

Dedicated for Helping Civil Services Aspirants!





सत्यमेव जयते

Modern History



Summary of Modern History

Sources for the History of Modern India

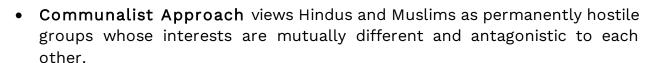
- Archival Materials consist of public, private and foreign repositories Public Archives include the archives of the Governments of India, archives of state governments, archives of the three Presidencies of Bengal, Madras and Bombay, and judicial records.
- Private Archives Papers and documents of individuals and families of note who played a significant role in the development of modern India.
- Foreign Repositories Indian office Records in London, Record Office, Lahore, etc.
- Biographies and Memoirs Accounts of travellers, traders, missionaries and civil servants during the 18th and 19th centuries as well as memoirs written by Indian leaders during Independence movement.
- Newspapers and Journals Published in India as well as abroad.
- Others Oral tradition, creative literature, painting.

Major Approaches to the History of Modern India

Different Approaches

- Colonial Approach is influenced by the colonial ideology of domination. It focuses on criticism of indigenous society and culture, and praises the Western culture and values. James Mill, Vincent Smith etc., followed this approach.
- Nationalist Approach evolved as a response to and in confrontation with the colonial approach. Before independence, this school dealt with the ancient and medieval periods of Indian history, and not the modern period. After independence this school focused on modern India. R.C. Majumdar and Tara Chand belonged to this school.
- Marxist Approach focuses on the primary contradiction between the interests of the colonial masters and the native subjects. It also takes notice of the inner contradictions between the different sections of Indian society. R.P. Dutt and A.R. Desai were noted Marxist historians of India.
- **Subaltern Approach** takes the position that the entire tradition of Indian historiography has an elitist bias and the role of the common masses has been neglected. Ranajit Guha belonged to this school.





- Cambridge School envisages Indian nationalism as a product of conflicts among the Indians themselves for getting the benefits from the British rulers. For them Indian nationalist leaders were inspired by the greed of power and material benefits.
- Liberal and Neo-liberal Interpretations imply that the economic exploitation of the colonies was not beneficial to the people of Britain as it delayed the development of the 'new' industries in Britain.
- Feminist Historiography focuses on areas of research that analyse colonial structures, such as the legal structure, which affected women's lives. It also focuses on women's vulnerability due to the denial of ownership of productive resources

Advent of the Europeans in India

Why a Sea Route to India

- 1. Spirit of renaissance in the 15th-century Europe.
- 2. European economy growing rapidly, leading to prosperity and demand for luxury goods; increase in the supply of meat requiring spices for preservation.
- 3. Capture of Constantinople in 1453, and Syria and Egypt later by the Ottoman Turks calling for a new route to reach India without dealing with Arabs and Turks.
- 4. Venice and Genoa too small to stand up to the Turks.
- 5. Spain and Portugal aided with money and men by the North Europeans and by ships and technical knowledge by the Genoese.
- 6. The Portuguese the pioneers followed by the Dutch, English, Danes and the French respectively to reach India.

The Portuguese

Vasco Da Gama discovered sea route to India in 1498.

Vasco's second visit in 1502 led to the establishment of trading stations at Calicut, Cochin and Cannanore.

Francisco de Almeida (1505-09) First governor, initiated the blue water policy (cartaze system).



Alfonso de Albuquerque (1509-1515) Considered to be the founder of the Portuguese power in India: captured Goa from Bijapur; persecuted Muslims; captured Bhatkal from Sri Krishna Deva Rai (1510) of Vijayanagara; and initiated the policy of marrying with the natives of India and banned the practice of sati in his area of influence.

Nino da Cunha (1529-38) shifted the capital from Cochin to Goa in 1530. In his rule, Diu and Bassein came under the Portuguese occupation from Gujarat King Bahadur Shah. Bahadur Shah got killed in 1537 at Diu while negotiating with the Portuguese.

Factors for Decline of the Portuguese in India

- a) Emergence of powerful dynasties in Egypt, Persia and north India and the appearance of the Marathas as neighbours;
- b) political fears aroused by the activities of Jesuit missionaries, and hatred of persecution (such as inquisition) that caused reaction against Portuguese spiritual pressure;
- c) rise of the English and Dutch commercial ambitions challenging the Portuguese supremacy;
- d) rampant corruption, greed and selfishness along with piracy and clandestine trade practices of the Portuguese administration in India;
- e) diversion of Portuguese colonising ambitions towards the West due to the discovery of Brazil.

The Dutch

- a) The United East India Company of the Netherlands (Verehgidge Oost Indische Compagnie), formed in March
- b) 1602 by the Charter of Dutch Parliament, had the powers to wage wars, make treaty and build forts.
- c) Dutch Factories in India Masulipatnam (1605), Pulicat (1610), Surat (1616), Bimlipatam (1641), Karikal (1645), Chinsurah (1653), Cassimbazar (Kasimbazar), Baranagore, Patna, Balasore, Nagapatam (1658) and Cochin (1663).
- d) Decline in India The defeat of the Dutch in the Anglo-Dutch rivalry and the shifting of Dutch attention towards the Malay Archipelago.
- e) Battle of Bidara (1759) The English defeated the Dutch.



The English

₩ LiA

Factors for Foundation Drake's voyage round the world, and English victory over the mighty Spanish Armada leading to great ambitions.

Formation English East India Company was formed on December 31, 1600 by the charter issued by Queen Elizabeth I, which gave the company monopoly to trade in the East Indies for 15 years.

Settlements in India

- a) With Captain Thomas Best's victory over the Portuguese (1612), the English established their first factory at Surat (1613). Subsequently Sir Thomas Roe secured permission from Jehangir to establish factories at Agra, Ahmedabad and Broach.
- b) Bombay came under the control of the Company, with Charles II (who received it as a part of the Portuguese dowry) leasing it out to the English Company for an annual rent of 10 pounds.
- c) Madras with the Fort St. George replaced Masulipatnam as the English headquarters on the east coast, when the former was given by the Chandragiri chief to the English in 1639.
- d) The city of Calcutta grew from the development of three villages Sutanuti, Gobindapur and Kalikata secured from the Mughal governor of Bengal. The fortified settlement was named Fort William (1700) and it became the seat of British power in India till 1911.

Farrukhsiyar's Farmans In 1717, the Mughal Emperor Farrukhsiyar's farmans, called Magna Carta of the East India Company, gave significant privileges to the Company in Bengal, Gujarat and Hyderabad.

Merger of Companies In 1635, a rival company named Courteen Association later called the Assada company, formed by Sir William Courteen, was given license to trade by Charles I. In 1657, both the companies merged.

In 1698, another rival company emerged. In 1702, the rivalry between the old and the new company came to an end, but their final amalgamation took place in 1708 under the title 'The United Company of Merchants of England Trading to the East Indies, after the arbitration of the Earl of Godolphin. This Company ruled in India till 1858.



The French

₩ LÍA

Foundation: In 1664, Colbert, a minister of Louis XIV, laid the foundations of Compagnie des Indes Orientales.

Settlements in India: Pondicherry, developed as headquarters, was granted to Francois Martin, the director of Masulipatnam factory, by Valikondapuram governor Sher Khan Lodi in 1673. Finally incorporated into Indian Union in 1954.

Anglo-French Rivalry in India The Anglo-French rivalry in India coincided with the wars between the English and French in Europe.

Causes

- For protection and expansion of commercial interests.
- Political developments in the south India and Europe provided pretexts to contest their claims which culminated in three Carnatic wars.

