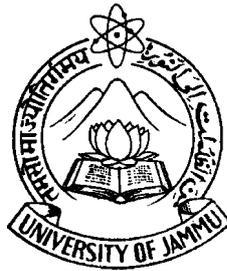


**DIRECTORATE OF DISTANCE EDUCATION
UNIVERSITY OF JAMMU
JAMMU**



**SELF LEARNING MATERIAL
B. A. SEMESTER - III**

SUBJECT : HISTORY

UNIT I-IV

COURSE No. HT - 301

LESSONS : 1-16

Dr. HINA S. ABROL

COURSE CO-ORDINATOR

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MODERN INDIA

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HISTORY - IIIRD SEMESTER
DETAILED SYLLABUS FOR THE YEARS 2015, 2016 AND 2017 ONWARDS
COURSE NO. 301 (THEORY)
SEMESTER : THIRD (UNDER GRADUATE)

COURSE TITLE : MODERN INDIA

Credit : 4

Maximum Marks : 100

(a) Semester Examination : 80

(b) Sessional Examination : 20

SYLLABUS

Objectives : To make the student understand certain important events relating to political, social and constitutional developments and national movement that took place between 1857-1947

UNIT-I

1. Revolt of 1857; Causes, Nature and Repercussions;
2. Act of 1858; Causes, salient features and general appraisal;
3. Reform Movements of the 19th Century - Brahmo Samaj and Arya Samaj.
4. Social Legislations of the 19th Century.

UNIT-II

1. Administrative Development Under Lord Ripon.
2. Administrative Development Under Lord Curzon.
3. Act of 1909 : Causes, Salient Features and General Appraisal.
4. Act of 1919 : Causes, Salient Features and General Appraisal.

- UNIT-III**
1. Rise of Indian Nationalism : Factors and Circumstances.
 2. The Indian National Movement : Birth of Indian National Congress, Moderates and Extremists.
 3. Non - Cooperation Movement.
 4. Swaraj Party.

- UNIT-IV**
1. Simon Commission and Nehru Report.
 2. The Cripps Mission.
 3. Quit India Movement.
 4. Cabinet Mission and Mountbatten Plan.

NOTE FOR PAPER SETTING :

The question paper will contain two questions, from each Unit (total eight questions) and the candidates will be required to answer one question from each unit (total question to be attempted, will be four) i.e. there will internal choice within the Unit.

BOOKS RECOMMENDED :

1. Tara Chand : *A History of Freedom Movement in India, Vols. I, II, III & IV.*
2. R. C. Majumdar : *History of Freedom Movement in India Vols. I, II and III.*
3. Durga Dass : *India, from Curzon to Nehru and after.*
4. A. C. Kapoor : *Constitutional History of India.*
5. A. B. Keith : *Constitutional History of India.*
6. J. L. Nehru : *An Autobiography.*
7. G. S. Chhabra : *An Advance Study in the History of Modern*

India, Vols. I, II & III.

8. Anil Seal : *Emergence of Indian Nationalism.*
9. S. R. Mehrotra : *Emergence of Indian National Congress.*
10. Pattavi Sitaramayya : *History of the Indian National Congress, Vols. I & II.*
11. P. C. Ghose : *Indian National Congress.*
12. Daniel Argov : *Moderates and Extremists in the Indian National Movement.*
13. Andrews & Mookerji : *Rise and the Growth of the Congress.*
14. B. M. Taunk : *Non-Cooperation Movement in Indian Politics.*
15. Sumit Sarkar : *Modern India.*
16. Bipin Chandra : *Nationalism.*
17. A. R. Desai : *Social Background of Indian Nationalism.*
18. S. Gopal : *British Policy in India 1858 to 1905.*

Internal Assessment : 20 Marks

MODERN INDIA

CONTENTS

LESSON NO.	TITLE	NAME OF THE AUTHOR	PAGE NOS.
1.	Revolt of 1857 - Causes nature and repercussions	Prof. Kashab Kumar	5 -22
2.	Act of 1858: Causes, Salient Features and General Appraisal	Prof. Kashab Kumar	23-29
3A).	Reform Movements of the 19 th century - Brahma Samaj	Dr. Savtanter Kour	30-40
3 B).	Arya Samaj	Dr. Savtanter Kour	41-47
4	Social Legislations of the 19th Century	Dr. Savtanter Kour	48-55
5	Administrative Development under Lord Ripon	Prof. Kashab Kumar	56-64
6.	Administrative Development Under Lord Curzon	Prof. Kashab Kumar	65-72
7.	Act of 1909 - Causes, Salient Features and General Appraisal	Prof. Kashab Kumar	73-85
8.	Act of 1919 - Causes, Salient Features and General Appraisal	Prof. Kashab Kumar	86-94
9.	Rise of Indian Nationalism : Factors and Circumstances	Dr. Savtanter Kour	95-106
10.	The Indian National Movement : Birth of Indian National Congress, Moderates and Extremists.	Prof. Poonam Rani	107-126
11.	Non - Cooperation Movement	Prof. Poonam Rani	127-141
12.	Swaraj Party	Prof. Poonam Rani	142-157
13.	Simon Commission and Nehru Report	Prof. Mohd. Ashraf	158-177
14.	The Cripps Mission	Prof. Mohd. Ashraf	178-189
15.	Quit India Movement	Prof. Mohd. Ashraf	190-204
16.	The Cabinet Mission Plan, Mountbatten Plan	Prof. Mohd. Ashraf	205-224

B. A. III Semester

Unit : I

Course No. : 301

Lesson : 1

REVOLT OF 1857: CAUSES, NATURE AND REPERCUSSIONS

1.1 Introduction

1.2 Objectives

1.3 Causes of the Revolt

1.3.1 Political Cause

1.3.2 Economic Cause

1.3.3 Socio- Religious Cause

1.3.4 Administrative Causes

1.3.5 Events outside the World

1.3.6 Military Causes

1.3.7 Immediate Cause

1.4 Prominent Leaders

1.5 Reasons of failure

1.6 Significance

1.7 Nature

1.7.1 Whether it was a sepoy mutiny?

1.7.2 Whether it was a Hindu-Muslim conspiracy ?

- 1.7.3 Whether it was a war of Races ?**
- 1.7.4 Whether it was a war between Feudalism & Imperialism?**
- 1.7.5 Whether it was a war of Independence?**
- 1.8 The Revolt was not Wholly a National War of Independence**
- 1.9 The Revolt was more than a mere sepoy Mutiny**
- 1.10 Summary**
- 1.11 Glossary**
- 1.12 Self assessment questions**
- 1.13 Suggested Reading**
- 1.14 References**
- 1.15 Model Test Paper**
- 1.1 Introduction**

The revolt of 1857 is considered to be the most important chapter in the history of Indian nationalism. It had sowed the seeds of indian Nationalism. It was the moment when Indians challenged the mighty British Empire. It awakened the Indian consciousness that lay dormant in the subconscious of the Indian people. It started the movement which was a continuous struggle against the British rule till 1947

1.2 Objectives

After going through this lesson you will be able:-

- a. To understand the background or causes of the Revolt of 1857.
- b. To understand the outbreak and spread of the Revolt of 1857.
- c. To explain the causes of the failure of the Revolt of 1857.
- d. To explain the nature or the character of the Revolt of 1857

1.3 Causes

The revolt did not happen overnight rather it was a product of the character and

policies of colonial rule. The Cumulative effect of British expansionist policies, economic exploitation and administrative innovation over the years had adversely affected the positions of all-rulers of Indian states, sepoys, zamindars, peasants, traders, artisans, pundits, maulvis etc. The simmering discontent burst in the form of a violent storm in 1857 which shook the British Empire in India to its very foundations. The causes of the revolt emerged from all aspects-socio-cultural, economic and political-of daily existence of Indian population cutting through all sections and classes. The various causes were :-

1.3.1 Political Causes

- a. The east India Company's greedy policy of aggrandizement accompanied by broken pledges and oaths resulted in loss of political prestige for it, on the one hand, and caused suspicion in the minds of almost all ruling princes in India.
- b. The policies as of 'Effective Control', '**Subsidiary Alliance**' and '**Doctrine of Lapse**'. The right of succession was denied to Hindu princes. The right of succession was humbled when on Prince Fariquddin's death in 1856, whose succession had been recognized conditionally by **Lord Dalhousie**, **Lord Canning** announced that the next prince on succession would have to renounce the regal title and the ancestral Mughal palaces, in addition to renunciations agreed upon by Prince Fariquddin.
- c. The **Annexation of Awadh in 1856** was a blow to the prestige of the ruling classes, the local population and the sepoys. Apart from Delhi, Awadh was the secondmost important centre of the revolt. Multiple causes were present here in their true form. About three-fourth of the Company's sepoys were recruited from Awadh and any change in the agrarian set-up and in the cultural fabric would also be acutely felt by them. Annexation of Awadh in 1856 on the pretext of maladministration became an important cause for many of those who participated. The annexation led to disbanding of the Nawab's army and also affected the entire aristocracy, which in turn severely affected the economy of the region.
- d. Initially, when the British were expanding their hold over India and consolidating their rule, they were careful in showing due deference to Indian Princes and their privileges. But as their confidence grew, there was an attempt by the British to take away the nominal authority of the native Princes and their pensions were

greatly reduced. This created unease among the various regional kingdoms. By following the **Doctrine of Lapse**, the adopted sons of the deceased kings were derecognized as heirs to the throne, which subsequently led to the annexation to a large number of Kingdoms. Satara (1848), Nagpur, Sambalpur and Baghat (1850), Udaipur (1852) and Jhansi (1853) to name a few, were annexed by the British. However, each of these states was brought under the British rule for their strategic, administrative and military value. Annexation of Jhansi was important in order to further improve the Company's internal administration in Bundelkhand. Satara was geographically placed between two principal military stations in the Bombay Presidency; and lay along the main lines of communication between Bombay and Madras. Nagpur was "placed right across the main lines of communication between Bombay and Calcutta".

- e. Annexation of the Princely or Native States, which were previously left largely undisturbed, added to the growing apprehension amongst the Princes regarding the future of their sovereignty. The forfeiture or reduction of the princely pensions also affected them and their dependents.
- f. The collapse of rulers-the erstwhile aristocracy-also adversely affected those sections of the Indian society which derived their sustenance from cultural and religious pursuits.

1.3.2 Economic Causes

- a. The colonial policies of East India Company destroyed the traditional economic fabric of Indian society. The peasantry never really recovered from the disabilities imposed by the new and a highly unpopular revenue settlement.
- b. Impoverished by heavy taxation, the peasants resorted to loans from money lenders/traders at usurious rates, the latter often evicting the former on non-payment of debt dues. These moneylenders and traders emerged as the new landlords, while the scourge of indebtedness has continued to plague Indian society to this day.
- c. British rule also meant misery to the artisans and handicraftsmen. The annexation of Indian states by the company cut off their major source of patronage. Added to this, British policy discouraged Indian handicrafts and promoted British goods.

The highly skilled Indian craftsmen were forced to look for alternative sources of employment that hardly existed, as the destruction of Indian handicrafts was not accompanied by the development of modern Industries. **Karl Marx** remarked in 1853: "It was the British intruder who broke up the Indian handloom and destroyed the spinning Wheel England began with depriving the Indian cottons from the European market; it then introduced twist into Hindustan and in the end inundated the very mother country of cotton with cottons"

- d. Zamindars, the traditional landed aristocracy, often saw their land rights forfeited with frequent use of a quo warranto by the administration. This resulted in a loss of status for them in the villages. In Awadh, the storm centre of the revolt, 21000 taluqdars had their estates confiscated and suddenly found themselves without a source of income, "unable to work, ashamed to beg, condemned to penury". These dispossessed taluqdars seized the opportunity presented by the sepoy revolt to oppose the British and regain what they had lost.
- e. The ruination of Indian industry increased the pressure on agriculture and land, the lopsided development in which resulted in pauperization of the country in general.

1.3.3 Socio-Religious Causes

- a. Racial overtones and a superiority complex characterized the British administrative attitude towards the native Indian population.
- b. The activities of Christian missionaries who followed the British flag in India were looked upon with suspicion by Indians.
- c. The attempts at socio-religious reform such as **abolition of sati**, support to widow remarriage and women's education were seen by a large section of population as interference in the social and religious domains of Indian society by outsiders. These fears were further compounded by the Government's decision to tax mosque and temple lands and legislative measures, such as the **Religious Disabilities Act, 1856**, which modified Hindu Customs, for instance declaring that a change of religion did not debar a son from inheriting the property of his heathen father.

1.3.4 Administrative causes

Rampant corruption in the Company's administration, especially among the police, petty officials and lower law courts, and the absentee sovereignty character of British rule imparted a foreign and alien look to it in the eyes of Indians.

1.3.5 Influence of outside Events

The revolt of 1857 coincided with certain outside events in which the British suffered serious losses-the **first Afghan War (1838-42)**, **Punjab Wars (1845-49)**, **Crimean Wars (1854-56)**, **Santhal rebellion (1855-57)**. These had obvious psychological repercussions.

1.3.6 Military causes

- a. The conditions of service in the Company's Army and cantonments increasingly came into conflict with the religious belief and prejudices of the sepoys. Restrictions on wearing caste and sectarian marks and secret rumors of proselytizing activities of **chaplains** (often maintained on company's expenses) were interpreted by Indian sepoys, who were generally conservative by nature as interference in their religious affairs.
- b. To the religious Hindu of the time, crossing the seas meant loss of caste. In 1856 Lord Canning's Government passed **The General Service Enlistment Act** which decreed that all future recruits to the Bengal Army would have to give an undertaking to serve anywhere their services might be required by the Government. This caused resentment.
- c. Then Indian Sepoy was equally unhappy with his emoluments compared to his British counterpart. A more immediate cause of the sepoys' dissatisfaction was the order that they would not be given the Foreign Service allowance (bhatta) when serving in Sind or in Punjab. The annexation of Awadh, home of many of the sepoys, further inflamed their feelings.
- d. The Indian sepoy was made to feel a subordinate at every step and was discriminated against racially and in matters of promotion and privileges.
- e. The discontent of the sepoys was not limited to matters military; it reflected the general disenchantment with and opposition to British rule. The sepoy, in fact, was

a 'peasant in uniform' whose consciousness was not divorced from that of the rural population. The Army voiced grievances other than its own; and the movement spread beyond the Army.

1.3.7 Immediate cause

The immediate trigger for the start of the uprising was apparently trivial. The 'Brown Bess' smoothbore muskets of the military were replaced by the **new Enfield rifles**. To load the rifle the soldiers had to remove the cap of the cartridge, which had a patch greased reportedly with fats of pig and the cow.. The Indian soldiers showed reluctance because of their religious considerations

To the British commanding officers this was an act of gross indiscipline. The soldiers' stubborn refusal was first noticed, by shooting of Sergeant Major by **Mangal Pandey** and wounding two British officers on 29 March 1857. He was subsequently caught and hanged. His regiment the 34 Native Infantry was disbanded and the soldiers too started marching towards their homes.

The revolt was started with full zeal when soldiers of 3rd cavalry revolted at Meerut. They reached Delhi on 11 May 1857 where Bahadurshah Zafar was proclaimed the Emperor of India. Soon after Rani Laxmibai of Jhansi, Tantya Tope, the Begum of Awadh and Thakur Kanwar Singh of Arrah joined the uprising.

1.4 Prominent leaders

- a. At Delhi the nominal and symbolic leadership belonged to the **Mughal emperor, Bahadur Shah**, but the real command lay with a court of soldiers headed by **General Bakht Khan**.
- b. **At Kanpur Nana Saheb**, the adopted son of the last Peshwa, Baji Rao II was the leader of the revolt. He was refused the family title and, banished from Poona, was living near Kanpur. Nana Saheb expelled the English from Kanpur, proclaimed himself the Peshwa, acknowledged Bahadur Shah as the emperor of India and declared himself to be his governor. Sir Hugh Wheeler, commanding the station, surrendered on June 27, 1857.
- c. **Begum Hazrat Mahal took over the reins at Lucknow** where the rebellion broke out and popular sympathy was overwhelmingly in favour of the deposed

Nawab. Her son, **Birjis Qadir**, was proclaimed the Nawab and a regular administration was organized with important offices shared equally by Muslims and Hindus.

- d. **At Bareilly, Khan Bahadur**, a descendant of the former ruler of Rohilkhand, was placed in command. Not enthusiastic about the pension being granted by the British, he organized an army of 40,000 soldiers and offered stiff resistance to the British.
- e. **In Bihar, the revolt was led by Kunwar Singh**, the zamindar of Jagdishpur. An old man in his seventies, he nursed a grudge against the British who had deprived him of his estates. He unhesitatingly joined the sepoys when they reached Arrah from Dinapore.
- f. **Maulvi Ahmadullah of Faizabad** was another outstanding leader of the revolt. He was a native
- g. **Maulvi Ahmadullah of Faizabad** was another outstanding leader of the revolt. He was a native of Madras and had moved to Faizabad in the north where he fought a stiff battle against the British troops. He emerged as one of the revolt's acknowledged leaders once it broke out in Awadh in May 1857.
- h. **The most outstanding leader of the revolt was Rani Laxmibai**, who assumed the leadership of the sepoys at Jhansi. **Lord Dalhousie**, the governor-general, had refused to allow her adopted son to succeed to the throne after her husband Raja Gangadhar Rao died, and had annexed the state by the application of the infamous '**Doctrine of Lapse**'. Driven out of Jhansi by British forces, she gave the battle cry-“main apni Jhansi nahin doongi” (I shall not give away my Jhansi). She was joined by **Tantya Tope**, a close associate of Nana Saheb, after the loss of Kanpur. Rani of Jhansi and Tantya Tope marched towards Gwalior where they were hailed by the Indian Soldiers. The Scindhia, the local ruler, however decided to side with the English and took shelter at Agra. Nana Saheb was proclaimed the Peshwa and plans were chalked out for a march into the south. Gwalior was recaptured by the English in June 1858.

1.5 Reasons of its failure

- a. The revolt of 1857 failed because it suffered from weak leadership and was hardly organized with any coordination or central leadership. The principal rebel leaders- Nana Sahib, Tantya Tope, Kunwar Singh, and Laxmibai- were no match to their British opponents in generalships. On the other hand, the East India Company was fortunate in having the services of men of exceptional abilities in the Lawrence Brothers, John Nicholson, James Outram, Henry Havelock, Edward etc.
- b. The Indian Soldiers were poorly equipped materially, fighting generally with swords and spears and very few guns and muskets. This proved a major handicap when dealing with the well trained and equipped British troops, who were equipped with the latest weapons of war like the Enfield rifle. The electric telegraph kept the Commander-in-Chief informed about the movements and strategy of the rebels.
- c. The revolt failed to extend to all parts of the country and large sections of the population did not support it. And some section infacts threw their support behind the British acted as “Break waters to storm”. Some of the loyalists were the Nizam of Hyderabad, Sikander Begum of Bhopal, Sir Jang Bahadur (Minister of Nepal) and Maharaja Scindhia of Gwalior. There was absence of Support from the intelligentsia, who viewed this revolt as backward looking and mistakenly hoped the British would usher in an era of modernization.
- d. The different groups of rebels fought for different reasons and served their respective leaders. Each sought restoration of the older order of their leaders. By hailing Bahadur Shah as the Emperor of Hindustan, the rebels sought to revert back to the medieval political order rather than replace it with an alternate political authority. Nana Sahib and Tantya Tope sought to revive the Maratha power while Rani Laxmibai, her own control over the lost territories.
- e. Punjab didn't rise in revolt because of which the British army deployed in large numbers in the region could be redeployed for tackling the rebels; the Gurkha soldiers

1.6 Significance or Repercussion

The Revolt of 1857 though completely suppressed had shaken the very foundations

of British rule in India, for the simple reason that the Revolt exhibited the popular character. It brought together the disgruntled sections of society to rise against the British rule. The common people rose up in arms often fighting with spears and axes, bows and arrows, lathis and scythes, and crude mulkets. However, this civilian revolt was not universal but sporadic and inconsistent. Nevertheless, it added a new dimension to the character of the 1857 Revolt. Another significant aspect of the 1857 Revolt was the Hindu-Muslim unity. The other impact of the revolt were :-

- a. After the revolt, the **English East India Company's rule came to an end** by an Act for Better Government of India, 1858, declaring Queen Victoria as the sovereign of British India. The administration of India was taken over directly by the British Crown.
- b. The Governor-General of India was given an **additional title**, the **Viceroy** and was a representative of the Crown. **By a special Act both, the Board of Directors and the Board of Control were abolished.** In their place the office of the Secretary of State for India was created. He was assisted by an Indian Council of 15 members. The Indian Army was thoroughly reorganized. It had a higher proportion of Europeans in it and they were to be responsible for manning the artillery and the field.
- c. The importance of having Native States as allies was realized during the revolt. Had more Native States allied with the rebels then the British suzerainty would have faced a real threat. Henceforth, concrete efforts were made to woo the Native Princes as allies.
- d. The policy of ruthless conquest in India was given up. The British realized the mistake of antagonizing the rulers of the Indian states. Under the Proclamation, also known as the **Magna Carta of the Indian people**, which was read out by Lord Canning at a Durbar held in Allahabad on November 1, 1858, the earlier treaties of the English East India Company with the Princes were affirmed. The Queen's Proclamation thus sought to pay due regard to the ancient traditions and customs of India. Indian Princes were given to right to adopt. It marked an end to the policy of annexation and establishment of
- e. The Proclamation declared that **all Indians would be eligible to enter the**

administrative services on the basis of their education and ability, irrespective of race and creed. Administrative changes were made in the executive, legislative and judicial arenas with greater participation of Indians. This change was visible in the **Indian Councils Act of 1861**, the **Indian High Court Act of 1861** and the **Indian Civil Services Act of 1861**. The beginnings of elective representation of Indians in politics, which created competition amongst the various communities, can be traced back to the post-revolt period.

- f. Unconditional pardon was granted to the rebels except those who had been responsible for the murder of the British during the revolt.
- g. The post-revolt period saw the British actively pursuing the policy of “**Divide and Rule**” towards the general populace. Two opposite policies were at work. While on one hand, India was being brought under a unified system of administration and governance, on the other hand, for political necessity, India’s diversity was being highlighted in order to depict the claims and needs of different sections as than one people...” This claim of diversity was later countered by the efforts of the nationalists to affirm the uniformity of Indians, which in turn often led to papering over of the divergent demands of the different communities, regions and sections.
- h. The British believed that the Revolt of 1857 was instigated primarily by the Muslims when the sepoys hailed the Mughal Emperor, Bahadur Shah II as the Emperor of Hindustan. Moreover, the English were the direct successors of the Mughal rule, which lent credence to the belief of the Muslim instigated revolt. Consequently, the British adopted a conservative attitude towards the Muslims for almost a decade after the revolt. It was only under the Governor-Generalship of Lord Mayo and with the publication of Sir William Hunter’s book, “The Indian Musalmans”, in 1871 which addressed the grievance of the Muslims of Bengal and their backward status in comparison to the Hindus, that the British Government undertook some measures to alleviate the conditions of Muslims. The book presented the loss of Muslims as the gain of the Hindus. Later this work and belief led to the growth of Muslim separatism and widened the fault lines between the two communities.
- i. In the aftermath of the Revolt, India was made to bear the entire financial burden of the outbreak and suppression of the revolt. The public debt of India increased

approximately by 98 million sterling, which in turn added 2 million sterling to the annual interest charges.

1.7 Nature

Divergent opinion:- There are two major views regarding the nature of the Revolt of 1857. The British historians have treated the great uprising of 1857 as a sepoy mutiny. On the other hand, the staunch patriotic and nationalist Indian writers & historians regard the Revolt of 1857 as the First War of Indian Independence. However, the truth lies somewhere in between. In his *Discovery of India*, Jawaharlal Nehru maintains that the Revolt of 1857 was much more than a sepoy mutiny. Though initially it started as a mutiny of the Indian soldiers, the revolt spread rapidly and assumed the nature of a mass rebellion. Jawaharlal Nehru maintains that the Revolt of 1857 was essentially 'a feudal uprising though there were some nationalistic elements in it'. Moderate historians also express similar opinion regarding the nature of the Revolt of 1857. There are some other views who described the Revolt as religious war or a racial struggle for the supremacy between the whites and the coloured people a struggle between the oriental and occidental civilization, a Hindu-Muslim conspiracy to overthrow the British rule; a conflict between feudalism and imperialism. In order to understand the nature of the Revolt of 1857 it is important to examine the opinions of the different historians.

1.7.1 Whether it was a sepoy Mutiny ? :-

The British historians Sir John Lawrence and Seeley, considered it nothing more than a sepoy mutiny. According to Seeley, the Revolt of 1857 was a wholly unpatriotic and selfish *sepoy* mutiny with no native leadership and no popular support. He further maintains that it was a rebellion of the Indian *sepoy*s. Some states, which had grievances against their annexation, also joined the rebellion. However, the British government succeeded in suppressing the revolt. This interpretation is not correct. Though the greased cartridges triggered the rebellion, it was only an immediate cause. As part of the Indian society, the *sepoy*s had many other grievances than their service conditions. The Revolt of 1857 cannot be termed as a mutiny in the ordinary sense of the term. In many areas, the *sepoy*s were joined by other elements of the society including *Zainindars* and orthodox sections of the Hindus and the Muslims, peasant, dispossessed princes and many other people.

1.7.2 Whether it was a Hindu-Muslim conspiracy to overthrow the British Rule?

Sir James Outram, described the Revolt of 1857 as the result of the Hindu- Muslim conspiracy. Malleison held the view that Maulavi Ahmadulla of Faizabad Nana Sahib, and the Rani of Zansi had entered into negotiations before the uprising of 1857. The wide circulation of *chapatis*, regarded an important evidence in favor of the organized conspiracy. However, there is no reliable evidence to prove that there was a genuine Hindu Muslims conspiracy against the British rule.

1.7.3 Whether it was a war of Races between the Blacks and the Whites?:

Some English historians have described the Revolt of 1857, as a *war* of races, it was a struggle between the whites and the blacks. However, this view is also *not* correct No doubt; all the whites in India irrespective of *their* nationality were on one side, but not all the Black. As Captain J.G. Medley points out that there were many black people for every *white* man in the British camp. *In* the British war camps, Indians were employed as cooks, and palanquin-bearers-who carried the white wounded sepoy's out of the danger zone. Moreover, there was a considerably large number of Indian soldiers in the company's army that took part in the suppression of the rebellion, It would not be wrong to say that it was a war between the Black on one side and the White rulers backed by other Black on the other side.

1.7.4 Whether the revolt was a War between Feudalism and Imperialism?

Jawaharlal Nehru says that the Revolt of 1857 was essentially a feudal outburst headed by feudal chiefs and their followers and aided by the widespread anti foreign sentiments. There is no doubt that the people and the sepoy's had a number of grievances against the British. However, their response was not uniform. It was varied from region to region) especially in the urban centers of Bombay, Madras and Calcutta where the intellectual ferment had its impact were generally less affected than the areas where the landed interest were predominant. This contrast in the attitude of the new educated elite and the landed class was observed as early as in 1828. The Revolt of 1857 can be viewed as a conflict *between a* feudalism and strong imperialism. Theoretically, if the Revolt of 1857 succeeded in driving out the British from this country, they would have been replaced by the

feudal class under the nominal emperor of Delhi. The Indian feudal order was the first to challenge, and declare war upon, the British trading company when it started assuming the imperialist role. During the Revolt of 1857 also those among the ruling princes who were adversely affected by the application of the Doctrine of Lapse. The landed aristocracy, who were affected by the land laws introduced by the British, became active during the Revolt of 1857.

1.7.5 Whether it was the First War of India Independence?:-

The Indian historians like V.D. Savarkar, in his book *The Indian War of Independence* and Ashok Mehta in his book, *1857 The Great Rebellion* describe the Revolt of 1857 as a planned war of national independence. The sepoys were the chief players in the rebellion. A large number of Indians participated in this struggle of independence from an alien rule. Several national leaders further elaborated the perfect accord and harmony between the Hindus and the Muslims for freedom from the British domination. They have presented the following arguments in support of their view:-

- a) They point out that million of Indians actively participated in this rebellion. The number of civilians killed was as large as that of the sepoys. They joined the rebellion with the sole intention of liberating their country from the tyranny of the British rule.
- b) Those who helped the British in suppressing the revolt had to face social ostracism, and those, who could not join the Great rebellion, did not cooperate with the British.
- c) The decisive evidence showing the national character of the rebellion is the communal harmony it struck in both the Hindus and he Muslims of the time. Even the British Government found it very difficult to separate the two communities from each other.
- d) Thus, both Vir Savarkar and Ashok Mehta have tried to portray the Great rebellion as the “First Indian National War of Independence”. In the words of Dr. S. B. Choudhury, The leaders of the rebellion of 1857 looked beyond their own immediate circle, and showed a combination of wide vision and patriotic solidarity. Even a contemporary Conservative leader in England, described the Revolt of

1857 as a national up rising. To ascribe the nature of the Revolt of 1857 as the first war of Indian independence may not be entirely correct. Though in certain areas the revolt assumed the character of popular rising and constituted a danger to the British power, it was poorly organized. Each of the leaders of the uprising fought for their regional or personal or class interests. The absence of unity of purpose and cohesion among the different sections and local character of the uprising does not fully qualify the Revolt of 1857 as the first war of Indian Independence.

- e) An example of the struggle for freedom without any communal bias. According to Maulana Azad, “Two facts stand out early in the midst the tangled story of the Rising of 1857. The First is the remarkable sense of unity among the Hindus and the Muslims of India in this period. The other is the deep loyalty which the people felt for the Mughal Crown’. The ‘Friendly relationship’ exhibited by the Hindus and Muslims during the uprising of 1857 was a significant phenomenon, in India at that time. Loyalty to Babadur Shah II as the emperor of India and issued all orders in his name as his *suhhdar*.

1.8 The Revolt was not Wholly a National War of Independence:-

Both Dr. Mujumdar and Dr. Sen agree that, in the middle of the nineteenth century, nationalism in India was yet in its infancy. There was no feeling of nationalism, as we know it today. In 1857, the Bengalis, the Punjabis, the Marathas the Madrasis, and Rajputs never felt even for a movement that they all belonged to one and the same nation. Dr. Sen, in fact went to the extent of saying: “India in the first half of the nineteenth century was a geographical expression . This is proved by the few facts.

- A) Bahadur Shah II was not a national King. He was in fact, ‘the king of no land”. He was compelled by the Indians sepoy to assume their leadership.
- B) Nana Sahib raised the banner of revolt only when his envoy, failed to get for him the pension. Which had been sanctioned to Baji Rao II, the Maratha Peshwa
- C) Rani Lakshmi Bai revolted because of the annexation of Jhansi. The Rani, no doubt, died a hero’s death, but at no stage did she ever suggest that her cause was the national cause.

- D) Nawab of Oudh could never think of assuming national leadership. He stooped so low that he placed his turban at the feet of the English.
- E) The Taluqdars of Oudh raised the banner of revolt for the revival and restoration of their feudal privilege and those of the Nawab of Oudh and not for any national cause.
- F) Most of them raised the banner of revolt to protect and promote their own interests. When the defeat of the British seemed imminent, the conflicting regional and class loyalties of the rebel leaders and the masses reappeared on the surface, which weakened the anti-British front. Moreover, the greater part of India and the majority of the people remained apathetic and neutral. It is abundantly clear that the Great Rebellion was not wholly a war of Indian National Independence. Dr. Sen, however, has pointed out that national revolutions are mostly the work of a minority, with or without the active support of the masses. Such was the case with the French Revolution. From that point of view; the Great rebellion can claim a national character.

1.9 The Revolt was more than a mere sepoy Mutiny -

S.N. Sen and Dr. R.C. Mujumdar have given an objective and balanced view that the sepoy mutiny assumed the character of a revolt and assumed a political dimension when the mutineers of Meerut after proceeding to Delhi declared the restoration of the Mughal Emperor Bahadur Shah II, and the landed aristocracy and civil population declared their loyalty in his favor. What began as a right for religion ended in a war of independence, for there is not the slightest doubt that the rebels wanted to get rid of the alien government and restore the old order of which the Mughal emperor was the rightful representative. Prof. Bipan Chandra is of the view that the revolt of the sepoys was accompanied by a rebellion of the civil population particularly in the Northwestern Provinces and Oudh, the two regions from which the sepoys of the Bengal army were recruited. The civil rebellion had a broad social base embracing all sections of the society and the revolt of the sepoys thus, resulted in a popular uprising. In spite of the limitations and weaknesses the effort of the sepoys to liberate the country from foreign rule was a patriotic act.

1.10 Summary

After the battle of Plassey of 1757, the East India Company began to control political powers in the country. The Company extended its dominion territorially and economically. It waged wars of conquest against the Indians. Naturally that led the Indian people to fight against the British. But the big challenge, the British sustained was in the year 1857. There were several causes responsible for the Revolt of 1857. They were political, administrative, economic, socio-religious and military causes. The greased cartridges of the Enfield rifle became the immediate cause. But the Indian sepoys could not succeed in throwing the British out of India. Because, the sepoys did not get the support of all India people. In spite of all these odds, the revolt made an everlasting impact on the national politics in the coming years.

1.11 Glossary

- Subsidiary Alliance—policy started by Lord Wellesley in 1799 to control the administration of the native states
- Doctrine of Lapse—proposed by Lord Dalhousie in 1848, the rulers of the native states with no natural son, had to seek British approval for adoption. In case of refusal, the state would lapse.
- The General Service Enlistment Act—passed in 1856 made compulsory for Indian soldiers to serve any where in the world.
- First Afghan War (1838-42)—During the time period of Lord Amherst, Afghan forces were defeated but British suffered great losses.
- Punjab Wars (1845-49)—Punjab state was defeated and ended with the treaty of Lahore.

1.12 Self assessment questions

- i. Examine critically the nature of the Revolt of 1857
- ii. How it would be correct to describe the Great rebellion of 1857 as the first war of Indian Independence?
- iii. Analyze the Various consequences of the Revolt of 1857.

- iv. Assess the significance of the Revolt of 1857.
- v. Do you think that the revolt of 1857 was the first war of Independence?

1.13 Suggested Readings –

- Eugene D'souza : Modern India
- Aggrawal , R.S : Advanced History of India
- Majumdar, Ray Chaudhari : An Advanced History of India
- Chandra Bipan: : Indians struggle for Independence

1.14 References —

- Chattopadhyaya, H.P : The sepoy Mutiny, 1857.
- Chaudhary, S.B : Theories of Indian Mutiny
- Sen , S.N : 1857
- Strokes, Eric : The Peasant and the Raj

1.15 Model test paper

- Q1. Discuss the causes behind the uprising of 1857
- Q2. Do you think that the revolt of 1857 was first war of Independence
- Q3. The time period of Lord Dalhousie was responsible for the revolt of 1857, Discuss.

B. A. III Semester

Unit : I

Course No. : 301

Lesson : 2

ACT OF 1858: CAUSES, FEATURES AND GENERAL APPRAISAL

2.1 Introduction

2.2 Objectives

2.3 Causes

2.3.1 Anomalous situation

2.3.2 Great revolt of 1857

2.3.3 Dissatisfaction with the double Government

2.4 Salient Features

2.5 General Appraisal

2.5.1 Direct rule of the crown

2.5.2 End of system of the dual Government

2.5.3 Closer control over the Indian affairs

2.5.4 Creation of office of Secretary of State

2.5.5 Creation of Indian council

2.6 Summary

2.7 Glossary

2.8 Self assessment questions

2.9 Suggested Reading

2.10 References

2.11 Model Test Paper

2.1 Introduction

After the departure of **Lord Dalhousie** from India, there broke out a great revolution which is variously termed as the ‘Indian Mutiny ‘or The First War of Independence, which was considered to be an important part of Indian freedom struggle. It was a cry in England also that East India Company had not performed its duties well, and so, the Government of India should be transferred to the crown. The sovereign in Parliament in the larger interest of the administration of India, felt that a great change should be effected in this direction. Consequently, in November 1858, the Government of India was transferred directly to the crown.

2.2 Objectives

After the study of this lesson you will be able to understand :

- a. The factors responsible for the act of 1858
- b. The main features of the act of 1858
- c. The overall appraisal of act of 1858

2.3. Causes of 1858 Act

There were various reasons responsible for the Govt. of India Act 1858. The prominent reasons were as under:-

2.3.1 Anomalous situation—Lord Dalhousie had succeeded in crushing the nationalistic revolt in India but the Indians were still ready to lay down their lives for their independence. The members of Parliament of England were worried, and so they thought it better to give an antidote to Indians so that they might be satisfied

2.3.2 Great revolt of 1857— The transfer of Government of India was the logical result of the clear declaration of the sovereignty of the Crown in the **Charters Acts**. In the Act of 1853, it had been plainly said that the company was to hold the territories and revenues of India only till the time her Majesty thought it proper. It

was quite clear that the Parliament of England was going to take over the administration from the East India Company. The opportunity for the purpose was furnished by the revolt of 1857, but it cannot be denied that the Parliament of England was fully prepared to take up all the powers from the East India Company.

2.3.3 Dissatisfaction with the double Government—the Dual Government, which was established in the year 1784, proved to be very cumbersome. There were frequent clashes between the Board of Control and the Court of Directors.

2.4 Salient Features

- a. The act transferred the government of India from company to the crown and the India was to be governed by and in the name of her majesty, acting through a Secretary of State exercising all the powers of the court of directors
- b. All the rights regarding revenue of the Indian Territories and Paramount were vested in the crown. All the property was transferred to the crown. According to the Act, the expenditure of the revenue of India was to be under the control of the Secretary of State in council, but was to be charged with a dividend on the stock of the company.
- c. The board of control and Court of Directors were dissolved. The powers of the board and court were given to the secretary of state for India and his council of 15 members. For purposes of this Act, a council shall consist of 15 members known as Council of India of the Governor-General.
- d. Out of the 15 members of the council, Crown had to appoint 8 and 7 were elected by the court of the Directors. It was the condition that out these 15, nine must be those, who have served or resided in India more than 10 years at least, and they must not have left India more than 10 years before their appointments. The Crown had the right to fill the future vacancies. The council was to conduct its business under the directions of the secretary who could overrule the decisions of the council, but in cases like issuing of securities for money, appropriation of revenue of property sale or mortgage of property etc., he had to bow down before the majority of the council.
- e. The quorum of the council was fixed at 5 and the council had to meet at least once

in a week.

- f. Every member of the council was to hold office during good behavior but any of the members could be removed from the office by her majesty on an address of both houses of Parliament.
- g. The secretary had to communicate about all the dispatches to India, but the orders for the war, peace negotiations with the native powers could be issued by the Secretary without informing the council.
- h. The salaries of the Secretary of State and other members of the council and other expenses regarding the Indian affairs were to be met out of the Indian revenues.
- i. The secretary of state had to send an annual financial report about the revenues of India. He had to submit the report about the revenues of India. He had also to submit the report regarding the moral and material progress of India.
- j. Any decision taken in the absence of secretary of the state had to be countersigned by the Secretary. Civil service appointments were to be made through open competition, and rules for the same were to be framed by the Secretary of state in Council, with the help of Commissioners of Civil Service.
- k. The governor-general, the Governor, the Law members of the council and the Advocate General were to be appointed by the crown. The name of Governor – General was changed to Viceroy of India.
- l. All the military and Naval forces were to be transferred to the crown. The condition of service of these services was kept the same.
- m. The crown was bound to obey all the treaties made by the company.
- n. The assumptions of Government of India by the Crown, was to be declared to be the Princes and the people of India through the Queen's proclamation.

2.5 General appraisal

The act of 1858 occupies a significant place in the history of India. The importance of the Act may be assessed as under:—

2.5.1 Direct rule of the crown-

The constitutional importance and revolutionary character lies in the fact that this Act closed one chapter of the Indian History and opened a new one. According to Sumit Sarkar, "the passing of this Act of 1858 closed one great period of Indian History and ushered another great era- the direct rule of the crown. Indian was no longer to be governed by a private company but by and in the name of Her Majesty."

2.5.2 End of system of the dual Government—

The Act for the betterment of Government of India ended the system of dual government. The British Government was aware about the quarrels and clashes between the Board of Control and Court of Directors. The Act earned popularity as it gave a death blow to the Dual Government.

2.5.3 Closer control over the Indian affairs—

With the Act the Home Government came to the position that it could exercise greater control over Indian affairs. With the abolition of Double Government, the Governor General was practically bound to obey the orders of Secretary of State in each and every matter. It is also true to say that with the enforcement of this Act, the body's interest in Indian debates decreased and after the enforcement of this Act Parliament's indifference towards Indian affairs was not proper.

2.5.4 Creation of office of Secretary of State—

Establishment of Indian council and the appointment of Secretary of State was also a matter of great significance. Previously the court of Directors had complete ignorance of the Indian affairs, while the members of the council were fully aware of full details about the Indian affairs as only those, who had ten years of residential or service qualifications in Indian could be appointed to the council.

2.5.5 The creation of the Indian Council—

This council was not only a body, which would advise the Secretary of the state but in fact; it was a body whose members had every knowledge of the Indian affairs. Thus practically they could direct the Secretary of the state. But the difficulty

was that the member of the council were between 55 to 60 years of age and they were more worried about their pay and retention in the office than about the utilization of their powers and so they had no opinion but to agree with the Secretary.

2.6 Summary

Thus Act of 1858 was the culmination of the process begun by Pitt in 1784 and merely dressed the seat of power and responsibility with the outward resemblance of authority. The change of 1858, was not something very substantial. It was the natural outcome of the process which had been in operation since 1784.

