, even if those states were not at war with the British. The most important among these were annexations of Sind (1843), Punjab (1849) Rangoon and Pegu (1852), and Awadh (1856). Jhansi, Satara and Nagpur were also taken over. The Indian rulers were getting apprehensive of the British.

Intellectual Awakening

Nineteenth Century India is marked by a process of social reform and intellectual ferment. By intellectual ferment, we mean an attempt at a critical and creative examination of contemporary society with the purpose of transforming it along modern lines. This was done by the intellectuals who had received the benefit of modern education. Raja Ram Mohan

Roy, Keshub Chandra Sen, Ishwar Chandra vidyasaga, M.G. Ranade and Sir Syed Ahmed Khan were among the leading intellectuals of the nineteenth century who contributed to the awakening of national consciousness. The British, in order to provide a justification for foreign rule, had tried to project the immediate Pre-British period (18th century) as a period of stagnation. Along with this, they tried to establish that Indians had no achievement to their credit in the field of Science and Technology and were incapable of providing a proper government. The educated Indians countered this thesis by bringing to light the achievements of Indians in art, architecture, literature, philosophy and science. This inquiry into history led to a new awakening aimed at reforming Indian society, by doing away with the evil practices which were being perpetuated in the name of religion.

Racial Discrimination

The development of Nationalist sentiments was further aided by the English concept of racial supremacy. This discrimination extended beyond social interactions to judicial matters as well. "The evidence of a single one of our countrymen carries more weight with the court than that of any number of Hindus," said G.O Travelyan, a historian and powerful public servant, in 1864. "This circumstance puts a horrible weapon of power into the hands of an unscrupulous and grasping English man." The experience of this prejudice also aided in the development of a sense of national identity.



Recap

- ▶ Rise of national consciousness and nationalism
- ▶ Macaulay's Western education policy
- ▶ Rise of vernacular languages
- ▶ Lord Lytton's policies
- ▶ Factors contributing to National Consciousness

Objective Questions

1. Who was the Viceroy of India from 1876 to 1880?
2. In which century did major social reform movements start in India?
3. Who were the leading intellectuals of the nineteenth century who contributed to the awakening of national consciousness?
4. When was the Grand Delhi Durbar conducted?
5. When did the work on Railway lines get started by the British?
6. In which year did the British annex Sindh?
7. When was the Ilbert Bill introduced?
8. In which year was the 'Vernacular Press Act' passed?

Answers

1. Lord Lytton
2. 19th century
3. Raja Ram Mohan Roy, Keshub Chandra Sen, Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar, M.G. Ranade and Sir Syed Ahmed Khan
4. 1877
5. 1853
6. 1843
7. 1883
8. 1878

Assignments

1. Examine the role of the Vernacular press in the rise of national consciousness in India.
2. Discuss the impact of British Educational system on national consciousness
3. Analyse the role of intellectuals in the emergence of national consciousness.

4. Discuss the new modes of communications network started under the british in the 19th century.

Suggested Readings

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Unit 2

Social Reform Movements and New Social Consciousness

Learning Outcomes

After reading this unit, the learner will:

- ▶ be introduced to the major social reform movements of 19th century
- ▶ learn the impact of reform movements in the rise of nationalism in India
- ▶ analyse the importance of various reforms of the period
- ▶ identify the various women reformers and their impact on Modern Indian history

Prerequisites

Social and religious reform movements arise among all communities of the Indian people. Several reform movements came up in the 19th century to fight against evil practices. They attacked bigotry, superstition and the hold of the priestly class. They worked for the abolition of castes and untouchability, the purdah system, sati, child marriage, social inequalities and illiteracy. Social consciousness that developed due to English education and rational thinking led to these reform movements. The protests against the evil customs and superstitions, freedom of women, spread of education and a sense of pride in Indian culture were the common features of these movements. The social reform movements tried mainly to achieve two objectives (1) emancipation of women and extension of equal rights to them and (2) removal of caste rigidities and in particular the abolition of untouchability.

Keywords

Social reforms, reformist, revivalist, polytheism, monotheism, child marriage, widow remarriage.

Discussion

4.2.1 Social Reform Movements of India

Any society is made up of different types of people, including those who belong to various castes, religions, races, genders, and other

categories. It is expected that these people coexist peacefully and without discrimination; the ideal situation is one in which all social groups enjoy equality, freedom, and brotherhood. But human civilization as a whole demonstrates that many forms of exploitative behaviours are pervasive there;

these behaviours were inspired by people's appetite for power, authority, and superiority. In the long run, these unfair and exploitative acts manifest as social ills and leave a scar on the face of any civilised community. In the first part of the 19th century, casteism, superstition, Sati Pratha, female education, prohibition of remarriage, child marriage, and other social ills plagued Indian society as well, impeding our progress. Starting in the first half of the 19th century, social reform became increasingly necessary. Modern concepts like liberty, social and economic equality, fraternity, democracy, and justice were brought to India by the British and had a significant influence on Indian society.

Many religious and social reformers like Raja Ram Mohan Roy, Ishwar Chand Vidyasagar, Swami Dayanand Saraswati, Swami Vivekanad, Sir Syed Ahmad Khan were advocating the eradication of the evils prevalent at that time and were willing to bring reforms in the society so that it could face the challenges of the West. They were no longer willing to accept the traditions, beliefs and practices in the society simply because they had been observed for centuries. Indian intellectuals closely scrutinised the country's past and found that many beliefs and practices were no longer of any use and needed to be discarded; they also discovered that many aspects of India's cultural heritage were of intrinsic value to India's cultural awakening. The result was the birth of many socio-religious reform movements touching almost every segment of Indian society.

The reform movements fall under two broad categories:-

i. Reformist movements like the Brahmo Samaj, the Prarthana Samaj and the Aligarh movements.

ii. Revivalists movements like the Arya Samaj, the Ramakrishna Mission.

Both the reformist and revivalist movement depended to a varying degree on an appeal to the lost purity of the religion they sought to reform. The only difference between one reform movement and the other lay in the degree to which it relied on tradition or on reason and conscience. Revivalist movements appealed more to tradition than reason and conscience and aimed to demonstrate that ancient Indian socio-cultural ideas were progressive and rationalist. These movements relied to a greater degree on the lost purity of religion they sought to reform.

A significant aspect of all the reform movements was their emphasis on both religious and social reforms. This link was primarily due to two main reasons. First, almost every social custom and institution in India derived sustenance from religious injunctions and sanctions. This meant that no social reform could be undertaken unless the existing religious notions which sustained the social customs were also reformed. Secondly, Indian reformers well understood that close interrelation reforms precede demand for social reforms or political rights.

Characteristics of the Reform Movements

An analysis of the reform movements of the 19th century brings out several common features. All the reformers propagated the idea of one God and the basic unity of all religions. Thus, they tried to bridge the gulf between different religious beliefs. They attacked priesthood, rituals, idolatry and polytheism. The humanitarian aspect of these reform movements was expressed in their attack on the caste system and the custom of child marriage. The reformers attempted to improve



the status of girls and women in society and emphasised the need for female education. By attacking the caste system and untouchability, the reformers tried to unify the people of India into one nation. The reform movements fostered feelings of self-respect, self-reliance and patriotism among the Indians.

Contribution of the Reform Movements

Many reformers like Dayanand Saraswati and Swamy Vivekananda upheld Indian philosophy and culture. This instilled in Indians a sense of pride and faith in their own culture. Female education was promoted. Schools for girls were set up. Even medical colleges were established for women. This slowly led to the development of girls' education. The cultural and ideological struggle taken up by the socio-religious movements helped to build up national consciousness. This paved the way for the growth of nationalism.

Since they had become associated with religious beliefs, most of the movements of social reform were of religious character. A number of European and Indian scholars started the study of ancient India's history, philosophy, science, religions and literature. This growing knowledge of India's past glory provided the Indian people a sense of pride in their civilization. It also helped the reformers in their work of religious and social reform for the struggle against all types of inhuman practices, superstitions, etc. These social and religious reform movements arise among all communities of the Indian people. They worked for abolition of castes, untouchability, sati, child marriage, social inequalities and illiteracy. The first sounds of intellectual revolt in Maharashtra were heard in the early decades of the 19th century. Among the early intellectuals who initiated

and led the movement were Balshastris Jambhekar, Dadoba Pandurang Tarkhadkar, Bhasker Pandurang Tarkhadkar, Gopal Hari Deshmukh better known as 'Lokahitwadi', and Vishnu Bhikaji Gokhale popularly known as Vishnubawa Brahmachari. Jambhekar was the pioneer of the intellectual movement in Maharashtra. He laid its foundations through his numerous writings, in the early 1830s. Dadoba gave it an organisational shape; he founded the **Paramhansa Sabha** in 1840, the first reform organisation of nineteenth century Maharashtra. Brahmachari was against caste distinctions and believed in the oneness of humanity. Although himself a Brahmin, he employed a Muslim cook and ate food served by anyone. He thus openly challenged the rigidity of the caste system and worked for an equitable social order.

In Bengal, the movement started on a religious and philosophical note; however, in Maharashtra, solely socio economic issues began to take centre stage in the reform plan. Early intellectuals took a very pragmatic approach to learning. For instance, the elimination of all caste differences was the main goal of the Paramhansa Sabha. However, the Sabha was a secret club; as a result, its meetings were held in the strictest of secrecy to avoid incurring the wrath of the orthodox. Thus, only a small number of its members participated in the fight against the caste system and other societal ills in the latter part of the nineteenth century. In the second half of the century, the reform movement grew stronger. The intellectual environment saw the emergence of numerous towering figures.

The most notable among them were Vishnu Parashuram Shastri Pandit, Jyotiba Phule, Ramkrishna Gopal Bhandarkar, Narayan Mahadev Permanand, Mahadev Gobind Ranade, Vishnushastri Chiplunkar,

K.T. Telang, Ganesh Vasudev Joshi, Narayan Ganesh Chandavarkar and Gopal Ganesh Agarkar. Pandit began his public career with the advocacy of widow-marriage. He was a leading figure in the sphere of the agitation for female emancipation. He started the **Vidhava Vivaha Uttejaka Mandal** (Society for Encouragement of Widow Marriage) in 1865 and worked as its Secretary. He set an example by marrying a widow in 1875. Phule, born in the Mali caste, emerged as a champion of the depressed sections of the society. He was the first Indian to start a school for the untouchables in 1854. He also championed the cause of the liberation of Indian women. In 1851, Phule and his wife started a girls' school at Poona. By his profound scholarship, Bhandarkar earned the title of 'Maharshi' for himself. In the teeth of conservative opposition, he allowed and arranged the marriage of his widow-daughter in 1891. He was one of the very few to strongly advocate Hindu Muslim unity. Paramanand, writing under the pen name of the 'Political recluse', was one of the constructive critics of the British administration, besides being a great social reformer.

Ranade was a man of many sided activities, a product of the Elphinstone College, Bombay. He was the Judge of the Bombay High Court during 1891-1901. He held that the caste distinction was the main blot on the Indian social system. He realised that the social reform movement could not move the people unless it assimilated religious reform. Under his guidance the Paramhansa Sabha was reorganised in 1867 under the name **Prarthana Samaj**. He guided the movement in Maharashtra with intellectual strength and pragmatism till the end of his life. The Prarthana Samaj preached monotheism and denounced priestly domination and caste distinctions. Its activities also spread to South India through the

efforts of the Telugu reformer, Veeresalingam. Chiplunkar started his famous **Nibandhmala** in 1874, a monthly Marathi magazine, devoted to the cause of social reform. Other reformers in Bombay were Naoroji Furdonji, Dadabhai Naoroji and S.S. Bengalee. In 1851, they started a religious association called the **Rehnumai Mazdayasan Sabha**. It stood for the modernisation of Parsi religion and social customs. It launched a struggle for the introduction and spread of education among women, grant of a legal status to them and for uniform laws of inheritance and marriage for the Parsi community.

Impact of Reform Movement

Raja Rammohan Roy can be regarded as the central figure of India's awakening for championing the spread of modern education, science and technology and for his relentless fight against many social evils. R.G Bhandarkar and M.G. Ranade carried out their work of religious reforms in Maharashtra through the Prarthana Samaj by propagating inter-caste marriages, freedom from priestly domination and improvement of a lot of women. Swami Dayananda Saraswati founded the Arya Samaj and pleaded for the right of individuals to interpret Vedas and free themselves from the tyranny of priests. Besides all these, the organisation fought against untouchability and caste rigidity as well as worked for promoting modern education. Swami Vivekananda, a great humanist, through his **Ramakrishna Mission** condemned religious narrow mindedness, advocated free thinking and emphasised on service for the poor. The Theosophical Society, under the guidance of Annie Besant, promoted studies of ancient Indian religions, philosophies and doctrines. Religious reforms among the Muslims were carried out by Sir Syed Ahmad Khan who encouraged Muslims



to adopt modern education; and spoke against religious intolerance, ignorance and irrationalism.

Social Reformer

Social reformer is a person who is concerned about humanity and mankind above anything else; a person who wants to change the existing state of things for the better. Every country, in its history, has had numerous bright individuals who would live and work for the progress and upliftment of the downtrodden persons in the society; and due to their efforts, it became possible to abolish several extreme social evils. India is fortunate to have, in its long history, many extraordinary human beings who devoted all their lives for the betterment of the society and for the upliftment of the downtrodden. A few among them are Raja Ram Mohan Roy, Debendranath Tagore, Atma Ram Pandurang, Mahavdev Govind Ranade, Keshab Chandra Sen, Henry Lui Vivian Derozio, Shah Waliullah Dehlavi, Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar, Baba Amte, Acharya Balshastri Jambhekar, Pandita Ramabai, Gopal Hari Deshmukh Lokahitwari, Savitribai Phule, Jotirao Govind Rao Phule, Veeresalingam, Chembeti Sridharalu Naidu, T. K. Madhavan, Swami Dayananda Saraswati, Behramji M. Malabari, Swami Vivekananda, Naoroji Furdonji and Dadabhai Naoraji.

4.2.2 Famous Personalities of Reform Movements and their Contributions

4.2.2.1 Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar

Revered as a Bengali icon, Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar was a Bengali Sanskrit pundit, educator, social reformer, writer and philanthropist. He was one of the greatest intellectuals and activists of the 19th century. Born on 26 September 1820 to a Kulin

Brahmin family at Birsingha in the Midnapore District in Undivided Bengal, Vidyasagar brought about some of the most far-reaching reforms against malpractices by his own community. Vidyasagar made a difference in a period when few men tried to challenge the decadent traditions of the time.

Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar (1820-1891) was one of the pillars of Bengal renaissance who managed to continue the social reform movement that was started by Raja Rammohan Roy in the early 1800s. Vidyasagar was a well-known writer, intellectual and above all a staunch supporter of humanity. He had an imposing personality and was revered even by the British authorities of his time. He brought about a revolution in the Bengali education system and refined the way Bengali language was written and taught. His book, ‘Borno Porichoy’ (Introduction to the Letter), is still used as the introductory text to learn Bengali alphabets. The title ‘Vidyasagar’ (ocean of knowledge) was given to him due to his vast knowledge in several subjects.

Contributions of Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar

Widow Remarriage

The focus of Vidyasagar’s social reform was women — and he spent his life’s energies trying to ensure an end to the practice of child marriage and initiate widow remarriage. He followed in the great reformist tradition of Raja Ram Mohan Roy (1772-1833), and argued, on the basis of scriptures and ancient commentaries, in favour of the remarriage of widows in the same way as Roy did for the abolition of Sati. Vidyasagar wrote two volumes on the mistreatment of widows, which set the tone for major social reform in the state. His earliest effort at social reform, however, came in the second half of 1850. He launched

a powerful attack on the practice of marrying off girls aged ten or even younger, pointing to social, ethical, and hygiene issues, and rejecting the validity of the Dharma Shastras that advocated it. He showed that there was no prohibition on widows remarrying in the entire body of 'Smriti' literature (the Sutras and the Shastras).

Educational Reforms

Vidyasagar is credited with the role of thoroughly remodelling the medieval scholastic system prevailing in the Sanskrit College and bringing about modern insights into the education system. The first change that Vidyasagar made when he came back to the Sanskrit College as a Professor was to include English and Bengali as the medium of learning, besides Sanskrit. He introduced courses of European History, Philosophy and Science alongside of Vedic scriptures. He encouraged students to pursue these subjects and take away the best from both worlds. He also changed the rules of admission for students in the Sanskrit College allowing non-Brahmin students to enrol in the prestigious institution. He wrote two books '**Upakara Monika**' and '**Byakaran Koumudi**', interpreting complex notions of Sanskrit grammar in easy legible Bengali language. He introduced the concepts of Admission fee and tuition fee for the first time in Calcutta. He set up the Normal School for training teachers enabling uniformity in teaching methods. Through his contacts at the deputy magistrate's office, he helped his students get jobs in government offices.

Campaign against Polygamy

Alongside the campaign for widow remarriage, he campaigned against polygamy. In 1857, a petition for the prohibition of polygamy among Kulin Brahmins was presented to the government with 25,000

signatures, led by the Maharaja of Burdwan. The mutiny of the sepoys resulted in the postponement of action on this petition, but in 1866, Vidyasagar inspired another petition, this time with 21,000 signatures. In the 1870s, the great rationalist, wrote two brilliant critiques of polygamy, arguing to the government that since polygamy was not sanctioned by the sacred texts, there could be no objection to suppressing it by legislation.

Women's Education

He was a strong supporter of women's education. He considered education as the key to a woman's emancipation from the social tyranny she was subject to at the time. He went door to door, pleading with the heads of households to permit their daughters to enrol in school. He established thirty five women's schools throughout Bengal and was successful in enrolling 1300 students. He set up the Nari Shiksha Bhandar fund to aid in women's education. He helped John Elliot Drinkwater Bethune establish the Bethune School, India's first permanent girls' school. Vidyasagar lived among the Santhal tribal people for the last 18 years of his life in what is now Jharkhand, where he established what may have been India's first school for Santhal girls. He regularly published pieces for newspapers and periodicals to communicate his thoughts. He was connected to eminent media outlets as *Tattwabodhini Patrika*, *Somprakash*, *Sarbashubhankari Patrika*, and *Hindu Patriot*.

Other Literary Works

Vidyasagar's *Borna Parichay* (an introduction to the Bengali alphabet) is still the first book a Bengali child is gifted even 160 years after it was written. His contribution to the alphabet, translation of several Sanskrit books, including Kalidas's *Shakuntala*,



has helped Bengali literature. He wrote two books which interpreted complex notions of Sanskrit Grammar in Bengali language viz. *Upakaramonika* and *Byakaran Koumudi*. He established the Sanskrit Press with an aim to produce printed books at affordable prices so that common people could buy them.

4.2.2.2 Raja Ram Mohan Roy

Raja Ram Mohan Roy is considered the pioneer of modern Indian Renaissance for the remarkable reforms he initiated in the 18th and 19th centuries of India. The elements of modernity in him and the break with tradition are of help to discover Rammohan Roy's image as the 'Father of Modern India'.