First Carnatic War (1740-48) It was an extension of the Anglo- French rivalry in Europe and ended in 1748 with the Treaty of Aix-La Chapelle.

Second Carnatic War (1749-54) Although inconclusive, it undermined the French power in South India vis-à-vis the English.

Third Carnatic War (1758-63)

- A decisive war, known for the Battle of Wandiwash (1760-61);
- An echo of the Anglo-French struggle in Europe.
- By the Treaty of Paris (1763), the French were allowed to use Indian settlements for commercial purposes only and fortification of settlements were banned.

Causes of the French Failure

- Inadequate Military and Financial Support
- France's Involvement in Europe
- Ill-managed Policy of Imperial France
- Lack of Commercial Incentive to the French Company
- Sound Commercial Base of the English Company



India on the Eve of British Conquest

Why the Mughal Empire Decined

- **Weak Successors** The Mughal empire was a personal despotism and its success depended upon a strong and capable monarch.
- Absence of Definite Law of Succession Continuous wars of succession (absence of law of primogeniture) fostered partisanship at the cost of patriotism.
- Aurangzeb's Religious and Deccan Policies The religious policy antagonised the Rajputs, Sikhs, Jats and Marathas; Deccan policy kept the emperor away from the capital for a long duration.
- Degeneration of Rulers and Nobles
- Deterioration of Army
- **Too Vast an Empire** The vast empire became a difficult task for weak rulers to administer efficiently.
- External Invasions: Invasions of Irani and Durrani kingdoms (Nadir Shah, Ahmad Shah Abdali) gave a death-blow.
- **Economic Decline** Endless wars, stagnation in agriculture, and decline in trade and industry emptied the royal treasury.
- Advent of Europeans European companies interfered in native politics, hastening the disintegration of empire.
- Shifting Allegiance of Zamindars.
- Jagirdari Crisis.
- Rise of Regional Aspirations Rise and establishment of Awadh, Bengal, Hyderabad, Mysore, Kerala, Rajput states and Jat states accelerated the process of disintegration.
- Rise of Regional States
- Three categories
- Successor States Hyderabad (1724, Nizam-ul-Mulk), Bengal (1717, Murshid Quli Khan), and Awadh (1722, Saadat Khan Burhan-ul-Mulk).
- Independent States Mysore (under Haidar Ali), Kerala (King Martanda Varma), and Rajput States (Raja Sawai Singh of Amber).
- New States Marathas, Sikhs, Jats and Afghans.



Socio-Economic Conditions

Agriculture

- Stagnant and technologically backward agriculture, compensated by very hard labour of peasants.
- Peasants paid revenues to state, zamindars, jagirdars and revenue-farmers.
- Major produce/crops: rice, wheat, sugar, pepper, spices, cotton, etc.

Trade and Industry: Trade flourished. Cotton textiles, raw silk, silk fabrics, hardware, indigo, saltpetre, opium, rice, wheat, sugar, pepper, spices, precious stones, and drugs were exported.

Gold, musk, woollen cloth, copper, iron, lead, paper, porcelain, pearls, dates, dried fruits, coffee, tea, ivory, rose water, etc., were imported.

The textile industry was famous for its produce. The ship-building industry flourished. The metal industry was also well developed.

Education

- Elementary education imparted through pathshalas and maktabs.
- Chatuspathis or Tols among Hindus, and Madrasahs among Muslims were the institutes of higher learning.
- Absence of the study of science and technology and geography was a general feature.

Society

- Apart from the four varnas, Hindus were divided into many sub-castes which differed in their nature from place to place.
- Muslims were also divided by considerations of caste, race, tribe, and status, even though their religion propagated equality.

Art, Architecture and Culture

- Asaf-ud-Daula, in 1784, built Bada Imambara at Lucknow.
- Sawai Jai Singh built pink-city of Jaipur and five astronomical observatories (Delhi, Jaipur, Mathura, Benares, Ujjain).
- Painting schools of Kangra and Rajputana came into prominence.





- In northern India, growth of Urdu language and poetry took place. Prominent Urdu poets were Mir, Sauda, Nazir, and Mirza Ghalib.
- Regional languages developed. Tamil language was enriched by Sittar poetry.

Expansion and Consolidation of British Power in India

Factors Which Gave Success to British in India

- ✓ Superior Arms
- ✓ Military Discipline
- ✓ Civil Discipline
- ✓ Brilliant Leadership (which did not bother about adopting unscrupulous practices)
- ✓ Financial Strength
- ✓ Nationalist Pride

Conflict Between English and Nawabs of Bengal

- Battle of Plassey (June 23, 1757): Robert Clive's victory over Siraj-ud-daula laid the territorial foundation of British rule in India.
- Battle of Buxar (1764): Clive's victory over the combined armies of Nawab of Bengal, Nawab of Awadh and the Mughal Emperor at Buxar laid the real foundation of the English power
- Treaty of Allahabad (1765): Granted the Diwani Rights of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa to the English.
 - Treaty with Nawab of Awadh
 - o Treaty with Shah Alam II, Mughal Emperor
- Dual Government—1765-72

British Conquest of Mysore

- First Anglo-Mysore War (1767-69); Treaty of Madras
- Second Anglo-Mysore War (1779-1784); Treaty of Mangalore
- Third Anglo-Mysore War (1790-92); Treaty of Seringapatam
- Fourth Anglo-Mysore War (1799); Mysore is conquered by British forces

Anglo-Maratha Struggle for Supremacy

• First Anglo-Maratha War (1775-82); Treaty of Surat (1775), Treaty of Purandhar (1776), and Treaty of Salbai (1782)





- Second Anglo-Maratha War (1803-05); Treaty of Bassein, 1802
- Third Anglo-Maratha War (1817-1819)

Causes for the defeat of the Marathas

- a) Inept leadership
- b) Defective nature of state
- c) Loose political set-up
- d) Inferior military system
- e) Ustable economic policy
- f) Superior English diplomacy and espionage
- g) Progressive English outlook

Conquest of Sindh (1843)

Lord Ellenborough was the Governor-General of India

Conquest of Punjab

- Treaty of Amritsar (1809), Ranjit Singh and the British
- First Anglo-Sikh War (1845-46)
- Second Anglo-Sikh War (1848-49)

British Paramountcy in Action

Ring-fence Policy of Warren Hastings

Subsidiary Alliance of Wellesley

- Subsidised States:
 - √ Hyderabad (1798; 1800)
 - √ Mysore (1799)
 - ✓ Tanjore (October 1799)
 - ✓ Awadh (November 1801)
 - ✓ Peshwa (December 1801)
 - ✓ Bhonsle of Berar (December 1803)
 - ✓ Sindhia (February 1804)
 - √ Jodhpur (1818)
 - √ Jaipur (1818)
 - √ Macheri (1818)
 - ✓ Bundi (1818)

✓ Bharatpur (1818)





Doctrine of Lapse

- Lapsed States under Lord Dalhousie (1848-56)
 - √ Satara (1848)
 - ✓ Sambhalpur (1849)
 - ✓ Bhagat (1850)
 - √ Udaipur (1850)
 - ✓ Nagpur (1854)
 - √ Jhanshi (1855)
 - ✓ Awadh (1856; on charge of mal-administration)

Relations of British India with Neighbouring Countries

- Anglo-Nepal Relations (Treaty of Sagauli, 1816)
- Anglo-Burma Relations
 - ✓ First Anglo-Burma War, 1824-26
 - ✓ Second Anglo-Burma War, 1852
 - ✓ Third Anglo-Burma War, 1885
- Anglo-Tibetan Relations Treaty of Lhasa (1904)
- Anglo-Afghan Relations Forward Policy of Auckland
- First Anglo-Afghan War (1839-1842)
- John Lawrence's Policy of Masterly Inactivity Lytton and the Policy of Proud Reserve Second Anglo-Afghan War (1870-80)
- Treaty of Gandamak (May 1879)
- North-West Frontier Durand Agreement (1893)



People's Resistance Against British Before 1857

Factors Responsible for People's Resistance

- ✓ Colonial land revenue settlements; heavy burden of new taxes and eviction of peasants from their land.
- ✓ Growth of intermediary revenue collectors, tenants and money-lenders.
- ✓ Expansion of revenue administration over tribal lands.
- ✓ Destruction of indigenous industry and promotion of British manufactured goods.
- ✓ End of patronage to priestly and scholarly classes.
- ✓ Foreign character of British rule.

