



F.Y.B.A.
SEMESTER - I (CBCS)

HISTORY PAPER - I
HISTORY OF MODERN INDIA
(1857 - 1947)

SUBJECT CODE : UBA 1.28

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F.Y.B.A. HISTORY PAPER - I
HISTORY OF MODERN INDIA (1857-1947)
(Revised Syllabus under Semester System)

Objectives:-

The course is designed to make the student aware about the making of modern India and the struggle for independence.

SEMESTER - I

Module I: Growth of Political Awakening

- a) Revolt of 1857 – Causes and Consequences
- b) Contribution of the Provincial Associations
- c) Foundation of Indian National Congress.

Module II: Trends in Indian Nationalism

- a) Moderates
- b) Extremists
- c) Revolutionary Nationalists

Module III: Gandhian Movements

- a) Non Co-operation Movement
- b) Civil Disobedience Movement
- c) Quit India Movement

Module IV: Towards Independence and Partition

- a) The Indian Act of 1935
- b) Attempts to Resolve the Constitutional Deadlock -The Cripps Mission, The Cabinet Mission and the Mountbatten Plan.
- c) Indian Independence Act and Partition

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Unit -1

THE REVOLT OF 1857

Unit Structure :

- 1.0 Objectives
- 1.1 Introduction
- 1.2 Backgrounds
- 1.3 Nature and Character of Revolt
- 1.4 Causes of the Revolt of 1857
- 1.5 Outbreak of the Revolt of 1857
- 1.6 Causes of the Failure of the Rebellion
- 1.7 Consequences of the Revolt of 1857
- 1.8 Significance
- 1.9 Summary

1.0. OBJECTIVES:

- To understand the background of the Revolt 1857.
- To explain the Nature of the Revolt of 1857
- To understand the causes of The Revolt of 1857.
- To understand the out Break and spread of the Revolt of 1857.
- To explain the causes of the failure of the Revolt of 1857.
- To Understand the Effects and the Consequences the Revolt of 1857

1.1. INTRODUCTION

By the first half of the 19th century, the East India Company had brought major portions of India under its control, but still it had two purposes or aims : (i) To sustain its conquests and (ii) To exploit in the trade . To fulfill these aims, there was no limit of company's betrayal and avarice. Before 1857 A.D. many of the native domination were annexed to the British Empire forcibly. The British Government was sucking the blood of both, the rulers and the people. Everywhere the revolts were taking place against British East India Company's rule. It was very easy to conquer the new territories but it was very difficult to keep those territories under the control of British East India Company. The East India

Company's rule from 1757 to 1857 had generated a lot of discontent among the different sections of the Indian people against the British. The end of the Mughal rule gave a psychological blow to the Muslims many of whom had enjoyed position and patronage under the Mughal and other provincial Muslim rulers. The commercial policy of the company brought ruin to the artisans and craftsman, while the divergent land revenue policy adopted by the Company in different regions, especially the permanent settlement in the North and the Ryotwari settlement in the south put the peasants on the road of impoverishment and misery.

1.2 BACKGROUND

The Revolt of 1857 was a major upheaval against the British Rule in which the disgruntled princes, to disconnected sepoys and disillusioned elements participated. However, it is important to note that right from the inception of the East India Company there had been several resistance from divergent section in different parts of the sub continent. This resistance offered by different tribal groups, peasant and religious factions remained localized and ill organized. There were series of civil disturbances and local uprising which were scattered, localised and mostly violent. Most of these movements arouse due to popular discontent with the british rule , but some of them were owing to the individual grievences. For about 100 years the people of India had witnessed the enormous lot and plunderr of wealth from India to Britain . The displeased rulers and feudal lords tried to recover their lost ground with the support of their revenue policy, which had created a class of exploitative intermediaries. The Tribals rebelled in resentment against disturbances and dislocation causedthem their exploitation by non- tribals.



Rani of Jhansi



Mangal Pandey



Tantia Tope



Nana Sahib

Leader's of the Revolt of 1857.

There were also non violent religio-political uprising and disturbances against the British East India Company . The Sanyasi and Faquir rebellions in Bengal, The Wahabi movement, the Kukka movement in Punjab etc. belong to this category. Thus revolt of 1857 was not sudden, but the culmination of growing discontent. In certain cases the British could put down these uprisings easily, in other cases the struggle was prolonged resulting in heavy causalities. These disturbances and uprising, though did not

succeed in uprooting the British power from India, became the precursors of the major Revolt of 1857. The revolt started as a mutiny of sepoys of East India Company's army on 10 May 1857 in the cantonment of the town of Meerut. Thereafter it spread to upper Gangetic plain and central India in the form of mutinies of the sepoy and civilian rebellions. Major conflict zones were confined to present Uttar Pradesh, northern Madhya Pradesh and Delhi region.

1.3 NATURE AND CHARACTER OF REVOLT:

The historians have divergent opinion regarding the nature of uprising. The British considered it just a 'A Military Revolt' which had neither the leadership of any of the Indian leaders, nor the co-operation of the people. The Indian patriots considered that uprising as National War of Independence. As a whole, there are the main following views regarding the nature and character of the Revolt of 1857 A.D.

- (1) A Military Revolt
- (2) An Attempt for establishing the Mughal Power
- (3) Aristocrate Reaction
- (4) A Peasant Reaction
- (5) A National Revolution
- (6) A racial struggle for supremacy between Black and White
- (7) A struggled between Oriental and Occidental Civilization and Culture
- (8) A National War of Independence

From the above mentioned view, only two of the views are famous:

(1) A Military revolt :

Many Historians have called the Revolt of 1857 A.D. as a military revolt. among these historians, Sir John Lawrence and Seelay thought it as a Military revolt and nothing.

The other British Historians like Kaye, Malleon, Trevelyan Holmes have painted it as 'a mutiny' confined to the army which did not command the support of the people at large. A similar view was held by many contemporary Indians like Munshi Jiwan Lal, Moinuddin (both eye-witness at Delhi) Durgadas Bandopadhyaya (eye witness at Bareilly) Sir Sayyed Ahmed Khan and many others. . In the words of Seelay that the Uprising of 1857 was the revolt of those soldiers who were selfish and without the feeling of patriotism, it had neither a leader nor the popular support of the people. P. E. Roberts also supported the views of Sir John Lawrence and wrote that it was purely a military revolt and whose cause was the incident of cartridges. Even the Indian Historian like R.C. Muzumdar in his book '*The Sepoy Mutiny and*

The Revolt of 1857 argues that the revolt of 1857 was not a war of Independence.

All these scholars and historians considered uprising only a military revolt. According to them the revolt had not the support of the people.. These scholars presented many arguments in favour of their view as:

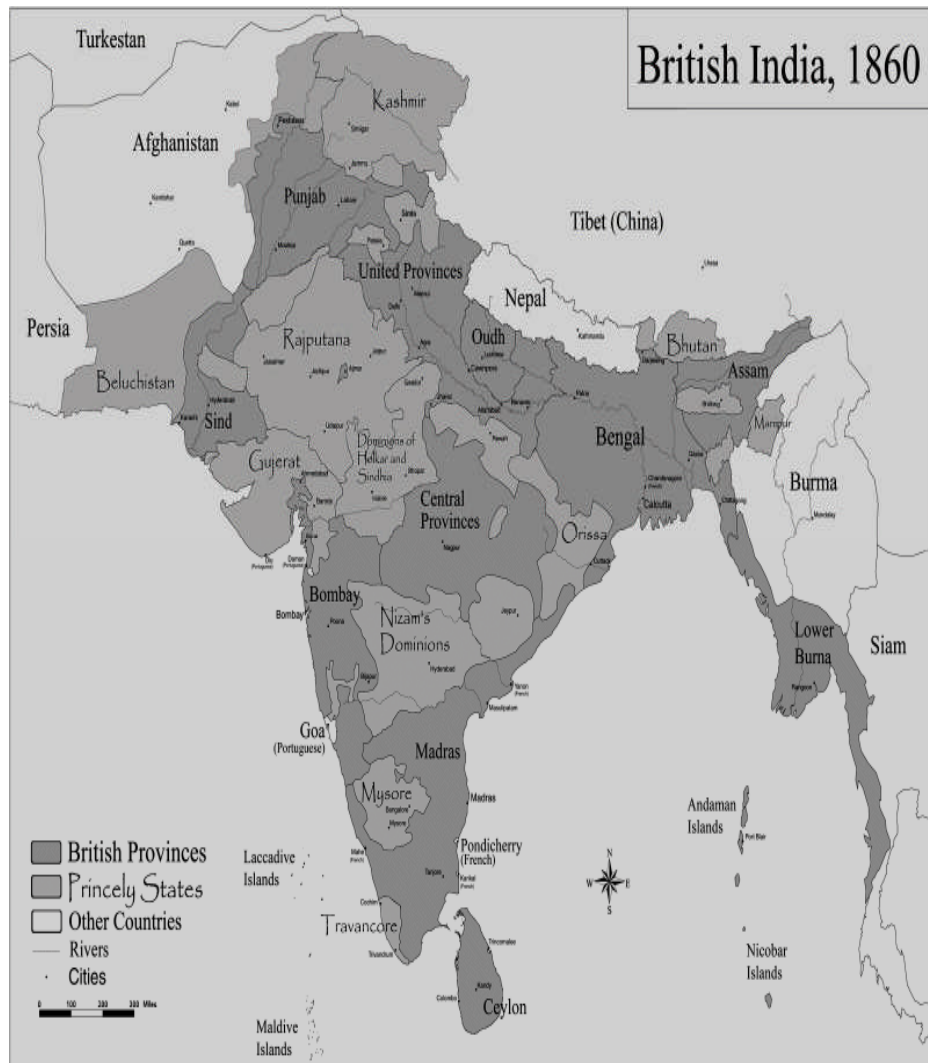
Arguments in favour:

- (1) The revolt had spread only in some Northern India. It had not spread in southern India and in many areas of North India especially in Punjab.
- (2) That revolt started from military cantonment area and its development and influential areas were military centres.
- (3) The peasants and other citizens took a very little part in the revolt of 1857.
- (4) The revolt did not spread to in the villages and It was limited only to the cities and towns.
- (5) It is true that the rulers like Nana Sahib, Bahadur Shah and Rani of Jhansi wanted to take revenge against the British. But they took up the arms against the British when soldiers took up the arms against the British. Otherwise they had no courage to revolt.
- (6) If the revolt of 1857 was the National War of Independence, then the small portion of British troops could not suppress that revolt.

(2)First War of Independence:

Most of the Indian historians and scholar had called the Revolt of 1857 A.D. as the First War of Independence. Dr. K.M. Panikar has called that revolt as a National Revolution. V.D. Savarkar and Ashok Mehta have called it as the War of Independence. Where as Jai Chand Vidyalkar and Pandit Nehru accepted the revolt of 1857 A.D. as the First war of Independence. Even Dr. S.N. Sen believes that the rising of 1857 was a war of independence. He contends that revolutionaries are mostly the work of minorities, with the active sympathy of the masses. Here he compares it with the American Revolution of 1775-83 and the French Revolution of 1789.

The contemporary leader of Conservative Party of England, Mr Benjamin Disraeli called it as a National Mutiny and according to him revolt was not the result of any immediate cause instead it was a result of deliberate and organised plan.



Argument in Favour: That revolt was the national mutiny. The following arguments are presented in favour of it:-

- (1) The revolt of 1857 spread throughout the country and it proves that it was the mutiny of common people in which the belonging to different classes caste made their efforts to expell the British from India.
- (2) In Kanpur the Labourers and in Allahabad fisherman took an active part in revolt. The native soldiers and native rulers also showed their active participation in that revolt. The common people and Zamindars made their efforts to make the reolt a successful one. Thus from comman man to the Kings all took part in that revolt. Therefore it is called as National Revolt.
- (3) The revolt began very soon and it remained into force for many months. Only with the support of the common people, a mutiny can remain in force for a long time and also begin very soon. If it was a mutiny of soldiers, then it could not begin so soon and could not have remain in force for a longer period. These two factors prove that revolt was the National Mutiny.

- (4) It was first time that Hindus and the Muslims had taken part in the revolt jointly against the British. From the declaration by the mutineers in Delhi it was proved that they had not any religious differences. This Hindu- Muslim unity proves that the revolt can be called as the National war of Independence.
- (5) The people who were punished by the British, most of them were common people and citizens, and they were not the soldiers. If the common people had not taken part in the revolt, then the British could not punish them. That's why the revolt of 1857 was not a military revolt instead it was a National War of Independence.
- (6) It is true that many rulers did not take part in the revolt but they were waiting for proper and suitable time to revolt against the mighty British power in India.
- (7) Even during the annexation of different states to the British Government in India Indian masses opposed the British and supported their own rulers. From that fact, it is proved that the feeling of Independence and nationalism had awakened among the Indian masses.
- (8) Along with men, the women also took active part in that revolt, which proves that it was not a military revolt; instead it was the national war of Independence.

From the above mentioned detailed discussion, we may conclude that :

1. The Indian people and the Indian rulers were against the British and wanted to get rid of them.
2. The common people also took part in that uprising, though they were few in number.
3. It is true that the uprising was started by the soldiers but their move was not to achieve their individual concessions, instead they also wanted to expel the British from India.
4. It is also true that the uprising did not spread in many parts of India But it does not mean that the people belonging to these parts did not independence. They were waiting for the suitable opportunity, so that they might join the war against the British.
5. In that uprising the Hindus and Muslims had sacrificed their lives together. They had performed such type of deeds to set India free from the slavery of the British.

The Revolt was more than a mere sepoy Mutiny - S.N. Sen and Dr. R.C. Majumdar have given an objective and balanced view that the sepoy mutiny assumed the character of a revolt and assumed a political dimension when the mutineers of Meerut after proceeding to Delhi declared the restoration of the Mughal Emperor Bahadur Shah II, and the landed aristocracy and civil population declared their loyalty in his favor. What began as a right for religion

ended in a war of independence, for there is not the slightest doubt that the rebels wanted to get rid of the alien government and restore the old order of which the Mughal emperor was the rightful representative.

Pandit Nehru has written, It was much more than a military mutiny and it spread rapidly and achieved the character of a popular rebellion and a war of Indian Independence.”

Prof. Bipan Chandra is of the view that the revolt of the sepoys was accompanied by a rebellion of the civil population particularly in the Northwestern Provinces and Oudh, the two regions from which the sepoys of the Bengal army were recruited. The civil rebellion had a broad social base embracing all sections of the society and the revolt of the sepoys thus, resulted in a popular uprising. In spite of the limitations and weaknesses the effort of the sepoys to liberate the country from foreign rule was a patriotic act.

1.4 CAUSES OF THE REVOLT OF 1857:

Although Revolt began as a military rising and it appears to be a great sequel in the long series of a number of mutinies, its causes were deeply rooted in the changing conditions of the times. It drew its strength from several elements of discontent against the British rule. There were several Political, administrative, socio-cultural, economic, religious, cultural and immediate causes of the revolt.

1.4.1. Political Causes:-

(i) Wars and Conquests:

The East India Company created a lot of discontent and disaffection among the dispossessed ruling families and their successors by her conquest. A large number of dependents on the ruling families who lost their means of livelihood and other common people were disillusioned and disaffected with the alien rule. Lord Dalhousie annexed the Punjab and added humiliation to the ruling family. Dalip Singh, the minor son of Ranjit Singh, the founder of the Sikh Kingdom of the Punjab, was deposed, and exiled to England. The properties of the Lahor Darbar were auctioned.

(ii) Subsidiary Alliance:

The British policy of territorial annexations led to the displacement of a large number of rulers and chiefs. The vigorous application of the policies of Subsidiary Alliance and Doctrine of Lapse angered the ruling sections of the society. The subsidiary alliance of Lord Wellesley, played a major role in British expansion in India. According to this alliance, Indian rulers were not allowed to have their independent armed force. They were to be protected by

the company, but had to pay for the 'subsidiary forces' that the company was supposed to maintain for the purpose of this protection. As a result, number of Indian rulers under British protection surrendered the control of their foreign affairs to the British. Most subordinate disbanded their native armies, instead maintaining British troops within their states to protect them from attack.

Discontent and dissatisfaction was especially strong in those regions, which were believed to have been lost their independence. As a consequence of Subsidiary Alliance, lakhs of soldiers and officers were deprived of their hereditary livelihood, spreading misery and degradation in the country. Thus the East India company's policy of 'Effective control' and gradual extinction of the Indian native states took a definite shape with the perfection of the Subsidiary Alliance System under Lord Wellesley.



The scene from one of the battle.

(iii) Doctrine of Lapse:

The practical application of Doctrine of Lapse of Lord Dalhousie's produced unprecedented discontent in the directly affected states. As a result number of rulers were debarred from adopting any son for the purpose of religious ceremonies after their death. This was considered as a direct encroachment by the British upon their religious practices. The Punjab Pegu, and Sikkim were conquered and annexed to the British Empire. By applying the Doctrine of Lapse, Dalhousie annexed the principalities of Satara, Jaipur, Sambhalpur, Bhagat. Udaipur, Jhansi, and Nagpur. In 1856 Lord Dalhousie annexed the kingdom of Oudh only on the pretext

of mismanagement. The dethronement of Wajid Ali Shah sent a wave of resentment and anger throughout the country. The state was exploited economically and the Nawabs were reduced to a position of administration of the state, which was used as an excuse by Dalhousie to merge it with the British Empire. The dignities and the royal titles in the case of the rulers of Carnatic and Tanjore were confiscated and Nana Sahib the adopted son of Bajirao II, was deprived of the pension that originally was granted to Peshwa Bajirao II. Thus in the eyes of the Indians, all the ruling princes were in danger and the annexation of all the states in India was considered only a question of some time. It was a general belief amongst the people in India that the native states were being swallowed up. All these actions manifested the lack of sensitivity of the British towards the Indian Rulers.



Lord Dalhousie

(iv) Humiliating and Ruth Policy towards the Successors of the Mughals:

British never honoured their written or verbal promises; consequently it was natural to result in hatred and revolts. Since 1803, the Mughal emperors had been living under the British protection. His claims to honour and precedence were recognized. The seal of Governors General bore the inscription humble servant. However, there was a gradual change in the relationship between the Mughal emperor and the governors-general. Amherst made it clear to the emperor, that his Kingship was nominal; it was merely out of courtesy that he was addressed as King. In 1849, Lord Dalhousie announced that the successor of Dalhousie had to leave the Red Fort and stay near Kutub Minar. By this time, Bahadur Shah, the Mughal emperor had become very old and was likely to die any moment. It was not in favour of the creation of an imperium imperio, he had accepted Fakir Uddin as the successor of the Mughal emperor but he had subjected the new Emperor to very strict conditions. Fortunately or unfortunately Fakruddin died in the

year 1856. On his death the then Viceroy Lord Canning proclaimed that the next successor of Fakiruddin would be deprived of even their titular dignities and shadow of sovereignties in Delhi and they would not be allowed to sit on the royal palaces in Delhi. This means that the title sovereignty of the Mughals was also to come to an end. This proclamation on the part of Lord Canning struck a great blow to the ambitions of the Indian Muslims and they became panicky. They concluded that the British were bent upon subjecting the princes of the dynasty of Timur to great humiliations. Hence they considered the immediate overthrow of the British regime in India as their sacred duty which they wanted to perform in honour of their forefathers as well as in honour of their religion. Thus, it was not surprising that the Muslims and the Hindus, felt resentful at the humiliation of the nominal Mughal emperors in India with the attitude of Dalhousie, Canning and East India Company, they decided to enter into an alliance with the rebels.

(v) India was Governed from Foreign Land:

Anderson wrote, India was being governed from a foreign country which meant that the rulers of India were carrying on their administration in India while sitting at distance of thousands of miles away from this country, this was another very important political cause which irritated the Indians against the Britishers. The Turkish and the Mughal who had established their power in India and settled down in country. They spent the revenue collected from the people in the India itself for administration, military, public work and building monuments which provided employment to the Indian natives. Thus in due course of time as such whatever they collected in the form of wealth was spent in India itself. On the other hand British ruled India from England and also drained India's wealth to their country. The resources of India were being spent for the benefit of the English people in England and in India Hence the Indians could not fail to feel this irritation against the Britishers and consequently, they threw in their lot with the rebels in the Mutiny of 1857.



(vi) Suspension of Pension:

The Company's Directors were keen to increase their dividends, they wanted the Company's administration in India to follow economy. This led to the reduction and suspension of pensions of some of the Indian chiefs and who were disposed by the company. The annual pension of Rani Jindan the Queen of Maharaja Ranjit Singh was reduced from 15,000 pounds to 1,200 pounds. The pension to Nana Sahib and of Lakshmi Bai, of Jhansi was suspended. The titular sovereignty of the Nawab of Carnatic and Tanjore was also abolished. This led them to oppose the British.

1.4.2. Administrative Causes:-**(i) Introduction of New Administrative System:**

The British rule altogether introduced a new system of administration, which was faceless, soulless, and without any human touch. The English officials were not only inaccessible but also arrogant and scornful towards the Indians. The new administration was totally different from the traditional administrative system prevailing in the country under the Mughal Empire and therefore it was difficult for the Indians to adjust to the new system of administration introduced by the British in conquered and annexed states.

(ii) Loss of Benefits and Privileges:

The Indian aristocrats once enjoyed privileges, both economic and social were now deprived of such privileges by the annexation policy of the East India Company. For eg. A large number of pious and learned men as well as educational and religious institutions were granted rent free lands by Indian rulers. By appointing the Inam Commission, The East India Company's government confiscated rent free land on large scale, which led to the ruin of large number of individuals and institutions. (eg. Inam Commission in Bombay itself confiscated about 20,000 estates). Even the landlords were deprived of their traditional rights. Thus in the British administration they lost all hope of regaining their old influence and privileges. It created a lot of inconvenience and frustration among the Indians.

(iii) Exclusion of Indians from Higher Administrative posts:

In the new administrative machinery Indians were excluded from all the jobs both in civil as well as in military departments. All the Higher posts in British administration were kept reserved for the English people to the exclusion of the Indians. The highest rank that an Indian could get in the Army department was that of a Subhedar whose monthly salary did not exceed rupees 60, or rupees 70 and similarly the highest job that an Indian could get in the Civil department was that of the Amin whose monthly pay did not exceed rupees 50. Consequently, all the chances for the

promotion of the Indians were very much limited. Indians developed a sort of conception that it was a deliberate policy on the part of the Britishers to reduce them to the position of the hewers of saw and the drawers of water. The British were of opinion that the Indians were not suitable for higher posts in their administrative structure. Contempt for Indians and racial prejudice were other reasons why the Indians were denied higher positions in the administration. Thus, the complete exclusion of Indians from all positions of trust and power in the administration brought a discontent and a sense of humiliation among the Indians.

(iv) Bitter Test of Rule of Law:

The East India Company was feeling boastful that they had introduced and were acting upon the principle of equality amongst the citizens in the judicial administration in India. However, it was found that the principle of civil equality was not applied to Europeans. Many Indians had experienced the bitter taste of law. The British Rule of Laws were complicated and justice was expensive and delaying.

On the other hand, the poorer and the weaker sections did not get any benefit from the new system due to complicated procedure of the British administration. The new judicial system of British in India became an instrument of tyranny oppression in the hands of clever and rich people, because the latter could manage to produce false evidence to prove false cases. Corruption was rampant in the Company's administration, especially among the police, petty officials and lower law courts. Prisons turned into centers of death. The British high-handedness and police brutality proves that the rule of law was a misnomer; The government did not think that the welfare of common man was its own responsibility. It was on account of this reason that a judge of the Agra Sadar Court, Rex, had said: The Indians did not like our judicial system in many ways. When the system of flogging for civil offences was abolished, periods of imprisonment were substituted for them. These were not approved by the people. Hence it resulted in a lot of discontent against the Britishers and, as such, formed another cause of the Great Mutiny.

1.4.3. Economic Causes:-

(i) Economic Exploitation of all sections:

The only interest of the Company was the collection of maximum revenue with minimum efforts. Owing to their colonial policies of economic exploitation, industry, trade commerce and agriculture languished and India became de-industrialized, impoverished and debt-ridden, while, William Bentinck himself admitted that by 1833-34 "The misery hardly finds a parallel in the history of commerce. The bones of cotton weavers are bleaching

the plains of India". With the annexations of the Indian states, the Indian aristocrats not only lost their jobs and power but were also deprived of their economic and social position and privileges, The British colonial policy destroyed the traditional economic fabric of the Indian society. Karl Marx point out, "the Indians were victims of both physical and economic forms of class oppression by the British." The peasants, Taluqdars, artisans, traders and common men, all were the victims of the British policies.

(ii) Ruin of the Mercantile Class:

The British deliberately crippled Indian trade and commerce by imposing high tariff duties against Indian goods. On the other hand they encouraged the import of British goods to India. As a result by the middle of the nineteenth century Indian exports of cotton and silk goods practically came to an end.

(iii) New land revenue system and Discontent Among the Zamindars:

By the introduction of new land revenue system in the newly acquired States the English administrators had brought the peasants as well as the British government into direct contact with one another, thus eliminating the middlemen between the two parties. In this way, the great Talukdars and Zamindars, who used to collect land revenue before that, were deprived of their income as well as their position. Those who enjoyed freeships of land were required to submit to the Government the letters of grant given to them in order to prove the validity of their proprietary rights in that land. Lord Dalhousie appointed the Inam Commission in 1852 to examine the titles deeds of the landlords. But those who failed to produce the documentary proof to prove their proprietary rights, were deprived of their proprietary rights. Their lands were confiscated and were sold in auction to the highest bidder. In western India alone 20,000 estates were thus confiscated. In Awadh the storm centre of the Revolt, 21,000 Taluqdars had their estates confiscated and suddenly found themselves without a source of income. The policy of Jackson of turning out the Indian soldiers from the army and the strict insistence of the British government demanding the documentary proof to prove their proprietary rights in the soil, made Oudh the centre of rebellion against the Britishers. The newly introduced land revenue system in the newly acquired territories reduced the aristocratic families to an abject poverty.

(iv) Destruction of Indian Manufacturers:

The British policy of promoting the import of cotton goods to India from England destructed all Indian manufacturers, in the cotton textile industry. Before the British rule in India villages of India were self-sufficient in every field. The people of villages used to produce the goods of their needs and requirements by

themselves. When British goods started flooding in Indian market, it threatened the outright destruction of Indian manufacturers. As these goods which were produced in the Industries of England, were pretty and also cheap as a result Indian people began to use those goods. The handicraft goods of India could not compete with the goods of England. It destroyed the small scale and handicraft Industry of India. The East India Company's government did not make any efforts to prevent the tragedy. Ultimately, it led to the destruction of Indian Manufacturers as well as ruin of village economy. Several Englishmen were of the opinion that free trade and refusal to impose protective duties against machine-made goods of England ruined Indian manufacturers.

(v) Pressure on Land:

The ruined of Indian Industry and commerce made several people unemployed and lack of alternate occupational avenues drove a large part of urban population to fall back on the village economy. As a result, millions of ruined artisans and craftsmen, spinners, weavers, smelters, smiths and others from town and villages, had no alternative but to pursue agricultural activity that led to a pressure on land. India was transformed from being a country of agriculture in to an agricultural colony of British Empire.

(vi) Exploitation on European Plantations:

Due to the Industrial revolution in England, they were in needs of raw material which could not be satisfy from the Industry of England. Therefore, the British settlers in India, monopolized the plantation industries like indigo, jute, tea, coffee etc. In addition to it, they applied different land revenue policies to gain the maximum profit. Thus British government in India made the planters life more difficult. It became difficult for the farmers to make their both ends meet. Specially, the life of Indigo planters. The inhuman treatment and persecution of the Indigo cultivators by the European plantation owners made their life worst.

(vii) Economic Drain: The colonial rule of British government in India had such type policy that drained the wealth of India to England through fair or unfair means or methods:-

- i) The British employees and officers enjoyed all the privileges in India and used to collect the wealth of India through all the fair and unfair means.
- ii) The British Soldiers and Civil Officers or employee who worked in India used to get highest salaries. Their savings, pensions, and other earnings from India, they were sending in the form of wealth from India to England.
- iii) The drain of Indian wealth was carried to England in every possible way. Most of the gold, jewels, silver and silk had been

shipped off to England as tax and sometime sold in open auctions, ridding India of its once abundant wealth in precious stones.

- iv) The policy of economic exploitation relentlessly persuaded by the British had severely affected the common man. In addition to it Poverty, unemployment, famines, disease, starvation and economic distress had made the economic condition deplorable.



The fierce Battle in Delhi.

1.4.4. Socio - Religious Causes:-

(i) Social Exclusiveness:

The British policy of social exclusiveness and arrogant manner towards the Indians created discontent among the Indians. They were infected with the feeling of racial superiority. The racial arrogance of the British hurt the self respect of the Indians. The British forced every native to salute all Englishmen in the streets. If native was on horseback or in a carriage, he had to dismount and stand in a respectful position until the Englishman had passed him. This was an unwritten law throughout the British India. The British could insult, injure, assault and even kill Indians. In such cases British offenders hardly could get any punishment. Thus British treated the Indians with utter contempt and regarded them as uncultured and barbarian.

(ii) Missionary Activities:

The political and corporal oppression might be tolerated but when any government begins to interfere in the religion of the people, then the people are prorogated. According to the Charter Act of 1813 missionaries were permitted to enter the Company's territories in India to propagate their religion and spread Western education. The Christian missionaries took every opportunity to expose the abuses in the Hindu as well as the Islamic religion. The missionary society of America established a press at Agra which made every effort to propagate Christianity. The missionaries' denounced idolatry ridiculed the Hindu gods and goddesses and criticized the philosophy and principals of Hinduism and Islam. The teaching of Christian doctrines was made compulsory in educational institutes run by the missionaries. The study of Bible was introduced not only in the missionary institutions but also in government schools and colleges. Thus, the interference of the British authorities in social customs and practices through social legislation and the encouragement given by the government to Christian missionaries in their proselytizing activities created a sense of apprehension and hatred in the minds Indians. They attempted to convert the young Indians by providing them western and rational education. Many facilities were provided for those who could convert in Christianity.

Many Englishmen openly expressed the view that the conversion to Christianity was the inevitable corollary of Western education. The missionaries were also accused of converting and destitute such as the orphans to Christianity.

(iii) Social Legislation:

The social legislation passed by the British also became the cause of the Revolt of 1857. The British endeavored to eradicate the social Evils like custom of sati, Infanticide and child marriage. And they also encouraged widow marriage for which they passed various social legislation such as in 1829, Lord William Bentinck abolished the practice of sati, with the support of educated and enlightened Indians such as Raja Ram Mohan Roy. Lord canning enacted the widow Remarriage Act, drafted by Lord Dalhousie in 1856, prohibition of traffic in slaves in 1834, prohibition of the practice of slavery in 1843, passing of the Hindu Widow Remarriage Act in 1856 and the opening of western education for girls. Although these measures were good for the society, this legislation aroused considerable suspicion, resentment and opposition among the orthodox sections. These legislations were viewed by the orthodox sections in the society as interference by the British in their social and religious practice. The two laws of 1832 and 1850, removing disabilities due to change of religion, particularly conferring the right of inheritance to change of religion, particularly conferring the right of inheritance to Christian converts,

were quite unpopular among the Hindus. The orthodox people did not like these changes. They looked upon them as foreign innovations designed to break down the social order to which they were accustomed and which they considered sacred.

(iv) The Indian Civilization was endangered by the British:

In 1856 A.D. 'The religious Incompetence Law' was enacted, according to which if any person belong to Hindu religion did change his religion, he could remain the heir of his ancestral property. It was a strong rumor set afloat at the time in India that Lord Canning was specifically appointed as the governor general of India to convert the Indians to Christianity. In this inflammatory atmosphere, the introduction of the railways and the telegraph system was regarded by the Indians as an attempt to Europeanise them. The same suspicion was attached to the postal system. In the new schools boys of all castes and religion set together and this was considered to be an attempt to interfere with the religion of the people. The introduction of the teaching of the Bible was considered by the Indians as an attempt by Christians to convert them to Christianity. The Indians did not like the insistence on the female education by the British. Thus the activity of the Christian missionaries and the introduction of female education amongst Indians by Dalhousie convinced them that under the pretext of introducing Western system of education in India the English were really trying to put an end to the Indian civilization and culture.

(v) The Influence of Pandits and Maulanas was Reduced:

The Hindu people had great respect and devotion for pandits and the Muslims had such type of respect and devotion for Maulanas. In the religious sphere, they had many privileges. The British did not approve special privileges of pundits and Maulanas and British considered them equal to the common people. Due to the propagation of western education, the respect and honour of the pundits and maulana was decreased. The Pandits and Maulanas thought that the British were responsible for that and therefore they became the bitter enemies of the British Empire.

1.4.5. Military Causes:-

(i) Gradual weakening of loyalty in the army:

As a result of the British disaster in Afghanistan in the first Afghan war, the military discipline in the British army had gone down to its lowest ebb. Lord Dalhousie had written clearly to the authorities in England that the military discipline right from the top to the bottom and from officers to soldiers was weakest and full of shame. The Bengal Army was a great brotherhood whose number used to move as a unit. The army service in Bengal Army had been made hereditary. Most of the Bengal Army consisted of the recruits taken from Oudh and North Western province. Many of them

belonged to the high caste Brahmin and Rajput families. These high caste Indian recruits did not like that military discipline of the British authorities in India which treated them as equals to the recruits of the inferior cast be imposed upon them. In this connection, Dr Eswari Prasad says: implicit obedience to the European commanders had been a characteristic of the Indian soldiers. Keen observers, however, had begun to notice a gradual weakening of that obedience roughly dating from the Afgan disaster. That disaster was Nature's punishment for unrighteousness and it was unrighteousness that shook the loyalty of the Indian soldiers to the company. The annexation of Oudh finally snapped it. Individual revolts had proceeded the outburst of Mangal Pandey. The discipline of the Army, wrote Dalhousie to the president of The Board of Control, from top to bottom, officers and men alike, is scandalous. The Indian soldiers began gradually to realise that they were the instruments of English expansion and the degradation of their own people. The recruitment of the Gurkhas and the Sikhs, the Raising of a irregular troops in the Punjab and the frontier tracts- all tended to convince them that their own future was in peril. Even during the days of Lord Dalhousie free small revolts had already taken place one after the other first in 1849 in number 22 regiment and second in 1850 in numbers 60 Regiment and third in 1852 in number 36 regiment. Under these circumstances the commencement of mutinous movement by the military men was only a question of time.