2.7 Glossary

- Lord Dalhousie—one of the most efficient Governor-General of India from 1848-56, introduced Doctrine of lapse, Railways, Telegraph etc.
- Charter Acts- British Government legislations primarily dealt with company trade and commerce between 1793 to 1853
- Dual Government- means two centre of Government or powers

2.8 Self assessment Questions

1. Discuss the causes responsible for the Act of 1858.
2. Write down the main provision of 1858 Act.
3. How the Act of 1858 could not satisfy the aspiration of Indians.

2.9 Suggested Readings

- Spear, Percival : The oxford History of India
- Strachey, John : India, its administration
- Grover, B.L : The modern Indian History

2.10 References

- Keith, A.B : Constitutional History of India
- Banerejee, A.C : Indian Constitutional Documents

- Chandra, Bipan : Indians struggle for Independence
- Grover, B.L : The modern Indian History

2.11 Model test paper

- Q1. What were the circumstances that led to the Govt. of India Act 1858 ?
- Q2. Discuss the provision of 1858 act.
- Q3. What was the significance of 1858 Act ?

B. A. III Semester

Unit : I

Course No. : 301

Lesson : 3A

**REFORM MOVEMENTS OF THE 19TH CENTURY
- BRAHMO SAMAJ.**

Structure

- 3.1 Introduction**
- 3.2 Objectives**
- 3.3 Early life of Raja Ram Mohan Roy**
- 3.4 Raja Ram Mohan Roy and Social Reform**
- 3.5 Ram Mohan Roy and Education**
- 3.6 Raja Ram Mohan Roy and Press**
- 3.7 Raja Ram Mohan Roy and Peasants**
- 3.8 Raja Ram Mohan Roy and Rise of Nationalism**
- 3.9 Let us sum up**
- 3.10 Raja Ram Mohan Roy and Brahmo Samaj**
- 3.11 Brahmo Samaj after Raja Ram Mohan Roy**
- 3.12 Keshab Chandra Sen and Brahmo Samaj**
- 3.13 Let us sum up**
- 3.14 Questions / Answers**
- 3.15 Suggested Reading**
- 3.1 Introduction**

Raja Ram Mohan Roy was essentially a democrat and a humanist. He was a very well-read man. He studied oriental languages like Arabic, Persian

and Sanskrit and attained proficiency in European languages like English, French, Latin, Greek and Hebrew. In his religio-philosophical social outlook, he was deeply influenced by the monotheism and anti-idolatry of Islam, deism of Sufism, the ethical teachings of Christianity, liberal and rationalist doctrines of the West. In 1803, he published a Persian treatise called Tuhfat-ul-Muwahidin or 'A Gift to Monotheists' wherein he explains his concept of monotheism. He was deeply concerned with the eradication of social evils like Sati, child marriage, polygamy etc. He wholeheartedly supported the Governor- General Lord William Bentick when the latter enacted legislation abolishing Sati in 1829.

Raja Ram Mohan Roy established the Atmiya Sabha in Calcutta in 1814 in order to propagate monotheism and to fight against the evil customs and practices in Hinduism. At a time when the Bengali youth under the influence of western learning was drifting towards Christianity, Ram Mohan Roy proved to be the champion of Hinduism. While he defended Hinduism against the hostile criticism of the missionaries, he sought to purge Hinduism of the abuses that had crept into it. He warmly advocated the introduction of western science and technology into the educational curriculum of India and became a pioneer of English education and enlightened journalism in this country. He himself founded and edited a Bengali journal called the Samvad Kaumudi, which was among the earliest Indian edited newspapers. He passed away at Bristol in England in 1833.

3.2 Objectives

After studying this lesson, you will be able to :

1. Find his primary aim was to reform Hindu society and religion.
2. We can observe the main aim of Raja Ram Mohan Roy to eradicate the social evils like Sati, Child marriage, Polygamy etc.
3. We can find Raja Ram Mohan Roy was one of the earliest propagators of modern education.
4. Find the role of Brahma Samaj in spread of Nationalism.
5. Study the role of Devendranath Tagore and Keshab Chandra in Brahma Samaj.

3.3 Early life of Raja Ram Mohan Roy

Raja Ram Mohan Roy was born in 1772 in a very orthodox Brahmin family at Radhanagar (Bengal). He acquired a thorough knowledge of Sanskrit, Persian and Arabic at the tender age of sixteen. Sufism and Koran influenced his thought significantly and caused a break with his family for three or four years. Away from the house, he studied the religious beliefs and social life of the people. His study of Hebrew, Greek and English enabled him to penetrate in the Christian teachings as well. In 1803 he wrote in Persian his famous work Tuhfat-ul-Muwahidin or A Gift to monotheists in which he put forward weighty arguments against belief in many gods and for the worship of a single God.

After his father's death in 1803, he joined the company administration. By his hard work and intelligence he rose to the highest post of Dewan, then available to the Indians. After amassing a moderate fortune, he left the service in 1814. The rest of nineteen years of his life, he earnestly devoted in the social cause and earned for himself the title of father of Modern India. His greatest contribution was for uplift of women and advancement of modern education.

3.4 Raja Ram Mohan Roy and Social Reform

The religious movements of the 19th century were not limited to religious reforms only. Each of them made concerted efforts to rid the society of its evils as well among Hindus, many social evils were defended as religious practices had anything to do with religion. Raja Ram Mohan Roy played an important role in bringing about a number of social reforms. He sought the help of the British Government to abolish or discourage worthless and unsocial custom. He started a campaign for the abolition of Sati, condemned polygamy and concubinage, denounced casteism, advocated the right of Hindu widows to remarry.

Raja Ram Mohan Roy and the Brahmo Samaj condemned Purdah system, untouchability, child marriage, marriages of minor girls and use of intoxicants. It adopted inter-caste marriages, education of women, widow remarriages etc., as practical measures for removing the social evils. It succeeded in creating a general awakening against these social evils in Bengal.

Applauding the contributions of Raja Ram Mohan Roy once scholar has said, "He was the first Indian who could understand where the weakness lay, he located it and discovered the means of removing it and then started a gigantic process of reforming the whole structure of India (social, political, economic or religious). No one before him was seen, traversing on such a vast and varied field of action.

Raja Rammohan Roy was a great thinker. There was hardly any aspect of National building which he left untouched. Infact, just as he began the reform of Hindu religion, from within, he also laid the foundations of the reform of the Indian society. The best example of his life long crusade against social evils was the historic agitation he organized against the inhuman custom of women becoming sati. He visited the burning ghats at Calcutta to try to persuade the relatives of widows to give up their plan of self-immolation. He organized groups of like-minded people to keep a strict check on such performances and to prevent any attempt to force the widows to become sati. He wholeheartedly supported the Governor General Lord William Bentick when the latter enacted legislation abolishing Sati in 1829.

He was a stout champion of women's rights. He condemned the subjugation of women and opposed the prevailing idea that women were inferior to men in intellect or in a moral sense. He attacked polygamy and the degraded state to which widows were often reduced. To raise the status of women he demanded that they be given the right of inheritance and property.

3.5 Ram Mohan Roy and Education

Raja Ram Mohan Roy was one of the earliest propagators of modern education which he looked upon as a major instrument for the spread of modern education. Not only did he himself found institutions for that purpose, but he always lent a helping hand to others who endeavoured to do so. In 1817, David Hare, who had come out to India in 1800 as a watchmaker but who spent his entire life in the promotion of modern education in the country, founded the famous Hindu college. Ram Mohan Roy gave most enthusiastic assistance to Hare in this and his other educational projects. In addition, he maintained at his own cost an English school in Calcutta from 1817 in which, among other subjects, mechanics and the philosophy of Voltaire were taught. In 1825 he established a Vedanta

College in which courses both in Indian learning and in Western social and physical sciences were offered.

Ram Mohan Roy was equally keen on making Bengali the vehicle of intellectual intercourse in Bengal. He compiled a Bengali grammar. Through his translations, pamphlets and journals he helped evolve a modern and elegant prose style for that language.

3.6 Raja Ram Mohan Roy and Press

Raja Ram Mohan Roy was a pioneer of Indian Journalism. The Indian middle class was divided into two broad groups viz. the progressive sought westernization of the society; whereas the conservative were in favour of status one. Both of them had seen how Buckingham's efforts had established a powerful organ of press and influenced both the readers and the govt. Raja Ram Mohan Roy who was then the leader of the reformist movement was much impressed that "a well edited newspaper was the best instrument to educate people and to propagate new ideas". Therefore, he launched his own weekly, Sangbad Kaumudi, in Bengali and Mirat-ulAkhbar in Persian in 1821 and 1822 respectively.

Raja Ram Mohan Roy was the champion of the liberty of the press. Even since 1799 there had been a strict censorship on the publication of Journals. In 1817 Lord Hastings abolished the censorship, but laid down regulations, which, among other things, prohibited the discussion of certain matters. Mr. Adam, who acted as Governor-General after the resignation of Lord Hastings, issued ordinances prohibiting the publication of newspapers or other periodicals without a Government licence. Raja Ram Mohan presented petitions against the new Press Regulations both to the Supreme Court and to the King-in-Council. The petitions were rejected but they form a "noble landmark in the progress of Indian culture". Ram Mohan's labours bore fruit, though he was not destined to witness it. In 1835 Sir Charles Metcalfe removed all restrictions on the Press.

3.7 Raja Ram Mohan Roy and Peasants

The Raja strongly championed the cause of the peasants. He pointed out that under the Permanent Settlement, the Zamindars had increased their wealth, but the exorbitantly high rents exacted from their tenants had made the lot of the ryots a miserable

one. He advocated a reduction of the rent to be paid by the tenants by means of a corresponding reduction in the revenue payable by the Zamindars. The consequent loss of revenue, he suggested, should be met by a tax upon luxuries or by employing low-salaried Indians as collectors, instead of high-salaried Europeans. The Raja favoured the Permanent Settlement but he rightly urged that the Government should fix the maximum rent to be paid by each cultivator.

3.8 Raja Ram Mohan Roy and Rise of Nationalism

The origin of national consciousness is to be traced to Raja Ram Mohan Roy and his passionate love of liberty. He represented the first glimmerings of the rise of national consciousness in India. He was the prophet of the new age. He laid down the lines for political agitation in a constitutional manner which ultimately led to the birth of the Indian National Congress half a century later. His views on political problem are surprisingly modern, and in essential features represent the high-water mark of Indian political thought of the 19th century. He made a spirited protest against the Press Ordinance of 1823 which curtailed the liberty of the press. In 1827 Ram Mohan strongly objected to the Jury Act by which the Christians could not be tried by a Hindu or Mohammadan juror. According to this Act, Hindus or Muhammadans were declared ineligible to serve as jurors. Ram Mohan characterized the Act as unjust and oppressive. He also observed that a country like India could not be suppressed by force as Ireland had been. In 1829 he protested against government measures to tax rent-free lands. The progressive mind of Ram Mohan demanded from the British Parliament various other measures of reform. These included the separation of executive and judicial functions ; appointment of native assessors in the civil courts; trial by jury; independence of judges; codification of the criminal law and also of the civil law; substitution of English for Persian as the official language of the courts of law; fixation of maximum rents to be paid by the cultivators; and the appointment of qualified Indians to higher posts. With a view to checking huge drain of Indian wealth, Ram Mohan suggested that the Europeans accumulating capital in India should be encouraged to settle in India so that wealth might not go out of the country. He firmly believed that these Europeans would bring about the industrial regeneration of India, effect improvement in mechanical arts and would secure better administration of the country by representing the grievances of India to the authorities in England.

3.9 Let us sum up

A careful perusal of the above fully justifies the claim that "Rammohan Roy laid the foundation of all the principal movements for the elevation of the Indians" which characterize the Nineteenth century. He did not hesitate to support a just cause. All his life he fought against social injustice and inequality even at great personal loss and hardship. In his life of service to society he often clashed with his family, with rich zamindars and powerful missionaries, and with high officials and foreign authorities. Yet he never showed fear nor shrank from his chosen course. He was the brightest star in the Indian sky during the 1st half of the 19th century.

The Brahma Samaj was a congregation or an order rather than a sect or community. Ram Mohan Roy conceived it mainly as a common platform for the numerous religious sects of India. He sought to strengthen his doctrine by making the ideal of love and service of humanity as essential part of his religion.

3.10 Raja Ram Mohan Roy and Brahma Samaj

The Renaissance brought improvement in the religious life of the Indians. Foreign scholars like Max Muller, Sir William Jones, Charles Wilkins etc., helped in reviving the past glory of India. They translated several religious texts of the Hindus and proved that these were among the best religious treaties of the world. Raja Ram Mohan Roy drew inspiration from them and established 'Brahmo Samaj' in August, 1828 to remove the evils of the Hindu religion. The Brahma Samaj was a congregation or an order rather than a sect or community. Ram Mohan Roy conceived it mainly as a common platform for the numerous religious sects of India. He sought to strengthen his doctrine by making the ideal of love and service of humanity as essential part of his religion. His primary aim was to reform Hindu society and religion. He believed in the unity of God and was against idol-worship, ritualism and blind faith. He gave his message to the people through his talks, discussions, articles and books. He established the Brahma Samaj for the same purpose. He had to struggle hard against orthodox Hindus and fanatic Christian missionaries who challenged his views.

The Brahma Samaj gave new lease of life to Indian society in all its spheres. On the basis of the Vedas and Upanishads, it taught that God was one, every religion possessed truth, idol-worship and ritualism were useless and social evils had no connection with religion. It interpreted religion with reason and logic and was the first in India to do so.

Ram Mohan Roy accepted concept of one God as propounded by the 'Upanishads'. For him God was shapeless, invisible, omnipresent and omnipotent, but the guiding spirit of the universe and omniscient. The Samaj declared its opposition to idol worship. There was no place for priesthood in the Samaj nor sacrifices of any kind were allowed. The worship was performed through prayers and meditation and reading from "Upanishads". Great emphasis was laid on 'Promotion of charity, morality, piety, benevolence, virtue and strengthening of the bonds of union between men of all religions, persuasions and creeds.

From the beginning the appeal of Brahma Samaj had remained limited to the intellectuals and educationally enlightened Bengalis living in the towns, the Samaj failed to attract the people from the lower sections of society, thus, it could not become a mass movement while it struck roots in Bengal and strongly influenced the cultural life there, its impact on the other parts of the country was very limited. The early death of Ram Mohan in 1833 left the Brahma Samaj without the soul and a steady decline set on.

3.11 Brahma Samaj after Raja Ram Mohan Roy

After the death of Raja Ram Mohan Roy in 1833, Maharishi Devendranath Tagore (1817-1915), the eldest son of Dwarkanath Tagore and the father of Rabindranath Tagore, infused a new life into the Samaj and give the theist movement a definite form and shape. Tagore joined the Samaj in 1842. He prepared a covenant for the Brahma church. Every devotee had to accept it an promise to follow a religious life as prescribed by the Vedanta and worship God daily, reciting the Gayatri Mantra in 1839, he started the Tatvabodhini Sabha to propagate ideas and brought the Tatvabodhini patrika for a systematic study of India's past. Debendranth Tagore worked on two fronts. Within Hinduism, the B.S was a reformist movement, outside he resolutely opposed the Christian missionaries for their criticism of Hinduism and their attempts at conversion. Tagore condemned idol worship,

discourage pilgrimages, ceremonials and penances among the Brahoms. Under his leadership branches of the Samaj were established in various towns and the Brahmo message spread in the countryside of Bengal.

3.12 Keshab Chandra Sen and Brahmo Samaj

Keshab Chandra Sen joined the Brahmo Sabha in 1857. His fervent devotion, passionate enthusiasm and wonderful eloquence popularized the movement and increased its members. At the same time he carried its rationalistic principles to a still further degree and founded what may be called the new Brahmaism.

The result of these activities were very remarkable. Before the end of 1865 there were 54 Samajas (local branches), 50 in Bengal, two in the N.W.P and one each in the Punjab and Madras.

At first Devendranath warmly appreciated the services of Keshab Chandra and appointed him the minister of the church and Secretary of the Samaj in defiance of the wishes of many older members. The younger members of the Samaj were more radical and enthusiastic. Their leader Keshab Chandra Sen demanded that the members of the Samaj must renounce the sacred thread and oppose the monopoly of thread bearing Brahmin to the priesthood. They also preached inter-caste marriage and widow-remarriage. Their ideas proved to be a complete break with the past which were disliked by the moderates led by Tagore. To Debendranath these developments looked too radical and by virtue of his position as the sole trustee of the dismissed Keshab from the office of the Acharya in 1865.

A further split in Keshab's Brahmo Samaj of India came in 1878. Some close disciples of Keshab began to regard Keshab as an incarnation. This was not liked by his progressive followers. Further, Keshab began to be accused of authoritarianism. All along Keshab Chandra had advocated a minimum age for marriage of Brahmos, but did not follow his own precepts. In 1878 Keshab married his 13 years old daughter with minor Hindu Maharaja of Cooch-Bihar with all the orthodox Hindu ceremonials. He justified his action on the plea that such was the will of God and that he had acted on intuition. Most of Keshab's followers felt disgusted and set up a new organization called the Sadharan Brahmo

Samaj. On the 15th May 1878, Keshab's church shared the same fate as that of Devendranath and passed into comparative obscurity. The spirit of the Brahmo movement has now been focused mainly in the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj to which almost all the provincial Samajas are affiliated. The Brahmo Samaj has played a notable role in the Indian Renaissance. H.C.E Zachariar writes, "Rammohan Roy and his Brahmo Samaj form the starting point for all the various reform movements - whether in Hindu religion, society or politics - which have agitated Modern India". The intellectual min which had been cut off its moorings by the Christian propaganda found a way out in the Brahmo Samaj. In the field of religion reform the main significance of Brahmo Samaj lay not in what it retained of traditional Hinduism but what it discarded of the old beliefs of Hindusim. It's over all contribution may be summed up thus it denied that any scripture could enjoy the status of ultimate authority transcending human reason and conscience; ii. it denounced polytheism and idol-worship iii. It criticized the caste system; iv. It took no definite stand on the doctrine of Karma and transmigration of soul and left it to individual Brahmo to believe either way.

In matters of social reform, Brahmo Samaj has influenced Hindu society. It attacked many dogmas and superstitions. It condemned the prevailing Hindu prejudice against going abroad. It worked for a respectable status for women in society - condemned Sati, worked for abolition of Purdah system, discouraged child marriages and polygamy, crusaded for widow remarriage, provision of educational facilities etc. It also attacked casteism and untouchability though in these mentions it attained limited success.

3.13 Let us sum up

Thus Raja Ram Mohan Roy and his Brahmo Samaj helped in social and religious reforms in India. It also helped in modernizing India. It placed before the Indian people the problem concerning their society and religion and also put forth their solutions. It, thus, generated an intellectual awakening among them. The Indians picked up its spirit of reform and reason and gradually broke themselves free from the bondage of western culture and proceeded ahead confidently towards bringing about improvement in their society and religion on the basis of this on deep-rooted culture. It therefore led to more aggressive

reform movements in India. That is why, Raja Ram Mohan Roy has been regarded as the pioneer of Modern India. He and his Brahmo Samaj did a lot towards rousing social, religious and political awakening in India.

3.14 Questions / Answers

- Q1. Determine the importance of the role of Ram Mohan Roy in the history of Modern India.
- Q2. Discuss the role of Raja Ram Mohan Roy and Debendranath in the Brahmo movement.
- Q3. Analyse the contribution of Keshab Chandra Sen to the growth of Brahmo movement in India.
- Q4. Evaluate the contribution of Raja Ram Mohan Roy to the social and cultural awakening of India in the 19th century.

3.15 Suggested Reading

- 1. Social backgrounds of Indian Nationalism by A.R.Desai.
- 2. M.K.Ranade, Religious and Social Reforms.
- 3. S.Natranjan - A century of Social Reforms of India

B. A. III Semester

Unit : I

Course No. : 301

Lesson : 3B

ARYA SAMAJ

STRUCTURE

- 3.1 Introduction**
- 3.2 Objective**
- 3.3 Early life of Swami Dayananda**
- 3.4 The main principles of Arya Samaj**
- 3.5 Arya Samaj and Social Reforms**
- 3.6 Arya Samaj and Religion**
- 3.7 Arya Samaj and Education**
- 3.8 Arya Samaj and Politics**
- 3.9 Arya Samaj after Swami Dayananda**
- 3.10 Let us sum up**
- 3.11 Question and Answers**
- 3.12 Suggested Reading**
- 3.1 Introduction**

The Arya Samaj movement was an outcome of reaction to western influences. It was revivalist in form though not in content. The founder, Swami Dayananda, rejected

western ideas and sought to revive the ancient religion of the Aryans. It was founded in 1875 in Bombay. It became the vehicle of all those ambitious people who liked to counteract not only the Christian missionaries and the 'radicals' but also other missionaries. The basic motto was "Go back to Vedas". He wanted to shape the society according to the Vedas, discarding the Puranas. To an important activity of the Samaj was conversion of non-Hindus to Hinduism through Shuddhi. The Arya Samaj took roots in Northern India and in course of time concentrated on educational activities. The Arya Samaj appealed to the masses unlike the Brahmo Samaj which could attract only the intellectuals. However, the Arya Samaj has been criticized for its uncritical faith in the infallibility of the Vedas.

3.2 Objective

After studying this lesson, you will be able to :-

1. Observe that the main aim of Swami Dayananda was to revive the ancient religion of the Aryans.
2. Hindu religion was relied on Vedas and discard Puranas.
3. Explain the reasons and programme of the Arya Samaj.
4. First time in Hinduism non Hindu was converted to Hindu fold.
5. Find the role of Arya Samaj in spread of education.
6. Common masses were attracted by this movement.
7. Describe briefly the role of Swami Dayananda in making Indian Nationalism.

3.3 Early life of Swami Dayananda

Swami Dayananda was the founder of Arya Samaj. His childhood name was Mul Shankar. He was born in a small town, Tankara in Gujrat in a conservative Brahmin family in 1824. His father, a great Vedic scholar, also assumed the role of the teacher and helped young Mulshankar acquire good insight into Vedic literature, logic, philosophy, ethics etc. Dayananda's quest for the truth goaded him to yogabhyas (contemplation or communion) and to learn yoga it was necessary to leave home. For fifteen years (1845-60) Dayananda wandered as

an ascetic in the whole of India studying yoga. In 1861, he met an ascetic, Swami Vrajanand at Mathura and became his disciple. There he studied the Vedas. He left his teacher after completing his education and took up the mission of spreading true Hindu religion and culture all over India. He established the Arya Samaj first at Bombay in 1875. A few years later the head quarters of the Arya Samaj were established at Lahore. He travelled throughout the country to propagate his views and established the Arya Samaj organizations at different for the same purpose. The Arya Samaj has the following principles.

3.4 The main principles of Arya Samaj

1. God is formless, omnipotent, beneficial, immortal, fearless and the maker of the universe and he is worthy of worship.
2. The Vedas are the only source of truth. Therefore, the study of the Vedas is absolutely necessary.
3. All the religious rites should be performed through Havens and Yajnas
4. Opposition to idol worship.
5. Opposition to the theory of God - incarnation and religious pilgrimages.
6. He should believe in Karma and rebirth.
7. Belief in female education.
8. Opposition to child-marriage and polygamy.
9. Arya Samaj should focus on the expansion of education and abolition of illiteracy.
10. Support to widow remarriage in certain circumstances.

3.5 Arya Samaj Social Reforms

The Arya Samaj provided useful service to Hindu society as well by carrying out an onslaught on its social evils. It opposed child marriages, polygamy, Purdah, casteism, the practice of Sati, animal sacrifices, ancestors worship, priest craft, offerings in temples, child marriages - which had become the exploiting institution and degenerated the society. It incessantly worked for the education of the females, abolition of casteism and uplift of

the depressed classes. Inter-caste marriages and inter-dining was practiced by the members of the Arya Samaj in their routine life.

The Arya Samaj movement gave 'Proud' self confidence and self reliance to the Hindu and undermined the belief in the superiority of the white race and western culture. As a disciplined Hindu organization, it has succeeded in protecting Hindu society from the onslaught of Islam and Christian. Rather, the Samaj started the Shuddhi movement to convert non-Hindus to Hinduism. Many Hindus were converted to Christianity in ignorance. The Christian missionaries had drawn large number of converts from among the uneducated, poor and depressed classes of the Hindus. They could not be taken back within the fold of Hinduism even if they desired it. The Arya Samaj opened the gates of Hinduism to them and defended its action on the basis of the Dharma of the Vedas. By its efforts, a large number of people were restored to the Hindu fold.

3.6 Arya Samaj and Religion

Besides the social life, Aryan Samaj also carried on various reforms in the religious sphere of the people. He stressed that Vedic religion was the only true religion which could lead a man to the path of salvation. He looked on the Vedas as India's 'Rock of Ages', the true original seed of Hinduism. His motto was 'Go back to the Vedas'. He gave his own interpretation of the Vedas. He disregarded the authority of the later Hindu scriptures like the Puranas and described them as the work of lesser men and responsible for the evil practice of idol worship and other superstitious beliefs in Hindu religion. Dayananda condemned idol worship and preached unity of Godhead. His views were published in his famous work Satyarth Prakash (The true exposition). Dayananda advocated belief in the one supreme being who is omnipotent, just, merciful, unborn, endless, unchangeable, immortal, fearless, eternal and maker of all.

Dayananda and his samaj denounced idolatry, polygamy and caste system, belief in magic, charms, animal sacrifices, etc. that had crept into Hindu religion in the 19th century. He also did not believe in the Shradh ceremony which was performed by the Hindus after the death of their ancestors.

On account of his deep faith in the Vedas, Swami Dayananda also placed

stress on Haven, yajanas and good actions. He condemned worship of various gods and goddess and emphasized the worship of one God. He was a great supporter of Brahmancharya and considered it a most suitable path for the achievement of salvation. He also condemned the imaginative pictures of hell and heaven prevalent in the Hindu mythology. He contended that human beings were not playthings of fate and as such no one could avoid responsibility for his actions on the plea that human deeds were predetermined. Dayananda accepted the doctrine of Karma, but rejected the theory of Niyati (destiny). He explained that the world is a battlefield where every individual has to work out his salvation by right deeds. He was not against any religion but he made open attacks on the rituals, narrow mindedness and untrue behaviour.

Dayananda challenged the dominant position of the Brahmin priestly class in the spiritual and social life of the Hindus. He ridiculed the claim of the priests that they could act as intermediaries between man and God. The Swami asserted every Hindu's right to read and interpret the Vedas. Thus he believed that if the people study the Vedas they would find all knowledge of the world compacted in them. Therefore, the Hindus need not look towards Christianity, Islam or Western culture for guidance for any political, social or scientific principle. Thus having complete faith in the superiority of Hinduism and the Vedas, the Arya Samaj successfully met the challenge of Islamic and Christian propaganda against Hinduism and, in turn, attacked their principles vehemently.

3.7 Arya Samaj and Education

Perhaps the most phenomenal achievement of the Arya Samaj has been in the field of education. Arya Samaj lays great emphasis on education and enjoins on all Arya Samajists to endeavour "to diffuse knowledge and dispel ignorance". Swami Dayananda laid great stress on the establishment of the branches of Arya Samaj and the educational institutions. In North India Gurukuls, Kanya Gurukuls and D.A.V schools and colleges have been established by the Arya Samaj for the education of both males and females. All the modern subjects were taught in these educational institutions but special stress was laid on the study of the Vedas and Sanskrit language. The nucleus for this movement was provided by the Anglo Vedic school established at Lahore in 1886. The education imparted in D.A.V institutions combines the best of the modern and classical Indian studies. The

orthodox opinion in the Arya Samaj which stands for the revival of Vedic ideal in modern life set up the Gurukul Pathsala at Haridwar in 1902.

3.8 Arya Samaj and Politics

The Arya Samaj also contributed towards rousing the national consciousness. It is said that "political independence was one of the 1st objectives of Dayananda. Indeed, he was the first man to use the term Swaraj. He was the first to insist on people using only Swadeshi articles manufactured in India and to discard the foreign things. He was the first to recognize Hindi as a national language of India". Many Indian National leaders like Bal Gangadhar Tilak, Lala Lajpat Rai and Gopal Krishna Gokhale were deeply influenced by the philosophy and principles of Arya Samaj. The Arya Samaj embodied a spirit of intense patriotism. The Samaj always remained in the forefront of political movement and produced leaders of eminence. Dayananda's political slogan was 'India for the Indians'. The rise of extremism within the All India Congress was certainly because of the militant spirit of Hinduism and there is no doubt that the Arya Samaj, by claiming superiority of Hindu religion and culture, defended the honour of Hindus and helped them develop a sense of self-respect and confidence which inspired national patriotism among them. Therefore, it certainly helped in building up national consciousness.

3.9 Arya Samaj after Swami Dayananda

The work of the Arya Samaj was carried on by three able successors of Dayananda - Lala Hansraj, Pandit Guru Dutta and Lala Lajpat Rai. To commemorate the memory of Dayananda these men established a school, which later on developed into the famous Dayananda Anglo-Vedic (D.A.V) College of Lahore. In 1892, the Arya Samaj was split into two groups. One of these led by Lala Hansraj, which controlled the D.A.V college, influenced by western rationalism, and advocated a liberal education. The second group led by Munshi Ram (later on famous as Swami Shradhananda) reiterated the teachings of Dayananda and harped on the Vedas. The later party founded in 1902 a remarkable educational institution known as the Gurukul Kangri near Hardwar.

3.10 Let us sum up

The Arya Samaj movement gave "proud" self-confidence and self-reliance to the

Hindus and undermined the belief in the superiority of the White Race and Western culture. As a disciplined Hindu organization, it has succeeded in protecting Hindu society from the onslaught of Islam and Christianity. Rather, the Samaj started the shudhi movement to convert non-Hindus to Hinduism. Further, it infused a spirit of intense patriotism. The Samaj always remained in the forefront of political movement and produced leaders of the eminence of Lala Hans Raj, Pandit Guru Dutt and Lala Lajpat Rai. Dayananda's political slogan was 'India for the Indians'. Thus it is quite evident that Swami Dayananda was the great maker of Indian society, religion and Nation. He gave a new life to the Hindu religion and infused new power and vigour in it. This had never been done by any of the previous thinkers. In fact he was a great and unique person of his age. Aurobindo Ghosh has remarked about him, "In this strange creation of God Swami Dayananda Saraswati was a unique warrior and a wonderful architect to give a living shape to human and humanly institutions.

3.11 Question and Answers

1. Describe the social and religious reforms of Swami Dayananda.
2. Assess the role of Arya Samaj in the Indian National movement.
3. What was the aim and contribution of Arya Samaj to the social and political history of India?
4. Point out the contribution of Swami Dayananda towards the Indian Renaissance.
5. What was the aim and contribution of the Arya Samaj towards social and religious reforms in India.

3.12 Suggested Reading

1. A.R Desai - Social Background of Indian Nationalism.
2. L.P Sharma - Indian National movement.
3. S.N Sen - Modern India 1765-1950.

B. A. III Semester

Unit : I

Course No. : 301

Lesson : 4

SOCIAL LEGISLATIONS OF THE 19TH CENTURY

Structure

- 4.1 Introduction**
- 4.2 Objectives**
- 4.3 Abolition of Sati custom**
- 4.4 Ban on Female infanticide**
- 4.5 Widow Remarriage Act-1856**
- 4.6 Abolition of Polygamy**
- 4.7 The Sharda Act**
- 4.8 Ban on Devadasis custom**
- 4.9 Hindu women's right to property**
- 4.10 Education of Women**
- 4.11 Abolition of slavery**
- 4.12 Abolition of the practice of human sacrifice**
- 4.13 Let us sum up**
- 4.14 Questions / Answers**
- 4.15 Suggested Reading**
- 4.1 Introduction**

By 1800, the conservative attitude was fast giving way to a new attitude which

was sharply critical of Indian society and culture. Indian customs were considered uncivilized, and Indian thought narrow and unscientific. This critical approach was used by most of the officials and writers and statesmen of Britain to justify political and economic enslavement of India and to proclaim that it was incapable of improvement and must therefore, remain permanently under British tutelage. However, a few Englishman, known as Radicals, went beyond this narrow criticism and imperialistic outlook and applied the advanced humanistic and rational thought of the west to the Indian situation as they saw it. The doctrine of humanism, led them to desire the improvement of Indian people. The doctrine of progress led them to the conviction that Indians were bound to improve. And so the Radicals, though few but representing the better elements of British society, desired to make India a part of the modern progressive world of science and humanism. To them, the answer to India's ills appeared to lie in the introduction of modern western sciences, Philosophy and literature - infact, in all out and rapid change along modern lines. Some of the officials who came to India in 1820s and after were deeply influenced by the Radical outlook.

The ruling elements in British-Indian administration continued to be imperialistic and exploitative. They would accept new ideas and adopt reformist measures only if, and to the extent that they did not come into conflict with commercial interest and profit motives and enable economic penetration of India and the consolidation of British rule.

The Radicals were given strong support by Raja Rammohan Roy and other like minded Indians who were conscious of the low state to which their country and society had sunk, who were sick of caste prejudices and other social evils, and who believed that the salvation of India lay in science and humanism. Raja Ram Mohan Roy strove by propaganda to put an end to the practice of Suttee and finally it was abolished by Lord Bentinck, infanticide was also subsequently declared a crime with the spread of education and liberal and rational ideas among the people, the practice of Purdah began to diminish.

4.2 Objectives

If we analyse these developments during the 19th century. It will appear that there was hardly any aspect of life and society which was not deeply affected by the impact of the British rule. Side by side with the rise of new religious sects, we find a profound change in the orthodox Hindu religion. There were persistent demands for removal of social abuses and introduction of social reforms on modern lines. The ideas and methods

of education underwent a revolutionary change. Also significant was the change brought in the dominion of literature, which reflected the spirit of the socio-religious reform movement as well as of the modern age.

4.3 Abolition of Sati custom

The official British efforts at reforming Indian society of its abuses were on the whole very meager and, therefore, bore little fruit. Their biggest achievement was the outlawing of the practice of Sati in 1829 when William Bentinck made it a crime to associate in any way with the burning of a widow on her husband's pyre. Earlier the British rulers had been apathetic and afraid of arousing the anger of the orthodox Indians. The rite itself should properly be called Sahamarana or accompanying in death. The practice was of long standing in India, and virtuous widows usually gave up their dead their lives husband's by allowing themselves to be burned to death on funeral pyre. In general, the rite was confined to high caste Hindus, Muslim invaders found it particularly objectionable, and the Mughal Emperors tried to discourage it.

Though the East India Company broadly adhered to its declared policy of non interference with the social customs of the people, yet early Governor General like Cornwallis, Minto and Lord Hastings had taken some steps to restrict the practice of Sati by discouraging compulsion, forbidding administration of intoxicating drugs to the sorrow-stricken widows, putting a ban on Sati of pregnant women or widows below the age of 16 years and above all, making compulsory the presence of police officials at the time of sacrifice who were to see that no compulsion was used. However, these restrictions proved inadequate and achieved limited success.

The Governor General Amherst was convinced that the time was not right for abolishing Sati by legislative action. It was only after Rammohan Roy and other enlightened Indians and the missionaries agitated persistently for the abolition of this monstrous custom that the Government agreed to take this humanitarian step. Lord William Bentick, an enlightened Governor General of India passed the prevention of Sati Act, on December 4, 1829, Sati was declared illegal in the Bengal Presidency (Regulation XVII). By this Regulation anyone assisting a voluntary sacrifice was to be held guilty of culpable homicide and anyone using violence to force a widow to burn herself was to be liable to the death sentence. A similar resolution was passed in Madras on Feb, 2, 1830 and action was also

taken to make it effective. In Bombay the regulation aroused considerable agitation, in Bengal, a petition was submitted to Bentick, protesting strongly against it. The petitioners even went so far as to appeal to the Privy Council in London (Jan. 1830). However the appeal was dismissed and there was no disturbances in India.

4.4 Ban on Female infanticide

Another horrible and cruel rite particularly common among the Bengalis and the Rajputs was of killing their infant daughters at birth, taking female children to be a great economic liability. Further, if the parents could not arrange marriage for their daughters, it was considered a social disgrace and a violation of religious injunctions. Some socially backward tribes followed the practice of killing their infant daughters at their birth; this was done by the mother by deliberately neglecting the feeding of a female child to administering poisonous drugs to the child through the nipples of the mother's breast.

Enlightened British and Indian opinion was unanimous in condemning infanticide. When persuasion alone could not help, the Bengal Regulations XXI of 1795 and III of 1804 declared infanticide illegal and equivalent to committing a murder. Pressure was exerted through Political Residents and Agents in Indian states to eradicate this evil rite. As a precautionary measure, the Government of India passed an Act in 1870 making it compulsory for parents to register the birth of all babies and providing for verification of female children for some years after birth, particularly in areas where the custom was restored to in utmost privacy.

4.5 Widow Remarriage Act-1856

The right of widows to remarriage was zealously advocated by such ardent social reformers as Ishwar Chandra Vidyasar in Bengal, and Mr. Malabari, Poet Narmad, Justice Ranade, and K. Natarajan in Bombay. Though all social reform groups made widow-remarriage a prominent item in their programme, the movement did not much advance due to the deep antagonism of the people to the idea of a widow remarrying. The Brahma Samaj debated the question of widow remarriage and popularized it among the Brahmos. The efforts of Pt. Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar (1820-91) Principal of Sanskrit College, Calcutta, deserve special mention. He dug up old Sanskrit references and proved that Vedic texts sanctioned widow remarriage. He sent a petition signed by 987 persons to the Government of India urging it for legislative action. His efforts were rewarded when the

Hindu Widows' Remarriage Act (Act XV of 1856) legalized marriage of widows and declared issues from such marriages as legitimate.

In Western India, Prof. D.K.Karve took up the cause of widow remarriage and in Madras Veeresalingam Pantulu made herculean efforts in the same direction. Karve devoted his life to the uplift of Hindu widows and became the Secretary of the Widow Remarriage Association. In 1899 he opened a Widows' Home in Poona with the object of giving high-caste widows an interest in life by providing them openings in the profession of teachers, doctors and nurses and making them, at the same time, self-supporting. He crowned his work by setting up an Indian Women's University at Bombay in 1916. Widow homes were also set up by social welfare agencies to ameliorate their conditions and to offer them new opportunities for economic independence.

4. 6 Abolition of Polygamy

Raja Ram Mohan Roy, Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar raised their voice against polygamy. In 1855, the Maharaja of Burdwan appealed to the Bengal legislative council to check polygamy because under this system, the wives were virtually slaves, to be used and abused, humiliated and ill-treated by the vicious husbands. But the Bengal Government did not respond to the Maharaja's appeal. Later on, The reformers like Keshab Chandra Sen mounted pressure on the Bengal Government and ultimately in 1872, an Act was passed abolishing polygamy.

4.7 The Sharda Act

Child marriage had been one of the principal evils from which the Indian women, more even than men, suffered. Due to the efforts of Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar, the Act of 1860 was passed raising the age of consent for married and unmarried girls to ten. However, it was only in 1929 that a decisive legal step was taken to strike a blow at the harmful custom of child marriage. The Child Marriage Restraint Act passed in that year raised the marriage age for girls to fourteen and for boys to eighteen.

In 1927, Harbilas Sharda introduced a Bill before the legislature to regulate marriage among the Hindus. The Act was subsequently known as the Child Marriage Restraint Act of 1929, or popularly known as the Sharda Act. The operation of the Act extended to the

whole of India. It fixed the minimum age of marriage for girls at 14 and for boys at 16 years.

4.8 Ban on Devadasis custom

The institution of temple prostitution which India had inherited from the past was analogous to a similar institution in the ancient Greece. Devadasis formed 'an hereditary caste of women' who consecrated themselves in early childhood to temple service. 'They lately numbered over two hundred thousand in Madras, and though their skill in dancing and singing . . . may have done something to keep alive those arts, the fact that the devadasis were known to be prostitutes, actually degraded the arts they practised and made them distasteful to respectable women.

As a result of the strenuous agitation of Dr. Muthulakshmi Reddi and other reformers, an Act was passed in 1925 'which extended to them (devadasis) sections of the Penal Code which made traffic in minors a criminal offence'.

4.9 Hindu women's right to property

Hindu Women's Right to Property (1937) one of the most important enactments to give better rights to women with regard to property was the Hindu Women's Right to Property Act (1937), passed mainly due to the efforts of Deshmukh. The act provided a powerful weapon in the hands of the progressive forces of Hindu society and had struck a powerful blow to the traditional authoritarian, male dominated Hindu social edifice and marked a 'New phase in the history of women's struggle for equality with men in Hindu society'.

4.10 Education of Women

Hindu society in the 19th century suffered from false religious illusions that Hindu scriptures did not sanction female education, that education of girls wrought wrath of Gods leading to their widowhood.

The Christian missionaries, whatever their motive, were the first to set up the Calcutta Female Juvenile Society in 1819. However, the celebrated name of J.E.D. Bethune, President of the council of Education, will always be remembered with respect. In 1849 he founded a Girls' School in Calcutta. Pt. Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar also did a lot in

popularizing the cause of female education and was associated with no less than thirty-five girls' schools in Bengal. In Bombay the students of Elphinstone Institute became the spearhead of the movement for women education and founded the Students Literary and Scientific Society. Charles Wood's dispatch on Education (1854) laid great stress on the need for female education. In the broad perspective, women education became a part of the general campaign for amelioration of the plight of women in society.

4.11 Abolition of slavery

Slavery was a recognized institution in India since early times. In 1807 the British Parliament abolished slave trade. In 1811 the importation of slave into India from outside was made illegal. Slavery was abolished in Britain in 1833 and the Charter Act of 1833 directed the Company to take suitable action for its abolition. The result was the passing of the Act-V of 1843 which made slavery illegal in India. But it was only in 1860 that slave holding became an offence under the Indian Penal Code.

