

PAPER II

1. EUROPEAN PENETRATION INTO INDIA: The Early European Settlements; The Portuguese & the Dutch; The English and French East India Companies; Their struggle for supremacy; Carnatic Wars; Bengal - The Conflict b/w the English & the Nawabs of Bengal; Siraj & the British; The Battle of Plassey; Significance of Plassey.

QUES [FRENCH]

- o Neither Alexander the Great nor Napoleon could have won the empire of India by starting from Pondicherry as a base and contending with a power which held Bengal and command of the Sea. V.A. Smith
- o Compared to their English counterpart, the French EIC enjoyed little discretionary power and had to always look upto Paris for all major decisions. This partly explains the failure of the French in India. Evaluate critically.
- o 'Dupleix made a cardinal blunder in looking for the Key of India in Madras: Clive sought and found it in Bengal.' Critically examine. (Marriott) Money
- o Comment on the French ambition of building a territorial empire in India.
- o "India was not lost by the French because Dupleix was recalled from India or Bussy was recalled from Hyderabad, or because La Bourbonnais left the coast at critical moments. It was through the short sighted, ill-managed European policy of French monarchy that France lost her Indian settlements in the Seven Years War." Discuss. Also, examine the role of Dupleix's failure in establishing the French Empire in India.

[BENGAL]

- o On 23rd June, 1757, the middle ages of India ended and her modern age began. Comment.
- o After 1757, there grew up a state of Bengal which was a 'sponsored state' as well as a 'plundered state'. Comment.
- o The Battle of Plassey was 'not a great battle but a great betrayal'. Comment.
- o Discuss the causes that led to the 'economic drain' in Bengal following the Battle of Plassey.
- o Plassey did not complete the British conquest of India. Had the English been convincingly defeated in any subsequent battle in India, then Plassey would have remained as a minor episode in the history of India'. Critically examine.
- o The forces of free trade and the British determination to create a political & admin environ. conducive to trade and investment had shaped the British policy towards India in the 1st half of the 19th cen. Elucidate.

'WE CONQUERED INDIA BY BREAKING ALL THE 10 COMMANDMENTS' - John Bright
British Radical & Liberal.

ANGLO FRENCH RIVALRY IN CARNATIC

English and French EICs → Desire for huge profit margin
Necessary to eliminate competition, get monopolistic control over trade

Context : • Aurangzeb's death - no central auth.
• Death of Nizam ul Mulk
• Maratha raids - pol. unsettlement & admin. disorg.

FIRST CARNATIC WAR (1746-48) - Extension of Anglo French War in Europe

1740 - Austrian War of Succession

→ British offensive - but Madras besieged by French both by land and sea

Battle of St. Thome - French v/s Indian forces of Anwaruddin, Nawas of Carnatic
Dupleix defeated Anwaruddin

Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle - conclusion of Austrian War of Succession
(1748) - Madras handed back to British but French superiority displayed

SECOND CARNATIC WAR (1749-54)

Dupleix sought to increase his power and French political influence in Southern India by interfering in local dynastic disputes & to outmanoeuvre the English, securing monetary, commercial or territorial favours.

Death of Nizam ul Mulk

Asaf Jah

Dupleix

English

HYDERABAD

Muzaffar Jung

Nasir Jung

CARNATIC

Chanda Sahib

Anwaruddin

KILLED.

But : • Robert Clive - surprise attack on Arcot

• French surrender @ Trichonopoly - death of Chanda Sahib

Treaty of Pondicherry (1754)

Dupleix recalled as Governor General.

English now had an edge over the French.

THIRD CARNATIC WAR (1758-63)

Count de Lally captured Fort St. David & sanctioned a hasty and misconceived attack on Tanjore → failed

- Bussy summoned from Hyderabad → weakened French position there

Battle of Wandiwash 1760 - Defeated (rich resources of Bengal turned scales in their favour)

Treaty of Paris (1763) - decisive conclusion to Anglo-French struggle
French position lost beyond redemption

- French factories restored - could no longer be fortified/garrisoned w troops
- Factories - centres of trade - Ltd. to Pondi

REASONS FOR FRENCH DEFEAT

① French Continental Preoccupation - so strained for resources
Attempted simultaneously the difficult task of continental expansion and colonial acquisition → gained almost nothing on both fronts

England's ambition was mainly colonial
Single minded objective - targeting energy and resources
w/ her struggle both in India and North America

CONTINENTAL AIMS

② Different systems of govt

French govt

- despotic, autocratic
- depended on personality of monarch

• Louis XIV, XV - misused financial resources through wars, extravagances.

feudal, corrupt, unstable, decadent

British govt.

- enlightened oligarchy.
- Under Kings - greater constitutionalism

TYPE OF GOVT

③ Company Organisation

France

- French Company dept. of state
- State guaranteed dividend to shareholders
- took little interest in promoting company prosperity
- heavily depend on treasury grants, subsidies, loans.

COMPANY ORG

Britain

- EIC independent commercial corporation
- Financially sounder, Trade far more extensive, Business methods better

- ④ Role of the Navy : The events of the Carnatic wars amply demonstrate how the fortunes of the two Companies waxed and waned with their strength on the seas.
- NAVY**
- naval superiority of Britain during Seven Years War placed Court de Lally at a grievous disadvantage, could not meet exploits of Dupleix.

- ⑤ Bengal English conquest of Bengal (1757)
- ↳ Enhanced political prestige of EIC
- ↳ vast resources in wealth and manpower.
- BENIGAL POWER OF SUPERIOR FINANCE**
- Dr. pol & hist. John Maitland : Dupleix made a cardinal blunder in looking for the key of India in Madras; Clive sought and found it in Bengal.
- Recall of Dupleix (?)

- ⑥ Leadership
- English - Superior political leadership & military generalship. CLIVE, LAWRENCE, SAUNDERS.

French - Dupleix, Bussy - Able leaders. But had to depend on incompetent subordinates. Court de Lally - headstrong, violent temper.

LEADERS

- ⑦ AUPLEIX - Notwithstanding political brilliance, cannot escape responsibility
- ↳ Compulsive indifference towards trading and financial problems of the French Company.
 - Indiscreetly reckless about finances.
 - ~~DEP~~ Was a shrewd politician / diplomat but not a soldier. Could plan a campaign, but could not lead an army in the battlefield → In this respect inferior to Lawrence, Clive, Salton.
 - Absence of nationalism amongst Indians - could be trained, recruited ag. Indian rulers.

French

- Chanda Sahib rewarded them w/ 80 villages around Pondi.
- Muzaffar Jung - more territorial near Pondi & Masulipatnam.
- Ruler post Jang - Northern Circars.

The system of a 'sponsored' Indian state, controlled but not administered, was the one Clive had in mind for Bengal. — P. Spear

- EIC founded by royal charter (31st Dec 1600) → given monopoly of all trade from England to the East
→ not given explicit mandate for colonisation
- ↳ formally started trading in 1613 - settling scores w/ Portuguese
 - ↳ Farman from Mugh emp. Jahangir — permission to estb. factories
1st factory → Surat; 1617 - Jahangir received Sir Thomas Roe as resident English envoy in court
 - ↳ Gradually extended trade
↳ Bombay, Calcutta, Madras
by end of 17th cen. — 3 major centres of its activities

BATTLE OF PLASSEY

Context/Reasons

1. Strengthening of fortifications of Fort William, mounting of guns on the walls of the fort by the English. French @ Chandernagor agreed to demolish, British refused.
2. English gave offence to Shaj-ud-daula - indirectly leading to support to claims of Chaiti Begum; asylum to political offenders from Bengal.
3. MISUSE OF FARMAN
Use of dastaks for private trade. (misuse of trading priv. granted in 1717, dastaks to friendly Indian merchants)
No response / evasive replies to Shaj's repeated pleadings.



- Shaj-ud-daula launched offensive — 20th June, 1756 seized Eng fact^{ories} @ Kasim bazaar
↳ placed Calcutta under charge of Manik Chand & returned to Murshidabad
- Black Hole episode — J. Z. Holwell
↳ 23/146 while prisoners remained likely to have been exaggerated
- ↳ Expedition from Madras, headed by Clive reached Bengal
- ↳ Manik Chand - bribed - surrendered Calcutta to English after making a show of resistance
- ↳ Treaty of Alinagar - Peace made w/ Clive - English restored their former privileges of trade, fortifying Calcutta, compensation for losses



23rd JUNE, 1757 - Rivar forces on battlefield of Plassey • 11 hours • very little casualties

TREASONERY
• English army showed no military superiority either in manoeuvres or battle strategy.
• It was desertion in the Nawab's camp that gave Clive the victory

Clive arranged conspiracy in which:
• Mir Jafar (Commander in chief of Nawab's army)
• Rai Durlabh
• Jagat Seth (influential banker)
• Omi Chand (intermediary) joined rich merchant

English army of a few thousand

Nawab's large army of 50,000 commanded by treacherous General Mir Jafar.

IMMEDIATE EFFECTS

- Siraj captured + put to death
- Mir Jafar - grant of zamindari of 24 Parganas, huge pension, present to Clive, 50% sup. to army & naval officers
- All French settlements in Bengal surrendered to English
- No duties on private trade
- Undisputed rights to free trade - Bengal, Bihar, Orissa.

IMPORTANCE / SIGNIFICANCE

1st major British victory over Indian power.

- * Plassey put the British yoke on Bengal which could not be put off. Mir Jafar - dependent on British troops for maintenance of position in Bengal + protection against foreign invasions. Gradually all real power → hands of Company.

Transformation in character of Company Trading comp → military Company. W. Considered landed property. COMMERCIAL CUM MILITARY CUM POLITICAL BODY.

- * Plassey Plunder → highly certain terms of trade presented by Nawab placed at the disposal of the English vast resources.

1st involvement of wealth paid → £800,000 - Bengal 3rd most prosperous province → industrially advanced fertile land of Bengal - perm. source of revenue. + commercially great

- * Establishment of monopoly over trade & commerce of Bengal (Before Plassey - just one of many European companies then proceeded to monopolize political power.)

decisive role in Anglo French struggle.

George Bruce MALLESON: "There never was a battle, in which the consequences were so vast, so immediate and so permanent."

- * Consequences of Plassey shaped the form of British overrule and modes of cultural contact.

ERIC STOKES: Plassey Revolution 1st English essay in private profiteering on a grandiose scale.

① Ladureth Sahas → starting date for modern India

Limitations

- Starting of British rule
- Declining Mughal power
- Changed suzerainty
- Rule of law & equality before law
- Change of society → Westernization
- Change in economy

• nature of comp.
• Econ - Resurced
• Trade monopoly
• dependent - rose
• modern India

- Limited to particular area
- Mughal tradition of govt. still survived - official paper coins
- More a conspiracy than battle
- Rising power of Marathas
- Rule of law in theory only

2. BRITISH EXPANSION IN INDIA

: Mir Jafar and Mir Kasim; The Battle of Buxar; Mysore; The Marathas; The 3 Anglo Maratha Wars; The Punjab.

QUES

BUXAR

- Buxar takes rank amongst the most decisive battles ever fought. Comment.
- 'Thus ended the famous battle of Buxar, on which depended the fate of India & which was as gallantly disputed as was important in its results.' Comment.
- The revolution of 1760 (Bengal) was really no revolution. Comment.
- 'The verdict of Plassey was confirmed by the English victory at Buxar'. Comment.

MYSORE Q. 11

- Why was Mysore considered a threat by the British to their possessions and mercantile interests in the South? Do you think that Tipu Sultan's posturing became his undoing?
- Examine the circumstance which led to the third Mysore war. Could Cornwallis have avoided it?

→ How far is it correct to say that if Clive was the founder of the British Empire in India, Warren Hastings was its administrative organiser?

MARATHAS Q. 2, 3, 13

- 'The Treaty of Bassein, 1802 was a step which changed the footing on which we, the English stood in western India. It trebled the English responsibilities in an instant.' Comment.
- How did the British estb. their control over Maharashtra in the 1st 2 decades of the 19th century? Why did the Maratha challenge ultimately collapse?
- Trace the course of the Anglo Maratha relations in the 1st 2 decades of the 19th cen. Account for the ultimate defeat of the Maratha power by the British.
- 'Upon the whole, then, I conclude that the treaty of Bassein was wise, just and a politic measure.' Comment.
- "... the hunt of the Pindaris became merged in the Third Maratha War" Comment.
- Anglo Maratha War covering nearly 9 years from murder of Narayan Rao to Treaty of Salbai emphatically discloses the vitality of the Maratha nation which had not been exhausted either by the disaster of Pimpri or the death of their great Peshwa Madhavrao. Comment.
- The treaty of Bassein, by its direct and indirect operations, gave the compass to the Empire of India. Comment.
- The British fought the First Maratha War in a period when their fortunes were at the lowest ebb. Comment.
- The Treaty of Salbai (1782) - neither honourable to the English nor advantageous to their interests. Comment.
- The Maratha polity disintegrated through internal strifes. Critically examine.

PUNJAB Q. 17

- Underline major considerations of the British led to the annexation of Punjab.
- 'The rise and expansion of British empire was an accident rather than the result of a deliberate policy & design.' Critically examine statement.
- Neither planned nor directed from Britain. Critically analyse.
- Dalhousie changed the map of India in speed & thoroughness no campaign could equal. Comment.
- Examine the essential principles of Subs. Alliance system. How far did it contribute in making the British Company the supreme sovereign authority in India?

• Sir Charles Napier said, 'we have no shall do so, & a very advantageous, it will be.' Comment.

- The British conquest of Sind was both a & the First Afghan War. Comment.

EXPANSION

- Explain the British policy of 'Subordinate Union' of Indian states & British India from 1858-1905. How did the govt. of India implement this policy during the pd.?
- The British policy towards Indian states in 1818-1858 was one of isolation & non-interv. tempered by annexation. Comment.
- The British conquered India, 'in a fit of absent mindedness'. Comment.

2. BRITISH EXPANSION IN INDIA

: Mir Jafar and Mir Kasim; The Battle of Buxar; Mysore; The Marathas; The 3 Anglo Maratha Wars; The Punjab.

QUES

BUXAR

- Buxar takes rank amongst the most decisive battles ever fought. Comment.
- 'Thus ended the famous battle of Buxar, on which depended the fate of India & which was as gallantly disputed as was important in its results.' Comment.
- The revolution of 1760 (Bengal) was really no revolution. Comment.
- 'The verdict of Plassey was confirmed by the English victory at Buxar'. Comment.

MYSORE

Q. 11

- Why was Mysore considered a threat by the British to their possessions and mercantile interests in the South? Do you think that Tipu Sultan's poisoning became his undoing?
- Examine the circumstance which led to the third Mysore war. Could Cornwallis have avoided it?

→ How far is it correct to say that if Clive was the founder of the British Empire in India, Warren Hastings was its administrative organiser?

MARATHAS

Q. 2, 3, 13

- 'The Treaty of Bassein, 1802 was a step which changed the footing on which we, the English stood in western India. It trebled the English responsibilities in an instant.' Comment.
- How did the British estb. their control over Maharashtra in the 1st 2 decades of the 19th century? Why did the Maratha challenge ultimately collapse?
- Trace the course of the Anglo Maratha relations in the 1st 2 decades of the 19th cen. Account for the ultimate defeat of the Maratha power by the British.
- 'Upon the whole, then, I conclude that the treaty of Bassein was wise, just and a politic measure.' Comment.
- "... the hunt of the Pindaris became merged in the Third Maratha War" Comment.
- Anglo Maratha war covering nearly 9 years from murder of Narayan Rao to Treaty of Salbai empirically discloses the vitality of the Maratha nation which had not been exhausted either by the disaster of Pampat or the death of their great Peshwa Madhavrao. Comment.
- 'The treaty of Bassein, by its direct and indirect operations, gave the company the Empire of India.' Comment.
- The British fought the First Maratha War in a period when their fortunes were at the lowest ebb. Comment.
- The Treaty of Salbai (1782) - neither honourable to the English nor advantageous to their interests. Comment.
- The Maratha polity disintegrated through internal strifes. Critically examine.

PUNJAB

Q. 17

- Explain Annex. of Punjab part of broad NW frontier policy set in motion after exit of Maharaja Ranjit Singh. Critically examine.
- Underline major considerations of the British imperial power that led to the annexation of Punjab.

SIND

• Sir Charles Napier said, 'we have no right to seize Sind, yet we shall do so, & a very advantageous, useful, humane piece of rascality it will be.' Comment.

- The British conquest of Sind was both a political and moral sequel to the First Afghan War. Comment.

EXPANSION

- Explain the British policy of 'Subordinate union' of Indian states & British India from 1858-1905. How did the govt. of India implement this policy during the pd.?
- The British policy towards Indian states in 1818-1858 was one of isolation & non-interference. Comment.
- The British conquered India, 'in a fit of absent mindedness'. Comment.