(ii) The General Service Enlistment Act (1856):

The Indian soldiers nursed grievances against the British as they were forced to go on expedition to Burma and Afghanistan, which violated their religious scruples. To live among Muslims and to take food and water from them was disliked to their ancient customs. Besides, crossing the seas was prohibited by the religion as the one who crossed the forbidden seas was bound to lose his caste. In order to prevent any kind of resistance from the sepoys against their deployment abroad. In the year 1856, the Lord Canning's government passed the General Service Enlistment Act. According to this, it was decided that no sepoy who was enlisted under the act could refuse to fight across the sea. This act was not applicable in the case of old sepoys. But even then it created a lot of discontentment amongst them against the British people, because in Bengal Army the service had almost become hereditary. Sarkar and Dutta write: this affected the scruples of the Indian sepoys about crossing the sea. It was soon brought in their Minds under the category of the insidious measures aimed at caste. Another of the items accumulating to form an Avalanche.

(iii) Disparity in the Indian and British soldiers stationed in India:

The disparity between the Indian troops and British troops in India was very high. The number of Indian soldiers were much more in number than the British soldiers. Though the British did not want that but they had to recruit excessive Indian soldiers in order to protect the vast country like India. The Indian army consisted of 2,33,000 troops and 45322 British troops. Although Lord Dalhousie had pointed out the urgency of filling in the gap, the Home Government had slept over in the matter. The distribution of troops in India was also faulty. The strength of the Bengal army was, 151361. About 40,000 troops were in the Punjab. No European force existed in Bengal and Bihar, except at Calcutta and Dinapur near Patna. The Indians were well aware of the weak position of the Company at many places and would like to take advantage of the same. The absence of many British officers had made this difference even greater because with the acquisition of new states most of them had been stationed on the borders of the states as administrative officers. Apart from this, a great part of the Indian army had gone to take part in the Crimean war, where the disaster of the British forces had considerably demoralized the British soldiers in India. Consequently, the combined effects of all these things was that the Indian soldiers had begun to realise that if they struck the British power in India at that time, it would not be able to stand upon its legs.



The Indian Soldiers.

(iv) Dissimilarity between the salaries of the Indian Soldiers and the British Soldiers:

The Indian soldiers were given lowest salaries. With their salaries they could hardly make the both ends meet but on the contrary the salaries of the British soldiers were much more than the Indian soldiers salaries. As Indian soldiers used to get only rupees nine per month as salary, whereas the British soldier got rupees sixty to seventy per month as salary. Apart from this, there was no chance for Indian soldiers to get promotion but the British soldiers had many chances to get promotion. The Indian soldiers made every effort to increase their salaries and allowances but

they got nothing except punishments. Therefore they were obliged to revolt.

The highest pay attainable by a sepoy as Subhedar of the infantry was less than the minimum pay of a raw European recruit. Very often there was no promotion of an Indian soldier. He may enter as a Risaldar and retire as a Risaldar.

(v) Indian soldiers impatient of regaining their old privileges:

With the expansion and consolidation of the British rule in India the conditions laid down on the new recruitments in their services in the Army department exercised so tight and irritating a control over the soldiers that they could not further tolerate the highhandedness to which they were subjected by the British officers. Whenever the soldiers went on actual war they were paid 'Foreign Service Allowances' known as Bhatta. Even this allowance was stopped. When the soldiers returned from the conquest of Sindh in 1843, they were not given any such allowance. The Indian soldiers could very well remember the old privileges that they used to enjoy in service when the Indian princes used to appreciate their services and rewarded them with gifts and presents. The Indian soldiers also had a free postal facility, where they could send letters free of charge anywhere in India. But in 1854, Lord Dalhousie stopped even this facility. Thus Indian soldiers had to witness bad days, because of the loss of many of the old privileges which they were deprived of. Consequently, they were impatient of gaining all these old privileges which they lost due to the arrival of British government in India. In another words, there was a Universal discontentment among the soldiers on account of the loss of the above privileges. This discontentment led to a great resentment in their minds, which ultimately resulted in the Great Mutiny.

(vi) Circulation of mysterious Chapatis:

The general unrest was indicated by the mysterious Chapatis or cakes which began to circulate from village to village from 1850 onwards. There was a similar circulation of lotus flowers among the regiments. Although the cause is not known, it created an atmosphere of mystery. The centenary of the Battle of Plassey was to fall on 23rd June, 1857 and the people were looking forward to the end of British rule in India after hundred years. There were meetings of the Indian soldiers against their European officers. They were thinking in terms of revenge against them. Their plan of campaign was simple. They were to strike all over India on the same day, 22nd June, 1857. They were to kill all European officers, break open prisons, take over the Government treasury, cut telegraph wires and railway lines, and capture powder magazines, armouries and forts. It was hoped that if all the blows were given at the same time, they were sure to shake this edifice of the foreign Government.

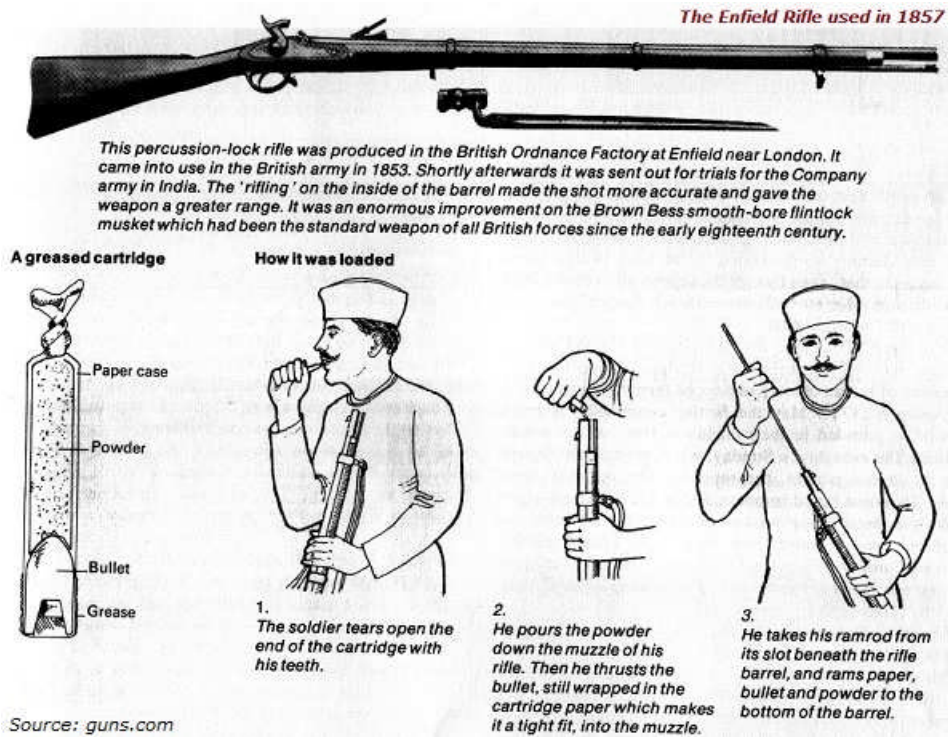
(vi) Ruin of the British in the Afghan War:

The British during the time of Lord Auckland invaded Afghanistan but that invasion proved very fatal for the British. The British were forced to leave Afghanistan and when the British army retreated only small part of the British army, which were around sixteen thousand in number, could save their lives. Many historians say that only a single soldier remained alive in that war. That defeat of the British made the Indians realize that they could also defeat the British.

1.4.6. Greased Cartridges - The Immediate Cause:-

The several mentioned factors prepared a general ground for discontent and disaffection among different section of the Indian people, which required a mere spark to explode into a conflagration. The greased cartridges provided this spark. It was in 1856 when, according to a regulation, the sepoys were required to bite the end of the cartridge before using it. There was a rumour that the cartridges to be used with the new Enfield rifles were greased with the fat of cows and pigs. One of them was sacred to the Hindus, while the other was forbidden to the Muslims. On account of their ignorance, the British Government denied the truth of this allegation. However, on a secret enquiry, it was later on found that actually the fat of cows and pigs had been used.

The result was that the sepoys got infuriated. The fire of vengeance once ablaze could scarcely be quelled by the representations of Lord Canning downwards that the story of the greased cartridges was untrue and was spread by mischief mongers. English historians have themselves admitted that cow's fat and lard were used in the composition of the tallow used in the new cartridges. It is shameful and terrible truth, writes W.H. Lecky in his book, *The Map of Life*, that as far as the fact was concerned, the sepoys were perfectly right in their beliefs but looking back upon it, English writers must acknowledge with humiliation that if the mutiny is ever justifiable no stronger justification could be given than that of the sepoys troops. To the same effect writes Lord Roberts in his, *Forty Years in India*, The recent researches of Mr. Forrest in the records of the Government of India prove that the lubricating mixture used in preparing the cartridges was actually composed of the objectionable ingredients, cow's fat and lard, and that incredible disregard of the soldier's religions prejudices was displayed in the manufacture of these cartridges - Dr. Iswari Prasad.



The native army of Bengal was in a state of restlessness. In April, 1857, some troops refused to use the cartridges supplied to them. They were court marshaled and sentenced to ten years imprisonment. On 9th May, they were publicly degraded and deprived of their uniforms and shut up in a jail. Thus, when the Hindu sepoys were convinced of the fact that the East India Company had turned into Aurangzeb they decided to play the part of Shivaji. This was the commencement of the Great Mutiny of 1857. Thus, we see that the Great Rising of 1857 cannot be attributed to a single chance cause. It was the outcome of social, religious, political and economic causes all combined.

1.5 OUTBREAK OF THE REVOLT OF 1857

In Barrackpur, On 29th March, the soldiers of 34th Native Infantry refused to use the greased cartridges and a sepoy named Mangal Pandey broke the lines and fired at Lieutenant Baugh. Mangal Pandey was arrested and executed. At Behrampur, which also had disobeyed the authorities were disbanded. The First major outbreak that finally led to the Revolt of 1857 occurred at Meerut. Following the court martial of eighty-five sepoys of the Cavalry Regiment for refusing to use the greased cartridges, on 10th May 1857, the sepoys broke out in open rebellion, shot their officers, released their fellow sepoys and marched towards Delhi. On 12th May, the sepoys captured the city of Delhi and occupied the palace proclaimed Bahadur Shah II as the emperor of India.

Within a short period, the revolt spread to Lucknow, Kanpur, Agra, Jhansi, Central India, Bihar, Orissa, and many other places. However, the Indian rulers remained loyal to the British and rendered valuable service in the suppression of the revolt. The British were on the defensive during the early part of the revolt. First of all, they made a sustained effort to recapture Delhi from the sepoys. In September 1857, Delhi was recaptured by the British. Emperor Bahadur Shah II was arrested and exiled to Mandalay, Burma, where he died a few years later. Two of his sons and a grandson were shot dead. Thus, The British ended the Mughal dynasty from the Indian scenario.



The attack on the Red Fort Delhi.

The sepoys besieged the Residency at Lucknow. Sir Henry Lawrence and some loyal sepoys lost their lives while defending the Residency. In March 1858, British forces captured Lucknow with the help of the Gurkha Regiments. Nana sahib, the adopted son of the ex-Peshwa Baji Rao II led the sepoys at Kanpur. Nana Sahib was joined by Tantia Tope. After the recapture of Lucknow, General Campbell occupied Kanpur on 6th December 1857. Tantia Tope joined Rani Lakshmi Bai the widow of Raja Gangadhar Rao fought against the British. The British under Sir Hugh Rose occupied Jhansi. Rani Lakshmi Bai and Tantia proceeded to Gwalior where the Indian soldiers joined them. The British recaptured Gwalior in June 1858, and the Rani of Jhansi died fighting heroically. Tantia Tope was captured and put to death a year later. Nana Sahib fled to Nepal where he died in due course. In Rohilkhand, the revolt began at Bareilly in May 1857. Where Muhammad Hasan Khan, led a force of about 10,000. Rana Beni Madho Singh of Saharanpur had a personal following of about 15,000 and Gajadar Singh of Gorakhpur commanded a force of 51,000. All of them attacked British position in their respective regions and rallied round the Begum, Hazrat Mahal.

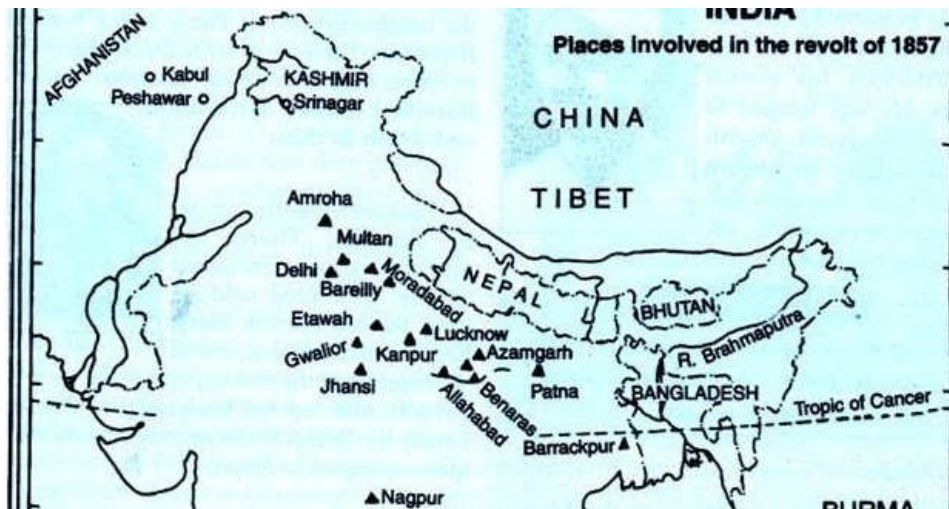
Apart from these there were also many minor revolts in Jehlum, Jalandhar, Ludhiana, Ropar, Firozpur and Agra. But by the beginning of 1858 most of these revolts were systematically suppressed by the British. Some of the Indian rulers also co-operated with the British in suppressing the revolt. The ministers of

Gwalior, Hyderabad and Nepal also rendered their support to the British. Thus, the first major attempt on the part of the Indians to overthrow the British power could not succeed.

1.6 CAUSES OF THE FAILURE OF THE REBELLION:

1.6.1 The revolt was localised and not country-wide:

Though the revolt was Formidable and widespread though the revolt was, it was yet to a great extent localised, limited and ill-organised. The Mutiny was not universal. Dr. R.C Mazumdar says: It was never an all India character but was localised, restricted and poorly-organised. The area affected was the Punjab, the United Provinces, Rohilkhand, Oudh, the Territory between the Narbada and the Chambal and the Western parts of Bengal and Bihar on the North-East. Afghanistan was friendly under Dost Mohammad. Sindh was quite, Rajputana was loyal. India South of the river Narbada made no movement of importance, though the native regiments mutinied at Kolhapur in the Southern Marathan country and there were also many dangerous outbursts of feelings at Hyderabad, the Nizam's Capital. Central and Eastern Bengal were undisturbed and Nepal rendered the British valuable assistance in putting down the revolt. Thus, the revolt was only local and not nation-wise.



1.6.2. The Revolt began prematurely:

The whole programme arranged, as it was, came to nothing on account of the rising taking place prematurely or before the date fixed for the purpose. The date fixed for the simultaneous rising in the country was 31st May, 1857. The date was known only to the leaders of each organisational centre and three officers of each of the regiments. But certain events - (i) Mangal Pandey was tried and was ordered to be hanged, (ii) the soldiers of 19th and 34th Indian regiments were disbanded, (iii) the Subedar of 34th regiment was hanged - made the Indian soldiers impatient for the rebellion and so

the revolt began before the appointed day. It began in Meerut on the 10th May. It was a serious suicidal mistake. Dr. Eswari Prasad says: As events proved, the Meerut accident by precipitating the revolt saved the British Raj from the ruin which Nana Sahib and his colleagues had planned. Wilson, White, Mailson, three noted historians of the revolts, agree in regarding the Meerut outbreak as fortunate for the Company and fatal to the revolt. It upset the whole plan of the rebels, deprived them of a concerted action and in many places the local leaders didn't know what to do. This led many to spontaneous and unpremediated action.

1.6.3. Superiority of the English in Many Fields:

- i) The resources of the British Imperialism were unlimited. Fortunately for them, the Crimean War and other wars in which the Britishers were involved out of India had come to an end by 1856.
- ii) The British army was excessive in number which was brought into India in large numbers from different parts of the world and many more soldiers were recruited in India itself, for the suppression of the Mutiny.
- iii) The British had superior Weapons than the rebels had. The British had modern guns and rifles. The Indians had canons which were old and few in numbers. They were mostly fighting with swords and spears.
- iv) The British had superior Navy. At the same time British were also supreme in Naval Power.
- v) The Electric System, also contributed in the success of the British. Through that system the British Commander-in-chief got all the information regarding the plans of the rebels and he could make suitable arrangements. Due to these supremacies of the British the Indians remained unsuccessful.



Tatya Tope

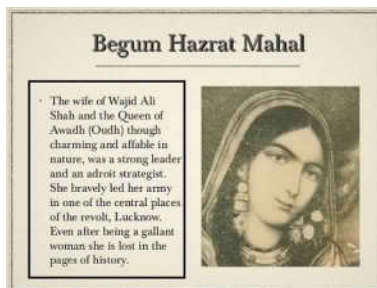
1.6.4. Lack of Unity of purpose and organization:

The Indian rebels were not properly organised or if they were at all organised, their central organisation was very weak. There was no dearth of bravery and boldness in its leaders, but one thing that was very conspicuous by its absence in them was the absence of experience in organisation and concerted action. It was not possible for them to regain their lost independence by mere small depredations and sudden attacks which are specially noticed in the Gorilla tactics of War. The British government at the centre and the provincial governments made an enquiry concerning the mutiny through commissions and boards but these commissions and boards failed to get any clue which made him enable them to know the origin of any organised conspiracy of mutiny. Rather the case started against Bahadur Shah II, the Mughal emperor on the other hand that the mutiny was a surprise to him as much as it was to the Britishers. In other words there was no organisation amongst the leaders of the rebellion. Then mutineers suffered also from lack of unity of purpose. The mutiny had broken out all of a sudden and nobody had the idea of that turn it would take; there was no understanding between the Hindus and the Muslims. They were divided in their aims with no common political object. There was no Unity among them and they were unable to combine effectively for the execution of the common plan or the common aim. A close and careful study of the mutiny records reveals a very sad story of everyone for himself and no one for the country. The Mughal emperor the problem the head of the mutiny the Queen's and The Princess and other leaders of the revolt all pulled in their own directions and played a double game to secure their own ends and interests. The sepoys of Avadh fought for the restoration of their own king while Nana Sahib and the queen of Jhansi on the other hand pressed their own claims. A number of smaller adventures not inspired by any patriotic impulses sprang up to take advantage of the opportunity offered by the mutiny for their personal advantage. Khan bahadur khan the grandson of Hafiz Rehmat Khan declared himself as the viceroy or naib Nazim of Rohilkhand. The banjaras of Saharanpur set up a new king of their own. The gujjars had different Rajas in different areas, Fatuna having proclaimed himself as the king of the Gujjars. One Devi Singh proclaimed himself the king of 14 villages in the Mathura district. Similarly Mahima ji Wadi a decoit and Belsare, a Maratha Brahmin were attracted to the Rebel came to improve their fortunes. It was a reckless aimless revolt and perished as such.



1.6.5. Lack of leadership:

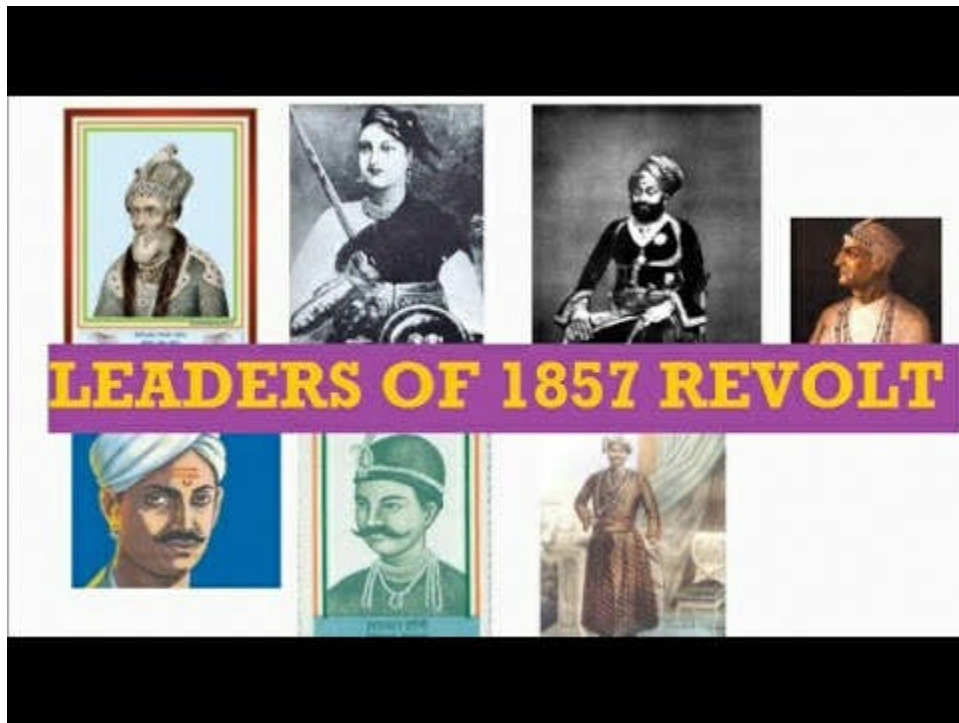
The lack of leadership amongst the Rebels was another very important cause which brought about the failure of the mutiny. The only capable leaders of the mutineers were the Rani of Jhansi Tatya Tope and Nana Sahib. With a few honorable exceptions of whom the most distinguished were Ahmed Ullah and Tatya Tope most of the leaders who took part in the struggle did so for personal reasons. They did not rise against the British till their personal interest has been damaged by the policy of the British government. In this connection Maulana Abdul Kalam Azad writes: in the light of the available evidence we are forced to the conclusion that the uprising of 1857 was not the result of careful planning nor were there any masterminds behind it. Besides the natives spying for the British were at work inside and outside the fort, among whom the name of molvi Raza Ali stands out as the most notorious. On the other hand the English had advantage of having very capable leaders Android generals like the Lord Lawrence , Outram, Havelock, Nicholson Neil and Edwards who got success in suppressing the revolt in every possible way. It was these British leaders and generals who resisted the mutineers very stubbornly in the early stages of the mutiny and who were thus in a position to control the situation. They had received a substantial aid from their Homeland in the later stages of the mutiny. Otherwise also they were far superior to the Indian leaders in military and political qualities. All of them had only one object before them and that was the difference of the British government in India. Their sole aim was one and they had a unity of purpose. They were not divided in their political aims.



1.6.6. Personal jealousies amongst the mutineers:

Maulana Abdul Kalam Azad writes: as I read about the events of 1857 I am forced to the conclusion that Indian national character had sunk very low. The leaders of the revolt could not agree. They were mutually jealous and continually intriguing against one another. In fact these personal jealousies were largely responsible for the Indian defeat. The personal jealousies of the Indian leaders always stood in the way of collective action under one supreme leader. As against this that English had the advantage of one supreme leader ship not less Heroic and undaunted than the Rebel leaders. Thus we find that the mutual

jealousies amongst the native leaders was another cause which seriously undermined their solidarity and ultimately led to their defeat.



1.6.7. Bahadur Shah a broken Reed:

Bahadur Shah the Mughal emperor was not prepared for such a great revolution as had taken place in the country. On the other hand journey 3 years ahead and explicit wait in the competence of The Emperor who gave it to in Throne as emperor of India but it turned out to be a broken Reed it has therefore rightly been said that for nearly 2 years The White Dragon on now here and now there success sometime attaining the freedom fighters sometime the efforts of the oppressors. It was not as the prejudiced British historians sometimes said : A Hindu movement or as sometimes alleged a Muslim movement. It failed because it was disorganised. It failed because some acted selfishly and some for personal reasons. The actor only when their personal interests were involved. It was Tatya Tope Laxmi Bai and Ahmed Ullah who fought practically unselfishly. If the British won it was through treachery due to the personal jealousies and selfishness of the Indian rulers which they exploited to the utmost. Thus we find that Bahadur Shah's incompetence to lead the nation properly because of his mental unpreparedness for such a great revolution was one of the most important causes of the failure of the mutiny.

Bahadur Shah Zafar

- **Mirza Abu Zafar Sirajuddin Muhammad Bahadur Shah Zafar** better known as **Bahadur Shah Zafar** was the last Mughal Emperor of India.
- He played an important role in uniting the Hindus and the Muslims to stand against the British.



Bahadur Shah Zafar

1.6.8. Noble efforts of Lord Canning for the pacification of the mutiny:

Another very important factor which contributed to the success of the English in the mutiny was the Noble efforts of Lord Canning and Sir John Lawrence in the early stages to check the outcry both in England and in India for their ruthless and indiscriminate policy of vengeance that the English in England and India advocated. On the other hand Canning refused to show vindictive spirit 10 followed a mild and Pacific policy towards the mutineers. Thus the restraining influence of Lord Canning during the progress of the war and after was an important contributory factor of British success. He was nicknamed as clemency Canning in contempt but it was afterwards recognised that his clemency was not only morally splendid but also politically expedient for it surely raised the British prestige in the eyes of the Indians and helped to create mutual confidence and goodwill. Lord Canning never for a moment lost his balance of mind during the excitement of the mutiny. Therefore his policy of Mercy and moderation did much to hasten the end of hostilities and restoration of orders.

1.7. CONSEQUENCES OF THE REVOLL OF 1857:-

The Revolt of 1857 was suppressed by the British Government in India through their superior means and due to the drawbacks of the rebels. Dr. Ishwari Prasad has written that it took

a period of a whole century to get its independence through struggle. But the revolt was not in vain. There were many consequences of the of the revolt. The Revolt of 1857 marked a turning point in the history of Modern India. It exercised a tremendous influence upon the British policy in India. Dr. K. M. Panikar has written that it was division line of the history of Modern India. The character of the Indian empire in the last decades of the nineteenth century was shaped to a large extent by the events of 1857. There is no doubt that the Revolt of 1857 was completely suppressed by the British but one thing that goes without saying is that it undermined the very foundations of the British rule in India. It was at this time that Lord Cromer had remarked: I want the young generation of the English people to read the history of mutiny of 1857, derive lessons out of it and imbibe those lessons in their hearts. In it we found so many lessons and warnings. Thus it was in view of the warnings and lessons that the mutiny taught them that the British government began to take measures to consolidate their position in India and whatever they did after the mutiny was for the consolidation of the rule. The consequences of the Revolt of 1857 can be categorized namely, Positive effects and Negative effects as the following discussions will show:

1.7.1 Positive Effects:-

(i) Transfer of power from the East India Company to the British Crown:

The transfer of political and administrative power from the East India Company to the British crown was achieved through the Act for the better Government of India, 1858. Under this Act India would be governed directly by the crown acting through a Secretary of State. He was made directly responsible to the British Parliament. To assist and advise him in transacting the affairs of this country; a Council known as the India Council was created. The India Council was to consist of fifteen members of whom at least nine should have served in India for not less than ten years. The India Council was to be presided over by the Secretary of State. In India the central administration continued to remain in the hands of the governor general who also became the viceroy of the Queen in England. The governor general acquired the additional title of viceroy not due to the India Act of 1858, but due to the Royal Proclamation, which was issued on 1 November 1858.

(ii) The Queen's Proclamation, 1858:

Queen Victoria issued a proclamation which was read out by Lord Canning, the Governor General of India, who announced the acquisition of the Indian administration by the British crown at a Darbar, held at Allahabad on 1st November, 1858. When he read out the Proclamation to the princes and the people of India, it reflected the generosity and religious tolerance. He pointed out that several benefits, the people of India would enjoy and they would be

treated at par with the subjects of the British Crown. Its aim was to tell the Indian people about the end of the rule of the East India Company and the assumption of the administration of India by the British Crown. It states that they have resolved to take upon themselves the Government of the territories in India. The Queen, in her proclamation, called upon all her subjects within the British territories in India to be faithful and to bear true allegiance to the British Government.

As per the new system, the Governor General became the Viceroy. Therefore Lord **George Canning** the last Governor General became the first viceroy of the British territories in India. The Queen, in her proclamation, assured the following to the native princes that all treaties and engagement made by the East India Company with the native Princes would properly be maintained by the British Government and it is hoped that the same would also be observed by them. With all the above promises the Queen reserved to herself the right to interfere in native states in order to set right such serious abuses in a native government. The Queens proclamation called upon all subjects within the British territories in India to be faithful and to owe true allegiance to the British government. The native princes were assured that the territorial integrity of their respective states would be respected. All treaties and engagements made by the East India Company with them would be maintained. They were further assured that their rights, dignity and honor would be respected and the British Government would not interfere in their internal affairs.

The proclamation assured freedom of religion to the people of India. They would be allowed to follow their own religious beliefs, practices and worship and the British officials would not interfere in such matters. Equal and impartial protection of law was promised to all Indians. Further, the Queen's proclamation assured equal opportunities to the people of India in government services without distinction of race, creed. The proclamation assured that while framing and administering law, due respect would be shown to the ancient Indian rights, usages and customs. The British government would strive to achieve the welfare of the people of India. Finally, the proclamation announced pardon to Indians who had taken part in the Revolt of 1857 against the British.

(iii) Home Government for India:

Under the Act for better Government of India the power of the Crown were to be exercised by the Home Government in England consisting of the secretary of state for India, assisted by the Council of India known as the Indian Council under the Act for the better Government of India, passed on August 2, 1858. The Secretary of State for India was to be a member of the British Parliament and also a Cabinet Minister of England. He was,

therefore, to be responsible, for the administration of the British territories in India, to the British Parliament. His salary and the expenses of his establishment were to be paid out of the India revenues. The secretary of states for India was to be assisted by the Council of India, consisted of fifteen members, eight of whom were to be nominated by The Crown and the remaining seven were to be elected by the Court of Directors. To make the Council of India expert body on Indians affairs, the Act provided that nine out of fifteen must be those members who served or resided in India, at least, for a period of ten years before their appointment. All future vacancies were to be filled by the Crown. The members of the Council were to hold office during good behavior but could be removed, under the Act of 1858, upon an address presented by both the Houses of Parliament to the Crown. Each member of the Council was to be paid the yearly salary of one thousand and two hundred pounds, out of the revenues of India. Up to 1906, all the members of the Council of India were Europeans. In 1907, two Indians, were appointed to associate his Council. The Secretary of State for India, representing the Crown and the British Parliament, legally exercised supreme control over all authorities in India. He enjoyed very wide powers. He was made the President of the Council of India with the power to vote and in case of a tie he was to enjoy a casting vote as well. He had the power to divide the Council of India in to committees for the more convenient transaction of business. He enjoyed the power to override the majority decision of the Council, but he was required to record his reasons for so doing. However, the majority decision of the Council on certain matters was binding on him He had the power to send and to receive from the Governor-General in India. Secret messages and dispatches without information the Council of India. The secretary of State-in- Council had to lay down certain rules and regulation for the guidance of the Government of India in all its dealings with the Home Government and the Crown. He had the power to frame rules and regulations for the requirement to the Indian civil services. The secretary of state was required to lay before both the Houses of Parliament an annual Budget of India and also an annual report on the moral and material progress of India for the consideration of the houses. Finally, the Secretary of state-in-Council was constituted into a corporate body that could sue and be sued in England and in India. The Council of India was a body of permanent Civil servants who had expert knowledge on the Indians conditions and administration. It was an advisory body. Its meetings were to be held every week. The meetings were to be presided over by the Secretary of state for India. Although, the Secretary of State could override the majority decision of the Council by recording reasons for so doing in several matters, however, its majority decision was binding on him on many matters, such as, grant or appropriation of any part of the Indian revenues, division and distribution of patronage, making contracts, sales and

purchases for and on behalf of the Indian Government and all matters related to property of Government of India. The Council of India had the power to make appointments to the Council of the Governors and also to exercise control over the civil and military servants of the Crown. Finally the Council of India could not take any decision during the absence of the Secretary of State without his approval in writing. The Queen's proclamation of 1858 was a great landmark in the constitutional history of India. It proclaimed the end of an era of the East India Company's rule and the beginning of a new era. The era of the direct rule over the British India. Its noble sentiments and glittering ideals, expressed in rich and dignified language, went a long way in pacifying the people of India, and in creating good atmosphere for the proper functioning of the British Government in India. It laid the foundation of a new British policy in India for a period of about sixty years.

