

**M.A. Semester – II
HISTORY**

**Course Code: HIST 223
Course Credit : 06 (CORE)**

History of Modern India (1757-1947)

Units: 1 to 21

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History of Modern India (1757-1947)

Core Course-HIST 223

Semester Second

Course Description

The course draws students into a discussion of the multiple Historiographical narratives available for the history of India in the period between the mid-eighteenth and mid-twenties centuries. The course aims to introduce students to contrasting ideologies of the time besides developing a critical insight into the Historiographical debate on interpreting the eighteenth century in Indian history. It also critically analyses the various trends in the national movement and other aspects of politics which were foundational for modern India. The course deals with diverse models for mobilizing different social groups in the national movement. In addition, course enables students to analyse the complex developments leading to communal violence and Partition besides negotiations and discussions for Independence.

Course Learning Outcomes

Upon successful completion of this course, students will be able to

- a. Describe the major social, economic, political and cultural developments of the times
- b. Outline the social and economic facets of colonial India and their influence on the national movement
- c. To understand various aspects of early nationalism and nationalist resistance
- d. Explain the various trends of anti-colonial struggles in colonial India
- e. Analyse the complex developments leading to communal violence and Partition
- f. Acquaint with negotiations and discussions for Independence

Unit-1

1. Trends in the historiography of eighteenth century India
2. Foreign trade and early forms of exactions from Bengal, battles
3. Rise of British power in India, 1757-1857

Unit-II

4. Pre-1857 resistance and rebellion
5. Uprising of 1857: Causes and consequences

6. Early phase of nationalism (1885-1905): Rise of the middle class consciousness, foundation of the Indian National Congress, methods

Unit-III

7. Assertive phase of nationalism (1905-1917): Partition of Bengal, Swadeshi, Revolutionary movement and Home rule agitation
8. Mass Nationalism (1917-1930): The appeal of Gandhi, Rowlatt Satyagraha, Jallianwala Bagh massacre, Khilafat and Non-Cooperation movement
9. Pre-Independence phase of nationalism (1930-1945): Civil Disobedience, Salt Satyagraha, Cripps Mission, Quit India movement and the INA

Unit-IV

10. Peasant, tribal and workers movements
11. Peoples movements in the Princely States
12. Rise and growth of Communalism: Ideologies and practices. Negotiations for independence and Partitio

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Unit -1

Trends in the Historiography of Eighteenth-Century India- I

Structure:

- 1.1 Introduction
- 1.2 Learning Outcomes
- 1.3 Sources of the Historiography of Eighteenth Century

Self-Check Exercise-1

- 1.4 Orientalist Approach

Self-Check Exercise-2

- 1.5 Summary
- 1.6 Glossary
- 1.7 Answers to Self-Check Exercises
- 1.8 Suggested Readings
- 1.9 Terminal Questions

1.1 Introduction

The eighteenth century in India was a period of immense significance, marked by dramatic political, social, and cultural transformations. It witnessed the decline of the Mughal Empire, the rise of regional powers, the advent of European colonialism, and the emergence of new social and religious movements. As scholars and historians have sought to unravel this era's complexities, eighteenth-century India's historiography has evolved, reflecting changing perspectives, methodologies, and interpretive frameworks. This chapter explores the trends in the historiography of eighteenth-century India, shedding light on the various approaches historians adopted to understand this dynamic period. Over the years, historians have engaged with a wide range of primary sources, including chronicles, letters, administrative records, travelogues, and literary works, to reconstruct the socio-political landscape of the time. Early historiography of the eighteenth century was often influenced by colonial narratives, emphasising the impact of British rule and focusing on the role of European powers in shaping the subcontinent. However, post-colonial scholars have critically examined these narratives, challenged the Eurocentric perspectives and highlighted Indigenous agency, resistance, and the diverse experiences of the Indian people. Another significant trend in the historiography of the eighteenth century is the exploration of regional histories and the rise of subaltern studies. Historians have delved into the histories of different regions and communities, uncovering local

dynamics, power struggles, and the socio-economic conditions prevalent during this period. The voices and experiences of marginalised groups, including peasants, artisans, women, and religious minorities, have received greater attention, enabling a more nuanced understanding of the era.

1.2 Learning Outcomes

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

- Understand the significant trends in the historiography of eighteenth-century India.
- Critically identify the important sources of the concerned period.
- Recognize the impact of colonial narratives on early historiography and the subsequent critique by post-colonial scholars.
- Reflect on the interconnectedness of global processes, transnational networks, and the circulation of ideas and goods during the eighteenth century.

1.3 Sources of the Historiography of Eighteenth Century

Archival sources are fundamental to reconstructing modern India's history, particularly from the mid-18th to the mid-20th century. These sources encompass historical records and documents, primarily primary sources, generated through administrative, legal, social, and commercial activities. They offer invaluable insights into India's past and serve as essential resources for historical research.

One of the most significant archival collections consists of the records of the East India Company. Spanning from its establishment in 1600 to the events leading up to the Indian Rebellion of 1857, these records cover a broad range of topics, including trade conditions, interactions with local rulers, and administrative policies. After the British Crown assumed control of India, extensive archives were maintained, providing a detailed account of colonial governance and the decision-making processes of British policymakers.

Beyond British archives, the records of other European East India companies—such as the Portuguese, Dutch, and French—offer additional perspectives on India's history during the 17th and 18th centuries. These documents shed light on economic conditions and the political landscape of the time.

In addition to official records, contemporary and semi-contemporary sources greatly contribute to the study of modern Indian history. Memoirs, biographies, and travel

accounts by individuals who lived in or visited India during this period provide personal insights and firsthand experiences, enriching our understanding of the era's social, cultural, and political conditions. The rise of newspapers and journals in the late 18th century further expanded historical research, documenting Indian society and key developments throughout the 19th and 20th centuries.

Other valuable sources include oral histories, creative literature, and visual materials such as paintings and photographs. Oral testimonies passed down through generations preserve local narratives that might not exist in written records. Creative literature—including novels, poetry, and plays—reflects the social and cultural climate of different periods, offering perspectives on lived experiences. Similarly, visual materials provide representations of historical events, notable figures, and everyday life, adding depth to historical analysis.

Archival materials can be categorized based on their origin. Central government archives, such as the National Archives of India in New Delhi, house extensive records of the Government of India, covering public, judicial, legislative, educational, and commercial matters. These archives are instrumental in studying colonial policies and societal developments. For instance, the records of the Reforms Office offer valuable insights into constitutional changes between 1920 and 1937.

State government archives preserve records from former British Indian provinces, princely states incorporated into India after 1947, and non-British foreign administrations. These archives provide region-specific materials, offering localized perspectives on historical events. Additionally, private archives and foreign repositories significantly enhance the study of modern Indian history. Documents from nationalist leaders and organizations—such as those housed in the Nehru Memorial Museum and Library in New Delhi—provide unique insights into the independence movement and political struggles of the time. Furthermore, the archives of banks, businesses, and chambers of commerce help trace economic and commercial transformations during the colonial and post-colonial eras.

In recent years, digital archives have emerged as an invaluable resource for researchers and historians. Many archival institutions are digitizing their collections, making historical materials more accessible online. These digital resources allow

researchers to search, retrieve, and analyze documents remotely, reducing the need for physical visits to archival repositories.

Self-Check Exercise-1

Q-1. Name three European East India companies, apart from the British, whose records are valuable for understanding India's history

Q-2. What types of contemporary and semi-contemporary sources are valuable for studying modern Indian history?

Q-3. What examples of visual materials provide valuable insights into modern Indian history?

1.4 Orientalist Approach

The Orientalist school of Indian history traces its roots to the colonial encounter between Europe and India. As European powers, mainly the British, established their dominance in India, scholars and administrators developed a keen interest in studying the land, its people, and its past. These early Orientalists sought to understand Indian civilisation by examining its languages, literature, religions, and customs. Their approach was shaped by curiosity, religious beliefs, and the practical need to govern and administer a vast and diverse population. One of the critical characteristics of the Orientalist school was its emphasis on India's ancient and classical past. Orientalist historians, such as Sir William Jones, sought to uncover the ancient roots of Indian civilisation and establish its connections to European classical traditions. They focused on deciphering ancient texts, such as the Vedas, the Upanishads, and the epics, and sought to interpret them within the framework of European scholarship. These scholars often relied heavily on textual analysis and philology to understand ancient India's religious, social, and political systems. Another characteristic of the Orientalist school was its focus on spiritual traditions, particularly Hinduism and Buddhism. Orientalist historians played a crucial role in translating and interpreting sacred texts, such as the Bhagavad Gita and the Ramayana, making them accessible to a broader audience. However, their interpretations often reflected a Eurocentric lens, and they sometimes approached Indian religions with preconceived notions and biases. Orientalist historians are also fascinated by Indian society and culture, particularly the caste system. They studied the intricate social structure of India and attempted to classify and analyse its various components. While they intended to understand and document the complexity of

Indian society, their observations often resulted in simplifications and generalisations that reinforced stereotypes and misconceptions.

Notable Historians Associated with the Orientalist School of Indian History

- **Sir William Jones (1746-1794):** Sir William Jones was a British scholar and linguist who significantly contributed to studying Indian languages and literature during the late 18th century. He is widely regarded as one of the pioneers of Orientalist scholarship. Some key points about his contributions include:

Sir William Jones (1746-1794)

1. **Foundation of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (1784):**
Jones established this scholarly institution in Calcutta (now Kolkata) to study and preserve Indian culture, languages, and history. The society became a hub for intellectual exchange among researchers.
2. **Translation of Ancient Indian Texts:**
Jones is renowned for translating and interpreting Sanskrit literature, including *Kalidasa's Shakuntala* and the *Manu Smriti*. His work introduced Indian literary and legal traditions to the Western world.
3. **Discovery of the Indo-European Language Family:**
Through comparative linguistic studies, Jones proposed the existence of the Indo-European language family, linking Sanskrit, Greek, Latin, and English. This groundbreaking idea laid the foundation for modern linguistics.
4. **Promotion of Cultural Exchange:**
He advocated for a deeper understanding between India and the West, emphasizing that Western scholars could gain valuable insights from India's rich literary and philosophical heritage.

James Prinsep (1799-1840)

Prinsep was a British scholar and numismatist who played a crucial role in deciphering ancient Indian inscriptions, greatly enhancing our understanding of Indian history.

1. **Decipherment of the Brahmi Script:**
Prinsep successfully decoded the Brahmi script, enabling scholars to interpret inscriptions from the Mauryan period and other ancient Indian dynasties.

2. Contributions to Indian Numismatics:

His meticulous study and cataloguing of ancient Indian coins provided valuable insights into India's economic and political history.

3. Understanding Political and Economic History:

Through his work on inscriptions and coinage, Prinsep shed light on historical rulers, dynasties, and trade networks.

Max Müller (1823-1900)

Müller was a German-born Orientalist who made significant contributions to the study of Indian religious texts, particularly Vedic literature.

1. Translation of Vedic Texts:

His translations, including the *Rigveda*, played a pivotal role in introducing India's ancient religious and philosophical traditions to the Western world.

2. Comparative Religion Studies:

Müller explored similarities and differences between world religions, aiming to deepen the understanding of human spirituality.

3. Promotion of Indology:

His work helped establish Indology as an academic discipline, fostering greater interest in Indian culture and philosophy in the West.

Vincent Smith (1848-1920)

A British historian specializing in ancient Indian history, Smith made several notable contributions:

1. Diverse Historical Writings:

His works covered political history, social institutions, and cultural developments, providing valuable insights into India's past.

2. Author of *The Early History of India*

This book remains a significant resource, offering a comprehensive overview of India's history from ancient times to the early medieval period.

H.H. Wilson (1786-1860)

Wilson was a British scholar known for his extensive work on Sanskrit literature.

1. Translation of Sanskrit Texts:

He translated major Sanskrit works, including the *Rigveda* and the *Vishnu Purana*, making them accessible to Western readers.

2. **Scholarly Commentary and Annotations:**

His translations included detailed commentary, providing cultural and historical context to the texts.

3. **Promotion of Indian Culture:**

Wilson's efforts contributed to a broader appreciation of Indian literature and traditions in the West.

Critical Perspective on Orientalist Scholarship

While these scholars played a key role in expanding the understanding of Indian civilization, their work was often shaped by a Western perspective, sometimes leading to misinterpretations and oversimplifications. Their focus on ancient history also tended to overshadow more recent historical developments in India. Modern scholarship has since evolved to offer a more balanced and nuanced interpretation of India's history and culture.

Self- Check Exercise-2

Q-1. Write the names of Orientalist historiographers.

Q-2. What was the primary purpose of the Asiatic Society of Bengal?

Q-3. What script is James Prinsep best known for deciphering?

Q-4. Which Vedic text is Max Muller primarily known for translating?

1.5 Summary

- The historiography of eighteenth-century India has evolved, reflecting changing perspectives, methodologies, and interpretive frameworks.
- Colonial narratives influenced early historiography, but post-colonial scholars have challenged Eurocentric perspectives and highlighted indigenous agency and resistance.
- Scholars have engaged with diverse primary sources, including chronicles, letters, administrative records, travelogues, and literary works, to reconstruct the socio-political landscape of the era.

1.6 Glossary

- **Historiography:** The study of historical writing and historians' methods, interpretations, and approaches.
- **Colonial Narratives:** Historical accounts and perspectives that emphasise the impact of colonial powers, mainly the British, in shaping the history of a region or period.

- **Post-colonial Scholars:** Scholars who critically examine and challenge the dominant narratives and perspectives of colonialism, seeking to highlight Indigenous agency, resistance, and the diverse experiences of colonised peoples.
- **Primary Sources:** Original documents or artefacts that were created during the time under study. In the context of historiography, primary sources may include official records, personal letters, diaries, eyewitness accounts, and other contemporary sources

1.7 Answers to Self-Check Exercises

Self-Check Exercise -1

Ans 1. The Portuguese, Dutch, and French East India companies.

Ans 2. Memoirs, biographies, and travel accounts written by individuals who lived in or visited India during this period.

Ans 3. Paintings and photographs.

Self-Check Exercise -2

Ans 1. William Jones, Vincent Smith, H.H. Willson

Ans 2. To study and preserve Indian culture, languages, and history.

Ans 3. Bramhi

Ans 4. Rigveda

1.8 Suggested Readings

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1.9 Terminal Questions

1. Write a descriptive note on the significant works of orientalist historians.

2. Discuss the evolution of historiography in eighteenth-century India, highlighting the transition from colonial narratives to post-colonial perspectives.
3. What primary sources have historians utilised, and how have they contributed to a deeper understanding of the era? Provide specific examples to support your argument.
4. Explain the importance of exploring regional dynamics, power struggles, and the experiences of diverse communities in modern India.

Unit-2

Trends in the Historiography of Eighteenth-Century India-II

Structure

- 2.1 Introduction
- 2.2 Learning Outcomes
- 2.3 Imperialist Approach
- Self-Check Exercise-1
- 2.4 Summary
- 2.5 Glossary
- 2.6 Answers to Self-Check Exercises
- 2.7 Suggested Readings
- 2.8 Terminal Questions

2.1 Introduction

The 19th century was a period of seismic change in India, characterised by the relentless expansion of the British Empire across the subcontinent. Amidst the socio-political upheavals and cultural transformations brought about by colonial rule, a distinct and influential intellectual enterprise emerged – imperialist historiography. This Historiographical tradition, driven by the imperative to legitimise British imperialism and consolidate its authority, was pivotal in shaping perceptions of India within and beyond its borders. In this chapter, we embark on a journey into the world of imperialist historiography in 19th-century India. Our focus lies not on the events and figures of the past but on the interpretative frameworks and narratives constructed to understand and, in many ways, control the historical narrative of India. We begin by peering into the motivations that propelled British administrators and scholars to engage in the crafting of historical narratives. These narratives, often underpinned by Eurocentric worldviews, sought to portray British colonialism as a civilising mission and justify the dominion over a land rich with history and diversity. The power dynamics inherent in this endeavour become evident as we explore how history was weaponised to reinforce colonial control. Simultaneously, we investigate the responses of Indian historians, intellectuals, and nationalists to the imperialist historiography that sought to subjugate their past. These thinkers embarked on a quest to reclaim their history and heritage from the clutches of colonialism, often

challenging and contesting the dominant narratives through their own interpretations and writings.

Furthermore, we consider the enduring impact of imperialist historiography on the collective consciousness of India. It not only influenced the way Indians perceived their own history but also left an indelible mark on the nationalistic movements that would eventually lead to independence. Examining the Historiographical landscape, we aim to unravel the layers of interpretation, manipulation, and resistance that defined the 19th-century Indian intellectual discourse. It is a story that reminds us of historiography's profound role in shaping our understanding of the past and the present and the complex interplay between power and memory. In this exploration, we strive to grasp the nuanced ways in which history can be a battleground, where competing narratives vie for authority and legitimacy, ultimately influencing a nation's destiny.

2.2 Learning Outcomes

After studying this unit the learner will be able to :

- Understand the key motivations behind the development of imperialist historiography in colonial India.
- Analyse how colonial historiography was used to legitimise British rule and control.
- Recognize the role of historiography in shaping national identity and resistance movements.
- Reflect on the significance of historiography in understanding the multifaceted dimensions of colonialism and its impact on cultural memory.

2.3 Imperialist Approach

The Imperialist school of Indian history writing can be traced back to British colonial rule in India, which began in the late 18th century and lasted until India gained independence in 1947. The British colonial administrators and scholars had a stake in understanding and documenting the history of the land they ruled, primarily to strengthen their hold over the Indian population. Their approach to Indian history was heavily influenced by their political, economic, and cultural domination.

One of the key characteristics of the Imperialist school was its focus on portraying British colonial rule as a civilising mission and a benevolent force in India. The historians of this school sought to justify and rationalise the colonisation process by emphasizing the supposed benefits of British rule, such as modernisation, infrastructure development, and the spread of Western education and values. They often highlighted the achievements of the British administrators and downplayed or ignored the resistance and struggles of the Indian people against colonial oppression. Another characteristic of the Imperialist school was its tendency to project a biased and Eurocentric view of Indian history. The historians of this school often approached Indian civilisation from a superior standpoint, viewing it as inferior to Western civilisation. They depicted India as a stagnant and backward society needing British intervention and guidance for progress and development. This perspective disregarded ancient and medieval India's rich cultural, scientific, and intellectual contributions and instead focused on portraying Indian society as static and primitive.

Notable Historians Associated with the Imperialist School of Indian History

James Mill (1773-1836): Mill, a Scottish historian, was one of the earliest proponents of the Imperialist perspective on Indian history. His influential work, "The History of British India," portrayed Indian civilisation as stagnant, despotic, and lacking political and intellectual achievements. Mill's writings laid the foundation for subsequent Imperialist historians and their interpretation of Indian history.

Thomas Babington Macaulay (1800-1859): Macaulay, a British political leader and historian, played a significant role in shaping British education policy in India. His famous "Minute on Indian Education" advocated for the promotion of English education and the marginalisation of Indian languages and traditional systems of education. Macaulay's views reflected the Imperialist belief in the superiority of Western culture and its influence on Indian society.

Lord Curzon (1859-1925): Curzon, a British politician and Viceroy of India, profoundly impacted the study and preservation of Indian historical monuments. While he contributed to the restoration of several significant sites, his approach was often criticised for being selective and driven by imperialist motivations. Curzon's

focus on architectural heritage overshadowed a comprehensive understanding of India's social, economic, and political history.

Mountstuart Elphinstone (1779-1859): Elphinstone, a Scottish political leader and historian, served as the Governor of the Bombay Presidency in colonial India. His influential work, "The History of India," portrayed Indian society as divided and chaotic, emphasising the need for British governance and administration. Elphinstone's writings justified British colonial rule by emphasising British institutions' supposed superiority and ability to bring order and progress to India.

John Seeley (1834-1895): a British historian, Seeley wrote "The Expansion of England," arguing for the historical importance of British imperialism. He contended that the expansion of the British Empire was a natural and necessary outcome of history, asserting that the British were destined to rule over and civilise other nations. Seeley's work exemplifies the Imperialist ideology that underpinned British colonialism.

While the Imperialist school of Indian history writing played a significant role in shaping historical narratives during the colonial era, it is important to acknowledge its inherent biases and limitations. The historians associated with this school prioritised the interests of the imperialist powers and often disregarded or misrepresented the perspectives and contributions of the Indian people. Their Eurocentric viewpoint perpetuated stereotypes and distorted understandings of Indian civilisation.

Self-Check Exercise-1

Q-1. What was the central objective of imperialist historiography in 19th-century India?

Q-2. Who were the key factors involved in shaping imperialist historiography in colonial India?

Q-3. In response to imperialist historiography, what efforts were made by Indian intellectuals?

2.4 Summary

In the 19th century, imperialist historiography in colonial India served as a tool for British administrators and scholars to justify their dominion by constructing narratives emphasising British superiority and civilising missions. This historiographical tradition, rooted in Eurocentric perspectives, aimed to control and manipulate the

interpretation of India's rich history. Simultaneously, Indian intellectuals and nationalists responded by challenging and contesting these dominant narratives, seeking to reclaim their history and cultural heritage from colonial manipulation. The enduring impact of imperialist historiography on India's historical consciousness and national identity underscored the importance of historiography in shaping the course of decolonisation and self-determination. This chapter delves into the intricate interplay between power, resistance, and memory, illuminating the critical role of historiography in the complex narrative of 19th-century India.

2.5 Glossary

Imperialist Historiography: The practice of interpreting and recording history in a way that aligns with the goals and interests of imperial powers, often used to legitimise and reinforce colonial rule.

Eurocentric: Focusing on or emphasising European culture, perspectives, and values as central or superior, often at the expense of other worldviews and cultures.

Nationalist Movements: Political and social movements aimed at achieving self-determination and independence for a particular nation or people, often in response to colonial or foreign rule.

Cultural Memory: The collective recollection and preservation of a society's cultural heritage, including traditions, customs, and historical narratives, can shape a community's identity.

Decolonisation: The process of undoing or dismantling colonial systems and structures, often involving the restoration of sovereignty and self-governance to colonised regions or nations.

2.6 Answers to Self-Check Exercises

Self-Check Exercise-1

Answer 1: The central objective of imperialist historiography in 19th-century India was to legitimise British colonial rule by constructing narratives portraying British governance as beneficial and India as needing British guidance.

Answer 2: British administrators, scholars, and historians were the key actors who contributed to the development of imperialist historiography in colonial India.

Answer 3: Indian intellectuals responded by challenging imperialist narratives and striving to reclaim their history and cultural identity, which played a crucial role in the growth of nationalist movements.

2.7 Suggested Readings

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2.8 Terminal Questions

1. How did British colonial authorities use historical narratives to legitimise their rule in India?
2. What were the primary themes and characteristics of imperialist historiography in 19th-century India?
3. Who were some prominent British scholars or historians involved in shaping imperialist historiography in India during this period?
4. In what ways did Indian intellectuals challenge and respond to imperialist historiography?
5. What lasting impacts did imperialist historiography have on the cultural memory and self-perception of Indians in the colonial era?

Unit-3

Foreign Trade and Early Forms of Exactions from Bengal- I

Structure:

- 3.1 Introduction
- 3.2 Learning Outcomes
- 3.3 Portuguese Arrival and Conquests
- Self-Check Exercise-1
- 3.4 The Portuguese Presence in India
- Self-Check Exercise-2
- 3.5 The Dutch in India: Trading and Rivalry
- Self-Check Exercise-3
- 3.6 Summary
- 3.7 Glossary
- 3.8 Answers to Self-Check Exercises
- 3.9 Suggested Readings
- 3.10 Terminal Questions

3.1 Introduction

The Arrival of Europeans in India

Following the decline of the Roman Empire in the seventh century, Arab dominance emerged in Egypt and Persia, reducing direct contact between Europeans and India. This limited access to highly prized Indian commodities such as spices, calicoes, silk, and precious gemstones. By 1453, the fall of Constantinople to the rising Ottoman Turks further complicated trade routes. Indian goods reached European markets primarily through Arab Muslim intermediaries, while the Red Sea trade route became a lucrative monopoly controlled by Islamic rulers. Additionally, Arabs dominated the land routes to India, prompting Europeans to seek an alternative direct sea route.

The spirit of the Renaissance in fifteenth-century Europe ignited a strong desire for exploration, coinciding with major advancements in shipbuilding and navigation. This fostered enthusiasm for sea voyages to discover unknown territories in the East.

Economic progress in Europe also contributed to this ambition—expansion of cultivated land, improved agricultural techniques like crop rotation, and increased meat production all heightened the demand for spices for cooking and preservation. However, the Italian city-states of Venice and Genoa, which had long profited from trade with the Orient, lacked the resources to challenge the powerful Ottoman Turks or undertake large-scale expeditions. In contrast, northern Europeans were willing to support Portugal and Spain financially and with manpower, while Genoese experts lent their knowledge of shipbuilding and navigation. Portugal, in particular, had positioned itself as a leading force in Christendom's resistance against Islam and eagerly embraced the age of exploration pioneered by the Genoese.

Historians highlight that Prince Henry of Portugal, known as the 'Navigator,' was deeply committed to finding a direct ocean route to India. His primary motivation was to bypass Muslim-controlled trade routes in the eastern Mediterranean and establish a direct link between Europe and India. In 1454, Pope Nicholas V granted him a papal bull, authorizing Portuguese navigation toward the distant shores of the East, including India. This move aimed to counter Islamic influence and promote Christianity. However, Prince Henry passed away before his vision could be realized.

By 1497, under the Treaty of Tordesillas (1494), Portugal and Spain divided the non-Christian world along an imaginary line in the Atlantic Ocean, approximately 1,300 miles west of the Cape Verde Islands. Territories east of this line were allocated to Portugal, while Spain could claim those to the west. This agreement paved the way for Portuguese expansion into Indian waters.

In 1487, Portuguese navigator Bartholomew Dias successfully rounded the Cape of Good Hope and sailed along Africa's eastern coast. He was convinced he had discovered the long-sought sea route to India. A decade later, in 1497, a Portuguese expedition set sail and reached India in May 1498, completing the journey in just under eleven months.

3.2 Learning Outcomes

- Knowledge of European exploration and key navigators.
- Analysis of the Dutch and English East India Companies' establishment and activities

- Understanding of the Mughal Empire's relationship with European traders.
- Assessment of the French presence and competition with the British in India.

3.3 Portuguese Arrival and Conquests

The Arrival of Vasco da Gama and the Establishment of Portuguese Influence

In May 1498, Vasco da Gama's fleet, guided by a Gujarati pilot named Abdul Majid, arrived in Calicut, marking a pivotal moment in Indian history. The Hindu ruler of Calicut, known as the Zamorin or Samuthiri, initially welcomed the Europeans without suspicion. As a thriving trading hub, Calicut's prosperity depended on commerce, and the Zamorin extended a cordial reception to Vasco da Gama. However, Arab traders, who had long dominated trade along the Malabar Coast, viewed the Portuguese as a threat and opposed their growing presence.

For centuries, the Indian Ocean trade network had been shared by merchants from diverse regions, including India, Arabia, East Africa, China, and Java. These traders operated under an informal code of conduct, prioritizing commerce over territorial control. In contrast, the Portuguese sought to monopolize the lucrative eastern trade by eliminating competition, particularly from Arab merchants.

Vasco da Gama stayed in India for three months before returning to Portugal with a valuable cargo that was sold in European markets for a significant profit. The direct access to the spice trade drastically reduced costs for Europeans, who had previously relied on Muslim intermediaries and paid ten times the price. This immense profitability encouraged other European merchants to seek direct trade with India.

In September 1500, Pedro Álvares Cabral embarked on a voyage to trade for spices and negotiated the establishment of a factory in Calicut. However, tensions escalated when local forces attacked the Portuguese factory, killing several Portuguese traders. In retaliation, Cabral seized multiple Arab merchant ships in the harbor, killing hundreds of crew members, confiscating their cargo, and setting the ships ablaze. He also bombarded Calicut before forging favorable treaties with the rulers of Cochin and Cannanore.

Vasco da Gama returned to India in 1501, but the Zamorin refused to grant the Portuguese exclusive trade privileges at the expense of Arab merchants. In response, Vasco da Gama resorted to aggression, relentlessly attacking Arab ships.

This hostility led to a complete break with the Zamorin, prompting the Portuguese to establish a trading factory in Cannanore. Over time, Calicut, Cannanore, and Cochin emerged as key Portuguese trading centers. Under the pretense of protecting their commercial interests, the Portuguese secured permission to fortify these locations, strengthening their foothold in India.

Francisco De Almeida: Strengthening Portuguese Control

In 1505, the King of Portugal appointed Francisco De Almeida as the first governor of Portuguese India for a three-year term, providing him with a formidable military force to secure Portuguese interests. Almeida's objectives included consolidating Portuguese power in India and disrupting Muslim trade networks by capturing key strategic locations such as Aden, Ormuz, and Malacca. He was also tasked with constructing fortresses in Anjadiva, Cochin, Cannanore, and Kilwa to reinforce Portuguese dominance.

However, Almeida faced significant opposition not only from the Zamorin but also from the Mamluk Sultan of Egypt. Venetian merchants, who feared losing their lucrative trade to the Portuguese, encouraged the Egyptians to counter the Portuguese expansion. In 1507, a combined fleet of Egyptian and Gujarati forces defeated a Portuguese squadron in a naval battle off Diu, resulting in the death of Almeida's son. The following year, Almeida avenged this loss by decisively crushing the allied fleets. His strategy to establish Portuguese supremacy over the Indian Ocean became known as the Blue Water Policy (cartaz system), which aimed to enforce Portuguese control over maritime trade routes.

Alfonso de Albuquerque: The Architect of Portuguese Power in the East

Alfonso de Albuquerque succeeded Almeida as the governor of Portuguese India and played a crucial role in solidifying Portuguese dominance in the region. He strategically secured control over the Indian Ocean by establishing key military and naval bases at important trade chokepoints, including Ormuz, Malabar, and Malacca. To further strengthen Portuguese authority, Albuquerque introduced a permit system for other ships and took control of major shipbuilding centers in the region. The scarcity of timber in the Gulf and Red Sea areas also worked in the Portuguese's favor, limiting the shipbuilding capabilities of their rivals.

In 1510, Albuquerque successfully captured Goa from the Sultan of Bijapur, establishing it as the first permanent European colony in India since Alexander the Great's time. During his tenure, Albuquerque abolished the practice of sati and encouraged Portuguese settlers to marry local women. This policy led to the emergence of a mixed Indo-Portuguese population, with many settlers becoming landowners and contributing to infrastructure development by building roads and irrigation systems. The Portuguese also introduced new crops such as tobacco and cashew nuts and improved coconut plantations to meet the demand for coir rigging and cordage. In cities like Goa and Cochin, Portuguese settlers became artisans, merchants, and master craftsmen, with many considering India their home rather than Portugal.

Nino da Cunha: Expanding Portuguese Influence

In November 1529, Nino da Cunha took office as the governor of Portuguese India. A year later, he relocated the Portuguese administrative headquarters from Cochin to Goa, further solidifying it as the center of Portuguese power in the East.

In 1534, Bahadur Shah of Gujarat, seeking Portuguese assistance against the Mughal emperor Humayun, ceded the island of Bassein and its surrounding territories to the Portuguese. He also promised them a base in Diu. However, relations deteriorated after Humayun withdrew from Gujarat in 1536, leading to conflicts between Bahadur Shah's forces and the Portuguese. Tensions escalated when Bahadur Shah proposed constructing a partition wall in Diu, which the Portuguese opposed. During negotiations, the Portuguese invited Bahadur Shah aboard one of their ships, where he was killed in 1537.

Seeking to expand Portuguese influence in Bengal, Da Cunha encouraged the settlement of Portuguese traders and nationals in the region, establishing Hooghly as their headquarters. This marked the beginning of Portuguese expansion beyond western India and into eastern territories.

Self-Check Exercise-1

Q.1 In which year Vasco da Gama came to India?

Q.2 Name the governor who shifted headquarters from Cochin to Goa.

3.4The Portuguese Presence in India-

Portuguese Control and Influence in India

Extent of Portuguese Control:

The Portuguese presence in India, known as the *Estado Português da Índia* (State of Portuguese India), played a significant role in Indian history, though its impact is often underestimated. Within fifty years of Vasco da Gama's arrival, the Portuguese had established control over several coastal regions. They occupied approximately sixty miles of Goa's coastline and controlled a narrow stretch of land from Mumbai to Daman and Diu, extending into Gujarat, which included four major ports and numerous towns and villages.

In the south, they fortified key trading posts and seaports, including Mangalore, Cannanore, Cochin, and Calicut. While their authority in Malabar was not absolute, they maintained influence over local rulers governing the spice-growing regions. Additionally, the Portuguese established military outposts and settlements along the east coast, such as San Thome (modern-day Chennai) and Nagapatnam (in present-day Andhra Pradesh). By the late sixteenth century, they had also developed a thriving settlement in Hooghly, West Bengal.

Diplomacy and Influence:

The Portuguese actively engaged in diplomacy with major Indian kingdoms, regularly exchanging envoys and ambassadors with Goa. They signed treaties with the Deccan sultans, notably in 1570, renewing them periodically as long as the kingdoms remained intact. The Portuguese also played a role in the political rivalries between Vijayanagara and the Deccan sultans, the Deccan rulers and the Mughals, and later, the Mughals and the Marathas.

Interestingly, despite being the first Europeans to establish a presence in India, the Portuguese were also the last to leave. Their rule in Goa, Daman, and Diu lasted until 1961, when the Government of India finally regained control of these territories.

Portuguese Administration:

The Portuguese administration in India was overseen by a viceroy appointed for a three-year term, supported by a secretary and, later, a governing council. The *Vedor da Fazenda* managed financial affairs, overseeing revenues, cargo shipments, and fleet movements. The Portuguese fortresses, stretching from Africa to China, were under the command of captains, assisted by "factors." However, due to slow

communication between Portugal and its overseas territories, these officials often wielded unchecked power, sometimes leading to personal misuse of authority.

Portuguese Relations with the Mughals and the Capture of Hooghly

English Gaining Favor with the Mughals:

In 1608, Captain William Hawkins arrived in Surat carrying a letter from King James I of England to Mughal Emperor Jahangir, seeking permission to conduct trade in India. Despite Portuguese attempts to obstruct Hawkins, he reached the Mughal court, where Jahangir welcomed him and even appointed him as a *Mansabdar* (a rank in the Mughal administrative system). However, Portuguese intrigues and fluctuating Mughal policies made Hawkins' position difficult.

The Portuguese initially succeeded in preventing English ships from entering Surat's port, but in 1612, an English fleet led by Captain Best defeated a Portuguese squadron. This victory impressed Jahangir and marked the beginning of a shift in Mughal favor towards the English.

Conflict with the Mughals:

Portuguese involvement in piracy angered the Mughal authorities. In 1613, they seized Mughal ships, captured numerous Muslim passengers, and looted their cargo, provoking Jahangir's wrath. He instructed Muqarrab Khan, the official overseeing Surat, to demand compensation.

During Shah Jahan's reign, the Portuguese lost their privileged status at the Mughal court. Their ambitions of converting the Mughal royal family and expanding Christianity in India, which had once found some encouragement under Akbar and Jahangir, ultimately faded.

The Capture of Hooghly:

By 1579, the Portuguese had secured permission through an imperial *farman* (decree) to establish themselves on the banks of the Hooghly River near Satgaon in Bengal. Over time, they expanded their influence, constructing large buildings and monopolizing the salt trade. However, their involvement in the brutal slave trade—where they kidnapped Hindu and Muslim children for forced conversion to Christianity—led to growing hostility.

Matters escalated when the Portuguese abducted two slave girls belonging to Mumtaz Mahal, the wife of Emperor Shah Jahan. In response, Shah Jahan ordered the governor of Bengal, Qasim Khan, to take action against them. A three-month

siege of Hooghly followed, culminating in the Portuguese defeat. Though the Mughals suffered casualties, they captured 400 Portuguese prisoners and transported them to Agra. These captives were given the choice to convert to Islam or be enslaved. Persecution of Christians continued for some time but eventually subsided.

3.5 The Dutch in India: Trading and Rivalry

The Dutch Presence in India

Expansion into the East

Driven by commercial ambitions, the Dutch embarked on expeditions to the East. In 1596, Cornelis de Houtman became the first Dutch explorer to reach Sumatra and Bantam. By 1602, various Dutch trading enterprises consolidated to form the Dutch East India Company (*Vereenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie* or VOC). This powerful entity was granted extensive privileges, including the authority to wage war, establish forts, negotiate treaties, and acquire territories.

Dutch Presence in India

The Dutch established their first factory in Masulipatnam in 1605 and gradually expanded their footprint across India. They challenged Portuguese supremacy and captured Nagapatnam, which became their principal base in South India. Major Dutch trading centers included Pulicat, Surat, Bimlipatam, Karaikal, Chinsura, Kasimbazar, Balasore, Patna, Nagapatnam, and Cochin. Their trade focused on exporting commodities such as indigo, textiles, silk, saltpetre, opium, and rice.