Bengal made to pay for expenses of Bombay, Madras, all company's exports

MIR JAFAR : Failed to meet heavy demands for money made on him by the Company

MIR QASIM : Son in law of Mir Jafar → replaced him

TREATY WITH
MIR QASIM 1760

Administrator — Transferred capital from Murshidabad → Monghyr — POY
— Recognised, modernised army on European pattern — MIL
• prevent public disorder — Sought to suppress refractory zamindars of Bengal & Bihar — POV
• remove corruption from revenue admin — Improvement of finance of state — GO

Reasons for problems w/ British : He did not seek independence, sought to limit fast expanding encroachments of the English on his jurisdiction — POL

→ Abuses of inland trade — degraded financial resources
Misuse of 1717 farman — circumscribed political authority
— made position of Indian subjects helpless

→ Mir Qasim took drastic step of abolishing all inland duties — placing Indian merchants on same footing as the English. — GO

BATTLE OF BUXAR

— War b/w Mir Qasim and Company broke out in 1763
→ defeated

organised confederacy with Nawab of Awadh and Mughal Emperor

40-60,000 v/s ~7000 (English)
led by Major Munro

• Closely contested battle, high casualties — victory of superior military power
If the victory of Plassey was the result of British conspiracy and diplomacy, same can hardly be said of Buxar.

Impact → Confirmed decisions of Plassey
→ English power in Northern India — unchallengeable.
→ The whole territory upto Allahabad lay at their feet & the road to Delhi open. — Made them contenders for supremacy of the whole country

Treaty b/w Mir Qasim and Calcutta Council which provided —

- For all charges of comp. army, provisions M.O. agreed to cede Burdwan, Midnapur, Chittagong
 - £5L for financing war efforts in S. India
 - Agreed → mutual enemies & friends of the Company and Nawab
- ∴ Company saddled w/ responsibility of assisting new Nawab w/ army, not expected to interfere in general admin.

// If Plassey had imposed the European yoke on Bengal, the victory of Buxar riveted the shackles of bondage.

decisive struggle with far reaching political consequences in the destiny of India.

Differences

PLASSEY

- Hardly imp. from military viewpoint won by conspiracy, deceit, bribery, immoral acts
- Made possible for the British to attempt conquest of India, added to prestige, made it a strong contender.
- Defeat of Nawab of Bengal
- Secured a foothold for British EIC
- Helped strengthening financial position

BUXAR

- Proved military superiority of English, exposed inherent ~~forces~~ weaknesses of native forces
- Ext. of British Sovereignty in Bengal.
- Defeat of Bengal Nawab, + Mughal Emperor + Awadh.
- Brought out political weaknesses & mil. shortcomings of Mughal Empire.
- Buxar made them domestic forces
- 1/8th of India - EIC rule completed work of Plassey.
- Sovereignty over entire Bengal fully under control of British
- all duties & revenues from most prosperous Indian province (B.B.Os)
- Shah Alam II
- Shujaud Daulah
- Indemnity of 5 lakhs
- milit. contingent stat.
- Kora, Allahabad taken away.

REASONS FOR EXPANSION of British

CONTEXT

- Rapid disintegration of the Mughal Empire
- Emergence of regional powers → fought frequent wars of expansion against each other
- Elimination of French influence following Battle of Wandiwash (1760)
- Territorial and commercial ambitions of company.
- From late 17th cen - aggressive mercantilist policy
- Main aim: find solution to payments problem (+)
- could export wide range of commodities from India, could give nothing in return
- ✓ Trade imbalance → continuous threat to Company's solvency.
- Growing burdens of Company ———— floating rules misusing special powers favouring
- due to decline of Mughal power
- jealousy of Indian powers
- ✓ opportunity to interfere
- of 1st Anglo-Marathi war - started by Raghunath Rao w/ EIC support.

British conquest of Bengal

CAUSES

- ① Econ
 - Farukhsiyar farman misuse - dastaks
 - Large duties imposed on goods coming into British districts from Nawab's region
 - Loss of revenue.
- ② Pol
 - EIC supported claims of Ghasiti Begum, Alivardi Khan's sister
 - Siraj asked French & British to demo. fortif - Brit refused - seizing of British fac @ Kasimbazaar.
 - Attack on French fort by Clive.

IMPACT

- ① Pol
 - Mir Jafar → Ruler
 - 1st major British victory
 - Weak Nawab → ↑ in lawlessness
 - Resurgence of Bengal → Anglo French rivalry.
- ② Econ
 - undisputed right to trade in B, B, O.
 - zamindari of 24 parganas
 - High officials → untold wealth
 - Eventual drain of wealth
 - Raw material for IR.

BUXAR

Conseq

Treaty of Allahabad

- EIC & Shah Alam - Fiscal rights (diwani) - right of admin territory + collect revenue to EIC in B, B, O.
- Nizamat rights (Police & jud) → Nawab.
- Kara, Allahabad given to Mughal emp.
- Com to pay 26 L to Mughals annually.
- Shuja - 53 L as indemnity
- zamindari of Benaras → Balwant Rai

Nawab of Bengal - mere figurehead, unchecked plundering of Beng.

Dual syst

Adm of Bengal

- Nizamat - admin responsibility
- Diwani - right to collect revenue.

 Fiction of Mughal emp's sovereignty & Nawab's authority remained.

Reasons

- Left EIC from wrath of Indian rulers + jealousy of foreign powers. - POL
 - Admin of Bengal - huge task + servants of EIC were not conversant in the language, customs, laws + small in no. - ADM
 - B of D + British Parl → ag. direct admin - POL
 - Lack of acbility + responsibility
- Sys of sponsored Indian state - controlled but not admin was the one Clive had in mind for Bengal.

Demerits

- Power divorced from responsibility
- No money to enforce law / secure justice - lawlessness abroad.
- Condition of agri & as revenue not invested in agri facilities
- ↑ in port trade of EIC servants, blow to local trade & commerce.
- Corruption in EIC
- Ended by Warren Hastings

- The Company's superior alliance diplomacy =
eg - Bengal - successfully isolated Siraj by buying out his rivals & generals.
✓ Successfully involved Nizam of Hyderabad in war against Tipu Sultan.

- ✓ • Resources of Bengal → Richest province of India
→ Conquest of Bengal also gave access to large military labour market situated in present day U.P. and Bihar
↳ Creation of famous Bengal army → prof. soldiers + Bengal revenue
access to money, men, materials needed to conquer other regions of India

- Vision, Cohesion and Discipline - well trained & drilled
Company troops were regularly paid in cash,
were better disciplined
↳ Led by men of vision like Arthur Wellesley ✓
- In comparison with indigenous rulers (except Tipu Sultan) had a long term vision
- Represented a mercantile capitalist system which was fundamentally different from feudal Indian kingdoms.
Company forces fought with a desperation unknown to native armies

- Inefficient modernization & institutional weaknesses of the Indian powers.

- ↳ Indian state failed to evolve a system of (military finance)
↳ troops paid late / not paid

- ★ Excessive reliance on European mercenaries proved fatal in certain cases.

- ↳ Regular employment of European generals - increased factionalism among marshals

- ✓ • Alienation of masses from Indian rulers.
Outcome of wars made no immediate diff. to their lives

- ✓ • Subsidiary Alliance - System devised by Wellesley to subjugate Indian powers, make English paramount

CONTINUITY OR CHANGE

- R.C. Antt, Sadashai Naoroji - view colonialism as an economic ^{pol.} ~~disjunction~~
 - Infam Habib - EIC's trading operations dislocated indigenous economies as the Company state was located external to society, exploiting in nature
 - changed prevailing economic and revenue arrangements
 - permanent settlement in part prop. in land, clear break.
 - Kanajit Coirha - Permanent settlement in part prop. in land, clear break.
- REVISIONIST VIEWS - EIC was sucked into politics by internal logic of indigenous systems - element of continuity in agrarian economy, trading, admin instit of pre colonial, early colonial India
- Burton Stein
 - Washbrook
- Nelladi Bhattacharya - argues that British ~~oppressive~~ ^{settler} ~~exploited~~ ^{response} defined the limits within which the state could go ahead with its policies
 - Ratna Lekha Ray - Changes confined to upper echelons of rural society
 - C. A. Bayly, Andre Wink, Bernard Cohn

MYSORE

- Tipu Sultan's failure... was a tragedy for him, & a tragedy for the subcontinent for his defeat meant the end, of the first round of the struggle for freedom.

* FIRST ANGLO-MYSORE WAR (1767-69)

- British created an alliance with Nizam of Hyderabad and Marathas against Haidar Ali.
- Haidar - played the diplomatic game - bought the Marathas & Nizam
- Madras govt. (British) → humiliating Treaty of Madras (1769)
 - mutual restitution of each other's territories
 - defensive alliance b/w 2 parties committing English to help Haidar in case of attack

* SECOND ANJLO-MYSORE WAR (1780-84)

- Haider accused company of not observing terms of defensive treaty by refusing to help when Marathas attacked; found French more helpful in meeting military demands.
- Outbreak of American War of Independence & French alliance w/ American colonists - made British suspicious of Haider
- 1780 - Haider attacked Canara - Wins and losses on both sides along with joint front → Nizam + Marathas
- 1782 - Haider died - Inconclusive
- Absolute success eluded both sides - mutual restitution of each other's territories
- ✓ Treaty of Mangalore (1784) - Active against letter & spirit

✓ Treaty of Mangalore (1784) - mutual
THIRD ANGLO MYSORE WAR (1790-92) - Acting against letter & spirit
 of policy of peace and non expansion proclaimed in Pitt's India Act,
 Cornwallis arranged Triple Alliance against Tipu → defeated
 of Mysorean territory

- Treaty of Seringapatam - Surrender of nearly half of Mysorean territory to victor's allies.
 - war indemnity of > 3 Cr.

!! Cornwallis - "We have effectively crippled our enemy without making our friends too formidable."

* FOURTH ANGLO-MYSORE WAR (1799)

- * FOURTH ANGLO-MYSORE WAR (1799)
 - Arrival of imperialist Lord Wellesley - determined to either tame Tipu to submission / wipe out independence.
 Tipu charged of planning intrigues in Iran, Malakhas; sending emissaries to Arabia, Constantinople, the French → convenient excuses to force desired end.

Fall of Seringapatam

- Fall of Srirangapatam
- boy of earlier Wodeyar royal family installed on Mysore gaddi,
✓ Subsidiary Alliance imposed.

TIPU - ADMIN

- Central Admin - Deal for innovation and improvement
- Anglo Irish historian H.H. Godwell: 1st Indian sovereign who sought to apply western methods to his admin
- Each dept. under chief assisted by a Board.
- Provincial admin - Kingdom divided into provinces (asafiyas) managed by asaf (Civil Governor) and faujdar (military governor)
- Land revenue - direct relationship b/w govt. and cultivator
- Trade and commerce - promoted both foreign and inland trade & imposed tight govt. control over it:
 - ↳ Commercial agents @ Muscat, Aden
 - ↳ Commercial Board
 - ↳ govt. monopoly of trade in sandalwood, bevelnut, pepper etc.
 - ↳ Est. of factories
- Military admin - disciplined after European model
 - employed French officers to train troops, raised French corps - never allowed them to develop pressure group value.
- ↳ Both Haider and Tipu realised imp. of naval force, but could not rise to the level of the EIC.
- Tipu - 'I can ruin their resources by land but I cannot dry up the sea.' seiculture

SECULAR CREDENTIALS

- Fanaticism has been over played.
- Crushed the Hindu Coorgs and the Nairs but did not spare Muslim Moplahs when they defied authority
- Singur letters: Sanctioned funds for repair of the temple & instal. of image of goddess Sarada (after damage in Maratha raid)
- Never interfered w/ worship in Sri Rangabathe, Narasimha, Ganga-Shareshwara temples within Secur. fort.
- * Mohibbul Hasan ~> not 'first Indian nationalist' 'Nationalism' ~> modern concept
- * Asah Sen - with all his originality and will of purpose, Tipu had little success in setting forth a settise of change significantly diff from general experience of 18th cen. crisis

CAUSES

- Pol → Mysore's boundaries brought it into conflict w/ Hyd & Marathas who colluded w/ British
- Haider Ali + Tipu - building Mysore into a strong, centralised state w/ a powerful military
- ambitious territorial designs + aspiration to control S. Indian politics
- Econ → Control over rich trade of Malabar coast - threat to English trade in pepper, sandalwood & cardamom through his kingdom's ports
- Tipu declared embargo on export of pepper, sandalwood & cardamom through his kingdom's ports.

MARATHAS

FIRST ANGLO-MARATHA WAR (1775-82)

- Bombay (British) govt. hoped to set up in Maharashtra dual govt w/ Marathas. Mutual differences b/w Maratha leaders → opportunity (w/ Bengal)
- 4th Peshwa Madhar Rao died, 5th Narayan Rao succumbed to intrigues of uncle Raghurath Rao
- Birth of posthumous son of Narayan Rao → led Raghurath Rao to sign TREATY OF SURAT (1775) with Bombay govt. hoping to gain gaddi with help of English subsidiary troops.
- Drawn struggle + inconclusive

TREATY OF SURAT (1782) — mutual restitution of each other's territories
(Maha Phadnis + Sindhia + Holkar)

TREATY OF BASSEIN

Mysor.
Mysore 1955

- Intimately connected with French menace 1798 - Wellesley (Imperialist) → only possible way to safeguard India against French danger — reduce role of India to position of military dependence on company
- 1800 - Death of Maha Phadnis → with him, departed all wisdom + mediation of Maratha govt.
- Peshwa Baji Rao II — sought allies in diff. quarters.
useless → Sindhia supported him
- After Holkar defeated Peshwa's forces, plundered Poona (1802)
Peshwa fled to British in Bassein
1803 — signed subsidiary alliance

Treaty of Bassein - 31st Dec, 1802 : 'Treaty of perpetual and general alliance with the English'

- ARMY — Permanent native infantry to be stationed in his territory
- Cede imp. territories to the Company
- TERRI — Surrender city of Surat
- Give up claims of chauth on Nizam dominions
- Company's arbitration in diff. w/ Nizam or backward
- SOVER — Not to keep in employment Europeans of any nation at war w/ Eng.
- War & Peace w/ consultation w/ Eng.

Significance / Impact

Lord Wellesley — By the treaty, the Company obtained for the first time something like a rational security for the improvement and continuance of the peace of India.

- Paramount British influence @ Poona. Other Maratha chiefs reduced to similar pos. of subordination to Company (which they resisted)
- Surrender of foreign policy — loss of sovereignty
- Company's mediation in disputes w/ Nizam : virtually surrendered all claims over Nizam, Hyderabad under Company protection
- ✓ National humiliation → led to 2nd Anglo Mar. War
- ✓ Slip towards pol. supremacy in India — Sidney Owen — 'Treaty directly, indirectly gave the Company the Empire of India' — merely an exaggeration of a true political phenomenon.

2nd ANGLO MARATHA WAR (1803-05)

Post Treaty of Basseri, Malkaj put up rival candidates for peshwanship & looked for allies.

- Lord Wellesley, Lord Lake fielded a large army
Next 2 yrs: battle continued at diff fronts across Maratha territories.

- Treaties of subordination imposed on a no. of tributaries of the Marathas $\Rightarrow$ Rajput states, Jats, Achhars, Sundellas.

- Orissa taken control of
- Treaty of Amritsar - all territ. north of Jamune (Sethi, Agre) - possession in Guj etc.

✓ Made British arbiters in any dispute between Maratha houses.
huge expenditure for company - Wellesley recalled.

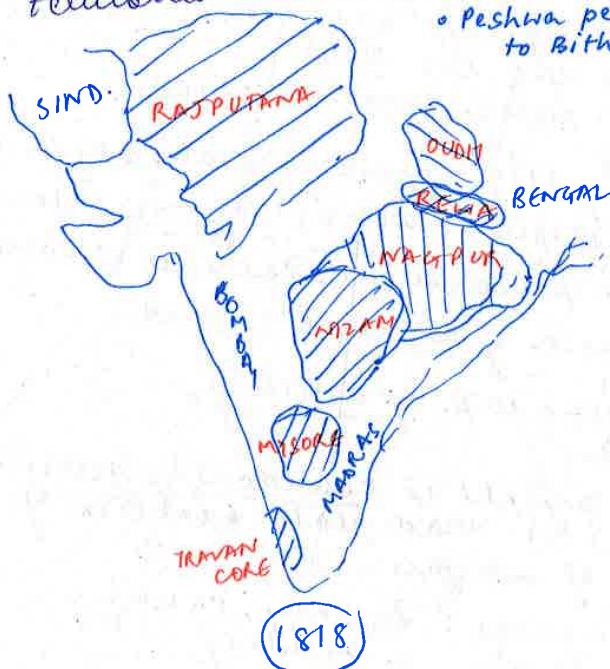
3rd ANGLO MARATHA WAR (1817-18)

Barlow, Minto
Cornwallis (post Wellesley) - policy of non interv.
Allowed Maratha Sardars to regain power, while irregular soldiers - Pindaris - plundered countryside in Malwa and Rajasthan.

