

THE REVOLT OF 1857

Unit Structure :

- 1.0 Objectives
- 1.1 Introduction
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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 casualties. 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, Malletson, 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 Sayyid 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:

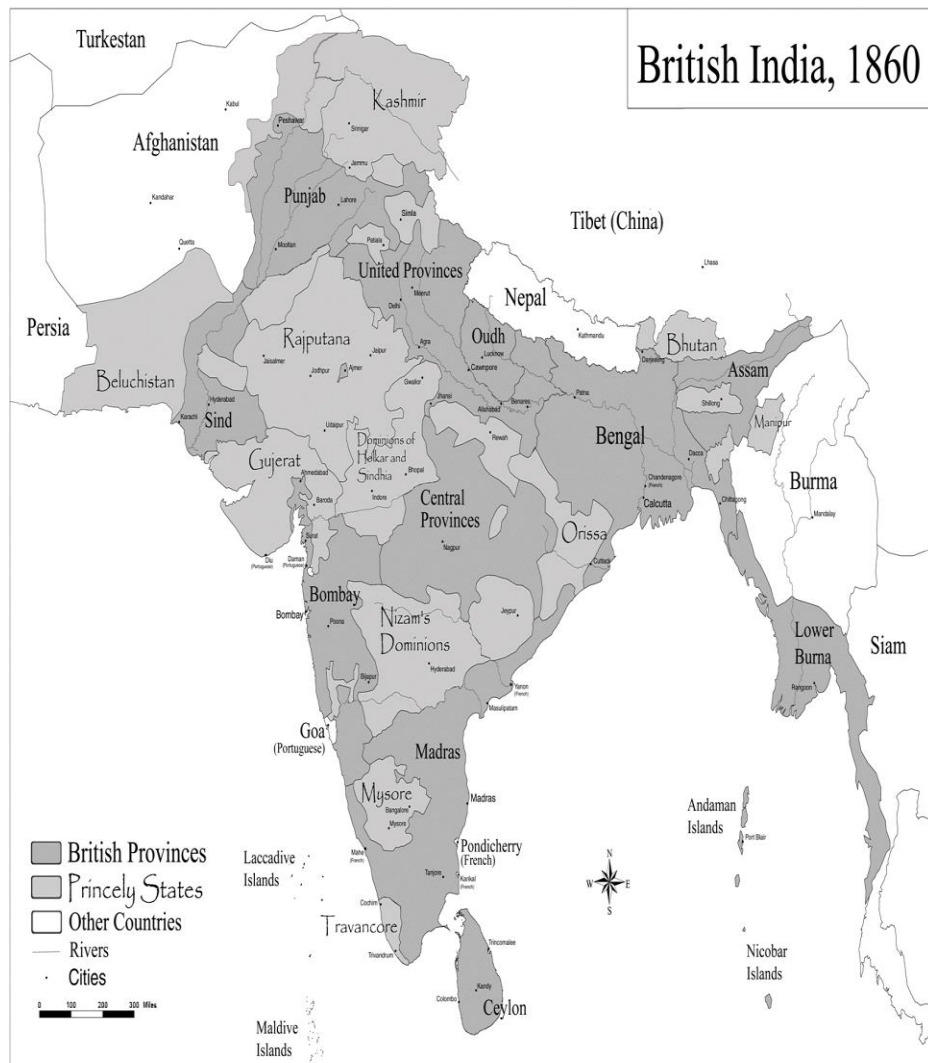
Arguments in favour:

- (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. He 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:

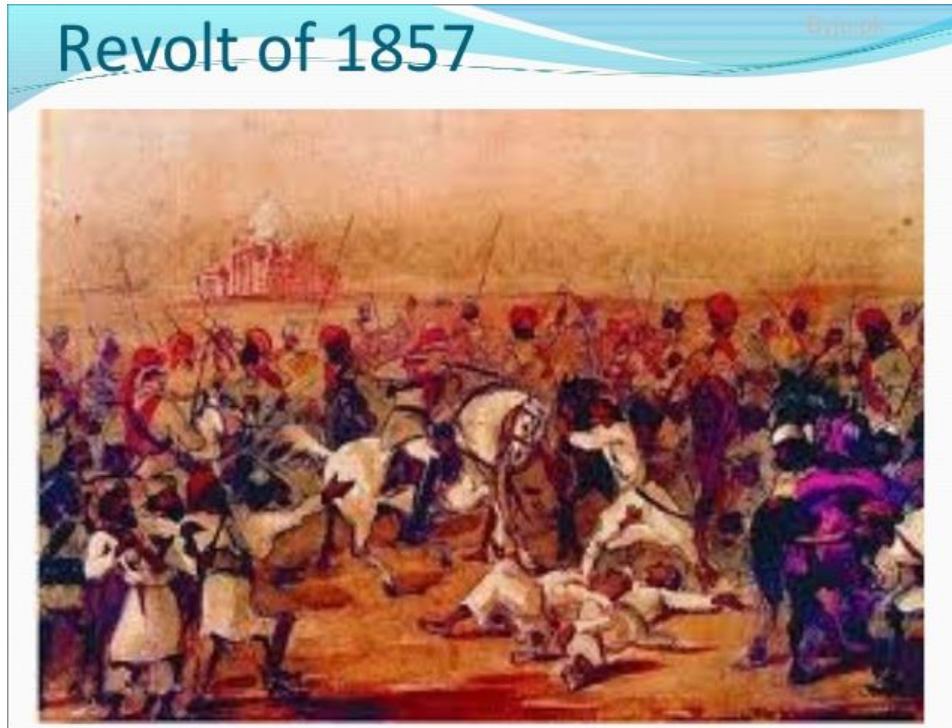
Due to the Industrial revolution in England, they were in needs of raw material which could not be satisfy from the Industry of England. Therefore, the British settlers in India, monopolized the plantation industries like indigo, jute, tea, coffee etc. In addition to it, they applied different land revenue 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 is 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 become 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.

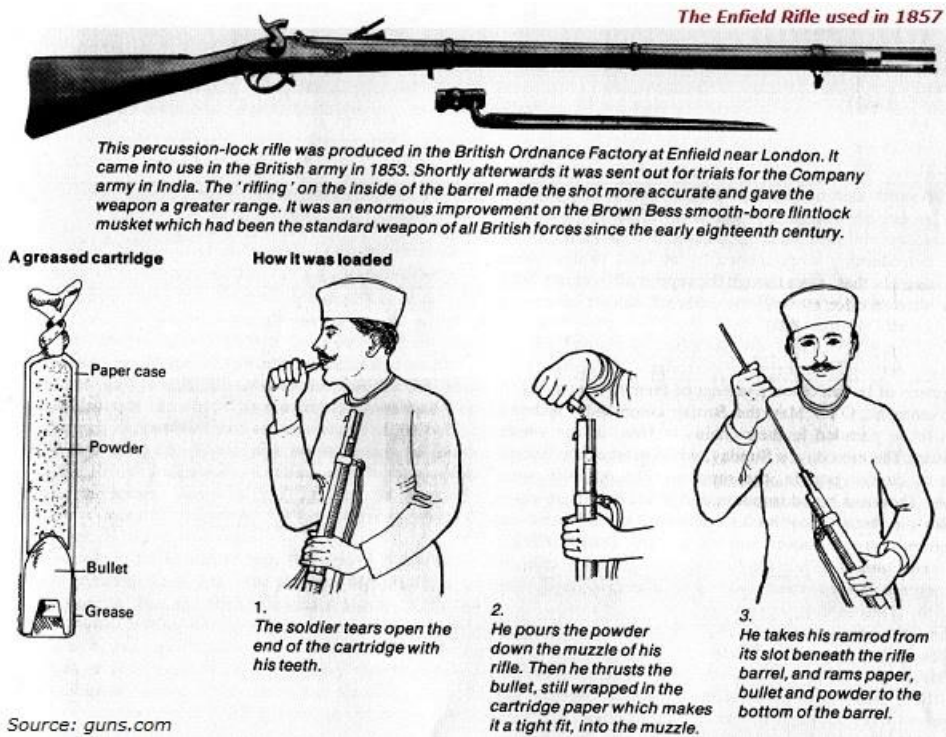
(vi) Ruin of the British in the Afghan War:

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.

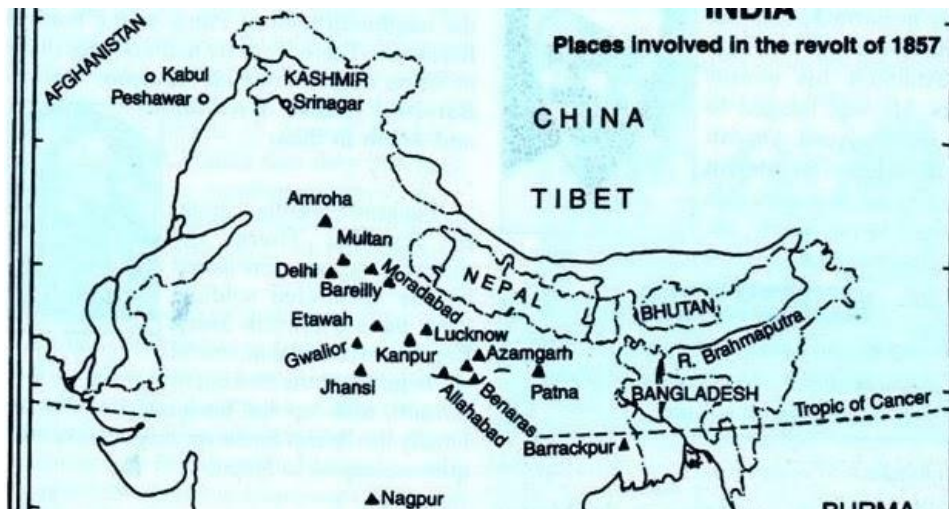
Apart from these there were also many minor revolts in Jehlum, Jalandhar, Ludhiana, Ropar, Firozpur and Agra. But by the beginning of 1858 most of these revolts were systematically suppressed by the British. Some of the Indian rulers also co-operated with the British in suppressing the revolt. The ministers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



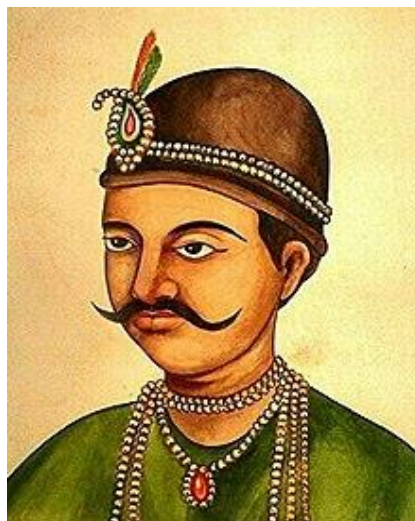
1.6.2. The Revolt began prematurely:

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:

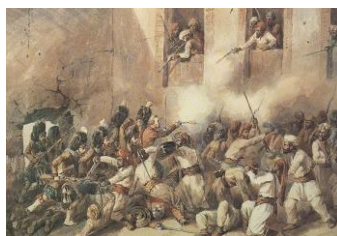
- i) The resources of the British Imperialism were unlimited. Fortunately for them, the Crimean War and other wars in which the Britishers were involved out of India had come to an end by 1856.
- ii) The British army was excessive in number which was brought into India in large numbers from different 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

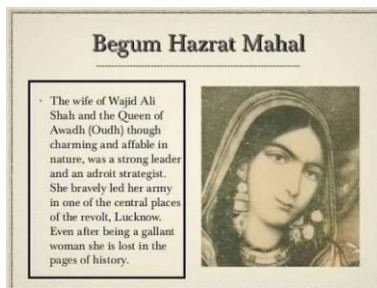
1.6.4. Lack of Unity of purpose and organization:

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:

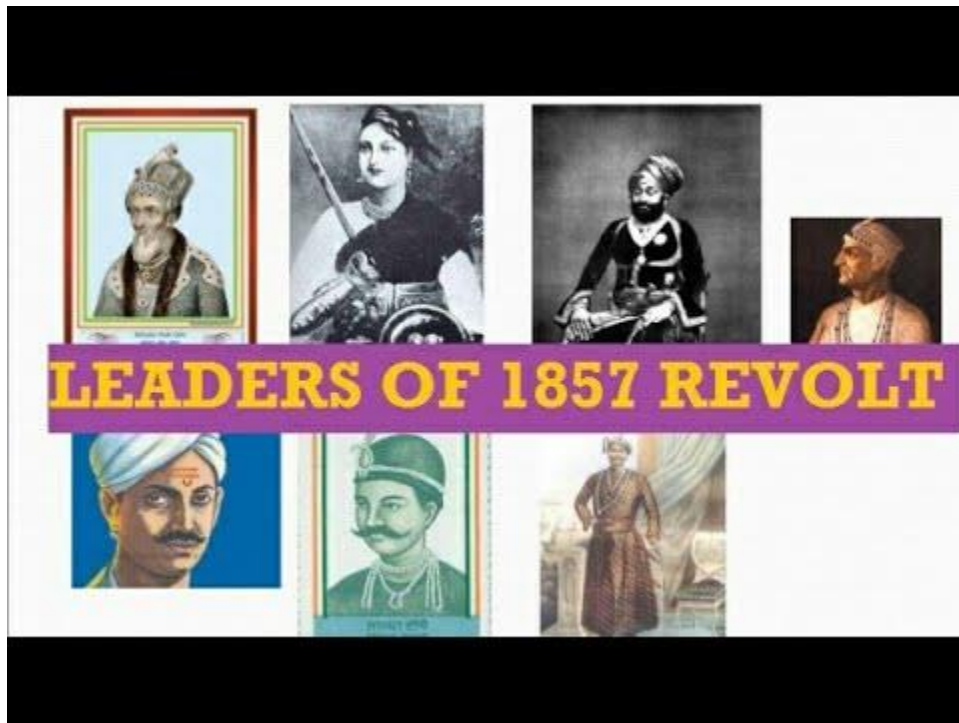
The lack of leadership amongst the Rebels was another very important cause which brought about the failure of the mutiny. The only capable leaders of the mutineers were the Rani of Jhansi, Tatya Tope and Nana Sahib. With a few honorable exceptions of whom the most distinguished were Ahmed Ullah and Tatya 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, British 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 leadership 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 categories 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 Queens 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, Balabharh, 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.



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 Fardunzi

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 Shinkerssheth



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 :

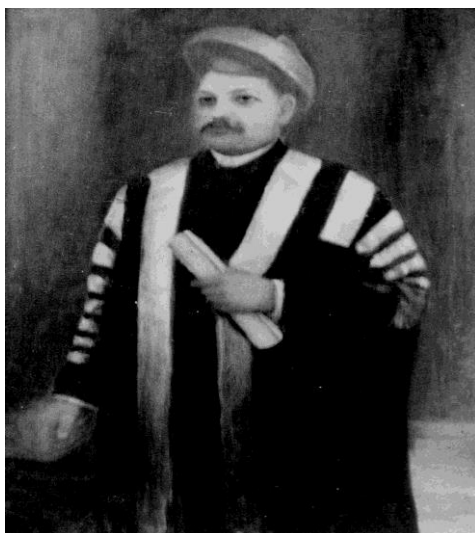
- 1) Discuss in brief the work of Poona Sarvajanik Sabha.

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.



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 :

- 8. Understand the circumstances that led to the foundation of Indian National Congress.
- 9. Analyze the Role of A.O. Hume in the foundation of the Indian National Congress.
- 10. Grasp the Aims and Objectives of the Indian National Congress.
- 11. Study the First Session of the Indian National Congress.
- 12. Analyze the Resolutions Passed in the First Session of the Indian National Congress.
- 13. 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 date 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.



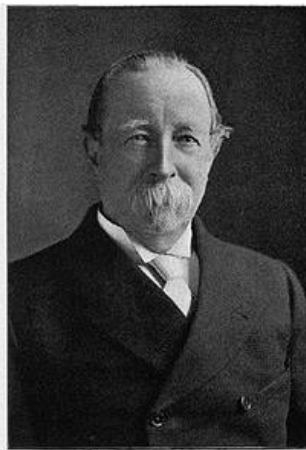
Lord Lytton.

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

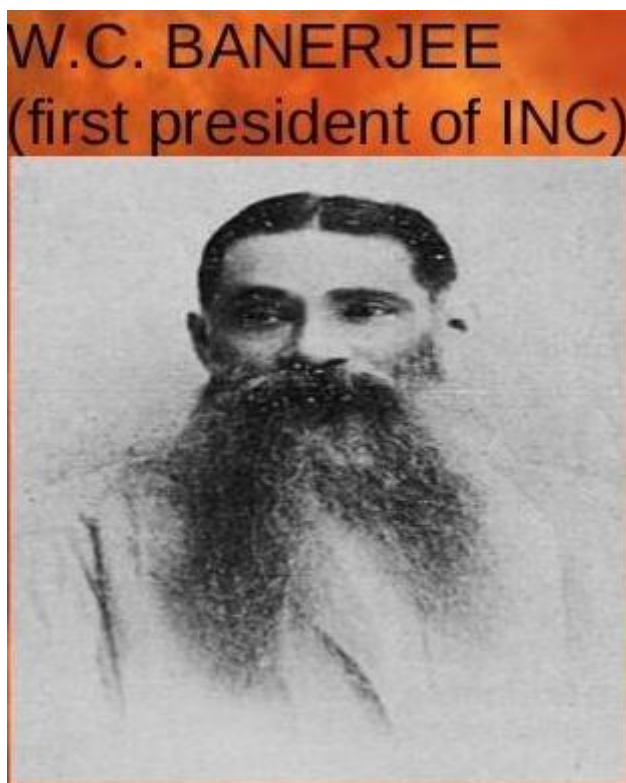
Allen Octavian Hume, the retired British officer, took the initiative to establish the political organization which will represent the Indians. Hume along with other liberal leader worked towards the establishment of national organization. Between 1884 to 1885 Hume met several national conscious leaders 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.



POURTRAIT 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 FIRST INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS 1885



THE FIRST INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS, 1885.

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

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

3.9 QUESTIONS

- 7) Write a note on foundation of the Indian National Congress.
- 8) Trace the circumstances that led to the foundation of the Congress.
- 9) Discuss the Aims and Objectives of the Indian National Congress.
- 10) Examine the British attitude towards the Indian National Congress.



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

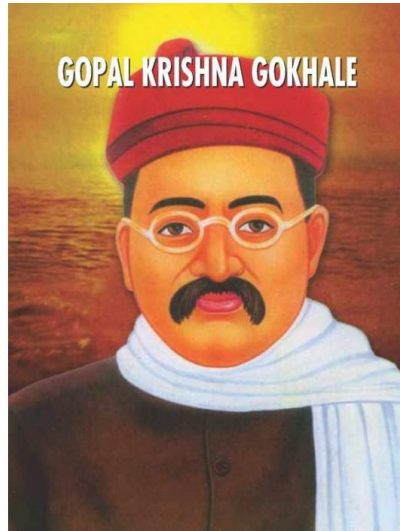
English education in India was instrumental to the rise of middle class that was infused with modern outlook and turned its attention to the religious, social and cultural renaissance. Nationalism means the supreme loyalty of the individual towards its nation, which creates unity and owners among the 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 extremist for their attitude, it is 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

Badruddin 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, undertook 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 the 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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5. Partha Chatterjee, *The Nation and its Fragments*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 1933.
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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.



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 OBJECTIVES

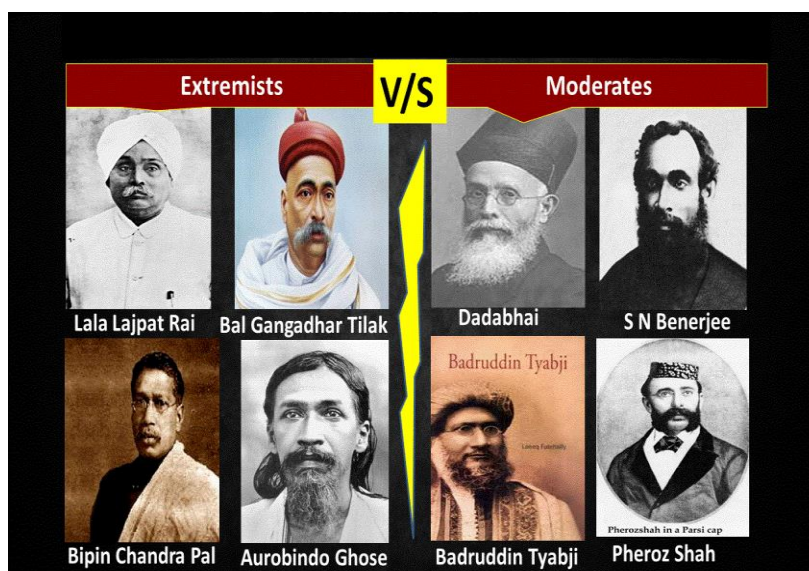
After the study of this unit, the student will be able to :

- 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:

2. 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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13. Sekhar Bandyopadhyay, *From Plassey to Partition: A History of Modern India*, Orient Blackswan, 2004.

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

5.10 QUESTIONS

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



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 Chapekar 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.

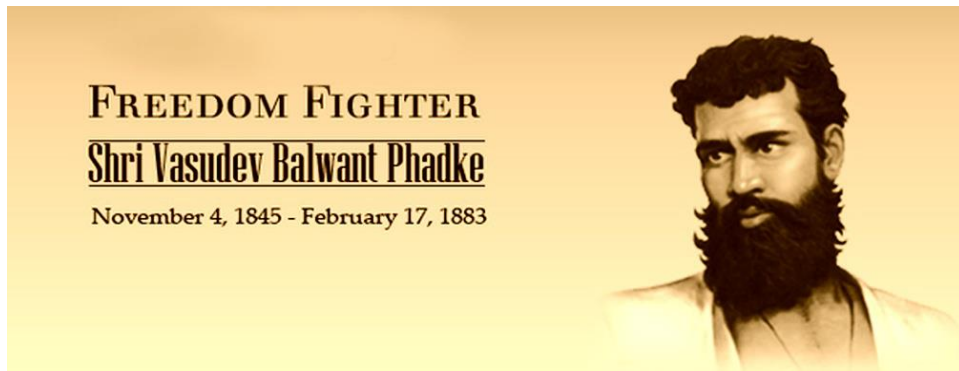
2.4.4 The Law members introduced the Ilbert Bill to clear anomaly in the Judicial administration. But the British government could not pass the bill due to the determined European opposition that caused frustration & helplessness among the Indians, which gave birth to the revolutionary nationalism.

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.

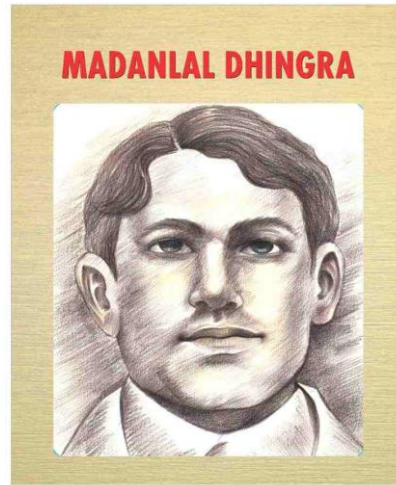


Shyamji Krishna Verma.

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 Wyllie 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 Samartha 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.

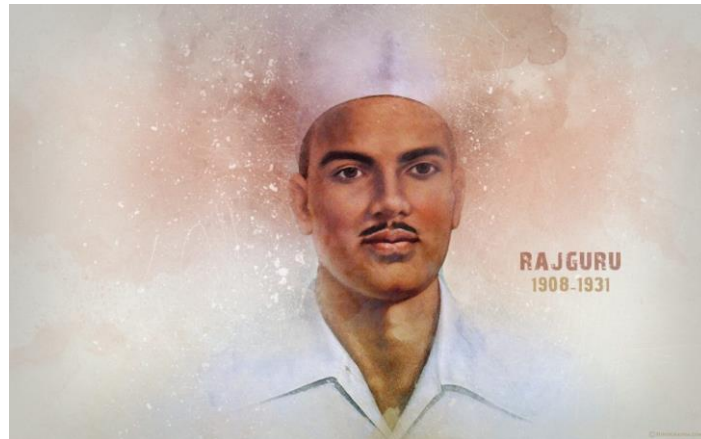


Pingley.

6.5.7 Shivram Hari Rajguru

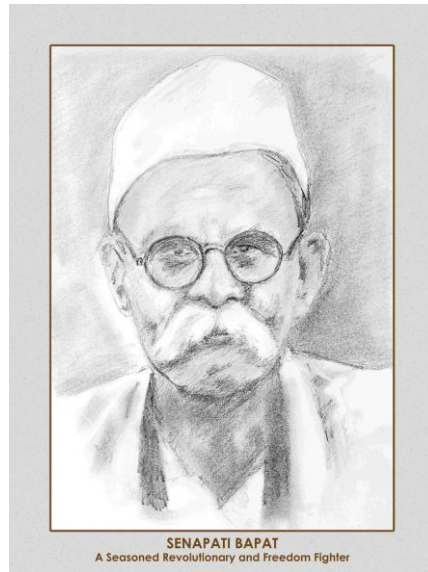
Rajguru was born at Khed in Pune in 1908. He was educated at Varanasi. He was well acquainted with the physical sports. He also participated in Seva Dal. He began to develop association with Hindustan

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.

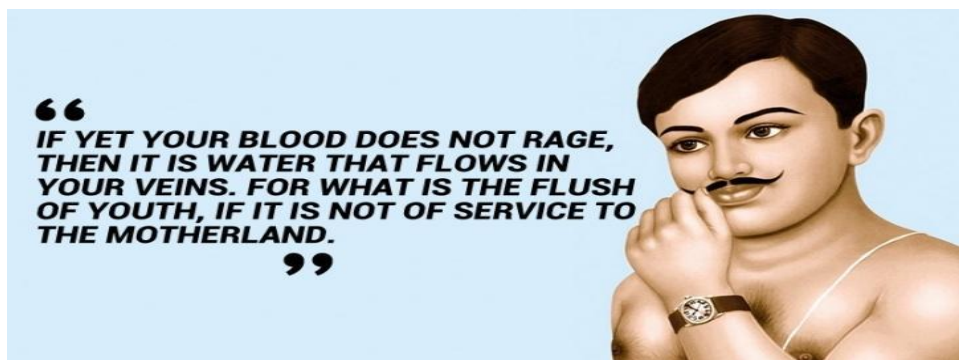
Bhagat Singh :

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.

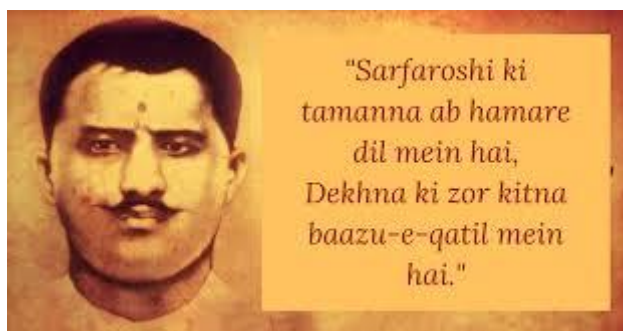


Singh became disillusioned with Mahatma Gandhi's philosophy of nonviolence after he called off the non-co-operation movement. Gandhi's decision followed the violent murders of policemen by villagers who were reacting to the police killing three villagers in the 1922 Chauri Chaura incident. Singh joined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

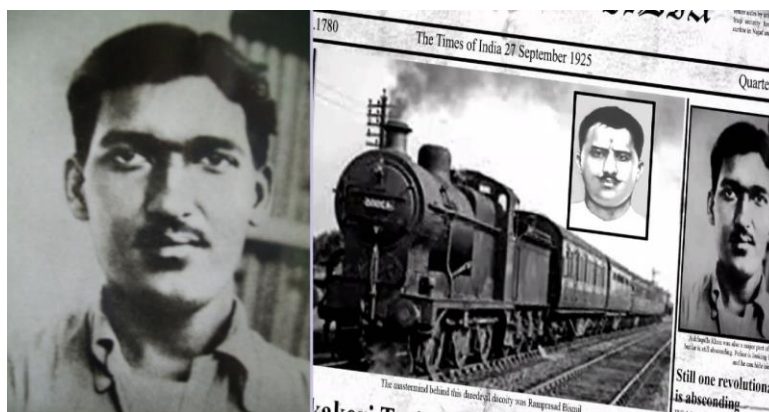
Inspired by the Young Italy movement of Giuseppe Mazzini he founded the Indian nationalist youth organization Naujawan Bharat Sabha in March 1926. He also joined the Hindustan Republican Association, which had prominent leaders, such as Chandrashekhar Azad, Ram Prasad Bismil and Shahid Ashfaqallah Khan.



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

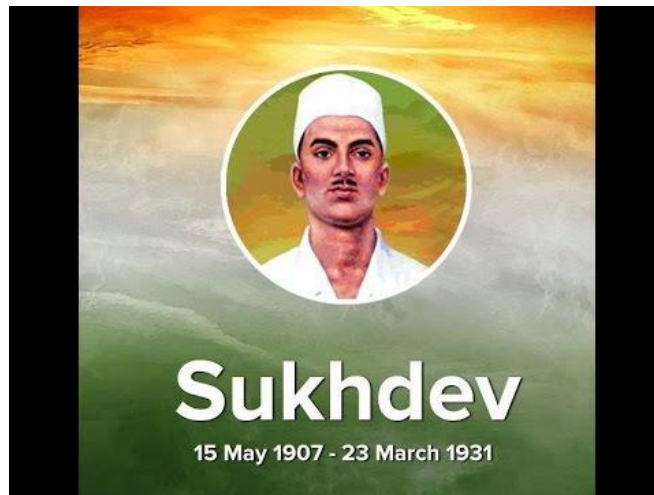
arrested so that they could use court appearances to create awareness among the public regarding revolutionary activities.

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 Indian'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 Hardyal, 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 yugantar 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.

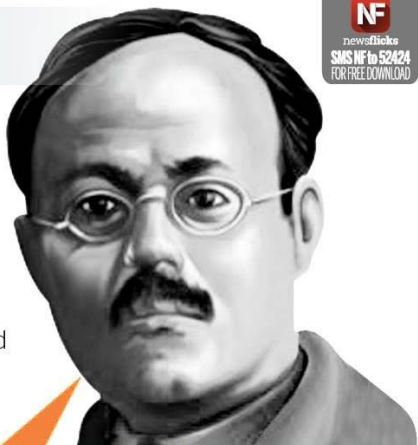
Lala Har Dayal, Indian nationalist and revolutionary, died on this day in 1939

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

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



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

"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."



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 struggled 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.



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.

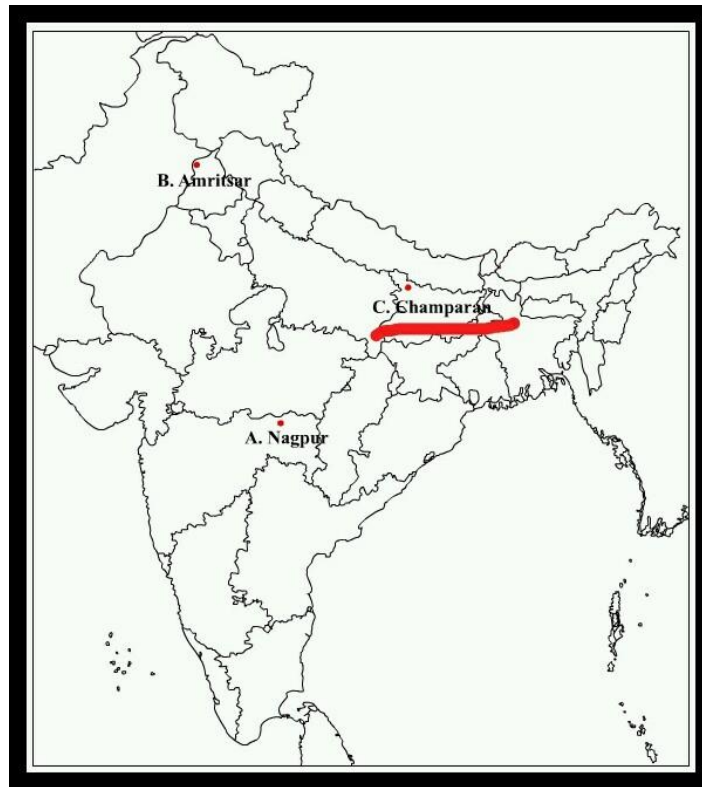


Gandhiji came to India in January 1915 & was given a warm welcome for his splendid work in South Africa. On advice of Gopal Krishna Gokhale, whom he considered as his political Guru, he travelled extensively all over India including Burma. He set up an Ashram on the bank of Sabarmati river, near Ahmedabad. 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:

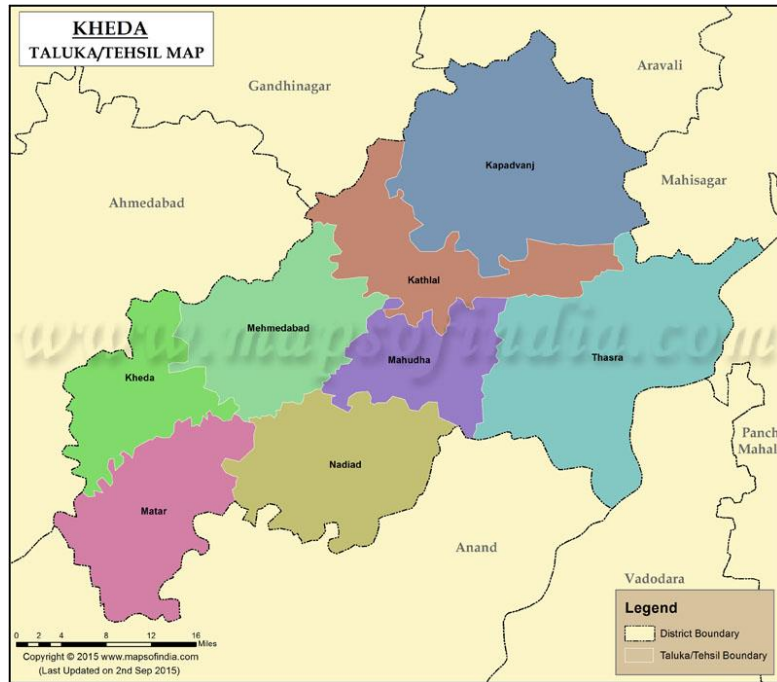
Champaran farmers received maltreatment from European planters and agents. Agents always gave uneconomic price of their crops and during World War I, imposed illegal levies on them. Gandhi enquired about the matter and got no response from authorities there. Instead he was arrested for supporting farmers. 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:

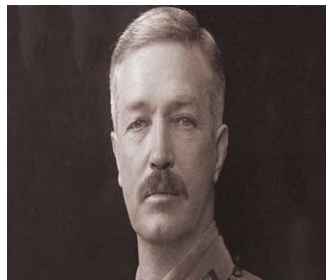
The government was determined to suppress the mass agitation. It repeatedly lathi-charged & fired upon unarmed demonstrators at Bombay, Ahmedabad, Delhi, Calcutta & other cities. Gandhiji called for nationwide strike on 6th April 1919. The people responded with enthusiasm. The government decided to meet 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, Lalajpat 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.

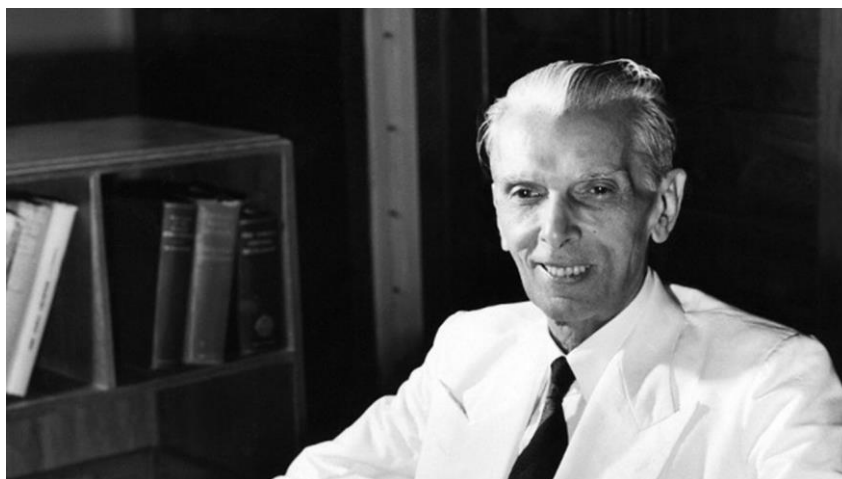
The annual session of the INC held in Calcutta in December 1928, approved the Nehru report and also served an ultimatum on the British government to accept the Nehru report within a year, failing which the party would launch another mass movement. Since the British government did not accept the Nehru 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.**



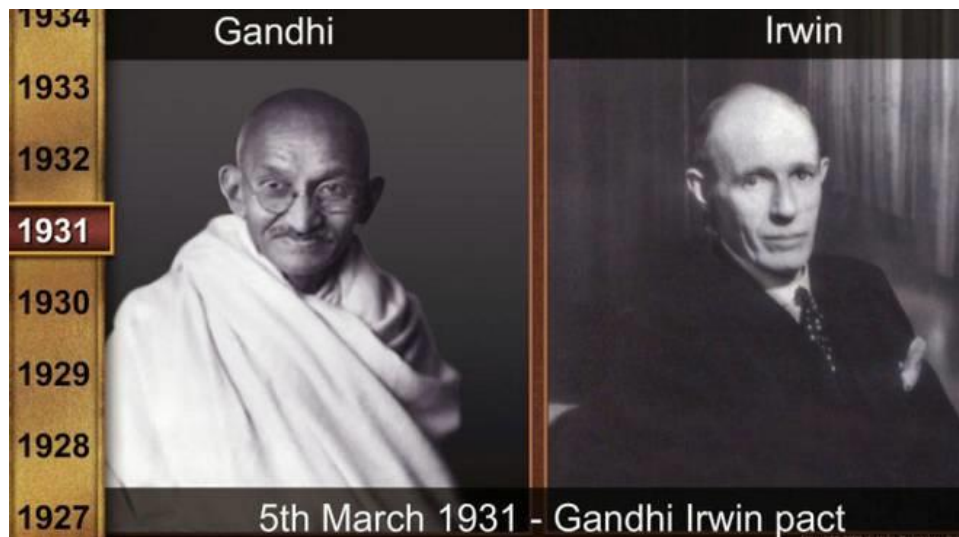
Almost 89 members attended the First Round Table Conference

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.

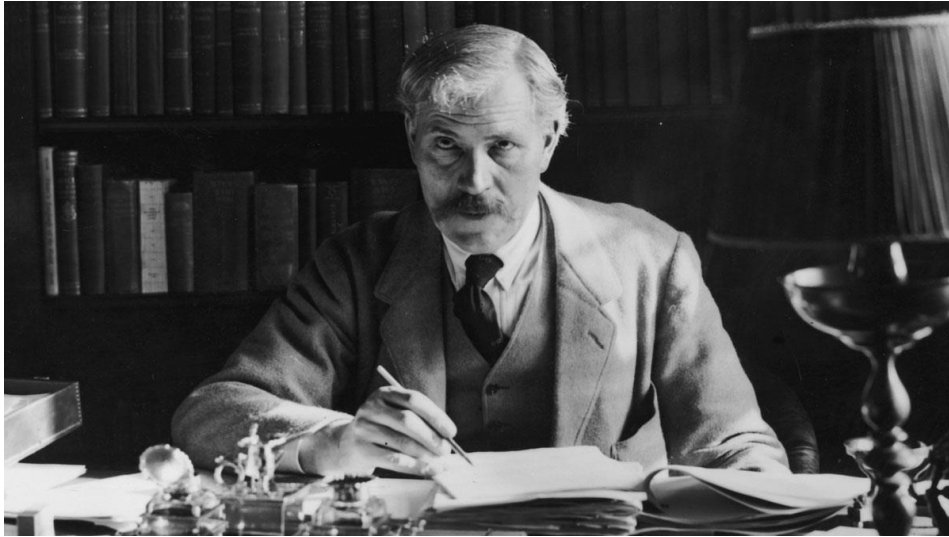
The movement received good response from Bombay, Bengal, Gujarat, Madras and U.P. However, the movement was suddenly side tracked with the announcement by the British P.M. Ramsay McDonald of his infamous Communal Awards in August 1932.