(iv) Reorganisation of the Indian Army:

Dr Ishwari Prasad says: the experience of the mutiny coupled with the insubordination of the English Troops brought the question of the reconstruction of the army to the front. Two important changes were effected. One relating to the proportion between the English and Indian Army and the other relating to the Future organisation of the forces. British attitude towards the Indian army after the revolt underwent drastic change. It was no longer possible for the British to assume that the Indian people would stand by the government in its hour of need. The British element in the Indian army was strengthened in order to ensure loyalty and efficiency. Thus, the number of Indian soldiers were drastically reduced from 238,000 in 1857 to 140,000 by 1863. The number of European Soldiers was increased from 45,000 to 65,000. The proportion of Europeans to Indians was fixed at fifty-fifty in the Bengal army and one to two elsewhere. The discipline in the army was improved. The king's forces and the companies forces were amalgamated which helped to remove their old jealousies. New recruits were drawn largely from those martial races of the Punjab, Nepal and the Northwestern Frontier Province who had proved their loyalty during the hours of urgency. In keeping with the old Roman policy of divide and Rule, the new recruits were often formed into separate units on the basis of caste, community or region. According to Jawaharlal Nehru, the policy of balance and counterpoise was deliberately furthered in the Indian army. Various groups were so arranged so as to prevent any sentiment of national unity growing amongst them~ and tribal and communal loyalties and slogans were encouraged. Every effort was made to isolate the army from the civilian population All the key positions were kept in the hands of the Englishmen, and no Indian could hold the King's Commission. The more effective weapons of warfare were not given to the Indian forces they were reserved for the British troops in India. These British troops were always kept

with the Indian regiments in all the vital centers of India as an internal security and for the suppression of disorder among the Indian soldiers and people as well. The result of all these measures was that a high sense of loyalty and discipline developed in the Indian army.



(v) The Policy of Annexation was Given Up:

Queen Victoria said: we hereby announce to the native princess of India that all treaties and engagement made with them by or under the authority of the honourable East India Company or by us, we accept and will be scrupulously maintained and we look for the right observance on their part. Thus the British government gave up the doctrine of lapse and guaranteed the integrity of the Indian states. The right of adoption by the native princes was duly recognised.

The Queen declared that she had no desire to annex more territories to the British Empire. The British authorities realized the importance of the Princely States and wanted their support to the British rule in India. Queen promised to respect the rights of the native rulers. She accused only those persons who had murdered the British and others were forgiven. Besides, even after the end of the Crimean War the British government remained apprehensive of a Russian invasion of India. Under these circumstances, it was felt that the princely states would be of great help in case of any danger from abroad. Hence, the policy of the British dominion annexing the

princely state was given up and many other native rulers were made free and independent who were loyal to the British. Feoffees were also given the many Indians who were supporters of the British government in India. Efforts were made to create better relations and strengthen the ties of the union and the British government and the rulers of the native States.

(vi) Freedom of religion and equal treatment guaranteed:

The proclamation of the queen said firmly relying ourselves on the truth of disclaim alike the right and desire to improve our conviction on any of our subjects. we declare it to be our royal will and pleasure that none by anyways favoured none molested or disquieted by reason of their religious faith and observance; but that shall alike enjoy the equal and impartial protection of the law and we do strictly charge and enjoin all those who may be in authority under us that they abstain from all interference with the religious belief or worship of any of our subjects on pain of our highest displeasure. Thus according to the Proclamation of the Queen, freedom of religion was granted to all the people in India and the government promised not to offend the religious feelings and susceptibilities of any community whatsoever.

(vii) Introduction of other reforms:

1. In 1857 universities were established at Kolkata and Madras.
2. The Bengal rent act of 1859 gave rights of Occupancy to all cultivators who possessed certain fields for more than 12 years and Ferb in the range being raised except on definite Grounds specified in the Act itself
3. The penal code on which my college Commission head begin to work so many years before became the law of the land
4. The companies Sadar courts and the crown's Supreme Court were amalgamated in the high courts which were now established at each Presidency headquarters. Sir Lepel Griffin says : perhaps a more fortunate occurrence than the mutiny of 1857 never occurred in India ...it swept the Indian sky clear of many clouds... it replaced an unprogressive selfish and commercial system of Administration followed by the company, was bound sooner or later to end in disaster. The mutiny brought about the death of the company. About the results of the great mutiny Dr writes: It ended the East India Company. It ended the annexation of states, it gave recognition of adoption, it increased the racial hatred for the English and above all provided the material out of which the forces for the next struggle for independence grew.

1.7.2. Negative Effects:-**(i) Increase in Racial Animosity between the British and the Indians:**

The mutiny left behind it a sort of racial animosity as its legacy. The British described Indians as untrustworthy. And consequently the Indians were humiliated and insulted. This resulted in the racial animosity between the English and the Indians. It was from this date that the social estrangement between the two races commenced in this country. Consequently there was no love lost between the rulers and the ruled. The English officers during the suppression of the Mutiny perpetrated untold and gruesome oppressions in the Punjab and North India. As a consequence, this policy of terror was to create strong feelings of hatred between the English and the Indians during the post-mutiny India.

British considered themselves as an occupying power garrisoning a hostile land. On the other hand Indians tried to seek self-respect and honor within the bounds of their traditional culture. The British had formed a separate community in India. During the Revolt of 1857, stunned and shocked the British saw the obedient sepoys suddenly transformed into a disobedient. Hence, the British felt that safety could be found only among their own countrymen. On the other hand, the manner in which the Revolt of 1857 was crushed by the British and the ruthlessness in which the sepoys were treated left a deep sense of hatred among the Indians against the British. The British also massacred thousands of civilian population in the country.

(ii) Setback to Social Reforms:

The Revolt of 1857 convinced the British the futility of interfering in the traditional socio-religious customs of India. The strong opposition to the social legislation especially coming from the orthodox elements in both the Hindu and the Muslim community put the British on the defensive. The self-confidence of the British and their plans for the rapid westernization of India through social reforms were shattered. The British, after the Revolt of 1857, decided to concentrate in providing a sound and efficient administration rather than introducing western ideas and reform in a traditional Asian society.

(iii) The Policy of Divide and Rule:

After the Revolt of 1857, the British had patronaged and applied the most unscrupulous policy to divide the Indians in different castes and classes. The British used one class or caste against the other. The Muslims were made to fight with the Hindus and the high caste Hindus were excited against the low caste Hindus. Thus, There was a deterioration in the whole country.

(iv) Creation of misunderstanding between Hindus and the Muslims:

The collapse of the Mutiny created a misunderstanding between the Hindus and the Muslims. The Muslims had shown a keener and more widespread sympathy for the rebels. Even in South India where their number was small many conspiracies were formed among them against the British between 1857 and 1859. When the rebellion began, both the Hindus and the Muslims took part in it in large numbers. But the Muslims were more violently disposed towards the British than the Hindus. The British feared more from Muslims than the Hindus. The result was that the hand of repression fell more heavily on the Muslims than on the Hindus. Many of their leading men were hanged or exiled e.g. the Nawab Sahibs of Jhajjar, Balabgarh, Farukh Nagar, and Farukhabad. 24 Shahzadas were hanged at Delhi on 18th November, 1857, in one day alone. Muslim quarters were mostly the target. Muslim property was widely confiscated. This created ill feelings and misunderstanding amongst the Muslims against the Hindus.

(v) Territorial conquest were replaced by Economic Loot:

With the failure of the Great rebellion, the era of British territorial conquest came to an end and the territorial conquests gave place to economic exploitation of the Indians by the Britishers. The British government had no more fear of any kind from feudal India. The English people exploited India economically to a great extent. Now the British government had to face a new challenge from the progressive elements in the Indian society, a challenge which was favorably reacting due to the progressive thoughts of John Stuart Mill and other progressive elements in England.

(vi) The Muslim renaissance received a set-back:

Another bad effect of the Mutiny was that the Muslim renaissance which had been growing in Delhi before the Mutiny got an irreparable set-back. The cultural blossoms were blighted. According to C.F. Andrews, it's not difficult to trace the fatal havoc to budding spiritual life which one year of Mutiny wrought. Decay immediately overtook the revival of learning in Delhi from which it never recovered. Calcutta, the centre of Hindu renaissance, escaped the horrors of the Mutiny and was saved.

1.8. SIGNIFICANCE

1.8.1. Exposure of Drawbacks :

According to Sir Lepel Griffin had there been no Mutiny in 1857, the various types of defects and irregularities, existed in the administrative machinery and policies and programs of the East India Company would not have come to light before the World. The

Great rebellion immediately invited the attention of the British Government in London and the various glaring defects and shortcoming in the administration were removed. It was the Revolt of 1857 that brought to the military defects of the East India Company, which were at once eradicated. Thus, for the British the Revolt of 1857 was an important incident.

1.8.2. Efforts to win over the confidence of Indians:

After the abolition of the East India Company the administration of India was taken over directly by the Crown-in - Parliament. The people of India were assured of the freedom of religion, equal protection of law, equality of opportunities in government services, and of ancient Indian rites, customs and usages. At the same time, the Indian princes were assured of maintenance of their treaties and engagements of territorial integrity of their states and of their rights, dignity and honor. It was in this way that the British Government made attempts to win over the confidence of the people of India for years to come.

1.8.3. Beginning of the New Era:

The Revolt of 1857 influenced the history of India's struggle for freedom in another way also. It could not deny that the sepoys who rose in revolt had genuine grievances. They were certainly justified in their struggle for their rights. However, in the trial of strength, the primitive weaponry of the Indians was no match for the more modernized weapons used by the British. The accounts of the atrocities convinced the Indian intellectuals about the futility of violence to be applied in the struggle for freedom. The new elite, emerging from the intellectual ferment of the early nineteenth century, created a middle class which despised violence and showed preference for orderly progress. Even during the Revolt of 1857 it became evident that the educated Indians had no faith in armed rebellion, and the failure of the revolt confirmed them in this conviction. When the leadership of India's struggle for freedom passed on to these middle class, the lesson of the Revolt of 1857 influenced their strategy to a very large extent.

1.9 SUMMARY

After the analysis of the Revolt of 1857 it came to know that historians have expressed different views depending on their perceptions. Mostly they fall into two categories namely Europeans and the Indians. The former group of historians tried to paint the Revolt as the sepoys mutiny means due to their grievances, the sepoys came together and revolted against the British. But this view is not correct. Some of the Indian nationalist historians have tried to point the Revolt as the first War of Indian Independence. The other English historians have characterized it as the Hindu, Muslim conspiracy to overthrow the British rule out of India. In his

discovery of India, Jawaharlal Nehru maintains that the Revolt of 1857 was more than a sepoy mutiny. Although, initially it started as a mutiny of the Indian soldiers, but when it spread rapidly assumed the nature of a mass rebellion. He further maintains that the Revolt of 1857 was essentially a feudal uprising although there were some nationalistic elements in it. Some of the moderate historians like Dr. R.C. Mujumdar and Dr. S.N. Sen also expressed the similar view. They further say that it was a wholly national war of independence, means it was some where between the two views. Although the Revolt of 1857 was suppressed completely, it had been created great shock waves in the heart of people and the British Crown in England. The British, therefore, examined the whole administration of India and brought about several changes in it. Among them the First was the transfer of power from the East India Company to the British Crown. Then followed the abolition of the Mughal dynasty of Delhi, reconstruction of the army, guaranteeing freedom of religion and equal treatment to Indians, association of Indians in the British administration of the country and introduction of several reforms. The British Government tried to do this through the Queen's Proclamation of 1858, The Revolt of 1857 brought about some positive and negative changes. Among the negative effects were the increase of racial animosity, introduction of the divide and rule policy and increase in the systematic economic loot of India. Even then it started the new era in the history of India and the British Imperialism.



Unit - 2

CONTRIBUTION OF THE PROVINCIAL ASSOCIATIONS

Unit Structure:

- 2.0 Objectives
- 2.1 Introduction
- 2.2 Political Associations in Bengal
- 2.3 British Indian Association
- 2.4 Indian Association
- 2.5 Bombay Association
- 2.6 Poona Sarvajanik Sabha
- 2.7 Madras Mahajan Sabha
- 2.8 Bombay Presidency Association
- 2.9 Summary
- 2.10 Additional Readings
- 2.11 Questions

2.0 OBJECTIVES

After the study of this unit, the student will be able to :

1. Understand the foundations of political associations in Bengal.
2. Examine the activities of Indian Association.
3. Study the foundation and objectives of the Bombay Association.
4. Know the work of leaders associated with Bombay Association.
5. Comprehend the foundation of Poona Sarvajanik Sabha.
6. Examine the work of Madras Mahajan Sabha.
7. Understand the activities of Bombay Presidency Association

2.1 INTRODUCTION

After the failure of the Revolt of 1857, political nationalism developed in India as a result of several forces working simultaneously or in close succession. To the socio-religious reform movement initiated by Raja Ram Mohan Roy was added the progressive impact of western civilization and education. It is

important to note that the birth of nationalism in India was the outcome of the chief motive of the British rulers who sought to protect and promote British interests. As these interests came into conflict with those of the Indian people, and the British rulers sacrificed the interests of the Indians to their own sake, discontent and resentment were bound to grow. This naturally led to the growth of political nationalism. This new phase of national consciousness was manifested in the emergence of Provincial Associations. The Provincial Associations brought the nineteenth century India on the threshold of modern politics. The Provincial Associations provided regional forums to articulate the economic and political aspirations of the people in the respective areas. In the second half of the nineteenth century the newly emerging Indian intelligentsia created political associations to spread political education and to launch political work in the country. Realizing the futility of armed resistance to the British imperialism, the new western educated and liberal intelligentsia decided to give a new direction and dynamism to the national agitation.

In the beginning, religious zeal and sometimes caste solidarity encouraged people to form associations. These associations had limited scope and programme. However, during the course of century, a number of associations came to be established in different parts of the country by groups of men united by secular interests. The factors which held them together were a common education, common skills and functions and common aspirations and resentment against the policies of the British rulers. They drew their support from certain sections of the society such as students, professionals, landlords, merchants and others. Their activities were limited to narrow geographical areas. But gradually more ambitious political organizations began to emerge extending beyond the narrow considerations. These were the Provincial Associations which began to search for ways and means of working together in India as a whole. This trend, provided education to the Indians in the politics of associations which culminated in the establishment of the Indian National Congress.

2.2 POLITICAL ASSOCIATIONS IN BENGAL

The Zamindar class became affluent with the permanent settlement in Bengal. It was more class conscious and well settled. The first political Association was the Landlords Society (Zamindari Association) which was established in Calcutta on 12 November 1837 to safeguard their interests. The member of this association used the method of constitutional agitation to solve their problems. They sought to preserve the economic interest of the landlords. The Association created the example of an organized agitation for the redressal of grievances. The second political association the

Bengal British India Society was established on 20 April 1843. The society was aimed to collect and disseminate the information relating to the actual conditions of the people in India under the British rule. It aimed to follow peaceful way to secure welfare of the people. The Landholder's society and Bengal British India Society could not achieve much success. However, they created political environment in the country. Soon these organisations were merged into new organisation known as the British Indian Association.



Portrait of one of The Zamindars

2.3 BRITISH INDIAN ASSOCIATION

The merger of the two associations into British Indian Association did not change the basic aim at the aristocratic class and land lords. It was founded on 29th October, 1851. The Association was established to oppose the Europeans in India who agitated against the four bills drafted by Bethune, the Law member of the Government in 1849 in order to extend the jurisdiction of the East India Company's criminal courts over the British born subjects. In addition to this, the association increased its scope by sending petitions to the British Parliament demanding establishment of a separate legislature, separation of judiciary from executive, reduction salary of the officials and abolition of salt duty. The Association also demanded additional grant for education. The charter Act of 1853 provided for the addition of six members to the Governor General's council as demanded by the association. Soon it was overshadowed by more dynamic organisation the Indian Association. Despite this, the Association developed several limitations with the passage of time. One of them was that the Association was the representative body of the zamindars only. It was never been a popular organization of all India people. The

Association also failed to meet aspirations of the rapidly growing middle class.

2.4 INDIAN ASSOCIATION

The failure of British India Association led to the alternative all India standing political organization. Shishir Kumar Ghosh and associates tried to organise likeminded people under the banner of Indian league. However, within short period it was succeeded by the Indian Association.

It was founded at a public meeting at Calcutta on 26th July, 1876 by Anand Mohan Ghosh and Surendra Nath Banerjee. It was looked as the centre for all Indian movement. The aims and objectives of the association included following things :

1. The creation of a strong public opinion of political matter.
2. The promotion of Hindu Muslim unity.
3. The participation of the masses in public movement.

The programme and activities at the Indian Association composed of educated class and professionals. Their method was the constitutional agitation and secure signature of the people is sent petitions to the British Authority.



S.N.Banerjee

Agitation against the civil service rules:

The upper age limit for the civil service examination was reduced from 21 to 19 year by the British government. This was made deliberately to prevent the entry of the Indian students into civil service. The leaders of the association gave a call for a national agitation.

The object of the agitation was the awakening of a spirit of unity among the people of India. Surendra Nath Banerjee toured Lahore, Amritsar, Delhi, Allahabad, Bombay and many other cities in 1877 to mobilize public opinion. The tour of Banerjee crated

enthusiasm among the India. All India memorials on the civil service question were sent to the British parliament.

Vernacular Press Act and Arms Act, 1878 :

Lord Lytton, the governor introduced the vernacular press Act which brought many restrictions upon the press. It tried to limit the freedom of the press and the subject. The reactionary administration of Lord Lytton had aroused the public and they began to participate in formation of strong public opinion. The Indian Association sent a memorial to the British Parliament. Lord Ripon, the next governor cancelled the Act.



The Ilbert Bill Agitation 1883 :

In 1883, Ilbert, the law member of the viceroy's council, tried to abolish inequality in judicial matters. It sought to bring Englishman under the jurisdiction of Indian Magistrate. The Europeans in India opposed this move by all means. The Government yielded to the pressure and bill was modified. The Association supported the Ilbert Bill and protested against the imprisonment of S.N. Banerjee. Consequently, S.N. Banerjee was released on 4 July 1883. Despite the remarkable achievements of the Indian Association, it was called a provincial association. Therefore, the Association determined to call the All – India National Conference which came into existence in 1883.

In this way, the Indian Association played vital role in the political awakening in India. Surendra Nath Banerjee voiced the grievances of the people of India and also supported A.O. Hume to form the Indian National Congress.

Check your progress :

- 1) Discuss in brief the activities of Indian Association.

2.5 BOMBAY ASSOCIATION

During the Second half of the nineteenth century, national political consciousness began to develop due to the number of factors. Raja Ram Mohan Roy attempted to unite Indians on the background of social reforms. In the beginning, religious zeal or regional solidarity encouraged people to form such kind of associations. Bengal took lead in the foundation of such organization.

Bombay became the centre of the growth of political consciousness. Like their counterparts in Calcutta and Madras, Bhau Daji Lad, along Naoroji Furdunji, the leaders of Bombay Association also had strong faith in the British Government. The association's petition suggested reform in the Indian educational system. It asked for the extension of public work to encourage production. The leaders of the association had full faith in the British Government.

The Association's petition suggested reform of the Indian Civil Service reforms in the East India Company of the Legal system, and of the Executive Government. The petition asked for the extension of public work to encourage production. It also asked for the association of Indians with the legislation concerning India. However, it is worth remembering that the leaders of the Association had full faith in the British Government particularly in the Parliament. Even Dadabhai Naoroji and Naoroji Furdunji had no hesitation in calling the British Government as an "enlightened and liberal Government." Dadabhai Naoroji even felt that the British rule had conferred many benefits of India and therefore he wished for the permanence of that rule.



Dadabhai Naoroji.



Naoroji Fardunji

After the resignation of Bhau Daji, it came under the influence of Shetias. Since they were not prepared to do or say anything that might antagonize the Englishmen in the Government and outside of it, the Association's meeting became infrequent. Therefore, in 1861 Naoroji Furdunji resigned from the Association. Thereafter, the Association became politically inactive. The Bombay Share Market Crash of early 1865 brought almost all political activities in the city to a halt.



Bhau Daji Lad.

In 1867, the Bombay Association was revived with Naoroji Furdunji as its Secretary. A majority of its 87 members were Shetias. The revived association carried on its activities by holding public meetings. In its first public meeting held in March 1868, the Bombay Association demanded holding of examinations of the Civil Services simultaneously in England and India and urged the Government to raise the age limit of Indians to participate in such competitive examinations.

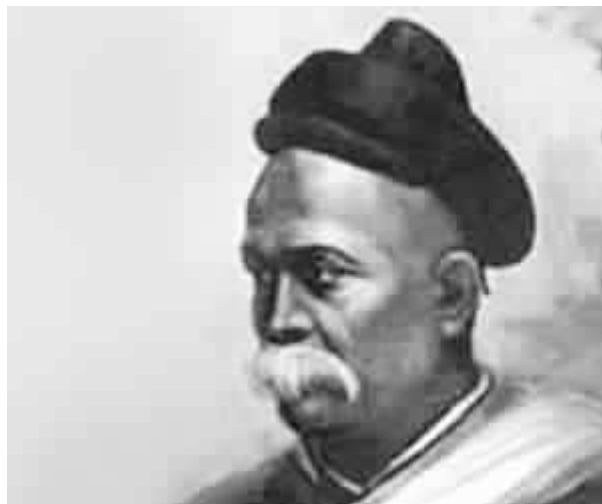
In 1869, Dr. R.G. Bhandarkar, M.G. Ranade and some other prominent public personalities of Bombay joined the Association. The unsatisfactory state of India's financial affairs since the "Great Revolt" of 1857 provided a general platform on which a variety of interests could converge. The Income Tax Act of 1870 brought the intelligentsia and businessmen together on a common platform against the Act. In the course of the meeting the leading businessmen like Sir Jamshedji Jijibhoy and V. Shankarshet advised the Government to consult public opinion before pushing through important measures like the Income Tax Bill. Others like N.V. Dabholkar attacked the Government for its excessive military spending.



R.G. Bhandarkar



Jamshethji Jijibhoy.



M.G. Ranade.

However, the businessmen and the intelligentsia could not work together for very long. In the Association's meeting in October 1872, the two factions clashed. The businessmen tried to

remove Naoroji Furdunji from the Secretariship of the Association but did not succeed. Hence, Dabholkar, Shankarshet, N.B. Jijibhoy and R.N. Khot resigned from the Association; the split became complete when the Association cooperated with the British India Association of Calcutta in drawing up a petition to the British Parliament on the Indian Budget and another petition to the Viceroy on the Indian Civil Services.



Nana Shinkersheth



THE LATE RAO BAHADUR DADOBA PANDURANG,
FELLOW OF THE UNIVERSITY OF BOMBAY.

In the meantime, the Association was losing its very active members. Bhau Daji was dead in 1874; Dadabhai Naoroji shifted his residence to London. Ranade migrated to Poona, R.G. Bhandarkar and Atmaram Pandurang Tarkhadkar concentrated their attention on the activities of the Prarthana Samaj. Among its prominent members, only Furdunji and V.N. Mandlik remained. In 1876, Furdunji tried to reactivate the Bombay Association and the controversial Municipal bye-Laws enabled it to actively participate

in the agitation. But after 1878, the Association once again became inactive and in 1879 it ceased to function.

Although the Bombay Association did little remarkable work, it offered a platform for the early leaders who played an important part in the political movement. The Bombay Association represented the advanced section of political thinkers in Bombay.

Check your progress :

- 1) Discuss in brief the programmes of Bombay Association.

2.6 POONA SARVAJANIK SABHA

Poona was active centre of leading political activities in western India. Though the first political association 'The Deccan Association' could not live long, it paved the way to the foundation of other organization. The Poona Sarvajanik Sabha played vital role in the political awakening of the people. The Poona Sarvajanik Sabha became the leading organization in India in the second half of the 19th century. The Sabha represented the wealth and intelligence of the local people. The aim of the Sabha was to represent the wants and wishes of the inhabitants of the Deccan. The members of the Sabha worked to secure wider participation for the Maharashtrian people in the administration of the Bombay Presidency. They sought to place before the authorities their views concerning the interest of the people. The Sardars, Jahagirdars, Sawkars and the educated members in society were the members of the Sabha. Under the active guidance of Ganesh Vasudev Joshi (popularly known as Sarvajanik Kaka), the Sabha carried many social activities.



Sarvajanik Kaka

The Poona Sarvajanik Sabha had its branches spread over all the Maharashtra. There were the branches of the Sabha at Satara, Karad, Wai, Bhiwandi, Ahmednagar, Nasik, Sholapur, Amravati and Akola. During the first two years of its existence the Sabha concerned itself with problems of a local character. The arrival of M.G. Ranade in Pune in 1871 as a subordinate Judge marked a turning point in the history of the Sabha. Very soon Ranade became the guiding soul of the Sabha.

The Poona Sarvajanik Sabha rendered great service for the national awakening. The Sabha did not confine itself to sending memorials to the authorities. It had already taken the lead in organizing a Swadeshi Movement in Deccan. The Poona Sarvajanik Sabha did much to stimulate political activities in Western India. Due to the influence of the Sabha, political associations grew up in many places in the Deccan. The leaders of the Sabha made a systematic and extensive use of the platform in order to arouse nationalist feeling among the masses. Due to the efforts of M. G. Ranade and Ganesh Vasudev Joshi, the Poona Sarvajanik Sabha became the pioneer public organization in India. In fact, the Sabha was expected to play dominant role in hoisting the first session of the Congress. In 1895, the Sabha was split due to the political differences among its leaders. The extremist leaders took over the Sabha. So, it can be observed that before the foundation of the Indian National Congress in 1885, Sarvajanik Sabha focussed on the political activities in Maharashtra. Thus, Poona Sarvajanik Sabha played a crucial role in the political awakening in Maharashtra.

Check your progress :

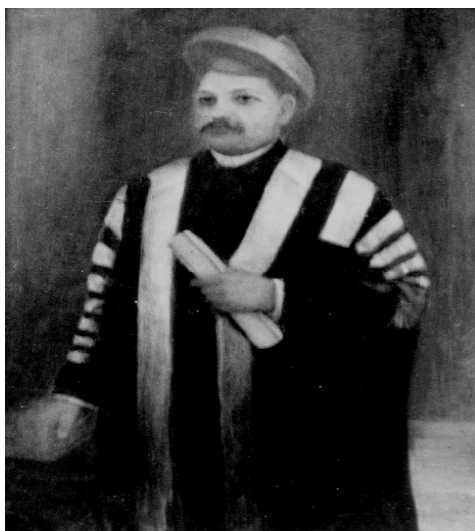
- 1) Discuss in brief the work of Poona Sarvajanik Sabha.

2.7 MADRAS MAHAJAN SABHA

A Branch of the British Indian Association was set up in Madras under the name of Madras Native Association. Soon the members became active in Madras Mahajan Sabha which was founded in May 1884 by Ranigiah Naydu, P. Anand Charlu and other members. It sent petitions to the British parliament on many issues. It demanded various things like reforms in legislative councils, separation of executive from judiciary and positive charges in the condition of the farmer. The members of Madras Mahajan Sabha were actively involved in the foundation of Indian National Congress.

2.8 BOMBAY PRESIDENCY ASSOCIATION

In January 1885, three prominent leaders of Bombay, Phirozeshah Mehta, K.T. Telang and Badruddin Tyabji, set up the Bombay Presidency Association. From the beginning, the association had friendly relations with the *Poona Sarvajanik Sabha*. In September 1885, the Bombay Presidency Association, the Poona Sarvajanik Sabha, the Mahajana Sabha of Madras and the Indian Association of Calcutta sent a joint deputation to England to present India's case before the British electorate. The deputation was led by N. Chandavarkar from Bombay, Ramaswami Mudaliar of Madras, and Manmohan Ghosh of Calcutta. Three months later, it was the Bombay Presidency Association, which hosted the first Congress in December 1885.



K T Telang.

2.9 SUMMARY

The political associations like the Bombay Associations, the Bombay Presidency Association, the Poona Sarvajanik Sabha and many other associations provided regional forum to articulate the various aspirations of people. However, the educated Indians from different parts of the country increasingly became aware of the necessity to come together to formulate a common programme of activity and carry on public education to create broad based freedom struggle. These aspirations led the leaders to establish the All India National Congress in 1885. With the establishment of the Congress the struggle for independence was launched in an organized manner.

2.10 ADDITIONAL READINGS

1. Bipan Chandra, *History of Modern India*, Orient Blackswan, 2009.
2. Bipan Chandra et al., *India's Struggle for Independence*, Penguin, New Delhi, 1987.
3. B.L. Grover and S. Grover, *A New Look at Modern Indian History*, S. Chand and Company, New Delhi, 2001.
4. Sumit Sarkar, *Modern India 1885-1947*, Macmillan, Madras, 1996.
5. Sekhar Bandyopadhyay, *From Plassey to Partition and After: A History of Modern India*, Orient Blackswan, 2004.

2.11 QUESTIONS

- 1) Give an account of the contribution of political associations in Bengal.
- 2) Describe the origin and activities of the Indian Association.
- 3) Discuss the objectives and activities of the Bombay Association.
- 4) Describe the programmes and activities of the Poona Sarvajanik Sabha.
- 5) Assess the contribution of the Poona Sarvajanik Sabha to the growth of Nationalism in Maharashtra.
- 6) Discuss the activities of the Bombay Presidency Association.



Unit- 3

FOUNDATION OF INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

Unit Structure:

- 3.0 Objectives
- 3.1 Introduction
- 3.2 Circumstances that led to the foundation
- 3.3 The First Session of the Congress
- 3.4 Aims and Objectives of the Congress
- 3.5 The Resolutions Passed in the First Session
- 3.6 British Attitude toward the Congress
- 3.7 Summary
- 3.8 Additional Readings
- 3.9 Questions

3.0 OBJECTIVES

After the study of this unit, the student will be able to :

1. Understand the circumstances that led to the foundation of Indian National Congress.
2. Analyze the Role of A.O. Hume in the foundation of the Indian National Congress.
3. Grasp the Aims and Objectives of the Indian National Congress.
4. Study the First Session of the Indian National Congress.
5. Analyze the Resolutions Passed in the First Session of the Indian National Congress.
6. Study the British Attitude toward the Indian National Congress.

3.1 INTRODUCTION

The foundation of the Indian National Congress was the impact of a political and cultural awakening of the people due to work of provincial organizations. The western educated intellectuals admitted the interest of larger section in society. They had experience of working in many political associations. The foundation of Indian National Congress in 1885 was not an accident

or isolated event. It was the result of the evolution of the existing political ideas, organizations and the political consciousness among the masses. The establishment of Congress marked a beginning of new era in Indian history.

3.2 CIRCUMSTANCES THAT LED TO THE FOUNDATION

The political awakening that had begun in 1860 and 1870 moved towards the maturity in the late 1870 and early 1880. The politically matured intellectuals broke the shackles of narrow group and regional interests and projected themselves as representatives of national interests. The all-India nationalist organization that eventually emerged served as the platform, the organizer, the headquarters and the symbol of the new national spirit and politics. It is generally believed that the reactionary measures of Lord Lytton such as the Vernacular Press Act of 1878, the Arms Act and the racial arrogance of the British culminating in their agitation over the Ilbert Bill hastened the process which ultimately led to the foundation of the Indian National Congress. However, it is important to note that the reactionary policy of Lord Lytton and the liberal policy of his successor Lord Ripon acted as catalyst in the formation of the Indian National Congress. There is no doubt that the Indian National Congress was the direct result of the emergence of national awakening.



Lord Lytton.

The young educated class had participated in various political associations created necessary enthusiasm among them.

The Indian Association, Bombay Association, Poona Sarvajanik Sabha and other organizations provided them chance to participate in provincial and national affairs. The Indian Association had organized All India National Conference in December 1883. Since 1875, there had been continuous efforts to found the national organization of the people. The necessary efforts to found such organization were taken by Allen Octavian Hume, retired British Official.

A.O. Hume's Contribution

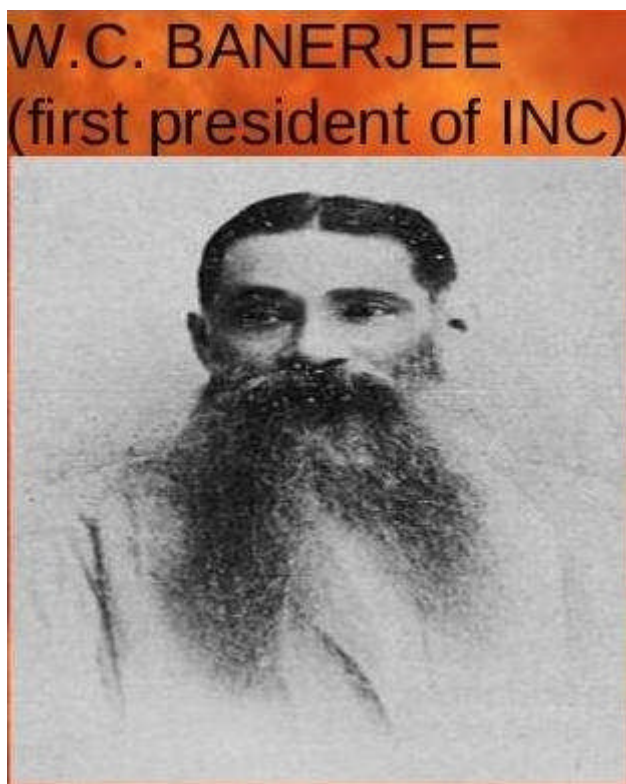
Allen Octavian Hume, the retired British officer, took the initiative to establish the political organization which will represent the Indians. Hume along with other liberal leader worked towards the establishment of national organization. Between 1884 to 1885 Hume met several national conscious leaders in Calcutta, Mumbai, Pune and other regions in India. Hume observed the condition of the people in British rule. He was of opinion that some definite actions were necessary to stop the growing unrest among the masses. In 1883 he addressed an open letter to the graduate of the country to channelize their efforts in establishing all representative organization for the country. He founded the Indian National Union for this purpose. The chief objectives of the Indian National Union were - (1) The fusion of all different elements of the population of India into one national whole, (2) the gradual regeneration of the nation thus evolved along all lines, spiritual, moral, social and political and (3) the consolidation of the union between England and India, by securing the modification of such of its conditions as may be unjust or injurious. The chief aim of the Indian National Union was defined in these terms to oppose, by all constitutional methods, all authorities high or low, here or in England, whose acts or omission is are opposed to the principles of the government of India laid down by the British Parliament and endorsed by the British Sovereign'. In the summoning of the first Indian National Congress, the Indian National Union played an important role.