- 3rd and final phase began w/ coming of Lord Hastings $\Rightarrow$
Resumed aggressive policy abandoned in 1805.

Initiated new policy of 'paramountcy' $\Rightarrow$ privileged the interests of the Company as a paramount power over those of other powers in India & to protect such interests, Company could legitimately annex/threaten to annex territ. of any Indian state.

- Hastings' moves against Pindaris transgressed sovereignty of Maratha chiefs $\rightarrow$ drawn into a war. Peshwa, resentful of British influence, violated Subs. Alli. rallied some Sardars to cause of Maratha autonomy.
- Entire Maratha ^{confederacy} routed by superior military of Company.
- Baji Rao's possession of Poona & its districts $\rightarrow$ merged into Bombay Presidency.
- Other princes coerced to greatly reduced territories in subordination to the Company.
- Peshwa pensioned off to Bithur.



Post 1818
Lord Hastings

- Indian States reduced to position of 'subordinate legislation' isolation'

→ British paramountcy estb fact. of Indian pol. scene.

CAUSES FOR MARATHA DEFEAT

1. Inept leadership: Baji Rao II, Daulat Rao Sindhia
 ↳ himself moved into Company's camp.
 ↳ bartered away Maratha independence for security ends.
 • Most of the eminent leaders died towards end of 18th cen.
 - Mahadji Sindhia, Peshwa Madhav Rao, Nana Fadnis
 • EIC - able persons: Elphinstone, John Malcolm, Wellesley.
2. Inherent defects of Maratha state:
 ✓ Jadunath Sarkar: no attempt at ~~with~~ communal improvement, spread of education, unification of ppl.
 ↳ Cohesion of Maratha state → not organic but artificial & precarious
 - defects becoming glaring in 19th cen.
3. Absence of stable economic policy: Maratha empire subsisted not on the resources of Maharashtra, but on tribute levied from newly acquired territories.
 - optimum pt. of expansion → Income dried up.
 - civil wars - ruining economy.
 - Leadership failed to evolve a stable economic policy to suit the changing needs of time. Absence of industry, foreign trade openings.
 - WAR - became the 'national industry' of the Marathas & resulted in economy of the state.
4. Weakness of Maratha political set-up
 - Maratha Empire → loose confederation under the leadership of the Chhatrapati and later the Peshwa.
 ↳ Gaikwad, Holkar, Sindhia, Bhonsle → semi independent kingdoms.
 ↳ paid lip service to authority of the Peshwas.
 - Disaster @ Panipat — feudal units fell apart, weakened each other by internal conflicts.
 - Maratha chiefs took sides against each other — to the detriment of the nation and the state.
 ✓ ABSENCE OF CORPORATE SPIRIT AMONG MARATHA CHIEFS.
5. Inferior military system: In terms of: organisation of forces, war weapons, disciplined action, effective leadership.
 though not lacking in personal prowess and valour.
 Prob: ✓ centrifugal tendencies of divided command
 • imperfect org.
 • neglected paramount imp. of artillery ✓
 • mercenary soldiers
 Perhaps Maratha failure lay not in abandoning guerrilla system of warfare, but in inadequate adoption of modern techniques of warfare.
 — Coordinated dev. of 3 wings: Infantry, cavalry, artillery.
 would have led to best results.

6. Superior English diplomacy + Poor diplomacy of Marathas.

- Company - before war - won allies, isolated enemies diplomatically.
- Absence of unity among Maratha chiefs simplified task

eg 2nd Marathe War - English won over Golkarad, Southern Marathe
- Peshwa was ally by Treaty of Bassein Jagirdars

7. Superior English espionage Marathas careless about military intelligence
• Company's Residents → all info to Company's Secretaries in Courts

8. Scientific spirit (?)

V.V.S. Khare: The Marathas did not possess any national sentiment
Internal jealousy + selfish treachery > Public interest
- Lacked corporate spirit nec. for national indepen.
- Scientific spirit of enquiry and improvement absent

• Treaty of Salbai
• Pindaris
Grover - 109-10

TREATY OF SALBAI - Signed in 1782 b/w British and Maratha
after First Anglo-Maratha war
↳ ensured mutual respect & peace for next 20 years.

- English restored to Peshwa all places captured by them except Shashti Island, small islands near Bombay.
- Company retained control of Salsette & Broach.
- Marathas guaranteed that the British would be prohibited from estb. settlements in their territories.
- British acknowledged Madharao II as Peshwa of Maratha Empire
↳ agreed to pay Raghubar Rao as allowance.
- British would enjoy trade privilege as before,
Peshwa not to support any other European nation.
- Neither honourable to English nor advant. to their interests wld:
 - * Had to disavow support for Raghubar Rao.
 - * Had to return territories won back to the Marathas,
Maratha supremacy proved
 - Reduced British poss. in North Konkan, Bombay, Gujarat.
 - * Treaty dishonourable in the context - prestige in India had ↑,
in the process of becoming a paramount power.
 - * Material gain negligible in comparison to expenditure on war.

Counterpoint:

- Marathas - permanent loss of Shashti island → meant loss of revenue of 6 lakhs, loss of trade, loss of prestige.

- For British pt. of view, no loss of territory
- British used the peace treaty with Marathas to defeat Mysore — were fighting Second Anglo Mysore war at the time of Treaty of Salbai
- British saved their position from their powerful Marathas under Maharaja Raghoba, received their help in violating the rulers of Mysore.
- Advantageous to British expansionist interest — gave them peace with Marathas for nearly 20 years.
Used this time to fight their enemies — Mysore, French, consolidate their position in Hyderabad and Awadh.

∴ Treaty of Salbai — somewhat disadv. to British in the short run & did not result in much immediate gain. But the English used it in their adv. in the long run towards British supremacy in India.

Lord Wellesley - Subsidiary Alliance

- i) The ruler of the allying Indian state - compelled to accept the permanent stationing of British force within territory → accept to pay for maintenance
- ii) British Resident @ Court
- iii) Could not employ European w/o British approval.
- iv) Could not correspond w any other Indian ruler w/o consulting Govt.

In return → defend
→ non interference

Impact - Gave away independence - lost right of self defence, maint. diplomatic relations, employ. foreign experts, settling disputes - neighbours

Loss of sovereignty + internal decay → huge amt of money paid to British
eg. Mys, Awadh.

Lord Hastings - Paramountcy

The Company claimed that its authority was paramount or supreme, hence its power was greater than the Indian states

- ∴ in order to protect its interests - it was justified in annexing / threatening to annex any Indian kingdom.

→ challenged in Kiltoor by Rani Channamma

Lord Dalhousie - Doctrine of Lapse

- i) If an Indian ruler died w/o a natural male heir, his kingdom would become part of the Company territory.
eg - Satara, Sambharpur, Kelapur, Nagpur, Thanor

→ Misgovernance - Awadh

Real reason: fertile land + market for British goods.

SIND

- commercial opport. of river Sindh add attraction
- Lord Auckland looked upon Sind from the larger problem of the defence of India against Russian designs.
- Consolidation of British influence in Sind considered necessary preliminary to plans on Afghanistan.
 - funds
 - line of operations

• Tripartite Treaty (1838) - btw Ranjit Singh, Sind rulers, British

1832 treaty:
Roads & rivers
of Sindh opened
to British trade.

- ↳ Ranjit Singh accepted British mediation for dispute w Amirs
- ↳ Shah Shuja agreed to relinquish sovereign right on Sind on condition of receiving arrears of tribute.
- ↳ Object: Obtain finances for Afghan adventure + secure line of operations against Afg. through Sind.

• 1839 - Subsidiary treaty with Sind

Amirs to finance Br. military presence
accept currency.
In turn British was not to meddle w internal rule of Amirs
Amirs faithfully carried out terms of treaties - BUT changed with hostility and disaffection ag. British.

• Lord Ellenborough - deliberately provoked war so that he could annex province

(complicity w Afghans - 1st Afg War 1839 -42)
↳ proposed new treaties (asking for more territories) as punishment for past transgressions.

• 1842 - Charles Napier ~ Company's Resident in Sind

1843 - Annexed.
↳ bent on annexing Sind, pursued a bullying policy
↳ succession dispute gave him opportunity to interfere.

✓ Robert Peel (PM - England) - Conquest full of 'precipitate and unjust proceedings' which would discredit the 'name & character' of British auth.

✓ Ramsay Muir - 'Act of aggression'

✓ Charles Napier - 'We have no right to seize Sind, yet we shall do so, and a very advantageous, useful, humane piece of rascality it will be.'

Sequel to Afghan War

✓ Charles Napier: Not an isolated event, 'tail of the Afghan storm'
P.E. Roberts: 'Followed in the wake of the Afghan war and was morally and politically its sequel.'

- Otherwise barren → strategic value in building up defenses against possible Russo-Persian designs
- Ranjit Singh would not give passage through Punjab to Company's army.
- Weakness and richness of Amirs → added adv.
 - ↳ finances
 - ↳ territ.
 - ↳ facilities.

Read
answered
Chet (Sind)

PUNJAB

→ monarchy not sanctioned by Sikh faith, could not strike deep roots

Notwithstanding Ranjit Singh's great personal achievements, failed to found stable Sikh state in the Punjab → Death caused not a vacancy but a void & anarchy, confusion; all real power - Khalsa army

- Powerful rival factions held in check by Ranjit Singh got out of control - converted Punjab into veritable arena for power politics.

- Incompetent sons ~ could not check rising disorder.

Treaty of Amritsar (1809) - made Sutlej boundary b/w British and Sikhs.

FIRST ANGLO-SIKH WAR 1845-46

- Lord Hardinge - vigorous measures to strengthen Company's military position
- British moves, preparations - seen as threat by Sikhs
- ∴ Sikh troops crossed Sutlej → excuse for British Hardinge declared war

TREATY OF LAHORE - Humiliating treaty → Reduced Punjab to status of British dependency.

- Huge war indemnity £1½ Cr.
- Ceded to Company - territories south of Sutlej, territories b/w Beas and Sutlej
- very heavily limiting size of army (20,000 infantry, 12,000 cavalry)
- Not employing any European subject w/o consent of British
- Kashmir sold to Gulab Singh for 5 mil.

⊗ Another treaty → English troops stationed in Punjab paid for by Lahore govt.

SECOND ANGLO SIKH WAR 1848-49

Humiliating treaty of Lahore + Resident pressing to surrender more territories

Immediate occasion → Revolt of Mul Raj (Governor of Multan) (unable to continue under harsh conditions)

for Invasion

- People of Multan also rose in rebellion → Revolt spread w/ tacit approval of Lahore Durbar - saw it as opport. to get rid of British influence
- Sikhs decisively defeated.
- Dalhousie - annexed entire Punjab - was convinced real power must pass into British hands

= Major Evans Bell - 'The annexation of Punjab was no annexation, it was a sacred breach of trust.'

Company wanted to maintain Punjab as a buffer b/w its North Indian possessions and Muslim powers in Persia & Afghanistan.

- Pol inevitably made it unworkable
- Great game b/w Afg & Indie
- Full annexation by 2 wars.

NATURE OF EXPANSION

- P.J. Marshall : = Until Pitt's India Act (1784) . no conscious/consistent British policy for political conquest in India.
- = Growth of territorial empire - neither planned nor directed from Britain
 - ↳ Initiative of Company officials operating in India responding to dev. of pol. fragmentation and instability, exploiting opportunities coming their way, lack of policy directives.
- = 'sub-imperialism' - developed in the periphery rather than metropole which thrust upon Company a career of territorial expansion
- C.A. Bayly - even after 1780s expansion primarily motivated by fiscal and military needs of the Company.

- Lord Seely (British historian) - India conquered in a fit of 'absent mindedness' ('The Expansion of Britain')
 - Britain never intended to rule over India
 - Anglo French rivalry → got more involved in politics of Indian kingdoms
 - Success in Caratic war - challenged Bengal

FROM
CHART
of Urum.

Took over Canal,
Australia, Sumatra,
Malaya - in the
name of defending
Indian interests

access to
resources.
to conquer sub-cont.
done a
step at a time
in response to threats

- Could have conquered India before 1800 but avoided their. acc. → expensive mil. op. had per se not popular.
- ✓ Later interested esp after loss of American colonies

Br. historian.

- Bernard Porter ('The Absent Minded Imperialist')

- Contrary to claim that an 'imperial culture' in Britain impelled its overseas expansion, Porter concludes that 'empires arise for mainly material reasons'
- ↳ Britain complex and divided society → no single, unitary, 'imperial culture'

OPPOSITION

Evidence of engagement of metropole in project of empire building

ARMED
TRADE

INTIMATE
CONNECTION
& DEPEND.
BETW. CROWN
& COMPANY

→
PRESIDENCY
SYSTEM

Use of force to promote trade from the very beginning (armed trade)

Despite apparent separation b/w Company and the State, 2 intimately connected in promoting England's diplomatic goals

- ↳ Company enjoyed its privileges, evidence to royal prerogative
- ↳ Relⁿ b/w Crown and Company was mutually beneficial.

→ Initial history of Presidency system - Crown's involvement
eg: - Bombay handed over to EIC in 1668
- growth of Madras Presidency possible cos of Cornwallis Charter.

PROXY
IMPERIALISM

Philip Lawson

'The East India Company - A History'

- 'Policy of aggression and state imperialism
by proxy'

Company had to depend on govt in London for var. matters - latter provided it - in exch. for hefty subsidy to state exchequer.

IMP
OF
FINANCES

1770s - Company agreed to pay £400,000 annually to state exchequer for Indian territorial possessions, revenues since 1765.
official endorsement of its position in India.

Regulating Act, 1773 - estb rights of the state on all territorial acq. overseas.

P. J. Cain, A. G. Hopkins - Imp of Indian revenue resources for financing England's growing internal & overseas trade - created the impulse for conquest.

But as empire acquired over long pd. of time - myriad of factors motivated territorial expansion. Both pressures from the periphery & impetus from the metropole constantly interacted with each other — SEARCH FOR

REVENUE, QUEST FOR TRADING PRIVILEGES, MILITARY EXIGENCIES.

3. EARLY STRUCTURE OF THE BRITISH RAJ :

Early admin structure ; From diarchy to direct control ; Regulating Act (1773), Pitt's India Act (1784), Charter Act (1833), voice of free trade & changing character of British colonial rule ; The English Utilitarian & India

Questions

- DUAL SYS**
- Dual system of govt. - complete failure from the outset. In the 1st place, abuse of the pvt. trade reached a greater height than ever. In the 2nd place, demands of the company for the increase led to gross oppression of the peasantry. Examine Clive - founder of British empire, W. Hastings - admin. organiser? (2016) after Plassey. Need to impose greater parliamentary control over comp's affairs during 1773-1833.
 - Regulating Act (1773), Pitt's India Act (1784), eventually Charter Act (1833) left the EIC as a mere shadow of its earlier pol. & econ. power in India. Critically examine.
 - Charter Act of 1833 left the EIC as a mere shadow of its earlier political and econ. power in India ring down the curtain on the company's trade and into a new concept of govt. in India. Substantial.

BENTINCH

- The British Indian state experienced the 'wind of change' with the arrival of Lord William Bentinck. Comment.
- 'Peace had her victories no less renowned than war'. Examine this statement with reference to Lord William Bentinck.
- Sprung from paternalism, the English Utilitarian philosophy as introd. in India rejected its human warmth between rulers and the ruled. Comment.
- Assess the impact of utilitarian ideas in moulding the British attitude towards India. How did the utilitarian try to solve the problem of land revenue?
- English utilitarianism had profound impact on British agrarian policy in India as well as Indian society in 19th cen.
- James Mill, the apostle of utilitarian philos. proposed a revolution of Indian society through the 'weapon of law' solely. But in actual policy framing, other influences & considerations weighed much more than the colonial state (2015)
 - Anglicist vs Oriental debate
 - Macaulay's minutes 1835
 - 1854 Wood's Despatch.

+ Hastings
+ Bentinck.

MARKS 181 on Company
NEED TO IMPOSE GREATER PARL. CONTROL POST PLASSEY

- Growing concern about misgmt. of Indian affairs by company servants of the Company
- As the Company's empire in India expanded → govt felt need to include within ambit of empire
- Governor generals in India - wanted to forge some kind of formal constitutional relations with the Crown.
- Company facing financial crisis → suspicion of mismanagement of funds.
- Adam Smith

Links b/w Company and govt.