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:

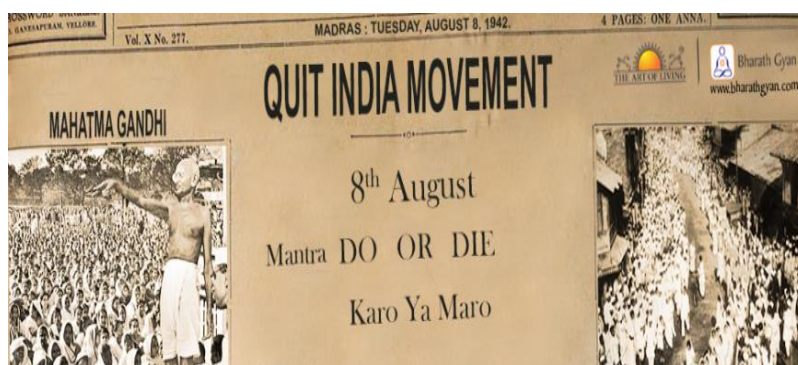
The Congress Working Committee, met at Wardha in July, 1942 and passed a resolution called, the 'QUIT INDIA' resolution. It renewed the demand that British rule in India must end immediately. The British, if relinquish their power immediately from India, Congress would support the Allies in the Second 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

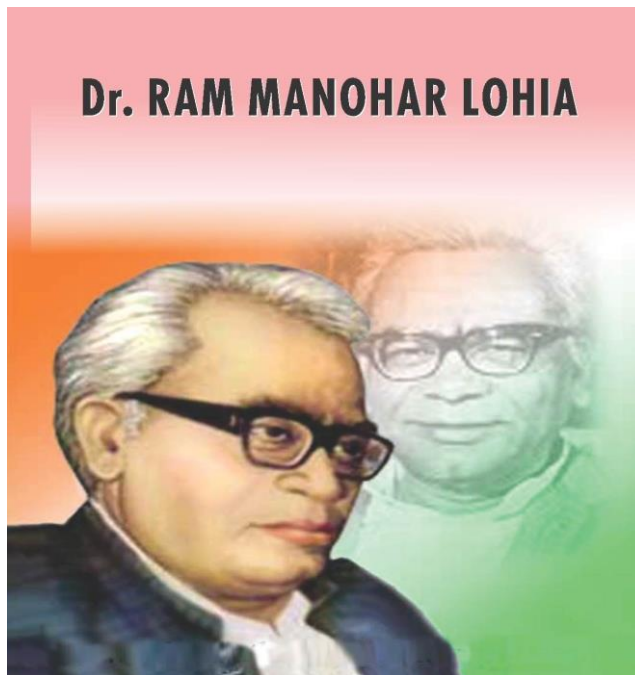
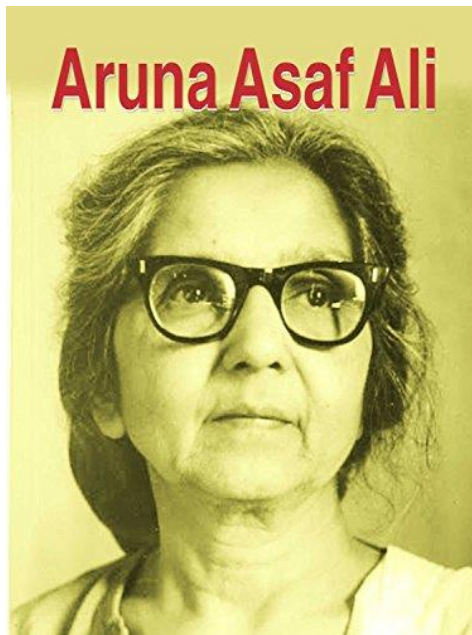
lathi-charged and fired upon. Angered by repeated firings and repression, in many places the people took violent actions. They attacked the police stations, post offices, railways stations etc. They cut telephone and telegraph wires and railways lines and burnt government buildings. Bombay, United Provinces, 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.



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.



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.

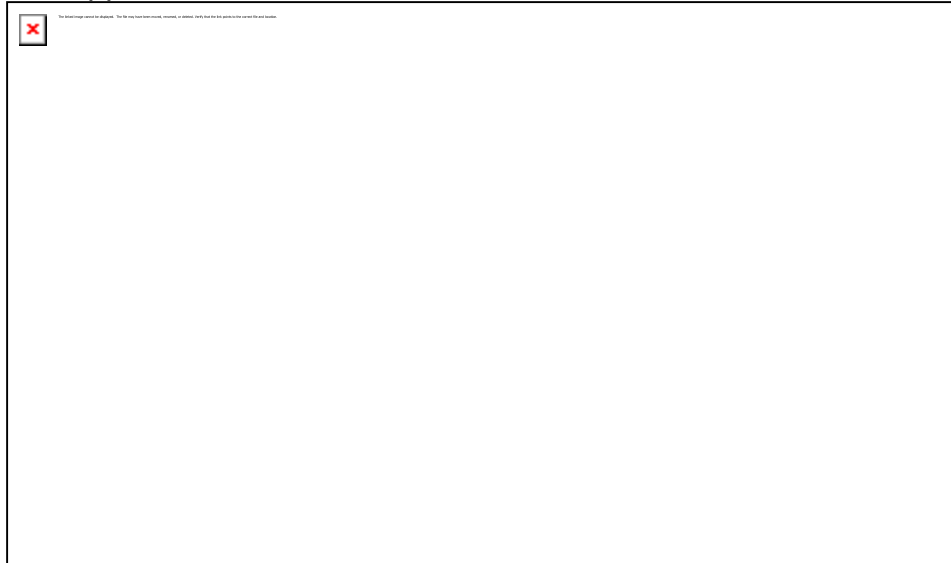
The government came up with the new declaration called the 'August Offer' promising Dominion Status but was rejected by the Congress. The Muslim League demanded partition of India as the only solution of India's future constitution. This deadlock on India's demand of complete freedom and British government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

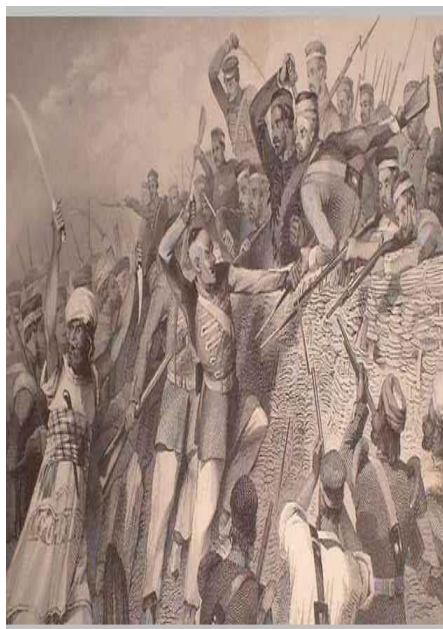
In July 1945, General Elections were held in Britain. The Labour Party headed by Clement Atlee came to power. Congress welcomed this change in England as the labour party had supported India's demand for freedom.

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

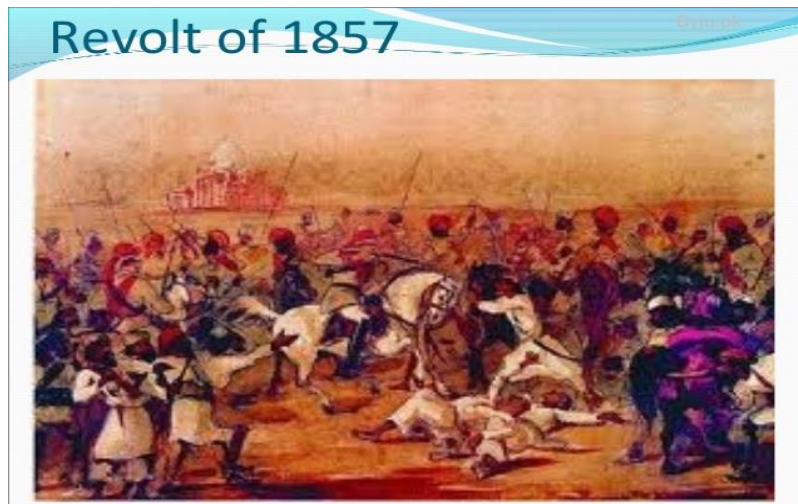
1. Why did the British send the Cripps Mission to India? Discuss its proposal.
2. Explain the Cabinet Mission Plan and state its recommendation.
3. What were the provisions of the Mountbatten Plan? State its impact.

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.



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:

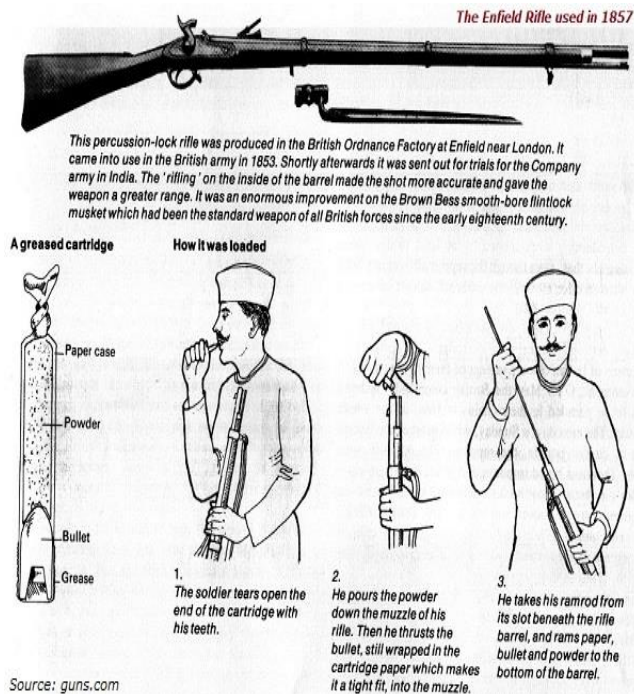
On 14th August 1947, Constituent Assembly of India met to draft a Constitution for Independent India. At mid-night, Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru announced the freedom of India. Mountbatten was appointed as first Governor General of Free India. Sardar Patel became the Deputy Prime Minister and in-charge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



10

SOCIO - RELIGIOUS REFORM MOVEMENTS : REFORMS AND REVIVAL Part - I

A) Brahmo Samaj, Arya Samaj and Ramakrishna Misson.

Unit Structure :

- 10.0 Objectives
- 10.1 Introduction
- 10.2 The Brahmo Samaj
 - 10.2.1 Raja Rammohan Roy
 - 10.2.2 Atmiya Sabha
 - 10.2.3 Brahmo Samaj
 - 10.2.4 - Principles of Brahmo Samaj
 - 10.2.5 - Religious Reforms
 - 1. Spread of monotheism
 - 2. Oppositon to idol worship

10.2.6 Social work

1. Abolition of Sati practice
2. Oppositon to Polygamy.
3. Oppositon to the Caste system
4. Suppported the farmers
5. Freedom of Press

10.2.7 Educational work

1. Promotion of Western Education
2. Support for Women's Education
3. Literary Work

10.3 Arya Samaj

10.3.1 Background

10.3.2 Early life of Dayanand Saraswati

10.3.3 Back to the Vedas

10.3.4 Establishment of the Arya Samaj

10.3.5 Principles of the Arya Samaj

10.3.6 Religious Work

1. Against idolatry
2. Monotheism
3. Shuddhi Movemnt
4. Opposition to Priestly class
5. Opposition to Karmakand

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1. Opposition to caste system
2. Preached equality
3. Opppsiton to child marriage
4. Encouragement to widow remarriage
5. Swadeshi Movement

6. National Awakening

7 Orphanages

10.3.8 Educational Work

1. Dayanand Anglo - Vedic College

2. Gurukulas

3. Encouraged education of women

10. 4 The Ramakrishna Mission

10.4.1 Ramakrishna Paramhansa

10.4.2 Swami Vivekanand

10.4.3 Parliament of world Religions

10.4.4 Establishment of Ramakrishna Mission

10.4.5 Teaching of the Mission

10.4.6 Achievements of the Mission

1. Social service on spiritual Basis

2. Social Reforms

3. Reformed Hinduism

4. Aroused Patriotism

10.5 Summary

10.6 Questions

10.7 Additional Reading

10. 0 OBJECTIVES

After the completion of this unit the student will be able to

1. Perceive the historical background of the socio - religious reform movements.
2. Explain the life and career of Raja Rammohan Roy and the Brahmo Samaj.

3. Know the life and career of Swami Dayanand Saraswati and the work carried out by the Arya Samaj.
4. Understand the work of Swami Vivekanand in and outside India.

10. 1 INTRODUCTION

The events following the Battle of Plassey (1757) and culminating in the Revolt of 1857 had stirred India to its depths. The British dominance brought about drastic changes in the various aspects of people's life and attitude. The destruction of Indian polity, the transformation of its economy and the attacks upon its social system and culture, threatened to convert to the position of an economic colony and cultural province of the West. Against this political dependence and intellectual slavery, there arose a protest which gathered momentum with the passage of time.

The basic ideas and institutions of India were the targets of the Western challenge. As it became practically impossible for the Indians to dislodge the British power from the country, they turned their attention to the social, religious and cultural aspects of the Western domination. Thus during the first decades of the nineteenth century, Western impact had started the process of self-criticism and reform of religion. During the second half of the Century, the process acquired greater momentum. The impact of Western religion, Christianity and rationalism aroused both the Hindus and Muslims to set their houses in order. They began to realise that their original religions were defiled due to blind tradition, acquiescence to evil customs, meaningless rituals, irrational practices and cruel superstitions. Both Hinduism and Islam sought to rid themselves of these evils in order that the stream of spiritual life should flow clear and strong, bearing the individual and society towards the goal of freedom and happiness.

The various socio-religious reform movements which took place in India during the British rule were the expression of the rising national consciousness and spread of the liberal ideas of the West among the Indian people. These movements increasingly tended to have a national scope and programme of reconstruction in the social and religious sphere. Reform or revival necessitated rejection of elements which were considered incompatible with the original faith. All of the socio-religious reformers were of the opinion that their political failure and resulting

misfortune were due to the moral decline and social degeneration which was the consequence of the neglect of true religion.

Check your progress :

- 1) Trace the historical background of Socio - Religious Reform movements.

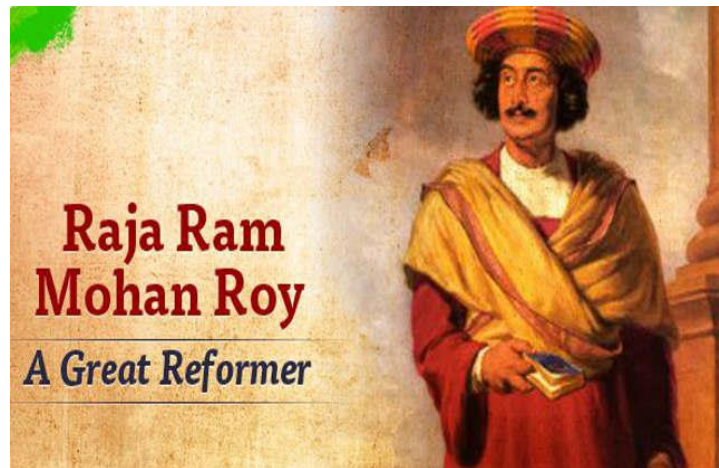
10.2 THE BRAHMO SAMAJ:

The first step in the march from the medieval to the modern age in India was taken by Raja Rammohan Roy, who is regarded as the “ Father of Modern India”. He was a remarkable man, who would have distinguished himself in any age. His achievements seem the more remarkable when one consider that he was born an brought up in the last quarter of the eighteenth century which was one of the darkest periods in Indian history, not only politically and economically but morally and spiritually. Rammohan Roy was the first person to rouse the consciousness of his fellow countrymen. He founded the Brahmo Samaj, which was the Theistic Society. With this organization Rammohan Roy initiated the socio – religious reform movement in India. He not only attempted to rationalize the Hindu religion but promoted western education, published newspapers and fought for the freedom of the press, agitated for political and administrative reforms and attacked social evils and strived hard for their eradication.

10.2.1 Raja Rammohan Roy (1772 – 1833) :

Raja Rammohan Roy was born in an orthodox Brahmin family in the district of Hoogli in Bengal. After finishing his primary education Rammohan Roy went to Patna to study Persian and Arabic through which he understood the essence of the Quran and Sufi Philosophy. Then he went to Banaras and studied Sanskrit, literature, law, philosophy,

specially the Vedas and Upanishads. After returning home due to differences with his father on faith matters he left home, went to Tibet and studied Buddhism. In his early youth Rammohan Roy was said to have had a great dislike for the English, but after a favourable experience in the service of the East India Company, and close contact with worthy Englishmen like Mr. Digby, he began to alter his opinion. As a man of affairs, he gradually saw that as the British rule had come to stay it was right to make terms with it and to utilize the contact with the West for the good of the Indian people.



10.2.2 Atmiya Sabha :

Raja Rammohan Roy had high regards for Hinduism. He felt that Hindus have not understood their religion correctly. However he was against Hindu idolatry, rituals, evil practice of sati, child marriage and many more existing customs and traditions. He believed in the equality between man and woman. The supporters of this kind of thinking came together and formed an association called as “Atmiya Sabha” (Society of Friends) in the year 1814 at Kolkata.

10.2.3 Establishment of the Brahmo Samaj :

Raja Rammohan Roy established the Brahmo Samaj on 20th August 1828 at Calcutta. Brahmo literally means ‘one who worships Brahman’ and Samaj means ‘Community of people’. Through this organization he sought to unite the various communities on the basis of all religions and make them to realize that they are all the children of one God. The membership of the Samaj was open to all, irrespective of religion, caste or creed.

Raja Rammhan Roy and his followers used to attend prayers in the Christian Church. Some disciples of Raja Rammohan Roy wanted to have their own place of worship. Finally they hired a building from Ram Kamal Basu and opened a prayer hall called 'Brahmo Sabha' on August 20, 1828 at Kolkata and publicly inaugurated it on 23rd January 1830 which was later renamed as Brahmo Samaj.

10.2.4 Principles of Brahmo Samaj :

1. There is only one God, the creator and sustainer of the world, who is infinite in power, wisdom, love and holiness.
2. The human soul is immortal, capable of eternal progress and responsible to God for its doings.
3. No created objects (including human beings) are to be worshipped as God. God manifests himself directly in the human soul and so no prophets and scriptures are mediators between God and the soul.
4. Truth is the only religion of Brahmo. Neither Vedas nor any other scriptures are infalliable. All religious teaching and books are to be honoured to the extent that they are in harmony with divine revelation to the soul.
5. God is to be worshipped daily by loving him and doing his will.
6. All human beings are equal before God. Thus there is no division based upon caste, colour, race or sex.
7. There is no place for idol worship, animal sacrifice, offering and ritualism.

Check Your Progress :

- 1) Review the establishment and principals of Brahmo Samaj.

10.2.5 Religious Reforms:

After acquiring sufficient knowledge about different religious beliefs Raja Rammohan Roy started spreading his religious views.

Following are some of the important religious reforms carried out by Raja Rammohan Roy.

1. Spread of monotheism

After making comparative study of Islam, Christianity and Upanishad, Raja Ram advocated monotheism i.e. belief in the existence of one God. He preached that God is one and believed in Universal Brotherhood of all irrespective of Caste, creed, religion etc.

2. Opposition to idol worship

Rammohan opposed idol worship as God did not have any form. He was of the opinion that the best means of achieving bliss was through pure spiritual contemplation and worship of the Supreme Being. According to him the best worship is in which there is tolerance, love, benevolence and no scope for hatred. All were free to take part in the activities of Brahmo Samaj. This promoted religious tolerance among the people.

10.2.6 Social work :

Rammohan Roy was greatly dissatisfied with the existing evil practices in Indian society. In the name of religion every wrong doing got a religious sanction. He wanted to eradicate the social evils in the society, which had come in the name of religion. Following are some of the social works initiated by Raja Rammohan Roy.

1. Abolition of sati practice :

Raja Rammohan Roy wanted to improve the condition of the Indian women. He raised his voice against the inhuman practice of sati. In 1818 he witnessed the burning of his own sister – in law, Alakamanjari (wife of his elder brother Jagmohan Roy) whom he failed to convince not

to commit sati. Stricken with pity and remorse he took the vow never to rest till the in-human practice of sati was abolished. The movement against sati gained widespread approval from various quarters. Rammohan Roy's constant struggle against the evil practice of sati finally succeeded when the East Indian Company's Government under Lord William Bentinck declared the practice of sati as illegal and punishable by law in 1829.



2. Opposition to Polygamy :

Raja Rammohan Roy opposed polygamy and sale of girls for marriage. He condemned the prevailing practice of kulinism in Bengal where lower caste girls were married to high caste men for whom marriage was just a business to marry number of women. Since the husband deserted the wife after marriage in search of another woman to marry, the young brides were at the mercy of their father or brother. Raja Rammohan Roy pointed out that the Hindu scriptures had permitted the second marriage of men under certain special circumstances only. Thus he was against the practice of polygamy.

3. Opposition to the Caste System

Raja Rammohan Roy was very much against the Caste discrimination and untouchability. He supported the cause of inter – caste marriage and inter caste dining. He wanted that the people belonging to all caste should come closer to each other. Through all this he confronted the orthodox people of the Society.

4. Supported the farmers

Though he was a very rich land lord, he was also very much against the rich for their following policy of ruthless exploitation of workers and peasants. He wanted the government to make sure that the land lords did not arbitrarily increase the rent from their tenants. He wished that agriculturalists and land owners have cordial relations. He pleaded strongly with the British Government for legal protection of tenancy rights of the farmers.

5. Freedom of Press

There was not much awakening regarding the press. All news was published in English only. Rammohan Roy published a news paper in Persian called 'Miratulakhbar' (The Mirror of News) and a Bengali weekly called 'Samvad Kaumudi' (The Moon of Intelligence). The Indians had to get prior permission from the British to publish any news. He believed that free press was one of the best safeguards of liberty. He along with others petitioned the British Government in 1823 in which he strongly pleaded for the freedom of press. He reasoned out that it was both in the interest of the rulers and the ruled that freedom of press should be honoured. As a result of his efforts Sir Charles Metcalfe the acting Governor General in 1835 freed the press from any regulations.

10.2.7 Educational Works

Some of the educational works of Roy are as follows.

1. Promotion of Western Education :

Raja Rammohan Roy was equally interested in education, especially Western education. He was one of the many Indians who took an active part in the establishment of the Hindu College at Calcutta in 1817 for the spread of English education. He also founded the Anglo – Hindu School for encouraging English education. He persuaded the government to promote not the old Sanskrit system of learning but a more liberal and enlightened Western education. In March 1835 Lord William Bentinck issued the famous education decree upholding Western Education which marked the fulfillment of his dreams.

2. Support for women's education :

In traditional Indian society there was a ban on female education. Women were not encouraged to receive education. Rammohan was a strong supporter of women's education.

3. Literacy work :

Between 1815 and 1820 Rammohan Roy completed 14 major works in Bengali and 10 in English. Since all the Hindu religious books were in Sanskrit away from the common man, he translated them into English, Bengali and Hindi and called this Abridged Version Vedandasaar. In 1820 he published “The Precepts of Jesus, the Guide to Peace and Happiness”. He was also the maker of Bengali prose. Before that Bengali literature was all in verse. He also wrote the first Bengali grammar.

For about half a century the Brahmo Samaj vitalized Hinduism and encouraged secular thinking. It played a significant role in the renaissance movement in Bengal in particular and in India in general. The Brahmo Samaj was a pioneer of the nationalist movement. It inaugurated a new era for the Indian people by proclaiming the principals of individual freedom, national unity and the democratization of all social institutions and social relations. It inspired a number of paralled movements.

Check your progress :

1) What are the achievement of the Brahmo Samaj?

10.3 THE ARYA SAMAJ

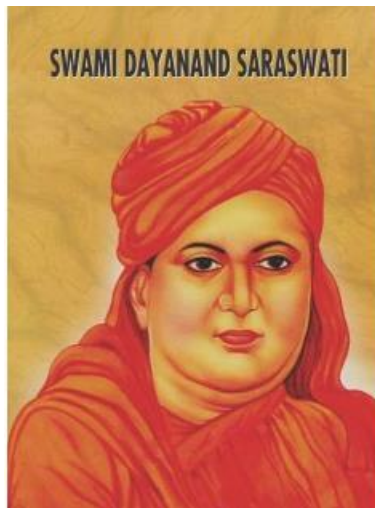
10.3.1 Background :

The Arya Samaj was founded by Swami Dayanand Saraswati. It was more conservative and aggressive than the Brahmo Samaj. The

Brahmo Samaj and the Prathana Samaj were largely products of ideas associated with the West and represented Indian response to Western rationalism. They were inspired by Western learning and Western religions. Whereas the reform movement initiated by Swami Dayanand Saraswati was inspired by India's past and derived its basic principles from India's ancient scriptures and religion, especially those of Vedic Age.

10.3.2 Early life of Dayanand Saraswati (1824 – 1883) :

Swami Dayanand Saraswati was an important Hindu scholar, reformer and founder of the Arya Samaj. He was born on 12th February 1824 at Tankara in the princely state of Morvi, in Gujarat. He was a rebel against his father's authority from the beginning, questioning about the traditional beliefs of Hinduism and inquiring about God. He did not like the polytheistic practices and idol worship. On Maha Shivratri when he kept fast and stayed awake at night to see whether Lord Shiva would appear to accept the offerings made to his idol. While his family slept, he saw a mouse eating the offerings. He found it impossible to reconcile the idea of an omnipotent, living God with the idol. He was utterly surprised and wondered how a God who cannot protect even his own offerings would protect humanity. He argued with his father that they should not be worshipping such a helpless God. This incident shattered his faith in idol worship and thereafter he refused to participate in the religious rites for the rest of his life.



The death of his loving younger sister at the age of fourteen and later his grand uncle made him to realize the meaning of life and death. In order to escape from marriage and find out the realities of life he ran away from the house in the year 1846. He joined a troupe of mendicants and took the vow of brahmachari (a celibate). He renounced the world

and took the name Shuddha Chaitanya. He was initiated into Sanyas by Purnanand Saraswati with all prescribed ceremonies and was given the name Dayanand and the title Saraswati, one of the ten sub orders of Sankaracharyas Sanyasis. He was allowed to use the honorific Swami (master) before his name. For about fifteen years he led the life of wandering ascetic in search of knowledge, which could remove all his doubts. Finally he came to Mathura, became the disciple of a blind sage Virjanand under whom he studied the Vedas.

After finishing his study of the Vedas, Virjanand asked him to spread the knowledge of the Vedas in society as his gurudakshina. Dayanand Saraswati undertook a tour of the entire country, made fiery speeches condemning the caste system, idolatry and child marriage. He also started challenging religious scholars and priests with his new found knowledge of the Vedas. People came in large numbers to listen to him. Even the kings invited him to deliver lecture.

10.3.3 Back to the Vedas :

Dayanand was neither influenced by Western education nor by the monotheistic religions like Christianity or Islam. For him Vedas were only the source of truth and supreme knowledge. In his book “Satyarth Prakash” (Ligh of Truth) he laid down his interpretation of the Vedas.

Swami Dayanand considered that the Vedic religion was true religion and Vedic society was free from all social evils. There was neither caste system nor untouchability and women had equal status in the society. He was convinced about Vedic religion and therefore he gave a call “Back to the Vedas” for the growth of spiritual and ethical life. To spread the knowledge of Vedas, to reform Hinduism and to eradicate the social evils he founded Arya Samaj.

Check your progress

- 1) Explain the life of Swami Dayanand Saraswati.

10.3.4 Establishment of the Arya Samaj :

Dayanand Saraswati was a crusader for the cause of Vedic Hinduism. He considered the Vedas the ultimate reality. To liberate the Vedas from the custody of the Brahmins and to open them to all other castes he founded Arya Samaj in Mumbai on 10th April, 1875. Arya Samaj was a Hindu reform movement, meaning "Society of the Nobles". In order to fulfill the mission of his life he spent the rest of his life in establishing Arya Samaj branches at different places. Through Arya Samaj he laid the foundation for an egalitarian society. Arya Samaj condemned idol worship, animal sacrifice, ancestor worship, priest craft, caste system, untouchability, child marriage, polytheism, sati practice and discrimination against women on the grounds that all these lacked Vedic sanction.

10.3.5 Principles of the Arya Samaj :

The members of the Arya Samaj were guided by "Ten Principles". They are as follows :

- 1) God is the primary source of all true knowledge.
- 2) God is all truth, all knowledge, almighty, immortal, creator of universe, alone is worthy of worship.
- 3) The Vedas are the books of true knowledge.
- 4) An Arya should always be ready to accept truth and renounce untruth.
- 5) All actions must be performed after analyzing right and wrong.
- 6) The principle aim of this Samaj is to promote the world's well being, material, spiritual and social.
- 7) All persons should be treated with love and justice.
- 8) Ignorance should be dispelled and knowledge increased.
- 9) Everybody should consider his own good along with others.

- 10) Social well being of mankind should be placed above the individual's well being.

Check your progress

- 1) What were the principles of the Arya Samaj?

10.3.6 Religious Work :

Swami Dayanand Saraswati was aware of the Chaotic conditions prevailing in Hinduism. In order to reform Hinduism he advocated revival of the Vedic religion. Some of the religious reforms of Swami Dayanand are as follows :

1) Against idolatry :

Arya Samaj fought with the orthodox Brahmin Community and established that there was no evidence in the Vedas to worship the idol as God. He explained God who is omnipresent, cannot be confined under the lock or so called Temples which have become nothing more than "Religious shops" for the pundits. Thus Swami Dayanand attacked polytheistic and idolatry beliefs of the Hindus. He opposed animal and human sacrifices and denounced rituals and ceremonies. In 1886 he published a booklet in Sanskrit entitled "Bhagvad Khandanam". He wanted to free Hinduism from the clutches of the priests.

2) Monotheism :

He strongly believed in the existence of one God as found in the Vedas. For him Vishnu, Rudra and Agni did not indicate different Gods but referred to the same God and revealed his different aspects. He propagated that only Vedic religion was true and asked his followers to follow the Vedas.

3) Shuddhi Movement :

One of the aims of Arya Samaj was to face the challenges of Islam and Christianity. Many Hindus were converted to these religions. Through the ceremony of purification he brought back thousands of converted Hindus to the fold of Hinduism.

4) Opposition to Priestly Class :

Arya Samaj opposed idolatry, rituals and priesthood as prevailed in the caste system and opposed popular Hinduism as preached by orthodox Hindu priest class for their vested interest. He strongly believed that neither the priestly class was required to mediate between man and God nor are they the custodians of Hindu religion. He was against the ignorance and selfish nature of the priestly class who exploited the common man for their own good.



5) Opposition to Karmakand :

Swami Dayanand preached that there was no idolatry, incarnation, pilgrimage, outwardly practices etc., in Vedic religion. He rejected every belief and custom that could not pass the test of reason. Therefore he asked the people to give up everything that was not sanctioned by the Vedas.

Check your progress

- 1) Describe the religious work of the Arya Samaj.

10.3.7 Social Work :

Swami Dayanand was not just a religious reformer, but a social reformer as well. Problems like child marriage, idolatry etc., existed in the society. Arya Samaj tried to eradicate such evil practices and also promoted social welfare. Some of the social work of Swami Dayanand are as follows :

1) Opposition to Caste System :

Swami Dayanand rejected the traditional view that the four Varna's were hereditary. He did not believe in the cast system. He believed and proved that in the Vedas there was no untouchability. He believed that a person is great or small not by birth but by his own deeds. He started movement against untouchability and encouraged intercaste marriage.

2) Preached equality :

Swami Dayanand propagated that all people are born equal and no one is Brahmin, Vaishya, Kshatriya or Sudra by birth, but these are according to the profession one chooses and each of these Varnas are complimentary to each other and none is superior or inferior to the other. He treated all the members of Arya Samaj equally and made no difference of caste or creed.

3) Opposition to Child Marriage :

Child marriage was very common prior to independence. Swami Dayanand propagated against this practice for Hindu Society. Even now it is prevalent in certain regions. Swami Dayanand advocated for the abolition of the custom of child marriage. Arya Samaj fixed the marriage age for boys and girls at 25 and 16 respectively.

4) Encouragement to widow remarriage :

Swami Dayanand encouraged widow remarriage. He pleaded and asked the people to stop the barbaric and orthodox "Sati-Pratha". To free the widows from the hardship of forced widowhood Swami Dayanand advocated widow remarriage. He suggested 'niyoga' method for the widow.

5) Swadeshi Movement :

He was a very strong believer of Swadeshi and urged the people to use the things manufactured in India only. He also gave a call to boycott foreign made goods. He was a strong votary of democracy and self government.

6) National Awakening :

Swami Dayanand infused a thought amongst the people that the British rule in India has not contributed anything towards the emancipation of our country's welfare. Rather British rule benefited more to the British than anyone else. So Arya Samaj brought about national awakening among the people. It also provided great thinkers and leaders like Lala Lajpat Rai, Swami Shradhanand, Bipin Chandra Pal, Munshi Ramanand and many others to the national movement. This national awakening helped the people to get them organized and fight for freedom.

7) Orphanages :

Arya Samaj opened its first orphanage in Firozepore, Punjab followed by a chain of orphanages all over the country. Arya Samaj also opened homes for the widows and destitute women to accommodate and to train them in some useful profession and to get them married to suitable partners.

Check your progress

- 1) State the social work of the Arya Samaj.

10.3.8 Educational work :

Swami Dayanand Saraswati considered education as the most effective weapon of social and religious reforms. In order to spread education especially, Vedic knowledge Arya Samaj established various Gurukulas. The following are some of the educational works of Swami Dayanand Saraswati and his Arya Samaj.

1. Dayanad Anglo - Vedic College

In memory of Swami Dayanand his followers established number of schools, colleges and hostels all over the country. Due to the efforts of Lala Hansraj the first Dayanand Anglo - Vedic College at Lahore was opened on 1st July 1886. It offered western and scientific education under the protective guidance of Indian culture. The main purpose of this college was to encourage, impore and enforce the study of Hindu literature, classical Sanskrit and of the Vedas.

2. Gurukula

Arya Samaj founded number of Gurukulas to encourage ancient Aryan type of education. The most famous Gurukula at Kangri, near Hardwar was established by Lala Munshi Ram. Pupils were admitted at

the age of eight years and had to remain for sixteen years to complete their studies. They had to take the vow of poverty (simple living), chastity and obedience. Pupils were not allowed to visit their homes during this long period of training except under exceptional circumstances. Kangri Gurukula developed into a famous centre of Vedic studies.

3. Encouraged education of women

In his various lectures, he supported women's education. He argued that even during the period of Vedas women were treated equally and were educated. He advocated same type of education for women as for men. He recommended military science for women. Arya Samaj established large number of girls schools and college at Punjab.

The Arya Samaj represented a form of the national awakening of the Indian people. Restricted to a narrow Hindu basis and with a negative attitude to Islam, it, in course of time, led the Muslims to mobilize on a corresponding communal basis. It played a progressive role in the earlier stages when the national awakening was just sprouting. The Arya Samaj had two aspects, one progressive and the other reactionary. When it attacked religious superstitions and the priestly dominance of the Brahmins, when it denounced polytheism and when further it adopted the programme of mass education of the elimination of sub-castes, of the equality of man and woman, it played a progressive role. But when it declared the Vedas infallible and a treasure house of all knowledge of the cosmos, past, present and future, when it stood for the division of the society into four castes though based on merit, it was playing an anti-progressive role. However, the Arya Samaj played a progressive role in the earlier stages of Indian Nationalism. But when the national awakening broadened and deepened, when the national movement reached greater and greater secular heights, it became a hindrance to the growth of Indian nationalism by contributing, though unconsciously to the creation of a belligerent religio - communal atmosphere.

Check Your Progress :

Q. Explain the educational work of the Arya Samaj.

10.4 THE RAMAKRISHNA MISSION

The Ramakrishna mission brought about a synthesis of the two great channels, which inspired the Socio - Religious Reform Movement, namely the Ancient Indian and the Modern Western. The inspiration was provided by Ramakrishna Paramhansa, but the Ramkrishna mission was founded by Swami Vivekanand.

10.4.1 Ramakrishna Paramhansa (1836 - 1886) :

Ramkrishna was born in a highly Orthodox Brahmin family in a small village in the Hoogly district of Bengal. He was deeply interested in spiritual pursuits. He was a priest in the Kali temple at Dakshineswar in Calcutta. He did not have any formal education, either Eastern or Western, but he led an intense spiritual life in splendid isolation. He had a deep faith in the hidden truths of all religions and tested his belief by performing spiritual excercises in accordance with the practices and usages not only of different Hindu sects but also Islam and Christianity. He believed in the service of God through the service of humanity.



10.4.2 Swami Vivekananda (1863 - 1902)

Swami Vivekananda was the most famous among the disciples of Ramkrishna. Swami Vivekananda was a great philosopher, nationalist and reformer. He was an extremely intelligent and exceptionally brilliant student who studied the works of the great European thinkers like Kant, Descartes, Hume, Hegel, Darwin, Comte and others. He was also attracted to the ideals of the Brahmo Samaj which provided him with an incentive to develop his progressive outlook on social and religious reforms. But the Brahmo Samaj could not satisfy the innermost restlessness of his soul. His meeting with Swami Ramkrishna in 1883 proved to be a turning point in his life. Ramkrishna proved to be an ultimate source of inspiration for Swami Vivekananda and an inseparable spiritual tie of preceptor and disciple was permanently established between the two.

After the death of Ramkrishna in August 1886, Swami Vivekananda decided to devote his entire life to work for the ideals and principles of his great teacher. His learning, eloquence, intense spirituality and a magnetic personality attracted a number of admirers and followers. Along with his followers, Swami Vivekananda organized a monastery at Belur Math in 1887. They vowed to live and work like ascetics through their monastery. In 1898 the Belur Math was founded. A number of monasteries were established at different places. The monks had to lead a highly disciplined life of service and dedication.

10.4.3 Parliament of World Religions

In 1893 Swami Vivekananda attended the famous 'Parliament of World Religions' at Chicago, U.S.A. It was held to commemorate the 400th anniversary of the discovery of America by Columbus. The parliament meeting was an awe-inspiring affair. About 10,000 persons attended, each one an authority of his own religion and philosophy, Swami Vivekananda hesitated when his turn came, but only for a while. Then he got up and started with the words: "Sisters and Brothers of America". There was an applause and this encouraged the Swami to speak boldly referring to Hinduism as "the Mother of World Religions." Later on, he read a paper giving a lucid account of Hinduism. In another speech he declared: "I came here to seek aid for my impoverished people."

The Swami captured the imagination of the Americans. The press went wild with enthusiasm, referring to him by such terms as "The greatest figure in the Parliament of World Religions." Mrs. Annie Besant, who heard him, declared that he "enraptured the huge multitude."

He was now in demand everywhere. He went on lecture campaigns during the succeeding years. In 1896, he founded the Vedanta Society of New York. His books on Yoga aroused great interest in America and Europe. He went to Paris, London and other cities. Some Universities offered him professorships in Philosophy and Religion. Several Christian Churchmen cultivated his friendship. During his journey, he met an Irish lady Miss Margaret Noble, who became his disciple and came to India as Sister Nivedita i.e. dedicated. She played an important role in the Ramakrishna Mission.

10.4.4 Establishment of Ramakrishna Mission

After his return from abroad, Swami Vivekananda established the Ramakrishna Mission on 5th May 1897, which was to be more than a mere religious organization. Its main aims and objectives were :

- 1) To propagate the teachings of Ramakrishna Paramahansa.
- 2) To spread the meaning of Vedantic spiritualism far and wide.
- 3) To strive for a synthesis and harmony among various faiths.
- 4) To regard the service of man as the service of God.

Check Your Progress

Q. Write a note on Swami Vivekananda & Ramakrishna Paramahansa.

10.4.5 Teachings of the Mission

Through his speeches and writings, Vivekananda brought out the essence of Hindu culture and religion. In a remarkable feat, he instilled among the Indian masses a feeling of pride about Indian's brilliant past. He urged the people not to be superstitious and fanatical about religion. In his messages, he emphasized on the meeting of the East and the West. The negative campaign of the Christian missionaries was not to his liking. Through the Ramakrishna Mission, Vivekananda tried his best to revive the greatness of Hinduism.

The Mission stood for social service, eradication of untouchability, emancipation of women, purification and preservation of Indian culture, Character building and arousing nationalism.

10.4.6 Achievements of the Mission :

1. Social Service on Spiritual Basis

Social service was to be done not as a philanthropic measure, but on a spiritual basis. The Ramakrishna Mission was easily able to organize institutions for the sick, the destitute, the aged to run school, colleges, dispensaries, hostels to disseminate spiritual literature; and to serve society in numerous ways.