Portrait of A. O. Hume, C.B.



William Wedderburn



A.O. Hume toured the country and met prominent leaders like M. G. Ranade, Phirozeshah Mehta, William Wedderburn. In Calcutta, he met Man Mohan Ghosh, W. C. Banerjee and Anand Mohan Bose. Hume discussed the idea of establishing such organization with Lord Dufferin in May 1885. Dufferin advised Hume to enlarge the scope of the meetings of such organization and not to be chairman of such proposed organization. Hume

issued a letter to the Indian leaders that the conference of the Indian National Union would be held in Poona between 25th and 31st December 1885. Soon after, Hume sailed to Calcutta from Madras on 19 March 1885. As in Bombay and Madras, Hume met a number of local leaders in Calcutta. On his way back to Simla from Calcutta in April 1885, Hume visited several places in North-Western Provinces and Oudh and probably the Punjab. After feeling the pulse of the educated Indian leaders in different parts of the country, Hume met the Governor-General Dufferin at Simla in early May 1885. He briefed the Governor-General about his proposed conference of representatives from all parts of India to be held in Poona in December 1885. Meanwhile Hume went to England. He consulted the idea with the other liberal thinkers and politicians like John Brisht, James Bryce and Lord Ripon. Having made all arrangements in England, Hume returned to India before the Congress began.



Check your progress:

- 1) Explain in short the circumstances that led to the foundation of the Congress.

3.3 THE FIRST SESSION OF THE CONGRESS

The preparations for the first Congress had begun very early in 1885. The circular of invitation was issued in March 1885. It was decided to hold a conference at Poona from 25 to 31 December. It is interesting to note that the name 'Congress' was suggested only a few days before the meeting had taken place. The circular stated that the Conference should be composed of delegates, leading politicians well-acquainted with the English language, from all parts of the Bengal, Madras and Bombay Presidencies. Fate, however, deprived Poona of the honour of playing host to the First Session of the Indian National Congress - The Poona Sarvajanik Sabha had completed all arrangements for the intended Conference. But unfortunately only a few days before the Conference was to meet several cases of cholera were reported in Poona.

The outbreak of cholera epidemic on the eve of the conference led to the shift of its first session from Poona to Bombay. According to the official report, it was decided to hold the Congress in Bombay. The office bearers of Bombay Presidency Association accepted the responsibility of hoisting the first session of the Congress. Through the efforts of the Bombay Presidency Association and the liberality of the managers of the Gokuldas Tejpal Sanskrit College and Boarding Trust, everything was ready by the morning of the 27th December 1885.

THE ORIGIN OF THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

From its foundation on 28 December 1885 until the time of independence of India on 15 August 1947, the Indian National Congress was the largest and most prominent Indian public organization, and central and defining influence of the Indian Independence Movement.



The first session of the Indian National Congress in 1885

The first session of the Indian National Congress was held on 28 to 30 December 1885 at Gokuldas Tejpal Sanskrit College, Bombay. 72 delegates attended the first session of the Congress and they represented different corners of the country. Dadabhai Naoroji, M.G. Ranade, G.G. Agarkar, K.T. Telang, Phirozshah Mehta, Dinsha Wachha, B.M. Malabari, N.C. Chandavarkar, Anand Mohan Bose, Manmohan Ghosh, Lal Mohan Ghose, Vira Raghvachari, Subhramania Iyer, P. Ananda Charlu, P. Rangiah

Naidu, P. Rangiah Naydu, S. Subramaniam Iyer, W.C. Banerjee, Lala Baijnath, Narednra Nath Sen, Dewan Raghunath Rao and Allan Octavian Hume were some of the prominent members of the first session. W.C. Banerjee was elected as the president of the session. He expressed loyalty to the British rule. He praised England for the blessing of modern education and expected that the government should increase the scope for the people. Dadabhai Naoroji observed that England was the parent of free democratic government. Thus, the first batch of leaders of Congress had strong faith in British rule.

3.4 AIMS AND OBJECTIVES OF THE CONGRESS

The speeches in the first session of the Congress made the aims and objectives clear. In his opening remarks of the Presidential address, W.C. Banerjee outlined the objects of the Congress -

(1) the promotion of personal intimacy and friendship among all the most earnest workers in our country's cause in the various parts of the Empire.

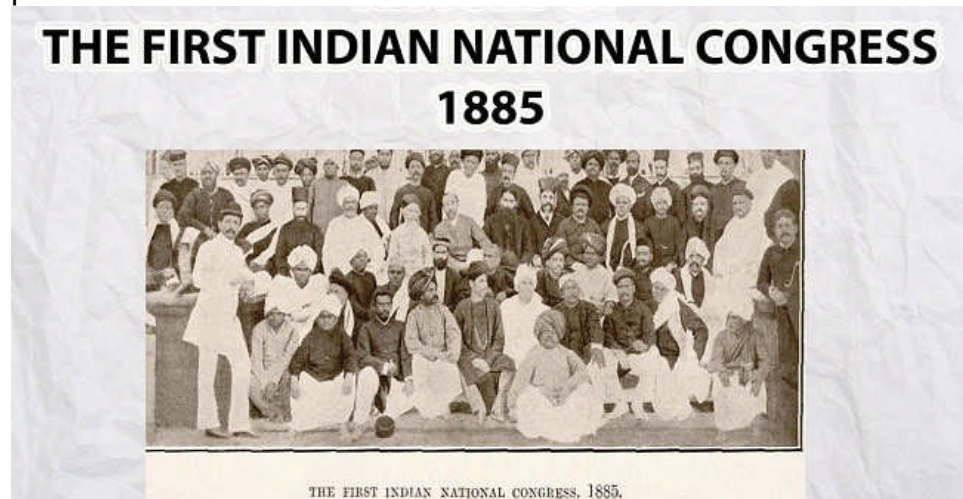
(2) The eradication by direct, friendly, personal intercourse of all possible race, creed or provincial prejudices among all lovers of our country and the fuller development and consolidation of those settlements of national unity that had their origin in our beloved Lord Ripon's ever, memorable reign.

(3) The authoritative record, after this has been clearly elicited by the fullest discussion, of the matured opinions of the educated classes in India on some of the more important and pressing of the social questions of the day.

(4) The determination of the lines upon and methods by which during the next twelve months it is desirable for native politicians to labour in the public interests. The early leaders of the Congress were moderates. They had sincere belief in British justice and administration. The aims and objectives can be summarized as follows :

1. The promotion of nationalism among the people to weld the country into a nation. In the twentieth century India was colonised because of the lack of cohesion among the people. The country was described as geographical expression rather than a nation. The Congress leaders recognized that people in India must be united with the sense of nationalism.

2. The creation of a national political platform for the public was one of the main objectives of the Congress. The people had grievances about some of the aspects of the British rule. The Congress sought to give platform for such grievances so that it can be conveyed to the British parliament through petitions.
3. The political education of the people was the major objective. The people must be trained in art of democracy. It aimed to mobilize the political workers in different parts of the country so that they could carry political activities by educating the people.
4. The Congress aimed to eradicate racial, religious and other prejudices. The programme of secular and democratic nation was their main agenda. Congress followed secular politics in its initial phase.



The speeches of the delegates at the first session of Indian National Congress were characterized by moderation and extreme expression of loyalty, to the British Crown. In his Presidential address W.C. Banerjee praised England for 'the inestimable blessing of western education' and said that, 'all they desired was that the basis of the government should be widened and that 'people should have their proper and legitimate share in it'. He also expressed his belief that the Congress would be equally advantageous to the authorities and to people. The most impressive aspect of the first Congress was the farsighted vision of speakers themselves. Though the Indian leaders had met for the first time on a political platform their knowledge of public questions of the day appeared to be thorough. They manifested remarkable knowledge of the administration in their speeches. Sir Dinshaw Wacha's speech on the army budget showed an intimate knowledge of the army finances. Other speakers included Subramanian Iyer, K.T.Telang, Narendranath Sen, Dadabhai Naoroji. The first session of the Indian National Congress dissolved amid cheers for the Queen Empress. Hume,' after acknowledging the honour done to him said that as the giving of cheers had been

entrusted to him, he must be allowed to propose the cheers to Her Most Gracious Majesty, The Queen Empress.

Check your progress:

- 1) Explain in short the aims and objectives of the Indian National Congress.

3.5 THE RESOLUTIONS PASSED IN THE FIRST SESSION

The nature of the resolutions passed at the first session of the Congress indicates the mind of these who had gathered on the occasion. The first session passed many resolutions according to the aims and objectives of the Congress. The first session of the Congress discussed and passed nine resolutions. They were as follows:

- (1) Appointment of a Royal Commission to inquire into the working of Indian administration.
- (2) Abolition of the Indian Council of the Secretary of State for India.
- (3) Expansion and reform of the Imperial and local Legislative Councils, established under the Indian Councils' Act, 1861.
- (4) Creation of Legislative Councils for the North-West Province and Oudh and the Punjab, and the creation of a Standing Committee in the House of Commons to consider formal protests from Councils.
- (5) Introduction of simultaneous Public Service Examinations in England and India and rising of the age of candidates.
- (6) Reduction of military expenditure.
- (7) Protest against the annexation of Upper Burma and the proposed incorporation of it with India.
- (8) That all the resolutions were to be sent to political associations all-over the country over discussion and formulation of views.
- (9) The next session of the Congress was to be held at Calcutta on 28 December, 1886.

Though the Indian leaders had met for the first time on a political platform their knowledge of public problems of the day appeared to be enough wide in various dimensions. They manifested remarkable knowledge of the administration in their speeches. The leaders of the Indian National Congress cherished a firm faith in the British sense of justice and demanded political reforms in its first session in 1885.

3.6 BRITISH ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE CONGRESS

The early Congress leadership was loyal to the British crown as they believed in superiority of western values and education. However, the British Government was hostile to the development of nationalist forces. Lord Dufferin had looked with apprehension on the founding of the Indian National Congress. He had tried to divert the movement by suggesting to Hume that the Congress should devote itself to social rather than political affairs. However, the Congress leaders had refused to make the change. The Indian National Congress began to publish popular pamphlets in Indian languages and hold mass meetings to spread nationalist message among the people. The British could not tolerate this role of the Congress. The economic agitation initiated by the nationalists exposed the real exploitative nature of the British imperialism. Under these circumstances the British officials changed their attitude towards the Indian National Congress and began publicly to criticize and condemn the Congress.

It was alleged that Hume had founded the Congress as safely value save British rule in India. However, the British attitude towards the Congress dismissed this myth. The British government had suspicion on the Congress leaders' right from the foundation of it. They were branded as disloyal Babus. The Congress was discouraged because the government was well aware that the moderate nature of the Congress will be changed in near future. The British officials openly criticized the Congress. Lord Duffrein remained on forefront attacking the Congress. He challenged the national character of it and dismissed it as an organization of a microscopic minority.

The British officers were encouraged to check the growth of Congress. To counteract the growing influence of the Indian National Congress the British authorities adopted the policy of 'divide and rule'. The government encouraged Hindu and Muslim reactionary forces like Syed Ahmed Khan and Raja Shivprasad to organize communal organizations to check the growth of Congress. In 1890 the government employees were forbidden from participating in the Congress meetings. Since the foundation of the Congress, the British were critical of the Congress. In 1898 laws

were enacted to suppress freedom of press and speech and increasing the powers of the police and magistrates. The government decided to promote private colleges run by religious trusts. Modern secular education, which led to the spread of rational democratic and nationalist ideas, was sought to be replaced by a system based on religious and moral teaching. However Britishers were not successful in their motives.



Sir Syed Ahmed Khan.

Right from the beginning of its inception the Indian National Congress was looked upon by the British authorities as a great menace to the security of their Indian empire. Thus the Congress became almost a nightmare with the British authorities and they adopted all possible policies and measures to suppress the organization. However, in spite of all this the Indian National Congress not only survived but emerged as a strong national movement that proved to be the nemesis of the British Empire in India.

3.7 SUMMARY

To conclude, the founders of Congress were moderates and they believed in the British fairplay of justice. However, the British government was suspicious of the political activities of the Congress. They sensed the future nationalist wave among the Indians. Hence the British attitude remained hostile toward the Congress and its leaders. With the establishment of the Indian National Congress the struggle for independence was launched in an organized manner. The growth of Congress and Indian national movement can be studied in the Moderates, Extremists and Gandhian phase.

3.8 ADDITIONAL READINGS

1. Bipan Chandra, *History of Modern India*, Orient Blackswan, 2009.
2. Bipan Chandra et al., *India's Struggle for Independence*, Penguin, New Delhi, 1987.
3. B.L. Grover and S. Grover, *A New Look at Modern Indian History*, S. Chand and Company, New Delhi, 2001.
4. Sumit Sarkar, *Modern India 1885-1947*, Macmillan, Madras, 1996.
5. Sekhar Bandyopadhyay, *From Plassey to Partition and After: A History of Modern India*, Orient Blackswan, 2004.

3.9 QUESTIONS

- 1) Write a note on foundation of the Indian National Congress.
- 2) Trace the circumstances that led to the foundation of the Congress.
- 3) Discuss the Aims and Objectives of the Indian National Congress.
- 4) Examine the British attitude towards the Indian National Congress.



Unit - 4

MODERATES

Unit Structure:

- 4.0 Objectives
- 4.1 Introduction
- 4.2 The Moderate Phase – 1885-1905
- 4.3 Methods and Programmes of Moderates
- 4.4 Achievements of Moderates
- 4.5 Moderate Leaders
- 4.6 Gopal Krishna Gokhale
- 4.7 Summary
- 4.8 Additional Readings
- 4.9 Questions

4.0 OBJECTIVS

After the study of this unit, the student will be able to :

- Understand the beginning of Moderate phase.
- Grasp the Methods and Techniques of the Moderates.
- Comprehend the achievements of Moderates.
- Know the work of moderate leaders in India.
- Understand the contribution of Gopal Krishna Gokhale.

4.1 INTRODUCTION

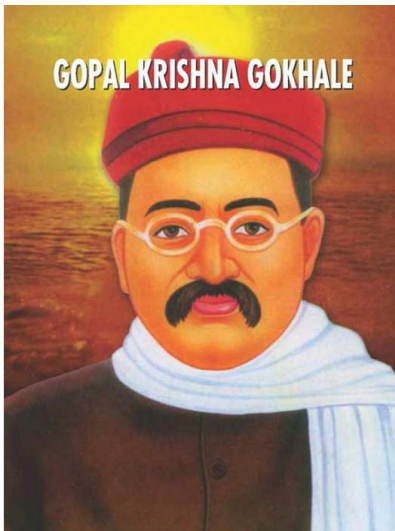
English education in India was instrumental to the rise of middle class that was infused with modern outlook and turned its attention to the religious, social and cultural renaissance. Nationalism means the supreme loyalty of the individual towards its nation, which creates unity and owners among the people living in it. During the Second half of the 19th century, national political consciousness began to develop due to the number of factors. Raja Ram Mohan Roy attempted to unite Indians on the background of social reforms. After that a number of political associations came to be established by number of influential persons. The political associations brought the nineteenth century India on the threshold of modern politics. These political associations provided regional forum to represent the economic and political aspirations of the

people. The foundation of Indian National Congress in 1885 by Allen Octavian Hume was the result of the evolution of the existing political ideas, organizations and the political consciousness among the masses. The growth of Congress and Indian national movement can be studied in the following three phases:

1. Moderate Phase - 1885 to 1905
2. Extremist Phase - 1905 to 1920
3. Gandhian Era - 1920 to 1947

4.2 MODERATE PHASE - 1885 to 1905

The early leaders who dominated the Indian National Congress from 1885 to 1905 were known as moderates. The moderate leaders such as W.C. Bannerji, Dadabhai Naoroji, M.G. Ranade, Badruddin Tayyabji, K.T. Telang, Phirozshah Mehta, Surendranath Bannerji, Gopal Krishna Gokhale etc. played vital role in the moderate struggle against the British. The early nationalist leaders believed that India was a nation in making and the British were unaware of the real condition of India. They made all the efforts to enlighten the British public opinion. They worked hard to present the Indian needs before the British government. The moderates had a fascination for British Parliamentary institutions. They were reformers and believed in the British justice. They sent memorials, petitions, wrote essays and delivered speeches. During the first twenty years, the middle class intelligentsia and journalists dominated the Congress.



4.3 METHODS AND PROGRAMMES OF MODERATES

Due to the method of political work of the early nationalists, they came to know as the Moderates. They believed that their main task was to educate the people in modern politics and create

national consciousness. The moderates wanted to create a united public opinion on political and social questions. They held public meetings, passed resolutions and sent petitions to the British authorities in India and to the parliament in England. Moderate leaders wished to influence the government and the British public opinion to introduce the necessary reforms in various fields of administration. They believed that India needed a balanced and lucid presentation of her needs before the British parliament and their demands were to be satisfied. They had faith in British sense of justice of fairplay. According to them the British rulers were not aware of the real situation in India. So they made great efforts to enlighten the British public opinion through memorials and petitions and carrying political propaganda in England. They wanted to develop India in the image of the west. They considered the coming of the British as beneficial and providential. Hence they came to be known as western reformists. The moderates frankly realized that India could learn proper use of western political institutions only after she had gained some experience under the British rule. Moderate leaders believed in the British liberal traditions, their rule of law and sense of judiciary.

The moderates wanted reforms first with the help of British as freedom of speech, association and press, reforms in the executive and legislative councils at the center and in the provinces. The moderates wanted the British stop exploiting Indians and destructing Indian crafts and cottage industries. The British should help the rising Indian capitalists in building Indian industries by way of loans, aid and subsidies wherever required. The moderates demanded a reduction in heavy taxes, land revenue and free the peasants from the debts of moneylenders by giving them loans at reasonable interest. In order to help the Indian peasantry, the British should establish land banks and advance loan for irrigation. The British should reduce the military expenditure taking place on its maintenance in India. They avoided violence and followed the method of prayer, petition, representation and deputations in order to convince the government about the validity of their just demands. It was the method of political works of the early nationalist that earned the label of moderate for them. These methods can be summed up in briefly as constitutional agitation within the four corners of law.

Check your progress:

1. What are the methods of Moderates?

4.4 ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE MODERATES

The moderate leaders in India worked towards many fields and tried to reform the Indian society based on the concept of western liberalism. The following were the important achievements of moderates who worked during the phase of 1885 to 1905:

1. **Pioneers of Nationalism:** Though moderates were criticized by the extremists for their attitude, it is a fact that they were the first who did start the political awakening in India. They have been considered as the pioneers of nationalism in India. They made sincere efforts to weld different elements of a society into a nation. They preached and practised a secular type of nationalism in India.
2. **Unity:** The moderates created 'we sentiment' in the Indian society. It was very important on the background of the existence of variety of people with their own unique way of lifestyle. They created loyalty for the land. They considered themselves Indian first and Hindus, Muslims or Christians afterwards. They were loyal to the British government. However their act of loyalty to one central government on a secular basis, laid down the foundation of new modern India. Though they all had come from different communities and regions, they were offering the same message to the people of India.
3. **Exposed the British Economic Exploitation:** The moderate had great concern for the exploitation of the Indian peasants and artisans. They linked the poverty of India to the economic exploitation of the country by the British. Dadabhai Naoroji traced back the root cause of Indian poverty to the drain of wealth. He wrote a book entitled '*Poverty and Un-British Rule in India*' to show the true nature of British imperialism and propounded the theory of 'Drain of Wealth'. They also tried to promote Indian industries. They demanded improvement in the condition of labours, abolition of harsh taxes etc. They were critical of the high government expenditure on the army too.
4. **Political Awakening:** The moderates succeeded in creating a wide political awakening in India. They aroused feeling of nationalism among the middle class. They popularized the ideas of democracy and liberty. They also demanded administrative reforms and criticized the oppressive and tyrannical behaviour of the police and officials. They tried to bring political awakening among the people by demanding constitutional reforms. The moderates urged the government to undertake welfare activities in favor of the people. They emphasized the need for the spread of education, extension of medical facilities to the people, improvement of the public system and demanded freedom of speech and abolition of press censorship.

- 5. Administrative Reforms:** The Moderates suggested a step by step approach to attain self and responsible government. They demanded the extension of the existing central and provincial legislative councils with greater number of non-official Indians and re introduction of the principle of election. Along with this they also demanded the widening of the powers of those councils and an increase in the powers of the members to discuss the budget and to question and criticize the day-to-day administration. The Moderates achieved success when the British Government passed the new Indian Councils Act in 1892. This Act increased the number of non-official members, a few of them were to be indirectly elected. Members of the council were granted right to speak on the budget.

Check your progress:

1. Explain the achievements of Moderates.

4.5 MODERATE LEADERS

The Indian National Congress founded in 1885, provided common platform for the nationalist leaders to meet and voice their grievances and place their demands before the British government. The early leadership in the Indian National Congress was represented by the people like Dadabhai Naoroji, M. G. Ranade, Phirozshah Mehta, Badruddin Tayyabji, K. T. Telang, Gopal Krishna Gokhale, W. C. Banerjee, S. N. Banerjee etc. They were liberal and constitutional in approach. The moderate leaders were more vocal not only on the social reforms but also on matters concerning administrative and political reforms in the last quarter of the century.

Dadabhai Naoroji

Dadabhai Naoroji was a pioneer in the moderate politics. He is known as 'The Grand old man of India'. He became the first member of British Parliament. The drain theory developed by him created consciousness among the educated Indians. In his '*Poverty and Un-British Rule in India*' he argued that the British were responsible for the poverty and miserable conditions of the Indian people. The drain theory put forward by him, laid the economic foundation of the Indian Nationalism. Dadabhai Naoroji, who worked from Bombay earlier, settled in England worked hard to create awareness among the British by writing several articles,

delivering speeches and agitating for liberal administration. Dadabhai actively participated in all the contemporary organizations. He provided leadership and guidance to the early nationalists of the Congress. He was the most respected leader of this phase. He was elected as the president of Congress thrice.

Mahadeo Govind Ranade

M. G. Ranade provided the great leadership to the moderate politics. He was the social reformer and an independent thinker. He regarded the British rule over India as a divine gift (boon) and blessing. His political thinking was influenced by western liberalism. According to Ranade, the decline of India was due to the isolation from external world, submission to outward force of power and differences between people on the ground of birth. He advocated economic nationalism in India and believed that after some years Indian people will be able to emancipate themselves. Ranade started Indian National social conference within the banner of Indian National Congress in 1887 to discuss the social issues.

Phirozshah Mehta

Phirozshah Mehta was a western educated lawyer and prominent political leader of the city of Bombay. He was associated with many political and social organizations. He was liberal and in favours of reforms. Phirozshah Mehta like Dadabhai Naoroji and other moderate leaders had a sincere faith in the British sense of justice and fair play. However he fearlessly opposed policies of the British in India which were not in interest of the country and its people. He was highly critical of the Indian Civil Service and of the policy of the Government of India of denying Indian an opportunity to joint it. He was a champion of the free press. He severally criticized the Vernacular Press Act of 1878 which imposed severe limitations on founder members of the Indian National Congress. Though he was staunch nationalist, he followed the moderate political ways. According to him masses should be educated and enlightened before the beginning of any movement. He was elected as the president of the Congress in 1890.



Tayyabji.

Badruddin Tayyabji

Badrudin Tayyabji was drawn to politics in 1878 by Lytton's Vernaculars Press Act. He was one of the prominent nationalist leaders of Bombay. Alongwith Dadabhai Naoroji, Phirozshah Mehta, K. T. Telang and V. N. Mandalik, he organized public meetings and launched a drive in support of Ilbert Bill. Badruddin Tayyabji, Phirozshah Mehta, K. T. Telang founded the 'Bombay Presidency Association' in 1885. He actively participated in the activities of the Indian National Congress during the moderate phase. He was the first Muslim president of the Indian National Congress and presided the session of Madras in 1887. His devotion to the nation's cause set example for others. He opposed to the religious based politics of Syed Ahmad Khan. He has awakened the Muslim population in India and urged them to hjoin the Congress.

Kashinath Trimbak Telang

K. T. Telang was closely associated with the Bombay branch of the East India Association. He was influenced by Dadabhai Naoroji. He was one of the founding members of 'Bombay Presidency Association' and Indian National Congress. Like Mehta and Tayyabji, Telang also took an active part in the agitation against the Vernacular Press Act, 1878. He supported Ilbert Bill which stood for equality in judicial matters. These Brilliant leaders of the early phase of the national movement carried reform movement in every branch of administration.

4.6 GOPAL KRISHNA GOKHALE

Gopal Krishna Gokhale was one of the early leaders in India who had dedicated his entire life in the service of the people. He was influenced by English liberals like J.S. Mill and John Morley. He was deeply influenced by the work of Dadabhai Naoroji, M.G. Ranade and Phirozshah Mehta. He was the great pupil of M.G. Ranade. He has emerged as the greatest leader of Moderates and contributed actively in the social, economic and political field.

Gokhale's Attitude towards the Politics

Gokhale made critical analysis of the political situation in India. He criticized British policy of maintaining a ratio of 1: 2 between British forces and Indian forces. Gokhale entered the Bombay Legislative Council. During his tenure he worked hard to solve the problem of famine, land revenue and agricultural discontent. He also acted as a member of Pune Municipal Corporation. He introduced a practice of printing the rule which were passed in meeting. He reached the peak of his career when he was elected to the Imperial Legislative Council in 1901. His entrance in the council opened a new chapter in his life. His budgetary analysis earned great praise even from opponents. He

took pride in the service of the common people. He always pointed out that the expenditure on welfare schemes would make people to resist the famines.

Gokhale and the Indian Expenditure Commission

The British government appointed Indian Expenditure Commission in 1896 under Lord Welby to enquire about financial administration in 1896. Welby commission was appointed to inquire into the administration and management of the military and civil expenditure. The commission was appointed by parliament for its own guidance and for its own jurisdiction. Gokhale took great pains to bring to light all the facts. He shed light on the revenue problems and economic exploitation of the people. He made several suggestions to the commission for improving the Indian budget. He also suggested that legislative council of Madras, Bombay and Bengal and other provinces should send one representative to the British parliament. It consisted of all seasoned statesmen including Wedderburn, Caine and Dadabhai Naoroji. Gokhale was chief witness before the commission. Gokhale was brilliant in his work. He was praised by Wedderburn.

The Plague and Famine Administration - 1897

In 1896, Bombay and Pune witnessed the rise of plague. The schools and colleges were closed down. W.C. Rand was the plague commissioner. Rand committed many atrocities on the people in the name of preventing the spread of epidemic. At that time G.K. Gokhale was in England. He received the news about this incident. He publicly criticized the brutality of the British.

Work in Bombay Legislative Council

Gokhale was elected in Bombay Legislative Council. He took special interest in the problems of famine, land alienation bill and the working of the Municipal Corporations. Maharashtra experienced a series of calamities in those years. Famine and plague took a great toll of human lives. The people were suffering from the repression of government officials. Gokhale remarkably made analysis of the problem in the Bombay legislative council.

The Imperial Legislative Council

In 1902, Gokhale was nominated as a member of the Imperial Legislative Council. He fought against the autocratic policy of Lord Curzon. Between 1902 and 1911 he made eleven speeches on the Budget and thirty six other speeches of social importance. His first speech on the Indian budget was remarkable for its large vision and facts. It sheds light on the injustice of the British toward the Indians. It brought out his deep concern over the growing poverty of the people. In his budget speeches Gokhale made suggestions regarding the improvement in irrigation sector. In his fight against bureaucracy, Gokhale's approach was constitutional. His role in the Imperial Legislative Council was historic.

G. K. Gokhale and Congress

G. K. Gokhale was great pupil of M.G. Ranade. He had great influence of Ranade through his life and work. He was the president of the Congress at Banaras in 1905. He defined ultimate goal of congress as self-government within the British Empire. Like other moderate leaders, he believed in British sense of justice. He was of view that India needed British rule at that time. He had firm faith in constitutional agitation. Through this method he wanted to make people aware of the political movement. According to him good governance should be progressive and it must take care of the opinion of local self governing bodies. He regarded state as an instrument to bring necessary social reform.

G.K. Gokhale and Social Reforms

Like all the moderate leaders, G.K. Gokhale favoured struggle for social reforms. He championed the cause of depressed classes. He rightly pointed out that in western countries society is based on class distinction and class can easily be changed. However in India, it was the mark of birth. It is harmful for the development of the country. He raised his voice against social evil of untouchability and caste distinction in Dharwad Social Conference. However like Ranade, he could not involve himself in social reform movement actively. In his speeches, he often urged the Government to improve the condition of the people and offer them educational opportunities. He made several useful recommendations to improve the state of affairs.

The Servants of Indian Society-1905

Gokhale founded the Servants of Indian Society in 1905 to train young men to devote their lives in the cause of the country and to promote national interest. Pune became the centre of all the activities. It maintained the library for the study of different subjects. Its membership dedicated to the nationalist cause. Its members were trained and equipped for some form of service of motherland. The society published three papers, '*The Servants of India*', '*Dnyan Prakash*' and '*Hitwad*'. In this way, G.K. Gokhale contributed a lot during this moderate phase.



Check your progress:

1. Highlight the contribution of G.K. Gokhale.

4.7 SUMMARY

Moderates believed in the sense of justice and traditions of liberalism of the British. They, therefore, under took petition and appeals to get sanctioned their demands. They also undertook public meetings and writing extensively in Indian newspapers, journals and pamphlets. Although, the moderates put forth various demands and adopted all legal and constitutional strategies to get them passed, they could not succeed in getting them passed. Later critics have pointed out that the Moderates did not achieve much success. Leaders like Lala Lajpat Rai and other Extremist Congress members were very critical about strategies and programme of the moderates. They criticized the programme of the Moderates as 'political mendicancy'. The Moderates were sympathetic towards the people of the country but could not keep close contact with them. They did not realize that a prolonged struggle against imperialism could be waged through a mass movement only. They apprehended that if they led a mass movement, the British Government would easily break the congress. The Moderates, therefore, did not organize a mass movement on a large scale.

To sum up, it can be observed that the moderates achieved a considerable success. Their contribution in building a strong foundation of Indian national movement cannot be underestimated. They desired all-round progress and modernization of India and wished the betterment of the Indian society. The Moderates succeeded in creating a wide political awakening in India and arousing among the Indians the feeling of belonging to one common nation. They popularized the ideas of democracy, liberalism and civil liberty. They also trained a large number of political workers in the art of modern politics. In spite of their loyalty to the British crown, they exposed the true character of the British imperialism in India and blamed to British rule for the poverty of the Indian people. Although the moderates could not reach to the masses, they could keep alive the Indian national movement for a long period.

4.8 ADDITIONAL READINGS

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2. Bipan Chandra et al., *India's Struggle for Independence*, Penguin, New Delhi, 1987.
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6. Sekhar Bandyopadhyay, *From Plassey to Partition: A History of Modern India*, Orient Blackswan, 2004.
7. Sumit Sarkar, *Modern India 1885-1947*, Macmillan, Madras, 1996.

4.9 QUESTIONS

1. What were the methods and techniques of Moderates?
2. Analyse the achievements of Moderates in Indian National Movement.
3. Explain the role of Gopal Krishna Gokhale in the Indian Freedom Movement.
4. Discuss the contribution of moderate leaders in Indian National Movement.



Unit - 5

EXTREMISTS

Unit Structure:

- 5.0 Objectives
- 5.1 Introduction
- 5.2 Causes of Rise of Extremism
- 5.3 Ideology of Extremism
- 5.4 Work of Bal Gangadhar Tilak
- 5.5 Four-Fold Programme of the Extremists
- 5.6 Surat Session and Split in Congress - 1907
- 5.7 Home Rule Movement
- 5.8 Summary
- 5.9 Additional Readings
- 5.10 Questions

5.0 OBJECTIVS

After the study of this unit, the student will be able to :

- Understand the causes of the Rise of Extremism in India.
- Comprehend the ideology of Extremism.
- Understand the contribution of Lokmanya Tilak.
- Comprehend the Four-Fold Programme of the Extremists.
- Understand the contribution of Home Rule Movement and Dr. Annie Besant.

5.1 INTRODUCTION

Although the moderates trained Indian people politically and popularized the ideas of democracy and civil liberty, their elitist background did not succeed in making any far reaching impact on the masses. This led to discontent among the young nationalist group in the Indian national Congress under the leadership of Bal Gangadhar Tilak. This group was very critical about the ideology and methodology of the moderates and wanted to adopt a more radical programme for the attainment of their demands. Right from the foundation of the Indian National Congress, some leaders were dissatisfied with the moderate politics. However their number was less. With the beginning of the twentieth century the extremist elements emerged as a strong force led by Bal Gandadhar Tilak,

popularly known as Lokmanya Tilak. The extremist leaders like Tilak, Bipin Chandra Pal and Lala Lajpat Rai were extremely critical of the ideology and methodology of the moderate leadership. This group came to be known as the Extremists Congress which dominated the Indian national movement from 1905 to 1920 till the death of Lokmanya Tilak.



5.2 CAUSES OF RISE OF EXTREMISM

With the rise of Bal Gangadhar Tilak, the extremist ideology became popular among the common people. The extremist believed in adopting more radical programme. There are number of reasons for the rise of extremism. They are as follows:

Dissatisfaction with the Achievement of the Moderates: The young and dynamic leaders of the congress were not satisfied with the aims and methods of the moderate leaders. According to them, the petitions and letters had no impact on the British. They neglected the demands of the moderates. Unlike moderates, the new leaders had no faith in British fairplay. They were critical of British rule and they had no interest in the method of constitutional agitation. Lokmanya Tilak and Lala Lajpat Rai strongly advocated path of extremist policies such as boycott and *Swadeshi*.