- Company's existence depended on renewal of the Charter
- Comp's servants in India acted on the concept of 'delegated sovereignty' ✓
- Had to depend on govt. in London for various matters - promised in exchange of money.
- Many MPs with East Indian interests - used Comp's resources for expanding patronage.
- Company an imp. element in city politics of London.
- Conflicting parties within Company often got aligned with wide pol. configuration
- Post parl. intervention in 1766, annual payment of £400,000 to govt.

POST BUXAR

→ British imports no longer necessary to support the Bengal trade

- Weavers and artisans under greater control - forced to produce exclusively for the Company. - ✓ enforced monopoly in textile production
- Agriculture & policy of revenue maximisation, dubious methods of revenue collection → revenue farming, amils
- Exploited older zamindars. Took over position of chokhs / bakhars - advanced money at exorbitant interest rates
- Access to Bengal - could field a larger army, pay off supporters, win confidence of creditors

Net result of Company → concrete manifestation of policy of mercantilism

From 1757 to 1857 it was but a matter of time when the Company would move in by hook or crook, by force / diplomacy to appropriate the whole of Hindustan.

ACTS 1773, 1784, 1793, 1813, 1833, 1853.

- Result of various intel. & political cross-currents at home.
+ sub imperialism
- IMPERIAL IDEOLOGY** * English - 'New Romans' - task of civil. backw. people.
Post Enlightenment intellectual ~~enviro~~ environ - self definition as 'modern' vis-a-vis the Orientals.
- * Rationalised 'Age of reform'
- * Industrial rev. from 1800 - necessity to develop and integrate Indian markets for manuf. goods, supply of raw materials.
- * Pressure of free trade lobby
- * New intellectual trends - Evangelicalism, Utilitarianism

SHIFT OVER TIME

- ⇒ For several years - EIC functioned like an Indian ruler
- recognised authority of Mughal emperor.
 - struck coins in his name
 - used Persian - official language
 - administered Hindu & Muslim laws in courts
- Clive - resorted to 'double game' as matter of expediency
- criminal justice sys. in hands of native officials (Nizamat)
 - civil & fiscal matters controlled by company (Diwani)
- Minimum interference - pure pragmatism to avoid civil disturbances.
- Anglicisation of admin structure began - but progressed gradually.

ORIENTALISM

- considered ppl were to be ruled by their own laws
 - urge to know Indian culture and tradition - and restore to them their own prog. culture.
- ✓ Teleological construc. of India's past → Idea of past glory followed by idea of degeneration
- Jones privileged India as an antiquity equal to that of classical west.
- ✓ Founding of instit. to promote study of Indian lang. and scriptures
- Calcutta Madrasah (1781)
 - Asiatic Society of Bengal (1784)
 - Sanskrit College, Benaras (1794)
- * knowledge meant to serve need of the colonial state
- Orientalist scholars defining Indian tradition as a particular way - came to be privileged as 'most authentic version' - legitimated by the authority of the colonial state
 - Edward Said - knowledge thrust from above.
 - Eugene Irschick - Role of Indian collaborators, native informants.
 - Yet 'provided a knowledge of the past to meet requirements of the present' → SERVE COLONIAL INTEREST

Warren Hastings - Orientalism in practice.

WHY ORIENT.?

- * British rule had to 'legitimize itself in an Indian idiom'
- Gauri Vishwanathan - 'reverse acculturation'

eg: Fort William College (Cal) - training of civil servants in 1800 Indian lang. and tradition

- * Thomas Trautmann - 'Idea of bridging Indians through rhetoric of law'

Respect for traditions contrarily prepared ground for rejection of Orientalism

Idea of degeneration - legitimated authoritarian rule.

CORNWALLIS - Greater Anglicisation

Read notes

If Cornwallis was a little restrained & conservative, partly out of the expediencies of administering a newly conquered territory, raising sufficient revenue for annual payments.

Situation began to change w/ further conquests and pacification

READ NOTES

CLAMOUR FOR REFORM

Free trade lobby
Inwell. trends.
against Indian 'barbarism'

Charles Act 1813

Charles Grant
William Bentinck

• Evangelicalism

• Liberalism

• Utilitarianism

Bentham, James Mill

Greatest good of the greatest no.

• Authoritarian liberalism

Corruption → 'Civilise', English ed.

good laws, efficient enlightened admin.
most effective agent of change.

- vernacular ed.

(IPC)

Sati widow rem.

Authoritarian liberalism of James Bryames Stephen.

Evangelicals - India conquered through 'sci' & 'cumi'.
Instead of assultion, advocated reform so that Indians - benefit of good gov.

→ religious ignorance - root cause of prob. remedied through Christian light (1813 Chr. Act)

→ overlapped w/ free trade merchants (trade → ruler) → changes needed.

Utilitarians differed from the liberals in many ways
eg. esp. w.r. Anglicisation

eg. Orientalist - Anglicist debate on reform of edu.

Macaulay
(Education Minute, 1835)
Strong case for English edu.

Mis
vernacular edu more
suited to Indian needs.

Lord Bentinck - represents dilemma b/w Anglicisation
and Orientalism.

- Ardent follower of Mis - abolished sati and
child infanticide through legislation.
 - concept of Rule of Law
 - legislation as an effective agent of change.

- At the same time, retained faith in Indian
traditions, desire to give back to Indians their
true religion.
Official discourse on sati $\Rightarrow$ grounded in scriptural
logic that its abolition was warranted
by ancient Hindu texts.

Review 1857

1 - Traumatic experience

2 - Reform seen as 'poorless, dangerous'

though could be seen in - Queen Proclamation 1858,
passage of education, Indian Councils Act, 1861,
Local Govt Act of 1882. $\rightarrow$ sharing power
in a way

3 - Veneration of
Indian culture

Celebration of
superiority of congruent race.
(rise of racial theories)

5 - Bentinck's differing
attitudes

Authoritarian liberalism
of James Fitzjames Stephen

Macaulay's liberal
optimism of 1st half of 19th cen.

shattered
by 1857.

essentialist
knowledge of a
backward caste
ridden Indian
society

4 - Indian subjecthood. childhood,
effeminate, $\Rightarrow$ required tutelage &
protection

primitivism
 $\Rightarrow$ justified
imperialism on
arrogant assumption of
superiority of culture

ROBERT CLIVE (1765-67)

- Treaty of Allahabad
- Settlement of Bengal - Dual System - Company acquired real power while respons. for admin rested on Nawab of Bengal

Whole admin (Nizamat + Diwani) exercised through Indian agency, though actual power rested with Company

SUBAHGAR
Nizamat
Military, defence, police, admin cum justice

DIWAN
Chief financial officer - Revenue affairs, Civil justice

maintained myth of not direct ruling India

Effects

- Admin breakdown - Impotence of Nizamat, Nawab no power to enforce law and provide justice; Company disavowed responsibility for admin.
- Settling of agri - Revenue farmed to highest bidder - Bengali peasant - overassessment, harshness of collection - old zamindars as a class suffered.
- Disruption of trade and commerce - agri. depression
- misuse dastaks - Company's servants usually monopolised internal trade of Bengal, undercut the Indian merchants
- Ruin of industry and ship - bearing industry of Bengal.

WARREN HASTINGS (1772-85)

- ADMIN REFORMS :
 - Abolishment of Dual system.
 - Entire internal admin transferred to servants of Company - Company apptd. its own officers called Collectors to manage revenue officers

- REVENUE REFORMS : 1772 - 5 year settlement of land revenue
 - ↳ revenue farming
 - ↳ old zamindars discouraged from bidding

land revenue policy

a failure

misery
insurrection
famine

- overassessment of land, very high state demand.
- harsh revenue collection

1776 - Reverted to annual bidding

- JUDICIAL REFORMS Framework of justice after the Mughal model

Sadar Diwani Adalat (Calcutta) - President

Sadar Nizamat Adalat
Sep. Nazim + Chief Qazi, Chief mufti, 3 maulvis

DISTRICT

Diwani Adalat (presided by Collector)
• Hindu law → Hindus
• Muslim law → Muslims

Faujdari Adalat
Indian officers decided cases + help - Qazis, muftis
- followed mosl. law

- Regulating Act of 1773 - set up Supreme Court @ Calcutta competent to try all 'British subjects', English law administered.

- Code of 1781 - rules/regu in civil courts; judicial order in writing
- Attempt to codify Muslim and Hindu law
 - 1776 - 'Code of Gentoo Laws'
 - 1791 - Sigist of Hindu Law - Jones, Colebrooke.

COMMERCIAL REFORMS - clearing of bottlenecks in internal trade
- checked misuse of dastaks.

Personality

- Earnest student of Indian lit: Persian + Arabic, Bengali
- Intro. to 1st English translation of Gita - Charles Wilkins.
- Bribes, Corruption.

WARS

- Rohilla War 1774
- 1st Anglo Maratha War 1776-82
- 2nd Anglo Mysore War 1780-84
- British territory → Bengal, Bihar, Orissa, Barak, Chazipur, Northern Sarkar.

CORNWALLIS (1786-93)

JUDICIAL REFORMS • Concentration of authority in district in hands of Collector - made judges of Diwani Adalats.

- District faujdari adalats (Indian judges) → ABOLISHED ← Sadar Nizamat Adalat ✓

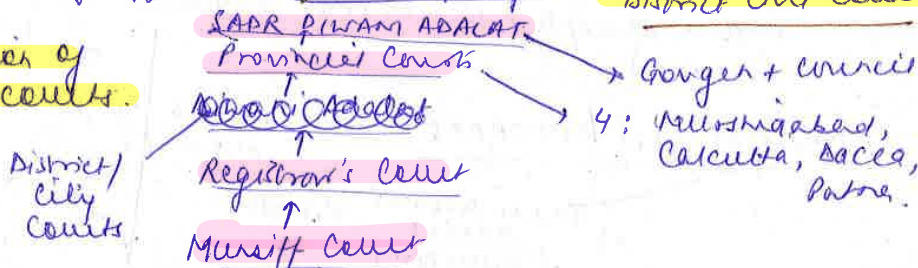
Calcutta
Dacca
Patna
Murshida
bad

↓
4 Circuit Courts (presided by Europ. commissioned sehnas - decided cases w help of qazis, muftis)
3 for Bengal; 1 - Bihar
↓
shifted to Cal
Similar setup @ Calcutta (pres. by Gov Gen)

- Cornwallis Code - divested the Collector of all judicial and magisterial powers. - only admin of revenue

- New class of officer: District judge → pres. abn District Civil Court

- Gradation of civil courts



- Certain reforms in Mohammedan criminal law

Judicial reforms - based on equity, Western conception of justice
- Codified secular law took place of religious law / personal law of muler
- Proclamation of sovereignty of law or agent

X ✓ Code of 1781 - rules & regu - civil courts
Judicial order in writing

- Effect of Code → unfamiliar, elaborate → common man could not benefit
- Justice: expensive.
 - Falsehood, deceit, ↑ in litigation.
 - Law courts insufficient - could not cope with ↑ work → delay
- Traditional judicial functionaries (parchayats, zamindars, gari etc) — replaced by European judges — ignorant of customs & habits of Indians

POLICE REFORMS

- Regulation of 1791 defined powers of Police Superintendents
- Districts — Zamindars deprived of police powers.
- ↳ divided into areas under SP assisted by constables.

REVENUE REFORMS

- ✓ Reorg. of Revenue Dept.
- ✓ Permanent Settlement

CORRUPTION

- Suppression of bribery, corruption and evils of private trade
- required each officer to declare property under oath before he left India.
- Europeanisation of admin machinery — higher services reserved for Europeans

In his admin reforms, built a superstructure where foundations had been laid by Warren Hastings.

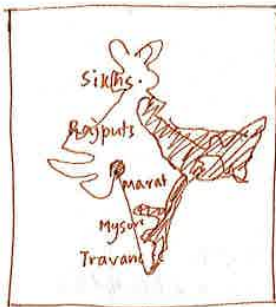
- const. process — judicial / police reforms
- corruption
- land revenue admin → benefit from experience of Hastings.
- Sep. of revenue admin from civil admin.

WILLIAM BENTINCK (1828-35)

Regulation of 1829

- Abolition of Sati and cruel rites.
 - Suppression of infanticide and child sacrifices
 - Suppression of thuggee — on an organised scale ceased to exist post 1837.
 - Charter Act of 1833 — Humiliating distinctions for recruitment to public service removed
 - Educational reforms. Macaulay's minute of 1835.
 - Employed Indians whenever possible in place of high paid Europeans.
 - Judicial reforms — rationalisation
 - ✓ qualified Indians → judges
 - ✓ high court — English as court lang.
 - ✓ suits could be filed in Persian / vernacular.
 - Non interference in affairs of Indian states as far as possible.
- ← Slavery.

MAP (diff Gts - Crane)



1805 Wellesley.



1856 Dalhousie

APPARATUS OF RULE - Read NOTES

① Judicial system

Radhika Singha - new codes sought to estb. 'universal principles of jurisprudence' based on a notion of indivisible sovereignty and its claims over an equal abstract and universal legal subject.

Princely states - amalgam of British Indian laws and personal decrees of the princes

- CHANGES
- Earlier - access to variety of judicial proced., now - streamlined sys.
 - Even judicial interp. of H&M law - made laws look v. diff. incomprehensible to indig. ppl.
 - Justice distant → physically (geog. dist.)
→ psychologically (did not und. complex jud. proc.)
 - Expensive
 - Huge no. of calls - delayed.

CONTINUITY

- Interp. by Quran. pundits - benef. conservative, feudal elements.
- Concept of equality before law not uniformly implemen.
 - ↳ racial privilege for rulers in courts
 - ↳ police, army unaffected

② POLICE

Cornwallis sys did not work acc to Thomas Munro → 'not found in usages of the country'
↳ scrapped within a few yrs.

✓ David Arnold - 'A Police Raj' dev. b/w 1857 revolt and transfer of power in 1947.

③ ARMY

Colonial stereotypes : wheat eating Indians > rice eating Indians
PRONE TO REVOLT → G upper caste Brahman, Rajput landed peasants from Awadh
↳ Rajput & Bhumiyan - Brahman peasants from N&S Bihar

1830 Reforms

Infringed upon sepoys' high caste status
disturbed power relations

Post 1857 PEEL COMMISSION → native army to be composed of diff. nationalities & castes, mixed through each regiment.

Marathi races - Pathans, Gurkhas, Rajputs etc

↳ warlike, trustworthy but intellec. deficient

Why Army's use in policing? - Most effective instrument of coercion
• used for nationalist agitations, workers' strikes, peasant movements
communal riots

POLICE

- lived in communities
- susceptible to social coercion, exposed to ideological influences.

- used regularly

sepoys remained loyal except → 1907 Canal Colony agitations (Punjab)
→ 1920 Sikh gurdwara movement

ARMY

- quarantined in garrison spread across India
- deliberately kept at low level of literacy insulated from all politi influences
- grave emergencies

④ Indian Civil Service

Cline Sewery: 'In their heyday, they were the most powerful officials in the empire, if not the world.'

After 1813 under ~~Warren~~ ^{Lord} Hastings, gradual process of Indianisation of subordinate service had begun mainly in the judiciary.

Later Lord Bentinck advocated inclusion

- orientating admin to local needs.
- question of expenses.

1833

1853

1870

'Statutory Civil Service' - 'respectable' fam background

Lord Ripon → simultaneous competitive exam in India

1892

1922 - 1st exam @ Allahabad.

⑤ Residents

Why some areas under indirect control?

- Status not in a pos. to challenge British mil. power.
- Situated in remote corners / hostile terrain
- Had little arable land / ltd prospect of revenue returns.
- pragmatic reasoning for indirect control

Resident (Fiche): intermediary b/w indigenous rulers and the British

- controlled comm. b/w the 2
- exercised British supremacy over pieces from time to time
- promote good govt.
- criticised & unsolicited advice
- sought to control imp. appointments

EDUCATION

Orientalist-Anglicist controversy

Charter Act 1813 - 1st systematic effort to force the EIC to provide education (1 LAKH PER ANNUM FOR EDU)
→ 2 CHANGES - assumption of new responsib. of native edu.
- relaxation/encourag. of missionary activ. in India

How to spend this money?

Background:

Orientalism

Hastings, Jones

Indigen. tech, lang
Calcutta Madr, Sans. College

Anglicists

Cornwallis

Eng. edu.

Task of edu. to transform indiv. modern, western thought
• Filtration theory

Evangelists

Grant

O	A
• Belief in glory	• degen.
• Aim of edu.	• Transform
• Practicality	• Employ.
• Steps: People	• Filtration theory

Charter Act 1813 delicate balancing act

- General Comm. of Pub. Instr. (1823) to imple. Act headed by Orientalist ✓
- Instit. conducting trad. edu promoted
- Intro Eng. lit into curricula
- Allowed missionaries to operate

Unstable compromise fuelled Orientalist-Anglicist controversy

1820s, 30s

DEBATE.