Contributions of Raja Ram Mohan Roy

Social Reforms

The abolition of the brutal and inhuman Sati Pratha was Roy's most prominent contribution. His efforts were also instrumental in eradicating the purdah system and child marriage. Raja Ram Mohan Roy's name is thus etched forever as a true benefactor of women not just for helping abolish the custom of Sati, but also raising his voice against child marriage and polygamy, while demanding equal inheritance rights for women. He was also a great opponent of the rigid caste divisions of his time. He worked for the improvement of the position of women. He advocated widow remarriage and education of women.

Education

Ram Mohan Roy paved the way to revolutionise the education system in India by establishing Hindu College in 1817 along with David Hare. It later went on to becoming one of the best educational institutions in the

country producing some of the best minds in India. His efforts include combining theological doctrines along with modern rational lessons. He established the Anglo-Vedic School in 1822 followed by the Vedanta College in 1826.

Philosophy

In 1828, Ram Mohan Roy formed the Brahmo Samaj, uniting the Brahmos in Calcutta, a group of people, who had no faith in idol-worship and were against the caste restrictions. He looked back to the tradition in search of monotheism, and looked forward to a sort of Protestant reformation within the Hindu milieu. He implied that every religion has a philosophical core, and as for Hinduism, it was Vedanta. The Vedanta provided him with the cultural category while his interpretation of it as monotheistic yielded a comprehensive critique of culture, society and ideology.

Raja's monotheistic Vedanta provided people with an idea of the paradigms of social change; why one paradigm is better than another. It enabled people to consider the comparative adequacy of ways of life that might claim people's allegiance. In such humanitarian vision lies Raja's lure and his share in India's modernity. He stressed on rationalism and modern scientific approach.

Journalistic Contributions

Ram Mohan Roy was a staunch supporter of free speech and expression. He fought for the rights of the vernacular press. He also brought out a newspaper in Persian called '**Mirat Ul- Akhbar**' (the Mirror of News) and a Bengali weekly called '**Sambad Kaumudi**' (the Moon of Intelligence). Raja Ram Mohan Roy and his Brahmo Samaj played a vital role in awakening Indian society to the pressing issues plaguing society at that time and also

was the forerunner of all social, religious and political movements that happened in the country.

4.2.3 WOMEN REFORMERS

In the nineteenth century, the women's question was the centre of all socio-religious reform movements. The reformist and renaissance ideals of the enlightenment in Europe have usually been cited by historians as the inspiration for social reforms initiated in nineteenth century India.

Under socio-religious reform movements, reformers raised their voice against the evil practices in Indian society towards women, which include sati, child marriage, prohibition of widow remarriage, polygamy, dowry and devadasi system. Educated women who were now becoming conscious of their natural rights, also came forward to liberate the rest of the women.

Role of Indian Women in Socio Religious Reform Movements of Nineteenth Century

Many women reformers such as Pandita Ramabai also helped the cause of women's uplift. She advocated women's education and shed light on the plight of child brides and child widows. She founded the Arya Mahila Sabha, which is known as the first feminist organisation in India. Its aim was to provide a support network for newly educated women. She set up Mukti Mission for young widows, and Krupa Sadan and Sharada Sadan in 1889 for destitute women. She founded the Sharada Sadan, a school for widows. Her greatest legacy was her effort, the first in India, to educate widows.

Novelists like Nirupama Devi and Anurupa Devi started getting referred to in the

Bengali literary circles and were even given memberships of literary clubs which were dominated by men. Imitating Ramabai's Arya Mahila Samaj, elite women formed similar sectarian and local organisations. In 1886, Swarnakumari Debi, Rabindranath Tagore's sister, started Sakhi Samiti (Women's Friendship League) to spread knowledge among women and widows. Lilabati Mitra helped Bidyasagar in the 1890s to perform widow remarriages by sheltering willing grooms. Kamini Roy was active in the Ilbert Bill agitation, organising girls at the Bethune School to hold meetings and wear badges supporting the Bill. She worked with Banga Mahila Samiti in their social reform projects. She was a feminist at an age when merely getting educated was a taboo for a woman. Savitribhai Phule along with her husband founded the first girls school in Pune run by native Indians at Bhide Wada in 1848. She worked to abolish discrimination and unfair treatment of people based on caste and gender.

Gowri Lakshmi Bai

In Kerala by a Royal Proclamation in 1812, she abolished the purchase and sale of all slaves and granted them independence excepting those attached to the soil for agricultural purposes. Castes like the Ezhavas, Kaniyans, etc., were given independence from their Lords. A restriction put on the Sudras and others regarding the wearing of gold and silver ornaments was removed.

Women's Organisations

The primary goals of most women's associations were to improve women's literacy and health by abolishing child marriage, enforced widowhood and purdah. By the late nineteenth century several women's organisations began to be formed in several parts of India, such as the Banga Mahila Samaj



and the Aghorekamini Nari Samiti in Bengal, the Satara Abalonmati Sabha in Maharashtra, the Mahila Seva Samaj in Bangalore, etc.

Some of these were practical social reform movements and others were discussion platforms for women. Education was foremost on their list, followed by child marriage and the problems of widows and dowry. Aghorekamini Nari Samiti was based on the principle of self help and trained women to attend to the sick and spread education amongst themselves. Aghorekamini Nari Samiti mobilised opinions against the ill-treatment of women workers by the tea planters.

Banga Mahila Vidyalaya(Bengali Women's College)

It was the first women's liberal arts college in India. Established at Kolkata in 1876, by the liberal section of the Brahma Samaj, it was the successor of Hindu Mahila Vidyalaya (School of Hindu Women) set up in 1873 by Annette Akroyd. Banga Mahila Vidyalaya was merged with Bethune College in 1878. Therefore, women played a significant role in bringing out social reforms when the society was still largely conservative. Slowly more women got included in the movement and ultimately participated in huge numbers in the Indian freedom struggle as well.

Recap

- ▶ Characteristics and impact of social reform movements
- ▶ Important social reformers
- ▶ Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar's contribution
- ▶ Widow remarriage
- ▶ Educational reforms
- ▶ Campaign against polygamy
- ▶ Raja Ram Mohan Roy's social reforms
- ▶ Important women reformers and movements

Objective Type Questions

1. Who is called the father of Modern India?
2. What were the major issues of the socio-religious reform movements of the 19th century?
3. What is the famous work of Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar used to teach Bengali alphabet?
4. In which year Brahma Samaj was established?
5. What was the Persian newspaper started by Raja Ram Mohan Roy?
6. What is known as the first feminist organisation in India?
7. Who started Sakhi Samiti?

Answers

1. Raja Ram Mohan Roy
2. Sati, infanticide, child marriage, casteism and untouchability
3. Bornoporichoy
4. 1828
5. 'Mirat Ul- Akhbar' (the Mirror of News)
6. Arya Mahila Sabha
7. Swarnakumari Deb

Assignments

1. Analyse the contributions of Raja Ram Mohan Roy in the emancipation of women.
2. Evaluate the importance of women reformers in the history of modern India.
3. Discuss the contributions of Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar as a social reformer in India.
4. Explain the difference between reformist and revivalist movements.

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Unit 3

Anti-Caste Movements: Jyotiba Phule - Narayana Guru-Ayyankali

Learning Outcomes

Upon the completion of this unit:

- ▶ make the learner aware of the evils of caste discrimination that was practised in Pre-Independent India
- ▶ analyse how various anticaste struggles led to the emancipation of oppressed sections
- ▶ learn the contributions of anti caste reformers in the struggle against untouchability and other such evils

Prerequisites

Anticaste movements started in India around the mid-19th century. By the end of the 19th century it spread to different parts of the country. The general awakening spirit of social reforms that swept across the country reflected in anti caste movements too in the 19th century making it attain a strong base. Pioneers of the movement include formidable figures like Jyotibha Phule, Sree Naryanaguru, etc. They asserted the need for the lower castes to organise themselves and fight against evils like untouchability and the privileged sections who oppressed them. The movement was encouraged by the growth of western education, rise of modern political thoughts, oppressive British policies, technologies, like railways and the general national consciousness that was spreading across the country. We will look into how the anti-caste movements became a strong force in the 19th century and revolutionised the nation's consciousness.

Keywords

Anti-caste, Jyotibha Phule, Savitribhai Phule, Sree Narayana Guru, Ayyankali

4.3.1 Jyotiba Phule

Jyotiba Govindrao Phule was born in 1827 in Maharashtra. He was a prominent social reformer and thinker of nineteenth century India. He led the movement against the prevailing caste-restrictions in India. He revolted against the domination of the

Brahmins and struggled for the rights of peasants and other low-caste people. Mahatma Jyotiba Phule was also a pioneer for education of women in India and fought for the education of girls throughout his life. He is believed to be the first Hindu to start an orphanage for the unfortunate children.

He opened the first school for untouchables in 1852 in Poona. He launched the Satyashodak Samaj (Truth-Seekers Society) in 1870 to stir the non-Brahman masses to self-respect. Phule opposed child marriage and supported widow remarriage. Jyotiba and his wife Savitribai Phule devoted their lives for the uplift of the depressed classes and women. Jyotiba opened orphanages and homes for widows. His work, *Gulamgiri (Slavery)* is an important text that summarised many of his radical ideas.

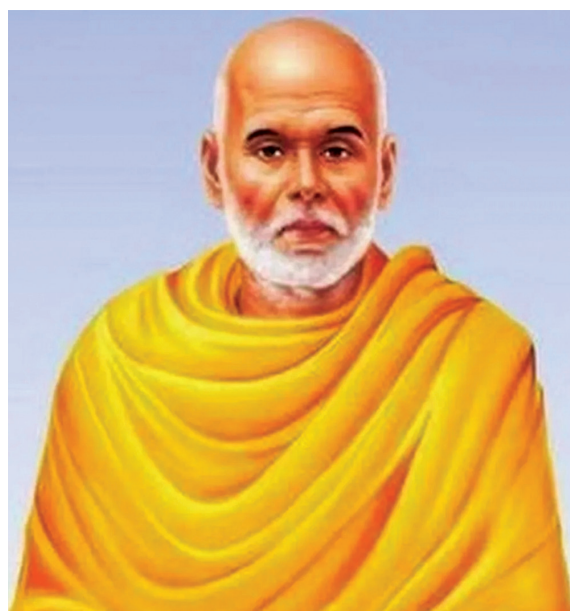


Jyotiba Phule and Savitribai Phule

4.3.2 Sree Narayana Guru

Sree Narayana Guru is a saint, prophet and social reformer from Kerala. His words and deeds ignited sparks of revolution that led to a remarkable cultural renaissance in the profligate society of Kerala. Born to poor parents in Kerala, Narayana Guru (1854–1928) evolved into a poet and scholar in Malayalam, Tamil and Sanskrit. Disturbed by the terrible caste tyranny that the lower caste people suffered, he dedicated his whole life for the betterment of the oppressed. He set up the Sri Narayana Dharma Paripalana Yogam, an organisation to work for the uplift of the “depressed classes”.

He established a grand temple at Aruvippuram and dedicated it to all. Thinkers



Narayana guru

and writers such as Kumaran Asan and Dr Palpu were influenced by his ideas and carried forward the movement.

Contributions

Temple entry

Aruvippuram Movement was launched by Sree Narayana Guru in 1888. On that day, Sree Narayana Guru defied the religious restrictions traditionally placed on the Ezhava community, and consecrated an idol of Shiva at Aruvippuram. In 1925 Guru supported the famous Vaikom Satyagraha movement, which demanded entry for lower caste people in the Shiva temple at Vaikom and all temples in Kerala. He redeemed the downtrodden human from the curse of casteism. ‘Oneness of Humanity’ was his dream. His famous message “One Caste, One Religion and One God to Mankind”, was a clarion call to mankind to unite, instead of breaking down in the name of caste and religion. He believed that other than the freedom from the curse of untouchability, the downtrodden classes needed education and



wealth. They needed opportunities to improve like others. Sri Narayana Guru articulated a doctrine aimed at improving the Ezhavas' social position. He urged them to abandon the occupation of toddy-tapping and to abstain from liquor. He formed a programme of action known as the Sri Narayana Dharma Paripalana Yogam. The Yogam took up several issues, including the right of admission to public schools, recruitment to government employment, entry into temples, on roads and political representation. Guru did not approve of polygamy and polyandry. He discouraged some unnecessary traditions in the conduct of marriage.

Religion

He considered all religions to be a way for man's goodness and welfare and thus are equal. He held that the essence of all religions is one and the same, and advocated the comparative study of all faiths.

Literature

Sree Narayana Guru had proficiency in Sanskrit, Malayalam and Tamil and had written hymns of prayer to different gods in all three languages and translations, philosophy and teachings. Some of the notable ones are "Atmopadesa Sathakam" and "Darsanamala" which give, in condensed ways, his moral and spiritual principles. Sree Narayana Guru has made a silent revolution, without any bloodshed or hatred, but with evoking respect and cooperation from all concerned.

4.3.3 Ayyankali

Ayyankali was born in 1863 at Venganoor in Thiruvananthapuram then part of the princely state of Travancore. He was one of seven children born to a Pulaya family, which is a Dalit/ untouchable caste mainly found in the regions of Kerala, Karnataka and Tamil

Nadu. He was also illiterate, like all other Dalits of the time. The discrimination he faced as a child turned him into a leader of an anti-caste movement and who later fought for basic rights including access to public spaces and entry to schools. Ayyankali started his emancipatory mission by questioning a range of purity-birth based atrocities through a multi-layered resistance model in Travancore, a princely state that remained highly conservative in the hands of caste oligarchy. At a time when Dalits were restricted from walking on roads, Ayyankali passed through the public roads of Venganoor on a bullock cart, which was exclusive to the upper caste and were codified by caste-based rules known as *jatimaryada*, which governed all aspects of social behaviour. With the bullock cart, Ayyankali did a revolutionary act, challenging a set of caste codes concerning dress, ownership, mobility and visibility in the late 19th century. He effectively challenged caste-based restrictions in education, public space and social interactions regarding the late 19th century.



Ayyankali

4.3.4 Social Reform Movements to Uplift Women and Backward Castes

The major effect of national awakening in the 19th century was seen in the field of social reform. The newly educated persons increasingly revolted against rigid social conventions and outdated customs. In the 20th century, and especially after 1919, the national movement became the main propagator of social reform.

Increasingly, the reformers took recourse to propaganda in the Indian language to reach the masses. They also used novels, dramas, poetry, short stories, the Press, and in the thirties, the cinema to spread their views. The social reform movements tried in the main to achieve two objectives: (1) emancipation of women and extension of equal rights to them and (2) removal of caste rigidities and in particular the abolition of untouchability.

4.3.4.1 Movements to Uplift Women

Emancipation means being free from restraint, control, or the power of another. It is true that occasionally women of the character and personality of Razia Sultana, Chand Bibi, or Ahilyabai Holkar arose in India. But they were exceptions to the general pattern, and do not in any way change the picture. After the 1880s, when Dufferin hospitals (named after Lady Dufferin, the wife of the Viceroy) were started, efforts were made to make modern medicine and child delivery techniques available to Indian women.

Women played an active and important role in the struggle for freedom. They participated in large numbers in the agitation against the partition of Bengal and in the Home Rule movement. Sarojini Naidu, the famous poetess, became the president of the National Congress. Several women became

ministers or parliamentary secretaries in the popular ministries of 1937. They started many organisations and institutions for this purpose, the most outstanding of them was the All India Women's Conference founded in 1927.

The Hindu Succession Act of 1956 made the daughter an equal co-heir with the son. The Hindu Marriage Act of 1955 permitted the dissolution of marriage on specific grounds.

4.3.4.2 Movements to Uplift Backward Caste

The caste system was another major target of attack for the social reform movement. The Hindus were at this time divided into numerous castes. The untouchables suffered from numerous and severe disabilities and restrictions. He could not enter the Hindu temples or study the shastras. In some parts of the country, particularly in the south, their very shadow was to be avoided. An untouchable's dress, food, place of residence, all were carefully regulated. He could not draw water from wells and tanks used by the higher castes; he could do so only from wells and tanks specially reserved for the untouchables.

In modern India, it became a major obstacle to the growth of a united-nation-feeling and the spread of democracy. However, British rule had many elements which gradually undermined the caste system. The urbanisation and the introduction of modern industries, railways and buses made it difficult to prevent mass contact among persons of different castes, especially in the cities. Modern commerce and industry opened new fields of economic activity to all.

The growth of the national movement too played a significant role in weakening the caste system. Leaders like Gandhi kept the abolition of untouchability at the forefront of all public



activities. In 1932, Gandhiji founded the All India Harijan Sangh for the purpose. His campaign for the “root and branch removal of untouchability” was based on the grounds of humanism and reason.

In Maharashtra, Jyotiba Phule led a lifelong movement against Brahmanical religious authority as part of his struggle against upper caste domination. B.R. Ambedkar, who belonged to one of the scheduled castes, devoted his entire life to fighting against caste tyranny. He organised the All India Scheduled Castes Federation for the purpose in 1942. Several other anti-caste leaders founded the All India Depressed Classes Association in 1930. In Kerala, Sree Narayana Guru organised a lifelong struggle against the caste system. The Indian Constitution, in 1950, provided the legal framework for the final abolition of untouchability.

4.3.5 The Impact of Socio-Religious Movements on Indians

There were positive and negative impacts of the socio-religious movements in India. The religious reform movements of modern times had an underlying unity. Most of them were based on the twin doctrines of Reason (Rationalism) and Humanism, though they also sometimes tended to appeal to faith and ancient authority to bolster their appeal.

They opposed the ritualistic, superstitious, irrational and obscurantist elements in Indian religion. Swami Vivekananda once said: “Is religion to justify itself by the discoveries of reason through which every science justifies itself?”. Justice Ranade came to the conclusion that society as a living organism is constantly changing and can never go back to the past.

The best of reformers argued that modern ideas and culture could be best imbibed by

integrating them into Indian cultural streams. The religious reform movements helped many Indians to come to terms with the culture and lifestyle of the modern world. These movements led to the emergence of Indian nationalism and eventually the freedom struggle.

There are negative aspects of the socio-religious movements in India. Two of them are:

- ▶ Firstly, many of them catered to the needs of a small percentage of the population—the urban middle and upper classes.
- ▶ The second limitation, which later became a major negative factor, was the tendency to look backwards, appeal to past greatness, and rely on scriptural authority. Appeals to past greatness created false pride and smugness, while the habit of finding a ‘Golden Age’ in the past acted as a check on the full acceptance of modern science and hampered the effort to improve the present.

The negative aspects of this phenomenon became apparent when it was found that, along with a rapid rise of national consciousness, communal consciousness had also begun to rise among the middle classes. Many other factors were certainly responsible for the birth of communalism in modern times; but undoubtedly, the nature of the religious reform movements also contributed to it.