2. Social Reforms

Vivekananda was fearless and spoke openly against untouchability and miserable condition of women. He worked with great vigour and dedication for the uplift of the people of India. In his perception, serving the downtrodden was the greatest service to mankind.

3. Reformed Hinduism

Vivekananda believed that Indian spirituality and philosophy was the best in the world. He even said that the Vedanta was destined to be the religion of mankind. He believed that the study of Vedanta would make a Christian a better Christian and a Hindu a better Hindu. But at the same time, he was very critical towards Hinduism and wanted to reform Hinduism by removing all the impurities from it such as superstitions and ritualism.

4. Aroused Patriotism

Vivekananda nurtured India's nascent nationalism. He instilled confidence among his fellow countrymen, regarded weakness as sin and motivated them for the worship of Shakti. He insisted on the abandonment of worship of all vain Gods and Goddesses and initiated the people into the worship of Mother India for the country's regeneration. His call to the youth of the Country was, "Arise, awake and stop not till the goal is reached." He strongly criticized the tendency of blindly aping the West.

Thus we note that the Ramakrishna Mission had both national and international aims and outlook; and it combined the best elements of Ancient India and Western Thought.

Check Your Progress

Q. Explain the teachings and achievements of the Ramakrishna Mission.

10.5 SUMMARY

The nineteenth century in India was the century of unprecedented intellectual ferment in the field of social and religious reforms. It was the century of introspection, reassessment, reinterpretation and regeneration of ancient thought and culture in the light of Western thought and culture. There emerged a number of reform movements in Hinduism. All these contributed in various ways to the furthering of Indian Renaissance. Of these, the Brahmo Samaj, the Arya Samaj and the Ramakrishna Mission played major role in redefining the principles and practices of Hinduism.

10.6 QUESTIONS

1. Examine the role of Raja Rammohan Roy towards the socio - religious reform movements in the 19th century.
2. Highlight the contribution of Swami Dayananda Saraswati and the Arya Samaj towards the socio - religious reform movements during the 19th century.
3. Give an account of the life and achievements of Swami Vivekananda.

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11

SOCIO - RELIGIOUS REFORM MOVEMENTS: REFORMS AND REVIVAL-Part - II

B) Satyashodhak Samaj, Aligarh Movement and Singh Sabha Movement

C) Impact of Reform Movements

Unit Structure

11.0 Objectives

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11.1.1 Background

11.1.2 Early life of Jotiba Phule

11.1.3 Establishment of Satyashodhak Samaj

11.1.4 Aims and objectives of Satyashodhak Samaj

11.1.5 Principles of Satyashodhak Samaj

11.1.6 Social Work

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3. Farmers' upliftment
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5. Campaign against liquor
6. Famine relief measures

11.1.7 Educational work

1. Promotion to female education
2. Promotion to education for the lower castes
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4. Establishment of other schools
5. Specific syllabus

11.2 Aligarh Movement

11.2.1 Background

11.2.2 Sir Syed Ahmed Khan

11.2.3 Sir Syed as Reformer

11.2.4 Sir Syed as an Educationalist

11.2.5 Loyal to the British rule

11.3 Singh Sabha Movement

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11.3.2 Establishment of Singh Sabha

11.3.3 Objectives of the Singh Sabha

11.3.4 Activities of the Singh Sabha

11.4 Impact of Reform Movements

1. Changed attitude towards religious evils
2. Attempt to remove social evils
3. Spread of modern Education
4. Contribution to the Press
5. Contribution to Literature

6. Emancipation of Women
7. Political awakening became easier
8. Awareness of equality
9. The need of unity

11.5 Summary

11.6 Questions

11.7 Additional Reading

11.0 OBJECTIVES

After the completion of this unit the student will be able to

1. Review the work of the Satyashodhak Samaj as a non-Brahmanical Movement.
2. Perceive the role of Sir Syed Ahmed Khan in the Aligarh Movement.
3. Explain the achievements of the Singh Sabha Movement.
4. Analyse the impact of socio - religious reform movements in India in 19th century.

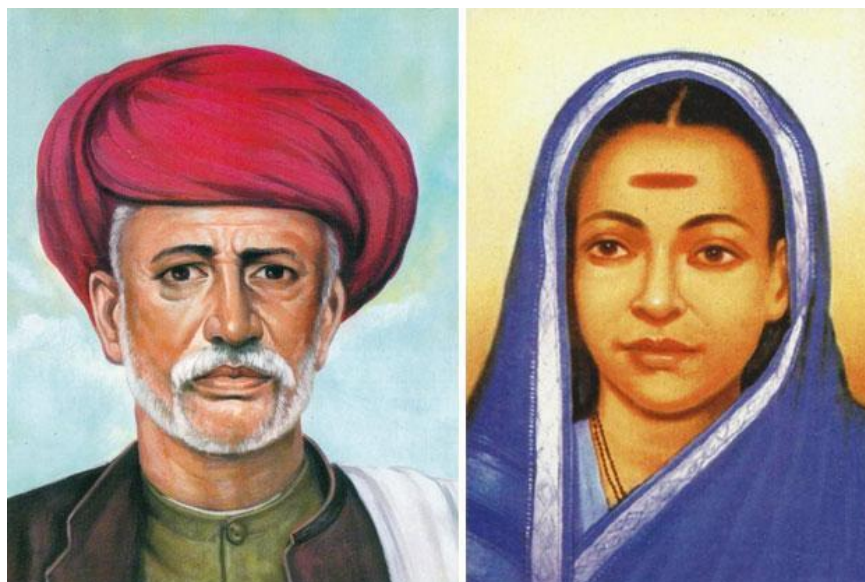
11.1 SATYASHODHAK SAMAJ

11.1.1 Background :

The struggle for social equality by the so-called depressed classes in Maharashtra was initially led by Jotiba Phule. He was a great activist, thinker, social reformer, writer, philosopher, theologian, scholar and revolutionary from Maharashtra. All his life he carried on a vigorous campaign against the supremacy of the Brahmins. He was a radical reformer, whose entire life was dedicated to his twin goals of education of women and uplift of the lower castes. He also strove for the betterment of the peasants and workers. He wrote profusely against the evil customs and practices of Hindus and also against the Brahmins, who claimed to be arbiters in these matters. In 1873 he founded the 'Satyashodhak Samaj'.

11.1.2 Early life of Jotiba Phule (1827 - 1890)

Mahatma Jotiba Phule was born on 11th April 1827 in a Mali family in the village of Katgun, in Satara district. Jotiba's family was known as gorhys, supplied flowers to the Peshwas, therefore, they came to be called as "Phule". After completing his primary school education, he started helping his father and married Savitribai at the age of twelve as it was the custom. Later with the efforts of two of his neighbours, one Muslim teacher and a Christian gentleman he joined Scottish Missions High School at Pune. Under the influence of Christian missionaries he realized the importance of education, social reform and universal humanism. He was influenced by Thomas Paine's thoughts in his book 'Rights of Man'. He was also greatly inspired by the lives of Chhatrapati Shivaji Maharaj and George Washington.



Jyotirao Phule and Savitribai Phule.

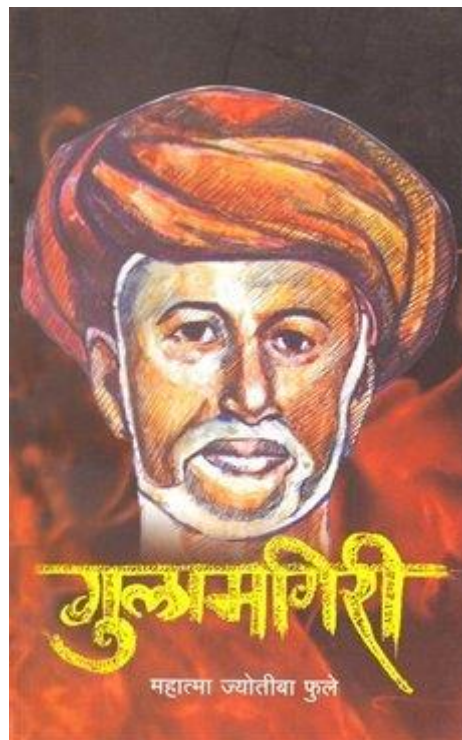
Mahatma Phule was a critic of Hindu religion and denounced chaturvarna system. He opposed the Vedas and refused to accept the role of a Brahmin priest during marriage and religious rituals. He rejected 'Manusmriti' and denounced the Hindu scriptures. He was of the opinion that religious books were created by the Brahmins to suit their selfish interest. He wanted to uplift the status of the lower castes. To achieve his objective he established Satya Shodhak Samaj.

11.1.3 Establishment of Satyashodhak Samaj

Satya Shodhak Samaj (Society of truth seekers) was the first non-Brahmin movement in India started by Mahatma Phule on September 24th

1873 at Pune to uplift the lower castes from the clutches of high caste. The objective of the samaj was to assert the worth of man irrespective of the caste. The samaj was engaged in many social, religious and educational reforms. Satyashodhak Samaj actively promoted the spread of education among the lower castes and women and condemned the caste system. It had three great ideals:- a) Equality b) Brotherhood c) Non requirement of middlemen in religious matters.

All people were free to join Satyashodhak Samaj irrespective of their caste and creed. Every member had to take a pledge of loyalty to the British rule. This is because the British Government had brought modern education to India and had created the opportunities for the lower castes. There was no room for any political discussion since British always looked suspiciously at the Indian organizations. Since Mahatma Phule's organization was not political, even British government invited him to address regiment of the army.



11.1.4 Aims and objectives of the Satya Shodhak Samaj

1. To liberate the Shudras and Anti-shudras from the influence of Brahmanical scriptures under which the Brahmin priests exploited

them to make them conscious of their human rights and to free them from mental and religious slavery.

2. That all men are the children of one God, who is thus their parent.
3. There is no requirement of intermediary such as priest or a preceptor to approach the mother or father to offer his or her prayers to god.

11.1.5 Principles of the Satyashodhak Samaj

1. There is only one God omnipresent, formless, creator and truth and all humans are his children.
2. All have the rights for worship of one God and there is no need for priestly meditation.
3. A person becomes great not by his birth but by his qualities.
4. Religious books are not written by God. So they are not authentic.
5. Rebirth, religious fasts, rituals, recitation of God's name and religious offerings are all due to man's ignorance.

Check Your Progress

Q. Discuss the aim, objectives and principles of the Satyashodhak Samaj.

11.1.6 Social work

Mahatma Phule wanted to reform religious beliefs of the lower castes and was also interested in their well being. Practices like child marriage, ban on widow remarriage, untouchability, illiteracy, exploitation of the lower castes and women were prevalent in the society. Mahatma Phule tried to eradicate all such evils. His social works are as follows.

1. Upliftment of women

In a patriarchal Indian society women suffered a lot. Their position was subordinate to men. All women were suppressed and oppressed in the traditional Indian society. Mahatma Phule strongly condemned the practice of child marriage and promoted widow remarriage. He established orphanages for widows and looked after the unwanted children of the widows who otherwise would have killed them in their infancy.

Mahatma Phule was the champion of equality not only between man but also equality of man and woman. He was of the opinion that both men and women were entitled to enjoy equal rights and it was a sin to discriminate between human beings on the basis of sex. Therefore he strongly felt the need for female education and started schools exclusively for girls. By starting three schools only for girls, he tried to promote female education and uplift their position in society.

Mahatma Phule advocated widow remarriage and denounced polygamy and child marriage. Child marriage was common among Brahmins and other upper castes among the Hindus. Widow remarriage was strictly prohibited. Satya Shodhak Samaj helped the widows to remarry. In marriage he refused to accept the role of a Brahmin priest and had their own system of marriage. He was against the inhuman practice of 'Keshavpan' (Shaving off widow's hair). In this regard he organized a strike of the barbers. He had to suffer at the hands of orthodox people for promoting widow remarriage, yet he continued his efforts to promote the same.

Mahatma Phule openly supported widow remarriage and attacked the practice of female infanticide. Due to the practice of child marriage child widowhood was also very high. A widower could remarry and widows were prohibited by the society to remarry. Young widows very often became victims of forced sex and unwanted children were born to them without any social recognition. Many a times out of shame and guilt these widows either committed suicide or resorted to abortion. Therefore

in order to protect these illegitimate children of widows he established “Balhatya Pratibandak Griha” (Home for prevention of infanticide) in the year 1863.

He also started orphanages for abandoned children, deserted women and child widows. He gave protection to pregnant widows and assured them that the orphanage would take care of their children. He even adopted the son of a Brahmin widow Kashibai and named him Yashwant.

2. Upliftment of untouchables

Like upliftment of women, Mahatma Phule also tried to work for the upliftment of the untouchables. Mahatma Phule was well aware of the inhuman practice of untouchability and had personally experienced the atrocities at the hands of the high caste. Since he was from a lower caste (Mali), he was insulted and humiliated by the relatives of his high caste friend when he had joined them in the marriage procession. This insult became a turning point in his life and he vowed to eradicate the caste system from the society. He campaigned vigorously for social equality and abolition of the caste system. He allowed the untouchables to draw water from his well. He admitted all including the untouchables in his organization. He firmly believed that low castes were the original inhabitants of the country and the Aryans (Brahmins) who created the caste system were outsiders. All through his life Mahatma Phule worked for the welfare of the lower castes.

3. Farmers' upliftment

Mahatma phule also worked vigorously for the upliftment of the famers. In his book ‘Shetkaryancha Assud’ (Cultivators whipcord) he highlighted the problems of the farmers. He tried to free the farmers from the clutches of money lenders. He helped them to get loans from the government, water for irrigation, as well as seeds and fertilizers. He also tried to provide education to farmers children.

4. Mill workers' welfare

Mahatma Phule was interested in the welfare of the mill workers. The problems of the mill workers, injustice an exploitation of the workers were highlighted through the weekly ‘Deenbandhu’ which was edited by Narayan Meghaji Lokhande. Along with Lokhande, Mahatma phule also address the meetings of the textiles workers in Mumbai and established

textile workers union. He also presented the problems of the textile workers to the British Government.

5. Campaign against liquor

Mahatma Phule was very much against the drinking habit of the people. Through education among the backward classes, he created awareness among the masses regarding the evils of drinking. He requested the Pune Municipal council not to issue new licenses to open liquor shops.

6. Famine relief measures.

In 1877 Maharashtra was severely affected by the famine which forced the people to leave their villages. Many people left behind their children as they moved out of their village. To look after these orphan children Mahatma Phule started Victoria orphanage on 17th May 1877. These orphan children were given food and shelter until their parents returned.

Check Your Progress

Q. Describe the Social Work of the Satya Shodhak Samaj.

11.1.7 Educational Work

Mahatma Phule worked tirelessly in the field of education for the upliftment of lower castes and women. He was the advocator of low caste and female education. Some of the important educational works of Phule are as follows.

1. Promotion to female education

Female education was prohibited in the traditional Indian society. Somehow it was impossible for girls to receive education as no school admitted them. So education of female became Mahatma Phule's priority. In 1848 he started the first school for girls in Pune. Since no teacher dared to come forward to teach the girls, Mahatma Phule had to train his wife Savitribai to teach in the school. Mahatma Phule and his wife had to face strong opposition from the orthodox people but refused to give up this noble endeavor.

2. Promotion to education for the lower castes

Like women lower castes were also deprived of education as it was the monopoly of high castes. Phule believed that the progress of the country is impossible without educating the lower castes. Brahmins always considered the lower castes as unfit for education. In the year 1851, he began his mission by starting a school for untouchables boys and girls and three schools only for girls. He personally took keen interest in getting the children admitted in the schools.

3. Free and compulsory education

Mahatma Phule was aware of the need of primary education for the masses who were neglected in the Bombay (Mumbai) Presidency. He criticized the British government for spending a large portion of revenue on the education of the higher castes which resulted in social inequality. In the year 1882 he demanded free and compulsory education for all before the Hunter Commission. Thus he made the British government aware of the need of education for the masses.

4. Establishment of other schools

Mahatma Phule also established adult schools and night schools as well as a training school for the teachers.

5. Specific syllabus

Mahatma Phule framed specific syllabus for the children in his schools taking into consideration their environment, abilities, family backgrounds etc.

Mahatma Phule was the first Indian to proclaim in modern India the dawn of a new age for the common man, the Indian woman. He was the first Indian to start a school for the untouchables and a girls' school in Maharashtra. According to Dhananjay Keer, Phule believed in honestly working for his livelihood. He was almost the first public man in modern India to devote his time to serving the masses. By his emphasis on Truth, Equality and Humanism, this great son of Maharashtra carved out for himself, in the company of modern Indian's great thinkers and reformers, a permanent place.

Check Your Progress

Q. Describe the educational work of the Satya Shodhak Samaj.

11.2 ALIGARH MOVEMENT

11.2.1 Background of the Aligarh Movement

The Aligarh Movement was started by Sir Syed Ahmed Khan, which aimed at the welfare of the Muslims through Western education and support of the British Government. Muslim reaction to the British conquest of India was different from the Hindu reaction. The Muslims looked upon the British as their bitter foes who had usurped their political authority and privileges. On the other hand the Hindus had welcomed the British rule as deliverance from the Muslim tyranny. The Muslims kept away from the British secular education whereas the Hindus made great strides in the new education and were therefore able to enter government services in large numbers. The difference between the Hindu and the Muslims can be realised from the fact that between 1858 and 1878 only 57 Muslims were able to get their degrees while there were as many as 3,155 Hindu graduates.

Before the British rule was established in India the Muslims were the rulers. They had all the advantages of a ruling class. Their mother tongue was the language of the Court and the administration. They enjoyed influence and high emoluments as birth rights. Having lost their political power they had now come down to the level of the Hindus. Having opted themselves out of education they became poor and backward. They were also ousted from their lands and administrative posts. Their attitude to politics and the national movement was different from that of the Hindus. They kept themselves aloof from politics and the national movement and they did not participate in any organization anywhere. It was against this background that Sir Syed Ahmed Khan began his movement for Muslim regeneration. It has been aptly said that he was to the Muslims what Raja Rammohan Roy was to the Hindus in the early 19th century.

11.2.2 Sir Syed Ahmed Khan (1817 – 1898)

Sir Syed Ahmed Khan was deeply concerned at the depressed position of the Muslims and raising them from their backwardness became his lifelong passion. He did much to raise the Muslim community from their feelings of depression. He realised that the Muslims could rise only with the acceptance of English education and through co-operation with the British authorities.

Sir Syed Ahmed Khan was born on 17th October 1817 in Delhi in a respectable upper class Muslim family, he received education in the traditional Muslim style. He was a great scholar, educationist, reformer and nationalist. Belonging to a noble family of high position and repute in Mogul days, he later on learned English and joined the lower ranks of the judicial service of the East India Company in 1837 and steadily rose till he reached the highest position so far reached by an Indian Muslim, i.e. membership of the Governor-General's Legislative Council. In the Revolt of 1857, he remained loyal to the British. So he became highly influential but he used this influence only for the upliftment of his fellowmen.



Standing R to L : chaubdar, Syed Zain uddin, Maulana Shibli,
Mustafa Khan of Khurja, Syed Ahmad Ali, Nawab Nazir Jang, peon
Sitting : Maulvi Iqbal Ali (judge), Zain ul Abidin, Qazi Raza Hasan (Patna),
Sir Syed, Mohsin ul Mulk, Syed Imtiaz Ali.
Ground : son of Nawab Nazir Jang.

After his retirement from the service, he devoted himself to the cause of Muslim socio – religious reformation. He took upon himself the triple task of religious interpretation, social reform and spread of education. For this, he chose the city of Aligarh, the predominantly Muslim area as the centre of his activities.

11.2.3 Sir Syed as Reformer

Much credit is due to Sir Syed for promoting an 'awakening' among the Muslims. He wanted to bring about a synthesis between Muslim culture and Western thought. He appealed to the Muslim to learn English and adopt some degree of westernization. He condemned social evils like slavery, superstitions, purdah and polygamy and wanted the emancipation of women. He started a magazine called 'Reform of Morals' (Tahzib-ul-Akhalag) through which he tried to propagate his progressive ideas. The orthodox Muslim elements called him a "traitor to Islam". Actually Sir Syed was a great champion of the Muslims and Islam. He wrote a commentary on the Koran and gave modern interpretations to the Islamic teachings through Urdu pamphlets. He declared that Islam was based on Reason and therefore Islam was not opposed to science and modernity. He declared , "The word of God should be interpreted by the work of God, which lies before all to see."

11.2.4 Sir Syed as an Educationist

Sir Syed realised that the sorry plight of the Muslims was due to their aversion to English education and their hostility to the British. He appealed to the Muslims to be on good terms with the British and he appealed to the British to ignore the Muslim role in the Revolt of 1857 and the Wahabi Movement. His appeals came at a time when the British were realizing that the challenge to British rule would not come from the orthodox Muslim aristocracy, which was decaying, but from the rising Bourgeoisie, which was mostly Hindu. So the British gave every encouragement to Sir Syed in order to win over the Muslims. They helped him to fight Muslim orthodoxy. Sir Syed fought Muslim orthodoxy as Ram Mohan fought Hindu orthodoxy. In 1864, Sir Syed established an English School at Ghazipur. In 1865, he started a Society to translate English works into Urdu.

With the full backing of the bureaucracy, on May 24, 1875 the birth anniversary of Queen Victoria, he founded the Mohammedan Anglo-Oriented College (MAO) at Aligarh, which marked the beginning of the Aligarh Movement. Later this college became the Aligarh Muslim University in 1920. This college promoted higher education among the Muslims and fostered among them a modern outlook and a feeling of unity. Along with Muslim religion, it provided education in humanities and science through English medium and many of its staff members came from England. The college received support from the leading Muslims throughout India and the British showed much interest both officially and otherwise in its development. Soon Aligarh became the centre of religious and cultural revival of the Muslim community.

11.2.5 Loyal to the British rule

Sir Syed Ahmed Khan opposed the idea of the Muslims joining hands with the Indian National Congress. He advised his community to eschew politics and to devote its energies to education. He opposed the activities of the Indian National Congress. He believed that the Indian were not yet ready to govern themselves and that their interests would be best served by remaining loyal to the British rule. His loyalty to the British earned him a Knighthood in 1888. He founded the Indian Patriotic association with the support of some Hindu and Muslim leaders to oppose the Congress and tried to dissuade the Muslims from joining the Congress. He wanted more time for the Indian Muslims to organize and consolidate their position and thought that this could be best done by maintaining good relations with the British rulers.

It has been rightly pointed out that Sir Syed and his Aligarh movement were responsible for the widening gap between the Muslims and the Hindus. But looking at the movement from the point of view of the Muslims the fact remains that he raised the Muslim community from the slough of despondency in which it had sunk after the outbreak of 1857. He deserved the highest praise for his love of the community and the far sighted vision which he displayed regarding the problems of the Muslims. From 1858 right up to his death in 1898, he dominated a sizable section of Muslim public life in India.

Check Your Progress

Q. Describe the role of Sir Syed Ahmed Khan in the Aligarh movement.

11.3 THE SINGH SABHA MOVEMENT

11.3.1 Background

In 1877, Swami Dayanand Saraswati, the founder of the Arya Samaj came to Punjab where he set up a branch of the Arya Samaj at Lahore. Shuddhi-purification movement, was an important part of its activities and it gained many Hindu and Sikh adherents. Very soon the orthodox Sikhs realised that Swamiji's belief in the infallibility of the Vedas was absolute and uncompromising. To him the Granth of the Sikhs was a book of secondary importance and the Sikh Gurus were men of little learning. He denounced Nanak as "Dambhi" (hypocrite). The Swami was contemptuous of the Sikh neologians because of their ignorance of Sanskrit.

In these circumstances the Sikhs turned their back on the Swami and his Arya Samaj. At about the same time winds of change began to blow in the Punjab. The Christian Mission, the Brahmo Samaj and the Theosophists began their work in Punjab. The literary and educational movement gathered momentum. The Hindus and the Muslims started their own colleges and schools only the Sikhs lagged behind.

11.3.2 Establishment of the Singh Sabha

The Singh Sabha was a prominent socio-religious movement in Punjab. The first Singh Sabha was founded at Amritsar on 1st October, 1873. Sir Khem Singh Bedi, Thakur Singh Sandhawalia, Kanwar Bikram Singh of Kapurthala and Gyani Gian Singh were some of the prominent people who helped in founding the Singh Sabha. Sandhawalia was the President and Gyani Gian Singh was the secretary of the first Singh Sabha.

11.3.3 Objectives of the Singh Sabha

The main objectives of the Singh Sabha were as follows :

1. To bring about Western enlightenment through new learning.
2. To counter act the activities of the Christian Missionaries as well as of the Hindu revivalists like the Arya Samaj.
3. To propagate the true Sikh religion and restore Sikhism to its pristine glory.
4. To edit, publish and circulate historical and religious books.
5. To propagate current knowledge using Punjabi as the medium and to start magazines and newspapers in Punjabi.
6. To reform and bring back into the Sikh fold the apostates.
7. To interest the high placed Englishmen in and ensure their association with the education programme of the Sabha
8. To avoid criticism of other religions and discussion of political matters.

Check Your Progress

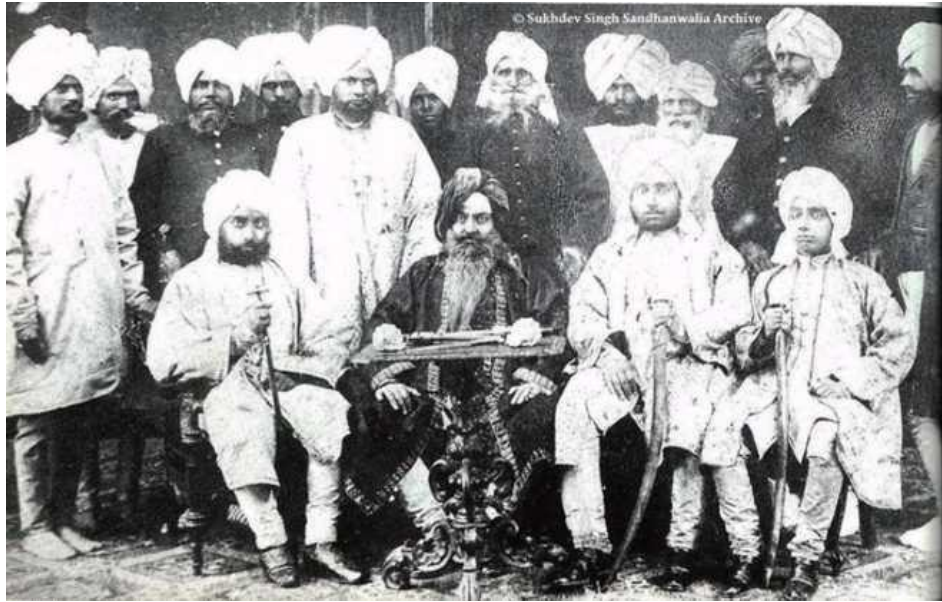
Q. Discuss the objective of the Singh Sabha.

11.3.4 Activities of the Singh Sabha

The Singh Sabha used to meet every two weeks, hold anniversary celebrations and special meetings on festival days or in response to specific challenges by other religious groups. It represented the leaders of the Sikh community. The members of the landed gentry, the aristocracy and also various types of temple servants like the Pujaris, the Granthis, the administrator of the Gurudwaras and the descendants of the Gurus joined the Singh Sabha.

In 1879 another Singh Sabha was formed at Lahore. It was led by a group of educated and energetic men of middle class. The Governor of Punjab, Sir Robert Egerton, became its patron and he also induced the Viceroy, Lord Landsdowne, to extent his support. The Lahore Singh Sabha opened branches in many towns, sent missionaries to villages and began publishing journals in Punjabi. In 1883, the Lahore and Amritsar Singh Sabhas were merged but their merger proved a failure. The Lahore group was radical and was opposed to the institution of "Gurudom". They clashed on the right of the untouchables among the Sikhs to worship in the Gurudwaras. The conservatives supported the priest and dissociated themselves from the movements.

The rapid expansion of the Arya Samaj and the anti-Sikh bias of many of its leaders was a challenge to the Singh Sabha movement. It also brought about the final rapture between the Arya Samaj and some of its Sikh supporters. The two Singh Sabhas once again came together to establish the Khalsa College at Amritsar in March 1892.



The Singh Sabha witnessed the modern development and emergence of new cultural and political aspirations. The most important aspect of the Singh Sabha movement was educational and literary. Hundreds of Khalsa Schools were established all across Punjab. The teaching of Gurumukhi and the Sikh scriptures were compulsory in these khalsa schools. The impetus given to education in its turn stimulated the publication of books, magazines and newspapers. “The Khalsa Akhbar”, a weekly and “Khalsa Samachar”, a daily were founded in 1899. Vir Singh started the Khalsa Tract Society and published literature on different aspects of Sikh history and religion. A number of books, both in English and Gurumukhi, were published. Gyani Gyan Singh’s “Panth Prakash” and “Tavarikh Guru Khalsa” in Gurumukhi and M.A. Mecauliffe’s work on the life and teachings of the Gurus, in English were some of the important books published.

The Singh Sabha movement not only checked the relapse of the Sikhs into Hinduism but retaliated by carrying proselytising activities into the Hindu society. A large number of Northern and Western Punjab and Sind Sikhs became Sahajadhari Sikhs and later they were baptised to become the Khalsa. Although the Singh Sabha movement petered out in the 1920’s it left a legacy of chronically defensive attitude towards Hinduism.

Check Your Progress

Q. Explain the activities of the Singh Sabha Movement.

11.4 IMPACT OF REFORM MOVEMENTS

1.Changed attitude towards religious evils

The reform movements drew the attention of the people towards the evils from which different religious communities in India were suffering. To some extent these helped in removing ignorance, illiteracy and superstitions. It created among all religious communities a sense of pride for their past cultural heritage and thus saved them from the inferiority complex from which these societies were suffering. The work done by the reformers significantly contributed in the spirit in which freedom struggle was fought.

2. Attempt to remove social evils

It was due to the movements of social reformers that people of India thought of removing their social evils both with the help of government and independent of that. Female education received encouragement and sati system was banned. Evils of caste system were highlighted and the system of polygamy received great setback. Several bad religious practices and evils were ended and religion was purified to some extent. A new outlook started developing in the society.

3. Spread of Modern Education

Whether through English medium or through Vernacular medium, the Reform movements gave top priority to the spread of modern education. Most of the reformers were basically teachers and sometime

or the other, had taught in schools or colleges. Some of them had even prepared textbooks, while many of them had started schools and colleges. The modern education libraries and reading rooms. Different reform movements started imparted by them was scientific, rational, logical, objective, liberal, useful and open to all. Because of these efforts, the educational monopoly of certain classes was broken. The spread of modern education introduced the educated Indians to Western thoughts and culture. It opened new fields of knowledge in science and literature and this had a profound influence in shaping the ideas of educated Indians.

4. Contribution to the Press

Since Press was the only medium of mass communication, practically every social reformer and every reform institute started their own newspapers. These paper appeared in English as well as in vernaculars. Some reformers fought for the freedom of Press. Some newspapers were devoted to the cause of women, some to workers, while some were dedicated to the eradication of untouchability.

5. Contribution of Literature

To spread their thoughts and ideas the reformers largely depended upon literature. They used forms like biographies, satires, stories, novels and plays to highlight different social evils. Sometimes the book written in one language was translated into other languages. Some reformers translated the Vedas and Upanishads into Indian languages so that people could read and interpret them. European books on various subjects were translated into Indian languages.

6. Emancipation of Women

Today women are working shoulder-to-shoulder with men and are shining in every field of life, and have even excelled men in some fields. But, this transformation is not a sudden one. It is the result of sustained efforts by several reformers and reform movements. It also took great efforts to educate women and create self-confidence among them.

7. Political awakening became easier

Thanks to the work done by the social reformers, the task of political awakening and political leadership became considerably easier.

National Movement in India on all India basis could be possible only due to socio-religious movements. The Indians began to feel the need of having increased share in the administration of their own country. They wanted to have broad based franchise system and Indianising of whole administrative system.

8. Awareness of equality

The reformers demanded that all the people of India should be treated with respect and thus promoted equality of man. They highlighted in-equalities in society Indian and foreigner as well as among the Indians themselves. They wanted that these should be removed from the society. This very much appealed those who were worst suffered in Indian society.

9. The need of unity

It was due to the efforts of the reformers that different communities living in India at least started realising the need of coming closer to each other, though the atmosphere was spoiled due to induction of politics in social reforms. The reforms started on the principle of brotherhood of man and made all realise that they were partners in sufferings only. They also tried to assert that being the creation of the same God they were just one and that God did not make a distinction between man and man. Accordingly to them all men were good unless they were made evil. There should be no illwill and all must work in a spirit of forgiveness.

Thus the socio-religious reformers in India during 19th century really did so useful work for the society and for this the reformers had to face many odds and toil hard.

Check Your Progress

Q. Enumerate the impact of the reform movements on Indian society.

11.5 SUMMARY

The social and religious movements in India in the nineteenth century were interlinked. These movements were complementary as well as supplementary. By and large, all the reformers of the nineteenth century emphasised religious and social reforms. The main streams of the new movements may be summed up as purging of society of superstitions, reaping the fruit of science and restoration of the ancient glory of the society.

Promotion of a national outlook was an apparent aim of the various reform movements. Besides, these movements endeavoured to achieve individual liberty and social equality. The various reform movements represented an attempt of the Indian people to democratize social institutions and remodel old religious outlook inline with the new social requirements.

11.6 QUESTIONS

1. Review the work of Satyashodhak Samaj as a non-Brahmanical movement.
2. Analyse the role played by the Aligarh Movement in the progress of the Muslim society with special reference to Sir Syed Ahmed Khan.
3. Discuss the aims and objectives as well as activities of the Singh Sabha Movement.
4. Enumerate the impact of the reform movements on Indian society.

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12

DEVELOPMENT OF EDUCATION & IT'S IMPACT.

Unit Structure:

- 12.0 Objectives
- 12.1 Introduction
- 12.2 British Efforts to Introduce Western Education: 1765-1813
- 12.3 Charter Act, 1813:
- 12.4 Macaulay's Minute, 1835
- 12.5 Wood's Despatch of 1854
- 12.6 Spread of Western Education after 1857

- 12.7 The Hunter Commission, 1882
- 12.8 Indian Universities Act of 1904
- 12.9 Government of India Resolution of 1913
- 12.10 Saddler Commission, 1917
- 12.11 Hartog Committee, 1919
- 12.12 Wardha Scheme of Education
- 12.13 The Sargeant Scheme of Education of 1943
- 12.14 Effect of English Education
- 12.15. Conclusion
- 12.16. Further reading
- 12.17. Broad Questions

12.0. OBJECTIVES:

1. To acquaint students with the changes in educational system from pre-British period to British period.
2. To highlight on the British efforts of bringing western education in India.
3. To discuss the introduction of modern educational system of India.
4. To analyze the impact of British rule in the struggle for India's independence.

12.1. INTRODUCTION:

Before the advent of the English both the Hindus & the Muslims had their separate educational institutions. Education was based on religion. The Hindu educational system was based on caste system and lower castes were denied education. Gurukul and Pathshala were centers of education. Muslim children were given education in Makhtab and Madrassa. Education was denied to women in both the communities with an exception of few upper caste women.

The courses were based on old texts. Printed books were not available. The knowledge of outside world was not known.

12.2. BRITISH EFFORTS TO INTRODUCE WESTERN EDUCATION: 1765-1813

In the beginning the Company refused to recognize her

responsibility of imparting education to the Indians as it considered itself to be a commercial enterprise. Initially, the Christian missionaries spread-out the English knowledge & literature among the people by establishing schools at different places.

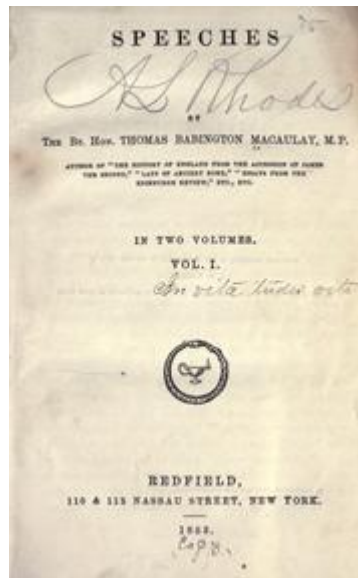
In 1781, Governor General Warren Hastings established Calcutta madrasa with the aim of educating the sons of Muslim nawabs so that they could be appointed on high posts. In 1791, Jonathan Duncan established Banaras Sanskrit College for the Hindus. Its main aim was to train the Hindu subordinates for the European judges who had to deal with cases of the Hindu law. In 1784, William Jones, a judge at Calcutta supreme court founded the Bengal Asiatic society which did a pioneering work in the field of education.

12.3. CHARTER ACT, 1813:

Under the charter, Act 1813, a provision was made that annually one lakh rupees would be spent on education. But during the next ten years not a single rupee was spent on it. As the Charter was silent on what should be the medium of instruction, English or Indian languages, and also whether western or Indian literature to be taught.

12.4. MACAULAY'S MINUTE, 1835:

During the period of Lord William Bentinck, a controversy sprang up over the medium of instruction. Hence a General Committee of Public Instructions was set up under **Lord Macaulay** to investigate on the matter & submit its report. The few members in the Committee under Dr. Wilson supported the Indian system of learning through the medium of Indian languages. While, the Law Member, Lord Macaulay opposed this view & advocated the use of English as medium of instruction. The first group was known as **Orientalists** & the second as **Anglicists**. Finally, Lord Macaulay, being the Chairman of the Committee took the decision in favour of Anglicists. He submitted his famous "Minutes" in 1835. **By this English was introduced as medium of instruction.**



As a result of Govt. patronage a number of schools & colleges were opened in Bengal, Bombay, Madras. Many Indian leaders like Raja Ram Mohan Roy also took lead in establishing schools & insisted on western Education. Calcutta medical college was established in 1835 & by 1837, there were as many as 48 institutions all over the Country.

12.5. WOOD'S DISPATCH OF 1854:

A Committee was set up in 1854 to recommend improvements in education, On the basis of committee's report, Chairman of Board of control Sir Charles Wood prepared a plan which was known as Wood's Dispatch. **It came to be considered as the Manga Carta of English education in India.**

Its main recommendations were as follows: -

1. The aim of education was to spread knowledge of arts, science, philosophy & literature of Europe.
2. Regarding the medium of instruction, it maintained that English would be the medium of higher studies & vernacular may be the medium of lower standard.
3. The dispatch also recommended the establishment of University at Calcutta, Bombay & Madras on the model of the University of London to conduct examination & to confer the academic degrees. Each university was to have a Chancellor, Vice-chancellor & senate.
4. To encourage private efforts in education, the dispatch

recommended the grant-in-aid system.

5. Female education was to be encouraged.
6. It directed the govt to take special interest in institutions for specific profession like medical & engineering.
7. The recognized institutions were to be periodically visited for inspections by the Inspectors.
8. Regular scholarships were to be awarded to outstanding students.

Almost all the proposals of the Wood's Dispatch were implemented. In 1857 three universities were established at Calcutta, Madras & Bombay.

12.6. SPREAD OF WESTERN EDUCATION AFTER 1857:

During the period from 1854-1882 big strides were made in the field of secondary and higher education. In 1857 the Universities of Calcutta, Bombay and Madras were started. By 1882, sixty-eight colleges were opened. Besides many schools were opened throughout the country. All these institutions were imparting education to almost more than 2 lakh students by 1882.

12.7. THE HUNTER COMMISSION (1882): -

The govt of India wanted to conduct a survey of the entire field of education & find out how far the principles laid down in the Wood's Dispatch were implemented. Hence Lord Ripon appointed a Commission in 1882 with Sir William Hunter as President. The Hunter Commission went around the country, conducted elaborate enquiries & submitted its report in 1883. The Govt of India accepted most of the recommendations of the Hunter Commission. They are as follows: -

- 1) It was decided to transfer the Management of primary education to the local bodies & municipality.
- 2) Official encouragement was given to the private institutions for the establishment of secondary schools & colleges.
- 3) New regulations regarding scholarships were to be framed.
- 4) Model text-books were to be prepared.

- 5) The commission also led emphasis on physical & mental education of the students.