• Forms of People's Uprisings

- ✓ Civil Uprisings
- ✓ Peasant Movements
- ✓ Tribal Revolts
- ✓ Military Revolts

Civil Uprisings Before 1857

- ✓ Sanyasi Revolt (1763-1800)—Bihar and Bengal; Manju Shah, Musa Shah, Bhawani Pathak and Debi Chaudhurani were some important leaders.
- ✓ Rebellion in Midnapore and Dhalbhum (1766-67)—Bengal; Damodar Singh, Jagannath Dhal, etc.
- ✓ **Revolt of Moamarias (1769-99)**—Assam and parts of present Bangladesh; Krishnanarayan was important leader.
- ✓ Civil Uprisings in Gorakhpur, Basti and Bahraich (1781) Uttar Pradesh.
- ✓ **Revolt of Raja of Vizianagaram**—Northeren Circars; Vizieram Rauze (Chinna Vijayaramaraju) was supported by his subjects.
- ✓ Revolt in Bednur (1797-1800) Karnataka; Dhundia Wagh.
- ✓ **Revolt of Kerala Varma Pazhassi Raja (1797-1805)**—Kerala; Kerala Varma.
- ✓ Civil Rebellion of Awadh (1799) Eastern Uttar Pradesh; Wazir Ali Khan (Vizier Ali).
- ✓ Uprising in Ganjam and Gumsur (1800, 1935-37)—Eastern Orissa; Strikara Bhanj, Dhananjaya Bhanj and Doora Bisayi. Uprisings in Palamau (1800-02)—Chhotanagpur of Jharkhand;
- ✓ Bhukhan Singh was the leader of the revolt.
- ✓ **Poligars's Revolt (1795-1805)**—Tinnevelly, Ramnathapuram, Sivagiri, Madurai and North Arcot of Tamil Nadu; Kattabomman Nayakan was an important leader.



- ✓ **Revolt of Diwan Velu Thampi (1808-09)**—Travancore; led by Diwan of State, Velu Thampi.
- ✓ **Disturbances in Bundelkhand (1808-12)**—Regions of Bundelkhand in present Madhya Pradesh and Uttar Pradesh; Lakshaman Dawa, the Killadar of Ajaygarh Fort, Darya Singh, the Killadar of Kalanjar, and Gopal Singh, a military adventurer were the important insurgents.
- ✓ Parlakimedi Outbreak (1813-34)—Orissa; Narayan Deo and Gajapathi Deo.
- ✓ Kutch Rebellion (1819) Gujarat; Rao Bharamal.
- ✓ **Rising at Bareilly (1816)**—Uttar Pradesh; Mufti Muhammad Aiwaz, a religious leader; a resistance against municipal tax turned into a religious jehad.
- ✓ **Upsurge in Hathras (1817)**—Aligarh and Agra in Uttar Pradesh; Dayaram and Bhagwant Singh were the important insurgents. Paika Rebellion (1817)—Orissa; Bakshi Jagabandhu Bidyadhar,
- ✓ Mukunda Deva and Dinabandhu Santra were important leaders.
- ✓ Waghera Rising (1818-20)—Baroda region of Gujarat; led by Waghera chiefs of Okha Mandal.
- ✓ Ahom Revolt (1828)—Assam; led by Gomdhar Konwar and Maharaja Purandhar Singh. Narendra Gadadhar Singh and Kumar Rupchand were other leaders.
- ✓ Surat Salt Agitations (1844)—Gujarat; attacks on the Europeans by the locals of Surat; over the issue of increase in salt duty.
- ✓ **Gadkari Revolt (1844)**—Kolhapur of Maharashtra; Gadakaris, a hereditary military class, revolted in the wake of unemployment and agrarians grievances.
- ✓ **Revolt of Savantavadi (1844-59)**—North Konkan Coast; Phond Savant, Subana Nikam, Daji Lakshman and Har Savant Dingnekar were important insurrectionists.
- ✓ Wahabi Movement (1830-61)—Bihar, Bengal, North West Frontier Province, Punjab, etc., an Islamist revivalist movement started by Syed Ahmed of Rai Bareilly.
- ✓ **Kuka Movement (1840-1872)**—Punjab; A religious movement started by Bhagat Jawahar Mal transformed into political one. Ram Singh, a noted leader, deported to Rangoon.

Peasant Movements

✓ Narkelberia Uprising (1831)—24 Parganas (Bengal); Titu Mir inspired the Muslim tenants in West Bengal against Hindu landlords.



- ✓ Pagal Panthis (1825-35)—Mymensingh district (Bengal); Karam Shah and his son Tipu rose against zamindars.
- ✓ Faraizi Revolt (1838-57)—Faridpur in Eastern Bengal; Shariat- Allah, son of Dadu Mian, was the founder of the religious sect (Faraizi).
- ✓ Moplah Uprisings (1836-1854)—Malabar region of Kerala; against hike in revenue demand and reduction in field size.

Tribal Revolts

- ✓ Pahariyas' Rebellion (1778)—Raj Mahal Hills
- ✓ Chuar Uprisings (1766 to 1772, 1795-1816)—Midnapore district of Bengal; important leaders—Sham Ganjan, Durjan Singh and Madhab Singh.
- ✓ Kol Mutiny (1831)—Ranchi, Singhbhum, Hazaribagh, Palamau and Manbhum; Buddho Bhagat was an important leader.
- ✓ Ho and Munda Uprisings (1820-22, 1831-37, 1899-1900)— Chhotanagpur region; Birsa Munda in 1899-1900 led the rebellion.
- ✓ Santhal Rebellion (1855-56)—Raj Mahal Hill (Bihar); Sidhu and Kanhu were important leaders.
- ✓ Khond Uprisings (1837-1856)—Hilly tracts extending from Tamil Nadu to Bengal; Chakra Bisoi, an important leader.
- ✓ Koya Revolts (1803, 1840-1862, 1879-80)—Eastern Godavari region of Andhra Pradesh; Tomma Sora and Raja Anantayyar were important leaders.
- ✓ Bhil Revolts (1817-19, 1913)—Khandesh, Dhar, Malwa, Western Ghats and southern Rajasthan.
- ✓ Koli Risings (1829, 1839 and 1844-48)—Western Ghats.
- ✓ Ramosi Risings (1822-1829, 1839-41)—Western Ghats; Chittur Singh was an important rebel leader.
- ✓ Khasi Uprising (1829-33)—Hilly region between Garo and Jaintia Hills, Sylhet; Khasis, Garos, Khamptis and Singhphos organised themselves under Tirath Singh.
- ✓ Singhphos' Rebellion (1830–31, 1843)—Assam-Burma Border; Nirang Phidu led an uprising in 1843.