Orientalists : West. edu. would not prosper in India as natives gave more imp. to Arabic, Sans. learning, would also have higher value

Anglicists

Bentinck became G.G., Macaulay (liberal) - headed GCPI
Indians too preferred Eng. edu. - Bengali upper castes - eligible to govt. employ.
Aim: Consolidate British emp. through Eng. lang and culture.

Macaulay's Minute

✓ 1835 Resolution

- Funds for edu → Eng. edu, West. lit, Sciences.
- West lit & Sciences taught in Eng
- Persian replaced by Eng as official lang
- Avail. funds to be used to encourage higher edu than elementary

"downward filtration"

✓ Gauri Vishwanathan: Eng. edu. sys. became one of the 'masks' of colonial conquest in India - so greatly ingrained acceptance of British hegemony in the minds of middle & upper class Indians that the colonial state rarely had to deploy military / brute force against subjects.

1854 Wood's Despatch

- major step towards creating sys. of education admin. by the colonial state.
- aim - to suit demands of pol. economy
- filtration theory seen as defective.

* Proposed to commit govt. funds to support higher edu. in English & primary edu. in vernacular.

* Creation of a bureaucratic structure for admin → centralization

• Dept. of Public Instruction in each of the 5 provinces

* Village pathshala - to teach systematic curriculum for the 1st time

Instrument & textbook → to ensure uniformity

had to teach to be eligible for grants-in-aid.

teacher: paid employee

* 'Normal Schools' - intended to train teachers to instruct in the new curriculum

* Withdrew funds from lower schools, started practice of charging fees.

✓ Universities Act 1857 - Estb of uni system → resp. of setting curriculum, conducting inspections, exams

• Hunter Commission 1882 consolidated direction of colonial policy estb. by Wood's Despatch.

AIM

DIVISION OF LABOUR ENFORCED.

- Create a middle class → agent of imperialist economy and admin
- small but influential intellectual class.
 - consumers of British goods & ideas
 - cooperate w British in exploitation of Indian resources.
- Masses - edu. limited to useful & practical knowledge in spheres of agri, mechanics, basics of literacy.

↙
Gauri Vishwanathan

(came from trad. learned classes, favour. govt jobs on graduating)

Macaulay's
'brown
sahibs'

Hunter Comm: emph. on edu of muslims and women

- But still not prepared to spend too much on edu.
- recom. special funds for backward comm. — but contin. to be excluded.
 - ∴ British edu policy endorsed & supported differentiation in Indian society.

Impact

- Bhadralok
- Bruce McCully - growth of Indian nationalism result of formal training of Indians in the liberal thought of the West.
- Sekhar Bando: rise of 'civil society'

4. ECONOMIC IMPACT OF BRITISH COLONIAL RULE

- Land Revenue Settlements in India - PS, RS, MS
Econ impact of revenue arrangements; Commercialization of agri, rise of agrarian labourers. Impoverishment of rural society, landless
- Dislocation of traditional trade and commerce; Deindustrialization, decline of trad. crafts, drain of wealth, Econ. transformation of India, Railroad & commu. network inclu. telegraph, postal services. Famine & poverty in the rural interior, European bus. enterprise & its limitations

① LAND REVENUE

PS

- Though the PS has serious defects, it gave tranquility to the countryside and stability to the govt. Comment.
- PS disappointed many expectations and int~~er~~ results that were not anticipated. Comment. / blundering affair despite best intentions
- Bold, brave and wise measure?
- Trace the circumstances that led to the intro of the PS in Bengal. Discuss impact on landlords, peasants, govt.

RS

- Essential features of RS
- Ryotwari falls into 3 stages - early, middle, late, only descrip. common to all → mode of settlement is small farmers, so small indeed, that their avg holding - 6 1/2 acres. Critically examine.

Econ Impact • Poverty of Indian ppl - Conseq. of Govt land revenue and taxation policy. Discuss statement wrt British rule in India in 19th cen.

- Impact of early Br. land policy on village commu. of N. India.
- Factors / Econ ideas shaping British land revenue policy.

PERMANENT SETTLEMENT

Intro 1793 (Cornwallis)
Beng & Bihar

WHY?

- Need to maximise extraction of revenue.
- Economic crisis, Famine (1769-70)

Revenue farming → Cornwallis realised was ruining agriculture, impoverishing the country, not producing the large, regular surplus that the company hoped for.

marked decline in every sector

- Trade also suffering (due to agri crisis)
Sific. in procuring goods for export to Europe.
Silk, cotton (major exports) → agro based
- Idea of reducing scope of corruption
Indian officials suspect and corrupt, replaced by Europ.
- Intellectual sacking: Idea of PS emerged from ideological shift from mercantilism to free trade, mediated by the Physiocratic doctrine (assigned primacy to agri. in a country's economy)
- Assumption that stable revenue arrangements only possible in continuity, security of tenure
- Political accommodation - Revenue farming caused dislocation, insecurity among rural aristocracy.
Need for more stable arrangements → make zamindar a valuable ally.

WHAT?

- So called 'private property' in land expected to bring desired improvement
- ✓ vested land ownership right in the zamindars, who previously enjoyed only revenue collecting right
- Every bit of land in B, B & O became part of a zamindari estate - had to pay tax fixed upon it.
If he did so - proprietor or owner of his zamindari could be inherited by his
✓ Could sell, mortgage, transfer it
- State's demand fixed (1st for 10 years, then periodically)
at 10/11th of total rental income, on the basis of yield from 1789-90.
Initial amount fixed was high → did not allow the state to ↑ its demand if productivity rose.
- Sunset Law - If zamindar failed to pay assessed revenue by sundown on the day it was to be paid, his zamindari would have to be surrendered.

Why zamindars were chosen?

• Misunderstanding

→ Being a member of landed aristocracy of British, imbued in idea of improving landlordism, Cornwallis's natural preference was for the zamindars.

→ Expected to invest for the improvement of age if their property rights were secured.

Admin expediency → easier to collect revenue from a small no. of zamindars than from thousands of peasants - need for large admin machinery.

→ would ensure loyalty of powerful class of the local population

IMPACT

- Ended long process of trial & error in colonial agrarian policy

- Dislocation / volatility - price rise
new assessment 18.5% higher than last one.

SOCIAL CHANGES

- Peasants → customary occupancy right ignored, reduced to the status of tenants
- Condition of aerial cultivation declined
- provision of patta (written agreement b/w peasant & zamindar) rarely followed by zamindars / not liked by peasants
 - burden of high revenue assessment shifted to peasants - often called upon to pay illegal cesses.
 - ⊗ subsequent regulations of 1799, 1812 gave zamindars right seize property of tenants in case of non payment of rent.
 - Change in agrarian relations - Zamindar commanded immense effective social, physical force. Enhancement of their judicial rights, autonomy in administering local justice eg: beatings, torture.

Ranjit Gunga - prv property inland, clear break with the past

Zamindars

Daniel Thorner: Creation of prv. property in land a misnomer, absolute ownership retained by Imperial authority.

- Sunset Law - after found it difficult to collect the rent, demands were too high, uncertainties of nature.
- Great landholding families lost privilege and influence
- 1790 - 12 big zamindar houses rep. for paying >53% of land revenue assessment in Bengal.
- 1794 - 1807 - Land yielding ~41% of revenue in B & B
- old zamindaris parcelled out by their own amlas (zamindar officials), not exactly "new men" → Land went into hands of moneyed men from cities (Rural → Urban elite) with no connections to the soil [Ranabehn, Rajar Roy argue against this permanent shift]

- Subinfeudation: Zamindars controlled land in solely disp areas → diff. to collect revenue
- Subinfeudation patni tenures sometimes prolif. upto 12 grades → created intermediate tenures, dependence on taluqdar
- The direct relⁿship b/w zamindars and the state repres. only the topmost ring is an elaborate, multi-layered structure of social relationships.

Company Raj. transformed itself into a (self confident territorial state) trying to penetrate deeper into the economy & society & co-opt under sections of the popu.

Ranalekha, Rajat Ray — basic continuity of rural social structure in colonial Bengal.

Historical imp. of prosperous upper ryot (jotedar)

Ugata Bose — exagg. generalisation

applied to

N. Bengal

Naniaki Nakarato — Chitra Panda

powerful

jotedar —

landlord class

But more change than continuity

RYOTWARI SETTLEMENT

(WHY)?

- Problem in finding viable zamindar popu. in other areas (e.g. Madras) as in Bengal
- Increased income from land being pocketed by zamindars
- Scottish Enlightenment — celebrated imp. of the peasant farmer → Existence of Scottish Thomas Munro } officials
- Utilitarian ideas influence
 - ↳ David Ricardo's theory of rent — relied at revision of the existing sys. (argument of eliminating zamindars)
- But theories not in vogue. Personal financial crisis of Madras Pres, worsened by rising expenses of war

3 points — Munro (next page)

WHERE Started by Alexander Reed 1792 - Baramahal

- would ↓ revenue burden for farmers
- larger amt. of land rev. for the state

Thomas Munro 1801 - Ceded Districts

= claimed for empire
needed unified concept of
sovereignty, = elimination
of poligars, = best suited to Indian
conditions

Madras = 1820

(was ancient land tenure sys)

WHAT

- Instead of zamindars, collected revenue directly from village peasants
- Created individual proprietary right in land but vested in the peasants.

THEORY

- David Ludden: defined the state itself as the supreme landlord
- Annual agreements to be made b/w govt and cultivator → would get a patta title to put property
- Required detailed land survey on the basis of which revenue was to be fixed. Revenue demand to be revised 20-30% p.a.

REALITY

David Ludden's - state: supreme landlord. lands sold - if not paid on time

- had to pay even during drought & floods.

- Raised revenues.
- Peasants - in great distress - gradually impoverished, increasingly indebted, could not invest for extension of cultivation
- ↳ tax assessment on an arbitrary basis based on village aces rather than surveys in many areas
- ↳ revenue fixed on entire farm not field with diff. levels of productivity (putout system)
- ↳ enfranchisement
- ↳ 'Right of contraction / relinquishment' effectively dropped by 1833
- ↳ Strengthened rather than eliminated the existing village power structure
 - ↳ did not eliminate village elites as intermediaries, caste priv. of Brahmanas accepted.
- ↳ Subordinate ranks of revenue estb.
 - ↳ combined revenue collector & police duties in countryside → Coercion, bribery, corruption.

Madras Torture Commission Report 1855 → Need for reform
Post this, scientific survey of land undertaken, decline in
real burden of tax
- Reformed sys. intro in 1864 → led to agr. prosp, extension of
cultivation

IMPACT - Regional variations

✓ Saria Cudden - Tirunelveli district - locally powerful mirasidars
manipulated system → convert collective rights into indiv.
property rights

✓ Willebrord van Schreder - Kaveri delta
✓ 'golden age' of mirasidars

• A Sahyadranayana - division b/w 'peasant bourgeoisie' and
poor peasants

— also in Bombay Presidency (Elphinstone), later Sind, Coorg, Aizam.

• Frequent crop failures, sliding prices - peasants either had to mortgage
lands to moneylenders / abandon cultivation - migrate

↳ Bombay Riots 1875

- Reduced village patil to status of an ordinary peasant, paid
employee of the govt. (more palenahisli)
- Active role for Marathi and Gujarati bharis
- Long standing indebtedness

✓ Ramdeo Kumar Sumit Gube — Significant social
upheaval being caused by Ryotwari Settlement →
undermined the authority of the village headman,
caused a status revolution in the Maharashtra
villages

• Neil Chaudhankar → erosion of power began in
pre British days.

Fukuzawa ~~to dramatic~~ → also argues for continuity,

MAHALWARI

revenue settlement made village by village / estate by estate in landlords or heads of families who collectively claimed to be landlords of the village / estate.

// North Western Provinces - presence of talukdars

Munshi Hasan: 'intermediary zamindars'

→ liquidation of talukdars

→ emergence of 'new landlord class' - seized land was going to non cultivating classes (HOLT MACKENZIE)

So from talukdars, British preference shifted to 'primary zamindars' and village communities

• periodically revised.

WHY

- Refractory and oppressive nature of ~~zamindars~~ talukdars
- Need to maximise revenue.
- Protect rights of peasant proprietors.
- Ensure improvement of agri.

PROB : - virtually impossible to implement
∴ crashed in confusion, corruption

- survey too complex to carry out w existing admin machinery

∴ over assessment - based on 'idiosyncratic' ~~assessment~~ estimates

→ Situation worsened with agricultural depression of 1828

R.M. Bird - revised sys BUT

- high revenue demand
- mounting debt burden
- areas of revenue
- resulting sale of properties - moneyl., merchants

OTHER AREAS

- * P.S - Northern districts of Madras Pres. - 19%
- * Ryotwari - Sind, Coorg, Assam - 29%
- * Mahalwari - Punjab, Central India. - 52%

Overall - all 3

Land was made a commodity → into a fund. change in land systems of the country - shaking up the stability & continuity of the Indian village.

EMPIRE AND ECONOMY

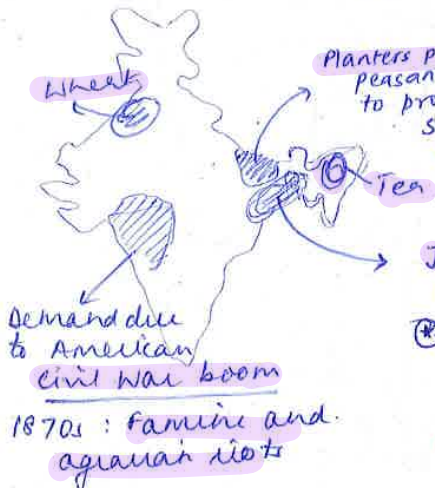
① Commercialization of agriculture

- phenomenon where agriculture is governed by commercial consideration

- favours differentiation within the peasantry, capital accumulation and production for the market. — sign of progress towards capitalist agriculture

CATALYST

- In India did not come from within peasant society benefits did not accrue to them
- Done primarily to feed British industries Only those crops → ready market in Europe.



Planters persuaded/forced local peasants to accept advances to produce indigo in their lands. System became more exploit. and coercive day by day — indigo rebellion (1859-60)

Jute: Peasants aimed to earn more by cultivating 'golden crop' more by cultivating 'golden crop' and exporters
Sugata Bose: British jute money and exporters exercised monopoly power as purchasers of raw jute → no space to bargain.

✓ 1930s - Jute economy crash

• High revenue demand, necessity to pay revenue & rent in cash.

• spread of money eco & railways - spread of comm. crops
 • speed of T.R. & American Civil War

IMPACT

NEGATIVE

- ① Did not benefit the majority of peasants & only rich peasants could go for cash crops — they too remained immensely vulnerable to market fluctuations
- ② Families: 1943 Bengal famine: driving out food grains for cash crops.
 1870s (West India), 1890s (Interior regions of South)
- ③ Increase in inequality - accentuated inequalities of income in rural soc.
- ④ Major benefits went to planters, traders, moneylenders. — Company traders, mediators → huge profits
 did not encourage growth of land market ✓
- ⑤ Increased dependency on moneylenders - dictated terms, purchased produce at much less
 Failure to pay → land of peasants under moneylender ownership.
- ⑥ Decline in food crop production
- ⑦ Regional specialization of crop:
 - Deccan - Bombay Pres. Cotton
 - Bengal - Jute, Indigo
 - Bihar - opium
 - Assam - tea
 - Punjab - wheat

⑦ Linking agriculture sector to world market

Price movements in world market affected Indian farmer fortunes. greater imp. to market demand than home needs.

1920s - Great Depression 44% ↓ in prices.

⑧ Adverse effect on self sufficiency - declining status of rural economy.

⑨ Peasant revolts eg: Indigo revolt of 1859.

POSITIVE

⇒ Emergence of capitalism though in highly distorted form

⇒ Linked India with world economy.

⇒ Integration of economy - Base for growth of national economy

⇒ Regional specialization of crops on an efficient basis.

✓ Tirthankar Ray : Rich may have become richer. But that does not mean poor got poorer. For total income had increased.

ECONOMIC CRITIQUE OF COLONIALISM

• Dadabhai Naoroji, M.G. Ranade, R.C. Dutt along with G.V. Joshi, G. Subramania Iyer, G.K. Gokhale, P.C. Ray.

Essence of British imperialism → subordination of Indian economy to British economy.