Anglo-Dutch Rivalry

As the English emerged as dominant traders in the East, competition between the two nations escalated, often resulting in violent clashes. The rivalry peaked in 1623 with the infamous Amboyna Massacre, where the Dutch executed ten Englishmen and nine Japanese in the Spice Islands. This event fueled long-term hostilities. However, in 1667, both sides reached an agreement—the British withdrew from Indonesia, while the Dutch reduced their interests in India to consolidate their control over the lucrative Indonesian spice trade. The Dutch ultimately secured a monopoly over black pepper and spices while continuing to trade Indian goods such as silk, cotton, indigo, rice, and opium.

Decline of Dutch Influence in India

Over time, the Dutch prioritized trade in the Malay Archipelago, leading to a decline in their presence in India. The Third Anglo-Dutch War (1672–1674) disrupted trade routes, particularly between Surat and the English settlement of Bombay. During this period, Dutch forces captured three English ships in the Bay of Bengal, prompting British retaliation. In November 1759, the English decisively defeated the Dutch in the Battle of Hooghly (also known as the Battle of Bedara), dealing a significant blow to Dutch ambitions in India. Unlike other European powers, the Dutch remained focused on commerce rather than territorial expansion, centering their primary interests on the highly profitable Spice Islands of Indonesia.

Self-Check Exercise-2

Q.1 Battle of Hooghly/ Bedara was fought in the year?

Q.2 who was the Mughal King when In 1608, Captain William Hawkins arrived in Surat?

3.6 Summary

- Vasco da Gama reached India in 1498, establishing trade links and control over key coastal areas.
- The Dutch and English established trading posts, competed for dominance, and gradually gained control over parts of India.
- The Mughal emperors, such as Akbar and Jahangir, had complex relationships with the European traders, allowing them to establish trade and influence.
- European colonialism had lasting impacts on India's history, economy, and identity, shaping the trajectory of the country's development.

3.7 Glossary

Foreign trade: Exchanging goods and services between different countries or regions.

Exactions: The levying or imposing taxes, levies, tributes, or other economic demands on a population or territory.

European powers: Refers to European nations, such as Portugal, the Netherlands, France, and England, that were involved in trade and colonial activities during the specified period.

Factories: Trading posts or establishments established by European powers in foreign territories for trade and commerce.

Zamindars: Landlords or landowners in the feudal system of Bengal who collected revenue from peasants or cultivators in exchange for land rights.

Colonialism: The policy or practice of acquiring and maintaining colonies or territories by a more powerful nation or empire.

3.8 Answers to Self-Check Exercises

Self-Check Exercise-1

1. 1498,
2. Nino Da Cunha

Self-Check Exercise-2

1. November, 1759
2. Jahangir

3.9 Suggested Readings

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3.10 Terminal Questions

- Q.1 Discuss the factors that motivated European exploration and the search for new trade routes to India. How did these motives contribute to the advent of Europeans in India?
- Q.2 Analyse the impact of Vasco da Gama's arrival in India and establish Portuguese control on the existing trade networks and local rulers.
- Q.3 Compare and contrast the activities and influence of the Dutch East India Company and the English East India Company in India during the period of European advent.
- Q.4 Examine the cultural interactions between Europeans and Indians during European advent. How did these interactions influence both European and Indian societies?

Unit- 4

Foreign Trade and Early Forms of Exactions from Bengal- II

Structure:

- 4.1 Introduction
- 4.2 Learning Outcomes
- 4.3 Foundation of French Centres in India and Early Setbacks
- Self-Check Exercise-1
- 4.4 Carnatic Wars and Its Impacts
- Self-Check Exercise-2
- 4.5 Summary
- 4.6 Glossary
- 4.7 Answers to Self-Check Exercises
- 4.8 Suggested Readings
- 4.9 Terminal Questions

4.1 Introduction

The late 17th and early 18th centuries marked a transformative era in India's history, as European powers set their sights on the subcontinent, drawn by its immense wealth, rich cultural tapestry, and strategic importance. Among these aspiring colonial powers, the French emerged as formidable contenders, weaving a fascinating tale of ambition, rivalry, and cultural exchange. The French presence in India was characterized by a unique blend of commercial acumen and diplomatic finesse. As they navigated the complex geopolitical landscape of the Indian subcontinent, the French left an indelible mark on India's history, shaping trade networks, alliances, and even the course of events that would eventually lead to Indian independence. In this chapter, we embark on a journey through time to explore the compelling story of the French arrival in India. From the establishment of trading posts and fortifications to the interactions with Indian rulers and the integration of French culture into the Indian mosaic, we will uncover the multifaceted facets of this colonial adventure. Together, we will delve into the motivations, strategies, and key figures that defined the French presence in India, ultimately leaving an enduring legacy that continues to influence the subcontinent's dynamics to this day.

The annals of history bear witness to the relentless pursuit of trade, riches, and power that characterized the age of European colonialism. Amidst the era's sweeping tides of exploration and conquest, the Dutch emerged as key players in India's story. Their arrival on the subcontinent was not only instrumental in shaping India's commercial landscape but also left an indelible mark on the course of global trade. The Dutch East India Company, with its formidable naval and trading prowess, embarked on a journey that would redefine India's economic and cultural interactions. Their influence spanned across the western and eastern coasts of India, transforming ports and cities into bustling hubs of commerce, culture, and exchange. In this chapter, we embark on a historical voyage to unravel the narrative of the Dutch arrival in India. From the establishment of trading posts to the intricate web of alliances and rivalries with indigenous powers, we will explore the Dutch East India Company's complex relationship with the subcontinent. This period is not merely a chronicle of commercial interests but a captivating saga of cross-cultural encounters and adaptation.

4.2 Learning Outcomes

- **Historical Context:**

By examining the French and Dutch arrivals in India, learners will gain a comprehensive understanding of European colonialism in the Indian subcontinent during the 17th and 18th centuries. This includes exploring the motivations, strategies, and impact of colonial powers.

- **Cultural Exchange:**

Students will delve into the dynamic interactions between the French and Dutch colonizers and India's diverse cultures and kingdoms. This exploration will foster a deeper appreciation of the complexities of cross-cultural encounters.

- **Economic Impact:**

Through the study of trade networks, economic policies, and the establishment of trading posts, learners will develop insights into how the French and Dutch influenced local economies and global commerce.

- **Geopolitical Significance:**

Learners will analyze the geopolitical importance of French and Dutch expansion in India, including their rivalries with other colonial powers and

interactions with indigenous rulers, providing a nuanced perspective on the political landscape of the era.

- **Legacy and Contemporary Influence:**

Students will assess the lasting impact of the French and Dutch presence in India, exploring how their contributions continue to shape India's cultural, economic, and political landscapes, as well as their role in modern global trade.

4.3 Foundation of French Centres in India and Early Setbacks

The French Presence in India

Early French Interest in Asian Trade:

Although the French had shown interest in East Asian trade since the 16th century, they were the last among European powers to establish a commercial presence in India. In 1664, during the reign of Louis XIV, his minister Jean-Baptiste Colbert established the French East India Company (*Compagnie des Indes Orientales*). The company was granted a 50-year monopoly over French trade in the Indian and Pacific Oceans.

Initial French Expeditions and Settlements:

In 1667, François Caron led an expedition to India, establishing the first French factory in Surat. Shortly after, in 1669, his associate Mercara, a Persian, secured a patent from the Sultan of Golconda and set up another French factory in Masulipatnam. In 1673, Shaista Khan, the Mughal *Subahdar* of Bengal, granted the French permission to establish a settlement at Chandernagore near Calcutta. That same year, Sher Khan Lodi, the governor of Valikondapuram, allowed François Martin to set up a French settlement. This led to the founding of Pondicherry in 1674, with Martin becoming its first governor. Over time, Pondicherry emerged as the center of French power in India. The French also expanded their presence by establishing trading posts in Mahe, Karaikal, Balasore, and Qasim Bazar.

Challenges and Setbacks:

The Dutch-French conflict significantly impacted the French presence in India. In 1693, the Dutch captured Pondicherry, but the *Treaty of Ryswick* (1697) restored it to the French. However, the Dutch retained control of the settlement for two more years before officially handing it back.

Further difficulties arose during the War of Spanish Succession (1701–1714), leading to the abandonment of French factories in Surat, Masulipatnam, and Bantam

in the early 18th century. The death of François Martin in 1706 also dealt a significant blow to French ambitions in India.

Revival of French Influence:

In 1720, the French East India Company was reorganized as the Perpetual Company of the Indies, reinvigorating its operations. Under the capable leadership of governors Lenoir and Dumas from 1720 to 1742, the French presence in India grew stronger. Furthermore, their strategic control over Mauritius and Réunion in the southern Indian Ocean enhanced their trade networks and expansion efforts in the region.

Self-Check Exercise-1

Q. 1 What is a monopoly?

Q. 2 'Treaty of Ryswick' was signed in the year

4.4 Carnatic Wars and its Impacts

The Carnatic Wars: The Anglo-French Struggle for Supremacy in India

The Carnatic Wars were a series of 18th-century conflicts between the British and the French in India. Although both European powers initially came for trade, their rivalry soon escalated into a struggle for political supremacy. These wars reflected the broader global conflict between England and France. Spanning three major battles, the Carnatic Wars ultimately secured British dominance in India, sidelining the French.

By the 1740s, South India was marked by political instability. The absence of a strong ruler along the Coromandel Coast, the weakening authority of the Nizam of Hyderabad, and the influence of the Marathas in Tanjore created a power vacuum, paving the way for European intervention.

The Three Carnatic Wars

1. First Carnatic War (1740–1748)

This war was an extension of the Anglo-French conflict in Europe, triggered by the **Austrian War of Succession**. The conflict began when the English navy captured French ships, prompting a retaliatory strike by the French, who seized **Madras** with naval support from Mauritius. The war ended with the **Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle (1748)**, which restored Madras to the English and granted the French territories in North America.

2. Second Carnatic War (1749–1754)

This war was primarily driven by a power struggle between the French

governor **Dupleix** and English forces. Following the death of the **Nizam of Hyderabad**, disputes arose over succession. The French backed **Muzaffar Jang** and **Chanda Sahib**, while the English supported **Nasir Jang** and **Anwar-ud-din**. The French alliance initially succeeded, defeating Anwar-ud-din at the **Battle of Ambur**. However, Robert Clive led a counteroffensive, successfully capturing **Arcot**, the capital of the Carnatic, which helped relieve Trichinopoly. English victories, aided by local allies, led to Dupleix's recall and the eventual signing of a treaty between the two powers.

3. **Third Carnatic War (1758–1763)**

This war coincided with the **Seven Years' War** in Europe. Initially, the French gained an advantage by capturing English forts, but the British retaliated and won a decisive victory at the **Battle of Wandiwash (1760)**. This battle marked the decline of French power in India. The **Treaty of Paris (1763)** restored French trading posts, but their political influence was effectively neutralized. This victory, combined with the **Battle of Plassey (1757)**, set the stage for British rule in India.

Reasons for British Success in the Carnatic Wars

Several factors contributed to the British victory over the French in India:

1. **Organizational Structure:**

- The British East India Company operated as a **private enterprise**, allowing for greater flexibility and independent decision-making.
- The **French East India Company**, being a state-controlled entity, faced bureaucratic delays and restrictions.

2. **Naval Superiority:**

- The **British navy** dominated the seas, disrupting French supply lines and reinforcements.
- Control over key maritime routes provided a strategic advantage in logistics and trade.

3. **Strategic Holdings:**

- The British controlled **Calcutta, Bombay, and Madras**, establishing a strong presence in India.
- The French had only **Pondicherry** as a major stronghold, limiting their strategic reach.

4. **Financial Strength:**

- The British maintained a balance between **commercial and imperial interests**, ensuring financial stability.
- The French prioritized territorial expansion over trade, leading to financial difficulties.

5. Leadership:

- The British had skilled commanders like **Robert Clive, Sir Eyre Coote, and Major Stringer Lawrence**.
- The French, though led by the capable **Dupleix**, lacked a deep roster of effective military leaders.

These factors collectively enabled the British to establish their dominance in India, ultimately paving the way for British colonial rule.

The Danish East India Company and Its Limited Influence in India

The **Danish East India Company**, established in 1616, entered India in **1620**, setting up its first factory at **Tranquebar**, near Tanjore. Despite efforts to establish a foothold on the eastern coast, the Danish settlements—most notably **Serampore**, near Calcutta—never gained significant importance.

Unlike other European powers, the Danes primarily focused on **missionary activities rather than commercial expansion**. Their influence was most notable in areas such as **education and the translation of Indian texts into European languages**. However, their trade remained modest, and they did not engage in major territorial conquests.

Due to **financial difficulties** and a lack of political ambition, the Danish East India Company gradually declined. In **1845**, the Danish factories in India were sold to the **British government**, marking the end of Danish involvement in the region. Though economically and politically insignificant, Danish missionary efforts contributed to cultural exchanges and educational advancements in India.

Self- Check Exercise- 2

Q.1 What were some valuable spices traded in the spice trade?

Q.2 Battle of Wandiwash was fought in the year?

4.5 Summary

The Danish and French East India Companies both ventured into the Indian subcontinent during the colonial era, though with differing levels of influence and success. The Danish East India Company (DEIC), established in the early 17th century, focused primarily on trade and maintained a limited presence, with key

settlements in Tranquebar (Tharangambadi) in Tamil Nadu and Serampore (Srirampur) in West Bengal. Its impact on India remained relatively modest.

In contrast, the French East India Company (*Compagnie française pour le commerce des Indes orientales*), which began operations in the late 17th century, pursued more ambitious objectives. The French established significant trading posts and colonies, notably in Pondicherry (Puducherry) on the southeastern coast and Chandan Nagar (Chandernagore) in West Bengal. Unlike the Danes, the French actively engaged in Indian political affairs, forming alliances with local rulers.

Ultimately, both companies lost their Indian territories to other colonial powers. The Danes sold their settlements to the British East India Company in 1845, while the French gradually lost their holdings to the British during the colonial conflicts of the 18th and 19th centuries. Though their colonial presence was relatively short-lived, both the Danish and French left lasting traces of European influence on India's history and culture.

4.6 Glossary

Trading Company: A business entity engaged in trade activities, often chartered by a government.

Monopoly: Exclusive control or ownership of a market, preventing competition.

Colonization: The establishment and maintenance of colonies in foreign regions for various purposes.

Dissolution: The formal ending or disbanding of an organization or institution.

Spice Trade: The global commerce of valuable spices such as pepper, cloves, nutmeg, and cinnamon.

4.7 Answer to Self Check Exercises

Self -Check Exercise-1

1. A monopoly is when a single entity has exclusive control over a market, preventing competition.
2. 1697

Self-Check Exercise-2

1. Valuable spices in the spice trade included pepper, cloves, nutmeg, and cinnamon.
2. 1760

4.8 Suggested Readings

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4.9 Terminal Questions

1. What were the main objectives and activities of the Danish East India Company in India, and how did they differ from those of the French East India Company?
3. Explain the reasons behind the decline and eventual exit of the Danish and French East India Companies from India, highlighting key factors that contributed to their diminishing influence in the region.

Unit-5

Rise of British Power in India (1757-1857) Part I

Structure:

- 5.1 Introduction
- 5.2 Learning Outcomes
- 5.3 Why British Succeeded?
 - 5.3.1 Expansion Policies
 - 5.3.2 British Expansion in Bengal

Self-Check Exercise-1

- 5.6 Summary
- 5.7 Glossary
- 5.8 Answers to Self-Check Exercises
- 5.9 Suggested Readings
- 5.10 Terminal Questions

5.1 Introduction

British imperial history can be broadly categorized into two phases: the "first empire," which focused on expansion in America and the West Indies, and the "second empire," which began around 1783 and extended towards Asia and Africa. The conquest of Ireland in the sixteenth century marked the initial stage of Britain's imperial ambitions. The English viewed themselves as civilizers, believing it was their duty to bring progress to societies they deemed "backward." This perspective was reinforced by post-Enlightenment intellectuals in Britain and Europe, who considered their civilization superior to others.

Historians continue to debate whether the British conquest of India was accidental or intentional.

- **Accidental Conquest Theory (John Seeley's View):**
This school of thought argues that the British had no initial intention of acquiring Indian territories. They arrived as traders but became entangled in the political instability created by Indian rulers, forcing them to assume territorial control.
- **Deliberate Empire-Building Theory:**
An opposing perspective suggests that the British came with a clear plan to

establish a vast empire. According to this view, their claim of political neutrality and a peaceful commercial presence was merely a façade, as they gradually pursued territorial expansion.

Both viewpoints likely exaggerate their claims. Initially, Company officials sought to protect their trade interests amid the political fragmentation of India. They took advantage of local rivalries, intervening in Indian politics, which eventually led to territorial acquisitions. However, over time, British politicians and administrators developed a deliberate expansionist policy.

Several factors contributed to increasing British influence in India:

- The immense profits from trade, particularly in India, attracted British merchants.
- Personal ambitions and greed played a role in territorial expansion.
- Geopolitical developments in Europe influenced British military and political strategies in India.
- The British waged wars to safeguard commercial interests and support Indian allies against potential rivals.

The mid-18th century witnessed profound historical changes that set India on a new trajectory. Historians differ on when British rule truly began, pointing to various key events:

- 1740: The rise of British intervention in Indian politics.
- 1757: The Battle of Plassey, marking a decisive shift in British power.
- 1761: The Battle of Panipat, which weakened Indian resistance.

However, these dates are somewhat arbitrary, as British dominance evolved over several decades, rather than being a sudden event. It took approximately eighty years for the British to fully establish their authority in India.

The reasons behind British success in India remain a subject of great historical inquiry. Despite the challenges they faced, they managed to establish one of the most formidable empires in history. Understanding this period requires examining India's political landscape on its own terms, without imposing modern interpretations.

The British conquest was shaped by a complex interplay of trade, warfare, diplomacy, and ambition, making it a defining chapter in the history of both Britain and India.

5.2 Learning Outcomes

- Develop a comprehensive understanding of the historical events, factors, and strategies that led to the establishment and consolidation of British power in India during this period.
- Gain insights into the motives and intentions of the British East India Company and subsequent British administrators in India, including their initial focus on trade and later ambitions of territorial expansion and empire building.
- Examine the various wars, conflicts, and alliances that shaped the British presence in India, including their encounters with rival European powers and indigenous states.

5.3 Why British Succeeded?

The establishment of British rule in India was a gradual process spanning nearly a century. The English employed a combination of diplomatic, military, and administrative strategies to expand and consolidate their power. They leveraged both warfare and governance policies to bring various kingdoms under their control, eventually asserting dominance over the entire subcontinent. Several key factors contributed to their success:

1. Superior Weaponry and Military Strategy

The British possessed advanced firearms, including muskets and cannons, which outperformed Indian weaponry in range and firing speed. Although some Indian rulers attempted to modernize their armies by importing European arms and hiring European military officers, they remained imitators rather than innovators, failing to match the expertise of British-trained forces.

2. Better Military Discipline and Regular Salaries

The British East India Company ensured timely salary payments and strict discipline within its ranks, securing the loyalty of its soldiers. In contrast, Indian rulers often struggled to pay their troops, sometimes diverting military campaigns to collect

revenue. Many relied on mercenary forces or personal retainers, who were often undisciplined, prone to rebellion, or easily swayed to switch sides.

3. Merit-Based Civil Administration

The British appointed officers and soldiers based on skill and reliability, rather than factors like heredity, caste, or clan ties. This system fostered loyalty, efficiency, and professionalism. In contrast, Indian rulers frequently appointed officials based on personal connections, leading to doubts about their competence and internal conflicts driven by self-interest.

4. Exceptional Leadership and Strong Second-Line Commanders

British commanders such as Robert Clive, Warren Hastings, Elphinstone, Munro, and Marquess of Dalhousie demonstrated strategic brilliance in expanding British influence. Additionally, they had a well-trained second line of leaders, including Sir Eyre Coote, Lord Lake, and Arthur Wellesley, who fought for the success of the British cause.

In contrast, while Indian leaders like Haidar Ali, Tipu Sultan, and Madhav Rao Scindia were capable military figures, they lacked well-trained successors. Furthermore, Indian rulers were often divided, engaging in conflicts against one another rather than forming a united front against the British, as they lacked a shared Indian national identity.

5. Strong Financial Resources

The British East India Company generated substantial profits, allowing it to finance wars and pay high dividends to shareholders. Additionally, Britain's global trade network provided money, materials, and manpower, giving them a significant advantage—especially in terms of naval supremacy.

5.3.1 Expansion Policies-

Between 1757 and 1857, the British East India Company expanded its control over India, establishing British paramountcy through two key strategies:

1. Annexation through war and conquest
2. Annexation via diplomacy and administrative policies

While major powers such as Bengal, Mysore, the Marathas, and the Sikhs were subdued through military campaigns and strategic deception, the British also relied on diplomatic and administrative measures to strengthen their hold. Notable policies that played a crucial role in this expansion include:

1. The "Ring-Fence" Policy

Introduced by Warren Hastings, this policy aimed to protect British territories by defending neighboring states from external threats. During his tenure as Governor-General, Hastings faced challenges from the Marathas, Mysore, and Hyderabad. His strategy involved:

- Creating buffer zones around British-controlled territories
- Defending allied states, particularly Awadh, against external threats like Afghan invaders and Marathas
- Forcing local rulers to fund their own defense, with British officers overseeing subsidiary forces

The defense of Awadh was particularly significant, as it served as a protective barrier for Bengal.

2. The Subsidiary Alliance System

Implemented by Lord Wellesley (1798–1805), the subsidiary alliance was designed to bring Indian states under indirect British control. Under this system:

- Indian rulers were forced to accept permanent British garrisons within their territories and pay subsidies for their maintenance
- A British resident was stationed at the ruler's court, acting as a supervisor
- Indian rulers were prohibited from hiring European officers or engaging in diplomatic negotiations without British approval
- In return, the British promised military protection but pledged non-interference in internal governance

This system significantly expanded British influence, and during Wellesley's administration alone, over 100 Indian states signed subsidiary treaties.

3. The Doctrine of Lapse

This controversial policy, associated with Lord Dalhousie (1848–1856), stated that:

- If a ruling prince died without a natural heir, his kingdom would "lapse" to British control
- While an adopted son could inherit personal property, he could not inherit the throne unless the British permitted it

Although Hindu traditions regarding inheritance were not conclusive, the British justified annexations under this doctrine. Several significant states, including Satara, Jhansi, and Nagpur, were absorbed into the British Empire under Dalhousie's aggressive enforcement of this policy.

The British Conquest of Bengal

The conquest of Bengal in the 18th century was a turning point in British expansion in India. Bengal was a prosperous province, known for its saltpetre, rice, indigo, silk, and cotton textiles. The English East India Company had established trading posts and sought greater control over its commercial interests.

The Battle of Plassey (1757)

- The British took advantage of internal rivalries among Bengal's rulers, particularly between Alivardi Khan and his successor, Siraj-ud-Daula
- They allied with local conspirators, including Mir Jafar, to defeat Siraj-ud-Daula
- After their victory at Plassey, the British installed Mir Jafar as the Nawab, securing extensive trade privileges and territorial gains

The Treaty of 1760 and the Battle of Buxar (1764)

- Tensions grew between the British and Mir Jafar, leading to his replacement by Mir Kasim

- Mir Kasim attempted administrative and military reforms to curb British influence, leading to conflict
- The Battle of Buxar (1764) saw the defeat of Mir Kasim, the Nawab of Awadh, and Mughal Emperor Shah Alam II by the British

The Treaty of Allahabad (1765) and British Dominance

- Signed by Robert Clive, this treaty:
 - Forced the Nawab of Awadh to surrender territory and pay indemnities
 - Secured Diwani rights (the right to collect revenue) over Bengal, Bihar, and Orissa for the British East India Company
 - Marked the beginning of direct British administration in India

This period laid the foundation for British rule, setting in motion economic, political, and military changes that ultimately led to the full-fledged British Raj in 1858.

Self-Check Exercises- 1

Q. 1 British East India Company came to India in which year?

Q.2 Name the three popular Expansion policy of EIC.

5.6 Summary

- The debate regarding whether the British conquest of India was accidental or intentional overlooks the complex and evolving motives of the English East India Company.
- The success of the British in establishing their empire in India can be attributed to factors such as superior arms, military strategy, better military discipline, brilliant leadership, strong financial backing, and a lack of unified political nationalism among Indians.
- The British employed expansion policies that involved both conquest through war and diplomacy, including the policy of ring-fence, subsidiary alliances, and the doctrine of lapse.
- The British conquest of Bengal in the 18th century was facilitated by exploiting internal rivalries among the Nawabs and forming alliances with local conspirators,

leading to the decisive Battle of Plassey in 1757. Subsequent battles and treaties solidified British control over Bengal.

5.7 Glossary

- **Doctrine of Lapse:** Introduced by Lord Dalhousie, Governor-General of India (1848–1856), this policy allowed the British East India Company to annex any Indian princely state that lacked a natural heir or an adopted successor.
- **Subsidiary Alliance:** Implemented by Lord Wellesley, Governor-General of India (1798–1805), this system required Indian princely states to accept British political and military oversight. In return for protection, they had to maintain British troops within their territories.

5.8 Answer to Self-Check Exercises

Self-Check Exercises- 1

1. 1608
2. The Policy of Ring-Fence, Subsidiary Alliance, Doctrine of Lapse.

5.9 Suggested Readings

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5.10 Terminal Questions

1. What were the long-term consequences of the British East India Company's rule in India from 1757 to 1857 on the country's political, economic, and social landscape?
2. To what extent did policies like the Doctrine of Lapse and Subsidiary Alliances aid the British East India Company in consolidating its control over India between 1757 and 1857?

Unit -6

Rise of British Power in India (1757-1857) Part-II

Structure:

- 6.1 Introduction
- 6.2 Learning Outcomes
- 6.3 Mysore and Maratha Strife
- Self-Check Exercise-1
- 6.4 British Presence in Punjab
- Self-Check Exercise-2
- 6.5 Summary
- 6.6 Glossary
- 6.7 Answers to Self-Check Exercises
- 6.8 Suggested Readings
- 6.9 Terminal Questions

6.1 Introduction

The British Empire's expansion into the Indian subcontinent during the 18th and 19th centuries was driven by strategic maneuvers and annexations that reshaped the region's political landscape. Among the most significant conquests were those of the Maratha Empire, the Kingdom of Mysore, and the Sikh Empire in Punjab—key turning points in Britain's imperial dominance over India.

Once a formidable power, the Maratha Empire was systematically weakened by British diplomacy and military campaigns in the early 19th century. The dismantling of the Maratha Confederacy allowed the British to absorb its territories, reducing the Marathas to a fraction of their former influence.

In southern India, the Kingdom of Mysore faced a similar fate. The Anglo-Mysore Wars of the late 18th century gradually eroded Mysore's sovereignty, culminating in the decisive defeat of Tipu Sultan in 1799 and the annexation of his kingdom.

Further north, Punjab became a focal point of British expansion in the mid-19th century. The two Anglo-Sikh Wars led to the annexation of Punjab and the dissolution of the once-mighty Sikh Empire, solidifying British control over northern India.

These and other annexations played a crucial role in establishing British supremacy across the subcontinent. The expansion of colonial rule not only altered India's political structure but also left a profound and lasting impact on its history, society, and culture. The story of British annexation in India is a complex narrative of ambition, strategy, and the far-reaching consequences of imperial conquest.

6.2 Learning Outcomes

- Understand British annexations in India.
- Examine annexation factors and strategies.
- Assess consequences on Indian society.
- Evaluate key figures and events.
- Reflect on the colonial legacy in India.

6.3 Mysore and Maratha Strife

Mysore

Following the Battle of Talikota in 1565, the Vijayanagara Empire suffered a significant defeat, leading to the emergence of smaller regional kingdoms. Among these was the Wodeyar-ruled kingdom of Mysore, established in 1612. Under the reign of Chikka Krishnaraja Wodeyar II (1734–1766), Mysore remained a regional power. However, by the latter half of the 18th century, the kingdom had risen to prominence under the leadership of Haidar Ali and his son, Tipu Sultan. Their growing strength alarmed the British, particularly due to Mysore's proximity to French-controlled territories and dominance over the profitable Malabar Coast trade. Additionally, the British viewed Mysore as a potential threat to their stronghold in Madras.

Haidar Ali, who assumed de facto control of Mysore in 1761, focused on military advancements and diplomatic strategies. He sought support from the French to establish an arms factory in Dindigul and adopted European-style military training to strengthen his forces. Through strategic alliances, he expanded Mysore's territory and subdued local chieftains. However, his expansion was met with resistance from the Marathas and the Nizam of Hyderabad, leading to costly conflicts. To recover lost territories, Haidar Ali was compelled to make significant payments to the Marathas. After the decline of Maratha power following Madhavrao's death, Haidar Ali launched retaliatory raids to reclaim his lost lands.

Anglo-Mysore Wars

The First Anglo-Mysore War (1767–1769) saw the British form an alliance with the Marathas and the Nizam against Haidar Ali. However, Haidar skillfully negotiated an alliance with the Nizam and launched an offensive against the Nawab of Arcot, a British ally. The war ended in a stalemate, culminating in the Treaty of Madras (1769), which restored territories and ensured the exchange of prisoners.

The Second Anglo-Mysore War (1780–1784) erupted when Haidar Ali accused the British of breaching the Treaty of Madras. The conflict intensified after the British attempted to seize Mahe, a French outpost on the Malabar Coast. Haidar, with support from the Marathas and the Nizam, launched an attack on British territories in the Carnatic region. Despite early victories, the British managed to regain their footing and defeated Haidar Ali at Porto Novo in 1781. The war concluded with the Treaty of Mangalore (1784), reinstating territorial control for both sides.

The Third Anglo-Mysore War (1790–1792) originated from Tipu Sultan's conflict with Travancore, a British ally. In response, the British, alongside the Marathas and the Nizam, launched a large-scale military campaign. Though Tipu initially inflicted heavy losses on the British, he was eventually forced to sign the Treaty of Seringapatam (1792), ceding nearly half of Mysore's territory.

The Fourth Anglo-Mysore War (1798–1799) marked the final confrontation between Mysore and the British. Under Governor-General Lord Wellesley, the British sought to eliminate Tipu Sultan through the Subsidiary Alliance system. The war ended with the capture of Seringapatam and Tipu Sultan's death. Subsequently, the British installed a Wodeyar ruler as a puppet under their control and imposed the Subsidiary Alliance on Mysore. These wars significantly altered the power dynamics of southern India, paving the way for British dominance in the region.

Marathas

The late 18th and early 19th centuries witnessed a power struggle between the British and the Marathas, culminating in three major conflicts. While the Marathas had once been a formidable force in India, internal divisions and British expansionist policies ultimately led to their downfall. The British, particularly the Bombay administration, sought to establish a governance structure similar to their rule in

Bengal, Bihar, and Orissa. The internal rivalries among Maratha leaders provided the British with opportunities to intervene.

First Anglo-Maratha War (1775–1782)

This war was triggered by a succession dispute following the death of Peshwa Madhavrao in 1772. His uncle, Raghunathrao, sought British military assistance to claim the position of Peshwa, leading to the Treaty of Surat (1775) with the British, in which he promised them territorial concessions. However, the British authorities in Calcutta disapproved of this agreement and instead negotiated the Treaty of Purandhar (1776), annulling Raghunathrao's claims while granting him a pension.

Despite this, the British in Bombay continued to support Raghunathrao, leading to renewed hostilities in 1777 when the Marathas allied with the French. Under Mahadji Sindhia's command, the Marathas effectively used guerrilla tactics, trapping British forces in the Talegaon mountain passes and cutting off their supply lines. This forced the British to surrender at Wadgaon in 1779, leading to the Treaty of Wadgaon, which required them to relinquish captured territories. However, Governor-General Warren Hastings rejected this treaty and sent reinforcements, leading to prolonged hostilities. Eventually, the Treaty of Salbai (1782) was signed, ensuring peace and allowing the British to retain control of Salsette.

Second Anglo-Maratha War (1803–1805)

After Peshwa Madhavrao Narayan's death in 1795, Bajirao II assumed power, but his leadership led to political instability. The death of Nana Phadnavis in 1800 further weakened the Maratha Confederacy. In 1802, Bajirao II suffered a defeat against Jaswantrao Holkar at Hadaspar near Pune. Seeking British protection, he signed the Treaty of Bassein (1802), effectively making him a British subordinate.

This move angered other Maratha leaders, including Sindhia and Bhonsle, who resisted British intervention. However, they were defeated and forced into subsidiary treaties. Yashwantrao Holkar attempted to unite Indian rulers against the British in 1804 but failed. The Marathas, now fragmented and weakened, became politically dependent on the British.

Third Anglo-Maratha War (1817–1819)

The final war was largely driven by Governor-General Lord Hastings' imperial ambitions. The Charter Act of 1813 had ended the British East India Company's monopoly on trade with China (except for tea), pushing the British to expand their control in India. Using raids by the Pindaris—who had ties to the Marathas—as a pretext, Hastings launched military campaigns against both the Pindaris and the Marathas.

By this time, the Maratha Confederacy was severely weakened by mismanagement and internal divisions. Bajirao II, Appa Sahib of Nagpur, and the Holkars attempted a final stand against the British in 1817, but they suffered decisive defeats in battles at Khirki, Sitabuldi, and Mahidpur.

Following their defeat, a series of treaties—Poona (1817), Gwalior (1817), and Mandasor (1818)—led to the dissolution of the Maratha Confederacy. The Peshwa's office was abolished, and Bajirao II was exiled to Bithur. The British installed a nominal ruler in Satara, effectively ending Maratha sovereignty.

The Anglo-Maratha Wars marked the end of Maratha influence in India, cementing British supremacy over the subcontinent.

Self-check Exercises-1

Q.1 Second Anglo-Mysore war happened between whom?

Q.2 Treaty of Salabai happened between.

6.4 British Influence in Punjab

The British were increasingly wary of a potential invasion of India by the Franco-Russian alliance via land routes. In 1807, Lord Minto dispatched Charles Metcalfe to Lahore to negotiate with Ranjit Singh. During these discussions, Ranjit Singh suggested forming a mutual defense and military alliance, with the condition that the British remain neutral in any Sikh-Afghan conflict and recognize his authority over all of Punjab, including Malwa. However, these negotiations failed. As global political dynamics shifted and the threat from Napoleon diminished, Ranjit Singh eventually entered into the Treaty of Amritsar with the East India Company on April 25, 1809.

This agreement had far-reaching consequences. It restricted Ranjit Singh's territorial aspirations by establishing the Sutlej River as the boundary between his domain and British-controlled regions. As a result, he redirected his military expansion westward, securing Multan (1818), Kashmir (1819), and Peshawar (1834). Under political pressure, he reluctantly signed the Tripartite Treaty in June 1838, though he refused to permit British troops to cross his territories for their planned offensive against Afghan ruler Dost Mohammad.

The relationship between Ranjit Singh and the British (1809–1839) showcased his difficult balancing act. Although he acknowledged his vulnerabilities, he neither sought alliances with other Indian rulers nor attempted to counterbalance British influence. His passing in June 1839 marked the beginning of Punjab's political decline.

Punjab After Ranjit Singh

Following Ranjit Singh's death, his son Kharak Singh ascended the throne but proved to be an ineffective ruler. His brief reign was marked by internal power struggles, and his sudden death in 1839, along with the accidental demise of his son Prince Nauihal Singh, created further instability in Punjab. The resulting political turmoil provided an opening for British interference.

Despite its strong reputation, the Sikh military force—once a cornerstone of the empire—had become significantly weakened. Many of Ranjit Singh's experienced generals, such as Mohkam Chand, Dewan Chand, Hari Singh Nalwa, and Ram Dayal, had passed away. The army faced issues such as irregular salaries and leadership by incompetent commanders, which led to declining discipline.

The administration in Lahore adopted a cooperative stance toward the British, allowing their troops to pass through Punjab twice—first during their retreat from Afghanistan and later when they returned to retaliate. These movements disrupted Punjab's economy and political stability.

After the death of Nav Nihal Singh, Sher Singh took the throne but was assassinated in 1843. Subsequently, Daleep Singh, the minor son of Ranjit Singh, was declared Maharaja, with Rani Jindan serving as regent and Hira Singh Dogra as wazir. However, Hira Singh fell victim to palace intrigues and was murdered in 1844. His

successor, Jawahar Singh (Rani Jindan's brother), was later executed by the army in 1845. Eventually, Lal Singh, a close associate of Rani Jindan, assumed the role of wazir, while Teja Singh was appointed commander of the army.

First Anglo-Sikh War (1845–46)

Causes:

While the immediate cause of the war was the Sikh army's crossing of the Sutlej River on December 11, 1845, which the British perceived as an act of aggression, several underlying factors fueled the conflict:

1. **Political instability in Lahore:** The death of Maharaja Ranjit Singh led to power struggles and divisions between the royal court and the military.
2. **Distrust of British intentions:** British military campaigns in Gwalior (1841), Sindh (1843), and Afghanistan (1842) raised Sikh concerns about a possible British invasion.
3. **British military expansion near Punjab's borders:** The presence of British troops close to Punjab escalated tensions.