Sepoy Mutinies

- ✓ Vellore Mutiny (1806)
- ✓ Mutiny of 47th Native Infantry Unit (1824) Revolt of Grenadier Company (1825), Assam Mutiny in Sholapur (1833)



✓ Mutiny of 34th Native Infantry (1844) Mutiny of 22nd Native Infantry (1849) Mutiny of 66th Native Infantry (1850) Mutiny of 37th Native Infantry (1852)

The Revolt of 1857

Revolt— a product of character and policies of colonial rule.

Economic causes—heavy taxation under new revenue settlement, summary evictions, discriminatory tariff policy against Indian products, destruction of traditional handicrafts industry, and absence of concomitant industrialisation on modern lines that hit peasants, artisans and small zamindars.

Political causes—greedy policy of aggrandisement, absentee sovereigntyship character of British rule, British interference in socio-religious affairs of Indian public.

Military causes—discontent among sepoys for economic, psychological and religious reasons, coupled with a long history of revolts.

Academ

Centres of Revolt and Leaders

- ✓ Delhi- General Bakht Khan
- √ Kanpur Nana Saheb
- ✓ Lucknow Begum Hazrat Mahal
- ✓ Bareilly - Khan Bahadur
- ✓ Bihar- Kunwar Singh
- ✓ Faizabad- Maulvi Ahmadullah
- ✓ Jhansi- Rani Laxmibai
- ✓ Baghpat- Shah Mal

The British Resistance

- ✓ Delhi- Lieutenant Willoughby, John Nicholson, Lieutenant Hudson
- ✓ Kanpur - Sir Hugh Wheeler, Sir Colin Campbell
- ✓ Lucknow- Henry Lawrence, Brigadier Inglis, Henry Havelock, James Outram, Sir Colin Campbell
- ✓ Jhansi - Sir Hugh Rose
- ✓ Benaras Colonel James Neill

Causes of Failure

- ✓ Limited territorial and social base.
- ✓ Crucial support of certain sections of Indian public to British authorities.
- ✓ Lack of resources as compared to those of the British.





- ✓ Lack of coordination and a central leadership.
- ✓ Lack of a coherent ideology and a political perspective.

Nature

- ✓ R.C. Majumdar and S.N. Sen— "Not an organised 'national' revolt"
- ✓ R.C. Majumdar— "Neither first, nor National War of Independence"
- ✓ V.D. Savarkar—"War of independence"
- ✓ Eric Stokes—"Elitist in character"
- ✓ Lawrence and Seeley—"Mere sepoy mutiny"
- √ T.R. Holmes—"A conflict between civilisation and barbarism"
- ✓ James Outram—"A Mohammedan conspiracy making capital of Hindu grievances"
- ✓ Percival Spear—Three phases of the revolt

Conclusion: Not quite the first war of independence but sowed the seeds of nationalism and quest for freedom from alien rule.

Effect

- ✓ Crown took over; Company rule abolished. Queen's Proclamation altered administration. Army reorganised. Racial hatred deepened.
- ✓ White Mutiny.

Socio-Religious Reform Movements: General Feature

Factors which gave Rise to Reform Movements

- ✓ Presence of colonial government on Indian soil.
- √ Various ills plaguing Indian society—obscurantism, superstition, polytheism, idolatry, degraded position of women, exploitative caste hierarchy.
- ✓ Spread of education and increased awareness of the world. Impact of modern Western culture and consciousness of defeat by a foreign power.
- ✓ Rising tide of nationalism and democracy during the late 19th century.

Social Base

✓ Emerging middle class and Western-educated intellectuals.

• Ideological Base

- ✓ Rationalism, religious universalism, humanism, secularism.
- Social Reform Components



Betterment of Position of Women Degraded position due to

- ✓ Purdah system
- √ Early marriage
- ✓ Lack of education
- ✓ Unequal rights in marriage, divorce, inheritance
- ✓ Polygamy
- √ Female infanticide
- ✓ Restrictions on widow remarriage
- ✓ Sati

Major Contributors to Reforms

✓ Social reform movements, freedom struggle, movements led by enlightened women, free India's Constitution.

Legislative Measures for Women

- ✓ Bengal Regulation (1829) banning sati
- ✓ Bengal Regulations (1795, 1804)—declaring infanticide illegal. Hindu Widows' Remarriage Act, 1856.
- ✓ Age of Consent Act, 1891 Sarda Act, 1930
- ✓ Special Marriage Act, 1954
- ✓ Hindu Marriage Act, 1955
- ✓ Hindu Succession Act, 1956
- ✓ Hindu Adoption and Maintenance Act Maternity Benefits Act, 1961
- ✓ Equal Remuneration Act, 1976
- ✓ Child Marriage Restraint (Amendment) Act, 1978
- ✓ Suppression of Immoral Traffic Act in Women and Girls, 1956 (amended in 1986)
- ✓ Dowry Prohibition Act, 1961 (amended in 1986)
- Struggle Against Caste-based Exploitation Factors Undermining Caste Rigidities Forces unleashed by colonial administration Social reform movements
 - ✓ National movement
 - ✓ Gandhi's campaign against untouchability
 - ✓ Stirrings among lower castes due to better education and employment
 - ✓ Free India's Constitution



A General Survey of Socio-Cultural Reform Movements

- Reform Movements: Among Hindus Bengal
 - ✓ Raja Rammohan Roy and Brahmo Samaj
 - ✓ Debendranath Tagore and Tattvabodhini Sabha
 - ✓ Keshub Chandra Sen and Brahmo Samaj of India
 - ✓ Prarthana Samaj
 - ✓ Derozio and Young Bengal Movement
 - ✓ Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar

Western India

- ✓ Bal Shastri Jambekar
- ✓ Students' Literary and Scientific Societies
- ✓ Paramhansa Mandalis
- ✓ Jyotiba Phule and Satyashodhak Samaj
- ✓ Gopalhari Deshmukh 'Lokahitawadi'
- ✓ Gopal Ganesh Agarkar
- ✓ Servants of India Society

Southern India

- ✓ Sri Narayana Dharma Paripalana Movement
- ✓ Vokkaliga Sangha
- ✓ Justice Movement✓ Self-respect Movement
- ✓ Temple Entry Movement

All India

- ✓ Ramakrishna Movement and Vivekananda
- ✓ Dayananda Saraswati and
- ✓ Arya Samaj Theosophical Movement

Among Muslims

- ✓ Wahabi/Walliullah Movement
- ✓ Ahmadiyya Movement
- ✓ Syed Ahmed Khan and Aligarh Movement
- ✓ Deoband Movement

Among Parsis

✓ Rahnumai Mazdayasnan Sabha

Among Sikhs

- ✓ Singh Sabha Movement Akali Movement
- Positive Aspects
 - ✓ Liberation of individual from conformity out of fear psychosis.