Domination → Trade
→ Industry
→ Finance

Tools of colonialism

Plunder, Tribute, Mercantilism

⇒ Free trade, foreign capital investment

Thus British conquest transformed India into an agri. colony of industrial Britain, whose principal functions were → supply raw mat. for Brit. indus.
→ prov. market for Brit. manuf.
→ outlet of investment for surplus British capital

Ask
Rahi

→ Neeladri Bhattacharya - Kerjas

→ Sumit Guha - Khandesh region

Commercialization did bring growth here - a
rich peasant stratum emerged - cotton & sugarcane

Commercialization of agri

- ④ Value of Indian exports - 600% ↑ (1860-1925) → 70-80% of these constituted agri. products.
- decline of indigo, opium - compensated by raw cotton, raw jute, sugarcane, oilseeds, wheat, etc.
- Reasons
- Internal duties removed (Trevelyan report 1835)
 - Gradual decline in land tax
 - Commercial Revolution - railways, roads, Suez Canal
 - Famines 1870s (West India), 1890s - Interior regions of South
 - Forced commercialization

⇒ Nationalists rich → Excessive land revenue compelled peasant to sell even while they starved

⇒ K.N. Raj, Krichna Sharda, Anil Bhaduri → dependence on world market fluctuations, indigenous groups of merchants, moneylenders, landlords & rich peasants.

Regional Studies

- 1860s - Cotton boom
- 1870s - mid 1920s (except 1880s) → Raw cotton built a market in continental Europe - later Japanese textiles
- Mid 1920s Great Depression 44% ↓ in prices.
- Suez Canal - shipments of oilseeds, wheat exports cheaper
- Grain trade - jute bags.

Benefits → Rich peasant groups - deltaic areas of South, parts of Cng, Maharashtra, W. UP, Punjab etc.

variations

- Tea → semi settled indentured labour
- opium → direct state control
- Indigo → Rent paying thika leases - sub-tenant zerai cultivation
- Jute - more attractive than indigo - peasants got advances towards leanest part of the yr.

Champaran - 6.7% area - indigo

Jute - Rangpur - 30%

British owned Calcutta jute mills which involved complex hierarchy of indigenous intermediaries - through which advances given to peasants.

- Sugarcane - Shahid Amin - small scale prodⁿ. Peasants had to sell very quickly to the dealer even if below market price

David Washbrook & Christopher Baker

- ✓ Madras - dry - sharp differentiation - big and smaller farmers, scanty rainfall, poor soil, skewed rural structure
- crops - groundnut, cotton
- Cities - Coimbatore, Madurai, Salem.

✓ Coastal Andhra - Godavari & Krishna.

Broader prosperity - tobacco farming

✓ Kaneri delta, Strongly divided on caste, class lines
- Brahmin/Vellalar mirasidars
- low caste sharecroppers, (Pannaiyars) bonded labourers.

② All encompassing POVERTY

(continuous impoverishment and exhaustion of the country)
 → MAN MADE - capable of being explained, removed.

- Problem of poverty seen as one of national development
 ↳ made poverty a broad national issue - helped to
 unite diff regions, sections of society.

④ Modern Industry - seen as major force which could help
 unite diverse people into single national entity
 (Sunderbath Barvejee: Industry major factor in formation
of strong Indian Union.)
 → BUT based on Indian, not foreign capital

④ Foreign Capital - To develop a country through
 foreign capital was to barter the
 (entire future for the petty gains of today)
 ↳ Strengthened control over economy
Political Conseq. → Inevitably led to pol. subjugation
 ↳ created vested interests which
perpetuated foreign rule.

④ Free trade policy → ruining handicraft industries
 ↳ foreign underclass, unfair rules.
 with premature, unequal competition to
indus. of the West



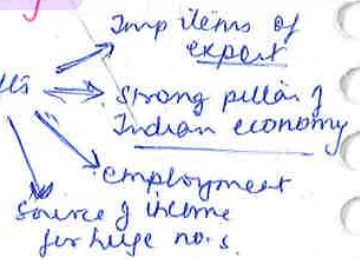
foreign capital
 → taxation
 overburdening
 poor, Reduction of
 land revenue,
 abol. of salt
 tax demanded;
 Imposition of
 income tax, import
 duties on mch.

* DEINDUSTRIALISATION

RC Dutt - Address ch. in Indian history

From beginning of 19th century - India famous for handicrafts

Process of deindus (Aspects)



- * Handicrafts - integral part of economy started declining after estb of EIC till into 20th cen.
- * Loss in employment oppors. due to ↓ handicrafts not fully compensated by estb of modern industrial units
- * Pressure of popu. on agri ↑
Transfer of popu from non agri → agri & allied activities

HISTORIOGRAPHY

PEAK - 1850-1880

Morris - D Morris
A Thorne
inevitable, worldwide phenom

British imperialists: British rule had beneficial effects

Failure of Indian response → caste sys
→ lack of imitation & enterprise
→ exclusiveness

- * Nationalists - Manuf. activity saw catastrophic decline due to free trade policy (RC Dutt)
- Flooding of Lancashire goods
- Impact of cotton goods trebled b/w 1870-1910
- Macro - British respons. for not estb. modern industry

Bipin Chandra - Exp after Charter Acts 1813, 1833 - sudden and quick collapse of urban handicrafts industry due to foreign goods
- Ruin even more rapid when railways built
Cotton spinning, weaving industries worst hit

Comparative studies

Ananya Kumar Bagchi - deindus. in Jangladesh Bihari

↳ Great regional variation within broad paradigm of deindustrialisation
East India saw earliest & most drastic deindus w less deind. in South India

Dhaka, Murshidabad

- Sumit Chakrabarti - Central Provinces
- Konrad Specker - South India

1811 - 1901

Industrial popu dependent on cotton spinning & weaving
60-70% → 6-12%

- unemployment

• Paper industry of Gaya & Shahabad contracted to the point of extinction

Karl Marx: The British intruder broke up the Indian handloom, destroyed the spinning loom & inundated the very mother country of cotton w cottons.

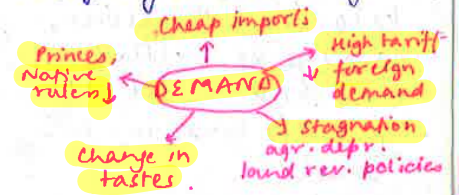
Tirthankar Roy → greater infusion of technology, ↑ worker productivity in crafts, rise in labour productivity, income per worker
segments of decline & segments of growth

Morris D Morris - ↑ in per capita income & per capita cloth consump. exp. in size of domestic market for cloth

FACTORS

• IR

- Competition faced by machine made goods, flooding of Lancashire cottons
- Policy of 'discriminatory intervention'
 - Trade policy - highly unfair and distorted. Indian goods subjected to high tariffs in English market whereas British goods gained duty free access into Indian markets
 - Demand for Indian goods seriously affected → general econ. stagnation and agrarian depr. - harsh land rev. policies
- Railways - Impact of colonial rule felt in far flung areas. facilities reach to remote places.
 - Bipin Chandra.
- Decline of Indian rulers and princely states → decline in demand of partic. products
- Estb. of British rule - dev. of new tastes and nature of demands even by Indian high classes.
- British oppression - adversely affected craft guilds, orgs. shifted to other prof.
 - Naoroji - absence of alt. mod. ind.



Consequences

NEGATIVE

1. Destroyed self sufficiency of village economy.
2. Overcrowding in agrarian sector
3. Possessed neither land nor means → impoverishment growth of class of agricultural labourers
4. Occupational, commercial centres - Surat, Dhaka, Murshidabad declined
5. Void created by decline of traditional industries could not be filled in by growth of modern indus.
6. Economic hollowiness → poverty and penury.

POSITIVE

1. Growth of industrial market in India - gave impetus to availability of domestic & foreign goods
 2. Growth of modern form of exchange system
 3. Economic integration of India and also integration with world economy
 4. Decline of pre-capitalistic handicraft industries - created base for modern industries
 5. New labour class. → points towards historical dynamism.
- * While employment ↓, real income per worker ↑
- * Tirthankar Roy - rise in labour productivity

* DRAIN OF WEALTH

Naoroji £12 mn per year
William Digby £30 mn — ~ 1/2 total revenue income of Ind. Bnt. govt.

Badabhai Naoroji worked out the intricacies of the concept of drain of wealth - culminating in his monumental work, 'Poverty and Un-British rule in India' pub in 1901.

* The constant flow of wealth from India for which Ind. did not get an adeq. econ or material return.

further dev by
RC Dutt
MG Ranade

declared as basic cause of India's poverty and fundamental evil of British rule in India

used Beng revenue - purchase & export: India - no return for exports + had to pay for overpriced imports
Excess of exports over imports for which India got no economic or material return (unrequited 'exports')

DRAIN

Profits of British capitalists, of private European capital invested in industry and trade in India
HOME CHARGES - expenses of Indian govt. in Britain; expenditure incurred in England by Secretaries of State on behalf of Indian govt.

Salaries & Pensions, Savings of British civil and military officials working in India

('Moral drain')
Naoroji

payment of interest on Indian public debt & guarantees for railways
pensions and allowances to Europ. govt. officials
civil & military charges paid in England on account of India
Dividend to shareholders of EIC

⇒ Naoroji spoke of 'Internal drain' - affected internal distribution of resources and social structure
some regions exploited more than others

"Internal drain"

= Imperialist view (Theodore Morrison) → payment for services

IMPLICATIONS

- Naoroji declared drain to be sole cause of suffering and poverty of India
- RC Dutt - transformation into agricultural colony - forced to export raw materials & food grains, Import British many goods
- Not merely a loss of wealth, but acc to Gv Joshi: loss of capital: hindered accumulation of capital in the country - could have been utilized in India to create productive assets
- Hindered industrial development - resulted in industrial retardation, obstacle to rapid dev.
- loss of further employment and income that would have been generated (RC Dutt, Surendr. Banerjee → essential diff b/w Muslims, Marathas & British)
Remained perpetual foreigners.
- Regional disparity
- Foreign capital investment → created vested interests → perpetuated foreign rule.

The drain theory had far reaching impact on growth of subsequent nationalism ✓

- ① It incorporated all threads of nationalist critique of colonialism
- was the high watermark of the nationalist leaders' comprehensive, interrelated economic analy. of colonial rule.

comprehensive

- ② Busted myth of economic welfare as chief justification for British rule.

Moral authority

- By linking Indian poverty to colonialism - trying to corrode moral authority of colonial rule.

Challenging idea of British benevolence.

- ③ Laid seeds of disaffection, disloyalty; foundation of idea of self gov. — as Britishers seen responsible for exploitation
- demands for reforms

Swaraj

- ④ Powerful mass agitations, mass movements
- Drain theory possessed great pol. merit of being easily grasped by all sections of society — main staple of pol. agitation during Gandhian era.

◦ Naoroji - Britain was draining and bleeding India, and that too for nothing.

◦ R.C. Dutt - Taxation is like moisture sucked up by the sun, to be returned to Earth as fertilizing rain, but moisture from Indian soil descends as rain on foreign lands.

✓ John Sullivan (Pres of Board of Revenue, Madras) : 'Our system acts very much like a sponge, drawing up all good things from the banks of the Ganges and squeezing them down on the banks of the Thames.'

* RAILWAYS

Father of Ind. Railways.

Lord Dalhousie

Railway Ministry of 1853

Construction of railways - was entirely to serve the needs of the British empire, rather than needs of Indian economy.

Railway construction undertaken by British private enterprise under supervision & control of govt.

WHY

- facilitate army movements, would ↑ striking power of British forces
- Bring British capital & enterprise into India
- Tie up Indian hinterland in interest of foreign trade - better access to raw materials and new Indian market

* Sabyasachi Bhattacharya : "An instance of private enterprise at public risk"

- ① Govt provided private enterprise w/ free grants of land & guaranteed interest @ rate of 5% on capital outlay to be paid if necessary from Indian revenues. Rate >>> than in Europe.
- ② Free land given @ 99 years lease. Even few months before expiry → could return lines to govt. and claim full compensation.
∴ enjoy 5% guaranteed profit for 99 yrs + get back full capital

DRAIN OF WEALTH. → guaranteed interest

- ③ Multiples effect benefitted private enterprises in Britain - machinery, coal, railway lines etc imported.
Transfer of technology confined to low tech area. - bridge build. - tunneling

S. Bonds

- ④ In certain cases, construction work disturbed ecology, subverted natural sewage system. Bengal - created malaria epidemics.
- ⑤ Did not favour Indian eco dev.
- Preferential freight charges - less for many goods from ports to interior, & raw mat from int to ports rather than vice versa.
- no interconnection b/w internal market cities

+ve

- When British left, covered 78% of total area
- Encouraged consolidation of feeder roads, other strategic roads
- Integrated market to some extent
- Cheaper mode of transp.
- Social and Cultural impact

1865 Sir Edwin Arnold — Railways may do for India what dynasties have never done - they make India a nation

Lord Dalhousie (1848-56) : Determined to take forward Mill's vision of aggressive advancement of Britain's mission in India. / 'modernizer'

⑥ abolition of Sati

⑥ Railways

⑥ Electric Telegraph 1852 Introduced Electric Telegraph Sys.
1st telegraph line opened from Calcutta to Agra in 1854.
extended to Lahore and Peshawar

⑥ Postal Reforms - 1854 - new Post office Act - Director General → super-vision
- uniform rate of half anna per letter
- postage stamps issued.
- estb. of Postal Dept.

★ FAMINE POLICY

Company rule ~ 12 famines

• 1769-70 - dreadful Bengal
- no relief meas
- Company set
ceiling price

• 1784 - severe famine in NW

• 1803 - Famine in NW provi
remissions of revenue
to land owners.

• 1837 - severe famine in upper India - Public works
opened at several centres, But work of relief
generally left to charitable public.

∴ Under EIC → no attempt to formulate any general system
of famine relief or prevention.

Crown admin (1858-1947)

★ 10 severe famines

⑥ → Coloree Baird Smith Committee 1860-61 → 1st Committee
on famine

⑥ → Orissa famine 1866

Turning pt in history of Indian famines

⑥ → George Campbell Committee

⑥ → Richard Strachey Commission 1880. (Lyttton)
dealing famine in UP, Punjab, Bombay, Madras.

Recom :

- Formulation of Famine Code
- Suspension/Remission of land revenue
- Duty of states to offer relief
- Collection of info about condition of peasants.

IMPACT OF FAMINES

- Immediate reduction in food avail.
- Disruption of local eco - Lack of work oppor.
- Rise of food prices

↳ Selling of assets / grains

- Slowing of trade

★ Famine C. Report (1880) - Strachey :
Agri labourers & rural artisans were
worst victims of famines

- Role of railways in reducing
incidence of famines in
20th cen.

Lord Dalhousie (1848-56) : Determined to take forward Mill's vision of aggressive advancement of Britain's mission in India. / 'modernizer'

- ⊙ decline of Lapse
- ⊙ Railways
- ⊙ Electric Telegraph 1852 Introduced Electric Telegraph Sys.
1st telegraph line opened from Calcutta to Agra in 1854.
extended to Lahore and Peshawar
- ⊙ Postal Reforms - 1854 - new Post office Act - Director General → super-vision
 - uniform rate of half anna per letter
 - postage stamps issued.
 - estb. of Postal Dept.

★ FAMINE POLICY

Company rule ~ 12 famines

- 1769 - 70 - dreadful Bengal famine - 1/3rd of pop. died
 - no relief measures
 - Company servants made large profits buying, selling rice at huge margins.
 - 1784 - severe famine in whole of northern India
 - 1803 - Famine in NW provinces and Oudh, state granted remissions of revenue, gave loans and advances to land owners.
 - 1837 - severe famine in upper India - Public works opened at several centres, But work of relief generally left to charitable public.
- ∴ Under EIC → no attempt to formulate any general system of famine relief or prevention.

Crown admin (1858 - 1947) ★ 10 severe famines

- ⊙ → Coleridge Bland Smith Committee 1860-61 → 1st Committee on famine

★ Orissa famine 1866

Turning pt in history of Indian famines

- ⊙ → George Campbell Committee

- ⊙ → Richard Strachey Commission 1880 (Lytton)
during famine in UP, Punjab, Bombay, Madras.

Recom :

- Formulation of Famine Code
- Suspension/Remission of land revenue
- Duty of states to offer relief
- Collection of info about condition of peasants.

provided background for famine policy → creation of famine fund
→ new head in budget for famine relief
→ Prov of ₹15 mil. every year

① Famine Code 1883 - Impl. 1886

- ✓ Precaution during seasonal times
- ✓ Relief campaign
- ✓ Duty during relief work
- ✓ Sincerity of famine affected areas.

② → James Lyall Commission 1898

③ → Anthony Macdonnell Commission 1900 - (Curzon)
after 1899-1900 famine

Recs

- Appt. of Famine Commissioner.
- opening of agricultural banks ✓
- Improvement of irrigation fac ✓
- creation of better transport facility
- Revision of famine Code.