Hunter Commission 1882



Lord Ripon (1880-1884 AD)

12.8. INDIAN UNIVERSITIES ACT OF 1904: -

Lord Curzon favoured the govt control over education. In 1901, he called a conference of the education officers in Shimla & in 1902, he appointed a commission under the chairmanship of Sir Raleigh. On the recommendations of this Commission the Govt passed in 1904, the Indian Universities Act. Following were its main provisions: -

- 1) The powers of the universities were enlarged. Now they got powers to appoint Professors & Lectures & to gather facilities for taking research work. They were, now, not only examining bodies but also became teaching bodies.
- 2) The governing bodies of these Universities were reorganized. The Senate of each university was to have not less than 50 & not more than 100 members. Each member was to hold office only for 5 years. The number of elected fellows for the Universities of Calcutta, Bombay & Madras was fixed at 20, which was subsequently reduced to 15.
- 3) The Syndicate was recognized as a legal body. It was also made representative of the teachers.
- 4) The control of the University over affiliated colleges was to be strengthened through strict rule & condition for affiliation & periodical inspection.
- 5) The Govt was empowered to accept, modify or add to the regulations framed by the Universities.
- 6) The Governor-General-in-Council was empowered to define the territorial limits of the Universities.

The purpose of these recommendations was to ensure strict govt

control over universities.

12.9. GOVERNMENT OF INDIA RESOLUTION OF 1913:

In 1910, Gokhale presented a resolution in the Legislative Assembly that primary education should be declared free and compulsory. Though this resolution could not be carried out yet it drew government's attention towards this side. In 1913, the government, clarified its own educational policy through a resolution. This resolution had the following provisions: -

1. Lower primary schools should be expanded.
2. Upper primary schools should be opened at suitable places.
3. Private aided schools should be replaced by Municipal Board schools.
4. Makhtabs and Pathshalas should be given grant-in-aid.
5. Stress should be given on female education.
6. Teachers training should be promoted and proper salaries should be given to teachers.
7. University education should be expanded.
8. A proposal was also made to establish teaching and residential universities.

However, due to the outbreak of first world war in 1914, these proposals could not be implemented. Nevertheless, new universities were set up at Banaras in 1916 and at Patna in 1917.

12.10. SADDLER COMMISSION, 1917: -

The government of India appointed a commission under the chairmanship of Dr. Saddler in 1917. Following were its recommendations: -

1. The intermediate classes should be separated from the university and the admission to the university should be made after the intermediate stage.
2. Secondary and intermediate education was to be controlled by the board of secondary education.
3. The degree course after intermediate should be of three years' duration.
4. The commission recommended lesser government control over the universities.

5. Teaching universities should be established.
6. Attention should be paid to vocational and professional training.
7. Special attention should be paid to female education.

Subsequently universities were established at Aligarh, Dacca, Lucknow, Delhi, Nagpur and Agra.

12.11. HARTOG COMMITTEE, 1919: -

The reforms of 1919 caused resentment among the people. The non-cooperation movement had shaken the whole nation. The students boycotted schools and colleges. When at last, peace returned in 1928, a committee known as the Hartog Committee was constituted. It made the following recommendations: -

1. More attention should be paid to the primary education and an attempt should be made to make it compulsory after creating the right atmosphere.
2. Schools below the required standard should be abolished.
3. To avoid wasteful expenditure effective control on junior classes should be maintained.
4. The syllabus in the schools should be quite comprehensive.
5. Arrangements should be made for the training of the teachers and attempt should be made to give them better salaries.
6. A committee should be set up in Delhi to coordinate the educational activities in different schools.

12.12. WARDHA SCHEME OF EDUCATION:

The provincial autonomy was introduced by government of India in 1935 and elections were held in 1937. Congress came to power in 7 provinces. Gandhiji criticized the existing educational system. It was both costly and non-vocational. To consider the problem of education Gandhiji appointed a committee in 1937, who submitted their report which came to be called 'Wardha Scheme'. Its main features were as follows: -

1. Craft should be made the main subject in all educational institutions. It should be used to ensure child's mental and intellectual development as well.
2. There should be free and compulsory education for children between 7-14 age group.

3. The child's mother tongue should form the medium of instruction.
4. Depending upon the circumstances every child should be trained in a useful trade.

12.13. THE SARGEANT SCHEME OF EDUCATION OF 1943:

Sir John Sargeant the educational advisor to the government of India prepared a scheme in 1943. This scheme came to be known after his name, as the Sargeant scheme. Following were its recommendations: -

1. There should be a pre-primary stage of education for which Nursery schools should be opened.
2. Universal free education should be compulsory for students between 6-14 years' age group.
3. Basic education should consist of two stages, Junior stage of 5 years & Senior stage of 3 years.
4. Arrangement should be made for Adult education as well.
5. Vocational & professional colleges should be opened.
6. Intermediate stage should be included in High Schools.
7. Degree course should be of three years' duration.
8. A 'National Youth Movement' to inculcate among students a sense of service to the country should be started.

12.14. EFFECT OF ENGLISH EDUCATION:

1. Emergence of Indian Intelligentsia:

Indian intelligentsia, key to enter Modern World, considered modern education the best remedy for social, political and economic evils of the country. The intellectual ferment was strongest in West Bengal, Maharashtra and Tamil Nadu. Intellectuals and their organizations had purely an economic and social thrust. They were aware of the real issues hampering the progress of Indian society. They also got alarmed at the erosion of Indian Culture and divide and rule policies of the British.

2. National movement gained momentum:

The destructive character of British imperialism lit the fire and gave birth to national movement. Economic loot, political

subjugation, assertion of superiority over the Indians on the ground of race, constant insulting and arrogant behavior towards all Indians, exclusion of Indians from all places of authority and responsibility and denial of their capacity for self-governance united Indians against British rule. They tried to bring social awakening and awareness amongst masses about their rights.

3. Beginning of Social Reforms:

Modern education highlighted the weaknesses, rigidity and harshness of society towards the weaker sections of the society. It had attracted the attention of the intelligentsia and reformers towards social evils, which had developed in the system. This gave birth to many socio- religious reform movements, such as Brahmo Samaj, Arya Samaj, Satyashodhak Samaj, Ramakrishna Mission etc.

4. Spread awareness amongst people:

Social reformers fought against many social evils caused by ignorance, superstitions or irrationality like Sati, Polygamy, child marriage, and inhumane treatment to women, untouchability and many superstitions prevalent at that time. They criticized the futility of rituals and superstitions created by some selfish people to entangle the ignorant and poor masses. Emphasis was laid on education and science.

5. Emphasis on education and science –

Reformers organized people and made them aware of social evils like Brahmo Samaj, founded by Raja Ram Mohan Roy in 1828, inspired the people of Bengal, UP, Punjab, Madras and other provinces, to form similar organizations and interpret religion rationally.

6. Pride of Indian Culture:

The educated leaders of India advised people to remain firmly rooted to the Indian Culture. They tried to revive their own rich ancient culture and prevent the masses from being influenced by the glamour and materialism of western culture. They talked about the greatness of Hindu Vedic culture and about Vedas as the source of all knowledge and truth. Swami Vivekananda founded the

Rama Krishna Mission tried to reveal to the world Indian Philosophy and culture.

7. Opened the doors of education for all sections:

The new education system opened the doors of education for all sections of Indian society to get educated irrespective of caste or creed. Earlier Muslims were more dependent on the use of sword. Only few could get the opportunity to study in Madrasas. But with the introduction of English education, Muslims as well as lower caste Hindus got opportunity to receive education.

8. Disassociated people from traditional way of learning:

While welcomed by different sections of society, the new system of education had some adverse effects also. It had disassociated Indian people from their traditional way of learning and living, their classical roots and indigenous knowledge. Along with it faded Indian values, philosophies and traditions.

9. Costly nature of modern education:

Though British rulers opened the doors of education to all, they were not concerned much about mass education. The costly nature of education tended to make it a monopoly of the richer classes and city dwellers. Initially, it was an impoverished group of Brahmin and caste Hindus in search of livelihood, who in desire to live with dignity and honour opted for modern education. Except for a few, masses could not avail its advantages despite the relentless efforts of missionaries with an aim to convert poor people into Christianity. English gaining importance as the language of elite section of society alienated the masses from them.

12.15. CONCLUSION:

The British rulers imparted western education in arts & sciences through the medium of English to the Indian people only to serve their own imperial needs. Nevertheless this liberal education became instrumental not only in our intellectual development but also in awakening our nationalist feelings & promoting the sense of unity among the Indian people. It was the western education that firmly rooted in our minds the ideals of freedom & nationalism & roused the desire to overthrow the yoke of the foreign rule & to gain freedom & the self-rule. To sum up, the

English education proved much helpful in our religions, social & political progress.

12.16. FURTHER READING

1. Sayanekar, Shyam, History of Modern India (1857-1947), Sheth Publications, 2016.
2. Grover B.L., Grover S., A New Look at Modern Indian History, S. Chand and Company, New Delhi, 2001.
3. Kundra & Bawa, History of India, Neelam Publishers, Delhi, 1995.
4. Eugene D'Souza, History of Modern India, Manan Prakashan, 2016.

12.17. BROAD QUESTIONS:

- Q.1. Discuss the development of education during 20th century.
- Q.2. Describe the British efforts to introduce western education in India.
- Q.3. Explain the effects of western education on Indian people.



13

DEVELOPMENT OF PRESS

Unit Structure :

- 13.1 Introduction
- 13.2 Origin of the Press in India : In pre-revolt period
- 13.3 Growth of Vernacular Press
- 13.4 The development of Press in post-revolt period
- 13.5 Repressive measures of British Government
 - 13.5.1 The Vernacular Press Act of 1878.
 - 13.5.2 The Newspaper (Incitement to offences) Act, 1908

- 13.5.3 The Indian Press Act, 1910
- 13.6 Conclusion
- 13.7 Suggested Reading
- 13.8 Question pattern

13.1 INTRODUCTION

Press has become one of the pillars of democratic values and it is the guardian angel of democracy in Modern times. Press influence the public opinion related to socio-economic, political etc. arena and it leads to inculcating Modern idea.

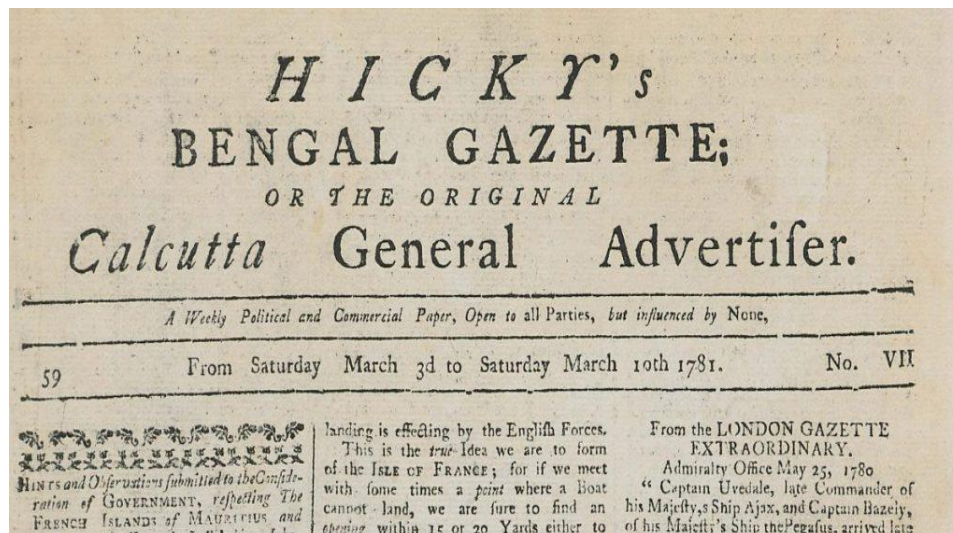
Press also plays a role of catalyst in great social, political, cultural movements. Press was glorified as the 'Fourth Estate' by Edmond Burke.

13.2 ORIGIN OF THE PRESS IN INDIA : IN PRE-REVOLT PERIOD

The invention of printing press John Gutenberg in 1454 is a turning point in the history of Mankind. It leads to the dissemination of information to masses quickly and facilitating the development of ideas through debates, writings, counterinterviews in subsequent years. The technique of printing became popular in Italy in 1465 followed by France in 1470, Spain 1483, Portugal in 1495, Russia in 1555 and Austria in 1640. Newspapers became popular during 18th century.

The Printing Press was first introduced in India by the Portuguese Jesuits in 1557 to print Christian Literature.

James August Hickay an Englishman started the first Newspapers, The Bengal Gazette on 29th January 1780. William Bolds a dismissed Dutch employee of the East India Company thought of starting newspapers in 1776. A copy of the paper was posted on the doors of the Council House at Calcutta in September 1776. It was addressed to the public and he tried to expose the servants of the company but he was deported to England by the company.



Hickay was fearless in criticizing the establishment led by Warren Hastings. It resulted in to closure of the Press in 1782.

Peter Reed founded "Calcutta Gazette" and "Oriental Advertiser" in 1784. He was able to get patronage from the Government. In Madras Richard Johnston founded the "Madras Courier" in 1785. The Bombay Gazette was published in 1791. The Government desired that Editors should send proof sheets of the paper to the Secretary for the inspection of the Government. Government used the tactics of pressure. Thus being the non-critical of the Government policies these newspapers were given by the patronage by the Government. It carried the Parliamentary debates, news about the continents official orders and all the commercial and social information related to Europeans. They lacked the attention to the land in which they were published. This. The press was used by the opponents of the company's monopoly and the company Government for furthering their selfish interest. The British public opinion was tilted towards the opponents of the company but due to rise of Napoleon the reforms got set back and Lord Wellesley (1798-1805) was the Governor General of India.

Lord Wellesley wanted to put restrictions on the Press & bring it under the control of Government. He promulgated rules to control the Press which required to published the names of Printer & Editor, a practice which continues to date it resulted in to the beginning of authenticity and the censorship along with the introduction of Press in India. Non-compliance of the rules was heavily penalized. The punishment to the Europeans was immediate deportation.



Lord Wellesley.

The Newspapers like *The Morning Post*, *the Telegraph*, *the Calcutta Courier*, *the Oriental Star*, *The Bengal Harakuru* and *The Asiatic Minor* faced heavy censorship Lord Wellesley himself started a Government Press and the official Calcutta Gazette was published in 1803.

The Lord Hastings (1813-1823) abolished to the censorship in 1818 & Press began feeling free. He maintained a vigilance over the Press. Lord Hastings wished that Press should not educate the people of India against the Government.



Lord Hastings.

13.3 GROWTH OF VERNACULAR PRESS

The awakening and Growth of National consciousness among the Indians gave rise to the Nationalist Press. From 1815

onwards Raja Ram Mohan Roy was involved in to reforming superstitious and decaying Hindu society in India. Ganga Kishor Bhattacharya and Haracahdra Roy thought of propagating the ideas if Rajaram Mohan Roy. They started a paper *Vangal Gazette* in Bengali it was countered by Baptist Missionaries by using Press for spreading a Christianity. The Serampore Missionaries started *Digdarshan* in 1818. It was in Vernacular language & contained historical & other notices as well as some items of political intelligence. Later on. When it became popular they started *Samachar Darpan* . This, the vernacular Press initially was used as a vehicle of rival religious ideologies. The *Samachar Darpan* aimed at popularizing Christianity by criticizing contemporary religious faiths in India. It avoided comments on political news and focused mainly on social views.

Raja Rammohan Roy started is series of articles in favour of Vedanta in *Bramhanical Magazine* founded by Pandit. In 1821 he started *Sambad Kaumudi*, in Bengali and *Mirat-ul-Akhbar* in Persian in 1822. These Weeklies aimed at inspiring the people the fight against socio-religious malpractices, to get oriented with western culture and to inform both public and Government about the real situation on the country.

In Bombay Fardaonji Murzban started *Bombay Samachar* in Gujarati (1822) abd as a daily it is still in existence. Lord Willian Bentick (1828-1835) administration gave a positive environment to the growth of Indian Journalism. He know that it was the freedom of the Press, enjoyed before the enactment of Adam's Regulations (1823) which enabled the company administration to interfere with social matters for the first time in the history. He won the support of progressive Press and also inspired faith in the conservative Press. In 1830 there were about 16 language newspapers and periodicals in Bengal/ 19 more papers were published in next 3 years. The English Dailies & periodicals also rose to 33 with total subscription of 2225.



Bang Dutt (in Bengali) was founded in 1830 by progressive Indians like Dwarkanath Tagore, Prassanakumar Tagore & Raja Rammohan Roy.

In Bombay the *Jam-e-Jamshed* (Gujarati) as a daily is still being published was started in 1831 by P. M. Motiwala.

In Madras Vernacular Press was started in 1840 with *Tamil Patrika*. It was followed by James Snehan in 1841, *Rajvritti Bodhini* in 1855 and *Dinvarthamani* in 1855. *Vijnana Nikshepam* was the first newspapers in Malayalam published in 1840 from Kottayam.

After the death of Bentinck Sir Charles Metcalf (1835-1836) became Governor General he also known as Massiah in Indian Journalism. He was totally in favor of Freedom of Press. In 1835 he repeated the Adam's Regulation & set up a new landmark in the history of Journalism in India.

Rast Goftar and Anglo Gujarati paper was published in 1851. Dadabhai Naoroji was the Editor of Rast Goftar *Akhbar-e-Saudagar* was also founded in same year. The first Hindi Journal *Samachar Sudhavarshana* was started in Calcutta in the year 1854.

13.4 THE DEVELOPMENT OF PRESS IN POST-REVOLT PERIOD

During the Revolt if 1857 the restrictions were re-imposed. The Vernacular Press was critical to the government policies after the revolt of 1857. Lord Canning (1856-1862) re-introduced the features of Adam's Regulation 1823 in the form of the licensing Act. According to this Act it was mandatory for the papers to get license from the government for which conditions were laid down by Government. Although, it was enacted for one year but it continued enforce till 1865 by renewing it annually. All the reforms introduced by Metcalf was undone.

The companies rule came to and end in 1858. The queen's proclamation aimed at restoring public confidence. The Canninf himself allowed repeal of sedition Act resulting in to encouragement to Press in India. In 1861 the Indian Press witness the start of newspapers specially. *The Times of India* after the amalgamation 4 newspapers viz. *Bombay Times*, *The Courier*, *The Standard*, and *the Telegraph*, 3 more Anglo Indian papers started viz. *Pioneer* (Allahabad) by George Allen, 1865, *The Civil & Military Gazette*, (Lahore), *The Statesman* (Calcutta) by Robert Knight and evening newspaper *Madras Male* by Charles Lawson in 1868 was also published. *The Pioneer* was reflecting the British Government agenda whereas *Madras Male* highlighted the issues related to European community.

The *Amrit Bazar Patrika* founded in 1868 by Hemantkumar Ghosh & Sisirkumar Ghosh was Anglo Bengali Weekly. It became

severe critic of the government containing accurate news and effective presentations. The Civil & Military Gazette was distinctly an organ of British conservative opinion. It attracted many Englishmen towards Journalism in India. *The Hindoo* (1878) was started as fortnightly Journal by G. Subramanian Ayyer & M. Veerraghav Chariar. It became a English daily in 1889 during the session of Indian National Congress at Madras. It has a liberal outlook balance judgement and National constructions. The tribune was started in 1877 by Sir Dayalsingh Majethia. Sir Surendranath Banerjee, Bipinchandra Pal & Kalinath Ray were also associated with it. It was an influential paper in the Punjab with a liberal nationalist outlook.



13.5 REPRESSIVE MEASURES OF BRITISH GOVERNMENT

Lord Lytton who was staunch imperialist became viceroy in 1876. The Vernacular Press exposed the Government an its policies which were detrimental to the Indian people and native soldiers. Racial discrimination was at its peak after the revolt of 1857. The liberal policy of the British Government was criticized by conservative Englishmen. The famines were major reason of the popularity of the Indian Press as it highlighted the issues to the masses.

13.5.1 The Vernacular Press Act of 1878.

Lytton favoured the conservative view and passed the Vernacular Press Act,\ in 1878 and suppressed the Freedom of Press. Lord Lytton, however did a great service. The restrictions imposed by the Act of 1878 inspired the indigenous journalist to

come together and condemned the act unitedly. It was a post whemently by the Indian Journalist and declared as draconian piece of legislation. According to this Act various restrictions were imposed on indigenous press and Districts Magistrate orders were final. It was discriminatory in nature as it was only against Vernacular Press. The vernacular press like *Somprakash*, *The Daccaprakash*, *The Samachar* faced the punitive action by the government authorities. Prime Minister Gladstone appointed Lord Ripon as cviceroy who repealed all the restrictions upon the press in 1882. Ultimate result of this struggle was the birth of organized meetings and Nationalist Movements. It also facilitated the formation of Indian National Congress in 1885.

The Press contributed heavily in inflaming the protest against the Anti-Indian policies. Partition of Bengal (1905) by Lord Curzon became a very sensitive issue, press highlighted it to the people and there was gross dissatisfaction among the masses.

13.5.2 The Newspaper)Incitement to offences) Act, 1908

Through this act Magistrate were empowered to confiscate any printed material which contained inflamentry matter even with slight doubt he could summon the Press and asked for explanation. If Magistrate was convinced that it was a crime he could direct the police to attached the Press. Attachment orders could be passed even without serving a show – cause notice. It was aimed at killing the nationalist feeling among the Indians. It led to the closure of *Yugantar*, *Sandhya*, *Bande Mataram*, Pioneer in the field of nationalist movement.

13.5.3 The Indian Press Act, 1910

The new act was more oppressive than the newspapers act 1908. It compelled the publishers to deposit Rs. 500/- with the Magistrate as a security. Magistrate was empowered to increase the amount of security up to 10 times as well as forfeit the security without assigning any reason. It contained the definition of the term objectionable and seditious.

The impact of provisions was failed during the First World War. Around 350 presses & 400 publications were penalized and an amount of sterling Pound 40,000 was obtained as security from the newspapers.

13.5.4 The Indian Press Emergency Act, 1931

The Congress started the Civil Disobedience Movement in 1930 & the restrictions were put under the act of 1931. This act sought to prevent writings which in sighted or encouraged violence. Apart from amount of security it had a provision of imprisonment up

to 6 months for printing without permission. Many leading publishers & printers had to suffer due to this act. The liberty of Calcutta deposited a security of Rs. 6,000/-, *The Bombay Chronicle* paid Rs. 3,000/- for an objectionable article by Hornimale.

The repeated interferences of the Indian Newspapers in to the administrations affairs of the neighboring states resulted in to the enactment of foreign relations act 1932. This Act put restrictions on the publication of material related to diplomatic relations of the government with friendly countries.

The Indian states protection Act, 1934 was passed to check the growing discontent and mass mobilizations in India. Newspapers were restricted to criticize the administration of princely states and spreading disaffection on these states

During the World War II the Defence of India act was passed in 1939 to restrict further press activity. After the end of the World War II this act was withdrawn.

During the Freedom Movement prominent leaders also started newspapers, journals to propagate their nationalistic ideas and awaken people of India. For eg. Tilak started *Kesari* (1881) & Marathi Journal to propagate the ideology & methodology of Freedom movement. He also started the *Maratha* (1881) an English weekly which became an effective weapon to instill revolutionary extremist sentiments and ideas among the people.

वर्गणीचे दूर,
सहस्रशः अंगक,
सूक्ष्म अक्षर अर्ध आमा.
परमेश्वर अक्षरा घेरीन अंक
रचना केडा नागार माही.

केसरी.

आहिणतीचे दूर.
सोळा ओळी किंवा त्याचे
ओत एक कथा
दुनीरयेपेस निम्न आकार वडेव.
ज्यापरी लोकांचे सोबकरी-
ता अलहिदा उराव करणवड
वेईक.

स्विति नो रे दृष्ट्याः क्षणमपि यदापेक्षितसंख्यं गलश्रेणीनाथ तस्मिन् खटिलार्पा वनमुवि ।
असौ कुमिक्षात्वा स्वरनखरविद्राविनमह-पुष्टप्रावधामः स्वपिति गिरिगर्भं रूपितिः ॥

वर्ष १. पुणे:—मंगळवार तारीख ४ जानेवारी १८८१. अंक १,

आज मुंबई इलाख्यांत इतकी मराठी वर्तमानपत्रे निघत असतां व या शहरांत ही तीन चारचालत असतां, नव्या वर्तमानपत्राची काय जरूर आहे हा विचार आमच्या वाचकांच्या सकृदस्तींनीं मनांत येणारा आहे. वास्तव प्रथमतः या पत्राच्या उद्देश लोकांस कळावेचें अवश्य आहे.

वर्तमानपत्रांचा प्रघात पडल्यास आज वीसपंचवीस वर्षे जरी होऊन गेली, व जेव्हा दहापेघरा वर्षांत तर त्यांच्यांत जरी पुष्कळ सुधारणा झाली, तरी अद्याप वर्तमानपत्रकट्टीस आपणांवरची बलाढ्यदारी पुरतेपणीं कळू लागली आहे, किंवा लोकसुधारणें आपल्या परिश्रमांनीं केवढे साहाय्य होणारे आहे याविषयी त्यांचा पक्का समज झाला आहे. असे सामान्यातः पाहतां आढळणार नाहीं. दोन चार नामांकित वर्तमानपत्रांखेरीज बाकीच्यांची जर स्थिति चाहिली, तर वर्तमानपत्र छानजे जागोजागच्या बातम्या घडिड करण्याचे साधन यांच्या पलीकडे वरील शब्दाचा अर्थ पत्रकट्टीच्या मनांत कधीही येत असतसे वाटत नाहीं. बाकीकडे तर लहानसान गांशातून सुद्धा वर्तमानपत्रे निघू लागली आहेत. छापखाना चालणें व पत्र काढणें हा एक व्यापारच बनल्याने ज्यास थोड्या विशेचा संस्कार नाहीं अशा मंडळींच्या हावींन तरीन दोन अबोलिक साधनें पडलेलीं बंधुं आढळतात. आतां येथे खरें आहे कीं, कोणत्याही तऱ्हेने कां होईना, वरील दोन साधनांची शिडी ही एकदर देसात अयस्करच आहे. निदानपरी लोकांत वाचण्याचा प्रघात तरी होण्यास वरील साधनांच्या उपयोग आहे. पण याच उद्योगांत वरच्या पेशां चांगली मंडळी पडली असतां लोकजमाणाचा मार्ग ज्यास खुला होणार आहे ते उघड आहे.

वर्तमानपत्रांचा मुख्यतः दोन प्रकारांनीं मोठा उप-

योग आहे. एक हा की, ज्यांनीं आपले काम नियत-पातपणें व निर्भीडपणाने बजाविले असतां सरकारी अधिकाऱ्यांवर मोठा दबदबा राहतो. रस्तोारस्तीं हावीं दिवें लागलेले असल्याने व पोलिसांची गस्त सारखी फिरत असल्याने जो उपयोग होत असतो, तोच ज्या त्या जागीं वर्तमानपत्रकट्टीची लक्षणी सदोदित चालू असल्याने होत असतो. सरकारी अधिकाऱ्यांनीं आपापलीं काने पोसलीं रीतीने धाडविलीं असतां खांत-पजेचे किती कल्याण असते हे कोणास सांगायलाय नाहीं. पण वरील दोषापणा राहण्यास त्यांचा सवें कारभार जेव्हां लोकांच्या नजरेसमोर वरचेवर येत जाईल तेव्हां राहणार. सर्व गोष्टी सर्वांच्या समज होत असल्या छानजे जरीतच लांचलुचपन तोंदे जे अन्यायाचे प्रकार एरवी होण्याचा संभव असतो तो पुष्कळ अर्बां नाहींसा होतो. ज्या एवढे वीथीय स्थानांतून वरील प्रकार किती चालत असे, व अद्याप किती चालतो, हे क्षणभर लक्षांत आणले असतां पत्रकट्टीची गस्त लोकांस किती हितकारक आहे हे कोणाच्याही लक्षांत आल्या सांचून राहणार नाहीं. विलायतेंत खुद महाराणी सारंगांपासून व मुख्य प्रधा-नापासून तो अगदी छोड्या सरकारी कामगारांपर्यंत सर्वांच्या कारभाराकडे लोकांची नजर वर्तमानपत्रांच्या द्वारे सारखी लागून राहिलेली असते, आमुळे कोण-ता ही अन्याय प्रायः छपला जात नाहीं, व यामुळे तेथील लोक पुरोपातील इतर राष्ट्रांतून सुधी आहेत ही गोष्ट सर्वे पसिदच आहे.

तर सरकारी अधिकाऱ्यां आपापलीं कामे कोण-को-णत्या तऱ्हेने बजावतात याविषयी केवळ निःपक्षपात-मुदीने व कोणाची भीड न वाळतां मनकूर लिहि-ण्याचा आमचा इरादा आहे. अमुक अमुक गोष्ट आहे तेव्हा त्याच्या विरुद्ध कसे लिहांवें, किंवा सरका-रांने अमुक अमुक गोष्ट केली तर विनयर चर्चा केली.

▪ Kesari and Mahratta- Bal Gangadhar Tilak (1881)



Tilas was sentenced to imprisonment twice for his articles in *Kesari*. Bipinchandra Pal founded an English newspaper *Bande Mataram*, in 1905 which was later edited by Shri Aurobindo Ghosh.

It was first published in 1906. *The Indian Social Reformer*, English weekly was started in Bombay in 1890 which propagated the idea of social reform. In 1899 an English Monthly, *The Hindustan Review* was founded by Sachhidanand Sinha. It has a liberal politics & ideological tone. The servants of India society started an English weekly *Servant of India* in 1918 Shrinivas Shastri was the Editor. It was having the liberal analyst & solution of the Indian problems. It lasted upto 1939. Lal Lajpatrai was instrumental in the publication of an English nationalist weekly *The People* from Lahore.

Gandhiji edited *Young India* in 1919 which was the mouthpiece of his political philosophy, programmes & policies. He also started *Harijan* (1933-1948) a weekly published in English, Hindi & Gujarati.

Pandit Motiala Nehru started *The Independent* and English daily in 1919 from Allahabad and it highlighted the political activities and ideas of Indian National Congress. About 4000 printed newspapers and magazines were published in the country in 1941, in 17 languages. Three main news agencies namely Reuters, The Associated Press & The Free Press news serviced existed in the year 1941. Reuters & Associated Press were subscribed by the government for transmitting government news. The Free Press News Service which was an Indian entity transmitted the news from the nationalist stand point.

13.6 Conclusion

The origin & growth of Press in India depicts the selfish motives of different missionaries, East India Company & later the British government. There were two sides to the Press one Pro-Government papers which neglected any defects in British rule & the other saw no good points. The Press was used in India for respective ends and not as scientific, objective and empirical study of the news.

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13.8 QUESTION PATTERN

- Q.1. Trace the origin & growth of Press in India up to 1857?
- Q.2. Evaluate the role of British authorities & indigenous people in the development of Press in India?
- Q.3. Explain the various Press acts of enacted in India during the period of your study?
- Q.4. Analyze the role of Freedom fighters in the development of Press in India.
- Q.5. Highlight the role played by William Bentinck, Charles Metcalf and Lord Lytton towards Press in India.
- Q.6. Evaluate the role played the Charles Metcalf & Lord Ripon in safeguarding the interest of Press in India.



14

TRANSPORT AND COMMUNICATION

Unit Structure :

- 14.0 Objectives
- 14.1 Introduction
- 14.2 Transport Policy under British
- 14.3 Development of Railways up to 1869
- 14.4 Development of Railways since 1869
- 14.5 Development Roadways in India
- 14.6 Development of Inland Water Transport in India
- 14.7 Post and Telegraph
- 14.8 Let us sum up
- 14.9 Suggested reading
- 14.10 Questions

14.0 OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit the student will be able –

1. To understand Pre-British transport system in India.
2. To understand the discriminatory policies of British in introducing railways.
3. To explain development of railway system in India.
4. To explain the development of Roadways and Inland Water Transport system in India.
5. To appreciate the introduction of Post and Telegraph facilities in India.

14.1 INTRODUCTION

The transport and communication play a major role in the modernization of a particular society. In Indian conditions, the roads in the modern sense of the term did not exist and if at all it was constructed by few rulers, the anti-social elements such as - thugs, pindaris brought bad name to the traffic through these roads. Riverine transport played a major role in transport and communication with having limitations of time consuming and risky. The transport has various forms such as - Railways, Roadways, and Waterways. Transport and communication facilities played a major role in bringing together the people of India's and arousing the feeling of oneness i.e. Nationalism.

14.2 TRANSPORT POLICY UNDER BRITISH

The colonial thought of procuring the raw material from the colonies and dumping finished products back to the local market of the host country led to the biased transport policy under the British rule in India. It was influenced by economic interest, administrative goals, and pressure from the British capitalist to provide continuous flow of income and heaven of safe investment and protection from the internal rebellion and external aggression. Thus, it served the economic, political and military interest of the Britain in India.

The British model of Rail and Road development in India was one sided and unfavorable to India interest. But, British model of transport and communication in India in disguised encouraged Indian trade, commerce and played a major role in destroying the age old economic foundations of Indian society. It also became a sector of mitigating rigid caste system. It also helped in labor migration resulting into social mobility to serve extent.

14.3 DEVELOPMENT OF RAILWAYS UP TO 1869

The first railway facility for public use was inaugurated in September, 1845 in Great Britain within few years of its introduction in Britain, Europe and America. The British capitalist class and administrators thought of introducing it in India as well. British civil engineer Joseph Locke put forward the proposal of railway from Calcutta to Delhi 1841. Rowland Macdonald Stephenson is considered as pioneer of the Railway movement in India. Availability of various minerals as well as the volume of internal trade prompted him to encourage business communities towards railway enterprise in India. He thought of railway line from Calcutta to Mirzapur, Banaras, Allahabad and beyond.

The volume of trade especially cotton exported from Bombay city during 1842 - 1843 prompted J. Chapman to propose a railway line at Bombay which was to pass through cotton growing districts and carry the cotton to the Port. By 1845 number of companies were formed in England, but Directors of East India Company oversighted the proposals. The railway companies proposed the guarantee system which called as guaranteed interest in their capital as a pre-requisite for investment in railways in India. At first instance, such demands looked unjust and exploitative towards Indian.



In 1847, the East India Railway company was offered a guarantee of 5% interest on their capital for 25 years by the Government of India. Lord Dalhousie (1848-1856) paid special attention to the development of railways. He selected the route of the first railway Howrah to the coal fields near Raniganj and construction of railway began in September 1820. The first railway was inaugurated on 16th April 1853, from Bombay to Thane which

carried passenger traffic. Dalhousie issued his "Great Railway Minute" on 20th April, 1853 which described the military and commercial advantages of railways and recommended extensive projects for future. By 1860, 8 railway companies were involved in work of construction of railway under the state guarantee system. The Government made free grants of land and paid the guaranteed rate of interest at 4.5% to 5%. This system resulted into imposing increased taxes on Indian people. In 1869, the Governor General John Lawrence put an end to the system by that time 4255 miles of railway had been constructed with a capital outlay of about Rs.89 crores.

14.4 DEVELOPMENT OF RAILWAYS SINCE 1869

Government of India took upon the construction of new railways during the period 1869-1879. Due to frequent famines, foreign wars and financial constraint it discontinued the system of state construction of railways and once again the Guarantee system was revived in 1879 and it continued till 1900. The new guaranteed rate of interest was usually 3.5%. The Government share of surplus profit was up to 60%. Under this system the lines constructed were the property of The Secretary of State for India, who would terminate the contract at the end of 25 years by repaying to the companies their capital. In 1899-1900 for the first time the net profit of Rs.11 Lakh was earned except 1908-1909. The period between 1900 and 1914 was period of substantial profit.

In 1901, the Secretary of State appointed Mr. Robertson as a special officer to enquire into the problems connected with Indian railways. On his recommendations, railway board with its Chairman, 2 members and a Secretary became a separate department. The board was subordinate to the department of commerce and industry. In 1908, the Mackay Committee on railway finance prescribed for the future and annual capital expenditure of 12.5 million. The railway mileage increased from 24,752 in 1900 to 34,656 in 1914. At the time of Independence, the undivided country had more than 40,000 miles of railways.

The Indian Railway is the result of European Scientific Movement. It was launched in India with certain economic motive of the British and it was financial drain in Indian context. It proved to be most memorable enterprise of British in India. It also became a potential instrument for social liberalism and national unity.

14.5 DEVELOPMENT ROADWAYS IN INDIA

The British East India Company appointed in charge of Military Boards for every province to maintain main roads while local roads were left for maintenance by the Zamindars. But the

approach of the East India Company was not pro-active. Military boards were abolished in 1855. Lord Dalhousie introduced Central Public Works Department and similar provincial departments, and carried out futuristic road policy. During contemporary period constructions of railways worked as catalyst to road construction in the form of bridges and metaled feeder roads giving access to the railways throughout the year.



Lord Mayo.

Lord Mayo and Lord Lytton played a major role through their policy of financial decentralization resulting in transferring the responsibility of road work to provincial Governments. By 1901-1902 the total length of metaled roads reached 37,000 miles and up keep of which was divided equally between Government and local authorities. Unmetaled roads reached 1.36 lacks miles of which 5/7 were maintained by local bodies. The quality of roads was so inferior that it discouraged the farmers from growing cash crops for export. Reforms of 199 made roads a provincial subject and they were divided into two main classes - Provincial and Local. Barring Municipal roads were under the district boards. The Indian road development committee was appointed in 1927 to take care of problems of co-ordination in road development and research. On the recommendations of this committee a Central Road Fund was constituted in March 1929 which facilitated the Central Government to release annual block grants. The purpose of Road Fund was defeated as it led to a reduction in the state expenditure on road building and development, especially the inter district and interstate roads. In 1932 out of 2.53 lacks miles only 75,000 miles of roads were metaled and motor able.

The Second World War was a turning point for the future of road construction in India. It highlighted the too much of dependency on a single type of transportation system. Accordingly the Nagpur plan was prepared in 1943 for Post-war road development. It classified roads into four categories viz. National Highways, Provincial Highways, Major Districts Roads, Minor

Districts Roads or Village Roads. Its overall aim was to evolve an integrated, balanced and closely connected road system so that no village in a developed agricultural area remained more than 5 miles from a main road and in an under developed areas 20 miles from a main roads. Accordingly The Central Government took the responsibility for National Highways from 1st April, 1947 and drew up a five year road development programme with estimated cost of a Rs. 120 crores. In 1951 there were over 98,000 miles of surfaced and 1.51 lack miles of unsurfaced road in the country.

14.6 DEVELOPMENT OF INLAND WATER TRANSPORT IN INDIA

The Inland navigation in India is in existence through ages. It can be verified through the contemporary literary sources of ancient and medieval period. There is mention of Ports such as Thatta in Sindh, Cambay, Calicut, Broach, Surat, Bombay, Madras etc. The rivers such as Ganga, Jamuna, Brahmaputra were busy due to water ways and flourished trade centers existed on the banks of these rivers.

The first steamed vessels 'Diana' was introduced in 1823 for inland navigation on a regular basis from Kulpi to Calcutta. By 1842 a regular service of water way was in existence between Calcutta and Agra. The city of Kanpur on the river Ganga was a flourishing trade center and many vessel used to anchor there. The Western interest of Railways prevented attention towards the development of Water ways in India.

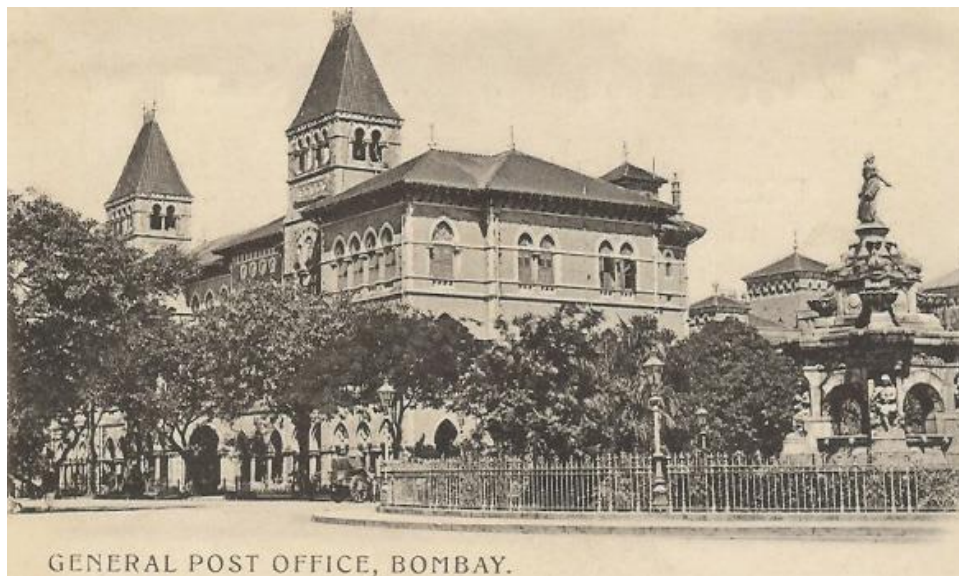
The Narrow Business consideration of Government restricted the measures for the development of Water further Water Transport itself was responsible for its decline as it did not modernize its fleet. It was also due to defective construction of canals which lacked navigational possibilities.