Course of the War:

The war began in December 1845, with the British deploying between 20,000 and 30,000 troops against the 50,000-strong Sikh army led by Lal Singh. However, the Sikh forces suffered due to the betrayal of their leaders, Lal Singh and Teja Singh, leading to defeats in several key battles:

- Mudki (December 18, 1845)
- Ferozeshah (December 21–22, 1845)
- Buddelwal and Aliwal (January 28, 1846)
- Sobraon (February 10, 1846)

By February 20, 1846, Lahore fell under British control without significant resistance.

Treaty of Lahore (March 8, 1846):

Following their defeat, the Sikhs were forced to agree to unfavorable treaty terms, including:

- A war indemnity exceeding one crore rupees.
- The annexation of the Jalandhar Doab (the territory between the Beas and Sutlej rivers) by the British.
- The appointment of Henry Lawrence as the British Resident in Lahore.
- A significant reduction in the Sikh military.
- Daleep Singh was recognized as the ruler, with Rani Jindan as regent and Lal Singh as wazir.
- Since the Sikhs could not afford the entire indemnity, they sold Kashmir and Jammu to Gulab Singh for 75 lakh rupees, a transaction formalized by a separate treaty on March 16, 1846.

Treaty of Bhairawal (December 1846):

Dissatisfaction with the Treaty of Lahore led to unrest among the Sikhs. As a result, the Treaty of Bhairawal was signed, removing Rani Jindan from power and placing Punjab under British administration through a council of regency led by Henry Lawrence and eight Sikh chiefs.

Second Anglo-Sikh War (1848–49)

Causes:

The Sikhs' defeat in the First Anglo-Sikh War and the harsh terms imposed by the Treaties of Lahore and Bhairawal fueled resentment. Additional factors included:

- The mistreatment of Rani Jindan, who was sent to Benares as a pensioner.
- The Multan Uprising: The British decision to replace Mulraj, the governor of Multan, triggered a rebellion. When Mulraj killed two British officers sent to oversee the transition, Sher Singh, rather than suppressing the revolt, joined the uprising, leading to widespread unrest.
- Governor-General Lord Dalhousie, a strong advocate of British expansion, saw the unrest as an opportunity to annex Punjab.

Course of the War:

Lord Dalhousie personally supervised the British military campaign, which led to three significant battles:

1. **Battle of Ramnagar (1848)** – Led by Sir Hugh Gough.
2. **Battle of Chillianwala (January 1849)** – One of the bloodiest encounters of the war.
3. **Battle of Gujarat (February 21, 1849)** – Resulted in the complete surrender of the Sikh army at Rawalpindi and the expulsion of Afghan allies from the region.

Outcome:

- The Sikh army, along with its commander Sher Singh, surrendered in 1849.
- Punjab was officially incorporated into British India.
- Lord Dalhousie was commended by the British Parliament and elevated to the title of Marquess.
- Punjab's administration was entrusted to a three-member board consisting of Henry Lawrence, John Lawrence, and Charles Mansel.

These conflicts ultimately resulted in the complete annexation of Punjab, marking the end of Sikh sovereignty and solidifying British control over northern India.

Self-Check Exercise-2

Q. 1 Treaty of Amritsar was signed in the year....

Q.2 Battle of Gujarat was fought between....

6.5 Summary

The British takeover of the Maratha Empire, Mysore, and Punjab in the 18th and 19th centuries played a crucial role in shaping British colonial rule in India. These conquests resulted from a blend of military campaigns, strategic diplomacy, and geopolitical ambitions. Their impact was far-reaching, transforming the political, social, and economic landscape of both the annexed territories and the Indian subcontinent as a whole. Influential leaders such as Tipu Sultan in Mysore and Maharaja Ranjit Singh in Punjab were central to these events. The Anglo-Mysore

and Anglo-Sikh Wars were significant conflicts that ultimately facilitated British expansion. These annexations left a lasting imprint on India's colonial past, strengthening British dominance and laying the groundwork for the later struggle for independence. Examining these events is essential to understanding the intricate nature of colonial rule in India and its journey toward freedom.

6.6 Glossary

Annexation: The process of acquiring and incorporating a region or territory into one's own, often through political, military, or diplomatic means.

Colonialism: The practice of establishing and maintaining control over foreign territories for economic, political, and strategic purposes, often involving the exploitation of the colonized region's resources and people.

Diplomacy: The art and practice of conducting negotiations and maintaining relations between nations, often involving treaties, alliances, and agreements.

Geopolitical: Relating to the study of the geographical factors influencing international politics and the strategic considerations of nations.

6.7 Answer to Self Check Exercises

Self-Check Exercise-1

1. 1780-84
2. EIC and Maratha (Scindia)

Self-Check Exercise-2

1. April 25, 1809
2. EIC and Sikh

6.8 Suggested Readings

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- Chikka, R. B. (1993). Economic Transition in a South Indian Region: Mysore, 1750-1900. *Social Scientist*, 21(9/11), 28-43.
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- Grewal, J. S. (1998). The Sikhs of the Punjab. Cambridge University Press.

6.9 Terminal Questions

1. What were the main factors that led to the annexation of Punjab by the British during the mid-19th century?
2. How did the Anglo-Mysore Wars impact the history and politics of the Mysore region in the late 18th century?
3. In what ways did British colonial policies affect the culture and society of Mysore following its annexation in the late 18th century?

Unit-7

Resistances and Rebellions: Pre-1857 Part-I

Structure:

7.1 Introduction

7.2 Learning Outcomes

7.3 Civil and Peasants' Uprisings

Self-Check Exercise-1

7.4 Summary

7.5 Glossary

7.6 Answer to Self-Check Exercises

7.7 Suggested Readings

7.8 Terminal Questions

7.1 Introduction

The Revolt of 1857 is often regarded as the first large-scale rebellion against British rule under the East India Company. However, well before this significant uprising, numerous acts of resistance had already taken place, signaling widespread discontent with colonial rule. These early revolts emerged across various regions of India, involving diverse groups determined to challenge British dominance.

The concept of 'people's resistance' encompasses the collective defiance shown by different segments of Indian society who suffered under British policies. This included peasants, artisans, tribal communities, ruling elites (both those in power and those displaced), soldiers from both princely and Company armies, as well as religious leaders from Hindu and Muslim communities. Each of these groups resisted colonial oppression, either independently or by forging alliances, to safeguard their interests.

Examples of urban movements include the 1810 agitation in Benares against the imposition of a house tax, the 1814 Surat riots protesting salt duties, and the 1816 Bareilly uprising against police and municipal taxes. These movements brought together individuals from lower socioeconomic backgrounds—such as artisans, petty shopkeepers, and the urban poor—who often allied with the prosperous urban gentry. Although their specific grievances varied, they shared a common goal: the overthrow of British rule.

According to historian Bipan Chandra, people's resistance can be classified into three broad categories:

1. Civil rebellions
2. Tribal uprisings
3. Peasant movements

To fully understand the concept of people's resistance, it is also essential to consider military revolts involving Indian soldiers employed by the East India Company. Even in pre-colonial India, the population frequently protested against their rulers due to issues such as excessive land revenue demands, corruption, and harsh official policies. However, the advent of British rule intensified these struggles, as colonial policies had far-reaching and devastating consequences for Indian society.

The British administration largely ignored the grievances of the people, prioritizing revenue extraction over their welfare. The colonial legal system was designed to safeguard the interests of the government and its allies—landowners, merchants, and moneylenders—while neglecting the common people. Consequently, many Indians felt they had no choice but to take up arms in self-defense.

Tribal communities, like their counterparts in other parts of India, suffered under colonial rule. However, their discontent was further fueled by external encroachments into their traditionally independent territories, leading to intensified resistance and frequent violent clashes.

7.2 Learning Outcomes

- Understand the causes of discontent among sepoys in the pre-1857 period under British rule.
- Recognize the historical significance of these pre-1857 resistances and rebellions as precursors to the larger uprising in 1857.
- Understand the consequences faced by leaders and participants of these mutinies and rebellions, including violence, executions, and disbandment of regiments.

7.3 Civil and Peasants' Uprisings

The term *civil uprisings* covers a broad spectrum of movements that were not directly linked to military or defense efforts. In this context, it specifically refers to revolts led by deposed native rulers or their descendants, former zamindars, landowners, poligars (territorial chiefs in South India), ex-retainers, officials of conquered kingdoms, and, in some cases, religious leaders. These uprisings were primarily driven by the former ruling classes, but they gained widespread support from oppressed peasants, unemployed artisans, and demobilized soldiers.

Several factors fueled resentment and revolts against British rule, including:

- Colonial land revenue policies, increased taxes, eviction of peasants, and encroachment on tribal lands.
- Exploitation in rural society, with the rise of intermediaries such as revenue collectors, tenants, and moneylenders.
- The British preference for imported manufactured goods, high export duties on Indian industries, and the decline of Indian handloom and handicraft sectors.
- The destruction of indigenous industries, forcing artisans to migrate to agriculture, increasing pressure on land resources.

Notable Civil Uprisings

Sanyasi Uprising (1763-1800)

Eastern India witnessed the Sanyasi Uprising, a reaction to the devastating 1770 famine and exploitative British economic policies. A group of ascetics (sanyasis), primarily composed of landless farmers and peasants, took up arms against British rule. They were later joined by displaced small landlords (zamindars), unemployed soldiers, and impoverished rural communities. These rebels raided British factories and treasuries, and the movement, also known as the Fakir Rebellion, stood out for its rare alliance between Hindus and Muslims in resisting colonial rule. Notable leaders included Majnum Shah, Chirag Ali, Musa Shah, Bhawani Pathak, and Debi Chaudhurani. The role of Debi Chaudhurani highlighted women's involvement in early resistance movements. This rebellion inspired Bankim Chandra

Chattopadhyay's famous novel *Anandamath*, which depicted India's traditional values in the fight against foreign dominance.

Midnapore and Dhalbhum Rebellion (1766-1774)

The British control of Midnapore in 1760 disrupted the existing socio-economic balance between landlords and peasants. With the implementation of a new revenue collection system in 1772, tensions escalated. Governor Vansittart recorded that Midnapore's zamindars aligned themselves with peasants against British revenue officers. The unrest spread to Dhalbhum, Manbhum, Raipur, Panchet, and surrounding areas, leading to widespread dispossession of local landlords by 1800. Leaders such as Damodar Singh and Jagannath Dhal played prominent roles in this resistance.

Moamarias Rebellion (1769-1799)

The Moamarias Revolt in Assam was a direct challenge to the rule of the Ahom dynasty. The Moamarias, a marginalized peasant group influenced by Aniruddhadeva's teachings, led an uprising similar to other caste-driven revolts in North India. The prolonged conflict weakened the Ahom kingdom, leaving it vulnerable to external invasions. In 1792, the King of Darrang, with support from Muslim soldiers and local zamindars, also launched an armed rebellion. The Ahom ruler sought British assistance to suppress these uprisings, but despite this, the kingdom eventually fell to Burmese invaders and later came under British control.

Civil Unrest in Gorakhpur, Basti, and Bahraich (1781)

To generate war funds in 1781, Governor Warren Hastings placed British officers as revenue collectors (izaradars) in Awadh. Major Alexander Hannay, one such officer in Gorakhpur and Bahraich, enforced heavy taxation, leading to widespread unrest among peasants. Local zamindars and cultivators revolted, targeting British officials. Though the British managed to suppress the rebellion, Hannay was removed from office, and his tax-collecting rights were revoked.

Revolt of the Raja of Vizianagaram (1794)

In 1758, the East India Company allied with Ananda Gajapatiraju, the ruler of Vizianagaram, to drive the French out of the Northern Circars. However, after

securing victory, the British failed to fulfill their promises. When the Company later demanded tribute from his successor, Raja Vizayamaraju, and instructed him to disband his forces, he revolted. Captured in 1793, the Raja refused exile and died in battle at Padmanabham in 1794. Following this, Vizianagaram was annexed by the British, but the Raja's son later regained control under revised tribute conditions.

Dhundia Wagh's Resistance in Bednur (1799-1800)

After the fall of Mysore in 1799, several native leaders resisted British expansion. One such leader, Dhundia Wagh, a Maratha who had converted to Islam under Tipu Sultan, mobilized forces against the British and briefly carved out his own territory. Initially defeated in 1799, he retreated to Maratha lands, rallying local rulers against British rule. In 1800, he was ultimately killed in battle while leading a rebellion against British forces under Wellesley.

Poligar Revolts (1795-1805)

In South India, particularly in Tinneveli, Ramanathapuram, and Sivaganga, the Poligar Revolt emerged as a response to British encroachments on the semi-autonomous rule of poligars (local chieftains). Leaders such as Kattabomman Nayakan spearheaded the resistance, which initially focused on tax disputes but soon evolved into an anti-colonial movement. Kattabomman was eventually captured and executed in 1799. A second wave of uprisings took place in 1801 when imprisoned poligars escaped, but the British crushed the rebellion.

Diwan Velu Thampi's Rebellion (1808-1809)

Velu Thampi, the Prime Minister of Travancore, led a revolt against British interference following the unfavorable subsidiary alliance agreement of 1805. He issued the Kundara Proclamation, urging armed resistance. Many Nair troops joined the uprising. However, the Maharaja of Travancore later sided with the British, leading to the rebellion's suppression. Facing imminent capture, Velu Thampi took his own life.

Paika Rebellion (1817)

The Paika Rebellion in Odisha was triggered by British land policies and the dethronement of the Raja of Khurda. Led by Bakshi Jagabandhu Bidyadhar, the

traditional warrior class (Paikas) revolted, initially gaining significant support. Though the British eventually crushed the rebellion, it forced them to reconsider their governance policies in the region.

Wahabi Movement (Early 19th Century - 1860s)

The Wahabi Movement, initiated by Syed Ahmed of Rai Bareilly, sought to revive Islamic values and oppose British rule. The movement operated through a network of secretive groups, spreading across Bengal, Hyderabad, and the Punjab region. It resisted British policies and engaged in sporadic confrontations until the late 19th century.

Kuka Movement (1840s-1872)

Originally a Sikh reformist movement founded by Bhagat Jawahar Mal, the Kuka Movement later took on a political dimension under Baba Ram Singh. It emphasized social reforms such as the abolition of caste discrimination and women's empowerment. British authorities cracked down on the movement, exiling Ram Singh in 1872.

Moplah Uprisings (1836-1854, 1921)

The Moplah community of Malabar, consisting largely of Muslim peasants, rose against excessive taxation and oppressive landlords. Between 1836 and 1854, they launched 22 uprisings. A major Moplah rebellion occurred in 1921 during the Non-Cooperation Movement. However, internal Hindu-Muslim tensions contributed to its eventual suppression.

Self-Check Exercises-1

1. How did the British authorities respond to the pre-1857 mutinies?
2. What was the significance of the pre-1857 resistances and rebellions in shaping the events?

7.4 Summary

The history of civil and peasant uprisings in India is a testament to the resilience and determination of its people in the face of social, economic, and political injustices. These movements, spanning different eras and regions, have played pivotal roles in shaping the nation's path toward independence and social

reform. From the iconic nonviolent resistance led by Mahatma Gandhi to the myriad localized agrarian protests, these uprisings have underscored the power of collective action and the pursuit of justice. The struggles and sacrifices of peasants and civil society, often characterized by their deep connection to the land and their unwavering commitment to justice, have left an indelible mark on India's history and continue to inspire movements for change worldwide. Ultimately, the legacy of these uprisings reinforces the importance of social equity, the preservation of cultural identity, and the unyielding human spirit in the face of adversity.

7.5 Glossary

- General Service Enlistment Act: A law enacted by Lord Canning in 1856, requiring all recruits to be ready for service both within and outside India.
- Social grievances: Issues related to social inequality, caste-based discrimination, and oppressive practices.
- Religious objections: Protest against policies or actions that conflicted with the religious beliefs and practices of the sepoys.

7.6 Answer to Self -Check Exercises

Self -Check Exercises-1

1. The British Indian government ruthlessly crushed the mutinies through violence, executions of leaders, and disbanding of the rebellious regiments.
2. The legacy of these revolts proved to be significant as they laid the foundation for the widespread rebellion that occurred during the Great Revolt of 1857.

7.7 Suggested Readings

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7.8 Terminal Questions

1. What were the main causes and grievances that led to civil, peasant, and tribal resistances and rebellions prior to the 1857 uprising in India?
2. How did the pre-1857 resistance movements and rebellions contribute to the larger context of anti-colonial sentiment and the eventual outbreak of the Indian Rebellion of 1857?
3. What were the key strategies, tactics, and forms of organization employed by civil, peasant, and tribal resistance movements during this period?
4. How did British colonial policies and economic exploitation affect the lives of peasants and tribal communities, and what role did these factors play in fueling their resistance?

Unit-8

Resistances and Rebellions: Pre-1857 Part-II

Structure:

8.1 Introduction

8.2 Learning Outcomes

8.3 Tribal Revolts

8.3.1 Sepoy Resistances

Self-Check Exercises-1

8.4 Sepoy Resistances

8.5 Summary

8.6 Glossary

8.7 Answer to Self- Check Exercises

8.8 Suggested Readings

8.9 Terminal Question

8.1 Introduction

In the pages of history, the Sepoy Resisters and the Tribal Uprisings emerge as distinct yet interconnected chapters in the broader narrative of resistance against colonial rule. These movements, each with its own unique context and motivations, collectively embody the relentless struggle for autonomy, preservation of cultural identity, and resistance against oppressive colonial powers. The Sepoy Resisters, arising primarily from within the ranks of colonial armies, and the Tribal Uprisings, rooted in indigenous communities, both represent the determination of diverse groups to safeguard their way of life amidst the encroachment of colonialism. While separate in origin, these movements share a common thread of defiance against colonial oppression.

In this combined chapter, we will delve into the intricate details of both the Sepoy Resisters and Tribal Uprisings, examining the specific historical, cultural, and political contexts that shaped each movement. These movements were not isolated occurrences but were part of the broader tapestry of colonialism, indigenous rights, and the pursuit of self-determination. By exploring these movements within their specific contexts, we aim to gain a deeper understanding of the forces at play and the lasting legacies that continue to influence the present day. Throughout this chapter, we will encounter the extraordinary individuals who emerged as leaders and champions within these movements. We will also dissect the socio-political and

economic factors that fueled these uprisings, often leading to profound conflicts and enduring consequences. Through the lens of both the Sepoy Resisters and the Tribal Uprisings, we seek to unveil the intricate dynamics of human history, the enduring power of human resilience, and the timeless quest for freedom and justice within the unique context of colonial rule.

8.2 Learning Outcomes

After studying this unit the learner will be able to :

- Recognize the historical and cultural contexts that shaped Sepoy Resisters and Tribal Uprisings during the colonial era.
- Analyze the common motivations shared by these movements, such as preserving cultural identity and autonomy.
- Evaluate the key figures and leaders in these movements and their impact.
- Assess the enduring legacies and implications of these movements in the context of colonial history.

8.3 Tribal Revolts

Tribal Resistance during British Rule

During colonial rule, tribal uprisings were among the most frequent and intense forms of resistance. These movements, often marked by strong militancy, can be divided into two broad categories: uprisings in mainland India and those in the north-eastern frontier. While both were responses to colonial exploitation, the causes and nature of their struggles varied.

The primary factors behind the mainland tribal revolts were land and forest-related issues. British land policies disrupted traditional systems of communal ownership, undermining tribal social structures. The introduction of settled agriculture led to large-scale land alienation, allowing outsiders to occupy tribal lands. Additionally, restrictions on shifting cultivation deprived tribal's of their traditional farming methods. British authorities expanded control over forests, declaring them as reserved areas and imposing bans on timber collection and grazing. These measures were primarily driven by the growing demand for timber in British shipbuilding and railway expansion. Tribals also faced exploitation from police,

traders, and moneylenders, further worsening their conditions. Certain colonial laws interfered with indigenous customs, deepening resentment.

With the spread of colonial rule, Christian missionaries entered tribal regions, often clashing with local traditions. Many tribal communities viewed them as agents of foreign rule and resisted their presence.

Tribal movements in the northeastern frontier had distinct characteristics. Many of these tribes shared cultural and ethnic connections with neighboring regions, which influenced their resistance. Unlike mainland revolts that were largely focused on land rights, northeastern uprisings often sought political autonomy or complete independence. Furthermore, British influence arrived later in the northeast compared to other tribal regions, leading to prolonged resistance.

Notable Tribal Uprisings

- **Pahariya Rebellion (1778)** – The Pahariyas of the Raj Mahal Hills launched a rebellion against British expansion. To maintain peace, the British eventually designated the area as a special administrative region.
- **Chuar Uprisings (1766-1772 & 1795-1816)** – The Chuar tribes of Jungle Mahal (covering present-day Midnapore and Bankura in Bengal) revolted due to famine, excessive taxation, and economic distress. Leaders like Jagannath Singh and Durjan Singh spearheaded the resistance, which was ultimately suppressed.
- **Kol Revolt (1831)** – The Kol community of Chhotanagpur, spanning areas such as Ranchi, Singhbhum, and Palamau, rose in rebellion against the transfer of tribal lands to outsiders. Led by Buddho Bhagat, they attacked non-tribal settlers, but the British eventually crushed the movement through military force.
- **Ho and Munda Uprisings (1820-1837)** – The Ho tribe, under the leadership of the Raja of Parahat, resisted British expansion in Singhbhum. After surrendering in 1827, they revolted again in 1831, this time joined by the Mundas of Chhotanagpur. Their struggle was primarily against new revenue policies and an influx of Bengali outsiders. Though suppressed by 1832, Ho resistance continued until 1837.

- **Santhal Revolt (1855-1856)** – The Santhals of the Rajmahal Hills revolted against oppression by landlords and moneylenders, supported by colonial authorities. Under the leadership of Sidhu and Kanhu, the movement developed into an anti-British struggle, briefly establishing autonomy over a vast region before being brutally crushed by British forces.
- **Khond Resistance (1837-1856)** – The Khond community of Odisha, Srikakulam, and Visakhapatnam rebelled against British suppression of their rituals, heavy taxation, and the encroachment of landlords. Their leader, Chakra Bisnoi, played a crucial role before the movement eventually lost momentum following his disappearance.
- **Koya Uprisings** – The Koyas of the eastern Godavari region (present-day Andhra Pradesh) engaged in multiple revolts in 1803, 1840, 1845, 1858, 1861, and 1862 against oppression by moneylenders, restrictions on traditional rights, and high-handed colonial policies. A large-scale rebellion took place in 1879-1880 under Tomma Sora, followed by another in 1886 under Raja Anantayyar.
- **Bhil Revolts** – The Bhils of the Western Ghats resisted British control between 1817 and 1819 due to famine and poor governance. Although they were subdued, uprisings occurred again in 1825, 1831, and 1846. Later, under Govind Guru, the Bhils of Rajasthan (Banswara, Sunth states) rallied for self-rule, culminating in the 1913 movement.
- **Koli Uprisings** – The Koli tribe, located near Bhil territories, staged multiple revolts against British rule in 1829, 1839, and between 1844 and 1848. The imposition of colonial laws led to widespread unrest and the dismantling of their defensive forts, sparking rebellion.
- **Ramosi Revolts** – The Ramosis of the Western Ghats fiercely opposed British annexation. In 1822, under Chittur Singh, they engaged in widespread attacks near Satara. Later uprisings (1825-1826) led by Umaji Naik and Bapu Trimbakji Sawant lasted until 1829. Further disturbances occurred in 1839 following the removal of Raja Pratap Singh of Satara, continuing into 1840-1841. Though the British eventually suppressed these revolts, they later recruited some Ramosis into a hill police force.

Each of these tribal uprisings reflected deep-rooted grievances against colonial policies, economic exploitation, and cultural interference. While many were ultimately crushed, they played a crucial role in shaping resistance against British rule in India.

8.3.1 Sepoy Resistances-

Before the Great Revolt of 1857, several sporadic military uprisings took place across different parts of India. Indian sepoys, or soldiers, grew increasingly discontented with British rule due to multiple grievances. They faced discrimination in pay and promotions, while British officials frequently mistreated them, deepening their resentment. Their dissatisfaction was further fueled by the government's refusal to grant foreign service allowances for deployments to remote regions.

Additionally, high-caste Hindu sepoys strongly opposed Lord Canning's General Service Enlistment Act of 1856, which required them to serve both within and beyond India's borders. Many viewed this mandate as a violation of their religious beliefs, intensifying their unrest. The sepoys also shared the broader social, religious, and economic grievances of the civilian population, further amplifying their discontent. Over time, upper-caste sepoys found that their military service increasingly conflicted with their religious customs. For example, in 1806, the replacement of the turban with a leather cockade sparked a mutiny in Vellore. Similarly, in 1844, Bengal Army sepoys rebelled against deployment to distant Sind, and in 1824, sepoys in Barrackpore revolted when ordered to Burma, as crossing the sea was considered a violation of their caste-based traditions.

Several notable mutinies occurred before the 1857 uprising. In 1764, sepoys in Bengal staged a mutiny, while the Vellore Mutiny of 1806 saw soldiers protesting British interference in their social and religious practices, even raising the Mysore ruler's flag as a symbol of resistance. The 47th Native Infantry Unit mutinied in 1824, followed by a rebellion of the Grenadier Company in Assam in 1825. In 1838, an Indian regiment revolted in Sholapur, and additional mutinies followed—by the 34th Native Infantry in 1844, the 22nd Native Infantry in 1849, the 66th Native Infantry in 1850, and the 37th Native Infantry in 1852.

However, these uprisings were localized and swiftly suppressed by the British authorities, often through brutal crackdowns, execution of leaders, and disbandment of rebellious regiments.

Self-check Exercises-1

Q.1 What were the major factors that led to the rise of sporadic military uprisings before the Great Revolt of 1857?

Q.2 What were some significant mutinies that occurred before the 1857 revolt?

8.4 Summary

Pre-1857 witnessed several sporadic military uprisings in different parts of India. Sepoys (Indian soldiers) harboured discontent against British rule due to discrimination, mistreatment, and denial of allowances.

Sepoys shared the grievances of the civilian population, including social, religious, and economic issues.

Mutinies occurred in Bengal (1764), Vellore (1806), and various other locations, often crushed by the British government.

These uprisings set the stage for the significant events of the Great Revolt of 1857.

8.5 Glossary

- Sepoys: Indian soldiers serving in the British East India Company's army.
- Foreign Service Allowance: Compensation provided to soldiers serving in remote regions.
- Grenadier Company: A unit of the Indian army that rebelled in Assam in 1825.
- Regiment: A military unit consisting of soldiers under a specific designation.
- Santhal Rebellion: The Santhal Rebellion was a major tribal uprising that occurred in 1855-1856 in Jharkhand, India. Led by the Santhal tribe, it was a response to British colonial oppression, particularly unfair land policies and economic exploitation.
- Forest Rights Act: The Forest Rights Act of 2006 is an Indian law that acknowledges and grants forest rights and land occupation to forest-dwelling communities, including numerous tribal groups. This act aims to rectify historical injustices and legally protect the rights of these communities, facilitating sustainable forest management.

8.6 Answer to Self Check Exercises

Self-check Exercises-1

1.The factors included discrimination, mistreatment, refusal of foreign service allowance, and religious objections among sepoys.

2. Notable mutinies included the Bengal mutiny in 1764, Vellore mutiny in 1806, and mutinies of various Native Infantry units in different years.

8.7 Suggested Readings

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8.8 Terminal Questions

1. Explore the socio-economic and political factors that contributed to tribal revolts in British India during the colonial period. Provide specific examples of such revolts and their outcomes.
2. Discuss the impact of British colonial policies on tribal communities and their role in fostering resistance movements. How did these revolts shape the tribal identity and the broader Indian freedom struggle?
3. Examine the role of tribal leaders and organizations in the tribal revolts of British India. How did these movements contribute to a sense of identity and cultural continuity among tribal communities?

Unit-9

Uprising of 1857: Causes and Sequences Part-1

Structure:

9.1 Introduction

9.2 Learning Outcomes

9.3 Background

9.3.1 Causes and Sequences

Self-Check exercises-1

9.4 Summary

9.5 Glossary

9.6 Answer to Self Check Exercises

9.7 Suggested Readings

9.8 Terminal Questions

9.1 Introduction

The Uprising of 1857, commonly referred to as the First War of Independence, marked a pivotal chapter in India's history, igniting the flames of resistance against British colonial rule. This watershed event unfolded against the backdrop of a nation grappling with significant political, economic, and social transformations. The uprising, though suppressed by the British, reverberated throughout the Indian subcontinent, leaving an indelible impact on the course of India's struggle for independence. In this chapter, we embark on a journey to unravel the causes that led to the Uprising of 1857, delving into the complex web of grievances and discontent simmering beneath the surface. We will also examine the far-reaching consequences of this seminal event, which forever altered the dynamics between the colonizer and the colonized. The causes of the uprising were multifaceted, reflecting a convergence of various factors. British colonial policies, ranging from economic exploitation to cultural suppression, had fostered widespread resentment between both the Indian soldiers, known as sepoys, and the civilian population. Seething discontent over issues such as the use of cow and pig fat in rifle cartridges, which offended religious sensibilities, served as the immediate trigger for the uprising. However, beneath this surface trigger lay a deeper sense of disillusionment and a yearning for freedom that had been brewing for decades. The consequences of the uprising were far-reaching and complex, shaping the trajectory of India's independence movement in the years to come. The British responded to

the rebellion with a brutal suppression, re-establishing their control over India and dismantling the last vestiges of Mughal authority. The event also exposed the weaknesses of the East India Company's rule, leading to the subsequent transfer of power from the Company to the British Crown. Moreover, the uprising left an indelible mark on the collective consciousness of the Indian people, inspiring a renewed sense of national identity and resistance against colonial oppression. As we navigate through the causes and consequences of the Uprising of 1857, it becomes evident that this pivotal event laid the groundwork for subsequent movements that would eventually lead India towards independence. It stands as a testament to the indomitable spirit and resilience of a nation yearning for self-determination, and it serves as a stark reminder of the complexities and sacrifices inherent in the pursuit of freedom. Join us as we unravel the intricacies of the Uprising of 1857, peering into the lives of the sepoys, civilians, and leaders who stood united in their quest for liberation. In doing so, we hope to gain a deeper understanding of the forces that shaped India's struggle for independence, and to honour the courage and sacrifices of those who laid the foundation for a free and sovereign nation.

9.2 Learning Outcomes

- Understand the political, social, and economic causes that led to the Uprising of 1857.
- Examine the immediate and long-term consequences of the Uprising of 1857 on Indian society, the British Raj, and the Indian independence movement.

9.3 Background

In the background of British Indian history, the lessons drawn from the 1857 rebellion emphasized the need for caution and respect towards Indian traditions. The British believed that by conciliating priests, princes, and landholders under firm authoritarian rule, they could maintain control. Consequently, the 19th century history of British India is often divided into two distinct periods: an era of ill-considered reform followed by one of iron conservatism, separated by the significant event of the rebellion. However, such a division oversimplifies the complexities of the time, as the British rulers' intentions often diverged from what they were able to achieve. The genesis of disaffection can be traced to the early half of the 19th century when some British circles expressed a rhetoric of reform and improvement. Thomas Macaulay, for instance, envisioned the creation of a class of Indians who possessed English

tastes, opinions, morals, and intellect. However, the resources available to the East India Company's government were limited, and they primarily allocated funds to their armed forces rather than implementing improvement schemes. The Indian economy remained stagnant, and European influences were mainly concentrated in urban areas like Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay. Interestingly, the early British rule seemed to strengthen the hold of traditional intellectuals and reinforce the authority of Brahmins and caste separation doctrines. Moreover, in rural regions, issues such as land control, peasant taxation, and finding markets for surplus crops were of paramount importance. The disruption caused by British occupation resulted in the loss of aristocratic power, alterations in landholding practices, and stricter tax enforcement. The growth of disaffection leading up to the rebellion cannot be solely attributed to traditional India's rejection of modern reform. While areas such as Bengal and the south, which had long been under British rule, did not participate in the revolt, the British managed to create discontent in the regions that rebelled. This resulted in the removal of Indian rulers from their thrones and the loss of control for numerous landowners. In urban centres, the limited Western influences were met with mixed reactions, particularly among devout Hindus and Muslims, who viewed the presence of Christian missions and new colleges as unwelcome intrusions. These factors also fuelled concerns about a Christian offensive and forced conversions. Northern India had a history of sporadic disorder and resistance to government, which likely would have intensified in the mid-19th century. However, the British inadvertently alienated a crucial group that played a significant role in triggering the rebellion—the soldiers of the Bengal army. These soldiers, recruited primarily from northern India, regarded themselves as privileged and had faithfully fought for the British but on their own terms. However, as the British sought to modernize the army by imposing new obligations and introducing a new rifle, the soldiers' fear of their cherished status being undermined was ignited by the rumour of using animal fat, forbidden in their religious beliefs, as lubricant for the new cartridges. The soldiers' refusal to acknowledge British authority created an opening for disaffected princes, aristocrats, and individuals with grievances from villages and towns to join the rebellion.

9.3.1 Causes and Sequences

Grievances of the native rulers: The grievances stemmed from Lord Dalhousie's implementation of the Doctrine of Lapse, which resulted in the annexation of several states. These included Satara in 1858, Jaitapur and Sambalpur in 1849, Baghat in 1850, Udaipur in 1852, Jhansi in 1853, and Nagpur in 1854. However, the annexation of Baghat and Udaipur was later reversed, and these states were restored to their ruling houses. Dalhousie's attempt to apply the Doctrine of Lapse to Karauli was overruled by the Court of Directors. Another source of grievance was the abolition of titles and suspension of pensions. Dalhousie abolished the titles of the Nawab of Carnatic and the Raja of Tanjore. Additionally, he refused to grant a pension to the adopted son of the last Peshwa, Dhondu Pandit (also known as Nana Saheb), after the death of Baji Rao II in 1851. In 1849, it was announced that the successors of Bahadur Shah II would have to vacate the Red Fort. In 1856, Canning further declared that the successors of Bahadur Shah were to be recognized only as princes and not as kings.

Grievances of the sepoys: The sepoys, or Indian soldiers, had several grievances that contributed to their disaffection. These included discrimination in payment and promotions, mistreatment by British officials, denial of foreign service allowance while serving in remote regions, religious objections to certain acts and orders, and the perceived favouritism shown to Christian missionaries by British army officers. These grievances resulted in mutinies prior to 1857, such as the Bengal Mutiny in 1764, the Vellore Mutiny in 1806, and the mutinies of various regiments in subsequent years. These mutinies were violently suppressed by the British, with leaders executed and regiments disbanded.

Grievances of conventional group of society: The conventional segments of Indian society had their own set of grievances. They were fearful of the activities of Christian missionaries and the support they received from the British government. They also resented the social reforms and humanitarian measures introduced by the government, such as the abolition of sati, legalization of widow remarriage, and protection of civil rights for converts from Hinduism. Additionally, policies such as taxing lands belonging to religious institutions further alienated these sections from the British.

Grievances of artisans, peasants, and zamindars: Various groups within Indian society faced specific grievances as well. Artisans and craftsmen suffered from the destruction of village industries and handicrafts due to the British free trade policy. Peasants lost their lands to moneylenders because of British land and revenue policies, particularly the ryotwari system. Traditional zamindars, or landowners, lost their estates to urban-based absentee landlords due to the introduction of the zamindari system and strict revenue collection practices by the British.

Grievances of the middle and upper classes: The middle and upper classes in India were excluded from high administrative and military positions, leading to their frustration. Many individuals who relied on patronage from Indian rulers for their support in arts and literature suffered significant losses because of British rule.

Basic foreignness of the British: Unlike earlier foreign rulers like the Mughals and Delhi Sultans, the British did not view India as their homeland and considered themselves racially superior. This sense of cultural and racial distinction further deepened the resentment among the Indian people.

Military causes: Several military factors contributed to the disaffection among the sepoys. Setbacks in British military campaigns, such as the First Afghan War, Anglo-Sikh War, Crimean War, and the Santhal Uprising, weakened the British armed strength. Furthermore, the disproportionate ratio of sepoys to Europeans in the British Indian Army and the flawed deployment of troops in key military centres like Delhi and Allahabad provided the sepoys with a sense of confidence.

Immediate cause: The introduction of the new Enfield Rifle in January 1857, which used cartridges supposedly greased with animal fat (forbidden in the religious beliefs of Hindus and Muslims), became the immediate trigger for discontent among the sepoys. The refusal to use these cartridges led to mutinies, starting with the disobedience of the 19th Native Infantry stationed at Berhampur and the subsequent mutiny of Mangal Pandey at Barrackpur. These events were followed by the refusal of the sepoys at Meerut and Lucknow to use the greased cartridges, leading to their court-martial, imprisonment, and the disbandment of certain units.

Self-Check Exercises-1

Q. 1 What were the key political causes that led to the Uprising of 1857?

Q.2 How did religious and cultural tensions contribute to the Uprising of 1857?

Q.3 Who was Mangal Pandey, and what role did he play in the Uprising of 1857?

9.4 Summary

- Causes of the Uprising: Political, social, and economic factors contributed to the uprising, including the annexation of princely states, grievances among Indian soldiers, the introduction of new technologies, religious and cultural tensions, and the impact of British colonial policies.
- Immediate Consequences: The uprising posed a significant challenge to British rule in India, resulting in widespread violence and rebellion across various regions. British forces eventually suppressed the rebellion, leading to the establishment of direct British control over India.

