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मुख्यमंत्री अभ्युदय योजना



GENERAL STUDIES

Modern History

मुख्यमंत्री अभ्युदय योजना प्रकोष्ठ

उत्तर प्रदेश प्रशासन और प्रबंधन अकादमी

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यह अध्ययन-सामग्री मुख्यमंत्री अभ्युदय योजना प्रकोष्ठ (उत्तर प्रदेश प्रशासन और प्रबंधन अकादमी) द्वारा उत्तर प्रदेश सरकार की मुख्यमंत्री अभ्युदय योजना के अंतर्गत सिविल सेवा परीक्षा की तैयारी कर रहे प्रतियोगियों की सहायता के लिए तैयार कराई गई है।

इस पाठ्य-सामग्री को उत्तर प्रदेश प्रशासन एवं प्रबंधन अकादमी, लखनऊ में 65वें आधारभूत प्रशिक्षण कार्यक्रम के अंतर्गत प्रशिक्षण प्राप्त कर रहे प्रशिक्षु डिप्टी कलक्टर्स (UPPCS-2018) द्वारा प्रोजेक्ट कार्य के रूप में तैयार किया गया है।

इस सामग्री की पूर्णतः शैक्षणिक और जन कल्याणकारी-उद्देश्यों के लिए तैयार किया गया है-इसका एक मात्र उद्देश्य प्रदेश के छात्र/छात्राओं का प्रतियोगी परीक्षाओं की तैयारी में मार्गदर्शन व सहयोग करना है।

वैधानिक सूचना - इस अध्ययन सामग्री का किसी भी प्रकार से व्यावसायिक उपयोग प्रतिबंधित है।

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WARREN HASTINGS (1772-1785) AND HIS POLICIES

The English East India Company

- East India Company sent Captain Hawkins to court of Mughal emperor jahangir in 1608 for establishment a factory in Surat. The request was turned down but further request was accepted.
- First factory was established in Surat in 1608. First factory in south was established in Masulipatnam in 1611.
- Subsequently, Sir Thomas Roe obtained more trading rights and privileges for the East India Company in 1615.
- Accordingly, the English set up business centres at Agra, Ahmedabad and Broach.
- In 1639, Francis Day established the city of Madras and constructed the Fort St. George.
- On the west coast, the Company obtained Bombay on lease from their King Charles II in 1668.
- 1686 – English tried to declare war on Mughals but defeated and asked pardon from Mughals.
- By the year 1690, Job Charnock, the agent of the East India Company purchased three villages namely, Sutanuti, Govindpur and Kalikatta, which, in course of time, grew into the city of Calcutta and get fortified further named as fort William.
- Company got privileges regarding Bengal in 1717 to import and export without taxes and the right to issue passes or dastaks for the movement of such goods. Company's servants were also permitted to trade but were required to pay taxes.
- Dastaks was frequently misused by company's officers as they started to do private trade.
- Factories and trading centres grouped under three presidencies namely Bombay, Madras and Calcutta.
- After the Battle of Plassey in 1757 and the Battle of Buxar in 1764, the Company became a political power. India was under the East India Company's rule till 1858.

- Robert Clive was the first Governor of Fort William (Calcutta).
- After the Battle of Buxar (1764), the East India Company got the Diwani of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa.
- The first intervention in Indian affairs by the British Government came in 1767. It demanded 10 percent share in the plunder.
- The dual system of government (Diwan and Nizam).
- Started in 1765-72.
- The Company had the authority but no responsibility.
- Its Indian representatives had all the responsibility but no authority.
- It leads to.
- Rampant corruption.
- Excessive revenue collection.
- The Company's bankruptcy, while the servants were flourishing.
- In 1772, the Company appointed Warren Hastings as the Governor of Fort William.
- 1770 was a famine year.

Reforms of Warren Hastings

Warren Hastings

- Before he arrives, there was an utter chaos, financial position was at its worst, famine made situation worse. Thus Warren Hastings realized the immediate need for introducing reforms.
- Abolition of the Dual System – Company now established as Diwan and now it had its own agents. Dual system was introduced by Robert Clive.

Revenue Reforms

- As dual system abolished, the responsibility of collecting the revenue fell on the shoulders of the Company.
- For that purpose, a Board of Revenue was established at Calcutta to supervise the collection of revenue.
- English Collectors were appointed in each district.
- The Board of Revenue farmed out the lands by auction for a period of five years instead of one year in order to find out their real value.
- The Zamindars were given priority in the auction.

- However, certain good measures were taken to safeguard the interests of the peasants.
- Arbitrary cesses and unreasonable fines were abolished.
- Restrictions were imposed on the enhancement of rent.
- The treasury was removed from Murshidabad to Calcutta and an Accountant General was appointed.
- Calcutta thus became the capital of Bengal in 1772 and shortly after of British India.
- Yet, the system was a failure. Many Zamindars defaulted and the arrears of revenue accumulated.
- Reorganisation of the Judicial System.
- At that time, The Nawab who was hitherto the chief administrator of justice, misused his powers.
- lower judges were corrupt and prejudiced.
- Warren Hastings felt the necessity of reorganising the judicial system.
- Each district was provided with a civil court under the collector and a criminal court under an Indian Judge.
- To hear appeals from the district courts two appellate courts, one for civil cases and another for criminal cases, were established at Calcutta.
- The highest civil court of appeal was called Sadar Diwani Adalat presided over by the Governor and two judges recruited from among the members of his council.
- Similarly, the highest appellate criminal court was known as Sadar Nizamat Adalat which was to function under an Indian judge appointed by the Governor-in-Council.
- Experts in Hindu and Muslim laws were provided to assist the judges.
- A digest of Hindu law was prepared in Sanskrit by learned Pandits and it was translated into Persian. An English translation of it – Code of Hindu Laws - was prepared by Halhed.

Trade Regulations and other Reforms

- Abolished the system of dastaks.
- Reduced the number of custom houses, enforced a uniform tariff of 2.5 percent for Indian and non-Indian goods.
- Private trade by the Company's servants continued but within enforceable limits.
- Weavers were given better treatment and facilities.
- Introduced a uniform system of pre-paid postage system.
- A bank was started in Calcutta.
- Improved Police System.

The Regulating Act of 1773

Previously, the Home government in England consisted of the 24 Court of Directors and the Court of Proprietors (These were shareholders of the company who appointed court of directors). The Court of Directors were elected annually and practically managed the affairs of the Company. In India, each of the three presidencies was independent and responsible only to the Court of Directors. The government of the presidency was conducted by a Governor and a Council. The British Parliament for the first time interfered into affairs of India during the times of PM Lord North.

Causes for Act

- British Government could not be a mute spectator to unruly functioning of company.
- Corruption.
- Revenue collection was poor.
- The Company was on the brink of bankruptcy due to corruption and famine.

Provisions of the Act

The Regulating Act reformed the Company's Government at Home and in India. The important provisions of the Act were.

Management

- The term of office of the members of the Court of Directors was extended from one year to four years. One-fourth of them were to retire every year and the retiring Directors were not eligible for re-election.
- The directors of the Company were required to submit all correspondence regarding revenue affairs and civil and military administration to the Government.

Bengal Governor.

- A council of four members representing civil and military government was appointed to assist the Governor-General. The government was to be conducted in accordance with the decision of the majority. The Governor-General had a casting vote in case of a tie. These members could be removed only by the British Monarch (King or Queen) on representation from Court of Directors.
- Governor of Bengal was to be called as Governor-General of Fort William having Five year tenure.
- The Governor-General in Council was made supreme over the other Presidencies in matters of war and peace.
- Governors-in-Council of Bombay and Madras were required to pay due obedience to the orders of Governor-General of Bengal.
- Supreme court.
- It was made Independent of the Governor-General in Council having Chief Justice and three junior judges. In 1774, the Supreme Court was established by a Royal Charter.
- It had original and appellate Jurisdiction.
- In practice, however, the Supreme Court had a debatable jurisdiction vis-a-vis the council which created various problems.
- Servants.

- It prohibited the servants of the company from engaging in the private trade or accepting presents or bribes from the natives.
- It prevented the servants of the Company, judges from receiving directly or indirectly any gifts in kind or cash.
- Settled the salaries of the Governor General, Governors, chief justice and other judges.

Amendment in 1781

- It was necessary because servants of company were brought under dual control of Supreme Court and Governor in council.
- First attempt in India towards separation of the executive from the judiciary by defining the respective areas of jurisdiction.
- Jurisdiction.
- The jurisdiction of the Supreme Court was defined—within Calcutta, it was to administer the personal law of the defendant.
- Appellate.
- Its appellate jurisdiction was also skirted. The amending act provided that appeals were to be taken from the provincial courts to the Governor-General in council.
- Governor General in council is to be court of record to hear appeals from the Provincial Courts on civil cases. This means that appeal could be taken from the provincial courts to the Governor General & Council and that was to be the final court of appeal.
- The servants of the Government were immune if they did anything while discharging their duties.
- Social and religious usages of the subjects were to be honoured.

Merits and Demerits of the Act

Merits

- Control of the Parliament.
- Put an end to the arbitrary rule of the Company.

Demerits.

- Council which was given supreme power often created deadlocks by overruling the decision of Governor-General.

Expansionist Policy of Warren Hastings

Witnessed the Rohilla War, the First Anglo-Maratha War and the Second Anglo-Mysore War.

The Rohilla War (1774)

- Nawab Rehmat Khan of Rohilkhand had treaty with Nawab of Oudh in case of attack by Marathas. But war didn't happen and Nawab of Oudh still demanded money. When Rahmat evaded, he attacked with the the help of Britishers.

First Anglo-Maratha War (1775-82)

- In 1775, there was a dispute for the post of Peshwa between Madhav Rao and his uncle Ragunatha Rao.
- The British authorities in Bombay concluded the Treaty of Surat with Raghunatha Rao in March 1775.
- Ragunatha Rao promised to cede Bassein and Salsette to the British but later when he was unwilling to fulfill his promise, the British captured them.
- This action of the Bombay Government was not approved by Warren Hastings
- In 1776, Warren Hastings sent Colonel Upton to settle the issue.
- He cancelled the Treaty of Surat and concluded the Treaty of Purander with Nana Fadnavis, another Maratha leader.
- ssAccording to this treaty Madhava Rao II was accepted as the new Peshwa and the British retained Salsette along with a heavy war indemnity.
- However, the Home authorities rejected the Treaty of Purander.
- Warren Hastings also considered the Treaty of Purandar as a 'scrap of paper' and sanctioned operations against the Marathas.
- In the meantime, the British force sent by the Bombay Government was defeated by the Marathas.

- In 1781, Warren Hastings dispatched British troops under the command of Captain Popham. He defeated the Maratha chief, Mahadaji Scindia, in a number of small battles and captured Gwalior.
- Later in May 1782, the Treaty of Salbai was signed between Warren Hastings and Mahadaji Scindia.
- Accordingly, Salsette and Bassein were given to the British. Raghunath Rao was pensioned off and Madhav Rao II was accepted as the Peshwa.
- The treaty of Salbai established the British influence in Indian politics. It provided the British twenty years of peace with the Marathas. It also enabled the British to exert pressure on Mysore with the help of the Marathas.
- British succeeded.
- Saved themselves from the combined opposition.
- Divided the Indian powers.

The Second Anglo-Mysore War (1780-84)

Haider Ali

- The first Anglo-Mysore War took place in 1767-69 (Concluded with The Treaty of Madras). Haider Ali emerged victorious against the British.
- Main causes for the second Anglo-Mysore War were.
- British failed to fulfill the terms of the defensive treaty with Haider when he was attacked by the Marathas in 1771.
- There was an outbreak of hostilities between the English and the French (an ally of Haider) during the American War of Independence.
- The British captured Mahe, a French settlement within Haider's territories.
- Haider Ali formed a grand alliance with the Nizam of Hyderabad and the Marathas against the British in 1779.
- Warren Hastings made peace with the Nizam, won the friendship of Bhonsle and came to an understanding with the Scindia (both Marathas). Consequently, Haider was isolated without any alliance.
- He was defeated by Sir Eyre Coote at Porto Novo in March 1781. In December 1782, Haider died of cancer at the age of sixty and his death was kept secret till his son Tipu Sultan assumed power.
- The Second Mysore War came to an end by the Treaty of Mangalore in 1784.

Pitt's India Act, 1784

- In 1784, Pitt the Younger (who became Prime Minister of England after the General Elections) introduced the India Bill in the British Parliament.
- Main Provisions.
- A Board of Control consisting of six members was created. They were appointed by the Crown and were to include.
 1. Chancellor of exchequer.
 2. A Secretary of state .
 3. Four members of the Privy Council .

Functions of Board of Control

1. It was to exercise control over the Company's civil, military, and revenue affairs.
2. All dispatches were to be approved by the board.
3. It led to Dual system of control.

Other Provisions

- It reduced the number of the members of the Governor-General's Council from four to three including the Commander-in-Chief.
- The Court of Directors were retained without any alteration in its composition.
- The presidencies of Bombay and Madras were Made subordinate to the governor-general.
- A secret committee was also formed which was a link between court of directors and Board of Control.
- A general prohibition was placed on aggressive wars and treaties (breached often).
- The Court of Directors controlled its commercial functions, whereas the Board of Control maintained its political affairs. In fact, the Board represented the King, and the Directors symbolised the Company.

The Impeachment of Warren Hastings

- His image tarnished by PM's censuring speech, he considered the same as a reflection on his personal character. Thus resigned in 1785.
- In 1787, Warren Hastings was impeached in the Parliament for his administrative excess.
- The most important of charges were related to the Rohilla War, the Case of Nanda Kumar, the treatment of Raja Chait Singh of Benares and the pressures on the Begums of Oudh.
- After a long trial which lasted till 1795, Warren Hastings was completely acquitted. He received pension from the Company and lived till 1818.



LORD CORNWALLIS (1786-1793) AND HIS POLICIES

Cornwallis

- Belonged to an influential and aristocratic family.
- Close friend of Prime Minister Pitt and of Dundas, the most influential member of the Board of Control.
- Remarkable soldier in the American War of Independence.
- The Parliament was prepared to give him extraordinary legal powers.
- It amended Pitt's India Act in 1786 so as enable him to overrule the decision of the majority of his council, if necessary.
- Later, this provision was extended to all the governor general.
- The appointment of Cornwallis was significant in one respect. A new tradition of choosing a person from an aristocratic family for the post of Governor-General was initiated.
- It was his good fortune that he had an excellent team of subordinates comprising John Shore, James Grant, and Sir William Jones.

Tipu Sultan and the Third Mysore War (1790-92)

main causes.

- Tipu Sultan strengthened his position by undertaking various internal reforms. This created worries to the British, the Nizam of Hyderabad and the Marathas
- Moreover, Tipu made attempts to seek the help of France and Turkey by sending envoys to those countries.
- He also expanded his territories at the cost of his neighbours, particularly the Raja of Travancore, who was an ally of the British.
- In 1789, the British concluded a tripartite alliance with the Nizam and the Marathas against Tipu.
- War broke out in May 1790 between the English and Tipu.
- In 1792, Tipu Sultan concluded the Treaty of Srirangapattinam with the British.
- Tipu had to give up half his dominions.

- He had to pay a war indemnity of three crore rupees and surrender two of his sons as hostages to the English.
- Both sides agreed to release the prisoners of war.
- The British secured a large territory on the Malabar Coast.
- After this war, although the strength of Mysore had been reduced, it was not extinguished. Tipu had been defeated but not destroyed.

Reforms

- Administrative reforms.
- Revenue reforms or Permanent Settlement.
- Judicial and other reforms.

Administrative Reforms

- Civil service.
- Underpaid. received high commissions, private trade in the names of relatives and friends.
- He increased salaries with allowing enormous perquisites.
- Introduced promotions through seniority.
- Appointments mainly on the basis of merit thereby laying the foundation of the Indian Civil Services.
- Abolished a number of surplus posts.
- Separation of the three branches of services.
- Commercial.
- Judicial.
- Revenue.
- The collectors, the king-pins of the administrative system were deprived of their judicial powers and their work became merely the collection of revenue
- Created Covenanted Civil Services which later came to be known as Indian Civil Service.

Judicial Reforms

In the work of Judicial reorganization, Cornwallis secured the services of Sir William Jones, who was a Judge and a great scholar. Civil and criminal courts were completely reorganized.

- At the top of the judicial system, the highest civil and criminal courts of appeal, namely Sadar Diwani Adalat and Sadar Nizamat Adalat were functioning at Calcutta. Both of them were presided over by the Governor-General and his Council.
- There were four provincial courts of appeal at Calcutta, Dacca, Murshidabad and Patna, each under three European judges assisted by Indian advisers.
- District and City courts functioned each under a European judge.
- Every district was provided with a courts.
- Indian judges or Munsiffs were appointed to all the courts at the bottom of the judicial system.
- In criminal cases, Muslim law was improved and followed.
- In civil cases, Hindu and Muslim laws were followed according to the religion of the litigants.
- In suits between Hindus and Muslims, the judge was the deciding authority.
- Cornwallis was merciful by temperament. He hated barbarous punishments and abolished those like mutilation and trial by ordeal.
- Cornwallis was better known as a law giver than as an administrator.
- With the help of his colleague, George Barlow, Cornwallis prepared a comprehensive code, covering the whole field of administration', judicial, police, commercial and fiscal.
- This Code was based upon the principle of Montesquieu, "the Separation of Powers", which was popular in the West in 18th century.
- In order to curb undue exercise of authority Cornwallis made all officials answerable to the courts.

Police Reforms

- The District Judge controlled the police.
- Each district was divided into thanas or police circles each of which was about 20 square miles.
- It was placed under an Indian officer called the daroga.
- However, the police organization was not effective.

Other Reforms

- Cornwallis reformed the Board of Trade which managed the commercial investments of the Company.
- Fair treatment was given to weavers and Indian workers.
- He increased the remuneration for honest service.
- Cornwallis may be regarded the parent of the Indian Administrative Service and founder of an efficient and clean system of administration.
- Sir John Shore (1793-98) succeeded Cornwallis as Governor General and his administration was uneventful.

Charter Act of 1793

- The Home Government members were to be paid out of Indian revenues
- Allowed trade for 20 years.
- Governor general can now disregard the majority in the council in special circumstances.
- Commander in chief was not now the member of Governor General's council, unless he was specially appointed to be a member by the Court of Director.

THE MARQUESS OF WELLESLEY (1798-1805) AND HIS POLICIES

Richard Wellesley

- Great imperialist and called himself ‘a Bengal tiger’.
- He determined to launch a forward policy in order to make ‘the British Empire in India’ into ‘the British Empire of India’. The system that he adopted to achieve his object is known as the ‘Subsidiary Alliance’.

Political Condition of India at the time of Wellesley’s Arrival

- In the north-western India, there was the threat of Zaman Shah.
- In the north and central India, Marathas challenging the authority of the Britishers.
- Nizam of Hyderabad also created threats by employing the Frenchmen to train his army.
- Tipu Sultan is also a great adversary against the Company.
- Policy of neutrality created political unrest and affected prestige of British. It also leads to growth of anti-British feelings.
- Napoleon’s move for an Eastern invasion created a fear among English statesmen.
- Preservation of British prestige and removal of French danger from India were Wellesley’s twin aims.

The Subsidiary System

- The predecessors of Wellesley concluded alliances with Indian princes like the Nawab of Oudh and the Nizam of Hyderabad. They received subsidies from the Indian rulers for the maintenance of British troops, which were used for the protection of respective Indian states.
- Wellesley enlarged and consolidated the already existing system. However, his originality was revealed in its application.
- Main Features of Subsidiary Alliance.

- The protected state and the paramount power – Paramount Power maintain a contingent of British troops, commanded by a British officer to safeguard that state from external aggression and to help its ruler maintain internal peace. The protected state should give some money or give part of its territory to the British to support the subsidiary force.
- The protected state should cut off its connection with European powers especially with the French other than the English.
- The state was also forbidden to have any political contact even with other Indian powers without the permission of the British.
- The ruler of the protected state should keep a British Resident at his court and disband his own army. He should not employ Europeans in his service without the sanction of the paramount power.
- The paramount power should not interfere in the internal affairs of the protected state.

Benefits of Subsidiary Alliance

- Increased military strength.
- Position strengthened.
- Expansion easy .
- Wellesley's diplomacy made the British the paramount power in India.
- Defects of the System.
- Introduction of anarchy because of the unemployment of thousands of soldiers sent away by the Indian princes.
- The freebooting activities of disbanded soldiers were felt much in central India where the menace of Pindaris affected the people.
- Demoralizing effect on the princes - Safeguarded against external danger and internal revolt, they neglected their administrative responsibilities. They became easy-going and started leading pleasure seeking lives which lead to misgovernment. In course of time, the anarchy and misrule in several states had resulted in their annexation by the British. Thus, the subsidiary system proved to be a preparation for annexation.
- Heavy subsidies from the protected princes and this had adversely affected their economy.

Enforcement of the Subsidiary System

Hyderabad.

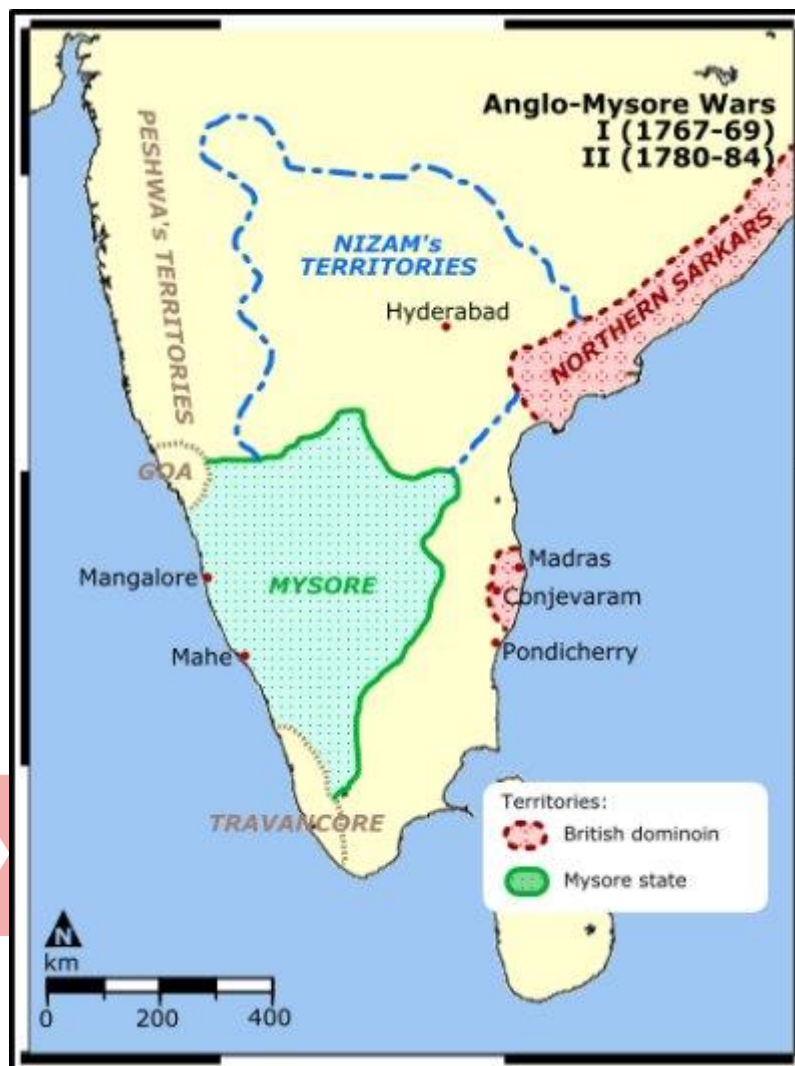
- First state in 1798.
- In accordance with the treaty, all the French troops in Hyderabad were disbanded and replaced by a subsidiary British force.
- A new treaty was concluded in 1800 by which the Nizam ceded large territories to the Company and this constitutes the famous Ceded Districts.

Oudh

- The threat of invasion by Zaman Shah of Afghanistan used as a pretext to force Nawab.
- The Nawab gave the British the rich lands of Rohilkhand, the lower Doab and Gorakhpur for the maintenance of an increased army which the British stationed in the capital of Oudh.
- The strength of Nawab's own army was reduced .
- For the maintenance of law and order the British were authorised to frame rules and regulations. By this, the British acquired the right to interfere in the internal matters of Oudh.
- High handed action of Wellesley was severely criticized.
- Tanjore (Thanjavur), Surat and the Karnataka.
- Wellesley assumed the administration of Tanjore, Surat and the Karnataka by concluding treaties.
- Maratha state of Tanjore witnessed a succession dispute. In 1799, Wellesley concluded a treaty with Serfoji. In accordance with this treaty the British took over the administration of the state and allowed Serfoji to retain the title of Raja and pension.
- The principality of Surat came under British protection as early as 1759. The Nawab of this historic city died in 1799 and his brother succeeded him. The change of succession provided Wellesley an opportunity to take over the administration of Surat.

- Wellesley signed a treaty with Azim-ud- daulah, the nephew of the deceased Nawab in 1801. Accordingly the entire military and civil administration of the Karnataka came under the British.

The Fourth Anglo-Mysore War (1799)



- Tipu Sultan wanted to avenge his defeat.
- He took efforts to seek the help of the France, Arabia, Kabul and Turkey.
- At Srirangapattinam, a Jacobian Club was started and the flag of the French Republic was hoisted. The tree of Liberty was also planted.

Reforms by Tipu Sultan.

- Introduced new calendar, a new system of coinage, new scales of weights and measures.
- General Administration.
- Troops remained loyal in times of general indisciplines.
- Increased state income by not giving jagirs.
- Made an attempt to reduce the hereditary possessions of the poligars.
- Land revenue as high as others (around 1/3rd) but checked illegal cesses, liberal in remissions.
- Military Administration and innovation.
- Trade and Diplomacy.
- Employed foreign workmen as experts.
- Sent emissaries to France, Turkey, Iran and Pegu Myanmar.
- Later, when Napoleon came to power, Tipu received a friendly letter from Napoleon (who was in Egypt at that time).
- Thus with fear of Napoleon, Wellesley prepared for a war against Mysore.
- As a part of his strategy, Wellesley tried to revive the Triple Alliance of 1790 with the Marathas.
- Though his proposal was not accepted by the Marathas, they promised to remain neutral.
- However, a Subsidiary Alliance with the Nizam was concluded by the British and as a consequence, the French force at Hyderabad was disbanded.
- Wellesley set out to persuade Tipu to accept a pact of subsidiary alliance.
- Tipu paid scant attention to Wellesley's letters and thus the Fourth Anglo-Mysore war started.
- The war was short and decisive.
- Although severely wounded, Tipu fought till his capital Srirangapatnam was captured and he himself was shot dead.

Mysore after the War

- Wellesley restored Hindu rule at the central part of the kingdom.
- A five year old boy, Krishnaraja III, a descendant of the dethroned Hindu Raja, was enthroned at Mysore, which became the capital almost after two hundred years.

- The remaining parts of the kingdom were divided between the British and the Nizam.
- A British Resident was stationed at Mysore. Tipu's family was sent to the fort of Vellore.

Wellesley and the Marathas

- Nana Fadnavis provided the leadership to the Marathas.
- He was responsible for the preservation of independence of his country from the onslaught of the British.
- His death in 1800 removed the last great Maratha leader.
- Peshwa Baji Rao II - lacked political wisdom.
- The infighting among the Maratha leaders proved to be self-destructive.
- Jaswant Rao Holkar and Daulat Rao Scindia were fighting against each other.
- The Peshwa supported Scindia against Holkar. Holkar marched against the Peshwa.
- The combined forces of Scindia and the Peshwa were utterly defeated.
- Peshwa Baji Rao II was in great danger, so he fled to Bassein where he signed the Treaty of Bassein with the British in 1802.
- It was a subsidiary treaty and the Peshwa was recognized as the head of the Maratha kingdom and Wellesley restored the peshwa to his position.
- Although it was nominal, the treaty was considered the crowning triumph of Wellesley's Subsidiary System.
- In accordance with this document, the foreign policy of the Marathas came under British control.
- The forces of Holkar vanished from the Maratha capital.

The Second Maratha War (1803-1805)

- Daulat Rao Scindia and Raghoji Bhonsle took the Treaty of Bassein as an insult to the national honour of the Marathas. Soon the forces of both the chieftains were united and they crossed the river Narmada.
- Wellesley seized this opportunity and declared war in August 1803.
- Wellesley defeated the combined forces of Scindia and Bhonsle near Aurangabad.
- The Treaty of Deogaon was signed between Bhonsle and Wellesley.

- The former signed the subsidiary treaty which forced him to give up the province of Cuttack in Orissa.
- The campaign of British commander Lord Lake against the forces of Scindia was rather dramatic. Lake triumphantly entered the historic city of Delhi and took Shah Alam, the Mughal Emperor under British protection. Lake was quick in consolidating his conquests. By negotiating with the Raja of Bharatpur, he occupied Agra. Sadly this military engagement proved to be a battle of great slaughter in which thousands of Maratha soldiers perished. Scindia signed a subsidiary treaty with the British. It is known as the Treaty of Surji –Arjungao.
- During the war against Bhonsle and Scindia, Holkar remained aloof because he was Scindia's enemy.
- Holkar's gave tough fight to British.

Wellesley converted the British Empire in India to the British Empire of India.

- By the annexation of Karnatak and Tanjore he paved the way for the formation of the Madras Presidency.
- He rightly deserves to be called the maker of the erstwhile Madras Presidency and the creator of the Province of Agra.

Sir George Barlow (1805-07)

- The Vellore Mutiny of 1806 took place during his administration. He was succeeded by Lord Minto (1807-13) who concluded the Treaty of Amritsar with Ranjit Singh of Punjab in 1809. The Charter Act of 1813 was passed during this period.

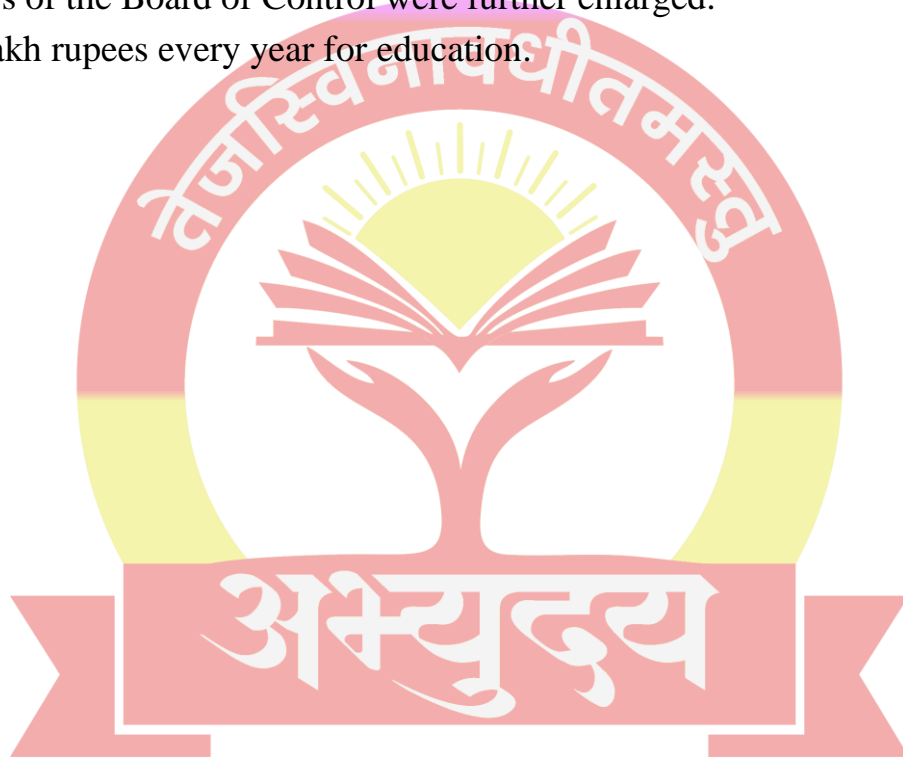
Charter Act of 1813

Background

- Napoleon policy of forbidding the import of British goods had brought hard days for British businessmen - Continental system.
- Theory of Adam Smith was also getting popular those days.

Provisions

- The Company's monopoly over trade in India ended, but the Company retained the trade with China and the trade in tea in India.
- Also allowed Christian Missionaries.
- The Company's shareholders were given a 10.5 per cent dividend on the revenue of India.
- The Company was to retain the possession of territories and the revenue for 20 years more, without prejudice to the sovereignty of the Crown. (Thus, the constitutional position of the British territories in India was defined explicitly for the first time) .
- Powers of the Board of Control were further enlarged.
- One lakh rupees every year for education.



LORD HASTINGS (1813-1823) AND HIS POLICIES

- The conditions in India when he assumed power posed a serious threat to the British administration.
- Anarchy in central India.
- The Pindaris plundered the whole region and the Marathas could not control them.
- Also, there was infighting among the Maratha chiefs.
- Yet, they were aiming at the expulsion of the British from India. The Peshwa was secretly plotting against the British.
- Hastings was also troubled by the expansion of the Gurkha power.
- Till 1813, British policy was of non-interference in social, religious and cultural life of country. After 1813, measures taken because of new changes and interests.
- Industrial Revolution happened in England and India is considered as big market. So there was a need to prepare Indians and modernize them in such a way to become the consumer of foreign products.
- Intellectual Revolution.
- French Revolution.
- The new currents of thoughts caused conflicts among administrators and produced different schools of thought
- Conservatives.
- Advocated as few changes as possible.
- Many of them respected Indian philosophy.
- They think that Modern Ideas need to be propagated gradually and cautiously.
- Earlier Conservatives - Warren Hastings, Edmund Burke,.
- Later one - Munro , Metcalf, Elphinstone.
- Most of British officials were conservatives.
- Paternalistic Imperialists.
- Influential after 1800.
- Critical of Indian society.
- Justify enslavement.