National Planning Committee recommended in 1938, the appointment of provincial and inter provincial Commission to regulate control and develop the rivers and waterways in the country Post-Independence inland navigation began to receive the attention of the Government,

14.7 POST AND TELEGRAPH

Modern system of Post and Telegraph was also established by the British East India Company established the first Post office in Calcutta in 1727. The first Telegraph line from Calcutta to Agra was opened in 1853. Postal stamps were introduced by Lord Dalhousie. He introduced reforms in the Postal system and charged an uniform

rate of half an Anna for a later all over the land. Previous to this reforms postage on a letter depended on the distance it was to travel which amounted to be equivalent of 4 days wage of skilled worker. Lord Dalhousie introduced the higher limit of postage not exceeding half tola.



14.8 LET US SUM UP

Summary -

The Modern system of transport and communication such as Railways, Roadways, Inland Water Transport, Post and Telegraph were introduced during the British rule in India. In spite of having motive to benefit British administration - Civil as well as Military, and to serve the economic purpose of British and Europeans, the modern system of transport and communication played a crucial role in uniting Indian people. It helped Indian scholars, politicians, professionals, peasants, farmers, labors to mobilize and evolve their thought process and understanding the exploitative nature of British regime. It also paved the way for mobilizing Indian masses for various activities and movements during the freedom struggle.

14.9 SUGGESTED READING

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14.10 QUESTIONS

- Q.1 Trace the development of railways during the period of your study.
- Q.2 Highlight the British approach towards introduction of Modern system of Transport and Communication.
- Q.3 Describe the development of Roadways and Inland Water Transport system in India.
- Q.4 Highlight the introduction of Post and Telegraph services in India.



15

IMPACT OF THE BRITISH RULE ON INDIAN ECONOMY: REVENUE SETTLEMENTS, COMMERCIALIZATION OF AGRICULTURE

Unit Structure :

- 15.0 Objectives
- 15.1 Introduction
- 15.2 Earlier Revenue Settlements by the British
- 15.3 Permanent settlement of Land revenue

- 15.4 Benefits to the British Government of Permanent Settlement
- 15.5 Demerits of Permanent Settlement
- 15.6 Ryotwari System
- 15.7 Evaluation of the Ryotwari System
- 15.8 Mahalwari System
- 15.9 Commercialization of Agriculture
- 15.10 Causes of the commercialization of Agriculture
- 15.11 Impact of the commercialization on agriculture
- 15.12 Commercial Crops
- 15.13 Summary
- 15.14 Questions
- 15.15 Reference

15.0 OBJECTIVES

After the completion of this unit the student will be able to

- Understand the historical perspective of the rise of economic nationalism.
- Explain the concept of the economic nationalism.
- Grasp the various revenue settlement methods introduced by the British regime
- Comprehend the policy of commercialization of the agriculture
- Understand the impact of commercialization on the agriculture

15.1 INTRODUCTION

The British rule had drastic impact on Indian economy. The commercialization of the agriculture, excessive land revenue demands, growth of Zamindar class (landlords), rising indebtedness and the

impoverishment of the cultivators made Indian economy stagnant. The extent of poverty increased due to the economic exploitative policies of the British authority. The various land revenue systems, the drain of the wealth and deindustrialization of the Indigenous industries had profound impact on India. The British rule considerably affected the political, socio and economic structure of India. The various economic policies adopted by them resulted in poverty and misery of the masses. The British followed a policy of the extinction of the self-sufficient village economy in India. The earlier leadership was keen on the growing economic problems of the peasants under the British authority. The earlier Indian leaders were ardent to show the economic exploitation of the cultivators and workers due to the British imperialism.

15.2 EARLIER REVENUE SETTLEMENTS BY THE BRITISH

Agriculture was the main source of the livelihood of Indian people. The land tax or land revenue was one of the chief source of revenue for the government. The Indian rulers appointed various officials to make assessment of land and crop and applied various methods for it. However the British never regarded themselves part of this country, they tried to exploit people to benefit of England. Without any responsibility the British rulers exercised complete authority in land revenue matters. The various land revenue system introduced by them were according to time and need. Bengal witnessed the introduction of the land revenue system of the British authority as it was the first province where they established political supremacy.

15.3 PERMANENT SETTLEMENT OF LAND REVENUE

The Zamindari system of land revenue prevailed in Bengal in the last quarter of the 18th century. The Zamindar collected the taxes from the cultivators and advanced nine tenth to the government. Warren Hastings decided to manage the land revenue system directly in 1773. The right to collect revenue was given to the highest bidders for 5 years. This system did not yield any outcome. The East India Company's officials expected new system of land revenue to raise the revenue. John Shore and Lord Cornwallis implied this method. According to it the ten year settlement was formed in 1789. Later on it was declared permanent.



Lord Cornwallis.

Lord Cornwallis introduced the permanent settlement land revenue system in 1793. The system was introduced in Bengal and Bihar. Following are the features of the permanent settlement system. -

- 1) The landlords were declared the leader and owner of the lands. They were to collect land revenue and pay nine-tenth to the government.
- 2) The rights of the landlord are depending on the payment or the revenue which they are used to pay. If the landlords are unable to pay the revenue of the land then they will be lost their rights to the land.
- 3) The settlement was announced to be for ten years earlier however it was made permanent later on.

15.4 BENEFITS TO THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT OF PERMANENT SETTLEMENT

Lord Cornwallis Permanent settlement of 1793 created a number of absentee landlords. The assessment was arbitrary. No account was taken of the fertility of the soil and area of land. The Zamindars who were unable to meet their dues leased parts of their estates to middlemen.

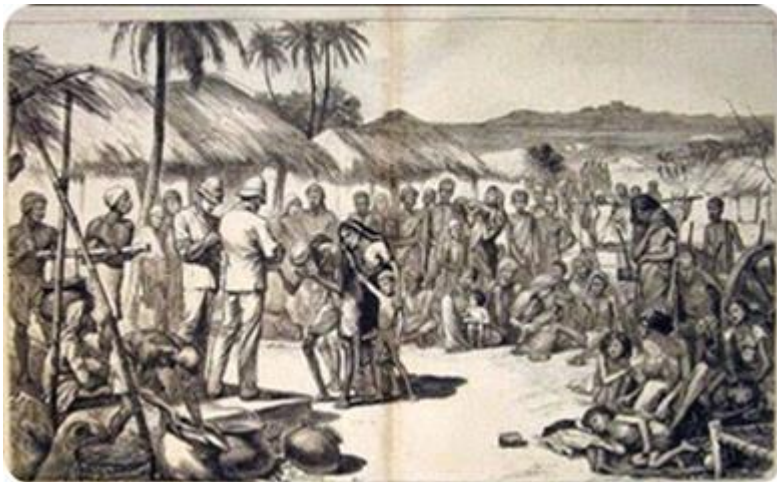
1. The Government became free from the problem of fixation of revenue every year. The state secured a stable and fixed income from the people. In case the Zamindars did not pay the revenue, the land of the Zamindars was sold.
2. It avoided the evils of periodical settlement which at long intervals produced harassment of cultivator, evasion, concealment of wealth, a tendency on the part of the peasants to leave the land uncultivated etc.
3. By making the Zamindars the owners of the land, the settlement created a class of loyal land lords who formed a stable element in the state. The permanent settlement secured the political support of the Zamindars of Bengal who stood loyal during the great mutiny of 1857.

15.5 DEMERITS OF PERMANENT SETTLEMENT

- 1) The immediate effect of the settlement was harmful upon the landlords who failed to collect the revenue from the peasants and so were unable to pay the fixed revenue at fixed time. As a result they lost their ownership right over the land. The cultivators were deprived of their traditional rights of land. The farmers had to give fifty to sixty percent yield in the form of land revenue.
- 2) In course of time, the rents from the land increased with bringing new areas under cultivation. The Zamindars continued to pay the revenue fixed by the State and the state also could not claim its legitimate share in the increase. In the long run, the State sustained financial losses by fixing the revenue.
- 3) Most of the landlords did not take any interest in the improvement of the land. The landlords became indolent and led luxurious lives staying in the cities. Thus this settlement created a class of absentee landlords. The cultivators were put at the mercy of the Zamindars. Their grievances remained unheard as they had no attachment to the government. The Zamindar did not take interest to solve their problems and the government had no concern for the as they were getting fixed share through the zamindars.
- 4) The permanent settlement discourage the agrarian production s most of the share was claimed by the zamindars. It led to the scarcity of food grain. It was one of the important cause of famines. The settlement divided the rural society into two classes namely, the Zamindars and the landless labours.

15.6 RYOTWARI SYSTEM

The Ryotwari settlement was made directly with the cultivator for a period of years. A direct relationship was created between the Government and the cultivator. The Ryot enjoyed status of leaseholder as long as he paid legal dues. The system increased the security of the cultivator and removed the Zamindar the middleman. Subsequently, the Ryotwari system was extended to the Mumbai area.



The Ryotwari system was introduced by Sir Thomas Munro and Captain Alexander Read in 1820. This system was in operation for nearly 30 years and had many features of revenue system of the Mughals. It was instituted in some parts of British India, where the land revenue was imposed directly on the ryots (the individual cultivators who actually worked the land) the system of assessment was known as Ryotwari. An official report by John Stuart Mill who was working for the British East India Company in 1857, explained the Ryotwari land tenure system as follows:

- 1) Under the Ryotwari System every registered holder of land is recognized as its owner, and pays direct to Government. He is at liberty to sublet his property, or to transfer it by gift, sale, or mortgage.
- 2) The cultivator cannot be evicted by Government so long as he pays the fixed assessment, and has the option annually of increasing or diminishing his holding, or of entirely abandoning it. In unfavourable

seasons remissions of assessment are granted for entire or partial loss of produce.

- 3) The assessment rate was fixed and did not vary from year to year, in those cases where water is drawn from the Government source of irrigation to convert dry land into wet, or into two-crop land.
- 4) The British official's object was to determine how much of the assessment due on his holding the Ryot shall pay, and not to reassess the land. In these cases where no change occurs in the Ryots holding a fresh *Patta* or lease is not issued, and such parties are in no way affected by the Annual Settlement, which they are not required to attend.

15.7 EVALUATION OF THE RYOTWARI SYSTEM

- 1) The Ryotwari system did not changed the ownership of the peasants. It also made them free from the exploitation from the Zamindars. However, it did not bring positive changes in the life of cultivators because the large number of landlords had been replaced by the British government. The land revenue was high and those who failed to pay it, were deprived the ownership of land by mean of confiscation of the land.
- 2) In most of the areas the land revenue fixed was excessive. The people were left with bare maintenance with available resources. The government retained the right to enhance land revenue at any time.
- 3) The cultivators had to pay revenue even the produce was partially or completely destroyed by droughts or floods.

15.8 MAHALWARI SYSTEM

Mahalwari system was different from the permanent settlement and Ryotwari system to certain extent. It was introduced in Central Province, North-West Frontier, Agra, Punjab, and Gangetic Valley. Mahalwari system was introduced in 1833 during the period of William Bentick. In this system, ownership rights were vested with the peasants. The villages committee was held responsible for collection of the taxes. In this system revenue settlement was to be made village by village with consent of landlords and heads of families who collectively claimed to be

landlords of the village. In this system, the land was divided into Mahals. Each Mahal comprises one or more villages. The village committee was held responsible for collection of the taxes.

The system of permanent settlement, Ryotwari and the Mahalwari were fundamentally different from the traditional land systems of the country. The British created a new form of private property in land for their own benefit. This was done to protect the government's revenue. The land was made commodity which was bought and sold easily. The stability and continuity of the Indian villages were shaken because of this.

15.9 COMMERCIALIZATION OF AGRICULTURE

Introduction of new land revenue policy and commercialization of the agricultural remained the chief features of the British policy towards the agricultural sector in India. The British policy of commercialization was followed in accordance with the need of British industries and trades. It had no concern with Indian peasants. The various economic policies followed by the British led to the rapid transformation of India's economy into a colonial economy whose nature and structure were determined by needs of the British economy. One important aspect of British economic policy was commercialization of agriculture. The commercialization of agriculture means that the agricultural crops and goods are produced by the peasants for sale in the market and not for their own consumption. Commercialization of agriculture in India began during the British rule. The commercialization of Indian Agriculture took place not to feed the industries of India as India was far behind in industrial development as compared to Britain, France, and many other European countries of eighteenth century.

The commercialization of agriculture had many results. It was beneficial to the British planters, traders and manufacturers, who were provided with opportunity to make huge profits by getting the raw material products at cheaper rate. The commercialization of Indian agriculture also partly benefited Indian traders and money lenders who made huge fortunes by working as middlemen for the British.

15.10 CAUSES OF THE COMMERCIALIZATION OF AGRICULTURE

- 1) The land revenue systems initiated by the British demanded revenue in cash instead of kind. The farmers could not get enough money by the production of traditional crops like food grains. In order to pay taxes in cash it became obligatory for them to cultivate cash crop and get money to pay the higher taxes.
- 2) The commercialization of the agriculture was inevitable because of the British industrial policy in India. The agricultural products were used by Indian for the livelihood. The food grain were composed the main part in agricultural production. The Indian small scale industries utilized agricultural raw material but their usage was limited. The agricultural production was dominated by eatables. The British wanted to utilize Indian agricultural products for their industries. Hence, it became the key factor for the commercialization of the agriculture. The new crops as cotton, tobacco, indigo and tea cultivated as these crops were essential for their industries.
- 3) The infrastructural developments like railways, shipbuilding and roads led to the favourable environment for businesses. Many employment opportunity became available because of this. The many people lost their traditional work of cultivation due to the British policy of new land settlements. Those who still engaged into cultivation tried to get commercial crops to sell it to the market as it was more in demand.
- 4) The British tried to create a wealthy class in India which could help them or remain loyal them in difficult time. They created landlord or Zamindar class in Bengal and moneylenders in western India. These rich sawkars started offering loans to the farmers for cash crop. The traditional crop did not need big amount but the cash crop needed investment.
- 5) Another boosting factor for commercialization of agriculture in India was the gaining of speed of Industrial Revolution in England. This led to factor in commercialization as more and more agricultural goods were produced to satisfy the demand for raw materials by the British industries. The enlargement and expansion of international trade and the entry of British finance capital also belted commercialization of agriculture.
- 6) The world events like opening of Suez Canal and the American civil war also speeded the commercialization of the agricultural. Due to the civil war in America, the cotton demand in India increased around 1850. The farmers tried to encash this opportunity. Many farmers

cultivated cotton instead of food grains as the civil war disrupted the supplies of cotton from America and thereby increased demand for Indian cotton. Further, the British policy of one way free trade also acted as sufficient encouraging factor for commercialization as the manufactured items in textile, jute etc could find free entry in Indian markets.

15.11 IMPACT OF THE COMMERCIALIZATION ON AGRICULTURE

- 1) The growing commercialization helped the money lenders to exploit the cultivator. The peasant was forced to sell his produce just after the harvest and at whatever price he could get as he had to meet in time the demands of the government, the landlord and the money-lender.
- 2) High revenue demands led to devastation of the Indian agricultures as it led to poverty and the deterioration of agriculture in the 19th century. It forced the peasant to fall into the clutches of the money-lender. As a result the moneylenders provided them money and made huge profit. If the poor farmers fail to repay the loans the land was confiscated. The commercialization proved beneficial only to the British industrialists, trades and moneylenders. The Indian people were ruthlessly exploited in this. Because of the reduction in cultivation area the prices of food grains increased, It also became chief cause of the famines.
- 3) A commercialization of the agriculture was one of the cause of famines in India. The famines occurred in Uttar Pradesh in 1860-61 and cost more than 2 lakh lives. In 1865-66 famines near twenty lakh people died in Orissa, Bengal and Bihar. The worst famine occurred in 1876-77 in Madras, Mysore, Hyderabad and western Uttar Pradesh where many people died. According to Bipin Chandra, these famines were not natural. They were man made. The natural resources of India ruthlessly exploited. The growing population could not get enough food to sustain as a result of commercialization of the agricultural.
- 4) Indian money lenders advanced Cash advances to the farmers to cultivate the commercial crops and if the peasants failed to pay him back in time, the land of peasants came under ownership of moneylenders. The misery was further enhanced because the population of India was increasing every year, fragmentation of land was taking place because of the increasing pressure on land and modern techniques of agricultural production were not introduced in

India. The poor peasant was forced to sell his produce just after harvest at whatever prices he could get as he had to meet in time the demands of the government, the landlord, the money lender and his family members' requirements. This placed him at the mercy of the grain merchant, who was in a position to dictate terms and who purchased his produce at much less than the market price. Thus, a large share of the benefit of the growing trade in agricultural products was reaped by the merchant, who was very often also the village money lender.



- 5) It affected adversely the poor people of India; it became difficult for them to get sufficient food. The net result of the commercialization of Indian agriculture was that most of Indian farmers failed to produce even that much food crops which could provide them even two meals a day. Most importantly the life of the Indian peasant was tied to the highly fluctuating national and international market. He was no longer a deciding factor in agricultural practices. Further, by making agricultural land a tradable commodity, the peasant lost his security feeling. High land revenue demand forced him to take loan from the money lender at high interest rates. Failure to pay debt in time meant loss of land to the money lender at high interest rates. It led to land alienation and increase in the number of agricultural labourers whose conditions especially in plantation industry was pathetic.
- 6) Most of the Indian people suffered miserably due to the British policy of commercialization of Indian agriculture. It resulted in reduced area under cultivation of food crops. The net result of this change was that Indian failed to produce that much food crops which could provide two time meals to its population. The commercialization of agriculture was a new phenomenon in Indian agriculture scene introduced by the British. The worst effect of commercialization was the oppression of Indian peasants at hands of European. This found expression in the

famous Indigo revolt in 1859. Moreover, commercialization of Indian agriculture got manifested in series of famines which took a heavy toll of life.

15.12 COMMERCIAL CROPS

The commercialization of India agriculture was initiated in India by the British through their direct and indirect policies and activities. A several efforts were made to increase the production of cotton in India to provide raw and good quality cotton to the cotton-textile industries of Britain which were growing fast after the Industrial Revolution in Britain. Therefore, cotton growing area increase in India and its production increased manifold with gradual lapse of time. Indigo and more than that, tea and coffee plantation were encouraged in India because these could get commercial market abroad. Most of the plantations for commercial crops were controlled by the English.



Jute was another product that received attention of the English company because the jute made products got a ready market in America and Europe. Moreover, crops like cotton, jute, sugarcane, ground nuts, tobacco etc. which had a high demand in the market were increasingly cultivated. The beginning of the plantation crops like Tea, coffee, rubber, indigo etc heralded a new era in agricultural practices in India. These were essentially meant for markets and thus commercialization of agriculture took to new heights with the expansion of the British rule.

15.13 SUMMARY

Agriculture was the main source of the livelihood of Indian people. The land tax or land revenue was one of the chief source of revenue for the government. The Indian rulers, prior to the British rule, used to appoint various officials to make assessment of land and crop and applied various methods for it. The British never regarded themselves part of this country. Their loyalty was attached to the England, their home country. They initiated the policy of exploiting Indian people for benefit of England. The British rulers exercised complete authority in land revenue matters without caring about any administrative responsibility.

15.14 QUESTIONS

- Describe the condition of Indian agriculture under the British rule.
- Give an account of different revenue settlements introduced by the British government.
- Make assessment of the permanent settlements system of land revenue.
- Examine the causes and the effects of commercialization of Agriculture in India

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DRAIN THEORY AND DEINDUSTRIALIZATION

Unit Structure :

- 16.0 Objectives
- 16.1 Introduction
- 16.2 Drain Theory of Dadabhai Nauroji
- 16.3 External Drain
- 16.4 The plunder of Indian wealth
- 16.5 Remittances to the England from India
- 16.6 Annual charges in England
- 16.7 Internal Drain within India by the British Government
- 16.8 Effects of the drain of wealth
- 16.9 Deindustrialization and Growth of Large Scale Industry
- 16.10 Deindustrialization of the Indian industries
- 16.11 Causes of the decline of Native Industries
- 16.12 Impact of deindustrialization
- 16.13 Modern India witnessed the growth of large scale industries
- 16.14 Textile Mills
- 16.15 Rise of Cotton Mills
- 16.16 Plantation industry
- 16.17 Steel and Iron Industry
- 16.18 Summary
- 16.19 Questions

16.0 OBJECTIVES

After the completion of this unit the student will be able to

- Comprehend the Drain theory.
- Grasp the internal and external drain of the Indian economy.
- Explain the important consequence of the drain of Indian economy.
- Realize the deindustrialization process
- Perceive the growth of new industries in modern India.

16.1 INTRODUCTION

The British exploited Indian resources to develop their trade and industries at the cost of Indian economy. It resulted in exploitation of the peasants and depletion of the resources. The land revenue settlements introduced by them drained the wealth to England. There was a sudden collapse of the urban handicrafts industry due to the cheaper imported goods and British imperialistic measures towards the Indian craft workers. The Indian artisans and craftsmen were patronized by the native ruling states. Organized industry in India produced chiefly luxury and semi luxury articles. Nobles generally purchased these. With the establishment of the British rule in India, native rulers began to disappear. In the process of the expansion of the British rule in India, these native states were annexed to the British Empire. Hence the artisan lost the patronage earlier they received.

The British rule drastically affected the political-socio-economic structure of India. The result of the various economic policies adopted by them resulted in poverty and misery of the masses. The British followed a policy of the extinction of the self-sufficient village economy in India. The constant flow of wealth from India to England for which India did not get an adequate economic return became the chief cause of growing poverty in India.

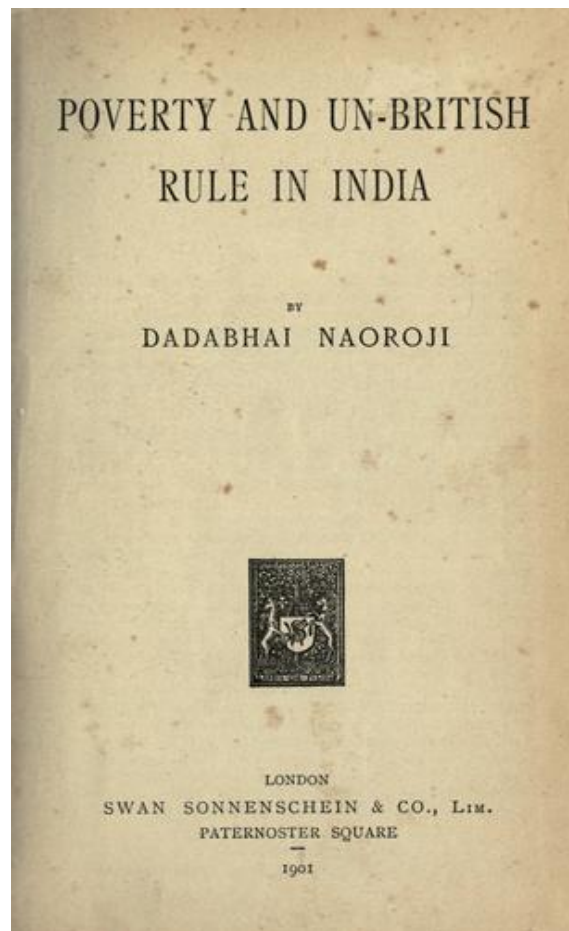
16.2 DRAIN THEORY OF DADABHAI NAUROJI

The earlier leadership was keen on the growing economic problems of the peasants under the British authority. They were ardent to show the economic exploitation of the cultivators and workers due to the British imperialism. This exploitation was sensed by Dadabhai Naoroji, R. C. Dutt and many other economists in India. The constant flow of wealth from India to England for which India did not get an adequate economic return became the chief cause of growing poverty in India. Dadabhai Naoroji propounded the 'Drain theory' to expose the exploitation of the India through British authorities. He used phrases such as the material and moral drain, the deprivation of resources the bleeding drain etc. The economic exploitation of India and Adam Smith's book *An Enquiry into the Nature and Causes of Indian Poverty* led to propose Drain Theory in his book entitled 'Poverty and Un-British Rule in India' published in 1901. 'Drain Theory' propounded by Dadabhai Naoroji became the economic basis of Indian nationalism. Dadabhai recited British officers at every step to convince the British rulers about exploitation of India.

A various scholars have given account of drain of wealth from India to England. However their estimate about drain differ depending on the period under review or the method of calculations employed. George Wingate estimated the drain 4,222,611 pounds per year for the period from 1834 to 1851. William Digby estimated it somewhere around 500 to 1000 million from 1757 to 1815. In 1897 Dadabhai Naoroji reckoned the drain figure at Rs. 359 crores for the ten years from 1883-92. Dadabhai described the drain of the wealth as evil of all evils and the main cause of the Indian poverty.

16.3 EXTERNAL DRAIN

Dadabhai Naoroji traced that India was getting poorer and poorer every day because of low national income, the low import, the low standard of living of people, and the low revenue returns of the government. He was of the opinion that this existing poverty was the direct result of the British rule in India. Dadabhai attributed the poverty of India to the heavy drain on the resources of the country.



Dadabhai and his precursors sensed the external and internal nature of drain. It was an instrument which exhausted resources of India and the surplus generated through a complex process was drained out of the economy through the process of external trade, the dynamics of which was supplied by the unilateral transfer of funds in an equally complicated way. According to Dadabhai, the functioning of this transfer of resources was uniquely determined by following factors.

- 1) India was a colony governed by British through their officers.
- 2) India was burdened with an expensive civil administration and equally expensive army of occupation.
- 3) India was a strategic base of operations that had to bear the burden of empire building not only in India but also beyond her borders.
- 4) The public expenditure out of the proceeds of taxation and loans failed to generate domestic employment in India.

16.4 THE PLUNDER OF INDIAN WEALTH

The basic economic situation in India was radically transformed after 1757, following the British victory in the battle of Plassey which laid the foundation of the British power in India. The drain of wealth from Bengal began in 1757 when the company's servants began to carry home immense fortunes extorted from Indian rulers, Zamindars and common people. They sent home nearly six million pounds between 1758 and 1765. This amount was four times bigger than the total land revenue collection from Bengal. After the battle Plassey, India exported goods mainly silver bullion to pay tribute to Britain. Britain itself wished to use revenues from this trade to buy tea and silk from China. For this silver worth of 58 lakh rupees had been exported to England from India. The opium trade became an instrument of profit making. The surplus had been transferred to England. This had attracted the attention of Dadabhai's predecessors whom he quoted in defense of the drain theory. Dadabhai Naoroji quoted British administrators of a much earlier period in support of his drain theory. Lord Cornwallis in his minute of 1790 had specifically referred to the heavy drain of wealth. According to him the causes of external drain were large annual investment in Europe and remittances of private fortunes for many years past, the impact of which was severely felt, at the time of writing, in the form of scarcity of specie for current transactions and the consequent depression in India's agriculture and internal trade. Dadabhai Naoroji traced that economic drain was carried by two ways-annual charges in India and annual charges in England.

16.5 REMITTANCES TO THE ENGLAND FROM INDIA

- 1) Remittances to England by European employees for the support of families and education of children a feature of colonial system of government.
- 2) Remittances of savings by employees of the Company, as most employees preferred to invest at home
- 3) Remittances for the purchases of British goods for the consumption of British employees as well as purchases by them of British goods in India.
- 4) Government purchase of stores manufactured in England.

16.6 ANNUAL CHARGES IN ENGLAND

- 1) The East Indian Company had piled up a public debt to dislodge Indian rulers from their Principalities. By 1900 the public debt had risen to £ 224 million. Only part of the debt was raised for productive purposes i.e., for construction of railways, irrigation facilities and public works
- 2) Dividend to the shareholders of the East India Company
- 3) Civil and Military charges included payments towards pensions and furloughs of British officers in the civil and military departments in India, expenses on India Office establishment in London, payments to the British war office etc. All these charges were solely due to India's subjection to foreign rule.
- 4) The Secretary of State and the Government of India purchased stores for the Military, Civil and Marine Departments in the English market. The annual average expenditure on stores varied from 10% to 12% of the Home charges between 1861-1920.
- 5) The opium trade with China played an interesting role in the external economic drain. The East India Company transferred its revenue surplus and its corrupt officers their savings and secret gains via China. All the profits of opium went the same way of the drain to England.

16.7 INTERNAL DRAIN WITHIN INDIA BY THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT

The external economic drain was the counter part of the internal economic drain. The internal transfer was as much of an economic drain as the external transfer.

- 1) Resources abstracted from internal production through taxation took the form of commodities which, in real terms, were the equivalent of the transfer of income abroad.
- 2) The internal economic drain was a 'drain because of one-sided exports, which did not bring any return in the form of imports.

- 3) Dadabhai pointed out that Indian public finance lacked the vitality and utility for Indian economy. As the railway and road transportation could not bring desired prosperity to India as they served the imperialistic purposes.

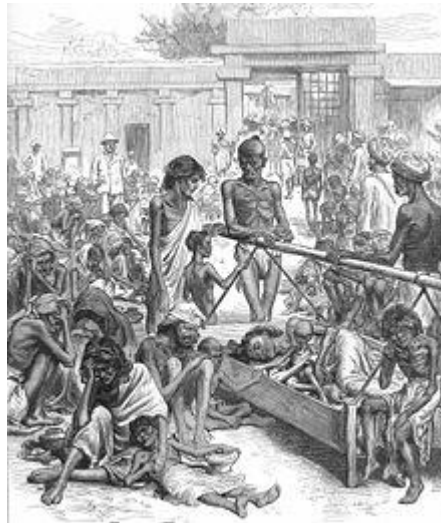
The view of Dadabhai Naoroji was shared by liberal minded Englishmen in the middle of the nineteenth century who had a sympathetic understanding of the reality of the Indian economic situation. The views of Dadabhai Naoroji on public expenditure had crystallized as early as 1871 in his papers called *commerce of India* and *Financial Administration*.



16.8 EFFECTS OF THE DRAIN OF WEALTH

- 1) Dadabhai Naoroji was of the opinion that the drain was the principal and even the sole cause of India's poverty. He wrote that the India has been exploited in rude manner. The British invasion continuous and the economic plunder goes right on. He pointed out that the drain represented not only the spending abroad of certain portion of national income but also the further laws of employment and income that would have been generated in the country, if the drain would have been spent internally.

- 2) It is impossible to accurately measure the amount of drain which in the form of resources and gold bullion flowed from India into England during the long British rule over India. With the available information, it was calculated that one-fourth of all revenue derived in India came to be annually remitted to England as Home Charges. According to Dadabhai Naoroji between 1814 and 1865 about 350 million pounds went to England by way of drain.
- 3) The vast amount of resources and capital which flowed from India into England naturally enabled the people of England to live a better standard of life. The drain also made possible rising investments in English agriculture and industry after 1750. These investments were partly responsible for agricultural revolution in England in the eighteenth century and as also industrial revolution which commenced after 1750.



- 4) This drain took the form of an excess of exports over the imports for which India got no economic or national return. According to the nationalist calculations, this drain amounted to one-half of the government revenues more than the entire land revenue collection and over one-third of India's total savings.
- 5) Retired British officials had the leisure and money to devote their attention to new inventions, construction of roads, canals and railways and bring rapid changes in all sectors of economy. The drain provided the foundation of English economic prosperity. On the other hand the effects of the drain on Indian economy and on its people were disastrous. The loot and plunder and the enormous profits which were taken out of India year after year meant a continual drain of Indian resources and a dead loss. These resources and gold which could have been available for investment in India were siphoned off to England.

- 6) The nationalist leaders also saw drain as so much loss of capital rather than loss of wealth. They were aware that the drain was harmful chiefly because it resulted in the depletion of productive capital. The drain resulted in Industrial retardation as it produced shortage of capital. The nationalist leaders, thus, tried to analyze and show the effects of the drain on income and wealth, capital, industrial development, land revenue, the terms of trade and on the poverty of the Indian people. Through the drain theory, the nationalist writers, especially Dadabhai Naoroji effectively brought out the highly exploitative nature of British rule in India.
- 7) For the early nationalists the drain also took the form of colonial pattern of finance. The nationalists of the twentieth century were relying heavily on the main themes of their economic critique of colonialism. These themes were then to reverberate in Indian villages, towns and cities. Based on this firm foundation, the later nationalists went on to stage powerful mass agitations and mass movements. The drain theory thus laid the seeds for subsequent nationalism to flower and mature.

16.9 DEINDUSTRIALIZATION AND GROWTH OF LARGE SCALE INDUSTRY

The British rule had drastic impact on Indian economy. The commercialization of the agriculture, excessive land revenue demand, growth of landlords, rising indebtedness and the impoverishment of the cultivators made Indian economy stagnant. The extent of poverty increased due to the economic exploitation by the British authority. The various land revenue systems, the drain of the wealth and deindustrialization had profound impact on India.

16.10 DEINDUSTRIALIZATION OF THE INDIAN INDUSTRIES

The early decades of the 19th century witnessed a heavy decline in the production and export of Indian industrial products. H. H. Wilson points out that the Britain employed the arm of political injustice to keep down and ultimately a strange competitor which he could not have contended on equal terms. B. D. Basu mention the list of measures adopted by the British authority to ruin Indian industries for their benefit-

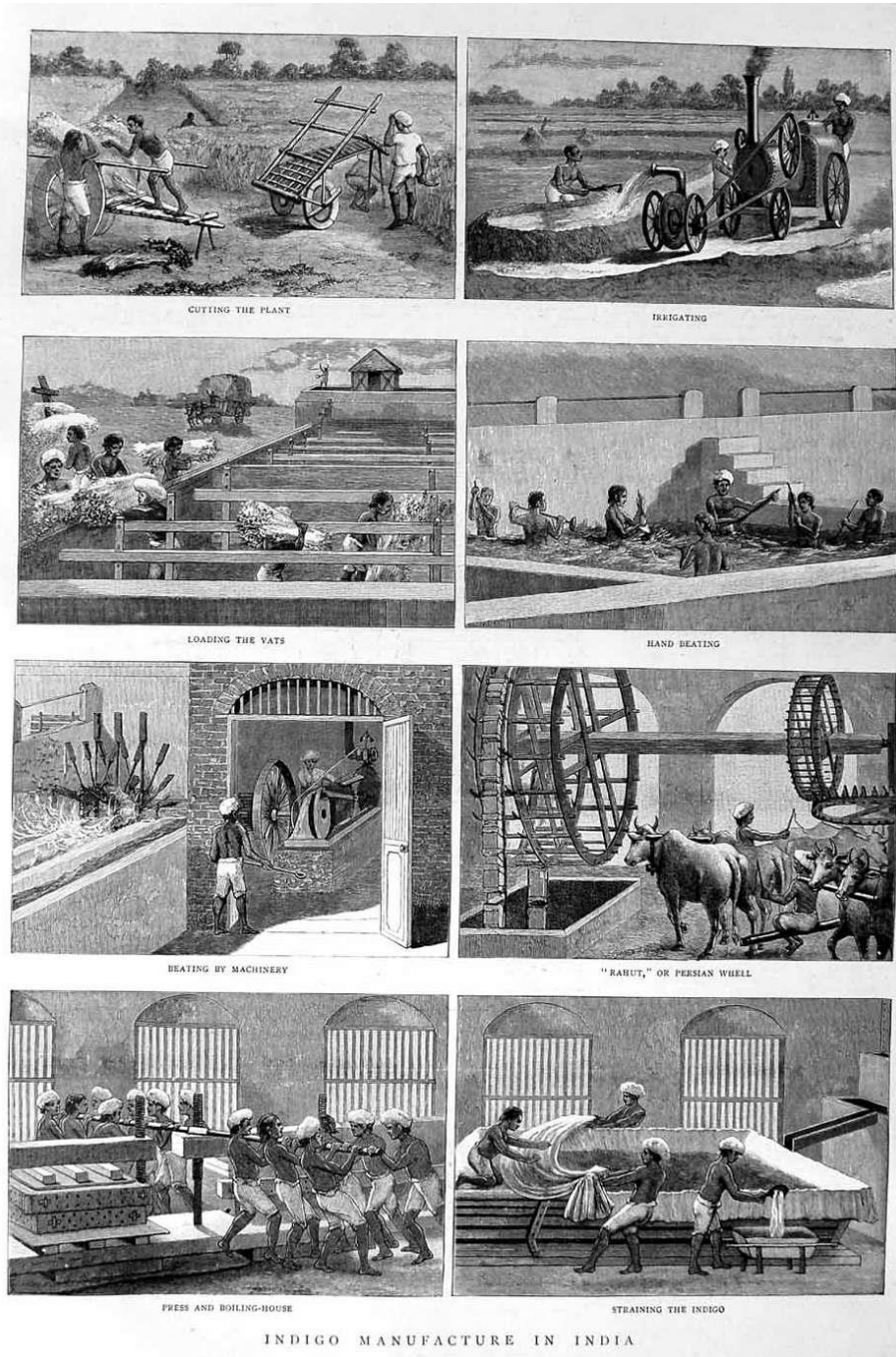
- 1) Imposing heavy duty on Indian manufactures in England
- 2) The export of raw material from India
- 3) Offering special privileges to British in India
- 4) Compelling Indian artisans to reveal their trade secrets. Dr. D.R. Gadgil mentions three principal causes which operated in the first half of the 19th century in bringing the rapid deindustrialization in India with the special reference of the decline of craft industry- The disappearance of native ruling power, the establishment of an alien rule and the competition of a more developed machinery.

The policies adopted by the Government were very harmful for indigenous industries. For example, British goods were allowed to come to India without any duty or barrier. On the other, hand Indian exports of manufactured goods had to pay heavy customs duties. Many such instances of the British policy can be quoted. The simple consequence of this policy was that Indian industries suffered. Ultimately many of them closed down. Industrial Revolution was booming in England and other western countries. However, simultaneously in the rich India industries began to decline. In other words process of 'deindustrialization' of India began. The industrial labour was rendered unemployed. It increased the pressure on land. Land was divided and subdivided into smallholdings. Agricultural productivity fell down and agriculture thus became a backward industry. Before the British rule India had a well-organized industry. With the arrival of the British, Indian industry began to decline. The process of decline began as early as the end of 18th century. It became very steep towards the middle of 19th century.

16.11 CAUSES OF THE DECLINE OF NATIVE INDUSTRIES

- 1) There was a sudden collapse of the urban handicrafts industry. It was caused by cheaper imported goods and British imperialist policy. The Indian artisans and craftsmen were patronized by the native ruling states. Organized industry in India produced chiefly luxury and semi luxury articles. Nobles generally purchased these. With the establishment of the British rule in India, native rulers began to disappear. In the process of the expansion of the British rule in India, these native states were annexed to the British Empire. Hence the artisan lost the patronage earlier they received. Their courtiers and

officials became jobless. Their disappearance meant the closure of the main source of demand for the products of these industries. The craft industry lost its customers for their commodities like jewelry, utensils and many others. The artisans became jobless due to the lack of demands for their production. They turned to the cultivation.



- 2) The British commercial policy ruined the artisans and craftsmen. The British pressurizes farmers in India to take cash crops needed to their industries. Hence the native craftsmen and artisans could not get raw material for their industry. The British used many techniques to destroy native industry. They bring pressure on many artisans to stop their work. The small-scale industry of India was the pillar of its foreign

trade and prosperity. As soon as the Company established its political supremacy in Bengal, it began to exploit the artisans of cotton and silk cloth. As a result, the cloth trade did not remain a source of profit for the artisans and the cloth industry of Bengal disintegrated. This kind of exploitative measures were adopted British for their own benefit at the cost of native industry.

- 3) The British witnessed the growth of industries with modern technology in the eighteenth century. This industrial revolution required raw material for production and marked for finished goods. England utilized the raw material from India for the industries and sold the manufactured goods in India. England imposed heavy duty on the goods to be exported from India. It patronized the British industry. On the other hand, the government of India imposed minimum duty on the goods imported into India so that these could be sold in the Indian market easily. The industrial production was superior in quality and cheaper as the British levied less tax on it. This made Indian product costlier hence they began to lose market share fast. Thus, it affected the Indian trade and industry from both sides and resulted in the ruin of trade and industry.
- 4) The British rule affected handicrafts in another way also. Urban artisans and craftsmen were organized in the form of guilds. The guilds supervised the quality of the products. They also regulated the trade. With the entry of British traders, these guilds lost their power. As soon as supervising bodies were removed, many evils began to appear. These were, for example, the adulteration of materials, shady and poor workmanship etc. This at once led to a decline in the artistic and commercial value of the goods produced.
- 5) The competition from the European manufacturers was responsible for the decline of the local industry. The construction of roads and railways made it possible to distribute the goods to every corner of the country. Opening of the Suez Canal reduced the distance between England and India. English goods in large quantities were sent for sale in India. Among these goods textiles was the most important item. The quality of these clothes was definitely poor as compared to Indian clothes. However, they were cheap. They were within the reach even of the poor man. Hence, these imported clothes and other machine made goods came to be demanded in large quantities. Local handicraft lost their demand.