- ✓ Worship made a more personal affair
- ✓ Cultural roots to the middle classes—thus mitigating the sense of humiliation; much needed self-respect gained
- ✓ Fostered secular outlook
- ✓ Encouraged social climate for modernisation
- ✓ Ended India's cultural, intellectual isolation from rest of the world
- ✓ Evolution of national consciousness

• Negative Aspects

- ✓ Narrow social base
- ✓ Indirectly encouraged mysticism
- ✓ Overemphasis on religious, philosophical aspects of culture while underemphasising secular and moral aspects
- ✓ Hindus confined their praise to ancient Indian history and Muslims to medieval history—created a notion of two separate peoples and increased communal consciousness
- ✓ Historical process of evolution of composite culture arrested to some extent

Beginning of Modern Nationalism in India

Factors in Growth of Modern Nationalism

- ✓ Understanding of contradictions in Indian and colonial interests Political, administrative and economic unification of the country
- ✓ Western thought and education
- ✓ Role of press and literature
- ✓ Rediscovery of India's past—historical researches
- ✓ Rise of middle class intelligentsia
- ✓ Impact of contemporary movements worldwide
- ✓ Reactionary policies and racial arrogance of rulers

Political Associations Before Indian National Congress

- √ 1836—Bangabhasha Prakasika Sabha Zamindari Association or Landholders' Society 1843—Bengal British India Society
- ✓ 1851—British Indian Association
- √ 1866—East India Association
- √ 1870—Poona Sarvajanik Sabha
- √ 1875—Indian League
- √ 1876—Indian Association of Calcutta or Indian National Association
- √ 1885—Bombay Presidency Association
- √ 1884—Madras Mahajan Sabha



Indian National Congress: Foundation and the Moderate Phase

Foundation of Indian National Congress

- ✓ First session held in 1885 (Bombay).
- ✓ Indian National Union, formed by A.O. Hume, became Indian National Congress.
- ✓ Foundational theories of INC and prominent believers: Safety Valve Theory —Lala Lajpat Rai
- ✓ Conspiracy Theory—R.P. Dutt
- ✓ Lightning conductor Theory—G.K. Gokhale
- ✓ Important leaders of Moderate Phase: Dadabhai Naoroji, Badruddin Tyabji, Pherozeshah Mehta, P. Ananda Charlu, Surendranath Banerjea, Romesh Chandra Dutt, Ananda Mohan Bose, G.K. Gokhale, etc.

Early Nationalist Methodology

- ✓ Constitutional agitation within four walls of law
- ✓ Create public opinion in India and campaign for support to Indian demands in England
- ✓ Political education of people
- ✓ Political connections with Britain in India's interests at that stage Time not ripe for direct challenge to colonial rule

Contributions of Moderate Nationalists

- ✓ Economic critique of British imperialism
- ✓ Constitutional reforms and propaganda in legislature
- ✓ Campaign for general administrative reforms
- ✓ Defence of civil rights

Era of Militant Nationalism (1905-1909)

- Why Militant Nationalism Grew
- 1. Realisation that the true nature of British rule was exploitative, and that the British India government, instead of conceding more, was taking away even what existed.
- 2. Growth of self-confidence and self-respect.
- 3. Impact of growth of education—increase in awareness and unemployment.
- 4. International influences and events which demolished the myth of white/European supremacy. These included
 - ✓ emergence of Japan—an Asian country—as an industrial power
 - ✓ Abyssinia's (Ethiopia) victory over Italy.



- ✓ Boer Wars (1899-1902) in which the British faced reverses.
- ✓ Japan's victory over Russia (1905).
- ✓ Nationalist movements worldwide.
- 5. Reaction to increasing westernisation.
- 6. Dissatisfaction with the achievements as well as the methods of the Moderates.
- 7. Reactionary policies of Curzon such as the Calcutta Corporation Act (1899), the Official Secrets Act (1904), the Indian Universities Act (1904) and partition of Bengal (1905).
- 8. Existence of a militant school of thought.
- 9. Emergence of a trained leadership.
- The Extremist Ideology
 - a) Hatred for foreign rule
 - b) Belief in the capacity of the masses
 - c) Swarajya as goal
 - d) Advocacy of direct political action and self-sacrifice.
- The Swadeshi and Boycott Movement
 - ✓ Began as a reaction to partition of Bengal which became known in 1903, was formally announced in July 1905 and came into force in October 1905. The motive behind partition was to weaken Bengal which was the nerve centre of Indian nationalist activity; the official reason given for the partition was that Bengal had become too big to administer—which was true to some extent.
 - ✓ Moderate-led anti-partition movement (1903-05) was under Surendranath Banerjea, K.K. Mitra, Prithwishchandra Ray. Methods included public meetings, petitions, memoranda, propaganda through newspapers and pamphlets.
 - ✓ The movement under Extremists (1905-08) was led by Tilak, Bipin Chandra Pal, Lajpat Rai, Aurobindo Ghosh.
 - Methods included boycott of foreign cloth and other goods, public meetings and processions, forming corps of volunteers or samitis, use of traditional popular festivals and melas for propaganda, emphasis on self-reliance or atma shakti, launching programme of swadeshi or national education, swadeshi or indigenous enterprises, initiating new trends in Indian painting, songs, poetry, pioneering research in science and later calling for boycott of schools, colleges, councils, government service, etc.



- ✓ Extremists took over because of the failure of the Moderates to achieve positive results, divisive tactics of governments of both Bengals, severe government repression.
- ✓ Extent of mass participation—students, women, certain sections of zamindari, labour, some lower middle and middle classes in towns and cities participated for the first time while the Muslims generally kept away.
- ✓ Annulment of Partition mainly to curb the 'menace' of revolutionary terrorism.
- Why Swadeshi Movement fizzled out by 1908
 - ✓ Severe government repression.
 - ✓ Lack of effective organisation and a disciplined focus.
 - ✓ With arrest/deportation of all leaders, the movement left leaderless.
 - ✓ Split in nationalist ranks.
 - ✓ Narrow social base.

Achievements

"A leap forward" because hitherto untouched sections participated, major trends of later movement emerged; richness of the movement extended to culture, science and literature; people educated in bolder form of politics; colonial hegemony undermined.

Major Cause of Moderate-Extremist Split at Surat (1907)

Moderates wanted to restrict the Boycott Movement to Bengal and to a boycott of foreign cloth and liquor.

Extremists wanted to take the movement to all parts of the country and include within its ambit all forms of association with the government through a boycott of schools, colleges, law courts, legislative councils, government service, municipalities, etc

• Government Acts for Repression of Swadeshi Movement

- ✓ Seditious Meetings Act (1907)
- ✓ Criminal Law (Amendment) Act (1908)
- ✓ Indian Newspapers (Incitement to Offences) Act (1908)
- ✓ Explosive Substances Act (1908)
- ✓ Indian Press Act (1910)

• Morley-Minto Reforms

- ✓ Number of elected members in Imperial and Provincial Legislative Councils increased—elected non-officials still in minority.
- ✓ Non-officials to be elected indirectly—thus elections introduced for the first time.





- ✓ Separate electorates introduced for Muslims.
- ✓ Legislatures could pass resolutions, ask questions and supplementaries, vote separate items of the budget.
- ✓ One Indian to be on viceroy's executive council.
- ✓ Aimed at dividing the nationalist ranks and at rallying the Moderates and the Muslims to the government's side.
- ✓ No responsibility entrusted to legislators—this resulted in thought-less criticism sometimes.
- ✓ System of election was too indirect.

First Phase of Revolutionary Activities (1907-1917)

Revolutionary Activities

√ Reasons for emergence

Younger elements not ready to retreat after the decline of open phase. Leadership's failure to tap revolutionary energies of the youth. Government repression left no peaceful avenues open for protest.

Ideology

✓ Assassinate unpopular officials, thus strike terror in hearts of rulers and arouse people to expel the British with force; based on individual heroic actions on lines of Irish nationalists or Russian nihilists and not a massbased countrywide struggle.