Radicals

- Applied advanced humanistic and rational thought to the Indian situation.
- Want to make India part of progressive world.
- believed in Indian capacity.
- Some of the British officials who came after 1820 were radicals.
- Christian missionaries supported radicals.

War against the Gurkhas (1814-16)

- Nepal emerged as a powerful Gurkha state in 1768.
- In 1801, the British acquired the districts of Gorakhpur and Basti from the Nawab of Oudh. This move brought the boundary of Nepal to touch the British frontier.
- The aggressions of the Gurkhas into the British territories culminated in a war.
- In May 1814, the Gurkhas attacked the British police post and killed 18 policemen and their officer. Hastings declared war on Nepal.
- Amar Singh Thapa, the able General of Nepal Army was forced to surrender.
- In March 1816, the Treaty of Sugauli was concluded.
- British got Shimla, Mussoori, Nainital, Ranikhet and developed them as tourist and health resorts.
- The Gurkhas had to withdraw from Sikkim and they also agreed to keep a British Resident at Kathmandu.
- It was also agreed that the kingdom of Nepal would not employ any other foreigner in its services other than the English.
- Hastings was honoured with English peerage and he became Marquis of Hastings.

Suppression of the Pindaris

- Their origin is not found.
- The first reference about them is during the Mughal invasion of Maharashtra.
- They did not belong to any particular caste or creed.
- They used to serve the army without any payment but instead were allowed to plunder.

- They never helped the British. They were mostly active in the areas of Rajputana and the Central Provinces and subsisted on plunder.
- They consists of Hindu as well as the Muslim.
- Chief amongst them were Wasil Muhammad, Chitu and Karim Khan who had thousands of followers.
- Lord Hastings determined to suppress the Pindaris.
- He gathered large army and attacked the Pindaris from four sides.
- Karim Khan was given a small estate in the Gorakhpur district of the United Provinces.
- Wasil Muhammad took refuge in the Scindia's camp but the latter handed him over to the British.
- Wasil committed suicide in captivity and Chitu escaped to the forest, where a tiger killed him.
- By 1824, the menace of the Pindaris came to an end.

Downfall of the Maratha Confederacy.

- In reality, the Maratha power had weakened considerably after the Third Battle of Panipat (1761) and the two subsequent wars against the British.
- The relationships of powerful Maratha chiefs like the Bhonsle of Nagpur, Gaekwar of Baroda, Scindia, Holkar of Indore and the Peshwa were ridden with mutual jealousies.
- Peshwa Baji Rao II wanted to become the head of the Maratha Confederacy and at the same time wanted freedom from the British control.
- His Chief Minister Tirimbakji encouraged him.
- On the advice of the Company, the Gaekwar sent his Prime Minister Gangadhar Shastri to negotiate with the Peshwa. On his way back, Gangadhar Shastri, was murdered at Nasik in July 1815, at the instance of Triambakji.
- Marathas and British both showed resentment.
- Peshwa handed over his Minister to the British, who lodged him in Thana jail from where he escaped.
- Consequently, on 13 June 1817, the British Resident Elphinstone forced the Peshwa to sign the Treaty of Poona. Baji Rao gave up his desire to become the supreme head of the Marathas.

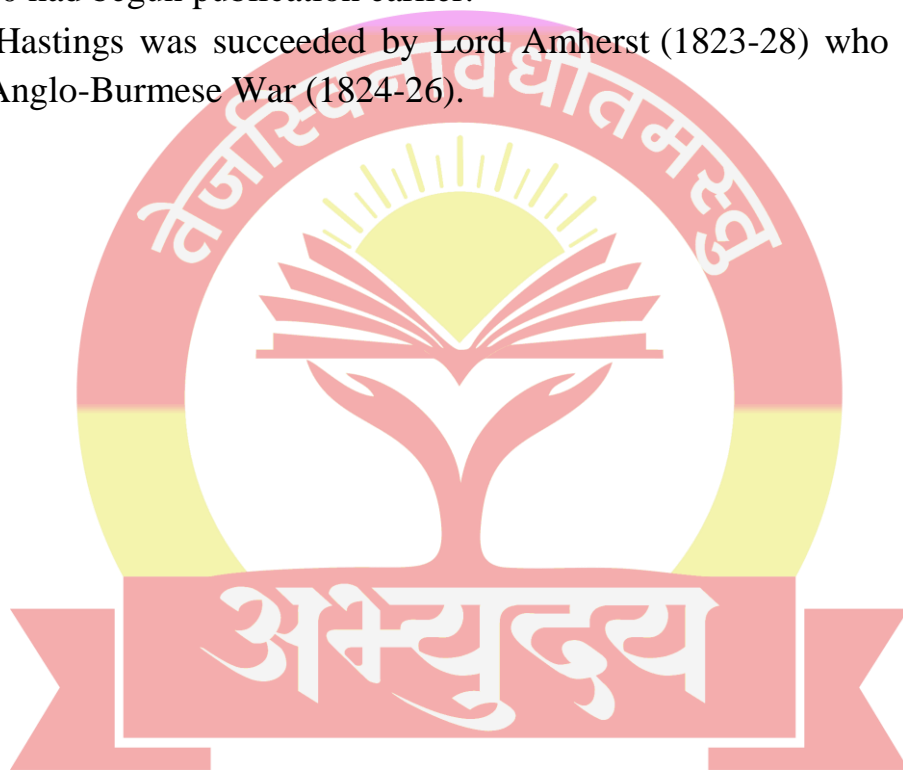
Third Maratha War (1817-1819)

- But soon the Peshwa undid this treaty with the British and on 5 November 1817 attacked the British Residency. He was defeated at a place called Kirkee.
- Similarly, the Bhonsle chief, Appa Sahib also refused to abide by the Treaty of Nagpur, which he had signed with the British on 17 May 1816.
- According to this treaty, Nagpur came under the control of the Company. He fought with the British in the Battle of Sitabaldi in November 1817, but was defeated.
- The Peshwa now turned to Holkar for help, but Holkar too was defeated by the British on 21 December 1817 at Baroda.
- Therefore, by December 1817 the dream of a Mighty Maratha Confederacy was finally shattered.
- In 1818, Scindia was also forced to sign a new treaty with the British on the basis of which Ajmer was given to the Nawab of Bhopal, who also accepted the British suzerainty.
- The Gaekwar of Baroda, while accepting the Subsidiary Alliance, agreed to hand over certain areas of Ahmedabad to the British.
- The Rajput states which were under the Pindaris were freed after the latter's suppression.
- The year 1818 was a significant year on account of major political achievements for the British. The Maratha dream of establishing themselves as the paramount power in India was completely destroyed.

Reforms of Hastings.

- He approved the Ryotwari system of land revenue introduced in the Madras Presidency by Sir Thomas Munroe.
- The Cornwallis Code of Judiciary was improved.
- The Police system of Bengal was extended to other regions.
- The importance of Indian Munsiffs had increased during his administration.
- The separation of judicial and revenue departments was not rigidly followed. Instead, the District Collector acted as Magistrate.
- Hastings had also encouraged the foundation of vernacular schools by missionaries and others.

- In 1817, the Hindu College was established at Calcutta by the public for the teaching of English and western science. Hastings was the Patron of this college.
- He encouraged the freedom of the Press and abolished the censorship introduced in 1799.
- The Bengali Weekly, Samachar Darpan was started in 1818 by Marshman, a Serampore missionary.
- Considered to be the first Indian-language newspaper.
- Although some historians contend that the Bengali weekly Bengal Gazetti Founded by James Augustus Hicky published by Ganga Kishore Bhattacharya in 1780 had begun publication earlier.
- Lord Hastings was succeeded by Lord Amherst (1823-28) who fought the First Anglo-Burmese War (1824-26).



LORD WILLIAM BENTINCK (1828-1835) AND HIS POLICIES

William Bentinck

- He was appointed the Governor of Madras in 1803.
- He supported Sir Thomas Munroe on revenue administration.
- The Vellore Mutiny of 1806 had resulted in Bentinck's recall.
- He was undoubtedly the first Governor- General of British India who acted on the dictum that "the welfare of the subject peoples was a main, perhaps the primary, duty of the British in India".

Policy towards Indian States

- Non-intervention and non-aggression.

Mysore

- In Mysore, Hindu rule under Krishnaraja III was restored by Wellesley
- But he was proved to be Incompetent and Peasant revolt happened during his time. British authorities took over administration under the control of a commissioner (Sir Mark Cubbon was commissioner from 1834 to 1861 and his administration was beneficial to the people, famous Cubbon Park in Bangalore city).

Cachar and Jaintia

- The principality of Cachar lying in the North East Frontier came under the protection of the British in accordance with the Treaty of Yandaboo concluded at the end of the first Burmese War.
- Raja assassinated in 1832. He had no heir. Consequently Bentinck annexed this state.
- Jaintia - Ruler abducted Britishers to sacrifice. Britishers raised war. It comes under the control of British after the first Anglo-Burmese War.

Coorg

- Vira Raja, a ruthless ruler was deposed in 1834 and the state was annexed.
- Relations with Ranjit Singh.
- Bentinck visualise a Russian threat to India.
- Hence, he was eager to negotiate friendly relations both with the ruler of Punjab, Maharajah Ranjit Singh and also with the Amirs of Sind.
- His earnest desire was that Afghanistan should be made a buffer state between India and any possible invader.
- He signed Friendship treaty with Ranjit Singh named Indus Navigation Treaty which opened up the Sutlej for navigation.
- In addition, a commercial treaty was negotiated with Ranjit Singh.
- A similar treaty was also concluded with the Amirs of Sind.

Charter Act of 1833

- The Regulating Act of 1773 made it compulsory to renew the Company's Charter after twenty years.
- Main Provisions.
- The English East India Company ceased to be a commercial agency in India. In other words, it would function hereafter as the political agent for the Crown.
- Monopoly on trade with China and in tea is also ended.
- All restrictions on European immigration and the acquisition of property in India were lifted. Thus, the way was paved for the wholesale European colonisation of India.
- All revenues were to be raised under the authority of the governor general who would have complete control over the expenditure too.
- The Governor-General of Fort William was hereafter called 'the Governor-General of India'. Thus, Bentinck was the first Governor-General of India'.
- The Governments of Madras and Bombay were drastically deprived of their legislative powers and left with a right of proposing to the governor-general the projects of law which they thought to be expedient.
- A Law Member was appointed to the Governor-General's Council. T. B. Macaulay was the first Law Member of the Governor- General-in-Council.

- Indian laws were to be codified and consolidated.
- To take steps to ameliorate the conditions of slaves and to ultimately abolish slavery. (Slavery was abolished in 1843).
- The Act categorically stated ‘that no native of India, nor any natural born should be disabled from holding any place, office, or employment, by reason of his religion, place of birth, descent, or colour’. It was this enactment which laid the foundation for the Indianisation of public services.

Reforms of Lord William Bentinck

Financial.

- Earlier poor and weak financial condition.
- He reduced the salaries and allowances of all officers and additional staff were removed.
- In the military department, he abolished the system of double batta. (Batta was an allowance to troops on active service.)
- Deficit converts to surplus.

Administrative

- He abolished the provincial courts of appeal established by Cornwallis responsible for huge arrears of cases.
- Introduction of local languages in the lower courts and English in the higher courts in the place of Persian.
- He launched the revenue settlements of the North West Province under the control of R.M. Bird. This settlement was for a period of 30 years and it was made either with the tillers of the soil, or with the landowners.

Social Reforms

- Abolition of Sati was done in 1829. It was extended to the Madras and Bombay Presidencies in 1830.
- Female Infanticide - He not only prohibited female infanticide but declared them as punishable crime.

Introduction of English Medium Education

- Appointed a committee headed by Lord Macaulay to make recommendations for the promotion of education.
- Macaulay emphasized the promotion of European literature and science through English medium.
- The Government Resolution in 1835 made English the official and literary language of India.
- In the same year, William Bentinck laid foundation of the Calcutta Medical College.



LORD DALHOUSIE (1848-1856) AND HIS POLICIES

- Youngest Governor-General of India when he assumed charge at the age of 36 in 1848.
- He did much for the progress of railway construction in England
- Policy of Annexation.
- “The great drama of annexation”.
- His aims for expanding the Company’s territories were administrative, imperial, commercial and financial.
- His main objective was to end misrule in the annexed states, as in the case of the annexation of Oudh.
- beneficent administration.
- Though Dalhousie did not come to India to follow a policy of annexation, but he was able to consolidate British rule in India by his policy of annexation.
- His great annexations include the Punjab, Lower Burma, most of the Central Provinces and Oudh
- At the end of the second Anglo-Sikh War in 1849, Punjab was annexed by Dalhousie.
- He organized the administration efficiently.
- Province was divided into small districts under the control of District Officers who were called Deputy Commissioners.
- Revenue and judicial departments were combined to secure concentration of power and responsibility.
- laws and procedures were simplified.
- Administration of Punjab were helmed by Chief Commissioner.

Second Burmese War and the Annexation of Lower Burma

- There was a commercial dispute in Rangoon between the British and the Burmese.
- After the end of the second Burmese War (1852), Dalhousie annexed Lower Burma with its capital at **Pegu**.
- Brought efficient administration.
- Rangoon, Britain's most valuable acquisition from the war became one of the biggest ports in Asia.

Doctrine of Lapse

- Dalhousie also took advantage of every opportunity to acquire territory by peaceful means.
- According to the Hindu Law, one can adopt a son in case of no male heir to inherit the property.
- The question arose whether a Hindu ruler, holding his state subordinate to the paramount power, could adopt a son to succeed his kingdom.
- It was customary for a ruler without a natural heir to ask the British Government whether he could adopt a son to succeed him. According to Dalhousie, if such permission was refused by the British, the state would "lapse" and thereby become part of the British India.
- Dalhousie maintained that there was a difference in principle between the right to inherit private property and the right to govern. This principle was called the Doctrine of Lapse.
- Applied to Satara in 1848, Jaitpur and Sambalpur in 1849, Baghat in 1850, Udaipur in 1852, Jhansi in 1853 and Nagpur in 1854.
- Annexation was subject to the final approval by the Court of Directors.
- It can even overrule the annexation.
- The annexation of Karauli was overruled.
- Although the Doctrine of Lapse cannot be regarded as illegal, its application by Dalhousie was disliked by Indian princes.
- After the Mutiny of 1857, the doctrine of lapse was withdrawn.

Annexation of Oudh

- Right from Warren Hastings, many Governor-Generals advised the Nawab of Oudh to improve the administration. But, misrule continued there.

- The Nawab was under the assumption that the British would not annex Oudh because of his loyalty to them.
- After surveying the situation in Oudh, Dalhousie annexed it in 1856.
- Nawab Wajid Ali was granted a pension of 12 lakhs of rupees per year. The annexed territory came under the control of a Chief Commissioner.
- The annexation offended the Muslim elite.
- More dangerous was the effect on the British army's Indian troops, many of whom came from Oudh.
- They had occupied a privileged position before its annexation. Under the British Government they were treated as equals with the rest of the population.
- Contributed to the Mutiny of 1857.

Domestic Reforms of Dalhousie

- His greatest achievement was the molding of the new provinces into a modern centralized state.
- For the newly acquired territories, he introduced the centralized control called “Non-Regulation System”.
- Under this system a Commissioner was appointed for a newly acquired territory.
- Under military reforms, Dalhousie shifted the headquarters of Bengal Artillery from Calcutta to Meerut.
- Simla was made the permanent headquarters of the army.

Railways

- Three reasons for laying Railways.
 - Commercial.
 - Administrative.
 - Defense.
- He started the “guarantee system” by which the railway companies were guaranteed a minimum interest of five percent on their investment.

- The government retained the right of buying the railway at the end of the period of contract.
- Bombay with Thane was opened in 1853.
- The first railway in the world was opened in 1825 in England.

Telegraph

- Marvelous changes in communication system.
- Main cities of the country viz., Calcutta, Peshawar, Bombay and Madras were telegraphically connected.
- During the 1857 Revolt, the system of telegraphic communication proved a boon.

Postal Reform

- A new Post Office Act was passed in 1854.
- Irrespective of the distance over which the letter was sent, a uniform rate of half an Anna per post card was charged throughout India.
- Postage stamps were introduced for the first time.

Education

- Educational Despatch of Sir Charles Wood (1854) - “Intellectual Charter of India”.
- Dalhousie fully accepted the views of Charles Wood and took steps to carry out the new scheme.
- The Universities of Calcutta, Bombay and Madras were founded in 1857.
- Public Works Department.
- Dalhousie created a separate Public Works Department and allotted more funds for cutting canals and roads.
- Earlier Military Board was responsible .
- Many bridges were constructed.
- By modernizing the Public Works Department he laid the foundations of the engineering service in India.

CHARTER ACTS

The Charter Act of 1853

- The Company was to continue possession of territories unless the Parliament provided otherwise.
- The strength of the Court of Directors was reduced to 18.
- Services open to a competitive examination. Accordingly, the Macaulay Committee (the Committee on the Indian Civil Service) was appointed in 1854.
- The law member became the full member of the governor-general's executive council.
- It separated, for the first time, the legislative and executive functions of the Governor -General's council. It provided for addition of six new members called legislative councilors to the council .
- Indian (Central) Legislative Council established considered as mini-Parliament adopting the same procedures as the British Parliament.
- Executive council retained the veto.
- It introduced, for the first time, local representation in the Indian (Central) Legislative Council. Of the six new legislative members of the governor-general's council, four members were appointed by the local (provincial) governments of Madras, Bombay, Bengal and Agra.

Government of India Act of 1858

- India to be governed in the name of crown through Secretary of State for India.
- Governor-General to Viceroy - direct representative of the British Crown.
- It ended the system of double government by abolishing the Board of Control and Court of Directors.
- It created a new office, Secretary of State for India, vested with complete authority and control over Indian administration. The secretary of state was a member of the British cabinet and was responsible ultimately to the British Parliament.
- Charles Wood was the last President of the Board of Control and was made first secretary of State.

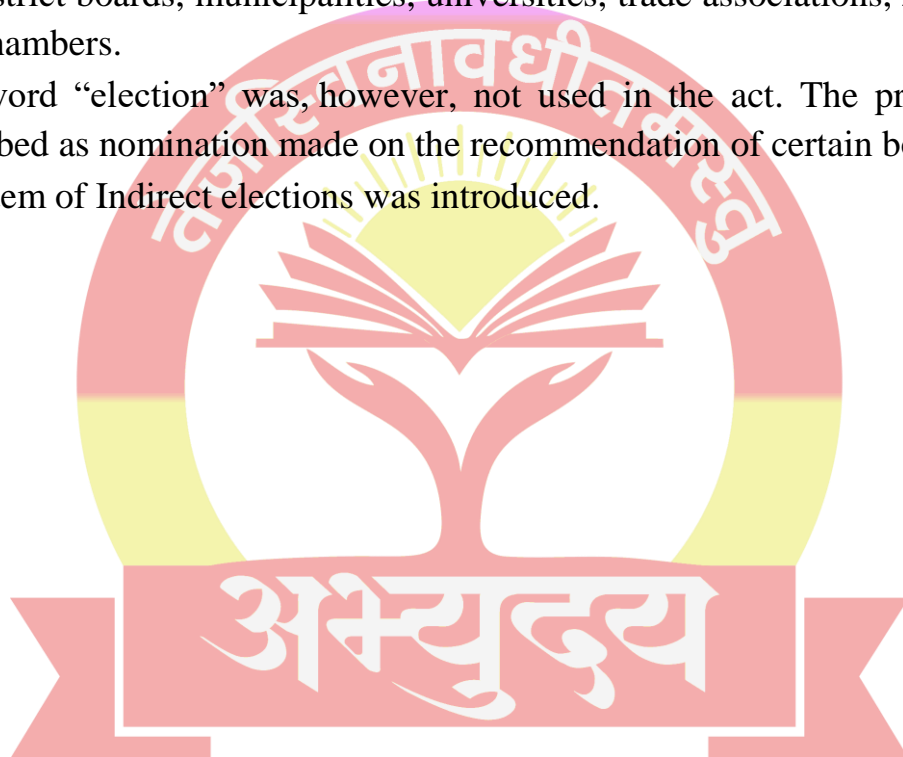
- It established a 15-member Council of India to assist the secretary of state for India. The council was an advisory body. The secretary of state was made the chairman of the council Known as India Council.
- It was to advice the Secretary of State, whose decisions he could overrule.
- In the financial matters, the approval of council was essential.

Indian Councils Act of 1861

- It made a beginning of representative institutions by associating Indians with the law-making process. It thus provided that the viceroy should nominate some Indians as non-official members of his expanded council.
- In 1862, Lord Canning, the then viceroy, nominated three Indians to his legislative council—the Raja of Benaras, the Maharaja of Patiala and Sir Dinkar Rao.
- It initiated the process of decentralisation by restoring the legislative powers to the Bombay and Madras Presidencies. It thus reversed the centralising tendency that started from the Regulating Act of 1773 and reached its climax under the Charter Act of 1833. This policy of legislative devolution resulted in the grant of almost complete internal autonomy to the provinces in 1937.
- It also provided for the establishment of new legislative councils for Bengal, North-Western Frontier Province (NWFP) and Punjab, which were established in 1862, 1866 and 1897 respectively.
- It empowered the Viceroy to make rules and orders for the more convenient trans-action of business in the council. It also gave recognition to the ‘portfolio’ system, introduced by Lord Canning in 1859. Under this, a member of the Viceroy’s council was made in-charge of one or more departments of the government and was authorised to issue final orders on behalf of the council on matters of his department.
- It empowered the Viceroy to issue ordinances, without the concurrence of the legislative council, during an emergency. The life of such an ordinance was six months.

Indian Councils Act of 1892

- It increased the number of additional (non-official) members in the Central and provincial legislative councils, but maintained the official majority in them.
- It increased the functions of legislative councils and gave them the power of discussing the budget and addressing questions to the executive.
- It provided for the nomination of some non-official members of the (a) Central Legislative Council by the viceroy on the recommendation of the provincial legislative councils and the Bengal Chamber of Commerce, and (b) that of the Provincial legislative councils by the Governors on the recommendation of the district boards, municipalities, universities, trade associations, Zamindars and chambers.
- The word “election” was, however, not used in the act. The process was described as nomination made on the recommendation of certain bodies.
- A system of Indirect elections was introduced.



REVENUE ADMINISTRATION AND ECONOMIC POLICY OF THE BRITISH

British Agrarian Policy

- Till the 18th century - India ahead in Agriculture and handicraft .
- India's national income, foreign trade, industrial expansion and almost every other dominion of economic activity, depended on the agriculture.
- British adopted three types of land tenures.
 - Roughly 19 per cent of the total area under the British rule i.e. Bengal, Bihar, Banaras, division of the Northern Western Provinces and northern Karnataka had Zamindari System or the Permanent Settlement.
 - 30 per cent of the total area under British rule major parts of the North Western Provinces, Central Provinces and the Punjab with some variations had Mahalwari System.
 - 51 per cent of the area under British rule - Bombay, Madras, Assam and other parts had Ryotwari System .

The Permanent Settlement

- Introduced by Lord Cornwallis.
- Warren Hastings introduced the annual lease system of auctioning the land to the highest bidder. It created chaos in the revenue administration.
- Cornwallis decided to abolish the annual lease system and introduce a decennial (Ten years) settlement which was subsequently declared to be continuous.

Main features.

- The Zamindars of Bengal were recognised as the owners of land as long as they paid the revenue to the East India Company regularly.
- The amount of revenue that the Zamindars had to pay to the Company was firmly fixed and would not be raised under any circumstances. In other words

the Government of the East India Company got 89% leaving the rest to the Zamindars.

- The ryots became tenants since they were considered the tillers of the soil.
- This settlement took away the administrative and judicial functions of the Zamindars.
- Permanent Settlement also known as "Sunset Law" because the payment of rent to the state should be made on the due date before sunset.

Criticism.

- Undue haste in introduction. No attempt was made ever either to survey the lands or to assess their value.
- Assessment was made on the basis of previous collections which was irregular
- As the revenue fixed by the system was too high, many Zamindars defaulted on payments.
- Their property was seized and distress sales were conducted leading to their ruin.
- The rich Zamindars who led luxurious lives left their villages and migrated into towns.
- They entrusted their rent collection to agents who exacted all kinds of illegal taxes besides the legal ones from the ryots.
- Misery for peasants.
- Lord Cornwallis' idea of building a system of benevolent land-lordism failed
- Though initially the Company gained financially, in the long run the Company suffered financial loss because land productivity was high; income from it was meagre since it was a fixed sum.
- It should be noted that in pre- British period a share on the crop was fixed as land tax.
- Nevertheless, this system proved to be a great boon to the Zamindars and to the government of Bengal.
- It provided regular income.
- The Zamindars prospered at the cost of the welfare of the tenants.

Ryotwari Settlement

- The peasant was recognised as the proprietor of land - No intermediary.
- The land revenue was fixed for a period from 20 to 40 years at a time.

- Object was to fix a defined tax in money on each field whether it was a wetland, dry land or garden land and whatever it produced.
- Thus it meant to tax the land itself instead of the crop.
- Revenue rates - 50% where the lands were dry and 60% in irrigated land.
- Every peasant was held personally responsible for direct payment of land revenue to the government.
- However, in the end, this system also failed.
- Under this settlement it was certainly not possible to collect revenue in a systematic manner.
- The revenue officials indulged in harsh measures for non-payment or delayed payment.

Mahalwari Settlement

- In 1833, the Mahalwari settlement was introduced in the Punjab.
- Under this system the basic unit of revenue settlement was the village or the Mahal.
- As the village lands belonged jointly to the village community, the responsibility of paying the revenue rested with the entire Mahal or the village community.
- So the entire land of the village was measured at the time of fixing the revenue
- Though the Mahalwari system eliminated middlemen between the government and the village community and brought about improvement in irrigation facility, yet its benefit was largely enjoyed by the government.

British Policy towards Indian Handicrafts

- Initial objective of the English East India Company was to have flourishing trade with India.
- Later converted into Monopoly over this trade.
- Monopoly ended by charter Act of 1833.
- India far ahead in handicraft and art, textiles were the most important - cotton, silk and woollen.

Other Important Handicrafts.

- Muslin of Dacca, carpets of Lahore, shawls of Kashmir, and the embroidery works of Banaras.

- Ivory goods, wood works and jewelry.
- Apart from Dacca, Textile of Krishnanagar, Chanderi, Arni and Banaras important.
- Dhotis and dupattas of Ahmedabad.
- Chikan of Lucknow, and silk borders of Nagpur.
- Kashmir, Punjab and western Rajasthan were famous for their woolen garments.
- Shipping, leather and metal industries.
- Cutting and polishing of marble and other precious stones.
- Begin to decline by the beginning of the 18th century.
- Reason behind decline.
- Cheap finished goods from Britain.
- In 1769, the Company encouraged the cultivation of raw silk in Bengal while imposing service restrictions on the sale of its finished products.
- In 1813 strategies were devised by the Company to enhance the consumption of finished goods from Britain.
- Tariff and octroi policies were suitably modified to suit the British commercial interests.
- To cite an example, in 1835 only a minimal import of British duty of 2.5 per cent was imposed on the import of British manufactured cotton cloth whereas a very high 15 per cent export duty was charged on Indian cotton textiles as per the new maritime regulations.
- Goods from England could only be brought by the English cargo ships
- As a result of all these policies, the Indian textiles could not enter the British market, whereas the Indian market was flooded with British goods.
- Decline in the power and status of Indian rulers. Demands for the domestic luxury goods like royal attires, armory and objects of art by the Indian royalty also reduced drastically.
- Power looms replaced handlooms in Europe as well as in India - Cheaper and more goods could be produced in much lesser time.
- Communication and transport especially Railways lead to import of finished goods and export of raw material which lead to loss of jobs for artisans.

EDUCATIONAL AND SOCIAL REFORMS

Language and Education Policy

- Initially, They took no interest in Educational and Social Reforms.
- In 1781, Warren Hastings established a Madarsa in Calcutta to encourage the study of Muslim laws along with Arabic and Persian languages.
- In 1791, a Sanskrit College was established with the help of Jonathan Duncan to encourage the study of Hindu laws and philosophy in Banaras.
- Therefore, it must be contended that during the first three decades of the 19th century, the development of education took place only through the traditional institutions.
- According to records of Govt and Church, There were at least one institution for every four hundred people in Bengal - Traditional Institutions.
- There was at least one school in every village of India at that time.
- Moreover, They need employees at lower level, so wanted education at that level.
- East India Company discouraged oriental education and encouraged western education and English language.
- Charter Act 1813 had one lakh rupees provision for education.
- British scholars were divided into two groups on the issue of development of education in India.
- Orientalists – Favour impart of education through Indian languages.
- Anglicists - Favour impart of education through English language.
- William Bentinck, emphasized on the medium of English language in Indian education.
- In the beginning of 1835, the 10 members of the General Committee of Public Instruction were clearly divided into two equal groups.
- Five members including the Chairman of the committee Lord Macaulay favoured English.
- While other five favoured Oriental languages.
- Finally, Macaulay announced his famous Minute advocating the Anglicist point of view.
- Bentinck got the resolution passed for English language.

Charles Wood Dispatch in 1854

1. Establishment of departments of public instructions in five provinces.
2. Grants in aid to encourage private participation in the field of education.
3. The Indian natives should be given training in their mother tongue also.
4. Systematic method of education from primary level to the university level.
5. At least one Govt school be opened in every district.
6. Emphasis on the establishment of schools for technical education.
7. Teacher and women education.
8. Establishment of one University each in Calcutta, Bombay and Madras, on the model of the London University.
9. Consequently, within the next few years, the Indian education became rapidly westernized.

Social Policies and Legislation

- Company initially was wary of social reforms.
- One reason why they indulged in criticizing the customs and traditions of India was to generate inferiority Complex among the Indians.
- Propaganda carried out by the Christian missionaries stirred minds of educated Indians.
- Western thought and education also helped in social reforms.
- Lord William Bentinck had evinced personal interest in the matter.

Social Laws Concerning Women

- Female Infanticide.
- Particularly in vogue in Rajputana, Punjab and the North Western Provinces.
- Widow Remarriage.
- Child Marriage.
- Purdah System.

MUTINIES

PALAYAKKARAR REBELLION

- Revolt of the Palayakkarars (Poligars) against the East India Company in Tamil Nadu.

Palayakkarar system.

- Evolved with the extension of Vijayanagar rule into Tamil Nadu.
- Each Palayakkarar was the holder of a territory or Palayam (usually consisting of a few villages) granted to him in return for military service and tribute.
- Palayakkarars came to constitute a powerful force in the political system of south India.
- They regarded themselves as independent, sovereign authorities within their respective Palayams, arguing that their lands had been handed down to them across a span of sixty generations.
- Such claims were brushed aside by the East India Company.
- Both the eastern and western blocs of palayakkars refused to pay the kist (tribute) to the Nawab and rebelled.
- Puli Thevar headed western bloc.
- Nawab Mahfuz Khan with British army under Col. Heron undertook an expedition to suppress the revolt in March 1755.
- Col. Heron failed in his attempt.
- Palayakkars proceeded to consolidate their position. They also attempted to get the support of Haider Ali of Mysore and the French against the British.
- Haider Ali couldn't help Puli Thevar due to a Mysore- Maratha struggle.
- Yusuf Khan (Khan Sahib) was entrusted by the British with the duty of tackling Puli Thevar and his allies.
- With the help of the Palayakkarars of the Eastern bloc and the king of Travancore, Yusuf Khan had many victories.
- Although Puli Thevar attempt ended in failure, he leaves a valiant trail of a struggle for independence in the history of South India.

VELLORE MUTINY

- Vellore was the capital of erstwhile North Arcot district in Tamil Nadu.
- In Vellore the native sepoys rose in revolt in 1806.
- This incident differs from other previous rebellions in. The earlier rebellions were those of the native rulers. The Vellore Mutiny was organized by the sepoys.

Causes

- Earlier under native chieftain, now under British. The strict discipline, practice, new weapons, new methods and uniforms were all new to the sepoys which led to Metathesiophobia (Fear of Change).
- Sir John Cradock, the commander-in-chief, with the -approval of Lord-William Bentinck, the Governor of Madras, introduced a new form of turban, resembling a European hat. Wearing ear rings and caste marks were also prohibited.
- The sepoys were asked to shave the chin and to trim the moustache.
- Sepoys felt insulted - defying their religious and social traditions - fear of being taken towards Christianity.
- This was the psychological base for the sepoy mutinies.
- The Vellore uprising was preceded by a series of protests by the Indian troops.
- In May 1806, the 4th Regiment rose in revolt against the new turban.
- Before the mutiny secret associations were formed and meetings held in which Tipu's family took part.
- On June 17th 1806 a sepoy of the 1st Regiment named Mustapha Beg, warned secretly about mutiny but it was not taken seriously.
- On the eve of the Mutiny at Vellore Fettah Hyder, the first son of Tipu, tried to form an alliance against the English and sought the help of the Marathas and the French.
- Besides, princes Fettah Hyder and Moiz-ud-Deen in particular were active in planning the execution of the Mutiny.
- Thus, there was the desire to revive the old Muslim rule in this region.
- The sepoys were aware of the tragic end of Puli Thevar, Khan Sahib, Kattabomman, Marudu Brothers, Tipu Sultan and others. Hence there were ill-feelings about the British in the minds of the sepoys. All these led to the rebellion.