9.5 Glossary

- Annexation: The act of taking over or acquiring control of a territory, often forcibly, by a larger political entity.
- Grievances: Feelings of resentment or injustice arising from real or perceived mistreatment, often serving as a catalyst for rebellion or uprising.
- Indian soldiers: Refers to the sepoys, Indian soldiers serving in the British East India Company's army, who played a significant role in the uprising.
- Colonial Policies: Policies implemented by the British colonial administration, such as the Doctrine of Lapse and the introduction of new land revenue systems, which contributed to discontent among Indians.
- Nationalist Movement: A political and social movement advocating for the independence and self-determination of a nation, in this case, the movement seeking independence from British colonial rule.

9.6 Answer to Self Check Exercise

Self Check Exercise-1

1. The annexation of princely states and the implementation of colonial policies contributed to political grievances.
2. The perception of British interference in religious practices and cultural traditions sparked discontent among Indians.
3. Mangal Pandey was a sepoy who rebelled against British officers and is considered one of the early sparks of the uprising.

9.7 Suggested Readings

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9.8 Terminal Questions

1. Discuss the various political, social, and economic causes that led to the Uprising of 1857, highlighting their significance and interconnections.
2. Evaluate the impact of British colonial policies, such as the Doctrine of Lapse and the introduction of new land revenue systems, on the grievances and discontent among Indian soldiers and the wider population, contributing to the outbreak of the Uprising of 1857.
3. Analyze the role of Indian soldiers (sepoys) in the Uprising of 1857, considering their motivations, experiences, and the factors that led them to rebel against the British East India Company's army.

Unit-10

Uprising of 1857: Causes and Sequences Part-2

Structure:

10.1 Introduction

10.2 Learning Outcomes

10.3 Beginning of the Great War of Independence

10.3.1 Suppression of the Revolt

10.3.2 Reasons for the Failure of the Resistance

10.3.3 Consequences

Self-Check Exercises- 1

10.4 Summary

10.5 Glossary

10.6 Answer to Self-Check Exercises

10.7 Suggested Readings

10.8 Terminal Questions

10.1 Introduction

The year 1857 marked a seismic shift in the history of India, as the Indian subcontinent bore witness to a colossal uprising against British colonial rule. Often referred to as the "Indian Rebellion of 1857" or the "First War of Independence," this pivotal event was more than just a military confrontation. It was the culmination of simmering discontent and a profound yearning for freedom that had been evolving over the years. To fully grasp the essence and motivations behind the 1857 freedom movement, one must delve into the philosophical underpinnings that fueled the flames of resistance.

The 1857 Indian Freedom Movement was not a spontaneous outburst of rebellion; rather, it was deeply rooted in the intricate socio-political and philosophical landscape of the time. This movement sought to confront and challenge the oppressive rule of the British East India Company, which had persisted for nearly a century. At its core, the movement was driven by a desire for self-determination and the restoration of India's rich cultural heritage, which had been undermined by colonial exploitation and cultural subjugation.

The 1857 movement left an indelible mark on India's quest for freedom. It sowed the seeds of nationalistic sentiment, cultural resurgence, and the belief that self-

determination was a fundamental right. While it faced setbacks, it was a precursor to subsequent movements that ultimately led to India's independence in 1947. The philosophical principles that guided the leaders and participants of the 1857 movement continue to resonate in the modern Indian psyche, serving as a reminder of the enduring spirit of freedom and self-determination.

10.2 Learning Outcomes

- Evaluate the significance of key leaders and events during the uprising, such as Mangal Pandey, Rani Lakshmibai, and the Siege of Lucknow.
- Recognize the contributions and struggles of different sections of society, including peasants, soldiers, and religious communities, in the uprising.
- Compare and contrast different perspectives and interpretations of the Uprising of 1857.
- Reflect on the legacy of the Uprising of 1857 in shaping India's struggle for independence and its impact on British colonial rule.

10.3 Beginning of the Great War of Independence

The revolt of 1857 was triggered by reports of bone dust being mixed in flour and the introduction of the Enfield rifle, which further intensified the growing resentment among sepoys. The new rifle's greased cartridges, rumored to contain beef and pig fat, deeply offended the religious sentiments of both Hindus and Muslims. Many sepoys believed their faith was under threat, and the army administration's inaction only worsened their grievances.

The uprising erupted in Meerut on May 10, 1857, and rapidly spread across vast regions, from Punjab to Bihar and from the Narmada to Rajputana. Prior to the Meerut revolt, there were already signs of discontent in various cantonments. The rebellion gained momentum with the mutiny of the 19th Native Infantry in Berhampur and the actions of Mangal Pande, a sepoy who attacked a sergeant major in Barrackpore. The 7th Awadh Regiment also defied its officers. The crisis in Meerut escalated when 90 men of the 3rd Native Cavalry refused to accept the greased cartridges. In response, 85 of them were dismissed and sentenced to imprisonment, triggering a general mutiny among the Indian soldiers. They freed their imprisoned comrades, killed their officers, and marched towards Delhi. Upon arrival, they were joined by the local infantry, seized control of the city, and declared Bahadur Shah as

the Emperor of India. Though weak as a leader, Bahadur Shah became the symbolic figurehead of the revolt, as the rebels viewed the Mughal dynasty as a unifying force and recognized the British as their common enemy.

The rebellion rapidly expanded, with civilians actively joining the movement, particularly in the north-western provinces and Awadh. Peasants, artisans, shopkeepers, and various other groups voiced their opposition to British rule, targeting moneylenders, zamindars, and British institutions. Several regional leaders emerged as key figures in the resistance. Nana Saheb led the uprising in Kanpur, while Begum Hazrat Mahal spearheaded the struggle in Lucknow. Rani Lakshmibai of Jhansi, Maulvi Ahmadullah of Faizabad, Khan Bahadur of Bareilly, and Kunwar Singh of Bihar also played significant roles. Despite their fierce resistance, the British gradually regained control, recapturing key cities such as Delhi, Kanpur, Lucknow, Jhansi, and Gwalior. The common people made immense sacrifices, and the struggle persisted for over a year against overwhelming odds. The rebels targeted British authority, dismantled symbols of colonial rule, and even established their own administrative systems in certain areas. Though ultimately crushed, the rebellion left a lasting impact on Indian history, fostering unity among different communities and laying the foundation for future movements against British rule.

10.3.1 Suppression of the Revolt

The British eventually crushed the rebellion. Delhi fell on September 20, 1857, after a prolonged and brutal siege. John Nicholson, who led the British assault, sustained fatal injuries. Bahadur Shah was taken prisoner and exiled to Rangoon, where he died in 1862. His royal princes were captured and executed by Lieutenant Hudson, marking the complete end of the Mughal dynasty. The people of Delhi faced severe retribution, and one by one, the prominent leaders of the revolt were eliminated.

The British military campaign to retake Kanpur was closely linked to the recapture of Lucknow. Sir Colin Campbell secured Kanpur on December 6, 1857. Nana Saheb, after facing defeat, fled to Nepal in early 1859 and was never seen again. His close aide, Tantia Tope, managed to evade capture for some time but was eventually apprehended and executed in April 1859. Rani Lakshmibai died heroically on the battlefield in June 1858, and Jhansi was recaptured by Sir Hugh Rose. By 1859,

prominent rebel leaders such as Kunwar Singh, Bakht Khan, Khan Bahadur Khan of Bareilly, Rao Sahib, and Maulvi Ahmadullah had lost their lives, while Begum Hazrat Mahal took refuge in Nepal. In Benaras, Colonel Neill ruthlessly crushed a local uprising, executing suspected rebels and mutinous sepoys. By the close of 1859, British control had been completely reestablished throughout India.

The British government spared no expense in regaining control, pouring significant resources into military campaigns. However, the Indian population ultimately bore the financial burden of their own subjugation.

10.3.2 Reasons for the Failure of the 1857 Revolt

Several key factors contributed to the unsuccessful outcome of the rebellion:

1. Limited Regional Impact

The uprising was largely restricted to specific areas, with minimal involvement from eastern, southern, and western India. Many regions remained unaffected, partly due to the harsh suppression of earlier revolts by the East India Company. Additionally, influential groups such as major zamindars, moneylenders, and merchants aligned with the British, fearing that the rebellion could threaten their interests. Some Awadh talukdars even withdrew support after the British assured them of land restitution. Educated Indians viewed the revolt as an attempt to restore the feudal order, believing British rule would usher in modernization. Most Indian rulers either remained neutral or actively supported the British in suppressing the rebellion.

2. Inferior Weaponry and Resources

The Indian rebels were ill-equipped compared to the British, relying on outdated arms such as swords and spears, while the British possessed advanced firearms, including the Enfield rifle. The British also leveraged the electric telegraph for swift communication and coordination, further strengthening their military response.

3. Lack of Centralized Leadership

A major shortcoming of the rebellion was the absence of a unified command structure. While prominent figures like Nana Saheb, Tantia Tope, Kunwar Singh, and Rani Lakshmibai displayed remarkable bravery, they were unable

to match the strategic expertise of British military leaders like the Lawrence brothers, John Nicholson, James Outram, and Henry Havelock.

4. Absence of a Common Vision

The rebels lacked a clear, unified ideology or a shared goal beyond opposition to British rule. Their grievances varied widely, and they had no collective political or social framework to replace British governance. At the time, the concept of a unified national identity had yet to fully emerge. However, the revolt played a crucial role in laying the foundation for future nationalist movements.

10.3.3 Impact of the 1857 Revolt

The rebellion had significant and lasting consequences, influencing both British policies and Indian society.

1. End of Company Rule

In response to the uprising, the British Parliament passed the Government of India Act on August 2, 1858, formally transferring control of India from the East India Company to the British Crown. Queen Victoria was declared the sovereign ruler of India, and the Queen's Proclamation, issued on November 1, 1858, at Allahabad, outlined the new administrative framework.

2. Policy of Conciliation

The British pledged to honor the rights of Indian princes, acknowledging their rule under British supremacy. Religious freedom was officially assured, and promises were made regarding fair governance and equal opportunities in administration, though in practice, these assurances were largely symbolic.

3. Reorganization of the Military

To prevent future uprisings, the British restructured the Indian Army, adopting the strategy of "divide and counterpoise." The proportion of Indian soldiers was significantly reduced while the number of British troops was increased. The army was reorganized along caste, regional, and communal lines to prevent unity among Indian soldiers. The Army Amalgamation Scheme of 1861 transferred European troops from Company service to the British Crown, ensuring a continuous influx of reinforcements from Britain. High-ranking

military positions remained exclusively for Europeans, denying Indians leadership roles.

4. Rise of Conservative Policies

The initial wave of Victorian-era liberal reforms gradually gave way to a more conservative approach, designed to maintain India's traditional social structures. Educated Indians, who had hoped for greater political inclusion, were disappointed, which ultimately fueled the growth of nationalist sentiments. The British intensified their "divide and rule" strategy, deliberately exploiting social and communal differences to consolidate their control.

5. Economic Exploitation and Racial Discrimination

The British escalated their economic exploitation of India, systematically extracting resources for their benefit. Racial discrimination became more pronounced, with colonial authorities portraying Indians as inferior and using this narrative to justify oppressive policies.

Legacy of the Revolt

Although the 1857 rebellion did not achieve its immediate objectives, it marked a crucial turning point in India's history. The revolt served as a catalyst for future resistance movements, shaping Indian consciousness and laying the groundwork for the emergence of modern nationalism.

Self-Check Exercises-1

Q.1 What triggered the 1857 Indian Freedom Movement?

Q.2 Who were the influential figures advocating socio-religious reforms that impacted the 1857 Indian Freedom Movement?

Q.3 What symbolized the cultural and nationalist identity of India during the 1857 movement?

10.4 Summary

- **Long-term Consequences:** The Uprising of 1857 had far-reaching consequences, such as the end of the Mughal Empire, increased distrust between Indians and the British, the imposition of stricter colonial policies, and the emergence of a stronger Indian nationalist movement.

- **Key Leaders and Events:** Important figures during the uprising included Mangal Pandey, Rani Lakshmibai of Jhansi, and Tantia Tope. Notable events included the Siege of Lucknow and the widespread participation of different sections of society, including peasants, soldiers, and religious communities.
- **Legacy:** The uprising left a lasting impact on India's struggle for independence, fuelling nationalist sentiments and inspiring future generations of freedom fighters. It also influenced British colonial policies and prompted greater scrutiny of colonial rule.

10.5 Glossary

Sepoy Mutiny: The 1857 rebellion by Indian soldiers (sepoys) against British rule, a crucial catalyst for the broader 1857 Indian Freedom Movement.

Cultural Nationalism: The belief in preserving and promoting a nation's cultural heritage, instrumental in safeguarding India's traditions during the 1857 movement.

Bharat Mata: The personification of India as a revered mother figure, symbolizing the nation and central to the cultural and nationalist symbolism of 1857.

Socio-Religious Reforms: Efforts by 19th-century social reformers to improve social and religious practices, such as abolishing Sati and child marriage, influencing the intellectual climate of the 1857 movement.

British East India Company: A dominant British trading company in 18th and 19th century India, responsible for policies that fueled the discontent leading to the 1857 Indian Freedom Movement.

10.6 Answer to Self Check Exercises

Self-Check Exercise-1

1. The introduction of the Enfield rifle and its greased cartridges, seen as an affront to Indian sepoys' religious beliefs, was the primary trigger for the movement.
2. Social reformers like Raja Ram Mohan Roy and Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar played pivotal roles in advocating socio-religious reforms, influencing the movement.

3. "Bharat Mata," representing Mother India, symbolized the cultural and nationalist identity of India during the 1857 movement.

10.7 Suggested Readings

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10.11 Terminal Questions

1. What were the main socio-economic factors that led to the outbreak of the 1857 Indian Freedom Movement, and how did these factors influence various segments of society?
2. Explain the significance of cultural nationalism in the 1857 movement and how it contributed to the formation of a unified Indian identity. Provide specific examples of cultural symbols or events.
3. Discuss the major events and turning points during the 1857 Indian Freedom Movement and their impact on the trajectory of India's struggle for independence.

Unit-11

Early Phase of Nationalism (1885-1905) Part-1

Structure:

11.1 Introduction

11.2 Learning Outcome

11.3 Rise of the Middle-Class Consciousness

11.3.1 Foundation of the Indian National Congress

Self-Check Exercise-1

11.4 Loyalist/ Constitutionalist Phase

Self-Check Exercise-2

11.5 Summary

11.6 Glossary

11.7 Answer to Self-Check Exercises

11.8 Suggested Readings

11.9 Terminal Questions

11.1 Introduction

The late 19th century witnessed a notable rise in Indian nationalism, ushering in a pivotal era of transformation in the country's history. This section delves into the initial phase of the nationalist movement from 1885 to 1905, which set the stage for a cohesive and determined political struggle. It highlights the increasing awareness among the middle class and the vital contribution of the Indian National Congress (INC) in steering India's fight for freedom.

During this time, India was at a crossroads, confronting the challenges of British colonial rule while striving to redefine its identity and aspirations. The Indian middle class, consisting of intellectuals, professionals, and businesspeople, developed a heightened national awareness and a demand for political representation. Influenced by Western liberal ideas, this educated elite recognized the need for a unified front to address the people's grievances and advocate for greater rights and autonomy.

The formation of the Indian National Congress in 1885 was a landmark moment in Indian history. This chapter delves into the motivations behind its creation, the diverse backgrounds of its founding members, and its initial objectives. Led by prominent figures such as Allan Octavian Hume, Dadabhai Naoroji, and Surendranath Banerjee, the Congress sought to establish a platform for political

discourse, promote social and economic reforms, and champion Indian rights within the framework of British rule. The chapter examines the Congress' early years, its methods of agitation, demands for political representation and civil liberties, and responses to key policies and events of the time. It also explores the challenges the Congress faced in mobilizing public support and the strategies it employed to counter colonial oppression.

This section also explores the ideological spectrum within the nationalist movement, including the emergence of early leaders and the growing influence of radical voices advocating more assertive strategies. It examines varying viewpoints on economic self-reliance, religious identity, and social transformation.

The increasing awareness among the middle class and the formation of the Indian National Congress marked a significant shift in India's quest for independence. The progress made during this period laid the groundwork for future nationalist efforts, creating a platform for political engagement and fostering a collective spirit of defiance against colonial rule. Gaining insight into this initial phase of Indian nationalism is crucial for understanding the later stages of the independence movement, making it a defining chapter in India's struggle for freedom.

11.2 Learning Outcome

- Analyze the socio-political landscape of late 19th-century India and its influence on the emergence of Indian nationalism.
- Identify the key factors contributing to the rise of middle-class awareness and its impact on the nationalist movement.
- Discuss the purpose and importance of the Indian National Congress's formation in 1885.

11.3 Rise of the Middle-Class Consciousness:

The rise of Indian nationalism stemmed from a combination of factors. One major influence was the global wave of nationalism and the idea of self-determination, sparked by the French Revolution, which left a lasting impact on India. Additionally, the Indian Renaissance—a period of cultural and intellectual revival—played a vital role in shaping nationalist sentiments.

British colonial policies, though designed to serve their own interests, also contributed to the growth of nationalism in India. Modernization efforts introduced by the British, such as new institutions, infrastructure, and administrative systems, indirectly fueled nationalist movements. At the same time, strong opposition to British imperialist policies emerged as a reaction to colonial rule. Indians gradually recognized that colonial governance was a key factor behind the country's economic stagnation. They understood that the interests of various social groups—peasants, artisans, workers, intellectuals, and capitalists—were interconnected with the broader national cause. Consequently, the nationalist movement arose to address these contradictions and advocate for the rights of all Indians.

The political, administrative, and economic unification of India under British rule also played a role in fostering nationalism. By extending their control from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin and from Assam to the Khyber Pass, the British imposed political unity across the country. Infrastructure developments such as railways, roads, electricity, and telegraph networks, while primarily intended for administrative convenience, military defence, and economic exploitation, inadvertently strengthened the sense of a shared national identity.

The introduction of modern education, though initially meant to create a class of efficient administrators, profoundly shaped Indian political thought. It exposed Indians to Western ideas of liberty, democracy, and nationalism, as expressed by European thinkers like Milton, Shelley, Rousseau, John Stuart Mill, Paine, Spencer, and Voltaire. The spread of English as a common language facilitated communication among nationalist leaders from diverse linguistic backgrounds, fostering political unity. This growing class of English-educated Indians—comprising professionals such as lawyers and doctors—formed the middle-class intelligentsia and played a crucial role in political activism and leadership.

The press and literature were instrumental in shaping nationalist consciousness. Despite strict colonial restrictions, Indian-owned newspapers in English and regional languages proliferated, criticizing British policies and promoting the ideas of self-governance, democracy, civil rights, and industrialization. These publications also enabled the exchange of political ideas among leaders across the country, further strengthening the nationalist movement.

The rediscovery of India's past through historical research by both European and Indian scholars helped challenge colonial narratives. Scholars like Max Müller, Monier Williams, R.G. Bhandarkar, R.L. Mitra, and Swami Vivekananda presented India's rich political, economic, and cultural heritage, instilling pride and confidence among educated Indians. The idea that Indo-Aryans shared ethnic ties with European civilizations further bolstered their self-respect and helped dispel the notion of India's historical subjugation to foreign rulers.

Furthermore, global movements for independence served as powerful inspirations for Indian nationalism. The liberation of South American nations from Spanish and Portuguese rule, along with nationalist struggles in Greece, Italy, and Ireland, demonstrated the potential for successful resistance against colonial powers.

Lastly, the reactionary policies and racial arrogance of the British rulers significantly fueled nationalist sentiments. Discriminatory laws and segregation reinforced notions of white superiority, deeply offending Indian sensibilities. Measures such as lowering the age limit for civil service exams, the Vernacular Press Act, and the Arms Act provoked widespread discontent. The Ilbert Bill controversy, which exposed British reluctance to grant Indians equal judicial rights, highlighted the injustice of colonial rule. These events not only intensified Indian resentment but also underscored the need for organized resistance and political agitation to demand rights and reforms.

11.3.1 Foundation of the Indian National Congress

The Indian National Congress (INC), which played a crucial role in India's struggle for independence, began taking shape in the late 1870s and early 1880s. The key figure behind its establishment was A.O. Hume, a retired British civil servant, who worked alongside leading Indian intellectuals to organize its first session. The inaugural meeting of the Congress took place in December 1885 at Gokuldas Tejpal Sanskrit College in Bombay. Before this, the Indian National Conference had held two sessions in 1883 and 1885, bringing together representatives from major towns across India. Pioneers like Surendranath Banerjee and Ananda Mohan Bose were instrumental in shaping this early nationalist platform.

The first session of the INC saw the participation of 72 delegates and was presided over by Womesh Chandra Bonnerjee. From then on, the Congress adopted the

tradition of convening annually in different parts of the country every December. In its formative years, the Congress was led by prominent leaders such as Dadabhai Naoroji, Badruddin Tyabji, Pherozshah Mehta, and Gopal Krishna Gokhale, with notable contributions from figures like Mahadeo Govind Ranade, Bal Gangadhar Tilak, and Madan Mohan Malaviya. Alongside provincial conferences, political associations, newspapers, and nationalist literature, the Congress became a key platform for India's emerging nationalist movement.

The "Safety Valve" Debate

A widely debated theory suggests that A.O. Hume founded the Indian National Congress as a "safety valve" to channel the rising discontent among Indians and prevent potential uprisings. It is believed that Hume persuaded Lord Dufferin not to obstruct the Congress's formation. Some extremist leaders, including Lala Lajpat Rai, subscribed to this theory, and later, Marxist historians expanded on the idea, portraying the Congress as a tool to suppress revolutionary sentiment while aligning with bourgeois leaders.

However, modern Indian historians challenge this perspective, arguing that the INC was not merely a British strategy but rather a product of politically aware Indians striving to establish a national platform for their political and economic aspirations. Given the colonial resistance to such a body, Indian leaders saw Hume as a facilitator who helped navigate opposition and unite nationalist forces. While some viewed his role as a "safety valve," it is widely believed that early Congress leaders used his presence strategically to advance their cause.

Objectives of the Early Congress

During its initial phase, the Indian National Congress set forth key objectives that guided its actions:

- **Establishing a democratic and nationalist movement:** The Congress aimed to unite Indians under a common platform to work toward independence from British rule.

- **Political education and awareness:** It sought to enlighten the Indian population about political rights and encourage active participation in the freedom movement.
- **Creating a central hub for nationalist activities:** The Congress aimed to establish a headquarters to coordinate political efforts across the country.
- **Fostering unity among nationalist leaders:** Strengthening relationships among political workers from different regions and backgrounds was seen as essential to the movement's success.
- **Developing an anti-colonial ideology:** The Congress worked to cultivate a shared nationalist vision, emphasizing resistance against colonial rule.
- **Presenting popular demands to the government:** By articulating the grievances and aspirations of Indians, the Congress aimed to influence colonial policies and push for greater rights.
- **Promoting national unity:** The organization sought to transcend divisions of religion, caste, and region, fostering a collective Indian identity.
- **Nurturing Indian nationhood:** The Congress recognized the importance of building a strong, cohesive nation while preserving India's cultural heritage.

These objectives laid the foundation for the Indian National Congress, which went on to play a defining role in India's struggle for independence.

Self-Check Exercise-1

Q.1 Which session of the Indian National Congress witnessed the demand for Swaraj or self-rule for India?

Q.2 Which event marked the emergence of extremism within the Indian National Congress?

Q.3 Who founded the newspaper "Kesari" to propagate nationalist ideas in Maharashtra?

11.4 Loyalist/ Constitutionalist Phase (1885-1905)

In its early years, the Indian National Congress criticized British policies through resolutions, calling for reforms while maintaining a moderate and respectful tone. Each year, it passed resolutions reaffirming loyalty to the British Crown.

Initially, the British government viewed the Congress favourably but later dismissed it as representing only a minority. By the late 19th century, shifts began to appear in the Congress' demands and methods of protest. In the early 20th century, moderate nationalists within the Congress started advocating for self-government within the British Empire, drawing inspiration from dominions like Australia, New Zealand, and Canada. This demand was first voiced by Gopal Krishna Gokhale in 1905 and later reinforced by Dadabhai Naoroji in 1906.

Prominent moderate leaders within the Indian National Congress included Dadabhai Naoroji, M.G. Ranade, Surendranath Banerji, Pherozeshah Mehta, Badruddin Tyabji, Gopal Krishna Gokhale, Dinsha Wacha, Anandamohan Bose, and Rashbehari Ghosh, among others.

Main Demands of Moderates:

- Expanding and reforming legislative councils to facilitate popular control of administration.
- Providing greater opportunities for Indians in public services by conducting ICS examinations concurrently in England and India.
- Reimposing import duties on cotton goods.
- Reducing military expenditure.
- Promoting both technical and general education.
- Separating the judiciary from the executive.
- Advocating for self-government within the British Empire, akin to the colonies of Australia and Canada (1905).

Methods of Moderates:

The moderates primarily employed "Constitutional agitation" as their method of protest. They relied on meetings, speeches, resolutions, and petitions to express their grievances. Occasionally, they resorted to boycotting foreign goods and promoting the use of Indian goods (swadeshi), although this occurred infrequently. They espoused peaceful and nonviolent forms of resistance and focused their political activities mainly among the educated classes, avoiding extensive

involvement of the masses. Their approach aimed for a gradual and incremental progression toward political rights and self-government instead of seeking immediate and radical changes.

Achievement of Moderates:

- Generating widespread national awareness and imparting political consciousness among the people.
- Popularizing the ideals of democracy and nationalism among the masses.
- Highlighting the exploitative nature of British imperialism and its adverse effects on India, exemplified by Dada Bhai Naoroji's Drain Theory.
- Establishing a common political and economic program that unified Indians and facilitated political struggle.
- Providing a robust foundation for the Indian national movement, fostering momentum and vigour in subsequent years.
- Spearheading the campaign against medieval obscurantism and authoritarianism.
- Successfully influencing the passage of the Indian Councils Act of 1892 by the British.

Failures of Moderates: However, the moderates faced certain shortcomings. They failed to fully recognize the significance of mass mobilization, limiting their movement primarily to the educated middle classes. Additionally, many of them were slow to comprehend the true intentions of the British, only realizing the fallacy of their trust in British fairness by the late 19th century. Furthermore, their constitutional methods failed to secure substantial concessions from the British authorities.

Self-Check Exercise-2

Q.1 Which organisation, led by Gopal Krishna Gokhale, aimed to bring about political education and create a political awakening among the masses?

Q.2 Which prominent leader from Bengal opposed the Age of Consent Act and fought for women's rights?

Q.3 Which session of the Indian National Congress marked the beginning of the direct involvement of Mahatma Gandhi in the nationalist movement?

11.5 Summary

- Late 19th-century India witnessed the rise of Indian nationalism, and this chapter explores its early phase from 1885 to 1905.
- The Indian middle class, influenced by Western ideas, developed a sense of national consciousness and the need for political representation.
- The Indian National Congress (INC) was founded in 1885, with leaders like Allan Octavian Hume, Dadabhai Naoroji, and Surendranath Banerjee playing key roles.
- The INC aimed to provide a platform for political discourse, advocate for Indian rights, and promote social and economic reforms.
- The INC faced challenges in mobilizing popular support and countering the oppressive colonial regime.

11.6 Glossary

- Indian Nationalism: The movement that aimed to unite the people of India in their struggle against British colonial rule and to establish self-governance and independence.
- Middle Class: The social class consisting of individuals who were neither extremely wealthy nor part of the lower class. In the context of Indian nationalism, the middle class played a significant role in spearheading the movement.
- Consciousness: The awareness or realization of one's own identity, rights, and political aspirations. The rise of middle-class consciousness refers to the awakening and realization of the middle class to their political and national identity.
- Indian National Congress (INC): Established in 1885, this political organization aimed to advocate for political reforms and greater representation for Indians under British rule. Over time, it evolved into a key platform for nationalist movements.
- Constitutionalists: A group within the Indian National Congress that supported gradual political changes through lawful and constitutional means. They favored collaboration with the British administration while striving to achieve their objectives.

- **Assertive Nationalists:** A faction within the Indian National Congress that emerged in the early 1900s, advocating for methods that are more radical and complete independence from British rule. They were critical of the moderate approach and emphasized direct action and mass movements.
- **Swadeshi Movement:** A movement that encouraged the use of Indian-made goods and boycotting of British goods as a means to promote domestic industries and economic self-reliance. It gained prominence during the early phase of Indian nationalism.
- **Boycott:** A deliberate decision to abstain from using, buying, or participating in something as a form of protest or expression of disapproval. The boycott of British goods was a key strategy employed by nationalists during the early phase of Indian nationalism.

11.7 Answer to Self-Check Exercises

Self-Check Exercise-1

1. Calcutta session of 1906.
2. The partition of Bengal in 1905.
3. Bal Gangadhar Tilak.

Self-Check Exercise-2

1. Servants of India Society.
2. Surendranath Banerjee.
3. Lucknow session of 1916.

11.8 Suggested Readings

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11.9 Terminal Questions

1. What were the key factors that contributed to the rise of middle-class consciousness during the early phase of Indian nationalism, and how did it shape the nationalist movement?
2. Discuss the role played by Dadabhai Naoroji in the early phase of Indian nationalism. How did his economic theories and political activism contribute to the foundation of the Indian National Congress?
3. Examine the goals and approaches adopted by the Indian National Congress in its early years. How did the organization advocate for political reforms and increased Indian representation within the British colonial framework?
4. Assess the impact of the Swadeshi Movement in the initial stage of Indian nationalism. In what ways did the encouragement of indigenous products and the boycott of British goods strengthen nationalist sentiment?

Unit- 12

Assertive Phase of Nationalism 1905-17 Part-1

Structure:

12.1 Introduction

12.2 Learning Outcomes

12.3 Partition of Bengal

12.3.1 Swadeshi Movement

Self-Check Exercise-1

12.4 Summary

12.5 Glossary

12.6 Answer to Self-Check Exercises

12.7 Suggested Readings

12.8 Terminal Questions

12.1 Introduction

Between 1905 and 1917, the Indian nationalist movement underwent a significant shift, marked by a stronger demand for self-rule and increased resistance to colonial oppression. This chapter examines this transformative phase, during which Indians began actively challenging British rule and asserting their rights with greater intensity.

The emergence of this assertive nationalism was influenced by key political and social developments, particularly the 1905 partition of Bengal. Implemented by the British to divide the region along communal lines, the partition triggered widespread protests and strengthened nationalist sentiments, as Indians united to protect their cultural and political identity.

This period also saw the rise of influential leaders such as Bal Gangadhar Tilak, Lala Lajpat Rai, Bipin Chandra Pal, and Aurobindo Ghosh. These figures played a crucial role in guiding the movement, advocating for *Swaraj* (self-rule), and inspiring the masses to demand freedom from colonial rule.

Nationalist leaders adopted various strategies to resist British authority, including mass mobilization through public gatherings, demonstrations, and economic boycotts. They also promoted indigenous culture and encouraged self-reliance as a means to weaken British control and foster a sense of national unity.

12.2 Learning Outcome

By the end of this chapter, readers will be able to:

- Understand the historical context and significance of the assertive phase of Indian nationalism between 1905 and 1917.
- Understand how the 1905 partition of Bengal influenced the Indian nationalist movement and served as a driving force for heightened political activism.
- Analyze the contributions and ideologies of prominent nationalist leaders such as Bal Gangadhar Tilak, Lala Lajpat Rai, Bipin Chandra Pal, and Aurobindo Ghosh.

12.3 Partition of Bengal

In December 1903, the British administration declared its decision to partition Bengal, dividing the province into two distinct regions. Western Bengal, which incorporated Bihar and Orissa, retained Calcutta as its capital, while Eastern Bengal, along with Assam, had Dacca as its administrative center. The British cited administrative convenience as the primary reason for this division, claiming that governing a population of 78 million had become unmanageable. They also argued that the reorganization would promote Assam's progress by placing it under direct government oversight.

Although these reasons had some validity, the primary objective behind the partition was widely believed to be the British strategy to weaken Bengal, which had become the epicenter of Indian nationalism. The partition sought to divide Bengalis along linguistic lines, reducing their political influence. Furthermore, it aimed to create religious divisions by forming a Hindu-majority western Bengal (42 million out of 54 million) and a Muslim-majority eastern Bengal (18 million out of 31 million). To gain Muslim support, Viceroy Lord Curzon proposed that Dacca could serve as the capital of the new province, emphasizing that this would restore a sense of unity among Muslims, similar to the days of past Muslim rulers. This move was a clear extension of the British strategy of fostering Muslim communalism to counteract the growing influence of the Indian National Congress and the broader nationalist movement.

Anti-Partition Agitation:

Between 1903 and 1905, leaders such as Surendranath Banerjea, K.K. Mitra, and P.C. Ray spearheaded the resistance against the partition. The goal was to mobilize educated public opinion in both India and England to prevent the partition. However, despite widespread opposition, the British government proceeded with its plan, formally announcing the partition in July 1905.

This led to protests across Bengal, with calls to boycott foreign goods emerging during these gatherings. On August 7, 1905, at a large meeting in Calcutta Town Hall, the Boycott Resolution was passed, officially launching the Swadeshi Movement. Leaders traveled across Bengal urging people to boycott British-made products like Manchester cloth and Liverpool salt.

When the partition took effect on October 16, 1905, Bengal observed a day of mourning. People fasted, bathed in the Ganges, and joined barefoot processions while chanting *Vande Mataram*, which became the anthem of the movement. Rabindranath Tagore composed *Amar Sonar Bangla* (now Bangladesh's national anthem), which was sung by massive crowds. As a symbol of unity, people tied *rakhis* to one another. That evening, Surendranath Banerjea and Ananda Mohan Bose addressed large gatherings—some of the biggest nationalist assemblies up to that time—raising Rs 50,000 for the movement. Soon, the movement spread beyond Bengal. It was led by Bal Gangadhar Tilak in Poona and Bombay, Lala Lajpat Rai and Ajit Singh in Punjab, Syed Haider Raza in Delhi, and Chidambaram Pillai in Madras.

12.3.1 Swadeshi Movement

During the 1905 session of the Indian National Congress, led by Gopal Krishna Gokhale, a resolution was adopted denouncing the partition of Bengal and Lord Curzon's oppressive policies. The Congress also extended its support to the Swadeshi Movement in Bengal. However, ideological differences surfaced among nationalist leaders. Assertive figures such as Bal Gangadhar Tilak, Lala Lajpat Rai, Bipin Chandra Pal, and Aurobindo Ghosh aimed to transform the movement into a nationwide political struggle advocating complete self-rule (Swaraj). On the other hand, moderate leaders, also known as constitutionalists, favored a more measured and gradual approach.

A pivotal moment occurred during the 1906 Congress session in Calcutta, presided over by Dadabhai Naoroji, where the demand for Swaraj (self-government) was formally articulated. The Congress sought a system of self-rule akin to that of Britain's dominions, such as Australia and Canada. However, growing ideological rifts between moderates and assertive nationalists led to a major schism at the 1907 Surat session, resulting in a split within the Congress. This internal division ultimately weakened the momentum of the Swadeshi Movement.

By 1905, the assertive nationalists gained influence over the Swadeshi Movement, driven by three key factors:

1. The moderate-led efforts had failed to achieve their objectives.
2. British administrative policies in Bengal had deepened the divide and fueled nationalist anger.
3. The government's repressive measures—including arrests, press censorship, student brutality, bans on *Vande Mataram*, and suppression of public gatherings—provoked stronger resistance.

Forms of Protest:

The assertive nationalists introduced various strategies within the Swadeshi Movement, including:

- **Boycott of Foreign Goods:** People stopped using British-made products, burned foreign cloth, refused to buy British salt or sugar, and even avoided marriages involving foreign goods. Washermen refused to clean imported clothes. This boycott was widely successful.
- **Public Meetings and Processions:** Large gatherings became key to mobilizing the masses and expressing political resistance.
- **Use of Traditional Festivals and Melas:** Events like Tilak's Ganapati and Shivaji festivals became platforms for nationalist propaganda. In Bengal, folk theatre was also used for political messaging.
- **Self-Reliance (Atma Shakti):** The movement emphasized national pride and economic self-sufficiency, advocating social reforms like the abolition of caste oppression, child marriage, dowry, and alcoholism.

- **Swadeshi Education:** The movement played a key role in establishing educational institutions that promoted nationalistic ideals. The Bengal National College, inspired by Tagore's Shanti Niketan, was founded with Aurobindo Ghosh as its principal. Across the country, several national schools and colleges emerged to foster independent learning. On August 15, 1906, the National Council of Education was formed to develop an autonomous education system. Additionally, the Bengal Institute of Technology was established to advance technical education, and students were sent to Japan for higher studies.

Annulment of the Partition:

The partition of Bengal was eventually reversed in 1911, largely to curb the rise of revolutionary terrorism. However, this decision disappointed the Muslim political elite, who had supported the new province. To placate them, the British shifted India's capital from Calcutta to Delhi, a city with historical Muslim significance. Despite this concession, the Muslim community remained dissatisfied. Additionally, Bihar and Orissa were separated from Bengal, and Assam was designated a distinct province.