4.12 Abolition of the practice of human sacrifice

The hill tracts of Orissa, Madras and the then Central provinces witnessed another humane act of the Company Government in India. It was in 1845 during the administration of First Lord Hardinge that this abominable practice was ultimately abolished.

4.13 Let us sum up

All these official reforms touched no more than the fringes of the Indian social system and did not affect the life of the vast majority of the people. It was perhaps not possible for a foreign Government to do more. After 1858 as Indian proved apt pupils, shifting rapidly towards modernization of their society and assertion of their culture, and demanded to be ruled in accordance the modern principles of liberty, equality and nationality. The British increasingly withdrew their support from the reforms and gradually came to side with the socially orthodox and conservative elements of society. They also encouraged casteism and communalism.

4.14 Questions / Answers

Q1. What were the main characteristics of modern thought which influenced the social and cultural policy of the British rulers in India?

- Q2. Describe the legislative measures adopted by the British authorities in India in the area of social reform.
- Q3. Discuss the steps taken by social and religious reform movements for the emancipation of women.

4.15 Suggested Reading

1. Social background of Indian Nationalism by A.R. Desai.
2. Socio-cultural background of Medium India by Dutta, K.K.
3. Sumit Sarkar, Bibliographical survey of social Reform movement in the 18th and 19th centuries.

B. A. III Semester

Unit : II

Course No. : 301

Lesson : 5

ADMINISTRATIVE DEVELOPMENT UNDER LORD RIPON

5.1 Introduction

5.2 Objectives

5.3 Local- self government

5.3.1 Resolution of 1881

5.3.2 Resolution of 1882

5.3.3 District towns

5.4 Financial Decentralization

5.5 Education

5.5.1 Hunter Education Commission 1882

5.6 Ilbert Bill

5.7 Other internal Reforms

5.8 Summary

5.9 Glossary

5.10 Self assessment questions

5.11 Suggested Reading

5.12 References

5.13 Model Test Paper

5.1 Introduction

Lord Ripon in fact was a liberal reformer, and in his attitude and beliefs resembled Lord Bentinck. His steps towards local self– government, his financial decentralization, his education policy and his administrative reforms, will ever mark his period as an important milestone in the history of Modern India. We may make a brief study of all these departments of his activities.

5.2 Objectives

After going through this lesson, you will be able:-

- a. To understand the time period of Lord Ripon.
- b. To understand the administrative reforms of Lord Ripon.
- c. To understand the local self–government of Lord Ripon.
- d. To explain the financial decentralization of Lord Ripon.
- e. To explain contribution of Lord Ripon in field of Education.

5.3 LOCAL SELF – GOVERNMENT

“What I want,” wrote Lord Ripon, “is the gradual training of the best, most intelligent and influential men in the community to take an interest and active part in the management of their local affairs.” And he took steps to fulfill this desire.

5.3.1 Resolution 1881:

The first resolution of Lord Ripon’s Government was passed in this connection in 1881, in which it was decided that the time had now come to take steps to develop further Lord Mayo’s idea of Local Self Government. The resolution asked the centre to give due consideration to the subject in consultation with the provincial governments. The provincial governments were to be directed to make a careful study of the Provincial and Local Municipal Acts in order to enable them to decide upon the revenue sources that could be transferred from the Provincial to the Local Municipal management. The study was also to be aimed at deciding upon the administrative subjects who could be so transferred as to satisfy the understanding and aspirations of the local people.

5.3.2 Resolution of 1882:

The next resolution which has been a very great importance in the history of the local self government was passed in 1882. And the system of rural boards that existed all over the country till Independence was mainly the result of this resolution, which was “worked out and applied in various ways by the different provincial governments in India”.

The reforms introduced by the Resolution were that the mere consultative committees so far established to advise and assist the district officers were abolished. And directions were given to set up rural boards, with small areas as units of territories to be administered by each, with the proviso that common matters were to be decided at periodical district councils to which each local board would send delegates. Alternatively it was suggested that district boards be set up with controlling power over the local boards. And it was this latter proposal that was in the majority of cases accepted.

The area of jurisdiction for each board was to be so small as to admit of both local knowledge and interest. In these boards the non – official element was to be in a large majority; the official not exceeding one – third of the total. The system of the elections was to be introduced wherever possible, and the non – official members were to hold office for not more than two years.

The Indians were to be encouraged to become members of these local bodies, and the Governments were to help them in the performance of their duties. In order to attract responsible men, courtesy titles such as Rai and Rai Bahadur could be affixed to their names. And further the Resolution said, wherever possible, a non – official chairman should be preferred to an official one.

The Resolution of 1882 was a great landmark in the history of Local self Government, and Lord Ripon has been truly known as “Father of Local Self Government” in India. The resolution laid down definitely the lines on which these institutions were to develop; provisions were made for the Indians to train themselves in democracy and political knowledge, and created greater facilities for the development of the local public utility works.

5.3.3 District towns: -

The development of the spirit of local self – Government in the district towns

constitute another important aspect of Ripon's Resolution, in which the lines followed resembled those of the Rural boards.

Taking up the development of these Municipal Committees up to the time of Lord Ripon for individual provinces, we may first deal with Punjab. Here after the annexation in 1849, the government continued the old tax on all the goods coming into a town for the purposes of the improvement of the town and maintenance of its police.

5.4 FINANCIAL DECENTRALISATION

Another great reform of Ripon was his Resolution of 1882 which is a landmark in the history of financial decentralization. Assisted by his Finance Member Major Baring, he passed this Resolution which divided the sources of revenue under three heads: -

Imperial, such as Salt, Customs, Opium which were to remain in the control of the centre;

Provincial, such as Civil Departments, Public Works, the control of which was to be transferred to the Local governments; and the Divided Heads which consisted of the majority of the subjects such as Stamps, Forests, Registration, etc. and on which the two would have a concurrent authority. Land revenue was placed under the Divided Heads, and from this a fixed percentage of Income was assigned to the provinces which made good their deficits. Under the new scheme, therefore, the system of fixed grants was dispensed with. The provinces bound themselves to come to the help of the centre in times of emergency, such as war; the centre however undertaking that such the demands would be made only in "case of disaster so abnormal as to exhaust the Imperial reserves and resources." The Centre on the other hand bound itself to help the provinces in cases of famine and pestilence of unprecedented nature.

There were still, however, certain defects in the system. The Centre's general control and superintendence again was not relaxed, nor did the Centre stop issuing occasional resolutions, laying down definite lines for the Provincial administration of finances. The regular reports had yet to be sent to the centre, and the centre could interfere in the administrative details of the provinces to bring about a harmony between them. Besides the quinquennial revisions involved huge amount of bitterness and disappointment. Those provinces which utilized funds thriftily and saved money, had their savings taken away, while those who spent uneconomically got more. This naturally developed irresponsibility

and investment on uneconomical and ill–conceived schemes. At every revision, there were conflicts and clashes; the provinces demanding more while the Centre permitting less.

5.5 EDUCATION

Another significant contribution of Lord Ripon was in the field of education. Education continued to progress even after the retirement of Sir Wood from his office in 1886, though the pace was very slow. In the field of female education certain steps were taken.

Besides, another significant development during this period was the movement towards the establishment of the Punjab University. An Anglo Oriented College was opened, which ultimately in 1882 developed into the Punjab University. Yet another development was the handing over of the provincial departments of education by Mayo in 1871 to the provincial departments of Education by Mayo in 1871 to the provinces themselves, which were to be given a definite revenue assignment from the Centre for the purpose.

5.5.1 Hunter Education Commission 1882:

A landmark in the history of education in India is, however, the report of the Hunter Commission submitted in 1882. There were complaints that the Despatch of 1854 was not being properly followed. Therefore Lord Ripon appointed a Commission of 22 members with Sir William Hunter as its Chairman. The Commission submitted its report a thorough investigation into the matter. The important points of the report were: -

- (i) Primary education was seriously lagging behind and that it should be strongly encouraged by reserving a part of the provincial revenues for the purpose by declaring it to be “that part of the system of public instruction which possesses an almost exclusive claim in provincial revenues.” The Commission recommended that the elementary schools be handed over to the management of municipal and district boards and other local bodies subject to the inspection and supervisions by the government, and that the educational responsibility of these boards be given a legislative definition.
- (ii) Regarding Secondary education the Commission expressed its appreciation that it was making a good progress, particularly in Bengal where the system of the

grants-in - aid had worked well, and where alter every one State-maintained school there were two maintained by private agencies, and where there were but very few English middle schools maintained entirely by the State. It recommended that all Secondary schools be progressively handed over to private enterprise which should be encouraged by grants-in-aid, and that in future the Secondary education be ordinarily provided by the Government only where private cooperation was no available. At the same time, however the standard of education was not to be permitted to decline and for this purpose, though permitting maximum freedom, there was to be no slackening in the direct and efficient control.

- (iii) It recommended that in alternative to the existing entrance's course. Some such school courses should be introduced which should train the students for commercial as well as industrial purposes.
- (iv) A recommendation was also made once again for the encouragement of the indigenous schools by grants-in-aid on the basis of 'Payment by Results'.
- (v) The aided schools and colleges should be allowed lower rates of fee than those charged be similar state-owned institutions, and that these colleges should be encouraged to have alternative courses, and to employ more and more Indian graduates trained in the European universities.
- (vi) Special attention should be paid towards the development of education among the Mohammedans.
- (vii) Due emphasis was laid on physical education which had so far been neglected, and regarding which now several suggestions were made.
- (viii) Certain important recommendations were made regarding the provision of scholarships, improvement of the grants-in-aid system and regarding the vocational education.
- (ix) The Commission duly emphasized that though any sort of religious teaching was to be always excluded, some arrangement must be made to satisfy the popular demand regarding the development of the sense of right and wrong among the students.

5.6 ILBERT BILL

Lord Ripon also tried to introduce a long awaited and liberal reform in the judicial machinery of the country. The existing Criminal Procedures Code required that no Indian Sessions Judge or a Magistrate could try a European by birth, except in the Presidency towns. This privilege granted to the Europeans was an anachronism, “and seriously hampered the efficient and swift administration of justice.

To remove the discrepancy, under the directions of Lord Ripon, Ilbert the Law Member of the Government of India, prepared a Bill, the draft of which was approved by the Executive Council of the Governor—General and by almost all the Provincial Governments. And it was brought into the Imperial Legislative Council in February 1882. But the reaction that it brought from the European community in India was bitter, full of utter short-sightedness, undignified and irresponsible.

The Bill was therefore modified, giving the power of trying the European offenders to the Indian Sessions Judges and District Magistrate alone, and permitting a European the right to be tried by a jury in case he so desired. ‘At least half the members of the jury in this case were to be European. In the case of a serious penalty, the committal to High Court was made obligatory. The controversy over the “Ilbert Bill had a far-reaching effect on the Indian mind.

5.7 OTHER INTERNAL REFORMS

Among the other works of Lord Ripon were some of his Tariff and Revenue measures. As a result of the fiscal measures of Sir John Strachey the financial circumstances by now had become quite favorable. The Indian budgets were surplus in place of being deficit and all these circumstances admitted of certain experiments in internal reform. Taking up the opportunity therefore, Lord Ripon completed the Free Trade Policy commenced by Lord Northbrook.

Ripon took keen interest in the condition of peasants, and let a Bengal Tenancy Bill to be passed by his successor. He reorganized the Department of Revenue and Agriculture set up Lord Mayo.

Lord Ripon brought the Second Afghan War to a close, and repealed the hated Vernacular Press Act of Lytton. When Sir Richard Garth, the Chief Justice of the Calcutta

High Court went on leave, Lord Ripon appointed Sir Romesh Chandra as the acting Chief Justice. This action of Ripon too was bitterly criticized by the Europeans, but Ripon stuck to his guns.

Lord Ripon passed the first Factory Act 1881 to improve and regulate the working conditions in factories. It was laid down that children between the ages of 7 and 12 years would not now work for more than nine hours a day. The dangerous machinery was to be properly fenced. And Inspectors were to be appointed for the purpose of inspection.

His policy towards the Indian princes too was liberal, as proved by the restoration to power of the Raja of Mysore in 1881, though with certain restrictions. The Raja of Kolhapur became insane in 1882, but Ripon did not make any undue interference in that state. And when the insane Raja died, his successor was permitted to assume powers unhindered.

5.8 Summary

Thus Lord Ripon's time period was most significant in the history of India. He was a man of high intellect and high administrative ability. He not only abolished all infamous practices initiated by Lord Lytton but also introduced number of reforms in the field of local self government , education and others sectors.

5.9 Glossary

- Lord Lytton— He remained Viceroy from 1876 to 1880, known for Vernacular press act, Arms Act, 2nd Afghan war etc.
- Decentralization — the dispersion or distribution of power and functions; specifically the delegation of power from a central authority to regional and local authority.

5.10 Self assessment questions

- Write a short note on self government.
- Discuss the provision of Hunter commission on education
- How you evaluate the process of decentralization during the time period of Ripon?
- Write down the contributions of Lord Ripon

5.11 Suggested Readings –

- Spear, Percival : The oxford History of India
- Strachey, John : India , its administration
- Grover , B.L : The modern Indian History
- Gopal, S : British policy in India
- Blunt, W.S : India under Ripon

5.12 References

- Keith, A.B : Constitutional History of India
- Banerejee, A.C : Indian Constitutional Documents
- Chandra, Bipan : Indians struggle for Independence
- Grover, B.L : The modern Indian History

5.13 Model test paper.

- Q1. How far it is justified to called Ripon as a “father of local self government”?
- Q2. “The financial reforms of Lord Ripon were unique in Indian history”. Comment
- Q3. How Ilbert bill controversy effected the course of Indian national movement. ?
- Q4. Discuss education reforms of Lord Ripon.

ADMINISTRATIVE DEVELOPMENT UNDER LORD CURZON

- 6.1 Introduction**
- 6.2 Objectives**
- 6.3 Internal policy or Administrative Reforms of Lord Curzon**
 - 6.3.1 Famine**
 - 6.3.2 Financial reforms**
 - 6.3.3 Police reforms**
 - 6.3.4 Education**
 - 6.3.5 Local self Govt.**
 - 6.3.6 Partition of Bengal**
 - 6.3.7 Army Reforms**
 - 6.3.8 Ancient Monument Act**
- 6.4 Summary**
- 6.5 Self assessment questions**
- 6.6. Suggested Reading**
- 6.7 References**
- 6.8 Model Test Paper**

6.1 Introduction:

The appointment of Lord Curzon as Viceroy of India in succession to Lord Elgin II was the fulfillment of the life-long dream of Curzon. He knew more about India and Indian problems than any other Viceroy at the time of his appointment.

6.2 Objectives: After going through this lesson, you will be able:-

- a. To understand the time period of Curzon
- b. To understand the administrative reforms of Lord Curzon.
- c. To understand the partition of Bengal
- d. To explain the University Act 1904 of Lord Curzon

6.3 INTERNAL POLICY OR ADMINISTRATIVE REFORMS OF LORD CURZON:-

6.3.1 Famine

Almost the first thing Curzon faced soon after his arrival in India was an appalling famine. The years of 1896 – 99 brought misery and woe to this land once again, sapping vitality and destroying lives. Two successive monsoons failed, opening the flood – gates of a famine the effects of which lasted long. Mysore and Hyderabad, several districts of Bombay and a considerable part of Madras suffered heavily, while the North – West Provinces and Oudh also could not escape the effects. In all, about 39 million people, spread over about two hundred thousand square miles of land suffered.

There were certain defects in the relief months, and deciding to make a serious study of the problem, it goes to the credit of Lord Curzon that he appointed a high powered commission under the chairmanship of General Sir Anthony to make recommendations as to how the repetition of the misery could be avoided.

The commission carried out its investigations and submitted a report in 1901, “formulating general principles and suggesting particular measures of a preventive or protective character,”

The main recommendations of the report were: -

- i). That the state should accept its responsibility of organizing relief in times of famine
- ii). That the administration of relief should be done “not to check the growth of thrift the self–reliance among the people, or to impair the structure of society, which resting as it does in India upon the moral obligation of mutual assistance, is admirably adapted for common effort against a common misfortune”
- iii). That under the circumstance, therefore the relief can best be administered only in the shape of work to the able–bodied, and the gratuitous relief only to the disabled
- iv) That the employment should be offered before actually the physical efficiency of the able – bodied is wrecked
- v). that the relief of work should be a work of permanent utility, and it should be such as to employ a good number of workers for a considerable time
- vi). that a workmen should be provided with proper medical facilities, temporary markets and huts to live in.
- vii). That in the adjustment of wages, the sex, age and class of a person should be given a due consideration, special allowances should be fixed on children, and everything should be re- adjusted from time to time.
- viii). That the cooked food being unpopular among the people, the gratuitous relief should be in the shape of raw grain and money, with the cooked food being reserved only for the second line of defence.
- ix). that for the distribution of gratuitous relief, the affected area should be divided into circles, each of which should be placed under an experienced district officer who should work with the cooperation of the local persons.

It was on the basis of these recommendations that the **Famine Code of 1883 was revised**, was formulated, which guided the formation of the various provincial famine codes. The code thus prepared divided itself into different parts, the first dealing with the measures to be followed in case of an imminent relief campaign; the third with the duties of the different concerns when the relief campaign has already been started; the fourth with the manner by which the affected area should be divided into the ‘scarcity’ and the ‘famine’

districts, and their further division into the relief circles; and the rest with certain other connected problems.

6.3.2 Financial Reforms -

Another notable event of the time of Lord Curzon was some fiscal reforms introduced were

- a. The smuggling between the states was completely banned and severe punishment was announced by the state.
- b. Steps were taken by Lord Curzon to establish free trade in the country.
- c. A commission appointed at the Indian office in 1898 had recommended that the British sovereign be made legal tender in India at the value of fifteen rupees and Curzon passed an act in 1899 to that effect.

6.3.3 Police:-

In 1902 Lord Curzon appointed a police commission under the chairmanship of Sir Andrew Frazer to enquire about the police administration in every province. The report was submitted in 1903. The report described police force “far from efficient, defective in training and administration, inadequately supervised corrupt and oppressive” and emphasized its failure to secure the confidence and co-operation of the people. Among the various recommendations of the commission were increase in salaries of all ranks of the police, increase in the strength of the police force in all provinces, setting up of training schools both for officers and constables, direct recruitment in place of promotion in higher ranks of the police.

Most of the provision were accepted and properly implemented.

6.3.4 Education –

In 1902 Curzon summoned the highest educational officers of the Government throughout the India and representatives of Universities at a round table conference at Shimla. This was followed up by the appointment of a commission under the presidency of Sir Thomas Raleigh in 1902 to enquire into the condition and prospects of universities in India and to recommend proposals for improving their conditions and working along with their constitution.

As a result of the report of the recommendation of the commission, the Indian Universities Act was passed in 1904. The main changes proposed were as under:

- i) The universities were desired to make provision for the promotion of study and research, to appoint university professors and lecturers, set up university laboratories and libraries and undertake direct instruction to the students.
- ii) The act laid down that the number of Fellows of a university shall not be less than fifty nor more than a hundred and a fellow should normally hold office for a period of six years instead for life.
- iii) Most of the fellows of the university were to be nominated by the government.
- iv) The government control over the university was further increased by vesting powers to the veto the regulations passed by the senate of the university.
- v) The act increased university control over private colleges by laying down stricter conditions of affiliations and periodical inspection.
- vi) The governor-General in council was empowered to define the territorial limits of the University or decide the affiliation of colleges to universities.

6.3.5 Local self Government

In the name of efficiency Curzon sought to undo the noble work done by Lord Ripon in the field of local self government. The Calcutta corporation act reduced the strength of elected members, thereby giving the British element a definite majority both on the corporation and on its various committees. In fact the corporation was reduced to the position of “an Anglo-Indian house”. The Indian member’s resented the change and 28 members resigned in protest

6.3.6 Partition of Bengal

The government made an announcement to divide Bengal in December 1903. The official decisions to divide Bengal were:-

- (i) The Bengal was the most populous province with 78 million.
- (ii) The Bengal was the richest province.
- (iii) The Bengal was the largest province in term of area.

But the main reason was that, the Bengal was a strong hub of national Movement and British wanted to break that unity. They made division on the basis of religion.

During this period, the leadership was provided by moderates' leader like S.N.Banerjee, K.K.Mitra and Prithwishandra Roy. The methods adopted were petitions, memoranda, and propagandas through newspapers such as Hitabadi, Sanjivini and Bengali. Their main aim to exert sufficient pressure on the Government, to prevent the unjust partition of Bengal from being implemented.

The Bengal was finally divided on Oct 6th, 1905 by **Lord Curzon**, ignoring the all efforts of moderates' leaders. Soon the leadership was acquired by extremist leadership of the congress like B.C.Pal, B.G.Tilak, Lala Lajpat Rai, Aurobindo Ghosh etc. thus **Swadeshi & boycott** movement was started against partition of Bengal.

The main characteristics of Swadeshi & Boycott were as under:-

- (i) People fasted, bathed in the Ganga and walked barefoot in processions singing Bande Matram.
- (ii) People tied rakhis on each other's hands as the symbol of unity of two halves of Bengal.
- (iii) Foreign goods were boycotted full-fledged which included boycott and burning of foreign cloth, boycott of foreign made salt or sugar etc.
- (iv) During the movement Rs.50, 000 were raised for the movement.
- (v) During the movement Rabindra Nath Tagore gave the concept of '**ATAMSHAKTI**' or '**SELF RELIENCE**'.
- (vi) For the very first time there were the participation of Women & the students on large scale. The students had left the schools & colleges.
- (vii) In order to promote the National Education, **Bengal National College** was set up with Aurobindo Ghosh as it's Principal.
- (viii) On 15th August 1906, the National Council of Education was also set up.
- (ix) During the movement, the Swadeshi textiles mills, soap & match factories, tanneries, banks, insurance companies, shops etc were also set up.

- (x) Tagore wrote a song ‘Amar Sonar Bangla’ during the movement which later on becomes the national song of Bangladesh.

6.3.7 Army reforms—from the very beginning of British Rule in India, Army was performing double task of protection from external dangers as well as helped in maintain internal law and order. Russian activities and the completion of Tashkent Railway alarmed the Government of India and worried them about the north-west defenses. The main features of army reforms were:

- (i) The reforms were undertaken by the supervision of Lord Kitchener, commander-in-chief of Curzon.
- (ii) The Indian army commands were divided into two parts i.e. Northern Command with H.Q at Murree and Southern command with H.Q at Poona
- (iii) In each division there were Brigades and two native Battalion.
- (iv) A training collage for officers was established at Quetta

6.3.8 Ancient Monuments Act: It was passed in 1904 to repair, restore and protect the historical monuments in the country. A sum of 50,000 pounds was sanctioned for carrying the repair of historical monuments in India.

6.4 Summary

Lord Curzon was one of the most efficient viceroys of India. His conception of viceroy was that of a benevolent autocrat. His attitude was most reactionary and repressive in respect of educated classes in India. He fettered the press by the official secret act, placed higher education under official control, took away the self government in city administration and made everything dependent upon the pleasures of the officials.

6.5 Glossary

- Vernacular press act—passed by Lytton in 1878 made compulsory for natives presses not to publish anything against the Government.
- 1st Afghan war—from 1839-42, English forces defeated Afghan Forces but suffered great loses.

- Forward policy—adopted by Lord Lytton in Afghanistan which was politically ambitious and imperialistic in nature.

6.6 Self Assessment questions

- Write a short note on University Act 1904
- What were reforms taken by Lord Curzon to improve the conditions of Police?
- Discuss the features of swadeshi and boycott movements.

6.7 Suggested Readings

- Frazer, Lovat : Curzon In India, 2 volumes
- Releigh , Sir T : Lord Curzon
- Ronaldshay, Lord : Life of Lord Curzon, Vol II

6.8 References.

- Gopal, S : British Policy in India
- Grover, B.L : Curzian policies and Great Nationalist Debate
- Grover, B.L : A Documentary Study of British Policy Towards Indian Nationalism

6.9 Model Test paper

- Q1. Discuss the partition of Bengal.
- Q2. Highlight the role of Curzon in the rise of revolutionary movements in India
- Q3. Write a note on University act of 1904

B. A. III Semester

Unit : II

Course No. : 301

Lesson : 7

**ACT OF 1909- CAUSES, SALIENT FEATURES AND
GENERAL APPRAISAL**

- 7.1 Introduction**
- 7.2 Objectives**
- 7.3 Causes of Indian council Act of 1909**
- 7.4 Salient Features of 1909 Act.**
- 7.5 General Appraisal of 1909 Act**
- 7.8 Summary**
- 7.9 Glossary**
- 7.10 Self assessment questions**
- 7.11 Suggested Reading**
- 7.12 References**
- 7.13 Model Test Paper**

7.1 Introduction – The Indian council act of 1909, popularly known as Morley-Minto reforms has great significance in the constitutional history of India. Mr. Morley was then the secretary of the state and Lord Minto was the viceroy of India

7.2 Objectives

After going through this lesson, you will be able:-

- a. To understand the background or causes of the Act of 1909.
- b. To understand the features of Act of 1909.
- c. To explain the significance of appraisal of Act of 1909

7.3 Causes -

The Indian council Act of 1909, popularly known as ‘Morley Minto Reforms’ has its own importance in the constitutional history of India. Mr. Morley was then Secretary of State and Lord Minto was the Governor- General of India at that time. Many factors were responsible for the Act of 1909. The prominent causes were

1. **Dissatisfaction with the Act of 1892**—the act of 1892 did not fulfill the aspirations of Indian. The constitution and the functions of the legislative council disappointed the Indians. To a large extent, the rules framed by the central and the provincial Government had limited the rights given to the members of the councils. The council was no better than the debating societies. The members of the council could not ask any questions on the financial policy of the government. The president of the council had the right to disallow any question without assigning any reason. Moreover the act deliberately attempted to tally with the elective idea and the ‘the principle of election’ was not conceded to them in a clear form. The increase of non-official element in the council was also very meager. The Indian national congress was greatly agitated over the reforms and the members of the congress clamored for more reforms in the council. The attitude of the authorities towards the demand of the nationalists was not encouraging. The indifferent and evasive attitude of the British Governments, greatly enhanced the discontent and it ultimately resulted into political agitation of great magnitude.
2. **Uncommon sufferings of the Indians**—only after four years of the passing of the Council Act of 1892, India had to face many sufferings. Plague broke out in the country, and it was followed by the famine. The famine was followed by bubonic 4Plague in the Bombay Presidency. According to the official figures, 1,730000 people died of epidemic in the year 1898. The measures adopted by the Government were vigorous but the way in which they were implemented, was not appealing to the masses. Riots broke out at many places. On 23rd June, 1897, Mr.

Rand, the unpopular Plague Commissioner was shot dead. In this way, there was a great dissatisfaction against the Government amongst the Indian people.

3. **Unpopular measures of Lord Curzon**— The viceroyalty of Lord **Curzon** marked an important stage in the development of political unrest in our country. The time period was full of commissions, ommision and missions. Curzon in order to effect they development and efficiency in administration crushed the Indian people. His impervious nature, bureaucratic attitude and autocratic temperament were the main causes of the dissatisfaction amongst Indian. There were a stormy opposition to his measure, Calcutta Corporation Act of 1899, by which size of the corporation was considerably decreased. The University Act of 1904 also led a good deal of controversy. It was regarded as an attempt to check the growth of higher education for political reasons. Last but the not least **Partition of Bengal** in 1905 exposed the British policy of “Divide and rule”.
4. **Victory of Japan over Russia**— Victory of Abyssinia over Italy in 1896, and of Japan over Russia in 1905, clearly exposed the myth of European invincibility. The national uplift of Egypt, Persia and Turkey influenced the minds of Indians. All these development really uplift the spirit of nationalism among Indians.
5. **Humiliation of Indian abroad**— Indian in South Africa, Fizi and Canada were meted with the most humiliating treatment. Imposition of three pound **Toll Tax** on Indian Laborers in Natal, if they overstayed and prohibitions on Indian in Transvaal to have lands in their own names, added fuel to the fire. In 1888, the Indians of Orange River colony were expelled and were subjected to much intolerable discrimination. The whole atmosphere of India was filled with the opposition to the British Government.
6. **Deterioration in economic conditions**— The economic condition of the country further deteriorated in the beginning of 20th century. With the raising of land revenue and irrigation rates, the farmers had to suffer a lot. The growing poverty of India was not an opinion, it was a fact. There was no progress in the field of agriculture. The educated class of the country was disgusted with the government policy. Middle class was the main sufferer. The Government of India did not attach any importance to the difficulties of Indians. With the more import of British goods in

India, the Industries of India failed miserably. The leaders of the country criticized the Government economic policy but it was all in vain.

7. **Freedom of press and platform**— Press and platforms played an important role in the development of the national movement. Dailies like Kesari, Maratha, Yugantar etc. played an important role in building national consciousness. The fiery speeches of Bal Gangadhar Tilak, Lala Lajpat Rai and Bipan Chandra Pal, denouncing to British government were widely circulated by these dailies and weeklies. Thus the natives became conscious of the injustices done by the Britishers and cried for the responsible government.
8. **The propaganda of Extremists**— The repressive policy of the Government and the frustration among the Indians against the British imperialism gave birth to Extremists group in the Congress. The trio of BAL, Lal, and Pal did a wonderful job of awakening the Indian masses. **Bal Gangadhar Tilak**, who is called the father of Indian civil commotion by his patriotic song and speeches, inculcated the spirit of patriotism in the Indian masses. He inaugurated few religious functions such as Ganapati festival in 1893 and Shivaji Festival in 1895. B. C. Pal intensified the agitation in Bengal. Lala Lajpat Rai, the Lion of Punjab and his colleague Ajit Singh awakened the masses of Punjab. The year 1907 and 1908 opened and closed with the deportations of Lala Lajpat Rai, Ajit Singh, Tilak and several others public figures. Thus the violent crusade launched by the extremist against the British Imperialism compelled the Government to introduce substantial reforms.
9. **The revolutionary movement**—The Extremist preached that the constitutional method could never improve the lot of the Indians. The use of force was essential for the liberation of the country. With their propaganda, new era of revolutionary activities ensued in the country. In 1907, Mr. Rand was shot dead. These revolutionaries were prosecuted and many of them were sentenced to death. But all these activities made the Government nervous and the Government seriously thought about the situation and introduced some reforms in the administration.
10. **The expectations of the Congress**— The Indian National Congress held its session in Banaras in 1905 under the presidentship of Gopal Krishan Gokhale. Gokhale who was a moderate, but he also criticized the partition of Bengal. He

emphasized the Swadeshi movement but with limited goals.

- 11. The rise and growth of Muslim communalism**— Britishers not only tried to divide the Congress into groups, but they also tried their best to widen the gulf between Hindu and Muslim. Lord Minto inspired a section of Muslims to meet him in a deputation and demand the right of separate electorates. A deputation under the leadership of Agha Khan met the Viceroy and put the demands of Muslims for separate representation. The Viceroy was himself anxious for separate representation of Muslims and so he readily accepted their demands.
- 12. The advent of Liberal and Radical Ministry in England**—in 1905, the Liberal Government was formed in England and Mr. Morley became the Secretary of State for India. This Government was very liberal towards Indians

7.4 SALIENT FEATURES -

The Act of 1909 has its own significance in the constitutional History of India. By this Act, Indians were not only associated with the work of Legislation but they were allowed to participate in the administration of the country. The Act increased the strength of the council and also enhanced their powers. Now Indians could be appointed to the Executive Councils. The Act by introducing a separate electorate, narrow franchise and indirect election heralded a new era in the Indian political life. The Main provision of the Act may be summarized as under:—

- 1. Expansion of the council**
 - a. General electorate**—the size of Central Legislative Council was greatly enlarged by the provisions of this Act. The numbers of additional members of the Governor-General's Legislative council was raised from 16 to 69. Out of these 69 members, 32 should be non-official. Out of 37 officials, 28 were to be nominated by the Gov-Gen and the remaining 9 were to be ex-officio members, consisting of the Gov-Gen 6 ordinary members of the council and 2 extraordinary members. The extraordinary members were the commander-in-chief and the Governor of the province, where the central legislative council was to meet. Out of 32 non-official members of the central legislature, 27 were elected non-official members and 5 nominated. There was definite way

of choosing these 27 elected non-official members

- b. Class electorate**—the number of class electorate were 12. Six were to be returned by special landlords's constituencies of the six provinces and six were to be returned by separate Muslim constituencies.
 - c. Special electorate**—2 members, one by Bengal and one by Bombay chambers of commerce
- 2. Expansion of the provincial council**— The size of the provincial Legislative council was also enlarged. The actual number of members for different Provincial Legislative Council was varies according to proportion to the population. Like the Central Legislative Council, members of the provincial Legislative Councils were classified into elected official and nominated non- official. The number of elected members was quite large. Madras, Bombay and Bengal Legislative Council had 21, 21 and 28 elected members respectively.

There were different electorates in different provinces, Municipalities and District Boards was regarded as General Electorates Constituencies. Class Electorates was from the Land Holders and Mohammedan Constituencies. Special Electorates were Corporations, Universities etc.

The Lieutenant Governor was empowered to nominate two experts to the Provincial Legislatures.

- 3. Enlargement in the powers and functions of the legislative councils**—By the Act of 1909, the powers of the Legislative Council both Central and Provincial were enlarged. Now the council were empowered to discuss any matter, ask questions and supplementary questions. The council had also the right of discussing and moving the resolutions on the financial statement and budget but they were not given the power of voting.

There could be no discussion in the council, on certain heads of Revenue and Expenditure. The council could not discuss military, political and provincial affairs. Revenue included stamps, customs, assessed taxes, courts and Expenditure included assignments and compensations, interest on debt, ecclesiastical expenditure and State Railways.

The council had the right to move resolutions, discuss vote on the matters of public interests, but the president was empowered to disallow any resolution or part of it without assigning any reason.

- 4. Restricted and discriminatory franchise**— The franchise introduced by the Act was not wide and uniform but it was narrow and discriminatory. For the landholder's constituencies, only those land holders were entitled to vote, which had a certain specified income or certain Land Revenue Payment or certain honorary officers or high titles. This franchise and land holders constituencies also varied from province to province. For the Mohammedan electorates, the qualification varied from province to province and in Central and provincial Councils. In short we can say that qualifications were not same everywhere.

The qualification for the voters varied from with Muslims and non- Muslims. Those Mohammedans who paid Income Tax on an Income of Rs. 3000 were allowed to vote while Parsis, Christians and Hindus were deprived of voting even if they paid the income Tax on Rs. 3000. Similarly different education standard were put forward as eligibility for voting.

- 5. The appointment of Indian on the Executive councils**— In the Act there was provisions for the appointment of an Indian to the Governor- General's council and the Council of Governors. Majority of the Council did not accept this proposal but the king permitted it when the whole British Cabinet supported it. Lord Sinha was appointed in the Governor-General's Council as the first Indian Law Member.
- 6. Separate Electorate for the Muslims, Landholders, members of the Chambers of commerce etc.** — The most unfortunate feature of the Morley-Minto reforms of 1909 was the introduction of Separate Electorate for the Muslims in India. Muslims were given the special treatment for the loyalty to British Government. It was nothing but a political gain.
- 7. Changes made in qualifications**— By the regulations, the Act also provided the strict qualifications for the candidates seeking elections both to the Central and Provincial Legislatures. In the Presidencies and in Punjab, Bengal and Bombay, eligibility for the membership of the provincial Councils was only for the members of the municipalities and District Boards.

For the U.P. there were no such restrictions. The candidates seeking election to provincial Legislatures was required to have certain qualifications.

Following persons were not eligible to contest the election :-

- a. Non- British subjects
- b. Officials
- c. Females
- d. Persons adjudged to be of unsound mind.
- e. Person under 25 years of the age.
- f. Certified bankrupts.
- g. Persons dismissed from the Government services

The Government had the power to debar any person from seeking the election. The candidates willing to contest the election from the class Constituencies were required to have certain other qualifications.

The principle of indirect election was adopted for the first time under the provisions of this Act.

8. Repudiation of Parliamentary government— The Act did not introduce a real parliamentary form of Government in India. In fact, Lord Morley was against it. He openly declared in the House of Lords in the year 1908, “If I were attempting to set up Parliamentary system in India, or if it could be said that this chapter of reforms led directly or necessary up to the establishment of a parliamentary system in India ...would have nothing to do with it...it is no ambition of mine at all events to have a share in beginning the operation in India...”

7.5 General appraisal— The reforms of 1909 gave the people, “the shadow rather than substance.” The reforms have rightly been described as “mere moonshine”. The reforms were were only to deceive Indians. They were not benefitted by these reforms in any way. Britishers put a picture that they had given the right to Indians to take part in the administration, but the practically the position was different.

The following were evaluation of Act of 1909 —

- 1. The reforms of 1909 were much below the expectation of the Indians—**
The Indian demanded for the responsible government. The reforms were described as “the shallow rather than substance”. The reforms aimed at associating Indians with the task of legislation and administration but it was nothing more than a sort of “constitutional autocracy”.
- 2. The Reforms led to a lot of confusion—** The Indians were not given responsibility and so they were only in the Legislatures to criticize the Government.
- 3. The system of election was defective—** The number of voters was very small. There was no direct contact between the members and their constituencies. The representation of the people of the country was not free. Citizen used to elect the representations in the Municipal council or Local Board had the right to elect the members of Imperial Council. In the joint report of 1918, it has been written, “ There is absolutely no connection between the support of primary voter and the man who sits as his representative in the legislative Councils, and the vote of support of Primary voter has elect upon the proceedings of the Legislative Councils. In such circumstances there can be no responsibility upon and no political education for the people who normally exercised a vote. The work of calling into existence an electorate capable of bearing the weight of responsible government is still be done”
- 4. The procedure of separate electorate for Muslims was defective—** It attempted to drive a wedge between the two Indian major communities. The reforms created a distinction between different clauses of the community and made the fusion of their interests impossible. This evil not only ended here. In 1919, Sikhs were given separate Electorate. The Act of 1935 gave separate representation to Indian Christians, Europeans, Anglo-Indians and Harijans. In this way this Act became the foundation of division of Indians. According to Mahatma Gandhi, “The Morley- Minto reforms have been our undoing. Had it not been for separate Electorate then established, we should have settled our differences by now”
- 5. Failed to satisfy the aspirations of the people—** On the whole, the Morley-Minto reforms were a great improvement upon the Act of 1892. Nevertheless,

they failed to satisfy the aspirations of the people.

- a. Council was not truly representative of the people as a whole. Narrow franchise and indirect elections failed to instill in the members a sense of responsibility to the people.
 - b. The council had no real power in the field of legislation and finance. They were debating bodies which aired certain criticism.
 - c. Neither the subordination of the provincial Governments to the Government of India nor that of the latter to the Secretary of State was relaxed.
 - d. Finally, the Act had no answer to the demand for responsible government.
- 6. A blow to the national unity**—The Morley- Minto reforms divided the people of India into watertight compartments. Jawahar Lal Nehru has also written, “A political barrier was created round them (the Muslims) isolating them from the rest of India and reversing the Unifying and amalgamating process, which had been going for centuries...this barrier was a small one at first for the electorates were very limited, but with every extension of the franchise it grew and affected the whole structure of political and social life..”
- 7. Perpetuated division by creeds and classes**—According to the report on Indian constitutional reform: “It (the system of communal electorates) was opposed to the teachings of history. It perpetuated division of creeds and classes which meant the creation of political camps organized against each other and taught them to think as partisans and not citizens. It stereotyped existing relations was a very serious hindrance to the development of the self- Government.
- 8. Full of mischievousness**—The reforms of 1909 was full of mischievousness. The vital fact of 1909 reforms was that it leaves the whole responsibility for government on one set of men while rapidly transferring power to another set of men. It operates to render electorates less fit for responsible government instead of more so. It creates a situation eminently calculated to separate the executive and legislature with each other and therefore it through the British Government and the Indian community at large into a posture of mutual antagonism. The elected

members, untendered by any prospect having to conduct the government themselves, had everything to gain by harassing the government, and preventing it from passing which it knows to be vital.

9. **Communal disharmony**— Political changes known as Morley-Minto reforms were brought in as a stop of Moderates. Legislative council established under it was not intended to bring Parliamentary Government as Viceroy Minto himself hastened to emphasize. Though they were merely consultative, special care was taken to see that class was set against class, community against community each to cancel out the effect of other. Zamindars and commercial classes were given disproportionate representation at the expense of the politically minded classes, substituting those who cannot criticize for those who can, even going to the extent of creating special interest before such interests were organized or articulate.
10. **Legislatures were not independent law making bodies**—The Act made no theoretical change on the executive side, though the legislature's right of criticism was increased. The changes in the legislatures were cautious and tentative.
11. **Failed in their objectives**—The reforms of 1909 failed in their object if that was check the propaganda for self-government, and were clearly unlikely to satisfy the Extremists demand. Invariably the control of the Central Government over policy was reinforced by reminding the local Governments that their official must not adopt in the Legislatures, Central or Provincial, any attitude critical of the decisions of the Indian Government.
12. **Incomplete and defective**—The reforms were incomplete in many respects and defective, but the complain was against Regulations which were faulty and in some aspect defeated the objective of the Act. According to Surendra Nath Banerjee, “ The Rules and Regulations framed for the implementation of the Reforms have practically wrecked the Reforms Scheme”
13. **Anti-democratic communal representation** — According to Pt. Jawahar Lal Nehru, “The essence of these Morley-Minto Reforms lay in conceding what it once was evacuated of all meaning. Thus the elective principle of democracy was adopted yet at the same time anti-democratic communal representation was added.