Revolutionary Activities Bengal

- ✓ 1902—First revolutionary groups in Midnapore and Calcutta (The Anushilan Samiti)
- ✓ 1906—Yugantar, the revolutionary weekly started
- ✓ By 1905-06—Several newspapers started advocating revolutionary terrorism.
- ✓ 1907—Attempt on life of the former Lt. governor of East Bengal and Assam.
- ✓ 1908—Prafulla Chaki and Khudiram Bose attempt to murder Muzaffarpur Magistrate, Kingsford.
- ✓ Alipore conspiracy case involving Aurobindo Ghosh, Barindra Kumar Ghosh and others.
- ✓ 1908—Burrah dacoity by Dacca Anushilan.
- √ 1912—Bomb thrown at Viceroy Hardinge by Rashbehari Bose and Sachin Sanyal.



- ✓ Sandhya, Yugantar—newspapers advocating revolutionary activity.
- ✓ Jatin Das and Yugantar; the German Plot during World War I.

• Maharashtra

- √ 1879—Ramosi Peasant Force by Vasudev Balwant Phadke.
- ✓ 1890s—Tilak's attempts to propagate militancy among the youth through Shivaji and Ganapati festivals, and his journals Kesari and Maharatta.
- ✓ 1897—Chapekar brothers kill Rand, the plague commissioner of Poona and Lt. Ayerst.
- √ 1899—Mitra Mela—a secret society organised by Savarkar and his brother.
- ✓ 1904—Mitra Mela merged with Abhinav Bharat.
- √ 1909—District Magistrate of Nasik—Jackson—killed.

Punjab

✓ Revolutionary activity by Lala Lajpat Rai, Ajit Singh, Aga Haidar Syed Haidar Raza, Bhai Parmanand, Lalchand 'Falak', Sufi Ambaprasad.

Revolutionary Activity Abroad

- ✓ 1905—Shyamji Krishnavarma set up Indian Home Rule Society and India House and brought out journal The Sociologist in London.
- ✓ 1909—Madan Lal Dhingra murdered Curzon-Wyllie; Madame Bhikaji Cama operated from Paris and Geneva and brought out journal Bande Mataram.
- ✓ Ajit Singh also active.
- ✓ Berlin Committee for Indian Independence established by Virendranath Chattopadhyay and others.
- ✓ Missions sent to Baghdad, Persia, Turkey, Kabul.
- * In North America, the Ghadr was organised by Lala Hardayal, Ramchandra, Bhawan Singh, Kartar Singh Saraba, Barkatullah, Bhai Parmanand.

The Ghadr Programme

- ✓ Assassinate officials.
- ✓ Publish revolutionary literature.
- ✓ Work among Indian troops abroad and raise funds.
- ✓ Bring about a simultaneous revolt in all colonies of Britain. Attempt to bring about an armed revolt in India on February 21, 1915 amidst favourable conditions created by the outbreak of First World War and the Komagata Maru incident (September 1914). The plan was foiled due to treachery.
- ✓ Defence of India Act, 1915 passed primarily to deal with the Ghadrites.



First World War and Nationalist Response

- Home Rule League Movement
- Manifestation of a trend of aggressive politics in national movement; was pioneered by Tilak and Annie Besant on lines of a similar movement in Ireland.
- Factors Favouring the Movement
 - 1. Need being felt for popular pressure to attain concessions.
 - 2. Disillusionment with Morley-Minto Reforms.
 - 3. Wartime miseries—public ready to protest.
 - 4. Tilak, Besant ready to assume leadership.
- Aim of the Movement: To convey to the common man the concept of Home Rule as self-government.
- Tilak's League—Started in April 1916 and operated in Maharashtra, Karnataka, Central Provinces and Berar; had six branches.
- **Besant's League**—Started in September 1916 and operated in rest of India; had 200 branches.
- Later, the leagues were joined by others including Moderate Congressmen.
- Methods used Organising discussions, reading rooms, propaganda through public meetings, newspapers, pamphlets, posters, etc.
- Positive Gains Emphasis shifted to the masses permanently; organisational link established between town and country; prepared a generation of ardent nationalists, influenced Moderate-Extremist reunion at Lucknow (1916)
- Lucknow Session of INC—1916
 - ✓ Extremists were readmitted to Congress
 - ✓ Muslim League and Congress put up joint demands under Lucknow Pact.
 - ✓ Congress accepted the League's position on separate electorates.
- Importance of Montagu's Statement Attainment of self- government for Indians became a government policy.

Emergence of Gandhi

- Why Nationalist Upsurge at End of First World War?
 - ✓ Post-War economic hardship.
 - ✓ Nationalist disillusionment with imperialism worldwide.
 - ✓ Impact of Russian Revolution.
- Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms
 - ✓ Dyarchy in provinces.
 - ✓ Two lists—reserved and transferred—for administration.
 - ✓ Reserved subjects to be administered by governor through executive council and transferred subjects to be administered by ministers from legislative council.
 - ✓ Extensive powers to governor, governor-general and secretary of state for interference.
 - ✓ Franchise expanded, powers also extended.
 - ✓ Governor-general to administer with an executive council of 8— three to be Indians.
 - ✓ Two lists for administration—central and provincial.
 - ✓ Bicameral central legislature—Central Legislative Assembly as the lower house and Council of States as the upper house.

Drawbacks

- ✓ Dyarchy arrangement too complex and irrational to be functional.
- ✓ Central executive not responsible to legislature.
- ✓ Limited franchise.
- Sense of Betrayal by the British specially after Rowlatt Act British promises of reward after war failed to materialise.
 - Nationalists disappointed.
- Gandhi's Activism in South Africa (1893-1914)
 - ✓ Set up Natal Indian Congress and started Indian Opinion.
 - ✓ Satyagraha against registration certificates.
 - ✓ Campaign against restrictions on Indian migration.
 - ✓ Campaign against poll tax and invalidation of Indian marriages.
 - ✓ Gandhi's faith in capacity of masses to fight established;
 - ✓ he was able to evolve his own style of leadership and politics and techniques of struggle.
- Gandhi's Early Activism in India
 - ✓ Champaran Satyagraha (1917)—First Civil Disobedience.
 - ✓ Ahmedabad Mill Strike (1918)—First Hunger Strike.



- ✓ Kheda Satyagraha (1918)—First Non-Cooperation.
- ✓ Rowlatt Satyagraha (1918)—First mass-strike.
- ✓ Jallianwalla Bagh Massacre and the Inquiry Committee

Non-Cooperation Movement and Khilafat Aandolan

- Khilafat-Non-Cooperation Movement
 - Three demands—
 - 1. Favourable treaty for Turkey
 - 2. Redressal of Punjab wrongs
 - 3. Establishment of swaraj
- Techniques used
 - ✓ Boycott of government-run schools, colleges, law courts, municipality and government service, foreign cloth, liquor; setting up of national schools, colleges, panchayats and using khadi; second stage to include civil disobedience by non-payment of taxes.
- Nagpur Congress Session (December 1920)—Congress goal changed to attainment of swaraj through peaceful and legitimate means from attainment of self-government through constitutional means.
- Chauri-Chaura Incident (February 5, 1922)—Violence by agitated mob prompted Gandhi to withdraw the movement.