Self-Check Exercise-1

1. What was the Swadeshi Movement?
2. Why did the British partition Bengal in 1905?

12.4 Summary

- This period marked a shift in Indian nationalism towards a more assertive and aggressive approach.
- Nationalists sought to actively challenge British colonial rule and push for self-rule.
- The Swadeshi Movement was a mass movement launched in response to the partition of Bengal by the British in 1905.
- It aimed to promote the use of Indian-made products and boycott British goods.
- The movement gained widespread support and participation from people across different regions and social classes.

12.5 Glossary

Partition of Bengal: In 1905, the British administration divided Bengal into two distinct regions, triggering widespread resistance from Indian nationalists who viewed it as an attempt to weaken the growing nationalist movement.

Swadeshi Movement: A campaign advocating for the use of locally made goods while rejecting British products, aimed at promoting economic self-sufficiency and strengthening India's independence struggle.

12.7 Answer to Self-Check Exercises

Self-Check Exercises-1

1. The Swadeshi Movement was a mass movement that aimed to promote the use of Indian-made products and boycott British goods.
2. The British partitioned Bengal as an administrative measure to weaken nationalist sentiments and divide the population.

12.8 Suggested Readings

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12.9 Terminal Questions

- Discuss the significance of the Swadeshi Movement during the assertive phase of Indian nationalism. How did it contribute to the growth of the freedom struggle?

- Analyse the reasons behind the British partition of Bengal in 1905. What were the immediate consequences of the partition and how did it affect the nationalist movement?

Unit-13

Assertive Phase of Nationalism 1905-17 Part-2

Structure:

13.1 Introduction

13.2 Learning Outcomes

13.3 Revolutionary Movement

13.3.1 Home Rule League

Self-Check Exercise-1

13.4 Summary

13.5 Glossary

13.6 Answer to Self Check Exercises

13.7 Suggested Readings

13.8 Terminal Questions

13.1 Introduction

This chapter delves into the key events and movements that shaped the assertive phase of Indian nationalism. It examines the role of various leaders, organizations, and ideologies that propelled the movement forward, leading to a significant shift in the Indian people's struggle for freedom. In the pages that follow, we explore the vibrant and tumultuous years from 1905 to 1917, unearthing the strategies, challenges, and achievements of the assertive phase of Indian nationalism. It is a tale of courage, resilience, and a growing determination among the Indian masses to forge their destiny, setting the stage for the transformative events that would shape the future of the Indian subcontinent.

13.2 Learning Outcomes

- Evaluate the strategies and methods employed by Indian nationalists to challenge British rule, including mass mobilization, boycotts, and the promotion of indigenous culture.
- Assess the achievements, challenges, and limitations of the assertive phase of Indian nationalism.

13.3 Revolutionary Movement

The emergence of assertive nationalism inadvertently led to acts of revolutionary heroism. This phenomenon initially gained momentum during the Swadeshi and Boycott Movement and continued actively until 1917. A second wave

of revolutionary activity arose following the Non-Cooperation Movement. As the open movement waned, young nationalists who had participated fervently found it difficult to retreat into obscurity. Seeking an outlet for their patriotic zeal, they grew disillusioned with the leadership, including the Assertive nationalists, who failed to introduce new methods of struggle to align with the evolving militant sentiments. Although leaders encouraged youth to make sacrifices, they lacked a cohesive strategy or innovative political engagement to harness the revolutionary spirit. With increasing government repression and the closure of peaceful protest avenues, many young revolutionaries concluded that force was necessary to drive the British out and achieve independence.

During this period, revolutionaries explored various strategies but dismissed many as impractical. Some considered triggering a nationwide armed revolution or undermining the loyalty of the British Indian Army. Instead, they adopted tactics inspired by Russian nihilists and Irish nationalists, focusing on targeted assassinations of unpopular officials and informers, robberies to fund revolutionary activities, and even military conspiracies during World War I, hoping for assistance from Britain's adversaries. Their aim was to instill fear in the colonial rulers, awaken public consciousness, and eliminate the psychological hold of British authority. By appealing to patriotism, they sought to inspire the masses, particularly the youth, and ultimately drive the British out of India.

Bengal

Secret revolutionary societies had emerged among students in Calcutta as early as the 1870s, though their activities remained subdued. The first organized revolutionary groups took shape in 1902, with Jnanendranath Basu leading efforts in Midnapore and Promotha Mitter founding the Anushilan Samiti in Calcutta. The Anushilan Samiti, which included Jatindranath Banerjee and Barindra Kumar Ghosh, initially focused on physical and moral training. Their influence remained limited until 1907-08 when they began carrying out more active operations.

In April 1906, key members of Anushilan Samiti, including Barindra Kumar Ghosh and Bhupendranath Dutta, founded the newspaper *Yugantar*, which openly supported revolutionary action. The publication gained prominence following the harsh crackdown on the Barisal Conference that same month, boldly proclaiming:

"The solution rests with the people. India's 300 million citizens must unite, raising their 600 million hands to put an end to this tyranny. Oppression must be countered with resistance."

Notable revolutionaries like Rashbehari Bose and Sachin Sanyal established secret societies across Punjab, Delhi, and the United Provinces. Some, such as Hemachandra Kanungo, even traveled abroad for military and political training. In 1907, the *Yugantar* group attempted to assassinate Sir Fuller, an unpopular British official. In December of the same year, they tried to derail a train carrying Lieutenant-Governor Sri Andrew Fraser.

One of the most infamous acts of the Bengal revolutionaries occurred in 1908 when Prafulla Chaki and Khudiram Bose hurled a bomb at a carriage in Muzaffarpur, intending to target the oppressive judge Kingsford. However, the attack mistakenly killed two British women. Prafulla Chaki took his own life to avoid capture, while Khudiram Bose was arrested and later hanged.

Following this, the British cracked down on revolutionary activities, leading to the arrest of the Anushilan group, including Aurobindo and Barindra Ghosh. This led to the famous Alipore Conspiracy Case. Aurobindo was acquitted due to insufficient evidence, but Barindra Ghosh and Ullaskar Dutt received death sentences, later commuted to life imprisonment. During the trial, a key witness, Narendra Gosain, was assassinated in jail by fellow revolutionaries Satyendranath Bose and Kanailal Dutta.

Between 1909 and 1912, revolutionaries carried out high-profile assassinations in Calcutta, including the killing of a public prosecutor and a deputy superintendent of police. The Dacca Anushilan group, led by Pulin Das, resorted to dacoities (robberies) to fund their activities, notably the Barrah dacoity in 1908.

In December 1912, Rashbehari Bose and Sachin Sanyal orchestrated a bomb attack on Viceroy Hardinge during his official entry into the new capital, Delhi. Though Hardinge survived, the attack led to the Delhi Conspiracy trial. Basant Kumar Biswas, Amir Chand, and Avadh Behari were convicted and executed, while Rashbehari Bose escaped by disguising himself.

Jatindranath Mukherjee, also known as Bagha Jatin, revitalized the Jugantar group, strengthening its connections across Bengal, Bihar, and Orissa. During World War I, the group plotted to import German arms and ammunition as part of the Indo-German conspiracy, planning an armed insurrection, mutiny within the British Indian Army, and an attack on Fort William. However, the plan was exposed, leading to a police crackdown. Jatin and his associates engaged in a shootout with British forces in Balasore, Orissa, in September 1915, where he succumbed to injuries. His last words reportedly were, "*We shall die to awaken the nation.*"

Maharashtra

Revolutionary activities in Maharashtra began in 1879 with Vasudev Balwant Phadke, who formed the Ramosi Peasant Force to overthrow British rule through armed rebellion and economic disruption. The movement, however, was swiftly suppressed.

During the 1890s, Bal Gangadhar Tilak instilled militant nationalism through festivals like Ganapati and Shivaji Utsavs, and his newspapers *Kesari* and *Maharatta*. Inspired by him, his followers, Damodar and Balkrishna Chapekar, assassinated Poona's Plague Commissioner, Rand, and his aide in 1897.

In 1904, Vinayak Damodar Savarkar and his brother formed *Abhinav Bharat*, a secret society influenced by Mazzini's *Young Italy*. Nasik, Poona, and Bombay became centers of revolutionary activity, particularly bomb-making. In 1909, Anant Lakshman Kanhere, a member of Abhinav Bharat, assassinated A.M.T. Jackson, the Collector of Nasik. The British arrested 38 conspirators, including Savarkar, who was sentenced to life imprisonment.

Punjab

Punjab's extremism stemmed from economic grievances, frequent famines, and the influence of assertive nationalism in Bengal. Lala Lajpat Rai and Ajit Singh (Bhagat Singh's uncle) were key figures. Ajit Singh formed *Anjuman-i-Mohisban-i-Watan* in Lahore, advocating tax resistance among peasants.

During World War I, Rashbehari Bose played a crucial role in the *Ghadr Revolution*, attempting to incite a military uprising similar to the 1857 Revolt. When the plan

failed, he fled to Japan in 1915, later contributing to the Indian National Army's formation.

Revolutionary Activities Abroad

In Europe: Virendranath Chattopadhyay, Bhupendranath Dutta, and Lala Hardayal established the Berlin Committee for Indian Independence in 1915, collaborating with Germany's Zimmerman Plan to incite an uprising against British rule in India.

USA – The Ghadar Party – Established in 1913, this revolutionary group, consisting mainly of Punjabi emigrants, published *The Ghadar* newspaper, planned assassinations, and sought to incite rebellion among Indian troops. Their efforts intensified after the *Komagata Maru* incident and the outbreak of World War I.

13.3.1 The Home Rule League Movement

Inspired by Irish Home Rule efforts, Annie Besant and Tilak launched the Home Rule Leagues in 1916 to demand self-government. Their efforts galvanized nationalist sentiments but faded by 1919 due to internal divisions, communal unrest, and the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms.

Despite setbacks, these revolutionary movements laid the groundwork for India's eventual independence by igniting patriotic fervor and challenging British authority.

Self-check exercise-1

Q.1 Who initiated the Home Rule League?

Q.2 How did the Revolutionary Movement differ from other nationalist movements?

Q.3 Who were some prominent revolutionaries during this period?

13.4 Summary

- The partition created a sense of unity among Bengali Hindus and Muslims, as they jointly resisted the British action
- The Home Rule League movement shifted the focus of the freedom struggle from the educated elite to the masses.
- The revolutionary movement during this period witnessed the emergence of radical and militant groups advocating armed resistance against British rule.

- Influenced by international revolutionary ideas, these groups sought to overthrow colonial rule through acts of violence and assassination

13.5 Glossary

Revolutionary Movement: The armed resistance and acts of terrorism carried out by various revolutionary groups and individuals against British colonial rule during the early 20th century.

Home Rule League: The political organization founded in 1916 by Annie Besant and Bal Gangadhar Tilak, demanding self-government or "Home Rule" for India within the British Empire.

13.6 Answer to Self Check Exercises

Self Check Exercises-1

1. The Home Rule League was initiated by Annie Besant and Bal Gangadhar Tilak in the early 20th century.
2. The Revolutionary Movement advocated armed resistance and direct action against British rule, drawing inspiration from international revolutionary ideas.
3. Prominent revolutionaries included Bhagat Singh, Chandrashekhar Azad, and Khudiram Bose, who played significant roles in shaping the freedom struggle.

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13.8 Terminal Questions

1. Describe the formation and objectives of the Home Rule League. What were the strategies employed by Annie Besant and Bal Gangadhar Tilak to promote the idea of self-government in India?
2. Discuss the role of revolutionary movements during the period of 1905-1917. Who were the key figures and what were their strategies for achieving independence?
3. Compare and contrast the approaches of the constitutionalists/moderates and the assertive nationalists during the assertive phase of nationalism. How did their ideologies and methods of protest differ?

Unit-14

Mass Movements and Nationalism (1917-1930) Part-1

Structure:

14.1 Introduction

14.2 Learning outcomes

14.3 The appearance of Gandhi in Indian Freedom Struggle

14.3.1 Rowlatt Act and Jallianwala Bagh Massacre

Self-check Exercise- 1

14.4 Summary

14.5 Glossary

14.6 Answers to Self-Check Exercises

14.7 Suggested Readings

14.8 Terminal Questions

14.1 Introduction

Between 1917 and 1930, India witnessed a surge in mass nationalism, as the independence movement gained momentum and garnered widespread public support. This chapter examines the key events and movements that defined this critical phase in the nation's struggle for freedom. It highlights the growing influence of Mahatma Gandhi, who emerged as a central figure in the fight against colonial rule, and explores significant developments such as the Rowlatt Satyagraha, Jallianwala Bagh Massacre, Khilafat Movement, and Non-Cooperation Movement. Mahatma Gandhi's leadership became a source of inspiration for millions, as he championed the principles of nonviolent resistance, truth, and self-discipline. His philosophy deeply resonated with the masses, encouraging active participation in the fight against British oppression. The chapter also examines the Rowlatt Satyagraha of 1919, a large-scale civil disobedience movement opposing the draconian Rowlatt Act, which aimed to suppress civil liberties. Public outrage over this repressive legislation united people across the country in peaceful protest.

One of the most tragic events of this period was the Jallianwala Bagh Massacre in Amritsar, where British troops fired on an unarmed gathering, intensifying nationalist sentiments and strengthening the call for independence. These pivotal moments further ignited the struggle against British rule, shaping the course of India's fight for freedom.

14.2 Learning Outcomes

- Understand the significant role played by Mahatma Gandhi in the Indian freedom struggle and the principles of nonviolence, truth, and self-discipline that formed the foundation of his appeal.
- Analyse the causes and consequences of the Rowlatt Satyagraha, evaluating its significance as a civil disobedience movement against the repressive Rowlatt Act and its impact on mobilizing the masses for the fight against British rule.
- Examine the Jallianwala Bagh Massacre as a turning point in India's struggle for independence, assessing its tragic consequences, public outrage, and its implications for mass nationalism.
- Reflect on the lessons learned from the events and movements of this period, drawing insights on effective strategies, the power of mass mobilization, the significance of unity among diverse groups, and the importance of nonviolent resistance in achieving political goals.

14.3 The Appearance of Gandhi in Indian Freedom Struggle

Post-World War I India and the Rise of Nationalism

As the First World War came to an end, India experienced the convergence of several domestic and international factors that shaped its political landscape. The war's conclusion saw a resurgence of nationalist movements not only in India but across many Asian and African colonies. This period marked a significant turning point in India's fight against imperialism, transforming it into a widespread mass movement. A key catalyst in this shift was the emergence of Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi as a prominent leader in Indian politics.

Early Life and South African Experience

Born on October 2, 1869, in Porbandar, Gujarat, Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi belonged to the princely state of Kathiawar, where his father served as diwan (minister). After completing his law education in England, Gandhi traveled to South Africa in 1898 to handle a legal case for his client, Dada Abdullah. However, his stay in South Africa became transformative. He witnessed the harsh realities of racial discrimination and the mistreatment of Asian laborers, which led him to take up their cause. Choosing to stay in South Africa, he dedicated himself to organizing and empowering Indian workers to fight for their rights. Gandhi remained committed to this cause until 1914, when he returned to India.

The Indian community in South Africa was composed of three main groups:

1. **Indentured Laborers** – Primarily from southern India, these workers migrated after 1890 to work on sugar plantations.
2. **Merchants** – Mostly Meman Muslims, they followed the laborers and established trade networks.
3. **Ex-Indentured Laborers** – Those who had completed their contracts and settled with their families.

These Indian immigrants faced severe hardships, including illiteracy, lack of English proficiency, and systemic racial discrimination. They were denied voting rights, forced to live in overcrowded and unhygienic areas, and subjected to curfews and public restrictions.

Gandhi's Return to India and Early Political Engagement

Gandhi returned to India in January 1915, already recognized as a significant figure due to his activism in South Africa. Determined to understand the conditions of the Indian people, he spent a year traveling across the country, deliberately avoiding political involvement.

At the time, Gandhi was skeptical of moderate politics and was not in favor of the Home Rule movement, believing that demanding self-rule while Britain was engaged in war was ill-timed. Instead, he was a firm advocate of nonviolent satyagraha as the most effective means of achieving nationalist goals. He declared that he would only associate with a political organization that upheld this principle.

Between 1917 and 1918, before launching the Rowlatt Satyagraha, Gandhi played a pivotal role in three major movements:

- **Champaran** (1917) – Addressing the grievances of indigo farmers.
- **Ahmedabad** (1918) – Supporting textile mill workers in their wage disputes.
- **Kheda** (1918) – Leading a movement for tax relief for famine-stricken peasants.

The Rowlatt Act and the Jallianwala Bagh Massacre

The Rowlatt Act: A Draconian Law

Just months before the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms were introduced, two bills were presented in the Imperial Legislative Council. While one was discarded, the other—known as the Rowlatt Act—was passed in March 1919. Officially called the Anarchical and Revolutionary Crimes Act, it was based on the recommendations of the Rowlatt Commission, led by British judge Sir Sidney Rowlatt. The act aimed to suppress

revolutionary activities by allowing authorities to imprison or deport individuals without trial for up to two years. It also criminalized the possession of seditious newspapers.

Despite strong opposition from all elected Indian members, including Mohammed Ali Jinnah, Madan Mohan Malaviya, and Mazhar Ul Haq, the act was passed due to British nominees holding a majority. In protest, all elected Indian members resigned.

The Rowlatt Act granted the British government sweeping powers:

- The ability to detain suspects without a warrant.
- Secret trials without legal representation.
- The establishment of special tribunals with no right to appeal.
- The suspension of habeas corpus, a fundamental principle of civil liberty.

The act effectively extended wartime restrictions into peacetime, reinstating press censorship and restricting freedom of speech and assembly.

Indian Response and Gandhi's Protest

Indians had expected significant political reforms as recognition for their support during World War I. Instead, they were met with the restrictive Montford Reforms and the oppressive Rowlatt Act. Gandhi, who had encouraged Indian cooperation with the British during the war, felt deeply betrayed. He called the Rowlatt Act the "Black Act" and opposed the collective punishment of the entire population for isolated revolutionary activities.

In response, Gandhi launched a nationwide protest. He formed the Satyagraha Sabha, enlisting younger members of the Home Rule Leagues and Pan-Islamists. The protest methods included:

1. Hartals (strikes) – Mass shutdowns of businesses and public services.
2. Fasting and prayer – As acts of peaceful resistance.
3. Civil disobedience – Defying specific laws and courting arrest.

This marked a major shift in the national movement:

- The movement transformed from an elite-led struggle to one involving the masses.
- Peasants, artisans, and the urban poor began playing an active role.
- Gandhi emphasized mass awakening and direct participation in political struggles.

14.3.1 The Jallianwala Bagh Massacre

Unrest in Punjab

Punjab had become particularly volatile due to wartime repression, forced recruitment, and disease outbreaks. By April 1919, anti-British demonstrations had erupted in several cities. Amritsar witnessed intense unrest after the British arrested two nationalist leaders, Saifuddin Kitchlew and Dr. Satyapal, on April 9. Protests intensified, leading to police firing on civilians. Enraged crowds retaliated, resulting in casualties among both British and Indian citizens.

The Massacre at Jallianwala Bagh

On April 13, 1919—coinciding with the Baisakhi festival—thousands of people, many unaware of the government's restrictions, gathered at Jallianwala Bagh for celebrations and a political meeting. The gathering was peaceful, with resolutions passed demanding the repeal of the Rowlatt Act and condemning police firings.

However, Brigadier-General Reginald Dyer, believing the assembly to be unlawful, arrived with his troops. Without issuing a warning, he ordered his men to block the only exit and opened fire on the unarmed crowd. The soldiers fired 1,650 rounds, killing and wounding hundreds. Official British figures reported 379 dead and 1,100 injured, though Indian estimates suggested the toll was much higher—over 1,000 killed and 1,500 wounded.

Aftermath and Repercussions

Following the massacre, the British government imposed further brutal measures:

- Public floggings of Indian civilians.
- Humiliating orders, such as forcing Indians to crawl on their stomachs along the street where an English missionary had been attacked.

The massacre sent shockwaves across India and the world:

- Rabindranath Tagore renounced his knighthood in protest.
- Gandhi returned his Kaiser-i-Hind medal, awarded for his services during the Boer War.
- The incident marked a turning point, convincing Indians that British rule could never be reformed but had to be completely overthrown.

In an act of vengeance, Udham Singh, later known as Ram Mohammad Singh Azad, assassinated Michael O'Dwyer, the Lieutenant-Governor of Punjab, in 1940. He was executed for the act, and his ashes were brought back to India in 1974.

The Jallianwala Bagh massacre was a defining moment in India's freedom struggle, accelerating the movement towards complete independence.

Self-check Exercise-1

1. Who was the prominent leader associated with the appeal of non-violence during the Indian independence movement?
2. When did the Jallianwala Bagh Massacre occur?
3. What term refers to the promotion of Indian-made goods and boycotting foreign products?

14.4 Summary

- The period of Mass Nationalism (1917-1930) was marked by key events and movements that played a crucial role in India's fight for independence.
- During this time, Gandhi emerged as a prominent leader, gaining widespread support for his ideology of nonviolent resistance (Satyagraha).
- The Rowlatt Satyagraha, launched in 1919, was a nonviolent protest against the oppressive Rowlatt Act, which granted the British government the power to detain individuals without trial.
- The Jallianwala Bagh massacre in April 1919, where British forces opened fire on an unarmed crowd in Amritsar, provoked nationwide outrage and intensified the nationalist movement.
- Although it did not immediately achieve independence, this phase of mass nationalism saw the large-scale mobilization of Indians and marked a significant turning point in the struggle against British rule.

14.5 Glossary

Mass Nationalism: Refers to the period of widespread nationalist sentiment and movements in India from 1917 to 1930, characterized by mass participation and a growing demand for independence from British rule.

Rowlatt Satyagraha: A non-violent protest initiated by Gandhi in 1919 against the Rowlatt Act, a repressive legislation that allowed for detention without trial. The satyagraha aimed to challenge the unjust law through peaceful resistance.

Jallianwala Bagh Massacre: A tragic event that took place on April 13, 1919, in Amritsar, where British forces led by General Dyer fired upon an unarmed crowd gathered at Jallianwala Bagh. The brutal attack resulted in the deaths of hundreds and left many more injured. This massacre became a pivotal moment in India's nationalist movement, triggering nationwide outrage and intensifying the struggle against British rule.

14.6 Answer to Self-Check Exercises

Self-check Exercise-1

1. Mahatma Gandhi
2. April 13, 1919
3. Swadeshi

14.7 Suggested Readings

- Jalal, A. (1994). *The Sole Spokesman: Jinnah, the Muslim League and the Demand for Pakistan*. Cambridge University Press.
- Jalal, A. (2002). *Self and Sovereignty: Individual and Community in South Asian Islam since 1850*. Routledge.
- Markovits, C. (2004). *The Un-Gandhian Gandhi: The Life and Afterlife of the Mahatma*. Anthem Press.
- Metcalf, T. R. (2006). *A Concise History of Modern India*. Cambridge University Press.
- Noorani, A. G. (2002). *The Destruction of Hyderabad*. Tulika Books.

14.8 Terminal Questions

1. Discuss the significance of Gandhi's appeal during the mass nationalism period of 1917-1930 and its impact on the Indian independence movement.
2. Analyse the reasons behind the emergence of the Rowlatt Satyagraha and its role in shaping the nationalist movement in India.

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Unit-15

Non-Cooperation Movement: Nationalism Turning to Mass Movements (1917-1930) Part-2

Structure:

15.1 Introduction

15.2 Learning Outcomes

15.3 Concept of Khilafat and Non-Cooperation

15.3.1 The Non-Cooperation Movement

Self-Check Exercise-1

15.4 Summary

15.5 Glossary

15.6 Answers to Self-Check Exercise

15.7 Suggested Readings

15.8 Terminal Questions

15.1 Introduction

The chapter explores the Khilafat Movement, which emerged as a powerful force of unity between Hindus and Muslims in India. With the disintegration of the Ottoman Empire and concerns over the fate of the Caliphate, Indian Muslims found common cause with the larger freedom struggle. The movement gained momentum under the leadership of Gandhi and the Ali Brothers, inspiring millions to unite and fight for national and religious rights. Lastly, the chapter examines the Non-Cooperation Movement, a landmark campaign launched by Mahatma Gandhi in 1920. It aimed to boycott British institutions, including educational institutions, law courts, and foreign goods, to exert economic and political pressure on the colonial government. The movement witnessed unprecedented participation from various sections of Indian society, marking a new era of mass mobilisation and a turning point in the struggle for freedom. By exploring these events and movements, this chapter sheds light on the era of mass nationalism in India. It unravels the underlying motivations, challenges faced, and the profound impact these events had on shaping the future of India's fight for independence. By delving into the lives of the people who dedicated themselves to the cause, this chapter aims to provide a comprehensive understanding of the socio-political climate during this critical phase and the indomitable spirit that propelled India towards its goal – freedom.

15.2 Learning Outcomes

- Explore the dynamics of the Khilafat Movement, including its origins, objectives, and the unity it fostered between Hindus and Muslims, understanding its connection to the larger freedom struggle and its impact on the national movement.
- Evaluate the Non-Cooperation Movement as a transformative phase in the Indian freedom struggle, analysing its goals, strategies, and the unprecedented mass participation it generated and assessing its successes and limitations.
- Develop critical thinking and analytical skills by examining historical evidence, primary sources, and diverse perspectives to comprehensively understand the era of mass nationalism and its implications for India's quest for independence.

15.3 Concept of Khilafat and Non-Cooperation

The Khilafat Movement, also called the Khilafat Andolan, was a crucial political and religious movement in India between 1919 and 1924. It aimed to defend the Islamic Caliphate (Khilafat) in Turkey while opposing British colonial rule in India. The movement emerged in the wake of World War I when the Ottoman Empire, the seat of the Caliphate, faced disintegration. With the deposition of Sultan-Caliph Mehmed VI, Muslims worldwide, including those in India, were deeply concerned about the Caliphate's fate and sought to preserve it.

Indian leaders such as Mahatma Gandhi and Mohammad Ali Jinnah supported the Khilafat cause, seeing it as an opportunity to unite and mobilize the Indian Muslim community within a broader anti-colonial struggle. The movement included mass protests, boycotts, and non-cooperation with British authorities, significantly contributing to India's independence struggle. It later merged with Gandhi's Non-Cooperation Movement in the early 1920s. However, following the Chauri Chaura incident in 1922 and Mustafa Kemal Atatürk's reforms in Turkey, which abolished the Caliphate in 1924, the movement lost momentum. Despite its failure to achieve its primary goal, the Khilafat Movement played a crucial role in galvanizing India's Muslim community and strengthening the broader nationalist movement against British rule.

The Khilafat issue also fueled radical nationalism among younger Muslims and traditional scholars who grew increasingly disillusioned with British rule. This discontent stemmed from Britain's treatment of Turkey after World War I. Indian

Muslims, like their counterparts worldwide, viewed the Ottoman Sultan as their spiritual leader—the Khalifa—and felt a deep affinity for Turkey. Since Turkey had allied with Germany and Austria during the war, Britain adopted a punitive stance post-war, leading to the empire's fragmentation and the Khalifa's removal. This outraged Muslims globally. In India, they put forth two primary demands:

1. The Khalifa should retain control over Muslim sacred sites.
2. He should be granted adequate territorial authority in post-war arrangements.

In early 1919, the Khilafat Committee was formed under the leadership of the Ali brothers (Shaukat Ali and Muhammad Ali), Maulana Azad, Ajmal Khan, and Hasrat Mohani to pressure the British into reconsidering their stance on Turkey. This marked the beginning of a nationwide agitation.

Initially, the movement focused on petitions, delegations, and peaceful meetings. However, a more militant approach soon emerged, calling for active resistance, including boycotts of British goods. At the All-India Khilafat Conference in Delhi (November 1919), leaders announced a boycott and warned that cooperation with the British government would cease unless post-war treaties were favorable to Turkey. Gandhi, serving as president of the All-India Khilafat Committee, saw the movement as an opportunity to launch a mass non-cooperation campaign against British rule.

Support from the Indian National Congress was crucial for the movement's success. However, Congress leaders were divided over aligning with Muslim leaders on a religious issue. Bal Gangadhar Tilak opposed such an alliance and was skeptical of non-cooperation and satyagraha as effective political strategies. Gandhi, however, advocated for satyagraha and unity with the Muslim community over the Khilafat issue. He also faced opposition to other aspects of his non-cooperation movement, such as the boycott of government councils. Eventually, Gandhi secured Congress's support for his program, as the party recognized the movement's significance for several reasons:

- It provided a rare opportunity to strengthen Hindu-Muslim unity and integrate Muslim masses into the national movement.

- The events in Punjab and the biased Hunter Committee Report had weakened faith in constitutional methods.
- There was growing eagerness among the masses to voice their grievances against colonial rule.

Ultimately, though the Khilafat Movement failed in its primary objective, it played a vital role in mobilizing Indian Muslims and reinforcing the larger independence movement.

Gandhi's Philosophy and Leadership: The Power of Non-Violence:

Mahatma Gandhi's philosophy of non-violence was at the heart of the Non-Cooperation Movement. Gandhi believed that non-violent resistance, or Satyagraha, could awaken the oppressor's moral conscience and effect change without resorting to aggression. His leadership and unyielding commitment to these principles were instrumental in guiding the movement. Gandhi's example of simplicity, asceticism, and non-violence inspired millions. He encouraged the spinning of khadi (homespun cloth) as a means of economic self-sufficiency, symbolising India's resolve to break free from British economic exploitation. The spinning wheel, or charkha, became an iconic symbol of resistance. The success of the Non-Cooperation Movement depended largely on Gandhi's ability to galvanise the masses. He travelled the length and breadth of the country, addressing gatherings, exhorting people to reject British goods, and promoting non-violent civil disobedience. His insistence on Hindu-Muslim unity was instrumental in bringing together diverse segments of Indian society.

15.3.1 The Non-Cooperation Movement

The Non-Cooperation Movement, an iconic chapter in the annals of India's struggle for independence, represents a defining moment in history when the principles of non-violence and civil disobedience were harnessed to confront the might of British colonial rule. Initiated by Mahatma Gandhi in the early 1920s, this movement, known for its sheer magnitude and moral strength, played a pivotal role in shaping the course of India's struggle for self-determination. It was a period when India chose to turn the other cheek, to paralyse the imperial administration not through violence but through the sheer weight of collective dissent. The foundations

of the Non-Cooperation Movement were laid in a climate of escalating discontent among the Indian populace, disillusioned with decades of colonial exploitation, discriminatory policies, and the infamous Jallianwala Bagh Massacre of 1919. Mahatma Gandhi, who had already established himself as a symbol of peaceful resistance, saw this as a moment ripe for harnessing India's collective strength against the British Raj. His philosophy of non-violence, or "Satyagraha," was the bedrock upon which this movement was constructed. As we delve into the history and significance of the Non-Cooperation Movement, we encounter a multitude of interwoven threads, from economic boycotts and the spinning wheel's symbolic resurgence to the defiance of colonial institutions and the forging of Hindu-Muslim unity. It was not just a campaign of mere non-cooperation but a profound expression of Indian identity, self-reliance, and dignity.

The Background: A Rising Tide of Discontent:

To understand the origins of the Non-Cooperation Movement, we must first acknowledge the rising tide of discontent that gripped India in the aftermath of World War I. The sacrifices of Indian soldiers during the war were neither forgotten nor rewarded. Instead, the British government seemed even more resolute in its imperial endeavours. The Rowlatt Act of 1919, which allowed for the arrest and detention of Indians without trial, was met with widespread opposition. But the boiling point was reached with the Jallianwala Bagh Massacre in Amritsar, where British troops opened fire on a peaceful gathering of unarmed civilians, resulting in hundreds of deaths. This brutal act sent shockwaves across the subcontinent and sowed the seeds of a nationwide revolt.

Gandhi, who had already emerged as a prominent leader in the Indian National Congress, recognised the need to channel this outrage into a constructive movement. Drawing from his experiences in South Africa and his unwavering commitment to non-violence, he set the stage for what would become one of the most remarkable campaigns of civil disobedience the world has ever witnessed.

Prelude to Non-Cooperation: The Khilafat Movement and Jallianwala Bagh:

The backdrop against which the Non-Cooperation Movement unfolded was also marked by two significant developments: the Khilafat Movement and the repercussions of the Jallianwala Bagh Massacre. The Khilafat Movement, which

aimed to express support for preserving the Islamic Caliphate in Turkey, was inextricably linked to the Non-Cooperation Movement. Muslims across India were deeply concerned about the fate of the Caliphate as the Ottoman Empire crumbled. Indian leaders, including Gandhi, sought to unite Hindus and Muslims under a common cause, forging a broader anti-colonial alliance. The Khilafat Movement involved mass protests, boycotts, and non-cooperation with British authorities, adding a substantial force to the larger struggle for independence.

On the other hand, the Jallianwala Bagh Massacre, which took place in April 1919, was a turning point in India's relationship with the British rulers. General Dyer's brutal action in Amritsar, Punjab, was a stark illustration of British oppression and led to widespread anger and a desire for retribution. This outrage provided further impetus to the Non-Cooperation Movement as the need for a peaceful yet powerful response became evident.

Key Features of the Non-Cooperation Movement:

The Non-Cooperation Movement was multi-faceted and multifarious in its approach to challenging British rule. Some of its notable features include:

1. **Boycott of British Goods:** The boycott of foreign goods was perhaps the most visible aspect of the movement. Indians were encouraged to shun British-manufactured products and embrace Swadeshi (indigenous) alternatives. This boycott extended to everything from clothing to salt, reinforcing self-reliance and economic independence.
2. **Non-Cooperation with British Institutions:** Indians were urged to resign from government jobs, which they saw as instruments of colonial control. Students were asked to withdraw from government-run educational institutions. The intent was to disengage from institutions supporting British rule, weakening the colonial administration.
3. **Civil Disobedience:** Non-violent protests, demonstrations, and acts of civil disobedience were central to the Non-Cooperation Movement. People defied colonial laws and policies without resorting to violence, willingly facing arrests and imprisonment as a means of protest.

4. Hindu-Muslim Unity: A remarkable achievement of the movement was its ability to foster unity among Hindus and Muslims. This was particularly significant in a country known for its diverse religious and cultural identities. Gandhi's emphasis on Hindu-Muslim harmony played a crucial role in this regard.

5. Local Governance: As part of the non-cooperation strategy, many Indians established local self-governing institutions known as "Swaraj" (self-rule). These institutions aimed to provide basic services, such as education, and administer justice, demonstrating that Indians could govern themselves.

6. Chauri Chaura Incident: The Non-Cooperation Movement faced a significant setback in 1922 when the Chauri Chaura incident resulted in violence during a protest. Gandhi, who was unwavering in his commitment to non-violence, made the difficult decision to suspend the movement temporarily as a response to this event. It underscored the paramount importance of maintaining non-violent discipline.

The Non-Cooperation Movement targeted the British administration and sought to awaken a sense of self-empowerment among the Indian populace. The message was clear: India had the capacity to manage its own affairs and could exist independently from British rule. The movement also served as an avenue for the political mobilization of women, who took active roles in spinning and protest activities.

- **Significance**

- The movement achieved broad participation from various sections of Indian society, including peasants, workers, students, teachers, women, and merchants, marking the first real mass base for the nationalist movement.
- It facilitated the spread of nationalism to all corners of the country.
- The Indian National Congress transformed from a deliberative assembly to an organisation for action, evident from the movement's programs.
- The movement exemplified Hindu-Muslim unity through the merger with the Khilafat movement.
- It showcased the masses' willingness and ability to endure hardships and sacrifice for national independence.
- Despite not achieving its main demands, the movement represented a significant advancement in the Indian nationalist movement.

Impact and Legacy of the Non-Cooperation Movement:

While the Non-Cooperation Movement did not lead to immediate independence, it had far-reaching consequences. It demonstrated the potential of mass mobilisation and civil disobedience as powerful tools in the struggle for freedom. It laid the groundwork for future movements, including the Civil Disobedience Movement and the Quit India Movement, which would eventually culminate in India's independence in 1947. The movement's ability to unify Hindus and Muslims was especially significant, as it defied the divisive strategies employed by the colonial administration. The Indian National Congress, under Gandhi's leadership, assumed a more prominent role in the struggle for self-determination.

In conclusion, the Non-Cooperation Movement was a turning point in India's fight for independence. It was a monumental effort demonstrating the effectiveness of non-violent resistance against colonialism. It was a period when the power of unity and non-violence challenged the oppressive might of the British Empire. The movement's principles of non-violence and civil disobedience continue to inspire movements for justice and freedom worldwide, and its legacy remains deeply embedded in the collective memory of India.

Self-Check Exercise-1

Q.1 Which movement emerged in response to the mistreatment of Turkey by the British?

Q.2 Which movement aimed to boycott British institutions and promote self-reliance?

Q.3 Which incident led to the call-off of the Non-Cooperation Movement?