The official majority was done away with; but the elected members remained in a majority. The membership was considerably enlarged; but an emphatic disclaimer was issued simultaneously that the new council in no way meant the introduction of a parliamentary system. The council of India and even the Viceroy's Executive Council were opened to some very few select Indians: but the liberal aspect of admitting Indians, to the arena of Government could in no way disguise the fact that real power remained safely in British hands.

7.6 Summary — No doubt, the Morley- Minto reforms were full of defects but it should not be forgotten that the Act of 1909 marks as an important stage in formation of Communal institution in our country.

7.7 Glossary

- Lord Curzon —one of the most efficient Viceroy of India from 1899 to 1905, responsible for Partition of Bengal, Police reforms, University Act of 1904 etc
- Partition of Bengal—done by Curzon on October 16, 1905 which resulted in Swadeshi and Boycott Movement
- Toll tax—it is a tax on transportation or tax or fee paid for some liberty or privilege

7.8 Self assessment questions

1. Discuss the causes of 1909 Act
2. Discuss the various provision of Morley- Minto reforms
3. Analyze the impact of the 1909 act.

7.9 Suggested Readings –

- Spear, Percival : The oxford History of India
- Sharma , S.R : The constitution of India
- Strachey, John : India , its administration
- Grover, B.L : The modern Indian History

7.10 References

- Keith ,A.B : Constitutional History of India
- Banerejee , A.C : Indian Constitutional Documents
- Chandra,Bipan : Indians struggle for Independence
- Grover , B.L : The moden Indian History

7.11 Model test paper

- Q1. How the Indian Council act of 1909 is a watershed in the constitutional history of India.
- Q2. Discuss the provisions of Morley- Minto Reforms of 1909.
- Q3. How the Morley – Minto reforms of 1909 communalized the Indian politics?
- Q4. Write a short note on “communal electorates”

**ACT OF 1919- CAUSES, SALIENT FEATURES
AND GENERAL APPRAISAL**

- 8.1 Introduction**
- 8.2 Objectives**
- 8.3 Causes of the Act of 1919.**
- 8.4 Salient Features of the Act of 1919.**
- 8.5 General Appraisal of the Act of 1919.**
- 8.6 Defects of the Act of 1919 .**
- 8.7 Summary**
- 8.8 Self assessment questions**
- 8.9 Suggested Reading**
- 8.10 References**
- 8.11 Model Test Paper**

8.1 Introduction—The Montague-Chelmsford Reforms came only a decade after the Morley–Minto Reforms with a constitutional scheme of much greater importance. They caused the break in the old bureaucratic rule and made a beginning in representative government.

8.2 Objectives

After going through this lesson, you will be able:-

- a. To understand the background or causes of the Act of 1919.
- b. To understand the features of Act of 1919
- c. To explain the significance of appraisal of Act of 1919

8.3 Causes—there were various reason responsible for the Government of Indian Act of 1919. The prominent causes were—

- a. **Disillusionment with the reforms of 1909**—Morley –Minto reforms could not satisfy the aspirations of the Indians. The Montford report summed up the futility of these reforms in the following words—

“The morley –minto constitution ceased in the brief stage of 10 years time to satisfy the political hunger of India. The new institutions began with good auspices and on both sides, there was a desire to work them in conciliatory fashion. But some of antecedent conditions of success were lacking. There was no general advance in the local Body; no real setting free of provincial fianaces; and inspite of some progress no pride spread in admission of Indians in greater number into the public Service”

- b. **Policy of repression**— The British policy of placating the Moderates and crushing Extremists was the main cause of frustration amongst Indians. Due to the repression, the movement of Extremist gained momentum. The Indian Press Act of 1910 and Criminal law Act of 1930 were enacted inspite of the opposition of non-official members in the Legislative Councils. The members of the Council had passed these Acts but the people of India were agitated. It was, therefore, Governments twin policy of repression and reform.

The policy of repression temporarily weakened the strength of the Nationalist forces, but later on, the repression policy added fuel to the fire. In Bengal the repression was at its peak and so the popular movement went underground. Bal Gangadhar Tilak was imprisoned in Mandalay and Arvindo Ghosh was in voluntary exile and abandoned active political life for the attainment of spiritual meditation. The moderates and Muslims were busy in solving their own problems and so for

the time being, the political life in India was silent. Soon after, the events in Britain and other countries revived the political activity in India.

- c. **Change in the policy of Muslim League**—The Morley- Minto reform of 1909 created a great change in India. The Hindus and Muslims came at cross. The Muslim League welcomed the communal electorates and showed faith in Anglo-Muslim friendship. But only after two years policy changed. The partition of Bengal was annulled in 1911 excited the muslims of the country. They thought that it was great favour to Hindus and so they lost faith in Britishers.

The happenings in other countries also made the Anglo-Muslim relations more bitter. The British attitude towards Turkey in the Turko-Indian wae (1911), the agreement between Russia and England regarding Persia, and the Balkan wars of October 1912, injured the the sentiments of the Muslims, and aroused fears that independent Islamic powers were in danger.

- d. **The first World War**— The first world war also compelled the Britishers to make certain reforms. In the First World War Indians gave whole hearted support to the Britishers. The recognition of the right of India for self determination and self government was therefore necessary as a suitable reward for the services, in the war.
- e. **The re-union of congress**—The congress organization became most popular with the re-union of the **Moderates and Extremist**. Since 1907, Moderates were dominating the congress organization and extremist were not allowed to come into organization. With the release of the Tilak from the jail, the hope of compromise became quite clear and with the efforts of Annie Besant, the two wings of the congress were again united in the **Lucknow Session of 1916**. Naturally, with the united efforts of both the group the government was compelled to think for the reforms.
- f. **The Home Rule Movement**—The **Home Rule movement** of Tilak and Annie Besant also helped a lot in compelling the government to pass the Government of India Act of 1919.
- g. **Mesopotamia commission Report**—The report of Mesopotamian Commission 1917 was published at the same time when the political agitation in India was at its

peak. The commission was to decide existing system of Government. Mr. Montague an Ex-under Secretary for State for India described the government of India as “too wooden, too iron and antediluvian to subserve its purpose in modern times”. He also recommended for the substantial reforms.

- h. Announcement of Montague August 20, 1917**—With the resignation of Mr. Chamberlain, the government of Britain thought once again about its old policies. Mr. Montague, the new Secretary for the State of India, suggested for the constitutional reforms. He was greatly honored in India and was considered her best friend. On August 20, he declared the two new principles of his policy, viz. “The increasing association of Indians in every branch of administration and the gradual development of self-governing institutions with a view to progressive realization of responsible government in India as an integral part of the British Empire. They have decided that substantial steps should be taken in this direction as soon as possible.” He also said he would be visiting India very shortly to consult the Indian Government, and the Indian people.
- i. Montford scheme**— In November 1917, Mr. Montague came to India. He consulted the top ranking leaders of the congress and Muslim league, along with Lord Chelmsford. After this consultation he again consulted Viceroy and a small committee of 5 persons—Sir Willaiaam Duke, Earl of Donoughmore, Bhopendra Nath Basu and Charles Roberts was appointed. He published his reports which are known as Montford Scheme.

8.4 Main provisions— The government of India Act, 1919 aimed at the implementation of Montague Declaration. It introduced many changes in the sphere of provincial administration. The changes introduced by the Act were as follows:—

- 1. Changes in the central Government of India**—The govt. of India must remain responsible to Parliament and saving such responsibility, its authority in essential matters remain indisputable, pending experiences of the effect of changes now to be introduced in the provinces. In the meantime, the Indian Legislative council must be enlarged and more representatives.
- 2. Changes envisaged in the Executive Council of Viceroy by the Act of**

1919— Montague report wanted to retain the authority of the centre till the formation of responsible government. The following changes were made:

- The maximum limit for the members in the council was removed
- The law member could be the pleader of the Indian high court
- Out of the members of Gov-Gen council there were to be Indian with minimum 10 years of experiences under the crown.
- These members were to be remain in powers for 5 years.

3. Changes in the central Legislature— By this Act, the central legislature was remodelled . the following significant changes were introduced:

- Central executive responsible to centre
- Bicameral legislature system
- The election of the council of the states was to be direct but the franchise for the council of the state was extremely narrow and restricted.
- An experienced British Parliamentarian was appointed as the president of the council by the Governor- General of the council.
- Anglo-Indian , indian-christains, Depressed classes, Associated Chambers of commerce and labour Interest in the assembly represented by seat each.

4. The powers and functions of central Legislature—the powers of the central Legislation were considerably enlarged by the Act of 1919. Now the more powers were given to central legislature:

- The central legislature were given power to make laws on persons, places, and all subjects employed in His Majesty's defense service.
- It had power to repeal or amend the laws for the time being enforced in British India.
- The legislation was empowered to legislate upon certain provincial subjects like irrigation, factory, and labour legislation
- The legislation was made more effective means of criticizing and checking the

government to do so such an act, which might be against Indian feeling

- Every Bill passed by the central legislation was placed before Governor-General for his assent; he could withhold the bill on the ground of safety or tranquility of British India.
- Governor-General could promulgate ordinances for the peace and good government of British India.

5. The Provincial legislature—The statue of UP, Punjab, Bihar, Orissa, CP, Assam was raised from that of Lt. Governor to Governor's province provided with an executive council for each. According to this act, the following were the main features of this Act:

- The strength of the actual legislative council in various provinces was fixed.
- Official strength of the council could not more 20 percent, elected members not less than 70 percent and rest 10 % would be nominated by the governor.
- The Governor had the power to fill up the remaining seats. He had also the power to nominate any person of political experience or position no matter he might have failed to be elected.
- With the enforcement of this Act the system of indirect election was ended.

6. The Home Government- The following were the main changes in the home government :-

- Relaxation of the control of secretary of State.
- Changes in the Indian council.
- High commissioner for India

7. The other feature of the Act of 1919—the following were other salient features of the Government of India Act, 1919:-

- **System of representation**—The system of representation was the basic principle of the act of 1919. This system was to secured either by nomination or by the election. The principle of communal representation was also adopted.

- **The Indian states**—— In the chamber of Princes represented
- **The civil services of India**—— special provision were made in the Act to regularize the position of civil services in India. All the existing Rules regarding the services were regarded as valid but the alterations could be made in future. The secretary of state in council was given power to appoint a Public service commission. The numbers of members of the commission should not be more than 5 and they had to hold office for three to five years. The functions of the Public service commission were to be prescribed by the Secretary of state.
- **The statutory Commission** —— There was also a provision for the establishment of the commission to enquire into the working of the system of the Government, the growth of education; and the development of representation institutions in British India. The commission so appointed after the expiry of the 10 years period submits on responsible Government in India.

8.5 Significance or Appraisal

- Introduction of Dyarchy**——the introduction of dyarchy affected a radical change in the conception of the provincial Government. It was first time when a large number of people get the right to vote
- Indianisation of the services**——the presence of Indian Ministers as a heads of various departments increased the pace of Indianization in the services. Now the Indians could be easily absorbed in the secret services. The Indian ministers could effect much needed reforms and eradicate evils, which the Britishers reluctant to do so religious grounds.
- Powers vested to central legislation**-The work of central Legislation were also very significant. It was true to say that executive was not responsible to the Central legislature, but the legislature was vested with large powers of influencing the Executive. The Legislature often used its powers for the benefit of the people
- Inducement towards self Government**——Reforms proved to be solid and substantial achievement. It was an essential milestone on the path of self government. Without them Indian political progress have been belated, erratic and probably revolutionary. They gave by and large, enough inducement to the people for the future incentives.

8.6 Defects of the Act—Although it was a good attempt towards the goal of providing a responsible government, yet the Act failed to satisfy the growing aspirations of the Indians. The main defects of 1919 Act were:-

- i. Central government was not a representative body.
- ii. The Act provided a very limited franchise
- iii. No clear cut division of subjects.
- iv. Dyarchy was not welcomed by the Indians.
- v. The ideas of communal electorate was further extended.

8.7 Summary

The Indian council act of 1919 is most important in the constitutional history of India. Although it introduced direct election, bicameral legislation system but at the same time it came with the idea of “Dyarchy system” in the provinces which could not satisfy the growing aspirations of the Indians.

8.8 Glossary

- Lucknow session — held in 1916, known for reunion of the congress and both congress and muslim league came on one political platform.
- Annie Besant—originally from England, member of Theosophical society, started Home Rule movement also first women president of congress
- Moderate congress—first phase of the congress from 1885 to 1905 dominated by moderates politics
- Extremist congress— second phase of the congress from 1905 to 1915.

8.9 Self assessment questions

- i. Examine critically the Montague- Chelmsford reform of 1919
- ii. Discuss the causes of 1919 Act.
- iii. How the reforms of 1919 were able to satisfy the aspirations of the Indians?
- iv. What was the impact of Montague- chelmsford reforms 1919?

8.10 Suggested Readings –

- Spear, Percival : The oxford History of India
- Sharma, S.R : The constitution of India
- Strachey, John : India , its administration
- Grover, B.L : The moden Indian History

8.11 References

- Keith, A.B : Constitutional History of India
- Banerejee, A.C : Indian Constitutional Documents
- Chandra, Bipan : Indians struggle for Independence
- Grover, B.L : The modern Indian History

8.12 Model test paper

- Q1. How the Indian Council act of 1919 is a watershed in the constitutional history of India.
- Q2. Discuss the provisions of Montague- Chelmsford reform 1919.
- Q3. How the 1919 reforms further accelerated feeling of dissatisfaction against the British Empire?
- Q4. Write a short note on “dyarchy”

B. A. III Semester

Unit : III

Course No. : 301

Lesson : 9

RISE OF INDIAN NATIONALISM : FACTORS AND CIRCUMSTANCES

STRUCTURE

- 9.1 Introduction**
- 9.2 Objectives**
- 9.3 The Revolt of 1857**
- 9.4 Political and Administrative unity**
- 9.5 Establishment of means of transport and communication**
- 9.6 Spread of the English language**
- 9.7 Impact of International events**
- 9.8 Revival of the Glory of Ancient India**
- 9.9 Influence of Social and Religious Reforms**
- 9.10 Indian literature**
- 9.11 Emergence of a Modern Press**
- 9.12 Neo-Social classes**
- 9.13 Racial Arrogance of the British**
- 9.14 The Administration of Lord Lytton, Lord Ripon and Lord Curzon**
- 9.15 Bad economic condition**
- 9.16 The founding of All-India Congress in 1885**

9.17 Let us sum up

9.18 Glossary

9.19 Self assessment questions

9.20 Suggested Reading

9.1 Introduction

The post 1858 years saw the rapid growth of a new India. India began awakening to a new political consciousness that was national in character. It is accepted at all hands that it was due to the impact of the British policy of unification of the country and spread of the western liberal ideas about liberty and Nationalism which influenced the thinking of the people and promoted the spirit of Nationalism. The national feeling was almost absent in India. The only unity which existed in India was the religious unity. The political outlook on national level was perhaps for the first time held by the Marathas. But the British provided all those avenues through which the approach of Nation building could be undertaken. They had linked the nation with transport and communication system. They also provided one language i.e. English which could be understood by the educated people all over India. It were the British who provided a single administration for whole of the country. It maybe noted here that though India was divided into British India and native states of India, but the British Resident who was de facto ruler in the Native States was the member of the Civil Service which controlled the whole country. All these factors contributed towards the development of national feeling.

9.2 Objectives

After studying this lesson, you will be able to :

1. Explain that the nature of British rule in India created national unity amongst Indians;
2. Recognize that western education introduced Indians to ideas of nationalism, liberty and democracy;
3. Identify nationalist newspapers that contributed to the growth of political consciousness amongst Indians;

4. Examine the impact of socio-religious reformers upon Indian nationalism;
5. Recognize that British discriminatory policies and radical arrogance caused deep resentment amongst Indians;
6. Identify Lord Lytton's repressive measures as immediate factors that stimulated Indian nationalism.

Following factors contributed to the emergence of political consciousness or concept of Indian nationalism.

9.3 The Revolt of 1857

The Revolt of 1857, of course, was neither a national revolt nor a war of independence, yet it was regarded by many as such. The same way, the leaders of the revolt were regarded as national heroes. It inspired the Indians to fight the British. Besides, the Indians did not forget the atrocities perpetrated by the British on Indians during the period of the revolt. The hatred towards the British in Indians alike provided a cementing force in them.

9.4 Political and Administrative unity

Imperial Britain conquered the whole of India and created a large state than that of the Mauryas or the great Mughals. While Indian provinces were under "direct" British Rule, Indian states were under "Indirect" British Rule. The British Sword imposed political unity in India. Common subjection, common institutions, common laws began to shape India in a common mould. Despite imperial efforts to sow communal, regional and linguistic dissensions, Pan Indianism grew. The establishment of political unity fostered the spirit of one mindedness.

9.5 Establishment of means of transport and communication

The British constructed railways, roads, canals, provided telegraph, wireless etc. and organized postal services all over India. Of course, all these facilities were developed primarily to safeguard the Imperial interests. Yet, the Indians were also benefited by them. Besides, the Indians of distant places could get the opportunity to come closer to one another under British regime which provided them not only a sense of unity but also the

facility to organize an all India movement. The Nationalist leaders could travel to different parts of India to propagate their ideas and spread the spirit of nationalism.

9.6 Spread of the English language

Many Indians and Christian missionaries had introduced English education even prior to its introduction by the Government. The Government introduced it in 1835. Its primary purpose was 'to create a class of people who by blood and colour would be Indians but by taste, ideas and mind would be Englishmen'. It succeeded only in the beginning as the English-educated Indians started imitating western dress, manners, etc blindly and forgot their own culture. But this was a temporary phase. Later on, the English-educated Indians were the group of people who became pioneers in the social, religious and political movements in India. Raja Ram Mohan Roy, Swami Vivekananda, Dadabhai Naoroji, Surendra Nath Banerjee, Feroz Shah Mehtra, Gopal Krishna Gokhale, etc. who led the social, religious and political movements in India were all English educated. The spread and popularity of the English language in all parts of India gave to the Educated Indians a common language a Lingua Franca - through the medium of which they could communicate with one another and transact their conferences and Congresses. In the absence of such a Lingua Franca it would have been very difficult for the Bengalis, the Punjabis, the Tamilians, the Maharastrians etc., to come on a common platform or organise a movement of an all-India character.

9.7 Impact of International events

Several events in foreign countries also helped in awakening National consciousness. Nineteenth century in Europe was the century of Nationalism and the educated Indians imbibed these ideas. A number of National states came into existence in South America on the ruins of the Spanish and Portuguese empires. In Europe the national liberation movements of Greece and Italy in General and of Ireland in particular deeply stirred the emotions of Indians. Educated Indians touring Europe were greatly impressed by these nationalist movements. We find Surendranath Banerji delivering lectures on Joseph Mazzini and the 'young Italy' movement organized by him. Lajpat Rai very often referred to the campaigns of Garibaldi and the activities of carbonaries in his speeches and writings. Thus European Nationalist movement did lend strength to the developing Nationalism in India.

9.8 Revival of the Glory of Ancient India

In the 19th century, the glory of India's past was revived. Western scholars like Max Muller, William Jones, Charles Wilkins etc., were pioneers in this field. They translated several ancient Sanskrit texts into English and attempted to find out the past history and culture of India. They established the fact that the ancient India culture surpassed every other culture and Indian philosophy has no match in the world. The Indian scholars were inspired by it. Then many among them like Rakhhal Das Banerjee, R.D. Bhandarkar, Har Prasad Shastri, etc., helping in reviving the past glory of India. Some of them, of course, in reviving the glory of Ancient India, overlooked the importance of Medieval age and indirectly encouraged Hindu revivalism. The mistake was committed by several Muslim scholars also while interpreting medieval history. They attempted to glorify Medieval India and thus, indirectly encouraged Muslim orthodoxy. However, many other scholars maintained a balance and helped in establishing the fact that India had once held a great stature both in political and cultural fields. That helped develop patriotism among the Indians which helped in national awakening

9.9 Influence of Social and Religious Reforms

In the 19th century educated-Indians began to examine afresh their religious beliefs and customs and their social practices in the light of new knowledge of western science and philosophy which they had acquired. The result was various religious and social reform movement in Hindu religion like the Brahmo Samaj, the Prathana Samaj, the Arya Samaj, the Ramakrishna Mission, the Theosophical Society. Similar movements reformed Muslim, Sikh and Parsi societies also.

In the religious sphere the reform movements combated religious superstition, attacked idolatry polytheism and hereditary priesthood. In the social sphere, these movements attacked the caste system, untouchability and other social and legal inequalities, these movements were progressive in character for they sought recognition of society on democratic lines and on the basis of ideas of individual equality, social equality, reason, enlightenment and liberalism.

Most of the religious societies had no political mission, all the same whosoever came under their influence rapidly developed a sense of self respect and spirit of patriotism.

Since many reform movements drew their inspiration from India's rich cultural heritage, these promoted pan-Indian feelings and spread of Nationalism.

9.10 Indian literature

The Indians expressed their national consciousness through their literary activities in different Indian languages. Bankim Chandra composed Vande Mataram and wrote the novel Anand Math which was based on the revolt of the Sanyasins Bharatendu Harish Chandra was not only the father of Modern Hindi language but was also a forefather of the Swadeshi movement. He wrote the drama, Bharat Durdasha which depicted the pitiable condition of India during the British rule. The writings of Chaudhary Badri Narayana, Pratap Narayana Misra, Balkrishna Bhatt, etc. also expressed national patriotism. Mohammad Hussain Azad and Altaf Hussain Hali wrote poems on love towards motherland in Urdu. Many other writers of Gujrati, Telugu, and Bengali did the same in their writings. The writings of these scholars helped in arousing National consciousness.

9.11 Emergence of a Modern Press

The emergence of the Modern press both English and Vernacular was another offshoot of British rule in India. It were the Europeans who set up printing presses in India and published Newspapers and other cheap literature. Gradually the Vernacular press came into existence and developed on the western pattern. They played a vital role in awakening national consciousness. They published all sorts of news including the news of rude behaviour, oppression, injustice, dishonour to women etc., done by the British towards the Indians. These news reached the villages where hardly a single individual was literate, who used to read it for others. All these helped in uniting the Indians emotionally against the British.

The Indian press has played a notable role in mobilizing public opinion, organizing political movements, fighting over public controversy and promoting nationalism. Newspapers like the Indian Mirror, the Bengalee, the Amrita Bazar Patrika, Bombay chronicle, the Hindu patriot, the Mahratta, Kesari, the Hindu, Indu Prakash, Kohinur etc. in English and different Indian languages exposed the excesses of British Indian administration apart from popularizing among the people the ideas of representative Government, liberty, democratic institutions, home rule and independence. It may be no exaggeration to state that the press became the mirror of Indian Nationalism and the primary medium of popular public education.

9.12 Neo-Social classes

Dr. A.R.Desai is of the opinion that 'neo social classes emerged in India during the British rule'. These neo-social classes like the middle class, the labour class, the capitalists, the traders, the petty shopkeepers in urban areas and zamindars, absentee landlords, money lenders in rural areas which emerged and lived under the auspices of the single national economy and state rule realized that they had certain common interests both as distinct classes and also as people of a subject class and, therefore, each of them became a party to national movement. Thus, emergence of neo-social classes and their common interests also helped in developing National consciousness.

9.13 Racial Arrogance of the British

The British always claimed their superiority over the Indians simply because they belonged to white race. They always exhibited arrogance in dealings with the Indians even prior to the Revolt of 1857. But, after the Revolt, the British became more abusive towards the Indians. Disrespect to Indians, beating of Indian servants, labourers and cultivators, disrespect to their women, etc., became common events. These happenings were given wide publicity by Indian Newspapers. That inflamed the feelings of the Indians against the British which helped in the growth of National consciousness.

9.14 The Administration of Lord Lytton, Lord Ripon and Lord Curzon

Various measures undertaken by the Government during the viceroyalty of Lord Lytton, Lord Ripon and Lord Curzon helped in awakening National Consciousness. During the Viceroyalty of Lord Lytton, the age limit for the I.C.S Exam was reduced from 21 to 19 which virtually debarred the Indians from entering the higher Civil services; The grand Delhi Durbar of 1877, when the country was in the severe grip of famine, solicited the remark from the Calcutta Journalist that 'Nero was fiddling while Rome was burning'. The Vernacular press Act was passed which curbed the liberty of the Indian press, import-tax on foreign cotton cloth was abolished which harmed the textile industry of India; the Arms Act was passed which prohibited the Indians from keeping arms without license; and the second Afghan war was fought which put additional burden on Indian finances. All these measures created widespread discontentment among the Indians.

During the viceroyalty of Lord Ripon arose the controversy concerning the Ilbert Bill. Ripon's Government sought to abolish "judicial disqualification based on race distinctions" and the Ilbert Bill sought to give Indian members of the covenanted civil service the same powers and rights as the Europeans colleagues enjoyed. The Bill proposed that the Indian judges would have the right to try Europeans as well. It was opposed by the Britishers in India. The Bill raised a storm of agitation among the members of the European community and they all stood united against the Bill. Ripon had to modify the bill which almost defeated the original purpose. The Ilbert Bill Controversy proved an eye-opener to the Indian intelligentsia. It became clear to them that justice and fair play could not be expected where the interests of the European community were involved. Further, it demonstrated to them the value of organized agitation.

Lord Curzon not only adopted certain unpleasant measures but hurt the sense of self-respect and emotions of the Indians by his haughty language. His measures like 'Calcutta University Act' and 'Calcutta Corporation Act' seriously bruised the feelings of the Indians. But above all, the partition of Bengal created a widespread stir among the Indians and they opposed it. The use of Swadeshi goods and boycott of foreign goods were adopted as measures to exhibit their resentment by Indians for the 1st time. Surendra Nath Banerjee toured all over India to gain support of the Indians in other provinces against the partition. It all helped in strengthening Indian Nationalism.

9.15 Bad economic condition

The one particular feature of the British rule in India was the economic exploitation of the Indian people of all classes. The British came to India as traders and always remained traders whose primary motive was always financial gain. India, therefore, lost its economic resources not only in the form of revenue, salary to the British officers, investments etc., but mostly because of unfavourable balance of trade which was primarily a creation of the British. The Industrial Revolution in Britain necessitated import of raw materials from foreign countries and an extensive market for its manufacturers overseas. India provided it with both. It resulted in the destruction of Indian handicrafts and cottage industries, heavy pressure on agriculture and evergrowing impoverishment of the people. The trade policy, particularly that of free trade created most unfavourable balance of trade. The industries could not grow on modern lines because of the antipathy of the foreign rulers. The educated Indians failed to get useful employment because the doors of all higher services were

closed to them. Thus, except certain classes with vested interests like the native rulers, landlords, village usurers, etc. people all over India suffered financially. The nation, as a whole, was reduced to mere subsistence level and with no hope of any relief in future. It was bound to react and it was one of the most important causes of Indian Nationalism.

9.16 The founding of All-India Congress in 1885

By the later part of the 19th century, national consciousness had been roused among the Indians and several associations were formed even prior to the founding of All-India National Congress. Yet, there was no all-India organization. The Indian National Congress was established in 1885 which prepared the platform for an organized national movement. From 1885 onwards, it helped not only in widening national consciousness but also in consolidating it which, finally, led to the movement for independence in India.

9.17 Let us sum up

Indian Nationalism grew partly as a result of colonial policies and partly as a reaction to colonial policies. The growth of Indian National Consciousness in the latter half of the 19th century was not to the liking of British colonial rulers. At first, British scholars and administrators denied the existence of any feeling of Nationality in India. In 1883 J.R. Seeley described India as mere 'geographical expression' with no sense whatever of National unity. In 1884 John Strachey, an ex Indian civil servant, told the alumni of Cambridge University, "This is the first and most essential thing to learn about India - that there is not, and never was an India". He further forecast that India will never become a united Nation.

With the closing decade of the 19th century and first decade of the 20th century demonstrated that Nationalism had grown and was gaining strength, British scholars struck a new posture. R. Coupland wrote "Indian nationalism was the child of the British Raj". Coupland forgot to mention that Indian nationalism was an unwanted child of the Raj whom it refused to feed at birth and sought to struggle it subsequently. It would be more correct to say that Indian Nationalism was partly the product of a world-wide upsurge of the concepts of Nationalism and right of self-determination initiated by the French Revolution, partly the result of Indian Renaissance, partly the offshoot of modernization

initiated by to British in India and partly developed as a strong reaction to British imperial policies in India.

There was a rapid growth of Indian nationalism in the second half of the 19th century. The most important cause for this was the nature of British rule in India. There was a clash of British and Indian interests. The Indian realized that the British had not accepted India as their homeland and were in fact draining it of its wealth. Such realization greatly angered Indians and they began to think of ways to get rid of foreign rule in India.

The introduction of modern transport and communication, English education and other such modern concepts helped in the growth of a new India. Although the British had introduced these measures for the extension and protection of their empire, yet these factors brought Indians together. Nationalists leaders could move to different parts faster, educated Indians could analyse the evils of British rule and the press could spread political education amongst Indians. Indian language papers and literature also contributed greatly to the growth of nationalist ideas.

The socio-religious reform movements of the 19th century gave Indians the necessary sanction to oppose the British. The foreigners had been treating Indian culture contemptuously and had destroyed the self-confidence of the Indians. The Brahmo Samaj, Arya Samaj, Rama Krishna Mission and other movements emphasized the wealth of Indian heritage. Sayyid Ahmad Khan spoke of the bond between Hindus and Muslims. These movements advocated a free India.

Nationalism was further spread due to the non-fulfillment of British promises to Indians. Educated Indians found themselves without jobs. Racial discrimination led to frustration. Infact, there was discrimination at all levels. The age for the ICS examination, the Arms Act, the Vernacular Press Act, the Ilbert Bill were all measures to show the superiority of the British over the Indians.

In 1876, Surendranath Banerjea formed the Indian Association to protest against anti-Indian British policies. In 1885, the Indian National Congress was formed.

9.18 Glossary

1. Vernacular Press - Regional Language Paper
2. Lingua Franca - A shared language of communication used by people whose main languages are different.

9.19 Self assessment questions

Q1. Examine the factors responsible for the growth of the Indian National Movement.

Ans.
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Q2. What factors were responsible for the growth of political consciousness of India?

Ans.
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Q3. What were the various factors which contributed to the National awakening in India in the 19th century?

Ans.
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Q4. Enumerate the causes of the National movement in India.

Ans.
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9.20 Suggested Reading

References

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**THE INDIAN NATIONAL MOVEMENT : BIRTH OF INDIAN
NATIONAL CONGRESS, MODERATES AND EXTREMISTS.**

STRUCTURE

- 10.1 Introduction**
- 10.2 Objectives**
- 10.3 Formation of the Indian National Congress**
- 10.4 Role of A.O. Hume in the Formation of Indian National Congress**
- 10.5 Safety Value Theory - Myth or Reality**
- 10.6 Early Stage - The Moderate Era**
- 10.7 Demands of Moderates**
- 10.8 Methods**
- 10.9 Achievements**
- 10.10 Rise of Extremism in Congress**
- 10.11 Factors responsible for the growth of Extremist Nationalism**
- 10.12 Role of Congress in National Struggle**
- 10.13 Extremist - Moderate Conflict in Congress**
- 10.14 Conclusion**
- 10.15 Glossary**

10.16 Self Assessment Questions

10.17 Fill in the blanks

10.18 Define the following Terms

10.19 Lesson End Exercise, Examination oriented questions

10.20 Suggested Readings

10.21 References

10.1 INTRODUCTION:-

This chapter focuses on the circumstances which were responsible for the formation of Indian National Congress and why a retired English officer took the responsibility of forming an organization for Indians moreover why at that time Indian nationalist leaders took this opportunity. Another question is how moderates acquired more and more concessions from the Britishers but with time their methods and techniques became useless and a new group called extremists gained more power in congress.

10.2 OBJECTIVES:-

After going through this lesson, you will be able to understand the factors which finally led to the origin of Indian national congress.

- Reason behind the formation of Indian National congress
- Role of A.O. Hume in the formation of Indian National Congress.
- Theories prevalent regarding the formation of Indian National Congress.
- Main objectives behind the formation of Indian National Congress.
- To know the role of moderates in Indian National Congress and Indian freedom movement.
- Emergence of the extremists group and their role in India.

10.3 FORMATION OF THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS:-

EARLY HISTORY:-

The formation of congress in 1885 was not a sudden event or a historical accident

but was culmination of a process of political awakening. With formation of the Indian National Congress organized nationalist movement began in India. No doubt, British rule itself created an infrastructure for the emergence of nationalism as an all India phenomenon through unified system of administration, spread of railways, posts and telegraph. Introduction of English education and the press but nationalism was basically the creation of English educated middle class which became the aware of the benefits of British rule. They were familiar with the liberal ideas of the west. They were also conscious and proud of their own rich cultural heritage. In the 19th century beginning with the Raja Ram Mohan Roy there was an intellectual awakening in which the English educated Indians played pivotal roles. The consciousness of the middle class found expression through the press and public associations. A number of associations were found before the formation of Indian National Congress.

In a sense nationalism was a response posed by the British rule. The educated Indians found it difficult to put up with the Englishmen's arrogance and denial of equality to Indians. Those Indians who studied in England found a contrast between an Englishmen's respect for liberty and equality in their own country and denial of these in India. The racial arrogance of Englishmen was particularly exhibited during the anti-Ilbert organization. It was found in the number of cases that Englishmen could do unlawful things and yet get themselves acquitted because of the fact that they belonged to the ruling race. Sometimes ticketless Englishmen could oust Indian from first class compartments in the trains, even though the latter possessed due tickets. The educated Indians could also perceive how British rule economically ruining India. They saw how the British rulers collected heavy taxes from poor Indian peasants and drained Indian wealth through trade and payment of the home charges, and national debt. In 1867 Dadabhai Naroji put forward the famous drain theory. In 1896, in its annual session held at Calcutta the Indian National Congress adopted the drain theory by proclaiming that the famines in the country and poverty of the people had been brought by the drain of wealth of the country.

10.4 ROLE OF A.O. HUME IN THE FORMATION OF INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

In the early eighties of the nineteenth century Allen Octavian Hume, a Scottish ex-civilian and a retired English ICS officer started efforts to form an association for uniting

the public workers of India on a common platform. Earlier it was believed that Hume was acting as an agent of the British government and that he created the body like The Indian National Congress to provide a safe outlet for the educated Indians discontent. But it has now been found that Hume's view for the formation of all India body were not taken seriously by English officials and the viceroy, Lord Dufferin Indian National Congress. He worked as its first general secretary. Hume's efforts evoked good response from Indian politicians. In response to his circular seventy two delegates from all part of India assembled at Gokaldas Tejjal Sanskrit College, Bombay on 28th December 1885. That is how the Indian National Congress Began. Thus, the Indian National Congress was founded and its first session was held at Bombay in 1885. W.C. Benerjee was its president it was attended by 72 delegates. The numbers of delegates went on increasing year after year. In 1889 the annual Congress session was attended by 2000 delegates.

10.5 SAFETY VALVE THEORY - MYTH OR REALITY.

It has been said that Hume's main purpose in encouraging the foundation of the congress was to provide 'safety valve' or safe outlet to the growing discontent among the educated Indians. He wanted to prevent the union of the discontented educated Indians with the discontented peasantry and it was Lord Dufferin, the Viceroy, under whose direction guidance and advice this organization was created to provide a safe, mild peaceful and constitutional outlet for the rising discontent among the masses, which was inevitably leading towards a popular and violent revolution, but in reality by 1885 the formation of an all Indian political organization had become an objective necessity and the necessity was being recognized by the nationalist all over the country. Many recent scholars have furnished detailed information on the many moves that were made in that direction from 1817. These moves acquired a greater sense of urgency especially from 1883 and there was intense political activity. The Indian Mirror of Calcutta was carrying on a continuous campaign on the question. The India association had already in December 1883 organized an All India National Conference and given a call for another one in Dec. 1885. Surendranath Benerjee, who was involved in the All India national Conference, could not for that reason attend the founding session of the national Congress in 1885.

Thus, it can be said, that the foundation of the congress was the natural culmination of the political Work of the previous years. By 1885, a stage had been reached in the political

Developments of India when certain basic task or objective had to be laid down and struggled for result , moderate nationalist leaders like Dadabhai and Gokhale became disillusioned with the British attitude.

10.6 EARLY STAGE –THE MODERATE ERA

The leading figure during the first phase of national congress were A.O.Hume ,W.C Banerjee ,Surinder Nath Banerjee, Dadabhai Naroji, Feroz Shah Mehta ,Gopal Krishan Gokhle,Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, Badruddin tyabji, Justice Ranade and G.Subramanaya Ayer. In the early stage the Congress was loyalistic in its tone toward the British government. The early Congressmen professed to believe in the British government sense of justice and fair play for about thirty five years after its formation, the congress remained an association of the middle class intelligentsia, drawn from the higher caste. And profession like law, teaching, journalism, and government service .In the early stage, the Congress didn't function like a regular political party. Every year it met for three days in some city in the month of December and passed some resolutions. The early congressmen placed their demand before the British authorities through the constitutional methods; through methods of prayer and petitions. In India they send petitions to the authorities for removal of their grievances and sought to educate the public about their problems through the press and through public meetings. Some Congress leaders like Dadabhai Naroji and Gopal Krishan Gokhale carried on propaganda in Britain about India's needs. They believe in the Englishmen's sense of justice.

10.7 DEMANDS OF MODERATES :-

1. The early congress placed certain demands before the British authorities, such as they demanded admission of elected members in legislative councils, introduction of trial by jury.
2. Separation of the executive and the judiciary.
3. Popular control over the budgets and Indianisation of Government Services.
4. The congress demanded the simultaneous holding of I.C.S examination in England and India and the raising of maximum age limit for appearing at this examination so that more Indians could actually get the opportunity of joining the Indian Civil Services.

5. The early congress leaders also expressed concern over the increasing costs of civil and military administration.
6. The heavy burden of taxation on the peasants and the grinding poverty of the masses. They demanded inquiry into poverty and famine. They suggested reduction of military expenditure and home charges (the amount which the British Government was drawing from the Indian exchequer for maintaining an establishment for Indians in England).
7. Reduction of land revenue, implementation of irrigation projects, opening of agricultural banks and spread of primary education. The early congress leaders properly exposed the economic exploitation of Indians by the British. They held the government responsible for the drain of wealth, ruin of indigenous industries and India's industrial backwardness. In the Imperial Legislative council, Moderate congress leaders like Feroze Shah Mehta and Gopal Krishan Gokhale criticized the government for its failure to improve the lot of the poverty stricken masses and demanded concrete steps should be taken to save Indian industries.
8. The early congressmen or moderates also took up the cause of plantation labourers in India who were paid low wages by the European planters.
9. Moderates took up the cause of thousand of Indian coolies who had been taken as indentured labourers to South Africa, Malaya, Mauritius, West Indies and British Guiana and subjected to maltreatment and racial discrimination.
10. Moderates demanded freedom of speech and expression and freedom to form associations.
11. The first two decades of the Indian national congress are known as the period of moderate nationalism because during this period the congress party had certain limited objectives and its sought to achieve them through petitions and prayers and without confrontation with the authorities.

To satisfy the congress however the British Government offered some limited concessions in the Indian councils act 1892 and 1909.

THE INDIAN COUNCIL ACT 1892

The Indian council act 1861 made provision for appointment of nominated non-official members to the legislative councils but it made no provision for election of non-official members. Those non-official members who were nominated under this act belonged to the upper strata of society like zamindars, princes and retired government officials. This act failed to satisfy the political aspirations of English-educated middle class whose number and influence were steadily increasing in the second half of the 19th century. To satisfy this class and give them training in self-government in 1882 lord Ripon introduced local self govt on elective basis. To starts with the INC drew its members from the English educated middle classes and represented their political aspirations. The congress wanted elected representatives of the people to be members of the legislative councils and popular control to be exercised over the budget. In the first session, the INC passed the following resolution:

This congress considers the reforms and expansion of the supreme and existing local legislative councils by the admission of a considerable proportion of elected members (and the creation of similar councils for the north western provinces and awadh and also for the Punjab) essential; and holds that all budgets should be referred to these councils for consideration, the members being moreover empowered to interpellate the executive in regard to all branches of administration.

Though apparently lord Dufferin belittled the congress as an organization of microscopic minority, practically he could not do so. He send proposals to the authorities in England for liberalization of legislative councils. In his council, he appointed a committee to draw up a plan for expansion of provincial legislative councils. The report of this committee, with the viceroy's opinion, was sent to the home authorities. In 1890 the conservative government in England introduced a bill for reform of legislative councils which became law in 1892.

(a) PROVISIONS OF ACT.

The act provided that the central legislative council must have not less than ten and not more than sixteen additional member two-fifth of member of the central legislative council were to be non-official while some non-official member were to be nominated, other were to be elected. As regards the provisional legislative councils, the act provided

that there must be less than eight and not more than twenty (in case of Bombay, Madras and Bengal) not more than fifteen (in case of North- western provinces and Oudh) additional members.

In case of central legislative council, five non-official members were to be elected (one each by four provincial legislatures of Madras, Bombay and North western provinces and one by the Associated Chamber of commerce).

In case of provincial legislatures the municipalities, district boards, universities and in chamber of commerce were to elect some members. The elected members were official treated as nominated. The electing bodies sent the election results in the form of recommendation to the governor general in case of the central legislative council and to the governor in case of provincial legislative council. Then the governor-General or governor nominated to the council the candidate favored by the majority. Some changes were also introduced with regards to the functioning of the legislative councils. Members were allowed to express their views on the annual financial statement presented by the government though the financial statement or budget was an unalterable document and members views might influence only the future budget. The members in central and provincial legislative councils were empowered to put question within certain limits on matter of public interest by giving six days notice. Supplementary questions were not allowed.