Emergence of Swarajists, Socialist Ideas, Revolutionary Activities and Other New Forces

- Swarajists and No-Changers
 - ✓ Swarajists advocated council entry after withdrawal of Non-Cooperation Movement with an aim to end or mend the councils.
 - ✓ No-changers advocated constructive work during transition period.
- Emergence of New Forces during 1920s
 - 1. Spread of Marxism and socialist ideas
 - 2. Activism of Indian youth
 - 3. Peasants' agitations
 - 4. Growth of trade unionism
 - 5. Caste movements
 - 6. Revolutionary terrorism with a tilt towards socialism
- Activities of HRA/HSRA
 - ✓ Established—1924
 - ✓ Kakori robbery—1925
 - ✓ Reorganised—1928





- ✓ Saunders' murder—1928
- ✓ Bomb in Central Legislative Assembly—1929
- ✓ Bid to blow up viceroy's train—1929
- ✓ Azad killed in police encounter—1931
- ✓ Bhagat Singh, Rajguru, Sukhdev hanged—1931
- Broadened View of HSRA
 - ✓ In later years, ideology moved away from individual action towards socialistic ideals.
- Revolutionaries in Bengal
 - ✓ Attempt on life of Calcutta police commissioner—1924
 - ✓ Surya Sen's Chittagong Revolt Group and Chittagong robberies— 1930

Simon Commission and the Nehru Report

- Simon Commission
 - ✓ Came in 1928 to explore possibility of further constitutional advance.
 - ✓ Boycotted by Indians because no Indian represented in the commission.
 - ✓ Responses of Various Groups/ Ambedkar's Memorandum Impact of Simon Commission
- Nehru Report (1928)
 - ✓ First Indian effort to draft constitutional scheme. Recommended—
 - dominion status
 - not separate electorates, but joint electorates with reserved seats for minorities.
 - linguistic provinces
 - 19 fundamental rights
 - Responsible government at centre and in provinces.
 - o responses of various groups

Civil Disobedience Movement and Round Table Conferences

- Calcutta Congress Session (December 1928)
 - ✓ One year ultimatum to government to accept dominion status or else civil disobedience to be launched for complete independence.
- Lahore Congress Session (December 1929)
 - ✓ Congress adopted complete independence as its goal. Congress decided to launch a civil disobedience movement. January 26, 1930 celebrated as the first Independence Day all over the country.
- Dandi March (March 12-April 6, 1930)



- ✓ Led by Gandhi; resulted in spread of salt satyagraha to Tamil Nadu, Malabar, Andhra, Assam, Bengal.
- Spread of the movement with additional avenues of protest
 - ✓ Khudai Khidmatgars active in NWFP. Textile workers active in Sholapur.
 - ✓ Salt satyagraha in Dharasana.
 - ✓ No-chowkidara tax campaign in Bihar.
 - ✓ Anti-chowkidara and anti-union-board tax in Bengal. No-tax movement in Gujarat.
 - ✓ Civil disobedience of forest laws in Maharashtra, Karnataka and Central Provinces.
 - ✓ Agitation against 'Cunningham Circular' in Assam. No rent campaign in UP.
 - ✓ Mass participation of women, students, some sections of Muslims, merchants and petty traders, tribals, workers and peasants.

Gandhi-Irwin Pact (March 1931)

- ✓ Congress agreed to attend Second RTC and to withdraw CDM.
- Karachi Congress Session (March 1931)
 - ✓ Endorsed Delhi Pact between Gandhi and Irwin.
 - ✓ Passed resolutions on economic programme and fundamental rights.
 - ✓ The Round Table Conference
 - ✓ The Second RTC Right wing in Britain against concessions to Indians.
 - ✓ Session got deadlocked on question of safeguards to minorities.
- December 1931 April 1934: Second phase of Civil Disobedience Movement
- Communal Award (1932) and Poona Pact
 - ✓ Provided separate electorates to depressed classes. Nationalists felt this to be a threat to national unity. Gandhi's fast unto death (September 1932) led to Poona Pact which abandoned separate electorates for depressed classes in favour of increased reserved seats for them.
- Impact of Poona Pact on depressed classes
- Joint electorate and its Impact on depressed classes
- Differences and similarities between thoughts of Gandhi and Ambedkar

Debates on the Future Strategy after Civil Disobedience Movement

- First Stage Debate on
 - a) Constructive work on Gandhian lines.
 - b) Constitutional struggle and participation in elections.



c) Rejection of constructive work and constitutional struggle—continuation of CDM.

Government of India Act, 1935

- ✓ Proposed—an All India Federation; bicameral legislature at the centre; provincial autonomy; three lists for legislation—federal, provincial and concurrent.
- ✓ At centre, subjects to be administered divided into reserved and transferred categories.
- ✓ Provincial legislators to be directly elected.
- ✓ Early 1937—elections to provincial assemblies held. Congress ministries formed in Bombay, Madras, Central Provinces, United Provinces, Bihar, Orissa, Assam and NWFP.

Second Stage Debate

- ✓ Nehru, Subhas, Congress and socialists opposed office acceptance.
- ✓ Leftists proposed entry into the councils with an aim to crease deadlocks.
- ✓ Gandhi, in the beginning opposed for office acceptance, but later gave his approval.
- ✓ Congress sessions at Lucknow (1936) and Faizpur (1937) decided to contest elections.

Congress Rule in Provinces

- Gandhi's Advice to Office Bearers
 - ✓ Offices should be used in a way not expected or intended by the British.
 - ✓ Hold offices lightly, not tightly.
- Work Under Congress Ministries Eased curbs on civil liberties. Restrictions on press lifted.
 - ✓ Political prisoners and revolutionaries released.
 - ✓ Lifted ban from several illegal organisations, books and journals.
 - ✓ Restoration of pensions of officials associated with the CDM.



Nationalist Response in the Wake of World War II

Summary:

Congress Stand on World War II:

- ✓ It would cooperate in the war effort if:
- 1. freedom was given after the War.
- 2. some form of genuinely responsible government was immediately set up.

September 1, 1939: World War-II broke out and Britain declared India's support for war.

September 10-14, 1939: At CWC meeting at Wardha:

- Gandhi was for unconditional support to Britain's war efforts.
- Subhash Bose and Leftists were for taking advantage of Britain's difficulties and starting a mass movement to dislodge colonialism.
- Nehru recognised the imperialist nature of the war, but was against taking advantage of Britain's difficulties, even as he was against Indian participation in the war.
- The CWC resolved—No Indian participation unless freedom is granted; Government should declare its war aims soon.
- Linlithgow's Statement (October 17, 1939)
 - ✓ Britain's war aim is to resist aggression.
 - ✓ All interest groups are to be consulted to modify 1935 Act for future.
 - ✓ Immediately a "consultative committee" is to be formed for advising functions.

• Congress Response

- ✓ No Indian support to the war
- ✓ Congress ministries in provinces to resign
- ✓ But no immediate mass struggle to be launched

March 1940

√ 'Pakistan Resolution' passed at Lahore session of Muslim League

August Offer (August 1940)

- ✓ Dominion status to be the long-term objective
- ✓ After the war, constituent assembly to be formed comprising mainly Indians
- ✓ Minorities' consent to be essential for any future settlement.
- ✓ Congress rejects the Offer

October 1940

✓ Congress launches individual satyagraha; 25,000 satyagrahis court arrest





March 1942

₩ LiA

- ✓ Japan reaches Rangoon after having overrun almost the whole of South-East Asia.
- Cripps Mission (March 1942)

It offeres—

- ✓ an Indian Union with dominion status, with right to withdraw from Commonwealth.
- ✓ after war, a constituent assembly elected by provincial assemblies to frame the constitution.
- ✓ freedom to any province unwilling to join the Union to have a separate agreement with Britain.

Meanwhile, defence of India to remain in British hands. The Congress objects to—

- √ dominion status
- ✓ right of provinces to secede
- ✓ no immediate transfer of power
- ✓ Retention of governor-general's supremacy. The Muslim League objects to—
- ✓ Pakistan not being explicitly offered
- ✓ The machinery for creation of Constituent Assemblyclare its war aims soon.



Quit India Movement, Demand for Pakistan, and the INA

Quit India Movement

✓ Why launch a movement now?