Recap

- ▶ Impact of anticaste movement
- ▶ Jyotibha Phule and Savitribhai Phule's efforts against caste oppression and spread of education
- ▶ Sree Narayanaguru's efforts against caste oppression in Kerala
- ▶ Ayyankali's movement for uplift of oppressed castes in Kerala
- ▶ Reform movements to uplift women and backward castes
- ▶ Impact of social reform movements on society

Objective Questions

1. What was the organisation formed by Sree Narayanaguru?
2. Who launched the 'Aruvippuram movement' in 1888?
3. Who founded the Satyashodak Samaj?
4. What is the most famous work of Jyotibha Phule?
5. When was the All India Harijan Sangh founded?
6. When was the 'Hindu succession act' passed?
7. In which year was the 'All India Women's conference' formed?
8. In which princely state was Ayyankali born?

Answers

1. SNDP
2. Sree Narayanaguru
3. Jyotibha Phule
4. Ghulamgiri
5. 1932
6. 1956
7. 1927
8. Travancore

Assignments

1. Examine the impact of the movements of Sree Narayanaguru and SNDP on Kerala society.
2. Evaluate the contributions of Ayyankali as a social reformer in Kerala.
3. Discuss the contributions of Jyotibha Phule in the education of oppressed castes.
4. Evaluate the contributions of anticaste movement in the emergence of a progressive Indian society.



Suggested Readings

1. Desai, A.R, *Social Background of Indian Nationalism*, Popular Prakashan, Mumbai, 2005.
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Unit 4

Indian National Congress – Predecessors

Learning Outcomes

Upon the completion of this unit:

- ▶ the learner will be able to describe the importance of political organisations in the freedom struggle of India
- ▶ analyse the growth of political ideas in the nineteenth century India
- ▶ explain the impact of Indian National Congress on Indian national movement
- ▶ point out the circumstances behind the formation of Indian National Congress

Prerequisites

The Indian National Congress, founded in December 1885, was the first organised expression of the Indian National Movement on an all India scale. It had many predecessors. Landholders' Society was founded in 1837 with the purpose of promoting the class interests of the landlords. Bengal British Indian Society was formed in 1843 to protect and promote general public interests. The Madras Native Association and the Bombay Association were established in 1852. In 1866, Dadabhai Naoroji organised the East India Association in London to discuss the issues related with Indian society. The Madras Mahajan Sabha was started in 1881 and the Bombay Presidency Association in 1885. They worked for reform of administration, association of Indians with the administration, and spread of education, and sent long petitions, putting forward Indian demands, to the British Parliament. As educated Indians studied the character of British rule and its consequences for India, they became more and more critical of British policies in India. The discontent gradually found expression in political activity. The existing associations no longer satisfied politically conscious Indians. The time was then ripe for the formation of an all-India political organisation of nationalists who felt the need to unite politically against the common enemy's foreign rule and exploitation. The existing organisations dealt mostly with local questions and their membership and leadership were confined to a few people belonging to a single city or province. Thus there was the need for an All India association to deal with the major questions leading to the national consciousness which made the formation of 'Indian National Congress' possible. In this unit, we will study about the various political organisations that slowly developed a unitary feeling of national consciousness and later the foundation of INC which became a major force in the Indian National movement and impacted the national character.



Key Themes

Indian National Congress, The British Indian Association of Calcutta, The Deccan Association, The Madras Native Association, The Bombay Association

4.4.1 Growth of Political Ideas and Political Organisations (up to 1885)

A significant period in Indian history occurred when the Indian National Congress was founded in 1885. However, there were many political organisations which were precursors to the INC. The political organisations in the early half of the nineteenth century were dominated by wealthy and aristocratic elements, local or regional in character, who, through long petitions to the British Parliament, demanded administrative reforms, association of Indians with the administration, and spread of education.

The rise and consolidation of modern nationalism in India was symbolised by the Congress. The Congress was a continuation of the politics of associations that had already emerged as a distinct modern feature in Indian politics since the middle of the nineteenth century, to the extent that it was dominated in its early days by leading professionals in the major Indian cities. The 1870s marked a significant turning point when associations led by middle-class professional groups began to take over from those led by prominent urban figures in the past. Indeed, there was a lot of continuity between the Congress and the middle-class provincial associations of the 1870s. The emergence of a modern public sphere made it easier for the nationalist intelligentsia to spread the message of nationalism to broader spheres, and these provincial associations, such as the Indian League and the Indian Association in Calcutta, the Bombay Presidency Association, Madras Mahajan Sabha, or Poona Sarvajanik Sabha,

represented a process of political change in the final quarter of the nineteenth century.

Some prominent political associations played a very important role in arousing general will and laying down a path towards modern nationalism. Most of them had the common objectives of their own wellbeing, and were mostly localised in nature. The evolution of the same are as follows:

Landholders Society

In July 1838, the “Zamindari Association”, also known as the “Landholders Society”, was established to safeguard the interests of the landlords. The Landholders’ Society was limited in its objectives, i.e., they covered the demands of landlords only. The landholders used the methods of constitutional agitation for the redressal of grievances and marked the beginning of organised political activities.

Bengal British India Society

In April 1843, another political association, named the Bengal British India Society, was founded. Its objective was “the collection and dissemination of information relating to the actual condition of the people of British India.”

4.4.1.1 The British Indian Association of Calcutta (1851)

It was formed in 1851 by the merger of the Bengal British India Society and the Landholders Society. It was established to convey Indian grievances to the British Government. It suggested various reforms in the Company’s upcoming charter like the need

for the establishment of a separate legislature, separation of judicial functions from executive functions, salaries of higher officers to be reduced, abolition of abkari, salt and stamp duties. Some of the recommendations of the association were accepted when the Charter Act of 1853 provided for the addition of six members to the Governor General's Council for legislative purposes.

4.4.1.2 The Deccan Association (1852)

British India Association of Calcutta was confined only to Bengal but British India Association's Secretary, Debendranath Thakur wanted to expand the association, as the aim of the British India Association was to make representations from every part of British India to the British Parliament. In February 1852, as a further expansion of the British India Association, the Deccan Association was established at Poona. The Deccan Association did not last long and could not fulfil its objective of sending any mission or petition for suggesting reforms to the upcoming Charter Act, i.e., Charter Act of 1853.

4.4.1.3 The Madras Native Association (1852)

After the establishment of the Deccan Association, Madras acted next by establishing the Madras branch of the British Indian Association in February 1852. Within a few months, its name was changed to the Madras Native Association as it decided to act independently of the parent body. The possibility of a joint Indian petition to Parliament was wrecked by the split between Calcutta and Madras associations. However, the Madras Native Association right from its inception possessed very little vitality, had

hardly any hold upon the public mind and languished into obscurity after 1857.

4.4.1.4 The Bombay Association (1852)

On the lines of British India Association of Calcutta, on 26 August 1852, Bombay Association was founded with the object of 'reminding from time to time the government authorities in India or in England about the need for the removal of existing evils, and for the prevention of proposed measures which may be deemed injurious or for the introduction of enactment which may tend to promote the general interest of all connected with this country'. The Bombay Association sent a petition to the British Parliament urging the formation of a new legislative council to which Indians should also be represented. It also condemned the policy of exclusion of Indians from all higher services, lavish expenditure on posts given to the Europeans. However, this Association did not survive for long.

4.4.1.5 East India Association

In the year 1866, the East India Association was founded by Dadabhai Naoroji in London. The East India association started its branches in Bombay, Kolkata, and Madras in 1869. The objective of the East India Association was to discuss the problems and questions related to India and to influence the British leaders towards the development of India. Later, Dadabhai Naoroji also opened its branches in various important Indian cities.

4.4.1.6 Poona Sarvajanik Sabha

The Poona Sarvajanik Sabha was established in 1867 at Poona. It had the objective of serving as a bridge between the Government and the people.



4.4.1.7 India League

It was established by Sisir Kumar Ghose in 1875. The aim of the India league was to instill the feeling of nationalism amongst the people.

4.4.1.8 The Indian Association of Calcutta

Surendranath Banerjee and Anand Mohan Bose founded the Indian Association of Calcutta in 1876. Founders of Indian Association of Calcutta were discontented with the pro-landlord and conservative policies of the British India Association and, hence, the establishment of the new Association. This association was aimed at unifying Indian people on a common political programme, and creating a strong public opinion on political questions. East India association also organised an All India agitation known as the Civil Service Agitation after its formation.

4.4.1.9 The Bombay Presidency Association

Pheroza Shah Mehta, K.T. Telang, Badruddin Tyabji and others formed the Bombay Presidency Association in 1885. The reactionary policies of Lytton and the Ilbert Bill controversy caused political commotion in Bombay and led to the formation of Bombay Presidency Association.

4.4.1.10 Madras Mahajan Sabha

In 1884 Madras Mahajan Sabha was established by Viraraghavachari, P. Anandacharlu and B. Subramaniya Aiyer. The Madras Mahajan Sabha was formed in May 1884 to coordinate the activities of local association and to 'provide a focus for the non-official intelligence spread up through the Presidency'.

Shortcomings

These early Associations had, though, important contributions in terms of arousing the political will and demands of the Indian public, but their area and activities were limited. They mainly questioned local issues and their members and leaders were also limited to one or adjoining provinces. Despite having good leaders like Dadabhai Naoroji, Surendranath Banerjee, Anandacharlu and others, there was a lack of national unity in the case of political organisation. Later, this was gained by the formation of the Indian National Congress.

Most of these political organisations finally merged and culminated into a pan Indian organisation called the Indian National Congress. It was a result of many regional consciousnesses uniting together under the context of commonality of interests.

4.4.2 Foundation of the Indian National Congress

The Indian National Congress began as an organisation of the country's elite and educated middle classes with the sole aim of securing constitutional reforms from the British Government. The party grew in strength and influence under the inspiring leadership of the founding fathers, including A.O. Hume, W.C. Banerjee, Dadabhai Naoroji, William Wedderburn, R.H. Sayani, and Badruddin Tyabji, among others.

In the later 1870s and early 1880s, a solid ground had been prepared for the establishment of an All-India organisation. The final shape to this idea was given by a retired English civil servant, A.O. Hume, who mobilised leading intellectuals of the time and, with their cooperation, organised the first session of the Indian National Congress in

Bombay in December 1885.

Reasons behind the creation of Indian National Congress (INC)

A process-wise explanation for the origin of the Congress is suggested by the emergence of a contemporary public sphere in which the politics of associations began to flourish. It demonstrates the various stages through which the nationalist intelligentsia acquired expertise in a variety of public expression strategies in order to achieve the desired unity among provincial associations. From this perspective, the rise of the Congress was the result of an earlier process. It is argued that at Simla, Hume discovered evidence of a forthcoming rebellion in a number of government reports. He wanted to channel popular grievances through a constitutional movement to prevent this from happening. Before he laid out contacts with a portion of the Indian chiefs with whom he had cordial terms, he counselled the Emissary Dufferin who evidently supported this proposition.

There is a theory that Hume formed the Congress with the idea that it would prove to be a 'safety valve' for releasing the growing discontent of the Indians. To this end, he convinced Lord Dufferin not to obstruct the formation of the Congress. The extremist leaders like Lala Lajpat Rai believed in the 'safety valve' theory. Even the Marxist historian's 'conspiracy theory' was an offspring of the 'safety valve' notion. Modern Indian historians dispute the idea of 'safety valve'. In their opinion the Indian National Congress represented the urge of the politically conscious Indians to set up a national body to express the political and economic demands of the Indians. Historian Bipan Chandra observes that early Congress leaders hoped to use Hume as a lightning conductor, i.e., as a

catalyst to bring together nationalistic forces under the guise of a safety valve. Even though A. W. Wedderburn, Hume's biographer, said that Hume had seen such papers, but they were never found. However, the liberalism of Hume made him unpopular among the British civil servants of the time.

Almost certainly, Hume had a true philosophical inspiration for starting a course of liberal political improvement in India involving his associations among the main expert figures in the primary urban communities of India. He had attempted to establish a constitutional party in India as early as 1883. Hume and his Indian friends organised farewell demonstrations after Lord Ripon, who had gained popularity among Indian leaders for some of his liberal measures, left Madras for England. Indian leaders probably also found Hume's connection to the bureaucracy useful in order to get in touch with the government directly and start a conversation with them.

Major objectives of INC

The major objectives of INC are the following ones:

- ▶ to found a democratic, nationalist movement through a pan India organisation.
- ▶ congress aimed to increase awareness about the colonial exploitative policies and the political rights of Indians. To this end congress focused on demanding increasing representation in councils, Indianization of civil services etc.
- ▶ develop and propagate an anti-colonial nationalist ideology.
- ▶ Promote friendly relations among nationalist political workers from



- ▶ different parts of the country.
- ▶ formulate and present popular demands before the government with a view to unifying the people over a common economic and political programme.
- ▶ develop and consolidate a feeling of national unity among people irrespective of religion, caste or province.

Recap

- ▶ Growth of political ideas in the 19th century
- ▶ Formation of various political associations
- ▶ Ideology of various political associations
- ▶ Circumstances leading to formation of INC
- ▶ Objectives of INC

Objective Questions

1. In which year the Indian National Congress was formed?
2. Which organisation was formed by the merger of Bengal British India Society and the Landholders Society?
3. When was the Deccan Association formed?
4. Who founded Madras Mahajana Sabha?
5. What is the name of the organisation formed by Dadabhai Naoroji in London?
6. Who founded the India League in 1875?
7. Who founded the Indian Association of Calcutta?
8. Where was the first session of the Indian National Congress held?

Answers

1. 1885
2. The British Indian Association of Calcutta
3. 1852
4. P. Viraraghavachari, Anandacharlu and B. Subramaniya Aiyer.
5. East India Association
6. Sisir Kumar Ghose
7. Surendranath Banerjee and Anand Mohan Bose
8. Bombay

Assignments

1. Examine how the early political associations impacted the formation and policies of 'Indian National congress'.
2. Analyse the importance of early political associations in the awakening of national consciousness in India
3. Evaluate the different theories associated with the formation of INC.
4. Why was the formation of INC an important part of the Indian National Movement?

Suggested Readings

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EARLY PHASE OF NATIONAL MOVEMENT

Unit 1

Moderates - Political Programmes

Learning Outcomes

Upon the completion of this unit, the learner will be able to:

- ▶ generate awareness about the role of Moderates in the Indian freedom struggle.
- ▶ familiarise with the strategies adopted by the Moderates to achieve their programmes.
- ▶ provide an insight into the phase of the Indian freedom struggle dominated by the so-called Moderates.
- ▶ promote a comparative analysis between the programmes, ideologies and strategies adopted by Moderates and Extremists and the way in which it differed from each other.

Prerequisites

Nationalism and its propounders were an integral part of any nation without which it cannot function with uniformity and solidarity. It is that binding force uniting them all under “one shelter house”. This is the one thing that makes a nation stand up for a particular cause. It also allows leaders and the people to protect their boundaries from foreign invasions and external encroachments. Despite the geographical boundaries which the humans draw to mark their territories, it is this nationalism that sustains and maintains a nation. Its reverberations can be felt in any field involving different areas whether it be sports, culture, social organisations, political decisions or things involving economy and its growth. It makes people do unimaginable things for their country. As far as India is considered this can be witnessed in its highest level during the colonial period where they began to get united as a nation despite having different people from varying cultures, ideologies, religions and from different social backgrounds. The bridge of events that happened in this time period united them as a nation which strengthened their mentality to fight against the British power with all its might.

Indian National Congress better known as INC was formed in the year 1885 under the auspices of Allan Octavian Hume as a ‘safety valve’ to resolve the issues of Indians through a proper channel. The moderates were the first set of leaders who became the part and parcel of Indian National Congress which later on went on to spearhead the Indian Freedom Struggle against the British rule here. Some of the major leaders who dominated the Moderate Phase (1885 - 1905) were Dadabhai Naoroji, Gopala Krishna

Gokhale, Surendranath Banerjee, Womesh Chandra Banerjee, G. Subrahmanya Iyer, M. G. Ranade, etc. They also fought to relieve Indians of the miseries which they suffered under British control and demanded changes in certain sectors like taxes, revenue, regarding ICS examinations, changes in administrative set up and other related things.

There is nothing wrong with the programmes they adopted as part of Indian Freedom Struggle on behalf of INC, however the issue was with the strategy which they adopted to achieve the same which was thrust mainly on 3 P's known as "Prayer, Petition and Protest strategy". This way was adopted to resolve the issues and disputes in a peaceful manner as they adamantly believed in "British justice" and believed that one day they could change their rule for the betterment of Indian people through meetings, resolutions, propagandas, discussions and pamphlets. They did have some initial achievements like the expansion of the number of seats in Legislative Council; formulation of Indian Councils Act and they could also sow the seeds of nationalism among the educated class of Indians. Their activities further prompted others to act for a common goal which was to have freedom from foreign power. However, the moderates believed in a peaceful co-existence of Indians under British rule where our demands are met without any fail. This blind faith backfired as Britishers used it for their advantages to restrict a mass protest and to fool the Moderates by giving them false promises every now and then.

This gave rise to a new set of vibrant leaders better known as the Extremists (1905 - 1920) who never believed either the British or the strategies obtained by the Moderates to get their demands done for them. They were not ready to settle for anything other than Swaraj and vehemently opposed British imperialism. "Swaraj is my birth right, I shall have it" was the slogan upheld by them. They were led by three main leaders Lala Lajpat Rai, Bal Gangadhar Tilak and Bipin Chandra Pal who hailed from Punjab, Bombay and Bengal respectively. Other prominent ones in this group were Aurobindo Ghosh, Rajnarayan Bose, V. O. C. Pillai and A. K. Dutt. The activities of the extremists were motivated by spiritual nationalism and if possible they were ready to confront the British on certain occasions. Their goals pertaining to Indian Freedom Struggle were uncompromisable and played a predominant role in initiating and spreading movements like 'Boycott' and 'Swadeshi' among the masses. Lord Curzon and his policies to divide Bengal popularised their plans and perspectives among people. In the infamous Surat Split (1907) the moderates and Extremists parted their ways due to strong differences in their opinions and contrasting ideologies. The activities of extremists became really an issue for the British who used various laws to cut their meetings, stop press releases, propagandas and to completely ban their mass gatherings. These couldn't stop their advances as people believed in them and began to get drawn to them every moment due to their programmes, strategies and ways. Furthermore, the situations also favoured their growth and influence among masses in those days, the details of which will be discussed further in this unit.



Keywords

Moderates, Initial Phase, Peaceful Methods, Extremists, Swaraj, Bengal Division, Boycott, Swadeshi

5.1.1 The Moderate Phase

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

The prominent Moderate leaders include:

Dadabhai Naoroji : He is known as the “Grand Old Man of India”. He was the first Indian to become a member of the House of Commons in Britain. He made a study on the economic condition of India and came up with his magnum opus *Poverty and Un-British Rule in India* through which he put forward ‘Drain Theory’ that explains the economic exploitation and corruption India was facing at the hands of the British and its officials. Dadabhai Naoroji is considered the pioneer of Moderate phase who inspired many leaders through his contributions to the Indian freedom struggle.

Womesh Chandra Bannerjee : He was the first president of Indian National Congress held in 1885. He was 41 years old when he was elected the party’s president in the Bombay Session. Womesh Chandra Banerjee slammed the British Salt Tax, calling it an unjust tax. He started his career as a lawyer and carried on politics and legal profession in a parallel way. He also got an opportunity to work in the Standing Council as well representing the Indian demands in the public sphere.