- Mutiny started on 10th July 1806, Rebels proclaimed Futteh Hyder, Tipu's first son, as their new ruler and hoisted tiger-striped flag of Tipu Sultan.
- But the uprising was swiftly crushed.
- Vellore Mutiny failed.
- No proper leadership.
- Rebellion not well organized.
- But it is the starting point of a new era of the resistance of the sepoys to the British rule.
- The 18th century was marked by the resistance of the local chieftains. The first six decades of 19th century was marked by the resistance of sepoys.
- V.D. Savarkar calls the Vellore Mutiny of 1806 as the prelude to the first War of Indian Independence in 1857.



THE GREAT REVOLT OF 1857

Causes of the revolt

Economic.

- The colonial policies destroyed the traditional economic fabric of the Indian Society.
- Peasants condition worse - loans from moneylenders and above that Govt taxes.
- Discouraged Indigenous handicraft Industries and encourage British goods
- Zamindars, often saw their land rights forfeited with frequent use of a quo warranto.
- A new plantation system introduced in the year 1833.
- Permitted Englishmen to acquire land plantations in India.
- Hard hit were the peasants on the indigo plantations in Bengal and Bihar .
- Political.
- Broken pledges and oaths - loss of political prestige of the British.
- Policies (Effective control, subsidiary alliance, doctrine of Lapse) created discontent.

Administrative.

- Corruption in British administration.
- Alien look of the British.

Socio religious

- Racial overtones and a superiority complex.
- Activities of Missionaries looked down upon by the Indians.
- Reforms acts looked upon by Indians as interference by the British.
- Govt Tax on mosque and temple lands.
- Religious Disabilities Act 1856.
- Which modified Hindu customs, for instance declaring that a change of religion did not debar a son from inheriting the property of his heathen father.
- Influence of outside events.

- The First Afghan War 1838-42.
- Punjab Wars - 1845-49.
- Crimean Wars 1854-56.
- Santhal Rebellion 1855-57.

Discontent among sepoys

- Fear of conversion.
- They need to service anywhere required by the Govt (General Service Enlistment Act).
- Low Salary (foreign service allowance not given to them).
- Annexation of Awadh.
- Racial discrimination among Indian and White Sepoys.

Revolt

- Began at Meerut on May 10, 1857.
- 3rd Native Cavalry - Meerut .
- The triggers were.
- The reports about the mixing of bone dust in Atta (flour).
- The introduction of the Enfield rifle enhanced the sepoys' disaffection as the cartridge of the new rifle had to be bitten off before loading and the grease was reportedly made of beef and pig.
- Before Meerut, 19th native infantry at berhampur - mutiny - disbanded in March 1857.
- 34th native Infantry - Mangal Pandey - Barrackpore - executed on April 6 - disbanded in May.
- In 29th March 1857, he severely wounded Lt. Baugh and General Hearsey.
- 7th Awadh Regiment - Mutiny - Disbanded May 3.
- On April 24, 90 men of 3rd Native Cavalry refused to accept the greased cartridges.
- On May 9, 85 of them were dismissed and sentenced to 10 years imprisonment
- Sparked off general mutiny.
- Soldiers released their imprisoned comrades, killed their officers and unfurled the banner of revolt.
- Set off for Delhi after sunset.
- Local infantry there joined them and they killed officers like Simon Fraser.

- Lieutenant Willoughby offered some resistance but overpowered.
- Bahadur Shah Zafar was proclaimed the emperor of India.
- Bahadur Shah after initial vacillation wrote letters to all the chiefs and rulers of India to organize a confederacy of states to fight and replace the British regime.
- The entire Bengal Army soon rose in revolt which spread quickly.
- Awadh, Rohilkhand, the Doab, the Bundelkhand, central India, large parts of Bihar and East Punjab shook off British authority.

Participants

- Civil population specially in NW provinces and Awadh also participated.
- Peasants.
- Attacking the moneylenders and Zamindars.
- Destroy their accounts and debt records.
- Artisans.
- Zamindars.
- Civil servants.
- Priests.
- As per an estimate, of the total of about 1,50,000 men who died fighting the English in Awadh, over 1,00,000 were Civilians.
- Emperor had nominal leadership.
- Delhi's real command laid in general Bakht Khan of Bareilly troops.
- Court consisted of 10 members (6 from the army and 4 from the civilians).
- Emperor was the weakest link in all of this, provided weak leadership.

Kanpur

- Nana Saheb (Adopted son of the last Peshwa, Baji Rao II).
- He was refused the family title, and banished from Poona, was living near Kanpur.
- Nana Saheb expelled the English from Kanpur and declared himself governor and Peshwa, acknowledging Bahadur Shah as emperor.
- Sir Hugh Wheeler surrendered on June 27, 1857.

Lucknow

- Begum Hazrat Mahal took the reigns where rebellion broke out on June 4, 1857.
- Her son, Birjis Qadir was proclaimed Nawab.
- Henry Lawrence along with others took shelter in the Residency, besieged by the Indian rebels and finally killed.
- Brigadier Inglis took the command then and held out against heavy odds.
- Finally Sir Colin Campbell, The new commander-in-chief evacuated the Europeans with the help of Gorkha regiments .
- The city was finally in control of the British by March 1858 but Guerilla activities continued till September 1858.

Bareilly

- Khan Bahadur was in command in Bareilly.

Bihar

- Kunwar Singh, the Zamindar of Jagdishpur led the revolt in Bihar .
- Faizabad
- Maulvi Ahmadullah of Faizabad was another outstanding leader of the revolt
- Native of Madras.
- Moved to Faizabad .

Jhansi

- Rani Laxmi Bai assumed the leadership of the sepoys at Jhansi Marched towards Gwalior.
- Lord Dalhousie denied her adopted son to succeed to the throne after her husband Raja Gangadhar Rao died by applying the infamous “Doctrine of Lapse”.
- She gave the battle cry – “Mein apni Jhansi nhi dunga”.
- She was joined by Tantia Tope, a close associate of Nana Saheb, after the loss of Kanpur.
- Rani of Jhansi and Tantia Tope marched towards Gwalior where they were hailed by the Indian soldiers.
- Scindia, the local ruler however sided with the British and took shelter at Agra.
- Nana Saheb was proclaimed the Peshwa.
- However, Gwalior was recaptured by the British in June 1958.

- The revolt was finally suppressed.
- British captured Delhi on Sep 20, 1857.
- Bahadur Shah was taken prisoner, exiled in Rangoon where he died in 1862.
- The royal princes were captured and killed on the spot by Lieutenant Hudson himself.
- Terrible vengeance was wreaked on the inhabitants of Delhi.
- One by one all the great leaders of the revolt fell.

Causes of failure

- Limited territorial spread. Eastern, southern and western parts remained more or less unaffected.
- Big Zamindars backed out.
- Moneylenders and merchants suffered the wrath of mutineers and supported British.
- Modern educated Indians looked at the revolt as backward looking.
- Not more than 1/4th of area and 1/10th of population was affected.
- Soldiers were poorly equipped.
- Lack of coordination between rebel leaders and central leadership

Hindu-Muslim Unity

- Complete cooperation at all levels.
- All rebels acknowledged Bahadur Shah Zafar , a Muslim, as the emperor.
- Immediate banning of cow slaughter was ordered .
- Both Hindus and Muslims were all represented in leadership.
- Nana saheb had azimullah as an aide.
- Rani Jhansi (Hindu) had support of afghan soldiers (Muslims).

Nature

- Views differ on the nature of the revolt.
- Sir John Seeley - "a wholly unpatriotic and selfish Sepoy Mutiny with no native leadership and no -popular support".
- Dr K Datta - It was "never all-Indian in character, but was localised, restricted and poorly organized".
- V.D Savarkar - "First war of Indian independence".
- S.N. Sen - "Began as fight for religion but ended as a war of independence".

- R.C Majumdar considers it as neither the first, nor national, nor a war of independence as large parts of the country remained unaffected and many sections of the people took no part in the upsurge.

Consequences

- Direct responsibility of the administration was assumed by the British crown and company rule was abolished. It was announced at a Durbar in Allahabad in the “Queen’s proclamation” on Nov 1, 1858.
- The era of annexations and expansion ended and the British promised to respect the dignity and rights of the native princes.
- The Indian states were henceforth to recognise the paramountcy of the British Crown and were to be treated as parts of a single charge.
- The Army, which was at the forefront of the outbreak, was thoroughly .

Administrative Changes after 1857

- Changes in the Army.
- The Indian branch of the army was to be used for expansion in Asia and Africa
- The British section was to be used as an army of occupation—the ultimate guarantee of British hold over India.
- Europeans to Indians - one to two in Bengal army and two to 5 in Madras and Bombay.
- Indians not allowed in high tech departments.
- Highest an Indian can reach up to 1914 was Subedar (only from 1918 onwards were Indians allowed in the commissioned ranks).
- Changes in public Services.
- Satyendranath Tagore became the first Indian to qualify Covenanted Civil Services in 1863.
- Entrance held in London in English medium only - included Greek and Latin.
- Lytton reduced age to 19 years in 1878.
- After 1886, Covenanted CS was called Imperial Civil Services.

LORD LYTTON (1876-1880) AND HIS POLICIES

- Experienced diplomat and a man of striking ability and brilliance.
- The prevailing famine and the political disturbances in the North West Frontier caused a great worry to the British at that time.

Famine Policy

- 1876-78 famine had resulted from the failure of two monsoons.
- The worst affected areas were Madras, Mysore, Hyderabad, Bombay, Central India and the Punjab.
- Lytton's Government failed miserably to tackle the situation.
- The first Famine Commission (1878-80) under Sir Richard Strachey was appointed and it made many commendable recommendations.
- Provision of funds for famine relief and construction work.
- The Famine Code came into existence in 1883.
- The Vernacular Press Act (Gagging Act) and the Arms Act (1878).
- This Act empowered a Magistrate to secure an undertaking from the editor publisher and printer of a vernacular newspaper that nothing would be published against the English Government.
- The equipment of the press could be seized if the offence was committed.
- This Act crushed the freedom of the Indian press.
- This created adverse public opinion against the British Government.
- Restrictions on the freedom of the Indian language newspapers only.
 - Som Prakash,
 - Bharat Mihir,
 - Dacca Prakash
 - Samachar
- To skip this discrimination, Amrita Bazar Patrika turned itself into an English newspaper overnight.
- In the same year, the Arms Act was passed.
- This Act prevented the Indians to keep arms without appropriate license.

- The Europeans and the Anglo- Indians were exempted from the operation of these legislations.

Other Reforms

- Lord Lytton introduced uniform salt tax throughout British India.
- He also abolished many import duties and supported the Free Trade policy which affected Indian Economic Interest.
- System of decentralisation of finance that had begun in the time of Lord Mayo was continued during the time of Lord Lytton.
- Provincial governments control over land-revenue, excise, stamps, law and justice.
- In 1878, the Statutory Civil Service was established exclusively for Indians but this was abolished later.
- Reduced maximum age for the ICS from 21 yrs. to 19 yrs. in 1876.
- During Lord Lytton Period, Royal Title Act of 1876 was passed and the assumption of the title of “Empress of India” by queen Victoria.

Lytton and the Second Afghan War (1878-80)

- The Afghan policy of the British was based on the assumed threat of Russian invasion of India.
- British lost first in 1838-42.
- The Russian attempt to send a mission to Afghanistan was the main cause of the Second Afghan War.
- Britishers attacked Afghanistan
- A British Resident was sent to Kabul but soon he was murdered along with other British officers by the Afghan rebels.
- Suddenly in 1880, Lytton was forced to resign by the new government in England.

First Anglo-Afghan War 1839-1842

- Lord Auckland was the first to advocate forward policy towards Afghanistan in 1836.
- Britishers wanted puppet govt of Shuja Shah in Afghanistan by countering Dost Mohammad Khan. This policy was adopted by Auckland during first Afghan war.

- Tripartite treaty signed between.
 - Ranjit Singh
 - Shah Shuja
 - Lord Auckland
- In between, he was replaced by Lord Ellenborough.
- The Afghanis took Shah Shuja as a betrayer and could not accept him as their ruler. He was killed including many other British Soldiers.
- British were forced to recognize Dost Mohammad as Emir of Afghanistan.
- Same forward policy was adopted by Lord Lytton.



LORD RIPON (1880-84) AND HIS POLICIES

- Staunch Liberal democrat with faith in self-government.
- Ripon was instructed to reverse the Afghan policy of Lytton.
- Therefore, as soon as he came to India, peace was made with Afghanistan without affecting the British prestige.
- The proposal of appointing a Resident in Kabul was dropped.
- He was also responsible for the rendition of Mysore to its Hindu ruler.
- Moreover, he repealed the Vernacular Press Act and earned much popularity among Indians.
- Introduction of Local Self-Government (1882).
- Helped the growth of local bodies like the Municipal Committees in towns and the local boards in Taluks and villages.
- Their chairmen were to be non-officials and their power was increased.
- Local amenities, sanitation, drainage and water-supply and also primary education delegated to local bodies.
- He also insisted on the election of local bodies as against selection by the government.
- It was insisted that the majority of the members of these boards should be elected as non-officials.
- It was Ripon who laid the foundations of the system which functions today

Educational Reforms

- Ripon appointed a Hunter Commission in 1882 under Sir William Hunter.

First Factory Act (1881)

- To improve the service condition of the factory workers in India.

- The Act banned the appointment of children below the age of seven in factories.
- It reduced the working hours for children.
- 9-12 yrs. children - not more than 9 hours a day.
- Four holidays in a month for Children.
- It made compulsory for all dangerous machines in the factories to be properly fenced to ensure security to the workers.

Factory Act 1891

- Provided for a weekly holiday for all workers.
- Fixed working hours for women at 11 hours per day.
- Ilbert Bill Agitation (1884).
- According to the system of law, a European could be tried only by a European Judge or a European Magistrate.
- C.P. Ilbert, Law Member, introduced a bill in 1883 to abolish this discrimination in judiciary.
- But Europeans opposed this Bill strongly.
- They even raised a fund of one lakh fifty thousand rupees and established an organisation called the Defense Association.
- They also suggested that it was better to end the English rule in India than to allow the English to be subjected to the Indian Judges
- The press in England joined the issue.
- Hence, Ripon amended the bill to satisfy the English in India and England
- The Ilbert Bill controversy helped the cause of Indian nationalism.
- Ripon was totally disillusioned and heartbroken and he tendered his resignation and left for England.
- The immediate result of this awakening of India was the birth of the Indian National Congress in 1885, the very next year of Ripon's departure.
- Lord Ripon was the most popular Viceroy that England ever sent to India.
- His resignation was deeply regretted by Indians who cherished his memory with gratitude ("Ripon the Good").

LORD CURZON (1899-1905) AND HIS POLICIES

- Thorough imperialist.
- Educational Reforms.
- In his view the universities had degenerated into factories for producing political revolutionaries.
- he instituted in 1902, a Universities Commission.
- On the basis of the findings and recommendations of the Commission, Curzon brought in the Indian Universities Act of 1904, which brought all the universities in India under the control of the government.
- Police and Military Reforms.
- Established Police Commission in 1902 under Sir Andrew Frazer.
- Accepted all its recommendations.
- He set up training schools for both the officers and the constables and introduced provincial police service.
- Calcutta Corporation Act (1899).
- The strength of the elected members was reduced and that of the official members increased.
- More representation to English people.
- Preservation of Archaeological objects.
- No Viceroy in India before or after him took such a keen interest in archaeological objects.
- He passed Ancient Monuments Act, 1904 which made it obligatory on the part of the government and local authorities to preserve the monuments of archaeological importance and their destruction an offence.
- He established Department of Commerce and Industries.
- He sent Younghusband's mission to Tibet.
- Responsible for Partition of Bengal, 1905.

IMPORTANT COMMISSIONS

RELATED TO EDUCATION

Hunter Commission 1882

- It looked into the complaints of non-implementation of Woods Despatch,.
- Focus on elementary education.
- Recommended for the expansion and improvement of the elementary education of the masses.
- Suggested two channels for the secondary education-one was literary education leading up to the Entrance Examination of the university and the other preparing the students for a vocational career.
- The Commission noted the poor status of women education.
- It encouraged the local bodies in the villages and towns to manage the elementary education.
- This had resulted in the extraordinary rise in the number of educational institutions in India.

Raleigh Commission 1902 (Indian University Commission)

- To bring universities under control, excluded primary education completely.

Saddlers Commission 1917

- Commission to study and report on the problems of Calcutta University.
- Other members were Zia-ud-din Ahmed and Ashutosh Mukherjee.
- The Commission discussed the main weaknesses of Higher Education in Bengal Itchcap Commission 1923 (Indian Disbandment Committee).
- To discuss central committee of education.

Hartog Commission 1929

- Devoted far more attention to mass education than Secondary and University Education.
- Emphasis should be on primary education but there need be no hasty expansion.
- Only deserving students should go for Intermediate and university, others to be diverted to vocational education.

Wardha Scheme of Basic Education 1937

- In 1937, Gandhiji published article in the Harijan, based upon which an all India National Education Conference was held in 1937.
- The president of this conference was Gandhiji.
- Focus was on 'learning through activity'.
- Free and compulsory education to be provided for 7 years at a nationwide scale through mother tongue.
- Teaching to be in Hindi from class II to VII and in English only after class VIII.
- This system would generate the remuneration of the teachers.
- No place for religious education in this scheme.
- Zakir Hussain committee formulated a detailed national scheme on this basis.

Sargent Commission 1944

- To raise standard of Education like Britain.
- Sergeant was the educational advisor to the Govt.
- Pre-primary education for 3-6 year age group.
- Free, universal and compulsory elementary education for 6-11 year age group.
- High school education for 11-17 year age group.
- A university course of 3 years after higher secondary.
- High school to be of two types.
 - Academic.
 - Technical and vocational.
- Abolition of intermediate course.
- Teachers' training & physical education.
- Liquidation/Ending of adult illiteracy in 20 years.

- Education for the physically and mentally handicapped.

Some Famine Commissions.

- 1897 - James Lyall Commission .
- 1896 was a famine year.
- Started in Bundelkhand and spreaded.
- Commission affirmed the broad principles of famine relief enunciated by the First Famine Commission of 1880.
- But made a number of changes in implementation.
- 1900 - Anthony McDonnell Commission.
- Came out with a moral strategy, distribution of advances and loans to peasants and setting up a famine commissioner in the famine affected provinces.
- 1943-44 - John Woodhead.

Some Administrative Commissions

- 1884 Etkinson Commission - To involve more Indians in civil services.
- 1902 Fraser Commission — established for the police reform.
- 1912 - Lord Islington Commission - To give 25% high posts to Indians.
- Recommended to conduct Civil service exam both in India and England simultaneously.
- 1924 Lord Lee Commission - To remove defects of Civil services.
- 1926 Andrew Sken Commission - To suggest Indianisation of Indian Army.
- 1927 Hercourt Butler Commission.
- Recommendations.
- To examine nature of crown relations with native states.
- Paramountcy must remain supreme.
- States should not be handed over to an Indian government in British India without the consent of RULERS of the states.
- Viceroy was made the Crown's agent in dealing with states.
- Chatfield Committee.
- In the wake of financial crisis in Indian defence in 1930s.
- Lottery Committee.
- Town Planning.
- It was so named because funds for town improvement were raised through public lotteries.

- 1893 Harshell Committee - To give suggestions regarding Currency.
- 1893 Opium Commission - To investigate about the effect of opium on health.
- 1898 Henry Fowler Commission - To give Suggestions on Currency.
- 1901 Sir Wolvin Scott Monkinj (Irrigation Commission) - To plan for the expenditure on irrigation.
- 1914-15 Maclagan Committee - To advise for Cooperative Finances.
- 1928 Linlithgow Commission -To study the problem in Agriculture.

1929 Whitley Commission

- To study the condition of labour in industries and gardens .
- Adoption of standard wages in Jute industries.
- Formation of works committees to promote cordial relations between the employees and the employers.
- 1935 Indian Measurement Committee (Larry Hamand) - To arrange for inclusion of labour in Federal assembly.

Peel Commission

- To look into the military affairs of India.
- The native army should be composed of different nationalities and caste and as a general rule mixed promiscuously through each regiment.

Aitchison Commission

- Set up in 1886.
- Public Service Commission for higher and more extensive employment of Indians in Public Service.
- Recommendations.
- Three-tier classification.
 - Imperial
 - Provincial
 - Subordinate

- Recommended the admission of Indians subject to their fitness into Indian covenanted civil services.
- Did not favor holding of simultaneous competitive exams in Britain and India.



CIVIL REVOLTS AND TRIBAL UPRISINGS

Reasons for Tribal Revolt

- Against the extension of British rule to their areas.
- Penetration of their areas by outsiders.
- Tightening British control over forest zone.
- Resentment against British efforts to recruit unpaid tribal labour for manual work.

Sanyasi Revolt

- Massive famine in 1770.
- Sanyasis and Fakirs used to get money en route pilgrimages from landlords but Britishers raised taxes which restricted landlords capacity to pay them.
- Sanyasis were not given any alms / money.
- Numerous restrictions were placed on their movements.
- Further, the British considered them as looters.
- Thus they raided the government treasuries and Company's factories.
- Involved Hindu Sanyasis and Muslim Fakirs both.
- Warren Hastings contained the raids by the Sanyasis.

Chuar Uprising

- Land revenue was the main source of income for aboriginal tribesmen of Midnapore, Burdwan.
- Company introduced a novel experiment there.
- To get the maximum revenue, they sold the estates by the public auctions.
- Profitable to state but harmed the interests of the tribes.
- Enhanced land revenue demands, Famine and economic distress led Chuar aboriginal tribesmen of Midnapore district to take up arms.
- lasted from 1766 to 1772.
- Again surfaced between 1795 and 1816.

Ho Rising

- Ho and Munda tribes of Chhotanagpur plateau.
- Active in 1820-22, then again in 1831, and the area remained disturbed till 1837.

Ahom Revolt

- The British had pledged to withdraw after the First Burma War (1824-26) from Assam. But, after the war, instead of withdrawing, the British attempted to incorporate the Ahoms' territories.
- This sparked off a rebellion in 1828.
- Finally, the Company decided to follow a conciliatory policy and handed over Upper Assam to Maharaja Purandar Singh Narendra and part of the kingdom was restored to the Assamese king.

Rampa Rebellion of 1922-24

- led by Alluri Sitarama Raju.
- Referred to as "Manyam Veerudu" (Hero of the Jungles).
- Propagated Mahatma Gandhiji's message.
- band of tribal leaders and other sympathisers fought against the British Raj.
- Led movement in Gudum hills in Andhra Pradesh.

Kol Mutiny (1831)

- Covered Ranchi, Singhbhum, Hazaribagh, Palamau.
- Started with large scale transfer of land from Kol headmen (Munda) to outsiders like Sikh and Muslim farmers.
- They killed or burnt about a thousand outsiders in 1831.

Kandh Uprising (1837-56)

- Effective in Ghumsar, Chinaki-Medi, Kalahandi and Patna.
- Reasons include Kandh's practice of human sacrifice (Mariah), introduction of the new taxes, The convergence of Zamindars and Moneylenders into their areas.
- British first try to assuage and persuade them but later suppressed the uprising.

Khasi Uprising

- East India Company wanted to build a road linking the Brahmaputra Valley with Sylhet.
- For this, a large number of outsiders were brought to these regions.
- The Khasis, Garos, Khamptis and the Singhpos organised themselves under to drive away the strangers from the plains.
- Under the leadership of Tirath Singh.
- By 1833, the superior English military force had suppressed the revolt.

Pagal Panthis

- It was a semi religious sect founded by Karam Shah, effective in northern districts of Bengal.
- An activist fervor to the sect was imparted by Tipu, the son and successor of Karam Shah, with religious and political motives.
- He took up the cause of the tenants against the oppression.
- Tipu captured Sherpur in 1825 and assumed royal power.
- The area remained disturbed in the 1830s and 1840s.

Santhal Rising (1855-56)

- The Santhals of Rajmahal Hills resented the oppression against both the British colonial authority and upper caste zamindari system, in general the outsider whom they called "Diku".
- Santhals known as Daman-i-koh.
- The Santhals believed that their actions had the blessings of God.
- They made a determined attempt to expel the outsiders, the dikus.
- The Santhal insurrection was helped by a large number of nontribal and poor dikus.

Causes

- racism and corrupt usury moneylending practices.
- On 30 June 1855, Two Santhal rebel leaders, Sidhu and Kanhu Murmu, mobilized ten thousand Santals and declared a rebellion against British colonists.

- They declared the end of the Company's rule and asserted themselves independent.
- The basic purpose was to collect taxes by making their own laws.
- They tried to set up their own Govt but were defeated by British force under Major Burrough.
- The British suppresses the revolt by transferring the disturbed area to the military in 1856.
- A separate district of Santhal Pargana, was created by the Government to pacify the Santhals.

Munda Revolt

- Munda sardars of Chhotanagpur practiced Khuntkatti system (common landholdings) which was disturbed by jagirdars.
- Thus they rose under Birsa Munda.
- Indian tribal freedom fighter born on Nov 15, 1875.
- Belonged to Munda Tribe in Bihar and Jharkhand.
- He converted to Christianity but upon realising the efforts of the missionaries to convert tribals to Christianity, Birsa started the faith of 'Birsait'. He was rendered as God by the people.
- helped the tribal community uproot superstition, stop animal sacrifice and avoid alcoholism.
- His portrait hangs in the Central Hall of the Indian parliament, the only tribal leader to have been so honoured.
- Lead a movement against colonialists.
- Died in Jail.
- Forced the British to introduce Chotanagpur Tenancy Act protecting the land rights of the tribals eight years after his death.
- It was a religious movement with an agrarian and political content.
- Aim was to establish munda rule by killing jagirdars and thekedars.

Western India

Bhil Uprisings

- Bhils concentrated around khandesh revolted in 1817-19 and again in 1825, 1836, 1846.

Cutch Rebellion

- British interfered in the internal feuds of the Cutch and, in 1819, defeated and deposed the Cutch ruler Rao Bharamal in favour of his infant.
- A British resident governed the areas as the de facto ruler with the help of a regency council.
- Administrative innovations with excessive land assessment caused deep resentment.
- Public demanded the restoration of Bharamal.
- British compelled to follow conciliatory policy.

Koli Risings

- Neighborhood of Bhils.
- Rose in 1829.
- Reason was Unemployment and dismantling of their forts.

Ramosi Risings

- Chittur Singh led the uprising in the hill tribes of the Western Ghats.
- He rose in 1822 and plundered the country around Satara.
- Disturbances continued till 1829.

Kuka Revolt

- It was founded in 1840 by Bhagat Jawahar Mal (also called Sian Saheb) and Baba balak Singh in western Punjab.
- Transformed from a religious purification campaign to a political one.
- It had elements of “Non-Cooperation” and “civil disobedience” as well.
- Its basic tenets were abolition of caste and similar discriminations among Sikhs, discouraging the eating of meat and alcohol and drugs.
- Encouraging women to step out of seclusion.
- Satguru Ram Singh sets up Namdhari Sect,.
- Appoints Suba (Governors) and Naib Suba (dy.Governors) to mobilize Kukas across Punjab.
- British executed 65 Kukas by cannon, captured Satguru Ram Singh, transported him to Rangoon.

- Death of Ram Singh - movement faded away.
- Namdhari Sect.
- Emphasizes on austerity.
- Absence of any religious ritual except repeating God's name.
- Namdharis are also called Kukas because of similar method of chanting hymns.
- Keep distinct style of turban.
- Maintain their own Gurudwara.
- Practice vegetarianism.
- Marry at fire-altar.

Peasant Movements

Indigo Revolt 1859-60

- Europeans forced peasants to grow indigo on their lands instead of the more paying crops like rice.
- The peasants were provided loans called “dadon” for indigo planting which was at a very high interest rate.
- The loan made the people indebted and resulted in a rebellion.
- The price paid for the indigo plants was far below the market price.
- The peasant was forced to grow indigo on the best land he had.
- They had to pay regular bribes to the planter's officials.
- The planters also tried methods like evictions and enhanced rents.
- Peasants forced to Strike.
- Bengali intelligentsia supported peasants.
- Indigo commission was formed.
- Based on its recommendations, the Government issued a notification in November 1860 that the ryots could not be compelled to grow indigo and that it would ensure that all disputes were settled by legal means.
- The leaders were Digambar and Bishnu Bishwas.
- The condition was depicted in the newspaper Nil Darpan - Bengali play written by Dinabandhu Mitra.

Deccan Riots

- There was heavy taxation under Ryotwari system.
- Peasants had to take loans for tax payment.
- Moneylenders were generally outsiders - Marwaris or Gujaratis.
- Root of the movement lies in.
- Changing relationship between the Maratha Kunbi peasants and the sahuakar moneylenders.
- After introduction of Ryotwari System, Each peasant individually needed more credit.
- Creation of property right in land and the courts protecting such rights created a land market which lead to more demand for land.
- Peasants started mortgaging land in lieu of credit with moneylenders and the land got confiscated in case of non-payment.
- Caste prejudices prevented the moneylenders from touching the plough.
- Same land thus leased out to former owner-cultivator.
- Thus owners became tenants.
- The conditions had worsened due to a crash in cotton prices after the end of the American civil war in 1864, the Government's decision to raise the land revenue by 50% in 1867, and a succession of bad harvests.
- In 1874, social boycott movement organised by the ryots against the "outsider" moneylenders.
- The ryots refused to buy from their shops.
- No peasant would cultivate their fields. The barbers, washer men, shoemakers would not serve them.
- Soon, the social boycott was transformed into agrarian riots with systematic attacks on the moneylenders' houses and shops.
- The debt bonds and deeds were seized and publicly burnt.
- Movement was repressed.
- Deccan riots commission.
- As a conciliatory measure, the Deccan Agriculturists Relief Act was passed in 1879 which.
- Put restrictions on the alienation of the peasants land.
- Imposed some restrictions on the Civil Procedure Code.
- Intelligentsia supported the movement.

Kisan Sabha Movement

- After the 1857 revolt, the Awadh taluqdars had got back their lands.
- This strengthened the hold of the taluqdars or big landlords over the agrarian society of the province.
- The majority of the cultivators were subjected to high rents, summary evictions (bedakhali), illegal levies, renewal fees or nazrana.
- The First World War had hiked the prices of food and other necessities. This worsened the conditions of the UP peasants.
- Mainly due to the efforts of the Home Rule activists, Kisan Sabhas were organised in UP.
- The UP Kisan Sabha was set up in February 1918 by Gauri Shankar Mishra and Indra Dwivedi.
- Malviya helped in their establishments.
- Nehru developed close contacts with the villagers.
- In October 1920, the Awadh Kisan Sabha came into existence because of differences in nationalist ranks.
- The Awadh Kisan Sabha asked the Kisans to refuse to till bedakhali land, not to offer hari and begar (forms of unpaid labour), to boycott those who did not accept these conditions and to solve their disputes through panchayats.
- Patterns of activity changed from Jan 1921 with looting and clashes.
- The movement declined soon, partly due to government repression and partly because of the passing of the Awadh Rent (Amendment) Act.
- Later All India Kisan Sabha emerged.

Eka Movement

- Leader - Madari Pasi.
- Towards the end of 1921, peasant discontent resurfaced in some northern districts of the United Provinces—Hardoi, Bahraich, Sitapur. The issues involved were.
- high rents - 50 per cent higher than the recorded rates.
- Oppression of thikadars.
- Practice of share-rents.
- The meetings of the Eka or the Unity Movement involved a symbolic religious ritual in which the assembled peasants vowed that they would.
- Pay only the recorded rent but would pay it on time.

- not leave when evicted.
- refuse to do forced labour.
- abide by panchayat decisions.
- Repressed by March 1922.

Mappila Revolt

- The Mappilas were the Muslim tenants in Malabar region and the landlords were mostly Hindus.
- Reason of revolt were lack of security of tenure, high rents, renewal fees and other oppressive exactions.
- Revolt merged with Khilafat Movement.
- The leaders of the Khilafat-Non-Cooperation Movement like Gandhiji, Shaukat Ali and Maulana Azad addressed Mappila meetings.
- After the arrest of national leaders, the leadership passed into the hands of local Mappila leaders.
- Things took a turn for the worse in August 1921 when the arrest of a respected priest leader, Ali Musaliar, sparked off large-scale riots.
- Many Hindus were seen by the Mappilas to be helping the authorities.
- What began as an anti-government and ant landlord affair acquired communal overtones.
- The communalisation of the rebellion completed the isolation of the Mappilas from the Khilafat-Non Cooperation Movement. By December 1921, all resistance had come to a stop.

Bardoli Satyagraha (Taluqa in surat)

- The movement sparked off in January 1926 when the authorities decided to increase the land revenue by 30 per cent.
- Peasants protested against it.
- Bardoli Inquiry Committee was formed.
- In February 1926, Vallabhbhai Patel was called to lead the movement, The women of Bardoli gave him the title of "Sardar".
- He called to refuse payment until the Government appointed an independent tribunal or accepted the current amount as full payment.
- Patel set up 13 chhavanis or worker's camps in the taluqa.