Failure of Cripps Offer an evidence of British lack of will to concede Indian demands

Public discontent against wartime hardships A feeling of imminent British collapse

Indian leadership's desire to prepare masses for possible Japanese invasion

- ✓ AICC Meeting (Bombay—August 8, 1942)
 The meeting ratifies Quit India Resolution
- ✓ August 9, 1942 All prominent leaders arrested Major Activity

Public on rampage—especially Eastern UP, Bihar, Bengal— attacking symbols of authority

Underground activity to provide a line of command

Parallel governments in Ballia (UP), Tamluk (Bengal) and Satara (Maharashtra)

Sections participating included youth, women, workers, peasants, government officials, some communists

February 1943 Gandhi started a fast

March 23, 1943 Pakistan Day observed

• C. Rajagopalachari Formula (March 1944)

- ✓ League should immediately support independence for India and cooperate in Interim Government
- ✓ After War, Muslim majority areas to exercise right to self- determination
- ✓ In case of partition, common centre for defence, commerce, communications, etc
- ✓ Jinnah rejected the offer as he wanted Congress to accept the twonation theory

Desai-Liaqat Pact

- ✓ Congress and League nominees to have equal representation in Central Executive
- √ 20% of seats reserved for minorities
- Wavell Plan (Shimla Conference—June 1945)



- ✓ An all-Indian executive council except the governor-general and commander-in-chief
- ✓ Equal representation for caste Hindus and Muslims
- ✓ Muslim League wanted all Muslims to be its nominees and claimed a communal veto in the executive council
- ✓ Congress objected to it being painted purely as a caste Hindu party

Subhash Bose and the INA

- ✓ Origin of INA—Mohan Singh's role. First Phase of INA.
- ✓ Second Phase of INA.
- ✓ Subhash Bose takes over from Rashbehari Bose.
- ✓ INA achievements—flag hoisted on Indian Soil.
- ✓ Retreat of INA with the Japanese with the end of Second World War.

Post-War National Scenario

Last Two Years of British Rule

- Two basic strands—
 - 1. Tortuous negotiations resulting in freedom and partition, accompanied by communal violence
 - 2. Sporadic, localised mass action
- July 1945 Labour government comes to power in Britain
- August 1945 Elections to central and provincial assemblies announced
- September 1945 Announcement of a Constituent Assembly after War
- A change in Government's attitude due to

Change in global power equations;

- ✓ UK no longer a power Labour government sympathetic to India
- ✓ Tired British soldiers and shattered British economy Anti-imperialist wave throughout Asia
- ✓ Officials feared another Congress revolt

• Two Main Election Planks for Congress

- 1. Repression of 1942
- 2. Mass pressure against trial of INA POWs
- INA Agitation—Main Features
 - ✓ Had unprecedented high pitch and intensity
 - ✓ Had wide geographical and social spread
 - ✓ Penetrated traditional bulwarks of Raj—government employees and loyalists



- ✓ With each day, became a purely India versus Britain issue
- Three Upsurges
 - 1. November 21, 1945 in Calcutta over INA trials
 - 2. February 11, 1946 in Calcutta over seven-year sentence to an INA officer
 - 3. February 18, 1946 in Bombay, strike by Royal Indian Navy Ratings

Congress did not support these upsurges because of their timing and tactics

Election Results

- ✓ Congress won 57 out of 102 seats in Central Assembly;— got majority in Madras, Bombay, UP, Bihar, Orissa and Central Provinces and coalition partner with Unionists and Akalis in Punjab
- ✓ Muslim League won 30 reserved seats in Central Assembly; got majority in Bengal, Sindh

• Why British Withdrawal Seemed Imminent by 1946

- 1. Success of nationalist forces in struggle for hegemony
- 2. Demoralisation among bureaucracy and the loyalist sections
- 3. Limitations of British strategy of conciliation and repression
- 4. Demands of leniency for INA by armymen and RIN ratings' revolt
- 5. An entirely official rule was impossible

Main Aim of Government Policy Now

✓ A graceful withdrawal after settlement on modalities of transfer of power, and post-imperial Indo-British relations

Cabinet Mission

Proposals

- ✓ Rejection of Pakistan
- ✓ Grouping of existing assemblies into three sections A, B, C Three-tier
 executive and legislature at province, princely states and union level
- ✓ Provincial assemblies to elect a constituent assembly Common centre for defence, communications, external affairs
- ✓ Provinces to have autonomy and residual powers Princely states free to have an arrangement with the successor government or the British Government
- ✓ In future, a province free to come out of the section or the union

Meanwhile, an interim government to be formed from constituent assembly.

✓ Interpretation Congress claimed that the grouping was optional while the League thought that the grouping was compulsory. Mission decided the matter in the League's favour







- ✓ Acceptance League, followed by Congress, accepted Cabinet Mission proposals in June 1946
- ✓ Further Developments: July 1946 League withdrew from the Plan after Nehru's press statement, and gave a call for "direct action" from August 16, 1946
 - September 1946 An Interim Government headed by Nehru sworn in October 1946 League joins Interim Government and follows an obstructionist approach
 - February 1947 Congress members demand removal of League members; League demands dissolution of Constituent Assembly
- Birth and Spread of Communalism in India





Independence with Partition

- Attlee's Statement (February 20, 1947)
 - ✓ June 30, 1948 as deadline for transfer of power
 - ✓ Power may be transferred to one centre or in some areas to existing provincial governments
- Mountbatten Plan June 3, 1947
 - ✓ Punjab and Bengal Assemblies to take decision on partition. Sindh to take its own decision
 - ✓ Referendum to be held in NWFP and Sylhet district
 - ✓ Two dominions to be created if partition is to take place, with two Constituent Assemblies
 - ✓ Freedom to be granted on August 15, 1947
- July 18, 1947
 - ✓ The Indian Independence Act 1947 got royal assent, and it was implemented on August 15, 1947
- Why partition was seen to be inevitable

Survey of British Policies in India

- Administrative Policies
 - ✓ Divide and Rule.
 - ✓ Hostility to educated Indians.
 - ✓ Zamindars and landlords propped as counterweights to the nationalists.
 - ✓ Reversal of policy of support to social reforms.
 - ✓ Social services ignored.
 - ✓ Half-hearted and inadequate labour legislations introduced.
 - ✓ Stifling of press wherever seen to be helping the nationalist upsurge.
 - ✓ Racial arrogance.
- British Social and Cultural Policies
- Foreign Policy
 - ✓ Reach out to natural geographical frontiers for internal cohesion and defence.
 - ✓ Keep other European powers at an arm's length.
 - ✓ Promote British economic and commercial interests.

Economic Impact of British Rule in India

- Economic Impact of British Rule
 - ✓ Deindustrialisation—ruin of artisans and handicraftsmen.
 - ✓ Impoverishment of peasantry—ruralisation of India.



- ✓ Emergence of new land relations—ruin of old zamindars.
- ✓ Stagnation and deterioration of agriculture.
- ✓ Commercialisation of Indian agriculture.
- ✓ Development of modern industry.
- ✓ Rise of Indian national bourgeoisie.
- ✓ Economic drain.
- ✓ Famine and poverty.

• Nationalist Critique

- ✓ India getting poorer due to colonial exploitation.
- ✓ Problem of poverty—a national problem of raising productive capacities and energy.
- ✓ Development equated with industrialisation, which should take place through Indian, not foreign capital.
- ✓ British policies on trade, finance, infrastructure development, expenditure designed to serve imperialist interests.

Need for complete severance of India's economic subservience to Britain and development of an independent economy.