G Subramanya Aiyer : Founded ‘*The Hindu*’ Newspaper, where he criticised British imperialism. He was the co-founder of Madras Mahajana Sabha. He was one who showed to the world that journalism does have a role in the success of any movements or struggles affecting a society as a whole. Subrahmaniya

Iyer and his friends vehemently criticized British policies and the economic drain that was happening in India as a consequence of their rule. He was a good leader and used the same skill to guide the rest in this moderate phase.

Gopal Krishna Gokhale : He was an inspirational and charismatic leader of moderate phase who is even considered a ‘political guru’ of Mahatma Gandhi. He was the founder of Servants of India Society. He became a member of Indian National Congress in the year 1889. Furthermore, he was a social reformer as well in the then Indian society. Gokhale envisioned proper political representation and power over public affairs. In order to obtain his objectives he adopted the moderate strategies of ‘prayer, petition and protest’. He served as the Joint Secretary of Congress alongside Tilak. Gokhale was concerned about a split in congress and differed in opinion with leaders like Tilak on certain occasions. His thought on the Indian economy was having a liberal approach towards the same. He served as a member of Bombay Legislative Council in the year 1899. Similarly, in the year 1901 he was also elected to the Imperial Council of the Governor General of India.

Surendranath Banerjee : He was often known as the ‘Rashtarguru’ and ‘Indian Burke’ of Indian nationalist movement. He was a prominent leader of the moderate phase who founded the Indian National Association which later merged with the Indian National Congress. He is also responsible for the emergence of a newspaper by name ‘*The Bengalee*’ which did its own part as far as the

Indian freedom struggle was considered. Even though he was one of the founding members of Indian National Congress, in the later stages he decided to quit it as he could not get along with either the extremist views or the civil disobedience movements proposed by Gandhi. However, he founded 'The Indian Liberation Federation' and supported Indians in their struggles against the British.

Moderate Approach

The Early phase believed in a patient conciliation rather than a confrontation, adopting orderly progress and constitutional means to realise their aims. To educate the people, to arouse political consciousness, and to create powerful public opinion in favour of their demands, they organised annual sessions. Processions and meetings were held, speeches delivered and discussions were held on various economic, social and political questions. They also drafted petitions and memorandums before submitting them to the government. To influence the British government and to enlighten the British public and its political leaders, the Early Nationalists sent deputations of leading Indian leaders to England.

5.1.2 Achievements of Moderate Nationalists

Moderate Nationalists created a national awakening among the people that made Indians conscious of the bonds of common political, economic, and cultural interests that united them. They also trained people in politics by popularising the ideas of democracy, civil liberties, secularism and nationalism. They carefully analysed the political economy of British rule in India, and put forward the "drain theory" to explain British exploitation of India. The efforts of the Early Nationalists also led to the implementation of various

social reforms, such as the appointment of a Public Service Commission, a resolution of the House of Commons (1893) allowing for simultaneous examination for the Indian Civil Service in London and India, and the appointment of the Welby Commission on Indian Expenditure (1895).

The early nationalists worked with the long-term objective of a democratic self-government. Their demands for constitutional reforms were meant to have been conceded in 1892 in the form of the Indian Councils Act. Through an incessant campaign, the nationalists were able to spread modern democratic ideas, and soon the defence of civil rights became an integral part of the freedom struggle. It was due to the increased consciousness that there was a great public outrage at the arrest of Tilak and several other leaders and journalists in 1897 and at the arrest and deportation of the Natu brothers without a trial.

5.1.3 Evaluation of Early Work of Congress

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

Criticism



The methods used by the Early Nationalists of passing resolutions and sending petitions were seen as inadequate by critics who argued that they depended on the generosity of the British instead of relying on their own strength and directly challenging colonial rule. Some historians have argued that the Early Nationalists misunderstood the British government and believed the fundamentally diametric interests of both the colonial administration and the nationalist movement could be resolved in favour of the latter. The Early Nationalists failed to draw the masses into the mainstream of the national movement such that their area of influence remained limited to urban educated Indians.

5.1.4 The Moderate Congress (1885-1905)

The moderates contributed significantly in the Indian freedom struggle. The main objective of the Moderates was to achieve self-governance within the British Empire. They followed a middle path and not an extreme path against the British Empire.

Methods Employed by the Moderates

In order to achieve their aim, they made several demands for reform and indulged in criticising the Government policies. They believed in patience and reconciliation rather than in violence and confrontation. They relied on constitutional and peaceful methods in order to achieve their aim. They focussed on educating people, arousing their political consciousness and creating public opinion. In order to create public opinion in England, the Moderates arranged lectures in different parts of England. A weekly journal called *India* was published in England for circulation among the British population. Moderates used different types of newspaper and chronicles to criticise the government policies through

newspapers like *Bengali*, *Bombay Chronicle*, *Hindustan Times*, *Induprakash*, *Rast Goftar* and a weekly journal named *India*. They also asked the Government to conduct an enquiry and find ways and means to solve the problems faced by people. They held meetings and held discussions concerning social, economic and cultural matters. The moderates organised meetings at various places like England, Mumbai, Allahabad, Pune and Calcutta.

5.1.4.1 Major Demands of the Moderates

The major demands of the moderates were the expansion and reform of legislative councils, greater opportunities for Indians in higher posts by holding the ICS examination simultaneously in England and in India, separation of the judiciary from the executive, and more powers for the local bodies.

Besides, they also demanded reduction of land revenue and protection of peasants from unjust landlords. They wanted abolition of salt tax and sugar duty. They wanted to restrict freedom of speech, expression and also freedom to form associations. They demanded the repeal of the Arms Act, reduction of spending on the army, and the introduction of permanent settlement to other parts of India.

5.1.4.2 Contributions of Moderate Nationalists

The Moderates were led by Dadabhai Naoroji, R.C. Dutt, Dinshaw Wacha and others, analysed the political economy of British rule in India, and put forward the “drain theory” to explain British exploitation of India. They were able to create a nation wide public opinion that British rule in India was the major cause of India’s poverty and economic backwardness. The Moderates demanded reduction in land

revenue, abolition of salt tax, improvement in working conditions of plantation labour, etc. They helped in the expansion of council's power i.e., greater participation of Indians in councils, and helped in reform of councils, especially of greater control over finances.

The early nationalists worked with the long-term objective of a democratic self-government. They campaigned for General Administrative Reforms. They demanded and put pressure on the British Empire on Indianisation of government service on economic grounds. They demanded and contributed to Separation of judicial from executive functions. They criticised oppressive and tyrannical bureaucracy and an expensive and time-consuming judicial system: aggressive foreign policy which resulted in annexation of Burma, attack on Afghanistan and suppression of tribals in the North-West: increase in expenditure on welfare, education, especially elementary and technical, irrigation works and improvement of agriculture, agricultural banks for cultivators, etc.

They fought for civil rights including the right to speech, thought, association and a free press. Through campaigns, the nationalists were able to spread modern democratic ideas, and soon the defence of civil rights became an integral part of the freedom struggle.

The nationalists were, thus, able to build a national movement while undermining the political and moral influence of imperialist rule. This helped in generating anti-imperialist sentiments among the public. But, at the same time, the nationalists failed to widen the democratic base of the movement by not including the masses, especially women, and not demanding the right to vote for all.

5.1.5 The Extremists (1905-1920)



The rise of extremism on the Indian political scene was not sudden. In fact, it had been growing steadily since the uprising of 1857. Though the uprising was brutally suppressed by the British, the ideas of 'Swadharma' and 'Swaraj', which had kindled the uprising continued to linger on as an undercurrent among the Indian people. The 'peaceful' methods used by the moderate leaders were not effective in making the British Government accept their demands. As a result a number of politically conscious people became frustrated and disillusioned. At the end of the 19th century, a strong feeling arose among the people that more radical political action was needed to force the British to accept popular demands.

Various international events also gave an impetus to the growth of extremism in India. Revolutionary movements in Ireland, Russia, Egypt, Turkey, China and the Boer War in South Africa made the Indian leaders aware that the British rule could only be challenged by putting a united stand against it. The defeat of the Italian Army by the Ethiopians in 1896, and the Russian Army by the Japanese in 1905, showed that the Europeans were not invincible. All these instilled a sense of self-respect and self-confidence among the Indian Nationalists.

They became prominent after the Partition of Bengal in 1905. Their radical ideology and programme became popular during the movement against Partition of Bengal, also known as the 'Swadeshi Movement'

5.1.5.1 Ideology and Methods

Unlike moderates, the extremist leaders neither believed in the goodness of the British rule nor in their sense of justice and fair play. Since exploitation of India was the chief motive of the British, the extremists

did not expect them to take a sympathetic view of the popular demands of the Indian people. Therefore, it was necessary to use pressure to make them accept the demands, not by petitioning or praying like the moderates, but by openly agitating against them. The Extremist programmes involved the following activities: 'Boycott' of foreign goods and promotion of 'Swadeshi' goods to give impetus to the growth of indigenous industry and commerce: non-cooperation with the bureaucracy, including 'boycott' of governmental activities.

Establishment of schools and colleges that gave education in the Indian languages and instil in the students pride for the glorious heritage of India, make the students nationalistic and public spirited in character and knowledgeable, self-reliant and independent in spirit. 'Passive Resistance' to British rule by non-payment of revenue and taxes and by organising separate 'indigenous administrative institutions' parallel to those of the British at the level of villages, taluks and districts. Public meetings and processions emerged as major methods of mass mobilisation.

The swadeshi spirit also found expression in the establishment of swadeshi textile mills, soap and match factories, tanneries, banks, insurance companies, shops, etc. These enterprises were based more on patriotic zeal than on business acumen. Further, the Extremist leaders disfavoured the use of violence against the British rule and did not approve the methods of political murder and assassination used by the Indian revolutionaries. However, they did take a sympathetic view of the activities of the revolutionaries.

5.1.5.2 Significance of the Extremists

There was a fundamental change in the

nature of Indian nationalism under extremist leadership due to their forceful articulation of the demand for 'Swaraj' and use of more radical methods than those of the moderates. Their concept of Nationalism was emotionally charged and based on a rich interpretation of Indian religious traditions. The Extremist leaders tried to reorient Indian religious traditions to worldly life and link them with the national liberation struggle. Aurobindo Ghose reinterpreted Vedanta philosophy, which advocated unity of man and God and based his concept of nationalism on it.

The extremists emphasised the mobilisation of people against foreign rule by launching political movements. If the nation was not ready to undertake political movement, then it was the duty of the leaders to prepare the people for it. The extremists were ready to suffer imprisonment, deportation and other physical suffering for the sake of mobilising the masses to struggle against foreign rule. The demonstrations, and processions undertaken by them brought about an involvement of the common people in agitations against the British rule. They also made use of popular symbols like Shivaji, and religious symbols like God Ganapati and Goddess Kali for mobilising the people.

5.1.5.3 Prominent Leaders of the Extremist Period

► Lala Lajpat Rai

Known as the 'Lion of Punjab', he founded the National School at Lahore under the influence of Arya Samaj

► Bal Gangadhar Tilak

He was also known as 'Lokamanya Tilak'. He founded the Deccan Education Society and was the co-founder of Fergusson College. He gave the slogan, "Swaraj is my

birthright and I shall have it'. *Kesari*(Hindi) and *Mahratta*(English) were the newspapers started by him. He started the All India Home Rule League in 1916. Annie Besant was another prominent figure who joined his movement and contributed much to the Indian freedom struggle against the British.

► **Bipin Chandra Pal**

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

► **Aurobindo Ghoshe**

He started an English newspaper called *Bande Mataram*.

Differences between the Moderates and the Extremists

When the failure of moderate politics became quite apparent by the end of the 19th century, reaction set in from within the congress circles and this new trend is referred to as the 'Extremists' trend. This extremism developed in three main regions and under the leadership of three important individuals- Bipin Chandra Pal in Bengal, Bal Gangadhar Tilak in Maharashtra and Lala Lajpat Rai in Punjab.

Basis	Moderates	Extremists
Phase	1885-1905	1905-1920
Aim	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Aimed at administrative and constitutional reforms. 2. Wanted more Indians in the administration and not the end of British rule. 3. They were secular in their attitudes, though not always 4. Fortright enough to rise above their sectarian interests. 5. They knew the exploitative nature of British rule, but wanted its reforms and not expulsion 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Aim of getting Swaraj 2. Wanted to end the tyranny rule of the British

Ideology	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. They believed in the efficacy of peaceful and constitutional agitation. 2. They had great faith in the British sense of justice and fair play. 3. They were inspired by the ideas of Western philosophers like Mill, Burke, Spencer and Bentham. Moderates imbibed Western ideas of liberalism, democracy, equity and freedom. 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. They were radical in their approach. Demands of extremists were aggressive. 2. They believed in atmashakti or self-reliance as a weapon against domination. 3. Ideological inspiration was Indian History, Cultural heritage, national education and Hindu traditional symbols. Hence, they revived the Ganapati and Shivaji festivals to arouse the masses. 4. They wanted to inculcate pride in India's glorious culture and generate the spirit of nationalism. They invoked goddesses Kali or Durga for strength to fight for the motherland. 5. Guided by four principles: Swarajya, Swadeshi, Boycott of foreign goods and National education.
Methodology	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. They followed the principles of 3P: Petition, Prayer and Protest. 2. They believed in co-operation and reconciliation. 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. They believed in militant methods. 2. They followed the principle of 'atmashakti' or self-reliance as a weapon against domination. 3. Method of Non-Cooperation. 4. They advocated democracy, constitutionalism and progress.
Leaders	<p>► A.O. Hume, W.C. Bannerjee, Surendra Nath Bannerjee, Dadabhai Naoroji, Feroze Shah Mehta, Gopalakrishna Gokhale, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, Badruddin Tyabji, Justice Ranade and G.Subramanya Aiyar.</p>	<p>► Lala Lajpat Rai, Lokmanya Bal Gangadhar Tilak, Bipin Chandra Pal, Aurobindo Ghose, Rajnarayan Bose, and Ashwini Kumar Dutt</p>

Social Support	Zamindars and Upper middle classes in towns	Educated middle and lower middle classes in towns
Contribution	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Economic Critique of British Imperialism 2. Constitutional Reforms and Propaganda in Legislature 3. Campaign for General Administrative Reforms 4. Defence of Civil Rights 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Demand of Swaraj 2. Mass movement 3. Spread of national education 4. Uplift of the downtrodden 5. Nationalism 6. Support to revolutionary movements 7. Rise of communalism 8. Encouraged co-operative organisation 9. Set up charitable association for rural sanitation, preventive police duties, regulation of fairs and pilgrim gatherings for providing relief fund during famines and other calamities.

Recap

- ▶ Indian Freedom Struggle was predominantly influenced by two phases namely the Moderate Phase (1885 - 1905) and Extremist Phase (1905 - 1920)
- ▶ Main leaders of Moderate Phase were Dadhabhai Naoroji, Gopal Krishna Gokhale and Womesh Chandra Bonnerjee
- ▶ Leaders of this phase adopted the strategy of Prayer Protest and Protest to fulfill their goals
- ▶ They rather depended upon the generosity and peaceful co-existence with the British
- ▶ Moderates could instill the feelings of nationalism, democracy, secularism and liberalism in the minds of people
- ▶ Most of their Programmes were limited to the reforms in legislature and changes in the Indian Civil Service rules and judiciary
- ▶ Indian Councils Act can be considered as a major achievement during this phase
- ▶ Most of the demands put forward by Moderates were either not accepted or purposefully delayed by the British



- ▶ The British used Moderate rulers as a tool which is stated in ‘Safety Valve Theory’
- ▶ The failure of Moderate leaders gave rise to a new set of leaders with new ideologies, thoughts and strategies, better known in Indian history as Extremists
- ▶ The trio Lala Lajpat Rai, Bal Gangadhar Tilak and Bipin Chandra Pal controlled this period
- ▶ Aurobindo and Subrahmanya Iyer were also part of the extremist movement
- ▶ They believed in the concept of Swarajya
- ▶ Extremists condemned British imperialism and their cruelties against Indian natives
- ▶ Their activities were based on Non co-operation, self-reliance and militant attitude towards oppressors
- ▶ “Swarajya is my birth right, I shall have it”, was their slogan all throughout the phase (1905-1920)
- ▶ Partition of Bengal intensified their influence upon people
- ▶ Spiritual Nationalism influenced their activities
- ▶ Possessions, demonstrations, meetings and protest gatherings were the methods used by them
- ▶ They promoted Boycott and Swadeshi campaigns among the masses
- ▶ Extremist phase gave a new life to the Indian Freedom Struggle based on radical actions and Passive resistance

Objective Type Questions

1. What was the methodology adopted by the Moderates for achieving their goals?
2. Name the leader in the moderate phase who made an intense study on economic history of India and related ‘Drain Theory’ stating about British economic exploitation?
3. Which time period is popularly known as the Moderate Phase in the history of India?
4. What is considered a remarkable achievement during the time period of the Moderates?
5. Mention the year in which the Surat Split occurred.
6. Name the trio who spearheaded the activities of Extremists.
7. What was the name of the English Newspaper started by Aurobindo Ghosh?
8. Name the main aim of the extremists pertaining to the Indian Freedom Struggle?
9. Who was the founder of Indian National Congress?
10. State the theory associated with the creation of INC?

Answers

1. 3P's : Prayer-Petition-Protest.
2. Dadabhai Naoroji
3. 1885 - 1905.
4. Indian Councils Act of 1892.
5. 1907
6. Lala Lajpat Rai, Balgangadhar Tilak & Bipin Chandra Pal (Better Known as Lal-Bal-Pal)
7. Vande Mataram
8. Swaraj (Independent Dominion or Sovereignty)
9. Allan Octavian Hume
10. Safety Valve Theory

Assignments

1. Make a comparative analysis on the activities of Moderates and Extremists of Indian National Congress based on their aims, ideologies and contributions to Indian Freedom Struggle.
2. Trace the individual contributions of Extremist leaders and the way it impacted the freedom struggle against British imperialist rule in India.
3. Discuss the goals drafted by the moderates as part of their programmes
4. Elucidate on the pros and cons of moderate phase in Indian Freedom Struggle.

Suggested Readings

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Unit 2

Economic Critique of Colonialism - Drain Theory

Learning Outcomes

Upon completion of the unit, the learner will be able to:

- ▶ critically analyse the economic reasons behind the British colonisation of India.
- ▶ trace the ways in which the economic exploitation of India contributed to the financial prosperity of the British.
- ▶ get an insight into the economic drain that happened during British colonialism with ample dates and figures.
- ▶ Figure out the impact of economic drain on the then Indian society.

Prerequisites

One of the major reasons behind any colonisation is drain of wealth. We should understand that the time period in which this colonisation emerged was an era highly impacted by imperialistic policies of European countries as well as a time period influenced by the emergence of Industrial Revolution. All the colonisers including the British used their corresponding colonies to procure raw materials to be exported to their home country so that they could use the same to make manufactured goods to sell them in these colonies and other countries at a comparatively fair price. These colonists bought raw materials at a low price and sold their well-furnished products in the colonies at a high price. This process adversely affected indigenous and small scale industries of the natives and economy of the host colony began to deplete in an unimaginable manner. The same thing happened in colonial India at the hands of Britishers, who besides the above-mentioned facts looted and corrupted Indian wealth whenever the opportunity presented itself before them.