- Bardoli Satyagraha Patrika was brought out to mobilise public opinion.
- Intelligence wing was set up to make sure all the tenants followed the movement's resolutions.
- Those who opposed the movement faced a social boycott.
- Active participation of volunteers from Hindu, Muslims and Parsi communities.
- K.M. Munshi and Lalji Naranji resigned from the Bombay Legislative Council in support of the movement.
- By August 1928, massive tension aroused.
- Gandhiji reached Bardoli to stand by in case of any emergency.
- Government was looking for a graceful withdrawal now.
- It set the condition that first the enhanced rent be paid by all the occupants (not actually done).
- Then, a committee went into the whole affair and found the revenue hike to be unjustified and recommended a rise of 6.03 per cent only.
- Maxwell-Broomfield commission.

Tebhaga Movement

- In September 1946, the Bengal Provincial Kisan Sabha gave a call to implement, through mass struggle, the Flood Commission recommendations of Tebhaga.
- Two-thirds' share to be given to the bargardars, the share croppers instead of one third.
- The bargardars worked on lands rented from the jotedars.
- The central slogan was "nij khamare dhan tolo"—i.e., sharecroppers taking the paddy to their own threshing floor and not to the jotedar's house, as before, so as to enforce Tebhaga.
- Storm Centre - north Bengal.
- Muslims also participated in large numbers.
- Nari Bahinis or Women's Brigades formed - resisted colonial police.
- Women participation limited due to resistance from communist party.
- Women's leadership could emerge only when the leadership of the Communist Party "abstained" from the movement.
- The trade unions in general ignored women's issues.
- The movement dissipated soon, because of.

- Ministry's sop of the Bargadari Bill in Jan 1947.
- However they failed to pursue the bill in the Assembly.
- It was only in 1950 that the Congress Ministry passed a Bargadars Bill An intensified repression.
- The popularisation of the Hindu Mahasabha's agitation for a separate Bengal.
- Renewed riots in Calcutta which ended the prospects of sympathetic support from the urban sections.

Telangana Movement

- Biggest peasant guerrilla war of modern Indian history affecting 3000 villages and 3 million population.
- The princely state of Hyderabad under Asafjahi Nizams was marked by.
- Combination of religious-linguistic domination.
- Total lack of political and civil liberties.
- Grossest forms of forced exploitation by deshmukhs, jagirdars, doras (landlords) in forms of forced labour (vethi) and illegal exactions.
- The uprising began in July 1946 when a deshmukh's thug murdered a village militant in Jangaon taluq of Nalgonda. Soon, the uprising spread to Warangal and Kharnmam.
- The peasants organised themselves into village sanghams, and attacked using lathis, stone slings and chilli powder.
- They had to face brutal repression.
- The movement was at its greatest intensity between August 1947 and September 1948.
- Once the Indian security forces took over Hyderabad, the movement fizzled out.
- Positive achievements.
- In the villages controlled by guerrillas, vethi and forced labour disappeared.
- Agricultural wages were raised.
- Illegally seized lands were restored.
- Steps were taken to fix ceilings and redistribute lands. Measures were taken to improve irrigation and fight cholera.
- An improvement in the condition of women was witnessed.

RELIGIOUS AND SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

Indian Society in 19th century

- Led by Religious Superstitions and social obscurantism - animism, magic, priest influences, idolatory and polytheism Socio Cultural Regeneration .

Social Base

- Newly emerging middle class.
- Difference between lower and emerging middle classes.
- Middle class thought to bring the same reforms as in the west.

Ideological Base

- Rationalism, Religious universalism, and humanism.
- Mr Raja Ram Mohan Roy and Akshay Kumar Dutt propagated medical opinion against child marriage.
- Era of logic, reason, science.
- Swami Vivekananda suggested same method of investigations which apply to other sciences.
- Neither a revival of old past nor a total break with tradition was envisaged.
- Universalist approach of Sir Syed and Raja Ram Mohan Roy.
- Keshub Chandra Sen talks about truth and religion.
- Focus more on Humanist aspect of religion .
- Attention on worldly existence rather than other worldly existence.
- Twin Concerns.
- Alternative cultural - ideological system.
- Regeneration of traditional institutions.
- Two types of movements.
 - Reformist - Brahmo Samaj, Prarthana Samaj, Aligarh Movement etc.
 - Revivalist - Arya Samaj, Deoband Movement etc.
- Difference is on degree of reform and religion.

Social Reform

- Social reform movements formed an integral part of religious reforms primarily because evils get legitimacy from religion.
- Later these movements disassociated from religion and adopted a secular approach.
- First Upper class involved in social reforms and then lower classes take part in them.

Two major issues in India

- Betterment of position of women.
- Propagation of ideas of Individualism and equality.
- Abolition of Sati happened in Bengal in 1829, Madras and Bombay in 1830 with certain modifications.
- For Female Infanticide Bengal Regulations 1795 and 1804.
- Act of 1870 - register birth and verify child for some years.
- Keshav Chandra Sen formed “Indian Reform Association” in 1870 and persuaded the British government to enact the Native Marriage Act popularly known as Civil marriages Act which legalized the Brahmo marriages and fixed the marriageable age for girls and boys at 18 and 14 respectively.

For Widow Remarriage

- The Hindu Widow's remarriage act 1856 enacted with the efforts of Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar who mentioned Hindu texts to justify Widow remarriages.
- Vishnu Shastri Pandit associated with Widow Remarriage association in 1850s.
- Jagannath Shankar Seth and Bhau Daji established girl's schools in MH.
- Karsondas Mulji started Satya Prakash in 1852 to advocate widow remarriage.
- Similar efforts by D.K. Karve in western India.
- Married a widow in 1893.
- Became secretary of Widow Remarriage association.
- Opened Hindu Widow's home in Poona (1896).
- In 1896, founded Ananth Balikashram for the education of Widows.
- Started Mahila Vidyalaya in 1907.

- Founded Indian Women's university at Bombay in 1916 - SNDT Women's University (First in India and South East Asia).
- Veersalingam Pantulu in Madras.
- Started his journal ‘Vivekavardhini’ in 1874 at Rajahmundry.
- Formed Society for Social Reform in support of widow remarriage in Madras.
- He officiated first widow marriage in 1881 in his hometown Rajahmundry with stiff opposition.
- Gradually support increased and in 1891, a Widow Remarriage Association was formed.

For Child Marriage

- Native marriage Act passed in 1872.
- Age of Consent Act 1891 - Sexual intercourse age 10 yrs. to 12 yrs. (Not marriage) with the efforts of B.M Malabari.
- The Act of 1860 prohibited consummation for a Hindu girl of marriage below ten years of age.
- Sharda Act 1930 calls for marriageable age of 18 yrs. for boys and 14 yrs. for girls.
- Child Marriage Restraint (Amendment) Act 1978 finally put 18 yrs. and 21 yrs. for girls and boys respectively as marriageable age .

Dhondho Keshav Karve (DK Karve)

- For Education of Women.
- Calcutta female juvenile society 1819 was formed by Missionaries.
- Bethune School in 1849 established by JED Bethune.
- Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar associated with 35 girls schools.
- 1914 Women's medical service started.
- Indian Women's university established at Bombay in 1916.
- Lady Hardinge Medical College established in 1916.
- Dufferin Hospitals established in 1880s for health facilities to women.
- All India Women's Conference formed in 1927 by Kamaladevi Chattopadhyay
- Sarojini Naidu - president of INC in 1925 and later governor of united provinces.
- Laws in Independent India.
- Articles 14 and 15 provides equality and no discrimination.

- Special Marriages Act, 1954 - Inter caste and Inter religious marriages.
- Hindu Marriage Act 1955 - Abolished Bigamy and permitted dissolution of marriage on certain grounds.
- Hindu Succession Act 1956 - Daughter equal co-heir with son.
- The Hindu Adoption and Maintenance Act 1956.
- Maternity Benefits Act 1961.
- Equal Remuneration Act 1976.
- The Factories (Amendment) Act 1976.
- Criminal Law (Amendment) Bill 1983 - Rape and other domestic violence.
- Dowry Prohibition Act 1961 as amended in 1986.
- Struggle Against Caste Discrimination.
- Caste rigidities reduced with certain steps of Britishers.
- Factors which undermined caste rigidities.
- Creation of private property in land and free sale of land by britishers.
- Equality before law by britishers.
- Judicial functions of caste panchayat taken away.
- Civil services open to all caste.
- Education on secular lines.

Raja Ram Mohan Roy

- Wrote Gift to Monotheists in 1809.
- He translated Vedas and Upanishads to prove monotheism.
- Established Atmiya Sabha in 1814.
- According to him, Vedanta is based on reason, if reason allow, u can even change the edicts.
- Wrote Precepts of Jesus in 1920 which attracted wrath of missionaries, he separated morality and philosophy from miracles.
- According to missionaries, he incorporated message of Christianity in Hinduism.
- Started Anti sati struggle in 1818.
- Supported David hare for Hindu College in 1817.
- Established Vedanta college in 1825.
- Wrote Bengali grammar book.
- Well versed with many languages - Sanskrit, Persian, Arabic, English, French, Latin, Greek, and Hebrew.

- Condemned oppressive practices of Bengali Zamindars and demanded fixation of maximum rents.
- Demanded Abolition of taxes on tax free lands.
- Demanded reduction in export duties.
- Supported Indianisation of superior goods.
- Espoused Separation of Executive and Judiciary.
- Internationalist - supported the revolutions of Naples and Spanish America and condemned oppression of Ireland by absentee English landlordism.
- Established Brahmo Sabha in 1828.
- Focus on Prayers, meditation and readings of Upanishad.
- No idols or image, painting or pictures allowed in Samaj buildings
- Discarded faith in divine Avataras.
- No definite stand on the doctrine of karma and transmigration.
- Condemned prejudice against going abroad.
- Worked on two fronts – Internal reforms as well as external attacks.
- Debendranath Tagore joined brahmo Samaj in 1842.
- He also headed the Tattvabodhini Sabha founded in 1839.
- He was also the publisher of Tattvabodhini Patrika in Bengali which looks India's past with rational outlook.
- Keshub Chandra Sen made Acharya. he joined Brahmo Samaj in 1858
- Focus on Cosmopolatisation of Samaj's meetings by inclusion from all religions.
- Offices opened outside Bengal.
- Open support to inter-caste marriage .
- Promoted radical ideas.
- Thus dismissed in 1865.
- He founded Brahmo Samaj of India in 1866.
- Tagore's one become Adi Brahmo Samaj.
- 1878 - Sen married her 13 yrs. daughter to prince of cooch behar.
- Disgusted followers formed Sadharan Brahmo Samaj.
- Anand Mohan Bose and Dwarkanath Ganguly.
- Raja Ram Mohan Roy Died in 1833.
- Press Regulation of 1823 stop the publication of Raja Ram Mohan Roy's Mirat-ul-Akhbar.

Prarthana Samaj

- Founded by Atmaram Pandurang in 1867 in Bombay.
- Keshub Chandra Sen also a driving force.
- Idea was to make people believe in one God and worship only one God.
- Relied on education and persuasion.
- Four point social agenda.
- Disapproval of caste system.
- Women's education.
- Widow remarriage.
- Raising the age of marriage.

Young Bengal Movement

- Started in late 1820s and early 1830s.
- Henry Vivian Derozio was the driving force who was associated with Hindu college from 1826 to 1831.
- He was inspired from French revolution.
- Considered as perhaps the first nationalist poet of modern India.
- However he failed to take up peasant cause.
- Causes taken by him.
- Induction of Indians in higher services.
- Protection of ryots.
- Better treatment of Indian labour.
- Revision of Company's charter.
- Freedom of press.
- Trial by Jury.

Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar

- Happy blend of Indian and Western thought.
- He was against child marriage and polygamy.
- In 1850, he became the principal of Sanskrit college founded in 1824.
- Opened college to non-Brahmins.
- Introduced western thought in college.

- Evolved new methodology to teach Sanskrit.
- Devised a new Bengali primer and evolved a new prose style.
- As secretary of Bethune school, pioneer of higher education for women.

Bal Shastri Jambekar

- He attacked Brahmanical orthodoxy.
- Belonged to Bombay.
- Reformed popular Hinduism.
- Started Darpan in 1832.
- Student's literary and scientific Societies.
- Also known as Gyan Prasarak Mandalis.
- They had two branches.
- Marathi and Gujarati.
- Founded in 1848 by educated young men.
- Used to organize lectures on popular sciences and social questions.
- Established many schools for girls.

Paramhansa Mandalis

- Established in 1849 in Maharashtra.
- Believed in one God, breaking caste rules.
- Food cooked by lower caste people served to upper caste people.
- Focus on widow remarriage and widow education.
- Branches in Poona, Satara, and other towns of Maharashtra.

Satyashodhak Samaj and Jyotiba Phule

- Satyashodhak Samaj was established in 1873 by Phule, leadership of which come from backward classes like malis, telis, kunbis etc.
- Based in Pune.

- Main aims of the Satyashodhak Samaj.
- Social service.
- Education of women and lower caste.
- Rejected all religious sources of inequality.
- Phule wrote sarvajanik Satyadharma and gulamgin.
- Used the symbol of Rajah Bali as opposed to upper caste's symbol of Rama
- Glorified the native tradition by providing myths and symbols such as God Khandoba, Chatrapathi Shivaji, King Bali who were considered as the protectors of Shudra's interest.
- Against sanskritic Hinduism.
- Opened a Girls's school in Poona and a pioneer of widow remarriage movement in Maharashtra.

Gopalhari Deshmukh Lokahitawadi

- Staunch believer of Rationalism, humanism and secularism.
- Attacked Hindu orthodoxy.
- He said if religion does not sanction social reform then change the religion.

Gopal Ganesh Agarkar

- Gave emphasis on Human reason.
- Condemned false glorification of past.
- Servants of India Society.
- Established by Gopal Krishna Gokhale in 1905.
- Train national missionaries for the service of India.
- Promoted interests of Indian people.
- After Gokhale in 1915, Srinivas Shastri took over the society.

Gopal Krishna Gokhale

- Elected to Imperial council after the retirement of Pherozshah Mehta in 1901.
- Secretary of the Poona Sarvajanik Sabha and the editor of the Sudharak.
- Trained in economics by Justice Ranade and GV Joshi.
- Gained great fame for his budget speeches.
- People calls him "the leader of the opposition".

- Gandhiji declared him political guru.
- Tilak called him "the diamond of India" at his funeral in 1915.

Social service League

- Another Gokhale follower Narayan Malhar Joshi founded the league in Bombay.
- Established Schools, libraries, reading rooms, day nurseries, cooperative societies.
- Activities also included police court agent's work, legal aid.
- Also provided facilities for gymnasias and theatrical performances, sanitary work, medical relief.
- Joshi also founded All India trade union Congress in 1920.
- Founder included Lala Lajpat Rai and Joseph Baptista.
- Founder member of the World Federation of Trade Union.

The Ramkrishna movement

- Brahmo Samaj propagated such ideas which are mostly appreciated by the Elites.
- General Mass were more interested in Bhakti and Yoga.
- Two objectives.
 - Prepare a band of Monks dedicated to a life of renunciation and practical spirituality, who were to be sent to spread message of Vedanta. Ramakrishna Paramhansa gave focus on that and established Ramakrishna Math whose headquarter was at Belur near Calcutta.
 - Prepare Disciples to carry the work of preaching, philanthropic and charitable works. Swami Vivekananda gave more focus to this objective and established Ramakrishna Mission in 1897 whose headquarter was at Belur near Calcutta.
- Ramakrishna Paramhansa.
- Propagated the idea of different names of one god.
- He said that "The service of man is the service of god".

Narendranath Dutta (Vivekananda)

- Preacher of Neo Hinduism.
- He believed that Vedanta is a fully rational system with a superior approach.
- Emphasis on Bridging gulf between paramartha (service) and vyavhara (behaviour).
- He was a Humanist.
- Never gave a political message.
- He said that.
- Knowledge without action is useless.
- It was an insult to God and humanity to teach religion to a starving man – Vivekananda.
- Service of jiva is the worship of siva.
- Established Ramakrishna Mission.
- Unlike Arya Samaj, It recognises the utility and value of image worship in developing spiritual fervor and worship of the eternal omnipotent God.
- It is not a proselytising body and does not consider itself as a sect of Hinduism.
- Emphasis on spirit rather than symbols and rituals .
- Vedanta will make a Christian a better Christian and a Hindu a better Hindu
- Vivekananda gave speech in Chicago in 1893 and emphasised healthy balance between spiritualism and materialism.

Dayanand Saraswati and Arya Samaj

- Arya Samaj was formed in reaction to western influences.
- Dayananda Saraswati was born in Gujarat in a Brahmin family.
- Arya Samaj established at Bombay in 1875.
- later headquarter transferred to Lahore.
- Dayananda Saraswati published Satyarth Prakash to propagate his ideas.

Ideas

- Aryan religion being common religion of all.
- Vedas - India's rock of ages.
- Slogan - Back to the Vedas.
- Criticised puranas.

- Criticised Hindu orthodoxy, caste rigidities, idolatory, polytheism, taboo on sea voyages.
- Subscribed to Chaturvarna on the basis of occupation and not birth.
- Marriagable age for girls - 16, boys – 25.
- Hindu race - "Children of children".
- Inter-caste and widow marriages encouraged.
- Proposed equal status for women.
- Stressed on the significance of individual interpretation of Vedas.
- Advocated that God, Soul and Matter were distinct.
- Criticised niyati and focused on right deed to attain salvation.
- Social well-being to be placed above individual well being.
- Criticised the escapist Hindu belief in Maya, salvation, to renounce physical life.
- Dayananda Saraswati received education from blind teacher named Swami virajananda.
- Established DAV schools - first at lahore in 1886.
- Swami Shraddhanand established Gurukul at Hardwar in 1902.
- Work of Dayananda Saraswati carried forward by Lala Hansraj, Pandit Gurudatt, Lala lajpat Rai, Swami Shraddhananda.
- Proponent of Shuddhi Movement.

Seva Sadan

- Established by BM Malabari in 1885.
- Focus was on taking care of women discarded by the society .
- It was for women of all castes.

Deva Samaj

- Established by Shiv Narain Agnihotri in 1887.
- Emphasized eternity of the soul and supremacy of the guru - good action.
- Headquarter at Lahore.
- Calls for ideal social behaviour.
- Teachings compiled in a book - Deva Shastra.

Dharma Sabha

- Established by Radhakant Deb in 1830.
- Suggested Status quo to be maintained.
- Opposed even the abolition of Sati.
- Favoured promotion of western education even for girls.

Bharat Dharma Mahamandala

- Many organisations formed before its establishment.
- Sanatan Dharma Sabha formed in 1895.
- Dharma Maha Parishad in south India.
- Dharma Mahamandali in Bengal.
- They were combined in 1902 to form Bharat Dharma Mahamandala with headquarter in Varanasi.
- Pt Madan Mohan Malviya also prominent in its formation.

Radhaswami Movement

- Tulsi Ram, a banker from Agra also known as Shiv Dayal Saheb was the moving force behind its establishment.
- Formed in 1861.
- Believe in One Supreme God and the need for a Guru.
- Propagated Simple social life but does not call for renunciation.
- Under this movement, All religions were considered as true.
- No belief in temples etc.
- Belief in charity.

Sri Narayana Guru Dharma Paripalana (SNDP)

- Sri Narayana Guru Swamy formed it among the Ezhavas of Kerala who belonged to caste of toddy tappers considered as untouchables.
- Rejected casteism, and promoted new values of spiritual freedom and social equality.
- Stressed the need for the spiritual and social upliftment of the downtrodden by their own efforts through the establishment of temples and educational institutions.
- Denounced the superstitions.
- Started publishing SNDP yogama in 1902 which took issues like.

- Right of admission to public schools.
- Recruitment to Govt Services.
- Access to roads and temples.
- Political representation of lower castes.

Vokkaliga Sangha

- Anti-Brahmin movement started in 1905 in Mysore.

Justice Movement

- Formed in Madras by CN Mudaliar, TM Nair, P Tyagaraja.
- Idea was to increase political representation of non-Brahmin.

Self-Respect movement

- EV Ramaswamy Naicker was the moving force behind this movement.
- Started in Mid 1920s.
- Idea was the rejection of brahmanical religion and culture.
- Started formalising wedding without Brahmins.

Aravippuram movement

- In 1888, On the day of Shivaratri, Sri Narayana Guru installed an idol of Siva at Aravippuram in Kerala in his efforts to show that the consecration of god's image was not a monopoly of the Brahmins.
- Event inspires several movements especially temple entry movement.

Temple Entry Movement

- Significant work already done by intellectuals like Narayana Guru, Kumaran Asan, TK Madhavana.
- In 1924, Vaikom Satyagraha led by K.P. Kesava launched in Kerala - open roads and temples.
- Satyagraha reinforced by Jathas from Punjab and Madurai
- Gandhiji joined the movement.

- Again in 1931 - when civil disobedience movement was suspended, Temple entry movement was organised in Kerala.
- Inspired by K Kelappan, poet Subramaniam Tirumambu - led group of volunteers.
- P Krishna Pillai and AK Gopalan – Satyagrahis.
- In 1936, Maharaja of Travancore issued proclamation to open all govt controlled temples to all Hindus.
- Similar step was taken by C Rajagopalachari in Madras in 1938.

Indian Social Conference

- Mahadeo Govind Ranade and Raghunath Rao formed the conference.
- Also known as Indian (National) Social Conference.
- Met annually from its first session in Madras in 1887 at the same time and same venue as the Indian National Congress.
- Raised Social Issues - opposed polygamy and advocated inter-caste marriages.
- Considered as Social reform cell of Congress.
- Started Pledge Movement against child marriage.

Wahhabi movement

- Shah Waliullah (1702-62) was the moving force for the movement.
- Two Fold ideals of the movement.
- Desirability of harmony among the four schools of Muslims.
- Recognition of the role of individual conscience in religion in case of conflicting interpretations.
- Popularized by Shah Abdul Aziz and Syed Ahmed Bareilvi.
- First directed to Sikhs but after Punjab's annexation (1849) directed to British.
- Movement fizzled out in 1870s.
- Titu Mir's Movement.
- Mir Nithar Ali (Titu Mir), Disciple of Syed Ahmad Bareilvi was the moving force.

- Organised Muslim peasants against Hindu landlords and British Indigo Planters.
- Not as much violent as recorded by British.
- Killed in action in 1831.
- Fairest Movement.
- Haji Shariat-ullah in East Bengal started this movement.
- Focus was on eradication of social innovations.
- Under the leadership of his son, Dudu Mian, it became revolutionary in 1840 onwards.
- Organised paramilitary forces armed to fight Hindu landlords and police.
- Organisational system had villages and provinces with a khalifa at every level.
- Dudu mian arrested many times.
- His arrest in 1847 weakened movement.
- Remain religious after the death of dudu mian in 1862.
- Ahmadiyya Movement.
- Started by Mirza Ghulam Ahmed in 1889.
- Movement had liberal principles and based itself like Brahmo Samaj.
- Opposed jihad.
- Based on the principles of universal religion of all humanity.
- Suffered from mysticism like Baha'ism.

Aligarh Movement

- Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, the main protagonist of the movement was.
- Born in 1817.
- Loyalist member of judicial service.
- After retirement in 1876, became a member of the imperial Legislative council in 1878.

- Earned knighthood in 1888.
- Started Mohammadan Anglo Oriental College in 1875.
- Condemned piri muridi.
- Opposed formation of Congress.
- Aligarh Movement was basically the movement for the emancipation of Muslims through Education which led to the establishment of Aligarh Muslim University in 1920.
- It also affected Muslims overview on literature, Culture, Politics and Religion.
- Deoband School.
- Established in 1866 by Mohammad Qasim Nanotvi and Rashid Ahmed gangohi.
- Welcomed Congress.
- Mahmud-ul-Hasan gave political and intellectual content to religious principles and nationalist aspirations.
- Shibli Numani favoured inclusion of English language and European sciences. He founded Nadwat-ul-ulema and darul uloom in Lucknow in 1894-96 and he believed in idealism of Congress to espouse cooperation between Hindus and Muslims.

Parsi Reform movements

- The Rahnumai Mazdayasnan Sabha (religious reform association) established in 1851.
- Founders included.
- Naoroji Furdonji,.
- Dadabhai Naoroji,.
- KR Cama,.
- SS Bengalee.
- BM Malabari was not the founder member.
- Published Newspaper - Rast Guftar meaning Truth teller.
- Propagated Message of reforms.
- Removal of purdah

- Social reforms.
- Raising age of marriage.
- Education of Women.

Sikh Reform Movements

- Singh Sabha Movement formed in Amritsar in 1873.
- They had two fold objectives.
- Western education, thus Khalsa schools formed.
- Counter missionaries and Hindu revivalists.
- Akali Movement - offshoot of Sikh Reform Movement.
- Liberating Gurudwaras from corrupt control of Dais Mahants who were loyalists of Govt.
- Influenced by Non Cooperation Movement.
- based on Ahimsa and Satyagraha philosophy.
- Govt passed Sikh Gurudwaras Act in 1922 (amended in 1925) which led to the control of Gurudwaras to Sikh masses to be administered through Shiromani Gurudwara Prabandhak Committee.
- Regional but not communal movement.

Theosophical Movement

- Madam H.P. Blavatsky (Russian lady) and Colonel MS Olcott (American Colonel) established it in USA in 1875.
- In 1882 its headquarter shifted to Adayar on the outskirts of Madras in India.
- Believed in reincarnation and karma, Upanishad, Samkhya, Yoga and Vedanta.
- Propagated universal brotherhood.
- In India movement become popular with the election of Annie Besant as its president in 1902 after the death of olcott.
- Annie came to India in 1893. She laid the foundation of Central Hindu College in 1898 in Benaras - nucleus for the formation of BHU in 1916.
- Annie did much for education of women.

Issues.

- Limited to small segment of westerners.
- Given false pride to Indians.
- Glorified Hindu traditions.

Positive aspects of Movements

- Liberation from fear of priest.
- made religion a personal experience by translating texts.
- Given middle classes much needed cultural roots to cling to.
- Secular and rational ideas.
- Focus on Modernisation rather than Westernisation.

Negatives of Movements

- Narrow social base.
- The tendency of the reformers to appeal to the greatness of the past and to rely on scriptural authority encouraged mysticism in new garbs and fostered pseudo-scientific thinking while exercising a check on full acceptance of the need for a modern scientific outlook.
- Help in compartmentalizing Hindus, Muslims, etc and also alienating lower and upper castes.
- Ancient culture glorified, medieval considered as Muslim era.

EARLY NATIONAL MOVEMENT BEFORE THE EMERGENCE OF GANDHI

Factors in Growth of Nationalism in 19th Century

- Understanding of contradictions in Indian and colonial interests.
- Political, administrative and economic unification in the country.
- Professional civil service.
- Unified Judiciary.
- Codified civil and criminal laws.
- Economic integration.
- For instance failure of crops in one region affected the prices and supply in other region.
- Political Integration – easy movement of leaders.
- Western thoughts and education.
- Emergence of a common language – English.
- Role of press and literature.
- Criticised British.
- Urge people to unite.
- Propagation of Modern ideas.
- Rediscovery of India's past which had well developed political, social and economic institutions.
- RG Bhandarkar, Vivekananda enhanced confidence.
- Indo-Aryan theory gave boost.
- Progressive nature of socio religious reform movements.
- Rise of Middle class intelligentsia.
- Impacts of contemporary movements worldwide.
- South American nations - liberated from Portuguese and Spanish control.
- Liberation movements of Greece and Italy, Ireland.
- Reactionary policies and Racial Arrogance of Rulers.
- Lytton policies Political associations before Indian National Congress (INC).

- First Aristocrats made political groups against British. Middle class came later on to join the fight against the Britishers.
- Political Associations before INC.
- Bangabhasha Prakasika Sabha - 1836 – By associates of Raja Ram.
- Zamindari Association (Landholders' society) .
- Bengal British India Society – 1843.
- Idea is to aware people of their exploitation and their welfare.
- Above two organisations merged in 1851 to form British Indian Association. Their Objectives were.
- Establishment of separate legislature of a popular character.
- Separation of Executive from Judiciary.
- Reduction in salaries of officials.
- Abolition of salt duty, abkari and stamp duties.
- Their demands have an effect on charter Act of (1853).
- The President of the first committee of this organisation was Raja Radhakant Deb.
- Debendranath Tagore was its secretary.
- Madras Native Association(1852).
- By Gazulu Lakshminarasu Chetty.
- East India Association.
- By Dadabhai Naoroji in 1866 in London.
- Indian League.
- By Sisir Kumar Ghosh in 1875.
- Indian association of Calcutta.
- Superseded Indian League in 1876 led by Surendranath Banerjee and Anand Mohan Bose.
- Also known as Indian National Association.
- Discontented with British Indian Association.
- Most Important of pre congress.
- Later merged with Congress.
- Branches outside Bengal also.

Idea was

- To create Public opinion.
- Unify Indian people.
- Membership fee low.
- Took up ICS agitation on reducing maximum age.
- The Poona Sarvajanik Sabha - 1867 .
- By Mahadeo Govind Ranade.
- Organized a successful campaign among the peasants against land revenue settlement of 1867.
- Supported the Deccan Agriculturists' Relief Bill.
- Bombay Presidency association – 1885.
- By Badruddin Tayyabji, Pherozshah Mehta, K.T Telang.
- Madras Mahajan Sabha – 1884.
- By M Viraghavachari, Subramaniya Aiyar, P Anandacharlu.
- Chronological Order.
- Bangalbhasha Prakasika Sabha .
- Zaminadari Association.
- Bengal British India Society.
- British Indian Association.
- East India Association.
- Poona Sarvajanik Sabha.
- Indian League.
- Indian Association of Calcutta.
- Madras Mahajan Sabha.
- Bombay Presidency Association.

Their Demands

- Campaign around cotton import duties which Indians wanted to stay
- 1881-82 - organized a protest against the Plantation Labour and the Inland Emigration Act.
- 1883 - Massive all India effort to raise a National Fund for political agitation in India and England.
- Fought for the right to join the volunteer corps restricted to Europeans.

- Appeal to British voters to vote for those candidates who were friendly towards India.

Indian National Congress

- Founder was A.O. Hume who was a retired British civil servant.
- Founded at Bombay in December 1885.
- As a prelude to this, two Indian National Conference held in 1883 and 1885 by Surendranath Banerjee and Anand Mohan Bose.
- Presided by Womesh Chandra Banerjee.
- Met every year in December in different part of the country each time
- In his Young India Book published in 1916, Lala Lajpat Rai used the safety valve theory to attack the Moderates in the Congress.
- Kadambini Ganguli of calcutta university became the first woman to address congress session in 1890.
- First Women Graduate.
- Practitioner of western medicine in India.
- A rule was made in 1888 that no resolution was to be passed to which an overwhelming majority of Hindu and Muslim delegates objected.

Early Moderates

- Distinguished from the neo nationalists of the early 20th century who were referred to as extremists.
 - Slow but orderly.
 - Believed in Resolutions, Petitions, Meetings (RPM).
 - To educate and unite people.
 - British committee of the INC established in London in 1899 .
 - Decided to hold meeting in London in 1892 but could not be materialized because of British election in 1891.
 - They see poverty as man made.
 - They espoused modern technology and capitalist enterprise.
 - It could help unite the diverse peoples of India into a single national entity.
 - They wanted industrialisation through Indian Capital and not foreign one
- Contributions of Moderate Nationalists.

- Drain theory given in Economic Critique of British Imperialism .
- Written by Dadabhai Naoroji in 1867.
- Focus on Constitutional Reforms and Propaganda in Legislature.
- Indian members were few in number in Imperial Legislative council—thirty years from 1862 to 1892 only 45 Indians were nominated to it including Sir Syed Ahmed Khan, Kristodas Pal, V.N. Mandlik, K.L. Nulkar and Rashbehari Ghosh .
- Gave slogan of No taxation without representation after 1892 act.
- Demands increased with Self-government like the self-governing colonies of Canada and Australia.
- The official attitude stiffened further after 1887 when the Government failed to persuade the Congress to confine itself to social questions .
- Britishers called them "Seditious Brahmins", "Disloyal Babus". Dufferin called congress "a factory of sedition".
- Britishers later adopted divide and rule - Sir Syed Ahmad Khan and Raja Shiv Prasad Singh to organise United Indian Patriotic Association to counter congress.
- Group aimed to develop close ties between the Muslim community and the British Raj.
- Their response to economic policy of Britishers.
- Critical of large scale investment in Railways and plantation.
- Resulted in drain of wealth.
- Easy export of raw material.
- Came at a high interest rate.
- Supported Indian capitalist class but critical of British capitalist class.
- Demanded abolition of salt tax.

NATIONAL MOVEMENT - 1905-1918

Why Militant Nationalism Grew

- It emerged in 1890s, took shape by 1905.
- Recognition of the True Nature of the British Rule, famines (1896-1900) - bubonic plague and riots in Deccan. Also.
- 1892 act not sufficient.

- 1897 - Natu Brothers (Chapekar Brothers) deported without trial (for their alleged involvement in the murder of Plague Commissioner of Pune, Rand and his military escort, Lt. Ayerest), Tilak and others also arrested due to their justification of assassination.
- 1898 - Repressive laws - 156A of IPC added.
- 1899 - Number of Indian members in Calcutta Corporation were reduced.
- 1904 - Official Secrets Act curbed freedom of press.
- 1904 - Indian Universities Act.
- Growth of Confidence and Self-Respect of the Indians by Tilak, Aurobindo and Bipin Chandra Pal.