Economic Exploitation: The economic policies of the British ruined the Indian economy. The Tariff and Cotton Duties Act of 1894 and 1896 helped the British manufacturer. The excise duty on Indian cotton increased to reduce the share of Indians. From 1896 to 1900 people in India suffered heavily due to the disastrous famine. Bubonic plague took heavy toll of lives. The British government did not care for people. Many people died due to the diseases and famines. Thus the famines and economic exploitation

of the people at the hands of British was responsible for the growth of burning nationalism among the masses.

Influence of Militant School: The early intellectual background to the rise of extremism in the National Movement was provided by Bankim Chandra in Bengal and Vishnu Shastri Chiplunkar in Maharashtra. Lokmanya Tilak was the prolific representative of the nationalist school. Bankim Chandra's literary work '*Anandmath*' became the source of inspiration for the extremist.

Growth of Self Confidence: The British had introduced the modern education to fulfill their own purpose. However, it had great impact on the young educated minds. By the end of 19th century most of the educated youth could easily see the difference between liberalism in England and the British rule in India. Leaders like Bal Gangadhar Tilak and Aurobindo Ghosh preached the message of self-respect.

Impact of the International Events: In 1905, Japan a tiny Asian country defeated giant Russia. This victory of Japan had psychological impact on the minds of Indian people. The defeat of Italian army by the Ethiopia in 1896 and defeat of Russia exploded the myth of European supremacy. The other revolutionary element in Europe had strongly influenced the young minds in India. Many extremists were greatly inspired by the Italian patriot Mazzini. Due to his patriotism and revolutionary methods, Mazzini spread the fire of nationalism in Italy. His writings inspired the Indian leaders. Lala Lajpat Rai wrote a book on the life of Mazzini.

Reactionary Policies of Lord Curzon: Lord Curzon was the Viceroy of India from 1899 to 1905. Though he was brilliant, he could not understand the growing unrest among the Indians. He increased the official control over the Indian universities in the name of educational reforms. His Indian official secret Act aimed protecting the oppressive officials from public criticism. He spent lavishly on the Delhi Durbar when many people were suffering from famines. His decision of partitioning the Bengal in 1905 led sudden wave of nationalism in the country.

These above factors led to the emergence of a new spirit of nationalism, the spirit of revolt against liberalism and constitutional methods of the moderates. The leaders of the new spirit – adhar Tilak, Bipin Chandra Pal, Lala Lajpat Rai and Aurobindo Ghose advocated stronger agitation and mass action. Due to their ideology of extremist nationalism, this era is known as Extremist Congress.

Check your progress:

1. Explain in short the causes of rise of Extremism.

5.3 IDEOLOGY OF EXTREMISM

The extremists differed in many ways in ideology and action from the moderates. The extremists leaders lost all faith in the efficacy of constitutional approach to political questions, which they began to think, could bear fruit only in a democracy where the government was responsible to the people. Ending and not mending of the British rule became their objective. Unlike the moderates the extremists did not want to reconstruct India in the image of the west. They did not have an exaggerated admiration for the British connection, with India nor did they accept British Raj as providential. The extremist leaders looked more to the past history of India than to the west. They believed that the Golden Age of Indian history existed somewhere in the glorious past of India. Therefore they advised the revival of ancient ideas and institutions. They did not want to reform contemporary conditions in modern India on the lines suggested by a study of the history of ancient India. It is in this sense that the extremist leaders were dubbed as 'revivalists' in contrast to the moderates who were described as western reformists.

In contrast with the constitutional agitation of the moderates, the extremist leaders believed in militant methods. It was realized that the old methods of mendicancy court not prove to be effective. Appeals and memoranda felt on deaf years, and speeches and resolutions 'in the Councils' hardly mattered. The British Government was ruling with an iron hand. Exploitation was increasing every day and was sucking the blood of the Indian masses. The extremists wanted the Congress to proclaim 'self-government' as its political aim and to organize the masses to exercise popular pressure on the British Government to face it to concede Indian demands. In this way, Extremists propounded the ideology of aggressive nationalism with non-violent means.

Check your progress:

1. Explain in short the ideology of Extremism.

5.4 WORK OF BAL GANGADHAR TILAK

Extremist phase dominated the Indian national movement from 1905 to 1920 under the leadership of Bal Gangadhar Tilak popularly known as Lokmanya. After the foundation of the congress, extremist group was in minority. But soon it became active under the leadership of Bal Gangadhar Tilak. Unlike moderates he didn't want British rule. He had no love for the constitutional methods. He had declared in 1887, "Swarajya is my birth right and I shall have it." According to him independence was nothing but managing our home affairs ourselves. British suspected that he had instigated the murder of Rand, the plague commissioner. He was imprisoned for eighteen months in 1890. In 1908 he was again tried for the charge of sedition. The British government regarded him as a greatest danger to their rule in India. He was sentenced for 6 years and was deported to the prison in Mandalay.

Bal Gangadhar Tilak had strong faith in the will of common people. Moderates followed the methods of constitutional agitation which had no relationship with the masses. However, Lokmanya Tilak directly appealed to the masses with the introduction of 'Sarvajanik Ganesh festival' and 'Shiv Jayanti'. He incorporated the common people into the nationalist movement. To create the enthusiasm and love for the country, he made use of newspaper '*Kesari*' and '*Maratha*'.

Lord Curzon, the viceroy of India declared the partition of Bengal in 1905. He advocated administrative reason for the partition but it was very clear that partition of Bengal aimed at creating a rift between Hindus and Muslims who were fighting together against the British rule. Bal Gangadhar Tilak used this opportunity to create the wave of nationalism throughout India. The people of Bengal rose against the partition of the province. The government clarified that Bengal was being partitioned for administrative reasons. However the people were aware that the real intension was to attack the unity of the people of Bengal. Lord Curzon adopted divide and rule policy. Bal Gangadhar Tilak and

Lala Lajpat Rai made the people aware that the partition of Bengal was not a regional issue but an attack on the self-respect and dignity of all Indian. Tilak came forth with a four point programme of *Swadeshi*, *Boycott*, *National Education* and *Swarajya*. He converted the anti-partition movement into mass struggle. Due to the pressure of movement, partition of Bengal was annulled by Lord Hardinge in 1911.

5.5 FOUR-FOLD PROGRAMME OF THE EXTREMISTS

Bal Gangadhar Tilak to create the wave of nationalism throughout India against the partition of Bengal advocated fourfold programme of *Swarajya* (self-rule), *Bahishkar* (boycott of foreign goods), *Swadeshi* (use of Indian goods) and *Rashtriya Shikshan* (national education). He appealed the youths to stand by the forth fold programme.

- 1) ***Swarajya* (Self-rule):** Lokmanya Tilak was a born fighter and great patriot. The famous slogan coined by him '*Swarajya* is my birthright and I shall have it' became the slogan of national movement. He was a man of action. His political actions were firmly based in sound ideas. By *Swarajya*, he meant government of the people. He observed that we would deserve our political rights only if we succeed in achieving unity first in village, then in every district provinces and finally at the national level. He is rightly described as 'the architect of Indian nationalism'. Tilak wanted to spread the message of self-rule to the people. In May 1915 he gave speech in Belgaon in which he said that *Swarajya* is the natural right of the people and in order to win it the formation of Home Rule League is absolutely essential. He visited the different parts of the Maharashtra to impress on the people the necessity of self-rule. He made great sacrifices in his life to create awareness among the masses. He appealed to the people in direct manner. As a result he earned a place in the hearts of the people.
- 2) ***Swadeshi* (Use of Indian goods) :** Lokmanya Tilak wrote editorials in '*Kesari*' on *Swadeshi*, boycott and appealed to the people to participate in the movement. Tilak also invited liberal leaders like Gokhale. Along with him Tilak held meeting in Pandharpur regarding *Swadeshi* goods where a large members at the devotee of God Pandurang gathered. He also invited a number of industrialists and businessmen and started *Swadeshi* co-operative stores. It evoked great response from all sections of the society. For this purpose he collected a fund of two and half lakh rupees from eminent persons. The *Swadeshi* movement was instrumental in creating awareness among the

common people. He also launched 'paise fund' in Maharashtra and collected money from every quarter of the society. Many young people came forward to participate in it and the money was utilized for setting up a glass factory at Talegaon in Pune. In 1905 an exhibition of *Swadeshi* goods was organized at the Banaras session of congress.

- 3) ***Bahishkar (Boycott on foreign goods)*** : Under this programme the bonfire of foreign clothes was organized. This act created a wave of enthusiasm among the youth. They became aware that this marked the beginning of the process of destroying the base of British rule in India. The common people were asked to boycott on the foreign goods. While encouraging the boycott on British goods, Lokmanya Tilak gave importance to the *Swadeshi* movement. He persuaded many businessmen to start mills for weaving cloths and factories for manufacturing soaps and matchboxes.
- 4) ***Rashtriya Shikshan (National Education)*** : In 1905 at the venue of the Benaras session of the Indian national congress the movement for national education and an idea of establishing the Banaras Hindu University emerged. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya placed the concept of founding a Hindu university and the move was supported by Lokmanya Tilak. At this time the '*Nagari Pracharini Sabha*' organized a meeting and it was addressed by Tilak. In his speech he pleaded for adoption of the Devnagari script to propagate education all over India. He suggested that a beginning could be made by printing text books for primary schools in Devnagari script. The movement of national education soon gained the momentum and popularity. The message of national education spread among the masses. Maharashtra became the leading place in the movement of national education.

Check your progress:

1. Explain the four fold programme of the Extremists.

5.6 SURAT SESSION AND SPLIT IN CONGRESS - 1907

The annual session of the Congress in 1907 was originally proposed to be held in Nagpur. The moderate like Phirozshah Mehta didn't want the influence of extremist leaders. Nagpur was the center of the extremism. So the venue was shifted to Surat. The congress was clearly split into two sections. Extremists wanted Lala Lajpat Rai as the president of the congress. However moderates chose Rasbihari Ghosh as the president. The extremists were dissatisfied with this and they strongly opposed it. Bal Gangadhar Tilak declared that the election of president was not according to the rules. Thus the Surat session clearly saw the division of the congress. It was the big blow to the nationalist movement. Though officially moderates controlled the congress the extremist leaders became popular with the masses. The Surat episode has been described by Dr. Annie Besant as the 'saddest episode in the history of the Congress'. The extremists had to remain outside the fold of Congress till 1916, when as a result of the efforts of Dr. Annie Besant, there was a reunion between the moderates and the extremists.

Lucknow session (1916) of Congress was very significant. It saw the union between moderates and extremist leaders. After the release from Mandalay in 1914, Tilak was convinced that the unity of the congress was essential for the success of national movement. Tilak and Annie Besant took the initiative towards the unification of the congress. The other significance of the session was the coming of the congress and the Muslim League closer. It was also called as Lucknow Pact as it united Congress and Muslim League for the cause of Khilaphat movement.

5.7 HOME RULE MOVEMENT

During the First World War the Indian National Movement witnessed a growth of freedom movement seizing the opportunity provided by the British involvement in the war. The revolutionary organizations like '*Gadar*' attempted to overthrow of British rule. At this time 'Home Rule League' was launched by Lokmanya Tilak and Annie Besant to demand political reforms in India. The objective of the Home Rule League movement was to attain Home Rule or self-Government within the British Empire by constitutional means and to educate and organize public opinion towards the attainment of the same without any violence. In order to achieve the objective of the movement, Tilak and Annie Besant cooperated with each other and travelled together across the country. They secured cordial response from the people everywhere. This led the British Government to suppress the movement. The British prosecuted

Tilak many times for delivering seditious speeches across the country. The leaders of the Home Rule League decided to organize a national alliance of the Leagues across India to demand Home Rule or self-government within the British Empire. The prominent leader of the league was Tilak. He founded the First league in the city of Pune. This movement created excitement among many leaders. The leadership provided by Tilak and Annie Besant attracted many leaders toward it. They failed to get support of congress and Muslim League. However Tilak promoted the cause of Home Rule League all over India through various campaigns. His lectures and his popularity created enthusiasm among the people about the home rule league. The leaders of this movement were inspired by the 'Irish Home Rule' Movement.

Bal Gangadhar Tilak worked in Maharashtra and Karnataka to make Home rule movement successful. The main objective of the movement was to build up an agitation around the demand of Home rule. This was to be achieved by promoting political education and discussion. The members of the home rule movement were opposed to violence and revolutionary agitations. They were willing to cooperate with the British Government in its war efforts. In return they expected the British Government to grant home rule to India. Annie Besant promoted the Home Rule Movement through regional languages in various articles in newspapers such as 'Common Will' and 'New India'. The British Government tried to suppress the Home Rule Movement. They introduced the press censorship to prevent the spread of the news of the leagues activities. Annie Besant was arrested by the British authority. However due to large scale protests the Government released her. Although, the people supported the movement, it declined following the August Declaration of 1917 of the British Government by Montague, the then secretary of State for India.

Check your progress:

1. Highlight the contribution of Home Rule movement.

5.8 SUMMARY

After the foundation of the All India National Congress the British Government began to oppose to the programmes and

policies the same Congress. The Congress worked in different phases as the Moderates, the Extremists and the Gandhi Era. The Moderates were dominated by G.K.Gokhale, Dadabhai Naoroji and many others, who had petitioning memorials, public meetings and extensive writings in newspapers, as its programmes, policies and tactics. One of the groups headed by B.G. Tilak known as Extremist came up due to internal and external factors, which followed Swadeshi and Boycott movements and wanted to expel the British out of India. It wanted independence first then reforms whereas the Moderates wanted reforms first with the help of the British. The British regarded Tilak as the father of Indian unrest who was the main Pillar of the Extremist phase of Indian National Congress. Bal Gangadhar Tilak died on 1st August 1920 which led to the end of Extremist phase in India.

5.9 ADDITIONAL READINGS

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7. Sumit Sarkar, *Modern India 1885-1947*, Macmillan, Madras, 1996.

5.10 QUESTIONS

1. Account for the rise of the Extremist phase of Indian Congress.
2. Examine the programmes and policies of the Extremist Congress.
3. Evaluate the role of Bal Gangadhar Tilak in the Indian National Movement.
4. Discuss the contribution of Lokmanya Tilak, Lala Lajpat Rai and Bipin Chandra Pal in the Extremist phase of Indian National Congress.
5. Write an essay on Home Rule Movement in India.



Unit - 6

REVOLUTIONARY NATIONALISM

Unit Structure :

- 6.1 Objectives
- 6.2 Introduction
- 6.3 Origin and Aims of the Revolutionary Movement
- 6.4 Causes for the emergence of Revolutionary
- 6.5 Revolutionary Activities in Maharashtra
 - 6.5.1 Revolt of Vasudev Balwant Phadke
 - 6.5.2 Chaphekar Brothers
 - 6.5.3 Vinayak Damodar Savarkar
 - 6.5.4 Madanlal Dhingra
 - 6.5.5 Anant Laxman Kanhere
 - 6.5.6 Vishnu Ganesh Pingale
 - 6.5.7 Shivram Hari Rajguru
 - 6.5.8 Senapati Bapat
 - 6.5.9 Hutatma Bhai Kotwal
- 6.6 Revolutionary activities in Punjab
 - 6.6.1 The Kakori Conspiracy Case
 - 6.6.2 Trial & execution of Bhagat Singh
- 6.7 Revolutionary activities in Bengal
 - 6.7.1 Anushilan Samiti
 - 6.7.2 The Alipore Conspiracy
 - 6.7.3 Revival of Revolutionary Nationalism
 - 6.7.4 Surya Sen
- 6.8 Revolutionary activities in Europe and other Western Countries
 - 6.8.1 Madanlal Dhingra
 - 6.8.2 Madame Cama
 - 6.8.3 The Ghadar Party
 - 6.8.4 The Indian Independence Committee in Berlin
 - 6.8.5 The Komagata Maru Incident
- 6.9 Summary
- 6.10 Questions

6.1 OBJECTIVES

- a) Understand the origin of the Revolutionary nationalism
- c) Learn the revolutionary activities in Maharashtra
- d) Understand the revolutionary activities in Maharashtra.
- e) Get the idea of revolutionary activities in Bengal.
- f) Learn the revolutionary activities in Europe, America, Germany and France.

6.1 INTRODUCTION

The second half of the 19th Century witnessed the rise of revolutionary nationalism which also sought to India's independence. The exploitation of the masses by the British authority gave rise to the increasing sense of nationalism among the Indians. The exploitation of cultivators, artisans, landless labours, increased poverty and recurrence of droughts and an inhuman approach of the British ruler to the people was horrifying. The British arrogance led to the different types of reactions from the different section of the society. A few educated people who were inspired by western democratic values like liberalism, equality and modern education sincerely believed in the superiority of western culture. These people were liberal and ardent believer in British sense of justice. These leaders who were known as moderate were instrumental behind the establishment of the congress in 1885. However the more radical groups section of youth were no longer interested in moderate politics. They believed in mass agitations against the British. Unlike Moderates they drew inspiration from the ancient Indian past. But the more radical section of youth was not interested in the moderate or extremist politics. These people believed in revolutionary path. They were opposing the British by tooth and nail. At the same time they aimed to remove social inequality in the society. Revolutionaries aimed to solve the problem by eliminating age-old traditions and the political influence of the British. The revolutionary groups were aware of their strength and limitations. They were well aware of the fact that by killing few officers and eliminating some British loyalist, they would never achieve their goal of independence. However they aimed at creating consciousness among Indian by offering their lives in the service of motherland. The land of Maharashtra created many such revolutionaries who laid their lives for the sake of Indian independence.

6.3 ORIGIN AND AIMS OF THE REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT

The revolutionary movement was originated in the sense of nationalism. It is widely believed that the British brought an effective administrative set up and sound educational system in India. The earlier educated class came to be influenced by the British liberalism. However, the masses in India had to pay heavily for their livelihood because destruction of the traditional set up of Indian economy by the British. They also tried to bring tribal areas under their own jurisdiction in order to exploit natural resources. The British Officers became arrogant and believed in supremacy of white race. The Indian revolutionary movement was rooted in these circumstances. They opposed the British policies by tooth and nail. Unlike moderates and extremists, they didn't have to face the dilemma of choosing political or social reform. Some of the revolutionaries took inspiration from the past. The revolutionaries like Bhagat Singh and Rajguru believed in total reconstruction of Indian society on the socialist model. Unlike moderates and extremists, they believed in violent acts such as killing British officers, robbing the train and plundering the British treasury and arms and ammunitions. They were ready to die for the sake of motherland to free India from the yoke of British imperialism.

6.4 CAUSES FOR THE EMERGENCE OF REVOLUTIONARY

There were several factors responsible for the revolutionary nationalism during the closing quarters of the nineteenth century. Some of the important factors were as under-

2.4.1 The British introduced the education system on the western line that was responsible for the rise of a middle class. This western educated class was enough sensitive to appalling misery of the Indian people but it was unable to express openly their growing indignation & taking positive action against the British.

2.4.2 There were several natural calamities, as flood & famines, especially the famine in 1877, which cost around six million lives. The problem of unemployment among the educated middle class of landless farmers, apprehended them about their future. This complicated situation was aggravated by every action of the British government.

2.4.3 The tyrannical role of the British undermined the individual or national advancement. The vernacular press Act of 1878, the drama performance act of 1878, and the arms of Act 1878 gagged the Indians, denied Indians the right to stage themselves. Deprived them of all means of protection against predators.

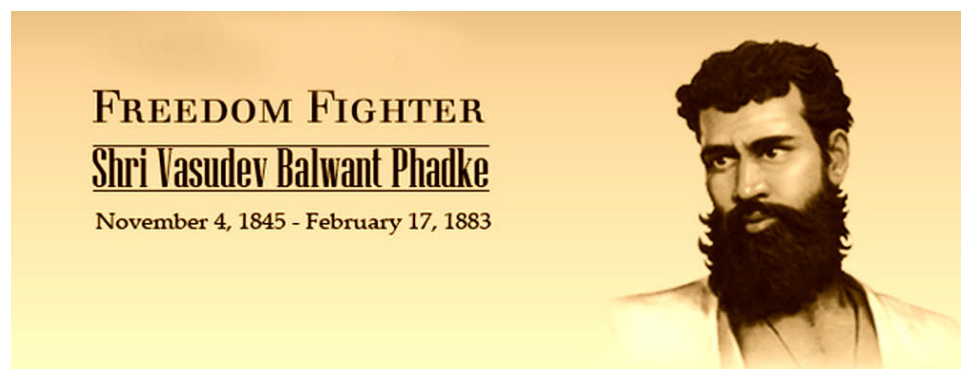
2.4.4 The Law members introduced the Ilbert Bill to clear anomaly in the Judicial administration. But the British government could not pass the bill due to the determined European opposition that caused frustration & helplessness among the Indians, which give birth to the revolutionary nationalism.

2.4.5 The socio-religious leaders as Raja Ram Mohan Roy, Ram Krishnan Paramhansa, and Vivekananda initiated renaissance, which fired the emotions of the revolutionaries.

6.5 REVOLUTIONARY ACTIVITIES IN MAHARASHTRA

6.5.1 Revolt of Vasudev Balwant Phadke :

Vasudev Balwant Phadke single handedly sought to build a revolutionary organization to overthrow the British regime. He was the first person who made systematic efforts to organize revolt against the British. He launched the armed struggle against the British supremacy with the help of the other sections of the society such as Ramoshis, Bhills and other tribes. Vasudev Balwant Phadke was a clerk in the service of the British. He was denied a leave to attend his mother when she was ill. This led to the rising dislike in his mind against the British Government. His feelings were deeply stirred by the devastation caused in western India by the terrible famine of 1876-77. The ill-effect of famine and the government's failure to take early initiative to solve the problem deeply affected him. He made up his mind to launch an armed revolt against the British. He now undertook the mission of collecting men, money and arms for the proposed revolt. He convinced the Ramoshis and others that the existence of the British rule was the main cause of their present problems. He established a secret revolutionary society and undertook a vigorous training of the recruits in the use of the arms. Ramoshis, Kunabis, Dhangars and Chambhars were ready to fight against the British.



The first organized revolt of the people in Maharashtra against the British held on 22 February 1879 under the leadership of Vasudev Balwant Phadke. The news of Phadke's revolt spread and it was appeared in newspaper which led to the

government's worry. The British government saw it as a challenge to their supremacy. Realizing the potential danger of Phadke's decoities and Skirmishes with the police, the government decided to take swift action. On 29 March 1879, Phadke committed two decoities and got money. However, there were quarrels about the distribution of money. It seemed that his struggle was over. But he recovered soon from situation. In May 1879, he issued his famous proclamation denouncing the British policy of economic exploitation of India and demanding economic relief for the peasants. The British took serious note of it and announced a reward of 3,000 for the arrest of Phadke. At last he was captured by the British authority in a temple in a village in the Kaladgi district of Hyderabad on 21 July 1879. He was charged for collection of men, arms and with the intention of waging war against the Government. He was transported for life imprisonment to the Eden jail in 1880 where he died in 1883. Phadke's revolt left a legacy of revolution and he sowed the seeds of patriotism.

6.5.2 Chaphekar Brothers :

The Chaphekar brothers were the first to make use of violent actions for political purpose. They were pioneer in the militant and extremist phase of nationalism. The Chaphekar brothers Damodar, Balkrishna and Vasudev were born at Chinchwad in Pune. They had no regular school education. The three brothers developed deep hatred towards English rule. They continued the militant activities in Maharashtra in order to pressurize the British Government to leave India. Bhagavad-Gita had great influence on them. They founded the Hindu dharma Sanrakshini Sabha in 1894 and carried out various activities in and around Pune area. In the same year, they circulated pamphlets and leaflets during the Ganesh festival and motivated the people to rise in arms against the British as Chhatrapati Shivaji Maharaj had done against the Mughal emperor. They gathered round them 150 boys of their own age. All these boys became part of Chaphekar club in 1896. The chief aim of their society was the removal of obstacles to the Hindu religion. The club trained members in gymnastics. They hated British because they thought that the British attempted to disrupt Hindu society and morals.



Poona and neighboring area came under the dreaded disease known as plague in 1897, which killed several thousand people. The British Government established committee known as Plague Relief Committee under the charge of W. C. Rand, a headstrong British officer, who troubled people and violated their secrecy of life instead of providing them relief. He became so unpopular that Damodar and Balkrishna Chapekar to teach him a lesson and they shot W. C. Rand and Lieutenant C. E. Ayerst when they were returning back house from attending the sixtieth anniversary of the coronation of Queen Victoria on 22 June 1897. Finally, Chapekar brothers were arrested, tried and sentenced to death, which created much indignation all over India. This incident brought in the chain of militant activities throughout Maharashtra. Thus the inspiration of Chaphekar brothers was more religious than nationalist.

6.5.3 Vinayak Damodar Savarkar :

Vinayak Damodar Savarkar popularly known as Swatantryavir Savarkar was born in 1883 in the Nasik district. Right from his childhood, he was staunch Hindu and proud of Hindu religion. Unlike other revolutionaries such as Bhagat Singh and Chandra Shekhar Azad, Savarkar made use of religion to create nationalism. He appealed people for the reconstruction of the nation on the basis of staunch national feelings. Ganesh Savarkar and Vinayak Savarkar were the real spirit and inspiration behind the militants' revolutionaries and their activities against the intolerable foreign rule of Britishers in India. They were responsible to spread the revolutionary and secret societies in different parts of Maharashtra in the early twentieth century. In 1899, V.D. Savarkar and his colleagues set up an organization known as 'Mitra Mela'. The Mela organized Ganpati festival and Shivaji festivals. It also arranged the publication of revolutionary literature. The Mela aroused the nationalist spirit among young people. 'Abhinav Bharat' founded in 1904 by Ganesh Savarkar and Vinayak Savarkar, was the most active revolutionary

organization in Maharashtra. 'Abhinav Bharat' owes its birth to a secret society called 'Rashtra Bhakta Samuha'. It was started with the objective of winning complete independence. Its methods were to create unrest among the people by spreading sense of nationalism.



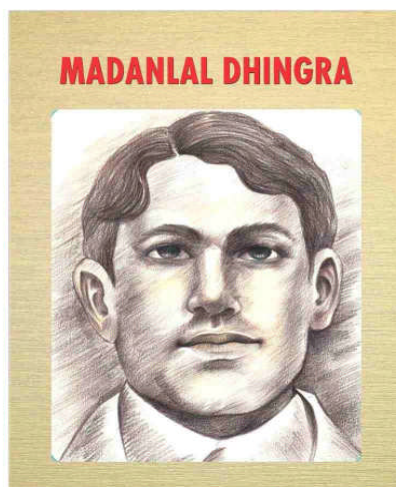
Vinayak Savarkar completed his graduation at Fergusson College in Pune. He was selected for the Shivaji scholarship offered by Shamji Krishna Verma. Although, Vinayak Sarvarkar left for London in 1906, the organisation, Abhinav Bharat society flourished in India and undertook several militant activities throughout Maharashtra and other parts of the country. In England he carried his revolutionary activities. He was greatly influenced by Joseph Mazzini, the Italian nationalist hero. He was not impressed by the struggle led by the congress. He was of firm view that only armed resistance could solve the problem of Indian independence. He wrote many books to inspire the young minds. In 1910, Savarkar was arrested in England. Government had planned to take him to India. On his way to India, he escaped through the pothole and swam to the shore of France. However, the French police handed him over to the British. In India he was tried for treason in the court. He was condemned for life imprisonment in the Andaman Island. After his release in the year 1924 from the prison, Savarkar had given up revolutionary activities and concentrated on religious issues. He provided leadership to Hindu Mahasabha and championed the cause of Hindus. Later he was detained to Ratnagiri till his unconditional release on 10 May, 1937.



Shyamji Krishna Verma.

6.5.4 Madanlal Dhingra :

Madanlal Dhingra was inspired by the revolutionary activities of Vinayak Damodar Savarkar. District Magistrate of Nasik arrested Ganesh D. Savarkar on the instigation of Curzon Wylie. He used to send spy to know about Indian students activities. Madanlal Dhingra had planned to kill Lord Curzon. However he did not get opportunity. When Wylie attended a gathering at the Imperial Institute in London, Madanlal shot him with a Pistol. He was brought to trial, sentenced to death and hanged. About the same time Ganesh Savarkar, the elder brother of V. D. Savarkar was convicted in Nasik on the Charge of Waging war against the British Empire.



6.5.5 Anant Laxman Kanhere :

Due to the exploitative nature of the British regime and the inspirational leadership of Savarkar many young minds were influenced by the sense of nationalism. Anant Kanhere was one of them. In 1907 the militant activities and revolutionary movements reached to its height in Maharashtra. As the result of it, Anant Laxman Kanhere killed Mr. Arthur Jackson, District Magistrate of Nasik in the theatre of Nasik. The British Government arrested Anant Laxman Kanhere, Karve and Deshpande for the same crime. It was known as Nasik conspiracy case of which most of the prominent members of Abhinav Bharat were arrested. They were hanged to death after a cursory trial.



6.5.6 Vishnu Ganesh Pingale :

Vishnu Pingale was born in 1888 in Pune. He was educated in Samarth Vidyalaya. In 1911, he went to USA. There he came under influence of Gadar movement. Lala Hardayal greatly

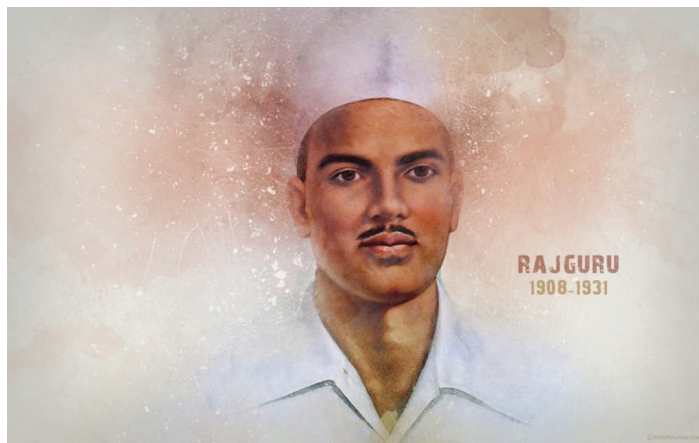
influenced him. Vishnu Pingale became active revolutionary. In 1915, he was caught by the British.



Pingley.

6.5.7 Shivram Hari Rajguru

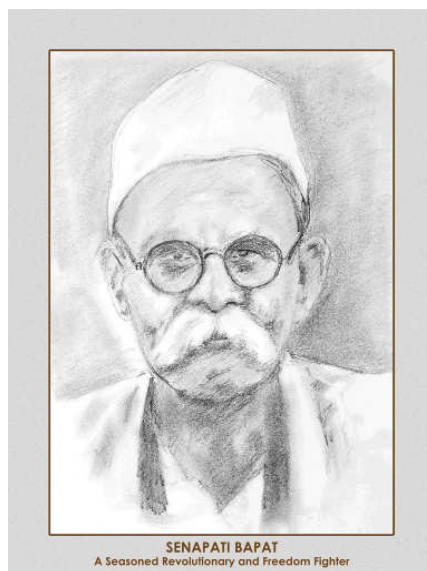
Rajguru was born at Khed in Pune in 1908. He was educated at Varanasi. He was well acquainted with the physical sports. He also participated in Seva Dal. He began to develop association with Hindustan Socialist Republic Party. Due to the examples of Chandra Shekhar Azad, Bhagat Singh and Sukhdev he turned himself for armed revolution. Rajguru and Bhagat Singh killed British officer Saunders to take revenge, who was responsible for the death of Lala Lajpatrai. in 1931, he was tried along with Bhagat Singh and Batukeshwar Dutt. He was given death sentence and hanged for his revolutionary activities. Today his birthplace is recognized as Rajguru Nagar. He set great example of the revolutionary activities and sacrificed his life for the motherland.



6.5.8 Senapati Bapat :

Pandurang Bapat popularly known as Senapati Bapat was instrumental in spreading the art of making bombs. He supplied bomb manual to revolutionaries of Maharashtra. He was born in Ahmednagar and graduated from Deccan College in Pune. During his college days, he decided to dedicate his life in the service of motherland. He participated in the Beed rebellion. He obtained the

scholarship and went to England for studies in mechanical engineering. Due to his revolutionary activities the university stopped his scholarship. In England he met Russian revolutionaries. He obtained the necessary information on the working of secret societies. He went from London to Paris. In Paris, he learnt the skill of bomb making from Russian revolutionaries. He carried the manual of bomb making in India. Indian revolutionaries soon learnt the art of making bomb. In his later part of life, he was influenced by the philosophy and techniques of Mahatma Gandhi and accepted the path of Satyagraha and non-violence.



5.5.9 Hutatma Bhai Kotwal :

Karjat taluka in Raigad District was very active in the Indian freedom movement. Hutatma Bhai Kotwal advocated fight for the farmers against the moneylenders' exploitation. The British Government being the great supporter of moneylenders persecuted Kotwal for his activities. He along with Gomaji Patil and Bhagat Master established the 'Azad Dasta' to help the poor. They started many schools and granaries to stock the food grains for people. In the struggle of 1942, Bhai Kotwal's associates formed Prati Sarkar (parallel government) in Karjat. He along with Hiraji Patil was shot dead at Sinhgad. Hutatma smarak was built at that place in the memory of these freedom fighters.



Bhai Kotwal and Hiraji Patil.

Though revolutionaries adopted different methods to achieve the national independence, they lacked the mass support required in the struggle for independence against the British rule. The masses had great regard for revolutionaries for their activities but they could not support the revolutionary activities and followed the path of non-violence and other techniques of Gandhi. The sacrifices made by revolutionaries added glorious chapter in the history of national struggle and contributed immensely to achieve independence.