The treaties and agreements which they made with the native kings playing one against the other also made them 'rich' as wealth accumulated in them either as properties, land or money. Furthermore, the trade monopoly which they procured in the initial stages helped them further to have a lion's share of the Indian wealth from the native people either directly or indirectly. The economic exploitation of the Indians at the hands of the British spanned for more than two centuries even before their real rule began here from 1858 onwards. The details of the above-mentioned and more points will be revealed with precise data in this unit.

Keywords

British Colonialism, Indian Economy, Exploitation, Drain of Wealth

5.2.1 The Drain of Wealth Policy

The British exported to Britain part of India's raw materials for which India got no adequate economic or material return. This 'economic drain' was peculiar to the British rule. This is well-documented in the works of Dadabhai Naoroji and R.C. Dutt through their magnum opus. Dadabhai Naoroji was the one who authentically stated about the 'Drain Theory' pertaining to economic exploitation of the Indian economy by the British.

Whether they spent it on irrigation canals and trunk roads, or on palaces, temples and mosques, or on wars and conquests, or even on personal luxury, it ultimately encouraged Indian trade and industry or gave employment to Indians. This was so because even foreign conquerors, like the Mughals, soon settled in India and made it their home. But the British remained perpetual foreigners.

The Englishmen, working and trading in India, nearly always planned to go back to Britain, and the Indian government was controlled by a foreign company of merchants and the government of Britain. The British, consequently spent a large part of the taxes and income they derived from the Indian people not in India but in Britain, their home country.

The drain of wealth from Bengal began in 1757 when the Company's servants began to carry home immense fortunes extorted from Indian rulers, zamindars, merchants and the common people. They sent home nearly £6 million between 1758 and 1765. This amount was more than four times the total land revenue collection of the Nawab of Bengal in 1765.

This amount of drain did not include the trading profits of the Company which were often no less illegally derived. In 1765 the Company acquired the Diwani of Bengal and thus gained control over its revenues. The Company, even more than its servants, soon directly organised the drain. It began to purchase Indian goods out of the revenue of Bengal and began to export them. These purchases were known as 'Investments'.

Thus, through 'Investments', Bengal's revenue was sent to England. For example, from 1765 to 1770, the Company sent out nearly £4 million worth of goods or about 33 percent of the net revenue of Bengal.

By the end of the eighteenth century, the drain constituted nearly 9 per cent of India's national income. The actual drain was even more, as a large part of the salaries and other incomes of English officials and the trading fortunes of English merchants also found their way to England.

The drain took the form of an excess of India's exports over its imports, for which India got no return. While the exact amount of the annual drain has not been calculated so far and historians differ on its quantum, the fact of the drain, at least from 1757 to 1857, was widely accepted by British officials.

Thus, for example, Lord Ellenborough, Chairman of the Select Committee of the House of Lords, and later the Governor-General of India, admitted in 1840 that India was "required to transmit annually to this country (Britain), without any return except in the small value of military stores, a sum



amounting to between two and three million sterling”.

And John Sullivan, President of the Board of Revenue, Madras, remarked: “Our system acts very much like a sponge, drawing up all the good things from the banks of the Ganges, and squeezing them down on the banks of the Thames.”

The drain went on increasing after 1858, though the British administrators and imperialist writers now began to deny its existence. By the end of the nineteenth century it constituted nearly 6 percent of India’s national income and one-third of its national savings.

The wealth which drained out of India, played an important part in financing Britain’s capitalist development, especially during the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth century, that is, during the period of Britain’s early industrialization.

It has been estimated that it constituted nearly two per cent of Britain’s national income during that period. The figure assumes importance if it is kept in view that Britain was at that time investing in industry and agriculture, about 7 percent of its national income.

Recap

- ▶ Economic exploitation is the prime motive of any colonising country.
- ▶ British economic exploitation started prior to their official rule of India.
- ▶ They drained the wealth of India by capturing the trade monopoly.
- ▶ The British exported raw materials at low cost and imported manufactured goods in the colonies at a high price.
- ▶ Exports exceed imports.
- ▶ Drain of wealth highly impacted natives, small scale and indigenous industries
- ▶ Other forms of economic exploitation came in the form of corruption transgression in all fields of life and financial misappropriations
- ▶ British colonisation and subsequent ‘Drain of wealth’ did have far reaching effects upon the Indian Economy as well as its society.

Objective Type Questions

1. Who propounded the ‘Drain Theory’?
2. Name the two eminent leaders who made intensive study on economic exploitation of Indian wealth ?
3. State the year in which the British acquired the Diwani of Bengal?
4. Drain of wealth from Bengal started from which year onwards?
5. What is the percentage of drain of wealth calculated by economic historians that happened during the colonial period?

6. Name the book written by Dadabhai Naoroji explaining the theory of 'Drain of Wealth'?
7. What did the British export from India to facilitate Industrial Revolution-related activities in European countries?
8. Which industries were mostly affected by the economic exploitation of the British in India?
9. What was the main factor that triggered colonialism in Asian and African nations by the Europeans?
10. Name the transition phase in manufacturing of goods that occurred in Britain during colonial period?

Answers

1. Dadabhai Naoroji
2. RC.Dutt & Dadabhai Naoroji
3. 1765
4. 1757
5. 9 percentage
6. Poverty and Unbritish Rule in India
7. Raw materials
8. Indigenous and Small-Scale Cottage Industries
9. Imperialistic Policies of European Nations
10. Industrial Revolution.

Assignments

1. Discuss the strategies adopted by the British to drain the wealth of India.
2. Trace the evolutionary transit of economic exploitation that happened during the colonial period.
3. Critically evaluate the role played by the Industrial Revolution in priming the economic exploitation in colonies from Asia and Africa.
4. Provide a critical analysis of the major works on the economic history of India from 1857 - 1947.



Suggested Readings

1. Sumit Sarkar, *Modern India: 1885 - 1947*, Pears Education Publishers, 2014.
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Unit 3

Growth of Militant Nationalism

Learning Outcomes

After reading this unit, the learner will be able to:

- ▶ familiarise themselves with the concept of Militant Nationalism
- ▶ delineate the reasons behind the emergence of extremists and revolutionaries going against the imperialistic policies of the British rule in India.
- ▶ debunk the plans, strategies, programmes and execution of the same by Militant Nationalists against the British
- ▶ critically analyse the contributions of such revolutionary activities leading to the Indian Freedom struggle
- ▶ point out the major reason that paved the way for the decline of Militant Nationalism without much sought out impact as expected

Prerequisites

Militant Nationalism is an integral part, especially in the case scenario of the liberation process to conquer more territories like we saw during the time of world wars. Similarly, in almost all colonies of Asia and Africa we could see some type of surging militant nationalist groups emerging to liberate their people from the hands of colonialist powers at that point of time. Organisations like LTTE which went extinct recently and Maoists who are still believed to be functional in India in certain regions still stand up for a particular cause for their people and fight for the same though it cannot be considered as a clear example of militant nationalism. However, during the colonial period we could certainly classify militant nationalism as part and parcel of freedom struggle. It stood up against the imperialist policies of Britain.

Failure of the moderates and extremists agendas to a certain extent favoured the growth of militant nationalism in India. It began to create a kind of fear and insecurity in the minds of the British which made them more vigilant and suspicious of every activity in the name of freedom struggle in India whether it implied peaceful means or not.

According to the extremists and revolutionaries, the Moderate phase (1885-1905) was an utter failure which contributed to the acquiring of power by a new set of young people ready to take radical actions who believed in self-might and extreme nationalism. They were guided over and backed up by patriotic feelings and spiritual nationalism. They



planned to violently react against the imperialistic policies of the British. Their activities were mainly concentrated on north, north-west and north-eastern regions of India funded by various organisations from inside and outside India. Youth were mostly attracted to them though they lacked proper organisation or specific strategies. These activities created more martyrs than any other anti-British movements in India. Sukh Dev, Chandra Sekhar Azad, Bhagat Singh, to name a few, embraced death in the course of their activities against the British at a very young age. It did have its own significance in the era of Indian freedom struggle on varying grounds and did play a major role in impressing people and voluntarily taking part in freedom struggle supported by the feelings of intense nationalism and spiritual mobilisation based on their attitudes towards the British. It couldn't succeed well and at the end it declined due to lack of popular leadership, organisation, funding and support. All these will be discussed in this particular unit with corroborative evidence.

Keywords

Moderates, Extremists, Revolutionaries, Activities, Significance, Decline.

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

Frustration with moderate politics was one of the major reason behind the rise of extremist's reaction. The congress under moderate leadership was being governed by an undemocratic constitution, although after repeated attempts by Tilak, a new constitution was drafted and ratified in 1899, but it was never given a proper trial.

- Moderate politics reached a dead end as most of their demands remained unfulfilled and this was certainly a major reason behind the rise of extremism.
- The failure of the Moderates to win any notable success other than the expansion of the legislative councils by the Indian Councils Act (1892).

The partition of Bengal in 1905 opened

the eyes of the Indians to the true colours of the British rulers.

It is believed that the extremists drew inspiration from India's past, invoked the great episodes in the history of the Indian people and tried to infuse national pride and self-respect among them. They considered that idealising western culture gives Indians an inferiority complex. So they revived the rich history of India, especially with regard to Hindu history and ideologies.

5.3.2 Extremists

1. They were radical in their approach. Demands of extremists were aggressive.
2. They believed in 'atmashakti' or self-reliance as a weapon against domination.
3. Ideological inspiration was Indian History, Cultural heritage, National education and Hindu traditional symbols. Hence, they revived the Ganapati and Shivaji festivals to arouse the masses.
4. They wanted to inculcate pride in In-

dia's glorious culture to generate the spirit of nationalism. They invoked goddesses Kali or Durga for strength to fight for the motherland.

5. Guided by four principles: Swarajya, Swadeshi, Boycott of foreign goods, and National education to make Indians aware of patriotism.
6. They believed in militant methods.
7. Method of Non-Cooperation.
8. They advocated democracy, constitutionalism and progress.

5.3.3 The Revolutionary Movement

The emergence of revolutionary ideology in India during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century was the result of several internal and external influences working on the minds of the youth.

Early phase of the revolutionary movement in India was in Bengal, Maharashtra, Punjab, U.P., Orissa, Bihar, and Madras provinces. But it predominantly operated in Bengal, Maharashtra and Punjab .

5.3.4 The reasons behind rise of revolutionary terrorism

1. Nationalism among youth: Most vital factor which contributed to amplifying the spirit of nationalism among the countrymen was the 'economic exploitation' of Indians by the British Government and the Partition of Bengal.

2. Failure of Moderate and extremist congress: Younger elements was not ready to retreat after the decline of the national militancy phase. Fallout of the Swadeshi and Boycott Movement was the immediate reason.

3. Leadership's failure to tap revolutionary energies of the youth.

4. Government repression left no peaceful

avenues open for the protest.

Major Revolutionary Activities

Their ideologies were based on radical and vibrant actions thrust on instilling fear in the minds of Britishers. They believed in strong spiritual ideologies backing them up in this process. In the initial stages they were not organised enough, and was mainly based on actions, whereby they eliminated or assassinated traitors and cruel British officials. Furthermore, there is tangible evidence to prove that they hatched military conspiracies and even did some kind of swadeshi dacoities to raise funds alongside some other funding agencies inside and outside India. Infact, through their actions based on patriotic feelings they were able to inspire millions of youth in India. They rebelled against the imperialistic policies of the British and vowed to eliminate anything that stood in their path. Peaceful methods or discussions with the opposition were not an option for them to resolve any kind of issues. All of them who entered into this were even ready to embrace death at any point in time through an encounter with their enemies. This itself was the fate of many during the course of various events that took place in relation to their activities.

The first revolutionary organisations were formed in 1902 in Midnapore (under Jnanendra Nath Basu) and Calcutta (under Promotha Mitter, and including Jatindranath Banerjee, Barindra Kumar Ghosh, and others). This was followed by Anusilan Samiti in 1906 pioneered by Barindra Kumar Ghosh and Bupendranath Dutta. Their ideologies were propagated through *Yugantar* Newspaper and through many other options available at that point in time. *Sandhya* and *Yugantar* were the main weapons of print media against the British in those days. Even British Official General Fuller even became a victim to the



revolutionaries.

There were murder attempts against Andrew Fraser in the year 1907, by derailing the train in which he was travelling. Similarly, revolutionaries like Khundiram Bose and Chakki were charged with a case whereby they threw a bomb at a carriage in Muzaffarpur (1908) in an attempt to kill the judge. However, this plan failed as the judge was nowhere to be found there except for the fact that those who attempted murder were tried and executed. There were also incidents like Muraripukur Conspiracy case, and Barrah dacoity which as per British was a very serious offence against them and their rule.

In December 1912, Rashbehari Bose and Sachin Sanyal staged a spectacular bomb attack on Viceroy Hardinge as he made his official entry into the new capital of Delhi in a procession through Chandni Chowk. Jatin revitalised connections between the central organisation in Calcutta and other locations in Bengal, Bihar, and Orissa. During World War I, the Jugantar party arranged for the import of German arms and ammunition through sympathisers and revolutionaries in other countries.

The Ramosi Peasant Force founded by Vasudev Balwant Phadke in 1879 was the first of its kind, spreading revolutionary activities in the Maharashtra region. They believed in armed revolt and did the same against the zamindars and the British who supported them. Damodar and Balakrishna better known as Chapekar brothers murdered higher British officials, such as Rand and Lieutenant Ayerst in the year 1897. Likewise, Balgangadhar Tilak also instilled militant spirit in the people through Ganapati and Shivaji festivals.

Vinayak Damodar Savarkar and his brother Ganesh Damodar Savarkar founded

the Abhinav Bharat Society (Young India Society) in 1904. It was founded as “Mitra Mela” in Nasik while Vinayak Savarkar was still a student at Fergusson College in Pune. Following a few assassinations of British officials, the Savarkar brothers were convicted and imprisoned. In 1952, the society was formally disbanded. Some other major assassinations in this regard were that of the Lieutenant Colonel William Curzon-Wyllie and AMT Jackson’s, committed by Madanlal and Anant Laxman Kanhare respectively as part of the revolutionary activities in this region. The Nasik Conspiracy case in the year 1909 was also related with these kinds of activities which really annoyed British imperialist rule in India. In Punjab, Lala Lajpat Rai and others led these kinds of activities in which most of their aims were achieved until his death. Besides these activities, Sukh Dev, Chandra Sekhar Azad, and Bhagat Singh can’t be forgotten as they all became martyrs in the month of March, 1931 at the hands of the British.

Significances of Revolutionary Movements in Indian Freedom Struggle

1. The emergence of secret societies helping and funding such activities emerged globally. Activities of Anusilan Samiti operating from Calcutta and other places can be viewed from this perspective to get more clarity about this system.
2. Revolutionaries concentrated much on raising funds for purchasing arms, and further they used the same for assassinating potential threats from the Britishers who were standing as a bulwark against gaining their independence from British control.
3. Their radical and vibrant actions attracted more adults from among men and women to actively participate in

the Indian Freedom Struggle, so that leaders didn't have to take much effort in this regard of recruitment procedure of adult volunteers who could boost up their anti-British activities.

4. Even though the movement never acquired a mass character capable enough to mobilise the masses, it did influence the people to fight for their country, and was deeply grounded on love, and patriotism, and the sacrifices of individual heroes and martyrs that did not go in vain after all.
5. Martyrdom of great patriots like Bhagat Singh, Chandrasekhar Azad, Surya Sen, Shivram Rajguru, Sukhdev Thapar, Raj Guru, etc. in the months of February and March of 1931 did have an adverse impact upon the advance of this movement as it virtually came to an end in the North and North-western part of India which was considered the epicentre of such activities.
6. Though they couldn't achieve their goal of independence from British rule, they showed people how to resist, and fight for one's cause without fear, and to sacrifice their life in the process so that it would act as a model or inspiration for others in the future.
7. Surprisingly, it did serve its purpose as we could see many youths voluntarily taking part in the Indian Freedom Struggle without any forcible compulsions or persuasions.

Decline

1. Lack of mass participation, and their secret nature of operation backfired in the long run as this helped the British to sketch their movements and hunt them down individually. It began to fall apart as it could only influence and attract adults, especially young people to the

movement, and one thing to be noted down here is that those who entered into such activities never tried to promote or spread it to other people and were limited to them and their militant activities against the British. There was no central power to exert control over them and monitor their activities. This alongside the lack of funds from countries like Germany and Japan did heavily impact the revolutionary activities in India. World War and its effects also had its impact upon the declining pattern of anti-British activities in India. Non-cooperation of Indian National Congress, and other prominent leaders like Gandhi, created a kind of "black-listed" image in the minds of people and thereby restricted its popularity among masses. Furthermore, lack of support from organisations like INC affected their stability and back up strategies. Last, but not the least, Montagu's reforms ensuring self-governance took the spotlight from revolutionaries to the benefits of the former.



Recap

- ▶ Failure of the Moderates and their goals paved the nurturing ground for Extremists.
- ▶ Extremists believed in radical actions based on self-reliance and spiritual nationalism.
- ▶ They strongly opposed the imperialistic policies.
- ▶ Swarajya was the ultimate goal of Extremists.
- ▶ Swadeshi and Boycott Movements were the main resistance strategies adopted by Extremists in Bengal.
- ▶ People from all sections were inspired by them and their activities.
- ▶ They played a major role in inculcating the feelings of patriotism and nationalism.
- ▶ Activities of revolutionaries were based on violence and strong opposition against the policies of the British in India.
- ▶ They murdered, bombed and massacred many British Officials and traitors who were a threat to Indian Nationalism.
- ▶ Revolutionaries gained the support of the adult population and from all sections of the society.
- ▶ Finally, the British were able to curb their activities so that most of them were either killed or jailed accordingly.
- ▶ They failed due to lack of goals, organisation, mass support, funds and enough men to support their cause.
- ▶ It did play a major role in inspiring people to be part of Indian Freedom Struggle

Objective Type Questions

1. What are the four principles of Extremists?
2. Name the method adopted by the extremists against the British regime?
3. Which were the two strike methods used by the extremists as a protest against the illegal Partition of Bengal by Lord Curzon?
4. What was the main reason that triggered the growth of revolutionaries in India?
5. Who founded the Abhinav Bharat Society?
6. What was the name of organisation that funded the activities of revolutionaries on a large scale?
7. Which British “reform” measure adversely impacted the growth of militant nationalism in India?
8. Young India Society was founded in which year?
9. Which was the main case associated with Bhagat Singh?
10. Who were the trio hanged to death in the year 1931?