16.12 IMPACT OF DEINDUSTRIALIZATION

The vast amount of resources and capital which flowed from India into England naturally enabled the people of England to live a better standard of life. The drain also made possible rising investments in English agriculture and industry after 1750. These investments were partly responsible for agricultural revolution in England in the eighteenth century and as also industrial revolution which commenced after 1750. Karl Marx, has cited the impact of the deindustrialization process. According to him, it was the British rulers who broke up the Indian handloom and textile handicrafts. England broken the cotton industry in India and then introduced its cotton product manufactured in England. Thus was caused by the disappearance of native rulers who patronized handicrafts, the establishment of alien rule and the competition of highly developed technology from of machine industry.

- 1) The migration of the people from the old towns to the new trading centers was most important impact of the British rule in India. These trading centers were situated in the cities. Thus many new cities developed. However, at the same time, many important towns began to decay. Among these important towns were Mirzapur, Murshidabad, Malda, Santipore, Tanjore, Amritsar, Dacca etc. Among the important cities that developed were Delhi, Bombay, Calcutta, Madras, Bangalore, Nagpur Karpura and Karachi, Lahore (now in Pakistan) Chittagong (Bangladesh), Rangoon (Burma) etc. These cities grew in importance as great commercial towns.
- 2) The decay of urban handicrafts following the disappearance of the royal courts brought about a decrease in the population of the old Indian towns. As the craftsmen lost their occupations, they turned to agriculture.
- 3) Introduction of railways in India by the Britishers opened up new means of transportation. Some of the old towns were prosperous because they were located on some important trade routes. For example Mirzapur was an important trading centre because of its location on the River Ganga. With the introduction of railways, old routes and old means of transportation lost their importance. Hence the old towns also began to lose their significance.
- 4) The ruin of the Indian art and crafts industry greatly affected the artisans and craftsmen in India. The unemployed artisans left with no choice but to work in cultivation. The agricultural sector exhausted already due to the British commercial policy towards it. It was not capable enough to accommodate the artisans it. The hidden unemployment increased due to this.
- 5) Most of the old towns had become stagnant. These were vulnerable to diseases. Recurrent eruption of epidemics like plague and cholera

was a common feature. Such epidemics took a heavy toll of the urban population. These, therefore, also drove a large population from the urban areas. In this way many old towns lost their importance. However, simultaneously commerce and trade encouraged the growth of new cities.

16.13 MODERN INDIA WITNESSED THE GROWTH OF LARGE SCALE INDUSTRIES

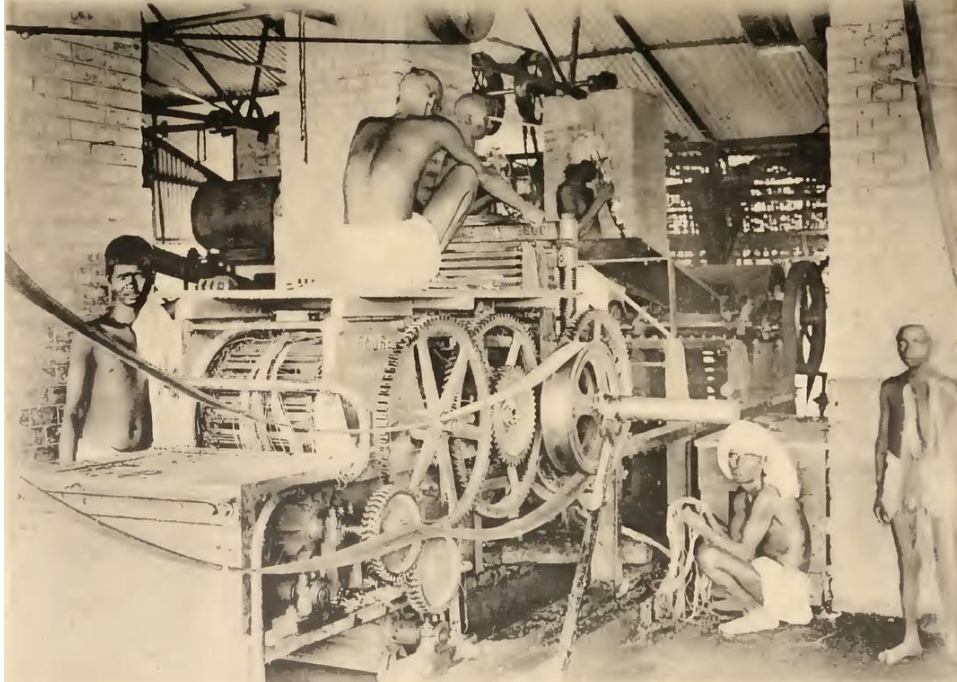
The British rulers developed construction of roads, railways, post offices, irrigation works, banking, insurance for keeping their hold on India. Yet it paved the way for the industrialization in modern India. An important development in the second half of the nineteenth century was the establishment of large scale machine base industries in India. The machine age in India began when cotton textile, jute and coal mining industries were started in the 1850s. Most of the modern industries were owned or controlled by British capitalist class. Foreign investors were attracted to Indian industry by the high profit. Labour were cheaper, raw material was easily available, India and neighbor countries were ready market for them. The colonial government was willing to provide investor necessary help.

16.14 TEXTILE MILLS

The textile industry laid down the foundation of the industrialization of the country. According to Jawaharlal Nehru, "The history of cotton and of textiles is not only the history of growth of modern industry in India but in a sense it might be considered the history of India". Mumbai (known as Bombay at that time) became the centre of the textile industry. The mid nineteenth century marked the emergence of textile industry in Mumbai.

The textile industry influenced every aspect of life in Mumbai, its migrations, social relation, housing, municipal administration and above all its economy making Mumbai the commercial capital of the country. According to R. Chandaverkar, in 1914, "Mumbai received over 87 percent of the value of Indian capital investment which accounted for nearly half the total value of private industrial investment centered in the

city.” Mumbai had become the bastion of not only Indian Capital but also provided employment to lakhs of people in the textile mills and related industries. In textile industry alone there were 153,000 workers. By 1931 according to an estimate, half the population must have been economically reliant on this industry alone. Textile mills flourished in Mumbai even after independence. During 1947 to 1960, Mumbai witnessed the growth of cotton production due to textile mills.



16.15 RISE OF COTTON MILLS

“Bombay Spinning and Weaving Company” was the first mill founded in 1854 with the help of 50 leading businessmen in the city. By 1862 four mills were added and this number grew in course of time. “The Oriental Spinning and Weaving Company”, floated in 1855 under the leadership of M. N. Petit, Beramji Jijibhai, Varjivandas Madhavdas, E. Sassoon and two Europeans, started functioning in 1858. M. N. Petit's entry into the mill industry marked the transition of his family from trade to industry.

Besides the men of amazing commercial career mentioned above, the other pioneers of industry in Bombay included, Dinshaw Petit, Nusserwanji Petit, Bomaiyi Wadia, Dharamsey Punjabhai, David Sassoon,

Merwanji Pandey, Khatau Makanji, TapidasVarajdas, James Greaves, George Cotton, Morarji Gokuldas, Mancherji Banaji, Mulji Jetha, Thackersey Moolji, Jamshetji Tata and many more. Morarji Gokuldas established a mill which bears his name even today, in 1870. Thackersey Moolji floated the 'Hindustan Spinning and Weaving Company' in 1873. This was followed by the mills of David Sassoon in 1874 and of Khatau Makanji in 1875. In 1875, the Mumbai mills employed almost 2,50,000 workers in more than 52 mills. The progress of the industry was particularly rapid from 1875 to 1885. The Greaves Cotton and Company and the firms of D. M. Petit and the Thackersey family expanded their textile ventures by establishing many new mills. The number of mills in the city increased to 70 in 1895. By the end of the 19th Century Mumbai had become, with its over eighty textile mills, India's largest textile centre. It was the largest employer of workers.

World War I brought wealth to Mumbai by the opening up of Africa and West Asian markets, which all till then had depended on German textiles and manufactures. The raw cotton exports fetched another eight crore. In 1919, the textile industry alone accounted for a huge profit of nineteen crore rupees in addition to the large profits that accrued due to the heavy increase in import and export trade. At the time of World War I British Empire received generous support from Mumbai. Mumbai so far known as the textile capital of India began to turn into an industrial city. In 1919, as soon as the British government removed the ban on starting Indian companies nearly 208 old partnership companies were converted into Limited Companies, and within two years 272 new companies were registered.



The textile industry regained its 1927 level of production in 1937, the year when the Congress formed its first ministry in Mumbai under the provisions of Provincial Autonomy. Import and export trade rose and the Mumbai Port Trust showed a surplus of 24 lakhs of rupees in 1937.

During the period of Second World War, textile mills of Bombay witnessed the unprecedented growth which further led to the growth of island city. It provided employment opportunities to thousands of village men especially from Konkan. Number of other industries was also established related with textiles industry. By the end of the Second World War, Mumbai was truly emerging as the industrial centre of India with 477 metal industries, 210 printing presses, 75 chemical and 94 other industries, while there were still 184 textile mills in operation.

British industrialist enjoyed the close connection with the British suppliers of machinery, marketing agencies and government officials. The government also followed conscious policy of favouring them.

16.16 PLANTATION INDUSTRY

The nineteenth century witnessed the growth of plantation industry such as indigo, tea and coffee. These industries were owned by European. Indigo was used as dye in textile manufacture. Indigo planters oppressed the peasants. The invention of synthetic dye proved to big blow to this industry. The tea industry developed in Assam, Bengal and south India after 1950. It was also foreign owned. The British government gave it all necessary impetus. The plantation industry had not served the purpose of development for Indian people. The profit out of these industries went to England. Most of the technical staff was foreign. Only unskilled jobs were given to the Indian.



16.17 STEEL AND IRON INDUSTRY

Tata worked in his father's company until he was 29. He founded a trading company in 1868. He bought a bankrupt oil mill at chinchpokli in 1869 and converted it to a cotton Mill, which he renamed *Alexandra Mill*. He sold the mill two years later for a profit. He established Tata iron and Steel Company in 1907 at Sakchi.

Around 1920 the pressure of the rising nationalist movement and the Indian capitalist class, the government of India granted favourable incentives to the Indian industries. However Indian owned industries like cement, iron and steel were denied protection or given inadequate protection. On the other hand, foreign industries were given desired incentives and protection.

16.18 SUMMARY

The Indian leaders observed that the British rule was the chief cause of poverty and misery of the Indians. The views of the early nationalist leaders were politico-economic rather than purely economic. Dadabhai recited British officers like Lord Cornwallis, J. S. Mill and many others in his book at every step to convince the British rulers about exploitation of India. The Britishers were tempted by the immense wealth of India. They took to large-scale plunder of it. They began to carry its

capital and wealth to England on such a large scale. With the spread of education people began to analyze the causes of poverty in India. They realized that there was something fundamentally wrong with the politico-economic set up of the country. Thus the Drain Theory propounded by Dadabhai Naoroji became the economic basis of Indian nationalism. The drain of wealth from India to England led to industrialization of England and deindustrialization of India. The Indian artisans and craftsmen were patronized by the native ruling states. Organized industry in India produced chiefly luxury and semi luxury articles. Nobles generally purchased these. With the establishment of the British rule in India, native rulers began to disappear. In the process of the expansion of the British rule in India, these native states were annexed to the British Empire.

16.19 QUESTIONS

- Discuss the contribution of Dadabhai Nouraji on the drain of wealth from India during the British rule.
- Write a detailed note on drain theory.
- What factors were responsible for the deindustrialization in India during the British rule
- Trace the growth of large scale industries in Indian under the British rule.
- Account for the decline of urban handicraft under the British rule.

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17

WOMEN

Unit Structure :

- 17.0 Objectives
- 17.1 Introduction
- 17.2 Nationalism and Social Groups
- 17.3 Problems of the Women
- 17.4 Social Reforms and Women
- 17.5 Contribution of Social Reformers towards Emancipation of Women
- 17.6 Women and Indian National Movement
- 17.7 Summary
- 17.8 Additional Readings
- 17.9 Questions

17.0 OBJECTIVES

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

- Know the meaning of nationalism and its interface with various social groups.
- Understand the background of Indian Women's movement.
- Comprehend the various problems of women facing in Nineteenth century.
- Perceive the efforts made towards the emancipation of women by Britishers.
- Understand the reforms carried out in the nineteenth century in connection with Indian Women.

- Explain the contribution of social reformers towards the emancipation of women.
- Comprehend the participation of women in the Indian national movement.

17.1 INTRODUCTION

Although, the 18th century was under the conservative ideas and practices, the 19th century India experienced several trends of reform movements, which brought out awakening in the society. This was the direct result of several factors took place in India and those factors were as the English education, contact with the western liberal thinkers, British administration, the work of Christian Missionaries, the idea of equality, the rule of law, the contribution made by the Press etc. The English education led Indians to revolt against ignorance, apathy, lethargy, superstition, fatalism and sloth. English language played very important role in communicating western ideas one to another. It worked as a common platform for people in all sections, segments, cultures and language groups. It brought to the notice of every one the flaws, short comings and lapses in Indian religions and social life and motivated them to follow the liberal concept advocated in the western literature.

The beginning of nineteenth century has been considered as the beginning of modern times in India, where the people confronted with the new rulers and their way of life which was new for them. Lard Moire says that although, the British came to India as traders and became a political power to exploit India extensively, they adopted a wider perspective in the passage of time to enable them to establish peace and order in the society. The British officers like Mountstuart Elphinstone who came to India were liberal and they believed in reasons. They opened schools and colleges where Indian students got opportunity to study the English literature, thoughts of Francis Bacon, David Hume, Middleton, George Berkeley, Condorcet, Joseph Butler and many other liberal litterateurs. Among the British officials, who were responsible to start the western education in Maharashtra, Mountstuart Elphinstone's contribution was much more. Elphinstone established a system of education in Maharashtra, due to the influence of people like T. Erskine, Colebrook, John Locke and Jeremy Bentham. He secured cooperation from the traditional institutions and educated higher classes in Maharashtra. He improved the mode of teaching at the native schools, increased number of schools, supplied with school books, encouraged lower classes to receive instructions in education, which were affordable to them. Elphinstone established schools for teaching European sciences and

improved higher branches of education under his jurisdiction. He provided certain amount to publish books of moral and physical sciences in native languages. He also provided for teaching English as a classical language to acquire knowledge and the knowledge of discoveries took place in European countries. Elphinstone used the money for education of people, which was used to distribute to Brahmins under the Peshwas. His efforts led to create awareness in Maharashtra, The English educated people began to question to the existing outdated dogmas, principles and revolted against ignorance, apathy, superstition, lethargy and fatalism, which fermented thought and created social and religious awakening in general.



In addition to the English education, the work of Christian Missionaries provoked the people to create the experience awareness in social and religious life and lead the life like people in Europe. The Missionaries criticized Hinduism as back ward religion began to convert Hindus into Christianity which hurt the educated Indians, who determined to reform their social and religious life. The idea of equality was generated as the missionaries admitted all Indians irrespective of their caste, creed and race in their schools. They also opened schools for girls which appealed to the learned Indians and led them to create awareness in their social & religious life. Missionaries dedicated their services towards the poor, the physically and mentally challenged people that also provoked the Indians to start reform movements. The last but not the least, the contribution of printing press and the work of orientalists to revive the past glory of India was one of the reasons for beginning the socio-religious reform movements in Maharashtra as well as in India in the nineteenth century.

17.2 NATIONALISM AND SOCIAL GROUPS

The English educated middle class turned its attention towards the religious social and cultural renaissance. Its spirit of nationalism aroused both the Hindus and the Muslims to set their houses in order. This middle class began to analyse their own socio-religious conditions. It led them to convince that their original and pure religions had been defiled due to blind traditions on earning less ritual, customs, and superstitious beliefs. Naturally, they sought reforms in their religions and social life. As a matter of fact, there was much influence of the socio-religious reform movement on the educated people in India, who created renaissance or awakening among the people.

17.3 PROBLEMS OF THE WOMEN

Position of women in Indian society differed period to period and age to age. Although it was quite satisfactory in the Rig Vedic period, it considerably transformed in the latter period and made her subservient. As a matter of fact, the position of women mainly depends upon the two important elements in the society. The first is the social philosophy and the second the social institutions developed in the passage of time. The social philosophy initiates a particular level of the culture and the general outlook of the society; these elements help in determining the position of women. In addition to these, the social institutions have come up as family, marriage, provisions of Hindu law and the religion, which have never indicated a liberal outlook towards women. These institutions

created several problems in the life of women. Except in cities, joint family is in practice everywhere, in which contractual marriages take place. These marriages have brought to surface problems like incompatibility of life partner, child marriage, polygamy, and restriction on widow remarriage, divorce, sati, female slavery and concubine age.

The practice of sati, which had a religious basis and belief that women by their self-immolation with the corpse of their husband attained such high spirit and merit that sins of their husbands were annihilated and they were raised to heaven to live in eternal union with the wife. This was the role of religion, which might have driven a number of women to perform such an ordeal of burning themselves alive. Wives were considered one's personal property, rather than a companion. This was the position of Indian women during ancient period and continued till modern days.

It is said that the gradual deterioration in the status of the women began during the *Smriti* period. In society women could not have an independent status and became entirely dependent on the men in socio-economic matters. With the passage of time women became victims of various social evils such as female infanticide, seclusion and dowry. They were denied education. These social evils and the low status of women continued since the ancient period.

Indian women faced several problems since the ages. Among them child marriage, female infanticide, illiteracy, restrictions on widow remarriage, polygamy, concubine, sati and restriction on divorce were more severe. 'Purdah' system which had entered India with the arrival of Muslims had come to stay and its grip was further tightened during the British period. The mobility of women was by and large restricted to the four walls of their dwellings. An average Indian woman had no access to school, college and other public places. A fairly large majority of them lived as deaf and dumb driven cattle. Those belonging to urban elite and also allowed relative freedom constituted only an iota.

Check your progress:

1. Explain in brief the problems of women under British period.

17.4 SOCIAL REFORMS AND WOMEN

When the British came to India and they became ruler of the country, the Britishers passed some of the social legislations like prohibition of

female infanticide or sacrificing infants, sati, slavery and also passed the widow remarriage Act. But these acts ruffled the country and the British faced the uprising in 1857. The British then decided not to interfere in the social life of the people which was assumed by the Queen's Proclamation of 1858. However, there started a social reform movement, which succeeded in securing some reforms in society and created social awareness among the people. The efforts made towards the emancipation of women can be studied as under :

1) Sati system

The practice of sati, which had a religious basis and belief that women by their self-immolation with the corpse of their husband attained such high spirit and merit that sins of their husbands were annihilated and they were raised to heaven to live in eternal union with the wife. This was the role of religion, which might have driven a number of women to perform such an ordeal of burning themselves alive.

Raja Ram Mohan Roy wanted to improve the condition of the Indian women. He raised his voice against the practice of sati. He pointed out that most of the sati cases were not voluntary, but forced. When the orthodox leaders petition to the government, requesting the withdrawal of the regulations of 1812-13 and 1817, Ram Mohan Roy and his friend submitted a counter-petition in August 1818. Ram Mohan Roy wrote a number of articles in English to show that nowhere in the Hindu Shastras the burning of widows have been mentioned as a compulsory measure. He also published articles in his Bengali journal Samvad Kaumudi against the evil practice of sati. Ram Mohan Roy struggled against sati and finally succeeded when Lord William Bentinck declared the practice of sati illegal and published by the law passed in 1829.

2) Child Marriage :

This was one of the problems faced by women. Initially, there was no minimum marriageable age was fixed. People used to marry their children at very young age, even at the age of two to five years, which generated other problems like Sati, polygamy and concubine age. In order to avoid the chain of problems, reformers like, B. M. Malbari, R. G. Bhandarkar and M. G. Ranade began to create awareness among the people. B. M. Malbari, a Parsi reformer fought against this custom prevailed in the society. That led the British Government to pass the Act of 1860, which raised the age of consent for marriage from ten years to twelve years.

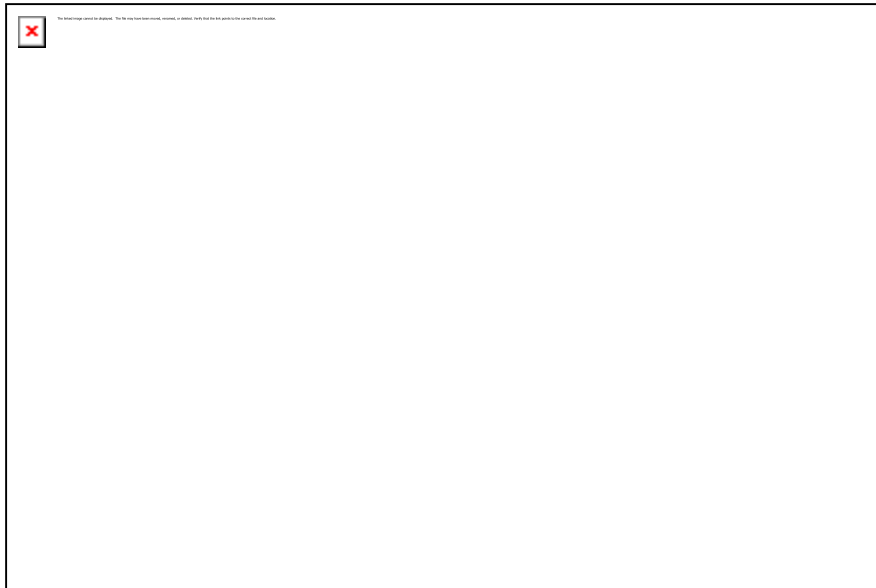


Behramji Malbari.

The social workers in Maharashtra challenged the degrading custom of child marriage and forced the British to pass the Act in 1872 by which the early marriage was abolished, polygamy was declared a penal offence and sanctioned widow remarriages and inter caste marriages in the country. Despite this law, the people in Maharashtra continued with evil system of child marriage in the society. In 1880, B. M. Malbari, the editor of Indian Spectator had attracted the attention of people towards the child marriage and published his notes on enforced widowhood and infant marriages in 1884. He said that the Government should include the evils of child marriage in the school syllabus to create awareness at the early age among the people. Justice Ranade advised the Government to pass Laws to fix twelve years the minimum age of girls for marriage and amend the penal code to punish the people who infringed these laws. Although, some of the prominent members opposed to this, B. M. Malbari went to England to pressurize the British Government to get passed these legislations. Due to the hard efforts of B. M. Malbari, the Age of Consent Act of 1891 was passed. This was a step ahead in the emancipation of women. These legislations led all enlightened and English educated people in Maharashtra to work jointly towards creating better conditions for women in society.

Pandita Ramabai was one more pioneering personality, who worked hard towards the emancipation of women. Many orthodox people in Pune criticized her for her marriage to a non-Brahmin Bengali man.

She was very much critical about the miseries of women at the hands of men. In order to support women in miseries Pandita Ramabai established Arya Mahila Samaj with the help of Prarthana Samaj. She was also supported in her efforts by Bhandarkar and Justice Ranade. Pandita Ramabai was harassed by orthodox Brahmins to such extent that she was forced to convert to Christianity and leave for England and America for some time. She wrote a book and blamed the orthodox people in Hinduism for her troubles and sufferings. She established Sharda Sadan in Mumbai in 1889 and shifted it to Pune on the request of M. G. Ranade and Bhandarkar, who supported her in her efforts of solving problems of destitute women. In 1930, the Government passed the Sharda Act which made a provision for fine and imprisonment to a person abating for marriage of the girl below fourteen years of age.



3) Female Education :

Illiteracy was one more problem faced by Indian women due to misunderstanding, wrong notions, superstition and general backwardness of the society. Traditionally, it was said that parents should spend money on girls' marriage including dowry and other heads but not to spend anything on their education. They should spend money on the education of boys only. This phenomenon was changed when the Christian Missionaries came to India and they established convent schools for education of girl child under the supervision of nuns. However, this effort was suspected that the missionary schools would be used to convert girls to Christianity. As a matter of fact, these schools were open for all castes, communities, religions and groups but the above suspicion did not let maximum girls to take benefits of those schools.

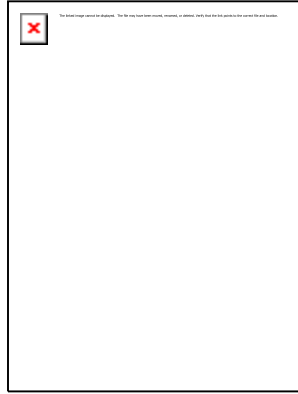
Due to the spread of English education, some of the English educated people began to educate their girls. R. C. Majumdar, therefore says that there was no observance of purda system in the Mumbai presidency, which led people in the Presidency to educate their girls. The 'Students literary and Scientific Society' was founded under the banner of Gujarati Dyan Prasarak Mandal which began to support the cause of female education. The people like Dadabhai Naoraji, B. M. Malbari, P. C. Banaji and the Camas started educating their girls and opened schools for female education despite opposition from the orthodox section of their community. The Marathi industrialists like Jagannath Shankar Seth and Bhau Dagi also contributed to the cause of educating girls in the Mumbai presidency. Among the social reformers like B. M. Malbari (who started Seva Sadan in Mumbai), Ranade, Bhandarkar and Chandawarkar, Mahatma Jyotiba G. Phule and Pandita Ramabai were prominent in the field of female education. In 1851, Phule started a private school for girls with the help of his wife, Savitribai Phule. Some other organizations also began to open schools for girls in Mumbai & Poona areas and spread the cause of female education. In 1891 Bipin Chandra, therefore, said that the Mumbai presidency was ahead in the field of female education. In the same way, Capt. Lester, the education inspector said that there was no hurdle in establishing schools for female education in Mumbai presidency and its neighboring areas of Poona due to the lead taken by eminent social reformers like Phule, Gokhale, Ranade and Agarkar.

4) Widow Remarriage :

This was one more problem faced by women since the ages. There was no widow remarriage in the upper caste while the lower castes tried to imitate the upper caste and faced a chain of problems like committing sati or remaining widow for the whole life. Widow was not allowed to participate in any programme or religious function and she was to spend her life aimlessly in isolation. Many social reformers were tried to encourage widow remarriages and helped the Govt. to pass the Hindu widow remarriage Act in 1856. but the situation did not change much.

During the modern times social reformers like M. G. Ranade, Vishnu Shastri Pandit, D. K. Karve and Pandita Ramabai actively participated in encouraging widow remarriages and founded various societies for the same purpose. In addition to the foundation of Vidhava Vivaha Uttejak Mandal, the 'Widow remarriage Association' was established in 1893 and the 'Anath Balikashram' was brought up in 1896 near Pune for sheltering destitute widows. Among all social reformers who worked towards the cause of widow remarriage, Mahatma Jyotiba

Govind Phule was very much concerned. He supported the widow remarriage and criticized the other social reformers who married spinters after the death of their wives and not allowed to remarry their relatives like sisters and daughters, when they lost their husbands in very young age.



D. K. Karve.

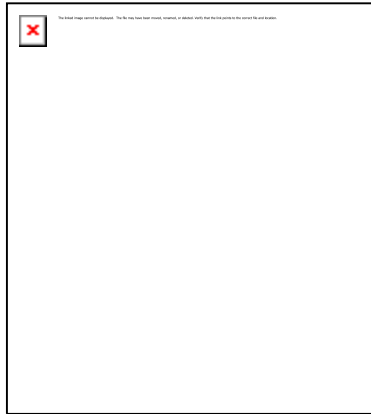
It's said that in Hinduism marriage was considered sacrosanct and solemnized in heaven. It, therefore became irrevocable in any case. Naturally, widow remarriage was not permitted. That led Hindu women to suffer forever. In order to get rid of this orthodoxy, the western educated people began to oppose it and advocated the widow remarriage based on the authority of the Vedas. Although, orthodox inhabitants of Pune submitted two petitions to the Government to oppose the widow remarriage and established a society to protect the Hindu Dharma, social reformers like Vishnu Shastri challenged the orthodox people to debate on the issue of widow remarriage and published several articles for creating awareness about the widow remarriage. D. K. Karve took a step ahead, he himself married a widow Godubai in 1883, who was his friend's sister and set an example for other people to follow the suit. He also set up a 'Widow Home Association' based on the Sharda Sadan founded by Pandita Ramabai. M. G. Ranade and Bhandarkar helped a lot to the Association for a longtime. This led to create much awareness in the society which was crystal clear from the fact that D. K. Karve's widow Home Association married twenty five widows in Maharashtra successfully and Indu Prakash and Social Conference became much more popular in the movement of social reforms in Maharashtra.

Check your progress:

1. Explain in brief the social reform movement under British period.

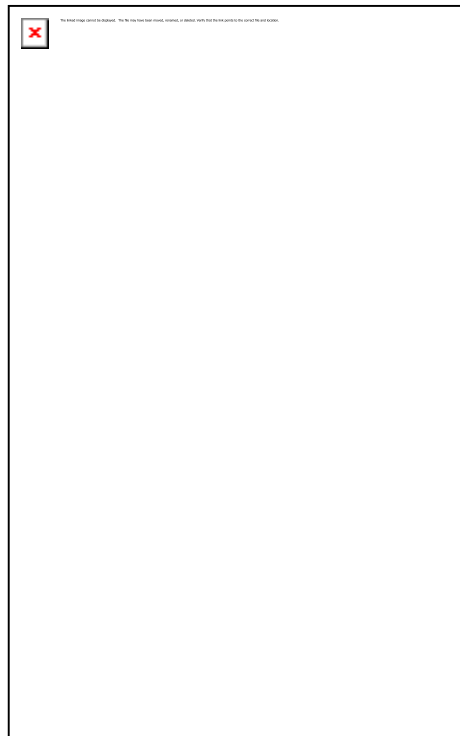
17.5 CONTRIBUTION OF SOCIAL REFORMERS TOWARDS EMANCIPATION OF WOMEN

Due to the impact of western education and the educated Indians such as Raja Ram Mohan Roy, Swami Dayananda Saraswati and other social reformers, an attempt was made to liberate women from the shackles of ancient social disabilities through the socio-religious reform movements. Raja Ram Mohan Roy also opposed to polygamy. He pointed out that the Shashtra has permitted the second marriage of men under certain circumstances. Ram Mohan Roy was in favour of the education of women. The Brahmo Samajists sought to bring women into new roles through schools and prayer meetings. Swami Vivekananda was arguing that women could become a powerful regenerative force. Dayananda encouraged female education and condemned all evil customs. M.G. Rande, Malabari, D.K. Karve tried to educate young widows and made them teachers in girl's schools. R.V.R. Naidu opposed the devdasi system while Pantulu worked for marriage reforms. Ishwar Chandra Vidysagar supported the female education and advocated the widow remarriage. Although, the widow remarriage Act was passed in 1856, the status of women was not changed and never received the approval of the society.



17.5.1 Mahatma Phule and Savitribai Phule :

Mahatma Jyotibha Phule never discriminated between men and women on the basis of sex and wanted to give them equal rights in all matters. He envisaged a society based on liberty, equality and fraternity. In order to profess and spread his message he started Dinbandhu, a weekly journal with the help of Narayan Meghaji Lokhande, who was his close associate and a trade union leader. Phule used his whole energy and intellect to emancipate the women from their age old bondages of tyrannical brahmanical patriarchy. He tried to create awareness among them against the unnatural and unreasonable claims of the Hindu people and professed individual dignity and equality in socio-religious matters. He was the first man to start school for girls in Maharashtra.



17.5.2 Gopal Ganesh Agarkar

Gopal Ganesh Agarkar was the first editor of Kesari. During this period he discussed several social problems and offered solutions for them. For his reformatory view he had to resign the editorship of Kesari. Agarkar started 'Sudharak' to propagate social reforms. He discussed several social problems and offered solution for them. Agarkar's thinking was independent Progressive and powerful.

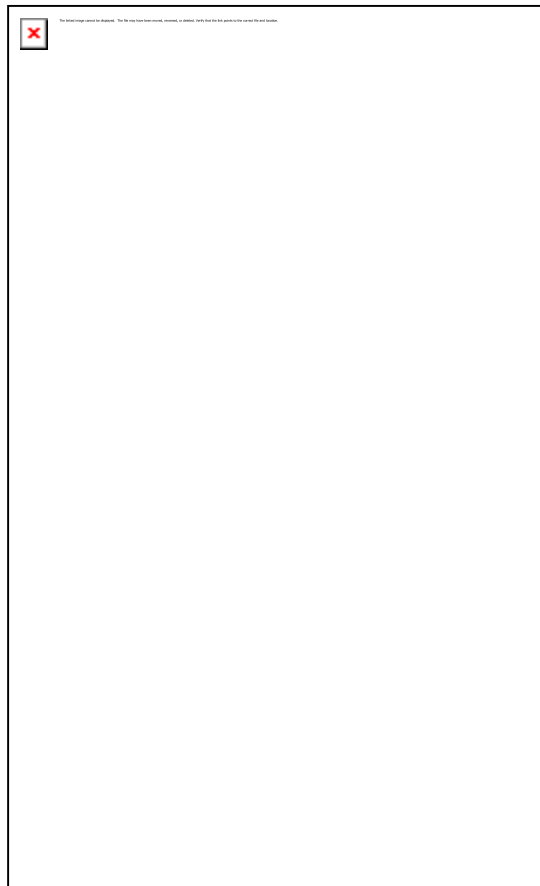
i. Equality and Education

Agarkar's thinking was independent and fearless. His progressive approach towards the women's questions created a new awakening. He propagated his views about social reform fearlessly. He was moved by the status of woman in family and stressed on the importance of women's education. He believed that husband and wife was equally important member of the family. The ancient religious scriptures denounced woman. He stood against such views. He suggested several measures for the emancipations of women. According to him the outdated social practices which are wrong and injurious in modern days should be reduced to the ashes. He was determined to use his newspaper to educate the society. As an editor of the Sudharak, he was ready to fight orthodoxy. He had to confront feelings, anger and short sightedness of the orthodox people. The Sudharak believed in the philosophy of 'saying whatever is right and doing whatever is possible'. Many articles in the Sudharak show his concern for education. He spent most of the life in teaching and propagating education. According to Agarkar, if men and women are given the same type of education then men may have to stay at home to look after the children, wash clothes. But men should not feel it below their dignity to undertake household works. Agarkar believed in the universal law of change. Struggle is essential to bring about change. Agarkar stood for social legislation by the government. Tilak led the opposition to such legislation. Agarkar being a staunch social reformer stood for transformation of Hindu religion and society by adopting the best principles of western civilization. His mission of life was to convey to the people the essence of the progressive principles.

ii. Child Marriage

He denounced the system of child marriage. Agarkar advocated reforms like education of woman and ban on child marriages, remarriage of widows. According to him child marriage had harmful impact on the society. These marriages were physically and psychologically harmful and cannot be justified. It was improper to marry off children before they were physically mature. The children out of such marriages are usually weak both

mentally and physically. He maintained that age of marriage for the young could be raised. With genuine fervour he advocated restriction on child marriage. The issue of child marriage led to sharp conflict between Agarkar and Tilak. Agarkar supported famous social reformer Malabari who struggled to get Bill of Age of Consent passed. However Tilak opposed the idea of the government interference in the social reform. Agarkar strongly supported the Bill. He advocated the bill for the sake of protecting women's physical health and mental development. According to him it was necessary to adopt legal measures to prevent woman from being treated as the property of men. Tilak and his supporters did not approve of Agarkar's views. There are many other differences as well regarding the other social reforms hence Agarkar had to resign from kesari's editorship. He started independent weekly, Sudharak to propagate the social reforms. It became the vehicle to spread ideas of the social reforms. In the first issue he wrote on political and social reforms. According to him due to the ignorance in the public mind on religious and social issues, it would not be possible to arouse the people to the political problems. He was devoted to his ideals and hopeful to achieve the goal of reformation in the society.



iii. Widow Remarriage

While advocating restriction on child marriage, Agarkar put emphasis on the need for widow remarriage. The ban on widow

remarriage existed among the higher castes. A widow's life in Hindus was miserable. Agarkar advocated that the society should accept widow remarriage which would give her purpose and dignity to her life. This would also take care of the problems of forced abortions. In this matter Agarkar proposed the need for a law as well as social education.

17.5.3 Maharshi Dhondo Keshav Karve

Maharshi Dhondo Keshav Karve was pioneer in promoting women's education and the right for widows to remarry. He was active social reformer. After the death of his first wife he married a widow rather than unmarried girl. The work of Pandita Ramabai inspired him to dedicate his life to the cause of female education and the work of Pandit Vishnu Shastri inspired him to work for the uplifting the status of widow. In 1893, Karve founded "Vidhwa Vivahattek Mandali". In 1896, he established "Hindu Widows Home Association" and started a 'Mahilashram' in Hingane. The aim of the Home was to create among high caste widows an interest in life by training them to become self-sufficient. The establishment of a Girls School (Mahila Vidyalaya) which was a boarding school for non-widow students was the next reform initiated by Karve. The managing Committee of his Vidyalaya and Widow's Home Association decided to open the schools and other institutions for the education of the women. Later on 'Widows Home Association' was renamed as 'Hingane Stree Shikshan Sanstha'. During 1817-18 Karve established another school for girls.

The greatest achievement of Karve is the foundation of the women's university in Maharashtra. He presented the idea of establishing the special institute for women's education in the meeting of National Social Conference at Mumbai. He was supported by many leaders including Annie Besant, Mahatma Gandhi and Dr. Bhandarkar. The women's University was founded in 1916. All the educational institutions founded by Karve were affiliated to the university. In 1919 Sir Vithaldas D. Thackersey an industrialist in Mumbai provided ample funds for the university. Henceforth the University came to be known as SNTU (Shrimati Nathibai Damodar Thackersey) Women's University. Karve was also took initiative in establishing girl's high schools in Maharashtra and Gujarat. He was awarded 'Bharat Ratna', the nation's highest honour for his achievements and dedication to the educational cause in 1958.

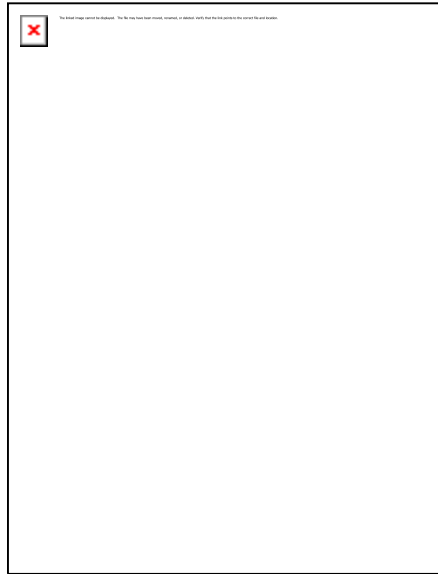
17.5.4 Pandita Ramabai

Ramabai was a daughter of Anant Shastri, a well-known Sanskrit scholar. She got married to Bipin Behari Das, a Brahmo Samajist. Unfortunately her husband died in 1881. At this time, Ramabai decided to devote the rest of the life to the upliftment of women. She was welcomed in Pune by reformers like Ranade,

Bhandarkar, Telang and Agarkar. She has established Arya Mahila Samaj in 1882 at Pune. She visited England and America to create awareness about the women's condition. She addressed numerous meetings to highlight the condition of the women in India. She published a book, 'The High Caste Hindu Woman' to describe the miserable plight of the Indian Women. In Mumbai, she founded 'Sharada Sadan', a home for widows in 1889. This Home aimed at providing educational facilities for widows and destitute women. The opening of the Sharda Sadan attracted criticism as well as praise from the leaders in Pune. Reformers like Ranade and Agarkar welcomed her activities. However orthodox section was suspicious of her motives. Tilak opposed to her. The increasing criticism on Pandita Ramabai changed the reformer's stand that had sympathy to her. Ramabai continued her activities on her own strength. The opposition of the orthodox section led to the conversion of the Ramabai to the Christianity. In 1919 the British Monarchy conferred on her the (Kaiser-I-Hind-Award).