The Indian council Act 1892 gave very limited concession to the members of the legislative council. They still had no power to propose any resolution or divide the council in respect of any financial question or in answer to any question asked under the provision of the Act. The system of election introduced by the act was indirect and round about. The Act was criticized in the congress session of 1892 and 1893. In spite of limitation however, the Act gave scope to the moderates Indians like G.K. Ghokle, Ashutosh mukherji, Rash behari Ghosh, W.C. Bonnerj, Feroz shah Mehta and Surender Nath Bannerje to enter the legislative council. These members ably represented the Indians viewpoint in the councils by their debating skills and eloquence.

10.8 METHODS:-

The moderates had the total faith in the British sense of justice and fair play. They were loyal to the British. They looked to England for inspiration and guidance. The moderates

used petitions, resolutions, meetings, leaflets, pamphlets, memorandum and delegation to present their demand. They believed in patience and conciliations rather than confrontations adopting orderly progress and constitutional means to realize their aims to educate people to arouse political consciousness and to create powerful public opinion in favour of their democracy and they organized annual session processions and meetings were held speeches were delivered and discussions were held on various economic, social and political questions. Following these discussions resolutions were adopted. They also adopted petitions and memorandum before submitting them to the government so as to gradually bring the awakening. Authorities around to their view point to influence the British government and enlighten the British public and their leaders they send deputations of leading Indian leaders to England. In 1886, Governor general Lord Dufferin gave a tea garden party to the congress members in Calcutta. The government officials had attended congress sessions with the increase in congress demands the government become unfriendly. It encouraged the Muslims to stay away from the congress. The only demand of the congress granted by the British was the expansion of legislative councils by the Indian councils act.

10.9 ACHIEVEMENTS :-

1. The moderates were able to create a wide nationalism among the people.
2. They popularized the idea of democracy civil liberties and representative's institutions.
3. They explained how the Britishers were exploiting Indians. Particularly Dadabhai Naroji in his book "poverty and Un-British rule in India". Wrote his drain theory he showed how India's wealth was going away to England in form of (a) salaries (b) savings (c) pensions (d) payment to British troops in India (d) profits of the British company.
4. Some moderates like Ranade and Gokhale favoured social reforms. They protested against the child marriage and widowhood.
5. The moderates had succeeded in getting the expansion of the legislative councils by the Indian council's act of 1892.

10.10 RISE OF EXTREMISM IN CONGRESS

Towards the end of the nineteenth century a section of nationalist became critical of the way the congress party had been functioning in the hand of the moderate leaders. They strove to change the object method and character of the congress organization. Instead of asking for mere administrative reform through prayers and petition they wanted to attain Swaraj or self government. Instead of appealing to the English rulers sense of justice for the amelioration and liberation of the country, they advocated self-dependence self- help and opposition to the alien rule as the means of country's salvation. These nationalists called extremists, criticized the moderates for looking upon British rule as a providential dispensation instead of cursing it as the joke of slavery.

Shri Aurobindo Ghosh , the Bengali extremist leader wrote , mumukshutva or the longing for emancipation is the most important precondition of political emancipation. ... This longing implies as its own preconditions, one ,the existence of bondage , and two, a keen sense of it and the most disheartening feature in the present leadership is an almost utter absence of this sense. Our leaders are all conscious of their own and their country's present political bondage

10.11 FACTORS RESPONSIBLE FOR THE GROWTH OF EXTREMIST NATIONALISM.

By the end of the nineteenth century there were a number of factors which resulted in clear disillusionment among certain section with the reactionary and exploitative nature of British rule.

a) POLICIES OF BRITISHERS:-

Moderate leaders like Dadabhai Naoroji and Gopal Krishan Gokhale who had professed faith in the British sense of justice were getting disgusted over the policies and attitudes of the British rulers. Gokhale himself said: 'the bureaucracy is growing frankly selfish and openly hostile to national aspirations.

b) SENSE OF AWAKENING AMONG MASSES:-

The propoganda by Swami Dayananda and the samajists Swami Vivekananda and the theosophist aroused a sense of self- respect and a spirit of self- confidence

among the people these religious leaders tried to reform the society and at the same time sought to make the people conscious of their cultural heritage. The extremist leaders like Balgangadhar Tilak and Aurobindo Ghosh derived their inspiration from the Vedas, Upanishads and Gita. Thinking of themselves as inheritors of a great tradition the extremists criticized moderates for their alleged servility to British masters

(c) MYTH OF EUROPEAN SUPERIORITY ENDED:-

Some international events such as the defeat of Italy by the backward African country Ethiopia in 1896 and the defeat of Russia by Japan in 1905 fed the spirit of militant nationalism in India. The myth of European superiority appeared to have been shattered by these events.

(d) REACTION TO THE INHUMANE TREATMENT OF INDIANS IN EUROPEAN COLONIES.

The inhuman treatment of Indians in British colonies particularly South Africa, wounded the feelings of self-respecting Indians and roused resentment against the British rulers. Reacting against such treatment of Indians by the British in other colonies, Ajit Singh the Punjab extremist, remarked: "the condition of Indians in foreign countries is a disgrace to humanity". In South Africa, an Indian raja cannot walk on the public highway but a European dog can follow its master wherever it pleases.

(e) GROWTH OF RESENTMENT AMONG MASSES:-

The problem of unemployment among the English educated classes where the number was steadily rising and the famines during 1896-1900 which caused nine million deaths discredited the British Government and led to the growth of resentment. In Bombay presidency ruthless measures which were adopted by the plague commissioner Mr. Rand to prevent the spread of the plague epidemic caused deep resentment among the people. The forcible separation of plague victims by the police from their kith and kin caused discontent. The people's feelings were expressed by Balgangadhar Tilak in his journals, Kesari and Maharatta.

(f) ATTITUDE OF LORD CURZON TOWARDS INDIANS:-

The arrogant and adamant attitude of lord Curzon towards Indians and some of his unpopular measures led to an outburst of militancy he asserted the superiority of western civilization and English race, underestimated Indians and refused to recognize the forces of nationalism .In 1899 he reduced the number of Indian members in the Calcutta corporation and gave it a European majority. In 1904 the Indian official secrets act was passed, which curbed the freedom of the press. The Indian universities act 1904, which increased official control over the universities and laid down strict conditions of affiliation for educational institutions was another unpopular measure of lord Curzon.

(g) PARTITION OF BENGAL

On 20 July 1905, Lord Curzon's government ordered the bifurcation of the province of Bengal into two provinces namely, eastern Bengal and Assam and the rest of Bengal Bihar and Orissa. The government sought to justify the bifurcation on the plea that the province of Bengal was large enough to be administered efficiently by one provincial government .Actually there seem to have been some mischievous imperialistic motives behind the partition of Bengal. Bengali Hindus by virtue of their elevated cultural and political consciousness were taking a lead in the socio-religious reform movements as well as the nationalist movement. By partitioning Bengal, the British government. Wanted to create a division among Bengali Hindus and Muslim. The province of eastern Bengal and Assam was to have a Muslim majority and the remaining part was to have a Hindu majority. Lord Curzon sought to win the support of Muslim through the scheme of partition he toured in eastern Bengal and told the Muslim gathering in the new provinces of eastern Bengal and Assam that Muslims would have better opportunities for employment.

10.12 ROLE OF CONGRESS IN NATIONAL STRUGGLE

In the initial phase of anti- partition agitation leadership was provided by moderate leaders like Surrendra Nath Banerjea and Krishna Kumar Mitra. The people protested against partition in a constitutional manner through the press platform and petitions .but as

the government remained adamant, the leadership of agitation passed into the hands of extremist leaders like Aurobindo Ghosh, Bipin Chander Pal and Ashwini Kumar Dutta. The extremists formulated four techniques for developing national self-reliance and carrying on agitation against British rule. These were. 1) Boycott 2) Swadeshi 3) National education 4) Passive resistance.

1. Boycott meant non-purchase of foreign goods so that Britain could not derive any profit from her trade with India. In a wider sense boycott meant the boycott of government schools and colleges, law courts and government institutions.
2. The Swadeshi programme was meant to receive and promote indigenous industries.
3. According to the programme of national education such educational institutions were set up which suited the milieu and needs of the Indian society.
4. The passive resistance programme was intended to paralyse the government machinery by non-cooperation.
5. On 7th Aug. 1905, a meeting held in the Calcutta town hall passed the boycott resolution. Thereafter the anti-partition activists dispersed in different parts of Bengal held meetings and called upon the people to boycott British goods. Particularly Manchester cloth and Liverpool salt.

The government implemented partition with effect from 16 Oct. 1905. The people of Bengal observed 16 Oct as a day of mourning and hartals. Second technique implemented by the Extremist was that of Swadeshi it was essentially a movement of urban intelligentsia. Students played a significant role in the movement in spite of repressive steps taken against them such as expulsion, fines and physical punishment. Urban women also took part in the movement. In the beginning there was communal harmony between Hindus and Muslims and some Muslims joined the movement against partition but later on there were communal riots between Hindus and Muslims.

Foreign cloths were publically burnt and picketing was carried on before shops dealing in foreign clothes and goods. Boycott of foreign goods was to a considerable extent successful in the beginning. To implement the swadeshi programme some indigenous industries such as handloom and silk weaving were revived and national banks and insurance

companies were set up . Acharya Profulla Chandra Ray the famous chemist of Bengal established the Bengal chemical factory.

In some area the leaders were successful in turning the people away from the law courts and settling there disputes through arbitration in the Barisal district of east Bengal a volunteer organization called Swadesh Bandhab Samiti settled 523 dispute through arbitration .

A national council of education was established in Aug 1906 to monitor and control the educational institutions opened according to the programme of national education. ' Bengal national college ' was opened in different parts of Bengal.

The spirit of Swadeshi movement manifested itself in many ways it led to the composition of patriotic songs by poets like Tagore and Mukunda Das. A number of volunteer organizations were formed for various constructive purposes such as physical and moral training, social and humanitarian services, organization of industries and settlement of disputes.

Shri Aurobindo Ghosh was the one who propagated a new technique of struggle for freedom called Passive Resistance .he asked the people to look upon the country not as a mass of earth but as the mother . He pointed out that it was their most sacred duty to liberate their mother i.e . India from the demon of alien rule. Without thinking whether they had the capacity to do so. He regarded freedom from foreign rule as the most urgent need of the people "Political freedom" said Aurobindo, "is the life breath of a nation". By passive resistance Aurobindo meant organized refusal to do anything, it also suggested guerilla warfare and revolutionary infiltration into the army.

10.13 EXTREMIST- MODERATE CONFLICT IN CONGRESS

The swadeshi movement in Bengal ultimately resulted in polarization of the congress party into the extremist and moderate groups. Both groups had denounced the partition of Bengal and wanted self government for India but the two differed in their methods and temperament while the moderate wanted to achieve self- government gradually through constitutional agitation , the extremist sought to achieve the goal by adopting confrontationist techniques like boycott and passive resistance which had emanated from the swadeshi movement in Bengal the differences between the two camps have been brought out by

Pattabhi Sittaramayya by drawing a comparison between Gokhale and Tilak in the following words:

“Gokhale’s plan was to improve the existing constitution; Tilak’s was to reconstruct it; Gokhale had necessarily to work with bureaucracy ;Tilak had necessarily to fight it; Gokhale stood for cooperation whenever possible and opposition whenever necessary. Tilak inclined towards the policy of obstruction Gokhale’s prime concern was with the administration and its improvement Tilak’s supreme consideration was the nation and its up building Gokhale looked to the classes and the intelligentsia, Tilak to the masses and the millions Gokhale’s objective was self- government for which the people had to fit themselves by answering to tests prescribed by the English; Tilak objective was Swaraj which is the birth right of every Indian and which we shall have without hindrance from the foreigner”.

In the twenty first session of the Indian national congress held in 1905 at Banaras under the presidency of the moderate leader Gopal Krishan Gokhale, they passed a resolution criticizing the partition of Bengal and approving the method of boycott as perhaps the only constitutional and effective means left to them (Bengali) for drawing the attention of the public . In this session two prominent extremist leaders Bal Gangadhar Tilak and Lala Lajpat Rai were present, when the open session passed a resolution welcoming the visit of the Prince of Wales to India, the extremist walked away. The extremist and moderate were heading towards a conflict for leadership of the congress . In the Calcutta session held in December 1906 the conflict for the presidency between moderate and extremist was averted by a unanimous decision to install Dadabhai Naoroji as president . he in his presidential address declared that “self government or swaraj like that of the united kingdom or colonies was the goal of the congress”. The Calcutta congress passed vague compromise resolutions in favour of swadeshi, boycott, national education and self government and the extremists and moderates differently interpreted self government and boycott. The moderates aimed at self government within the empire whereas the extremists were ready to accept self government with in the empire but ultimately aimed at self government outside the empire. The moderates approved the application of the method of boycott only for the sake of revoking the partition of Bengal but the extremists wanted to use boycott as a method of paralyzing the governmental machinery everywhere.

Before the next session of 1907, differences between the two groups sharpened. The moderates changed the venue of this coming session from Nagpur to Surat, as Nagpur was a stronghold of the extremist before the Congress met at Surat there was a rumor that four resolutions on Swadeshi boycott, national education and self government passed by the Calcutta congress would be dropped. The extremists were therefore in an aggrieved mood and wanted to have one of their leaders Lalajpat Rai or Balgangadhar Tilak elected as president of the congress at Surat. The moderates, however, were able to outwit the extremists by getting their candidate Rasbihari Ghosh a Calcutta lawyer elected to the presidency. At the time of the election of Ghosh, there were bitter protests from the extremists. On 27 December 1907 before the installation of Rash bihari Ghosh as president Tilak went to the dias to speak to the audience about nomination for presidency at that time, a Marathi moderate threw a shoe at Tilak but instead of hitting Tilak the shoe hit S.N. Banerjee and Feroze Shah Mehta. A physical tussle between the two groups then followed and the police had to intervene and clear the congress hall. The congress session was suspended sine die.

This incident created a divide in the congress the moderates next adopted a party constitution in the Allahabad convention (1908) that only those who accept constitutional methods were entitled to be the members of the congress and this made the split definitive.

10.14 CONCLUSION

Thus, it can be concluded that the birth of Indian National Congress was the most important political development in the country in 1885. The birth of congress crystallized for the first time the new political forces in India which till then had been localized and scattered. It created a sense of common brotherhood based on common aims and grievances among the people of the country. Hume created this organization to provide a safe outlet to the discontented feelings of the masses. In the initial phase moderates provided leadership to the country but when their methods became outdated extremists took the lead but the differences dividing the two wings could not be kept in check for long and the split between the two came at the Surat session of the Indian National Congress in December 1907.

10.15 GLOSSARY

1. **Nationalism:-** Nationalism is an ideology that holds that a nation is the fundamental unit for human social life.
2. **Moderates:-** Early congressmen were termed as moderates. They had total faith in the British sense of justice and fair play. They placed their demands before the British authorities through constitutional methods, and through the method of prayer and petitions.
3. **Extremist:-** Extremist leaders resorted to immoderate and uncompromising methods in carrying on agitation against the British rule. They implemented the techniques of boycott, Swadeshi, national education and passive resistance.
4. **Home charges:-** The amount which the British government was drawing from the Indian ex-chequer for maintaining an establishment for India in England.
5. **Drain of wealth theory:-** This concept was given by Dadabhai Naoroji in his book "Poverty and Un-British rule in India". According to this theory, a large amount of wealth is being drained from India in the form of salaries and presents to the British officers.

10.16 SELF ASSESSMENT QUESTIONS

Q.1. Define the term moderates.

Q.2. Define the term extremists.

Q.3. Give the names of moderate leaders.

Q.4. Give the names of extremist leaders.

Q.5. Who was the first president of Indian National Congress ?

Q.6. What is meant by Surat split ?

10.17 FILL IN THE BLANKS

- a) Period between _____ and _____ is known as moderate phase.
- b) Period between _____ and _____ is known as extremist phase.
- c) _____ was the founder of congress.
- d) The partition of Bengal was implemented on _____.
- e) Lord Curzon Bifurcated Province of Bengal into two provinces _____ and _____.

10.18 DEFINE THE FOLLOWING TERMS:

- a) Swadeshi
- b) Boycott
- c) National Education
- d) Passive Resistance

10.19 LESSON END EXERCISE, EXAMINATION ORIENTED QUESTIONS

Q1. Discuss the role of A.O.Hume in the formation of Indian National Congress .

Q2. How British rule created condition which led to the rise of nationalism?

Q3. What are the factors responsible for the rise of extremism in Indian national movement?

Q4. Discuss the achievements of moderates.

10.20 SUGGESTED READINGS

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B. A. III Semester

Unit : III

Course No. : 301

Lesson : 11

NON- COOPERATION MOVEMENT

STRUCTURE

- 11.1 Introduction**
- 11.2 Objectives**
- 11.3 Circumstances Leading to the Non-Co-operation Movement**
- 11.4 Nagpur Session - December 1920**
- 11.5 Various aspects of Non-Co-operation**
- 11.6 The Course of Non-Co-operation Movement**
- 11.7 Impact**
- 11.8 Conclusion**
- 11.9 Glossary**
- 11.10 Self Assessment Questions**
- 11.11 Define the following terms**
- 11.12 Lesson end exercise**
- 11.13 Suggested Readings**
- 11.14 References**

11.1 INTRODUCTION :

At the beginning of the First World War (1914-18) the British government had promised constitutional reforms in India but instead of fulfilling their promise they curbed even civil rights of people . Thus, the wrong of 1919 were responsible for an all India mass movement during 1920 to 1922. The rowlatt act, the Jallianwala Bagh Massacre, martial law in Punjab, the Hunter Commission report which was nothing more than an eye wash, the provision of diarchy introduced by the Government of India Act, 1919 and the Khilafat issue were enough reasons for the nationalists to start a movement and for the people to actively participate in it .but instead of fulfilling their promise they curbed even the civil right of the people.

11.2 OBJECTIVES :

After studying this lesson you should be able to understand : the circumstances which ultimately led to the beginning of the non- cooperation movement

- Role of Gandhiji in making the people believe in the techniques of non- violence and satyagraha.
- How British attitude was responsible for launching non-co operation movement.
- How participation of Muslims in the movement became a symbol of Hindu-Muslim unity.

11.3 CIRCUMSTANCES LEADING TO THE NON-COOPERATION MOVEMENT

A) FIRST WORLD WAR.

Indian politics took a revolutionary turn after the first world war for several reasons. The Montague-Chelmsford reforms had failed to satisfy the extremist elements who dominated the Congress . The common people, peasants and workers were in a discontented mood because of their sufferings during the war, caused by rise in prices of essential commodities like wheat and rice and government's imposition of taxes. About the peasants mood in Uttar Pradesh, Jawaharlal Nehru wrote in his autobiography: "the downtrodden kisan's began to gain a new confidence in himself and walked straighter with head up. His fear of the land lords agent' s and

the police lessened , and when there was an ejection from a holding , no other kisan would make an offer for that land.

There was an epidemic of strikes among the workers as their condition had become miserable because of rise in prices and refusal of employers to raise the wages. The muslims of India were in aggrieved mood over the treatment of Turkey, a defeated central power by Great Britain as the Sultan of Turkey was their khalifa or religious head.

National self-determination gave a tremendous boost to the nationalist movement in India as elsewhere in the world .The overthrow of the Czarist government in Russia and success of the Bolshevik Revolution roused a thrill of hope among the people and nationalist leaders in India .In such a state of affairs the government passed a repressive act known as Rowlat Act, (as Justice Rowlat was the chairman of the committee which prepared the bill)to curb the people's freedom .The Act provided for constitution of special courts for trial of persons without trial .Protesting against this act Mohammad Ali Jinnah, Mazhar- Ul -haq and Madan Mohan Malaviya resigned from the central legislative assembly .Throughout the country people raised strong protest against the Rowlat Act .At this point of time Mahatma Gandhi came to the fore front of the national politics to act as a spokesman of the people's resentment against this act.

(B) DISCRIMINATORY TREATMENT WITH INDIANS IN SOUTH AFRICA.

After completing his education in England Gandhiji practiced law for sometime in India. In 1893 he went to South Africa a British colony to continue his legal profession there. On arrival in south Africa Gandhiji found that the Indian labourers and merchants in that country were being subjected to in humane and discriminatory treatment by their ruling authorities. There were at that time thousand of Indians in South Africa. Most of these Indians had been taken by the British planters as indentured labourers. The Indians were forced to inhabit some areas which were insanitary and overcrowded. They could not go out after nine p.m. They had no franchise .The Indian's belonging to an ex-indentured labourers family, had to pay a poll tax. In 1907 the South Africa government passed the Asiatic Registration

Act. This act made it obligatory for every Indians to register his name and produce the registration certificate whenever required .Gandhi carried on a non-violent movement called Satyagrah in South Africa to get the unjust racist laws repealed After achieving success in his South African satyagrah Gandhi returned to India in 1915.

C) SATYAGRAH IN CHAMPARAN

In Champaran district of Bihar the European planters who were also zamindar forced the peasants to cultivate indigo in 3/20th parts of their land and supply it to them at rates fixed by the planters .Besides cultivating and delivering indigo on the planters terms the farmers had to pay some illegal dues to them. Gandhi went to inquire into the indigo peasants grievances. The district authorities ordered him to leave Champaran .As he violated the order he was summoned to court .In the meantime government of India intervened and the case was withdrawn. The government of Bihar and Orissa appointed a committee of inquiry for indigo peasants grievances. On the basis of this committee's recommendation an Agrarian Act was passed which abolished the practice of forced indigo cultivation.

D) AHMEDABAD TEXTILE MILL STRIKE- 1918

In 1918 Gandhiji organized a non violent strike of the textile mill workers at Ahmedabad. The workers were demanding the retention of plague bonus (85%of the wage) which had been introduced since August 1917 on the ground that prices of commodities had doubled during the First World War. The employers abolished this bonus as the plague epidemic had already ceased . Gandhi undertook a fast unto death on behalf of the workers. The workers had in the meantime reduced the demand to a thirty- five percent increase in their wage. Gandhiji broke his fast when the mill- owners agreed to refer the dispute with the workers to arbitration.

E) KHEDA SATYAGRAH 1919.

In the kheda district of Bombay Gandhiji organized the non- violent satyagrah of the peasants, demanding remission of land revenue on the ground of failure of crops. He and his lieutenants such as Vallabhbai Patel and Indulal Yagnik toured the villages and told the peasant to withhold the payment of revenue until

the granting of remission. The peasants had to suffer a lot because of this satyagrah because the government seized their cattle and household and attached their crops. Finally, the government decided to exempt the poor from the payment of revenue. As a result of these satyagrahs Mahatma Gandhi emerged as a leader of masses in the Indian political scene in 1919. Gandhiji organized a satyagrah sabha to carry on agitation against the notorious Rowlatt bill in February 1919. The Rowlatt Act passed on 2 March 1919. Thereafter, Gandhi gave a call to the people to observe hartal or strike against the act. In Delhi the hartal was observed on 30 March. The rest of the country observed hartal on 6 April. The hartal demonstrated the unity of the Indian people as Hindus and Muslims cooperated with each other in making it a grand success.

F) JALLIANWALA BAGH MASSACRE

Popular resentment against the government was most intense in the Punjab because of forcible recruitment of men into the army during the war and the passing of the Rowlatt Act in 1919. The angry Punjabis started attacking Englishmen. As the situation was grim the authorities deployed armed forces to keep the mob under control. Popular excitement was particularly intense in the cities of Lahore and Amritsar. General Dyer was posted in Amritsar to control the situation. Dyer prohibited all meetings and processions but in defiance of his order, on 13 April 1919, the day of Baisakhi festival (Hindu New Year's Day) a large number of people flocked to Amritsar. On that day a meeting was held in Jallianwala Bagh. General Dyer marched to the ground with the troops and without giving any warning ordered firing on the crowd which had gathered for the meeting. The firing continued for ten minutes the people could not escape, because the ground was surrounded by walls and the only passage to the ground was blocked by army men. Consequently many people were killed and many were wounded. No medical aid was provided to the wounded. According to the official estimate, 379 persons were killed and more than 1000 wounded as a result of the firing. The inquiry conducted by the Congress revealed that about 1200 had been killed and 3600 wounded. After the killing at Amritsar the government proclaimed martial law in the whole of Punjab. Hundreds of people were arrested arbitrarily. The massacre of Jallianwala Bagh wounded the feelings of the whole nation and prepared the

emotional ground for the subsequent non-cooperation movement.

G) KHILAFAT AGITATION

After the first world war the muslims started the khilafat movement against of the British government for preservation of the integrity of the Turkish empire and better treatment of the Sultan of Turkey . During the war the British government had promised the muslims of India that the territorial integrity of Turkey would be maintained and the two Ali brothers – Muhammed Ali and Shaukat Ali had been arrested for supporting Turkey’s entry into war in favour of Germany .After the war the muslims found that the Turkish empire was being dismembered so the muslim leaders ,Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, the Ali brothers, Hasrat Mohani and Hakim Ajmal khan formed the khilafat committee to carry on a movement in favour of Sultan of Turkey.

Mahatma Gandhi supported the khilafat cause and the khilafat committee, in its meeting held at Allahabad on 9 June 1920, accepted Gandhi’s programme of non violent non- cooperation against the British government. As a result Hindu-Muslim unity become a characteristic feature of the non- cooperation movement.

On 1st August 1920, the day on which the dead body of Bal Gangadhar Tilak was carried for funeral Gandhi began his non-cooperation campaign .He surrendered the Kaiser-i-Hind tittle which had been awarded to him by the British for his services during the war.

11.4. NAGPUR SESSION- DECEMBER 1920

Early in September 1920, a special session of the Indian National Congress held at Calcutta under the presidentship of Lala Lajpat Rai adopted a resolution to carry on the non- cooperation movement proposed by Mahatma Gandhi for the redressal of the Punjab and khalifat wrongs and attainment of swaraj or self government .

In December 1920, the annual session of the Indian National Congress held at Nagpur confirmed the non-cooperation resolution already passed at Calcutta .Some old stalwarts of the congress such as Bipin Chander Pal ,Annie Besant , M.A. Jinnah and G.S. khaparde did not approve the non- cooperation resolution and left the congress.

The Nagpur congress decided to achieve the goal of Swaraj or self government “by all the legitimate and peaceful means”. A new constitution was adopted in this session to make the congress a dynamic mass organization. Under the new constitution the party was to have a working committee of 15 members at the apex, provincial congress committees were to be formed on a linguistic basis and congress committees were to be organized in all the villages (any man or woman who was 21 yrs old or more and paid an annual membership fee of 4 annas could become a member of congress).

11.5 VARIOUS ASPECTS OF NON- COOPERATION

The programme of non-cooperation had negative as well as positive aspects. From the negative point of view non-cooperation meant withdrawal of cooperation from the government along non-violent lines and involved boycott of law courts, educational institutions run by the government, elections to the legislative bodies under the Government of India Act 1919, government offices as well as British goods and the renunciation of titles and honors conferred by the government. The motive behind withdrawal of non-cooperation was to paralyse the government machinery. On the positive side, there were such items of national reconstruction as a bid for communal harmony between Hindus and Muslims, spread of khaddar, removal of untouchability, development of indigenous industries, prohibition and establishment of national educational institutions. Through a programme of national reforms and regeneration Gandhi hoped to make India fit for Swaraj in the true sense of the term. As he attributed the colonial rule responsible for India's disunity and degeneration.

11.6 THE COURSE OF NON-COOPERATION MOVEMENT

An adequate understanding of the Non-Cooperation upsurge of 1921-22 requires an analysis at all three levels: the phases of the all India movement as sought to be determined by the Gandhian Congress leadership, the role of distinct social groups and classes, and most interesting and important of all, perhaps—the regional & local variations. The adoption of the Non-Cooperation Movement (initiated earlier by the Khilafat Conference) by the Congress gave it a new energy and, from January 1921, it began to register considerable success all over the country. Gandhiji, along with Ali brothers (who were the foremost Khilafat leaders), undertook a nation-wide tour during which he addressed hundreds of meetings and met a large number of political workers. In the first

month itself, thousands of students (90,000 according to one estimate) left school and colleges and joined more than 800 national schools and colleges that had sprung up all over the country. The educational boycott was particularly successful in Bengal, where the students in Calcutta triggered off a province-wide strike to force the managements of their institutions to disaffiliate themselves from the Movement. C.R. Das played a major role in promoting the movement and Subhas Bose became the principal of the National Congress in Calcutta. The Swadeshi spirit was revived with new vigour. This time as part of a nation-wide struggle. Punjab, too, responded to the educational boycott and was second only to Bengal, Lala Lajpat Rai playing a leading part here despite his initial reservations about this item of the programme. Other areas that were active were Bombay, U.P., Bihar, Orissa and Assam, Madras remained lukewarm.

The boycott of law courts by lawyers was not as successful as the educational boycott, but it was dramatic and spectacular. Many leading lawyers of the country, like C.R. Das, Motilal Nehru, M.R. Jayakar, Saifuddin Kitchlew, Vallabhbhai Patel, C. Rajagopalachari, T. Prakasam and Asaf Ali gave up lucrative practices, and their sacrifice became a source of inspiration for many. In numbers again Bengal led, followed by Andhra Pradesh, U.P., Karnataka and Punjab.

But, perhaps, the most successful item of the programme was the boycott of foreign cloth. Volunteers would go from house to house collecting clothes made of foreign cloth, and the entire community would collect light a bonfire of the goods. Prabhudas Ganhi, who accompanied Mahatma Gandhi on his nation-wide tour in the first part of 1921, recalls how at small way-side stations where their train would stop for a few minutes, Gandhiji would persuade the crowd, assembled to greet him, to at least discard their head dress on the spot, immediately, a pile of caps, dupattas, and turbans would form and as the train moved out they would see the flames leaping upwards. Picketing of shops selling foreign cloth was also a major form of the boycott. The value of imports of foreign cloth fell from Rs. 102 crore in 1920-21 to Rs. 57 crore in 1921-22. Another feature of the movement which acquired great popularity in many parts of the country, even though it was not part of the original plan, was the picketing of toddy shops. Government revenues showed considerable decline on this count and the Government was forced to actually carry on decline on this count and the Government was forced to actually carry on propaganda to bring home to the people the healthy effects of a good drink.

The Government of Bihar and Orrisa even compiled and circulated a list of all the great men in history (which included Moses, Alexander, Julius Caesar, Napoleon, Shakespeare, Gladstone, Tennyson and Bismarck) who enjoyed their liquor.

The AICC, at its session at Vijayawada in March 1921, directed that for the next three months Congressmen should concentrate on collection of funds, enrolment of members and distribution of charkhas. As a result, a vigorous membership drive was launched and though the target of one crore members was not achieved, Congress membership reached a figure roughly of 50 lakhs. The Tilak Swaraj Fund was oversubscribed, exceeding the target of rupees one crore. Charkhas were popularized on a wide scale and khadi became the uniform of the national movement. There was a complaint at a students meeting Gandhiji addressed in Madurai that khadi was too costly. Gandhiji retorted that the answer lay in wearing less clothes and, from that day, discarded his dhoti and Kurta in favour of a langot. For the rest of his life, he remained a 'half-naked fakir.'

In July 1921, a new challenge was thrown to the Government. Mohammed Ali, at the All India Khilafat Conference held at Karachi on 8 July, declared that it was 'religiously unlawful for the Muslims to continue in the British Army' and asked that this be conveyed to every Muslim in the Army. As a result, Mohammed Ali, along with other leaders, was immediately arrested. In protest, the speech was repeated at immediately arrested. In protest, the speech was repeated at leaders, was immediately arrested. In protest, the speech was repeated at innumerable meetings all over the country. On 4 October, forty-seven leading Congressmen, including Gandhiji, issued a manifesto repeating whatever Mohammed Ali had said and added that every civilian and member of the armed forces should sever connections with the repressive Government. The next day, the Congress working Committee passed a similar resolution, and on 16 October, Congress committees all over the country held meetings at which the same resolution was adopted. The Government was forced to ignore the whole incident, and accept the blow to its prestige.

The next dramatic event was the visit of the Prince of Wales which began on 17 November, 1921. The day the Prince landed in Bombay was observed as a day of hartal all over the country. In Bombay, Gandhiji himself addressed the meeting in the compound of the Elphinstone Mill owned by the nationalist Umar Shobhani, and lighted a huge bonfire of foreign cloth. Unfortunately, however, clashes occurred between those who had gone

to attend the welcome function and the crowd returning from Gandhiji's meeting. Riots followed, in which Parsis, Christians, Anglo-Indians became special targets of attack as identifiable loyalists. There was police firing, and the three-day turmoil resulted in fifty-nine days. The whole about the likelihood of recurrence of violence once mass civil disobedience was sanctioned.

The Prince of Wales was greeted with empty streets and downed shutters wherever he went. As a result, non-cooperators became more and more aggressive. The Congress Volunteer Corps emerged as a powerful parallel police, and the sight of its members marching in formation and dressed in uniform was hardly one that warmed the Government's heart. The Congress had already granted permission to the PCCs to sanction mass civil disobedience wherever they thought the people were ready and in some areas, such as Midnapur district in Bengal, which has started a movement against Union Board Taxes and Chirala-Pirala and Pedanandipadu taluqa in Guntur district of Andhra, no-tax movements were already in the offering.

The Non-Cooperation Movement had other indirect effects as well. In the Avadh area of U.P, where kisan sabhas and a kisan movement had been gathering strength since 1918, Non-cooperation propaganda, carried on among others by Jawaharlal Nehru, helped to fan the already existing ferment, and soon it distinguish between Non-cooperation meeting and kisan meeting. In Malabar in Kerala, Non-cooperation and Khilafat propaganda helped to arouse the Muslim tenants against their landlords, but the movement here, unfortunately, at times took on a communal colour.

In Assam, labourers on tea plantations went on strike. When the fleeing workers were fired upon, there were strikes on the steamer service, and on the Assam-Bengal Railway as well J.M Sengupta, the Bengali nationalist leader, Played a leading role in these developments. In Midnapur, a cultivators' strike against a White zamindari company was led by a Calcutta medical students. Defiance of forest laws became popular in Andhra. Peasants and tribals in some of the Rajasthan states began movements for securing better conditions of life. In Punjab, the Akali Movement for wresting control of the gurdwaras from the corrupt mahants (priest) was a part of the general movement of Non-cooperation, and the Akalis observed strict non-violence in the face of tremendous repression. The examples could be multiplied, but the point is that the spirit of unrest and defiance of

authority engendered by the Non-Cooperation Movement contributed to the rise of many local movements in different parts of the country, movements which did not often adhere strictly either to the programme of the Non-Cooperation Movement or even to the policy of non-violence.

In this situation, it was hardly surprising that the Government came to the conclusion that its earlier policy had not met with success and that the time to strike had arrived. In September 1920, at the beginning of the movement, the Government had thought it best to leave it alone as repression would only make martyrs of the nationalists and fan the spirit of revolt. In May 1921, it had tried, through the Gandhi-Reading talks, to persuade Gandhiji to ask the Ali brothers to withdraw from their speeches those passages that contained suggestions of violence; this was an attempt to drive a wedge between the Khilafat leaders and Gandhiji, but it failed by December, the Government felt that things were really going too far and announced a change of policy by declaring the Volunteer Corps illegal and arresting all those who claimed to be its members.

C.R Das was among the first to be arrested, followed by his wife Basantidebi, whose arrest so incensed the youth of Bengal that thousands came forward to court arrest, in the next two months, over 30,000 people were arrested from all over the country, and soon only Gandhiji out of the top leadership remained out of jail. In mid-December, there was an abortive attempt at negotiations, initiated by Malaviya, but the conditions offered were such that it meant sacrificing the Khilafat leaders, a course that Gandhiji would not accept. In any case, the Home Government had already decided against a settlement and ordered the Viceroy, Lord Reading, to withdraw from the negotiations. Repression continued, public meetings and assemblies were banned, newspapers gagged, and midnight raids on Congress and Khilafat offices became common.

Gandhiji had been under considerable pressure from the Congress rank and file as well as the leadership to start the phase of mass civil disobedience. The Ahmedabad session of the Congress in December 1921 had appointed him the sole authority on the issue. The Government showed no signs of relenting and had ignored both the appeal of the All Parties Conference held in mid-January 1922 as well as Gandhiji's letter to the Viceroy announcing that, unless the Government lifted the ban on civil liberties and released political prisoners, he would be forced to go ahead with mass civil

disobedience. The Viceroy was unmoved and, left with no choice, Gandhiji announced that mass civil disobedience would begin in Bardoli taluqa of Surat district, and that all other parts of the country should cooperate by maintaining total discipline that quiet so that the entire attention of the movement could be concentrated on Bardoli. But Bardoli was destined to wait for another six years before it could launch a no-tax movement. Its fate was decided by the action of members of a Congress and Khilafat Procession in Chauri Chaura in Gorakhpur district of U.P on 5 February 1922. Irritated by the behaviour of some policemen, a section of the crowd attacked them. The police opened fire. At this, the entire procession attacked the police and when the latter hid inside the police station, set fire to the building. Policemen who tried to escape were hacked to pieces and thrown into the fire. In all twenty-two policemen were done to death. On hearing of the incident, Gandhiji decided to withdraw the movement. He also persuaded the Congress working committee to ratify his decision and thus, on 12 February 1922, the Non-Cooperation Movement came to an end.

11.7 IMPACT

In spite of failure the Non-Cooperation Movement has great significance in Indian history not only in relation to political spheres but in terms of social aspects also. Gandhi emphasized the need of removing evils like caste barriers, communication, untouchability, etc. In the processions, meetings and in jails people of all castes and communities worked together and even ate together. This weekend the caste separateness and accelerated the pace of social mobility and reform. The lower classes could raise their head high without fear. This movement showed remarkable unity between the Hindus and the Muslims. At many places it was difficult to distinguish between a non-cooperation, Khilafat and Kisan Sabha meeting.

The economic boycott in 1920-22 was more effective than the Swadeshi Movement in 1905-08 after partition of Bengal. As against 1292 million yards of British cotton price goods imported in 1905-08, only 955 million yards could be imported in 1921-22. This naturally created panic among the British capitalists. The Indian textile industry had immensely benefitted by the boycott of foreign goods. Indian millowners' influence increased considerably. On the other hand, recurrent labour strikes in 1921 created panic among these millowners. The popularization of Charkha and Kargha, the village reconstruction programme through self-help and through Panchayats brought about economic revival,

and handloom cloth production went up.

In the political field the Non-Cooperation and Khilafat movements involving all the communities and all classes added a new dimension to the National Movement. The National movement had been strengthened in more than one way. A new nationalist awareness was generated and the National Movement reached the remotest corners of the land. The common people for the first time became an integral part of the main stream of the National Movement. Self-confidence and self-esteem among the Indian people developed tremendously. It brought a real feeling of freedom in place of frustration and helplessness. It boosted the morale of the people and raised national dignity.

11.8 CONCLUSION.

Thus it can be concluded that the non-cooperation movement had succeeded in many ways. It demonstrated that a vast section of Indian people supported the non-violent techniques of Gandhiji. All most all the sections of Indian society including peasants, workers, artisans, shopkeepers, traders, professionals, and white collar employees took part in this movement and supported the cause of the movement. Even the capacity of the millions of Indians to take part in the modern nationalist politics was also demonstrated. Participation of Muslims was another big achievement of the movement. It was the violent incident of Chaura-Chauri which resulted in the call off of the movement by Gandhiji.

11.9 GLOSSARY

- 1. Satyagrah:-** It is the idea of non-violent resistance (fighting with peace) started by Mahatma Gandhi. He used satyagrah in Indian independence movement and also during his earlier struggle in South Africa.
- 2. Khilafat Movement:-** It was a pan Islamic political protest campaign launched by Muslims of British Raj to influence the British government not to abolish the Ottoman Caliphate.
- 3. Dyarchy:-** It is a system of double government introduced by the Government of India Act 1919 for the provinces of British India. It marked the first introduction of the democratic principles into the executive branch of the British administration of India.

4. **Rowlatt Act:-** A legislation passed by the Imperial Legislation Council ,the legislature of British India .The acts allowed certain political cases to be tried without juries and permitted internment of suspect without trial .

11.10 SELFASSESSMENT QUESTIONS

Q1 What are the factors responsible for the beginning of Non -Cooperation movement ?

Ans. _____

Q2 Write in detail the various aspects of Non-Cooperation movement.

Ans. _____

11.11 DEFINE THE FOLLOWING TERMS.

- 1) Dyarchy
- 2) Khilafat
- 3) Jallianwala Bagh Massacare
- 4) Rowlatt act

11.12 LESSON END EXERCISE

- 1) Khilafat agitation was started by _____ and _____.
- 2) Non –Cooperation Movement was started by _____ on 1 August 1920.
- 3) Incident of Chaura –Chauri took place on _____.

11.13 SUGGESTED READINGS

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B. A. III Semester

Unit : III

Course No. : 301

Lesson : 12

SWARAJ PARTY

STRUCTURE :

- 12.1 Introduction**
- 12.2 Objectives**
- 12.3 Circumstances leading to the formation of Swaraj Party**
- 12.4 Formation of Swaraj Party**
- 12.5 Objectives of Swaraj Party**
- 12.6 Programme**
- 12.7 Elections of 1923**
- 12.8 Gandhi and Swarajists**
- 12.9 The Responsivist Revolt**
- 12.10 Elections of 1926**
- 12.11 The last phase**
- 12.12 Causes for Decline**
- 12.13 Conclusion**
- 12.14 Glossary**
- 12.15 Self assesment questions**

12.16 Fill in the blanks

12.17 Lesson end exercise

12.18 Suggested Readings

12.19 References

12.1 INTRODUCTION:

This chapter gives a detailed description regarding the formation of Swaraj Party. It highlights the facts that no doubt Indian freedom movement was passing through the phase when Gandhian Philosophy which had a deep rooted impact upon the Indian masses has began to lose its hold. Now leaders like Chittranjan Das and Moti Lal Nehru who were earlier supporters of Gandhian Philosophy and pillars of Indian National Congress had raised their voice in the party to adopt a new path for the attainment of Swaraj. They raised their voice to participate in the election to secure a chance to raise the issues of national importance in the legislative councils established under the Montague Chelmsford Reform of 1919 and use moral pressure to compel the authority to concede and popular demand for Self Government.