6.6 REVOLUTIONARY ACTIVITIES IN PUNJAB

The revolutionaries under Ramprasad Bismil, Jogesh Chatterji & Sachindranath Sanyal met in Kanpur in October 1924 & founded the Hindustan Republic Association. Its aim was to overthrow the British rule from India. For all these activities, money was required. To achieve this objective the Hindustan Revolutionary Army stopped the down train at Kakori, an obscure village in Lucknow district on 9th August 1925 and looted the railway cash. The government arrested large number of young men and tried them in the Kakori conspiracy case. The chief leaders of the robbery, Ashfaqulla Khan, Ram Prasad Bismil, Roshanlal were sentenced to death.

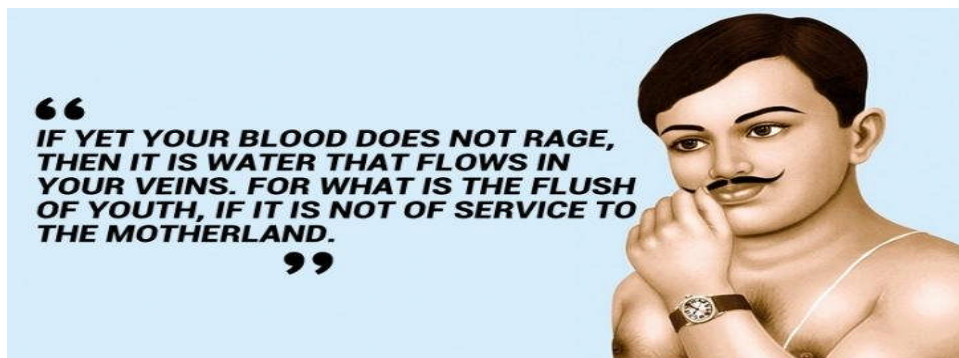
Bhagat Singh :

Bhagat Singh was an Indian revolutionary socialist who was influential in the Indian independence movement. He studied European revolutionary movements as a teenager and was attracted to anarchist and Marxist ideologies. He worked with several revolutionary organizations and became prominent in the Hindustan Republican Association (HRA), which changed its name to the Hindustan Socialist Republican Association (HSRA) in 1928.

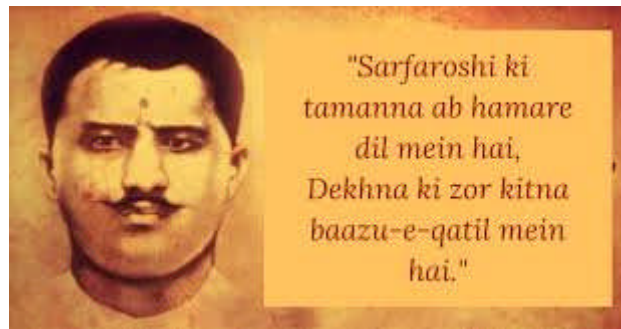


Singh became disillusioned with Mahatma Gandhi's philosophy of nonviolence after he called off the non-co-operation movement. Gandhi's decision followed the violent murders of policemen by villagers who were reacting to the police killing three villagers in the 1922 Chauri Chaura incident. Singh joined the Young Revolutionary Movement and began to advocate for the violent overthrow of the British Government in India.

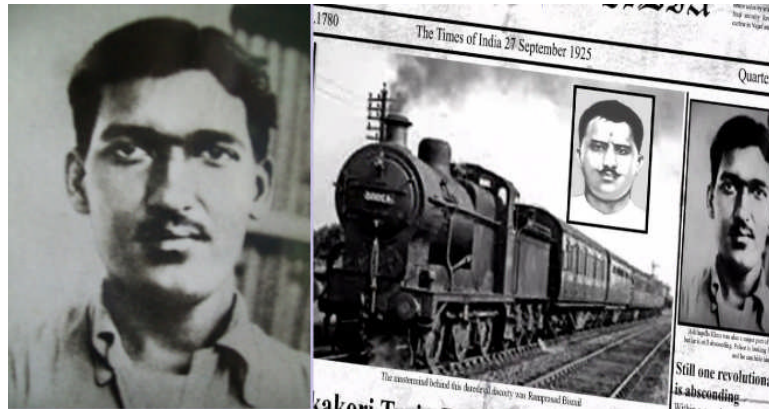
Inspired by the Young Italy movement of Giuseppe Mazzini he founded the Indian nationalist youth organization Naujawan Bharat Sabha in March 1926. He also joined the Hindustan Republican Association, which had prominent leaders, such as Chandrashekhar Azad, Ram Prasad Bismil and Shahid Ashfaqallah Khan.



Chandra Shekhar Azad.



Ramprasad Bismil.



Ashfaqulla Khan

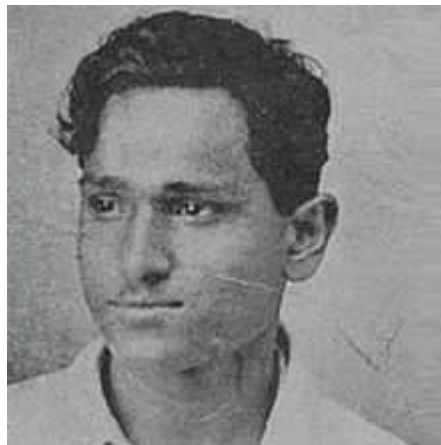
Police became concerned with Singh's influence on youths and arrested him in May 1927 on the pretext that he had been involved in a bombing that had taken place in Lahore in October 1926. He was released on a surety of Rs. 60,000 five weeks after his arrest. He wrote for, and edited, Urdu and Punjabi newspapers, published in Amritsar and also contributed to low-priced pamphlets published by the Naujawan Bharat Sabha that excoriated the British. He also wrote for Kirti, the journal of the Kirti Kisan : > irty ("Workers and Peasants Party") and briefly for the VeerArjun newspaper, published in Delhi. He often used pseudonyms, including names such as Balwant, Ranjit and Vidhrohi.

Singh's plan was to explode a bomb inside the Central Legislative Assembly. The nominal intention was to protest against the Public Safety Bill, and the Trade Dispute Act, which had been rejected by the Assembly but were being enacted by the Viceroy using his special powers; the actual intention was for the perpetrators to allow themselves to be arrested so that they could use court appearances to create awareness among the public regarding revolutionary activities.

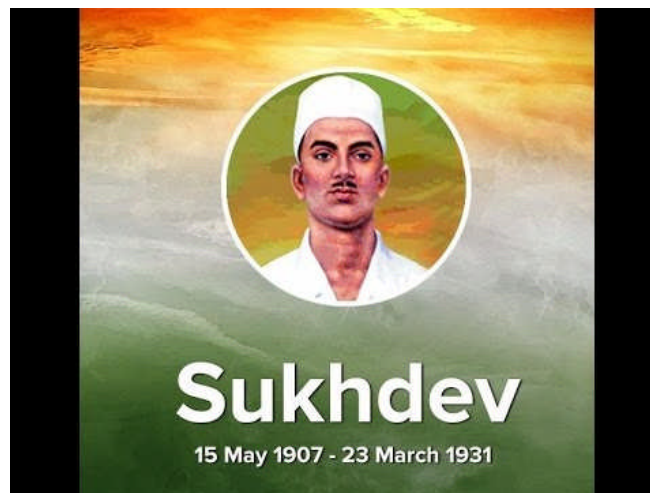
6.6.2 Trial & execution of Bhagat Singh :

Bhagat Singh & Batukeshwar Dutt were tried in the Assembly Bomb Case. Their fearless & defiant attitude in the courts their slogans as Inquilab Zindabad, 'Down with imperialism, Long

live the proletariat, and their revolutionary songs as Sarfaroshi Ki Tamanna Ab Hamare Dil Main Hai and Mera rang de basanti chola were reported in the newspapers. This won them support of the people all over country, and Bhagat Singh become a household name in India. While in Delhi jail, Bhagat Singh and Batukeshwar demanded that they be treated not as criminals but as political prisoners. Jatindranath Das, who went on fast on similar grounds, died on 13th of September 1930, on the sixty- fourth day of the fast in the Lahore prison. The trail and subsequent execution of Bhagat Singh, Sukhdev and Rajguru on 23rd March 1931 become a political issue. A resolution was passed by the Karachi session of the congress in 1931 commending their bravery contribution to the freedom struggle of India.



Batukeshwar Dutt.





Jatin Das.

6.7 REVOLUTIONARY ACTIVITIES IN BENGAL

The revolutionary activity in Bengal was the outcome of the failure of constitutional agitation to prevent the partition of Bengal in 1905. Every year the steadily increasing number of young men turned to revolutionary activities as the only possible means to attain their goals. The nationalists argued that nothing could be achieved without the use of violence. They were of the opinion that freedom could be earned only by fire & sword as the Italians and the French had earned their freedom. Further, the victory of Japan over Russia, in 1905 seemed to strengthen their argument for force & violence.

6.7.1 Anushilan samiti.

The first revolutionary organization in Bengal was the Anushilan samiti. It attracted a large number of recruits. However, a small band of young men under the leadership of Barindrakumar Ghosh, were in the forefront of the revolutionary movement of the Anushilan samiti. They published a periodical named Jugantar, which openly preached armed rebellion in order to create the necessary revolutionary mentality among the people. The Jugantar was suppressed in 1908, a judge observed, that the Jugantar exhibited a burning hatred-of the British race, breathed revolution in every line, and pointed out how revolution was to be affected Both Sandhya & Jugantar openly preached the cult of violence & wrote that the money that was required for financing the revolutionary activities could be obtained by plundering post offices, banks, government treasuries & by robbing the luxury-loving rich. Two members of the Anusilan samiti were sent abroad to be trained in the manufacture of the explosives. On their return regular arrangements were made for manufacturing bombs in the suburb of Calcutta. Attempts were

made to assassinate Kingsford the vindictive judge who had sentenced many political prisoners to heavy terms of punishment. Two revolutionary youths, Kudiram Bose & prafulla Chaki were entrusted with the task of assassinating Kingsford. On 30th April 1908, they threw a bomb at the carriage in which they believed Kingsford to be travelling. But unfortunately, two British ladies who were in the carriage were inadvertently killed. Kudiram was arrested and hanged on 11th August 1908.

6.7.2 The Alipore Conspiracy:

The government search for illegal arms in Calcutta led to the arrest of thirty-four persons including the Ghosh brothers. Their trial came to be known as the famous Alipore conspiracy case. One of the arrested persons Narendra Gosain became the approver., But before he could give his evidence, he was shot dead inside the jail. Of the accused in the Alipore conspiracy case, fifteen were ultimately found guilty & some of them including Barindrakumar Ghosh were transported to life. After the Alipore conspiracy case, Rash Behari Bose planned a nationwide-armed uprising with the help of Indian soldiers of the British army. However following the discovery of the plot by the police, Rash Behari Bose escaped to Japan & continued his revolutionary activities there.

6.7.3 Revival Of Revolutionary Nationalism :

During the First World War, the revolutionary leaders were in either jail or absconding. Following the end of the war, the British government, released some of the revolutionaries to create a more harmonious atmosphere. On the plea of Gandhiji, C.R.Das and other leaders, most of the revolutionary nationalists either joined the Indian national movement or suspended their own activities. The non-cooperation movement under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi was suddenly suspended following the mob violence at Chauri chaura in U.P. Many young people began to question the very basic strategy of the national leadership & its emphasis on non-violence and began to look for alternatives. Some of them were convinced with the idea that violent methods alone would free India. Gradually two separate groups of revolutionary nationalism developed one in Punjab, U.P., and Bihar and the other in Bengal.



C.R. Das.

6.7.4 Surya Sen:

In the later part of 1920's, the most active & famous of the Bengal revolutionary groups was the Chittagong group led by Surya Sen. He had actively participated in the non-cooperation movement and had become a teacher in a national school in Chittagong. Surya Sen was arrested & imprisoned for two years from 1926 to 1928 for revolutionary activity. He was a brilliant and inspiring organizer. A group led by Surya Sen captured the government armory on 18th April 1930, and for a while took control of the town. Chittagong. All the revolutionary groups gathered outside the police armory where Surya Sen took a military salute, hoisted the national flag among shouts of Bande Mataram and Inquilab Zindabad, and proclaimed a provisional revolutionary government. However, it was not possible for this small group of revolutionaries to put up resistance against the army. They escaped to the Chittagong hills and continued to wage guerilla warfare for another three years.

The sustained government action and repression gradually decimated the revolutionary nationalist's ranks. The death of Chandrashekhar Azad in a shooting counter in a public park at Allahabad in February 1931 gave a great blow to the revolutionary movement in Punjab, U.P. and Bihar. It is important to note that the politics of the revolutionary nationalist had a number of limitations.

Theirs was not the politics of a mass movement. They were not successful in politically activating the masses. Their contact with masses was lacking. However, the contribution of the revolutionaries to the freedom struggle of India Cannot be under estimated. Their deep patriotism, courage and determination, and sense of sacrifice moved the Indian people.



Surya Sen.

6.8 REVOLUTIONARY ACTIVITIES IN EUROPE AND OTHER WESTERN COUNTRIES

Shyamji Krishnavarma, was a native of Kathiawar in Gujarat and a great Sanskrit scholar. He was a member of Mitramela Abhinav Bharat revolutionary group. He left Bombay in 1897 and went to London. He started a monthly journal, the Indian sociologist, an organ of freedom struggle of India in 1905, Shyamji established the Indian Home Rule society and a hostel for Indian students living in London, popularly known as the Indian House. Shyamji. therefore, gathered around him many young revolutionaries. The most important among them were V.D. Savarkar.Madanlal Dhingra, Madame Cama, and Lala Hadyal. In 1907 as the British authorities decided to take action against the activities of Shyamji, shifted his head quarters to Paris. Savarkar took up the political leadership of the Indian House in London. According to intelligence report that there was a fashion to read at Sundays's meeting some important passages from the book on the Indian Mutiny, prepared by V.D. Savarkar, to prepare the Indian people in London for the cause of the Indian struggle for independence. The practices gained significance as preparations got under way to celebrate the golden jubilee of the First war of Independence, in 1907.

6.8.1 MADANLAL DHINGRA :

In 1909 Madanlal Dhingra, a Maharashtrian youth and an associate of Savarkar assassinated Curzon-Wylie an A.D.C. to the Secretary of State for India. He was spying on Indian students. Madanlal Dhingra was arrested and brought to trial, and was hanged on 1st August 1909. The only lesson, he wrote before his death, required in India is to learn how to die and the only way to teach it is by dying alone. About the same time, Ganesh Savarkar, the elder brother of Vinayak was convicted in Nasik on a charge of abetment of waging war against the king under section 121A of I.P.C. He was sentenced to transportation on 9th June 1909. When Vinayak was informed about this, he thrice repeated his oath to wreak vengeance on the English. Savarkar was arrested and sent to India to stand trial in the Nasik conspiracy case and other charges. His attempt to escape from the ship at Marseilles failed, and he was sentenced to transportation for life after his trial in India. He was sent to Andaman along with his brother Ganesh Savarkar to face inhuman torture till 1924. This noble son of India died in 1966.

6.8.2 MADAME CAMA:

Madame Bhikaji Cama was another revolutionary who was drawn into the circle of Shyamji Krishanvarma. Madame Cama had been popularly described as the Mother of Indian Revolution. She left India in 1902 and was engaged since then in making revolutionary propaganda against the British rule in India. She took active part in editing the Indian sociologist and represented India at the Stuttgart conference of socialists in 1907. At the conference, Madame Cama unfurled for the first time Indian national flag on the foreign soil. Due to her anti-British activities, she was forced to shift her residence from London to Paris. After thirty years of patriotic service in London, Paris and other cities of Europe, her friends succeeded in repatriating her to India in November 1936. She died on 12th **August 1937**.



Madam Cama.

6.8.3 The Ghadar Party :

The outbreak of the First World War in 1914 gave a new impetus to the freedom struggle. It was felt that England's difficulty was India's opportunity. This opportunity was fully exploited by the Ghadar revolutionaries based in North America. A number of Punjabi immigrants had settled down on the west coast of North America. They had gone to America in search of livelihood.

During the Swadeshi movement Indian nationalists in the United States published number of journals containing articles against the British rule in India. As a result of these activities, a number of political organizations were established in America. Lala Hardy, a political exile from India, organized the nationalists in the United States and published a weekly paper, the Ghadar for free circulation. These developments led to the revolutionary movement known as the Ghadar movement, Ghadar means revolution. The Ghadar movement had its headquarters known as the Jugantar Ashram in San Francisco. It highlighted the daring deeds of the Anusilan Samiti, the Jugantar group and the Russian secret societies. The Ghadar was circulated widely among Indians in North America, Trinidad, Honduras, the Philippines, Hong Kong, China, Malaya, Singapore and India. Within a short period, the Ghadar succeeded in changing the Punjabi immigrant to that of a rebel whose only aim was to destroy the British hold on his motherland.

Lala Har Dayal, Indian nationalist and revolutionary, died on this day in 1939

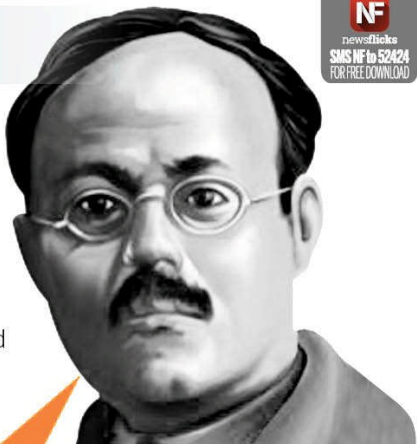
FOUNDER OF THE GHADAR PARTY

Founded the Ghadar Party in America

For years, lived an austere life, eating only boiled grain and potatoes, and sleeping on the floor

Gave up two Oxford scholarships and turned down a career in Indian Civil Service to join the nationalist movement

Moved to Paris in 1909 to be the editor of *Bande Mataram*



"How great we feel when someone does the heroic deed? We share in his moral power. We rejoice in his assertion of human equality and dignity."



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6.8.4 The Indian Independence Committee In Berlin:

After the outbreak of the First World War, Hardy and other Indians abroad moved to Germany and set up the Indian independence committee at Berlin. The committee planned to bring about a general insurrection in India. For this purpose foreign arms were to be sent to India from abroad; expatriated Indians were to

return to mother country, where they were to be joined by Indian soldiers and by the waiting revolutionaries.

The policy and activities of the Berlin committee and the Ghadar party had greatly influenced the revolutionaries of Bengal. Hoping to be supplied with arms from outside, they were prepared to stage an uprising.

6.8.5 The Komagata Maru Incident:

Canada had imposed strict restrictions on Indian immigration except those who made a continuous journey from India. But in November 1913, the Canadian Supreme Court allowed entry to thirty-five Indians who had not made a continuous journey. Encouraged by this judgment, Gurelit Sing, an Indian contractor living in Singapore, decided to charter a ship to carry Indians living in various regions in East and the South East Asia to Vancouver carrying a total of 376 Indian passengers. The ship Komagata Maru began its journey to Vancouver. When the ship arrived in Vancouver, it was not allowed into the port and was cordoned off by the police. Soon the Komagata Maru was forced out of Canadian waters. Before it reached Japan, the first world war broke out, and the British government passed orders that no passenger be allowed to disembark anywhere on the way, but only at Calcutta. This created anti-British sentiments among the Indian communities at every port that the ship touched. On landing at Calcutta on 27 September 1914, the harassed passengers, provoked by the hostile attitude of the authorities, resisted the police. This led to a clash in which eighteen passengers were killed and a number of Sikhs were arrested.

6.9 SUMMARY

The leaders in the Indian national movements were divided into three categories as the Moderates, the Extremists and the Revolutionaries. The moderates, who drew inspiration from the British constitutional history and wanted to achieve self-government through the constitutional means. The Extremists wanted Swaraj and believed in the policy of boycott. The Revolutionaries who also believed in Swaraj but resorted to violent methods.

There were several factors, which led to the emergence of the Revolutionary nationalism as the rise of English educated middle class, but the class was unable to express openly their indignation. The national calamities like famines, floods and unemployment, the acts like the vernacular press Act, the Arms Act and the failure to pass the Ilbert Bill caused frustration among the people. The influence of the Bengal renaissance leaders, the Hindu philosophy and the memory of Shivaji's struggle for

freedom led to the rise of Revolutionary nationalism. Revolutionary activities in Maharashtra started by Vasudev Balwant Phadake. He was influed by Justice Ranade and held the British responsible for the sufferings of Indian people during the Deccan famine of 1876-77. The Chapekar brothers shot dead to W.C.Rand and C.E.Ayerst the British officers.Savarkar brothers and their Abhinav Bharat Society and Mitramela stood at the top in the revolutionary activities in Maharashtra. The Anushilan Samiti was the first revolutionary organization in Bengal. Jugantar, a periodical published by the Anushilan Samiti; spread revolutionary spirit in every corner of the state. Kudiram Bose and Prafulla Chaki tried to shoot kingford. The Alipore conspiracy case against the bomb manufactures in Calcutta stirred the British administration in the country. In the same way, an attempt on the life of Viceroy Harding & a plan of armed uprising against the British by Ras Behari Bose had shaken j; administration. The Kakori Conspiracy case, the establishment of the Hindustan Socialist Republican Association, hurling a bomb in the Central Legislative Assembly by Bhagat Singh & Bhatukeshwar Dutt were very important activities of the Revolutionary nationalists. Revolutionary activities were carried out in Europe and other western countries also by Shamji Krishna Varma Lala Hardayal and other revolutionaries.

6.10 QUESTIONS

- 1 Give an account of the emergence of Revolutionary Nationalism in India.
- 2 Give a brief account of the Revolutionary activities in Maharashtra during the freedom struggle of India.
- 3 Assess the contribution of Revolutionary Nationalists from Bengal to the freedom struggle of India.
- 4 Discuss the Revolutionary activities carried out by Indian nationalists in Europe.



Unit - 7

GANDHIAN MOVEMENTS

Unit Structure: -

- 7.0 Objectives
- 7.1 Introduction
- 7.2 Initial satyagraha
- 7.3 Background to Non-cooperation
- 7.4 Nagpur session of the Congress
- 7.5 Non- cooperation Movement
- 7.6 The Swaraj Party
- 7.7 Civil Disobedience Movement
- 7.8 First Phase of Civil Disobedience Movement
- 7.9 Second Phase of Civil Disobedience Movement
- 7.10 Quit India Movement
- 7.11 Conclusion
- 7.12 Further Reading
- 7.13 Broad Questions

7.0 OBJECTIVES:

1. To introduce students to Gandhian philosophy of Ahimsa, Satyagraha.
2. Overview of Mahatma Gandhi's early life, activities in South Africa which helped him in the formulation of the philosophy
3. The efforts of Indians towards freedom under Gandhi's leadership.
4. The events and movements that helped in spreading the zeal of nationalism all over India.
5. The change in British attitude towards India as the freedom movements became more intense.

7.1. INTRODUCTION:

With the establishment of Indian National Congress in 1885, Indian nationalism began to take a new shape. The early phase of Congress, dominated by the Moderates (1885-1905), applied the method of prayers and petitions to the British Government to fulfil

the demands of Indians. They had greater faith in British sense of justice and fair play. However, their policies could not achieve much result. Therefore, a wave revolutionary nationalism began to spread, which gave rise to extremist ideology, who resorted to violent means to fight for freedom from British rule. The extremist ideology remained dominant from 1905-1920.

In the light of this background emerged the father of the nation, Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi, whom the nation calls 'Mahatma', on the political scene of India.

Born on 2nd October, 1869 in Kathiawar, Gujarat, Gandhiji completed his education in England and became Barrister. After returning to India, he began to practice in Bombay High Court. Unsuccessful in the legal profession, he went to South Africa in 1893 & stayed there until 1914. During his stay there, he fought against racial discrimination which denied human rights to Asians necessary to live a civilized life.

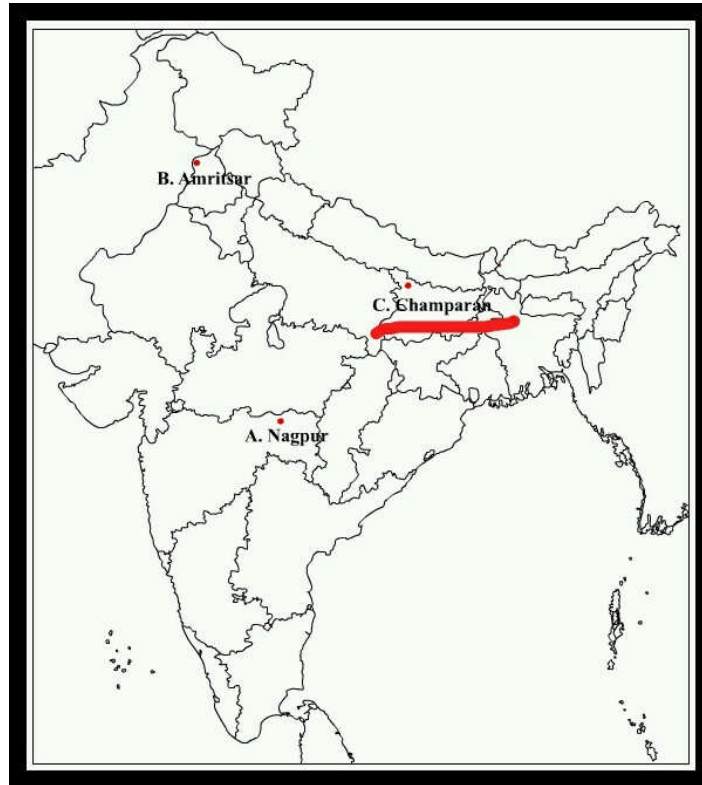
In the course of his anti-discrimination movement in South Africa, Gandhiji evolved the techniques of Passive Resistance, Satyagraha, & Ahimsa.



Gandhiji came to India in January 1915 & was given a warm welcome for his splendid work in South Africa. On advice of Gopal Krishna Gokhale, whom he considered as his political Guru, he travelled extensively all over India including Burma. He set up an Ashram on the bank of Sabarmati river, near Ahmedabad. There, he lived with his close associates who were taught the emotional & moral lessons of Satyagraha & given rigorous training.

7.2. INITIAL SATYAGRAHA:

His entry into Indian politics took place during 1917-18 when he became involved in 3 local issues, involving peasants & workers. Those issues were: Problems of Champaran (Bihar) indigo farmers, Problems of the peasants of Kheda in Gujarat & Industrial dispute in the textile mill in, Ahmedabad.



7.2.1. Problems of Champaran (Bihar) indigo farmers:

Champaran farmers received maltreatment from European planters and agents. Agents always gave uneconomic price of their crops and during World War I, imposed illegal levies on them. Gandhi enquired about the matter and got no response from authorities there. Instead he was arrested for supporting farmers. Finally, the Bihar government released him and also appointed Champaran Agrarian Committee with Gandhi as one of the members. Based on its recommendations the Champaran Agrarian Act of 1917 was passed which fulfilled many demands of the indigo farmers.

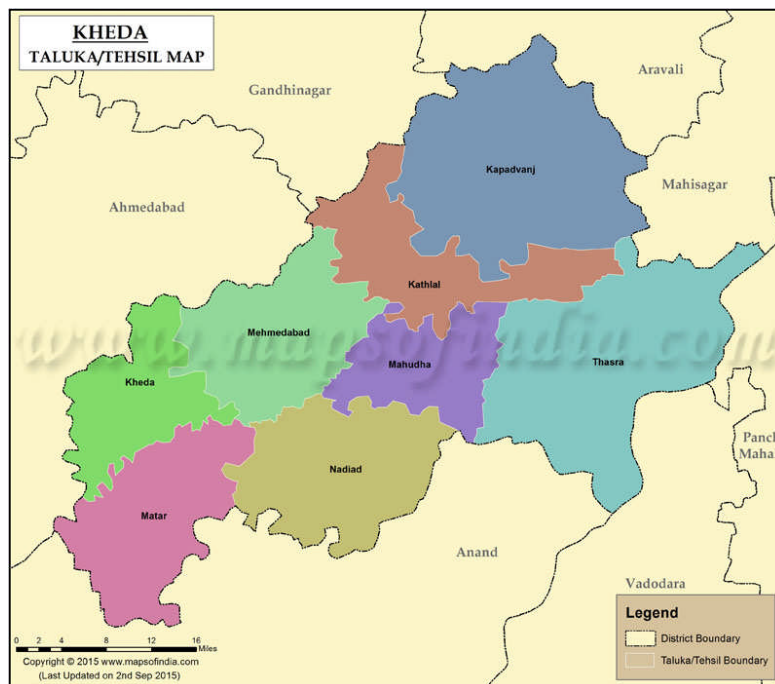
7.2.2. Problems of Peasants of Kheda (Gujarat):

In Kheda crops had failed in 1918 but government insisted on full payment of land revenue. Gandhi called for Satyagraha and

asked peasants not to pay revenue. Finally, government agreed for a compromise. This success brought Gandhi on the political scene of India. After this incident, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel became one of his followers.

7.2.3. Industrial Dispute in textile Mill in Ahmedabad:

In 1918, at Ahmedabad, mill workers demanded 35% increase in wages and went on strike. Gandhi advised workers to adopt non- violence and went on a 'fast unto death'. It attracted attention of people all over india. The strike continued with intensity. Finally, afraid of consequences the mill owners agreed the demands of workers.



Check your progress

7.3. BACKGROUND TO THE NON- COOPERATION MOVEMENT:

7.3.1. Rowlatt Act, 1919:

In view of the growing revolutionary terrorism & the on-going world war I, the government of India appointed a committee in 1917, under the chairmanship of Sydney Rowlett, a Judge in London, to investigate the nature & extent of revolutionary activities & to suggest, legislation, if necessary, to deal effectively with them.

The committee, submitted its report in April 1918 & suggested various changes in the machinery of law to deal effectively with the revolutionary activities. The Imperial Legislative Council (in England) passed the bill in March 1919 & accepted the report. It came to be known as the Anarchical & Revolutionary Crimes Act or the Rowlett Act. **According to the act:**

- 1) It provided for trial of offences by a special court. There was no provision in the Act to appeal against the decisions of the court.
- 2) It gave authority to the govt. to search any place & arrest a person without a warrant.
- 3) It provided for confinement without trial for a maximum period of 2 years.

7.3.2. Anti-Rowlett Satyagraha:

After the introduction of Rowlett Act, there was a nationwide protest against it. The nationalist leaders condemned the Act. Gandhiji opposed the Rowlett Act. In 1919, he founded the Satyagraha Sabha whose members took a pledge to disobey the Act & to court arrest & imprisonment. It was a new method of struggle.

In April 1919, countrywide *hartal* or strike was launched. This was followed by mass protest & mob violence in Bombay, Ahmedabad & several other towns. There was a remarkable political awakening in India. There were *hartals*, strikes, processions & demonstrations. But the movement lost momentum after Jallianwala Bagh Massacre on April 13, 1919.



7.3.3. The Jallianwala Bagh Massacre:

The government was determined to suppress the mass agitation. It repeatedly lathi-charged & fired upon unarmed demonstrators at Bombay, Ahmedabad, Delhi, Calcutta & other cities. Gandhiji called for nationwide strike on 6th April 1919. The people responded with enthusiasm. The government decided to meet the popular protest with repression, particularly in Punjab, where agitations were more strong.

A large but unarmed crowd had gathered on 13th April 1919 at Amritsar in the Jallianwala Bagh, to protest against the arrest of their popular leaders Dr. Saifuddin Kitchlew & Dr. Satyapal.

General Dyer, the military commander of Amritsar, decided to terrorize the people of Amritsar. He surrounded the Bagh with his army unit, closed the exit with his troops, & then ordered his men to shoot into the trapped crowd with rifles & machine-guns. Thousands were killed & wounded. After this massacre, martial law was proclaimed throughout Punjab & people suffered from uncivilized atrocities. A wave of terror spread throughout the country.



Saifudin Kitchlu.



General Dyer.



Jallianwala Baugh.

The Jallianwala Bagh massacre changed the political situation which became more adamant. It was soon followed by the Khilafat Movement in 1920.

7.3.4. The Khilafat Movement (1920-22):

The Muslims of India regarded the treatment of Turkey as a great betrayal on the part of Britain & the Indian Muslims started a

vigorous agitation to bring pressure on Britain to change its policy towards Turkey. Hence, in support of the Sultan of Turkey or Khalifa, they started a movement called " Khilafat Movement". Due to the support of the congress the Khilafat movement grew in strength.

In June 1920, an all-party conference met at Allahabad & approved a programme of boycott of schools, colleges & law courts. The khilafat Committee launched a non-cooperation movement in August 1920.

At the special session of the INC held in Calcutta in Sept 1920, a resolution was passed, at Mahatma Gandhi's instance, to launch the Non-Cooperation movement.



Check your Progress:

7.4. THE NAGPUR SESSION OF THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS (DECEMBER 1920)

The Nagpur session of the Congress accepted the resolution passed at the Calcutta session in sept 1920. The congress in this session outlined its goals as follows:

1. Demand for the self-government within the British Empire was replaced by the word "Swaraj"

2. Revolutionary changes were brought about in the Congress Organization, namely;
 - a. Congress membership made open to all adults,
 - b. the formation of an All-India Congress Committee,
 - c. creating a hierarchy of district, taluka, & village Congress Committee,
 - d. reorganization of the Provincial Congress Committee on a linguistic basis,
 - e. promotion of Swadeshi, particularly hand-spinning & weaving,
 - f. removal of untouchability among the Hindus & promotion of Hindu-Muslim unity and use of Hindi as far as possible.

However, some older leaders of the congress did not like the new turn in the national movement, so they left the Congress. The new method of hartals, strikes, Satyagraha, breaking laws, courting of imprisonment was not liked by them. Mohammad Ali Jinnah, G.S. Khaparde, Bipin Chandra Pal and Annie Besant were among those who left the Congress during this period.

Check your progress

7.5. THE NON-COOPERATION MOVEMENT:

7.5.1. The Programme:

The programme of the movement had 2 main aspects:
Destructive & Constructive.