17.5.5 Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar

Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar rendered great service to all the women by his emphasis on equality. The preamble of the constitution of India promises to secure to all citizens justice. Parts III and IV of the constitution have provided these objectives which contain many provisions providing for preferential treatment for promoting social status of women and children. Because of his efforts, working women got the full pay maternity benefit. As a Labour minister in Viceroy's Executive Council (1942-1946), he enacted various laws especially for the betterment of women. He as a Law Minister submitted a bill which raised the age of consent and marriage, upheld monogamy, gave women the right of divorce and treated stridhan as women's property. However the conservative opposition to the radical proposals led to the postponement of the Hindu Code Bill. Dr. Ambedkar resigned in disgust due to attitude of the conservative members of the Constituent Assembly. Later sections of the Bill were passed as four distinct Acts. Thus, he devoted his entire life for the upliftment of all sections of society for the overall development of our country. Dr. Ambedkar was truly liberator of the Indian women.



Check your progress :

1) Discuss the efforts made towards the emancipation of women by Social reformers.

17.6 WOMEN AND INDIAN NATIONAL MOVEMENT

When the history of India's fight for Independence comes to be written, the sacrifice made by the women of India will occupy the foremost place - Mahatma Gandhi Jawaharlal Nehru had remarked, when most of the men-folk were in prison then a remarkable thing happened. Our women came forward and took charge of the struggle. Women had always been there of course but now there was an avalanche of them, which took not only the British Government but their own men folk by surprise. The entire history of the freedom movement is replete with the

saga of bravery, sacrifice and political sagacity of great men and women of the country. This struggle which gained momentum in the early 20th century, threw up stalwarts like Mahatma Gandhi, Lala Lajpat Rai, Motilal Nehru, Abul Kalam Azad, C. Rajagopalachari, Bal Gangadhar Tilak, Gopal Krishna Gokhale, Jawaharlal Nehru and Subhash Chander Bose. Their number and stature often gives us an erroneous impression that it was only a man's movement. But it is not so. Many prominent women played a leading role in the freedom movement. The important place assigned to women in India dates back to the time of the Vedas and Smritis. Manu declared that where women were adored, Gods frequented that place. During the Vedic age the position of women in society was very high and they were regarded as equal partners with men in all respects. Who had not heard of Maitri, Gargi, Sati Annusuya and Sita? In keeping with this tradition, burden of tears and toils of the long years of struggle for India's freedom was borne by the wives, mothers, and daughters, silently and cheerfully. The programme of self-imposed poverty and periodical jail going was possible only because of the willing co-operation of the worker's family. In the various resistance movements in the villages, the illiterate women played this passive but contributory part as comrades of their men folk.

It has been very often and correctly said that India's struggle for independence has also been a struggle for Indian woman's socio-economic emancipation. And the sole credit goes to Mahatma Gandhi, the Father of the Nation, who included woman uplift as an important part of the Congress constructive programme. The resurgence of the Indian womenfolk has also been helped by some foreign born women like Dr. Annie Besant, Neili Sen Gupta, and Margaret Cousins who zealously worked in India, for country's freedom and its socio-economic development.

Apart from the achievement of political independence, the second best benefit that flowed out of our Freedom Movement has been the liberation of our women, particularly those hailing from urban settlements. However, the path shown by them is continuously being followed by the rural women also. Many of the enlightened women then, plunged into India's freedom movement. And it is very interesting and worthwhile to have a peep in their glorious service in this regard. References have already been cited related to the works of Dr. Annie Besant, Madam Cama, Bina Das, Pritilata Wadedar, Kalpana Dutt, Sarojini Naidu, Neili Sengupta, and Indira Gandhi etc. However, there is a long and unending list of the women who enthusiastically participated in this crusade in one way or the other. But the sufferings and sacrifices of Rajkumari Amrit Kaur, Kasturba Gandhi, Vijayalakshmi Pandit, Sucheta Kriplani, Lilavati

Munshi, Sister Nivedita, Amma A. V.Kuthimalu, Kamla Devi Chattopadhyaya. Chaudharani Sarla Devi, Subhadra Kumari Chauhan, Kamala Das Gupta, Durgabai Deshmukh, Basanti Das, Nanibala, Rama Devi, Swaran Kumari, Urmila Devi, Subbamma Dhuvri, Lakshmibayamma Unnava, Kadambini Ganguly, Suhasini Ganguly, Santi Das, Avantikabai Gokhale, Hema Prabha, Meera Behn, Sharda Behn, Aruna Asaf Ali, Behn Satyawati Devi, Lakshmi Menon, Muthulakshmi Reddi, Lila Roy, Pandita Ramabai, Violet Alva, Indumati Sinha, Rani Gaidinliu, Annie Mascarene, etc. etc. are worth remembering.

Under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi, the national movement became a mass movement since 1920. The participation of women in the national movement made a steady progress from the non-cooperation movement to the Quit India movement in 1942. During these mass movements, the women shouldered the responsibilities with running their homes, to contribute to the mite of the freedom struggle as they marched on the streets, shouted slogans, picketed shops of foreign goods and liquor, faced police lathi charge and bullets. Due to Gandhiji's appeal the Indian women fought shoulder to shoulder with men in the freedom Struggle of India, which enhanced their status and brought to the fore several issues related to women. The national movement was the first forum where the women participated in public life, to acquire rights and positions hitherto denied to them. It was Mahatma Gandhi who tapped the potential of women as political agitators and partners in the process of building up a nation. The national movement acted in liberating women in drastic way than the past social reforms. They showed their capability as Socialist, Communist and Militant revolutionaries. They also fought under the leadership of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose for the liberation from the British rule. The women participated in the national movement were as; in 1889 ten women attended the Indian National Congress session. In 1890 Swarnakumari Ghosal, a novelist and Kadambini Ganguly, the first woman in the British Empire to receive BA and the India's first lady doctor attended as delegates. Saraladevi, Muthulakshmi Reddy and Amrit Kaur followed Gandhi in the movement. Sarojini Naidu, Goshiben Nair and Avantikabai Gokhale were attached to Rashtriya Stree Sangha. Urmila Devi, Shanti Das and Bimal Pratiha Devi in Bengal and Smt. S. Ambujammal, Krishnabai Rau and Rukmani Lakshminarayana from south were ahead in the movement. Due to this participation of women, there started changes taking place in the society and administration. The first major change was a legislation passed in 1937, the Hindu Women's property Act. It applied uniformly to all Hindus. When a husband died leaving property, the widow would be entitled to the same share as the sons in the property. In the case of joint family property, she would be entitled to the same interests in the property as her husband had, including the right to demand partition.

The Indian National Movement began to change the condition of women in the country. This change enabled women to demand the trappings of modern life, education, health care, protective legislations, civil and political rights within the framework of a social feminist ideology that constructed women more psychologically different than man. Indian women, who sacrificed for her husband and family in the past, the same habit of sacrifice now valorized the women worthy for all rights in the country.

Check Your Progress:

1. Trace the participation of Women in the Indian National movement.

17.7SUMMARY

Since the ancient period, Indian society had been under out dated systems, traditions and superstitions. The large section which suffered a lot was the woman in the society. It is clear that many of the social reformers took lot of efforts for the upliftment of Indian society. Mahatma Phule had done pioneering work towards the social reform movement in India during the second half of the 19th Century. Most of the social reformers worked towards the emancipation of Women and because of their efforts many important issues were addressed and solved by them.

Even then Indian woman contributed a lot towards the development Indian Society. Among them Cama, Besant, Naidu were prominent. Besides, these women crusaders, there have been thousands of women who wholeheartedly participated in Indian national Movement. Many of them were greatly influenced by Mahatma Gandhi and happily

underwent all types of sufferings and repressive measures. It is evidently clear, that Indian women did not lag behind and it has been a great contribution of Gandhiji that he, through his programmes and calls, brought about socio-economic uplift of the Indian women, no mean an achievement.

17.8 ADDITIONAL READINGS

11. Bipan Chandra, *History of Modern India*, Orient Blackswan, 2009.
12. B.L. Grover and S. Grover, *A New Look at Modern Indian History*, S. Chand and Company, New Delhi, 2001.
13. Sumit Sarkar, *Modern India 1885-1947*, Macmillan, Madras, 1996.
14. Tara Chand, *History of the Freedom Movement in India*, Vols. 1-4.

17.9 QUESTIONS

1. Examine the problems of women towards the beginning of nineteenth century India.
2. Describe the work of British government towards the emancipation of Women.
3. Discuss the contribution of Mahatma Phule and Savitribai Phule towards the emancipation of Women in the nineteenth century.
4. Explain the various problems of women's in the nineteenth century of Maharashtra and trace the efforts of social reformers to eradicate it.
5. Examine the contribution of women to the Indian national movement.



18

DALIT

Unit Structure:

- 18.0 Objectives
- 18.1 Introduction
- 18.2 Who are the Dalits?
- 18.3 Pre-Ambedkar Dalit Movement
 - 18.3.1 Mahatma Jotirao Phule
 - 18.3.2 Gopalbaba Valangkar
 - 18.3.3 Kisan Faghu Bansode
 - 18.3.4 Shivram Janaba Kamble
 - 18.3.5 Maharshi Vitthal Ramji Shinde
 - 18.3.6 Narayan Guru
 - 18.3.7 Rajashree Chhatrapati Shahu Maharaj
- 18.4 Dr. Ambedkar and Dalit Movement
 - 18.4.1 Early Life and Education
 - 18.4.2 Social Movement of Dr. Ambedkar
 - 18.4.3 Political work of Dr. Ambedkar
 - 18.4.4 An Architect of the Indian Constitution – Dr. Ambedkar
 - 18.4.5 Economic Thoughts of Dr. Ambedkar
 - 18.4.6 Educational Work of Dr. Ambedkar
- 18.5 Summary
- 18.6 Additional Readings
- 18.7 Questions

18.0 OBJECTIVES

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

- 14. Understand the meaning of the concept of Dalit.
- 15. Study the contributions of various social reformers in Dalit movement during Pre-Ambedkar period.

16. Understand the work of Mahatma Jotirao Phule in Dalit movement.
17. Analyze the various dimensions of Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar's work viz. political, social, religious and economic.
18. Understand the role of Dr. Ambedkar as nation builder.
19. Grasp Dr. Ambedkar's educational work.

18.1 INTRODUCTION

The advent of the British was welcomed by the liberals of higher caste educated people for its liberalism and system of education. The orthodox forces opposed the British out of fear that the British culture, language and liberalism might corrupt the Indian customs and traditions. In reality both these forces were benefitted by the British administrative system. On the contrary the lower classes such as Dalits, tribals and peasants were more ruthlessly exploited by the British system of administration which was exploitative in nature. The public organizations seem to neglect the prime issues of these oppressed classes. Number of social reformers worked for the upliftment of marginalized section of society. They made significant changes in the lives of these subaltern classes. The main objective of the Dalit Movement was to establish a society based on the principle of social equality. Mahatma Jotirao Phule was the first social reformer who started the Dalit movement in India during the nineteenth Century. Dr. B. R. Ambedkar gave a revolutionary character to Dalit movement and prepared the Dalits to launch an agitation for securing their social, religious and political rights. He waged a war against the inhuman practices of Hindu religion and emancipated the lowest strata of the society. He was mainly responsible for the overall development of Indian society in general and Dalit's in particular.

18.2 WHO ARE THE DALITS?

The word 'Dalit' means 'suppressed', 'crushed', or 'broken to pieces'. It is inclusive of all the oppressed and exploited section of society. Dalits are a mixed population of numerous caste groups and speak various languages. There are many different names proposed for defining these group of people like '*Panchamas*' (Fifth Varna), '*Asprushya*' (untouchables), '*Antyaja*' etc. Dalits are traditionally regarded as untouchables. Etymologically the term is inclusive of meaning such as: downtrodden, disadvantaged, underprivileged, dispossessed, deprived, handicapped, abused, humble etc. It does not, however, confine merely to economic exploitation in term of appropriation of surplus but also relates to

suppression of culture- ways of life and value system- and more importantly the denial of dignity. During the British period, they were known as 'Depressed Classes'. The term SC was first used by the British in the government of India Act, 1935. The constitution of India recognizes them as 'Scheduled Castes' and 'Scheduled Tribes'. M.K. Gandhi used the name '*Harijan*' to define untouchables but it was opposed and banned by Govt. of India after independence. Dr. Ambedkar chose the term 'broken men' as English translation of dalit to refer to the original ancestors of the untouchables. Generally the term 'Dalit' includes what is called in administrative parlances: Scheduled Castes (SC), Scheduled Tribes (ST) and Other Backward Classes (OBC).

Caste is an important element in India and it is still the foundation of Indian society and it is regarded as the basic structure of Indian society. The traditional fourfold caste system was based on Varna system, consists of Brahmin (the priestly caste) kshatriyas (the warrior caste) and vaishyas (the trading caste) all of whom are considered twice-born (*dvija*) and are allowed to read the holy texts and perform *Upanayana* ceremony. The fourth groups, Shudras (the servile caste) was not allowed to read the holy text and were required to serve the upper caste people. Below these four Varnas there were numerous castes which were referred as untouchables and several restrictions were imposed on them. They were referred as Dalits in course of time. They were also called "out-caste" or untouchable groups, whose very shadow was considered polluting to caste Hindus. They were not allowed to take education. They were restricted to enter the temples. They were not supposed to take water from public wells, lakes and lakes etc. They had to live outside the villages and were prohibited to enter into villages due to their pollute nature. They were also not allowed to hold the property. Their condition remained unchanged till the advent of British rule whereas they were forced to accept the social servitude by upper castes.

In the context of traditional Hindu society, Dalit status has often been historically associated with occupations regarded as ritually impure, such as any involving leatherwork, butchering or removal of rubbish, animal carcasses and waste. They were denied several humanitarian rights from ancient period up to the advent of British rule. Number of restrictions was imposed on them to establish the cultural hegemony of the priestly class and it was supported by ancient law books like *Smritis* and *Puranas*. Their exploitation was continued even upto the foundation of British rule in India. However, due to British legislations, Dalits got several rights during the beginning of nineteenth Century. Due to western education and liberal approach, number of social reformer tried to emancipate the lives of Dalits. Dalit movement (1857-1947) can be divided into two main periods:

1. Pre-Ambedkar Period
2. Dr. Ambedkar Period

18.3 PRE-AMBEDKAR DALIT MOVEMENT

During the Pre-Ambedkar period, number of social reformers worked for the upliftment of marginalized section of society. The social reformer of pre-Ambedkar period mainly includes Mahatma Jotirao Phule, Savitribai Phule, Shivram Janba Kamble, Kisan Faghu Bansode, Vitthal Ramji Shinde, Narayan Guru and Chhatrapati Rajashree Shahu Maharaj etc. They made significant changes in the lives of untouchables through their constant efforts and movement.

18.3.1 Mahatma Jotirao Phule

Mahatma Jotirao Phule occupies a unique position among the social reformers of Maharashtra in 19th century. He concentrated his energies against the unjust cast system under which millions of people had suffered for many centuries. Jotirao launched a movement in Maharashtra for the liberation and uplifting the downtrodden. He has founded Satyashodhak Samaj in 1873 which was the manifestation of the Jotirao's ideals of liberalism and rationalism. He opposed the custom of worshipping before idols and denounced the caste system. His main work was to arouse the exploited and suppressed masses from age old slavery. He was the first Indian to start a school for the untouchables and girls school in Maharashtra. According to Dhananjay Keer, he was the first public man in modern India to devote his time to serving the masses. In social and religious matters, Phule wanted both men and women to be given equal rights. He criticized the theory of *Varnashramadharma*. He enrolled all the students in his class irrespective of their caste and creed. He differed from the other social reformers of his time because of his pro peasant and pro poor outlook. He led the masses in an organized resistance to end the inequality in the society. In his relentless struggle for securing the right of education for women and in particular, for low castes, his wife Savitribai Phule, worked hand in- hand with him for the cause of Dalits emancipation. He started two papers, one, '*Dinbandhu*' in 1877 to rouse and mould public opinion in favour of the untouchables and his ideas, which started gaining currency. Dr. Ambedkar respected him as one of his guru and after his death he continued the movement of establishing egalitarian society.



18.3.2 Gopalbaba Valangkar

Following the footsteps of Mahatma Phule, Gopalbaba Valangkar, Shivram Janba Kamble and others devoted themselves to the task of eradication of untouchability. Gopalbaba Valangkar was retired from army in 1886 and in order to serve for the untouchables he has founded the organization named '*Anarya Dosh Parihar*' which has addressed many issues of Dalits. Under the auspices of this organization, he has submitted memorandum to British Government against their ban on untouchable's entry into army in 1894. He has opened many schools and hostels for the spread of education among them. He has also convened several conferences of untouchables to voice their grievances and several resolutions were passed in favour of betterment of Dalits. Gopalbaba Valangkar, in his treatise '*Vital Viddhwansan*' condemned the inhuman custom of untouchability.

18.3.3 Kisan Faghu Bansode

Kisan Faghu Bansode was another social reformer who has started his work since 1900 towards the emancipation of Dalits. In 1907, he has started '*Chokamela Girls School*' for Dalit girls and also opened hostels for them. During British period, number of Dalits left their villages and took jobs of various kinds in cities. However their exploitation was continued even in cities. Therefore Kisan Faghu Bansode addressed their problems by uniting them. He has founded '*Antyaj Samaj*' for them in 1919 and voiced their problems. In order to awaken these masses, he

wrote several poems, articles, *tamashas* and plays and sensitizes them for their movement. He also started periodical '*Majoor Patrika*' from 1918 to 1922 and led the movement of untouchable workers in Bombay and exposed the exploitation of both upper castes and British capitalist class.

18.3.4 Shivram Janba Kamble

Shivram Janba Kamble, himself an untouchable, became an important leader of his Dalit community. He organized the first conference of the untouchables in India. He had worked as editor of '*Somavanshiya Mitra*', a monthly magazine at Poona. He criticized the blind faith and cruel practice of *Murali* through his articles. He appealed to the British Government in 1910 to improve the conditions of the depressed classes.

18.3.5 Maharshi Vitthal Ramji Shinde

Maharshi Vitthal Ramji Shinde was another important social reformer of Maharashtra, who promoted the cause of the Dalits. He was educated at Oxford and after his return from England he worked for the upliftment of the depressed classes. He was greatly influenced by the thoughts of Mahatma Jotirao Phule. He has made sincere efforts to establish contacts between the social reformers and the nationalist leaders. He repeatedly tried to put forward the problem of the untouchables on the agenda of the Congress. He has established the Indian Depressed Classes Mission in 1906 for uplifting the untouchables. The objectives of the mission were to spread education among untouchables, to provide employment for them and to try to remove social restrictions imposed on them. He wanted to bring about material and moral uplift of the Dalits. The mission opened its first school for the untouchables in Mumbai in 1906. The Mission established centers at number of places including Madras, Mangalore, Indore and opened 23 schools. V. R. Shinde toured the whole country preaching eradication of untouchability. From 1907 to 1914 he organized seven conferences of the depressed classes to raise their voice. He has also established 'All India Untouchability League' to safeguards the interests of the untouchables. In 1917 he persuaded the leaders of the Indian National Congress to pass a resolution demanding eradication of untouchability. After the emergence of Gandhi, V. R. Shinde was attracted towards his philosophy. He participated in the famous Temple Entry Agitation at Vaikom in Kerala. He was a true follower of Mahatma Jotirao Phule's ideology. He dedicated Himself to the promotion of the welfare of the Dalits. He opened number of schools for the education of the depressed classes all over the Maharashtra. This shows that he was the ardent follower of Parthana Samaj and Mahatma Phule.



Vithal Ramji Shinde.

18.3.6 Narayan Guru

Narayan Guru was born in Kerala in Ezhava caste (untouchable caste) established the *Shree Narayana Dharma Paripalana Yogam* (SNDP) in Kerala and opened its branches outside also. He openly criticised the Congress and Mahatma Gandhi for their lip sympathy towards the lower castes. He criticised Gandhiji for his faith in *Chaturvarna*, which he maintained is parent of the caste system and untouchability. He pointed out that the difference in castes is only superficial. He gave a new slogan “one religion, one caste and one God for mankind”. He also built temples which are open for all castes.

18.3.7 Rajashree Chhatrapati Shahu Maharaj

Rajashree Chhatrapati Shahu Maharaj, the King of princely State of Kolhapur, had a strong desire initially to educate all at no cost. In 1901, he opened the first Boarding House known as the Victoria Maratha Boarding for students. Out of his earnest desire, after 1902, on his direct and indirect support near about 21 Boarding Houses were opened in the Kolhapur State. All these boarding houses were established for each and every caste in the Kolhapur State. In the same year that is 1902 he introduced 50 percent Reservation and Liberal Schemes of Grants and Scholarships to the Backward Classes in the Kolhapur State.

Check your progress :

- 1) Explain in short the work of Mahatma Phule.

18.4 DR. AMBEDKAR AND DALIT MOVEMENT

Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, affectionately known as Babasaheb Ambedkar, was one of the most illustrious sons of India. He was a great scholar who made outstanding contributions as an economist, sociologist, legal luminary, educationalist, journalist, parliamentarian and above all, as a social reformer and champion of human rights. He appeared on the Indian socio-political scene in early 1920's and remained in the forefront of all social, economic, political and religious efforts for upliftment of the lowest stratum of the Indian society known as Dalits. Babasaheb organized, united and inspired the Dalits in India to effectively use political means towards their goal of social equality. He has contributed immensely for the overall development of our country. Dr. Ambedkar chiefly responsible for drafting of the Constitution of India where he enshrined the principles of Liberty, Equality, Fraternity for the every citizen of India.

Dr. Ambedkar is considered as an emancipator of Dalits. He tried to solve the problem of Dalits, women, peasants, workers etc. He wanted to establish equality in all the spheres of life and wanted to create an egalitarian society. He has undoubtedly been the central figure in the epistemology of the Dalit universe. He waged a war against the social evils like caste system, untouchability, degrading social order for the betterment of human society. He is mainly responsible for bringing changes in the lives of Dalit's. He has contributed immensely for the making of modern India.

18.4.1 Early life and Education

Dr. Ambedkar was born on 14 April 1891 in military cantonment of [Mhow](#) in the [Central Provinces](#) (now in [Madhya Pradesh](#)). He was the 14th and last child of Ramji Maloji Sakpal and Bhimabai. His father Ramji was an army officer stationed at Mhow in Madhya Pradesh. Ramji retired from the army and shifted to Dapoli in the Ratnagiri district of Maharashtra from where they came originally. Bhimrao was enrolled in Government high school at Satara in 1900. During his school days he had ruthless

experiences of untouchability. Since he was born in an untouchable caste, he was made to sit separate from other students in a corner of the classroom. Despite all kinds of humiliations, he continued his education. The family soon moved to Mumbai and he entered into the Elphinstone high school in 1904. He has married to Ramabai in 1906.

In 1907, he passed his matriculation examination and this success provoked celebrations in his community. He was felicitated by his teacher Krishnaji Arjun Keluskar and he was presented with a biography of Gautam Buddha. In 1908, he entered [Elphinstone College](#) and obtained a scholarship of twenty five rupees a month from the ruler of [Baroda](#) Sayajirao [Gaikwad](#). Bhimrao passed his graduation from Elphinstone College, Mumbai in 1913. Sayajirao had introduced a scheme to send a few outstanding scholars abroad for advanced studies. The Maharaja granted this scholarship to Ambedkar for his further studies. In 1913, Ambedkar went to USA where he studied at the Columbia University, New York. The freedom and equality, he experienced in America made a very strong impression on Bhimrao. It was so refreshing for him to be able to live a normal life, free from the caste prejudice of India. He studied eighteen hours a day. His main subjects were Economics and Sociology. He was awarded M.A. and Ph.D. from Columbia University. Then he left Columbia and went to England, where he joined the London School of Economics for the completion of M.Sc and D.Sc. However, he had to leave London before completing his course because the scholarship granted by the State of Baroda expired. Bhimrao had to wait three years before he could return to London to complete his studies.



After returning to India he was given job in the Baroda Civil service, Where again he experienced the worst features of caste system in Hinduism. No one at the office where he worked would hand over files and papers to him, the servant threw them onto his desk. Nor would they give him water to drink. No respect was given to him, merely because of his caste. This experience was more painful for him, since for the past four years he had been living abroad free from the label of 'lower caste'. After only eleven days in his new job, he had to return to Mumbai. He tried to start a small

business there, advising people about investment, but it too failed once customers became aware of his caste.

In 1918, he became a lecturer of political economy at Sydenham College in Mumbai. There his students recognized him as a brilliant teacher and scholar but his fellow colleagues treated him badly due to his low caste. He began to proclaim and publicize the humiliations suffered by the Dalits and fight for equal rights by attending and organizing conferences. His own life had taught him the necessity of the struggle for emancipation. He started a Marathi newspaper called '*Mooknayak*' in 1920 to champion the cause of the Dalits. In 1920, with the financial assistance of *Chhatrapati* Shahu Maharaja of Kolhapur, he was able to return to London to complete his higher studies in Economics at London School of Economics where he obtained the degrees of M.Sc. and D.Sc. He was the first Indian to have a Doctorate in Economics from this world famous institution. Meanwhile He also enrolled to study law at Gray's Inn, London and qualified as a Barrister-at-law in 1923. He also spent some time in reading economics in the University of Bonn in Germany. This shows that how much importance he has given to education. He had taken all efforts to complete his higher education and later on used all his knowledge for the liberation of Dalits from the social bondage of Hinduism.

18.4.2 Social Movement of Dr. Ambedkar

Dr. B.R. Ambedkar started his Social activity and his movement for the upliftment of Dalits by submitting Memorandum before the Southborough Commission in 1917, in which he asked number of political and social rights for the Dalits. British Government declared that it will form responsible Government in India in 1917. In order to give safeguards to minorities to prevent their political rights, British Government started interviewing various leaders in India. British Parliament sent a committee chaired by Southborough in order take the evidences and decide the policy in the matter of franchise. Dr. Ambedkar submitted written evidence to Southborough Commission in which he demanded following rights:

1. Untouchables should be given right to vote.
2. They should be given right to contest the election.
3. There should be separate electorate reserved for them.
4. The representatives of untouchables must be elected by untouchable voters.
5. In an untouchable dominant constituency, they should be given reserved seats as per their population.

Dr. Ambedkar demanded civil rights for untouchables before Southborough commission and it was the first organized effort in modern India to start civil rights movements of Dalits.

In order to create awareness and to sensitize the issues related with the Dalits, Dr. Ambedkar decided to start separate newspaper for them. In 1920, he began the publication of the weekly '*Mooknayak*' (Leader of the Dumb) in Mumbai with the help of *Chhatrapati* Shahu Maharaj of Kolhapur. Ambedkar used this journal to awaken and to raise the issues of Dalit's. His speech at a Depressed Classes Conference in Mangaon, Kolhapur impressed the Shahu Maharaja of Kolhapur who described Ambedkar as the future national leader and the leader of Dalit's. He has also attended number of conferences and guided the Dalits for their social emancipation.

On his return to India from London after completing his higher education in 1923, Dr. Ambedkar founded '*Bahishkrit Hitakarini Sabha*' on 20 July 1924 with the main objective of spreading education and improving the economic conditions of the Dalits. With the slogan of 'Educate, Agitate and Organize', the social movement led by him, aimed at Annihilation of Caste and the Reconstruction of Indian Society on the basis of equality of human beings. In order to spread education, Sabha established number of hostels, schools and free libraries. He also addressed their issues at number of conferences. Through this organization, he has established himself as the leader of untouchable castes and launched number of satyagrahas to seek their humanitarian rights. Dr. Ambedkar became the nominated member of Bombay Legislative Council in 1926. As a member of the Council, Ambedkar gave effective expression to the grievances of the rural poor through his mass movements. He started a fortnightly Marathi paper '*Bahishkrit Bharat*' (Ex-communicated India) in April 1927 and he himself was the editor. This newspaper became the mouthpiece of his social movement. He also established 'Samaj Samata Sangh' in Sept. 1927 and to spread its activities he also started another newspaper '*Samata*' (Equality) in 1928. As a member of Bombay Legislative Council, he introduced number of bills to end the serfdom of agricultural labourers and peasants like Abolition of Khoti system and Mahar Watan system etc.

Mahad Chavdar Lake Satyagraha (March 1927)

By 1927, Dr. Ambedkar decided to launch active movements against the practice of untouchability. The problems of the downtrodden were centuries old and difficult to overcome. Their entry into temples was forbidden. They could not draw water from public wells and lakes. Dr. Ambedkar started raising the voices of Dalits and transforming their lives. He began to address their questions publically and began his humanitarian struggle. He decided to launch his first Satyagraha from *Mahad* to obtain water from the public lake as it was not allowed for the untouchables. His march to the '*Chavdar Lake*' in Mahad in 1927 was really an historic event. With the resolution moved by Raobahadur S. K. Bole

and passed by the Bombay legislative Council in 1926, the lake was thrown open to all untouchables who could not exercise their rights due to the hostility of the caste Hindus. Hence, it was decided to convene a conference of the untouchable classes at Mahad under the leadership of Dr. Ambedkar. He had presided over a conference on 19 March 1927 at Mahad in Raigad district where he said: "We can attain self-elevation only if we learn self-help and regain our self-respect."



On 20 March 1927, Ambedkar led the peaceful march at Mahad to establish the rights of the Dalits to taste water from the Public *Chavdar* Lake, traditionally prohibited to them. He knelt and drank water from it. After he set this example, thousands of others became courageous enough to follow him. They drank water from the lake and made history. This marked the beginning of civil right movement in India.

It was historic in the sense that for the first time in the history of India the untouchables demonstrated to assert their rights not only to fetch water but also symbolize the event with equal right to fetch drinking water, a gift of nature with others. This act of Dalits was not liked by caste-ridden orthodox Hindus. They attacked the Dalits and beaten them for polluting the water lake and purified water lake by cow-dung and Milk. Ambedkar advised the British government that it was the duty of the government to protect the rights granted to Dalits by law. After few years, due to the efforts of Ambedkar, Dalit's got the legal right to drink water from public wells and lakes. It was really a glorious chapter in the history of Dalit movement in India.

Burning of Manusmriti (25 December 1927)

Dr. Ambedkar held Manusmriti as responsible for the social inequality and the oppressive conditions of the Dalits. In order to

liberate Dalits from the age old slavery of caste ridden Hindu society, he decided to burn Manusmriti which was the symbol of tyranny and injustice. It was supported by Ambedkar's upper caste activists too. Manusmriti was burnt publically at Mahad on 25 December 1927 along with thousands of his followers. This event was symbolically rejecting the rules so specified and the doctrine of inequality at birth on which the caste system was based. It was a historic event which denied the unequal social stratification and demanded for social norms based on modern humanitarian principles. This ended the thousand years of slavery and freed the Dalits from the shackles of virtual bondage.

Nashik Kalaram Temple Entry Satyagraha (1930-1935)

The restriction of the Dalits to enter the temples was another method of perpetuating the social inequality. They had always been forbidden to enter Hindu temples. Dr. Ambedkar used Satyagraha against the restriction on the entry of Dalits in the temples to establish their right to equality in the society and decided to launch satyagraha from Nashik Kalaram Temple. The Temple had been a major place of worship for the Hindu devotees of Rama. The untouchables desired the temple open to them being Hindus, but the trustees did not agree. In order to establish the right to enter into temples, Dr. Ambedkar launched the temple entry Satyagraha on 2 March 1930. It was another landmark in the struggle for human rights and social justice. They used temple satyagraha to launch a wider agitation to raise awareness among the Dalits about their rights and inspire them to achieve their right to equality in the society. To secure the right of entry, he urged his people to hold a satyagraha near the gates of temple. Upper caste Hindus were not ready to open gates for untouchables. The demonstration lasted for a month. Stones were thrown at Ambedkar and his supporters from the temple authorities. During the satyagraha, a fatal life attack on Dr. Ambedkar was made and a fighting of the untouchables and touchable took place. As a result the trustees closed down the temple for a year. Many of the people injured due to this attack. Then also they continued their peaceful agitation under the able guidance of Dadasaheb Gaikwad.

This Satyagraha was lasted up to 1935 but orthodox Hindus didn't open the gates for the Dalits. Finally, Dr. Ambedkar summoned a conference of untouchables on 13th October 1935 at Yeola near Nashik. Babasaheb told the conference; "We have not been able to secure the barest of human rights. I am born a Hindu. I couldn't help it, but I solemnly assure you that I will not die as a Hindu." In this conference he exhorted the depressed classes to leave Hinduism and embrace another religion. He also advised his followers to abandon the Kalaram Temple entry Satyagraha. Babasaheb summoned number of conferences to spread the message of his conversion. This has shaken the very foundation of

Hindu religion. However, Hindu people did not change their approach and attitude towards the Dalits. They continued their restrictions and evil social practices. Finally, Dr. Ambedkar embraced Buddhism on 14 October 1956 at Nagpur.

Check your progress :

- 1) Explain in short the social work of Dr. Ambedkar.

18.4.3 Political work of Dr. Ambedkar

Dr. Ambedkar strived towards the upliftment of downtrodden section of the society. He gave significant importance to political rights of the Dalits. He held number of offices throughout his career which helped him to attain the various political rights for Dalits. He sought the right to franchise, representation in the legislature, participation in the administration etc. for the Dalits in various capacities. Dr. Ambedkar served as a member of the Bombay Legislative Council since 1926 where he gave effective expression to the grievances of the rural poor through his mass movements. On behalf of the Bahishkrit Hitakarni Sabha, Dr. Ambedkar submitted a memorandum to the Simon Commission in 1928 demanding joint electorates with reservation of seats for depressed classes in legislatures and opposed the principle of nomination. Meanwhile, the Indian Freedom Movement had gained momentum under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi. During this period Ambedkar was actively involved in labour movement of Bombay and addressed the problem of Dalit textile workers.

By 1930's Ambedkar had become one of the most prominent political figures of the time. He had grown increasingly critical of mainstream Indian political parties for their perceived lack of

emphasis for the elimination of the caste system. Ambedkar criticized the Indian National Congress and its leader Gandhiji, whom he accused of reducing the untouchable community to a figure of pathos. Ambedkar condemned Gandhiji's support for the caste system and perpetuating untouchability. Ambedkar was also dissatisfied with the failures of British rule and advocated a political identity for untouchables separate from the Congress.



British Prime Minister Ramsey Macdonald organized the Round Table Conferences (1930-1932) at London to decide the future of India, to frame a constitution for India and to discuss the issues of participatory government in India. British Government invited all leaders of India from the different corner of the country. Due to Dr. Ambedkar's prominence and popular support amongst the untouchable community, he was invited to attend the Round Table Conferences to represent untouchable community. Dr. Ambedkar had attended all the three conferences from 1930 to 1932. There he served on almost all the sub-committees including Minority sub-Committee, appointed by the conference. Dr. Ambedkar prepared a draft of the declaration of fundamental rights safeguarding the cultural, religious and economic rights of the untouchables. He also prepared a Scheme of Political Safeguards for the Protection of Depressed classes and asked the separate electorate for Depressed classes in the Future Constitution of Self governing India and submitted it to the minorities' sub-committee.

During the Second Round Table Conference held in 1932, Mahatma Gandhiji fiercely opposed separate electorate for untouchables, though he accepted separate electorate for all other minority groups such as Muslims and Sikhs, saying he feared that separate electorates for untouchables would divide Hindu society for future generations. Dr. Ambedkar logically proved before the conference how Dalits were treated as separate identity by Hindus as they were denied number of humanitarian rights and therefore he asked separate electorate for the depressed classes. A separate electorate would mean that the Dalits would vote for their own candidates and would elect their own representatives however it was opposed by Gandhiji.

British government declared Communal Award on 20 August 1932 and they accepted the demand of Dr. Ambedkar of separate electorate for untouchables. This was not liked by Gandhiji and started fast unto death at Yervada Central jail, Poona to oppose separate electorates granted to the untouchables. Dr. Ambedkar met Gandhi in Yervada jail where discussions were held. Gandhiji's fast provoked great public support across India and orthodox Hindu leaders, Congress politicians and activists organized joint meetings with Ambedkar and his supporters at Yervada. Fearing a communal retaliation and killings of untouchables in the event of Gandhiji's death, Ambedkar agreed for political settlement under massive coercion from the supporters of Gandhi.

On 24 September 1932, Ambedkar and Gandhiji reached an understanding and agreement was reached to. This agreement is known as the Poona Pact. Dr. Ambedkar was rather compelled to sign the Poona Pact against his will sacrificing the interests of his people to save the life of Gandhiji. As per the pact, the Dalits were given reservation instead of separate electorates. The Pact carved out a clear and definite position for the downtrodden on the political scene of the country. Dr. Ambedkar was to later criticize this fast of Gandhi as a gimmick to deny political rights to the untouchables and increase the coercion he had faced to give up the demand for separate electorates. Later on in his lifetime, Dr. Ambedkar opposed this pact and demanded separate electorates again for the Dalits.

Dr. Ambedkar founded his first political party in India entitled 'Independent Labour Party' on 15 August 1936 to contest elections as per the provisions of Government of India Act, 1935 and to voice the grievances of workers and Dalits in India. The aim of the party was to solve the problems of the workers and peasants. The established labour organizations were not taking the issues related to the untouchables in their agenda and programmes. Therefore Ambedkar decided to establish Labour organization to address the issues and problems of downtrodden section of the society. Party won 17 seats in the 1937 Bombay Province Legislative Assembly elections and Babasaheb Ambedkar was also elected as a member.

As a member of the Bombay Legislative Assembly (1937-1939), Dr. Ambedkar gave effective expression to the grievances of the rural poor through his mass movements. He introduced the Khoti abolition bill in Assembly. He organized peasants march on Bombay Assembly and peasants demanded the passing of Dr. Ambedkar's Bill for abolition of the Khoti system. He also introduced Bill to abolish the *Mahar Watan* in the Assembly. He also presented a bill in the Assembly aimed at preventing the malpractices of money-lenders hurting the poor. He organized the

'Bombay Municipal Workers' Union in 1937. During this period, Dr. Ambedkar actively participated in Textile mills strike in Mumbai and condemned Industrial Dispute Bill of 1938. He spoke on the Bill in the Bombay Assembly and bitterly opposed it for its attempt to outlaw the right of workers to strike. He said: "If Congressmen believe that Swaraj is their birth-right, then the right to strike is the birth-right of workers." He has presided number of conferences in which he raised the issues of peasants and workers. Due to his work towards the labour and peasants, he was invited to become the labour minister in the Viceroy's Executive Council in 1942.

Dr. Ambedkar founded the 'All India Scheduled Castes Federation' at Nagpur in 1942 to gather all untouchables into a united political party to work in the social and political field. The All India Depressed Classes Conference was held at Nagpur in July 1942. It formally declared the formation of the All India Scheduled Castes Federation. It performed poorly in the elections held for the Constituent Assembly of India in 1946. However, Dr. Ambedkar was elected to Constituent Assembly from Bengal in November 1946. Party addressed many significant issues pertaining to the weaker section of the society. After independence, Dr. Ambedkar wanted to widen the scope of his party and create the strong opposition party against the Congress by making alliance with other prominent political leaders. He put forwarded the idea of establishing 'Republican Party of India' to his followers but it did not materialize due to his pre-mature death. However Party was founded in October 1957 by his followers.

Check your progress :

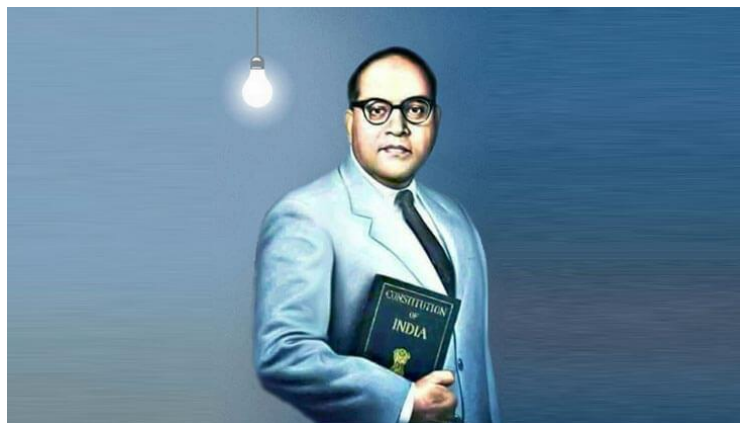
- 1) Explain in short the political work of Dr. Ambedkar.