Growth of Education

- Educated youth were either unemployed and underemployed.
- International Influences.
- Progress made by Japan after 1868.
- The defeat of the Italian army by Ethiopians (1896).
- The Boer wars (1899-1902) where the British faced reverses.
- Japan's victory over Russia (1905).
- Nationalist movements worldwide—in Ireland, Russia, Egypt, Turkey, Persia and China.
- Reaction to Increasing Westernisation especially by Swami Vivekananda, Bankim Chandra Chatterjee and Swami Dayanand Saraswati.
- Dayanand Saraswati calls of 'India for the Indians'.
- Dissatisfaction with Achievements of Moderates.
- "Three 'P's" policy - prayer, petition, protest considered as political mendicancy.
- Reactionary Policies of Curzon .
- Full of missions, commissions and omissions .
- Insulted nationalists by describing their activities as "letting off of gas".
- Existence of a Militant School of Thought with Nationalists like.
- Raj Narain Bose.
- Ashwini Kumar Dutta.
- Aurobindo Ghosh.
- Bipin Chandra Pal.
- Vishnu Shastri Chiplunkar.

- Bal Gangadhar Tilak - the most outstanding representative of this school of thought.
- Started the Deccan Educational Society with college batchmates (Vishnu Shastri Chiplunkar, Gopal Ganesh Agarkar).
- Preached the cult of self-reliance.
- Lala Lajpat Rai.
- A Trained Leadership Had Emerged.

The Swadeshi and Boycott Movement

- Decision of partition made public in Dec 1903.
- Main reason given was administrative viability.
- However the main motive was to weaken by dividing them.
- On the basis of language (thus reducing the Bengalis to a minority in Bengal itself as in the new proposal Bengal proper was to have 17 million Bengalis and 37 million Hindi and Oriya speakers).
- On the basis of religion, as the western half was to be a Hindu majority area, the eastern half was to be a Muslim majority area.
- Curzon said Dacca could become the capital of the new Muslim majority province thereby fuelling communalism.
- Anti-Partition Campaign Under Moderates (1903-05).
- Surendranath Banerjee, K.K. Mitra and Prithwishchandra Ray were in the lead
- Petitions, public meetings, propaganda through pamphlets and newspapers - Hitabadi, Sanjibani and Bengalee.
- Govt announced partition in July 1905.
- Protest meetings held, Pledge to boycott foreign goods was first taken
- August 7, 1905 - Boycott Resolution passed at Calcutta Townhall - Swadeshi Movement proclamation.
- Boycott of Manchester cloth and Liverpool salt.
- October 16, 1905 - Partition formally came into force.
- Day of Mourning - Fasting, Bathing, Bande Matram singing, Binding of Rakhis.
- Surendranath Banerjee and Ananda Mohan Bose addressed huge gatherings
- Money raised.

- Movement spread to Poona and Bombay under Tilak, Punjab under Lala Lajpat Rai and Ajit Singh, Delhi under Syed Haider Raza, Madras under Chidambaram Pillai.
- The Congress's Position.
- Meeting held in 1905 in Benares under Gopal Krishna Gokhale.
- Condemned partition and the reactionary policies of Curzon.
- Support the anti-partition and Swadeshi Movement of Bengal.
- Militant nationalists led by Tilak, Lajpat Rai, Bipin Chandra Pal and Aurobindo Ghosh wanted full-fledged political mass struggle for Swaraj (Beyond Bengal) and also boycott of councils and similar association, however Moderates were not willing to do that.
- However In Congress session held at Calcutta (1906) under the presidentship of Dadabhai Naoroji.
- Goal of Self Govt or Swaraj is declared.
- Deadlock emerged between Moderates and Extremists over pace of the movement which lead to Surat split at INC meet in 1907.
- The Movement under Militant Leadership.
- Reasons behind Rise of extremism.
- Factionalism.
- Undemocratic Constitution of Congress.
- Financial Crunch of the Congress.
- Social Reformism of the Congress.
- Reasons behind the dominant influence of Extremists.
- Moderates failure for an effective resistance.
- Divisive tactics of govt of both the Bengals had embittered the nationalists.
- Excessive Westernisation of Indian life and politics.
- The Government had resorted to suppressive measures.
- Atrocities on students - corporal punishment.
- Ban on public singing of Bande Mataram.
- Restriction on public meetings .
- Clashes etc.

Extremist Programme

- Gave a call for passive resistance in addition to Swadeshi and Boycott to halt govt work.
- Profounder of the doctrine of 'Passive Resistance' was Aurobindo Ghosh - the Father of Indian Extremism.
- Transform into a mass struggle and gave the slogan of India's independence from foreign rule.
- Aurobindo declared - "Political freedom is the life-breath of a nation," Thus, India's independence got central place.
- New Forms of Struggle.
- Boycott of foreign goods .
- Public meetings and processions.
- Corps of volunteers or 'samitis'.
- Like Swadesh Bandhab Samiti of Ashwini Kumar .
- Dutta - Barisal - generated political consciousness through lectures, swadeshi songs, social work, physical and moral training to their members, organisation of schools, training in swadeshi crafts and arbitration courts.
- Dutt was able to generate unparalleled mass following among the predominantly Muslim peasantry.
- Pachaiapa National College was established in Madras.
- Bengal Chemical Factory was established by Acharya P.C.Ray.
- Imaginative use of traditional popular festivals and, melas held - Tilak's Ganapati and Shivaji festivals – became important not only in western India but also in Bengal. In Bengal, traditional folk theatre forms were used
- Emphasis given to self-reliance or 'atma-shakti'.
- In practical terms, it included social reform and campaigns against caste oppression, early marriage, dowry system, consumption of alcohol, etc.
- Programme of swadeshi or national education.
- Bengal National College inspired by Shantiniketan established whose Principal was Aurobindo Ghosh.
- National Council of education established in Aug 15, 1906 .
- Bengal Institute of technology started for Technical education.
- Fund raised to send students to japan for advanced learning.
- Swadeshi or indigenous enterprises promoted.
- Swadeshi textile mills.
- Soap and match factories.

- Tanneries.
 - Banks.
 - Insurance companies.
 - Shops.
 - Impact in the cultural sphere.
 - Songs written by Rabindranath Tagore, Rajnikant Sen, Dwijendralal Ray, Mukunda Das, Syed Abu Mohammad and others.
 - Tagore written Amar Sonar Bangla.
 - Painting - Abanindranath Tagore broke the domination of Victorian naturalism over Indian art and took inspiration from Mughal, Ajanta and rajput paintings.
 - Nandlal Bose - first recipient of a scholarship offered by the Indian Society of Oriental Art, founded in 1907.
 - Science - Jagdish Chandra Bose, Prafullachandra Roy.
 - Extent of Mass Participation.
 - Students.
 - Women - specially urban middle class.
 - Some Muslims participated.
1. Barrister Abdul Rasul.
 2. Liaqat Hussain.
 3. Guznavi.
 4. Maulana Azad (who joined one of the revolutionary terrorist groups).
 5. But most of the upper and middle class Muslims stayed away or supported partition due to Salimullah (Nawab of Dhaka).
 6. Muslim peasantry not participated.
 7. All India Muslim League was propped up in 1907.
- Certain section of Zamindari.
 - Lower middle classes.
 - An attempt was also made to give political expression to economic grievances of the working class by organising strikes in British owned concerns e.g. Eastern Indian Railways..
 - All India Aspect.

Annulment of Partition

- Britishers decided to annul the partition in 1911 to curb the menace of Revolutionary Terrorism.
- It was shock to Muslim political elite.
- Capital shifted to Delhi.
- Bihar and Orissa were taken out of Bengal and Assam was made a separate province.

Why did the swadeshi movement fizzle out

- By 1908, its open phase was over. Reasons were.
- Government repression.
- The movement failed to create an effective organisation – used all techniques (All Gandhian) – Non-Cooperation, Passive Resistance, Filling jails, Social reform, constructive work which lead to clutter and lack of discipline in organization.
- Rendered leaderless, major leaders were either arrested or deported. Aurobindo-Ghosh and Bipin Chandra Pal decided to retire from active politics.
- Internal squabbles - Surat Split.
- Failed to tap energy.
- Failed to reach masses specially peasantry.
- Difficult to sustain high pitch for long time.

Assessment

- Proved to be a leap forward.
- Increased Political participation.
- Undermined the hegemony of colonial ideas and institutions.
- Experience for future.
- Moderates had outlived their utility.
- Extremist ideology also lacked consistency.
- Advocates ranged from open members and secret sympathisers to those opposed to any kind of political violence.
- Different perceptions.

- For Tilak, swaraj meant some sort of self-government, while for Aurobindo, it meant complete independence from foreign rule.
- But mass mobilisation was a positive step that would help in future movements.
- Some had revivalist and obscurantist undertones attached to their thoughts
- Tilak's opposition to the Age of Consent Bill - though his objection was mainly that such reforms must come from people governing themselves and not under an alien rule.
- Ganapati and Shivaji festivals considered as national festivals.
- Tilak's support to anti-cow killing campaigns etc., portrayed him as a Hindu nationalist.
- Similarly B.C. Pal and Aurobindo spoke of a Hindu nation and Hindu interests
- The Surat Split.
- In Dec 1907, when revolutionary terrorism had gained momentum. The two events (Surat Split and Revolutionary Terrorism) were not unconnected.
- Run up to Surat.
- Moderates encouraged by the news that council reforms were on the anvil. They were willing to part ways due to fear of clamp down by British. They however did not realize that the council reforms were meant by the Government more to isolate the Extremists than to reward the Moderates.
- Extremists considered moderates as roadblock to their aspirations without realising that moderates were outer line of defence in face of state repression.
- Both undermine the need of cooperation.
- The Extremists wanted the 1907 session to be held in Nagpur (Central Provinces) with Tilak or Lajpat Rai as the president).
- While moderates proposed Dadabhai (Jinnah acted as his secretary in that meet - The Aga Khan, the first president of the League, was to write later that Jinnah was our toughest opponent in 1906").
- Finally Moderates wanted Rashbehari Ghosh as president and sought to drop the resolutions on Swadeshi, Boycott and National education.
- Split became inevitable.
- Congress was now dominated by the Moderates reiterated.
- Goal of self-government within the British Empire.
- Constitutional methods only to achieve this goal.
- Swaraj mentioned first time but connotation not clear.
- Government launched a massive attack on the Extremists.

- Between 1907 and 1911, five new laws were enforced.
- Seditious Meetings Act, 1907.
- Indian Newspapers (Incitement to Offences) Act, 1908.
- Criminal Law Amendment Act, 1908.
- The Indian Press Act, 1910.
- Tilak deported to Mandalay jail for 6 years.
- Aurobindo and Bipin Chandra Pal retired.
- Lala Lajpat Rai left for abroad.
- Moderates were left with no popular base, as the youth rallied behind, the Extremists.
- After 1908, the national movement as a whole declined for a time.
- Government Strategy.
- Three pronged approach of Repression, Conciliation, Suppression.
- Extremist repressed to frighten moderates, Moderates were to be placated through some concessions - hope for reform, Now, with the Moderates on its side, the Government could suppress the Extremists with its full might - The Moderates could then be ignored.

Revolutionary terrorism

- Youth disillusioned by the failure of the leadership.
 - They looked for avenues to give expression to their patriotic energies.
 - The Revolutionary Terrorist Programme.
 - The revolutionary terrorists considered but did not find it practical at that stage the options of creating a violent mass revolution throughout the country or, of trying to subvert the loyalties of the Army.
 - Instead they opted to follow in the footsteps of Russian nationalists or the Irish nationalists.
 - Individual heroic actions.
 - The idea was to strike terror in the hearts of the rulers.
 - Arouse people and remove the fear of authority from their minds.
 - Appealing to their patriotism, especially the idealist youth.
 - A Survey of Revolutionary Terrorist Activities before first world war Bengal
- By the 1870s, there were many secret societies of students but these were not active.

- The first revolutionary groups were organized in 1902 in Midnapore (under jnanendranath Basu) and in Calcutta (Anushilan Samiti founded by Promotha Mitter and including Jatindranath Banerjee, Barindra Kumar Ghosh (and others).
- They were giving physical and moral training to the members and remained insignificant till 1907- 08.
- In April 1906, an inner circle within Anushilan (Barindra Kumar Ghosh, Bhupendranath Dutta) started the weekly Yugantar and conducted a few abortive 'actions'.
- By 1905-06, several newspapers had started advocating revolutionary terrorism.
- For instance after severe police brutalities on participants of the Barisal Conference (Sri Aurobindo at forefront), yugantar wrote about force for force.
- Rashbehari Bose and Sachin Sanyal had organized a secret society covering far-flung areas of Punjab, Delhi and United Provinces while some others like Hernachandra Kanungo went abroad for military and political training.
- In 1907, an abortive attempt was made on the life of the very unpopular West Bengal Lt. Governor, Fuller, by the Yugantar group
- In 1908, Prafulla Chaki and Khudiram Bose threw a bomb (Hernachandra Kanungo) at a carriage supposed to be carrying a particularly sadistic white judge, Kingsford, in Muzaffarpur. Two ladies, instead, got killed
- Prafulla Chaki shot himself dead while Khudiram Bose was tried and hanged. The whole gang was arrested including the Ghosh brothers, Aurobindo and Barindra, who were tried in the Alipore conspiracy case.
- During the trial, Narendra Gosain, who had turned approver, was shot dead in jail.
- In February 1909, the public prosecutor was shot dead in Calcutta and in February 1910, a deputy superintendent of police met the same fate while leaving the Calcutta High Court.
- In 1908, Barrah dacoity was organized by Dacca Anushilan under Pulin Das.
- Rashbehari Bose and Sachin Sanyal staged a spectacular bomb attack on Viceroy Hardinge while he was making his official entry into the new capital in a procession through Chandni Chowk in Delhi in December 1912.
- Newspapers and journals advocating revolutionary terrorism - Sandhya and Yugantar in Bengal and Kal in Maharashtra.
- An overemphasis on religion kept the Muslims aloof.

- No involvement of masses was envisaged - narrow social base - failed to withstand the weight of state repression.

Maharashtra

- Ramosi Peasant Force led by Vasudev Balwant Phadke in 1879 did armed revolt by disrupting communication lines. They get funds through dacoities but they were summarily suppressed prematurely.
- Got the Help of Kolis, bhils, Dhangars communities in Maharashtra.
- During the 1890s, Tilak propagated a spirit of militant nationalism - including use of violence through Ganapati and Shivaji festivals and his journals Kesari and Maratta.
- Two of his disciples—the Chapekar brothers, Damodar and Balkrishna—murdered the Plague Commissioner of Poona in 1897.
- Vinayak Savarkar and his brother (Ganesh Savarkar) organized Mitra Mela, a secret society, in 1899 which merged with Abhinav Bharat in 1904.
- Soon Nasik, Poona and Bombay emerged as centres of bomb manufacture.
- In 1909, Jackson, the district magistrate of Nasik was killed.

Punjab

- Fuelled by issues such as frequent famines coupled with.
- rise in land revenue and irrigation tax
- Lala Lajpat Rai who brought out Punjabee (with its motto of self-help at any cost) and Ajit Singh (Bhagat Singh's uncle) who organized the extremist Anjuman-i-Mohibban-i-Watan in Lahore with its journal, Bharat Mata.
- Before Ajit Singh's group turned to extremism, it was active in urging non-payment of revenue and water rates among Chenab colonists and Bari Doab peasants.
- Other leaders included Aga Haidar, Syed Haider Raza, Bhai Parmanand and the radical Urdu poet, Lalchand Falak'.
- Extremism in the Punjab died down quickly after the Government struck in May 1907 with a ban on political meetings and the deportation of Lajpat Rai and Ajit Singh.
- Abroad.
- Immune from the Press Acts and the quest for arms.
- Shyamji Krishnavarma had started in London in 1905 an Indian Home Rule Society also known as 'India House' as a centre for Indian students.

- Also a scholarship scheme.
- A journal The Sociologist.
- Revolutionaries such as Savarkar and Hardayal became the members of India House.
- Madanlal Dhingra of this circle assassinated, the India office bureaucrat Curzon Wyllie in 1909.
- Soon London became too dangerous for the revolutionaries, particularly after Ganesh Savarkar (brother of VD Savarkar sent to Kala Pani).
- had been extradited in 1910 and transported for life in the Nasik conspiracy case.
- New centres emerged on the continent - Paris and Geneva—from where Madam Bhikaji Cama, a Parsi revolutionary who had developed contacts with French socialists and who brought out Bande Mataram, and Ajit Singh operated.
- And after 1909 when Anglo-German relations deteriorated, Virendranath Chattopadhyaya chose Berlin as his base.

Morley Minto Reforms 1909

- Morley - Secretary of state.
- Minto - the viceroy.
- Oct 1906 - Shimla Deputation led by Agha Khan - demanded separate electorates for Muslims and representation in excess of their numerical strength in view of 'the value of the contribution.'
- The same group quickly took over Muslim League (Initially floated by Nawab Salimullah with Nawabs Mohsin-ul Mulk and Waqar-ul-Mulk in December 1906).
- Showing loyalty to British.
- Keeping distance from the congress.

Reforms – 1909

- It considerably increased the size of the legislative councils, both Central and provincial. The number of members in the Central Legislative Council was raised from 16 to 60. The number of members in the provincial legislative councils was not uniform.

- It retained official majority in the Central Legislative Council but allowed the provincial legislative councils to have non-official majority. but since some of these non-officials were nominated and not elected, the overall non-elected majority remained.
- The elected members were to be indirectly elected. The local bodies were to elect an electoral college, which in turn would elect members of provincial legislatures, who in turn would elect members of the central legislature.
- Legislatures can pass resolutions (which may not be accepted), ask questions and supplementaries, vote separate items in the budget but the budget as a whole could not be voted upon.
- Satyendra Prasad Sinha became the first Indian to join the Viceroy's Executive Council. He was appointed as the law member.
- Accepted 'separate electorate' for Muslims. Lord Minto came to be known as the Father of Communal Electorate.
- It also provided for the separate representation of presidency corporations, chambers of commerce, universities and Zamindars as well as European and Indian Commerce.
- Members could not discuss foreign relations of GoI and its relations with the Indian princes.

Evaluation

- Morley said that self-government was not suitable for India and he was against introduction of, parliamentary or responsible government.
- To confuse the moderates.
- Lodging disunity – communal electorate.
- Indirect election.
- Gokhale put to constructive use the opportunity to debate in the councils by.
- Demanding universal primary education.
- Attacking repressive policies.
- Drawing attention to the plight of indentured labour and Indian workers in South Africa.
- Policy of 'benevolent despotism'.

First World War and Nationalist Response

- The nationalist response to British participation in the War was three-fold:.
- The Moderates supported the British.
- The extremists, including Tilak (who was released in June 1914) supported in the hope of return.
- The revolutionaries decided to utilise the opportunity to wage a war and liberate the country.

Revolutionary activity during First World War

- Ghadr Party in North America formed on Nov 1, 1913.
- Berlin Committee was formed in Europe.
- Some scattered mutinies like the one in Singapore.
- Opportunities for revolutionaries.
- Drained troops of British.
- Possibility of financial and military help from Germany and Turkey.

Ghadr Party

- Organised around a weekly newspaper The Ghadr whose headquarter was San Francisco and branches were along the US coast and far east.
- The first issue of Ghadr was published in Urdu language and then the second issue in Gurumukhi language.
- Ghadr was published in Gurumukhi, Urdu, Gujarati and Hindi.
- Substantial funding from German Govt.
- Mainly by ex-soldiers and peasants in US and Canada.
- Pre Ghadr activities by.
 - Ramdas Puri.
 - G.D. Kumar.
 - Taraknath Das.
 - Sohan Singh shakna.
 - Lala Hardayal.
- The earlier activists had set up a 'Swadesh Sevak Home" at Vancouver and "United India House" in Seattle.
- Ghadr established in 1913.

- Original name of ghadr party was "Pacific Coast Hindustan Association" and founded by Lala Hardayal and Sohan Singh Bhakna.
- Ghadr Programme.
- Assassinations of officials.
- Publish revolutionary literature.
- Procure arms.
- Work among Indian troops stationed abroad.
- The moving spirits behind the Ghadr Party .
- Lala Hardayal.
- Ramchandra.
- Bhagwan Singh.
- Kartar Singh Saraba.
- Barkatullah.
- Bhai Parmanand.
- Their plans were encouraged by two events in 1914.
- The Komagata Maru incident.
- The outbreak of the First World War.

The Komagata Maru incident

- Komagata Maru (Japanese Steamship) was the name of a ship which was carrying 370 passengers, mainly Sikh and Punjabi Muslim would-be immigrants, from Singapore to Vancouver.
- Vessel was chartered by Singapore based businessman named Gurdip Singh.
- They were turned back by Canadian authorities after two months of privation and uncertainty.
- It was believed that the Canadian authorities were influenced by the British
- To fight for the rights of the passengers, a Shore Committee‘ was set up under the leadership of.
 - Husain Rahim.
 - Sohan Lal Pathak.
 - Balwant Singh.
- The ship finally anchored at Calcutta in September 1914.
- The inmates refused to board the Punjab-bound train.
- In the ensuing with the police at Budge Budge near Calcutta, 22 persons died.

Ghadar Movement

- Inflamed by this and with the outbreak of the War, the Ghadr leaders decided to launch a violent attack.
- They urged fighters to go to India.
- Kartar Singh Saraba and Raghubar Dayal Gupta left for India.
- Bengal revolutionaries were contacted.
- Rashbehari Bose and Sachin Sanyal were asked to lead the movement
- Political dacoities were committed to raise funds and debt records were eliminated.
- Jan-Feb 1915 - Dacoities - Special was that in most cases moneylenders looted, .
- Ghadriles fixed Feb 21, 1915, for an armed revolt garrisons.
- The plan was foiled at the last moment due to treachery.
- The authorities took immediate action, aided by the Defence of India Rules, 1915 (Passed in March 1915 primarily to smash Ghadr).
- Rebellion regiments were disbanded, leaders arrested and deported and 45 of them hanged.
- Rashbehari Bose fled to Japan from where he and Abani Mukherji made many efforts to send arms while Sachin Sanyal was transported for life.
- Apart from the Bengal terrorists and the Punjab Ghadriles, radical pan- Islamists—Ali brothers, Maulana Azad, Hasrat Mohani—were interned for years.

Evaluation of Ghadr

- Success lay in the realm of ideology.
- Militant nationalism with complete secular approach.
- Perhaps, Lala hardayal was unsuited for the job of an organiser.
- Revolutionaries in Europe.
- The Berlin Committee for Indian Independence formed in 1915 by Virendranath Chattopadhyaya, Bhupendranath Dutta, Lala Hardayal with the help of German foreign office under "Zimmerman Plan".
- To send volunteers and arms to India to incite rebellion.
- Sent missions to Baghdad, Persia, Turkey and Kabul.
- One mission under Raja Mahendra Pratap Singh, Barkatullah and Obaidullah Sindhi went to Kabul to organize a provisional Indian government there.

Mutiny in Singapore

- In February 15, 1915 by Jamadar Chisti Khan, Jamadar Abdul Gani and Subedar Daud Khan.
- Crushed after a fierce battle.
- Revolutionary Activity in India during War.
- Punjab and Bengal were the hub.
- Bengal plans were part of a far-flung conspiracy organized by Rashbehari Bose and Sachin Sanyal in cooperation with returned Ghadriles in Punjab.
- August 1914 - the Bengal revolutionaries reaped a rich haul of 50 Mauser pistols and 46,000 rounds of ammunition from the Rodda firm in Calcutta through a sympathetic employee.
- Most Bengal groups were organized under Jatin Mukherji (Bagha Jatin)
- Planned disruption of railway lines, seizure of Fort William and landing of German arms.
- Plans were ruined.
- About Bagha Jatin.
- In 1904, a young Jatindranath Mukherjee fought with a Royal Bengal tiger all alone, killed it with the help of a dagger and earned the epithet 'Bagha Jatin'.
- Principal leader of the Yugantar party.
- One of the founders of the Anushilan Samiti.
- Took the path of violence and dedicated himself to the cause of Purna Swaraj
- Bagha Jatin successfully organised armed uprising against the British in cooperation with Germany .
- Mahatma Gandhiji, in 1925, had described Bagha Jatin as a 'divine personality'.
- Bagha Jatin died a hero's death near Balasore on the Orissa coast in September 1915.
- Temporary respite in revolutionary activity after the War. Reasons were.
- Release of prisoners cooled down passion a bit .
- Atmosphere of conciliation after Montagu's August 1917 statement.
- Coming of Gandhiji with new hope.

Home Rule League Movement

- Indian response to the First World War in a less charged but a more effective way than Indians in abroad.
- On the lines of the Irish Home Rule Leagues - new trend of aggressive politics.
- It wanted to obtain the status of a Dominion for India within the British Empire.
- Factors Leading to the Movement.
- Some felt that Popular pressure required.
- Moderates disillusioned with the Morley Minto reforms..
- Wartime miseries, high taxation, inflation.
- Myth of white superiority exposed.
- Tilak was ready to assume leadership - conciliatory gestures to reassure the Government of his loyalty and moderates .
- He also said that the acts of violence had only served to retard the pace, of political progress in India.
- Annie besant decided to engage more.

The Leagues

- Moderate-Extremist rapprochement - failed in 1914 session.
- By early 1915 - Annie demand self-government in her New India.

Commonweal

- 1915 Congress Session - It was decided to admit the extremists but no approval for home leagues.
- Congress did commit itself to a programme of educative propaganda.
- Revival of local-level Congress committees.
- Annie was persistant and decided to set up her own League.
- Tilak and Annie Besant set up their separate leagues to avoid any friction.
- April 1916 - Tilak's League formed - restricted to Maharashtra (excluding Bombay city), Karnataka, Central Provinces and Berar.
- Six branches.
- Demands-Swarajya, formation of linguistic states and education in the vernacular Languages.

- Known as "All India Home Rule".

Indian Home Rule League

- Sep 1916 – Besant's League formed, started in Madras but covered the rest of India (including Bombay city).
- 200 branches
- George Arundale as the organising secretary.
- Known as "Home Rule Movement".
- The Home Rule agitation was later joined by Motilal Nehru, Jawaharlal Nehru, Bhulabhai Desai, Chittaranjan Das, Madan Mohan Malaviya, Mohammad Ali Jinnah, Tej Bahadur Sapru and Lala Lajpat Rai.
- Some of these leaders became heads of local branches.
- Many Moderates congressman also joined, some members of Gokhale's Servants of India Society also joined.
- Anglo-Indians, most of the Muslims and non-brahmins from South did not join.
- They felt Home Rule would mean rule of the Hindu majority, mainly the high caste.

Programmes

- Message of self-government.
- also attracted the hitherto 'politically backward' regions of Gujarat and Sindh
- political education etc.
- Russian Revolution of 1917 proved to be an added advantage.

Government Attitude

- Repression, especially in Madras.
- Case was instituted against Tilak which was rescinded by the High Court - barred from entering the Punjab and Delhi.
- In June 1917, Annie Besant and her associates were arrested - B.P. Wadia and George Arundale.
- In a dramatic way Sir S. Subramaniya Aiyar renounced his knighthood.
- Tilak - advocated passive resistance.
- Passive resistance did not include.
- Refusal to pay rents to the zamindars.
- Government released Besant in September 1917.

- But the agitation was faded out.

Why agitation faded out

- Lack of effective organization.
- Communal riots - 1917-18.
- The Moderates who had joined the Congress after Besant's arrest were pacified by talk of reforms and Besant's release.
- Talk of passive resistance by the Extremists kept the Moderates off from activity from September 1918 onwards.
- Montagu-Chelmsford reforms further divided the nationalist ranks.
- Tilak had to go abroad (London, Sep 1918) in connection with a case while Annie Besant vacillated over her response to the reforms thus rendered the movement Leaderless.

Positives

- Masses involvement.
- Organisational link between the town and the country - beneficial for future
- Ground for Gandhiji's movements.
- Montford reforms influenced by home rule league movement.
- Lucknow rapprochement of Extremists and Moderates.
- In 1920, the All India Home Rule League elected Mahatma Gandhiji as its President. In a year, the body would merge into the Indian National Congress to form a united Indian political front.
- Its name was changed to Swaraj Sabha Lucknow Session of INC 1916 presided by Ambika Charan Majumdar Readmission of Extremists to Congress.
- The death of two Moderates, Gokhale and Pherozshah Mehta facilitated the rapprochement – It is one of the reason.
- Lucknow Pact between Congress and Muslim League.
- Muslim league now dominated by younger militant nationalists, was coming closer to the Congress objectives and turning increasingly anti-imperialist
- Turkey Issue emerged.
- Cancellation partition of Bengal in 1911 disillusioned them.
- Refusal of British to set up a university at Aligarh with powers to affiliate colleges all over India.

- Younger nationalists outgrow Aligarh school in Muslim league.
- The Calcutta session of the Muslim League (1912) had committed the League to "working with other groups for a system of self-government suited to India, provided it did not come in conflict with its basic objective of protection of interests of the Indian Muslims".
- Maulana Azad's Al Hilal and Mohammad Ali's Comrade faced suppression
- The Ali brothers, Maulana Azad and Hasrat Mohani faced internment for anti-imperialist sentiments.
- Congress accepted the Muslim League's position on separate electorates.
- Muslims should be given 1/3rd representation in Central Govt.
- Joint demands of Congress and Muslim League.
- Self-government at an early date.
- legislative councils further expanded - elected majority and powers.
- Half the members of the viceroy's executive council should be Indians.
- Negatives.
 - Congress accepted separate electorates.
 - Efforts to bring together the masses of two communities not considered.
- Positives.
 - Enthusiasm.
 - Montague's August 1917 declaration as a conciliatory gesture.

Montague's Statement - August 1917

- The government policy is of an increasing participation of Indians in every branch of administration and gradual development of institutions with a view to the progressive realisation of responsible government.
- Criticism.
- No specific time frame was given.
- The Government alone was to decide the nature and the timing.
- The importance was that after this the demand for Home Rule or self-government could no longer be treated as seditious.

ERA OF MASS NATIONALISM AND EMERGENCE OF GANDHI

Why Nationalist Resurgence Now

- Post-War Economic Hardships.
- Industry disillusioned - recession, import.
- Workers and Artisans - Unemployment, High prices.
- Peasantry – High rents.
- Soldiers – low salary, low status.
- Educated urban classes – unemployed, underemployed.
- Nationalist Disillusionment with Imperialism.
- Impact of Russian Revolution.
- Government resorted to the policy of 'carrot and stick'.
- Carrot was represented by the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms.
- Stick - Rowlatt act.

Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms and Govt of India Act, 1919

- Came into force in 1921.

Main features

- It relaxed the central control over the provinces by demarcating and separating the central and provincial subjects..
- Introduction of Dyarchy (Greek word).
- Subjects - transferred and reserved.
- Transferred subjects were to be administered by the governor with the aid of ministers responsible to the legislative Council.
- The reserved subjects were to be administered by the governor and his executive council without being responsible to the legislative Council.
- In case of failure of constitutional machinery in the province the governor could take over the administration of "transferred" subjects also.
- The secretary of state and the governor-general could interfere in respect of "reserved" subjects while in respect of the "transferred" subjects, the scope for their interference was restricted.

- The Legislative Councils could initiate legislation but the governor's assent was required. The governor could veto bills and issue ordinances.
- The Legislative Councils could reject the budget but the governor could restore it, if necessary.
- The legislators enjoyed freedom of speech.
- Bicameralism and direct elections first time. the Indian Legislative Council was replaced by a bicameral legislature consisting.
 - Upper House (Council of State).
 - Lower House (Legislative Assembly).
- The majority of members of both the Houses were chosen by direct election
- The Council of State had tenure of 5 years and had only male members, while the Central Legislative Assembly had tenure of 3 years.
- The legislators could ask questions and supplementaries, pass adjournment motions and vote a part of the budget, but 75% of the budget was still not votable.
- Some Indians found their way into important committees including finance.
- Three of the six members of the Viceroy's executive Council (other than the commander-in-chief) were to be Indian.
- Extended the principle of communal representation by providing separate electorates for Sikhs, Indian Christians, Anglo-Indians and Europeans
- It granted franchise to a limited number of people on the basis of property, tax or education.
- It created a new office of the High Commissioner for India in London and transferred to him some of the functions hitherto performed by the Secretary of State for India.
- The secretary state was henceforth to be paid out of the 'British exchequer'.
- Establishment of a public service commission.
- Central Public Service Commission in 1926.
- Separated provincial budgets from the Central budget for the first time.
- Provided for the appointment of a statutory commission to inquire into and report on its working after ten years of its coming into force.
- Women were also given right to vote (Actually Women were demanding voting rights but britishers decided to left this question to states' discretion)
- Drawbacks.
- Franchise was very limited.

- At the Centre, the legislature had no control over the governor-general and his executive council.
- Division of subjects was not satisfactory at the Centre.
- Allocation of seats for Central Legislature to provinces was based on 'importance' of provinces—for instance, Punjab's military importance , and Bombay's commercial importance.
- Division of subjects at provincial level – Irrational.
- Ministers and bureaucrats had regular frictions.
- No control on finances also.

Congress reaction

- Special session in Aug 1918 at Bombay under Hasan Imam.
- Declared it as Disappointing and unsatisfactory.
- Other reactions.
- Subhash Chandra Bose had said that the act forged fresh fetters for the people.
- Gandhiji had said that it is only a method of further draining India of her wealth and of prolonging her servitude.

Rowlatt Act

- Govt passed it despite opposition in March 1919.
- Known as the Black Act or Black Bill.
- This Act authorised the Government to imprison any person without trial and conviction in a court of law, thus enabling the Government to suspend the right of habeas corpus which had been the foundation of civil liberties in Britain.
- Arrest without warrant.
- Tried in Secrecy without recourse to legal help.
- A special cell of 3 High Court judges to try such suspects.
- No court of appeal.
- This panel could even accept evidence not acceptable under the Indian Evidences Act.