Under the first category (**Destructive**) came;

- 1) surrender of officially conferred titles & honours & resignation from government service,
- 2) refusal to attend official & non-official functions,
- 3) gradual withdrawal of students from government educational institutions,

- 4) boycott of British courts & legislature by lawyers,
- 5) boycott of elections by candidates & voters
- 6) boycott of foreign goods.

The **constructive programme** of the Non-Cooperation movement comprised:

- 1) setting up of arbitration boards to take the place of courts,
- 2) founding of national schools & colleges where students leaving govt. Schools & Colleges might continue their education,
- 3) promotion of swadeshi,
- 4) popularization of Charkha & Khadi
- 5) raising a Volunteer Corps.

7.5.2. Progress of the Movement:

The years 1921 & 1922 witnessed an unprecedented movement of the Indian people. Thousands of students left government schools & colleges & joined national schools & colleges.

It was at this time that the 'Jamia Millia Islamia' (National Muslim University) of Aligarh, the Bihar Vidyapith, the Kashi Vidyapith & the Gujarat Vidyapith came into existence. The Jamia Millia later shifted to Delhi.

Acharya Narendra Dev, Dr. Zakir Husain & Lala Lajpat Rai were among the many distinguished teachers at these national colleges & universities. Hundreds of lawyers, including Chittaranjan Das (Deshbandhu), Motilal Nehru, Rajendra Prasad, Saifuddin Kitchlew, C. Rajagopalachari, Sardar Patel, Asaf Ali gave up their legal practice.

The 'Tilak Swarajya Fund' was started to finance the Non-Cooperation Movement, & within 6 months over a crore of rupees were collected. Women freely offered their jewellery. Boycott of foreign cloths became a mass movement. Huge bonfires of foreign cloths were organized all over the land. Khadi soon became a symbol of freedom.

In July 1921, the All-India Khilafat Committee passed a resolution declaring that no Muslim should serve in the British Indian army. In September, the Ali brothers were arrested for sedition. Immediately, Gandhiji gave a call for repetition of this resolution at hundreds of meetings.

The congress issued a similar declaration that no Indian should serve the govt. which degraded India socially, economically & politically. The congress also proposed to start a civil-disobedience movement in all the provinces including non-payment of taxes if people were ready for it.



7.5.3. Reaction of the British Government:

The government again adopted repressive measures. The congress & Khilafat Organization were declared illegal by the government. Many nationalist leaders were arrested. Nearly 30,000 courted arrest within a year. When Prince of Wales landed in Bombay in Nov 1921, he was welcomed with nationwide hartal.

7.5.4. Progress of the movement in spite of Government Repression:

In the annual session of congress at Ahmedabad in Dec 1921, a resolution was passed by which the Congress decided to continue the programme of non-violent, non-cooperation with greater vigour.

The resolution urged all Indians quietly to offer themselves for arrest. All such satyagrahis were to take pledge to remain non-violent in word & deed, to promote unity among the people belonging to different religions, to practice swadeshi & wear only Khadi, to fight actively against untouchability & to organize mass civil-disobedience along non-violent lines.

The people were deeply influenced by the movement. Thousands of peasants in U.P. & Bengal participated in non-

cooperation, people refused to pay illegal dues to the zamindars. In Assam, tea-plantation labourers went on strike. The people refused to pay taxes.

On 1st Feb 1922, Gandhiji sent a written ultimatum to the Viceroy threatening " Mass Civil Disobedience " if the Viceroy did not decide to reverse the government's repressive policies within seven days & to release political prisoners & freed the press from government control.

7.5.5. The Chauri Chaura Incident:

However, before a week elapsed, on 5th Feb 1922, a congress procession of 3000 peasants at Chauri Chaura, a village in the Gorakhpur District of U.P, was fired upon by the police.

The angry crowd attacked & burnt the police station causing the death of 22 policemen. The Chauri Chaura incident convinced Mahatma Gandhi that the country was not yet ready for the mass civil disobedience.

He therefore decided to suspend the nationalist campaign. The Congress Working Committee met at Bardoli in Gujarat on Feb 12,1922 & passed a resolution stopping the non-cooperation movement.



7.5.6. Reaction of People:

The country was shocked at Mahatma Gandhi's decision. It evoked a mixed reaction among the nationalist. While some had immense faith in Gandhiji & believed that the retreat was a part of the Gandhian strategy of struggle, others especially the younger nationalists like Subash Chandra Bose, Deshbandhu, Motilal Nehru, Lalalajpat Rai, Jawaharlal Nehru did not like the decision of

retreat just when public enthusiasm was reaching the boiling point. But both the people & the leaders had faith in Gandhiji & did not want to publicly disobey him. They accepted his decision without open opposition.

7.5.7. Arrest of Gandhiji:

The British government decided to take full advantage of the situation & arrested Gandhiji in March 1922, & charged him with spreading disaffection against the govt. He was sentenced to Six years' imprisonment.

7.5.8. Conclusion:

The sudden suspension of the movement also led to the demise of the Khilafat issue & breakdown of Hindu-Muslim harmony. Very soon Khilafat question had disappeared. The people of Turkey rose in rebellion under the leaderships of Kemal Pasha & overthrew the Sultan of Turkey. A democratic government came to power & religion was separated from politics. Kemal pasha abolished the Khalifate in 1924, hence there remained no question of protest in India.

7.5.9. Importance of the Movement:

It may be noted at this stage that even though the Non-Cooperation movement had ended in failure, the national movement had been strengthened even more. It had now reached the remote corners of the country. Millions of peasants, artisans & urban poor had been brought into it.

Check your Progress:

7.6. THE SWARAJ PARTY:

The suspension of Non-Cooperation movement created widespread disappointment and initiated an open division in the leadership of the Congress. These sections of people included C.R. Das, **Motilal Nehru**, **N.C. Kelkar**, **G.S. Khaparde**, **Vitthalbhai Patel**.



N.C.Kelkar.

These leaders proposed that instead of boycotting the legislature, it was advisable to contest elections and carry the non-cooperation inside the legislature. This proposal was not accepted by Gandhian followers

As a result, C.R. Das resigned from the Congress and announced the formation of Swaraj Party in December 1922. Those advocated council- entry were called, 'Pro-changers', and those who opposed it were called, 'No-changers'. All the pro changers entered the Swaraj Party.

The new party was to function as a group within the congress. It accepted the congress programme except in one respect—it would take part in council elections.

Gandhiji was released from jail in February 1924, on the grounds of ill-health. He failed to bring about reconciliation between pro-changers and no-changers.

The elections to the legislatures were held in November 1923, in which the Swarajists won 42 seats out of 101 seats to the central legislative assembly. In the provincial assemblies, too they did quite well, securing a clear majority in the Central Provinces, Bengal, Bombay and United Provinces.

The Swarajists did valuable work. They fought for the repeal of repressive laws. They secured a number of economic benefits such as the abolition of cotton excise duty, reduction of duty on salt, improvement in the conditions of labour, protection of trade unions etc.

Soon Swaraj Party faced lot of problems and internal divisions undermined party's prestige. A trend grew within the party towards 'responsive cooperation' to the government. By 1926, party started declining gradually and by 1927 party ceased to exist.

The announcement of the appointment of Simon Commission in 1927, revived the old policy of non-cooperation and civil disobedience.

Check your Progress:

7.7. CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE MOVEMENT:

7.7.1. Background:

The political atmosphere in the country in the decade of 1920's was marked by revolutionary activities. In this atmosphere came the sudden appointment of the Simon commission in 1927.

7.7.2. Simon Commission:

According to provision of government of India act of 1919, a statutory commission was to be appointed 10 years after the passage of the act, to enquire into the working of the act and to propose reforms, if needed. But the conservative government in England appointed the commission two years before, i.e. in 1927. The commission was composed of 7 members of British parliament, with sir John Simon as its chairman. It had no Indian member. Such commission was not acceptable to nationalist leaders. A complete hartal was observed and processions were carried out in Bombay and other cities on February 3, 1928, the day the Simon commission arrived in Bombay. It was boycotted by Congress and Muslim League, with the slogan, 'Simon go back'.



The commission submitted its report in May 1930, which was later discussed at the Round Table Conference held in London. The anti-Simon commission agitation was a turning point in India's struggle for freedom, because with this mass movement the Indian national movement entered a crucial phase.

7.7.3. The Nehru Report, 1928:

When congress gave a call to boycott the Simon commission, Lord Birkenhead, the secretary of state for India, challenged the Indian leaders to prepare a constitution to which all parties would agree. The Indian leaders accepted the challenge and an all-parties conference (Congress, Muslim League, Liberals, Hindu Mahasabha, Central Sikh league etc.) was called between February and May 1928, which appointed a committee under the chairman ship of Motilal Nehru, to draft the proposed constitution. The Nehru committee submitted its report in August 1928, which was accepted by the all-parties conference at Lucknow and passed with the only opposing vote of M.A. Jinnah. Some important features of the Nehru report were:

1. India must be given dominion status, which meant independence within the British commonwealth.
2. India to have a bicameral legislature at the centre.
3. There was to be no separate electorate.
4. Citizenship and fundamental rights were also defined.
5. Protection to minorities through a system of reservations.

The annual session of the INC held in Calcutta in December 1928, approved the Nehru report and also served an ultimatum on the British government to accept the Nehru report within a year,

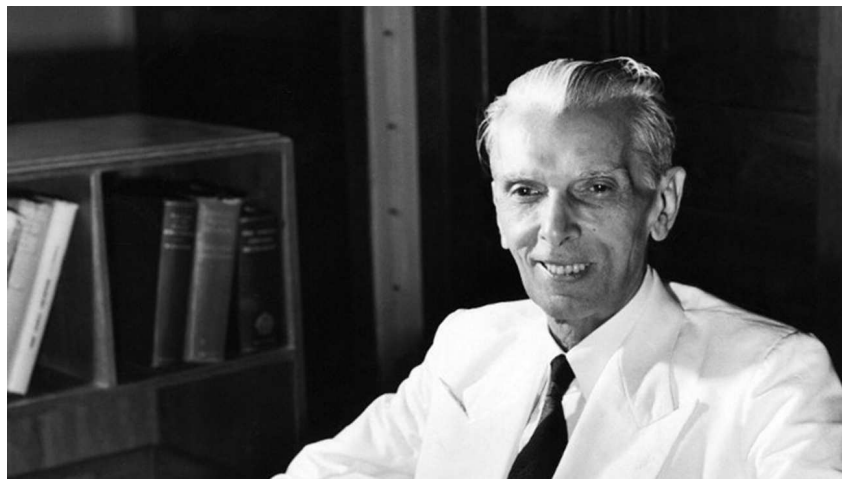
failing which the party would launch another mass movement. Since the British government did not accept the Nehru report, the congress passed the '**PoornaSwarajya Resolution**' at its Lahore session in 1929.

7.7.4. Jinnah's fourteen points:

Muhammad Ali Jinnah, the leader of the Muslim league, did not accept the Nehru report on the ground that it discarded separate electorate for the minorities. Jinnah, therefore drew up a list of demands, the fourteen points, which represented the demands of the Muslims. These included;

1. Separate electorate for Muslims.
2. One third Muslim representation in the central and provincial cabinets.
3. Creation of Muslim majority provinces.
4. Reservation of posts for Muslims in all services of the state etc.

Later the Muslim league rejected Nehru report. A brief period of Hindu Muslim cooperation had come to an end. The essence of Jinnah's 14 points was to strike a profitable bargain with the congress.



Mohammad Ali Jinnah.

7.7.5. The Lahore Session of Congress, December, 1929:

By 1929, one year had passed and the government had not responded to the Congress ultimatum of December 1928 on the Nehru report. Hence the Congress declared that the idea of Dominion status was lapsed and that the goal of India's National Movement was complete independence. It resolved to boycott the proposed round table conference. A decision was taken to launch the programme of Civil Disobedience.

At midnight on 31 December 1929, Jawaharlal Nehru, as congress president declared Poorna Swarajya as the country's goal. He unfurled the national flag of India's independence in Lahore. The Congress Working Committee, which met on January 2, 1930 decided that January 26 1930, should be observed as the Poorna Swarajya Day.

7.8. FIRST PHASE OF CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE MOVEMENT:

7.8.1. The Beginning: Dandi March

The congress working committee had authorised Mahatma Gandhi to determine the time, place and the issue on which the Civil Disobedience Movement was to be launched.

Gandhiji decided to inaugurate the movement by violating the Salt Laws on the sea coast at Dandi, a village on the Gujarat sea coast. Salt was made an issue, because the government controlled the sale of salt and imposed a tax on it.

Mahatma Gandhi launched the Salt Satyagraha on March 12, 1930 when he, along with chosen followers, marched from Sabarmati Ashram to Dandi. After a 24-day Long March he symbolically broke the Salt Laws by picking up handful of salt on April 5, 1930. The breaking up of the salt laws formally inaugurated the Civil Disobedience Movement.



7.8.2. Programmes of the Movement:

Following were the **main programmes** included in the movement:

1. Violation of salt laws and other laws everywhere,
2. Non-payment of land revenue and other taxes,

3. Boycott of law courts, legislatures, elections, government functions, government schools and colleges,
4. Boycott of foreign goods and clothes and burning of foreign clothes,
5. Peaceful picketing of liquor shops,
6. Organising mass strikes and demonstrations,
7. Resigning from government jobs and not joining the civil, military or police services.

7.8.3. Progress of the Movement:

The movement soon spread rapidly. Violation of Salt Laws all over the country was soon followed by breaking of Forest Laws in Maharashtra, Karnataka and Central Provinces and refused to pay the rural 'chaukidari' tax in Eastern India.

In United Provinces and Gujarat no tax campaign was launched. Everywhere in the country people joined hartals, demonstrations and the campaign to boycott foreign goods and to refuse to pay taxes. Lakhs of Indians offered Satyagraha. In many parts of the country, the peasants refused to pay land revenue, rent and had their lands confiscated.

A notable feature of the movement was the wide participation of women. Thousands of them left their homes and offered satyagraha. They took active part in picketing shops selling foreign clothes and liquor. They offered themselves for arrest and imprisonment.

The movement reached the extreme North Western corner of India. Under the leadership of Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan, popularly known as the, 'frontier Gandhi', the Pathans organised the society of, 'KhudaiKhidmatgars' (servants of God), known popularly as Red Shirts. They were pledged to non-violence and the freedom struggle. In Peshawar, the army refused to open fire on non-violent mass demonstrations, even though it meant facing court martial. This episode showed that nationalism was beginning to penetrate the **Indian army.**



Abdul Gaffar Khan and Gandhi.

The movement found same echo in the eastern corner of India. The Manipuris took active part in it and the young Rani Gaidilieu of Nagaland, with her followers raised the banner of rebellion against foreign rule.

7.8.4. Reaction of the British Government:

The government's reply to the national struggle was the same as before—an effort to crush it through ruthless repression, lathi charges and firing on unarmed crowds of men and women. Over 90,000 satyagrahis, including Gandhiji were imprisoned. The congress was declared illegal.

The nationalist press was gagged through strict censorship of news. Dozens of police firing took place, thousands of people died, private properties and lands of many people were confiscated for non-payment of taxes.

7.8.5. First Round Table Conference, 1930:

In this atmosphere, the Simon commission submitted its report and in November 1930, the British government convened in London the first-round table conference of political leaders of Britain and India. The purpose was to discuss the report and decide the future constitutional and administrative set up for India. Certain non-official Indians attended the conference. But in the absence of the Congress, the conference was not able to arrive at a final **decision. Hence it was adjourned in January 1931.**

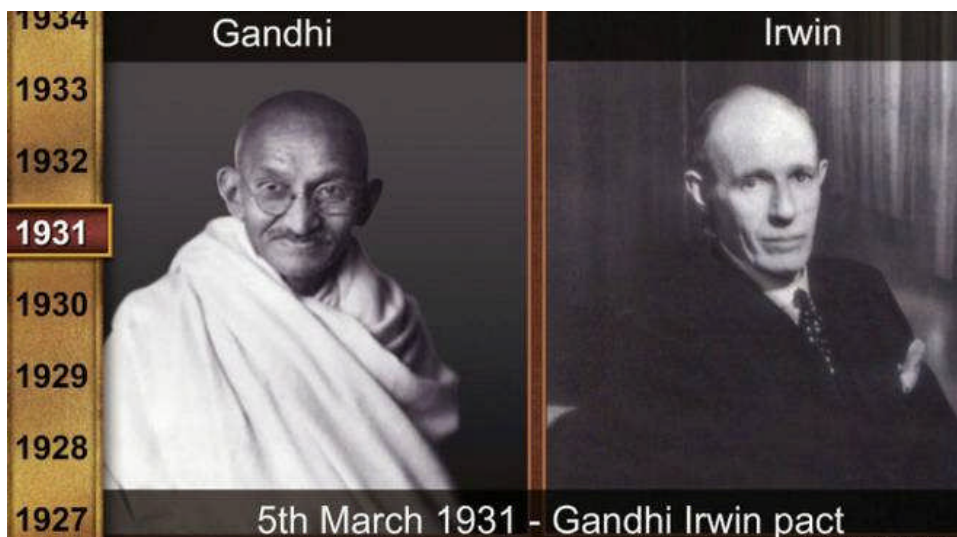


Almost 89 members attended the First Round Table Conference

7.8.6. Gandhi- Irwin Pact, 5th March 1931:

The government was keen to involve the congress in the constitution making process and hence it lifted the ban on the functioning of the congress. In January 1931, Gandhiji was also released from jail. Soon talks were held between Gandhiji and Viceroy Lord Irwin, which led to the signing of the Gandhi-Irwin pact. By the pact;

1. The government agreed to release those political prisoners who had remained non-violent,
2. It granted the right to people to make salt for consumption,
3. It permitted the right to peaceful picketing of liquor and foreign cloth shops and
4. It restored all confiscated property of the satyagrahis.



In return for the concessions, the Congress agreed to suspend the Civil Disobedience Movement and participate in the Second-Round Table Conference.

7.8.7. Second Round Table Conference, 1931:

The second-round table conference was held in London between September and December 1931. Gandhiji was the sole representative of the Congress at the conference. In spite of his powerful advocacy, the British government refused to grant the basic nationalist demand for freedom on the basis of the immediate grant of Dominion Status.

There was unending discussion on communal problem. The leaders of depressed classes demanded separate electorate but Gandhiji opposed it on the ground that they could not be classified as a separate class. Ultimately no agreed solution could be formed and Gandhiji returned to India by the end of 1931.



Check your Progress:

7.9. SECOND PHASE OF CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE MOVEMENT, 1932-1934:

Meanwhile Lord Willingdon had succeeded Lord Irwin as the viceroy in 1931. He violated many provisions of the Gandhi-Irwin pact. The government declared the Congress as an illegal body and arrested most of the leading Congress leaders, including Jawaharlal Nehru and Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan. On his return to India, Gandhiji witnessed government repression in full swing. The

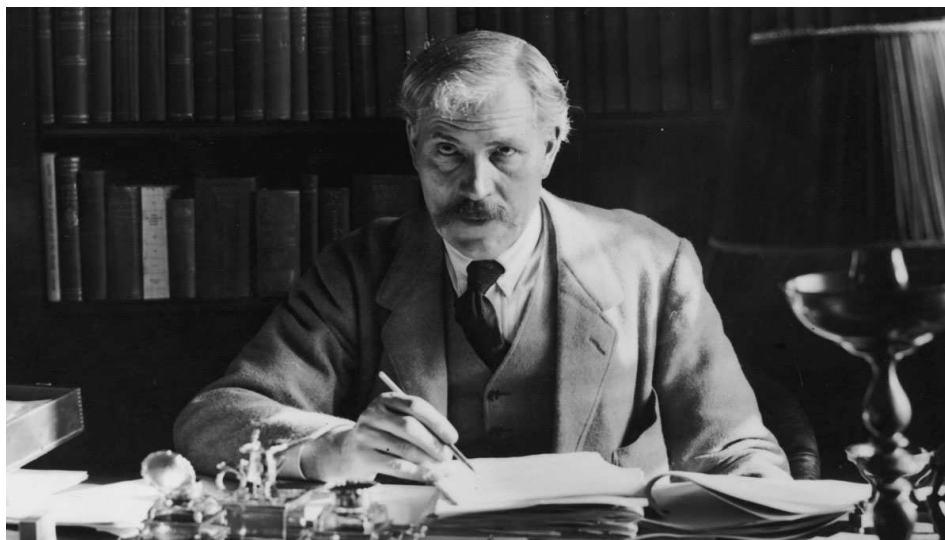
Congress working committee, which met on January 1, 1932, therefore, decided to resume the Civil Disobedience Movement. On January 4, 1932, Sardar Patel and Gandhiji were arrested.

The movement received good response from Bombay, Bengal, Gujarat, Madras and U.P. However, the movement was suddenly side tracked with the announcement by the British P.M. Ramsay McDonald of his infamous Communal Awards in August 1932.

7.9.1. Communal Awards, 1932:

The second-round table conference failed to resolve the problem of electoral representation to different religious communities and depressed classes. British P.M. McDonald took advantage of this problem and once again applied the policy of divide and rule by announcing Communal Awards in August 1932. The awards provided for;

1. The creation of separate electorate for the Depressed classes (the untouchables among the Hindus)
2. Separate electorates were also offered to different communities such as Muslims, Sikhs, Europeans, Anglo-Indians, women etc.



P.M Ramsay.

These awards were intended to divide the Indians further in segments on the basis of caste and religion.

7.9.2. Gandhi's fast unto death, September 1932:

Mahatma Gandhi, had strongly opposed the idea of a separate electorate for depressed classes and had declared that he would resist it throughout his life. He feared that separate electorate

would divide the Hindus and depressed classes then could never become integral part of Hindu society. He made counter demand of reservation of seats for them within the Hindu electorate. He wrote to the British P.M. on August 18, 1932 that he would commence the fast on September 20, 1932 in the Yervada prison, where he was lodged and it would cease only if the scheme was reviewed and the common electorate restored.

7.9.3. The Poona Pact, 1932:

Gandhiji's fast caused great alarm and anxiety all over the country. Five days later, a meeting between him and Dr. B.R. Ambedkar, the leader of the Depressed Classes League, resulted in a compromise scheme known as the 'Poona Pact', on September 25, 1932. By the pact, a common electorate of all the Hindus was agreed upon, subject to 2 conditions; firstly, 148 seats in different provincial legislatures were reserved for the depressed classes, in place of 71 as provided in the communal awards. Secondly, 18% of seats in the central legislature were reserved for the depressed classes.



7.9.4. The Third-Round Table Conference, 1932:

The government however, continued with its work of constitutional reforms. The third-round table conference was called between November to December 1932. The Congress boycotted it and only 46 delegates attended the session. This session put together the final features of a concrete plan for the Government of India Act, 1935, which after some amendments was passed by the British Parliament in August, 1935.

7.9.5. The end of the Civil Disobedience Movement:

In the background of the communal awards and Gandhi's fast unto death, the civil disobedience movement lost its momentum. After the Poona pact, Gandhiji was fully engrossed in the anti-untouchability movement. The congressmen however, continued the movement under increasing British repression. On May 8, 1933, Gandhiji announced a self-purification fast for 21 days. The government keeping in view the nature and object of his fast, released him from prison. Immediately after his release

Gandhiji recommended to the congress the suspension of the movement for 6 weeks. Accordingly, the movement was suspended for about 12 weeks.

During these 12 weeks, the mass civil disobedience movement virtually died out. In its place Gandhiji launched individual civil disobedience on August 1, 1933. After a brief progress, this movement too died down and by early 1934 was no longer in effect.



Check your Progress:

7.10. QUIT INDIA MOVEMENT, 1942:

7.10.1. Introduction:

The failure of the Cripps mission and the growing threat of the Japanese aggression brought about a radical change in Gandhi's attitude towards the British government. The people's discontent was rising more because of rising prices and shortage of food. Japan had won series of victories in west pacific. Britain surrendered Burma in May 1942. Japanese were at India's eastern frontier. India believed that the presence of the British in India was an invitation to japan to invade India and hence the Britishers should be ousted from India.

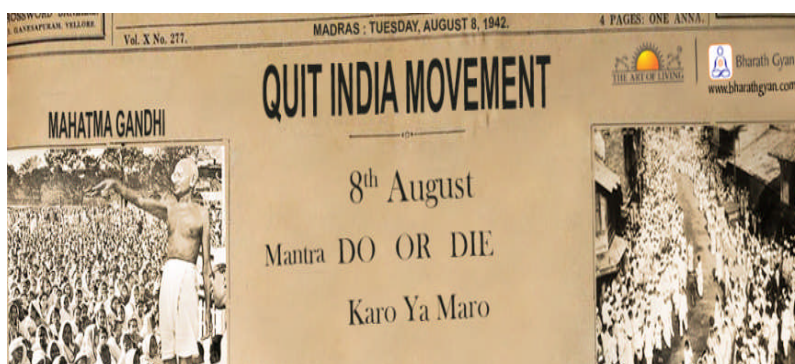
7.10.2. Wardha Resolution:

The Congress Working Committee, met at Wardha in July, 1942 and passed a resolution called, the 'QUIT INDIA' resolution. It renewed the demand that British rule in India must end immediately. The British, if relinquish their power immediately from India, Congress would support the Allies in the Second World War and allow the Allied forces to be stationed in India to fight against Japanese aggression.

The response from the government to the appeal was negative, and denied any grant of complete independence during the time of ongoing world war.

7.10.3. Quit India Resolution, Bombay:

The all India congress committee, which met in Bombay on August 8, 1942 approved Wardha resolution with overwhelming majority. It sanctioned the non-violent mass struggle under the leadership of Gandhiji. He appealed every Indian to participate in the movement. Mahatma Gandhi in his speech said, 'every one of you from this moment onwards consider yourself a free man or woman and act as if you are free..... I am not going to be satisfied with anything short of freedom. We shall do or die in the attempt'. The place where the congress passed resolution i.e. Gawalia Tank Maidan is now known as August Kranti Maidan.



7.10.4. Progress of the Movement:

The British government was closely monitoring the situation and had made elaborate preparations to crush the proposed rebellion. On August 8, 1942, itself the police arrested Mahatma Gandhi, Maulana AbulKalam Azad, Sardar Patel and all eminent congress leaders on 9th August early morning.

The news of these arrests left the country leaderless and a spontaneous movement of protest arose everywhere. They were sent to various prisons. The Britishers declared Congress organization illegal and was banned. Its funds were frozen. The

government thought that this action would crush the movement but the people still went ahead and reacted in any manner they could.

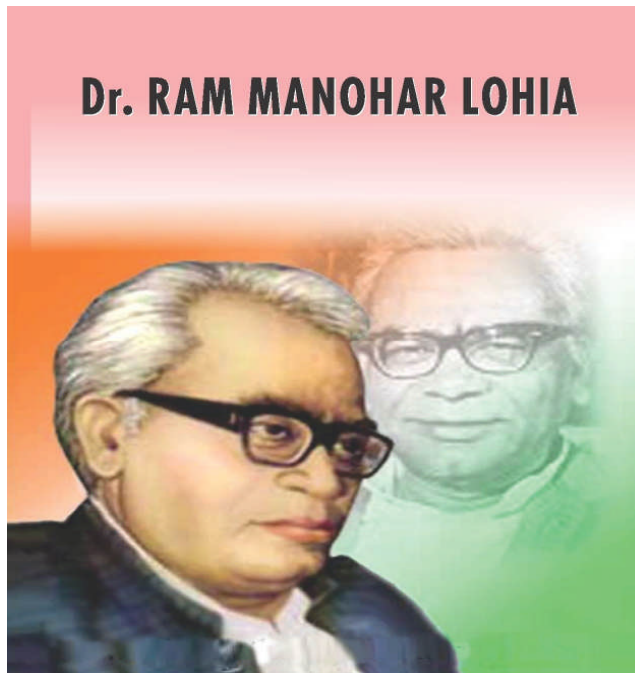
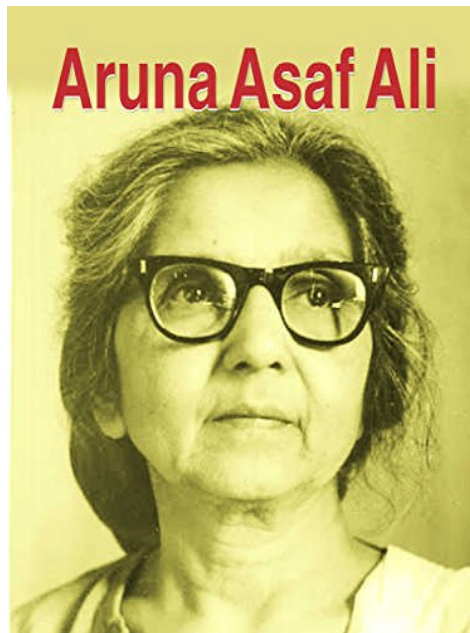
All over the country there were spontaneous hartals, strikes in factories, schools and colleges and demonstrations which were lathi-charged and fired upon. Angered by repeated firings and repression, in many places the people took violent actions. They attacked the police stations, post offices, railways stations etc. They cut telephone and telegraph wires and railways lines and burnt government buildings. Bombay, United Provinces, Bihar, Central Provinces, Madras and Bengal were the most affected in this respect.

However, during this period two new trends became evident. Firstly, the orthodox non-violent civil disobedience movement and secondly, drift towards revolutionary terrorism. After September 1942, on account of increasing British repression, the movement went underground.

7.10.5. Underground Movement:

As the government repression continued, some leaders organized underground activities. There was even an underground radio station, which functioned for some time. The pattern of activity of underground movement was organizing disruption of communications by cutting telephone and telegraph wires, derailing trains etc. They received support from common people. Businessmen donated generously for the activities of underground movement. Common men provided shelter and hide outs to underground activists. Students acted as couriers and delivered bomb and other materials across the country.

The movement was supported by the Congress socialists like Achyut Patwardhan, Ram Manohar Lohia, Jayprakash Narayan and Aruna Asaf Ali, which continued till the end of 1943. Usha Mehta managed to operate an underground mobile radio station from Bombay.



7.10.6. Government Repression:

There were lathi charges, imprisonments, torture, machine gun firing, bombing from airplanes. The press was completely muzzled. Prisoners were tortured. The military took over many towns and cities. Over 10,000 people died in police firing. Rebellious villages had to pay huge sums as fines. India had not witnessed such intense repression since the revolt of 1857. The British put down the movement with ruthless brutality.

7.10.7. End of the Movement:

In the end the government succeeded in crushing the movement. Its importance lay in the fact that it demonstrated the depth that nationalist feeling had reached in the country and great capacity for struggle and sacrifice that the people had developed. Independence was then placed on the immediate agenda of the national movement. It was evident that the British would no longer find it possible to rule India against the wishes of the people.

7.11. CONCLUSION

Gandhiji's contribution to the freedom movement of India has no parallels in the contemporary Indian history. He held the reins of the National Movement from 1919 to 1947 and during this period he was the supreme leader of the Indian people. He adopted noble means of non-violence and Satyagraha to fight the war for freedom. He showed new path to Indian politics. National movements became mass movements under his leadership. Through the weapons of Non-cooperation and Civil Disobedience, he fought the mighty British Empire. During these agitations, the Indian people exhibited matchless zeal, vigour and patience. It was under his leadership that ultimately India became free. He deserves to be called as, 'the father of the Nation'.

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7.13. BROAD QUESTIONS

- Q.1. Write a note on early life and role played by Gandhi during his initial days of freedom movement.
- Q.2. Discuss the background of Non- Cooperation Movement.
- Q.3. Explain the programmes and progress of Non-Cooperation Movement.
- Q.4. Briefly explain the progress of Indian Freedom Struggle between 1920-1922.
- Q.5. Describe the events leading to the Civil Disobedience Movement.
- Q.6. Write a note on the First Phase of the Civil Disobedience Movement.
- Q.7. Explain the progress of Civil Disobedience movement during the second phase.
- Q.8. Highlight the main events of Quit India Movement.



Unit - 8

THE INDIAN ACT OF 1935

Unit Structure :

8.0 Objectives

8.1 Introduction

8.2 Events Leading to The Indian Act of 1935 (Government of India Act)

8.3 The Indian Act of 1935 (Government of India Act) and its Provisions

8.4 Reaction and Assessment of the Act

8.5 Summary

8.0 OBJECTIVES

a. This unit will help the students in developing an understanding of the background and the various events leading to The Indian Act (came to be called as Government of India Act) of 1935.

b. To apprise the students with the passing of the Bill into an Act and the provisions of The Indian Act of 1935.

8.1 INTRODUCTION

Under the Government of India Act 1919 Dyarchy was introduced in the provinces. This demarcated the subjects of administration between the central government and provincial government. The important departments such as defence and finance were reserved with the British. Unfortunately, Indians did not receive full representative government and therefore, the Indian National Congress strongly condemned the Act as “disappointing and unsatisfactory”.