12.2 OBJECTIVES:

The purpose of this lesson is to familiarize you with Swarajists as a new trend in the Indian Politics after the withdrawal of non-cooperation movement. After reading this lesson you should be able to:

- Know about the reasons for the emergence of Swarajists in Indian Politics.
- Know the difference between Swarajists or pro-changers and no changers.
- Learn about the formation of Swaraj Party.
- Learn about the policy and programme of Swaraj Party.
- Know the events which took place after the withdrawal of non-cooperation movement.
- Know about the leaders of Indian National Movement who were responsible for the formation of Swaraj Party.

- Know the reasons for the disintegration of Swaraj Party.

12.3 CIRCUMSTANCES LEADING TO THE FORMATION OF SWARAJ PARTY:

Major developments in Indian Politics occurred during 1922-28. Immediately, the withdrawal of the Non-Cooperation movement led to demoralization in the Nationalist ranks. The period when the mass movement went into decline after the national forces had retreated in 1922 was a time for analysis of political experience gained by those taking part in the struggle during the years of intense revolutionary activity. Within the congress fierce discussion was underway as to what kind of tactics should now be adopted in the new internal political situation. Under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi Congress emerged as a great nationalist forum on all shades and opinion voicing anti-imperialist sentiments. During Gandhi's first civil disobedience Movement (1920-22) its root spread out among all classes of people. The formal acceptance of Swaraj as the goal of the congress really converted Non-Cooperation into a mass movement. The Indian National Congress as an organization was undergoing a profound crisis. In 1921-23 its membership had dropped from 10 million to a few 100 thousand. The withdrawal of the masses could be explained in the light of temporary defeat of the freedom movement. Gandhi's slogan of 'Swaraj' stirred the masses but the suspension of non-cooperation in February 1922 created widespread disappointment. The Government took advantage of the situation to take resort to a policy of repression. It invoked Bengal Regulation III of 1816 and promulgated an ordinance providing for summary, arrest and trial before special commissioners. The British Prime Minister, Lloyd George delivered his 'steel frame' speech praising the work and efficiency of the ICS Cadre. This was in tune with the shift in the policy which virtually repudiated the principles of Self Government, and strengthened the autocratic British regime. The Congress presage as leader of the struggle had dropped considerably after the leadership's adoption of Bardoli Resolution.

Differences within the Indian National Congress in connection with possible change of methods of struggle for the attainment of Swaraj and the leadership of the mass movement led to the emergence of two main fractions within the party. The first of these consisted of the so called status quo groups, Gandhi's supporters. In the new conditions that had taken shape the second fraction that had developed within the congress consisted of the so-

called supporters of change. Prominent among whom were one of the leader of the Bourgeois nationalist in the United Provinces Moti Lal Nehru and the leader of Bengal Congress Chitranjan Das. This group opposed involvement of the masses in the political struggle and held that Swaraj should be won from within; for that the congress members should participate in the forth coming election to the legislative assemblies.

12.4 FORMATION OF SWARAJ PARTY

The congress-Khilafat Swarajist Party better known as the Swaraj Party was formed on Dec. 31-1922 at Delhi. After the withdrawal of Non-Cooperation Movement two camps emerged in the Congress party Known as Pro-Changers and No-Changers. The Pro-Changers or Swarajists led by Chitranjan Das and Moti Lal Nehru formed the Swaraj Party. The former became its founding President and the later its one of the founding secretary. The new party was to function as a group within the congress. It accepted the congress programme except in one respect – It would take part in Council elections.

Within the Civil Disobedience Enquiry Committee set up by the AICC in June 1922 to recommend the future course of action, Ansari, Rajgopalachari and Kasturiranga Iyengar advocated concentration on Gandhian constructive rural work, while Moti Lal Nehru Vithal Bhai Patel and Hakim Ajmal Khan argued that the changed situation demanded congress participation in Council elections. Orthodox Gandhian like Vallabh Bhai Patel and Rajendra Prasad rallied the powerful support of C. R. Das President of the Gaya Congress (December 1922), who puts forward a justification of Council entry in radical terms. The Congress should enter the Councils, Das argued, to wreck them from within by total destruction of their proceedings creating deadlock which would force the British to concede further reforms. At the Dehradun U.P. Provincial Conference two months before Gaya, Das enunciated his famous formula that Swaraj must be for the ‘masses’ and not for the ‘classes’. The Gaya Session rejected the Council entry by 1740 votes against 890, but C. R. Das and Moti Lal Nehru went ahead in on 1st Jan. 1923 to set up a “Swarajya Party” to contest the coming elections in November. Soon after the general meeting of the party, provincial organizers were appointed for sixteen congress provinces among them were B. N. Sasival for Bengal, T. R. Phookan for Assam, Hakim Ajmal Khan for Delhi, Kapil Devi Malaviya for U. P., M. S. Aney for Berar, M. R. Jayakar for Bombay, N. C. Kelkar for Maharashtra Ruchi Ram Sahni for Punjab Seth Govind Das B. S. Moonje and

Abhyankar for Central Provinces, A Ranga Swamy Iyengas and S. Satyamusti for Tamil Nadu.

The Swaraj Party subscribed to the constructive programme of the congress pertaining to Swadeshi, Khadi, Temperance, untouchability inter-communal unity, national education and arbitration courts. It promised to work for an “Indian National Pact” to settle conflicting communal claims, to revive propaganda in foreign countries, to organize labour, and to cherish the idea of a freedom of Asiatic Countries and nationalities” All this was, however, mostly for the record. The real Programme of the party was participation in the general elections due in Nov. 1923.

At the Delhi session of congress (Sept. 1923) under the President ship of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Congressmen were allowed to contest elections as per the agreement held between Gandhiji and C. R. Das and in the annual Kakinanda Session a Compromise was struck by which congress men were allowed to stand for elections but they had to carryout the constructive works of Gandhiji with more vigour.

12.5 OBJECTIVES OF SWARAJ PARTY

The goal of the party was defined as the attainment of ‘Swarajya’ but the immediate objective was the speedy attainment of the full Dominion Status, that is securing of the right to frame a constitution adopting such machinery and system as are most suited to the conditions of the country and to the genius of the people. The Swarajists wanted to enter the council and follow the non-cooperation within the legislative assemblies and oppose such Government Policies which are against national interest.

12.6 PROGRAMME

The Party adopted the following programme:

1. Attainment of Swaraj.
2. Right to frame a constitution.
3. Control over bureaucracy and establishment of the principle that bureaucracy derives its power from the people
4. Right of the people to control machinery and system of the government.

5. Full provincial autonomy.
6. Move resolutions and support measures and bills necessary for the healthy growth of national life.
7. Organization of Industrial and Agricultural Labour/
8. Establishment of control over local and municipal bodies.
9. Establishment of agency for propaganda outside India.
10. Federation of Asiatic countries for promotion of trade and commerce.
11. Help the constructive programme of the Congress.
12. Follow a definite economic policy to prevent the drain of public wealth from India by checking all activities leading to exploitation and to advance, national, economic, industrial and commercial interest of the country.
13. Work for the protection of rights of labourers in the legislative assemblies of all the classes whether agricultural or Industrial.
14. Creating an environment of harmony among all the sections of society- Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs etc.
15. Removal of evils from the society like untouchability, poverty etc.
16. Boycott of British goods manufactured outside India on the advice of a Committee with a view to use it as a political weapon in the pursuit of Swaraj.

12.7 ELECTIONS OF 1923

There were altogether three elections held under the provisions of the Act of 1919 in 1920, 1923 and 1926. Owing to the Non-Cooperation movement the Congress had boycotted the elections in 1920 leaving the field for the liberals others. In 1923 the Swarajya Party entered the electoral arena with some handicaps. There had not been enough time to organize the party on a sound footing; it could not allow upon the support of some of the most influential Congress leaders in various provinces, such as C. Rajgopalachari, Vallabh Bhai Patel and Jammalal Bajaj who were confirmed no-changers. The Swarajists did not have a good press; they had to contend with a lack of sympathy not only from European

owned newspapers but from such nationalist newspaper as Bombay Chronicles; the narrow franchise made it impossible for the Swarajya Party to take a radical stance. In numerous constituencies, there were independent candidates, particularly landlords, who counted on their personal influence and needed no party label. But they had an advantage that they could use name of congress of the Mahatma against their opponents.

Even though the Swarajists got only a few weeks to prepare for the elections they managed to do quite well. They won 42 out of the 101 elected seats in the Central Legislative Assembly. They got a clear majority in the Central Provinces; they were the largest party in Bengal; and they fared quite well in Bombay and UP; though not in Madras and Punjab because of strong caste and communal current. There is no doubt, however, that the Swarajist performance at the elections came as a shock both to the Moderates and to the Government. In Calcutta the Veteran Surendranath Banerjee was beaten by B. C. Roy. All prominent liberals were humbled by their Swarajists rivals. However, while the Swarajists were able to defeat the liberals they could not dislodge independent candidates mostly rich landlords who enjoyed great influence in rural constituencies. But was only in two provinces Central Province and Bengal, where Swaraj Party tried to fulfill the undertaking in its election manifesto- to wreck the reformed legislature from within. In the Legislative council of the Central Province and Berar the party had won 41 out of 54 seats open in, thus, gained a clear majority in a council of 73 members. Sir Frank Sly, the governor invited B.S Moonje, the leader of Swaraj Party in Provincial Legislature to form ministry but he declined. The Swaraj is opposed the bill relating is the Reserved and Transferred departments. Finally, in March 1924 ministers resigned and governor took over the administration of the transferred departments.

In Bengal council the Swaraj Party was led by C.R. Das it had a strength of 47 in a house of 114 members. When lord Lytton the governor of Bengal invited C.R. Das to form a ministry. Das declined on the ground that they were not having absolute majority the Swarajists set up a barrage of questions to embarrass the ministers. They opposed requests for grants on behalf of Reserved as well as transferred Departments. To secure the support of Muslim member in the legislative council C.R. Das came up with the idea of the Bengal Pact which provided for representation in the Bengal Council for the two communities on population basis, and for 60 percent seats in elected local bodies for the majority community in each district.

In Assam, Swaraj group had only eight members but it was able to carry a resolution in March 1924 in favour of full responsible Government, in Assam.

In Bihar Legislative Council they had 12 out of 103 in the Bombay council they had 28 out of 111 members. In Madras, the Swarajists numbered only 11 in a 127 member council. The real confrontation between the Government of India and the Swarajya Party, as the viceroy had foreseen, took place in the legislative Assembly. The members were sworn in on 30 Jan, 1924. On the following day the viceroy were sworn in on 30 Jan, 1924. On 1 Feb, 1924 the regular session commenced. The Swaraj Party with its 45 members constituted the largest party in the Assembly. The official bloc of senior civil servants and Government nominees had nearly the same strength.

On 5 Feb, 1924 a resolution was moved by a non- swarajists member, Rangachaircs to revise the Government of India Act to secure for India provincial autonomy in the provinces and full Dominion status within the British empire. More important than this resolution was an amendment moved by Moti Lal Nehru which called for a Round Table Conference to recommend a scheme for the establishment approved by a newly elected Legislative Assembly and then by the British Parliament for being embodied in a statue. But the British Government, made in clear that no radical change is possible and Moti Lal's motion was carried by 64 votes against 48 it was reiterated and passed in September 1925 by 72 votes to 45 practically all the elected members entered the lobby against the Government, with the cooperation of moderates and muslims, Swarajsts were able to get the first four budget grants rejected in their entirety. On 17 March 1924 when the Finance bill came up for consideration its introduction was refused by the Assembly on general political grounds by 80 votes against 57.

The Legislative Assembly had passed a number of resolutions – despite official opposition – calling for the release of political prisoners, for the repeal of the all repressive laws, especially the Bengal regulation III of– 1818 and the criminal Amendment Act and for the imposition of a countervailing duty on south African coal in India.

12.8 GANDHI AND SWARAJISTS

Gandhiji was released from jail on 5 Feb, 1924 on health grounds. While recommending his release, the Bombay govt. had mentioned the possibility that he would

persuade the Swarajists for 'their defection from the pure principles of non-cooperation and thus considerably reduce their power in legislature. His approach towards the Swarajists brings out some of the basic features of his political style especially when dealing with his co-workers with whom he differed while opposing than he showed full trust in them.

Gandhi described the swarajists leaders as "the ablest, most experienced and honest patriots, as the same time he acknowledged that his difference with them were not of more detail. Though he advised no-changers in the congress not to hinder the work of the Swarajists, he adhered to his view that council entry inconsistent with the principles and practice of non-violent non-cooperation. He defended the boycott of courts, councils and schools as originally approved by the Calcutta congress; he doubled the efficacy of the Swarajists programme he deprecated the tactics of obstruction in legislature as a species of violence. The struggle between the two fractions in the Congress came to a head at the Ahmedabad meeting of the All-India congress committee in June 1924. Swarajists opposed the resolution moved by Gandhi, prescribing that members of elected Congress organizations must regularly spin and send at least 2000 yards of even and well twisted yarn every month to the All India Khadi Board the resolution had a penal clause for those who held elective offices in the congress. But failed to send quota of yarn. The swarajists opposed this resolution which resulted in the deletion of penalty clause from the resolution. After the Ahmedabad meeting of the AICC a split in the congress seemed on the cards. On 6 Nov, 1924 Gandhiji brought the strife between the Swarajists and no-changes to an end by signing a joint statement with Das and Moti Lal that the swarajists party would carry on work in the legislative on behalf of the congress and an integral part of the congress. This decision was enclosed in December at the Belgaum session of the congress over which Gandhiji presided. He also gave the Swarajists a majority of seats on his working committee.

12.9 THE RESPONSIVIST REVOLT

Deviating from the policy of the party Moti Lal Nehru accepted a seat on the Sken committee and V.J. Patel the deputy leader of the swaraj party accepted the presidency of the legislative Assembly on the retirements of Sir Fredrick Whyte. As a result, a group of responsivists arose in the party who wanted to work the reforms and hold office wherever possible. To them, refusal of office when the party was in a majority seemed illogical. Moti Lal acted swiftly and firmly against S.B Tambe. Who had been

elected President of the Central Provincial Legislative Council in March 1925 but he could not be able to crush the Responsivist rebellion. It soon became clear that Tambe had the sympathy of some of the leading Maharashtrian, Swarajists; Kelkar, Moonje and above all of Jayakar, the leader of the party in the Bombay council. The Maharashtrian leaders mounted an attack on Moti Lal at Kanpur Congress in Dec, 1925 they were powerfully reinforced by Malaviya, but suffered an overwhelming defeat.

In March 1926 Chintamani, Jinnah, Malaviya and other decided to form a new party to take the place of the Swaraj Party. Moti Lal called for an informal conference, with them in Gandhi's Sabarmati Ashram on 21 April 1926. Finally, they agreed to stand on swarajists ticket. It was a misfortune for Swaraj Party that in the two provinces in which it was the strongest after the 1923 elections in faced internal dissension. In the Central Provinces it split over Tambe affair and In Bengal after the death of C.R. Das in June 1925 party faced troubles and tensions.

12.10 ELECTIONS OF 1926

Two month before the election in November 1926 another serious defection in the Swaraj Party took place with the resignation of Lala Lajpat Rai. One of the reasons he gave for breaking away from the Swaraj party was that it was sacrificing Hindu interests. The election manifesto of the Swaraj Party, issued by the Secretary Indian National Congress, stressed swarajists adherence to the principles of resistance to British rule. Refusal of supplies in legislature and non acceptance of office. The 1926 election was fought less on issues of public importance than one on trivial but emotive issues such as cow slaughter and music before mosques.

The responsive rebellion and the communal antagonism were, the work possible setting for the Swaraj Party's electoral battle. The result was a severe weakening of the swaraj party. It succeeded in winning forty seats at the centre and half the seats in Madras but was severely mauled in all other provinces especially in Central Provinces, UP and Punjab. They could not even form a nationalist coalition in the legislature as they had done in 1923.

12.11 THE LAST PHASE

Indian politics seemed stagnant in 1927. On 16 Feb. 1928 Lala Lajpat Rai moved a resolution that 'the Governor-General in-Council be pleased to convey to His Majesty's

Government the Assembly's entire lack of confidence in the parliamentary commission which has been appointed to review the constitution of India. The motion was carried by 68 votes against 62. Swarajists passed a series of adjournment motions and defeated the government on a number of bills. Noteworthy was the defeat of the Government on the public safety bill in 1928.

In Jan 1929 the government brought forth a revised and more stringent Public Safety Bill. It came back to the Assembly from the Select Committee on 28 March, 1929 having failed to get the bill passed the government arrested 31 communists, trade unionists and other left-wing leaders and put them on trial at Merrut. This led to strong criticism of the Government by the nationalists. As some of the clauses of the revised Public Safety Bill seemed to ally with the charges against the accused, the opposition called on the govt. either to withdraw the case or to drop the bill till the court gave its verdict. President V. J. Patel adjourned the House. On 11 April when the Assembly re-assembled he ruled the bill out of order. The Government of India issued an ordinance and validated the bill.

In order to find an agreed solution of the constitution problem Birkenhead offered nationalize leader to put forward their suggestions. So far as the Swaraj Party was concerned, the need for Hindu- Muslim accord on the constitutional issue had been accepted by the Guwahati Congress, the outlines of an agreement incorporating joint electorates and safeguards for the Muslim Community had infact emerged from informal discussions between Hindu and Muslim Leaders in March 1927 endorsed by the Madras Congress in Dec 1927.

The boycott of the Simon Commission has created a euphoria and the Swarajists leaders most whom were eminent lawyers were attracted by the idea of framing a constitution. The committee which actually drafted the report was headed by Motilal Nehru and included Tej Bahadur Sapru. At the Calcutta Congress in 1928 On the basis of a compromise formula drafted by Gandhi, the Congress passed a resolution accepting the Nehru report on the condition that if, by 31 Dec 1929, it was not accepted by the Government. The Congress would demand complete independence and fight for it. If necessary by resorting to Civil disobedience.

In June 1929, with the approval of the Congress working Committee and the AICC Motilal as the President of the Swaraj Party directed its member to abstain from

attending, the legislature and to devote all the time they could spare to Congress work, such as formation of villages an local Committee, enrolment of Congress members and volunteers and the boycott of foreign clothes. Every legislator was further enjoined to send to Motilal directly a monthly record of what he had done to further the Congress Programme. So, hostile was the reaction to the boycott directive that the Congress leadership was compelled to review it. The working Committee decided to leave the question of boycotting the legislatures to the Lahore Congress. All the Lahore Congress, Motilal confessed that the purpose for which the Swaraj Party had been founded had not been realized, that the councils has directed Congressmen from their goal. Motilal was opposed by many Swarajist leaders who considered that Council boycott was a 'Suicidal Policy' that Councils formed the supreme power house of the Government and therefore, an ideal target for nationalize propaganda. S. Satyamurti, refuted the argument that the Council work diverted the energies of the nationalizes. 'After all,' he said, 'you need only six to seven hundred men in the councils for 50 days in the year'. Immediately after the Lahore Congress Motilal directed all members of the party in the central and provincial legislatures to send their resignations to the govenement-geeneral. He remembered them of their pledge before the elections to resign their seats when called upon to do so. Most of the members obeyed, but with a heavy heart. Some Senior Swarajists such as Kiran Sankar Roy in Bengal and S. Satyamurti in Madras even suggested the formation of a new party. Motilal discovered that it was as hard to wind up the Swarajist experiment as it had been to launch its seven years earlier.

12.12 CAUSES FOR DECLINE:

Although he Swarajists, with their programme of Council Entry, seemed very promising in 1923 and a looked like changing the course of Indian Politics, they petered out very soon, and were undeniably a spent force by 1929. What were the reasons for this decline? Was the decline inherent in the political situation or was it due to their own mistakes? Or was it because of the limitations of the council entry programme itself? In the last section you read because the disintegration of the Swarajists. Let us briefly see some of the reasons for it.

a) RISING COMMUNAL TEMPO

The increasing communal tempo began to shape the course of events. The communication of politics narrowed in practice the ideological gap between the

Swarajists and the Hindu Mahasabha. Although the Swarajists had captured the Congress but in the murky communal atmosphere the Congress image, of a national organization free from communal and religious bias, now stood battered. The Muslim alienation definitely weakened the Congress and the former Muslim Swarajists fought elections as Muslim rather than as Swarajists. The emotional appeal of religion proved irresistible and secularism became the casualty. In fact, most of the Swarajists were not so much concerned with the secular nationalism as with short term gains. It led them to compromise with Muslims on adjustment of seats in public services and legislatures. The socialist basis of mass action alone could have reinforced secular nationalism in India.

b) LURE OF OFFICE

The lure of office proved to be another reason for the decline of the Swarajists. They began their career with a bang by entering councils with the declared objective of stiff resistance to the bureaucracy. The spirit of resistance soon gave way to cooperation. V. J. Patel was elected President of the Assembly and Moti Lal accepted membership of Sken Commission. The Policy of unqualified obstruction lost its appeal and the party showed signs of disintegration. Its ranks were riven with internal dissensions and open rebellion and desertions decimated it further.

c) CLASS CHARACTER

The Swaraj Party represented the upper middle class elements of the Congress who had always been opposed to direct mass action. They had joined the nationalists struggle to prevent it from committing itself to revolutionary mass action. They were drawn, quite unwillingly, into the vortex of Non-Cooperation movement. On the failure of the movement, they look to parliamentary politics and later seemed to be content with playing the role of constitutional opposition. Nevertheless given the constraints of colonial set up, it was most progressive and radical among all the existing political parties and groups in the country with the exception of the communists who were still struggling to find feet in the Indian Soil.

12.13. CONCLUSION

The Swaraj Party was formed in 1923. Its founding fathers declared that it would practices inform, continuous and consistent obstruction in the legislatures. The original aim

of Swaraj Party was that of wrecking the constitution from within, and making Government work through Councils impossible was not realized and was indeed unrealizable. The councils Constituted under the Act of 1919 did not easily lend themselves to this strategy. Only in the provinces Swarajist succeeded in this task. The rise of the party appeared to most contemporaries and even to later historians as a revolt against Gandhi's leadership and methods. But Das and Motilal Nehru, that they were only extending the Gandhian doctrine of non-cooperation to a new field. The Swarajists provided a useful forum for propaganda when nationalist politics were also low ebb. They provided base for the future parliamentary system in the country.

12.14 GLOSSARY:

1. **AICC:** All India Congress Committee
2. **Swaraj:** The word Swaraj means independence or Self-Rule.
3. **PRO Changers:** The word Pro Changers means Swarajists.
4. **Responsivism :** A trend within the Swarajists which advocated Cooperation within the Government.
5. **Legislative Assembly :** The Legislative body at the Centre.
6. **Legislative Councils :** Legislative bodies in the provinces.

12.15 SELF ASSESSMENT QUESTIONS

1. Who founded the Swaraj Party?

2. When was Swaraj Party formed?

3. What was the Chief Programme of Swaraj Party?

4. Name the Swarajist Leader who became the President of the Legislative Assembly?

5. What was the immediate objective of Swaraj Party?

6. Why was Simon Commission Sent to India?

12.16. FILL IN THE BLANKS:-

- a) _____ was the first President of Swaraj Party.
- b) Moti Lal Nehru was the _____ of Swaraj Party.
- c) Simon Commission came to India in _____.

12.17 LESSON END EXERCISE:

Q.1. Discuss the works of Swarajists in Legislature.

Q.2. Write ten lines on the causes of decline of the Swarajists.

12.18. SUGGESTED READINGS:

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3. Chandra Bipin Mukherjee Mridula, Mukherjee Aditya, Mahajan Sucheta, and Panikkar K. N. "India's Struggle for Independence". Penguin Books India Pvt. Ltd. New Delhi 1989.
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SIMON COMMISSION AND NEHRU REPORT

13.1 Introduction

13.2 Objectives

13.3 Aims of Simon Commission

13.4 Background

13.4.1 Nationalists dissatisfaction with 1919 Act

13.4.2 Political situation of Britain

13.4.3 Activities of the Swaraj Party and the youth

13.4.4 Stem the tide of growing popular discontent

13.5 Boycott of the Commission

13.6 Report of Simon Commission

13.6.1 Abolition of Diarchy and introduction of Provincial Autonomy

13.6.2 Special Powers of the Governors and the Governor-General

13.6.3 Extension of Franchise

13.6.4 Irresponsible Government at the Centre

13.6.5 Defence

13.6.6 Reconstitution of Central Legislature

13.6.7 Separation of Burma

13.6.8 Enlargement of Provincial Legislature

13.6.9 Home Government

13.6.10 End of revival of the Constitution

13.7. Evaluation of Simon Report

13.8. Effects

NEHRU REPORT

13.9. Background

13.10. Recommendations of the Nehru Report

13.10.1. Dominion Status and Full Responsible Government

13.10.2 Provincial Autonomy and Residuary Powers

13.10.3 Rejection of Communal Electorate

13.10.4 Creating of New Provinces

13.10.5 Fundamental Rights

13.10.6 Parliamentary system of government

13.10.7 Indian States

13.10.8 Supreme Court

13.10.9 Defence

13.10.10. Civil Services

13.10.11 Provinces Respected

13.11 Report and Aftermath

13.12 Conclusion

13.13 Glossary

13.14 SAQ/CYP/Possible Answers

13.15 Lesson End Exercise, Examination Oriented Questions

13.16 Suggested Reading

13.17 References

13.18 Model Test Paper

13.1 Introduction

The Act of 1919 contained a provision for the appointment of a Royal Commission at the end of ten years after the passing of the act with the aim of enquiring into the functioning of the government. The principle working behind this was that constitutional progress should be achieved gradually. The Commission was due in 1929. But Lord Birkenhead, Secretary of State announced the appointment of a Statutory Commission in November, 1927. It was to be headed by Sir John Simon, a member of British Liberal Party. The commission was comprised of seven members and all the members were Englishmen who were members of British Parliament. But the Indians opposed the Commission and as a challenge formulated their own scheme known as **NEHRU REPORT for the constitutional development of India**. The Nehru Report of August 1928 was a memorandum outlining a proposed new Dominion Status Constitution for India. It was prepared by a committee of the All Parties Conference chaired by *Motilal Nehru with his son Jawaharlal Nehru acting as secretary*. There were nine other members of this Committee, including two Muslims. The Nehru Report was the first attempt by Indians to draft a new Constitution

13.2 Objectives

The objective of this lesson is to enable you to know about :

- (a) Earlier appointment of the Simon Commission
- (b) Opposition and boycott of Indians to the Commission.
- (c) .Recommendations of the Commission and results.
- (d) .Causes for the appointment of committee by Indians for Constitutional purposes.
- (d) Recommendations of the Nehru Report and rejection by Muslim League.

(e) .Consequences of the Nehru Report.

13.3 Aims of the Simon Commission

The aim of the Simon Commission was to enquire into the working of provincial governments, to examine how for the representative institutions were functioning satisfactorily and to draft the outlines for the future progress in establishing Responsible Government.

13.4 Background

As the Government of India Act was passed in 1919, so the appointment of a Commission was due in 1929. But the British Government appointed it in 1927, two years earlier than the due date. The question here is why was it appointed earlier? British Government declared that by this appointment it was being liberal to consider the problems of India, but in fact the reasons lay elsewhere.

13.4.1 Nationalists dissatisfaction with 1919 Act

Nationalists opinion was not satisfied either with Act of 1919 or with its working. The Indian leaders demanded full Responsible Government but the Act did not follow suit. The system of Diarchy was full of confusion and Nationalists leaders were not satisfied. Therefore they had been demanding a complete revision of the constitutional system and not a method of periodic enquiry.

13.4.2 Political situation of Britain

The political situation in Britain compelled the Tory Government to appoint the commission earlier in November 1927. The General Election was due in 1929 in Britain and the Labour Party was expected to win. The Tory Government was apprehensive that this Government was more liberal and would give more concessions to Indians. Therefore, it did not want to give the Labour Government a chance to make the appointment of the Statutory Commission in relation to India.

13.4.3 Activities of the Swaraj Party and the youth

Besides, the Tory Government wanted to send the delegation at a time when communal situation had deteriorated so that the Commission should form a low

opinion about the capacity of Indians to govern themselves. The appointment was a result of the activities of the Swarajist Party on the one hand and the youth activities led by Nehru and the Bose on the other hand. After entering the Assembly the Swarajists introduced a non-official resolution, demanding a self governing Dominion Status and the provincial autonomy in the provinces. In 1924 Swarajists led by Nehru introduced an amendment, demanding the framing of an Indian Constitution by an Indian Constituent Assembly. As a response the Government appointed the Reforms Inquiry Committee under the chairmanship of Sir Alexander Muddiman, the Home Member in the Executive Council. The Committee published a majority and minority Report. Majority report declared that Diarchy had not been established and minority report stated that Act of 1919 had failed. But the officials regarded that the Act could be improved upon by adopting the suggestions of the Majority report.

13.4.4 Stem the tide of growing popular discontent

Around the same time the Muslim League met at Lahore and demanded a Responsible Government, a Federal Constitution with full provincial autonomy. At this time the Muslim members felt the moment for doing away with separate electorates had not come. Later some Muslim members agreed to accept the system of joint electorates if four conditions were fulfilled. But the group headed by Sir Muhammad Shafi did not accept the joint electorates. The split was compatible with British policy of preventing rapprochement between the Congress and the League. Against this background the British Government decided to review the Indian situation in order to stem the tide of growing popular discontent in India. The result was the coming of the Simon Commission.

13.5 Boycott of the Commission

The appointment of the Simon Commission came as a rude shock to the Indian people. The members of the Commission were all Englishmen and not a single Indian was included in it. The British Government gave two arguments for excluding the Indians from the Commission.

- i.** They pointed out that since the committee had to report its proceedings to the British Parliament so it was justified to appoint British members only. This argument

did not hold much weight because there were two Indian members of British Parliament-Lord Sinha and Mr. Saklatwala.

- ii. Secondly, the British Government declared that as there was no unanimity of Indian opinion on the problem of Constitutional development, it was not possible to appoint any Indian as its member. Actually Birkenhead was afraid that in a mixed Commission there could be an alliance between the Indian and British Labour representatives.

Irwin declared that Indians had been excluded from the membership of Commission because they could not give an accurate picture of their capacity to govern to the Parliament and their judgment was bound to be coloured. The silence that seemed to prevail in India after 1922 was broken in 1927. The announcement of the all White Commission shocked all Indians. It was greeted with strong protest by all parties. The response in India was immediate and unanimous. That no Indian should be thought fit to serve on a body that claimed the right to decide the political future of Indians was an insult that no Indian of even the most moderate political opinion was willing to swallow. The call for a boycott of the Commission was endorsed by the Liberal Federation led by Tej Bahader Sapru, by the Indian Industrial and Commercial Congress, and by the Hindu Mahasabha; the Muslim League even split on the issue, Mohammed Ali Jinnah carrying the majority with him in favour of boycott.

What angered them most was the exclusion of Indians from the Commission and the basic notion behind this exclusion that foreigners would discuss and decide upon Indian's fitness for Self-Government. In other words, the British action was seen as a violation of the principle of self-determination and a deliberate insult to the self-respect of the Indians. At its Madras session in 1927, presided over by Sr. Ansari, the National Congress decided to boycott the Commission "at every stage and in every form". The Muslim League and the Hindu Mahasabha decided to support Congress decision. In fact, the Simon Commission united, at least temporarily, different groups and parties in the country. As a gesture of solidarity with the nationalists, the Muslim League even accepted the principle of joint electorates provided seats were reserved for the Muslims.

All important Indian leaders and parties also tried to meet the challenge of the Simon Commission by getting together and trying to evolve an alternative scheme of

constitutional reforms. Tens of conferences and joint meetings of leading political workers were held. The end result was the Nehru Report named after its chief architect, Motilal Nehru, and finalized in August 1928. Unfortunately the All Party Convention held at Calcutta in December 1928, failed to pass the Report. Objections were raised by some of the communal minded leaders belonging to the Muslim League, the Hindu Mahasabha and the Sikh League. Thus the prospectus of national unity was foiled by communal groups. Communalism began to grow after this.

It was the Indian National Congress, however, that turned the boycott into a popular movement. Jawaharlal Nehru had even succeeded in getting passed a snap resolution declaring complete independence as the goal of the Congress. But protest could not be confined to the passing of resolutions, as Gandhiji made clear in the issue of young India of 12 January 1928; "It is said that the Independence Resolution is a fitting answer..... The act of appointment (of the Simon Commission) needs for an answer, not speeches, however heroic they may be, not declarations, however brave they may be, but corresponding action....".

The action began as soon as Simon and his friends landed at Bombay on 3 February 1928. That day all the major cities and towns observed a complete hartal, and people were out on the streets participating in mass rallies, processions and black flag demonstrations. In Madras, a major clash with the police resulted in firing and the death of one person. Everywhere that Simon went- Calcutta, Lahore, Lucknow, Vijayawada, Poona- he was greeted by a sea of black-flags carried by thousands of people. And even new ways of defiance were being constantly invented. The youth of Poona, for example, took advantage of the fact that for a long stretch between Lonavala and Poona, the road and the rail - track ran within sight of each other. They climbed into a lorry and drove alongside the train that was carrying Simon and company, waving black flags at them all the way from Lonavala to Poona.

In Lahore, Lala Lajpat Rai led a huge procession of demonstrators. A white police officer, Mr. Saunders, rained up blows on Lajpat Rai and inflicted grievous injuries, resulting in the death of the great patriot. It was taken as a great insult to Indian Nationhood. The revolutionary group of Bhagat Singh and his friends avenged the wrong by murdering Mr. Saunders.

At Lucknow, the demonstrations against the Commission were organized and led by leaders like Govind Ballabh Pant and Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru. They were also treated to stick-charge and firing. In view of disturbances all over the country, the Government made an announcement to the effect that committees elected by central as well as provincial legislatures would also be associated with the Commission. But this assurance did not evoke any enthusiasm among the organized parties in the country. Only the loyalists came forward to form committees to assist the Commission in acquiring essential information.

13.6 Report of Simon Commission

The Commission paid two visits to India (February-March 1928, April 1928). Each time it faced boycott. After two years of consistent work, the Commission prepared and published its report in May 1930. Its recommendations were as follows:

13.6.1 Abolition of Diarchy and introduction of Provincial Autonomy

The Commission concluded that because of certain inherent weakness in the scheme, Diarchy had become unworkable. Therefore, it recommended the introduction of autonomy to the provinces.

13.6.2 Special Powers of the Governors and the Governor-General

The Commission recommended that the Governor-General and the Governors should remain in possession of full and simple powers to ensure a thoroughly efficient administrative system and to safeguard the interests of the minorities.

13.6.3 Extension of Franchise

According to the Commission the right to vote should be given to at least 10 to 15 percent of the people. It also proposed the retention of the communal electorate and special representation of the minority communities and classes.

13.6.4 Irresponsible Government at the Centre

The Commission did not propose any change in the Central Government. It considered the introduction of the Responsible Government i.e. Diarchy in the centre unworkable. It said that the Central Executive should be absolutely free from domination by the legislature.

13.6.5 Defence

The responsibility of defending the country from external attack should remain with the British Government while India should raise forces sufficient enough to maintain law and order in the country.

13.6.6 Reconstitution of Central Legislature

The Commission recommended the formation of the Central Legislature on federal principle, having representatives from all the provinces and those states which agreed to join the proposed federation. The system of election for both the Houses should be indirect.

13.6.7 Separation of Burma

The Commission also recommended the separation of Burma from India and Sind from Bombay. It did not consider North West Frontier Province as suitable for internal autonomy.

13.6.8 Enlargement of Provincial Legislature

The Commission recommended that the legislatures of the most important provinces should be not less than 200 and not more than 250 members. There should be no official bloc and even the nominated non-officials should not exceed 10 percent of the total membership. The Muslims in the provinces where they were in minority should be given special and adequate representation.

13.6.9 Home Government

It recommended the retention of India Council to advise Secretary of State but with reduced powers. It proposed no change in the rate of Indianisation of the services fixed on the basis of Lee Commission Report.

13.6.10 End of revival of the Constitution

It also proposed that the provision of appointing a Commission to review the Constitutional progress after every ten years should be given up. In its place the new Constitution should be made flexible enough to admit changes whenever necessary.

13.7 Evaluation of Simon Report

The Simon Report met with disappointment and condemnation throughout India. The Indian National Congress mistrusted the findings of the Commission and the Congress boycotted the Report. Muhammad Ali Jinnah made it clear that the Report was unacceptable to Hindus, Muslims and Indian nationalists. The Muslims considered the Report to be reactionary, the Executive Board of the All India Muslim Conference called the Report unacceptable. Prominent members of the Legislative Assembly of India criticized it as well. Even the Viceroy, Lord Irwin, made it clear that the Report stood on chance of public acceptance in India. This report did not evoke much enthusiasm because its recommendations fell far short of the national expectations. Not to speak of Dominion Status, it did not recommend even partial responsibility at the Centre. Defence of the country was kept under the charge of British Government. The army was made loyal to His Majesty's Government although its cost was to be borne by Indian tax payers. Although it has recommended Provincial Autonomy, the powers of the ministers were greatly restricted by the special powers of the Governors and the Governor - General. There are two different views of critics about the Report. Some critics have strongly condemned it and some have praised it. According to Mr. Andrews, "its (Simon Report) great demerit was that it failed to take note of the radical changes that had been brought about by the non-violent, Non-cooperation Movement, and of the aspirations generated by it. It dealt more with that old India which was nearly thirty years ago before the national movement had started; it showed little understanding of the young national movement which was rising on the tide of national upheaval".

13.8 Effects

The Simon boycott movement provided the first taste of political action to a new generation of youth. They were the ones who played the most active role in this protest, and it was they who gave the movement its militant flavour. The Simon agitation gave a real fillip to the formation of youth leagues and associations all over the country. J.L.Nehru and Subhash Chandra Bose emerged as the leaders of this new wave of youth and students. The upsurge among the youth also proved a fruitful ground for the germination and spread of the new radical ideas of socialism that had begun to reach Indian shores. The report gave a fillip to the Civil Disobedience Movement as it did not come up according to the

Nationalists aspirations. This also led the Indians to show that they were capable enough to frame their own constitution and the result was the Nehru Report. It also became a base for the future Constitution of India. When the Government of India Act 1935 was passed, most of the recommendations of the Simon Commission were included in it and the constitution so framed, continued till independence.

NEHRU REPORT

13.9 Background

The Simon Commission, though abused by the Indians had the good effect on Indian politics. It awoke the Indian leaders to formulate a scheme of Indian Constitution acceptable to all parties. Lord Birkenhead justified in an insolent mood the exclusion of Indians from the Simon Commission and challenged the Indian leaders that they were unable to produce an agreed constitution for submission to the British Parliament. The Indian National Congress accepted the challenge and in the 1927 Madras session authorized the Working Committee to prepare a constitution for India in consultation with other organizations. The Congress in a resolution said: "Having regard to the general desire of all political parties in the country to unite together in setting Swaraj Constitution, and having considered the various drafts submitted to it and the various suggestions received in reply to the Working Committee's circular this Congress authorizes the Working Committee which shall have power to co-opt, to confer with similar committees to be appointed by other organisations- political, Labour, Commercial and Communal in the country and draft a Swaraj Constitution on the basis of declaration of Rights and to place the same for consideration and approval before a special convention at Delhi". Therefore Congress representatives and the representatives of other parties met at a conference in February, 1928. This came to be known as the All Parties Conference and was presided over by Dr. M.A. Ansari. In this Conference a committee was formed under the presidentship of Motilal Nehru, which was to determine the principles of a Constitution for India. The committee consisted of Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, Sir Ali Imam. Sardar Mangal Singh, Shuab Qureshi, M.S. Aney, G.K. Pradhan, S.C. Bose and Jawaharlal Nehru. The committee worked hard and submitted its report on 10 August, 1928 which in the words of Dr. Z. A. Zacharias was "a masterly and statesmen-like Report." This report was subsequently known as Nehru Report.

13.10 Recommendations of the Nehru Report

The Committee's Report was an outline draft of a constitution which was based on the principle of fully Responsible Government on the model of the constitution of self-governing dominions. The establishment of Responsible Government was not to be considered as a remote but as an immediate step. It made the following recommendations.

13.10.1 Dominion Status and Full Responsible Government

The majority opinion of the committee favoured Dominion Status as the desired aim. This was done to rally all those organizations which aimed at Dominion Status behind a common plan. The Report also demanded a full responsible Government on the lines of self-governing Dominions.

13.10.2 Provincial Autonomy and Residuary Powers

The committee envisaged a future federation in India. It emphasised the need of giving as much autonomy to the provinces as was safely possible. The subjects should be divided into the Central and Provincial lists, the residuary powers to be exercised by the Centre. The Provinces were to have only one house each for making laws.

13.10.3 Rejection of Communal Electorate

The Report said that India was to be a Secular State where there would be no State religion. It suggested cultural autonomy, safeguards and guarantees to be provided to minority communities but it rejected the system of communal electorate. In its place it offered the system of joint electorate with reservation of seats for Muslims at Centre and in provinces where they were in minority and for non-Muslims in N.W.F.P.