- The object was to replace the repressive provisions of the wartime Defence of India Act (1915) by a permanent law.
- Every single Indian member of Central Legislative Council Opposed it.

Emergence of Gandhiji

- Born on Oct 2, 1869 at Porbandar in Kathiawar (Gujarat).
- His father was Diwan (minister) of the state.
- John Ruskin's book "Unto this last" had a very important impact on Gandhiji's philosophy. Following messages derived by Gandhiji from this book.
- The good of the individual is contained in the good of all.
- Concept of Sarvodaya.
- Concept of Antyodaya.
- Stayed in South Africa till 1914, went there for the case of dada Abdullah
- Three categories of Indians used to stay in South Africa.
- Indentured Indian Labour - mainly from south India – went there for employment in sugar plantations after 1890.
- Merchants - mostly meman Muslims.
- Ex indentured labourers – who settled down with children after the expiry of their contracts.
- Indians were mostly illiterate, know little or no English, faced racial discrimination and denied right to vote, forced to reside in prescribed locations.
- In some colonies, Asians and Africans could not stay out of doors after 9 PM nor could they use public footpaths.
- Moderate Phase of Struggle (1894-1906).
- Relied on Petitions and memorials.
- Set up Natal Indian Congress and started a paper Indian Opinion.
- Phase of Passive Resistance or Satyagraha (1906-1914).
- Passive resistance or civil disobedience, which Gandhiji named Satyagraha.
- Satyagraha against Registration Certificates (1906) policy of South Africa Govt in which .
- Indians need to carry Registration Certificates with their fingerprints.
- Gandhiji formed Passive Resistance Association.
- Gandhiji refused to register and jailed with others who also refused to register.

- Govt used deceit to register. Indians under Gandhiji retaliated by publicly burning their registration certificates.
- Campaign against Restrictions on Indian Migration.
- Defied this law by crossing over from one province to another and by refusing to produce licenses.
- Setting up of Tolstoy Farm.
- To house the families of the Satyagrahis and to give them a way to sustain
- Made possible through the generosity of his German architect friend, Kallenbach.
- Funds came from India also - Congress, Muslim League, Ratan Tata, Nizam helped.
- Campaign against Poll Tax and Invalidation of Indian Marriages.
- 3 pounds poll tax imposed on all ex indentured Indians by the South African Govt.
- Struggle against it further widened the base of movement.
- Supreme Court order - invalidated all marriages not conducted according to Christian rites and by the registrar of marriages.
- The Indians protested by illegally migrating from Natal into Transvaal
- Govt jailed them.
- Gokhale toured the whole country mobilised support in India
- Even lord hardinge condemned.
- Through a series of negotiations involving Gandhiji, Lord Hardinge, C.F. Andrews and General Smuts, an agreement was reached by which the Government of South Africa conceded the major Indian demands.
- Abolition of poll tax.
- Registration certificates was not necessary.
- Marriages solemnised according to Indian rites.
- Promised to treat the issue of Indian immigration in a sympathetic manner.

Satyagraha

- Being truthful, non-violent and fearless.
- Ready to accept suffering.
- Only the brave and strong could practise satyagraha.
- Even violence was preferred to cowardice.

Gandhiji in India

- Returned in Jan 1915.
- His first major public appearance in India was at the opening ceremony of the Banaras Hindu University in February 1916.
- Toured India for one year.
- Not in favour of Home rule league - as Britain was in middle of war.

Champaran Satyagraha (1917)

First Civil Disobedience Movement

- Gandhiji was requested by Rajkumar Shukla to visit Champaran and solve the problems of indigo planters of Champaran in Bihar.
- The European planters had been forcing peasants to grow indigo on 3/20 of the total land (called tinkathia system). Out of 20 khatas which is equivalent to an acre, they need to put 3 khatas under indigo cultivation. They had to lease this part in return to the advance at the beginning of each cultivation season. The price was too less and was fixed on the area cultivated rather than the crop produced. They were actually being cheated by the English planters.
- When towards the end of the nineteenth century German synthetic dyes replaced indigo, the European planters demanded high rents and illegal dues from the peasants in order to maximise their profits before the peasants could shift to other crops.
- Gandhiji, joined by Rajendra Prasad, Mazharul-Haq, Mahadeo Desai, Narhari Parekh, J.B. Kripalani - reached Champaran to probe into the matter.
- Authorities ordered him to leave.
- Gandhiji defied the order and preferred to face the punishment - novel method.
- Finally, the authorities retreated and permitted Gandhiji to make an enquiry.
- Govt appointed committee nominated Gandhiji as a member.
- Gandhiji was able to convince the authorities that the tinkathia system should be abolished - peasants should be compensated for the illegal dues.
- As a compromise with the planters, he agreed that only 25 per cent of the money taken should be compensated.

Within a decade, the planters left the area.

- Khurki - Under Khurki system, the British planters used to pay some money to the farmers (Raiyyat) by mortgaging their lands and houses and compelling them to sow indigo.

Ahmedabad Mill Strike (1918) First Hunger Strike

- Dispute between mill owners and workers over issue of discontinuation of the plague bonus.
- Strike.
- Workers demanded a 35 per cent increase in wages.
- Employers agreed to give only 20 per cent.
- Gandhiji advised the workers to remain non-violent while on strike.
- He undertook fast unto death - first of his seventeen fast unto death.
- Mill owners finally agreed for 35% rise.

Kheda Satyagraha (1918) - First Non-Cooperation

- There was a drought in 1918, Crops failed in Gujarat.
- According to the revenue code, if the yield was less than one-fourth the normal produce, the farmers were entitled to remission.
- Authorities refused to grant remission.
- Gandhiji asked peasants to withhold revenues.
- The authorities, not willing to openly concede the peasants' demands, issued secret instructions that only those who could afford to pay should pay.
- Sardar Patel and Indulal Yaanik became Gandhiji's followers.
- Chronology.
- Champaran>Ahmedabad>Kheda.

Satyagraha against the Rowlatt Act - First mass strike

- February 1919 - Gandhiji called for nationwide protest, but soon find them fail.
- Satyagraha Sabha - roped in younger members of Home Rule Leagues and the Pan Islamists.

- Forms of protest finally chosen.
- Nationwide hartal accompanied by fasting and prayer.
- Civil disobedience against specific laws.
- Courting arrest and imprisonment.
- Radical change by now.
- Masses got direction.
- Peasants, artisans and the urban poor - to play role.
- masses orientation.
- April 6, 1919 - Satyagraha was to be launched .
- Even before that. strikes and protests happened in Calcutta, Bombay, Delhi, Ahmedabad, Punjab (Army had to be called in here).

Jallianwallah Bagh Massacre - (APRIL 13,1919)

- Protest against the arrest of their leaders, Saifuddin Kitchlew and Satyapal in Jallianwalla Bagh.
- General Dyer blocked the only exit of the Bagh and opened fire.
- 1000 killed.
- Rabindranath Tagore renounced his knighthood.
- Gandhiji withdrew the movement on April 18, 1919.

Khilafat and Non-cooperation Movement

Reasons

- Economic situation.
- The Rowlatt Act, Martial law in Punjab, Jallianwalla Bagh Massacre
- Hunter Commission on the Punjab atrocities was an eyewash, House of Lords endorsed General Dyer and British public showed solidarity with him.
- Committee's Real name - Disorders Inquiry Committee.
- The Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms - failed to satisfy.
- Ground for common political action by Hindus and Muslims.
- Lucknow pact.
- Rowlatt Act agitation.

- Radical nationalist Muslims - Mohammad Ali, Abul Kalam Azad, Hakim Ajmal Khan and Hasan Imam become more influential than conservative Aligarh school. The younger elements advocated.
- Militant nationalism.
- Active participation in the nationalist movement.

Khilafat Issue

- Consolidation of views of younger militant generation and conservatives on the issue.
- Turkey dismembered and khalifa removed.
- Therefore Muslims were infuriated and demanded.
- Khalifa's control over Muslim sacred places should be retained (Jazirat-ul-Arab).
- He should be left with sufficient territories so that he is able to defend Islamic faith.
- Khilafat committee was formed under.
 - Ali Brothers (Shaukat Ali and Mohammad Ali).
 - Maulana Azad.
 - Ajmal Khan.
 - Hasrat Mohani.
- Jinnah did not participated.
- Development of the Khilafat - Non Cooperation Programme (NCM).
- For some time, Khilafat leaders confined to meetings, petitions, deputations.
- Later it became militant - stopping all cooperation with the Govt.
- All India Khilafat Conference held in Delhi in Nov 1919 - Call for boycott of British goods.
- They threatened to stop all cooperation to Govt.
- Gandhiji had not called Ali brothers for Khilafat movement. First Leaders of Khilafat met him and then there was an unwritten pact between INC and Khilafat movement.
- Gandhiji made President of All India Khilafat Committee.
- Oct 17, 1919 was observed as Khilafat day.
- Congress Stand on Khilafat Question.
- Congress support was essential for the success of Khilafat movement.

- Congress was not united on the issue - Gandhiji favoured, Tilak opposed.
- Gandhiji also opposed by some on boycott of councils.
- Later Gandhiji got approval. Reasons:.
- Golden opportunity for unity and bringing Muslim masses.
- Congress losing faith in constitutional struggle especially after Punjab and Hunter case.
- Muslim league also supported congress.
- Feb 1920 - A joint Hindu-Muslim deputation went to viceroy – abortive.
- Feb 1920 - Gandhiji concede to overshadowing of Khilafat over other issues of Non-Cooperation Movement.
- May 1920 - The Treaty of Sevres signed which dismembered Turkey.
- June 1920 - All-party conference held at Allahabad - boycott of schools, colleges and law courts, and asked Gandhiji to lead it.
- August 31, 1920 - The Khilafat Committee started a campaign of non-cooperation - movement was formally launched - Tilak died on Aug 1, 1920.
- September 1920 - Special session of congress in Calcutta - approved a non-cooperation movement. Programme.
- boycott of government schools and colleges.
- boycott of law courts and dispensation of justice through panchayats instead.
- boycott of Legislative Councils (CR Das disagrees on this but bowed to pressure) - thus boycotted elections in 1920.
- Renunciation of government honours and titles.
- Hindu- Muslim unity.
- Non violence.
- Removal of untouchability.

December 1920 – Nagpur Congress session

- Non Cooperation Movement endorsed - resolution moved by CR Das
- Important change - self-government through constitutional means changed to swaraj through peaceful and legitimate means.

- Organisational changes were made.
- CWC of 15 members, Provincial Congress Committees on linguistic basis organised, ward committees was organised, entry fees was reduced to four annas.

Praja Mandal Movement

- Praja Mandals were Nationalist people's organisations in the Indian princely states.
- Organized in Mysore, Hyderabad, Baroda etc.
- Fought against both feudalism and colonialism.
- They also did constructive programmes.
- Congress Support.
- First time enunciated in 1920 at Nagpur.
- Calling upon the Princes to grant full responsible government.
- Allowing the residents of the states to become members of Congress.
- But do not initiate political activity in the states in the name of Congress.
- This policy of non-intervention in princely states by Congress continued till 1938.
- Then Left wingers like Nehru and Bose raised their issues.
- This resulted in a significant policy shift at the Haripura Congress in 1938.
- Resolution was adopted to support the peoples' movements in the states.
- Although no organisational support was provided, Individual leaders could participate under congress leadership.
- In 1939, JLN made President of AISPC (All India State's People's Conference) and Tripuri Congress endorsed the scheme of joint action.
- Movement started in late 1938 and early 1939, demonstration, protests held but they led to violence and communal conflicts thereby Gandhiji withdrawn from movement in April 1939.

All India State's People's Conference (1927)

- Attended by 700 political workers from the states.
- Main people were.

- Balwantrai Mehta.
- Maniklal Kothari
- GR Abhayankar.
- Many groups of revolutionary terrorists - also pledged support.
- Mohammad Ali Jinnah, Annie Besant, G.S. Kharpade and B.C. Pal - Left. they believe in constitutional means.
- Surendranath Banerjee founded the Indian National Liberal Federation - played minor part from now.
- 1921 and 1922 saw an unprecedented popular upsurge.
- Spread of the Movement.
- Gandhiji accompanied by the Ali brothers - nationwide tour.
- Students left schools and joined national schools and colleges which emerged during this time organised under Acharya Narendra Dev, C.R. Das, Lala Lajpat Rai, Zakir Hussain, Subhash Bose (Principal of National College at Calcutta), Jamia Millia at Aligarh, Kashi Vidyapeeth, Gujarat Vidyapeeth and Bihar Vidyapeeth.
- Lawyers gave up practice - Nehrus, C.R. Das, C. Rajagopalachari, Saifuddin Kitchlew, Vallabhbhai Patel, Asaf Ali, T. Prakasam and Rajendra Prasad.
- Foreign clothes burnt.
- Tilak Swaraj Fund made.
- Congress volunteer corps formed - parallel police.
- July 1921 - Ali brothers gave a call to the Muslims to resign from the Army as that was unreligious - Ali brothers arrested for this in Sep. - Gandhiji called similar resolutions in local Congress committees.
- Now, the Congress gave a call to local Congress bodies to start civil disobedience if it was thought that the people were ready for it.
- Already, a no-tax movement against union board taxes in Midnapore (Bengal) and in Guntur (Andhra) was going on.
- Assam - strikes in tea plantations, steamer services, Assam-Bengal Railways - J.M. Sengupta was a prominent leader in these strikes.
- November 1921 - Prince Wales faced strikes and demonstrations.
- Gave rise to local movements.
- Awadh Kisan Movement (UP).

- Eka Movement (UP).
- Mappila Revolt (Malabar).
- Sikh agitation for the removal of mahants.
- Government Response.
- May 1921 - Talks between Gandhiji and Reading broke down as Govt want Gandhiji to persuade Ali brothers to remove those portions of speeches which suggested violence - Gandhiji refused to fall in trap.
- Heavy repression, Volunteer corps declared illegal.
- Public meetings banned.
- Press was gagged.
- Most of the leaders barring Gandhiji were arrested.
- Last Phase of the Movement.
- Gandhiji under pressure for civil disobedience programme.
- The Ahmedabad session in 1921 (Presided by CR das who was jailed, Hakim Ajmal Khan was the acting president) appointed Gandhiji the sole authority on the issue.
- February 1, 1922 - Gandhiji threatened to launch civil disobedience from Bardoli (Gujarat) if .
- Political prisoners were not released.
- Press controls were not removed.

Chauri Chaura incident

- Chauri—Chaura (Gorakhpur district, UP).
- February 5, 1922 - Police beaten a leader campaigning against liquor sales and high food prices, and then opened fire on the crowd which had come to protest before the police station.
- The agitated crowd torched the police station with policemen inside - 22 policemen killed.
- Thereby Gandhiji withdrawn Non-Cooperation Movement.
- February 1922 - CWC met at Bardoli.
- Called for stopping of all activities.
- Focus now on constructive work - Bardoli resolution.

- Help Popularise Khadi.
- Open National schools.
- Campaigning for unity and untouchability.
- C.R. Das, Motilal Nehru, Subhash Bose, Jawaharlal Nehru were disappointed.
- March 1922 - Gandhiji arrested and sentenced to six years in jail where he gave magnificent court speech.
- Why Gandhiji withdrew.
- Violence will be easily suppressed and it would be an excuse for Britishers to clamp down upon the people.
- Fatigue of the people.
- Khilafat issue dissolved - November 1922, turkey rose under pasha, 1924 - caliphate abolished.

Evaluation

- Muslims participated in large numbers.
- Considerable breadth of the movement – Spread across the country.
- Colonial rule was based on two myths.
- Interest of Indians - exploded by the economic critique by Moderates.
- Britishers are invincible - challenged by satyagraha.

Swarajists and No changers

- After Gandhiji's arrest, There was a sense of disintegration, disorganisation and demoralization.
- C.R. Das, Motilal Nehru and Ajmal Khan called for end to the boycott of legislative councils, They were called as Swarajists.
- Vallabhbhai Patel, Rajendra Prasad, C. Rajagopalachari and M.A. Ansari were called as No changers as they focus on constructive work, and continuation of boycott and noncooperation .
- December 1922 .
- In Gaya Congress Session - No changers won.
- C.R Das and Motilal Nehru resigned from the presidentship and secretary ship respectively of the Congress and formed Congress-Khilafat Swarajya Party with C.R Das and Motilal Nehru as president and secretary respectively.
- Swarajists' Arguments.

- It would not negate Non Co-operation Movement, it would be like carrying the work of the movement.
- Enthuse the masses.
- Restricting Govt from installing egregious people there.
- Use the councils as arena of political struggle.
- No-Changers' Arguments.
- There would be neglect of constructive work in case we join councils.
- Loss of revolutionary zeal .
- It will lead to political corruption.
- Prepare for next phase of civil disobedience.
- Both sides wanted to avoid a 1907 type split and kept in touch with Gandhiji who was in jail, Both sides wanted united front, both sides accepted the necessity of Gandhiji's leadership. Thus a compromise was reached at a meeting in Delhi in September 1923.
- November 1923 - elections for Central Legislative Assembly.
- Swarajists Manifests.
- Selfish interests of British.
- Their exploitation.
- Consistent obstruction if demands of self-government not met.
- February 1924 - Gandhiji released on health grounds. Earlier he vacillated, but after he released in Feb 1924, he agreed to Swarajists because.
- He felt public opposition to the programme of council entry would be counter-productive.
- The Swarajists had managed to win 42 out of 141 elected seats. A clear majority in the provincial assembly of Central Provinces, they had joined hands with the Liberals and the independents like Jinnah and Malaviya.
- In case of crackdown on revolutionary terrorists. Swarajists may help them.

Swarajist Activity in Councils

- There was a Split - Communal (Responsivist) and Non-Responsivist lines.
- The death of C.R. Das in 1925 weakened it further.
- Responsivists - Lala Lajpat Rai, Madan Mohan Malaviya and N.C. Kelkar - advocated cooperation with the Government to protect the so-called Hindu interests and accused Non-responsivists like Motilal Nehru of being anti-Hindu and a beef-eater.

- March 1926 - main leadership of the Swarajya Party withdrew from legislatures reiterating faith in mass civil disobedience.
- While another section of Swarajists went into the 1926 elections as a party in disarray, and did not fare well.
- In 1930, the Swarajists finally walked out as a result of the Lahore Congress resolution on Purna Swaraj and the beginning of the Civil Disobedience Movement (1930-34).

Their Achievements

- With coalition partners, they outvoted the Government several times, even on matters relating to budgetary grants, and passed adjournment motions.
- Agitated through powerful speeches.
- Vithalbhai Patel was elected speaker of Central Legislative Assembly in 1925.
- A noteworthy achievement was the defeat of the Public Safety Bill in 1928 - aimed at empowering the Government to deport undesirable and subversive foreigners (Comintern activities).
- Swarajists passed a series of adjournment motions and defeated the govt on the public safety bill in 1928.
- Filled the political vacuum.
- They exposed the hollowness of the Montford scheme.
- They demonstrated that the councils could be used creatively.

Drawbacks

- lacked a policy to coordinate their militancy inside legislatures with the mass struggle outside.
- An obstructionist strategy had its limitations.
- They could not carry on with their coalition partners very far because of conflicting ideas, which further limited their effectiveness.
- They failed to resist the perks and privileges of power and office.
- They failed to support the peasants' cause in Bengal and lost support among Muslim members who were pro peasant.
- Constructive Work by No-Changers.
- Ashrams sprang up where young, men and women worked, among tribals and lower castes (Specially in Kheda and Bardoli areas).
- National schools and colleges founded .
- Promoted on Hindu-Muslim unity, Focused on removing untouchability.

- Critique of Constructive Work.
- Khadi was costlier.
- Education to rich peasants and urban lower middle class only. Lure of govt jobs took the students to official schools and colleges.
- No emphasis on economic grievances of agricultural labourers who are mostly untouchables.



EMERGENCE OF NEW FORCES DURING THE 1920s

- Marked the entry of Indian masses. Because of.
- Gandhian Satyagraha.
- International influence (Marxism).
- Left wing represented by Nehru and Bose.
- Advocating radical solutions.
- Critical both of Swarajists and No-changers.
- Advocated a more consistent anti-imperialist line (Purna Swaraj).
- Stressed the need to combine nationalism and anti-imperialism with social justice and simultaneously raised the question of internal class oppression by capitalists and landlords.

Communism

- Communist Party of India (CPI) - 1920 in Tashkent formed by M.N. Roy, Abani Mukherji and others after the second Congress of Comintern
- 1924 - Kanpur Bolshevik conspiracy case - S.A. Dange, Muzaffar Ahmed, Shaukat Usmani, Nalini Gupta, Singaravelu Chettiar, Ghulam Hussain were jailed.
- Ghulam Hussain turned a British informer and was pardoned.
- 1925 - Indian Communist Conference - formalised the foundation of the CPI.
- 1929 - Govt crackdown against Meerut conspiracy case.
- Workers' and peasants' parties were organised all over the country, they worked within congress.
- Activism of Indian Youth.
- Students' leagues formed.
- 1928 - Jawaharlal Nehru presided over the All Bengal Students' Conference.
- Peasants' Agitations.
- Bardoli Satyagraha 1928.
- Growth of Trade Unionism.

- 1920 - All India Trade Union Congress formed and Lala Lajpat Rai was its first president while Dewan Chaman Lal was its first general secretary, Tilak was also one of the moving spirits.
- Major strikes during the 1920s.
- Kharagpur Railway Workshops,.
- Tata Iron and Steel Works,.
- Bombay Textile Mills (5 months),.
- Buckingham Carnatic Mills.
- 1923 - First May day celebrated in India in Madras.

Caste Movements

- Self-respect movement (1925).
- Justice Party (Madras) - T.M Nair, T. Chetty, C Natesa Mudaliar (Founder).
- Satyashodhak activists in Satara (Maharashtra).
- Bhaskar Rao Jadhav (Maharashtra).
- Mahars under Ambedkar (Maharashtra).
- Radical Ezhavas under K. Aiyappan and C. Kesavan in Kerala.
- Yadavs in Bihar for improvement in social status.
- Unionist Party under Fazl-i-Hussain (Punjab).

Revolutionary Terrorism with a Turn towards Socialism

- Two strands developed.
- Hindustan Republican Association in Punjab and Bihar.
- Yugantar, Anushilan groups and later Chittagong Revolt Group.
- Why Attraction for Revolutionary Terrorism after Non Cooperation Movement (NCM).
- Repression during the First World War. But in early 1920, many were released.
- Under the persuasion of Gandhiji and C.R. Das, many terrorist groups either agreed to join the NCM or suspended their activities to give chance to NCM.
- Withdrawal of NCM disillusioned them and they started looking for alternatives.
- Drawn to the revolutionary and terrorists idea.
- Nearly all major leaders of revolutionary terrorist policies had been enthusiastic participants in NCM - Jogesh Chandra Chatterjee, Surya

Sen, Bhagat Singh, Sukhdev, Chandrasekhar Azad, Shiv Verma, Bhagwaticharan Vohra, Jaidev Kapur and Jatin Das.

- Major Influences.
- Upsurge of working class trade unionism.
- Russian Revolution - emergence of communist class.
- Journals extolling self-sacrifice of revolutionaries - Atmasakti, Sarathi and Bijoli.
- Novels and books such as.
- Bandi Jiwan by Sachin Sanyal.
- Maher Dabi by Sharatchandra Chatterjee (Govt banned it but popularity increased).
- In Punjab-UP-Bihar.
- Dominated by Hindustan Republican Association (later renamed Hindustan Socialist Republican Association or HSRA) - founded in October 1924 by Ramprasad Bismil, Jogesh Chandra Chatterjee and Sachin Sanyal.
- The manifesto of HSRA was written by Bhagwati Charan Vohra.
- HRA's written constitution and published manifesto titled The Revolutionary was produced as a witness in the Kakori conspiracy case of 1925.
- Aim is to throw British and establish a Federal Republic of United States of India with Adult franchise.

Kakori Robbery - Aug 1925

- The men held up the 8-Down train at Kakori near Lucknow.
- looted its official railway cash.
- Government crackdown on the revolutionaries as a result of it.
- Four hanged - Bismil, Ashfaqullah, Roshan Singh and Rajendra Lahiri.
- HSRA Determined to overcome the Kakori setback.
- Younger revolutionaries reorganized themselves - Hindustan Republic Association – at Ferozshah Kotla in Delhi in Sep 1928.
- The participants included Bhagat Singh, Sukhdev, Bhagwaticharan Vohra from Punjab and Bejoy Kumar Sinha, Shiv Verma and Jaidev Kapur from UP – motto was socialism.
- Saunders' Murder - Dec 1928.
- Just when the HSRA revolutionaries had begun to move away from individual heroic action, death of Lala Lajpat Rai led them once again to take to individual assassination.

- Bhagat Singh, Azad and Rajguru shot dead Saunders, the police official responsible for the lathicharge in Lahore.
- Bomb in the Central Legislative Assembly - April 1929.
- Bhagat Singh and Batukeshwar Dutt - Throw a harmless bomb in assembly against.
- Public Safety Bill.
- Trade Disputes Bill - A system of tribunals and a ban on strikes
- The objective was to get arrested and to use the trial court as a forum for propaganda so that people would become familiar with their movement and ideology.
- Bhagat Singh, Sukhdev and Rajguru - Tried in Lahore case.
- In Jail, these revolutionaries protested against the horrible conditions through a fast, and demanded honourable and decent treatment as, political prisoners.
- Jatin das - became first martyr after 64th day of his fast.
- December 1929 - Azad was involved in a bid to blow up Viceroy Irwin's train near Delhi.
- Azad was killed in a police encounter in a park in Allahabad in February 1931
- March 23, 1931 - Bhagat Singh, Sukhdev and Rajguru were hanged.

Bengal

- Many reorganised and many worked under congress. Many cooperated with C.R. Das in his Swarajist work.
- After Das's death (1925), Bengal Congress broke up into two factions.
- One led by J.M. Sengupta (Anushilan group joined forces with him).
- The other led by Subhash Bose (Yugantar group backed him).
- 1924 - Assassination attempt on the notorious Calcutta Police Commissioner, Charles Tegart.
- Gopinath Saha hanged.
- Repression - suffered setback - soon reorganized.

Chittagong Armoury Raid (April 1930)

- Surya Sen.
- Participated in NCM.
- Teacher in the national school in Chittagong – Masterda.
- Imprisoned from 1926 to 1928 for revolutionary activity.

- Afterwards continued working in the Congress.
- Secretary of the Chittagong District Congress Committee.
- Lover of poetry.
- He used to say, "Humanism is a special virtue of a revolutionary".
- Surya Sen decided to organise an armed rebellion along with Anant Singh, Ganesh Ghosh and Lokenath Baul.
- Decided to raid two main armouries in Chittagong to seize and supply arms to the revolutionaries to destroy telephone and telegraph lines and to dislocate the railway link of Chittagong with the rest of Bengal.
- The raid was conducted.
- Involved 65 activists under the banner of Indian Republican Army—Chittagong Branch.
- Sen hoisted the national flag, took salute and proclaimed a provisional revolutionary government.
- Later, they dispersed into neighbouring villages and raided government targets.
- Surya Sen was arrested in February 1933 and hanged in Jan 1934.

Official Reaction

- Panic – repression.
- 1933 - Nehru arrested for sedition and given two years' sentence because he had condemned imperialism and praised the heroism of the revolutionaries
- Ideological Rethinking.
- Founding Council of HRA had decided.
- To preach revolutionary and communist principles.
- HRA Manifesto (1925) calls for abolition of exploitation of all kinds .
- HRAs main organ Revolutionary had proposed nationalisation of railways and heavy industries.
- Peasant organisation need to be organised and there is a need of armed revolution.
- Moving from Individual heroic action and terrorism towards mass politics.
- Thus Ram Prasad Bismil appealed for open movement in his last days.
- Calls for Hindu-Muslim unity.
- Unite all political groups under the leadership of the Congress.
- The Philosophy of the Bomb - written by Bhagwaticharan Vohra.

- Bhagat Singh in his last days before arrest also appeal for popular broad-based movement.
- Therefore Bhagat Singh helped establish the Punjab Naujawan Bharat Sabha (1926) - for political work among youth, peasants and worker - open branches in villages.
- Bhagat Singh and Sukhdev also organised the Lahore Students' Union for open, legal work among students.
- Then why need for individual action?.
- Because of the rapidity of change in thinking, effective acquisition of new ideology is a prolonged and historical process.
- These young intellectuals faced the classic dilemma of how to mobilise people and recruit them and thus they opted for propaganda to spread their message.

Redefining Revolution

- Bhagat Singh said - "Peasants have to free themselves not only from the foreign yoke, but also from the yoke of landlords and capitalists."
- He defined socialism scientifically as abolition of capitalism and class domination.
- Secular approach.
- Aspects of the New Phase of Terrorist Movement in Bengal.
- large-scale participation of young women especially under Surya Sen
- These women provided shelter, carried messages and fought with guns in hand.
- Pritilata Waddedar - died conducting a raid.
- Kalpana Dutt - arrested and tried along with Surya Sen and given a life sentence.
- School girls of Comilla (Shanti Ghosh and Suniti Chowdhary) - who shot dead the district magistrate (Dec 1931).
- Bina Das who fired point blank at the Governor while receiving her degree at the convocation.
- Emphasis on group action.
- Some of the earlier Hindu religiosity was shed. Thus some Muslims participated.

Growth of Communalism

Three Concepts

- Communal Nationalism.
- Liberal Communalism.
- Extreme Communalism.
- Like Fascism, anti-Semitism, racism, the Catholic-Protestant conflict in Northern Ireland and the Christian-Muslim conflict in Lebanon.
- Its social roots lay in the rising middle classes who propagated imaginary communal interests to further their own economic interests.
- Communalists and colonialists were helped in their sinister motives by the fact that often socio-economic distinctions in Indian society coincided with religious distinction.

Reasons of rising communalism

- Socio-economic reasons.
- British' policy of divide and rule.
- Communalism in history writing.
- Side-effects of socio-religious reform movements.
- Side-effects of militant nationalism.
- The early nationalists made conscious efforts to remove minority fears. Dadabhai Naoroji, presiding over the second Congress session (1886), declared the intentions of the Congress not to raise socio religious questions in its forums.
- In 1889 the Congress decided not to take up any issue opposed by the Muslims
- But later things changed with extremists.
- Tilak used Ganapati and Shivaji festivals for National Movement which alienated Muslims.
- Bande Mataram, which Muslims refused to sung, was publicly sung.
- Aurobindo's vision of aryanised world.
- Dips in ganga, oath taking before goddesses became part of struggle against the British.

Evolution of the Two-Nation Theory

- 1906 - Agha Khan led a Muslim delegation (Shimla Delegation) to the viceroy, Lord Minto, to demand separate electorates.
- 1907 - All India Muslim League was founded by Agha Khan, Nawab Salimullah of Dacca, Nawab Mohsin-ul-Mulk and Nawab Waqar-ul-Mulk.
- Preach loyalty to British.
- keep the Muslim intelligentsia away from the Congress.
- 1909 - Separate electorates were awarded under MorleyMinto Reforms, Punjab Hindu Sabha founded by U.N. Mukherji and Lal Chand.
- 1915 - First session of All India Hindu Mahasabha was held under the aegis of the Maharaja of Qasim Bazar.
- 1912-14 - communal view of political questions by even younger Muslim nationalists such as Mohammad Ali, Maulana Azad and Jinnah.
- 1916 - Congress accepted the Muslim League demand of separate electorates.
- 1920-22 - communal element in Khilafat movement.
- 1920s - communal riots, The Arya Samajists started Shuddhi (purification) and Sangathan (organisation) movements.
- Some nationalists also turned communal.
- Ali brothers accused Congress of looking only of Hindu interests.
- Swarajists were divided along communal lines.
- 1928 - Nehru Report - opposed by Muslim hardliners and the Sikh League.
- 1930-34 - Some Muslim groups, such as Jamaat-i-Ulemai-Hind, State of Kashmir and Khudai Khidmatgars participated in the Civil Disobedience Movement but overall the participation of Muslims was nowhere near the level of Khilafat agitation.
- 1932 - Communal Award accepted all Muslim communal demands contained in the 14 points.
- After 1937.
- Idea of separate nation furthered.
- Vicious propaganda was launched against the Congress by Z.A. Suleri, F.M. Durrani, Fazl-ul-Haq, etc.
- 1937-39 - Jinnah blocked all avenues for conciliation by forwarding the demand that.
- Congress should declare itself a Hindu organization.

- Recognise the Muslim League as the sole representative of the Indian Muslims.
- March 24, 1940 - 'Pakistan Resolution' was passed at the Lahore session of the Muslim League.
- During Second World War - The British Indian Government gave a virtual veto to the League on political settlement. The League made full use of this privilege and stuck to its demand of a separate Pakistan.