Answers

1. Swarajya, Swadeshi, Boycott and National Education
2. Militant Nationalism
3. Swadeshi and Boycott
4. Economic Exploitation
5. Vinayak Damodar Savakar and Ganesh Damodar Savarkar
6. Anushilan Samiti
7. Montague Reforms
8. 1904
9. Saunders Murder Case
10. Bhagat Singh, Shivaram Rajguru and Sukhdev Thapar

Assignments

1. Discuss the circumstances that led to the emergence of revolutionary activities in India.
2. Elucidate on the revolutionary activities that took place in north-western region pertaining to the Indian Freedom Struggle.
3. Trace the contributions of Bhagat Singh, Raj Guru and Sukhdev to the Indian Freedom Struggle through their patriotic revolutionary activities.
4. Enumerate the consequences of revolutionary activities in the Indian Freedom Struggle.

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Unit 4

Partition of Bengal – Anti-Partition Struggle – Swadeshi

Learning Outcomes

Upon completion of the unit , the learner will be able to:

- ▶ acquaint themselves with the scenarios that persisted in India prior to the partition of Bengal in 1905.
- ▶ to critically evaluate the underlying reasons and hidden motives of the British behind initiating the Bengal partition procedure.
- ▶ to analyse the impact of partition on common people who resided prior to this event.
- ▶ to bring out the role of extremists in mobilising mobs against the partition and resisting the same using Swadeshi and Boycott movements.
- ▶ to give an insight into the learner about the main causes behind the failure of resistance movements against the British in relation with Partition of Bengal, though it was revoked sometime later by Lord Hardinge in 1911.

Prerequisites

We as Indians are already accustomed with two major partitions whether it be of India-Pakistan or it be within the states and territory. This often happens from time to time owing to public opinion, as part of administrative mechanisms, to identify a linguistic minority or regional minority, etc. Even though there are varying reasons contributing to the same, the people who once being part of a region are separated undergo an insurmountable amount of difficulties in shifting their existence to an entirely unknown space. One such partition took place during our freedom struggle where this was used as a weapon to stop the civilian unrest against the imperialistic and corrupted policies of the British rule in India.

Lord Curzon in the year 1905 partitioned Bengal on the grounds of initiating administrative governance. However, the real reason was to stop people from stemming anti-British resistance movements, especially centred around these regions. Lord Curzon was against anti-British movements and propagandas which he stated on various occasions and even considered Indian National Congress his sworn enemy. Following the partition people had to undergo unimaginable difficulties which never even dared to bother the

British officials who administered and executed it with utmost rigidity and rudeness.

The Extremists took it as an opportunity to establish themselves as part and parcel of Indian Freedom Struggle and initiated Swadeshi and Boycott movements which got mass support. Leaders like Bal Gangadhar Tilak, Lala Lajpat Rai and Bipin Chandra Pal, who later came to be known as Lal-Bal-Pal, spearheaded the movement whereby they began to non co-operate with the British; picketted shops; halted export and import of foreign goods, went for strike and actively participated in similar kind of resistance measures. All sections of society actively participated in the same. However, it couldn't achieve its desired result except in the year 1911.

Keywords

Partition, Extremists, Anti-Partition Movements, Swadeshi, Boycott, Gandhian Ideologies, Decadence

Discussion

Lord Curzon was a true successor of Lord Dalhousie in the sense that he was a great imperialist, authoritarian in temperament, ruthless in his ways and wanted to achieve at a greater pace. The time of his governorship (1899-1905), was the formative phase of Indian national movement. He in this particular phase tried to strangle Indian nationalism and freedom movement by all fair and foul means possible. The partition of Bengal can be witnessed as one such example where he tried to curb the rising anti-British feelings in those regions.

3. He looked at Indians with contempt and insulted and injured their feelings. He described Bengalis as cowards, windbags, impracticable talkers and mere frothy patriots. He even refused to meet the president of the Indian National Congress.
4. The biggest blunder he committed was the partition of Bengal. Although it was a political masterstroke to break growing Indian nationalism among Bengalis, it proved disastrous for the British in the long term.

5.4.1 Reactionary policies of Lord Curzon

1. Through Calcutta Corporation Act 1899 he reduced the number of elected legislatures to deprive Indians from self-governance.
2. He brought Indian Universities Act 1904 mainly to increase official control over universities and to stop the spread of nationalism among youths.

5.4.2 Impact of Curzon's reactionary policies

Curzon by his impolitic utterances and imperialist designs brought political unrest in India to a bursting point. Curzon's imperialistic policies provoked a reaction which in turn stung political life in India. Out of his tyranny was born a stronger sense of nationhood. In this scenario, in fact Curzon proved to be a benefactor of India without intending to do so.



Nature and direction of Indian freedom movement without Curzon

It was only after the decision of partition of Bengal that India's first mass movement emerged in the form of Swadeshi movement in 1905. It intensified nationalism in the whole of India and marked the beginning of modern politics. The social base of the movement widened to include students and women. Had the Curzon not taken such a step, the Indian freedom movement might have to wait for another few years for witnessing the first mass movement and beginning of modern politics. Also without such mass movement nationalism would have been limited to educated sections of the society.

The debate over the swadeshi movement led to a split between moderates and extremists. This weakened the vigour and strength of the freedom movement for the next few years. However Indian leaders learnt an important lesson from it and such splits from within were successfully avoided in the future.

Curzon's reactionary policies stirred the Indian consciousness and provided impetus to Indian nationalism. Therefore when leaders like Lokmanya Tilak and Mahatma Gandhi emerged on the scene people readily followed them without any hesitation.

Although Curzon's policies played an important role in stirring nationalism among Indians, it should be taken into account that British rule as a whole was exploitative, insensitive, unethical and racist and Lord Curzon was just a small part of it. As the sense of nationalism and people's sovereignty was spreading, British rule was bound to end. Curzon just intensified this sense and unintentionally helped in this cause.

5.4.3 Swadeshi Movement

Bal Gangadhar Tilak was an Indian nationalist, teacher, social reformer, lawyer and an independence activist. He was the first leader of the Indian Independence Movement. Tilak was one of the first and strongest advocates of Swaraj ("self-rule") and a strong radical in Indian politics. He is known for his quote, "Swarajya is my birthright and I shall have it!".

The extremists like Bal Gangadhar Tilak, Bipin Chandra Pal, Lala Lajpat Rai, and Aurobindo Ghosh demanded Swaraj or complete independence from British rule. They believed in self-reliance as a weapon against domination. They promoted Swadeshi and boycott of foreign goods. Swarajya, (self-rule) being the ultimate aim, was to be achieved through swadeshi and boycott movements.

Swadeshi Movement:

The Swadeshi movement launched in the early 20th Century was a direct fallout of the decision of the British India government to partition Bengal. Use of Swadeshi goods and boycott of foreign made goods were the two main objectives of this movement. A Boycott Resolution was passed in Calcutta City Hall on August 7, 1905, where it was decided to boycott the use of Manchester cloth and salt from Liverpool. In the district of Barisal, the masses adopted this message of boycott of foreign-made goods, and the value of the British cloth sold there fell sharply.

"Vande Mataram" became the boycott and Swadeshi movement theme song. Among the movement's various forms of struggle, it was the boycott of foreign-made goods that encountered the greatest visible success on the practical and popular level. Boycott and public burning of foreign clothes, picketing of shops selling foreign goods, all became

common in remote corners of Bengal as well as in many major cities and towns across the country.

Another form of mass mobilisation widely used by the Swadeshi movement was the corps of volunteers (samitis). Ashwini Kumar Dutta, a school teacher, set up the Swadesh Bandhab Samiti in Barisal, which was the best – known volunteer organisation of all of them. The Shivaji and Ganapati festivals in Western India (Maharashtra) were organised by Lokmanya Tilak to spread the swadeshi message and boycott movements among the masses.

The Swadeshi and boycott movements placed great emphasis on ‘Atmasakti’ or self – reliance as a means of reasserting national dignity in different fields. In the field of national education, this emphasis on self – reliance was most evident. The National College of Bengal was founded with Aurobindo as its principal. Numerous national schools have been established throughout the country in a short period of time. The National Education Council was established in August 1906.

In India’s entrepreneurial zeal, self – reliance was also evident. The period saw an explosion of textile mills, factories of soap and match, tanneries, banks, insurance companies, shops, etc. While most of these Swadeshi companies were set up and run as a result of patriotic fervour rather than any real business interest, they were unable to survive for a long time. In the field of culture, “Amar Sonar Bangla,” written by Rabindranath Tagore in protest against Bengal’s partition, became a rallying point for the Swadeshi and boycott movements, and later inspired Bangladesh’s liberation struggle.

5.4.3.1 Importance of the Swadeshi



and Boycott Movements

The Swadeshi and boycott movements were India’s first 20th century movements that encouraged mass participation in modern nationalist politics by a large section of the society.

For the first time, women came out of their homes and joined processions and picketing of foreign-made goods shops. The Swadeshi and boycott movements also changed the character of the Indian National Congress (INC) from being driven largely by moderates to the main agenda now being set by the ‘Extremists’ who gave the Congress’s 1906 Calcutta session’s call for ‘Swaraj’ or self – government. The ideas of non – cooperation and passive resistance, successfully applied many years later by Mahatma Gandhi, found their origin in early 20th century Swadeshi and boycott movements.

5.4.3.2 Gandhian techniques used during Swadeshi movement

The concept of Swadeshi and Boycott of foreign goods were actually introduced by Gandhi as a way to oppose the British regime and to inculcate self-reliance among Indian natives. The process demanded boycotting foreign goods altogether and adopting goods made in India. He specifically gave emphasis to that lifestyle where one spins his own clothes using a “charka” or a spinning wheel. He insisted on this kind of self-reliance in various other aspects, such as farming, making one’s own food, self-development as an individual etc.

These strategies thus adapted as part of the protest against the Bengal partition bore results in the form of mass participation, with the masses turning to themselves and their society for sustenance rather than depending

upon the government and their mercy to thrive in their own homeland. The British received a major set back to their strategies when this was practically applied in anti-partition movements. This in turn made them call off this partition after 6 years.

Government suppression:	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ► Realising the revolutionary potential, the government came down with a heavy hand. Most of the important leaders of the movement were either imprisoned or deported between 1907 and 1908. ► Any mass movement cannot be sustained endlessly at the same pitch of militancy and self-sacrifice, especially when faced with severe repression.
Congress split:	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ► The internal squabbles, and especially, the split in 1907 in the Congress, the apex all-India organisation, weakened the movement.
Organisation structure:	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ► It lacked the effective organisation and party structure. ► The movement failed to create an effective organisation or a party structure. ► It threw up an entire gamut of techniques that came to be associated with Gandhian politics like non-cooperation, passive resistance, filling of British jails, social reform and constructive work but failed to give these techniques a disciplined focus.
Reach limited:	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ► The movement largely remained confined to the upper and middle classes and zamindars, and failed to reach masses, especially the peasantry. ► It was not able to garner support from the mass of Muslims, especially of the Muslim peasantry. Hindus and Muslims were divided along class lines with the former being the landlords and the latter constituting the peasantry. ► Though the Swadeshi Movement had spread outside Bengal, the rest of the country was not yet fully prepared to adopt the new style of politics.
Ideas failed:	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ► The movement aroused the people but they did not know how to tap the newly released energy or how to find new forms to give expression to popular resentment.

Leadership issues:	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▶ The movement was rendered leaderless with most of the leaders either arrested or deported by 1908. The retiring of Aurobindo Ghosh and Bipin Chandra Pal from active politics also affected this adversely. ▶ Tilak was sentenced to six years imprisonment, Ajit Singh and Lajpat Rai of Punjab were deported and Chidambaram Pillai was arrested.
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In the year 1911, Lord Hardinge annulled this Partition of Bengal and allowed it to be as it used to be before separation, owing to mass protests against such divisive policies. Moreover, the British found it difficult to govern this region in the long run.

Recap

- ▶ Bengal was partitioned in the year 1905 by Lord Curzon under the pretext of “efficiency in administrative governance”
- ▶ The real reason behind the partition was to curb the rising anti-British movements in Bengal region
- ▶ Partition of Bengal seriously affected the lives and properties of people who used to inhabit this place
- ▶ Partition of Bengal created a new series of difficulties for them to overcome
- ▶ This action ushered in a period of anti-partition struggles under extremist leaders
- ▶ The Extremists took it as an opportunity to establish themselves in the then political scenario by mobilising masses from all sections of the society
- ▶ Responses of the masses were positive and created their own reverberations against the British
- ▶ Swadeshi and Boycott were the two main weapons or modes of action adopted by the extremists with the support of the masses
- ▶ Gandhian ideals were also adopted which appealed to almost all sections of people despite caste, creed or gender disparities
- ▶ The movement couldn’t advance further and declined slowly
- ▶ Partition of Bengal was annulled in the year 1911 by Lord Hardinge

Objective Type Questions

1. In the year 1905, which part of India was partitioned?
2. Who was the viceroy of Bengal when Partition took place?
3. Who pioneered the anti-partition movements in Bengal?
4. What were the two protest strategies adopted by the extremists pertaining to the Partition of Bengal?



5. Whose ideas were incorporated into the anti-partition struggles?
6. Name a major leader who was sentenced to imprisonment for a period of 6 years with regard to the struggles in Bengal?
7. In the year 1906, which Council was established in India?
8. Who annulled the Partition of Bengal in the year 1911?
9. What was the reason for annulling the Partition of Bengal?
10. What do you mean by the term 'swadeshi'?

Answers

1. Bengal
2. Lord Curzon
3. Extremists
4. Swadeshi and Boycott Movements
5. Gandhi
6. Bal Gangadhar Tilak
7. National Council For Education
8. Lord Hardinge
9. Anti-Partition Swadeshi Movements
10. Promoting the use of Domestic /Indigenous Goods

Assignments

1. Discuss the main factors that prompted Lord Curzon to go for Partition of Bengal.
2. Elucidate the anti-partition movement strategies used by extremist leaders in Bengal.
3. Bring out the major incidents that prove the active partition of people from all sections of the society in anti-partition protests that took place from 1905 - 1911.
4. State the major reasons that were responsible for the ultimate decline of anti-partition struggles.

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WORLD WAR I AND THE NATIONAL MOVEMENT

Unit 1

Impact of World War on National Movement – Lucknow Pact

Learning Outcomes

Upon the successful completion of the unit, the learner will be:

- ▶ introduced to the revolutionary activities in India during the post World War I period
- ▶ able to explain the significance of the Lucknow Pact in Indian National movement
- ▶ able to analyse of the developments that happened in the Indian National Congress during post World War I

Prerequisites

The nationalist movement, which had remained inert since the heyday of the Swadeshi Movement, was freshened up at the onset of the First War in 1914. When Britain suffered, India found its way. The Ghadar revolutionaries located in North America and Lokamanya Tilak, Annie Besant, and their Home Rule Leagues in India took advantage of this situation in various ways. The Home Rule Leaguers organised a countrywide campaign for achieving Home Rule or Swaraj, while the Ghadarites attempted fierce subversion of the British rule. In this unit, let us discuss the impact of the first world war on the Indian National Movement.

Keywords

World War I, Ghadrites, Komagata Maru, Lucknow Pact

Discussion

6.1.1 World War I and Revolutionary Movements in India

During the First World War (1914–18), significant changes occurred in the socioeconomic and political landscape of India. One of the areas we may focus on in this context is the various responses to the war among various Indian political movements.

As the contemporary historian Sumit Sarkar points out, revolutionaries who sought independence right away saw the conflict as a favourable chance. India's military might was diminished as a result of the situation, which lessened its threat to suppress revolutionary activity. Additionally, it opened the door for military and financial support from Britain's adversaries like the Germans and Turks. This period witnessed a tight cooperation between Hindu nationalists and Muslim revolutionary

leaders like Barkatulla and the Deoband mullahs Mahmud Hasan and Obeidulla Sindhi due to the struggle between Britain and Turkey. The Khalifa, who was considered to be the religious and political head of all Muslims at the time, was based in Turkey.

Moreover, the revolutionaries received a substantial consignment from Calcutta in August 1914 that included the arms and ammunition. Murders and political fraud also rose during this period. Under the leadership of Jatin Mukherji, the majority of Bengali organisations coordinated the seizure of Fort William in Calcutta, the suspension of train service, and the introduction of German armaments. However, a lack of cooperation prevented them from putting their plans into action. In September 1915, Jatin passed away.

With the aid of exiled Ghadriles in Punjab, Rashbehari Bose and Sachin Sanyal devised a massive conspiracy that included plans for Bengal. Then Ghadrils started to visit India again to push for the nation's freedom. The Komagata Maru event on September 29, 1914, only made matters worse. A confrontation between the police and a ship full of potential Sikh and Punjabi Muslim immigrants led to the event. They had been turned away from Vancouver by Canadian immigration authorities, and were making their way back to Budge Budge near Calcutta. The result was the death of 22 persons.

Around 8000 Punjabis who had returned after 1914 were promptly arrested by the British, and a plan to stage an insurrection on February 21, 1915, was stopped. Rashbehari Bose fled to Japan while Sachin Sanyal was given a life term in prison for his efforts to overthrow the military bases in Benares and Danapore. The organisers of the pan-Indian insurrection, particularly the Ghadriles, were

at the vanguard of disseminating revolutionary beliefs to the army and the farmers despite the plan's disastrous failure.

On February 15, 1915, a few small-scale mutinies between Punjabi Muslims and Sikh regiments took place in Singapore. Some of them were sentenced to life while others were silenced. This political climate gave rise to certain cutting-edge social concepts that targeted local moneylenders. The raiders stole the money while destroying loan bonds.

During the fight, the revolutionaries received assistance from abroad. In accordance with the "Zimmerman Plan," the Indian Independence Committee was founded in Berlin in 1915 under the direction of Virendranath Chattopadhyay, Bhupen Dutta, Har Dayal, and some others. An anti-British mentality was spread among the locals close to the Indo-Iran border by an Indo-German-Turkish expedition. Following that, in December 1915, Mahendra Pratap, Barkatulla, and Obeidullah Sindhi, with some assistance from crown prince Amanullah, created a "Provisional Government of Free India" in Kabul.

A third hub with major German funding was the United States of America. Such activities came to a stop with the "Hindu Conspiracy Case" after the United States joined the war (1918). As of 1915, Rashbehari Bose and Abani Mukherji sought to send weaponry from Japan through German embassies in the Far East. However, because there was no longer a threat of an armed rebellion in India at the start of 1915, every attempt to smuggle the guns failed.

The British adopted a number of oppressive tactics to combat the challenges of the war, including the Defence of India Act, which was passed in March 1915, particularly to put



an end to the Ghadar movement. Since 1857, these limitations had been very strict. Many people were held without charges for many years in Bengal and Punjab, and special courts handed down severe penalties. The Ghadar trials are believed to have resulted in 64 death sentences and 46 executions, excluding other court-martials of army officers. Along with Bengali terrorists and Punjabi Ghadriles, radical pan-Islamists were a major source of worry for the British authorities. As a result, the Ali brothers, Azad and Hasrat Mohani spent the whole of the war period in prison.

6.1.2 Rebirth of the Congress in Lucknow - The Lucknow Pact

Leaders in India who were not rebels backed the war effort. Tilak and Gandhi made an effort to visit villages in 1918 in order to raise money and enlist soldiers for the British. For their commitment, they expected the government to implement significant political reforms. The whole environment was favourable for a unified Muslim league, comprised of moderates, extremists, and other groups, to develop.