8.2 EVENTS LEADING TO THE INDIAN ACT OF 1935 (GOVERNMENT OF INDIA ACT)

a. The Simon Commission

In November 1927, the British government appointed the Simon Commission to review the reforms of the Act of 1919 and suggest improvement. As the Commission did not have any Indian representation, the Congress and the Muslim League opposed it and protested on its arrival in Bombay in February 1928. The Commission submitted its report in 1930 after which three Round

Table Conferences were held to discuss the future constitutional measures for India.

b. The Nehru Report

On the other hand, in 1928 a committee under Motilal Nehru submitted to the government the Nehru Report with 14 points. Some of the demands in the report were Dominion Status, protection of minorities through a system of reservation, universal adult suffrage, etc. However, the government did not respond to the report and hence, in 1928 at the historic session of Indian National Congress at Lahore the demand of 'Purna Swaraj' (complete freedom) was declared.



c. The Civil Disobedience Movement and Dandi March

Further, in 1930 Mahatma Gandhi launched the Civil Disobedience Movement with Dandi March, violating the Salt Act on 6th April 1930. The movement spread to every part in different forms. Gandhiji was arrested and the government passed ordinances to suppress the movement. The Congress leaders were behind bars and therefore the government nominated the representatives of other parties or communities to represent India at the First Round Table Conference which was held in England in 1930-1931 resulting in no concrete outcome. Eventually the government realised the need to pave way towards compromise with the Congress.

d. The Gandhi-Irwin Pact (1931)

In March 1931 famous Gandhi-Irwin Pact was signed and accordingly all government ordinances against the satyagrahis were to be withdrawn and political prisoners were released. Gandhiji agreed to call off the civil disobedience movement and participate in the Second Round Table Conference in 1931 as the only representative of the Congress. However, the outcome of the conference was not accepted by Gandhiji and he returned to India to relaunch the second phase of civil disobedience movement.

e. The Communal Award and Poona Pact (1932)

The August 1932 Communal Award was announced by Ramsay MacDonald, the Prime Minister of England. It was for providing separate electorate to the Muslims, Europeans, Anglo-Indians and the Sikhs. Also, it would divide the Hindus by creating separate electorate for the caste Hindus and the Scheduled Castes. The Award would destroy the unity of the country. Gandhiji opposed this and went on fast unto death. In order to save Gandhiji, leaders of various parties arranged talks between Dr B R Ambedkar and Gandhiji and this resulted into the famous Poona Pact of 1932. As per the Poona Pact both the leaders agreed to retain the unity between the Hindus and the Depressed Classes.

In the background of the Communal Award and Poona Pact, the mass civil disobedience slowly died down. By the end of 1932 the Third Round Table Conference was held. The Congress boycotted it and only 46 delegates attended the Conference. At the conference the final features of a concrete plan for the Government of India Act, 1935, with some amendments was passed by the British Parliament in August 1935.

8.3 THE INDIAN ACT OF 1935 (GOVERNMENT OF INDIA ACT) AND ITS PROVISIONS

The British government published a 'White Paper' based on the discussions held at the Third Round Table Conference, the Simon Commission, the Nehru Report, the Communal Award and the Poona Pact, but it was opposed and criticized by all the Indian leaders. Therefore, in April 1933 the government formed a Joint Committee under the Chairmanship of Lord Linlithgow. This committee was to examine and submit a report on the 'White Paper' to the government. The report was submitted in 1934 and on the basis of it a bill was introduced in the House of Commons and finally the Bill of Indian Constitution was passed in 1935 which subsequently became an Act and came to be called as the Government of India Act, 1935.

Provisions of the Act:

The act was the longest and the last constitutional measure introduced by the British in India. It consisted of 321 sections and 10 schedules. The main features of the act are as follows:

1. It provided for the establishment of federation of India consisting of Governor's Provinces and the Princely States. The federation was to be under greater control of the British Crown, which were to be performed by the Viceroy and the Governors.

2. While the provinces were to join the federation automatically, for the Princely States it was made purely voluntary whether to join the federation or not.
3. The Dyarchy was abolished at the provincial level and in its place the Provincial Autonomy was introduced.
4. All subjects of the provincial administration were placed in the hands of the ministers who belonged to the elected legislature.
5. An important provision of the act was, it provided for grant of wide powers to the Governors and to the Viceroy. The act gave special powers to the Governors, to veto legislative action and legislate on their own, which effectively curbed the powers of the ministers and undermined the provincial autonomy.
6. The act provided for the three lists—Federal, Provincial and Concurrent. The Federal Government was authorised to pass laws on subjects included in federal list, while the provincial government could legislate on subjects in the provincial list. Both the federal and provincial legislatures could pass laws on subjects included in the Concurrent list.
7. In case of state of emergency, the federal legislature could pass laws on the provincial subjects as well. On the concurrent list if the federal government had passed a law on a particular subject, the provincial government could not make law on the same subject.
8. The federal legislature (at centre) was bicameral. The two houses were called, the 'Federal Assembly' (consisted of 375 members—250 from provinces and 125 from Princely States) and the 'Council of State' (consisted of 260 members—156 from provinces and 104 from Princely States)
9. Dyarchy was introduced at the centre. The federal list was divided under two heads: Reserved and Transferred subjects. The reserved subjects included Defence, External affairs, Tribal affairs, Religious affairs. These subjects were to be administered by Viceroy, with the help of not more than 3 counsellors appointed by him. who was responsible only to the British government.
10. The act divided British Indian provinces into 2 categories: 11 governor's provinces and 5 chief commissioner's provinces
11. Six provinces (Assam, Bengal, Bihar, Bombay, Madras, the United Provinces) were to have the bicameral legislature and the rest of the provinces had only unicameral legislature
12. A federal Court was established with jurisdiction over the States and the Provinces and to interpret the constitution. However, the supreme authority in this respect rested with the Privy Council which used to sit in London.

13. Communal representation was extended to include the Anglo-Indians and the Indian Christians who were to elect their own representatives.
14. The new reforms were introduced only in the provinces, administered by the Governors. The territories administered by the Chief Commissioners remained under the direct control of the centre.
15. The India Council of the Secretary of State was abolished. He was now assisted by advisors not less than 3 and not more than 6.
16. Sindh and North West Frontier Provinces were given the status of provinces.
17. The act separated Burma from India.

However, the princely states did not join the proposed federation, which meant the surrender of their autonomy and autocratic powers.

8.4 REACTION AND ASSESSMENT OF THE ACT

The Indian leaders bitterly criticised the provisions of the act. It was most disappointing as it failed to satisfy even minimum of their demands. None of the Indian political parties were satisfied with the act. The assessment is as follows:

1. The act provided for **defective federation** as it gave choice to princely states whether to join or not.
2. The provincial governments could exercise **no real autonomy** as the act provided wide powers to Governors and Viceroy, especially the power to veto any decision taken by the provincial governments.
3. The act gave **encouragement to communalism**. Earlier the right to elect their own representatives was given to Muslims, Sikhs, now it was extended to Anglo-Indians and Indian Christians as well.
4. The act provided ultimate sovereign power in the hands of the British parliament.

It was mostly due to the above defects that the Act failed to satisfy the Indian sentiments. The act did not mention about the Dominion Status which people of India demanded. The suspicion and dissatisfaction continued to prevail among the Indians who carried on their struggle for freedom with full vigour.

Check your progress

1. Discuss the events leading to The Indian Act of 1935.
2. What are the provisions of The Indian Act of 1935?

8.5 SUMMARY

In this unit we have understood the background of the Indian Act of 1935. The various events are discussed to understand the action taken by the British government and the expressions of the Indian political leaders. The Indians were unhappy with the Simon Commission sent by the British and protested its arrival in India. In its response to Simon Commission the Congress Committee submitted Nehru Report demanding Dominion Status and protection of minorities. Following which the Congress adopted the Complete Independence resolution. The congress created pressure on the British government and announced its second phase of civil disobedience movement. The mass protest against the Salt Act was a success by Gandhiji's Dandi March. The government suppressed the civil disobedience movement with stern action. Gandhi-Irwin Pact and the Second Round Table Conference did not show any concrete results. Gandhiji protested against the Communal Award announced by the British which was to divide the electorate and the people. However, Dr Ambedkar's initiative led to the signing of Poona Pact to retain the unity. All these events led to the passing of the Government of India Act 1935 after the Third Round Table Conference.

The unit highlights the features of the Act and the response of Indians. The assessment of the Act puts forth the defects and spread discontent amongst the Indians. This dissatisfaction forced the Indians to continue with their struggle for freedom.



Unit - 9

ATTEMPTS TO RESOLVE CONSTITUTIONAL DEADLOCK- THE CRIPPS MISSION, THE CABINET MISSION AND THE MOUNTBATTEN PLAN.

Unit Structure :

- 9.0 Objectives
- 9.1 Introduction
- 9.2 The Cripps Mission (22 March 1942)
- 9.3 The Cabinet Mission Plan, 1946
- 9.4 Direct Action Day- August 16, 1946
- 9.5 The Interim Government – September 1946
- 9.6 The Constituent Assembly, December 1946
- 9.7 The Mountbatten Plan:
- 9.8 Indian Independence Act
- 9.9 Partition of India
- 9.10 Partition of Punjab and the tragedy:
- 9.11 Understanding growth of communalism and partition
- 9.12 Summary

9.0 OBJECTIVES:

- a. The students will comprehend the attempts made by the British government to resolve the constitutional deadlock through Cripps Mission, Cabinet Mission and the Mountbatten Plan.
- b. To acquaint the students with the provisions of the Indian Independence Act 1947.
- c. To briefly understand the process of Partition and its aftermath.

9.1 INTRODUCTION:

With the outbreak of Second World War in September 1939, the British government, without considering the Indian public opinion declared India's participation in the war on their side. The Congress Working Committee protested and insisted on its demand of having complete freedom to frame her constitution after the war. The government's assurance was of Dominion Status for India as

final goal and in protest the Congress Ministry resigned on 1st October 1939.

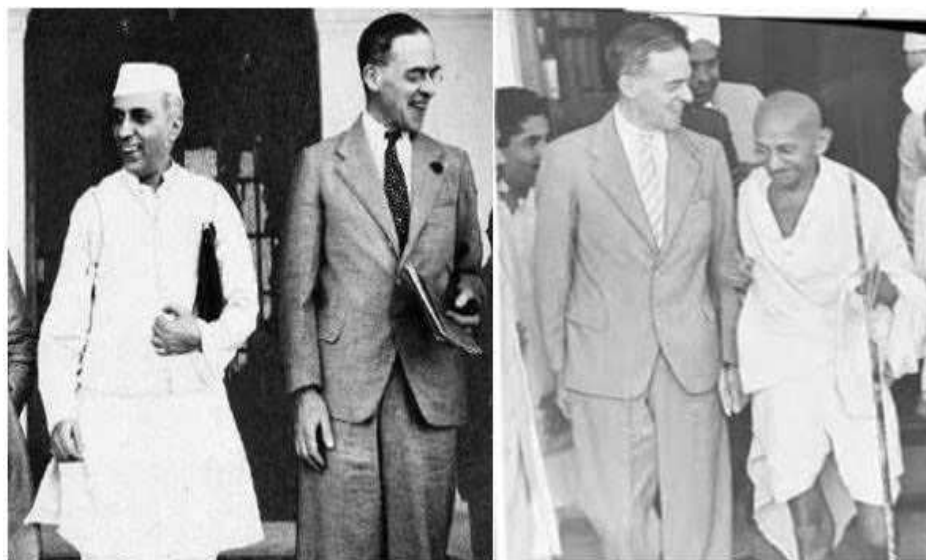
The government came up with the new declaration called the 'August Offer' promising Dominion Status but was rejected by the Congress. The Muslim League demanded partition of India as the only solution of India's future constitution. This deadlock on India's demand of complete freedom and British government being reluctant to surrender its authority was to be dissolved.

Japan's attack on the US Naval base at Pearl Harbour in December 1941 and U.S.A's entry in World War II was a turning point in history. Japan entered the war on the side of the Axis Power. After the fall of Rangoon(Burma)to Japanese forces, the US pressure forced the British government to make efforts to resolve the deadlock related to the demands of Indians. Thus, resulting in the formation of Cripps Mission.

9.2 THE CRIPPS MISSION (22 MARCH 1942):

The British government sent Sir Stafford Cripps – a member of British War Cabinet to India in March 1942 to find a solution in consultation with Indian leaders. He spent three weeks in India from March to April 1942 and held discussions with Indian leaders. Thereafter, Cripps announced his proposals in the form of a Draft Declaration to be implemented at the end of War, which may be summarised as under:

1. The British government's aim was the creation of a new Indian Union, which would have a dominion status.
2. The constitutional rights of the Indian people were accepted but subject to the condition that the rights could be used only after the war was over.
3. If any province desired to stay out of the proposed Indian Union and negotiate with Britain, it would be free to do so.
4. The British government would hand over all government departments to Indian representatives, but not defence.
5. In exchange of these concessions, Britain expected for India's support in it war efforts.



9.2.1 Reaction of Major Political Parties:

The Congress rejected the Cripps Proposals as it was not satisfied merely with the promises. The freedom of non-accession of provinces to the Indian Union was a serious threat to Indian unity. Gandhi wanted undivided India. Congress also objected to the composition of the constitution making body in which the representatives from the Princely States would be nominated by their rulers and not elected by the people. Congress demanded a full control over defence, “**stating that a slave country cannot have an inspiration**”.

The Muslim League rejected the Cripps proposals on two grounds: that it did not recognise separate electorate for the constitution making body and that the demand for the partition of India had not been accepted.

The Sikhs rejected the proposals because of the provision of non-accession for the provinces. The **Hindu Mahasabha** rejected because the ‘Pakistan Virus’ was alive. **The Dalits** and depressed classes also rejected it as their interests were not safeguarded. Thus, all the parties found the proposal vague and unsatisfactory. Gandhiji felt that the proposals were like a ‘post-dated’ cheque upon a crashing bank. Finally, the Cripps Mission ended in a failure.

Rajagopalachari’s proposal and the Simla Conference could not bring to consensus the Congress and the Muslim League and so both were a failure. Lord Wavell, the Governor General realised that only words will not satisfy the Indians and they needed something concrete. He attempted to break this deadlock by inviting Indian leaders for discussion but his efforts failed.

9.3 THE CABINET MISSION PLAN, 1946:

In July 1945, General Elections were held in Britain. The Labour Party headed by Clement Atlee came to power. Congress welcomed this change in England as the labour party had supported India's demand for freedom.

General Elections in India, 1946:

Understanding the severity of the situation in India, Atlee announced fresh elections to the Central and Provincial Legislatures which were held in 1945-1946. Congress won majority in both legislatures. In Provincial Legislature, the Congress won absolute majority in Bombay, Madras, United Provinces, Bihar, Orissa, Central Provinces, North West Frontier Provinces. In Punjab coalition government of Congress and Akali and Unionist was formed. The Muslim League could secure majority only in Bengal and Sind.

9.3.1 The Appointment of the Cabinet Mission Commission:

Prime Minister Atlee, to solve the constitutional problems of India appointed the Cabinet Mission, comprising of three British Cabinet Ministers namely; Lord Pathick-Lawrence (Secretary of State for India), Sir Stafford Cripps (President of the Board of Trade) and A.V. Alexander (First Lord of the Admiralty). The Commission arrived in India on 19th March 1946. It's most important task was to devise the mode or methods for the transfer of power, to suggest measures for the formation of a constitution making machinery and to set up an interim government.



Clement Atlee.

9.3.2 Recommendations of The Cabinet Mission Plan:

The cabinet mission spent the first three weeks in discussions with the leaders of various political parties, the rulers of princely states etc. After all these discussions, when it could not arrive at any agreed solution, the cabinet mission announced its own recommendations in May, 1946.

Its main recommendations were as follows:

1. The unity of India had to be retained.
2. The demand for Pakistan, by the Muslim League, was rejected on the ground that it would not solve the communal minority problem. In addition, it would create many serious problems in defence, communications and other areas.
3. There was to be a Union of India, consisting of the British provinces and the princely states.
4. The Union Government and its legislature were to have limited powers, dealing with only defence, foreign affairs and communications. The Union would have the powers necessary to raise the finances to manage these subjects. Thus, the Cabinet Mission Plan proposed a weak Centre.
5. All subjects other than the Union subjects and all residuary powers would vest in the provinces.
6. The princely states would retain all subjects and all residuary powers other than those given to the Union.
7. It provided that all the members of the Interim government would be Indians and there would be minimum interference by the Viceroy.
8. It also provided for the formation of the Constituent Assembly on democratic principle of population.
9. It recognised Indian right to secede from the Commonwealth.
10. The constitution making body or the Constituent Assembly would be formed of representatives of provincial assemblies and the Princely states. Each province was to be allotted a total number of seats in proportion to its population. It was to consist of 293 members from provinces and 93 members from the princely states.
11. The **provinces were grouped into 3 Categories-A, B, C.**

GROUP A- was to consist of Madras, United Provinces, Bihar, Central Provinces and Orissa.

GROUP B- was to comprise of the Punjab, Sind, North West Frontier Provinces (NWFP), and Baluchistan.

GROUP C- was to include Bengal and Assam.

This measure was unique and also the most controversial. The grouping of provinces was devised to satisfy the Muslim League, so as to give it a '**substance of Pakistan**', to exercise almost complete autonomy in the Muslim majority provinces.

Though the Cabinet Mission Plan rejected the idea of separate Pakistan, yet it grouped the provinces in such a way that it gave weightage to the idea of Pakistan, because Group B would get almost complete autonomy.

Reaction to the Cabinet Mission Plan:

The Congress agreed to the proposals relating to the Constituent Assembly, but rejected the proposal regarding the formation of an interim government, because the Muslim league had been given disproportionate representation.

The Muslim League at first accepted the cabinet mission plan, but when Congress declared that it could change the scheme through its majority in the Constituent Assembly, League withdrew its acceptance and called upon Muslims, 'to resort to direct action to achieve Pakistan'.

On 29th July 1946, the Muslim League rejected the Cabinet Mission Plan and called the Muslims to resort to "Direct Action" to achieve the land of their dream "Pakistan".

9.4 DIRECT ACTION DAY- AUGUST 16, 1946:

The Congress agreed to join the Constituent Assembly, but Jinnah backed out, blaming the Congress for its determination to set up a caste Hindu Raj in India and demanded the immediate establishment of Pakistan. If this demand was not granted, he threatened to resort to 'direct action' to gain Pakistan.

Having rejected the Cabinet Mission plan, the Muslim League politicians fixed 16th August 1946 for the 'direct action'. Communal passions were provoked in Calcutta and Hindus and Muslims fought a brutal battle. Over 5000 people were killed in what came to be known as the '**great Calcutta killing**'. It soon spread to other parts of north India, east Bengal, Bihar, Punjab, N.W.F.P., Bombay, and U.P. Jinnah had successfully demonstrated his ability to start a civil war, compelling the British authorities to return to their old policy of appeasement to the Muslim League communal politics. Amidst this situation of insanity, Mahatma Gandhi went to Naokhali to restore peace.



9.5 THE INTERIM GOVERNMENT – SEPTEMBER 1946:

The Viceroy Lord Wavell invited Jawaharlal Nehru, to form an Interim Government, which came to power in September 1946. It was composed of 12 members nominated by the Congress with Jawaharlal Nehru as its Vice President. The Muslim League at first refused to join the Interim Government, but was persuaded to change its stand. In the month of October, five congressmen of government resigned to make way for the leagues nominees. However, it became clear that the Muslim League joined the government not to work sincerely and co-operate with congress but to paralyze the functioning of new government. The tactics of the league effectively brought the business of the government to a virtual standstill.

9.6 THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY, DECEMBER 1946:

In the meantime, elections to the constituent assembly were held between July- December 1946. The assembly after election met in December 1946 with Dr. Rajendra Prasad as its president. The Muslim league refused to join the constituent assembly and began to press its demand for Pakistan. In view of the continued boycott of the assembly by the league, the British government finally ruled that the decisions of the constituent assembly would not be applicable to the Muslim majority areas. This decision further strengthened the hands of the league and suspended the working of the constituent assembly.

9.7 THE MOUNTBATTEN PLAN:

While the country was passing through the uncertainties, Prime Minister Clement Atlee announced on 20th February 1947, in the House of Commons, that the British would quit India after transferring power into responsible hands not later than June 1948. Atlee believed that this announcement would bring pressure on the Indian people to settle their differences.

Atlee also announced the appointment of Lord Mountbatten as Viceroy of India. He arrived in India in March, 1947 and immediately began to take measures for the transfer of power.



9.7.1 Communal violence:

Shortly after Atlee's declaration communal violence began in different parts of India. It forcefully brought about the downfall of Punjab ministry and again called the, 'Direct action'. In the renewed communal violence all communities- the Hindus, the Muslims, the Sikhs, fought against each other. There were violent outbreaks; thousands were killed and soon the violence spread all over north India including NWFP, Punjab.

9.7.2 Negotiations with Indian Leaders and decision of Partition:

Meanwhile, Mountbatten was holding discussions with the Indian political leaders, but found that the leaders of the League were adamant about breaking up the country along communal lines. Mahatma Gandhi, Maulana AbulKalam Azad strongly opposed partition of India.

Mountbatten after 2 months of discussions, had come to the conclusion that partition was the only choice. The congress leaders, too, were brought around to this view in the prevailing circumstances. Sardar Patel and Jawaharlal Nehru who had experience of working with League members in the interim government got convinced of the League's firm stand for Pakistan. Hence the congress accepted the partition plan of India.

After Congress's consent, Lord Mountbatten held final discussions with the Congress, the League and the Sikh leaders, to seek their agreement on his partition plan. On June 3, 1947, P.M. Atlee announced the "partition plan" or the 'June 3rd Plan' in the house of commons.

9.7.3 Announcement of Mountbatten's Plan of Partition of India or The June Third Plan:

The plan was essentially a plan for the partition of India. The plan laid down the following terms:

1. India would be divided into the Indian Union and Pakistan
2. The British paramountcy over the Indian states would end on the day power was transferred to India and Pakistan
3. That the transfer of power in either case should be on the basis of the Government of India act of 1935, modified to conform to the Dominion Status position.
4. The princely states were free to join either India or Pakistan or even remain free.
5. The new states would have the dominion status.
6. A border commission would be appointed to demarcate the boundaries of the two states and division of property.
7. According to the plan, the provinces of Punjab, Assam and Bengal were also to be divided.
8. Referendum was to be held in the province of N.W.F.P, so as to ascertain whether the people there wished to stay with the Union of India or Pakistan.
9. The princes were given the option of joining either India or Pakistan or remain independent.
10. In the event of two Dominions coming into being, the Armed forces in India should be divided between them. The units would be allocated according to the territorial basis of recruitment and would be under the control of the respective governments. In the case of mixed units, the separation and redistribution should be entrusted to a committee.

Thus, the actual division between the two new dominions took place according to the 3rd June Plan. The border between India and Pakistan was determined by a British Government commissioned report which was referred to as the Radcliff Line after the London Lawyer, Sir Cyril Radcliff.

The existence of Pakistan was acknowledged with two non-adjacent territories. East Pakistan and West Pakistan was geographically divided by India.

Conclusion:

Expressing his views, Lord Mountbatten said, "My own feeling was that a united India was, of course, the right answer, but the riots and bloodshed throughout the country made the prospects of its acceptance obviously petty remote. All the Muslim League

leaders to whom I spoke made it absolutely clear that they desire partition”.

Both the Congress and League accepted this plan and accordingly the British Parliament passed the Indian Independence Act on 4th July, 1947.

Check your progress

1. Why did the British send the Cripps Mission to India? Discuss its proposal.
2. Explain the Cabinet Mission Plan and state its recommendation.
3. What were the provisions of the Mountbatten Plan? State its impact.

9.8 INDIAN INDEPENDENCE ACT

Introduction

The Indian independence Act was merely based upon the promise made in the Mountbatten plan (June 1947). The British government, introduced the Indian Independence Bill in the Parliament on 4th July 1947. It was passed after a fortnight on 18th July. This Act of Indian Independence was implemented on 14th August 1947. The Act did not provide for any new Constitution of India. It was only an Act, “to enable the representatives of India and Pakistan to frame their own Constitutions and to provide for the exceedingly difficult period of transition”.



Provisions of the Indian Independence Act:

1. On August 15, 1947, India would be partitioned into two Dominions of India and Pakistan.
2. It was laid that the British government would transfer all their powers to the Assemblies of India and Pakistan by 15th August 1947 and thereafter the British government would have no control over them.
3. The constituent assemblies in both the Dominions would be free to frame their respective constitutions and would have the authority to decide whether to stay with the British Commonwealth or not.
4. The office of Viceroy was to end therewith and replaced by a separate Governor General for each Dominion.
5. Till the new constitution was framed, the Constituent Assemblies in both the Dominions were to act as the Dominion Legislature in their respective areas.
6. The Emperor of England was divested of his power to veto the legislations passed by the Dominion Legislatures. This right now vested with the Governor- General.
7. Till the new constitution was framed, the administration in both the dominions was to function in accordance with the Government of India Act of 1935. Each dominion was authorised to make modifications in that act.
8. The act terminated the suzerainty of the crown over India and all treaties, agreements etc. lapsed from August 15, 1947.
9. The Princely States would have the choice to join either of the two Dominions of India and Pakistan or to retain their independence.
10. Agreements with the tribes of the NWFP were to be negotiated by the concerned Dominion.
11. The office of the Secretary of State for India was to be abolished and his work was to be taken by the Secretary of State for the Commonwealth Affairs.
12. The title of the 'Emperor of India' was dropped from the royal style.
13. Until 31st March 1948 the Governor-General was given the powers to modify or adopt the Government of India Act, 1935. Thereafter, the respective Constituent Assemblies could do it.
14. The western areas of the Punjab, the North-West Frontier Provinces, Sind, Baluchistan in the west and the eastern half of Bengal and Sylhet district in Assam were to form the new state of Pakistan.

Briefly, it can be summarised that the Act converted India into two independent Dominions within the British Commonwealth of Nations. The word 'independent' emphasised freedom from control of the British Parliament and British Crown. The Act was acclaimed as "the noblest and greatest law ever enacted by the British Parliament." It was a new beginning of free India.

9.9 PARTITION OF INDIA

The struggle of freedom movement in India ended through various Acts, Missions and Plans. All the political parties of India accepted the Mountbatten Plan and was implemented without delay. The Congress accepted that along with freedom, partition of India was inevitable under the existing circumstances. The Assemblies of Bengal and Punjab were in favour of partition of the provinces. East Bengal and West Punjab joined Pakistan. The referendum in the Sylhet resulted in the incorporation of those districts in East Bengal.

Partition of India in August 1947



9.9.1 The Birth of Pakistan:

On 7th August 1947, M.A. Jinnah left India for Karachi. The Constituent Assembly of Pakistan, which met on 11th August, elected him first as President, three days later he was sworn in as Governor General of Pakistan. On 14th August 1947, Lord Mountbatten, officially inaugurated, 'the Dominion of Pakistan'.

India wins freedom, 15th August 1947:

On 14th August 1947, Constituent Assembly of India met to draft a Constitution for Independent India. At mid-night, Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru announced the freedom of India. Mountbatten was appointed as first Governor General of Free India. Sardar Patel became the Deputy Prime Minister and in-charge of Home Ministry. The British domination of the country was finally over.

9.9.2 Boundary Commissions:

In order to demarcate the boundaries, two Boundary Commissions were appointed in June 1947, each for Punjab and Bengal under the Chairmanship of Justice Cyril Radcliffe. The Commission worked under limitations and utmost secrecy. The final demarcations were published on 17th August, two days after the partition.

As per the Commission the provinces of Punjab and Bengal were divided into two parts each. The Commission gave West Punjab and East Bengal to Pakistan and East Punjab and West Bengal became the parts of India.



9.9.3 Partition of Bengal:

The Muslim majority of Sylhet district in Assam joined Pakistan via plebiscite. Part of Sylhet named the Karimganj was given to India. The Chittagong Hill tracts were given to East Bengal. India too was awarded Muslim- minority districts of Murshidabad and Malda in Bengal.

9.10. PARTITION OF PUNJAB AND THE TRAGEDY:

The non-Muslim population of Punjab was divided between Sikhs and Muslims. The Sikhs lost rich agricultural land and important shrines in the Muslim majority division of West Punjab. The province of Punjab as demanded by the Sikhs, should be divided into two using the river Ravi as the dividing line. This would give the Sikhs their right share and protect their interests. But as per the Commission's decision the major part of the river Ravi went to Pakistan. The NWFP went in favour of Pakistan and denied the demand of independent Pakhtoonistan.

Mountbatten had assured Congress that there would be no riots and bloodshed, but the speed in which the country was partitioned proved disastrous. Accurate figures of the losses in human, animal and property are not available. But the approximate estimate reveals that between August 1947 and March 1948, about four and a half million Hindus and Sikhs migrated from Pakistan to India and nearly seven million Muslims in the reverse direction.

A great part of this migration took place within the short span of three months. In addition to the innumerable and varying casualties that occurred because of man's barbaric acts, it is agreed that more than two lakhs lost their lives. It has also been estimated that there was a two-way mass migration of over 12 million men, women and children, ever recorded in the history of mankind.

9.10.1 Communal Riots and Refugees:

Partition of India led to mass migration of people on both sides. In the midst of communal riots in eastern region Mahatma Gandhi rushed to the raged Naokhali, Bihar and Calcutta as a messenger of peace, to heal the wounds of the sufferers and extinguish the flames of communal uproar with his message of universal love and fellow feeling.

The Sikhs and the Muslims were very enraged due to partition as they had lost the best of their properties. Nearly 40% of the entire Sikh community were rendered homeless. Horrifying atrocities, violence, looting, massacre, abduction and rape became the order of the day. The refugee trains were derailed and the passengers were murdered. Thousands of women and girls were abducted. The camps were setup in Delhi where nearly one lakh Muslims took refuge. Around 8 lakhs Muslim migrated to India from Pakistan and around the same migrated from West Bengal. Efforts were put in by both the governments to give the best to the refugees.



Conclusion:

The independence we achieved, however, was only a divided freedom which was accompanied by a great human tragedy in the form of communal hatred and cruelty of which there is no parallel in the recorded history of India. India had to pay a very heavy price for her freedom.

9.11 UNDERSTANDING GROWTH OF COMMUNALISM AND PARTITION

The communal problem in India that made place in the heart of Hindus and Muslims should be looked at and understood from a different angle. The communal problem at the root level was mainly politically motivated and not exclusively religious oriented. So, it was not actually Hindu-Muslim question but was the based on the British policy of divide and rule. The demand for creation of Pakistan was one of the reasons for the birth of communalism in India and the divide and rule policy added fuel to the fire. Going back into history, the early British economic and education policies were more favourable to the Hindus as the British regarded the Muslims as main conspirers in the Revolt of 1857. This helped the Hindus grow stronger. Leaders like Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, who initially preached unity of both these communities started drifting away. Gradually in the 20th century there was search of national heroes and hero myth amongst the Hindus and Muslims.

Another area used by the British to foster communalism was employment in government service. This promoted rivalry among different sections of the society. The Muslim League was founded to look after the political rights and the interest of their community. The League came under the influence of progressive Muslim leaders. By 1930s M A Jinnah became the undisputed leader of the League. The declaration of Communal Award (1932) by the British

further widened the gap between the Hindus and the Muslims. In the first provincial elections of 1937 the Congress won absolute majority in some parts and the League could also capture some seats. The coalition ministry could not function smoothly. However, due to opening of World War II the Congress ministry resigned in 1939.

There emerged the idea of a Two-Nation Theory and the forming a separate homeland for the Muslims by their leaders. M Ali Jinnah's appealed to the Muslims to fight for separate nation. 'Direct Action Day' resulted in 1000's of lives in Calcutta further creating hatredness amongst the two communities. Partition of Bengal on the basis of Hindus/Muslims/Sikhs also created division amongst the people. Thus, partition was inevitable and led to mass migration and killings on both the sides of the country. Altogether it must be understood that communalism was one of the outcome of the colonial character of Indian economy, of colonial underdevelopment, of the incapability of colonialism to develop the Indian economy.

9.12 SUMMARY

As per the Act elections were held and congress formed its ministries in 1937. Unfortunately, with the outbreak of the World War II, the British forced India to enter the war on their side. In response, the Congress demanded complete independence after war, but the British government stuck to the Dominion Status as the base of August Offer. On the other hand, the Muslim League stressed on its demand of nothing less than Partition of India. USA's entry in the World War II against Japan changed the course of the war. Britain felt the danger of Japanese advancement towards Indian borders. British felt the immediate cooperation of Indian leaders and so sent Cripps Mission to India with the proposal of dominion Status and establishment of Constituent Assembly after the war. The Congress rejected the Cripps proposal as it seemed to be an interim plan of the British. Gandhiji launched the Quit India Movement in 1942. With the end of World War II the world political scenario changed leading to upsurge of nationalist movements. The Labour Party came to power in England and the Cabinet Mission was sent to India with a plan of forming interim government and framing the constitution. Lord Mountbatten was sent as the last Viceroy of British India, who after discussion with all parties concluded that partition of India was inevitable. The Mountbatten Plan was announced and the British passed the Indian Independence Act 1947 declaring India's partition into two successor states – India and Pakistan. Two Boundary Commissions were appointed for demarcation of the northern and eastern boundaries. Though Gandhiji opposed it, the Muslim

League accepted the plan. However, the aftermath of this announcement was very tragic as riots broke in northern and eastern regions. There was hatred everywhere. Lakhs were killed and millions became homeless in a very short span of time. Finally, India attained independence after a long-driven struggle, but of divided India which was not their dream.

Check your progress

1. State the provisions of Indian Independence Act.
2. Was partition inevitable? Comment
3. Trace the impact of the declaration of partition.

Suggested Reading

- Chandra Bipan, A. Tripathi, Barun De, *Freedom Struggle*, National Book Trust, India, 1972.
- Majumdar R.C., *Comprehensive History of India*, Vol.3 (Part III), People's Publishing House.
- Nanda S.P., *History of Modern India* (1707-Present Time), Dominant Publishing House Pvt. Ltd., New Delhi, 1980.
- Singh Khushwant, *Train to Pakistan*,



QUESTION PAPER PATTERN
Subject : History Paper - I
Semester- I

History of Modern India (1857-1947) (100 Marks)

(1) All Question are compulsory

(2) All Question Carry Equal Marks

(3) Figures to the right indicates marks to a Sub – Question

Q1. Attempt any two of the following (On Module – I) (20 marks)

A)

B)

C)

Q2. Attempt any two of the following (On Module – II) (20 marks)

A)

B)

C)

Q3. Attempt any two of the following (On Module – III) (20 marks)

A)

B)

C)

Q4. Attempt any two of the following (On Module – IV) (20 marks)

A)

B)

C)

Q5. Write any two short notes. (20 marks)

A)

B)

C)

D)