SIMON COMMISSION AND EVENTS LEADING TO THE CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE MOVEMENT

Simon Commission and Upsurge against it

- The Act of 1919 included a provision for its review after a lapse of ten years.
- Review commission appointed two years earlier (Conservative Government, then in power in Britain, feared defeat by the Labour Party and thus did not want to leave the question of the future of Britain's most prized colony in "irresponsible Labour hands").
- November 8, 1927 - Appointed with seven members, all were English.
- The Conservative Secretary of State, Lord Birkenhead was behind it.
- As there was no Indian member in it, the Commission faced a lot of criticism even before its landing in India.
- December 1927 - Congress session in Madras under MA Ansari.
- Boycott of Simon Commission supported by Liberals of the Hindu Mahasabha and the majority faction of the Muslim League under Jinnah. Unionists in Punjab and the Justice Party in the south decided not to boycott.
- Meanwhile Nehru succeeded in getting a snap resolution passed at the session, declaring complete independence as the goal of the Congress.
- Almost all the political parties including the Congress decided to oppose the Commission.
- 3 February 1928 - Commission arrived – hartal happened.
- Youth played most active part.
- Nehru and Subhash emerged as leaders of this new wave.
- Police came down heavily on demonstrators.
- Jawaharlal Nehru and G.B. Pant; were beaten up in Lucknow.
- 30 Oct 1928, there was a Students protest in which Lala Lajpat Rai got injured and passed away after one month.
- The report of the Simon Commission was published in May 1930.
- It was stated that the constitutional experiment with Dyarchy was unsuccessful and in its place the report recommended the establishment of autonomous government.

- There is no doubt that the Simon Commission's Report became the basis for enacting the Government of India Act of 1935.
- Recommendations of Simon Commission.
- Abolition of diarchy.
- Representative government in the provinces.
- Rejected parliamentary responsibility at the centre.
- GoI has complete control over the high court.
- It accepted the idea of federalism but not in the near future.
- Suggested that a Consultative Council of Greater representatives of both the British provinces as well as princely states be formed.
- NWFP and Balochistan should get local legislatures.
- Sindh should be separated from Bombay.
- Burma should be separated from India.
- Indian army should be Indianised though British forces must be retained.

Nehru Report (1928)

- The Secretary of State, Lord Birkenhead, challenged the Indians to produce a Constitution that would be acceptable to all.
- 28 February 1928 - challenged accepted at all India meeting.
- A committee consisting of eight was constituted headed by Motilal Nehru.
 1. Motilal Nehru
 2. Tej Bahadur Sapru
 3. Subhash Bose
 4. M.S. Aney
 5. Mangal Singh
 6. Ali Imam
 7. Shuab Qureshi
 8. G.R. Pradhan
- Finalised by Aug 1928.
- First major attempt by Indians to draft a constitution.
- Nehru Report confined itself to British India as it envisaged the future link-up of British India with the princely states on a federal basis.

Main Points

- Dominion Status as the next immediate step.
- Rejection of separate electorates.
- Instead, a demand for joint electorates with reservation of seats for Muslims at the centre and in provinces where they were in minority (and not in those where Muslims were in majority, such as Punjab and Bengal) in proportion to the Muslim population there with right to contest additional seats.
- Formation of Linguistic provinces.
- Nineteen fundamental rights including.
- Equal rights for women.
- Right to form unions.
- Universal adult suffrage.
- Provision of Full responsible government at the centre and provinces.
- The Indian Parliament at the centre to consist of a 500 member House of Representatives elected on the basis of adult suffrage.
- A 200-member Senate to be elected by provincial councils.
- The House of Representatives to have a tenure of 5 years and the Senate, one of 7 years.
- The central government to be headed by a governor-general appointed by the British Government but paid out of Indian revenues, who would act on the advice of the central executive council responsible to the Parliament.
- Provincial councils' to have a 5-year tenure, headed by a- governor acting on the advice of the provincial executive council.
- Full protection to cultural and religious interests of Muslims..
- Complete dissociation of state from religion.
- Autonomy to the provinces. residual powers rested with the centre.
- Clear cut division of power between the centre and the provinces.
- A bicameral legislature at the centre Responses.
- Dec 1927 - Muslim leaders had met at Delhi at the Muslim League session and evolved four proposals to be incorporated in the draft constitution which was accepted by Madras session of the Congress (1927) and being called as 'Delhi Proposals'.
- Joint electorates in place of separate electorates with reserved seats for Muslims.

- One-third representation to Muslims in Central Legislative Assembly.
- Representation to Muslims in Punjab and Bengal in proportion to their population.
- Formation of three new Muslim majority provinces— Sindh, Baluchistan and North-West Frontier Province.

Hindu Mahasabha

- Opposed to new Muslim-majority provinces and reservation of seats for Muslims majorities in Punjab and Bengal.
- Demanded a strictly unitary structure.
- The concessions made in the Nehru Report to Hindu communalists included the following.
- Joint electorates proposed everywhere but reservation for Muslims only where in minority.
- Sindh to be detached from Bombay only after dominion status was granted and subject to weightage to Hindu minority in Sindh
- Political structure proposed was broadly unitary, as residual powers rested with the centre.
- Amendments Proposed by Jinnah.
- December 1928 - All party conference held at Calcutta where Jinnah proposed three amendments on behalf of Muslim League.
- One-third representation to Muslims in the Central Legislature.
- Reservation to Muslims in Bengal and Punjab legislatures proportionate to their population, till adult suffrage was established.
- Residual powers to provinces.
- These demands not being accommodated, Jinnah went back to the Shafi faction of the Muslim League and in March 1929 gave fourteen points which were to become the basis of all future propaganda of the Muslim League.

Jinnah's Fourteen Demands

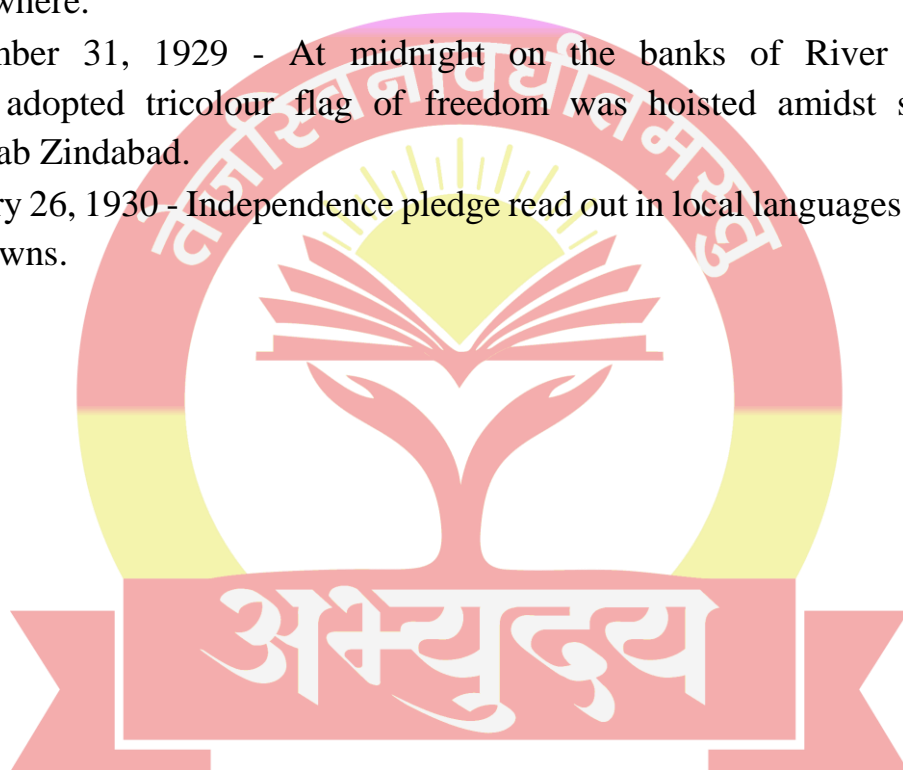
- Federal Constitution with residual powers to provinces.
 - Provincial autonomy.
 - No constitutional amendment by the centre without the concurrence of the states constituting the Indian federation..
 - All legislatures and elected bodies to have adequate representation of Muslims in every province without reducing a majority of Muslims in a province to a minority or equality.
 - Adequate representation to Muslims in the services and in self-governing bodies.
 - One-third Muslim representation in the Central Legislature.
 - In any cabinet at the centre or in the provinces, one third to be Muslims.
 - Separate electorates.
 - No bill or resolution in any legislature to be passed if three fourths of a minority community consider such a bill or resolution to be against their interests.
 - Any territorial redistribution not to affect the Muslim majority in Punjab, Bengal and NWFP.
 - Separation of Sindh from Bombay.
 - Constitutional reforms in the NWFP and Baluchistan.
 - Full religious freedom to all communities.
 - Protection of Muslim rights in religion, culture, education and language..
-
- People unhappy with Nehru report.
 - Muslim League.
 - Hindu Mahasabha.
 - Sikh communalists.
 - Younger section of the Congress led by Jawaharlal Nehru and Subhash Bose - jointly set up the Independence for India League.
 - Their first meeting held in Delhi.

Run up to the Civil Disobedience Movement

- Calcutta Session of Congress (December 1928).
- JL Nehru, Subhash Chandra Bose and Satyamurthy - wanted complete independence.

- Gandhiji and Motilal Nehru wished that the dominion status demand not be dropped in haste, as consensus over it had been developed with great difficulty over the years.
- Two-year grace period be given to the Government.
- This period was reduced to one year under pressure from young leaders.
- After this Congress would not only demand complete independence but would also launch a Civil Disobedience Movement to attain its goal.
- Political Activity during 1929.
- Gandhiji travelled incessantly.
- Congress Working Committee organised a Foreign Cloth Boycott committee.
- Gandhiji initiated the campaign in March 1929 in Calcutta and was arrested.
- This was followed by bonfires of foreign clothes all over the country.
- Meerut Conspiracy Case (March).
- bomb explosion in Central Legislative Assembly by Bhagat Singh (April).
- The coming to power of the Labour Government led by Ramsay MacDonald (May).
- October 31, 1929 - Irwin's Statement .
- "It is implicit in the 1917 declaration (Montagu's statement) that the natural issue of India's progress, as contemplated there, is the attainment of dominion status." - Dipavali Declaration, 1929.
- He also promised a Round Table Conference (RTC) when the Simon Commission submitted its report.
- Delhi Manifesto - November 2, 1929 .
- By prominent national leaders.
- The purpose of the Round Table Conference (RTC) should be to formulate a scheme for implementation of the dominion status (thus acting as a constituent assembly) and the basic principle of dominion status should be immediately accepted.
- Congress should have majority representation at the conference.
- Amnesty and a general policy of conciliation should be adopted.
- December 23, 1929 - Irwin rejected these demands which led to a deadlock
- December 1929 - Lahore Session .
- Jawaharlal Nehru became president mainly due to Gandhiji's backing - (15 out of 18 Provincial Congress Committees had opposed Nehru). he was chosen because.

- Appositeness of the occasion (Congress' acceptance of complete independence as its goal).
- Upsurge of youth which had made the anti-Simon campaign a huge success.
- Major decisions.
- RTC to be boycotted.
- Complete independence is now aim of the congress.
- CWC authorised to launch a programme of civil disobedience including.
- Non-payment of taxes.
- All members of legislatures asked to resign their seats.
- January 26, 1930 fixed as the first Independence Day - to be celebrated everywhere.
- December 31, 1929 - At midnight on the banks of River Ravi, the newly adopted tricolour flag of freedom was hoisted amidst slogans of Inquilab Zindabad.
- January 26, 1930 - Independence pledge read out in local languages in villages and towns.



CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE MOVEMENT (CDM) AND OTHER IMPORTANT EVENTS

- Gandhiji's Eleven Demands - with an ultimatum up to 31 Jan 1930.
- Issues of general Interest.
- Reduce expenditure on Army and civil services by 50 per cent.
- Introduce total prohibition.
- Change Arms Act allowing popular control of issue of firearms licences.
- Carry out reforms in CID.
- Release political prisoners.
- Accept Postal Reservation Bill.
- Specific Bourgeois Demands.
- Reduce rupee-sterling exchange ratio to 1s 4d.
- Introduce textile protection.
- Reserve coastal shipping for Indians.
- Specific Peasant Demands.
- Reduce land revenue by 50 per cent.
- Abolish salt tax and government's salt monopoly.
- February 1930.
- No positive response.
- CWC invested all powers to Gandhiji to launch CDM at a time and place of choice.
- Gandhiji had decided to make, salt, the central formula for the CDM.
- Dandi March (March 12-April 6, 1930).
- Started From March 2, 1930 .
- Gandhiji informed the viceroy of his plan.
- Before starting, Gandhiji gave directions.
- Wherever possible civil disobedience of the salt law should be started
- Foreign liquor and cloth shops can be picketed.
- We can refuse to pay taxes if we have the requisite strength.
- Lawyers can give up practice.

- Boycott courts.
- Resigns.
- Truth and non-violence.
- Local leaders should be obeyed after Gandhiji's arrest.
- 12th March 1930 - Gandhiji began his famous March to Dandi (Navsari town of Gujarat) from Sabarmati Ashram with his chosen 78 followers to break the salt laws.
- 5 April 1930 - He reached the coast of Dandi after marching a distance of 200 miles and on 6 April formally launched the Civil Disobedience Movement by breaking the salt laws.
- The violation of the law was seen as a symbol of the Indian people's resolve not to live under British made laws and therefore under British rule.
- Thus, defiance of the salt laws started all over the country.
- C. Rajagopalachari - Tiruchirapally to Vedaranniyam.
- In Malabar, K. Kelappan led a march from Calicut to Poyannur.
- Under Gopalbandhu Chaudhuri, a Gandhian leader, salt satyagraha - Balasore, Cuttack and Puri districts.
- Patna (Bihar) - Ambika Kant Sinha in Nakhas Pond.
- In Assam, satyagrahis walked from Sylhet to Noakhali (Bengal) to make salt.
- April 1930 - Nehru's arrest evoked huge demonstrations in Madras, Calcutta and Karachi.
- 9 April 1930 - Programme to make salt in every village, Picketing, boycotting schools and colleges, resigning from jobs, Not paying taxes
- As a reaction, the British Government arrested important leaders of the Congress and imprisoned them.
- May 4, 1930 - Gandhiji arrested when he had announced that he would lead a raid on Dharsana Salt Works on the west coast.
- Gandhiji's arrest response fiercest in sholapur - Textile workers went on a strike, burnt liquor shops and other symbols of government authority - established a virtual parallel government which could only be dislodged with martial law after May 16.
- After Gandhiji's arrest, the CWC sanctioned.
- Non-payment of revenue in Ryotwari areas.
- No chowkidara tax campaign in zamindari areas.
- Violation of forest laws in the Central Provinces.

Other Forms of Upsurge

- Chittagong case.
- Peshawar - Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan issued first pushto political weekly pukhtoon - Khudai khidmatgars (Red shirts).
- April 23, 1930 - the arrest of Congress leaders in NWFP led to mass demonstrations – There was a kind of reign of terror and martial law imposed - section of Garhwal Rifles soldiers refused to fire on an unarmed crowd.
- Sholapur disturbances.
- Dharsana - Sarojini Naidu, Imam Sahib and Manilal (Gandhi's son) took Gandhi's task - brutal lathicharge by the police.
- Bihar - refusal to pay chowkidara tax, resignation of chowkidars and members of chowkidari panchayat - beatings, torture and confiscation of property by the British.
- Bengal - Anti-chowkidara tax and anti-union board tax campaign – repression by the Police.
- Gujarat - Areas of Kheda district, Bardoli in Surat district, Jambusar in Bharuch district - no-tax movement - Villagers cross borders to reach baroda to evade tax and repression by the British.
- The police retaliated by destroying their property and confiscating their land.
- Maharashtra, Karnataka, Central Provinces - defiance of forest laws.
- Assam - agitation against 'Cunningham circular' - which forced parents, guardians and students to furnish assurances of good behaviour.
- United Provinces - no revenue and no rent campaign becomes a no rent only programme as most Zamindars were loyalists.
- Manipur and Nagaland - Rani Gaidinliu of Nagaland - captured in 1932 and sentenced to life imprisonment.
- Prabhat pheries, vanar senas, manjari senas, secret patrilas and magic lantern shows.
- Impact of Agitation.
- Imports of foreign cloth and other items fell.
- Government income from liquor, excise and land revenue fell.
- Elections to Legislative Assembly were largely boycotted.

Extent of Mass Participation

- Women - Gandhiji specially asked them to join.
- Kamaladevi Chattopadhyaya had persuaded Gandhiji not to restrict the protests to men alone.
- Thus it became the first nationalist activity in which women participated in large numbers.
- Students.
- Muslims.
- Nowhere near the 1920-22 level.
- NWFP participated overwhelmingly.
- Middle class Muslim participation in Senhatta, Tripura, Gaibandha, Bagura and Noakhali.
- Muslim weaving community in Bihar, Delhi and Lucknow.
- Merchants and Petty Traders - especially in Tamil Nadu and Punjab.
- Tribals.
- Central Provinces, Maharashtra and Karnataka.
- Workers.
- Peasants.

Government Response

- Ambivalent – Because if the repress, there is a cry of excesses and more people joined and if they allowed, then revolutionaries considered it as their victory.
- Finally repression by the Govt, the ordinances banning civil liberties were freely used, including gagging of the press.
- Provincial govts were given freedom to ban civil disobedience organizations.
- CWC was however not declared illegal till June.
- And no mention of dominion status in Simon commission report further infuriated the leaders.
- July 1930 - Viceroy suggested a round table conference reiterated the goal of dominion status.
- He also accepted the suggestion that Tej Bahadur Sapru and M.R. Jayakar be allowed to explore the possibility of peace between the Congress and the Government.

- August 1930 - Motilal and Jawaharlal Nehru - taken to Yervada jail to meet Gandhiji -discuss the possibility of a settlement - They unequivocally reiterated the following demands.
- Right of secession from Britain.
- Complete national government with control over defence and finance.
- An independent tribunal to settle Britain's financial claims.
- Talks broke down at this point.

First Round table Conference (Nov 1930 - Jan 1931)

- Opened officially by King George V and chaired by Ramsay MacDonald.
- First ever conference arranged between the British and the Indians as equals.
- Muslim League, the Hindu Mahasabha, Sikhs, Parsis, Women, Depressed classes, Justice Party, landlords the Liberals and princes attended it.
- Congress was conspicuous with its absence.

Gandhi Irwin Pact

- January 25, 1931 - Gandhiji and all other members of the CWC were released unconditionally
- February 14, 1931 - Then a pact was signed between Gandhiji and Viceroy. Delhi Pact also known as Gandhi-Irwin Pact. Irwin on behalf of the Government agreed on.
- Immediate release of all political prisoners not convicted of violence.
- Remission of all fines not yet collected.
- Return of all lands not yet sold to third parties.
- lenient treatment to those government servants who had resigned.
- Right to make salt in coastal villages for personal consumption (not for sale).
- Right to peaceful and non-aggressive picketing.
- Withdrawal of emergency ordinances.
- Turned down two of Gandhiji's demands.
- Public inquiry into police excesses.
- Commutation of Bhagat Singh and his comrades' death sentence to life sentence.
- Gandhiji on behalf of the Congress agreed.

- To suspend the civil disobedience movement.
- To participate in the next RTC on the constitutional question around the three lynch-pins of.
- Federation.
- Indian Responsibility.
- Reservations-and safeguards that may be necessary in India's interests (defence, external affairs, position of minorities, financial credit of India and discharge of other obligations).

Evaluation of Civil Disobedience movement

- It was not a retreat because.
- Mass movements are necessarily short-lived.
- Exhaustion after Sep 1930 especially among shopkeepers and merchants.

Compared to Non-Cooperation Movement

- Objective - Complete Independence this time.
- The methods involved violation of law from the very beginning and not just non-cooperation with foreign rule.
- Decline in forms of protests involving the intelligentsia.
- Less Muslim participation.
- No major labour upsurge coincided with the movement.
- More imprisoned this time.
- The Congress was organisationally stronger.

Karachi Congress Session - 1931

- March - special session after Delhi pact.
- Six days before the session (which was held on March 29) Bhagat Singh, Sukhdev and Rajguru had been executed.
- Throughout Gandhiji's route to Karachi, he was greeted with black flag.
- Congress Resolutions at Karachi
- While disapproving violence, the Congress admired the "bravery" and "sacrifice" of the three martyrs.

- The Delhi Pact was endorsed.
- The goal of purna swaraj was reiterated.
- Two resolutions were adopted—one on Fundamental Rights and the other on National Economic Programme.
- Fundamental Rights.
- Free speech and free press.
- right to form associations.
- right to assemble.
- universal adult franchise.
- equal legal rights irrespective of caste, creed and sex.
- neutrality of state in religious matters.
- free and compulsory primary education.
- protection to culture, language, script of minorities and linguistic groups.
- National Economic Programme.
- Substantial reduction in rent and revenue.
- Exemption from rent for uneconomic holdings.
- Relief from agricultural indebtedness.
- Control of usury.
- Better conditions of work including a living wage, limited hours of work and protection of women workers.
- Right to workers and peasants to form unions.
- State ownership and control of key industries, mines and means of transport.
- This was the first time the Congress spelt out what swaraj would mean for the masses.

Second RTC and Second CDM

- Dec 1931 - Held in London.
- Not much was expected.
- The Right Wing in Britain led by Churchill strongly objected talks on equal footing.
- An overwhelming majority of RTC delegates were conservatives, loyalists, reactionaries and communal.
- The session soon got deadlocked on the question of the minorities. Separate electorates were being demanded by the Muslims, depressed classes, Christians and Anglo-Indians, All these came together in a "Minorities' Pact".

- Princes were also not as enthusiastic about a federation, especially after the possibility of the formation of a Congress government at the centre had receded after the suspension of civil disobedience movement.
- Session ended with MacDonald's announcement of.
- Setting up of two Muslim majority provinces—NWFP and Sindh.
- The setting up of Indian Consultative Committee.
- Three expert committees—finance, franchise and states.
- The prospect of a unilateral British Communal Award if Indians failed to agree.
- Gandhiji returned to India on December 28, 1931. On December 29, the CWC decided to resume the civil disobedience movement.
- During Truce Period (March-December 1931).
- United provinces - movement for rent reduction.
- NWFP - Repression on who were agitating against the brutal methods of tax-collection.
- Bengal - draconian ordinances and mass detentions.
- September 1931 - there was a firing incident on political prisoners in Hijli Jail.
- Changed Government Attitude.
- Delhi pact - raised congress prestige and morale -British determined to reverse this trend.
- There were three main considerations in British policy.
- Gandhiji would not be permitted to build up the tempo for a mass movement again.
- Confidence of those who support britishers are very necessary.
- The national movement would not be allowed to consolidate itself in rural areas.
- After the CWC had decided to resume CDM, new Viceroy Willingdon refused a meeting with Gandhiji on Dec 31..
- January 4, 1932 - Gandhiji was arrested.
- Government Action.
- Repressive ordinances - virtual martial law.
- Congress organisations at all levels were banned.
- Arrests were made.
- Gandhiji ashrams were occupied.
- Repression was particularly harsh on women.
- Press was gagged.

- Nationalist literature banned.
- Popular Response.
- Anger.
- Response was massive.
- In the first four months alone, about 80,000 satyagrahis jailed.
- Other forms of protests.
- This phase of CDM coincided with upsurges in two princely states.
- Kashmir and Alwar.
- Could not sustained long because.
- Gandhiji and other leaders had no time to build up the tempo.
- The masses were not prepared.
- April 1934 - Gandhiji decided to withdraw.

Communal Award and Poona Pact

- August 1932 - Announced by the British Prime Minister, Ramsay MacDonald - divide and rule.
- For the Muslims, Sikhs and Christians and depressed classes – All considered as Minorities and entitled to separate electorates.
- Congress though opposed it, it was not want in favor of changing the communal award w/o consulting minorities.
- Congress - neither accept nor reject.
- Nationalists vehemently opposed separating depressed classes.
- Gandhiji's Response.
- Attack on Indian unity and nationalism.
- Once the depressed classes were treated as a separate political entity, he argued, the question of abolishing untouchability would get undermined.
- He was proponent of abolishing untouchability.
- He demanded joint and a wider electorate, no objection to larger number of reserved seats.
- Poona pact.

- Sep 1932 - Signed by B.R. Ambedkar on behalf of the depressed classes (Others to negotiate were MC Rajah and Malviya).
- Separate electorates abandoned.
- Reserved seats increased from 71 to 147 in provincial legislatures, and 18 per cent of the total in the central legislature.
- The Poona Pact was accepted by the Government as an amendment to the Communal Award.
- Gandhiji's Harijan Campaign.
- Campaign against untouchability.
- First from jail and after his release in August 1933 from the outside.
- September 1932 - All India Anti Untouchability League formed.
- January 1933 - Started weekly Harijan.
- After his release, he shifted to the Satyagraha Ashram in Wardha as he had vowed in 1930 not to return to Sabarmati Ashram unless swaraj was won.
- Nov 1933 - July 1934 - Starting from Wardha, he conducted a Harijan tour of the country.
- Collecting money for Harijan Sevak Sangh.
- Kept two fasts.
- May 8 and Aug 16, 1934.
- Attacked by orthodox and reactionary elements.

Gandhiji's Thoughts on Caste

- Root and branch eradication of untouchability - open temples.
- His entire campaign was based on principles of humanism and reason.
- Gandhiji was not in favour of mixing up the issue of removal of untouchability with that of inter-caste marriages and inter-dining.
- because he felt that such restrictions existed among caste Hindus and among Harijans themselves and because the all-India campaign at the time was directed against disabilities specific to Harijans.
- Distinguished between abolition of untouchability and abolition of caste system.
- Ambedkar advocated annihilation of the caste system to remove untouchability.

Impact of the Campaign

- The campaign carried the message of nationalism to Harijans who also happened to be the agricultural labourers in most parts of the country, leading to their increasing participation in the national and peasant movements.

Strategic Debate

- Two-stage debate.
- Course during immediate future (1934-35).
- Office acceptance after elections of 1937.

First stage debate

- Three perspectives.
 1. There should be Constructive work on Gandhian lines.
 2. Constitutional struggle and participation in elections - M.A. Ansari, Asaf Ali, Bhulabhai Desai, S. Satyamurthy and B.C. Roy among others
 3. leftist led by Nehru - critical of both constructive work and council entry - Instead, this section favoured resumption and continuation of non-constitutional mass struggle.
- **Nehru's vision**
 1. Taking up economic and class demands of peasants and workers.
 2. These class organisations should be allowed to affiliate with the Congress.
 3. Taking up class struggle.
 4. Nehru's Opposition to Struggle-Truce-Struggle Strategy - suggested struggle-victory strategy.
- Finally, Yes to Council Entry.
- May 1934 - AICC met at Patna to set up a Parliamentary Board to fight elections under the aegis of the Congress itself
- Gandhiji was aware that he was out of tune now. Socialists also had differences with him.
- Oct 1934 - Gandhiji resigned .
- November 1934 - Congress captured 45 out of 75 seats reserved for Indians.

Government of India Act 1935

- Nov 1932 - Third RTC held.
- Discussion at the third RTC resulted in a white paper in 1934 containing proposals incorporated in a Bill and presented to the Parliament for passage.
- This came to be known as GoI Act of 1935.

Main Features

- It provided for the establishment of an All-India Federation consisting of provinces and princely states as units. The Act divided the powers between the Centre and units in terms of three lists—Federal List (for Centre, with 59 items), Provincial List (for provinces, with 54 items) and the Concurrent List (for both, with 36 items). Residuary powers were given to the Viceroy. However, the federation never came into being as the princely states did not join it.
- It provided for the adoption of dyarchy at the Centre. However, this provision of the Act did not come into operation at all.
- Reserved Subjects – Administered by Governor general on advice of executive councillors.
- Foreign affairs.
- Defence,.
- Tribal areas.
- Transferred Subjects – Administered by Governor general on advice of ministers elected by legislature.
- Bicameralism in 6 out of 11 provinces - Bengal, Bombay, Madras, Bihar, Assam, and United Provinces.
- Governor-general could act in his individual judgment in the discharge of his special responsibilities for the security and tranquility of India.
- Bicameral legislature - election to the Council of States was direct and that to the Federal Assembly, indirect.
- Council of States was to be a permanent body with one-third members retiring every third year. The duration of the assembly was to be 5 years.
- Members of Federal Assembly could move a vote of no-confidence against ministers. Council of States could not move a vote of no-confidence.

About Provinces

- It abolished Dyarchy in the provinces and introduced "provincial autonomy" in its place. Responsible government i.e. the governor was required to act with the advice of the ministers responsible to the provincial legislature. This came into effect in 1937 and was discontinued in 1939.
- Provinces were granted autonomy and separate legal identity.
- Provinces were freed from "the superintendence, direction" of the secretary of state and governor-general. Provinces henceforth derived their legal authority directly from the British Crown.
- They were given independent financial powers and resources.
- Provincial governments could borrow money on their own security.
- Governor was to be the Crown's nominee - have special powers regarding minorities, rights of civil servants, law and order, British business interests, partially excluded areas, princely states, etc.
- Governor could take over and indefinitely run administration.
- Provincial legislature.
- All members were to be directly elected.
- Franchise was extended.
- Women got the right on the same basis as men.
- The Act introduced responsible governments in provinces, that is, the governor was required to act with the advice of ministers responsible to the provincial legislature. This came into effect in 1937 and was discontinued in 1939.

Others

- It further extended the principle of communal representation by providing separate electorates for depressed classes (scheduled castes), women and labour (workers).
- It abolished the Council of India, established by the Government of India Act of 1858. The secretary of state for India was provided with a team of advisors.
- Provided for the establishment of a Reserve Bank of India to control.
- Provided for the establishment of not only a Federal Public Service Commission but also a Provincial Public Service Commission and Joint Public Service Commission for two or more provinces.
- Provided for the establishment of a Federal Court, which was set up in 1937
- 80 per cent of the budget was non-votable.

- Governor-general had residuary powers. He could.
- Restore cuts in grants.
- Certify bills rejected by the legislature.
- Issue ordinances.
- Exercise his veto.
- Ministers were made answerable to and removable by the adverse vote of the legislature.
- 40 per cent of the budget was still not votable.
- Governor could.
- Refuse assent to a bill.
- Promulgate ordinances.
- Enact governor's Acts.

Evaluation of the Act

- In provinces, the governor still had extensive powers.
- Communal electorates.
- Rigid Constitution with no possibility of internal growth.
- Right of amendment was reserved with the British Parliament.
- Congress condemned and rejected, instead demanded convening of constituent assembly.
- Proposed Federation of 1935 Act.
- Congress did not like as 1/3rd of seats with princes.
- Princes too were reluctant as democratic leaders may not respect their autocratic rule.
- The central government carried on up to 1946 as per the provisions of Government of India Act, 1919.

Second Stage Debate

- In early 1937, elections to provincial assemblies were announced.
- Full agreement that the Congress should fight these elections on the basis of a detailed political and economic Programme.
- But what to do after the elections was not yet clear.
- Sharp differences over these questions.

- JL Nehru, Subhash Chandra Bose, Congress Socialists and Communists were opposed to office acceptance - they argued that it would negate the rejection of the Act by the nationalists – It would mean responsibility without power.
- Leftists proposed entry into the councils.
- With an aim to create a Deadlock.
- As a long-term strategy, they advocated an increased reliance on workers and peasants.
- Integration of their class organisations into the Congress.
- Socialist direction to the Congress.
- Proponents of office acceptance argued that.
- Short-term tactic since option for mass movement is not there.
- Gandhiji's Position - opposed office acceptance - but by the beginning of 1936, he was willing to give a trial to the formation of Congress ministries
- 1936 lucknow session and 1937 Faizpur session - The Congress decided to fight elections and postpone the decision on office acceptance to the post-election phase.
- February 1937 - Elections held.
- Congress Manifesto.
- Reaffirmed total rejection of the 1935 Act.
- Promised against exploitative policies of the Govt.
- Congress' Performance.
- Got a majority in all provinces, except in Bengal, Assam, Punjab, Sindh and NWFP.
- Largest party in Bengal, Assam and NWFP.
- Congress prestige increased.
- Nehru reconcile to the dominant strategy of Struggle-Truce-Struggle.

28 Months Congress Rule in Provinces

- Gandhiji advised – hold the office lightly and not tightly – these are crowns of thorns.
- Work under Congress Ministries.
- Civil Liberties.
- Laws giving emergency powers were repealed.
- Ban on illegal organisations, such as the Hindustan Seva Dal and youth Leagues and on certain books and journals was lifted.

- Ban lifted on Press and newspaper.
- Confiscated arms and arms licences were restored.
- Police powers were curbed and CID stopped shadowing politicians.
- Political prisoners, and revolutionaries were released, and deportation and internment orders were revoked.
- lands confiscated under CDM restored.
- Certain blemishes also.
- Yusuf Maheraly - arrested by Madras Govt for inflammatory speeches and later released.
- S.S. Batliwala - arrested by the Madras Government for seditious speech.
- K.M. Munshi, The Bombay Home Minister, used the CID against communists and leftists.
- Agrarian Reforms.
- Certain constraints with them.
- Inadequate powers.
- Inadequate financial resources.
- Strategy of class adjustments was another hurdle since Zamindars, etc had to be conciliated and neutralised.
- War clouds had started hovering around 1938.
- Constraint of time.
- Second chamber (Legislative Council) dominated by landlords, moneylenders etc.
- Agrarian structure was complex and complicated.
- In spite of these constraints, Congress ministries managed to legislate a number of laws relating to land reforms, debt relief, forest grazing fee, arrears of rent, land tenures.
- Attitude Towards Labour.
- The basic approach was to advance workers' interests while promoting industrial peace.
- This was sought to be achieved by reducing strikes as far as possible and by advocating compulsory arbitration.
- Goodwill was sought to be created between labour and capital with mediation of ministries.
- The ministries treated militant trade union protests as law and order problems, and acted as mediators as far as possible.
- leftist critics were not satisfied by this approach.