④ → Colin Scott, Mera Scott Comm.

⑤ → John Woodhead Commission 1943-44
during Bengal famine of 1942-43.

preceded by
long pd of
↓ per capita
entitlement
of rice.

- (Rec)
- creation of All India Food Council
 - Increase in prod. of food crops (Self Sufficiency target)
 - Amalgamation of Dept. of Food and Agric.

How far was commercialization responsible for famine?

- Substitution of cash crops for food crops. - use of force.
- Discouraged cultivation of poor men's food crops - jowar, baajra, pulses etc.

Famine of Orissa (1866) bore testimony to this process.
and Bengal

- Cash crops in some areas might have driven out food grains from better quality land
- Output of commercial crops registered greater increase than food crops.

BUT - No clear, direct correlation

- On the whole food and cash crops produced simultaneously.
- End of colonial rule, food crops grown in

80% of land.

on the whole → agr. prod of food grains lagged behind pop growth
Argument that trade, integration of markets, devg infras → ↑ food security is false.

(A) EUROPEAN MANAGING AGENCIES

Q. What was the nature and character of the European managing agencies? Critically examine the role played by them in industrial development of India during 19th cen?

→ Bird Heiglers & Co, Andrew Yule, Jardine Skinner & Co.

- Provided mgmt expertise
- Mobilized capital
- Set up stock corp, mgd them
- Promoters
- Financiers.

Carried
out
skdgy.

- Managing agencies - controlled by British 'merchant adventurers'
 - economic domination of expatriate capital
- [were part partnership firms, which controlled through legal contracts a host of joint stock companies, with no obligation to their shareholders.
- preferred social exclusivism and autonomy, resisted attempts @ integration
- Even WWI - 60 such agencies dominating jute, coal mining, tea - controlling 75% of industrial capital in India, and 1/2 of total industrial employment.
- Discriminatory official policies

INDIAN CAPITAL & CENTRE

1920s

Calcutta based Mahanai began to intrude, started investing in jute industry ✓
 - got themselves elected to boards of Eur. mgmt agencies
G.D. Birla - own mills

- Mahanai stranglehold gradually extended to other sectors -
coal mines, sugar mills, paper etc. ✓
 • Cotton
 • Iron & Steel

Despite stranglehold of British capital

* Royat Ray: 'imperial division of economic space' - provided a sphere of operation, though less rewarding, more risky for enterprising come from Cal., Raj., TN.

Limitations

- ① Poor corporate governance - opaque in f'ing, hereditary in control
- ② Had own chambers of commerce, disallow Indian businessmen.
- ③ Maintenance of individual or collective monopolies

Adv

- ① Provided capital when no one did.
- ② Modernised Indian market - Family capital → Public capital ✓

RACE IN THE BRITISH RAJ

- Aimed to estb that their ^{self study} was a superior culture in every aspect of govt & thing

- White man's burden.
- Racist policy against native soldiers by Britishers.
led to 1857 revolt
- Top posts in every field - police, bureaucracy reserved for the Britishers; Barriers to promotion
- Ilbert Bill controversy - right to try Europeans by Indian judges was resented against - fear of becoming subordinate

1878 - Appnt. of (Muttuswamy Iyer) as HC judge in Madras was opposed by the Madras Mail (white biz. organ) on the ground that 'native officials should not draw the same rate of pay as Europeans in similar circumstances' (led to formation of the Hindu).

• consistent failure to punish Europ. dependents.

- Reserved compartments in railways, steamers.
- Cruel forms — kicks, blows, shooting 'accidents' while on shikar, often for disciplining.
- 81 shooting 'accidents' b/w 1880-1900.
↳ ridiculously light sentences.

- Treatment of coolies on Assam tea plant.

- Economic dimensions - Color played an imp. role in preserving the unity of white businessmen in India against possible Indian competitors.
(Chambers of Commerce, Trade Asso, org of silk, tea, mining interests).

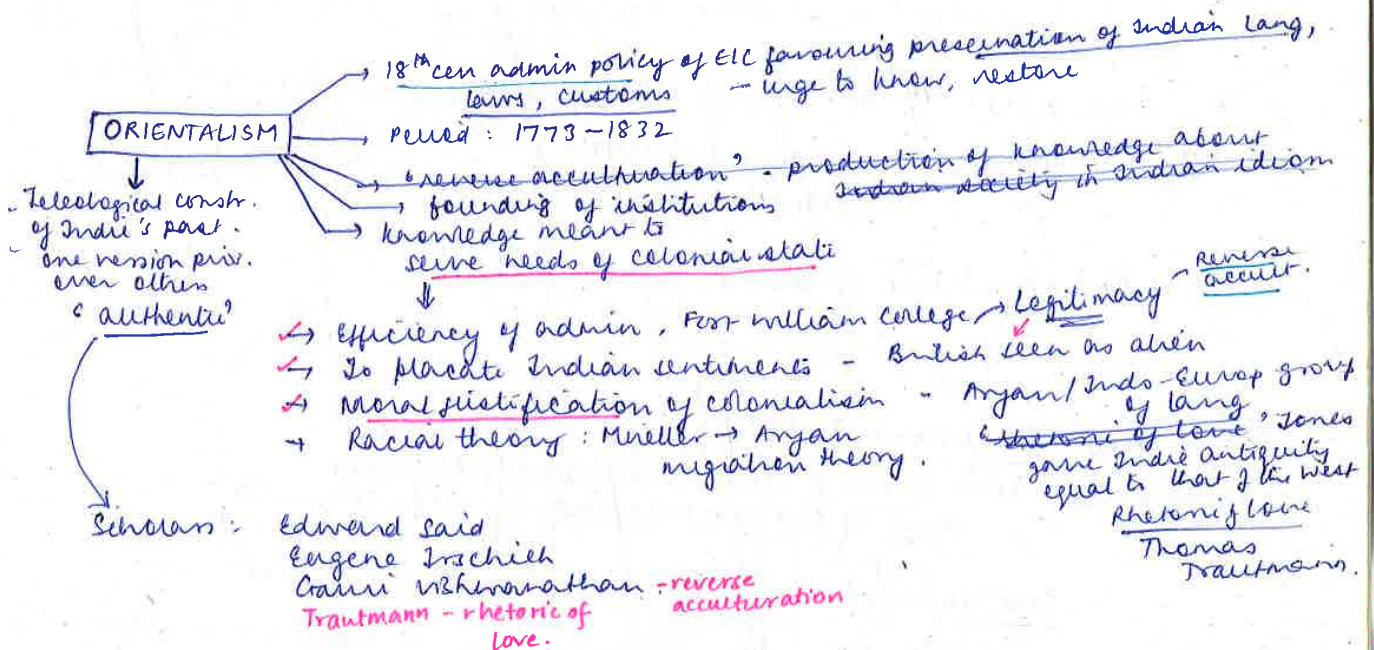
Racism thus helped consolidate the 'collective monopoly' of European businessmen.

- Racial discrimination and brutality occas. united the highest & lowest in 'native society' — common sense of degradation and injustice.
- Steps by Ripon → Ilbert Bill
Curzon → disciplinary action ag. British soldiers in case of wheeling rape of Burmese women.
- White racism played a functional role in econ. & pol. structure of colonial India in ensuring their supremacy.

Elizabeth Kolsky throws light on issue of racial violence & discrim that was a constituent element of British dominance in India.

SOCIAL AND CULTURAL DEVELOPMENTS

- State of indigenous education, its dislocation
- Orientalist - Anglist Controversy
Intro. of West. Edu. in India
- Rise of press, lit & public opinion
- Rise of modern vernacular literature
- Progress of science
- Christian missionary activities in India



EDUCATION POLICY

- English education objectives

- ① Missionaries - open gates for Indian proselytization
- ① Utilitarians - ultimate fulfilment of imperial mission
'Moral duty'
- ① Seeking to reduce cost of governing India by Indianising the subordinate positions
employ Englishmen - not financially feasible, nor politically expedient
- ① Creating a class of loyal, educated Indians - as agents of British imperialism
- ① Gauri Vishwanathan - colonial education deployed Eng lit studies in curriculum as instrument for ensuring industriousness, efficiency, trustworthiness, compliance in native subjects.

↓

'a class of persons Indian in blood and colour, but English in taste, opinions, morals and intellect.'

IMPACT

- Neglect of girls edu
- Neglect of S & T edu.

- In 1881-82 out of total pop of 195 million, only ~ 2 mil. had attended elementary schools.
94% illiterate in 1911.

- ✓ Indians selectively adopted knowledge and deployed it to interrogate colonial rule. - weapon of state

- ✓ In 1893 Rabindranath Tagore noted emergence of a 'public' in India - Rise of limited civil society Sachar Bards.

• bhadralok

- Emergence of debating clubs and scientific societies
Cyan Prakash - 'science' came to constitute an authoritative 'language of reform'

- Development of press, print culture.

Bruce McCully
& Nationalism

ORIENTALIST - ANGLO-INDIAN DEBATE

Background: Prior to 1830s Orientalists dominated GCPI
Appt. of Charles Trevelyan - beg. of debate

Orientalists

- VIEW • Belief in lost glory of Indian civ.
- AIM • Aim of edu.
- ~~PROSPERITY~~ INDIAN PREF PRACTICABILITY • would not prosper - ppl have high regard for Arabic, Sans.
- breach of trust
- LIBERTY • ~~Western~~ Intro. of the West. sciences at cost of withdraw. scholarships for native know. did not uphold principles of justice and liberty
- Step by step progression.

Anglicists

- Regenerate past
- Edu - transform.
- ~~educ~~ native w. leaning. • Indians too prefer - Bengali upper class - employ.
- Better consolidation of empire
↳ loyal class
'brown sahibs'
- Would free Indians from shackles of irrationality, backward ideas, superstitions.
- Filtration theory

1825: Freedom of Press Act - encouraged printing and pub. of books, made Eng books avail. at low cost.

PRESS

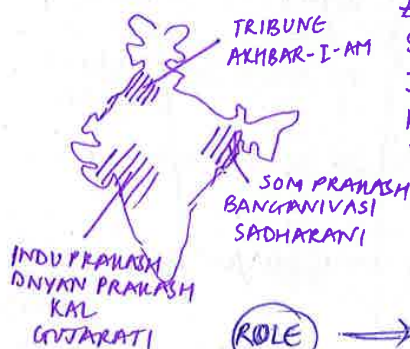
- Vernacular press in 19th cen - both newspapers and 'newspapers'
- Role in social reform & cultural revival

- 1st newspaper - 'The Bengal Gazette' - James Augustus Hickey. (1780)
- 1830s. BENGAL - Reformist newsp. Sambad Kaumudi ✓
 Berosians - Gyanesh Kumar ✓
 1850s - Banga Samachar - took up cause of peasants
 Hindu Patriot - criticized indigo planters.

BOMBAY 1857 Rast Goftar - social reform in Parsi community.

- 1870-1918 - Press chief means for politicisation, pol. propaganda, education etc.

NEWSPAPERS



Hindu, Swadesamitran - G. Subramania Iyer
Kesari, Mahratta - B. G. Tilak
~~Amrita~~ Amrita Bazar Patrika - Sisir Kumar Ghosh, Motilal Ghosh
Sudharak - G. K. Gokhale
Indian Mirror - N. N. Sen
Bengalee - Surendranath Banerjee
Voice of India - Dadabhai Naoroji

Newspapers published as
national / philanthropy
service

ROLE

- What was happening in one part of the world - began to impact ppl in India.
 - Work of the INC - resolutions and proceedings had to be propagated through newspapers.
 - Not confined to cities, towns. 1/3rd of INC founding fathers were journalists.
 - was read aloud
 - library movements (means of political participation)
 - Means of social reform (1830s)
 - Played institutional role of opposition ✓
 - almost every act & policy of govt. subjected to sharp criticism
 - 'oppose, oppose, oppose' - motto of Indian press.
 - Effectively used by leaders like Tilak to bring together diff sections of society, popularise new ideas, never means of revolt.
 - Arrests under sedition laws - led to greater political mobilization.

highly
critical of Lord
Lytton's admin
esp famers of
1876-77

CURBS ON PRESS FREEDOM

- 1870 - Sec 124A of Indian Penal Code. - Dissemin
excited feelings of disaffection → transportation for life/
Imprisonment upto 3 yrs.

- Vernacular Press Act of 1878
(only directed at Indian lang newsp.
- confiscation of printing press,
paper, other mat if cont'd belittled
was publishing seditious mater.)



- Public demonstration against it
- Amrita Bazar Patrika overnight
converted into English newspaper.



RESPONSE

- Use of irony, sarcasm,
banter, mock-seriousness
- evolution of clever
stratagems, distinctive
style of writing to
remain outside the reach
of law.
- prefaced writing is
effusive praise of
Queen etc.
eg Motilal Nehru,
B.G. Tilak

✓ Surendharath Banerjee - 1st Indian to go to jail in performance of
duty as a journalist.

- Bal Gangadhar Tilak - most frequently asso w/ struggle for freedom of press.
↳ Kesari, Mahratta

1898 Rand Murder (Chopdar brothers) - seen as conspiracy by Poona
Brahmins led by Tilak.

↳ arrested on charge of sedition (124A)
spreading disaffection & hatred ag. govt.

Imprisonment → led to widespread protests

↳ Motilal Nehru came out w/ black borders on the front page.
editor in battle for freedom of the Press.
matiya'

• Censorship of Press Act, 1799
(Wellesley) ↳ relaxed by
Hastings.

• Licensing Regulations, 1823
(Rammohun Roy - Mirat-ul-Mabki)

• Press Act of 1835
↳ Liberal press policy (ofc of
premises)
↳ Rapid growth of
newspapers.

• Licensing Act, 1857

↳ Right to stop pub.

• Registration Act, 1867 → Regul.
nature

• VPA, 1878

• Newspaper (Incitement to Offences)
Act, 1908 - Aimed @ extremists.
↳ confisc. by magis.

• Indian Press Act, 1910

• Indian Press (Emergency Powers) Act, 1931

↳ penal Code. - making it a
crime for anyone to attempt to bring into
the country, create hatred among diff. classes.

CURBS ON PRESS FREEDOM

- 1870 - Sec 124A of Indian Penal Code. - Whoever excited feelings of disaffection → transportation for life / Imprisonment upto 3 yrs.

- Vernacular Press Act of 1878
(only directed at Indian lang newsp.
- confiscation of printing press, paper, other mat if conts belittled was publishing seditious mater.)



- Public demonstration against it
- Amrita Bazar Patrika overnight converted into English newspaper.



RESPONSE

- use of irony, sarcasm, banter, mock-seriousness
- evolution of clever stratagems, distinctive style of writing to remain outside the reach of law.
- prefaced writing is effusive praise of Queen etc.
eg Motilal Nehru, BG Tilak

- Surendranath Banerjee - 1st Indian to go to jail in performance of duty as a journalist.

- Bal Gangadhar Tilak - most frequently asso w struggle for freedom of press.
↳ Kesari, Mahratta

1898 Rand Murder (Chapekar brothers) - seen as conspiracy by Poona Brahmins led by Tilak.

↳ arrested on charge of sedition (124A)
spreading disaffection & hatred ag. govt.

Imprisonment → led to widespread protests

✓ Many newspapers came out w black borders on the front page.
Tilak hailed as martyr in battle for freedom of the Press.
→ title of 'Lohmartya'

1898 - Sec 153A added to penal code. - making it a criminal offence for anyone to attempt 'to bring into contempt' the Govt, create hatred among diff. classes.



Nation wide protest.

Rise of modern vernacular literature

19th cen - emergence of the modern novel

wanted to develop a modern lit that could produce a sense of national belonging and cultural equality with their colonial masters.

- marked by great degree of social realism ✓
- Hindi novel 'Pari-khe-burush' - characters caught in difficulty of adapting to colonised society & preserving own cultural identity & traditions.
- works of Premchand - lives of ordinary ppl, social issues → child marriage, dowry, casteism etc.
- Bankim Chandra Chatterjee - Bengalee - Anandamath
 - social realism
 - used to criticize social evils & suggest remedies
 - helped in estb. link with glorified past → creation of national pride
 - vernacular novels helped in creating sense of collective belonging on basis of one's language.

ROLE OF CHRISTIAN MISSIONARIES

- Chief proponent of spread of Christianity in India → CHARLES GRANT - figured in 1792 - principle problem of India was the religious ideas that perpetuated ignorance of the people.
- Grant's ideas given greater publicity by William Lamberton in British Parl before passage of Charter Act 1813.
- Charter Act of 1813 - 1st parliamentary approval for propagation of Christianity in India.

POSITIVES

(*) Gandhiji: work of missionaries quickened the task of Hindu reformers - threat of conversion of down-trodden section of society - ∴ determination of reformers to work for integration of these sections into rest of Hindu society.