13.10.4 Creating of New Provinces

The sub-committee in its report proposed that the Muslim majority provinces were to be given distinct politico-cultural identity on the principle of self-determination i.e., Sind was to be separated from Bombay Presidency and N.W.F.P. was to be given full provincial status. Later the committee made two additional recommendations relating to the communal problem. Communal

representation was to be reconsidered after ten years and Baluchistan was to be given full provincial status.

13.10.5 Fundamental Rights

To ensure freedom to the individual, the Report mentioned nineteen Fundamental Rights to be included in the Constitution, notable amongst them were equality of men and women in regard to rights, freedom of faith of every individual and universal adult suffrage.

13.10.6 Parliamentary system of Government

- (a) According to the Report, India's Parliament should consist of the two houses, the Senate (Upper House) and the House of Representatives (Lower House). The Senate should consist of 200 members elected by the members of the provincial legislatures with tenure of 7 years. Each Province was to be represented in the Senate in proportion to its population. The House of Representatives should consist of 500 members directly elected on the basis of adult franchise. The life of Lower House should be five years. The Central Government was to be headed by Governor-General, appointed by the British Government but paid out of Indian revenues, who would act on the advice of the Central Executive Council, responsible to the Parliament. The Executive Council was to consist of one Prime Minister and six other ministers. In foreign matters the Indian Parliament was to have the same rights as exercised by the Parliaments of other Dominions.
- (b) Provincial Councils were to be elected on the basis of adult suffrage, with tenure of 5 years. The Provincial Government was to be headed by a Governor, acting on the advice of the Provincial Executive Council.

13.10.7 Indian States

In regard to Indian States the Report said that the Indian Parliament should have the same rights and discharge the same obligation towards the Indian States as the then existing Government of India did. In case of a conflict between the State and Parliament, the Governor-General should have the power to refer the issue to the Supreme Court for arbitration.

13.10.8 Supreme Court

The Report suggested the setting up of a Supreme Court in India charged with the duty of interpreting the constitution and deciding points of conflict between one province and the other. It recommended that no appeal should there from lie to the Privy Council.

13.10.9 Defence

The Report suggested that a defence committee should be formed comprising the Prime Minister, the Defence Minister, Commander-in-Chief, Chiefs of the Naval and Air Forces, Chief of the General Staff and two military experts; that the defence budget should be put to the House for approval; and that in emergency the Central Executive should have the right to sanction any sum it liked.

13.10.10 Civil Services

All the civil Services should become offices of the commonwealth and a Public Service Commission should be appointed by the Governor-General.

13.10.11 Provinces Respected

The report recommended the preservations of the rights and the privileges of Rulers of the various States. They should also be warned that Indian Rulers would have to adopt the membership of Federation, if it was constituted in the near future.

13.11 Report and Aftermath

An All Party Conference was held at Calcutta to discuss the report. According to Zacharias, Nehru Report was “a masterly and statesmanlike report. For the first time in India’s history, all the political parties laid their heads together to discuss constitutional problems and their mutually agreeable solutions. No greater tribute can be paid to it than that it supplied the blueprint of the present Indian Constitution”.

The Report was accepted unanimously by the All-Parties Conferences at Lucknow but difficulties arose when it came up for scrutiny separately before all the parties which

were represented at Lucknow Conference. There seemed a bright prospect for Indian unity, as practically all established political groups decided to boycott the Simon Commission and began preparing for an All Parties Conference to draw up a Constitution. Already at a conference in Delhi in March 1927, Jinnah had persuaded a number of Muslim leaders to end separate electorate in return for joint electorates subject to the following conditions.

- (a) One-third Muslim representation in the Central Assembly.
- (b) Representation in proportion to population in Punjab and Bengal till adult suffrage was introduced.
- (c) Creation of new Muslim-majority provinces of Sind, Baluchistan, North West Frontier Province.

The offer was repeated at the December 1927 session of the Muslim League, which also called for a boycott of the Simon Commission, though a breakaway League session at Lahore under Mohammad Shafi refused to give up separate electorate and decided to cooperate with the Simon Commission. AICC, on the other hand, in May 1927 and in December 1927 at the Madras Congress session, had accepted Jinnah's offer. But Hindu Mahasabha bitterly opposed the creation of new Muslim-majority provinces and reservation of seats for majorities in Punjab and Bengal. The recommendation of joint electorate, the residuary powers for the centre, reservation of seats for Muslims only where they were in minority, was perceived by Jinnah as betrayal. Mohammed Ali Jinnah was prepared to accept it but only after certain vital changes, proposed by him.

In the National Convention at Calcutta he put forward his three suggestions: (a) The Muslim must have 1/3 representation in the Central Legislature. (b) There should be Muslim representation in the Punjab and Bengal Legislatures on the population until adult suffrage was introduced. (c) Residuary powers should not be vested in the centre but in the provinces. The amendments were rejected in the Convention and there were heated debates in the open session of the Convention in December 1928. Mr. Mohammed Ali Jinnah left the Convention and joined a more reactionary section of the Muslim led by Agha Khan and Muhammad Shafi. Historian Sumit Sarkar called it a disastrous retreat. This breakdown did contribute considerably to the aloofness and the positive hostility of most Muslim leaders towards Civil Disobedience two years later. He also called a meeting

of All India Muslim League at Delhi on 1 January, 1929 and it passed a resolution laying emphasis on two principles.

- (i) The first principle was that since India was a vast country with a lot of diversity, it required a federal system government in which the states would have complete autonomy and residuary powers.
- (ii) The second principle was that the system of separate electorate should continue as long as the rights and interests of the Muslims were not safeguarded in the Constitution.

Finally in March 1929, Jinnah put forward his famous 'Fourteen Points' which became the basis of Muslim League politics in future. When these demands were not met, Muslim League, in 1940 demanded separation of Muslim majority provinces from Indian Union. Thus, this report became the turning point in Indian history.

The House of the Congress itself was divided in its support to the Report. The younger section led by Jawaharlal Nehru and Subhas Chandra Boss were dissatisfied with its declaration of Dominion Status. They stood for nothing less than complete independence. Though the Congress was pledged to the goal of complete independence but it made a compromise and accepted Dominion Status as its goal in order to rally all parties behind a common plan. However, due to the pressure of the younger section the Calcutta Congress Resolution 1928, if the Government did not accept the Report on or before 31 December, 1929, the Congress would not only adopt complete independence as its goal but it would also launch a Civil Disobedience Movement to attain that goal. The Government did not pay any attention towards the Report. Consequently, Congress in its Lahore session declared 'Poorna Swaraj' as its goal and authorized its Working Committee to launch Civil Disobedience. Thus, Nehru Report resulted another mass movement from 1930 onwards.

No doubt, the Report was criticized by a large section of the country but it did not reflect that the report was not worthwhile. The Report was comprehensive document embodying the aspirations of patriotic Indians of that time. Apart from the abortive bid to solve the problem of communal representation, the Nehru Report remains memorable as the first major Indian effort to draft a Constitutional framework for the country. When the

process of framing the Constitution was started for the independent India, most of the recommendations of the Nehru Report were included in it. Even the present Constitutions of India resembles with the Report to a large extent. Dr. Zacharias has rightly remarked: “The Nehru Report deserves to be read and studied in all its details as it sheds light on every subject it touches and displays a practical common sense which never losses itself in doctrinaire but which equally spurs to shelter itself behind the enunciation of mere platitudes”.

13.12 Conclusion

Simon Commission was sent to India to make a review of the Constitutional progress of India but the Commission evoked Indian opposition from the beginning because of its composition. The report submitted by the Commission also was not accepted by the Indians as it was not according their aspirations. However, the Commission gave a fillip to freedom struggle. The Simon agitation led to the formation of youth leagues and associations all over the country. J.L.Nehru and Subhash Chandra Bose emerged as the leaders of this new wave of youth and students. The upsurge among the youth also proved a fruitful ground for the germination and spread of the new radical ideas of socialism that had begun to reach Indian shores. The Indian National leaders challenged the Simon Commission and decided to show that they were capable enough to frame their own Constitution. The result was the Nehru Report. This was the first effort where all India leadership joined hands to frame a Constitution acceptable to all. But they were not able and failed in this effort. However, the Report took the National Movement into another phase, where the goal was complete independence and for this another mass movement known as Civil Disobedience Movement was launched, which shook the roots of the British Government.

13.13 Glossary

Statutory	:	Prescribed, enforceable and punishable under an act of Parliament.
Diarchy	:	A government in which power is vested in two rulers or authorities.
Federation	:	A group of states with a central government but independent in internal affairs.

Unanimous	:	Fully in agreement.
Secular	:	Not connected with religious or spiritual matters.
Adult franchise	:	Right to vote to all adult citizens without any discrimination.
Separate electorate	:	The type of elections in which minorities select their own representatives.
Hartal	:	A closure of shops and offices as a protest or a mark of sorrow.
Safeguards	:	A measure taken to protect someone or something .

13.14 SAQ/CYP/Possible Answers

A

- (i) Simon Commission was opposed by all parties because of_____.
- (ii) The total number of members of Simon Commission was_____.
- (iii) Simon Commission recommended the abolition of_____ in provinces.
- (iv) Nehru Report recommended the introduction of_____.

B

- (i) Who was the Chairman of Simon Commission?
- (ii) Why did Simon Commission come to India?
- (iii) Who was the president of the Nehru Report?
- (iv) What was the consequence of Nehru Report?

Answers

A (i) Non inclusion of Indians (ii) Seven (iii) Diarchy (iv) Dominion Status.

B (i) Sir John Simon (ii) To review the working of 1919 Act (iii) Pandit Motilal Nehru (iv) Civil Disobedience Movement.

13.15 Lesson End Exercise, Examination Oriented Question

1. What were the causes for the earlier appointment of Simon Commission?
2. Why did Indians oppose the Simon Commission?
3. Discuss the recommendations of the Nehru Report?
4. Jinnah did not accept the Nehru Report. Why?

13.16 Suggested Reading

1. Constitutional Development and National Movement of India: R.C. Agarwal.
2. India from Curzon to Nehru and After: Durga Das.
3. India's Struggle for Independence: Bipan Chandra and Co.
4. Modern India: Bipan Chandra.
5. Modern India 1885-1947: Sumit Sarkar.
6. Constitutional History of India: A.C. Kapoor
7. Constitutional History of India: A.B. Keith
8. An Autobiography: J.L. Nehru

13.17 References

1. Constitutional Development and National Movement of India: R.C. Agarwal.
2. India from Curzon to Nehru and After: Durga Das.
3. India's Struggle for Independence: Bipan Chandra and Co.
4. Modern India: Bipan Chandra.
5. Modern India 1885-1947: Sumit Sarkar.
6. Constitutional History of India: A.C. Kapoor
7. IGNOU- EHI-01 History Elective Course – 1 Modern India 1857-1964

13.18 Model Test Paper

I. Long Answer Questions

1. Discuss the causes responsible for the earlier appointment of Simon Commission?
2. Discuss the recommendations of Simon Commission?
3. What were the main recommendations of the Nehru Report and what were its consequences?

II. Short Answer Type Questions

1. No Indian was included in Simon Commission. Why?
2. What were the conditions placed by Jinnah before the All Parties Convention at Calcutta and why Congress did not accept them?

III. Objective Type Questions

- (a) Total number of members of Simon Commission were

I. Three ii. Five iii. Six iv. Seven

- (b) Simon Commission arrived India in

II. February 1927 ii. November 1927 iii. February 1928 iv. March 1928

- (c) Faction of the Muslim League which refused to give up separate electorate was led by

III. Muhammad Shafi ii. Mohd Ali Jinnah iii. Allama Iqbal iv. Rehmatullah Khan

B. A. III Semester

Unit : IV

Course No. : 301

Lesson : 14

THE CRIPPS MISSION

14.1 Introduction

14.2 Objectives

14.3 Background

14.4 Proposals of the Cripps Mission

14.4.1 Dominion Status

14.4.2 Setting up of a Constitution Making Body

14.4.3 Indian States

14.4.4 Implementation of the new Constitution

14.4.5 Composition of the Constituent Assembly

14.4.6 Defence

14.5 Rejection of the Proposals

14.6 Aftermath of the Cripps Mission

14.7 Conclusion/Let us sum up

14.8 Glossary

14.9 SAQ/CYP/Possible Answers

14.10 Lesson End Exercise, Examination Oriented Questions

14.11 Suggested Reading

14.12 References

14.13 Model Test Paper

14.1 Introduction

The time of mid-March 1942 is a very significant phase in the history of colonial India. As Great Britain was losing ground in the beginning of Second World War, its position became very critical in international politics and military also. After the joining of Japan in favour of Axis powers in the said war and its tremendous success, the immediate realization of Great Britain was that it needed the support of India. In order to gain the support, Britain now felt the necessity to begin some discussion on the Constitutional future of India. For this purpose, Cripps Mission was sent to India. However, the proposal of the Mission was the Dominion Status centric. So the leaders of almost all the political parties in India rejected the Cripps proposal. Thus the Mission was failed.

14.2 Objectives

After studying this lesson you will be able to:

1. Understand the background of Cripps Mission.
2. Know about the features of this mission.
3. Failure and Importance of the mission.

14.3 Background

With the outbreak of the 2nd world war in 1939 the political situation of the world changed to a great extent and it had its impact on India also. When the British made a declaration regarding war, at the same time India was also declared a party in its war efforts. As in the beginning of the war Britain gradually was losing ground, its position became very critical in international politics. However, with regard to these declarations regarding India, there was a difference of opinion among Congress leaders. While Gandhi had great sympathy with Britain against the fascist powers and wanted to cooperate, the

leftist group regarded this war an imperialist one since both sides were fighting for gaining or defending colonial territories and wanted the Congress to start the movement against Britain, hoping that would be successful as masses were fully prepared. But Jawaharlal Nehru was convinced that the war was the result of the inner contradiction of capitalism maturing since the end of World War 1. Hence India should neither join the war nor start an immediate struggle. Therefore, Congress moved a resolution in the meeting of the Working Committee held from 10 to 14 September, that India could not be party to a war which was ostensibly being fought for democratic freedom which was being denied to her. British should clearly declare her war aim that India would be granted freedom at the end of war. Indians would then join with other democratic nations, in the war effort. But the response of the British Government was negative. Therefore, Congress Working Committee in a meeting on 23 October called upon the Congress ministries to resign, which they did as disciplined soldiers of the national movement. In order to break the political deadlock, and win the good will of Indians, the Viceroy Linlithgo (1936-43) on 8 August 1940, announced some political package for Indians, better known as 'August Offer'. In this offer, British promised 'Dominion Status' to Indians. But Congress rejected that offer and by the end of 1940 under the leadership of Gandhiji initiated a limited Satyagraha on an individual basis, as an expression of the Indian people's strong political feeling and opportunity to British Government to peacefully meet the Indian demands.

By 1941, the situation took an alarming turn. Nazi Germany had occupied the most of the Europe. It attacked the Soviet Union on 22 June 1941. In the East, Japan launched surprise attack on the American fleet at Pearl Harbour on 7 December. It quickly overran the Philippines, Indo-China, Indonesia, Malaysia and Burma. It occupied Rangoon in March 1942. War was brought to India's doorstep. The Japanese were proclaiming that they were coming to deliver India from the yoke of British but Indians did not believe in this propaganda. But they were not drawn closer to the British either. They realized that the present situation was entirely due to British, who had dragged them into the war against their will. For, it was argued, the Japanese would never have invaded India if she were not a part of the British Empire. Also, the Japanese victories had considerably lowered the British prestige and destroyed the myth of their invincibility. The Congress wanted to provide support to the British but only if it promised to grant independence to India after the war. The Working Committee held a meeting at Bardoli on 23 December 1941, passed

a resolution offering to fully cooperate in the defence of India and the allies, if Britain agreed to give full freedom after war and the substance of power immediately.

The leaders of the British Labour Party also began to show increasing concern about the state of affairs in India. On 19 December 1941, while Churchill was heading towards the United States, Ernest Boveri raised the issue on India in the War Cabinet. He mentioned that there was some anxiety in Britain about the situation in India, "both from the point of view of defence and of the Constitutional issue". He said that this issue should be discussed in Parliament. Attlee also laid stress on holding negotiation with Indians and win their good will and cooperation.

The seriousness of the war situation was brought closer home by the visit of Chinese President Marshal Chang Kai-Shek and his wife to India in February 1942. At the end of his visit, Marshal Kai-Shek made an appeal to the people of India for help in war, keeping hope that Britain would as early as possible give real powers to the Indian people. Soon after his return to China, Chiang Kai-Shek asked the Chinese ambassador in London to convey to Churchill through Cripps his frank views that if the Indian political problem was not immediately solved, the danger would be daily increasing. "If the British Government should wait until the Japanese planes begin to bomb India and the Indian morale collapse, it would already be too late".

As the war took the bad turn, countries like Australia, Canada and Afghanistan also began to put pressure on Britain to solve Indian problem. Though Churchill could ignore these nations, it was impossible for him to ignore, America's view on this issue. On 7 May 1941, the U.S. Secretary of State took with the British Government the possibility of a prompt recognition of India's aspiration to a free existence and a full membership in the British family of nation. The President also indicated his sympathy with this general line. When Churchill visited Washington in December 1941, President Roosevelt raised the Indian issue with him. Churchill did not welcome it at heart, but the help of U.S.A was then the only hope for the safety of the Britain and he could ignore Roosevelt's advice only at his country's peril.

The Liberals were fully impressed by the gravity of the Japanese menace and took a more realistic view of the situation than the other political parties in India and the British Government. On 3 January, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, the spokesman of the Liberal

opinion, dispatched a lengthy cable to Mr. Churchill, signed by fifteen non-party leaders, insisting that, “the heart of India must be touched to rouse her on a nation-wide scale to the call for service and urging the acceptance of the liberal programme- a National all India Government and a higher national status for India in international and inter-imperial relations”. Even some news paper like the Times and the Manchester Guardian reflected an expectation that the Government would offer inducements to India to cooperate in the war effort.

14.4 Proposals of the Cripps Mission

Thus on one hand, war was entering on the doors of India and on the other hand, suggestions for resolving Indian political deadlock were being made. British Government also realised the gravity of the situation and decided to seek Indian support by providing some concessions. The British War Cabinet started discussing the matter and the usual voluminous correspondence passed between the Indian Office and the Viceroy. Almost all the members of the War Cabinet felt that an offer of Dominion Status after the war must be made in the most impressive manner to the people of India. Hence, the diplomatic steps taken by the War Cabinet accelerated the launching process of Cripps Mission. On 11 March 1942, Mr. Winston Churchill, announced that the War Cabinet had reached a unanimous decision on Indian policy and that, in order to explain it and ‘to satisfy himself up on the spot by personal consultation that the conclusion up on which we agreed, and which we believe represent a just and final solution, will achieve their purpose’. Sir Stafford Cripps, who had recently joined the Government as Lord Privy Seal and become a member of the War Cabinet and the leader of the House of Commons, would proceed as soon as possible to India. Sir Stafford Cripps and his party arrived in Delhi on 22 March 1942, armed with British Government’s draft declaration. On the basis of which he was to conduct negotiation with leaders of Indian political parties and communities. Soon after reaching India, Sir Stafford Cripps held discussions with the Viceroy, members of his Executive Council and other official advisers and two days later with Indian leaders. On 29 March, these proposals were made public at a press conference. The draft declaration of the British Government contained the following proposals.

14.4.1 Dominion Status

In order to achieve the earliest possible realization of Self Government in India, the British Government proposed that steps should be taken to create a new Indian Union which will have the full status of a Dominion.

14.4.2 Setting up of a Constitution Making Body

Immediately after the cessation of hostilities a Constitution Making Body shall be set up.

14.4.3 Indian States

Provision shall be made for participation of Indian States in the Constitution Making Body.

14.4.4 Implementation of the new Constitution

His Majesty's Government undertaken to accept and implement forthwith the constitution so framed, subject to (i) the right of any province of British India that is not prepared to accept the new Constitution to retain its present Constitutional position, provision being made for its subsequent accession, if it so decides. With such non-acceding provinces, should they so desire, His Majesty's Government will be prepared to agree upon a new Constitution giving them the same full status as the Indian Union and arrived at a procedure analogous to that here laid down. (ii) The signing of a treaty shall be negotiated between His Majesty's Government and the Constitution Making Body. This treaty will cover all necessary matters arising out of the complete transfer of responsibility from British to Indian hands, it will make provision, in accordance with the undertakings given by his Majesty's Government, for the protection of racial and religious minorities, but will not impose any restriction on the power of the Indian Union to decide in future its relationship to other member states of the British Commonwealth. Whether or not an Indian state elects to adhere to the constitution, it will be necessary to negotiate a revision of its treaty arrangements so far as this may be required in the new situation.

14.4.5 Composition of the Constituent Assembly

The Constitution Making Body shall be composed as, follows, unless the leaders of Indian opinion in the principal communities agree upon some other form before the end of hostilities. Immediately upon the result being known of the provincial elections which will be necessary at the end of hostilities, the entire membership of the Lower Houses of provincial legislatures shall as a single electoral college, proceed to the election of the Constitution Making Body by the system of

proportional representation. This new body shall be in number about one tenth of the number of the Electoral College. Indian states shall be invited to appoint representatives in the same proportion to their total population as in the case of representatives of British India as a whole and with same powers as British Indian members.

14.4.6 Defence

Until the new constitution can be framed, the British Government must retain control of the defence of India as part of their world war effort, but the task of organizing to the full the military, moral and material resources of India must be the responsibility of the Government of India in cooperation with the peoples of India. To that end the British Government desire and invite the immediate and effective participation of the leaders of the principal sections of the Indian people in the counsels of their country, of the Commonwealth and of the United Nations.

14.5 Rejection of the proposals

The draft resolution of the Cripps Mission had brought a lot of confusion as well as contradiction among various political parties in India especially between the Congress and the Muslim League. It was not possible for the Congress to accept the proposal whole heartedly. Infact Gandhiji who met Cripps on March 27, told him bluntly, that if his Offer was no more than what was contained in the draft declaration then he need not stay in India but better take the first plane back to England. The long term proposals contained certain features which were not acceptable to Congress. The main objection of Congress was that there was not a single time mention of the complete independence for India either in immediate present or in the future. Besides other serious objections were the acceptance of Pakistan proposal in the provision and the selection of the state representations by the rulers. The Hindu Mahasabha rejected the long-term plan on the ground that the option given to the provinces to stay out of the union would destroy the unity of the country. The Sikhs also opposed the proposals as there was provision for separation provinces and declared their determination to resist by all possible means the separation of Punjab from the All India Union. The depressed classes denounced the scheme for it failure to provide the necessary safeguards for them. On the other hand, the Muslim League showed mixed reaction towards the proposals. Though provinces were allowed to opt cut of Indian Union, there was no clear mention about the formation of Pakistan.

It was clear that Congress would not accept the long-term proposals, as they did the virtual partition of the country. The general feeling was expressed by a pithy saying wrongly attributed to Gandhi that they were a “past dated cheque on a crashing bank”. The Congress Working Committee on 2 April adopted a resolution rejecting the Cripps Offer. But it decided not to publish it and to proceed negotiation on immediate issues like interim proposals. It was clear that there was to be an Indian defence member, in addition to the commander in chief, who would continue to be the supreme commander of the armed forces in India, but Indian defence member would function effectively. Sir Stafford Cripps accepted this proposal, but neither the Viceroy nor the His Majesty’s Government agreed in lessening in any way the powers of the commander in chief. There was also difference of opinion between the Congress and the Cripps on the character of the Central Government that was immediately to be set up. The Congress insisted that it must be a Cabinet Government with full powers (a National Government composed of Indian members in which the Viceroy would have the same position as the king vis-à-vis the British Cabinet) which Cripps had at first suggested but later withdrawn. There was a prolonged discussion on these points and in spite of the best efforts of Johnson, Roosevelt’s personal representative, the negotiations broke down on 10 April. As soon as this was known, the Working Committee of the Muslim League rejected the proposals mainly on the ground that the post war provisions permitting the partition of India were so framed as not to give real protection to the Muslims. Thus, the uncompromising attitude of the Viceroy, British Government and Indian leaders led to failure of the Mission. The refusal of the Cabinet to support Cripps made him feel humiliated and he came to the conclusion that his further stay in India would not serve any useful purpose. Therefore, at a press conference on 11 April, the draft was withdrawn and next day Sir Stafford Cripps left for England.

14.6 Aftermath of the Cripps Mission

After the failure of the Mission, Congress realized that Britain was just placating them in order to get their support for war effort. In reality they had no desire to transfer real power into Indian hands. Further silence meant to give British full power to decide India’s fate on their own will. The Congress leaders were of the opinion that now the stage had reached in the nationalist movement, when Indians should get complete independence. Also Gandhiji believed that India was not the enemy of Japan so she would not attack India, but as India was a British colony, it became the target of Japanese. Now Gandhiji

was in militant mood and was determined to launch another mass movement in order to achieve their goal. The result was the launching of Quit India Movement.

But the mission was not totally fruitless. Though the provinces were given the option to stay out of an independent Indian union but at the same time the background of making the Constitution was prepared. There is no doubt that Cripps's aim was to reopen the question of India's Constitutional future by removing the obstacle which Jinnah's demand for Pakistan had placed in its way. Through the proposals like post war Dominion Status with the right of secession, a Constitution Making Body, had made clear one thing that independence was a near and not a remote reality. Also the Indian leaders were not satisfied with the Cripps proposal, they became more desperate to gain complete independence for India. More clearly, the failure of the Cripps Mission prepared the ground for Congress action.

14.7 Conclusion / Let us sum up

Though the mission failed, it accelerated the process of power transfer as well as the gain of independence. There were two factors involved in this process. First was the proposals like the association of Indians with the defence, optional scheme for the provinces, transformation of the Executive Council into National Government etc. the other was the appearance of a radical change in the attitude of Indian leaders with its failure. These two combined together finally made the easy way to gain independence for India.

14.8 Glossary

Political deadlock: A state of affairs in which further action between two opposing forces is impossible.

Dominion status	:	A self governing nation under the nominal rule of the British monarch.
Satyagraha	:	Passive political resistance.
Invincibility	:	Impossible to defeat or overcome.
Ally	:	To join with another group, country, etc., in order to get or give support.

14.9 SAQ/CYP/Possible Answers

A.

1. Cripps Mission came to India in order to solve ____.
2. The mission made the offer of ____.
3. The Congress opposed proposals mainly due to the provision for ____.
4. The result of the failure of Cripps proposals was ____.

B.

1. Why Gandhiji launched the individual Satyagrah?
2. When did Cripps Mission arrive India?
3. What were result of the Cripps Mission?

Answers

- A. 1. Solve Indian political deadlock 2. Dominion Status 3. Separate provinces 4. Quit India Movement.
- B. 1. Due to dissatisfaction over August Offer 2. 22 March 1942 3. Quit India Movement.

14.10 Lesson End Exercise/Examination Oriented Questions

1. Why did British Government dispatch the Cripps Mission?
2. What were the main recommendations of the Cripps Mission?
3. Explain briefly the opposition of Cripps Mission by Congress and League?
4. What was the importance of the Cripps Mission?

14.11 Suggested Readings

- An Autobiography : J.L. Nehru
- Sri Aurobindo and the Cripps Mission to India : Sunayana Panda

India's Struggle for Independence	:	Bipan Chandra
Constitutional Development and National Movement of India	:	R.C. Agarwal
India from Curzon to Nehru and After	:	Durga Das
Modern India 1885 – 1947	:	Sumit Sarkar
Jinnah : India, Partition, Independence	:	Jaswant Singh

14.12 References

Sri Aurobindo and the Cripps Mission to India	:	Sunayana Panda
India's Struggle for Independence	:	Bipan Chandra
Constitutional Development and National Movement of India	:	R.C. Agarwal
India from Curzon to Nehru and After	:	Durga Das
Modern India 1885 – 1947	:	Sumit Sarkar

14.13 Model Test Paper

I. Long Answer Type Questions

1. Initially British Government was reluctant to offer any concession to Indians but later on changed its stance and sent Cripps Mission. Why?
2. Cripps Mission failed to lure Congress and League. Why?

II. Short Answer Type Questions

1. Did Cripps Mission accept Pakistan Proposal?
2. Who was responsible for the failure of the Cripps Mission?

III. Objective Type Questions

(a) The Prime Minister of Britain at the time of the appointment of Cripps Mission was

i. Winston Churchill ii. Linlithgo iii. Lord Chamberlain iv. Lord Wavell

(b) Cripps Mission left for England on

i. 10 March 1942 ii. 12 March 1942 iii. 11 April 1942 iv. 12 April 1942

QUIT INDIA MOVEMENT

15.1 Introduction

15.2 Objectives

15.3 Background

15.3.1 Disillusionment of Congress Leadership

15.3.2 Invasion of Japan and the Cripp's Halfway Proposals

15.3.3 Failure of the Cripps Mission

15.3.4 End of British Invincibility

15.3.5 Rising Prices and Arrogant Behavior of Foreign Soldiers

15.3.6 India's National Interest

15.3.7 British Policy of Repression

15.4 Programme of the Movement

15.5 Spread of the Movement

15.6 Response of different Regions and Sections

15.7 Suppression of the Movement

15.8 Gandhiji's Fast and release from Jail

15.9 Debate on Spontaneity and Violence of the Movement

15.10 Importance

15.11 Conclusion

15.12 Glossary

15.13 SAQ/CYP/Possible Answers

15.14 Lesson End Exercise, Examination Oriented Questions

15.15 Suggested Reading

15.16 References

15.17 Model Test Paper

15.1 INTRODUCTION

The Quit India Movement (1942) was the next major milestone after the Salt Satyagraha. It was a civil disobedience movement launched at the Bombay session of the All India Congress Committee or more simply by Mahatma Gandhi on 8, August 1942, for immediate independence. It is also known as the Bharat Chordo Andolan or the August Karanti. On 8 August 1942, Gandhi gave a slogan ‘Do or Die’ in his Quit India speech delivered in Bombay at the Gowalia Tank Maidan. The All India Congress Committee launched a mass protest demanding what Gandhi called “an orderly British withdrawal” from India.

15.2 Objectives

The objective of this lesson is to give an insight to you about:

- (a) The background of the movement.
- (b) Spontaneous and wide spread nature of the movement.
- (c) Hardships and brutal repression faced by the unarmed people.
- (d) Different phases of the movement.
- (e) Varied response from different regions and sections of Indian society.
- (f) Failure and importance of the movement.

15.3 Background

15.3.1 Disillusionment of Congress Leadership

In 1939, Indian nationalists were angry that British Governor-General of India, Lord Linlithgow, had without consultation with them brought India into the war. The Muslim League supported the war, but Congress was divided. At the outbreak of the war, the Congress Party had passed a resolution during the Wardha meeting of the Working Committee in September 1939, conditionally supporting in fight against fascism, but were rebuffed when they asked for independence in return. The Congress Working Committee made it clear that it was going to support war efforts only if the British gave some concessions on two key issues: a post-war independence pledge and an immediate National Government at the center. But what Linlithgow offered on 17 October fell far short of that. It became clear to the Congress that even during war or after that Britain had no intention of loosening their hold on India. In protest Congress Ministries resigned between 29 and 30 October 1939 but did not take any hasty action. Congress leadership wanted to initiate an immediate movement but it felt that masses were not yet ready and also Congress was not organizationally in a position to launch a struggle. On the other hand, Government instead of making some Constitutional concessions, started repressive measures. Freedom of the speech and press was curbed and a number of nationalist workers were arrested and imprisoned all over the country. When the situation began to deteriorate, the Viceroy in order to get Indian support issued a statement of new proposals on 8 August, 1940 known as 'August Offer.' But the offer was rejected both by the Congress and the League, as it did not come to their aspirations. Now Gandhiji decided to initiate a limited Satyagraha on an individual basis. The demand of the Satyagrahi would be for the freedom of speech to preach against participation in the war. The aim of this step was to warn British to accept the Indian demands and also to prepare the people for the coming struggle.

15.3.2 Invasion of Japan and the Cripp's Halfway Proposals

On the other hand the situation had become worse worldwide. Nazi Germany had conquered almost whole of the Europe and now turned its attention towards

Russia. Japan also joined the war by attacking American fleet at Pearl Harbour on December 7. It quickly overran countries in South East Asia and brought war to India's doorstep. Under these circumstances the British Government sent a delegation to India under Sir Stafford Cripps, in March 1942. The purpose of the mission was to negotiate with the Indian National Congress a deal to obtain total cooperation during the war in return of progressive devolution and distribution of power from the Crown and the Viceroy to elected Indian Legislature. The talks failed because they did not address the key demand of a time table of Self-Government and of definition of the powers to be relinquished. It offered only limited Dominion-Status that was wholly unacceptable to the Indian movement.

15.3.3 Failure of the Cripps Mission

The failure of the Cripps Mission made clear to Congress leaders that Britain was unwilling to make any constitutional concession even during the war and was determined to continue the India's unwilling partnership in the war. The Cripps Offer even convinced those Congressmen like Gandhi and Nehru, who did not want to hamper the British war efforts, that any further silence would mean accepting the right of the British Government to decide India's fate without any reference to the wishes of her people. Moreover, Congress leaders realized that India was suffering due to Japan's enmity towards Britain. Japan was against Britain and not against Indians. So it wanted to invade India because of its being part of British Empire. If the British left India, Japan would not attack India. Inspired by this belief, Gandhi told the British to quit India lock, stock and barrel. On 5 July, 1942, he wrote in Harijan, "Do not leave India to Japan but leave India to Indians in an orderly manner."

15.3.4 End of British Invincibility

The new popular mood of August 1942 was caused by the rout of the British by the Japanese in South East Asia. The people came to believe firmly that the British rule was ending. The popular faith in the stability of British rule had reached such a low that there was a run on the banks and people withdrew deposits from post office saving accounts and started hoarding gold, silver and coins.

15.3.5 Rising Prices and Arrogant Behavior of Foreign Soldiers

The steeply rising inflation and the acute shortage of food stuffs caused by the war had a major role. The British, who were successfully managing the war economy at home, did not make any serious effort to do the same in India. The arrogant behavior of most of the foreign soldiers (British, American and Australian) stationed in India added fuel to the fire. The Government added to the miseries of the people by destroying thousands of boats in Bengal and Orissa to prevent their being used by the Japanese. This led to considerable anger among the people.

15.3.6 India's National Interest

Calculations by the congress leaders, a majority of whom including Gandhi, began to calculate India's national interest in the event of an Allied defeat which was very much on the cards in the mid-1942.

15.3.7 British Policy of Repression

British provocation before the passage of the Quit India resolution and their policy of whole sale repression after its passage by the congress was equally responsible for the Revolt of 1942. After their defeat in South East Asia, the British evacuation also angered the Indians. There was a general feeling that British had evacuated the white residents and left the subject people to their fate. Therefore, Congress feared that in case of Japanese invasion of India, British would repeat the performance in India. Congress leaders also realized that people were becoming demoralized and in case of Japanese invasion might not be able to resist at all. In order to build their capacity to resist Japanese invasion, it was necessary to launch a struggle in order to draw them out of this demoralized state of mind and convince them of their own power.

15.4 Programme of the Movement

Thus Gandhiji was convinced that time was suitable to launch a movement as path of compromise had faded away and people were ready to strike. He wrote a number of articles in Harijan exhorting the people to be active. The Congress Working Committee held a meeting at Wardha on 14 July, 1942, in which the resolution to launch a movement was passed. The All India Congress Committee was then to meet in Bombay in August to

endorse this decision. The “Quit India” resolution, adopted by the AICC in Bombay on 8 August 1943, proposed to begin this mass civil disobedience under Gandhi’s direction if power was not immediately handed over to the Indians. On this occasion Gandhi delivered his famous “Do or Die” speech, arguing that this was the final battle a “fight to the finish” and so the Indians must win independence or give up their lives for it. But Gandhiji’s intention was not to launch an immediate movement as he said that he would plead before the Viceroy for the acceptance of Congress demand of complete independence and this would take two to three weeks. While speaking about slogan “Do or Die” he said, “Here is a mantra, a short one that I give you. You may imprint it on your hearts and let every breath of yours give expression to it. The mantra is, “Do or Die”. We shall either free India or die in attempt; we shall not live to see the perpetuation of our slavery”. In his speech Gandhiji gave following instructions to people.

- Government servants would not resign yet, but they should openly declare their allegiance to the Congress.
- Soldiers would not leave their posts, but would refuse to fire on our own people.
- The Princes were to accept the sovereignty of their own people, instead of paying homage to a foreign power.
- People of the princely states were asked to declare that they were part of the Indian nation and that they would accept the leadership of the princes if the latter cast their lot with the people.
- Students were to give up studies if they were sure that they could continue to remain firm till independence was achieved.
- Peasants who had courage and were prepared to risk their all, should refuse to pay the land revenue
- For tenants it was declared that land belonged to those who worked on it and to one else.
- For zamindars it was declared that if they made common cause with the ryot, their portion of revenue, which was to be settled by mutual agreement, should be given to them. But if the zamindars took the side of the Government, no tax would be paid to them.

15.5 Spread of the Movement

This fired the imagination of an already rankled Indian population expecting a breakdown of the established authority. The Government was in no mood to either negotiate with the Congress or wait for the movement to be formally launched. In the early hours of 9 August, all the top leaders of the Congress were arrested and taken to unknown places. The arrest of leaders was followed by unprecedented mass fury that goes by the name of “August Revolution” in nationalist legends. The unusual intensity of the movement surprised everyone. Viceroy Linlithgow described it as “by far the most serious rebellion since 1857”. It was violent and totally uncontrolled from the very beginning, as the entire upper echelon of the congress leadership was behind bars even before it began. And therefore, it is also characterized as a “spontaneous revolution; as no preconceived plan could have produced such instantaneous and uniform results”. On the Question of non-violence, Gandhi this time was remarkably ambivalent. “I do not ask from you my own non-violence. You can decide what you can do in this struggle”, said Gandhi on 5 August. In other words, the issue of non-violence seemed to have been of lesser importance in 1942 than the call for “Do or Die” or the invitation to make a final sacrifice for the liberation of the nation. In the words of Gyanendra Pandey, Gandhi was “the undisputed leader of a movement over which he had little command”.

Sumit Sarkar has identified three phases of the Quit India Movement. It initially started as an urban revolt, marked by strikes, boycott and picketing, which were quickly suppressed.

In the middle of August, the focus shifted to the countryside, which witnessed a major peasant rebellion, marked by destruction of communication system such as railway tracks and stations, telegraph wires and attacks on Government buildings or any other visible symbol of colonial authority and finally, the formation of “national governments” in isolated pockets. For example a Parallel Government was established in Ballia in East U.P., in August 1942, and in Tamluk in the Midnapur district of Bengal the Jatiya Sarkar came into existence in December 1942. The great enthusiasm was shown by labourers in mills and factories. The textiles mills particularly those in Ahmedabad and Madras had to be closed. In Jamshedpur there was a strike for thirteen days and workers in Ahmednagar and Poona were active for several months.

This brought in severe Government repression forcing the agitation to move underground. The third phase was characterized by terrorist activities which primarily involved sabotaging of war efforts by dislocating communication system and propaganda activities by using various means, including a clandestine Radio Station run by hitherto unknown Usha Mehta from "Some where in India". Not only the educated youth participated in such activities, but also bands of ordinary peasants organized such subversive actions by night, which came to be known as the "Karnataka Method". What is important, these so called "terrorists" enjoyed enormous popular support and patronage, so that the definition of "underground" in British official parlance virtually got expanded to cover the entire nation, as no Indian could anymore be trusted by the authorities. As time passed, underground activities came to be channeled into three streams, with a radical group under the leadership of Jayaprakash Narayan organizing guerrilla warfare at India Nepal border, a centrist group led by Congress Socialists like Aruna Asaf Ali mobilizing volunteers throughout India for sabotage activities, and a Gandhian group led by Sucheta kripalani and others emphasizing non-violent action and constructive programme. This leadership saw the role of the underground movement as being that of keeping up popular morale by continuing to provide a line of command and a source of guidance and leadership to activists all over the country. In the Quit India Movement, there was use of violence at an unprecedented scale and the government used it as a justification for repression. The wartime emergency powers were taken advantage of to use the army for the first time as many as fifty-seven battalions of British troops were deployed to crush what was essentially a civilian agitation. Churchill defended this swift and ruthless repression and silenced a critical world opinion by citing the needs of war. By the end of 1942, the "August Revolution" had been thoroughly crushed, with nearly ninety-two thousand people arrested by the end of 1943.

15.6 Response of different regions and sections

However, the whole of India did not convulse in the same way, as the intensity of the movement varied from region to region. The movement would evidently appear to have been most powerful in Bihar where the Kisan Sabha had done major preparatory organizational groundwork. The student initiative was soon appropriated by the masses, who burnt railway stations, municipal buildings and post offices and the local police seemed powerless, until the army was called out. Isolated police thanas were taken over and

destroyed when the lower level village police and local civilian administrators vacated their posts without resistance. The movement was covertly supported by the zamindars and merchants who supplied funding and participation came from across caste barriers. The most significant example of lower caste participation here was the formation of a parallel government in Barh by the Gops and Dusadhs, who formed their own “Raj” and started levying taxes. The peasant movement in Bihar was ruthlessly suppressed by the British army, which was given a free hand to torture and burn down entire villages. The movement here after went underground and was co-ordinated from around 1943 by a new organizational structure called the Azad Dastas or guerrilla bands, which operated mainly in south Bihar, conducting raids on ammunition depots, treasuries and other government offices. Some of the CSP leaders like Jayaprakash Narayan tried to maintain control over the Dastas, but the latter soon developed links with the professional dacoit gangs of low caste landless peasants and indulged in what has been described as “social crime”. The CSP at this stage began to distance itself from the Dastas and the movement was finally suppressed in 1944. The Quit India movement here thus came to a rather “anti-climactic end” due to the lack of leadership. In contrast to Bihar and eastern UP, the Quit India movement was less instantaneous and intense, but more prolonged in other regions of India. Since April 1942, in the coastal areas of Midnapur, the Government destroyed nearly eighteen thousand boats in pursuance of its ‘denial policy; and this not only deprived the peasants of their vital means of communication, but also impacted very badly on the local economy. The situation was further complicated by a devastating cyclone and tidal wave on 16 October killing nearly fifteen thousand people. The local district officer refused relief as a retaliatory measure; so the Congress organized alternative relief camps and thus became more popular. What is more important, the Congress now moved on to establish parallel national government.