15.4 Summary

- The Khilafat Movement emerged in response to the mistreatment of Turkey by the British after World War I. Muslims in India demanded support for the Ottoman Caliphate.
- The Non-Cooperation Movement, launched by Gandhi in 1920, aimed to boycott British institutions, including schools, colleges, and courts, and promote self-reliance and Indian-made goods (swadeshi).

- The movement fostered Hindu-Muslim unity and marked a shift towards mass participation in the nationalist movement.
- The movement's phases included boycotts, fundraising, spinning, and a nationwide strike (Hartal).

However, the movement was called off in 1922 following the Chauri Chaura incident, where violence erupted, and 22 police officers were killed.

15.5 Glossary

- **Khilafat Movement:** A movement that emerged in response to the mistreatment of Turkey by the British after World War I. Indian Muslims, along with their Hindu allies, demanded support for the Ottoman Caliphate and protested against British actions.
- **Non-Cooperation Movement:** A significant movement launched by Gandhi in 1920, which aimed to boycott British institutions and promote self-reliance. The movement involved the boycott of schools, colleges, courts, and foreign goods, and emphasized non-violent protest as a means to challenge British rule.
- **Satyagraha:** A philosophy and method of non-violent resistance developed and popularized by Gandhi. Satyagraha emphasizes the power of truth and love, seeking to bring about social and political change through peaceful means.
- **Swadeshi:** Refers to the promotion and use of Indian-made goods, emphasizing economic self-sufficiency and the boycott of foreign products during the Non-Cooperation Movement.

15.6 Answers to Self-Check Exercise

Self-Check Exercise-1

1. Khilafat Movement
2. Non-Cooperation Movement
3. Chauri Chaura Incident

15.7 Suggested Readings

- Brown, J. M. (1991). *Gandhi's Rise to Power: Indian Politics 1915-1922*. Cambridge University Press.

- Das, A. (2013). *Khilafat in India: An Analysis of the Khilafat Movement, 1918-1924*. Primus Books.
- Khan, Y. Y. (2015). *Gandhi and the Khilafat Movement*. Cambridge University Press.
- Seth, S. (2005). *Road to Partition: The Life of Mohammad Ali Jinnah*. Penguin Books India.

15.8 Terminal Questions

1. Assess the reasons for the Khilafat Movement and its connection to the non-cooperation movement in India.
2. Discuss the objectives and strategies of the Non-Cooperation Movement initiated by Gandhi in 1920 and evaluate its achievements and limitations.

Unit -16

Pre-Independence Phase of Nationalism: 1930-45 Part-1

Structure:

16.1 Introduction

16.2 Learning Outcome

16.3 Civil Disobedience Movement

16.3.1 Salt Satyagraha

Self-Check Exercise-1

16.4 Cripps Mission

Self-Check Exercise-2

16.5 Summary

16.6 Glossary

16.7 Answers to Self-Check Exercises

16.8 Suggested Readings

16.9 Terminal Questions

16.1 Introduction

The pre-independence phase of nationalism in 1930-1945 was a crucial period in the history of many nations worldwide, particularly in countries under colonial rule. This era witnessed the rise of powerful nationalist movements fuelled by a deep desire for self-determination, freedom, and independence from foreign domination. During these tumultuous years, people from diverse backgrounds and cultures united in their shared aspirations for sovereignty, equality, and the restoration of their national identity. The roots of this pre-independence nationalism can be traced back to the colonial era, when European powers established their dominance over vast territories across Africa, Asia, and the Middle East. The exploitative nature of colonial rule, marked by economic exploitation, cultural suppression, and political subjugation, fostered a growing resentment among the colonised populations. In the face of these oppressive conditions, various factors ignited the flames of nationalism. The spread of education and the rise of an enlightened middle class significantly awakened national consciousness. As people gained access to knowledge and became aware of their history, heritage, and the ideals of liberty and equality, a strong sense of identity and pride in their respective nations began to emerge. Furthermore, the rise of international political ideologies such as socialism, communism, and anti-imperialism provided intellectual

frameworks and inspirations for nationalist movements. These ideologies emphasised the liberation of oppressed peoples and the right to self-determination, offering guidance and strategies for resistance against colonial powers. The pre-independence phase of nationalism witnessed numerous landmark events and movements that galvanised the aspirations of people striving for independence. The Indian independence movement led by Mahatma Gandhi, with its nonviolent civil disobedience campaigns, became a symbol of hope and resistance against British colonial rule. Moreover, World War II, which engulfed the world from 1939 to 1945, significantly influenced the course of pre-independence nationalism. The war exposed the contradictions of colonialism, as millions of soldiers from colonised nations fought alongside their European counterparts against fascism and oppression. This experience fuelled disillusionment and demanded a re-evaluation of colonial powers' claims of moral superiority. The pre-independence phase of nationalism from 1930 to 1945 was a transformative period in the history of many nations. A fervent desire marked it for self-determination, equality, and freedom from colonial rule. The intellectual awakening, international ideological influences, and the tumultuous events of the time all contributed to the rise of powerful nationalist movements that laid the groundwork for the eventual achievement of independence in many countries. This phase served as a crucial catalyst, shaping the destiny of nations and reshaping the global order in the post-colonial era.

16.2 Learning Outcome

- Understand the causes and key figures of the Civil Disobedience Movement.
- Analyse the significance and impact of the Salt Satyagraha within the broader movement.
- Evaluate the proposals and outcomes of the Cripps Mission about Indian demands for independence.
- Compare and contrast the three topics to understand their roles in India's journey to independence.

16.3 Civil Disobedience Movement

The Calcutta session of the Indian National Congress in December 1928 marked a pivotal moment in the country's struggle for independence. During this session, the Nehru Report, which outlined Congress's constitutional reform demands, was approved. However, younger leaders like Jawaharlal Nehru, Subhash

Chandra Bose, and Satyamurthy opposed the report's emphasis on dominion status, advocating instead for "purna swaraj" (complete independence). Senior leaders, including Mahatma Gandhi and Motilal Nehru, believed that abandoning the demand for dominion status prematurely would be unwise. They suggested allowing the British government a two-year period to accept the proposal. Under pressure from the younger faction, this grace period was shortened to one year. It was decided that if the British government did not accept a constitution based on dominion status within this timeframe, the Congress would demand complete independence and initiate a civil disobedience movement. This shift marked a move towards more radical and confrontational strategies within Congress, reflecting growing impatience among younger leaders who believed assertive action was necessary to achieve freedom.

Throughout 1929, Gandhi actively traveled across India, preparing the masses for direct political action. He urged the youth to brace for the struggle ahead and worked on constructive programs in villages, drawing inspiration from the Bardoli agitation of 1928. In an effort to intensify resistance, the Congress Working Committee (CWC) established a Foreign Cloth Boycott Committee, which promoted awareness about rejecting foreign cloth and encouraged public burnings of such items. Gandhi launched this campaign in March 1929 in Calcutta, leading to his arrest. Subsequently, bonfires of foreign cloth were lit across the country.

The year 1929 was marked by several significant events that heightened political tensions. In March, the Meerut Conspiracy Case attracted public attention, followed by a bomb explosion by Bhagat Singh and B.K. Dutt in the Central Legislative Assembly in April. Meanwhile, in May, a new Labour government took power in Britain, with Ramsay MacDonald as Prime Minister and Wedgewood Benn as Secretary of State for India. These developments contributed to the growing political unrest in India.

Before the release of the Simon Commission report, a crucial declaration was issued by Lord Irwin, reflecting a collaboration between Britain's Labour government—considered more sympathetic to Indian aspirations—and the Conservative viceroy. The declaration, announced on October 31, 1929, in the Indian Gazette, aimed to reaffirm Britain's commitment to India's constitutional progress. It stated that the

natural outcome of India's political evolution would be dominion status, as implied in the 1917 Declaration. However, it did not specify a timeline for achieving this goal, offering nothing new or immediate. Additionally, Lord Irwin promised to convene a Round Table Conference after the Simon Commission's report submission.

On November 2, 1929, leading Indian nationalists issued the 'Delhi Manifesto,' outlining conditions for participating in the proposed Round Table Conference:

1. The conference should not debate whether dominion status would be granted but should focus on framing a constitution to implement it.
2. The Congress should have majority representation at the conference.
3. Political prisoners should be granted general amnesty, along with a policy of reconciliation.

In December 1929, Gandhi, Motilal Nehru, and other leaders met with Lord Irwin, who had recently survived an attempted bombing on his train. During the meeting, they sought assurance that the Round Table Conference would draft a constitutional framework for dominion status. However, Lord Irwin clarified that this was not its intended purpose, ultimately rejecting the demands of the Delhi Manifesto. This set the stage for a direct confrontation between Indian leaders and British authorities.

Gandhi's Eleven Demands

Following the mandate given by the Lahore Congress, Gandhi presented eleven demands to the government, setting a deadline of January 31, 1930, for their acceptance. These included:

1. Reduce military and civil service expenditure by 50%.
2. Enforce total prohibition on alcohol.
3. Reform the Criminal Investigation Department (CID).
4. Amend the Arms Act to allow popular control over firearm licenses.
5. Release political prisoners.
6. Pass the Postal Reservation Bill.
7. Adjust the exchange rate of the rupee to 1:4 against sterling.

8. Protect the domestic textile industry.
9. Reserve coastal shipping for Indian ownership.
10. Reduce land revenue by 50%.
11. Abolish the salt tax and end the government's salt monopoly.

When the government failed to respond favorably, the Congress Working Committee granted Gandhi full authority to launch the Civil Disobedience Movement at his discretion. By late February, he chose salt as the central issue, recognizing its symbolic and economic significance in mobilizing the masses.

16.3.1 Salt Satyagraha

Why Salt?

Gandhi famously stated that salt, apart from water, is an unparalleled means for governments to levy taxes on the destitute, the sick, and the helpless. He described it as the cruellest poll tax devised by human ingenuity. The salt issue quickly became a unifying factor, connecting the concept of swaraj (self-rule) with the concrete and widespread grievances of the rural poor. Unlike other campaigns, such as a no-rent movement, it did not carry divisive social implications. Like khadi (hand-spun cloth), salt provided a meagre yet psychologically significant income for the impoverished through self-help initiatives. Similarly, it allowed urban dwellers to symbolically identify with the suffering of the masses, just as Khadi did.

Dandi March (March 12-April 6, 1930)

On March 2, 1930, Gandhi communicated his plan of action to the viceroy, and although its significance was not fully understood at the time, it would later become a pivotal moment. He, accompanied by a group of seventy-eight members from the Sabarmati Ashram, intended to embark on a 240-mile march from Ahmedabad, his headquarters, through the villages of Gujarat. Their destination was the coastal town of Dandi, where they would openly defy the salt law by collecting salt from the beach. Thousands of people flocked to the ashram in support before the march commenced.

Gandhi provided specific instructions for future actions to be taken:

- Wherever possible, civil disobedience of the salt law should be initiated.
- Picketing of foreign liquor and cloth shops was encouraged.
- Refusal to pay taxes was a viable option with sufficient strength.
- Lawyers were urged to give up their practice.
- The public was called upon to boycott law courts by refraining from litigation.
- Government servants were advised to resign from their posts.
- All these actions were to be undertaken with the condition that truth and non-violence, as means to achieve self-rule (swaraj), would be strictly adhered to.
- Local leaders were to be followed Gandhi's arrest.

The historic march, which marked the beginning of the Civil Disobedience Movement, commenced on March 12. Gandhi intentionally violated the salt law by picking up a lump of salt at Dandi on April 6. This act symbolized the Indian people's determination to reject laws made by the British and their resolve to live under British rule no longer. Gandhi openly urged people to produce salt from seawater in their homes and defy the salt law. The march received significant coverage in newspapers, highlighting its progress and its impact on the people. In response to Gandhi's call, 300 village officials in Gujarat resigned from their positions, demonstrating their solidarity with the movement. Congress workers actively engaged in grassroots-level organizational tasks because of this appeal.

The agitation had several impacts:

1. Imports of foreign cloth and other goods decreased.
2. The government experienced a decline in revenue from liquor, excise, and land taxes.
3. Elections to the Legislative Assembly were largely boycotted.

The Civil Disobedience Movement saw participation from various sections of society:

Women: Gandhi specifically encouraged women to take a leading role in the movement. They became a common sight picketing outside liquor shops, opium

dens, and stores selling foreign cloth. For Indian women, this movement was a liberating experience and marked their entry into the public sphere.

Students and Youth: Alongside women, students and young people played a prominent role in boycotting foreign cloth and liquor.

Muslims: Muslim participation did not reach the level seen during the 1920-22 period due to appeals from Muslim leaders to refrain from joining the movement and active government encouragement of communal discord. However, some regions, such as the NWFP, witnessed significant participation. Middle-class Muslims were actively involved in Senhatta, Tripura, Gaibandha, Bagura, Noakhali, Dacca, and other areas. Muslim weaving communities in Bihar, Delhi, and Lucknow were also effectively mobilized.

Merchants and Petty Traders: Traders' associations and commercial bodies were enthusiastic participants in implementing the boycott, particularly in Tamil Nadu and Punjab.

Tribals: Tribals actively participated in the movement in the Central Provinces, Maharashtra, and Karnataka.

Workers: Workers in Bombay, Calcutta, Madras, Sholapur, and other industrial centres took part in the movement.

Peasants: Peasants played an active role in the United Provinces, Bihar, and Gujarat.

Self-Check Exercise-1

Q.1 What was the Civil Disobedience Movement?

Q.2 What was the Salt Satyagraha?

16.4 Cripps Mission

In March 1942, an assignment was dispatched to India, led by Stafford Cripps, carrying constitutional proposals to secure Indian assistance for the war. Stafford Cripps, a progressive member of the Labour Party, held positions as the leader of the House of Commons and a member of the British War Cabinet. He had actively endorsed the Indian national movement. This mission was sent due to the setbacks experienced by Britain in Southeast Asia, which made the Japanese threat

of invading India appear imminent, thus emphasising the need for Indian support. Additionally, pressure from the Allies (USA, USSR, China) prompted Britain to seek cooperation from India. The Indian nationalists had expressed their willingness to support the Allied cause on the condition that significant powers were transferred immediately, and complete independence was granted after the war.

The key proposals of the mission were as follows:

1. Establishment of an Indian Union with dominion status, granting it the freedom to determine its relationship with the Commonwealth and allowing it to participate in international organisations such as the United Nations.
2. Convening a constituent assembly to draft a new constitution after the war. The members of this assembly would be elected partly by the provincial assemblies through proportional representation and partly nominated by the princely states.
3. The British government would accept the new constitution on the condition that (i) any province unwilling to join the Indian Union could have a separate constitution and form a separate union, and (ii) the constitution-making body and the British government would negotiate a treaty to facilitate the transfer of power and ensure the protection of racial and religious minorities.
4. In the interim, India's defence would remain under British control, and the governor-general's powers would remain unchanged.

Why Cripps Mission Failed?

The proposals put forward by the Cripps Mission failed to satisfy Indian nationalists and were widely seen as a mere propaganda effort aimed at appeasing the United States and China. Different political groups had various objections to the proposals:

Congress's Objections:

1. The offer of dominion status rather than complete independence was unacceptable.
2. The princely states were to be represented by nominated, rather than elected, representatives.

3. The provision allowing provinces to secede was seen as a threat to national unity.
4. There was no concrete plan for the immediate transfer of power or a meaningful Indian role in defence.

Additionally, the governor-general's authority remained intact, and the demand for him to act as a mere constitutional figurehead was rejected.

During the negotiations, Congress was represented by Jawaharlal Nehru and Maulana Azad.

Muslim League's Objections:

1. The League opposed the concept of a unified Indian Union.
2. It was dissatisfied with the proposed process for forming a constituent assembly and the procedure for provinces joining the Union.
3. The League felt that the proposals denied Muslims their right to self-determination and the creation of Pakistan.

Other Criticisms:

- The Liberals feared that allowing provinces to secede would threaten India's unity and security.
- The Hindu Mahasabha rejected the idea of secession altogether.
- The depressed classes worried that partition would leave them vulnerable to discrimination by caste Hindus.
- The Sikhs opposed partition, as it would separate Punjab and disrupt their community.

The British government claimed that these proposals were not a replacement for the August Offer but rather an effort to provide further clarity. However, doubts persisted about British intentions. Cripps' rigid "take it or leave it" approach and inability to go beyond the Draft Declaration contributed to the deadlock.

Initially, Cripps had suggested forming a "cabinet" and a "national government," but he later clarified that this only meant expanding the existing executive council. The process for determining provincial accession was poorly defined. The decision on

secession was to be made through a legislative resolution requiring a 60% majority. If this threshold was not met, a plebiscite of adult males in the province would decide by a simple majority. This arrangement disadvantaged Hindus in Punjab and Bengal who wished to remain in the Indian Union. Moreover, there was no clarity on who would implement and interpret the treaty for transferring power.

British officials, including Prime Minister Winston Churchill, Secretary of State for India Leo Amery, Viceroy Linlithgow, and Commander-in-Chief Claude Auchinleck, consistently undermined Cripps' efforts. The negotiations ultimately collapsed over the issue of the viceroy's veto power.

Gandhi famously dismissed the proposals as a "post-dated cheque," while Nehru criticized them for maintaining the existing autocratic structure, with only a few Indians given minor roles under the viceroy. Stafford Cripps returned to Britain, leaving behind widespread frustration in India. Though Indians remained sympathetic to those suffering under fascist rule, they increasingly felt that the situation at home had become intolerable and that the time had come for a final push against British imperialism.

Self-Check Exercise-2

Q.1 What was the Cripps Mission?

16.5 Summary

- The intellectual awakening, international ideological influences, and the tumultuous events of the time all contributed to the rise of powerful nationalist movements that laid the groundwork for the eventual achievement of independence.
- On November 2, 1929, a conference comprising influential national leaders issued the 'Delhi Manifesto,
- Cripps's mission was sent due to the setbacks experienced by Britain in Southeast Asia, which made the Japanese threat of invading India appear imminent, thus emphasising the need for Indian support.

16.6 Glossary

- Nationalism: A political ideology and movement that promotes a nation or community's interests, unity, and self-determination.

- Pre-independence Phase: Refers to the period before India achieved independence from British colonial rule, specifically between 1930 and 1945.
- Civil Disobedience Movement: A nonviolent resistance strategy led by Mahatma Gandhi and the Indian National Congress, aiming to challenge British authority and demand independence through acts of non-cooperation and nonviolent protests.

16.7 Answers to Self-Check Exercises

Self-Check Exercise-1

1. The Civil Disobedience Movement was a nonviolent protest against British colonial rule in India led by Mahatma Gandhi.
2. The Salt Satyagraha was a campaign where Indians defied the British salt monopoly and produced their salt, symbolising resistance to British laws and taxes.

Self-Check Exercise-2

1. The Cripps Mission was a 1942 British initiative to secure Indian cooperation in World War II by offering limited self-government proposals, ultimately rejected by Indian leaders.

16.8 Suggested Readings

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16.9 Terminal Questions

1. What were the main objectives of the Civil Disobedience Movement during the Indian independence struggle?
2. How did Mahatma Gandhi's Salt Satyagrah campaign challenge British colonial rule in India?
3. What were the key provisions and goals of the Cripps Mission during World War II?

Unit-17

Pre-Independence Phase of Nationalism: 1930-45 Part-II

Structure:

17.1 Introduction

17.2 Learning Outcome

17.3 Quit India Movement

Self-Check Exercise-1

17.4 Indian National Army

Self-Check Exercise-2

17.5 Summary

17.6 Glossary

17.7 Answers to Self-Check Exercises

17.8 Suggested Readings

17.9 Terminal Questions

17.1 Introduction

The Quit India Movement, also called the August Movement, was a crucial turning point in India's fight for independence from British rule. Launched on August 8, 1942, under Mahatma Gandhi's leadership, the movement demanded an immediate British withdrawal from India. While rooted in the principle of non-violence, it took on a more resolute and uncompromising approach. The movement triggered widespread civil disobedience, strikes, and protests across the country, resulting in the mass imprisonment of Indian leaders. Despite facing severe British repression, the movement played a vital role in accelerating India's independence, as the combined pressure from the movement and global events like World War II forced the British to reconsider their hold over India.

The Indian National Army (INA), also known as Azad Hind Fauj, was a military force formed during World War II by Indian nationalists in Southeast Asia to fight alongside the Axis powers against British colonial rule. Led by Subhas Chandra Bose, a prominent freedom fighter, the INA attracted thousands of Indian expatriates and prisoners of war who were committed to India's liberation. The INA's most significant military campaign was the Imphal-Kohima offensive in 1944, though it ultimately ended in defeat. However, its existence and actions had a lasting impact on India's independence movement, inspiring nationalist sentiments and increasing international pressure on Britain to accelerate decolonisation. Bose's famous slogan,

"Give me blood, and I shall give you freedom," became a powerful symbol of the INA's dedication to the cause of Indian independence.

17.2 Learning Outcome

- Comprehend the historical context, key leaders, and major events of the Quit India Movement and its role in advancing India's struggle for independence from British colonial rule.
- Analyse the formation, objectives, and significant campaigns of the Indian National Army, led by Subhas Chandra Bose, and its impact on India's independence movement during World War II.
- Evaluate the broader historical, social, and political consequences of both the Quit India Movement and the Indian National Army in shaping the path towards India's eventual independence and their significance in the broader context of anti-colonial movements worldwide.

17.3 Quit India Movement

Quit India Movement: 1942

Following Stafford Cripps' departure, Mahatma Gandhi drafted a proposal urging the withdrawal of British rule and called for a non-violent, non-cooperation movement in response to a possible Japanese invasion. On July 14, 1942, during a Congress Working Committee meeting in Wardha, the decision to launch a nationwide struggle was approved.

The Quit India Resolution

In July 1942, the Congress Working Committee convened in Wardha and passed a resolution authorizing Gandhi to lead a mass non-violent movement. Proposed by Jawaharlal Nehru and seconded by Sardar Patel, this resolution, later known as the Quit India Resolution, was formally adopted by the All-India Congress Committee in Bombay in August 1942.

On August 8, 1942, at a Congress session held at Gowalia Tank, Bombay, the Quit India Resolution was officially passed, with the following key demands:

- Immediate end to British rule in India.
- Commitment of a free India to fighting fascism and imperialism.

- Formation of a provisional government after British withdrawal.
- Approval of a civil disobedience movement to oppose colonial rule.

Gandhi's Call to Action

At the Gowalia Tank meeting, Mahatma Gandhi gave specific instructions to different groups, though they were not issued as formal directives:

- Government employees were encouraged to remain in service but express their support for Congress.
- Soldiers were urged to refrain from firing on fellow Indians while staying in the army.
- Students were advised to leave their studies if they felt confident in joining the movement.
- Peasants were told to pay rent only to landlords who opposed British rule.
- Princes were encouraged to support the people and acknowledge their sovereignty.
- Residents of princely states were advised to back their rulers only if they stood against the British and to assert their allegiance to India.

Gandhi concluded with his iconic appeal:

"Here is a mantra, a short one, that I give you. Imprint it on your hearts and let every breath express it. The mantra is: 'Do or Die.' We shall either free India or die in the attempt; we will not live to witness the perpetuation of our slavery."

Suppression of the Movement

Gandhi had strategically mobilized support through civil disobedience, organizational groundwork, and mass awareness efforts. However, the British government showed no inclination toward negotiation.

On August 9, 1942, within hours of the movement's official declaration, the British authorities launched a preemptive strike, arresting all major Congress leaders in a single operation and transporting them to unknown locations. The Congress Working Committee, the All-India Congress Committee, and Provincial Congress Committees

were declared illegal under the Criminal Law Amendment Act of 1908. Public gatherings were also banned under Rule 56 of the Defence of India Rules.

With senior leaders in custody, younger and more radical Congress members took charge. Aruna Asaf Ali, an emerging leader, presided over the Congress session on August 9 and defiantly hoisted the national flag.

Public Resistance and Underground Activities

The movement quickly escalated into mass protests, with people targeting symbols of British authority, hoisting national flags, and engaging in civil disobedience.

- Railway tracks were uprooted, telegraph lines were cut, and government buildings were attacked, particularly in eastern United Provinces and Bihar.
- Students staged strikes, organized protests, and distributed underground newspapers (patrikas).
- Workers went on strike in major industrial hubs like Ahmedabad, Bombay, Jamshedpur, Ahmednagar, and Poona.
- Satyagrahis willingly courted arrest to protest British rule.

Many nationalist leaders operated from the underground, coordinating subversive activities in Bombay, Poona, Satara, Baroda, Gujarat, Karnataka, Kerala, Andhra, United Provinces, Bihar, and Delhi.

Prominent figures in the underground resistance included:

- Rammanohar Lohia
- Jayaprakash Narayan
- Aruna Asaf Ali
- Usha Mehta
- Biju Patnaik
- Chhotubhai Puranik
- Achyut Patwardhan
- Sucheta Kripalani

- R.P. Goenka

One of the most notable contributions came from Usha Mehta, who established a clandestine radio station in Bombay. This secret network played a crucial role in maintaining morale, disseminating information, and coordinating resistance efforts.

Despite the brutal suppression of the movement, the Quit India Movement proved to be one of the final major blows to British rule, reinforcing the demand for complete independence and setting the stage for India's eventual freedom in 1947.

Self-Check Exercise-1

Q.1 Who was the leader of the Indian National Army (INA) during World War II?

Q.2 What did the Quit India Movement of 1942 call for?

17.4 Indian National Army

Background

Subhash Chandra Bose, renowned for his fearless and militant nature, strongly opposed any European insults toward Indians. Despite securing an impressive fourth rank in the Indian Civil Services examination, he resigned in 1921 to join the freedom movement, becoming a member of the Congress. Under the political mentorship of Chittaranjan Das, Bose was elected mayor of Calcutta in 1923. His staunch opposition to British rule led to multiple imprisonments. However, realizing that he could not fully align with Gandhi's ideology while Congress remained committed to it, Bose chose to forge his own path in the struggle for independence.

In March 1940, he organized the Anti-Compromise Conference in Ramgarh, collaborating with the Forward Bloc and the Kisan Sabha. The conference passed a resolution declaring a worldwide struggle starting on April 6, coinciding with National Week, urging Indians not to contribute resources to Britain's war efforts. Bose called for active resistance against the exploitation of Indian resources by the British Empire. The movement gained immense public participation, and Bose was arrested in July 1940 while protesting against the proposed Holwell Monument in Calcutta. After a hunger strike, he was released in December 1940 but placed under house arrest.

Bose's Escape and International Outreach

In January 1941, Bose escaped from house arrest, reaching Peshawar under the alias Ziauddin, with the help of Bhagat Ram. Leaving India to seek external support for the independence movement, he initially approached Russia but was disappointed when their alliance with the Allies in June 1941 made assistance impossible. Consequently, he traveled to Germany, adopting the pseudonym Orlando Mazzotta. There, he met Hitler and formed the Freedom Army (Mukti Sena), consisting of Indian prisoners of war (POWs) captured by Germany and Italy. The army's headquarters were set up in Dresden, and during his time in Germany, Bose earned the title "Netaji" from the Indian community. It was also from the Free India Centre in Germany that he popularized the slogan "Jai Hind."

In January 1942, Bose began delivering radio broadcasts from Berlin, igniting nationalist fervor in India. By early 1943, he left Germany and, after traveling via German and Japanese submarines, arrived in Singapore in July, ready to assume command of the Indian National Army (INA) from Rashbehari Bose, marking the beginning of the INA's second phase.

Formation and Early Development of the INA

The idea of forming an Indian army using POWs originated with Mohan Singh, an Indian Army officer who refused to retreat with the British forces in Malaya. Seeking support, Singh approached the Japanese, who encouraged Indian civilians to establish anti-British organizations. Singh requested Indian POWs from the Japanese and began recruiting them into the Indian National Army (INA). After the fall of Singapore, thousands of Indian POWs joined the INA, and by late 1942, around 40,000 soldiers were prepared to serve.

The INA was intended to act only with the approval of the Indian National Congress and the Indian people. Many Indians in Southeast Asia viewed the INA as a means to counter Japanese atrocities and safeguard India from potential Japanese occupation. The Quit India Movement (1942) further galvanized support for the INA. In September 1942, the first INA division was officially formed, consisting of 16,300 soldiers. As the Japanese prepared to invade India, the INA became strategically significant to them. However, tensions arose between Mohan Singh and the Japanese military, as Singh sought a fully independent army while the Japanese

envisioned a smaller, symbolic force. This disagreement led to Singh's arrest by the Japanese.

Bose's Leadership and the INA's Expansion

With the arrival of Subhash Chandra Bose in Singapore (July 1943), the INA entered a new phase. Earlier, in June 1943, Bose had traveled to Tokyo (under the alias Abid Hussain) to meet Japanese Prime Minister Tojo, who pledged support for India's struggle.

Meanwhile, Rashbehari Bose, an early revolutionary, had been actively working for Indian independence in Japan since fleeing there in 1915. He gained Japanese citizenship and played a crucial role in generating Pan-Asian support for the movement. He founded the Indian Independence League (IIL) in 1942 and aligned it with the INA. When the Japanese sought Subhash Bose to lead the INA, Rashbehari Bose gladly handed over control, recognizing Bose's charismatic leadership. On August 25, 1943, Subhash Bose officially assumed the title of Supreme Commander of the INA, taking over the groundwork laid by Rashbehari Bose.

The Provisional Government of Free India

On October 21, 1943, Subhash Bose established the Provisional Government of Free India in Singapore. Key figures in this government included:

- H.C. Chatterjee (Finance)
- M.A. Aiyar (Broadcasting)
- Lakshmi Swaminathan (Women's Department)

It was during this period in Malaya that Bose coined his iconic slogan:

"Give me blood, and I will give you freedom."

The provisional government declared war on Britain and the U.S., securing recognition from Axis powers. Funds were raised, recruits trained, and a women's regiment, the Rani Jhansi Regiment, was established. By January 1944, the INA headquarters were shifted to Rangoon (Burma), as troops prepared for their mission under the rallying cry "Chalo Delhi!" (March to Delhi).

INA's Military Campaign

On November 6, 1943, the Andaman and Nicobar Islands were transferred to the INA by the Japanese Army and renamed Shahid Dweep and Swaraj Dweep.

On July 6, 1944, Bose addressed Mahatma Gandhi via Azad Hind Radio, calling him the "Father of the Nation"—the first recorded use of this title. He sought Gandhi's blessings for India's final battle for independence.

In March 1944, the INA, under Shah Nawaz Khan, crossed the Burma border into India, participating in the Imphal campaign. The INA forces advanced to Kohima and Imphal and on April 14, Colonel Malik of the Bahadur Group hoisted the INA flag in Moirang, Manipur, marking the first time Indian forces captured territory under the British. The INA administered Moirang for three months.

However, the INA faced discrimination from the Japanese, including ration and weapon shortages, which lowered morale. By July 18, 1944, due to Japan's declining position in World War II, the INA was forced to retreat. The steady Japanese withdrawal dashed INA's hopes of liberating India.

Surrender and Aftermath

As Japan surrendered on August 15, 1945, the INA also laid down its arms. Despite its military defeat, the INA left a lasting impact on India's independence movement. The trials of INA officers in 1945-46 sparked nationwide protests, further weakening British control and accelerating India's march toward independence.

Self-Check Exercise-2

Q.1 In which major campaign did the Indian National Army (INA) engage during World War II?

Q.2 What was the primary objective of the INA during World War II?

17.5 Summary

Quit India Movement

- Launched in 1942 under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi.
- Called for an immediate end to British rule in India.
- Employed non-violence with an uncompromising stance.

- Led to widespread civil disobedience, strikes, and protests.

Indian National Army (INA)

- Formed during World War II by Subhas Chandra Bose.
- Aims to fight alongside Axis powers for India's independence from British colonial rule.
- Attracted Indian expatriates and prisoners of war.

17.6 Glossary

Quit India Movement: A mass civil disobedience movement launched by the Indian National Congress in 1942, calling for an immediate end to British rule in India and demanding complete independence.

Mass Protest: A form of collective action in which many people gather to express their discontent or demand political change.

British Colonial Rule: When India was under British control and administration.

17.7 Answers to Self-Check Exercises

Self-Check Exercise-1

1. Subhas Chandra Bose led the Indian National Army (INA) during World War II.
2. The Quit India Movement called for the immediate end of British rule in India.

Self-Check Exercise-2

1. The Indian National Army (INA) engaged in the Imphal-Kohima campaign during World War II.
2. The primary objective of the Indian National Army (INA) was to fight for India's independence from British colonial rule.

17.8 Suggested Readings

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17.9 Terminal Questions

1. How did the Indian National Army (INA) impact the struggle for Indian independence during World War II? Discuss.
2. Discuss the key outcomes and historical consequences of the Quit India Movement in India's pursuit of independence from British colonial rule.
3. Analyse the dynamics between the Quit India Movement and the Indian National Army (INA) influenced India's path to independence, and what role did these movements play in shaping the post-independence era in India?

Unit-18

Peasant Movements

Structure:

18.1 Introduction

18.2 Learning Outcome

18.3 Peasant Movements

18.3.1 Major Peasant Movements

Self-Check Exercise-1

18.4 Summary

18.5 Glossary

18.6 Answers to Self-Check Exercise

18.7 Suggested Readings

18.8 Terminal Questions

18.1 Introduction

India known for its rich history and diverse culture, has witnessed numerous social movements throughout its journey towards independence and beyond. Among these movements, the peasant, tribal, and workers' movements have played significant roles in shaping the nation's socio-political landscape. These movements have emerged as powerful expressions of discontent, demanding justice, equality, and rights protection for marginalised and oppressed sections of society. Peasant movements in India have a long and storied history, dating back to the colonial era. The exploitative policies of the British Raj, including land revenue systems, unjust taxation, and the introduction of cash crops, led to agrarian distress and widespread peasant uprisings. These movements, such as the Indigo Revolt of 1859-1860 and the Tebhaga Movement of the 1940s, aimed to challenge the oppressive feudal practices and fight for the rights of landless peasants and tenant farmers. This chapter will delve deeper into the historical context, key movements, notable leaders, achievements, and challenges faced by peasants and movements in India. By examining their struggles and contributions, we can better understand the ongoing fight for social justice and equality in the country.

18.2 Learning Outcome

- Understanding the diverse approaches in the freedom struggle.
- Explain the different phases, stages and characteristics of movements.

- Clear idea about the exploitative policies of British paramount and its repercussions.

18.3 Peasant Movements

Peasant movements in India have been integral to the country's social and political fabric for centuries. Rooted in the struggles of rural agrarian communities, these movements have emerged as powerful expressions of discontent, demanding justice, land rights, fair treatment, and an end to exploitative practices. With a diverse and complex agrarian society, India has witnessed numerous peasant movements that have significantly shaped the country's history and socio-economic landscape. The historical roots of peasant movements in India can be traced back to the colonial era. Under British rule, the agrarian sector faced severe oppression and exploitation. The imposition of revenue systems, heavy taxation, and exploitative land tenures burdened the peasantry, leading to widespread agrarian distress. Peasant uprisings, often characterised by acts of resistance, non-payment of taxes, and organised protests, were a common response to these oppressive policies. One of India's earliest and most notable peasant movements was the Indigo Revolt of 1859-1860. In Bengal, British colonisers forced farmers to cultivate indigo instead of food crops and established indigo plantations. The indigo cultivators, known as ryots, faced extreme exploitation and were subjected to unfair contracts and coercion by British planters. The revolt against the indigo system marked a significant milestone in peasant resistance, with the peasants demanding fair treatment and the freedom to choose their crops. Another important peasant movement in India was the Tebhaga Movement of the 1940s, primarily concentrated in Bengal. This movement sought to challenge the exploitative sharecropping system in the region, where landlords took a significant portion of the produce as rent. Peasants demanded a two-thirds share of the crop instead of the customary half-share, sparking widespread protests and agitations. Although the movement was met with brutal repression, it laid the foundation for future agrarian struggles in independent India. Peasant movements in India have not been limited to specific regions or periods. They have occurred across the country, with varying demands and issues. From the Telangana Peasant Armed Struggle against feudal landlords in the 1940s to the Naxalite movement that emerged in the late 1960s and continues to this day, peasant movements have highlighted the deeply entrenched socio-economic disparities and the plight of rural communities. These movements have often aimed to address land reform,

agricultural policies, debt relief, and resource access. They have demanded fair prices for agricultural produce and irrigation facilities and protected farmers' rights. Additionally, peasant movements have contributed to forming farmer unions, cooperatives, and advocacy groups that continue to fight for the interests of the farming community. The significance of peasant movements in India extends beyond the immediate demands of the agricultural sector. They have shaped the political landscape, influenced policy decisions, and formed political parties and alliances. The voices of the historically marginalised and underrepresented peasants have been amplified through these movements, leading to policy reforms and initiatives to improve their socio-economic conditions. Here, we will explore the historical context, key movements, notable leaders, achievements, and challenges faced by peasant movements in India. By examining their struggles and contributions, we can better understand the complexities of agrarian issues and the ongoing fight for justice and empowerment in rural India.