- Generally, the ministries took recourse to Section 144 and arrested the leaders.
- Nehru was unhappy about these repressive measures but supported in public.
- Although Gandhiji was against militant and violent methods, he stood for political education of the masses.
- He felt that the popular base of the Congress should not erode.
- He appealed to Congressmen against frequent resort to colonial laws and machinery.
- Social Welfare Reforms.
- Prohibition imposed in certain areas.
- Measures for welfare of Harijans taken—temple entry, use of public facilities, scholarships, an increase in their numbers in government service and police, etc.
- Attention given to primary, technical and higher education and to public health and sanitation.
- Promotion of Khadi.
- Prison reforms.
- Promotion of Indigenous enterprises.
- Efforts taken to develop planning through National Planning Committee set up under Congress President Subhash Bose in 1938.
- Extra-Parliamentary Mass Activity of Congress.
- Launching of mass literacy campaigns.
- Setting up of Congress police stations and panchayats.
- Congress Grievance Committees presenting mass petitions to Government.
- States peoples' movements.

Evaluation

- Opportunism and hunger for power started surfacing by 1939.
- Yet they utilise council work to their advantage.
- Indian self-government was necessary for radical social transformation, got confirmed.
- The ministries were able to control communal riots.
- The morale of the bureaucracy came down.

- Council work helped neutralise many erstwhile hostile elements (landlords, etc).
- People were able to perceive the shape of things to come if independence was won.
- Congress ministries resigned in October 1939 after the outbreak of the Second World War.



NATIONAL MOVEMENT TOWARDS FREEDOM AND PARTITION

- September 1, 1939 - Germany attacks Poland, Second World War starts
- September 3, 1939 Indian opinion.
- June 1941 - Germany attacks Russia and Russia is dragged into the War
- December 1941 - Japan attacks Pearl Harbour.
- March 1942 - After having overrun almost the whole of SouthEast. Asia, Japan occupies Rangoon.

Congress Position before War

- Two basic conditions for cooperation.
- After the war, a constituent assembly should be convened.
- Immediately, some form of a genuinely responsible government should be established at the centre.
- Rejected by Linlithgow.
- September 10-14, 1939 - CWC meeting held at Wardha.
- Gandhiji advocated an unconditional support to the Allied powers.
- Subhash Bose and the socialists were against supporting anybody. They are of the view that we should take advantage of the situation and launch CDM.
- Nehru made a sharp distinction between democracy and Fascism. He was also convinced that Britain and France were imperialist powers. Hence no Indian participation.
- CWC resolution condemned Fascist aggression.
- India could not be party to a war being fought ostensibly for democratic freedom, while that freedom was being denied to India.
- If Britain was fighting for democracy and freedom, it should prove it by ending imperialism in its colonies and establishing full democracy in India.
- The Government should declare its war aims soon and, also, as to how the principles, of democracy were to be applied to India.
- Congress wanted to give chance.
- Government's Response.

- Negative.
- October 17, 1939 Statement - Linlithgow tried to use Muslims league and princes against congress.
- Refused to define British war aims stating that it is against aggression
- it would, as part of future arrangement, consult "representatives of several communities, parties and interests in India, and the Indian princes" as to how the Act of 1935 might be modified.
- It would immediately set up a "consultative committee" whose advice could be sought whenever required.
- Govt's hidden agenda.
- To regain the lost ground from Congress by provoking them into a confrontation and using extraordinary situation to acquire draconian powers.
- Even before the declaration of war, emergency powers had been acquired for the centre in respect of provincial subjects by amending the 1935 Act.
- Defence of India ordinance had been enforced the day the war was declared, thus restricting civil liberties.
- Top secret Draft Revolutionary Movement Ordinance prepared aimed at launching crippling pre-emptive strikes on the Congress - The Government could then call upon the Allied troops stationed in India.
- Sought liberal sympathy - by painting an aggressive Congress as being pro-Japan and pro-Germany.
- October 23, 1939 - CWC meeting rejected the viceregal statement - called upon the Congress ministries to resign in the provinces.
- Jan 1940 - Linlithgow stated that dominion status as goal.
- After linlithgow's October statement, debate started. Gandhiji and his followers was not in favour of immediate struggle because they felt that.
- Allied cause was just.
- Communal, sensitivity and lack of Hindu-Muslim unity could result in communal riots.
- atmosphere was not conducive for mass struggle.
- March 1940 - Ramgarh Session - Azad - "Congress would resort to civil disobedience as soon as the Congress organisation is considered fit enough.
- leftist groups—Subhash Bose and his Forward Bloc, Congress Socialist Party, Communist Party, the Royalists - Called for immediate mass struggle.

- Bose even proposed a parallel Congress if congress do not concede - but the CSP and CPI differed with Bose on this.
- Nehru finally went with Gandhiji and congress majority.
- March 1940 - Pakistan Resolution passed in Lahore by the Muslim League
- 23 March 1940.
- Sikandar Hayat Khan, Punjab premier and leader of the unionist party, who had drafted the resolution, declared in a Punjab assembly speech on March 1, 1940 that he was opposed to a Pakistan that would mean "Muslim Raj here and Hindu Raj elsewhere".

August Offer

- England in a conciliatory mode after some smashes by Germany.
- August 1940 - August offer.
- Dominion status as the objective for India.
- Expansion of viceroy's executive council.
- Setting up of a constituent assembly after the war where Mainly Indians would decide subject to fulfillment of the obligation of the Government regarding defence, minority rights, treaties with states, all India services.
- No future constitution to be adopted without the consent of minorities.
- Congress rejected August offer - "Dominion status concept is dead as a door nail".
- The Muslim League welcomed the veto assurance reiterated its position on partition.
- July 1941 - The viceroy's executive council was enlarged. majority of 8 out of 12 for the first time.
- But the whites remained in charge of defence, finance and home.
- National Defence Council - set up.

Individual Satyagraha

- Government on Congress negotiation with Muslim League
- Towards the end of 1940, the Congress once again asked Gandhiji to take command.
- Decided to initiate a limited satyagraha on an individual basis by a few selected individuals in every locality.

- Individual Satyagraha was limited, symbolic and non-violent in nature and it was left to Mahatma Gandhiji to choose the Satyagrahis.
- aims of launching individual satyagraha.
- To show that nationalist patience was not due to weakness.
- To express people's feeling that they were not interested in the war.
- To give another opportunity to the Government to accept Congress' demands peacefully.
- The demand of the Satyagrahi would be the freedom of speech against the war through an anti-war declaration.
- If the Government did not arrest the Satyagrahi, he or she would not only repeat it but move into villages and start a march towards Delhi - "Delhi Chalo Movement".
- Acharya Vinoba Bhave was the first to offer Satyagraha and he was sentenced to three months imprisonment.
- Jawaharlal Nehru was the second Satyagrahi and imprisoned for four months.
- The individual Satyagraha continued for nearly 15 months.
- December 1941 - Congress leaders anxious to defend territory of India. The CWC overrode Gandhiji's and Nehru's objections and passed a resolution offering to cooperate with the Government in the defence of India, if.
- Full independence was given after the war.
- Substance of power was transferred immediately.
- It was at this time that Gandhiji designated Nehru as his chosen successor.

Cripps Mission

- March 1942 - Cripps mission for constitutional proposals to seek Indian support.
- Stafford Cripps - left-wing Laborite, the leader of the House of Commons and a member of the British War Cabinet, supported the Indian national movement
- Why Cripps Mission was Sent?
- Reverses suffered by Britain in South-East Asia
- Japanese threat - Pressure on Britain from the Allies to seek Indian cooperation.

Main Proposals

- Dominion status - Free to decide on commonwealth and UN.
- After the end of the war, a constituent assembly would be convened.
- Members.
- Partly elected by the provincial assemblies through PR.
- Partly nominated by the princes .
- British Government would accept the new constitution subject to two conditions.
- Any province not willing to join the Union could have a separate constitution and form separate union.
- The new constitution making body and the British Government would negotiate a treaty to effect the transfer of power and to safeguard racial and religious minorities.
- In the meantime, defence of India would remain in British hands. The governor-general's powers would remain intact.
- Departures from the Past and Implications.
- Now constitution making power solely in Indian hands.
- Concrete plan for constituent assembly.
- Option was available to any province to have a separate constitution—a blueprint for India's partition.
- Free India could withdraw from the Commonwealth.
- Why Cripps Mission Failed?
- Dominion status instead of complete independence.
- Representation of the states by nominees and not by elected representatives.
- Secession possibility.
- Absence of any plan for immediate transfer of power.
- Nehru and Maulana Azad were the official negotiators for the Congress.
- The Muslim League.
- Criticised the idea of a single Indian Union.
- Did not like the machinery for the creation of a constituent assembly and the procedure to decide on the accession of provinces to the Union.
- Thought that the proposals denied to the Muslims the right to self-determination and the creation of Pakistan.
- Other groups also objected to the provinces' right to secede.

- Hindu Mahasabha criticised.
- Depressed classes and sikhs also criticised.
- The procedure of accession was not well-defined.
- The decision on secession was to be taken by a resolution in the legislature by a 60% majority. If less than 60% of members supported it, the decision was to be taken by a plebiscite of adult males of that province by a simple majority. This scheme weighed against the Hindus in Punjab and Bengal if they wanted accession to the Indian Union.
- It was not clear as to who would implement and interpret the treaty effectuating the transfer of power.
- Talks broke down on the question of the viceroy's veto.
- Gandhiji called Cripp's proposals as a "Post-dated Cheque"

Quit India Movement

- Why Start a Struggle Now.
- Failure of the Cripps Mission.
- Popular discontent.
- News of reverses' suffered by the British in South-East Asia. The stability of British rule was so low that people were withdrawing deposits from banks and post offices.
- The leadership wanted to condition the masses for a possible Japanese invasion.
- August 8, 1942 - AICC Meeting—Gowalia Tank, Bombay - Quit India Resolution was ratified.
- Demand an immediate end to British rule.
- Declare commitment of free India to defend itself against all types of Fascism and imperialism.
- Form a provisional Government of India after British withdrawal.
- Sanction a CDM.
- Gandhiji was named the leader of the struggle.
- Gandhiji's General Instructions to Different Sections (spelt out not issued).
- Govt servants - Do not resign but declare your allegiance to the Congress.
- Soldiers: Do not leave the Army but do not fire on compatriots.
- Students: If confident, leave studies.

- Peasants: If Zamindars are anti-government, pay mutually agreed rent, and if Zamindars are pro-government, do not pay rent.
- Princes: Support the masses and accept sovereignty of your people.
- Princely states' people: Support the ruler only if he is anti-government and declare yourselves to be a part of the Indian nation.
- Spread of the Movement
- Gandhiji had carefully built the tempo through individual civil disobedience movements, organisational revamping and a consistent propaganda campaign.
- Early hours of August 9 - all the top leaders arrested.
- Public on Rampage.
- Underground Activity.
- Undertaken by the Socialists, Forward Bloc members, Gandhiji ashramites, revolutionary terrorists and local organisations.
- Underground activity was carried out by Rammanohar Lohia, Jayaprakash Narayan, Aruna Asaf Ali, Usha Sharma, Biju Patnaik, Chhotubhai Puranik, Achyut Patwardhan, Sucheta Kripalani and R.P. Goenka.
- Usha mehta started an underground radio in Bombay.
- To keep up popular morale by continuing to provide a line of command and guidance to distribute arms and ammunition.

Parallel Governments.

- Ballia - (in August 1942 for a week)—under Chittu Pandey - He got many Congress leaders released.
 - Tamluk (Midnapore, from December 1942 to September 1944) - Jatiya Sarkar (Parallel Govt) came into existence in 1942 which undertook cyclone relief work, sanctioned grants to schools, supplied paddy from the rich to the poor, organised Bidyut Bahinis etc.
 - Satara (mid-1943 to 1945)—named "Prati Sarkar", was organised under leaders like Y.B. Chavan, Nana Patil, etc.
1. Gandhi Marriages were organised.

- Extent of Mass Participation.
- Youth.
- Women - Aruna Asaf Ali, Sucheta Kripalani and Usha Mehta.
- Workers.
- Peasants.
- Peasants of all strata were at the heart of the movement.
- Even some Zamindars participated.
- Peasants concentrated their offensive on symbols of authority.
- There was complete absence of anti-zamindar violence.
- Government officials.
- Muslims helped by giving shelter to underground Activists - No communal clashes during the movement.
- Communists .
- Princely states showed a low-key response.
- Government Repression.
- Although martial law was not applied, the repression was severe
- 10,000 people were killed as per an estimate .
- Main storm centres - eastern UP, Bihar, Midnapore, Maharashtra, Karnataka.
- Upper classes and the bureaucracy remained largely loyal.
- The element of spontaneity was higher than before. After Quit India, there could be no retreat.
- February 1943 - Gandhiji, started a fast as an answer to an exhortation by the Government to condemn violence. Fast was directed against the violence of the state. Three members of the viceroy's executive council resigned.
- March 23, 1943 - Pakistan Day was observed.
- Famine of 1943.
- Worst affected - south-west Bengal - Tamruk, Dacca, Faridpur, Tippera and Noakhali.
- Causes
- Need to feed a vast Army diverted foodstuffs
- Rice imports from Burma and South-East Asia had been stopped
- Aggravated by gross mismanagement

Rajagopalachari Formula

- Suggested in 1944.
- For Congress-League cooperation. Gandhiji supported the formula.
- Muslim League to endorse Congress demand for independence.
- League to cooperate with Congress in forming a provisional government at centre.
- After the end of the war, Plebiscite - North-West and North-East India.
- In case of acceptance of partition, agreement to be made jointly for safeguarding defence, commerce, communications, etc.
- Jinnah's objections.
- Jinnah wanted the Congress to accept the two-nation theory.
- He wanted only the Muslims of North-West and North-East to vote in the plebiscite and not the entire population.
- He also opposed the idea of a common centre.
- Hindu leaders led by Vir Savarkar condemned the CR Plan.

Desai-Liaquat Pact

- Bhulabhai Desai - leader of the Congress Party in the Central Legislative Assembly.
- Liaquat Ali Khan - deputy leader of the Muslim League in that Assembly
- both of them came up with the draft proposal for the formation of an interim government at the centre, consisting of.
- An equal number of persons nominated by the Congress and the League in the central legislature.
- 20% reserved seats for minorities.
- No settlement could be reached between the Congress and the League on these lines.
- But the fact that a sort of parity between the Congress and the League was decided upon, which had far-reaching consequences.

Wavell Plan

- War ended - May 1945.
- Japanese threat remained.
- Churchill keen to find solution.

- Wavell, viceroy permitted to start negotiations.
- June 1945 - Congress leaders were released from jails.
- The general election in England was scheduled for mid-1945 - Conservatives wanted solution.
- Pressure from the Allies - for further cooperation of India.
- The Government wanted to divert Indian energies into channels more profitable for the British.
- Reconstruct the governor general's executive council.
- Conference held Shimla in June 1945.
- With the exception of the governor-general and the commander-in-chief, all members of the executive council were to be Indians.
- Upper Caste Hindus and Muslims were to have equal representation. Other minorities including low-caste Hindus, Christians and Sikhs would be given representation in the Council.
- The reconstructed council was to function as an interim government within the framework of the 1935 Act (i.e. not responsible to the Central Assembly).
- Governor-general was to exercise his veto on the advice of ministers.
- Representatives of different parties were, to submit a joint list to the viceroy for nominations to the executive council.
- If a joint list was not possible, then separate lists were to be submitted
- Possibilities were to be, kept open for negotiations on a new constitution once the war was finally won.
- Muslim League's Stand.
- The League wanted all Muslim members to be League nominees, because it feared that since the aims of other minorities—depressed classes, Sikhs, Christians, etc. were the same as those of the Congress, this arrangement would reduce the League: to a one-third minority.
- Wavell wanted Khizr Hyatt Khan as the Muslim representative from Western Punjab.
- The League claimed some kind of veto in the council with decisions opposed' to Muslims needing a two-thirds majority for approval.
- Congress Stand.
- Rejected - Plan consider congress as purely Hindu party.
- Wavell's Mistake.
- Wavell announced a breakdown of talks thus giving the League a virtual veto.

- This strengthened the League's position, as was evident from the elections in 1945-46, and boosted Jinnah's position; and exposed the real character of the Conservative Government of Churchill.

The Indian National Army

- First conceived in **Malaya** by **Mohan Singh** - an Indian officer of the British Indian Army, when he decided not to join the retreating British Army and instead turned to the Japanese for help.

The First Phase

- Japanese handed over the Indian prisoners of war (POWs) to Mohan Singh who tried to recruit them into an Indian National Army.
- By the end of 1942, 40,000 men were ready to join the INA.
- The INA intended to go into action only on invitation of the Indian National Congress and the people of India.
- Bulwark - against misconduct of Japanese and Japanese occupation of India
- First division of the INA was formed with 16,300 men.
- With the Japanese contemplating an Indian invasion, INA seemed relevant to them.
- Differences emerged between - Indian Army officers led by Mohan Singh and Japanese over the role to be played by the INA.
- The Japanese wanted a token force of 2,000 only while Mohan Singh wanted to raise an army of 2,00,000.
- The Second phase.
- Subhash Chandra Bose - Arrived Singapore in July 1943.
- Earlier he left congress on differences with Gandhiji, formed Forward Block in 1940.
- March 1941, He escaped India (House arrest) and approached Russians.
- June 1941 - Russians joined Allies.
- Bose went Germany.
- then Japan in Feb 1943 .

- Singapore in July 1943 - where he was assisted by Rashbehari Bose and others such as the Indian residents of South- East Asia and the Indian POWs from Burma, Malaya and Singapore.
- October 1943 - he set up a Provisional Indian Government with headquarters at Rangoon and Singapore.
- This Provisional Government was recognised by the Axis powers.
- Recruits were trained and funds collected for the INA.
- Even a women's regiment called the Rani Jhansi Regiment was formed.
- July 1944 - Subhash Bose asked for Gandhiji's blessings for "India's last war of independence".
- One INA battalion under Shah Nawaz was allowed to accompany the Japanese Army to the Indo-Burma front and participate in the Imphal campaign.
- Discriminatory treatment by the Japanese - denied rations and arms and being made to do menial work for the Japanese units - demoralised the INA units.
- Failure of the Imphal campaign and the steady Japanese retreat - quashed hopes of INA.

Post War National Upsurge

- Wavell Plan failed to break the constitutional deadlock.
- July 1945 - Labour party formed Govt with Clement Atlee.
- Pethick Lawrence - new secretary of state.
- August 1945 - elections to central and provincial assemblies were announced.
- September 1945 - announced that a constituent assembly would be convened as per Cripps Offer.
- Why a Change in Government's Attitude.
- Balance of global power changed - US and USSR - both favoured freedom for India.
- Labour Government was more sympathetic.
- Socialist radical governments throughout Europe.
- British soldiers tired.
- Officials feared another Congress revolt.
- The British would have had to retreat; the Labour Government only quickened the process somewhat.

Congress Election Campaign and INA trials

- Elections were held during the winter of 1945-46.
- It sought to mobilise the Indians against the British.
- Glorification of martyrs and condemnation of officials held.
- Martyrs' memorials were set up.
- Brave resistance of the leaderless people was lauded.
- Relief funds were collected for sufferers.
- Promises of enquiry and threats of punishment to guilty officials were spelt out.
- The Government failed to check such speeches. This had a devastating effect on the morale of the services.
- The prospect of the return of Congress ministries heightened these fears
- A 'gentleman's agreement' with the Congress seemed necessary to the Government.
- INA Prisoners Issue.
- British had initially decided to hold public trials of INA prisoners - dismissing them from service - detaining without trial.
- First trial - Red Fort at Delhi - November 1945 - putting on dock together .
 - A Hindu - Prem Kumar Sehgal.
 - A Muslim - Shah Nawaz Khan.
 - A Sikh - Gurbaksh Singh Dhillon.
- Another issue was provided by the use of Indian Army units in a bid to restore French and Dutch colonial rule in Vietnam and Indonesia which enhanced the anti-imperialist feeling among a section of urban population and the Army.
- Congress Support for INA Prisoners.
- September 1945 - Bombay - strong resolution for support of INA cause
- Defence in court by Stalwarts.
 - Bhulabhai Desai.
 - Tej Bahadur Sapru.
 - Kailash Nath Katju.
 - Nehru.
 - Asaf Ali.
- INA Relief and Enquiry Committee by Congress - provided money and food, arranged employment.
- Fund collection was organized.
- The INA Agitation—A Landmark on Many Counts.

- High pitch and intensity – unprecedented.
 - November 12, 1945 - INA Day.
 - November 5-11, 1945 - INA Week.
 - Supported by.
 - Muslim League.
 - Communist Party.
 - Unionists.
 - Akalis.
 - Justice Party.
 - Ahrars in Rawalpindi.
 - RSS.
 - Sikh League.
 - Men of the armed forces were sympathetic.
 - The central theme became the right of Britain to decide a matter concerning Indians.
-
- Three Upsurges.
 - Developed into violent confrontations.
 - All three upsurges showed a similar three-stage pattern.
 - When a Group Defies Authority and is Repressed.
 - When the City People Join In.
 - When People in Other Parts of the Country Express Sympathy.
 - Upsurge one.
 - November 21, 1945 - in Calcutta over the INA trials .
 - Student procession marched to Dalhousie Square - Seat of Govt in Calcutta - refused to disperse, lathicharged - retaliated - firing by police - 2 died.
 - Upsurge two.
 - February 11, 1946 - led by Muslim League students - joined by congress and communists - arrests - Section 144 defied - more arrests - agitation – lathicharge.
 - Upsurge 3.
 - February 18, 1946 - 1100 naval Ratings of HMIS Talwar went on a strike to protest against.
 - Racial discrimination (among soldiers).
 - unpalatable food.
 - abuse by superior officers.

- arrest of a rating for scrawling 'Quit India' on HMIS Talwar.
- INA trials.
- use of Indian troops in Indonesia, demanding their withdrawal.
- Evaluation of Potential and Impact of the Three Upsurges.
- These upsurges prompted the British to extend some concessions.
- December 1, 1946 - only those INA members accused of murder or brutal treatment of fellow prisoners would be brought to trial.
- Jan 1947 - Imprisonment sentences passed against the first batch were remitted.
- February 1947 - Indian soldiers were withdrawn from Indo-China and Indonesia.
- November 1946 - decision to send a parliamentary delegation to India
- January 1946 - decision to send Cabinet Mission.
- These upsurges were short-lived and were confined to a few urban centres while the general INA agitation reached the remotest villages.
- Communal unity witnessed was more organisational than a unity among the people.
- Muslim ratings went to the League to seek advice and the rest to the Congress and the Socialists.
- Congress Strategy.
- The leftists claim that the Congress indifference to the revolutionary situation arose because of two considerations.
- Disciplined armed forces were vital in a free India.
- If the Congress leaders had not surrendered to power play, a different path to independence would have emerged.
- Distinguishable from the earlier activities which were peaceful.
- The Congress did not officially support these upsurges because of their tactics and timing.
- Gandhiji remarked that the mutiny was badly advised.
- If they mutinied for India's freedom, they were doubly wrong.
- If they had any grievances, they should have waited for the guidance of leaders.

Election Results

- Congress's Performance.
- Got 91% non-Muslim votes.
- In the provincial elections, it got a majority in most provinces except in Bengal, Sindh and Punjab.
- Majority provinces included NWFP and Assam which were being claimed for Pakistan.
- Muslim League's Performance.
- Got 86.6% of the Muslim votes.
- Got a majority in Bengal and Sindh.
- Unlike in 1937, now the League clearly established itself as the dominant party among Muslims.
- Punjab - A Unionist-Congress-Akali coalition under Khizr Hyatt Khan assumed power.

Cabinet Mission

- February 1946 – announced. Members were:
 - Pethick Lawrence, Secretary of State for India.
 - Stafford Cripps, President of the Board of Trade.
 - A.V. Alexander, First Lord of Admiralty to India.
- Why British Withdrawal Seemed Imminent Now?
- Nationalism.
- Demonstration among the bureaucracy and the loyalist sections.
- The paucity of ICS recruits and a policy of Indianisation had ended the British domination of the ICS as early as the First World War.
- By 1939, there existed British-Indian parity.
- Conciliation and repression has limitations.
- Congress Raj had proved to be a big morale booster.

On the Eve of Cabinet Mission Plan

- Power be transferred to one centre.
- Minorities' demands be worked out in a framework ranging from autonomy to Muslim-majority provinces to self-determination or secession from the Indian Union—but, only after the British left.

- British bid for a united and friendly India.
- March 15, 1946 - Attlee said: "though mindful of the rights of minorities, cannot allow a minority to place their veto on advance of the majority." - Different attitude from Wavell.
- March 24, 1946 - mission reached Delhi.
- Deadlock between congress and League.

Cabinet Mission Plan—Main Points

- Rejection of the demand for a full-fledged Pakistan, because.
- Large non-Muslim population-38% in the North-West and 48% in the North-East.
- This will need separation of Hindu-majority Western Bengal and Sikh- and Hindu dominated 'Ambala and Jullundur' divisions of Punjab.
- Deep-seated regional ties would be disturbed if Bengal and Punjab were partitioned.
- Economic and administrative problems (Western and eastern Pak).
- The division of armed forces would be dangerous.
- Grouping of existing provincial assemblies into three sections.
- Section-A: Madras, Bombay, Central Provinces, United Provinces, Bihar and Orissa (Hindu-majority provinces).
- Section-B: Punjab, North-West Frontier Province and Sindh (Muslim majority provinces).
- Section-C: Bengal and Assam (Muslim-majority provinces).
- Three-tier executive and legislature at provincial, section and union levels.
- A constituent assembly to be elected by provincial assemblies by Proportional Representation (voting in three groups—General, Muslims, Sikhs).
- In the constituent assembly, members from groups A, B and C were to sit separately to decide the constitution for provinces and if possible, for the groups also. Then, the whole constituent assembly (all three sections A, B and C combined) would sit together to formulate the Union constitution.
- A common centre would control defence, communication and external affairs.
- Communal questions in central legislature were to be decided by a simple majority of both communities present and voting.

- Provinces were to have full autonomy and residual powers.
- Princely states were no longer to be under paramountcy - Free to choose their destiny.
- After the first general elections, a province was to be free to come out of a group and after 10 years, a province was to be free to call for a reconsideration of the group or the Union constitution.
- Meanwhile, an interim government to be formed from the constituent assembly.
- Different interpretations.
- Congress: The Cabinet Mission Plan is against Pakistan since grouping is optional; one constituent assembly is envisaged; League's veto is gone.
- Muslim League: Pakistan is implied in compulsory grouping. (The Mission later clarified that the grouping was compulsory.)

Main Objections

- Congress.
- Provinces should not have to wait. They should have the option of not joining a group in the first place (They had NWFP and Assam in mind).
- Compulsory grouping contradicts the oft-repeated insistence on provincial autonomy.
- Absence of provision for elected members from the princely states in the constituent assembly.
- Muslim League.
- Grouping should be compulsory.
- The League had thought that the Congress would reject the plan, thus prompting the Government to invite the League to form the interim government.
- Acceptance.
- June 6, 1946 - Muslim League accepted.
- June 24 - Congress accepted.
- July 1946 - Elections for constituent assembly.

- July 10, 1946 - Nehru said “We are not bound by a single thing except that we have decided to go into the Constituent Assembly (implying that the Constituent Assembly was sovereign and would decide the rules of procedure). The big probability is that there would be no grouping as NWFP and Assam would have objections to joining sections B and C”.
- July 29, 1946 - League withdrew in response to Nehru - gave a call for "direct action" from August 16 to achieve Pakistan.

Communal Holocaust and the Interim Govt

- From August 16, 1946, the Indian scene was rapidly transformed.
- Communal riots.
- Wavell was now eager to somehow get the Congress into the Interim Government, even if the League stayed out (a departure from Wavell's stand during the Shimla conference).
- September 2, 1946 - Interim Govt sworn in.
- Despite the title, the Interim Government was little more than a continuation of the old executive of the viceroy (Wavell overruled the ministers on the question of the release of INA prisoners in his very last cabinet meeting in March 1947).
- October 26, 1946 - League was allowed to joined.
- Without giving up the 'direct action, despite its rejection of the Cabinet Mission's long-term and short-term plans.
- Despite insistence on compulsory grouping with decisions being taken by a majority vote by a section as a whole (which would reduce the opponents of Pakistan in Assam and NWFP to a position of helpless minority).

Obstructionist Approach of League

- Did not attend first meeting of Constituent Assembly on December 9, 1946 - only general "Objectives Resolution" could be passed.
- Refused to attend informal meetings of the cabinet.
- Liaqat Ali Khan as the finance minister hamstrung the functioning of other ministries.
- The League had only sought a foothold in the Government to fight for Pakistan. For them, it was a continuation of the civil war by other means.

- The Congress demand that the British get the League to change its attitude or quit.
- The last straw came with the League demanding the dissolution of the Constituent Assembly.

Atlee's Statement - February 20, 1947

- A deadline of June 30, 1948 was fixed for transfer of power.
- The British would relinquish power either to some form of central government or in some areas to the existing provincial governments if the Constituent Assembly was not fully representative i.e., if the Muslim majority provinces did not join.
- British powers and obligations vis-a-vis the princely states would lapse with transfer of power.
- Mountbatten would replace Wavell as the viceroy.
- The statement contained clear hints of partition and even Balkanisation of the country into numerous states and was, in essence, a reversion of the Cripps Offer.
- Congress Stand.
- The provision of transfer of power to more than one centre was acceptable as a way out to go ahead and break the deadlock.
- The League launched a civil disobedience movement to overthrow the coalition government in Punjab, as it felt emboldened by the statement.

Towards Partition

- Communal riots and the unworkability of the Congress-League coalition - leads to partition.
- Demand now came from the Hindu and Sikh communal groups in Bengal and Punjab who were alarmed at the prospect of compulsory grouping which might find them in Pakistan.
- March 10, 1947 - Nehru stated that the Cabinet Mission's was the best solution if carried out; the only real alternative was the partition of Punjab and Bengal.
- April 1947 - Congress President Kripalani communicated to the Viceroy— "rather than have a battle, we shall let them have their

Pakistan provided you allow Bengal and Punjab to be partitioned in a fair manner.".

Mountbatten Plan

- June 3, 1947.
- The freedom with partition formula was coming to be widely accepted well before Mountbatten came.
- Punjab and Bengal would meet in two, groups Hindus and Muslims, to vote for partition. If a simple majority of either group voted for partition, then these provinces would be partitioned.
- In case of partition, two dominions and two constituent assemblies would be created.
- Sindh would take its own decision.
- Referendum in NWFP and Sylhet district of Bengal, would decide the fate of these areas.
- Since the Congress had conceded a unified India, all their other points would be met.
- Independence for princely states ruled out, they would either join India or Pakistan.
- Independence for Bengal ruled out.
- Accession of Hyderabad to Pakistan ruled out.
- Freedom would come on August 15, 1947.
- A boundary commission would be set up if partition was to be effected.
- Thus, the League's demand was conceded to the extent that Pakistan would be created and the Congress' position on unity was taken into account to make Pakistan as small as possible. Mountbatten's formula was to divide India but retain maximum unity.

Why congress accepted Dominion status?

- Ensure a peaceful and very quick transfer of power.
- More important for the Congress to assume authority to check the explosive situation.
- It would allow for some much needed continuity in bureaucracy and army.

- For Britain, the dominion status offered a chance to keep India in the Commonwealth - considering the economic strength, defence potential and greater value of trade and investment in India.
- The Legislative Assemblies of Bengal and Punjab decided in favour of partition of these two provinces.
- Thus, East Bengal and West Punjab joined Pakistan.
- The referendum in Sylhet resulted in the incorporation of that district in East Bengal.
- Two boundary commissions, one in respect of each province, were constituted.
- The referendum in NWFP decided in favour of Pakistan.
- Baluchistan and Sindh threw in their lot with Pakistan.

Indian Independence Act

- The British Parliament ratified the Mountbatten Plan as the "Independence of India Act-1947".
- The Act was implemented on August 15, 1947.
- The constituent assembly of each new dominion was to exercise the powers of the legislature of that dominion, and the existing Central Legislative Assembly and the Council of States were to be automatically dissolved.
- M.A. Jinnah became the first Governor-General of Pakistan. Lord Mountbatten - India's.
- Governor general was to be appointed by the British King on the advice of dominion cabinet.
- It empowered the constituent assembly to frame any kind of constitution and to repeal any act of British parliament including Indian Independence Act itself.
- Abolished the office of secretary of state and transferred his functions to the secretary of state for commonwealth affairs.
- Provided for governance of each province by GoI Act 1935 till the new constitutions were framed. Dominions however authorised to make modifications in the act.
- It deprived the British Monarch of his right to veto bills etc but this right was reserved for the Governor General. The Governor General would have full power to assent to any bill in the name of His majesty.

- Governor-general and governor - constitutional head of the states. They were made to act on the advice of the respective council of ministers in all matters.

Interim Government

- The members of the interim govt were members of the Viceroy's Executive council. The viceroy continued to be the head of the council. But Jawahar Lal Nehru was designated as the Vice President of the council.

Problems of early withdrawal

- Breakneck speed - anomalies in arranging partition details.
- No transitional institutional structures within which partition problems could be tackled.
- Delay in announcing the Boundary Commission Award (under Radcliffe).
- Award was ready by August 12, 1947 but Mountbatten decided to make it public after August 15 only so that the responsibility would not fall on the British.