So, when in August 1944 Gandhi gave a call for surrender, unlike their Midnapur counterparts, most of the members of the Satara Prati Sarkar decided to defy Mahatma’s instruction and stuck to his earlier call for “Do or Die”. This parallel government continued to function until the election of 1946, despite various British attempts to repress it.

The Quit India Movement marked a new high in terms of popular participation and sympathy with the national cause. The youth were in the forefront of the struggle. Students from colleges and schools played an important role. Women also did not lag behind.

Aruna Asaf Ali and Sucheta Kripalani were two major organizers of the underground movement. Workers too played an important role and faced a lot of suppression. Peasants were the heart of the movement in different parts of the country. Many smaller zamindars especially in U.P. and Bihar also participated. Even big zamindars maintained a stance of neutrality and refused to assist the British in crushing the rebellion. Government officials especially at the lower levels also provided support by giving shelter, providing information and helping monetarily. Jail officials became much kinder to prisoners than in earlier days.

There were important social groups who consciously stayed away from the movement. The most important of them were the Muslims, who stood aloof from the campaign almost in all regions and therefore, the Muslim League, which did not approve of the movement, could claim that it represented the majority of the Indian Muslims. But although their abstention was nearly universal, the Muslims did not oppose Quit India actively, except perhaps in some parts of Gujarat, and there was no major incident of communal conflict throughout the whole period. On the other hand, Dr. B.R. Ambedkar, the leader of the Dalits, who had joined the Viceroy's Executive Council as a labour member just before had decided to cooperate with the British for another reason. Like Nehru, he thought that Fascists and Japan were more dangerous than the British. Opposing Gandhiji's decision to launch the Quit India Movement, he declared that the "patriotic duty of all Indians" was rather to prevent such movements from creating "anarchy and chaos which would unquestionably help and facilitate the subjugation of this country by Japan". But once again although many of his supporters did not join, we have evidence of Dalit participation in the Quit India Movement in various regions and cross-caste unity was never a rare occurrence in this campaign (as shown earlier). It is also important to remember that the Hindu Mahasabha too condemned the Quit India Movement as "sterile unmanly and injurious to the Hindu cause" and stalwart Hindu leaders like V.D. Savarkar, B.S. Munje and Shyama Prasad Mukherjee whole-heartedly supported British war efforts that were allegedly being wrecked by the Congress campaign. But despite this official line, a strong group of Mahasabha members led by N.C. Chatterjee seemed eager to participate in it and under their pressure the Mahasabha Working Committee had to adopt a face caving but vague resolution stating that defence of India could not be supported unless freedom of India was recognized with immediate effect. The other Hindu organization, RSS, which until now had its main base in Maharashtra, remained aloof as well. As the

Bombay government noted in a memo; “The Sang has scrupulously kept itself within the law, and in particular, has refrained from taking part in the disturbances that broke out in August 1942”. At the beginning of the Second World War, the Communist Party called it an imperialistic war. But when Germany attacked Russia, this stand changed and Indian Communists began to call it a people’s war to extend helping hand to the Government. The Communists naturally boycotted the movement.

15.7 Suppression of the Movement

The revolt lasted only three months. It failed to paralyze the Government machinery to seize power. The main reason of the failure of movement was the brutal repression by the Government. At the beginning almost all leaders were arrested and the movement was made leaderless. And when the movement started, the Government suppressed it with full might. It placed restrictions on the press and arrested thousands of people. At many places crowds faced police and military firing and they were also machine gunned by low flying aircraft. Repression also took the form of taking hostages from the villages, imposing collective fines, whipping of suspects and burning of entire villages. There were also tactical mistakes in the organization and planning of the movement. Most of the government servants remained loyal to the Government. Also, the movement failed, because of the very nature of the mass movements. Mass movements can not stand for a long time, especially when faced with repression.

15.8 Gandhiji’s Fast and Release from Jail

The Government threw the entire responsibility of widespread violence on Gandhiji. Gandhiji refused such baseless charges and decided to observe 21 days fast to prove his innocence before God. The fast began on 10 February and his condition became critical after 13 days. There was countrywide agitation for his release. But the Viceroy refused to set him free. But despite his worsening condition, Gandhi survived his fast. In April, 1944, Gandhi again fell seriously ill and was thus released on 6 May 1944. Once again Gandhiji started the constructive work but Government took no repressive action as the Viceroy was busy in formulating an offer known as Wavell Offer, which was to pre-empt a struggle by effecting an agreement with the Congress before the war with Japan ended. The Congress leaders were released to participate in the Simla Conference in June 1945. That marked the end of the phase of confrontation that had existed since August 1942.

15.9 Debate on Spontaneity and Violence of the Movement

The debate on the Quit India Movement has centered particularly on two issues.

First, the element of spontaneity in the movement of 1942 was certainly larger than in the earlier movements. In Quit India Movement, the broad programme had not yet been spelt out clearly since the leadership was yet to formally launch the movement. Besides this, the degree of spontaneity and popular initiative that was actually exercised had been sanctioned by the leadership itself. The resolution passed by the AICC on 8 August 1942 clearly stated: "A time may come when it may not be possible to issue instruction or for instructions to reach our people, and when no Congress committees can function. When this happens, every man and woman who is participating in this movement must function for himself or herself with in the four corners of the general instructions issued. Every Indian who desires freedom and strives for it must be his own guide."

Second, as for as the use of violence in 1942 was concerned, there were many who refused to use or sanction violent means and confined themselves to the traditional weaponry of the Congress. But many of those, including many staunch Gandhians, who used 'violent means' in 1942, felt that the peculiar circumstances warranted their use. Gandhiji refused to condemn violence of the people because he saw it as a reaction to the much bigger violence of the state. In Francis Hutchins's view, Gandhiji's major objection to violence was that its use prevented mass participation in a movement, but that, in 1942, Gandhiji had come round to the view that mass participation would not be restricted as a result of violence.

15.10 Importance of the Movement

Though the movement failed to realize the immediate goal of independence, but it succeeded very well in awakening and emboldening masses. It removed from Indian hearts the fear of bullets. All sections of Indian society took active part in it. Hitherto unpoliticised areas and apolitical groups had fallen in line with the rest of the country and the militancy of the politicized sections was evident in the heroic actions of the movement. The outbreak of this movement gave a fillip to the Indian National Army as well as the other movements as well. Not only different sections of society, but also government officials especially those at lower levels of the police and administration, were generous in their assistance to the movement. In fact, the erosion of loyalty to the British Government of its own officers was

one of the most striking aspects of this movement. Thus the space occupied by the national movement was far larger than that over which the Raj cast its shadow. Thus the movement shook the roots of the British rule in India. Now the British realized that if they failed to find soon a way of handing over power smoothly, there was likelihood of a greater revolution.

15.11 Conclusion

The Quit India Movement is one of the most important event in the history of Indian freedom struggle against British. Though the movement was unable to achieve freedom but it did succeed to compel the British Government to quit India. This movement further broaden the social base of the Nationalist Movement. Besides students, peasants and women, the other social groups like zamindars and officials especially at the lower levels of administration, who were considered loyal to the Government, showed their sympathy towards the movement. Thus this movement made it clear to the British Government that legitimacy to their rule had ended and this realization made them to make efforts to quit India in a graceful manner.

15.12 Glossary

Fascism	:	A governmental system led by a dictator having complete power, forcibly suppressing opposition etc., and emphasizing an aggressive nationalism and often racism.
Pledge	:	A solemn promise or undertaking.
Spontaneous	:	Performed or occurring as a result of a sudden impulse or inclination and without premeditation or external stimulus.
Parallel government	:	A collection of organizations or institutions that are state-like in their organization and structure, but they are not officially part of the legitimate state.
Dalit	:	A member of the lowest class in traditional Indian society.

15.13 SAQ/CYP/Possible Answers

State whether True or False

- (i) Quit India Movement began after the failure of the Cripps Mission.
- (ii) Quit India Movement was not a spontaneous movement.
- (iii) The goal of Quit India Movement was Self Government.
- (iv) Prati Sarkar was formed in_____.
- (v) Gandhiji was released on_____.

Answers

- (i) True (ii) False (iii) False (iv) Satara (v) Health grounds.

15.14 Lesson End Exercise, Examination Oriented Question

1. Discuss the causes responsible for the launching of the Quit India Movement.
2. Discuss the process of the spread of the Quit India Movement.
3. Why Quit India Movement failed and what was its importance?

15.15 Suggested Reading

Constitutional Development and National Movement of India	:	R.C.Agarwal.
India from Curzon to Nehru and After	:	Durga Das.
India's Struggle for Independence	:	Bipan Chandra and Co.
Modern India	:	Bipan Chandra.
Modern India 1885-1947	:	Sumit Sarkar
An Autobiography	:	J.L. Nehru
From Plassey to Partition A History of Modern India	:	Sekhar Bandyopadhyay
Jinnah	:	India, Partition,

15.16 References

- From Plassey to Partition A History
of Modern India : Sekhar Bandyopadhyay
- Constitutional Development and
National Movement of India : R.C. Agarwal.
- India from Curzon to Nehru and After : Durga Das.
- India's Struggle for Independence : Bipan Chandra and Co.
- Modern India : Bipan Chandra.
- Modern India 1885-1947 : Sumit Sarkar

15.17 Model Test Paper

Long Answer Type Questions

1. Quit India Movement was a spontaneous movement. Do you agree with it?
2. What was the programme of the Quit India Movement?
3. Discuss the failure of the Quit India Movement?

Short Answer Type Questions

1. What was the realization of the British after the Quit India Movement?
2. Gandhiji started a fast in jail in February 1943. Why?

Objective Type Questions

1. **The resolution of Quit India Movement was passed on**
(a) 14 July, 1942 (b) 8 August, 1942 (c) 9 August, 1942 (d) None of the above
2. **Gandhiji was released on**
(a) 5 May, 1944 (b) 6 May, 1944 (c) 7 May, 1944 (d) 8 May, 1944
3. **The Congress Working Committee held meeting on 14 July, 1942 at**
(a) Poona (b) Bombay (c) Wardha (c) Calcutta

B. A. III Semester

Unit : IV

Course No. : 301

Lesson : 16

CABINET MISSION AND MOUNTBATTEN PLAN

16.1 Introduction

16.2 Objectives

16.3 Background

16.3.1 End of British Hegemony

16.3.2 Decline of British Prestige

16.3.3 Shortage of European ICS Officials

16.3.4 Contradiction in British Strategy

16.3.5 Realization of Reality

16.4 Recommendations of the Cabinet Mission

16.4.1 Examination of Proposals for Creation of Pakistan

16.4.2 Short Term Plan

16.4.3 Long Term Plan

16.5 Reaction of the Congress

16.6 Muslim League's Reaction to the Plan

16.7 Acceptance of the Plan

16.8 League's Withdrawal from the Plan

16.9 Interim Government

16.10 Merits and Demerits of the Plan

MOUNTBATTEN PLAN

16.11 Background

16.12 Main Features of the Plan

16.13 Implementation of the Plan

16.14 Indian Independence Act

16.15 Conclusion/Let us sum up

16.16 Glossary

16.17 SAQ/CYP/Possible Answers

16.18 Lesson End Exercise, Examination Oriented Questions

16.19 Suggested Reading

16.20 References

16.21 Model Test Paper

16.1 Introduction

On 19 February 1946, Atlee the Prime Minister of Britain in the House of Commons announced the decision to dispatch the special mission of Cabinet Ministers. The dispatch popularly known as Cabinet Mission was comprised of three members. These members were Pathick Lawrence the Secretary of State for India, Sir Stafford Cripps president of the Board of Trade and A.V.Alexander, first Lord of Admiralty. The decision to send out the Mission was taken by the British Cabinet on 22 January 1946 and even its announcement on 19 February 1946 had been stated a week earlier. The announcement of the British Prime Minister to send the mission spoke of the Indian Independence coming soon. But the proposals of the mission could neither satisfy Congress nor Muslim League and the situation started deteriorating. Therefore, British Government sent Lord Mountbatten as

Viceroy to solve the Indian problem. On reaching India and interacting with Indian leaders, Mountbatten arrived at a conclusion that proposals of Cabinet Mission had become inapplicable and only solution to Indian political problem was partition. Thus, he formulated a plan known as Mountbatten Plan. Under this plan freedom was granted to India but with partition.

16.2 Objectives

By studying this lesson, you will be able to know:

- (a) British motives behind sending Cabinet Mission.
- (b) Cabinet Mission's attempt to appease both Congress and League, a total reversal of traditional policy.
- (c) Failure of Congress and League to arrive on a common platform.
- (d) Failure of Mission and dispatch of Mountbatten to solve Indian political problem.
- (e) Mountbatten's solution i.e. independence with partition.

16.3 Background

16.3.1 End of British Hegemony

During the Second World War, the political situation of India changed to a large extent. During the Quit India Movement, the Nationalist Movement further penetrated its roots among masses. Besides women, children and peasants, many smaller zamindars also participated.

Even big zamindars maintained a stance of Neutrality. Government officials, especially those at the lower level of administration remained sympathetic towards the movement. Jail officials also became kinder to prisoners than in earlier years. The success of the Nationalist Movement in the struggle for hegemony over Indian society was clear by the end of the war. When British started trials of INA men, opposition started even from those groups who were their supporters. Men in armed forces and bureaucracy openly attended meetings, contributed money, voted for congress and let it be known that they were doing so. When the ratings of the Royal Indian Navy (RIN) went on strike, all sections of Indian society came forward in their support.

16.3.2 Decline of British Prestige

The British rule in India was based to a large extent on the moral force i.e. to make people believe that the rulers were basically motivated by the desire to work for their welfare. The British also believed that it was sufficient if people were impressed by the aura of the stolidity the Raj exceeded and considered that its foundations were unstable. Now it became clear to them that they were losing this prestige and the ship was sinking and sinking fast.

16.3.3 Shortage of European ICS Officials

There was shortage of European recruits to the ICS. This was combined with the policy of Indianization of these services. Consequently this ended British domination of the ICS as early as the First World War. By 1939 British and Indian members achieved parity. Also for new European officials, serving the Raj was career and not a mission. The war had increased their problems. By 1945 war weariness was acute and long absence from home was telling their moral. Many were due to retire while others were expected to seek premature retirement.

16.3.4 Contradiction in British Strategy

The major problem British were facing was the contradiction in their strategy of countering nationalism. When the government suppressed the non violent movement, its force stood exposed and when it did not use force or made a truce, it was seen weak to wield control and its authority and prestige were undermined. When the government suppressed the Quit India Movement, imprisoned Gandhi and decided to go ahead with the INA trials, it was opposed by the liberals and loyalists and when in 1945-46, it tried to persuade Congress to form government, the supporters were upset. The officials were also facing the problem of action. Action could be decisive when the policy was clear-cut- repression or conciliation and not both. The mix policy could create problems when the same set of officials had to implement both poles of policy.

16.3.5 Realization of Reality

By the end of the war it became clear for the British that the soil was corroding under their feet and the demand for leniency to INA men from within the army

and the revolt with in the section of the RIN further conveyed them that the storm brewing this time may prove irrepressible. There fore, the British Government came to realize fully that it was not possible to rule on old basis for a long time and started thinking for a graceful withdrawal from India. It became clear before government that a settlement was must both for the good future relation and to bury the ghost of a mass movement. Keeping this in mind, the British Government decided to send Cabinet Mission to India.

16.4 Recommendations of the Cabinet Mission

Thus, on the one hand the rulers were feeling the necessity of settlement and on the other hand the Nationalist leaders were willing to negotiate with them. But there were differences over of post imperial order. The Congress demand was that first India should be granted freedom and than issue of minorities would be settled. British wanted a united India, friendly with Britain and an active partner in Commonwealth defence. League wanted that the issue of minorities should be settled in the presence of British. Now British made a clear shift in their policy. This became evident when Attlee made a statement in the House of Commons on 15 March 1946 that a minority will not be allowed to place a veto on the progress of the majority. The Cabinet Mission reached Delhi on 24 March 1946 mainly to explore the following objectives:

- (i) Whether India would like to associate with the Commonwealth or would be completely independent.
- (ii) To find out means for the transfer of power to the Indian hands.

On 25 March 1946, the Secretary of State held a press conference at Delhi and declared, “We have now to work out in cooperation the means by which the Indian can themselves decide the form of their new institutions with the minimum of disturbance and the maximum of speed”. About the minorities, he observed, “while the Congress are representatives of large numbers it would not be right to regard the Muslim League as merely a minority political party- they are infect majority representatives of the great Muslim Community”.

The Mission held prolonged discussions with Indian leaders of all parties and groups. From 1 to 17 April, 1946, the mission interviewed 742 leaders in 182 sittings, covering every shade of opinion and the negotiation and interviews lasted

for seven weeks. During this long process of debate and discussion, Congress and League did not arrive at any agreement, as the League advocated the Two Nation Theory, while the Congress pleaded for a Unitary Government. Therefore, the Mission published its own scheme on 16 May 1946. The Plan may be divided into three parts.

16.4.1 Examination of Proposals for Creation of Pakistan

The Muslim League had demanded the separate state of Pakistan consisting of six provinces (Assam, Bengal, Punjab, Sind, NWFP and Baluchistan). But the proposal of Mission that Pakistan should consist of only the Muslim majority areas was not acceptable to the Muslim League. Therefore, it rejected the Muslim League demand for Pakistan on following grounds.

- (i) The number of Muslims in British India and non-Muslims in Pakistan would still remain considerable.
- (ii) The inclusion of districts in Pakistan pre-dominated by non-Muslims was not justifiable.
- (iii) The division of Punjab and Bengal was against the wishes and interests of a very large proportion of the inhabitants of these provinces.
- (iv) Disintegration of the transportation as well as postal and telegraph system would prove injurious.
- (v) Division of armed forces would entail the greatest dangers.
- (vi) The Princely States would find it difficult to join one or the other union.
- (vii) The two halves of Pakistan would be separated by hundreds of miles and the communication between them, both in war and peace, would be dependant on the goodwill of India.

16.4.2 Short Term Plan

The Short Term Plan was that an Interim Government would be for formed and joined by all the major political parties to carry on the administration while the constitution making was in progress. The Interim Government was to comprise of only Indian ministers.

16.4.3 Long Term Plan

- There should be Union of India, comprising British India and the States, which would deal with Foreign Affairs, Communication and Defence and should have the power to raise the finances required for such subject.
- The Union would comprise an Executive and a Legislature constituted from British India and States representatives. If there arise any communal issue it was to be resolved by a majority of the representatives present and voting of each of the two major communities as well as a majority of all the members present and voting.
- Full autonomy was to be enjoyed by provinces for all subjects other than union subjects and all residuary powers were vested to them.
- Provinces were to be free to form groups with Executives and Legislatures and each group was to determine the provincial subjects to be taken in common.
- A Constitution Making Body was to be constituted immediately by the provincial Legislative Assemblies.
- The members of each provincial Legislative Assembly would be divided into three groups-General, Muslims and Sikhs.
- Each group was to elect its own representatives to the Constituent Assembly by the method of proportional representation with the single transferable vote.
- The number of representatives allotted to each province and community was to be proportional to its population, roughly in the ratio of one to a million. This method was applied to eleven governor's provinces while a different procedure was made in respect of the four Chief Commissioner's Provinces.
- Provinces were divided into three sections. Section A-comprising Madras, Bombay, Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Central provinces and Orissa. Section B- consisting of Punjab, NWFP and Sind. Section C- consisting of Bengal and Assam.
- Three out of the four Chief Commissioners Provinces, (Delhi, Ajmer –Marwar and Coorg) were to join section A and one (Baluchistan) to section B.

The total number of members constituting Constituent Assembly was as under. British India Provinces comprising 292 members. Chief Commissioner's Provinces 4 members.

Indian States 93 members.

- Each section was to make Constitution for its own provinces and to make decision whether a group constitution should be set up.
- After an initial period of ten years and there after at ten yearly intervals a province could by a majority vote of its Legislative Assembly, call for a reconsideration of the group or Union Constitution.
- A province could by a decision of its legislature come out of a group after the first general elections.
- The Constituent Assembly would make a treaty with Britain to provide for a certain matters arising out of the transfer of power.
- After the enforcement of the new Constitution, the British Government would cease to exercise the powers of Paramountcy. In that case, Indian states were to either enter into a federal relationship with the successor Government or Governments in British India, or enter into particular arrangement with it or them.

16.5 Reaction of the Congress

On 17 May, Gandhi ji issued a statement about the Plan that British had fulfilled the obligation of granting freedom to Indians. It would convert this land of sorrow into one without sorrow and suffering but he expressed his unwillingness against the nature of Constituent Assembly and grouping of provinces. Maulana Azad on 20 May, made a statement that the grouping had compelled the provinces to sit in a section and dominating provinces could even lay down rules, for elections and would thus nullify the provision for a province to opt out of group. On 24 May, the Congress Working Committee made a statement that the Plan was different from its objectives i.e. independence for India, a strong though limited central authority, full autonomy for provinces, establishment of a democratic structure at centre and in the provinces, guarantee of the fundamental rights.

The Working Committee also expressed itself against the initial grouping of provinces considering it inconsistent with the freedom promised to provinces. The Committee stated

that the respective provinces should be free to make their choice whether or not to belong to the section in which they were placed. Thus, the Constituent Assembly must be considered as a sovereign body with final authority for making a Constitution.

16.6 Muslim League's Reaction to the Plan

On 22 May, Jinnah made a statement that the Mission had not accepted the Muslim League's demand of sovereign Pakistan which was the only solution to constitutional deadlock of India. The Plan had divided Pakistan into two zones and instead of two, only one Constituent Making Body was proposed. League wanted that finance raised by centre should be through contributions and not by taxation. Regarding a communal issue, League stated that (a) there should be no Legislature for the union, (b) there should be parity of representation between Pakistan group and Hindustan group in the Union Executive and Legislature and (c) no decision should be taken by the Union in regard to any matter except by a majority of three-fourths. League also wanted that provinces should have the right to question the Union Constitution now, not wait for ten years. League also feared that the Constituent Making Body would be dominated by Hindus and thus reduce them to a minority. In short these two parties give different interpretation to the Plan. Congress regarded grouping as optional and League considered it compulsory. To clear the misunderstanding, the Mission on 25 May, made a statement that grouping was an essential feature of the scheme and could only be modified by agreement between the parties.

16.7 Acceptance of the Plan

Jinnah had thought that the Congress would reject the Plan, in which case British might ask him to form the Interim Government at the Centre. The League announced its acceptance of the plan on 6 June in so far as the basis of Pakistan was implied in the Mission Plan by virtue of the compulsory grouping and desired to cooperate with the Constitution making machinery, in the hope that it would ultimately result in the establishment of a completely sovereign Pakistan. Congress though not satisfied with the Plan, accepted the Plan on June 25, they decided to join the proposed Constituent Assembly with a view to framing the Constitution of a free united democratic India.

16.8 Leagues Withdrawal from the Plan

Nehru the new president of the Congress in his speech to the AICC on 7 July 1946 said, "We are not bound by a single thing except that we have decided to go into the

Constituent Assembly. On 10 July, he farther said, the Constituent Assembly was a sovereign body and that in all probability there would be no groups at all". This provided best excuse and an opportunity to withdraw from joining the Interim Government. On July 29 the Working Committee in a resolution, withdrawing League's acceptance of Mission Plan and declaring Direct Action from 16 August to achieve Pakistan.

16.9 Interim Government

Meanwhile Wavell's parallel efforts to set up a short term coalition Interim Government at Centre had also broken down. League wanted a ratio of five Congress Hindus, five League Muslims, one Sikh, one Scheduled Caste. The Congress rejected such offer, wanted the right to include Muslims and Harijins among its nominees. As against the Leagues 12 member and Congress 15 member Interim Cabinet, the Viceroy suggested a formula of 14 member Government on June 16, comprising 6 Congress (including a representative of S.C) five Muslim League, one Sikh, one Indian Christian and one Parsi. Jinnah now hoped that the Viceroy would invite him to form the Interim Government as he said that the delegation and the Viceroy "were in honor bound to go ahead with the formation of the Interim Government". Instead of doing so, Wavell had to set up a Caretaker Government of officials alone on 4 July. But with in a few weeks the Viceroy began insisting on the need for somehow getting the Congress into the Interim Government, even if the League stayed out, a major departure from his stand at the Simla Conference, as well as forms his preferences only a month earlier. The explanation once again lay in fear of possible mass action. If the Congress assumed the responsibility that would realize that firm control of unruly elements was necessary and they might put down the Communists. Also he wanted to keep them so busy with administration that they had much less time for politics. Thus, the Interim Government was formed on 2 September 1946, with Congress members alone with Nehru as defacto head (comprising 14 members).

On the other hand under the slogan of 'Direct Action' on 16 August communal violence started on a wide scale. With the battle cry, Muslim communal groups provoked communal frenzy in Calcutta. Hindu communal groups retaliated in equal measure and the cost was, 5000 lives lost. The communal violence started in other places also and soon entire country was engulfed. As a result, both British and Congress feared about the ensuance of civil war and started the process of negotiation with Jinnah. Ultimately, on 26 October 1946, League joined the Interim Government though it had not accepted either the Short

or Long Term provisions of the Cabinet Mission Plan and had not given up its policy of Direct Action. Jinnah had also his own interests in joining the Interim Government. He had realized that Nehru led Congress Government would further endanger the prospects of Pakistan if they had been left there in sole charge of the administration. League wanted to wreck the Interim Government from within and to use it as a platform for fighting the cause of Pakistan. For Jinnah, the Interim Government was the continuation of civil war by other means. The members of two parties started blocking working of each other, became rivals of each other. League members questioned action taken by Congress members, including appointments made and refused to attend the informal meetings which Nehru had devised as a means of arriving at decision without reference to Wavell. The League members held that the Constituent Assembly had no right to alter the structure of plan and any change in the grouping would alter the basis of agreement, while the Congress representative opposing the grouping arrangement asserted that the Constituent Assembly had the power to make necessary changes in the plan.

The League's demand for the dissolution of the Constituent Assembly that had met for the first time on 9 December 1946, proved to be the last straw. Earlier it had refused to join the Constituent Assembly despite assurance from His Majesty's Government in their 6 December 1946, statement that the League's interpretation of grouping was the correct one. The League disruptionists' tactic convinced Congress leaders of the futility of the Interim Government. But they held on till 5 February 1947, when 9 members of the Interim Government wrote to the Viceroy demanding that the League members resign, otherwise they would submit their resignation. Vallabhbhai Patel concluded that "the Central Government has ceased to exist and that sooner the present state of affairs is put to an end the better" and subsequently threatened on February 15 that Congress would withdraw from Interim Government. Thus there was complete political crisis and British Government fully realized it. Therefore, Attlee made a statement in the House of Commons that British would leave India by June 1948. This was done so, because the British thought that this might shock Congress and League leaders and force them to make an agreement and thus constitutional crisis was to be averted. And for this new Governor General Lord Mountbatten was sent to India and with him the dream to transfer the power on Cabinet Mission basis also came to an end. Thus Cabinet Mission Plan ended in a failure.

16.10 Merits and Demerits of the Plan

This does not mean that the Mission was a total failure. The Plan made it clear that British wanted to grant freedom to Indians. The Constituent Assembly was formulated on democratic principle and no importance was given to the principle of weightage. The Indians were given full authority to frame their own Constitution without any interference from British. Also the idea of Pakistan was given up and all India Union was envisaged. Also, neither the British Government nor even non official Europeans in India were to have any member in the Constituent Assembly, and the European members of the Provincial Assemblies were to absent themselves at the time of voting. But the plan was not free from demerits. While the Muslim minority was amply provided for, no such protection was afforded to other minorities like the Sikhs in Punjab. The proposals of the Plan became a subject of controversy and disagreement. While the Muslim League considered the grouping as compulsory and hence thought that its dream of Pakistan was fulfilled. But Congress regarded grouping was optional and held that province would at any time leave the group. Ultimately the Plan became the cause of blood shed when Jinnah gave a call for direct action.

MOUNTBATTEN PLAN

16.11 Background

The British Government realized that the proposals of the Cabinet Mission could not be implemented and also seemed unable to stop violence and bloodshed. Further the situation could go out of control if Congress once again launched another mass movement. The only solution was the transference of power into Indian hands as early as possible. Therefore Lord Mountbatten was appointed as Governor General with the responsibility to transfer power. The plan which he formulated for partition and transfer of power came to be known as Mountbatten Plan.

Background

Cabinet Mission failed to bring about an agreed formula between Congress and League over the transfer of power and system of government after that. Muslim league had joined the Interim Government, but only to create disturbance there in order to show the impossibility of these two parties ruling together. Outside Interim Government, there

was destruction, violence, chaos and confusion as the communal violence had spread over the whole of India. Therefore, Congress realized the futility of Interim Government, started demanding resignation of the League ministers and threatening to withdraw its own nominees, if its demands were not met. In view of the prevailing situation, which had arisen after 16 August 1946, Congress realized that it was not possible to keep India united and any move in such direction would prove disastrous. In order to prevent the further blood shed, it accepted the division of Punjab and Bengal. Thus, the Congress accepted Pakistan, but including only Muslim majority districts.

In view of this situation, the British Prime Minister Mr. Clement Attlee made an announcement on 20 February, 1947. "The present state of uncertainty is fraught with danger and cannot be indefinitely prolonged. His Majesty's Government wish to make it clear that it is their intention to take necessary steps to effect the transference of power to responsible Indian hands by a date not later than June 1948 (June 30, 1948)". Further he said, "If by June, 1948 a Constitution was not framed by a fully representative Constituent Assembly, His Majesty's Government will have to consider to whom the power of the Central Government in British India should be handed over on the due date, whether as a whole to some form of Central Government for British India or in some areas to the existing Provincial Governments or in some other way as may seem most reasonable and in the best interests of the Indian people".

The hope was that the date would shock the parties into agreement on the main question and avert the Constitutional crisis that threatened. British also thought that Indian would believe that British were sincere about granting freedom. Most important reason was that British had become convinced that an irreversible decline of their authority had taken place. The Congress was believed to launch another mass movement, which was difficult to control in view of the communal riots and growing left menace.

As Wavell failed to implement the policies properly in order to solve the Indian problem, the British Prime Minister's statement also announced his replacement by Mountbatten. On 22 March, 1947, Lord Mountbatten reached New Delhi and on 24 March, he was sworn in and held a meeting with Wavell. The latter informed him about what had happened since the Mission left, and the rift inside the Interim Government.

After that he started a process of interviews and debates with political leaders. He held 133 meetings between 24 March and 6 May. He found that both League and Congress leaders were bent on division. Except Azad and Gandhi, other Congress leaders held that partition had become inevitable along with that of Punjab and Bengal. As Nehru declared on 20 April, "The Muslim League can have Pakistan, if they wish to have it, but on the condition that they do not take away other parts of India which do not wish to join Pakistan." Gandhi at first was against partition but later on changed his position. On the other hand he found Jinnah also bent for partition but not Bengal and Punjab. Thus, despite Viceroy's efforts for keeping India united, he found Mission Plan a dead horse and formulated an alternative with the appropriate code name Plan Balkan. This envisaged transfer of power to separate provinces (or to confederations, if formed before transfer) with the Bengal and Punjab Assemblies being given the option to vote for partition of their provinces, the various units thus formed, along with princely states rendered independent by the lapse of Paramountcy, would then have the choice of joining India, Pakistan or remaining separate". The Plan was quickly abandoned, however, when Nehru strongly reacted violently against it after Mountbatten informed him about it privately in Simla on 10 May. Meanwhile V.P. Menon gave a new formula of Dominion Status on the basis of immediate transfer of power into India hands. Congress was willing to accept Dominion Status on the basis of peaceful and early transfer of power in 1947. The Viceroy, whose aim was to bring the Indian Union also into the Commonwealth, jumped at Menon's proposal. On 10 May, he held a meeting attended by Nehru, Meiville and V.P. Menon. They declared that "the Muslim majority areas should be separated from India and the transfer of power should be two Central Governments, India and Pakistan on the basis of Dominion Status, each having its own Governor General".

This proposal was accepted by both Congress and League and after that Mountbatten flew to London on 18 May 1947, to discuss it with Attlee and his Cabinet. After returning from London on 31 May 1947, Mountbatten held a conference on 2 June 1947, with the Indian leaders. The leaders were given the draft of the Partition Plan for study and getting approved from their Working Committees. Ultimately the Plan was accepted by all parties. On 3 June 1947, the Viceroy communicated to the Secretary of State the assurances given by Nehru, Jinnah and Baldev Singh about the acceptance of the Partition Plan and in consequence Attlee announced the Plan in the House of common,

which came to be known as “the June 3rd Plan”. On the evening of the same day, Mountbatten broadcast over the All India Radio the Partition Plan.

16.12 Main Features of the Plan

Expressing his grief over partition, Mountbatten said, “I am of course just as much opposed to the partition of provinces as I am to the partition of India herself”. Further he said, “To my great regret it has been impossible to obtain agreement either on the Cabinet Mission Plan or on any plan that would preserve the unity of India. But there can be no question of coercing any large areas in which one community has a majority to live against their will under a government in which another community has a majority. And the only alternative to coercion is partition”.

Formally, the Plan did not lay down the partition of India, but provided machinery for the areas affected by Pakistan demand to choose either between a single Constituent Assembly in accordance with the Cabinet Mission Plan or a separate Constituent Assembly for a separate state.

- (i) The Legislative Assemblies of Punjab and Bengal were to meet separately, one representing the Muslim majority districts and the other the Hindu majority districts. If by a simple majority either group voted for partition, then these provinces would be partitioned.
- (ii) Two dominions-India and Pakistan and two Constituent Assemblies would be created if partition took place.
- (iii) The Legislative Assembly of Sind had to decide at a special meeting whether Sind as a whole should join the Constituent Assembly at Delhi or a new Constituent Assembly of areas which did not join it.
- (iv) The Muslim Majority area of Sylhet in Assam had to decide by referendum whether it would like to remain part of Assam or join East Bengal which would constitute a part of Pakistan.
- (v) In N.W.F.P. referendum was to be held to decide that whether the province would like to join Pakistan or India.

- (vi) Princely States had to join either India or Pakistan. They were no longer allowed to remain independent.
- (vii) India would be freed on 15 August 1947.
- (viii) In case Bengal, Punjab and Assam decided for partition, a Boundary Commission was to be appointed to fix the dividing lines between the two parts of the provinces.
- (ix) An agreement was also to be entered into for dividing the assets and liabilities between the two dominions of India and Pakistan.
- (x) Both the states were to be accorded Dominion Status in the beginning and were to be entitled to leave the British Commonwealth at a later date, if they so desired.

16.13 Implementation of the Plan

The Plan was accepted by all the political parties in India. Muslim League accepted on 9 June, though it was truncated and mouth-eaten Pakistan and Congress Working Committee accepted it on 15 June 1947. The Legislative Assemblies of Bengal and Punjab voted for the partition of their respective provinces on 20 and 23 June 1947 respectively. The Sind Legislative Assembly met on June 20 and voted to join Pakistan and Baluchistan Legislative Assembly did the same on June 29. In July, through referendum, Sylhet and NWFP decided in favour of Pakistan, though Khan brothers who led the Congress in NWFP boycotted referendum. Two Interim Governments with Congress and League Cabinet were created under the chairmanship of the Governor General. A Partition Committee consisting of two Congress and two League members was created on 7 June 1947, for making proposals regarding division of assets and liabilities between India and Pakistan. On June 24, the Committee gave way to Partition Council, which included two members drawn from each of the Dominion Cabinets. Under the chairmanship of Sir Cyril Redcliff, two Boundary Commissions were set up on June 27, 1947 consisting of four high court judges. On 13 August, the Radcliff Award was ready and made public on 16 August, 1947.

16.14 Indian Independence Act

On 2 July, Mountbatten showed the draft of Indian Independence Bill to the Indian leaders. On 14 July, the Indian Independence Bill was introduced into the House of

Commons. On 16 July, the Indian Independence Bill was passed by British Parliament and on 18 July it received Royal assent, as a result on 19 July, Mountbatten made an announcement regarding the establishment of two Provisional Governments, one for India and one for Pakistan.

Thus, India saw the dawn of independence on 15 August 1947 but only through partition and bloodshed. Independence Day in Punjab and Bengal saw strange scenes. Flags of both India and Pakistan were flown in villages between Lahore and Amritsar as people of both communities believed that they were on the right side of the border. The morrow after freedom was to find them aliens in their own homes, exiled by executive fiat.

16.15 Conclusion/Let us Sum Up

After the world war second, British had realized that they could not rule over India any longer as there was complete erosion of their hegemony and therefore decided to transfer power to Indians. They considered that before they could be overthrown, it was better to transfer power through agreement in a peaceful manner. Thus was sent Cabinet Mission, but the mission faced a very difficult situation as both the Congress and the League were moving in opposite directions. The mission followed a middle path as it tried to accept the demands of both Congress and League and formulated a plan. This plan provided a single Union but maximum autonomy to the provinces, which was reluctantly accepted both by Congress and Muslim League. The truce of the Interim Government soon ended in a failure and all the hopes of a united India ended in a failure as the country was moving towards the civil. After that Lord Mountbatten was appointed as Governor General of India with a view to transfer power into Indian hands as early as possible. Mountbatten first tried to make Indians agree to accept Cabinet Mission plan, as British wanted a united India-a complete reversal from earlier stand of supporting communalism, but he soon realized that Congress and League were moving in opposite directions. Therefore, he formulated a plan on 3 June and tried to appease both Congress and League. Despite their reservation, both the parties accepted it, and result was the creation of two states India and Pakistan on 15 August 1947. Thus, India got freedom but with partition. Consequently people suffered a lot as was migration combined with huge violence and bloodshed.

16.16 Glossary

Hegemony	:	Dominance, especially by one state or social group over others.
Stolidity	:	Having or revealing little emotion or sensibility.
Truce	:	An agreement between enemies or opponents to stop fighting.
Commonwealth	:	A group of sovereign states and their dependencies associated by their own choice and linked with common objectives and interests.
Interim	:	Temporary and intended to be used or accepted until something permanent exists.
Autonomy	:	Self-government.
Paramount	:	Superior in power or jurisdiction.
Referendum	:	Submission of a law to the direct vote of the people.

16.17 SAQ/CYP/Possible Answers

A.

1. Cabinet Mission arrived in India on _____.
2. The motive of Cabinet Mission was _____ to _____.
3. Provinces were divided into _____ groups.
4. Direct Action Day was observed on _____.
5. Interim Government was headed by _____.
6. _____ was fixed as British withdrawal from India.
7. The Independence Act received royal consent on _____.

B.

1. Why British wanted a united India?

2. Why Muslim League joined the Interim Government?
3. Why Congress accepted partition?

Answers

- A. 1. 24 March 1946 2. Transference of power, Indians 3. Three 4. 16 August 1946
5. Pt Nehru
6. June 1948 7. 18 July 1947.
- B. 1. For strategic interests 2. To wreck it 3. To avoid civil war.

16.18 Lesson End Exercise /Examination Oriented Questions

1. Discuss the circumstances which led the British to dispatch Cabinet Mission to India?
2. Discuss the proposals of Cabinet Mission?
3. Why Muslim League rejected the Cripps proposals?
4. What were the factors responsible for the failure of Cabinet Mission?
5. Discuss the features of Mountbatten Plan?

16.19 Suggested Readings

- | | | |
|--------------------------------------|---|---|
| Jaswant Singh | : | Jinnah: India, Partition, Independence |
| Dominique Lapierre,
Larry Collins | : | Freedom at Midnight |
| J.L. Nehru | : | An Autobiography |
| Bipan Chandra and Co | : | India's Struggle for Independence |
| Sumit Sarkar | : | Modern India 1885 – 1947 |
| B.L. Grover, S. Grover | : | A New Look At Modern Indian History |
| R.C. Agarwal | : | Constitutional Development and National Movement of India |
| Durga Das | : | India from Curzon to Nehru and After |

16. 20 References

- Bipan Chandra and Co : India's Struggle for Independence
Sumit Sarkar : Modern India 1885 – 1947
B.L. Grover, S. Grover : A New Look At Modern Indian History
R.C. Agarwal : Constitutional Development and National Movement of India
Durga Das : India from Curzon to Nehru and After

16. 21 Model Test Paper

I. Long Answer Type Questions

1. Discuss the recommendations of the Cabinet Mission?
2. Initially Muslim League accepted the proposals of the Cabinet Mission but later on rejected it. Why?
3. Explain briefly the recommendations of the Mountbatten Plan?

II. Short Answer Type Questions

1. Muslim League accepted to join the Interim Government. Why?
2. Why did Congress accept the partition plan despite its stand of a united India?
3. Why Congress and Muslim League made different interpretations of the grouping of provinces?

III Objective Type Questions

1. Mountbatten arrived India on
(a) 22 March 1947 (b) 23 March 1947 (c) 24 March 1947 (d) 26 March 1947
2. Indian Independence Act received Royal assent on
(a) 2 June 1947 (b) 14 July 1947 (c) 16 July 1947 (d) 18 July 1947
3. The first Governor General of free India was
(a) J.L. Nehru (b) Lord Mountbatten (c) Dr. Rajendra Prasad (d) Abul Kalam Azad