Types of peasant resistances:

Scholars have tried to categorise popular resistance into five categories:

- (1) restorative rebellions to drive out the British and restore previous rulers and social relations.
- (2) religious movements to liberate a region or an ethnic group to establish a new form of government.
- (3) social banditry.
- (4) Armed resistance, with ideas of meeting our collective justice; and
- (5) mass insurrections for the redress of specific grievances.

18.3.1 Major Peasant Movements- Pre-independence India's peasant movements can be broadly divided into three phases: the first was characterised by the lack of proper leadership, the second saw the rise of well-organized peasant movements, and the third saw the emergence of class-conscious peasant organisations. Its distinguishing characteristic was that, at this time, leaders of peasant movements prioritised Kisan (peasant) issues in the fight for national freedom.

Indigo Revolt: 1859–1860

The Indigo Revolt, the Nil Vidroha, was a significant peasant uprising in Bengal, India, from 1859 to 1860. It was primarily centred around the indigo plantations, where European planters forced Indian peasants to cultivate indigo plants and deliver the crop to them at very low prices. During the 19th century, indigo was in high demand in Europe as a dye for the textile industry. British indigo planters in Bengal, backed by the colonial administration, imposed a system known as the "tinkathia" or "neel begari" on the peasants. Under this system, the peasants were compelled to grow indigo on a portion of their land and surrender a significant share of their crops to the planters as rent. The planters exploited the peasants by imposing unfair terms, coercing them into growing indigo instead of food crops, and paying them meagre wages. The peasants suffered from heavy debts and harsh working conditions. The planters often subjected them to physical abuse, forced labour, and unethical practices.

In the late 1850s, the discontent among the indigo farmers peaked, leading to widespread protests and demonstrations against the indigo planters. The movement gained momentum as more and more peasants organised themselves, demanding fair wages, reduced rent, and the freedom to choose their crops. The revolt was characterised by acts of resistance, such as refusal to cultivate indigo, mass protests, boycotts of indigo agents, and attacks on indigo factories and plantations. The indigo planters, along with the support of the colonial authorities, responded with repressive measures, including violence and the use of the police and military to suppress the revolt. Notable leaders emerged during the Indigo Revolt, such as Digambar Biswas, Bishnu Biswas, and others, who played crucial roles in organising and leading the peasants in their struggle against the oppressive system. The revolt gained significant attention and support from the intelligentsia, including members of

the Indian Association, a precursor to the Indian National Congress. Prominent figures such as Surendranath Banerjee, Dwarkanath Ganguly, and Bhudev Mukhopadhyay actively advocated for the rights of indigo farmers and helped raise awareness about their plight. Ultimately, the Indigo Revolt did not result in a complete overthrow of the Indigo system. Still, it did lead to significant reforms and improvements in the conditions of the Indigo farmers. The revolt brought attention to the exploitation of the peasants and highlighted the oppressive nature of British colonial rule in India. The Indigo Revolt is an important chapter in the history of Indian peasant movements and played a crucial role in shaping the broader anti-colonial struggle in India. It served as an inspiration for future movements and acts of resistance against British rule.

Pabna peasant riots: 1873-76

Large portions of Eastern Bengal experienced agrarian rebellion in the 1870s and 1880s because of the zamindars' repressive methods. To prevent the tenants from attaining possession rights under Act X of 1859, the zamindars increased rents beyond what was permitted. To accomplish their goals, the zamindars used forced evictions, the confiscation of livestock and harvests, and protracted, expensive legal battles in which the impoverished peasant was at a disadvantage. The peasants of Yusuf Shahi Pargana in the Pabna district (today in Bangladesh) created an agricultural alliance or combined to oppose the zamindars' demands because they had had enough of the repressive system. The league orchestrated a rent strike, during which the ryots refused to pay the higher rates and sued the zamindars in court. Ryots raised money to pay for the legal battles. The conflicts expanded throughout Patna and to other East Bengali regions. There was mostly legal resistance; there was very little physical combat. Even though the peasant unrest persisted until 1885, most cases had been resolved, partly due to official influence and partly due to zamindars' anxieties. Many peasants were successful in obtaining occupation rights and fending off rent increases. Additionally, the government committed to passing legislation to safeguard tenants from the worst forms of zamindari persecution. The Bengal Tenancy Act was enacted in 1885. Once more, many young intellectuals in India backed the peasants' cause. These included Surendranath Banerjee's Indian Association, Bankim Chandra Chatterjee, R.C. Dutt, and Bankim Chandra Chatterjee.

Bengal Tenancy Act: 1885

According to the new rule, a peasant was granted occupancy rights provided he had owned land in the same village for 12 years; moving was no longer permitted, and the only reasons for eviction were abuse of the land or contract violations. Occupancy rights became hereditary as a result, but they were also transferrable. The peasant was also denied the ability to sublet without the landlord's permission. Limits on rent enhancement were removed, and a contract made outside of court now allowed for a rent increase of 12%. In eviction cases, compensation for improvement was offered. The act's complexity provided many options for legal recourse, and the zamindar—not the tenant—was skilled at using the legal system. A stubborn renter was convinced to accept a rise by the mere threat of doing so. Although the tenant had now obtained his three F's—fair rent, fixity of tenure, and freedom to sell occupation rights—the gains gained by the renter cannot be denied. A small amount of protection was given to tenant farmers. Thus, the new law's significance lay primarily in recognising their rights and establishing a precedent for subsequent laws.

Kisan Sabha Movement:

After the 1857 revolt, the British restored control to the Awadh Taluqdars, significantly strengthening their hold over the rural population. This led to excessive rent demands, forced evictions (bedakhali), arbitrary taxes, renewal charges, and Najrana (tribute payments), placing a severe burden on farmers. The situation worsened during World War I, as the rising costs of food and essential goods deepened the economic distress of peasants.

The Kisan Sabha movement in United Provinces (UP) emerged largely due to the Home Rule Movement. With the help of Indra Narayan Dwivedi, Gauri Shankar Mishra founded the United Provinces Kisan Sabha in February 1918, receiving strong backing from Madan Mohan Malaviya. By June 1919, the movement had expanded to 450 branches, with leaders like Baba Ramchandra, Durgapal Singh, and Jhinguri Singh playing key roles. In June 1920, Baba Ramchandra invited Jawaharlal Nehru to interact directly with the peasant communities, enabling Nehru to witness their struggles firsthand.

By October 1920, internal ideological differences within the nationalist movement led to the formation of the Awadh Kisan Sabha, which urged peasants to:

- Refuse to cultivate bedakhali land (land from which they had been forcibly evicted).
- Reject unpaid labor (hari and begar) for landlords.
- Boycott those who opposed the movement.
- Settle disputes through village panchayats instead of colonial courts.

By 1921, the movement transitioned from peaceful mobilization to direct resistance, including raids on markets, homes, and granaries, along with confrontations with the police. However, it gradually lost momentum due to government suppression and the introduction of the Awadh Rent (Amendment) Act, which attempted to address some of the peasants' grievances.

Champaran Satyagraha: 1917

The Champaran movement arose from the exploitation of peasants in Bihar by European indigo planters. Under the tinkathia system, these planters, who leased land from local zamindars, compelled farmers to cultivate indigo at extremely low prices. Additionally, farmers who wished to avoid growing indigo were subjected to extra taxes such as sharahbeshi (rent enhancement) and tawan (lump sum compensation), further worsening their economic condition.

In response to these injustices, peasants refused to grow indigo or pay the imposed charges. To investigate their plight, Mahatma Gandhi, accompanied by Rajendra Prasad, J.B. Kripalani, A.N. Sinha, Mazhar-ul-Haq, Mahadev Desai, and others, traveled to Champaran. Initially, the British authorities tried to suppress the movement. However, Gandhi's relentless efforts pressured the government to form an inquiry committee, where he was appointed as a member. Eventually, the government accepted the committee's recommendations, leading to the abolition of the tinkathia system and bringing relief to the affected peasants.

Eka movement: 1921-22

In the latter part of 1921, there was a resurgence of discontent among peasants in certain northern districts of the United Provinces (now Uttar Pradesh), including

Hardoi, Bahraich, and Sitapur. The grievances raised by the peasants encompassed several issues:

1. High rents: The rents imposed on the peasants were significantly higher, approximately 50% more than the officially recorded rates.
2. Oppression by thikadars: The thikadars, responsible for revenue collection, were accused of subjecting the peasants to oppressive practices.
3. Share-rents: The peasants were dissatisfied with the practice of share-rents, wherein a portion of their produce had to be given as rent.

During the meetings of the Eka Movement, a symbolic religious ritual took place, during which the assembled peasants made vows to:

- Pay only the rent as per the recorded rates and pay it promptly.
- Refuse to leave their land when evicted.
- Resist forced labour.
- Refrain from aiding criminals.
- Abide by decisions made by the panchayat (village council).

The grassroots leadership of the Eka Movement emerged from figures like Madari Pasi, other leaders from lower castes, and several small zamindars (landowners).

By March 1922, the authorities, leading to its conclusion, forcefully suppressed the movement.

Bardoli Satyagraha: 1928

The Bardoli Satyagraha was a significant agrarian movement in the Bardoli taluka of Surat district, gaining prominence after Mahatma Gandhi's rise as a national leader. The agitation began in January 1926, following the British administration's decision to increase land revenue by 30%. This move was strongly opposed by the Indian National Congress, leading to the formation of the Bardoli Inquiry Committee, which later deemed the tax hike unjustified.

In February 1926, Vallabhbhai Patel took charge of the movement, earning the title "Sardar" from the women of Bardoli. Under his leadership, the peasantry refused to

pay the revised taxes unless an independent tribunal was appointed or the government accepted the existing rates. To strengthen the movement, 13 worker camps (chhavanis) were set up across Bardoli, a newsletter called Bardoli Satyagraha Patrika was launched, and an intelligence network was established to ensure strict adherence to the movement's principles. Social boycotts were enforced against those who defied the resistance, with women playing a vital role in mobilization. In a show of solidarity, K.M. Munshi and Lalji Naranji resigned from the Bombay Legislative Council.

By August 1928, tensions escalated, and there was even the possibility of a railway strike in Bombay. Realizing the seriousness of the situation, Mahatma Gandhi visited Bardoli to offer support. Facing increasing pressure, the British government sought a resolution, suggesting that landowners first pay the increased tax, after which a committee would review the issue. However, the committee later determined that the hike was unfair, recommending a significantly lower increase of 6.03% instead.

During the 1930s, the Great Depression and the Civil Disobedience Movement intensified agrarian protests, with many peasants refusing to pay rent and taxes. Even after the Bardoli movement concluded in 1932, it left a lasting impact, inspiring future peasant mobilizations across India.

Self-Check Exercise-1

Q. 1 What were the main objectives of peasant movements in India?

Q. 2 Which prominent leader was crucial in organising the Tebhaga Movement in Bengal?

Q.3 Who founded the All-India Kisan Sabha, one of the largest peasant organisations in India?

18.4 Summary

- The introduction of cash crops led to agrarian distress and widespread peasant uprisings.
- Movements aimed to challenge the oppressive feudal practices and fight for the rights of colonial India's landless peasants and tenant farmers.
- Three phases of peasant movements:

- The lack of proper leadership characterised the first.
- The second saw the rise of well-organized peasant movements, in which the Congress Party, led by Mahatma Gandhi, actively participated.
- The third saw the emergence of class-conscious peasant organisations.

18.5 Glossary

- Peasant Movement: Refers to collective actions and struggles undertaken by agricultural workers and farmers to address issues such as land rights, fair wages, and improved living conditions.
- Socio-economic Justice: The concept of ensuring fairness and equality in distributing resources, opportunities, and social benefits, addressing economic disparities and promoting social well-being for all.

18.6 Answer to Self-Check Exercise

Self-Check Exercise-1

1. To fight for land rights, fair taxation, and improved working conditions.
2. Kisan Sabha leader Harekrishna Konar.
3. Swami Sahajanand Saraswati.

18.7 Suggested Reading

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18.8 Terminal Questions

1. How did the peasant, tribal, and worker's movements contribute to social and political transformation in the Indian subcontinent during the period under study?
2. What were the key demands and grievances of the peasant, tribal, and workers' movements, and how did they strive to address these issues?
3. What were the major challenges faced by the peasant, tribal, and workers' movements, and how did they navigate and overcome these obstacles in their pursuit of socio-economic justice and empowerment?

Unit -19

Tribal and Workers Movements

Structure:

- 19.1 Introduction
- 19.2 Learning Outcome
- 19.3 Tribal Movements
- Self- Check Exercise-1
- 19.4 Worker Class Movements
- Self- Check Exercise-2
- 19.5 Summary
- 19.6 Glossary
- 19.7 Answers of Self- check Exercises
- 19.8 Suggested Readings
- 19.9 Terminal Questions

19.1 Introduction

The tribal movements in India have been driven by the struggle for land, resources, and cultural identity. Adivasis, the indigenous communities of India, have faced marginalization and displacement due to industrialization, infrastructure projects, and encroachments on their ancestral lands. Movements like the Narmada Bachao Andolan, the Dongria Kondh resistance against mining in Odisha, and the movements in Jharkhand for autonomy and resource rights have been instrumental in voicing the concerns and grievances of tribal communities. Worker's movements in India have fought for labour rights, fair wages, and improved working conditions. The exploitation and oppression faced by industrial and factory workers during the colonial era spurred the formation of labour unions and the rise of labour movements. Prominent movements such as the Madras Labor Union led by B.P. Wadia and the textile workers' strikes in Mumbai during the early 20th century laid the foundation for subsequent struggles for workers' rights, culminating in the formation of trade unions and the enactment of labour legislation. These movements share common characteristics, including grassroots mobilization, collective action, and the demand for social justice. They have often challenged established power structures, demanding reforms, and policy changes to address the socio-economic disparities prevalent in Indian society. Additionally, these movements have contributed to the formation of political parties and organizations that champion the

rights of the marginalized, leading to the evolution of a vibrant democratic system in India. Despite the challenges and obstacles faced by these movements, they have played a pivotal role in driving social and political change in India. By amplifying the voices of the marginalized and fighting for their rights, peasant, tribal, and workers' movements have exerted significant pressure on the government and brought about policy reforms aimed at addressing historical injustices and ensuring a more equitable society.

19.2 Learning Outcome

- Understanding about the diverse approaches in freedom struggle.
- Explain the different phases, stages and characteristics of movements.
- Clear idea about the exploitative policies of British paramount and its repercussions.

19.3 Tribal Movements

Tribal Movements in India for Freedom: A Struggle for Autonomy and Identity

The tribal communities of India have a rich history of resistance and struggle against colonial rule and oppressive systems. The tribal movements for freedom were characterized by their quest for autonomy, preservation of their cultural identity, and the defence of their ancestral lands. This note explores the various tribal movements in India during the struggle for independence, highlighting their objectives, strategies, and impacts on the trajectory of the freedom movement. The British colonial rule in India marginalized and exploited tribal communities, leading to the dispossession of their lands, exploitation of their resources, and the erosion of their cultural heritage. This set the stage for the emergence of tribal movements seeking freedom and justice. Several tribal uprisings took place in the 19th century, such as the Santhal Rebellion (1855-1856) and the Munda Rebellion (1899-1900). These uprisings were early expressions of tribal resistance against colonial oppression and the encroachment on their lands.

Birsa Munda Movement:

The Birsa Munda Movement (1895-1900) led by the charismatic tribal leader Birsa Munda in present-day Jharkhand aimed to liberate the tribal people from the exploitative zamindari system and restore their ancestral rights. The movement

became a symbol of tribal resistance against the British and continues to inspire subsequent generations.

All India Tribal League:

The All-India Tribal League (AITL) was formed in 1925 under the leadership of Jaipal Singh, a prominent tribal leader from Chotanagpur, Bihar (now Jharkhand). AITL focused on demanding tribal autonomy, representation, and protection of tribal rights. It played a significant role in mobilizing tribal communities and advocating for their political empowerment.

In central India, tribal movements like the Gondwana movement in present-day Madhya Pradesh and Chhattisgarh emerged to resist land alienation and assert tribal rights. These movements emphasized the need for tribal self-rule, equitable development, and protection of their customary rights.

Strategies and Challenges:

Armed Resistance:

Many tribal movements resorted to armed resistance as a means to challenge colonial authority and protect their communities. The armed struggles of tribes like the Bhils, Gonds, and Nagas were significant in confronting the British and asserting their autonomy.

Cultural Revival and Identity Assertion:

Tribal movements also focused on cultural revival, emphasizing the importance of language, traditions, and customs. This cultural assertion played a crucial role in fostering unity among tribes and preserving their distinct identities.

Collaboration with the National Freedom Movement:

While some tribal movements maintained a degree of autonomy, they also collaborated with the larger national freedom movement led by Mahatma Gandhi, Jawaharlal Nehru, and other national leaders. This collaboration helped integrate tribal aspirations within the broader struggle for independence.

Impacts and Legacies:

Recognition of Tribal Rights: The tribal movements during the freedom struggle contributed to the recognition of tribal rights, culminating in the inclusion of protective provisions for tribal communities in the Indian Constitution. These provisions ensured safeguards for tribal land, culture, and autonomy.

Political Representation: The efforts of tribal movements led to the inclusion of tribal leaders in the political landscape. Jaipal Singh, Birsa Munda, and others played significant roles in shaping post-independence policies and advocating for tribal welfare.

Contemporary Tribal Movements: The legacy of the tribal movements for freedom continues to influence contemporary struggles. Movements like the Adivasi Mahasabha and Niyamgiri Suraksha Samiti fight against land acquisition, industrialization, and the violation of tribal rights.

The tribal movements in India during the struggle for freedom were essential in challenging colonial oppression, preserving tribal identity, and asserting autonomy. These movements represented a struggle for justice, cultural preservation, and the protection of ancestral lands. The recognition of tribal rights in the Indian Constitution stands as a testament to the enduring impact of these movements. Today, the ongoing struggles of tribal communities continue to shape the discourse on social justice and inclusivity in India.

Self - Check Exercise-1

Q.1 What were the primary objectives of tribal movements in pre-independence India?

Q.2 Which significant tribal leader played a crucial role in tribal movements in India?

Q.3 What was the impact of the Chotanagpur Tenancy Act of 1908 on tribal movements?

19.4 Worker Class Movements

The latter half of the 19th century marked the beginning of modern industrialization in India. The construction of railways led to the emergence of the Indian working class. As industrial expansion continued, supplementary industries developed alongside the railways. The coal industry grew rapidly, employing a

significant workforce, followed by the establishment of cotton and jute industries. Much like the industrial revolution in Europe and the West, Indian workers faced severe exploitation, including low wages, long working hours, unsafe and unsanitary working conditions, child labor, and a lack of basic facilities. However, the presence of colonial rule gave the Indian labor movement a unique character, as workers not only endured economic exploitation by both foreign and domestic capitalists but also struggled against imperialist political control. Consequently, the Indian working-class movement became closely intertwined with the national freedom struggle.

Early Phase

The early nationalists, particularly the Moderates, held specific views and took certain actions regarding labor issues:

- They largely ignored the struggles faced by workers.
- They differentiated between laborers employed in Indian-owned and British-owned industries.
- They believed labor laws would reduce the competitiveness of Indian industries.
- They sought to prevent class divisions within the nationalist movement.
- Due to these concerns, they opposed the Factory Acts of 1881 and 1891.

As a result, efforts to improve workers' conditions remained sporadic, localized, and mainly philanthropic, addressing only specific grievances. During this period, several key labor-related initiatives took place:

- In 1870, Sasipada Banerjee founded a workingmen's club and launched the newspaper *Bharat Shramjeevi*.
- In 1878, Sorabjee Shapoorji Bengalee attempted to introduce a bill in the Bombay Legislative Council advocating for better working conditions.
- In 1880, Narain Meghjee Lokhanday started the newspaper *Deenbandhu* and established the Bombay Mill and Millhands Association.

- In 1899, the first organized railway strike occurred on the Great Indian Peninsular Railway, receiving widespread support. Newspapers like *Kesari* and *Maharatta*, under Bal Gangadhar Tilak, had actively promoted the strike.

Within the nationalist movement, figures like Bipin Chandra Pal and G. Subramania Aiyar advocated for improved labor conditions and supported worker-friendly reforms.

Organizational Developments

Formation of AITUC

The All -India Trade Union Congress (AITUC) was founded on October 31, 1920, with Lala Lajpat Rai serving as its first president and Dewan Chaman Lal as its inaugural general secretary. Lajpat Rai was one of the early leaders to draw attention to the link between capitalism and imperialism, asserting that "imperialism and militarism are the twin children of capitalism." The third and fourth AITUC sessions were led by Congress and Swarajist leader C.R. Das. At the 1922 Gaya session of the Congress, the establishment of AITUC was endorsed, and a committee was formed to provide support for its initiatives.

C.R. Das emphasized the importance of integrating workers and peasants into the struggle for self-rule (swaraj), warning that neglecting them would weaken the national movement. Several prominent leaders, including Jawaharlal Nehru, Subhas Chandra Bose, C.F. Andrews, J.M. Sengupta, Satyamurthy, V.V. Giri, and Sarojini Naidu, maintained strong ties with the AITUC. Initially, the AITUC was influenced by the social democratic ideas of the British Labour Party, while Gandhian principles of non-violence, trusteeship, and class collaboration also shaped the movement. In 1918, Gandhi played a crucial role in organizing the Ahmedabad Textile Labour Association and successfully secured a 27.5% wage increase through protests, later ensuring a 35% increase through arbitration.

Splits within AITUC

The AITUC experienced internal divisions in 1929 due to ideological differences. The moderate faction broke away to form the Indian Trade Union Federation (ITUF). This split occurred during the economic hardship of the Great Depression and the Civil

Disobedience Movement. Another division emerged within the AITUC when a group, influenced by M.N. Roy, formed the Revolutionary Trade Union Congress (RTUC).

Despite these splits, the trade union movement achieved a significant milestone with the enactment of the Trade Union Act of 1926. This law provided voluntary registration for trade unions, granting them legal recognition and certain privileges in return for meeting specific obligations. By the early 1930s, efforts were made to unite trade unions. Leaders like N.M. Joshi and R.R. Bakhale played key roles in forming the National Trade Union Federation (NTUF) in 1933, which aimed to create a unified labor front.

Formation of INTUC

After World War II, the All India Trade Union Congress (AITUC) experienced another split, resulting in the establishment of the Indian National Trade Union Congress (INTUC) on May 3, 1947. Led by Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel and V.V. Giri, INTUC developed strong affiliations with the Indian National Congress and emerged as a key advocate for workers' rights. It actively engaged in negotiations with employers from both the public and private sectors, striving to enhance wages, working conditions, and employee benefits. Over time, INTUC spearheaded numerous strikes, demonstrations, and discussions to promote the welfare of workers in post-independence India.

Self - Check Exercise-2

Q.1 What was the major demand of trade unions during the pre-independence period?

Q. 2 Which trade union played a significant role in the labour movements in the Bombay textile industry?

19.5 Summary

British colonial rule in India led to the marginalization and exploitation of tribal communities, resulting in the loss of their lands, depletion of their resources, and the gradual decline of their cultural heritage. This oppression fueled the rise of tribal movements demanding justice and freedom.

Colonial rule in India gave a unique dimension to the struggles of the Indian working class. They faced dual challenges—political domination by imperialist rulers and economic exploitation by both foreign and domestic capitalist forces.

19.6 Glossary

- **Tribal Movement:** Relates to organized efforts by indigenous or tribal communities to assert their rights, preserve their cultural identity, protect their ancestral lands, and seek socio-economic justice.
- **Workers Movement:** Refers to the collective actions and advocacy undertaken by laborers and industrial workers to secure better working conditions, fair wages, labor rights, and improved social welfare.
- **Collective Bargaining:** The process of negotiation between employers and employees, often facilitated by labour unions, to reach agreements on working conditions, wages, benefits, and other employment-related issues.

19.7 Answers to Self - Check Exercises

Self - Check Exercise-1

1. Tribal movements aimed to protect land rights, cultural identity, and autonomy against colonial exploitation.
2. Birsa Munda, a prominent tribal leader, led the tribal movements, advocating for land and forest rights.
3. The act protected the land rights of tribals, offering them some legal safeguards against land alienation.

Self - Check Exercise-2

1. Trade unions demanded better wages, improved working conditions, and the right to collective bargaining.
2. The All-India Trade Union Congress (AITUC) was influential in organizing labour protests in Bombay's textile mills.

19.8 Suggested Readings

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19.9 Terminal Questions

1. How did the tribal, and workers' movements contribute to social and political transformation in the Indian subcontinent during the period under study?
2. What were the key demands and grievances of the tribal, and workers' movements, and how did they strive to address these issues?
3. What were the major challenges faced by the tribal, and workers' movements, and how did they navigate and overcome these obstacles in their pursuit of socio-economic justice and empowerment?

Unit- 20

People's Movement in the Princely States

Structure:

20.1 Introduction

20.2 Learning Outcomes

20.3 Factors behind the Movements

20.3.1 Praja Mandal Movement

20.3.2 Praja Mandal Movement in Himachal Pradesh

Self- Check Exercise-1

20.4 Summary

20.5 Glossary

20.6 Answers of Self- Check Exercises

20.7 Suggested Readings

20.8 Terminal Questions

20.1 Introduction

After 1930, the popular movements in India's princely states gained significant momentum, providing Mahatma Gandhi with an opportunity to implement a controlled mass struggle in these regions for the first time. Sardar Patel and Jamnalal Bajaj led some movements, while Mahatma Gandhi, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, and Acharya Kripalani intervened in others. Some struggles took the form of constitutional agitation, while others involved civil resistance.

The Indian National Congress encouraged the people of princely states to join the national movement, which led to widespread anti-ruler uprisings across many states. To coordinate these efforts, the All India Praja Mandal was established. Many princely rulers supported the British government, as their own authority depended on British rule in India. However, when the Congress demanded complete independence, the people of princely states also became involved in the struggle. As

a result, the movements within these states merged with the larger national movement, receiving full support from the Congress.

The formation of the All-India People's Conference, inspired by the Congress, brought attention to the struggles faced by the people of princely states. This dual effort—Congress's support and the people's movements—strengthened both struggles. However, neither the native rulers nor the British colonial government were willing to tolerate these movements. While some princely rulers actively assisted the British government in suppressing the uprisings, the people's resistance could not be subdued for long.

20.2 Learning Outcomes

- Understand the historical context and political landscape of the princely states in India during the 19th century.
- Identify and explain the socio-economic and political factors that contributed to the emergence of people's movements in the princely states.
- Analyze the key characteristics and objectives of the people's movements, including demands for political participation, social reforms, and economic justice.
- Examine the role of prominent leaders and organizations in mobilizing the masses and leading the people's movements in the princely states.
- Evaluate the strategies and tactics employed by the people's movements to achieve their goals, such as nonviolent protests, boycotts, and civil disobedience.

20.3 Factors behind the Movements

There were many reasons for mass movements in the princely states, which are described in the following way: During the national struggle for independence in India, where political organizations and individuals were continuously striving, there was a parallel emergence of mass movements in the same princely states. Due to the British imperialist policies, only 563 princely states of India maintained their existence. Barring a few, most of them were of small size. When the national movement was going on in India under the leadership of leaders like Mahatma Gandhi and the people of British India were actively participating in it, at that time the people of the Indian states also did not lag behind. On the one hand, this public supported the opposition to the British rule and on the other hand opposed the authoritarian tendencies of the rulers of their state. These rulers used to exploit the

public. Not only this, but the Indian rulers also had a treaty with the British, so these rulers supported the British. This policy was contrary to the feelings of the people there, so the people of these states were generally angry with their rulers. The condition of the people in the princely states was very pathetic. Native rulers used to exploit the people and collect taxes arbitrarily. The only reason for the discontent among the people of the princely states was not the local monarchs and their system, rather the colonial power was also responsible for this, due to whose policies a kind of passivity was communicated among the local monarchs. The imperial rulers, especially after 1857, wanted to use the native princes as a bulwark to contain the growing nationalist sentiment in India.

Lack of Political Rights

Before independence, the people of British India were denied political rights, and the situation was no different under princely rule. Even basic civil liberties such as freedom of speech, the right to form associations, and the ability to publish newspapers were absent. Any dissent against the ruling authorities was suppressed. According to the Butler Committee report of 1927, out of 160 princely states, only 20 had legislative assemblies, with some members being nominated and others elected. Municipalities existed in some regions but functioned under the directives of the rulers. In these states, the monarch's word was law. Even where judicial systems were established following the British model, the judiciary lacked independence. In essence, the rulers held complete control over legislation, governance, and justice. Government positions were reserved for members of the royal family or individuals who gained favor through loyalty. Historian R.L. Handa noted that the subjects of princely states had no democratic rights. Similarly, Bipin Chandra highlighted the autocratic nature of governance in these states, where absolute power rested with the rulers or their appointed agents, known as *Gumashte*, who exploited the people. This widespread oppression led to growing resentment and a desire for change.

Economic Hardships

The economic situation in princely states was dire due to both direct monarchical rule and indirect British influence. Heavy taxation burdened the population, while rulers misused the treasury for personal luxuries. Many indigenous rulers imposed excessive taxes, often seizing up to 50% of people's earnings without justification.

R.L. Handa documented the extensive taxation system in Nawanagar, demonstrating the financial strain on citizens. In states where representatives were elected, they had no control over government revenue. Many rulers also took loans to fund their extravagant lifestyles, leaving little money for public welfare. In 1929, the ruler of Bikaner allocated only 3.6% of total state income to healthcare and public works, while the rest was spent on the royal family. Even in progressive states like Travancore and Mysore, rulers drew substantial funds from the government treasury for personal expenses. The Nizam of Hyderabad received a state income comparable to the emperors of England and Japan. This economic exploitation fueled demands for freedom from monarchical rule and financial oppression.

Congress Policy Toward Princely States

Initially, the Indian National Congress refrained from intervening in the affairs of princely states, focusing primarily on British-controlled territories. As a result, localized political movements emerged under Praja Mandals, first taking shape in Hyderabad, Mysore, Baroda, Kathiawar, and other regions. Prominent figures like Balwantrao Mehta, Maniklal Datt, and C.R. Ambedkar played key roles in mobilizing public support. In 1920, Congress permitted people from princely states to participate in its committees of adjacent British-administered regions. Over time, Congress committees were established within certain princely states, but direct political involvement under the Congress banner remained limited.

At the Ludhiana session, a proposal was put forward advocating the merger of smaller, non-viable princely states with larger neighboring entities. However, the right-wing faction within Congress opposed altering the long-standing non-intervention policy. Initially, Mahatma Gandhi was against political agitation in princely states, but he later revised his stance. In October 1937, the All India Congress Committee encouraged people to participate in mass movements in Mysore.

Key Developments in the 1930s

1. Government of India Act, 1935 – This legislation proposed a federal structure that would integrate princely states with the rest of India. However, the British ensured that rulers retained the power to appoint representatives, with one-third of the federal legislature comprising their nominees. Recognizing this as

an effort to stifle democratic aspirations, organizations such as the Congress State People's Conference demanded that representatives be elected by the people rather than appointed by the rulers.

2. Formation of Congress Governments in 1937 – With Congress-led ministries coming to power in several British provinces, political awareness surged in princely states. This period saw intensified agitations demanding democratic governance. Protests gained strength in Jaipur, Kashmir, Rajkot, Patiala, Hyderabad, Mysore, Travancore, and Orissa. Influential leaders like Sheikh Abdullah, Jamnalal Bajaj, and Jai Narayan Vyas emerged during these movements, later shaping India's political landscape.

Recognizing the growing unrest, Congress revised its stance. At the Haripura Session of 1938, led by Subhas Chandra Bose, Congress emphasized unifying the eight crore people of princely states with the national movement. The party asserted that Purna Swaraj (complete independence) extended to the entire subcontinent, including princely states. Congress envisioned a federation where princely states would function as independent democratic units. With the 1937 elections fueling the struggle, political activity intensified in 1938–39, leading to widespread protests. The Tripuri Session of 1939 reinforced Congress's commitment to integrating princely states.

That same year, Jawaharlal Nehru was appointed president of the All India States People's Conference, further propelling the movement. The people of princely states played an active role in the Quit India Movement of 1942, marking their full integration into India's struggle for independence. Congress officially called upon them to contribute to the freedom movement.

The Integration of Princely States

After World War II, the British announced that upon their withdrawal, princely states would become legally independent, threatening India's unity. Recognizing the potential for fragmentation, Sardar Patel, through a combination of diplomacy and strategic political maneuvering, facilitated the integration of these states into the Indian Union.

Influence of Socio-Religious Movements

The national movement was not solely shaped by political activism but also by socio-religious reformers. Movements such as Arya Samaj, led by Swami Dayanand Saraswati, played a crucial role in raising political awareness, particularly in Rajasthan. Increased interaction between British India and princely states further promoted civil rights awareness. The expansion of education, transport networks, trade, and a unified currency system contributed to the rise of nationalist sentiment. According to historian Bipin Chandra, the demand for democracy, civil rights, and self-governance significantly influenced the people in princely states. In the early 20th century, radical nationalist leaders migrated to these regions, fostering political consciousness.

Movements such as the Non-Cooperation Movement (1920) and the Khilafat Movement had a profound impact on princely states, inspiring the creation of political organizations. The Arya Samaj, with its extensive network, promoted self-rule, Swadeshi (economic self-sufficiency), and vernacular education, further strengthening nationalist sentiments.

The Chamber of Princes

In 1921, the British established the Chamber of Princes as a consultative body for princely rulers regarding administrative affairs. The Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms introduced this institution to consolidate the views of princely rulers. However, as discussions on an All-India Federation progressed, princely states grew apprehensive about losing their autonomy. The rulers insisted that their representatives in the federal legislature be self-nominated, ensuring they retained power.

The Government of India Act, 1935, reinforced this arrangement, effectively positioning princely rulers as a counterbalance to the national movement. Recognizing this as a British strategy to weaken democratic aspirations, the Congress State People's Conference and other organizations pushed for direct elections instead of ruler-appointed representatives. This demand reflected a growing movement toward democratic governance within princely states.

Ultimately, rising nationalist sentiments and mass mobilization led to the successful integration of princely states into independent India, marking a significant achievement in the country's struggle for unity and self-rule.

20.3.1 Praja Mandal Movement

The Praja Mandal movement emerged as a significant part of the Indian independence struggle in the 1920s. It was led by people living in princely states who opposed their feudal rulers and, at times, the British authorities. These political organizations, established as provincial branches of the All India Native State Lok Parishad, were called Praja Mandals. Their primary goals were to restore civil rights in the princely states, establish responsible governance, and shape the political movement within these regions. The term "Praja Mandal" translates to "group of people," signifying that these organizations represented the interests of the people in princely states during British rule.

Governance in princely states differed from that in British-controlled territories, and many local rulers functioned as mere extensions of British power. Initially, the Indian National Congress remained indifferent to movements within princely states. However, as people in these regions became more aware through Congress-led campaigns in neighboring areas, they developed a strong inclination to organize for their rights, leading to the formation of Praja Mandals.

Objectives of the Praja Mandal Movement

The movement arose from growing public awareness and aimed to resist oppression by forming collective organizations (Mandals). Its key objectives included:

- Ending the misrule of princely states and establishing responsible, accountable governance.
- Abolishing unjust taxation and securing citizens' rights.
- Eradicating corruption and reducing land revenue, along with ending exploitative practices like **begar** (forced labor) and **betu** (unjust demands).
- Promoting public welfare by advocating for education, healthcare, and the establishment of schools and hospitals.
- Ensuring people's participation in governance through democratic and constitutional means.
- Securing freedom of the press and addressing prevalent social injustices.

Through these efforts, the Praja Mandal movement played a crucial role in mobilizing people in princely states towards self-governance and democratic rights.

Significance of Praja Mandal Movements

- Creating political awareness- The people of the native states were indifferent to the political consciousness suppressed by the monarchy, feudal exploitation and atrocities. With the establishment of Praja Mandal, public consciousness was spread. The morale of the people increased, and public awareness was created. People stood unitedly against exploitation and atrocities, there was awareness about fundamental rights.
- Establishment of responsible governance - After the Haripura session of the Congress in 1938, the Congress put the responsibility of mass movement in each state on the local leadership. These Praja Mandal bravely fought against the autocratic power of the kings with their limited resources. The Praja Mandal movement continued to fight this autocratic monarchy and British power till the end. The state was successful in achieving the responsible goal through the Praja Mandal movement.
- Connecting women with the political movement - In the Praja Mandal movement, women were actively involved in the political movement. Women worked shoulder to shoulder with men at every step of the movement. With the Praja Mandal movement, women became aware of their rights. To get his rights, he faced the opposing forces firmly. Many women even went to jail for this work. Women had recognized their power through the Praja Mandal movement. This was a great achievement of the Praja Mandal movement.
- Development of National Consciousness: With the Praja Mandal movement, harmony was established between the people of British India and the people of the princely states. This led to the development of national consciousness among the people of the princely states. The princely state joined the national mainstream.
- Strength to the National Movement- Before 1938, the people of the princely states were doing political agitation at their own level. After this, the Congress adopted the policy of giving active support to these movements. During the Quit India movement, this distinction disappeared, and the local movement merged with the national movement. Due to the joint movement, the autocratic power of the kings

started to waver. The main elite (the ruling class) of the British in India started collapsing. The British got scared of these national movements. Now he could not face a general revolt of the whole country. Similarly, liquor prohibition movement, stopping the promotion of intoxicants, enacting laws for the welfare of the people, setting up Charkha and Dwidhi production centers, public cooperation in flood and famine relief works, took the people with them. Got it.