Tilak was eager to defuse tensions with his erstwhile Congress adversaries after his return from exile in Mandalay in 1914. Other Moderates, including Bhupendra Nath Bose of Calcutta, stated their willingness to accept anything to improve the current situation of Congress, but Pherozeshah Mehta remained stubborn till his death in 1915. Theosophist leader Annie Besant's quick rise to political prominence in 1914 was a crucial new development that aided the effort at reconciliation. Besant had come to believe that the Indo-British relationship required a large amount of self-government. The British Radical and Irish Home Rule organisations' successful and widespread agitation and

organisation were the only way to accomplish this goal.

In December 1915, the Tilak faction was given permission to re-join the Congress, and the Congress and Muslim League, who were both congregating in Bombay at the same time, constituted committees with their cooperation to compile a platform of fundamental constitutional demands. Nineteen unofficial Imperial Council members made a unified request to the Viceroy in October 1916, requesting representative government and dominion status for India.

The Lucknow Session of 1916 was noteworthy in a number of ways. After almost a decade, this session brought moderates and extremists in Congress back together on a similar issue. In Lucknow in December 1916, the demand for elected majorities in councils was raised once more. The Lucknow Pact resolved the political conflicts between Hindus and Muslims. Separate electorates were accepted by Congress, and a settlement was reached regarding seat distribution. Thus, the historic Lucknow Pact was struck by the Congress and the All India Muslim League.

In order to put constitutional stress on the British Government to enact reforms, Muslim League tried to establish a sort of unified platform with the Congress. Such a shared desire was intended to provide a sense of Muslim and Hindu solidarity. In order to achieve this, Congress and the Muslim League negotiated the Lucknow Pact, which has the following key provisions:

- ▶ India shall have self-government.
- ▶ Muslims ought to have one-third of the seats in the national government, etc.

Gandhi's entry and Congress' support for it caused the distinct division among the moderates and extremists to gradually disappear. Even decades later, the British used this strategy to split the Congress, but Congress understood the repercussions of a

split and remained united; for example, despite differences in opinion between swarajists and non-swarajists, a new party was not created. Even the 1930's-era socialist party operated under the auspices of Congress.

Recap

- ▶ The First World War - responses of various Indian political movements
- ▶ Depletion of India's military strength - Rise of revolutionary activities
- ▶ Financial and military assistance from Germans and Turks to the revolutionaries
- ▶ War between Britain and Turkey - close collaboration between Hindu nationalists and Muslim revolutionary leaders
- ▶ Bengali organisations under Jatin Mukherji - the capture of Fort William - the interruption of the railway services - the arrival of German weapons
- ▶ Conspiracy by Rash Behari Bose, Sachin Sanyal and exiled Ghadrists in Punjab - Ghadars return to India
- ▶ The Komagata Maru incident - death of twenty-two people
- ▶ Suppression of the plot for an uprising- Arrest of 8000 Punjabis
- ▶ Life sentence of Sachin Sanyal - Rash Behari Bose's escape to Japan
- ▶ Aids received by the revolutionaries from abroad - establishment of the Indian Independence Committee at Berlin
- ▶ Indo- German - Turkish mission - anti- British sentiment - establishment of "Provisional Government of Free India" in Kabul
- ▶ Counter- measures of the British- The Defence of India Act of 1915 - Detention of people in Bengal and Punjab - harsh punishments - life sentences - executions
- ▶ Emergence of a united foundation of the moderates, extremists and Muslim league
- ▶ Tilak's return - effort to join hands with former Congress - death of Pherozeshah Mehta - entry of Annie Besant - self-government - nationwide agitation and organisation
- ▶ Readmission of the Extremists to the Congress in December 1915
- ▶ Demand for dominion status for India and representative government
- ▶ Lucknow Session 1916 - the moderates and extremists in Congress on a common platform
- ▶ Lucknow Pact - Demand for elected majorities in councils - Congress accepted separate electorates - deal regarding the distribution of seats
- ▶ Congress and All India Muslim League signed the historic Lucknow Pact



- ▶ Agreement between Congress and Muslim League - self-government in India and one-third representation of Muslims in central government
- ▶ Congress unity till independence - entry of Gandhi

Objective Questions

1. Who were the enemy countries of Britain who provided financial and military assistance to the Indian revolutionaries during the war period?
2. What was the reason behind close collaboration between the Hindu nationalists and Muslim revolutionary leaders?
3. Who were the muslim revolutionary leaders who made collaboration with the Hindu nationalists during the war period?
4. Where did the revolutionaries acquire pistols and ammunition?
5. Who led the Bengali organisations in organising revolutionary activities in Calcutta?
6. When did the Komagata Maru incident happen?
7. Where did the Komagata Maru ship begin its journey and what was its destination?
8. When did the British arrest around 8000 Punjabis in order to avoid an uprising?
9. Why was Sachin Sanyal sentenced to life in prison?
10. Who was the revolutionary leader who escaped to Japan?
11. Who established the Indian Independence Committee in 1915 in Berlin?
12. Who brought an anti-British sentiment among the people near the Indo- Iran Border?
13. Who established the “Provisional Government of Free India” in 1915 in Kabul?
14. When was the Defence of India Act passed?
15. Why did Congress and Muslim League establish committees in 1915?
16. Who demanded dominion status for India and representative government in 1916?
17. Which session brought the moderates and extremists in Congress on a common platform again after nearly a decade?
18. What was the significance of the Lucknow Pact of 1916 ?
19. Who signed the historic Lucknow Pact?
20. What are the main clauses negotiated between Congress and Muslim League in the Lucknow pact ?

Answers

1. Germany and Turkey
2. The war between Britain and Turkey
3. Barkatullah and the Deoband mullahs, Mahmud Hasan and Obeidulla Sindhi

4. Calcutta
5. Jatin Mukherji
6. 29 September 1914
7. Vancouver to Budge near Calcutta
8. February 21, 1915
9. Because of his attempts to overthrow the garrisons in Benares and Danapore
10. Rash Behari Bose
11. Virendranath Chattopadhyay, Bhupen Dutta, Har Dayal, and others
12. Indo- German - Turkish mission
13. Mahendra Pratap, Barkatulla, and Obeidullah Sindhi with some support from crown prince Amanullah
14. March 1915
15. To prepare a platform of basic constitutional demands after mutual consent
16. Nineteen unofficial members of the Imperial Council
17. The Lucknow Session 1916
18. Congress accepted separate electorates, and a deal was also made regarding the distribution of seats
19. Congress and All India Muslim League
20. Self-government in India and one-third representation of Muslims in the central government

Assignments

1. Discuss the role of revolutionary ghadrists in the national movement of India.
2. Examine the significance of Lucknow Pact.

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Unit 2

Home Rule Movement – Tilak and Annie Besant

Learning Outcomes

Upon the successful completion of the unit, the learner will be able to:

- ▶ identify the significance of Home Rule Movement in Indian freedom struggle
- ▶ explain the role of Bal Gangadhar Tilak and Annie Besant in launching Home Rule Leagues in India
- ▶ explain factors that led to the decline of the Home Rule Movement

Prerequisites

Within the context of World War I, the Home Rule campaign got its start in India. The expectations of the national leaders were not met by the Government of India Act (1909). The nationalistic response was, however, muted due to the division within the congress and the lack of influential figures like Tilak, who was detained in Mandalay. By 1915, a number of events prepared the nationalist movement for a new phase. The rise in prominence of Annie Besant, an Irishwoman who firmly backed the Irish home rule campaign, Tilak's return from exile, and the escalating calls for resolving the congress division all stirred up the Indian political scene. The Ghadar Mutiny and its repression fostered a sentiment of hostility toward British rule. Let's talk about the Home Rule Movement in this unit, the history of the Home Rule Leagues that were established in India, their operation, and their downfall.

Keywords

Self Government, Home - Rule league, Extremists, August Declaration

Discussion

6.2.1 Background of Home Rule Movement (1915–1916)

The Home Rule movement is regarded as the less contentious but more successful Indian answer to the First World War. Tilak

and Annie Besant were prepared to take over the leadership of the movement launched with tremendous vigour because people were already experiencing the burden of the wartime hardships brought on by high taxes and an increase in prices. Bal Gangadhar Tilak, who had been given a six-year prison term in Mandalay, Burma, was deported back



to his native India. As the Extremists were expelled from Congress in 1907 at Surat as a result of the split, he attempted to bring them back. He understood the importance of being with Congress since at that point, it had taken on the role as the movement's spokesperson. However, Congress was dormant after the split, which led the moderates to question whether the extremists would return.

In addition, Annie Besant came to India in 1893 after promoting free thought, fabianism, radicalism, and theosophy in Britain. She started working with the Adyar-based Theosophical Society in Madras. She also had a status among her followers, who were mainly well-educated individuals. By renewing the Indian National Congress's operations, Besant hoped to expand her sphere of influence. She again pleaded with the extremist members of Congress.

Extremists persisted in their efforts through their campaigns even after Congress in December 1914 rejected their request to re-join. Through her journals, *New India* and *Commonweal*, as well as open forums and gatherings advocated self-government. Tilak also organised neighbourhood associations in support of the cause. Additionally, death of Pherozshah Mehta's who opposed their return, as well as Tilak and Besant's efforts, helped the radicals return to the Congress during the 1915 December session. Moreover, Annie Besant imposed a stipulation that if Congress failed to start an education programme and revive their local Committees, a league would be established.

As a result, two Indian Home Rule Leagues were set up in a manner similar to the Irish Home Rule Leagues, which symbolised the beginning of a new wave of combative politics. The League's campaign

attempted to spread the idea of home rule as a form of self-government, to the average person. Two leagues divided their working territory. While Tilak's league's efforts were centred on Maharashtra, Karnataka, Berar, and the Central provinces, Annie Besant paid attention to the rest of India.

6.2.1.1 Objectives of Home Rule Movement

- ▶ To make India a self-governing state.
- ▶ To encourage political discourse and education in order to spark self-government agitation.
- ▶ To inspire Indians with the confidence to speak up against government repression.
- ▶ To ask the British government to give Indians more political representation.
- ▶ To rekindle political action in India while upholding the Congress party's beliefs.

6.2.2 Tilak and Home Rule League

The Home Rule Movement was first established by Bal Gangadhar Tilak. He disagreed with the British government's discriminatory policies and believed that they were to blame for the poor treatment of Indians. He thought they weakened the Indians economically. Together with Annie Besant, he founded the Home Rule League in India in 1916 in an effort to free the Indian people from their oppressive situation and strengthen them, so they could fight for their independence. His principal objective was to eventually force the British out of India and create Indian self-government. The political emancipation of the motherland was his principal political objective. Giving the Indians their rights was the movement's principal objective. Every group should have the ability to make its own

decisions, according to Tilak. The people strongly praised Tilak's strategy for freedom and personal advancement.

6.2.3 Major contributions of the Home Rule Movement to the Indian National Movement

The leagues planned agitations and protests and hosted public gatherings and gave vehement speeches. Thus, they were able to stir up trouble across the nation. The British were so frightened by their actions that Annie Besant was detained in June 1917. The British action sparked a widespread outcry, and now even moderate leaders joined the league. In September 1917, Besant was set free. In contrast to the Congress Party, whose operations were limited to once a year, the Home Rule League operated all year long. Many educated Indians were able to support the movement in significant numbers. Together, the two leagues had about 40,000 members in 1917.

The Muslim League and many members of Congress joined the league. Its members included a number of well-known leaders, including Sir S Subramanya Iyer, Joseph Baptista, G. S. Kharpade, and Muhammad Ali Jinnah. This movement briefly brought together the Muslim League, the radicals, and the Moderates. It succeeded in bringing political awareness to more parts of the nation. This campaign resulted in the 1917 Montague Declaration, which said that there would be a greater representation of Indians in the administration which would eventually result in the establishment of accountable governments in India. The largest significance of the campaign was conveyed by this Declaration, also known as the August Declaration, that the call for self government would no longer be regarded as seditious.

1917 August Declaration

According to the proclamation, the Indian people would eventually gain control of the government and a responsible one would be established. Additionally, this declaration made it apparent that India would continue to be a crucial component of British India.

The August Declaration was issued by the British government for the following reasons:

- ▶ To gain the political leaders' support for the First World War
- ▶ Muslim League and Congress working together
- ▶ The Home Rule League's success

6.2.4 Fall of the Home Rule movement

The movement was limited to educated individuals and college students, hence it was not a massive movement. In addition, Muslims, Anglo-Indians, and non-Brahmins from Southern India did not support the leagues very much. They believed that home rule would entail a majority upper caste Hindu government. In addition, many Moderates were pleased with the government's pledge of changes (as precluded in the Montague Declaration). They stopped promoting the movement.

Annie Besant vacillated between supporting the home rule movement and being content with the government's promises of reform. She was unable to provide her followers clear direction. Nevertheless, she did declare the reforms to be "unworthy of Indian acceptance" in the end. In the meantime, in September 1918, Tilak travelled to England to conduct a libel case against British reporter and author of the book *Indian Unrest*, Sir Ignatius Valentine Chirol. The book made disparaging remarks and referred to Tilak as



the “Father of Indian Unrest.”

The government used the following actions to repress the home rule movement:

- ▶ The Defense of India Act, 1915 was used by the government to put a stop to the agitators’ actions.
- ▶ Student attendance at Home Rule meetings was restricted.
- ▶ Tilak was charged, and Punjab and Delhi forbade him from entering.
- ▶ The press was subject to the Indian Press Act of 1910, which imposed restrictions.

Hence, the movement died because of Tilak’s absence and Besant’s failure to guide the Indians. With Tilak’s prosecution and Besant’s inability to provide a strong direction left the movement without a leader. Following the war, Mahatma Gandhi rose to popularity as a popular leader, and in 1920, the Home Rule Leagues and the Congress Party amalgamated.

The national movement gained a fresh perspective and a feeling of urgency due to the home rule movement. Despite playing a minor part in the Indian independence struggle, it was successful in keeping the campaign’s momentum throughout the war, as witnessed in the Lucknow Pact in December 1916. It was the Irish Home Rule movement and other self government movements that served as models for the Indian Home Rule movement, which was organised in British India. The independence movement, led by Mahatma Gandhi, is thought to have been sparked by the roughly two-year-long movement that took place between 1916 and 1918.

6.2.5 Gandhiji and Tagore on Home Rule

Gandhi claimed that “Home Rule is

Self Rule” and that it is insufficient for the British to depart just for the Indians to adopt a civilization in the manner of the British. Some people, in his words, “want English rule without the Englishman... that is, [they] would make India English.” And when it adopts the English language, it will be known as Englishtan rather than Hindustan. “I don’t want this kind of Swaraj”: Gandhi said. He believed that the best way to achieve Indian freedom was by using passive resistance. Gandhi didn’t just condemn violence; he also believed it to be ineffective. “The force of love and pity is infinitely greater than the force of arms,” he asserted. The use of physical force can be harmful, but never the use of sympathy.

Gandhi argued that Indians must practise Swadeshi (self-reliance) by refusing to engage in any trade or business with the British in order to engage in passive resistance. He said to the English, “We shall no longer be your petitioners if you do not yield our demand. You can only rule us as long as we continue to be the governed; after that, we won’t interact with you at all.” Gandhi makes an unusual claim in this instance: if the British want to trade with India, take commerce out of the picture.

Gandhi also believed that unless India rejected Western civilisation altogether, it would never be free. He made a harsh accusation that “India is being trodden down, not under the English heel, but under that of modern civilization” in his book *Hind Swaraj*. However, he did not discuss civilisation in reference to India. According to him, Western culture will eventually destroy itself if one is just patient enough. It would be a severe rejection. In addition to being bad for India, western culture is unhealthy in and of itself.

In the meantime, Rabindra Nath Tagore

evaluated the political environment brought up by the Home Rule agitation and the government's response to it. He made it clear to the audience that the people of Bengal could not legitimately demand self-government

while still being constrained and led, as they had been for centuries, by false notions of society, religion, and morality.

Recap

- ▶ Tilak's imprisonment and his return to India
- ▶ The readmission of the extremists in Congress
- ▶ Theosophical organisation initiatives led by Annie Besant to reactivate the Indian National Congress's operations
- ▶ The Extremists' rejoining Congress was denied
- ▶ Annie Besant and Tilak's campaigns were unsuccessful
- ▶ Pherozshah Mehta died.
- ▶ The Extremists' return to Congress during the 1915 December session
- ▶ Two Indian Home Rule Leagues were established: the Tilak Home Rule League and the Besant Home Rule League.
- ▶ The Indian National Movement benefited greatly from the Home Rule Movement
- ▶ British response: arrest of Annie Besant
- ▶ Nationwide outcry and Besant's release
- ▶ Through this movement, the moderates, the extremists, and the Muslim League will be brought together.
- ▶ The August Declaration, also known as the Montagu Declaration of 1917, was made for two reasons: to progressively establish responsible governance and to give Indians more power.
- ▶ Home Rule movement's decline
- ▶ The Defense of India Act of 1915, which forbade students from attending Home Rule meetings, was one of the measures taken by the government to put an end to the home rule movement.
- ▶ Tilak's prosecution his admission into Punjab and Delhi prohibited
- ▶ Indian Press Act of 1910: Press Restrictions and Requirements
- ▶ Mahatma Gandhi's rise to prominence as a populist leader and the merger of the Home Rule Leagues and the Congress Party (1920)
- ▶ The national movement has a new dimension and a sense of urgency as a precursor to mass nationalism.
- ▶ Gandhi and Tagore on Home Rule



Objective Type Questions

1. Who were the leaders who tried to reinstate the extremists in Congress?
2. Where was Tilak imprisoned for six years on the sedition charges?
3. When was Annie Besant moved to India?
4. Where did Besant set up the Theosophical Society?
5. Which were the newspapers started by Annie Besant to persuade the public for her cause?
6. Which Congress session allowed the readmission of extremists?
7. What was the deal made by Annie Besant with Congress if Congress fails to launch an education programme and revive their local Committees?
8. Which model was adopted in the formation of the Home Rule Movement in India?
9. Which places come under the Home Rule League of Tilak?
10. What was the main aim of the Home Rule movement?
11. When did Tilak establish the Home Rule Movement in India?
12. Who advocated for the right of self-determination to the Indians?
13. When was Annie Besant arrested for her Home Rule activities?
14. How many members were in Home Rule leagues by 1917?
15. Name some of the Congress and Muslim League leaders who were also home-rule league members.
16. What is the Montagu Declaration of 1917 also known as?
17. What was the main clause of the August Declaration?
18. Why did Tilak visit Britain in September 1918?
19. Who was the British Journalist who called Tilak ‘ the father of the unrest’?
20. Who authored the book ‘Indian Unrest’?
21. Why was the Defense of India Act, 1915 passed?
22. Which act was imposed on the press in 1910 ?
23. When did Home Rule Leagues merge with the Congress Party?
24. How long did the Home Rule Movement last?
25. Who argued that ‘Home Rule is Self Rule’?