18.4.4 An Architect of the Constitution – Dr. Ambedkar

The most important thing for which Dr. Ambedkar is known all throughout India is that he was an architect of the Indian Constitution. Though he was unpopular with many leaders of the Indian National Congress and other political parties in post-

independence India, Ambedkar was summoned by the Congress-led Government to take the post of the first Law Minister of independent India. He was also made the Chairman of the Drafting Committee on 29 August 1947. As he was a learned scholar and an eminent lawyer, he was given this crucial task. He used all his experience and knowledge in drafting the Constitution. There are many guarantees and provisions that are provided in the Constitution of India that ensure the general welfare of the common people of the country. One of the greatest contributions of Dr. Ambedkar was in respect of Fundamental Rights and Directive Principles of State Policy enshrined in the Constitution of India. The Fundamental Rights provide for equality, freedom and abolition of Untouchability and remedies to ensure the enforcement of rights.

Dr. Ambedkar held the view that “Only political power cannot be an answer for the ills of the depressed classes. Their salvation lies in their social elevation”. He also formulated laws and systems for women and backward classes in the society. He also tried to eradicate the socio-economic inequalities that prevailed in the Indian society from a long time. He had kept the clauses of the Constitution flexible so that amendments could be made as and when situations demanded. On 26 November 1949, the Constitution of India was finally adopted by the Constituent Assembly in the name of the people of India. In spite of his ill-health, he completed the work of constitution in prescribed time by working day and night. His efforts were highly appreciated by all members of Constituent Assembly including the President, Dr. Rajendra Prasad. Therefore, in true sense, he is known as an architect of Indian Constitution.



Indian Constitution has been considered as one of the greatest constitutions of the world and Dr. Ambedkar was acknowledged by Colombia University by conferring him the degree of Doctorate in Law. He prescribed number of articles for the overall development of country in general and Dalits in particular. The majority of India's constitutional provisions are either directly arrived at furthering the aim of social revolution or attempt to foster this

revolution by establishing conditions necessary for its achievement. His work in the Constituent Assembly has an acclaimed the greatest patriotic services in serving his nation.

18.4.5 Economic Thoughts of Dr. Ambedkar

Dr. Ambedkar was an economist by his basic training. His writing on economics covered a wide range of interrelated issues, including economic development and planning, the capitalist system, alternative economics of the caste system and Hindu social order. He wrote three scholarly books on economics:

- (i) Administration and Finance of the East India Company,
- (ii) The Evolution of Provincial Finance in British India, and
- (iii) The Problem of the Rupee: Its Origin and Its Solution

A distinctive feature of Dr. Ambedkar's scholarly contribution is his perceptive analysis of economic dimension of social maladies, such as, the caste system and untouchability. While Mahatma Gandhi had defended the caste system on the basis of division of labour, Ambedkar came out with a hard-hitting critique in his book '*Annihilation of Caste*' (1936), pointing out that what was implicit in the caste system was not merely division of labour but also a division of labourers. Dr. Ambedkar's attack on the caste system was not merely aimed at challenging the hegemony of the upper castes but had broader connotation of economic growth and development. He argued that the caste system had reduced the mobility of labour and capital which in turn, impeded economic growth and industrial development in India.

As a Labour Minister of the Viceroy's Executive Council from 1942 to 1946, Dr. Ambedkar was instrumental in bringing about several legislative measures to protect the rights of labourers and workers including establishment of employment exchanges, generally laying the foundations of industrial relations in Independent India. His ministry also included irrigation and power. He played an important role in shaping the irrigation policy, especially the Damodar Valley Project and Hirakud Multipurpose Project.

In his memorandum submitted to the British Government titled '*States and Minorities*' in 1947, Dr. Ambedkar laid down a strategy for India's economic development. The strategy placed "an obligation on the State to plan the economic life of the people on lines which would lead to highest point of productivity without closing every avenue to private enterprise and also provide for the equitable distribution of wealth". He put forward the concept of State Socialism and nationalization of key industries.

After Independence, even while drafting the Indian Constitution as the Chairman of Drafting Committee in 1948-49, the economist in Dr. Ambedkar was very much alive. He strongly recommended democracy as the 'governing principle of human relationship' but emphasized that principles of equality, liberty and fraternity which are the cornerstones of democracy should not be interpreted narrowly in terms of the political rights alone. He emphasized the social and economic dimensions of democracy and warned that political democracy cannot succeed when there is no social and economic democracy. He gave an expression to the objective of economic democracy by incorporating the Directive Principles of State Policy in the Indian Constitution.

Check your progress :

- 1) Explain in short the economic thoughts of Dr. Ambedkar.

18.4.6 Educational work of Dr. Ambedkar

Dr. Ambedkar considered education as an important tool for developing self confidence among the Dalits and for promoting their welfare. He founded *Bharatiya Bahishkrit Shikshan Prasarak Mandal* for spreading education among the Dalits. The main message to Dalits on education was 'educate, organize and agitate'. He gave maximum importance to three principles of self-respect, self-reliance and self-upliftment which for him could be achieved through education. He has founded 'Bahishkrit Hitakarini Sabha' on 20 July 1924 with the main objective of spreading education and improving the economic conditions of the depressed classes. In order to spread education, Sabha established number of hostels, schools and free libraries. He demanded scholarship to for the untouchable students to pursue higher education in foreign universities.

Dr. Ambedkar considered education as an important means of social change. He has founded 'People's Education Society' in Mumbai in 1945. He opened number of schools, colleges and hostels under the auspices of this society throughout Maharashtra. He started Siddharth College at Mumbai in 1946, Milind College at Aurangabad in 1950 and Siddharth College of Commerce and Economics at Mumbai in 1953. He also took initiative to establish

separate university for Marathwada. Thousands of students took education in these institutions. In this way, Ambedkar did a tremendous work in the field of education.

Check your progress :

- 1) Explain in short the educational work of Dr. Ambedkar.

18.5 SUMMARY

Thus, we can say that Ambedkar's legacy as a socio-political reformer had a deep effect on modern India. In post-Independence India, his socio-political thought has acquired respect across the political spectrum. His initiatives have influenced various spheres of life and transformed the way India today looks at socio-economic policies, education and affirmative action through socio-economic and legal incentives. He is one of the greatest social revolutionary of India. He obtained political and social rights for the Dalits. The major achievement of Dr. Ambedkar was that he succeeded in getting an identity and self-respect for the Dalits. He adopted the means of constitutional movements and self-reliance among the weaker section.

Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar played a pivotal role in the building of democratic movement in India. As a chief architect of constitution of India, he mobilized democratic revolution in India in general and Dalits in specific. His reputation as a scholar led to his appointment as free India's first law minister, and chairman of the Drafting committee responsible to draft a constitution. He passionately believed in the freedom of the individual and criticized orthodox caste ridden Hindu society. His condemnation of Hinduism and its foundation of caste system, made him controversial, although his conversion to Buddhism sparked a revival in interest in Buddhist philosophy in India and abroad. His life and mission was devoted for the upliftment of depressed classes in India. He performed the task of awakening India's millions of excluded and oppressed to their human rights. He contributed immensely towards the economic development of our

country too. In order to pay homage to his greatest service to the country, he was posthumously awarded 'Bharat Ratna' in 1991.

18.6 ADDITIONAL READINGS

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20. Rosalind O'Hanlon, *Caste Conflict And Ideology: Mahatma Jotirao Phule And Low Caste Protest in Ninetieth Century Western India*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1985
21. Sumit Sarkar, *Modern India 1885-1947*, Macmillan, Madras, 1996.
22. Valerian Rodrigues, *The Essential Writings of Ambedkar*, Oxford University Press, Delhi, 2002.

18.7 QUESTIONS

- 11) Explain the work of various social reformers in the upliftment of Dalits.
- 12) Discuss the various social movements launched by Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar.
- 13) Give details of political party founded by Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar.
- 14) Explain the role of Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar towards the upliftment of Dalit.
- 15) Discuss the various satyagrahas of Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar for the attainment of humanitarian rights of Dalits.
- 16) Describe the political work of Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar and assess its significance.
- 17) Assess the educational work of Dr. B.R. Ambedkar.



PEASANTS AND TRIBALS

PEASANTS

Unit Structure:

- 19.0 Objectives
- 19.1 Introduction
- 19.2 Causes of Peasants Unrests in India
- 19.3 Deccan Riots of 1875
- 19.4 Contribution of Reformers towards the Peasant Movement
 - 19.4.1 Mahatma Jotirao Phule
 - 19.4.2 Vitthal Ramji Shinde and Peasants' Problem
 - 19.4.3 Contribution of Sane Guruji
 - 19.4.4 Senapati Bapat and Mulshi Satyagraha
 - 19.4.5 Dr. B.R. Ambedkar and Peasant Movement
- 19.5 Indian National Congress and the Peasants
- 19.6 Tribal Uprisings
- 19.7 The Uprising of the Ramoshis
- 19.8 The Uprising of the Kolis
- 19.9 The Bhil Uprising
- 19.10 The Revolt of the Gadkari
- 19.11 The Gond Uprising
- 19.12 The Tribal Movement in Bengal

19.13 Summary

19.14 Additional Readings

19.15 Questions

19.0 OBJECTIVES

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

20. Analyze the study the peasants' unrest in India.
21. Understand the contribution of various social reformers towards the peasants' movement.
22. Study the work of Indian National Congress to address the peasants' problem.
23. Understand the study the historical background of tribal uprisings in India.
24. Study the Ramoshis uprisings in Maharashtra.
25. Analyze the Bhills and Kolis uprisings in Maharashtra.
26. Study the tribal movement in Bengal.

19.1 INTRODUCTION

The advent of the British was welcomed by the liberals of higher castes educated people for its liberalism and system of education. The orthodox forces opposed the British out of fear that the British culture, language and liberalism might corrupt the Indian customs and traditions. In reality both these forces were benefitted by the British administrative system. On the contrary the lower classes such as peasants, tribals and Dalits were more ruthlessly exploited by the British system of administration which was exploitative in nature. The public organization seems to neglect the prime issues of these oppressed classes. The traditional set up of cultivators was shattered due to the uninterrupted interference of the British. They could salience the revolt of these people because it was easy for to crush them as their revolts were isolated. However the brave fight of the peasants is the golden page in the history of downtrodden in India. Now their heroic struggle against the mighty British rule is well recognized by the majority of the historians.

In India, the agrarian discontent against the British rule was due to the exploitative agrarian policy of the British rule. The heavy

land tax fixed by the land settlement, fall in agricultural produce, growing poverty of the agricultural masses and their indebtedness added to the miseries of the peasants. The British neglected the agricultural industry and their alliance with the moneylenders created serious unrest in the minds of the peasants. The British company uprooted the peasant and the tribal of western India who had opposed vigorously their exploitive economic policies and tried to throw them out of the country.

The advent of the British rule was welcomed by the liberals of higher castes educated people for its liberalism and system of education. On the contrary the lower classes such as peasants, tribals and Dalits were more ruthlessly exploited by the British system of administration which was exploitative in nature. The public organizations seem to neglect the prime issues of these oppressed classes. Unlike others, tribals' survival was at stake. The traditional set up of tribals was shattered due to the uninterrupted interference of the British. They could silence the revolt of these people because it was easy for them to crush tribals who were living aloof life. However the brave fight of the tribals is the golden page in the history of the subaltern. Now their heroic struggle against the mighty British rule is well recognized by the majority of the historians. The revolt normally began when the tribes felt oppressed and had no other way but to fight. The tribes organized themselves for an armed resistance. These tribal people though no match for the modern military might of the British rule, their struggle against the colonial power, provided inspiration to the other people. The fight of tribals with the British added a glorious chapter in history of Modern India.



Indian tribals revolted against Britishers when they tried to exploit them. The tribal uprising was the resistance against the Zamindars, moneylenders and the British rule. Tribal were living an independent and the excluded life. They enjoyed maximum immunity from the native rulers of India. The greedy British rule tried to exploit natural resources and that was strongly opposed by

tribals. Birsa Munda started the movement and revolted against the British rule. Number of tribal leaders like Umaji Naik, Ramaji Bhungere and Baburao Gond offered heroic resistance to the mighty British rule and to bring an end of their unjust rule. In areas inhabited by tribal peoples such as Gonds, Santhals or Kolis and Bhils, rebellion was frequent as the changes introduced by the British administration invaded the socio-economic structure of their communities. The British East India Company uprooted the tribals of India who had opposed vigorously their exploitive economic policies and tried to throw them out from the country. Number of tribal revolts took place in India which was supported by local people who were subjugated by Officers of the East India Company. In this unit, we will study all these revolts and try to understand their contribution in Indian freedom struggle.

19.2 CAUSES OF PEASANTS UNRESTS IN INDIA

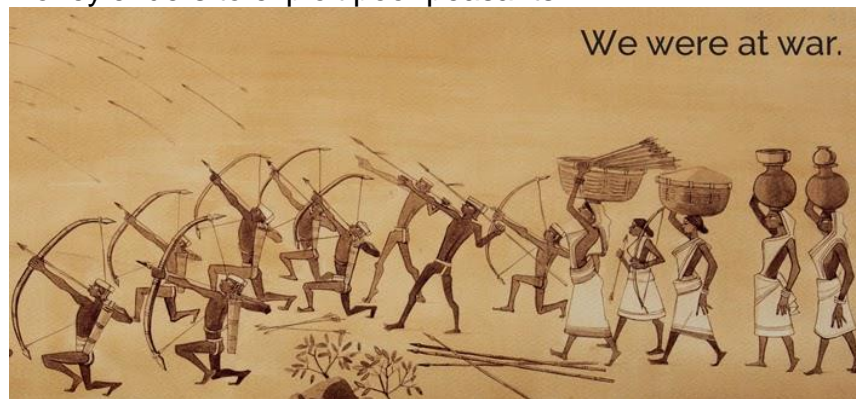
In India majority of the people were cultivators. The agrarian discontent against the British rule was due to the exploitative agrarian policy of the British rule. The heavy land tax fixed by the land settlement, fall in agricultural produce, growing poverty of the agricultural masses and their indebtedness added to the miseries of the peasants. The British neglected the agricultural industry and their alliance with the moneylenders created serious unrest in the minds of the people. As the insurrections of the Bhills, Kolis and the Ramoshis took place, the peasants in Maharashtra also raised the standard of revolt in the latter half of the Nineteenth century. This unrest affected the areas of Poona, Satara, Ahmednagar and Solapur. That was the result of the long standing grievances, oppression and unrest in the peasant community.

Causes of Peasant's Unrest in India:

- 1) Cultivation was the profession of a majority of people in India. The Indian society was primarily an agrarian in the 19th century. The rural people engaged in the cultivation. Land was the only source of livelihood for them. So the policy of British Government related with the agricultural sector was likely to affect them.
- 2) The British introduced a new land revenue system to collect the taxes from the agricultural sector. They introduced Rayatwari system, in which land settlement was done with individual who occupied the land. Though it was not as harsh as Zamindari in Bengal, the peasants found it difficult to pay the taxes to the British government. The condition of the peasant was worse due to the scanty rainfall and lower prices of grains. The increasing burden on land and increasing land revenue all resulted in the

indebtedness of the peasants. This resulted in the miserable condition of the peasants.

- 3) In the early days of occupation, the British government brought changes in the mode of land settlement. The Sincere efforts were made to modify system to promote cultivation. With the outbreak of American civil war (1861-65), there was an increase in demand of Indian cotton in England. It seemed that Indian peasants were enjoying prosperity. However this temporary boon was soon ended. With the end of American civil war, American cotton replaced the demand of Indian cotton. Peasants suffered due to this event. They were not prepared to face the changed circumstances and this led to the further problems in their life.
- 4) The moneylenders were the exploiter of the poor peasantry. There was an evil union between moneylenders and the British government. The government used to take enough care to save the money lenders from the wrath of the poor peasants. But they never took any initiative to solve the peasant's problems. British had given land an exchange value so it became easier for the moneylenders to confiscate the mortgaged property of the peasants. The limitation of the law encouraged the moneylenders to exploit poor peasants.



- 5) From 1832 to 1872 the population was growing rapidly. This led to an increased burden on the land. Moreover the artisans and soldiers, who were deprived of their work due to the arrival of new regime, engaged themselves in the agrarian sector. This led to increasing burden on the agricultural sector because a land was not so fertile as to accommodate all the elements of the society.
- 6) The economic policies of the British rulers such as new land revenue system, colonial administration and ruins of handicrafts resulted in the increasing burden on land. This transformed the agrarian structure and extra burden on land led to the impoverishment of the peasants. East India Company

introduced various experiments and their various methods of revenue settlement led to the rising misery of the peasants. The cultivator became landless labour in their own land. They just wanted to collect taxes from the peasants. The revenue was collected without mercy. In Deccan natural calamities like floods and famines added to the impoverishment of peasants. They were exploited by the moneylenders who usually confiscated their land for failure to repay their debt.

On such background it was but natural the cultivators became rebellious against the British. This led to the Deccan riots of 1875.

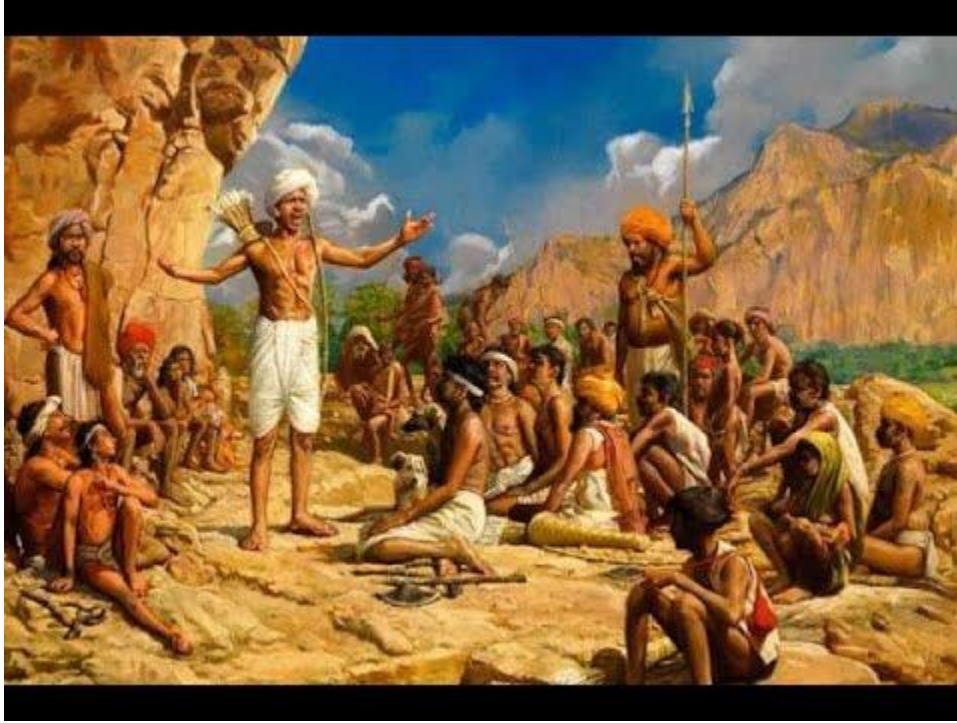
Check your progress :

2) Discuss in brief the causes of peasant's unrest in India.

19.3 DECCAN RIOTS OF 1875

During this period peasants in western India had to face number of problems due to several reasons which led to Peasants' unrest in the Deccan and riots broke out in 1875. The life of cultivator was not easy. It was full of hardship. The first period of three decades after the British conquest led to the economic depression. The cultivators were harassed by moneylenders. They began to press for the recovery of debt. Peasant's failure to pay interest or loan further added problems. Moneylenders saw as an opportunity to confiscate the land of the peasant. The riots were only a symptom of the condition prevailing in rural Deccan in the later part of the 19th Century. The majority of poor people were born in debt, and die in debt. Moneylenders in Maharashtra used to lend money at higher interest. The poor land labourers and peasants could never repay the original amount of debt for they could pay only interest of the debt. The Marwadi moneylenders have no any kind of sympathy with the poor villagers. The Government and moneylenders used to exploit poor peasants. This resulted into hopeless state of distress growing among the agricultural

population of the Deccan. As a result, the lands of people began to pass in the hands of moneylenders.

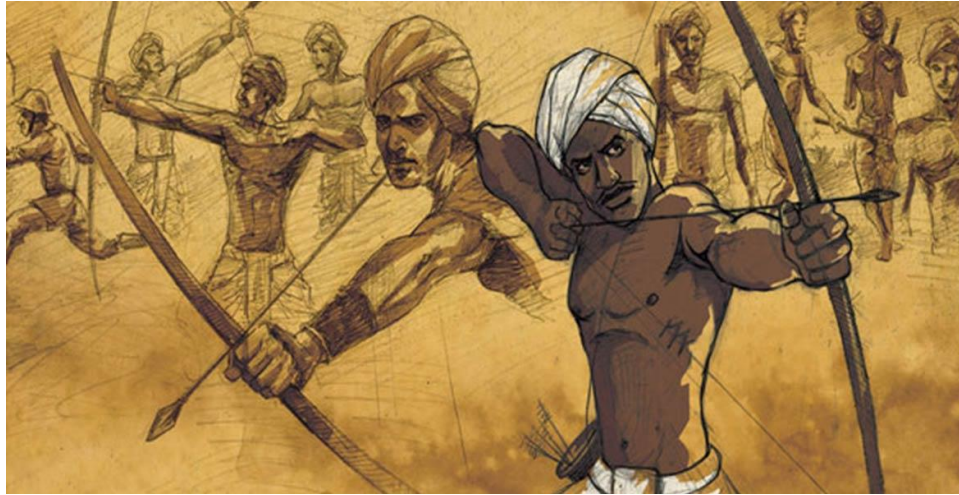


At the end of 1874 their feelings against the moneylenders burnt into flame and their unrest exploded into violence in the village of Sirur taluka in Poona. The people of the village declared social and economic boycott on the moneylenders. The moneylenders were forced to flee the village. The first outbreak of violence occurred at Supa in Pune where the houses of the money lenders were attacked by the people. The riots spread rapidly to the other parts of Pune. The riots of 1875 in Pune and Ahmadnagar were rooted in acute agrarian distress. The riots were the reaction to the extreme exploitation of the peasants by the moneylenders. In 1873-74 the hill tribes of the western part of Pune and Ahmadnagar took up arms against moneylenders under the leadership of Honya an influential Koli leader. The Koli tribes started struggles against the moneylenders. Many of them were robbed and physically attacked. However Honya was caught in 1876. The British government finally appointed a commission to report of the causes of riots and to suggest measures to overcome.

Deccan Riot Commission

Soon it became clear that the riot against the moneylenders was not just problem of law and order. The problem was rooted in the merciless exploitation of the peasantry. Hence the Government appointed a commission to inquire, the causes of the riots. The Deccan Riot commission found that the indebtedness of peasantry had grown to an extreme level. Their inquiries showed that only one third of the land was retained by the cultivator. Rest of the land was

confiscated by the moneylenders. The interest of the debt was so high that the debt was nearly double than the capital volume of the debt. Commission came to conclusion that feeling of bitterness or hatred towards the moneylenders was due to excessive exploitation of the peasants. By studying all the facts founded by commission, British government passed the 'Deccan Agricultural Relief Act of 1879' to provide financial relief to the peasants.



Check your progress :

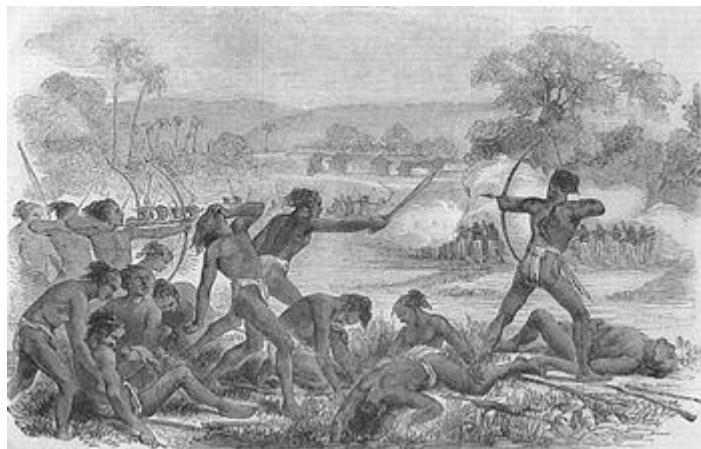
1) Explain in short the Deccan Riots of 1875.

19.4 CONTRIBUTION OF REFORMERS TOWARDS THE PEASANT MOVEMENT

19.4.1 Mahatma Jotirao Phule

Mahatma Jotirao Phule was a symbol of revolt against all oppressed classes in the India. He had dedicated his entire life in the service of the neglected and exploited classes. Jotirao decided to create an awakening among the farmers. To study the problem of farmers, he traveled on foot through many villages and went place to place. He held meetings of the farmers to create an awakening among them. He explained to them the ideas how to improve agricultural production. Through his writing, he brought to the notice of the general public, the miserable condition in which the farmers lived.

He shed light on the exploitation at the farmers by revenue department police official and irrigation authorities like Talathi, Kulkarni and Mamledar. In the year 1885 the moneylender and landlords near Junnar were found to be harassing the farmers with high rate of interest. The farmers filed a petition with about five thousand signature and sent it to the government. Jotirao went to the Junnar and actively participated in the movement. He explained the misery of the farmers to the government. At the end the moneylenders and landlords decided to reduce the rates of interest. The farmers again went to work.



Santhal Rebellion.

Jotirao also exposed the exploitative nature of Brahmanism which led to the exploitation of peasants. He wrote a book entitled 'cultivators whipcord' in which he narrated the sorrows of the cultivators. He came to conclusion that the intellect, moral progress and wealth, vanished due to the lack of education. So he urged the peasants to take education. The book was written with a view to discuss some of these reasons behind the problems of the peasant.

According to Jotirao, all white European officials are absorbed in indulgence in pleasure and all government departments have a majority of Brahmin officials. These people had nothing to do with the problems of the peasants.

Jotirao established 'Satyashodhak Samaj' to free the exploited elements in the societies like peasants, shudratishadras and women. Satyashodhak Samaj started weekly journal 'Deenbandhu'. Krishnrao Bhalekar became the editor in chief of Deenbandhu. The problems of the peasants were highlighted in Deenbandhu. Jotirao Phule made demand to the government regarding establishment of hostels for the children of peasants. He also made appeal to government to fix a reasonable assessment of land and to free farmers from ignorance and superstition. He addressed the sorrows of the peasants to the Duke of Canaught when he visited Pune in 1888.

19.4.2 Vitthal Ramji Shinde and Peasants' Problem

Vitthal Ramji Shinde, one of the great social reformers of Maharashtra was born in a peasant family. His family suffered miseries at the hands of moneylenders. The peasant movement at 1920 in western Maharashtra was a child of the Non Brahmin Movement of Ssatyashodhak Movement.

In 1928 to avert the calamity of Small Holding bill, Shinde came forward to assume the leadership of the causes of the peasants in the critical moment. This bill created great unrest among the farmers. When the peasants were properly roused in the Bombay presidency, 'peasants' conference' was held at Ray Market in Pune with V. R. Shinde as the president. Shinde criticized the Indian ministers of the government, He pointed out that, the corrupt officers, clerks and the moneylenders had deprived the peasants of his land.

19.4.3 Contribution of Sane Guruji

Pandurang Sadashiv Sane, popularly known as Sane Guruji played important role in peasant movement. Though teacher by profession, he was a devoted follower of Gandhiji. He had dedicated his entire life in the service of Maharashtra. In 1939 the Khandesh region was devastated due to the heavy rainfall. He toured the region and demanded the tax exemption on land. He took great effort to make Faizpur session of congress successful.



Sane guruji

19.4.4 Senapati Bapat and Mulshi Satyagrah

In 1921, Senapati Bapat launched the Mulshi Satyagrah to save the lands of cultivators from submersion under the Mulshi dam. He demanded the loss of the peasants should be combated with money. At last in 1923, all the demands of the peasants were agreed upon.

19.4.5 Dr. B.R. Ambedkar and Peasant Movement

Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, *alias* as Babasaheb Ambedkar, was one of the most illustrious sons of India. He appeared on the Indian socio-political scene in early 1920's and remained in the forefront of all social, economic, political and religious movements for the upliftment of the lowest stratum of the Indian society. He was par excellence, a spokesman of the ignored humanity, the labourers, peasants and tenants and industrial labourers. As a member of the Bombay Legislature (1927 to 1942), Ambedkar gave effective expression to the grievances of the rural poor through his mass movements. His successful agitation against *Mahar Vatan* emancipated a large section of the rural poor from virtual serfdom. His successful struggle against the prevailing land tenure system called Khoti and he wanted to liberate a vast majority of the rural poor from an extreme form of economic exploitation. He has submitted two separate bills to end the unjust and cruel practice of *Mahar Vatan* and Khoti system but it was opposed by landlords of Konkan and members of Congress party. He organized a peasant march on Bombay Legislative Assembly on 10th March 1938 in association with Communist leaders and it was participated by more than 10000 peasants. He also led Chirner Satyagraha of peasants. He has also presented a bill in the State Assembly aimed at preventing the malpractices of money-lenders hurting the poor peasants.

Dr. Ambedkar established a political party called the 'Independent Labour party' on 15th August 1936 to address the

issues of peasants, landless labourers and textile workers. Under the banner of this new party a comprehensive programme with the immediate needs and grievance of the landless poor tenants, agriculturists and workers was taken up. As a labour minister in Viceroy's Executive Council (1942-1946), he makes various laws for the betterment of peasants' class.

Check your progress :

1) Explain in short the work of reformers towards the Peasant movement.

19. 5 INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS AND THE PEASANTS

Indian National Congress was founded in 1885 and it addressed the problem of peasants in India from the beginning of Moderate phase. Extremist leaders also raised the grievances of peasants' class. Mahatma Gandhi involved number of peasants in all his movements. During this time, all his movements became mass movements due to the participation of various classes especially peasants. Peasants' problems were also raised in various sessions of the Congress. It was for the first time that Indian National Congress held its session at rural area. Faizpur was a rural area in Khandesh in Maharashtra. A large number of peasants participated in the session. The session passed a large number of resolutions of the welfare of the peasants. The session demanded the deferment of the recovery of loans from farmers. It also demanded an adequate minimum wages to the landless labourers. The president of the session Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru asked the workers and peasants to participate in the activities of the congress. Congress and its leaders criticized the British rule for the exploitation of peasants and motivated them to fight against the injustice of Britishers.

19.6 TRIBAL UPRISINGS

Indian tribes revolted against the Britishers, soon after the establishment of their authority over India. Britishers were opposed in various parts of India. In Maharashtra the hilly tribes offered stiff resistance to the British rule. Tribals like Ramoshi, Koli, Bhil, Gadakari, Gond and many others opposed British imperialistic policies through their revolts. It was not just tribal revolt but it was important step to overthrow the British regime. The tribal revolts did not take place suddenly. The roots of these revolts lie in the exploitation of the tribal by the evil nexus of Zamindars, moneylenders and the British rulers. There are many factors that led to the tribal revolts against the British rule. The Causes of their revolts are as follows:

- 1) The tribes were not happy with the growing influence of the British in their own area of influence. From many years they had been living peacefully with the nature. The Mughals and the Deccan kingdoms hardly interfere in their day of day life. However the British desire of exploiting the natural resources made them rebel and stand of against the government.
- 2) Most of the tribes like Ramoshis and Kolis attacked moneylenders. Moneylenders exploited poor and illiterate tribals. There was growing discontent among the tribals regarding this exploitation. Their chief aim was to teach lesson to the moneylenders who uses to cheat poor ignorant tribals. The moneylenders had protection of the British government. So naturally they got evolved against the British rule.
- 3) The British wished to create a monopoly over forest. Unlike Indian ruler, the British could not understand the attachment of the tribes to their original inhabitation. They lived in hilly regions and forests. They lived in harmony with the nature. They didn't like the British attitude of exploitation of natural wealth for the sake of their material development. The suzerainty of Britishers over their forest zones, creation of reserved forests and attempt to monopolize forest wealth made the tribes rebellious.
- 4) The British disrupted the traditional economic set up. They devoid the tribal people of their traditional economic set up and hence the tribals were forced to serve as menial labourers and miners. They were instigated against British by the hostile personalities like Vasudev Phadke, Trimbak Denge and Umaji Naik.

19.7 THE UPRISING OF THE RAMOSHIS

Ramoshis also known as Berad was a nomadic tribe of hunter gatherers found in a large scale in western Maharashtra. They served as a fighting force in the Maratha army, well known for their bravery. In the early nineteenth century the commercial British national forest policy and the conflict it created over forest use forced them to start struggle against British rule. After the final defeat of the Marathas in 1818, the British administration of the Bombay Province found it difficult to suppress the activities of Ramoshis. Since the Maratha rule was over, they became unemployed. They were working in police administration of Maratha with the introduction of the British administrative set up the local tribes like Ramoshis and Bhills were neglected. Most of them were removed from job. This led to the rising discontent in their mind against the British. Though Ramoshis were unemployed they were confident of themselves as they were armed. They were ready to join anyone who would provide them suitable employment. The economic problems created by famine and British regime had adverse effect on the people.

The Ramoshis led the banner of revolt under their spirited leader Umaji Naik. He and his associate Bapu Trimbakji revolted against the British rule. Their revolt caused a lot of trouble for the British rule. They lived in forest and people had sympathy for them, since they did not harm the poor people. On the contrary they attacked the moneylenders and rich people who were exploiting the masses. From 1828 to 1829 their rule was the ultimate in the hills around the fort of Torna. Though their leader Umaji was captured and put to death by the British they never lost their struggle. Ramoshis were so troublesome that after few years, British tried to pacify them by granting lands as well as recruiting them as hill police.

19.8 THE UPRISING OF THE KOLIS

The kolis were neighbours of the Bhills and lived in the country both above and below the Sahyadri in the Thane. They were scattered over the whole area from the border of Kutch to the Western Ghats. By nature, they were fighting race. In 1824, Kolis of Gujarat burnt and plundered village. For the British rule, it was the first taste of their might. It was only the use of force that could stop the activities of kolis.

Leadership of Ramaji Bhungere

Ramaji Bhungere, a Koli officer who resigned the government service raised the standard of revolt in 1828. The large number of Kolis joined him, since most of them became

unemployed due to the British advancement. Government sent troops to suppress the revolt. The Kolis were inspired by the example of the Ramoshiss. They got support of common people in their struggle against the British. They plundered a large number of villages in the Sahyadri. They were also joined by others dissatisfied leaders of Maratha nobility such as Chimaji Jadhav, Bhau Khare. The rebels declared the change of the Government in the name of Peshwa. But the British government put down the revolt. Soon many Kolis were captured and put to death. However the spirit of Koli community was not destroyed.

They broke into revolt again in 1844. This time Raghu Bhungere was their leader. They raided several villages. The police and the Kolis experienced many skirmishes. They attacked police station and killed many police men. It is interesting to note that during the Koli rebellion of May 1845, the leaders of the Ramoshis uprising had also joined the Kolis at Purandar in Pune. In 1845 the rebellion spread in Purandar. Though Bapu Bhungere was captured the Koli continued their struggle till 1850. By 1850 the first phase of Koli rebellion had been suppressed. In 1873 Honya an influential Koli raised a well trained band of followers in the Poona. This time the moneylenders were main target of Kolis. Honya was against the moneylenders because they cheated the poor tribesmen. Though he was caught in 1815 the spirit of rebellion never ceased. Between May to July 1875 many moneylenders were targeted. British decided to crush the rebellion of kolis so they sent many able officers to put an end to revolt of Koli.

19.9 THE BHILL UPRISING

The Bhills were primitive and predatory tribes living in settlement scattered in the western Maharashtra. Khandesh was the stronghold of the Bhills. They controlled the mountain passes between the north and the south. In countryside they were cultivators. However in hilly region, they carried on plunder of the rich landlords. They had suffered exploitation at the hand of British. The British occupied the Khandesh in 1818. This increased the suspicion in the minds of the Bhills. So they took shelter in hilly region of Satpuda and carried their activities from there. The Satpuda region became the base of their military operations.

In 1817 the Bhills rebelled against the British. Economic distress, famine and the ill governance of the British led them to the uprising. It was suspected that this uprising was caused at the instigation of Trimbakji Denge, the noble of Peshwa Bajirao II. When British pressurized Bajirao to arrest Trimbakji, the Bhills turned anti British and revolted against them. The British

succeeded in suppressing the Bhills rising by military actions and by conciliatory approach. Bhill uprising in 1819 led to the devastation of neighboring region. The British adopted brutal method to uproot Bhills. Their settlement of Bhills was destroyed and many of them killed. Then also many Bhills continued their struggle. Taking advantage of the British reverse in Burmese war in 1825 the Bhills again rebelled. They challenged British authority from time to time. The British policy of suppression and conciliation seemed to pacify them at last. But it took too much time. In this way, Bhills tried to oppose the British rule.

Check your progress:

- 1) Explain the Ramoshis and Bhills uprisings in India.

19.10 THE REVOLT OF GADKARI

Gadkari used to garrison the Maratha forts and enjoyed land grants for their service. After the third Anglo Maratha war, their services were dispensed and they were required to pay revenues for the lands they held. The British took away some other customary privilege of the Gadkaris. These activities spread discontent among the soldiers and common people against the British. This led to the rising of Gadkaris. The local military commanders also joined them. Gadkari rising became a general popular revolt against the British. The fire of rebellion spread neighboring states also. The rebels captured the forts of Panhala and Pavangad. The Bombay government took extensive steps to suppress the revolt. After the intensive military campaign, the British finally succeeded in suppressing the risings of the Gadkaris.

19.11 THE GOND UPRISING

Maratha power was the last regime which was defeated by the British. Bhosale of Nagpur was one of the important center of

Maratha might. However after the end of their rule, British were free to introduce their administrative system in the Nagpur region. Within three years of their assuming charge of Chandrapur, the British had to face a trouble in the area. A large part of Chandrapur district was covered with thick forest populated mainly by Gonds. Several Zamindars also were related to the Raj Gond families of Chandrapur. A number of Raj Gond had helped Appasaheb Bhosale in his struggle against the British.

Taking advantage of the revolt of 1857 the Gond Zamindar of Adapalli and Ghot revolted against the British. They gathered a considerable force of Gonds and brought Rajgad Pargana under his control. British sent army to suppress the Gond rebellion. Baburao Gond attacked the English camp in the Aheri province and looted it. English army did find it difficult to suppress the Gond revolt. However treachery played the trick. Baburao Gond was captured and hanged to death. The rising of Chadrapur was spontaneous. Though Gond did not become successful, their heroic efforts inspired the others.

Check your progress:

- 1) Explain in brief the revolt of Gadkari and Gond uprisings in India.

19.12 TRIBAL MOVEMENT IN BENGAL

The tribal movement in the north western Bengal from 1824 to 1932 was also considered as an important struggle of Modern period. Tribal leader, Jitu Santhal began this movement in Malda area of Bengal, which was against the landlords, who used to exploit the tribal as their tenants. The movement began when the exploitation became exorbitant and unbearable. It took the shape of tenant agitation against the landlord and continued till 1932 when some of the tribals were shot dead.

Check your progress:

2) Explain in short the tribal movement in the Bengal.

19.13 SUMMARY

Thus, from the above discussion it is clear that peasants gave stiff resistance to the unjust and inhuman policies of the British government and moneylenders. Though they failed to over through the British rule, they inspired the other fellow citizens to unite and to oppose the British policies. Peasants in India, with their increased consciousness, which was created due to peasant movement by various leaders, participated in the Indian National movement to over through the British rule and to teach lesson to landlords and moneylenders. Due to their support and participation in Indian freedom struggle, India got independence in 1947.

From the above discussion it is clear that the tribals gave stiff resistance to the unjust and inhuman policies of the British government and moneylenders. Though they failed to over through the British rule, they inspired the other fellow citizens to unite and to oppose the British policies. The freedom fighters and the leaders of Indian National Movement appreciated the efforts of Ramoshis, Bhills, and Kolis. Due to their support and participation in Indian freedom struggle, India got independence in 1947.

19.14 ADDITIONAL READINGS

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19.15 QUESTIONS

- 18) Discuss the factors led to the peasant's unrest in India.
- 19) Write a detailed note on Deccan riots of 1875.
- 20) Explain the contribution of various leaders in peasant movement in India.
- 21) Describe the work of Indian National Congress towards the peasant movement in India.
- 22) Trace the history of tribal uprisings in India.
- 23) Describe the tribal uprisings in Maharashtra with special reference to Ramoshi and Bhill.
- 24) Discuss the Koli and Gond uprisings in Western India.
- 25) Explain in detail the tribal movement in Bengal.