- Establishment of social harmony and unity - The social effects of the Praja Mandal movements removed caste and religious disharmony. Taught everyone a firm lesson of equality and brotherhood, because everyone had a common problem, autocratic feudalism, so Hindu-Muslim and all classes and castes participated together in this movement.
- The work of eradication of Begar and Beth system- Mewar Praja Mandal launched a campaign against Begar and Beth system and got special laws made for them. In Marwar, all the leaders like Pt. Nayanuram Sharma in Hadoti, Bhogilal Pandya, Gokul Bhatt in Bagad tried to end it by running a movement against Baleth and. As a result of this, peasant and tribal movements arose at various places.
- Political importance of the Praja Mandal movement, the political organizations which were established in the form of local bodies of the All-India Country State Lok Parishad for public awareness and national consciousness, social and constructive responsible governance. Some changes took place in the state through them. This organization was Praja Mandal.
- Work of spreading education - Night schools were opened by him at various places. Many schools in villages and cities, Kabir Pathshala was opened for Dalits. Putri Pathshala was established for the education of girls. Praja Mandals established and operated libraries and reading rooms in all cities and towns. Hiralal Shastri encouraged girl education by establishing Banasthali Vidyapeeth. Haribhai Kinkar made an unforgettable contribution in the field of women's education by establishing the Mahila Shiksha Sadan (Hatundi).
- All the leaders and workers of social reform work Praja Mandal actively went from village to village and city to city and started campaigning against child marriage, female slaughter, purdah system, death feast, polygamy system, dowry system, dakan system, untouchability, high and low status. Strongly opposed all evils like discrimination etc. Did not strongly support widow remarriage, women's education, higher age of marriage etc. Rather created public awareness in this context.

In conclusion, it can be said that after attaining independence, most of the kings accepted to join the Indian Union being afraid of these Praja Mandal movement, like Jodhpur Maharaja Hanuwant Singh, Dhaulpur Maharaja Uday Bhan Singh, many rulers wanted to join Pakistan but born of the movement. They could not do so because of the opposition of overwhelming public opinion. From this point of view, the Praja Mandal movement proved to be important in the direction of binding the country in the thread of political unity.

20.3.2 Praja Mandal Movement in Himachal Pradesh

Political Awakening in the Princely States

As national consciousness grew across British India, a similar political awakening took root in the princely states. Movements advocating responsible governance began emerging, and the Indian National Congress recognized the importance of guiding and supporting these struggles. Congress aimed for complete independence for all of India, including the princely states, as they were integral to the nation and could not remain isolated. These regions also required political, social, and economic freedom, just like the rest of the country.

By 1927, the impact of the Non-Cooperation Movement and the success of Satyagraha had significantly influenced the people within these states. Inspired by the broader national struggle, Riyasati Praja Mandals were formed, and public gatherings began to take place. Alarmed by the growing unrest, rulers of the princely states imposed severe restrictions to suppress these movements. The Praja Mandal movements also gained momentum in the hill princely states of Himachal Pradesh, fostering a sense of political awareness against British rule and local princely oppression.

In 1932, the All-India States People's Conference was convened in Ludhiana, leading to a resolution to establish Praja Mandals in the hill states. Following this decision, such organizations were set up in Chamba, Mandi, Bilaspur, Sirmaur, Bushahr, Jubbal, and several other regions of Himachal Pradesh. These bodies played a crucial role in uniting the people of the princely states, promoting political and democratic rights, and strengthening the connection between movements in the princely states and those in British India.

As resistance to administrative oppression intensified, public assemblies were formed, and mass protests were organized. The growing momentum of these

movements alarmed the rulers, prompting many princely states to enforce stringent restrictions to suppress political activism. However, the Praja Mandal movements remained pivotal in shaping democratic aspirations within the princely states and fostering their eventual integration into a unified, independent India.

- Formation of Praja Mandal in Sirmour - Influenced by the proposals of All India State Praja Parishad, the first Praja Mandal organization of Himachal Pradesh was formed in Sirmour. Its founder was Pandit Rajendra Dutt. He established its office at Paonta instead of Nahan. Chaudhary Sher Jung, Master Chatar Singh, Saling Rai, Kundan Lal, Ajayb Singh etc took an active part in this. In 1934, some people of Sirmour princely state established another Sirmour Praja Mandal. In this, Dr. Devendra Singh, Nagendra Singh, Ramnath and Atmaram became the founding members.
- Chamba Sevak Sangh (Chamba Sewak Sangh) - In March 1936, an organization named "Chamba Sevak Sangh" was formed in the princely state of Chamba. Later this organization turned into a political organization. That's why this union was banned in the government. As a result, the Sangh made Dalhousie the center of its activities.
- Mandi Praja Mandal - Hindi and Urdu newspapers started writing these articles about the bad condition of Chamba. Praja Mandal was also established in Mandi state in 1936. After Sirmour, this was the second Praja Mandal in the hill states. Swami Purnanand was its president. Along with them, Ram Chand Malhotra, Badalev Ram, Har Sukhrai, Sundar Lal and Motiram were prominent. The king of Mandi banned the activities of the Praja Mandal.
- Dhami Prem Pracharini Sabha - Due to the proximity of Dhami princely state to Shimla, many people from here used to work in Shimla. He formed a "Prem Pracharini Sabha" in 1937 AD with the aim of improving his state. Baba Narayandas working in Shimla was made its president and Pt. Sitaram as minister. Initially, its objective was social and economic reform, but later it started participating in political work and agitating.
- Ludhiana Conference - On February 15 and 16, 1939, the All-India States People's Conference was held in Ludhiana under the chairmanship of Jawaharlal Nehru. Pt. Nehru insisted on the establishment of Praja Mandal in the princely states. He expressed the view that the small princely states should unite and form an organisation, and the organization should become powerful. In this session of

Ludhiana, Pt. Padam Dev Bhagmal had a deal with this hill princely state of Shimla. Swami Purnanand from Mandi, Thakur Hitendra Singh from Sirmaur, Sadaram Chandel from Bilaspur, Vidyasagar from Chamba, etc. participated. After this, Praja Mandals were rapidly formed in these hill states.

- Baghal and some other Praja Mandal - Some people of Baghal who were employed in Shimla held a meeting on August 11, 1938, under the chairmanship of Jeevnu Ram Chauhan and established the Baghal Praja Mandal. Its purpose was to create awareness among the people about their rights. Taking this feeling, Pandit Bhaskaranand formed Praja Mandals in Bhajji, Surat Ram Prakash in Yog and Bhagmal Sauhata in Jubbal.
- Formation of Shimla Hill States Praja Mandal - On June 1, 1939, a meeting of the representatives of the people of Shimla hill states was held in Shimla. In this, the secret activities of the kings and queens were brought to light. Influenced by the Ludhiana conference, various organizations of the hill states of Shimla formed a joint organization named "Shimla Hill States Riyasati Praja Mandal (Praja Mandal of Shimla Hill States Princely)". Pt. Padam Dev and Bhagmal Sauhata had special contribution in the establishment of this institution. In this Pt. Padamdev was made the head and Bhagmal Sauhata was made the general minister.
- Kunihar Praja Mandal Shimla Hill Status Praja Mandal's leader went to Kunihar princely state on July 8, 1939, AD. There he made many people members of the Praja Mandal along with Kanshi Ram. On July 9, 1939, "Kunihar Praja Mandal" was formally established in the Durbar Bhawan of Kunihar state under the chairmanship of Rana Hardev Singh of Kunihar. Babu Kanshi Ram was appointed as the guardian of the Praja Mandal.
- Dhami Praja Mandal - During this time, the "Prem Pracharini Sabha" of the princely state of Dhami planned to join the princely state Praja Mandal Shimla to escape from the suppression of the government and for protection. On July 13, 1939, AD, "Prem Pracharini Sabha" duly merged with "Dhami Praja Mandal" in the meeting of Shimla's hill states. Pt. Sitaram of Dhami was appointed as the head of this organization. people of
- Dhami Tragedy - On July 16, at about eleven o'clock, Bhagmal Sauhata left for Dhami with a small group from Shimla. Two members of this party, Bhagat Ram and Devi Saran, raised the Congress flag. When Bhagmal Sauhta and his companions reached Dhanhatti near the border of Dhami, the princely soldiers

took Bhagmal Sauhta, the leader of the satyagrahis, into custody and took him to Dharni. The people gathered to welcome the Satyagrahis reached the residence of Rana raising slogans against Rana. Frightened, the Rana ordered firing to disperse the crowd. This created panic and many people were badly injured. Two persons died. Satyagraha leader Bhagmal Sauhata was arrested and sent to Ambala Jail.

Due to this incident, the Praja Mandal movement gained momentum in the hill states. Himachal Riyasati Praja Mandal was organized in December 1939 for the purpose of establishing coordination between different Praja Mandals. In a way, it was a civil disobedience movement, in which many people from the Praja Mandals were caught.

- Sirmour Praja Mandal - During this period the Praja Mandal gained momentum in Sirmour also. Its main workers were Chaudhary Sher Jung, Dr. Devendra Singh and Shivanand Ramol. To terrorize the people of Praja Mandal, the princely government started prosecuting some members. False allegations were leveled against him. These days Yashwant Singh Parmar was the District and Sessions Judge of Sirmour. He took the post of Praja Mandal related to this case and proved the allegation of murder of Maharaja false against him. Due to this Yashwant Singh Parmar had differences with the king. For this reason, he resigned from the job in 1941. On this the king expelled him from the princely state. He gathered the Sirmauris in Delhi from 1943 to 1946 and prepared them to fight for democratic rights.
- Chamba Princely State Praja Mandal - Chamba's Praja Mandal demanded that a popular government should be formed in the princely state. Raised voice against familyism among Praja Mandal workers. The movement gained momentum due to which many people were arrested. Gandhiji asked to run the movement with non-violence. The English newspaper "The Tribune" wrote in an editorial, "Awakening has come in the sleeping Chamba. Democratic ideas have crossed the hill barrier to reach the people of the state, and they are now demanding responsible government."
- **Bushehar Praja Mandal** - To reactivate Bushehar Praja Mandal in 1945 AD, other organizations of Burouhar like Bushehar Sudhar Sammelan and Sevak Mandal organized the people of Bushehar in Delhi as well. Pt Padam Dev worked for this in Shimla and Pt Ghanshyam and Satyadev Bushhari and other leaders

within the princely state. Later, Negi Thakur Sen also started actively participating in Praja Mandal. Along with this, Praja Mandals of Bilaspur, Jubbal and other areas also intensified their activities. Bhagmal Sauhta of Jubbal and Daulat Ram Sankhyan of Bilaspur participated in it.

- **Himachal Hill States Council** - After the session of "All India States People's Congress" in Udaipur in 1945, the representatives of the Praja Mandal from the hill states went there to run the Praja Mandal smoothly in their area in January 1946. Established an institution called "Himalayan Hill Status Regional Council". Whose head was made Swami Purnanand and his office was kept in Mandi. Pandit Padamdev was made its secretary, and his office was kept at Shimla.

The following main resolutions were passed in this conference-

- This conference pays homage to the great souls who have laid down their lives for the freedom of the country.
 - This conference demands all the princes of Himachal Pradesh to form responsible governments in their princely states soon.
 - This conference expresses sorrow against the restrictions imposed on civil rights and demands its removal.
 - This conference demands that forced labor should be stopped completely and unfair taxes should be ended.
 - The conference feels that based on the population of all the princely states of Shimla, a committee of people elected by the subjects should be formed, under whose authority the appointment and work of the ministers and employees of the princely state should be entrusted.
 - This conference demands that prohibition laws should be implemented in the princely states. On March 1, 1947, the meeting of the Himachal Hill States Regional Council was held at Shimla. In this meeting, Dr. Yashwant Singh Parmar was made its head and Pt. Padam Dev was elected its General Secretary.
- **Session of Sirmour Praja Mandal** - In August 1947 Sirmour Praja Mandal held a big conference in Nahan. Raja Gajendra Prakash of Sirmour participated in this conference. Dr. Yashwant Singh Parmar, President of the Himalayan Hill States Sub-Regional Council, was made the Chairman and unfurled the national flag in the conference. Dr. Yashwant Singh Parmar and Praja Mandal Pradhan

Ratan Singh and some other companions went to Delhi. There he met Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru, and Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel. Central leaders assured help. Dr. Yashwant Singh Parmar kept campaigning for the merger of the hill princely states in the "Union of India". On December 21, 1947, a conference was held at Badagaon under the chairmanship of Satyadev Bushehari. A resolution was passed in this conference, in which a demand was made to form a hill province by merging the hill states.

Self - Check Exercise-1

Q.1 What was the objective of Praja Mandal?

Q.2 What were the socio-economic factors driving the people's movement?

Q.3 What was the impact of the people's movement in Himachal Pradesh?

20.4 Summary

- The emergence of people's movements in the princely states was driven by socio-economic and political factors that led to discontent among the masses.
- In Himachal Pradesh, Praja Mandal played a significant role as a platform for the people to voice their grievances and demand their rights.
- Praja Mandal aimed to achieve objectives such as political participation, social reforms, and economic justice. It employed strategies like mass protests, public meetings, and petitions to mobilize public support.
- The impact of Praja Mandal in Himachal Pradesh was notable, bringing about changes in governance, administration, and the rights of the people.

20.5 Glossary

- Princely States: Refers to the semi-autonomous territories ruled by Indian princes or maharajas during the colonial era, which retained a degree of internal sovereignty under British suzerainty.
- Praja Mandal: A term specific to this chapter, it refers to a people's movement or organization formed in princely states, aimed at challenging princely autocracy, demanding political participation, social reforms, and economic justice.
- Autocracy: A form of government where power is concentrated in the hands of a single ruler or monarch, often with unlimited or absolute authority.

- **Socio-Economic Inequalities:** Refers to disparities in wealth, income, education, and opportunities that exist within a society, resulting in uneven distribution of resources and advantages among different social groups.

20.6 Answers to Self-Check Exercises

Self-Check Exercise-1

1. Challenging autocracy and demanding reforms.
2. Inequalities and grievances.
3. Governance changes and rights improvement.

20.7 Suggested Readings

- Bandyopadhyay, S. (2018). *From Plassey to Partition: A History of Modern India*. Cambridge University Press.
- Banerjee, S. (2010). *The Princely States and the Coming of Independence: A Study of Indian Politics during the 1930s*. Orient Blackswan.
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- Nanda, B. R. (2007). *Gokhale: The Indian Moderates and the British Raj*. Oxford University Press.
- Sharma, M. M. (2016). *Peasant Struggles in Colonial India: A Case Study of Himachal Pradesh, 1850-1950*. Manohar Publishers.

20.8 TERMINAL QUESTIONS

1. Discuss the socio-economic and political factors that contributed to the emergence of people's movements in the princely states of India during the 19th century.
2. Analyse the role and significance of Praja Mandal in Himachal Pradesh during the 19th century.
3. Examine the challenges faced by the people's movements in the princely states, including repression by princely rulers and resistance from conservative elements.

Unit-21

Rise and Growth of Communalism: Ideologies and Practices, Negotiations for Independence and Partition

Structure:

21.1 Introduction

21.2 Learning Outcome

21.3 The Emergence and Growth of Communalism in India

21.3.1 Indian Communalism: Characteristics and Separatist Trends

Self-Check Exercise-1

21.4 Evolution of Two Nation Theory and Pakistan Movement

21.4.1 Post-1945 Developments: Partition and Independence of India

Self-Check Exercise-2

21.5 Summary

21.6 Glossary

21.7 Answers to Self-Check Exercises

21.8 Suggested Readings

21.9 Terminal Questions

21.1 Introduction

Communalism refers to a social, political, and economic ideology that emphasizes the interests of a particular community or group over those of the broader society. It is characterized by the belief that communities, defined primarily by religious, ethnic, or cultural identities, should be the primary basis for social and political organization. Around the turn of the twentieth century, communalism emerged alongside the growth of nationalism. It turned out to be a serious threat to both the national movement and the unity of the Indian people. Communalism, or more precisely "sectarianism," is a philosophy that prioritises one's own ethnic or religious group over the needs of society as a whole. In the context of India, communalism often refers to the division and conflict between different religious communities, particularly Hindus and Muslims. It has historical roots in the country's complex social and political dynamics, including the partition of India and Pakistan in 1947, which led to widespread violence and displacement along religious lines.

Communalism in India manifests in multiple ways, including religious tensions, identity-based politics, and the mobilization of communities for political purposes. Such ideologies can be divisive, fostering exclusivity and often resulting in

discrimination, violence, and social fragmentation. It is important to distinguish communalism from communal living or communalism as an economic model, where individuals voluntarily share resources and responsibilities. Promoting communal harmony and unity among diverse communities is essential for peaceful coexistence and societal progress. Strategies such as secularism, inclusivity, and interfaith dialogue are often employed to mitigate the negative effects of communalism and encourage social integration.

21.2 Learning Outcomes

- Understand the concept of communalism and its rise as an ideology during the period of negotiations for independence and partition.
- Analyse the various factors that contributed to the growth of communalism in the Indian subcontinent.
- Evaluate the ideologies and practices associated with communalism and their impact on society, politics, and the freedom struggle.
- Examine the role of key individuals and organizations in promoting communal ideologies and practices during the independence movement.
- Assess the negotiations for independence and partition in light of the communal tensions and conflicts that existed at the time.

21.3 Characteristics and Emergence of Communalism in India

Features of Indian Communalism

The communalism in India is not special. It was the outcome of the same factors that gave rise to fascism, anti-Semitism, racism, the Catholic-Protestant conflict in Northern Ireland, and the Christian-Muslim war in Lebanon, among other ideologies and occurrences in other cultures. In India, it underwent three major stages of development. Communal Nationalism, Liberal Communalism and extreme communalism. A result of contemporary politics based on mass mobilisation and broad public engagement, communalism is a contemporary phenomenon with roots in the modern social, economic, and political colonial framework. People must develop stronger affiliations, allegiances, and identities as a result of modern politics. Modern conceptions of country, class, and cultural-linguistic identity were disseminated during this period. In some regions of India and among some groups of the population, religious consciousness has given way to communal consciousness.

- The emerging middle classes, who promoted fictitious communal interests to advance their own economic goals—communalism was seen by the Left as the quintessential bourgeois issue—were its social originators.
- The colonial government supported communalists in their community campaign. It served as the means through which colonialists widened their social network.
- The fact that socio-economic divisions in Indian society frequently coincided with religious divisions aided communalists and colonialists in their evil intentions. The vested interests gave the fundamental class contradictions a post-facto communal tint.
- In a nation where illiteracy and a lack of global awareness are sad realities, religion has the potential to become and has been utilised as a tool of communalism, despite the fact that religion in and of itself does not equate to communalism.

Emergence and growth

Communalism, as a divisive force based on religious or cultural identities, has had a significant impact on India's social and political landscape. The emergence and growth of communalism in India can be traced back to historical, socio-economic, and political factors. The history of communalism in India is intertwined with the country's diverse religious and cultural heritage. India has been a land of multiple faiths, including Hinduism, Islam, Sikhism, Christianity, and others. While religious diversity has long been a source of enrichment, it has also witnessed instances of tensions and conflicts, especially during periods of political upheaval.

The establishment of colonial rule in India significantly intensified communal tensions. The British strategically deepened religious divisions through their "divide and rule" policy, using existing fault lines to solidify their control. By introducing separate electorates and communal representation, they reinforced religious identities and fueled competition and conflict among different communities.

Along with that, Muslim intellectuals remained archaic and primitive, not absorbing modern Western philosophy or scientific ideas. Even when reformers succeeded in bringing modern education to Muslims, the percentage of educated Muslims was still much lower than that of Hindus, Parsis, or Christians. Muslims also fell behind in terms of involvement in the expansion of commerce and industry. Because there weren't many educated Muslims or men of business and industry, conservative huge landlords and the wealthy classes found it simple to maintain their hold on the

Muslim masses. The old order of landowners had been replaced as the ruling elite among Hindus by contemporary intellectuals and the burgeoning business and industrialist class.

The educated Muslims had limited career or entrepreneurial prospects, so they naturally went for work in government. The educated Muslim leaders and British officials incited the educated Muslim population against the educated Hindu population. On the one hand, Syed Ahmad Khan and others demanded preferential treatment for Muslims seeking government employment, while on the other hand, they assured the Muslim population that the British would reward educated Muslims for their loyalty with government posts and other special benefits. Some devoted Hindus and Parsis made the same claims about their own communities, although they made up a tiny minority.

The traumatic partition of India and Pakistan in 1947 left an indelible mark on the communal landscape. Widespread violence and mass migrations along religious lines led to deep-rooted communal mistrust and animosity. The scars of partition continue to shape communal dynamics in the region even today.

Post-independence, India witnessed the rise of identity-based politics, with various political parties seeking to mobilize support along religious or caste lines. Communal tensions were often exploited for electoral gains, leading to the politicization of religious identities and the deepening of communal fault lines. Socio-economic disparities and inequalities have also contributed to the growth of communalism. Marginalized communities, often divided along religious lines, have faced economic deprivation and social exclusion, providing fertile ground for communal ideologies to take hold. Communalism, in some cases, becomes a means for these communities to assert their rights and demand justice.

The growth of communalism in India has had far-reaching consequences. It has led to inter-religious conflicts, communal violence, and the erosion of social harmony. Communal tensions have hindered the country's progress, as resources and energies that could be directed towards development are instead consumed by religious animosities. Additionally, communalism undermines the principles of secularism, which are essential for a diverse and inclusive society.

21.3.1 Indian Communalism and Separatist Trends

British Policy of Divide and Rule

The British "divide and rule" policy was a strategic approach used by the British Empire during its colonial rule to maintain control over its territories. This tactic involved exploiting and deepening existing divisions—whether ethnic, religious, or social—to prevent unity among the local population, thereby weakening resistance against British rule.

The British employed various methods to implement this strategy. They often favored one group over others, granting them privileges, administrative positions, or economic benefits to foster rivalries and mistrust among communities. Additionally, they manipulated pre-existing tensions, such as religious or ethnic conflicts, to their advantage. By keeping local populations fragmented, the British ensured easier governance and could justify their continued rule by presenting themselves as the necessary force for maintaining order.

A notable example of this policy was British rule in India, where the colonial administration exacerbated religious tensions between Hindus and Muslims. As Indian nationalism gained momentum in the late 19th century, the British government shifted its approach—instead of suppressing Muslims, they began offering them concessions, reservations, and political favors to counterbalance the influence of the Indian National Congress. Figures like Sir Syed Ahmed Khan, who initially had a reformist outlook, later aligned with the British, discouraging Muslim participation in nationalist movements and emphasizing the distinct political interests of Hindus and Muslims.

This policy of divide and rule had long-term consequences, deepening communal divisions that persisted even after the end of British rule, influencing the political and social fabric of many former colonies.

The divide and rule policy left a lasting impact on many former British colonies, fostering deep-seated divisions that continue to influence social and political landscapes today. Post-colonial nations have faced significant challenges in bridging these divides and promoting unity among diverse communities.

Communalism and Historiography

The study of Indian communalism in historiography has evolved over time. Early colonial-era historians tended to view communal conflicts as rooted in ancient religious rivalries and portrayed the communities as inherently divided. This perspective often reinforced stereotypes and contributed to a divisive narrative. During the independence movement, historians like R.C. Majumdar and Tara Chand

emphasized the role of religious tensions and conflicts in India's history. They argued that the divide between Hindus and Muslims was a fundamental factor in India's struggle for independence from British rule. In the post-independence era, historians such as S. Gopal, Bipin Chandra, and Romila Thapar provided a more nuanced understanding of communalism. They highlighted socio-economic factors, political competition, colonial policies, and the role of leaders and organizations in fuelling communal tensions. These historians emphasized that communalism was not an inherent feature of Indian society but was influenced by specific historical circumstances.

There have also been debates within historiography regarding the interpretation of communalism. Some historians have argued for a primordialist approach, emphasizing deep-rooted religious identities as the primary cause of communal conflicts. Others adopt a constructivist perspective, focusing on political and socio-economic factors as key drivers of communalism. In recent years, there has been an increased emphasis on subaltern histories and alternative narratives that highlight the experiences and agency of marginalized groups, including religious minorities, in shaping communal relations. Scholars have also explored the role of gender, caste, and regional identities in intersecting with communalism. It is worth noting that the study of Indian communalism is an ongoing and complex field of research, and historians continue to explore new perspectives and interpretations. The historiography of Indian communalism reflects the evolving understanding of this multifaceted phenomenon and its historical roots.

Emergence and Expansion of the Muslim League

The All-India Muslim League, widely recognized as the Muslim League, was a significant political organization in British India. It was instrumental in championing the cause of Muslim political rights, eventually leading to the demand for a separate Muslim-majority state, which resulted in the establishment of Pakistan in 1947.

Formation and Objectives

Established in 1906 in Dhaka (now in Bangladesh), the Muslim League was formed in response to growing concerns among Indian Muslims regarding their political representation and rights within British India. Initially, the party sought to protect the political and economic interests of Muslims within a united India. However, as tensions between Hindus and Muslims intensified, the League gradually shifted towards demanding an independent Muslim state.

Key Milestones in the Rise of the Muslim League

1. Lucknow Pact (1916): A landmark agreement between the Indian National Congress and the Muslim League, this pact aimed to secure joint political concessions from the British and bridge Hindu-Muslim differences.
2. Muhammad Ali Jinnah's Leadership: In the 1930s and 1940s, Jinnah emerged as the key leader of the Muslim League, becoming the primary advocate for a separate Muslim homeland.
3. Lahore Resolution (1940): Also known as the Pakistan Resolution, this pivotal declaration at the League's annual session in Lahore called for the creation of independent Muslim states in British India's Muslim-majority regions.

Partition and Aftermath

The Muslim League's persistent efforts culminated in the partition of India in 1947, leading to the formation of Pakistan. The newly created country initially comprised West Pakistan (present-day Pakistan) and East Pakistan (now Bangladesh). However, due to political and cultural differences, East Pakistan seceded in 1971, becoming the independent nation of Bangladesh.

The Muslim League's rise was deeply connected to the broader political and communal landscape of British India. By mobilizing the Muslim community and advocating for their distinct political identity, the League played a decisive role in shaping the subcontinent's history and paving the way for the establishment of Pakistan.

Self-Check Exercise-I

Q.1 In which year Muslim League was established?

Q.2 Lucknow Pact was signed in the year...

21.4 Evolution of Two Nation Theory and Pakistan Movement

The Evolution of the Two-Nation Theory

The Two-Nation Theory was a crucial political concept in South Asian history that emerged in the early 20th century in response to increasing communal and political tensions between Hindus and Muslims in the Indian subcontinent. It played a decisive role in shaping the events that led to the partition of India and the formation of two independent nations—India and Pakistan. Over time, the theory developed under the influence of factors such as religious identity, political aspirations, and historical grievances.

Historical Background

The origins of the Two-Nation Theory can be linked to the long history of interaction, cooperation, and conflicts between Hindus and Muslims in the Indian subcontinent. With the onset of British colonial rule, new socio-political factors emerged, gradually shaping religious identities into political movements. The Indian National Congress, formed in 1885, initially included members from both communities. However, as the push for self-rule gained momentum, differences between Hindus and Muslims became more pronounced, leading to a growing divide.

Contribution of the All-India Muslim League

Established in 1906, the All-India Muslim League was instrumental in advocating the Two-Nation Theory. Key figures such as Sir Syed Ahmed Khan, Muhammad Ali Jinnah, and Allama Iqbal actively promoted the political rights and interests of Muslims. They asserted that Muslims formed a distinct entity, separate from Hindus, owing to their unique religious beliefs, cultural identity, and historical background.

Impact of the Khilafat Movement

Following World War I, the Khilafat Movement emerged to protect the Ottoman Caliphate and the global Muslim community. However, its failure led some Muslim leaders to believe that their rights could not be safeguarded within a unified India. This realization further reinforced the demand for a separate Muslim state.

The Nehru Report and Communal Tensions

In 1928, the publication of the Nehru Report, which proposed a unitary system of governance for India, deepened communal divisions. Many Muslim leaders saw the report as favoring Hindu interests, strengthening their resolve for an independent Muslim nation. The period also witnessed an increase in communal riots, further escalating tensions.

The Lahore Resolution and Demand for Pakistan

A major milestone in the development of the Two-Nation Theory was the Lahore Resolution of 1940, also known as the Pakistan Resolution. Passed by the All India Muslim League, it called for the establishment of independent states in Muslim-

majority regions, officially recognizing Muslims as a distinct nation. This resolution laid the groundwork for the demand for Pakistan.

Partition of India and Independence

As the independence movement gained momentum, the demand for a separate Muslim state intensified. Mounting communal violence and political pressure led the British government to agree to the partition of India. On August 14, 1947, Pakistan was established as an independent nation, followed by India's independence a day later.

The Two-Nation Theory was shaped by historical grievances, communal tensions, and the political aspirations of Muslim leaders seeking to protect their community's interests. While the theory remains a topic of debate, its role in the partition and the formation of modern South Asia is undeniable.

Coining of the Term "Pakistan"

The term "Pakistan" was coined in 1933 by Choudhary Rahmat Ali, a nationalist and political activist. While studying at Cambridge University, he published a pamphlet titled *Now or Never: Are We to Live or Perish Forever?* in which he proposed a separate Muslim state. He used "Pakistan" as an acronym, representing:

- **P** for Punjab
- **A** for Afghan (North-West Frontier Province)
- **K** for Kashmir
- **S** for Sindh
- **Tan** for Baluchistan

Rahmat Ali argued that Muslims in these regions needed a separate homeland to preserve their political, cultural, and economic rights. His idea gained traction over time, contributing to the eventual establishment of Pakistan in 1947.

Direct Action Day

Also referred to as the Great Calcutta Killings, Direct Action Day occurred on August 16, 1946. Initiated by the Muslim League under Muhammad Ali Jinnah, it was meant to be a large-scale demonstration highlighting the political grievances of Muslims.

However, what began as a protest quickly spiraled into intense communal clashes in Calcutta (now Kolkata), leading to widespread violence, significant loss of life, and extensive destruction. This tragic event further widened the divide between Hindus and Muslims, ultimately accelerating the path toward India's partition.

The bloodshed and riots that followed were among the most tragic episodes in India's history, serving as a grim prelude to the larger-scale violence that erupted during the partition in 1947.

21.4.1 Post 1945 Developments: Partition and Independence of India

After 1945, there were significant developments related to the partition and independence of India. Here is an overview of the key events and their consequences:

C R formula

C. Rajagopalachari, commonly known as Rajaji, was a key figure in the Indian independence movement and later became the first Indian Governor-General of India. In 1944, he introduced the Rajaji Formula, a proposal aimed at resolving the political deadlock between the Indian National Congress and the Muslim League over the future of India's governance.

Key Aspects of the Rajaji Formula:

1. **Division of India:** Instead of creating entirely separate sovereign states, Rajaji proposed dividing British India into Hindu-majority and Muslim-majority zones.
2. **Provincial Autonomy:** The plan advocated for extensive autonomy for provinces, limiting the central government's powers to only defence, foreign affairs, and communications.
3. **Grouping of Provinces:** Provinces would be grouped based on linguistic and administrative factors, allowing them to form their own governments and handle internal affairs independently.
4. **Minority Rights Protection:** The formula stressed safeguarding the rights of minorities, ensuring their representation in both central and provincial governments.

Although the Rajaji Formula aimed to reconcile differences between the Congress and the Muslim League, it did not achieve broad approval. Under Muhammad Ali Jinnah's leadership, the Muslim League persisted in its call for a separate Muslim nation, which eventually resulted in the partition of India and the establishment of Pakistan in 1947.

Gandhi-Jinnah Talks

Negotiations between Mahatma Gandhi and Muhammad Ali Jinnah commenced in Bombay on September 9, 1944, and continued until September 27. However, Jinnah ultimately declared that the discussions had failed to produce an agreement. The primary point of contention was the Muslim League's demand, as outlined in the C R Formula. Gandhi urged the League to abandon its Lahore Resolution, arguing that it was rooted in the two-nation theory. On the other hand, Jinnah maintained that Gandhi should accept this premise and acknowledge that Hindus and Muslims constituted distinct nations.

Desai-Liaquat Pact

In an effort to resolve the political deadlock between 1942 and 1945, Bhulabhai Desai of the Congress and Liaquat Ali Khan of the Muslim League engaged in discussions. Following Desai's public statement in Peshawar on April 22, 1945, Liaquat Ali Khan outlined the key terms of their understanding. As per the agreement, both the Congress and the League would form an interim government at the center under the following conditions:

1. Equal representation from both parties in the central executive.
2. Inclusion of minority communities, particularly Scheduled Castes and Sikhs.

Though the pact came to be known as the Desai-Liaquat Agreement, it was never officially endorsed by either the Congress or the Muslim League.

Wavell plan

After the Gandhi-Jinnah negotiations fell through, Lord Wavell, the governor-general at the time, put up a fresh proposal to resolve the constitutional impasse. In 1945, he called a meeting of the heads of all the political parties and interest organisations in Shimla. He suggested giving Muslims and Hindus equal representation in the executive council and giving the entire executive council—aside from the commander-in-chief—to the Indians. This was intended to be a temporary solution

while India's new constitution was being written. However, the Muslim League's unreasonable behaviour caused the plan and the conference to fail. Jinnah wanted that the League alone should choose the Muslim members of the Executive Council, which was, however, not acceptable to the Congress.

Cabinet Mission Plan

Following the Labour Party's victory over the Conservatives in the 1945 general elections, newly elected Prime Minister C.R. Attlee signaled Britain's intent to withdraw from India. Lord Wavell was called to London and informed of this decision. Subsequently, elections were held in India for both the national legislative assembly and provincial assemblies in 1945-46. In these elections, the Congress secured 57 seats in the Central Legislative Assembly, while the Muslim League won all 30 seats allocated for Muslims.

To expedite India's transition to independence, a high-level delegation of British cabinet ministers, including Lord Pethick-Lawrence, Sir Stafford Cripps, and A.V. Alexander, arrived in India on March 24, 1946. Over the next five weeks, the mission engaged in negotiations with representatives from British India and the princely states.

On May 5, a conference was held in Shimla with leaders from the Congress and the Muslim League to deliberate on key issues such as the grouping of provinces, the structure of a federal union, and the framework for drafting a constitution. However, the talks were inconclusive due to irreconcilable differences between the two parties. Consequently, on May 16, the mission released a formal statement presenting its recommendations, which came to be known as the Cabinet Mission Plan.

Mountbatten Plan

Lord Mountbatten, who replaced Lord Wavell as Viceroy in March 1947, was committed to expediting the transfer of power. Following extensive discussions with Congress and League leaders, he proposed a compromise plan. While India would gain independence, it would not remain a unified nation under this arrangement

Self-Check Exercise-2

Q.1 Who coined the term 'Pakistan'?

Q.2 Direct Action Day Massacre occurred on....

21.5 Summary

- Attlee's Remarks (20 February 1947)- The deadline for the transition of power is June 30, 1948. It is possible to shift authority to a single centre or, in some regions, to existing provincial governments.
- Mountbatten Strategy (June 3, 1947)-The Punjab and Bengal Assemblies will decide on the division. Sindh will make its own choice. There will be a referendum in Sylhet and NWFP districts. If there is to be a partition, two dominions with two Constituent Assemblies must be established.
- July 18, 1947 - Freedom to be granted on August 15, 1947
- After receiving royal assent, the Indian Independence Act of 1947 went into effect on August 15, 1947.

21.6 Glossary

- Communalism: A political ideology or practice that promotes the interests of a specific religious or ethnic group over the collective well-being of society as a whole.
- Ideologies: Set of beliefs, values, and principles that shape and guide the thinking and actions of individuals and groups.
- Negotiations for Independence: Refers to the series of discussions, agreements, and deliberations that took place between various political parties, leaders, and colonial authorities with the aim of achieving independence from British rule.
- Partition: The division or separation of a territory or region into two or more separate entities, often accompanied by the creation of new political boundaries.
- Independence Movement: A collective effort by individuals, organizations, and political parties to secure freedom and self-governance from colonial rule.

21.7 Answersto Self-Check Exercises

Self-Check Exercise-1

- | | |
|---------|---------|
| 1. 1906 | 2. 1916 |
|---------|---------|

Self-Check Exercise-2

- | | |
|-------------------------|-------------------|
| 1. Chaudhary Rehmat Ali | 2. 16 August 1916 |
|-------------------------|-------------------|

21.8 Suggested Readings

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21.9 Terminal Question

1. Discuss the main factors that led to the rise and growth of communalism during the period of negotiations for independence and partition.
2. Analyse the ideologies and practices associated with communalism during the freedom struggle.
3. How did the ideologies of communalism shape the political landscape and influenced the dynamics of the negotiations for independence and partition? Discuss.
4. Evaluate the consequences of communalism on the social, political, and cultural fabric of the Indian subcontinent during the period of negotiations for independence and partition.