Answers

1. Bal Gangadhar Tilak and Annie Besant
2. Mandalay, Burma
3. 1893
4. Adyar, Madras
5. *New India* and *Commonweal*
6. December session, 1915
7. To set up a league

8. Irish Home Rule League
9. Maharashtra, Karnataka, Berar and the Central provinces
10. To achieve self-government in India
11. 1916
12. Bal Gangadhar Tilak
13. June 1917
14. 40,000
15. Muhammad Ali Jinnah, Joseph Baptista, G S Kharpade and Sir S Subramanya Iyer
16. August Declaration
17. The gradual development of self-governance institutions in India
18. To pursue a libel case against Sir Ignatius Valentine Chirol
19. Sir Ignatius Valentine Chirol
20. Sir Ignatius Valentine Chirol
21. To curb the activities of the Home rule movement agitators
22. Indian Press Act of 1910
23. 1920
24. Two years between 1916–1918
25. Gandhi

Assignment

1. Significance of the Home Rule Movement in Indian national movement.

Suggested Reading

1. Sarkar, Sumit, *Modern India, 1885-1947* (Delhi: Macmillian, 1985).
2. Tara Chand, *History of Freedom Movement in India*.
3. Desai, A.R, *Social Background of Indian Nationalism* (Mumbai: PopularPrakasan, 1986).
4. Desai, A. R. *Peasant Struggles in India* (Delhi: OUP, 1979).
5. Bandyopadhyay, Sekhar, *From Plassey to Partition and After A History of Modern India*
6. Chandra, Bipan, *Communalism in Modern India* (2nd edition.), (Delhi: Vikas, 1987).
7. Chandra, Bipin, *Rise and Growth of Economic Nationalism in India* (Delhi: Har-Anand, 2010).
8. Chandra Bipan et.al, *India's Struggle for Independence*, (Penguin Books, 1988)
9. Dube, Ishita Banerjee, *A History of Modern India* (Delhi: Cambridge University



Press, 2015)

10. Guha, Ranjit, *Elementary Aspects of Peasant Insurgency in Colonial India* (Delhi: OUP, 1983).

Unit 3

Rowlatt Satyagraha – Amritsar Massacre

Learning Outcomes

Upon the successful completion of the unit, the learner would be:

- ▶ introduced to the consequences of Rowlatt act
- ▶ able to analyse the role of Gandhi in Rowlatt Satyagraha
- ▶ explained to the significance of Rowlatt Satyagraha and Jallianwala Bagh Massacre in the history of Indian national movement

Prerequisites

A new set of politically engaged nationalists expressed dissatisfaction with the speed of development in India near the end of World War I, in 1918. They started looking for political campaigns that would effectively represent their viewpoints. Additionally, the Home Rule Leagues failed to guide them properly. Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi, who had already gained fame as the head of the Indian resistance in South Africa, could now enter the scene. He was also well-known for his participation in the uprisings of Indian workers and peasants in Champaran, Ahmedabad, and Kheda. In this Unit, let us discuss the significance of the Rowlatt Satyagraha and Jallianwala Bagh Massacre in the history of Indian national movement and the role of Gandhi in them.

Keywords

Rowlatt Act, Jallianwala Bagh Massacre, Hunter Commission, Kaiser-e-Hind, Knighthood

Discussion

to detain detainees for a maximum of two years without a trial.

6.3.1 Rowlatt Act and Rowlatt Satyagraha(1919)

The Central Legislative Council passed the Rowlatt Act in March 1919 to stifle the violent nationalist uprisings and limit people's freedom. The Bill had no appeal rights and provided for quick trials of offences in special courts. Furthermore, without a warrant, the provincial government had the authority to search a location and detain a suspect. These granted the government unrestricted authority

The oppressive Rowlatt Act also mandated tighter press regulation and the incarceration of suspects without charge or trial for an indefinite period of time. It sparked a flood of rage across all demographic groups nationwide. Gandhi used it to launch a nationwide protest and lay the groundwork for the Non-Cooperation Movement. The Satyagraha was organised by Gandhi on February 14, 1919. On April 8, 1919, Gandhi was taken into custody. The Jallianwala Bagh Massacre, also known as the



Massacre of Amritsar, occurred when British soldiers opened fire on a sizable gathering of unarmed Indians in Amritsar, Punjab.

6.3.2 Jallianwala Bagh Massacre (1919)

A turning point in the war for Indian independence occurred on April 13, 1919. That day commemorated Baisakhi, a harvest festival celebrated in Punjab and other regions of north India. In the Jallianwala Bagh park of Amritsar, a sizable assembly of 15,000–20,000 people, with a preponderance of Sikhs, gathered to celebrate the Punjabi harvest festival of Baisakhi.

The following day, Amritsar locals made the decision to hold a meeting to discuss and protest the imprisonment of Satya Pal and Saifuddin Kitchlew, two leaders battling for independence, as well as the passage of the oppressive Rowlatt Act, which gave the British government the authority to imprison anyone without a trial. Men, women, and kids were all there in the gathering. In defiance of British orders, they all assembled in the park, which was completely surrounded by walls with just a few small gates.

The demonstration was calm, and it included some people who weren't protesting and some pilgrims who were just moving through the park on their way to the Golden Temple. Brigadier-General Reginald Edward Harry Dyer ordered the 90 soldiers he had sent to the location to open fire on the crowd while the meeting was still going on. Brigadier-General Dyer had crept into the scene aiming to teach the assembled public a lesson. Since they had no weapons, many of the villagers tried unsuccessfully to climb the walls to get away. Numerous people fell into the park's well.

Even after that, the British continued to show no sign of compassion and instead reacted in the ways listed below:

- ▶ Satyagrahis were made to rub their noses on the ground in an effort to humiliate and scare people.
- ▶ They were made to crawl through the streets and salute every sahib.
- ▶ In the Punjabi region near Gujranwala, villages were bombed and people were publicly flayed.

6.3.2.1 Response of the Indians

This provided gasoline for Indians, who intensified their national movement as a result. Indians were brutally shocked by this catastrophe, which completely damaged their trust in the British justice system. The incident and Dyer were categorically criticised by many national leaders.

Nobel prize winner Rabindranath Tagore rejected the Knighthood bestowed upon him in a letter of protest, denouncing the cruel behaviour of the British. Gandhi renounced his title of "Kaiser-e-Hind," which the British had given him for his efforts during the Boer War in South Africa, in protest against the slaughter and the British inability to provide adequate justice to the victims. The congress meeting was conducted at Amritsar in December 1919. Peasants and other people in great numbers attended. Since the entire country joined in the protest against the British, this incident united India together, which was crucial for the liberation movement.

6.3.2.2 Response of the British Government

Although some in the British government were quick to criticise, many people in Britain

and the British in India respected General Dyer. The slaughter had been planned, and Dyer proudly boasted that he had done it to have a “moral effect” on the populace. Dyer also said that he had resolved to fire down all men if they continued the meeting.

The Hunter Commission was established by the government to investigate the massacre. Despite condemning Dyer’s behaviour, the panel took no disciplinary measures against him. In 1920, he was released from his army obligations. It was described as among the most brutal atrocities in contemporary history in a British publication.

6.3.3 Turning point in Indian National Movement

By the turn of the 20th century, even the enslaved people had begun to accept British control in India and other parts of the world. Most Indians had previously come to terms

with colonial rule’s progressive nature. The British conception of justice and fairness was shattered by the events at Jallianwala Bagh. The slaughter of the unarmed was seen by the majority of Indians as a betrayal of their faith in the British to rule them correctly, justly, and fairly.

The just, fair, and liberal British suddenly assumed the characteristics of a brutal, bloodthirsty ruler who could not be trusted in the eyes of the Indians. The “enlightened” empire’s wickedness was exposed at Jallianwala Bagh. Since that time, British rule in India has been slipping away slowly but surely. Gandhi based his mass movement, which placed a premium on flouting the ruling class’s laws, on this sense of betrayal. The state lost its legitimacy as its citizens started purposefully breaking its laws. Now, the public actively began to demand purna swaraj.

Recap

- ▶ Rowlatt Act (1919) - Stricter control of the press, arrests without warrants and indefinite detention without trial
- ▶ Country-wide agitation by Gandhi
- ▶ Foundation of the Non-Cooperation Movement- Satyagraha - Gandhi’s arrest
- ▶ Jallianwala Bagh Massacre (1919)
- ▶ Response of the Indians- Tagore renounced the knighthood as a condemnation of Jallianwala Bagh Massacre- Gandhi’s relinquishment of his title ‘Kaiser-e-hind’
- ▶ British and Government of India Response - Hunter Commission
- ▶ Shift in the nature of Indian national movement- the emergence of mass nationalism - demanding for purna swaraj

Objective Type Questions

1. When was the Rowlatt Act passed by the Central Legislative Council?
2. What was the purpose of passing the Rowlatt Act?
3. What were the features of the Rowlatt Act?



4. What was the significance of the Rowlatt Act?
5. When was Gandhi arrested for observing Satyagraha against the imposition of Rowlatt Act?
6. Which incident is known as the Massacre of Amritsar?
7. What is the Jallianwala Bagh Massacre?
8. When did the Jallianwala Bagh incident happen?
9. Why did the local people hold a public meeting in Jallianwala Bagh at Amritsar on April 3, 1919?
10. Who ordered to open fire on the crowd assembled for the Jallianwala Bagh Meeting?
11. Who renounced the knighthood conferred on him, condemning the brutal act of the Britishers?
12. Who relinquished his title 'Kaiser-e-hind', in protest against the massacre and the British failure to give due justice to the victims?
13. What was the title bestowed on Gandhi by the British for his services during the Boer War in South Africa?
14. Where was the 1919 December Congress session held?
15. Which Commission was set up to inquire into the Jallianwala Bagh massacre?

Answers

1. March 1919
2. To control the militant nationalist struggles and curtail the liberty of the people
3. Stricter control of the press, arrests without warrants and indefinite detention without trial
4. It provided unbridled powers to the government to arrest and imprison suspects without trial for two years maximum
5. 8 April 1919
6. Jallianwala Bagh Massacre
7. Firing on a large crowd of unarmed Indians in an open space known as the Jallianwala Bagh in Amritsar in Punjab by the British
8. April 13, 1919
9. To mark their protest against the confinement of Satya Pal and Saifuddin Kitchlew and the implementation of the Rowlatt Act
10. Brigadier-General Reginald Edward Harry Dyer
11. Nobel laureate Rabindranath Tagore
12. Gandhiji
13. Kaiser-e-Hind
14. Amritsar
15. Hunter Commission

Assignments

1. Briefly describe the consequences of the Rowlatt Act.
2. Jallianwala Bagh Massacre

Suggested Reading

1. Sarkar, Sumit, *Modern India, 1885-1947* (Delhi: Macmillian, 1985).
2. Tara Chand, *History of Freedom movement in India*.
3. Desai, A.R, *Social Background of Indian Nationalism* (Mumbai: PopularPrakasan, 1986).
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9. Dube, Ishita Banerjee, *A History of Modern India* (Delhi: Cambridge University Press, 2015).
10. Guha, Ranjit, *Elementary Aspects of Peasant Insurgency in Colonial India* (Delhi: OUP, 1983).



Unit 4

Hindu Mahasabha and Muslim League

Learning Outcomes

Upon the successful completion of the unit, the learner would be:

- ▶ able to get an outline about the foundation and functions of Muslim League and Hindu Mahasabha
- ▶ explained the participation of Muslim League and Hindu Mahasabha in the National Movement of India
- ▶ exposed to the intricacies involved in the interaction between Congress and Muslim League and Hindu Mahasabha.

Prerequisites

Communalism was not common in India until the second part of the 19th century. It is commonly known that Muslims and Hindus battled side by side during the Revolt of 1857. In the 1860s, the press seldom ever discussed the differences between Hindus and Muslims on a non-religious basis, let alone their competing interests. In this unit, let's discuss the role and responsibilities of Muslim League and the Hindu Mahasabha in the Indian National Movement.

Keywords

Communalism, Simla Deputation, Two Nation theory

Discussion

Communal issues took on a new dimension with the founding of the All India Muslim League (AIML) in 1906 and the All India Hindu Mahasabha (AIHMS) in 1915. Both of these organisations supported Muslims and Hindus, respectively. The dispute between both the two religious communities picked up steam when these organisations were founded. Additionally, it created new challenges for Congress, a champion of secular nationalism.

6.4.1 Muslim League, 1906

A political party called the All-India

Muslim League was founded in British India in 1906 and became known as the Muslim League. It was established as the Indian National Congress's rival political organisation. It was founded with the intention of advocating for Indian Muslims' concerns.

Foundation

By 1901, it was believed to be crucial for a National Muslim Political Party to be formed. Representatives from all around India attended the meeting in Lucknow in September 1906, which served as the beginning of its establishment. In October 1906, the Simla Delegation gave the matter another look

and resolved to establish the party's goals in time for the Educational Conference's annual meeting, which was going to take place in Dhaka. While this was going on, Nawab Salimullah Khan produced a detailed plan in which he offered the name All-India Muslim Confederacy for the party.

Early Years

Sultan Muhammad Shah (Aga Khan III) was chosen as the Muslim League's first honorary president, but he was absent at the organisation's Dhaka inaugural meeting. Mohammed Ali Jinnah became a member of the Muslim League in 1913. The League's original goal was to train students to work for the British Raj, but it quickly turned into a hub of political activity.

Participation in Nationalist Movement

Since their beginnings, the Muslim League has campaigned for unity in an independent India, but they have also expressed concern that Hindus, who make up the bulk of the population, will govern it. The Muslim League teamed up with Congress to promote Home Rule within the British Empire after the First World War (1914–18). Furthermore, Jinnah compiled the opinions of Muslims in India into 14 points in the late 1920s and early 1930s. These included suggestions for a federal government and for Muslims to make up one-third of the central government. In 1939, when Britain declared war on Germany, it also did so on behalf of India. Due to the lack of consultation, the Congress declined to accept this proclamation. The Muslim League, on the other hand, agreed to support India's participation in the war even while they continued to oppose British rule in the hopes of improving their position in negotiations for independence. In 1940, Jinnah started arguing

for the establishment of a separate Muslim state from areas that were then part of British India, a position that came to be known as the "two-nation theory." Furthermore, Muslims in India started to support the idea of Pakistan as a separate entity.

6.4.2 Hindu Mahasabha

Some Hindu zamindars, moneylenders, and middle-class professionals began expressing anti-Muslim sentiments as early as the 1870s. They went so far as to assert that the British had saved Hindus from Muslim oppression and liberated the nation from "Muslim tyranny." By claiming that Urdu was the language of Muslims and Hindi was the language of Hindus, they politicised the Hindi issue in Uttar Pradesh and Bihar. In India around the beginning of the 1890s, anti-cow slaughtering propaganda was widely disseminated, with Muslims rather than British being the campaign's primary aim. The British cantonments, on the other hand, were allowed to engage in widespread cow slaughter. As a result, this unhappiness frequently took a communal form and resulted in riots. The anti-cow slaughter campaign had faded by 1896, only to reemerge in a more aggressive form in the latter part of the twentieth century. The Hindu communalists frequently engaged in conflict for "Hindu" seats in legislatures and other positions of authority.

Eventually, a few groups with collective perspectives emerged. The Punjab Hindu Sabha, founded in 1909 by U.N. Mukherjee and Lal Chand, rejected Congress' attempts to unite Indians of all colours into a united nation. They argued that Hindus ought to aid the colonial government in its crusade against Muslims.

Later, the All-India Hindu Mahasabha held its first meeting in April 1915 under



the direction of the Maharaja of Kasim Bazar. The Congress successfully negated Hindu communalism and its group, the Hindu Mahasabha, but it remained inactive in the early days due to the preponderance of zamindars, nobles, and ex-bureaucrats among Muslims. A strong Hindu communal movement had the potential to render the Congress electorally obsolete. However, that didn't happen. Numerous Hindus had already entered the Congress before the Hindu Mahasabha was established, particularly following the Swadeshi movement. They supported Congress even after the Mahasabha was established. Through Congress, they had been introduced to territorial nationalism. The Hindu community became a source of strength for the Congress. It didn't seem likely that Hindu Mahasabha, with its small base and elite philosophy, would be able to erode the support of the Congress and drive Hindus away from the party. The Hindu Mahasabha stayed an elitist group without mass backing.

So it is not surprising that the Congress, Muslim League, and British, as well as all other important political organisations at the time, ignored them.

But the strategy of preventing communalism from spreading domestically gained more traction in the 1920s and less traction in the 1930s. In addition, by the late 1920s, Congress's hostilities with the Muslim League and the Mahasabha had greatly risen. It was difficult for the Congress leaders to remain active in both organisations. The Congress High Command put restrictions in place in 1938 to prevent officeholders from holding dual memberships in sectarian groups like the Muslim League and Hindu Mahasabha.

Recap

- ▶ Formation of All India Muslim League (AIML) - Foundation - Simla Deputation
- ▶ Early years of Muslim League
- ▶ Participation of Muslim League in Nationalist Movement- Home Rule
- ▶ Jinnah's 14 points
- ▶ 'Two-nation theory'- Jinnah's demand
- ▶ Anti-cow slaughter propaganda
- ▶ Establishment of Punjab Hindu Sabha
- ▶ Formation of All India Hindu Mahasabha (AIHMS)

Objective Type Questions

1. When was the All India Hindu Mahasabha (AIHMS) formed?
2. When was the All India Muslim League (AIML) formed?
3. What was the main aim behind the formation of the Muslim League?

4. When and where was the formation meeting of the All India Muslim League held?
5. Who suggested the name 'All India Muslim Confederacy' to Muslim League?
6. Who was appointed as the first honorary president of the Muslim League?
7. Where was the inaugural session of the Muslim League held?
8. When was Mohammed Ali Jinnah joined the Muslim League?
9. What was the initial aim of the Muslim League?
10. What were the main proposals of the 14 points consolidated by Jinnah?
11. What was the main demand Jinnah posed in the 'two-nation theory'(1940)?
12. Who was the main target of the anti-cow slaughter propaganda of the 1890s?
13. Who established Punjab Hindu Sabha and when?
14. Who was the leader of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha in its inaugural session?

Answers

1. 1915
2. 1906
3. Representation of the interests of Indian Muslims
4. September 1906, Lucknow
5. Nawab Salimullah Khan
6. Sultan Muhammad Shah (Aga Khan III)
7. Dhaka
8. 1913
9. To prepare students for service to the British Raj
10. To form a federal government and to have a one-third representation of Muslims in the central government
11. The creation of a separate Muslim state
12. Muslims
13. U.N. Mukherjee and Lal Chand, 1909
14. Maharaja of Kasim Bazar

Assignments

1. Discuss the role of Muslim League and Hindu Mahasabha in the history of Indian national Movement.



Suggested Reading

1. Sarkar, Sumit, *Modern India, 1885-1947*, Delhi: Macmillian, 1985.
2. Tara Chand, *History of Freedom Movement in India*.
3. Desai, A.R, *Social Background of Indian Nationalism*, Mumbai:PopularPrakasan, 1986.
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10. Guha, Ranjit, *Elementary Aspects of Peasant Insurgency in Colonial India*, Delhi: OUP, 1983.

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