Eg. Leprosy elimination - 1st by Missionaries, later set eg.

- (*) Modern education ^{by miss. schools} endowed w ideals of service, uprightness.
- (*) Lakhs of ppl saved, restored to normal health by Church affiliated org - eg: Christian Medical College, Vellore.
- (*) Standard of living of tribals raised.
- (*) Ser. unifying spirit in the Indians.

NEGATIVES

Missionaries called Hinduism as a false, shapendous and barbaric religion

* Alexander Duff: Christianity is one true religion, which should replace all false religions.

- Destroyed self confidence and self respect of natives
- Mass conversion
- English - barrier to spread of modern knowledge among common people.

• Contempt of Indian by fellow converted Indians, Erosion of traditions.

Charles Trevelyan - A young Hindu, who had received a liberal Eng. edu, was forced by his family to attend the shrine of Kali, upon which he took off his cap to 'Madam Kali', made her a low bow, & hoped her 'ladyship was well'.

ROLE IN RELATION TO WOMEN

- Some of the first missions - targeted at women edu - since Indian grandmothers, mothers, wives taught first lessons of idolatry & rituals to children.
- Christian educ. work for girls - model for govt to found schools for girl edu. eg St Stephens College Delhi, Madras Christian College.
- Pioneer work in women edu - Pandita Ramabai (Christian convert) C. Instit. 'Mukti' for helping widows and others.
- Impetus to other agencies to found schools - Arya Samaj, Theosophical Society, Ramkrishna Mission.

- Terrible inadequacy of medical facilities, remedies.
✓ Zenana Medical Mission - bring medical aid to women & children in India.
- Missionaries - role of social-rel. movement
Indirectly gave birth to neo-Hindu reformist movements led by educated Indians
- Helped in the emancipation of individuals from age old superstitions also w Hindu religion - sati, child marriage, untouchability etc.
Strive to secure several rights for women eg rights of women to wear upper cloth
- Demanded legal support from govt for elim. of social evils with the support of liberal Hindu leaders & missionaries, G. William Scott took several legal measures of social reforms.

RISE OF SCIENTIFIC RATIONALIST MENTALITY

- 'Science' - universal sign of modernity and progress, came to constitute an authoritative 'language of reform'
- Indians began to look at their own society through a prism ideologically constructed by concepts → reason, utility, progress, justice.
- 1825 Calcutta - Society for Translating European Sciences
- 1876 Indian Association for Cultivation of Science - Bengali intellect. Mahendra Lal Sircar
- spread ⇒
- NORTH INDIA - Benaras Debating Club
Aligarh Scientific Society - S.A.K.
Bihar Scient. Society] 1860s.

Gyan Prakash

VI SOCIAL AND RELIGIOUS REFORM MOVEMENTS IN BENGAL & OTHER AREAS

- Rammohun Roy, The Brahmo movement
- Devendranath Tagore
- Ishwarchandra Vidyasagar
- The Young Bengal movement
- Dayanand Saraswati
- The social reform movements in India — sati, widow remarriage, child mar. etc
- Contribution of Indian renaissance to the growth of modern India
- Islamic revivalism — the Faraizi & Wahhabi movements.

Kenneth Jones - 'acculturative movements' — movements that originated within the colonial milieu, were led by individuals who were products of cultural interaction

19th cen Bengal → emergence of middle class 'bhadralok' intelligentsia (western educated)
↳ absence of genuine mass contact

Historians like S.C. Sarkar put forward model of 19th cen **BENGAL RENAISSANCE** that contact with modern western ideas & education energized a no. of middle class intellectuals into a self critical awareness of various social problems — led to concern with constructive reform.

'reform Hinduism from within in the light of post Enlight. rationalism', **FEATURES**

- Western edu.
- Spread of print media
- Formulation of qualitatively new public sphere.
- (Taruna Sarkar)
- Centrality of gender-dominant ground for articulation of both emancipatory & conservative doctrines.

BRAHMO SAMAJ

Bengal Ren. spearheaded by Raja Rammohun Roy — one of the first major social reformers, 'father of modern India'

- Influences :
- upper caste gentry — power, pos. enhanced by Perm. Settl. and other oppo^{te}. opened up by colonial rule.
 - imbibed nationalism from early training in 18th cen. Perso Arabic lit.
 - Studied Vedantic monism, exposed to Christian Unitarianism.
 - Islamic monotheism.

- pub. Bengali transl. of Hindu rel. scriptures to provide access to the masses.
- Vigorous and systematic use of burgeoning public sphere, esp. journalism

Journals — Sambad Kaumudi, Brahmunnical Mag.
numerous tracts in Persian, Bengali, Eng.

Book — Tuhfat-ul-Muwahiddin (Gift to Monotheists) — Persian

- deeply discriminating and creative interpretation of key doctrines of Islam, Hinduism, Christianity
- Influenced by Islamic monotheism — existence of single, formless Creator
- Condemned idolatry, priesthood, polytheism and believed that social groups (brahmin and shudras) creed & should be allowed access to religious knowledge.

- Founded Atmiya Sabha (1815) → 1828 Brahmo Sabha → 1830 Brahmo Samaj
 - (BS) — did not accept auth. of Vedas
 - Influenced by Islam & Chr. — denounced idol worship, polytheism, caste system.
 - Upanishads read out
 - Emphasis on inaccurate interpret. of sacred works by corrupt priests. → Society must go back to glorious past
 - ↳ Pandits need to be removed.

Women

- Strong plea for women's education
- Sati — based on erroneous interpretation of the shastras.
- CAUSE: Lack of edu & property rights to women.

eg. polygamy, early marriage, subjugation

Imp victory of Brahmo Samaj → 1829 law outlawing sati by William Bentinck
but criticized by some — did not preach widow remarriage.

Methods :

- Petitioning
- Pamphlets
- Collecting signatures
- Org. public meetings.

Western scientific knowledge
Fusion of best of East & West
spread of modern edu - English school @ Calcutta
Vedanta College

Death - 1833

• DEBENDRANATH TAGORE B. Samaj revived in 1840s - better organisational structure & ideological consistency.

estb. Tattwabodhini Sabha (1839) - stressed on greatness of Hinduism.

1843: Reorg BS
widow remarriage,
polygamy, women's edu,
improvement in cond of ryots

• Bijoy Krishna Goswami promoted systematic study of India's past in Bengali lang.

Keshub Chandra Sen - took movement outside limited elite circles.

1866 SPLIT -

- Adi Brahmo Samaj (Tagore) - based on Hindu theology, not too 'radical'
- Brahmo Samaj of India (Sen) - more 'revolutionary' outlook
- Renewed attention to social reforms
 - attacking caste system ✓
 - women's rights ✓
 - promoting widow, inter-caste marriages.

1872 Brahmo Marriage Act - legalized inter-caste and widow marriage, only if contracting parties declared them. non Hindu

1878 Formation of Sadharan Brahmo Samaj when KCSen married daughter to Mah. of Cooch Bihar

1881 - Nab Bidhan 'New Dispensation' - by KCSen.
moving towards new universalist religion

WESTERN INDIAN

Derozians

led by Henry Vivian Derozio

④ Radical
④ Tried to achieve revolution in lifestyle that represented a message in itself.

④ Flouted sacred taboos in public - ate beef, drank wine, threw chicken bones into houses of pandits
violated a range of purity & pollution taboos in an effort at de-Brahminization.

④ free thinker, agnostic, open admirer of French rev., critic of caste based Hindu society
④ expelled for 'corrupting' influence on students; died @ 22. from Hindu College.

1838 estb. Society for Acquisition of General Knowledge.

④ caste taboos, child marriage, Kulin polygamy, ban on widow remarriage

④ FAILURE

- Western values, Eng. education set them apart from the masses
- Atheism - too radical
- Stand lacked much positive content, failed to dev. definite progr. ideology
- Limited shaky ideology - never able to fully capture public attention
- Didn't succeed in organizing any social reform movement - social cond. not yet ripe
- Viewed by common ppl as arrogant declaring war ag. religion
- Radicalism was bookish, did not take up peasants' cause
- Failed to gather support from other Bengali literati/academics

more legalization, Indianiz. of services, of jury, women's education etc.

connected ppl beyond elite class

from concrete political programme, succeeded in org. social movement as a result

at left little distinctive / permanent on the plane of religion & philosophy. 19th cen India.

Imp victory of Brahmo Samaj → 1829 law outlawing sati by William Bentinck
but criticized by some — did not breach widow remarriage.

Methods • Petitioning
• Pamphlets
• Collecting signatures
• Org. public meetings.

• Western scientific knowledge
• Fusion of best of East & West
• spread of modern edu - English school @ Calcutta
Vedanta College

Death - 1833

• DEBENDRANATH TAGORE B. Samaj revived in 1840s - better organisational structure & ideological consistency.

• estb. Tattvabodhini Sabha (1839) - stressed on greatness of Hinduism.

1843: Reorg BS
• widow remarriage,
polygamy, women's edu,
improvement in cond of ryots

" Patrika - teachings spread outside Bengal.
promoted systematic study of India's past in Bengali lang.

• Bijoy Krishna Goswami, Keshub Chandra Sen - took movement outside limited elite circles.

1866 SPLIT
• Adi Brahmo Samaj (Tagore) - based on Hindu theology, not too 'radical'
• Brahmo Samaj (Sen) - more 'revolutionary' outlook
- Renewed attention to social reforms
↳ attacking caste system ✓
↳ women's rights ✓
↳ promoting widow, inter-caste marriages.

1872 Brahmo Marriage Act - legalized inter-caste and widow marriage.
only if contracting parties declared them. non Hindu minor

1878 Formation of Sadharan Brahmo Samaj when KCSen married daughter to Mah. of Cooch Bihar.

1881 - Nab Bidhan 'New Dispensation' - by KCSen.
↳ moving towards new universalist religion

WESTERN INDIAN

Derozians

led by Henry Vivian Derozio

- ① Radical
- ② Tried to achieve revolution in lifestyle that represent. a message in itself.
 - ↳ flouted sacred taboos in public — ate beef, drank wine, threw chicken bones into houses of pandits
 - ↳ violated a range of purity & pollution taboos in an effort at de-Brahminization.
- ③ Proposals for reform — widow remarriage, legalization, Indianiz. of services, trial by jury, women's education etc.

↳ free thinker, agnostic, open admirer of French Rev., critic of caste based Hindu society
↳ expelled for 'corrupting' influence on students; died @ 22. from Hindu College.

1838 estb. Society for Acquisition of General Knowledge.

↳ caste taboos, child marriage, widow remarriage, ban on polygamy.

Failure - WHY

- Inability to connect w ppl beyond the middle class
- Shied away from concrete political programme.
- Too radical in context
- Not sustainable

Sumit Sarkar:

Young Bengal left little distinctive / permanent impression on the plane of religion & philosophy in 19th cen India.

Imp victory of Brahmo Samaj → 1829 law outlawing sati by William Bentinck
but criticized by some — did not preach widow remarriage.

Methods :

- Petitioning
- Pamphlets
- Collecting signatures
- Org. public meetings.

• Western scientific knowledge
Fusion of best of East & West
• spread of modern edu - English school @ Calcutta
Vedanta College

Death - 1833

• DEBENDRANATH TAGORE B. Samaj revived in 1840s - better organisational structure & ideological consistency.

estb. Tattwabodhini Sabha (1839) - stressed on greatness of Hinduism.

1843: Reorg BS
• widow remarriage,
polygamy, women's edu,
improvement in cond of ryots

• Patnika - teachings spread outside Bengal.
promoted systematic study of India's past in Bengali lang.

• Bijoy Krishna Goswami, Keshub Chandra Sen - took movement outside limited elite circles.

• Adi Brahmo Samaj (Tagore) - based on Hindu theology, not too 'radical'

Pros

- one of the earliest mov. - produced several reformers like Tarachand Chakraborty
- no. of Derozians later attracted to Brahmo Samaj
- Surendranath Banerjee described them as pioneers of modern Bengal.

High India (Sen)

- more 'revolutionary' outlook
- Renewed attention to social reforms
 - ↳ attacking caste system ✓
 - ↳ women's rights ✓
 - ↳ promoting widow, inter-caste marriages.

1878 Formation of Sadharan Brahmo Samaj when KCSen married daughter to Mah. of Cooch Bihar.

1881 - Nab Bidhan 'New Dispensation' - by KCSen.
↳ moving towards new universalist religion

WESTERN INDIAN

Derozians

led by Henry Vivian Derazio

- ① Radical
- ② Tried to achieve revolution in lifestyle that represents a message in itself.
 - ↳ flouted sacred taboos in public - ate beef, drank wine, threw chicken bones into houses of pandits
 - ↳ violated a range of purity & pollution taboos in an effort at de-Brahminization.
- ③ Proposals for reform - widow remarriage, legalization, Indianiz. of services, trial by jury, women's education etc.

- ↳ free thinker, agnostic, open admirer of French rev., critic of caste based Hindu society
- ↳ expelled for 'corrupting' influence on students; died @ 22. from Hindu College.

1838 estb. Society for Acquisition of General Knowledge.

- ↳ caste taboos, child marriage, Kulin polygamy, ban on widow remarriage

Failure - WHY

- Inability to connect w ppl beyond the middle class
- Shied away from concrete political programme.
- Too radical in context
- Not sustainable

Sumit Sarkar:

Young Bengal left little distinctive / permanent impression on the plane of religion & philosophy in 19th cen India.

ISHWARCHANDRA VIDYASAGAR

- part of vernacular intelligentsia,

- contrib. to dev. of modern Bengali prose. - punct., syntax etc.
- spread of vernacular ed. in rural society
- consistent championing of women's schooling. → near alternative socialisation

Legalization of widow remarriage

young widows
inhuman restrictions

- ↳ Mobilization of an energetic fledgling public sphere of debate - journals, cheap print etc.
- Vidyasagar mobilised 5000 signatures - Radhakantabes
↳ struck back w 48,000 signs on counter petition.
- ↳ demonstrated scriptural sanction for widow remarriage

↳ Hindu Widows' Remarriage Act, 1856 → practically amounted to nothing

⊛ Sekhai Bando - Vidyasagar's agitations limited by crucial fact that he preached more or less within Brahmanical sphere.

BUT - In the long run - helped open up for interrogation certain practices hitherto taken for granted.

WESTERN INDIA

REFORM.

Use of Sanskrit texts to rediscover lost genius - K.T. Telang, V.N. Mandalik, R.G. Bhandarkar

Direct method - Attaching instt - caste system, prohib. of widow remarriage

eg: Mehtaji Sargajam Marcharam, Karkondas Mulji, Sadoba Pardurang (Marar Shama Sabha, Paratthane Mandali)

⊛ PRARDHANA SAMAJ

1887

- Influenced by Brahmo Samaj
- Founder: Atmaram Pandurang, K.T. Telang.
- Real spirit - M.G. Ranade,

Preached -
- monotheism
- denounced idolatry
- priestly domination
- ag. caste distinctions.

cautious approach
w/ Bengal

→ sought gradual reforms.

• Activities spread to [South India] led by Telugu reformer veerasalingam

1875 - D. Saraswati's visit to have any possibility of more radical alternatives

ARYA SAMAJ

('Noble Society')

Founder - Dayanand Saraswati

Punjab, NW India

- ① Vedas an infallible source of knowledge
- ② ~~Rational outlook~~ It was the priests who manipulated ignorance of the people → must be removed as intermediaries
- ③ Ardent preacher of 'pure' Hinduism - rejected idolatry, polytheism, role of Brahmin priests, rituals, pilgrimages
 - ✓ condemned child marriage
 - ✓ stood for widow remarriage, inter caste marriages & female edu.
- ④ renounced untouchability, caste sys → but upheld varna division

• Western orientalist touch - projected Hinduism as a 'religion of the book' like Christianity and Islam.

Lala Lajpat Rai

As may logically be pronounced as outcome of conditions imposed into India by the West.

• fully appropriated Western intellectual discourse of reason and science - deployed them against adversaries.
↳ claimed Vedas alone contained 'scientific truths' - ∴ rel. based on these texts superior to Christianity and Islam.

1883 - Death

1882 - Estb. of Dayanand Anglo Vedic (Lala Hari Raj)

College Party Lala Lajpat Rai, Hari Raj

1893 FORMER SPLIT

Vedic / Gurukul Party

Guru Datta Vidyarthi, Lekh Ram, Sharni Shradhdharand, - estb. Kanya Mahavidyalaya

- more radical
- 'Satyarth Prakash' more

strictly adhered to. - vegetarianism strictly adhered

Sharni Shradhdharand

1890s - Shuddhi movement - counter to aggressive Christian proselytization

Cow protection movement

TANUKA SARKAR : Reformist movement : analyses Indian society through lens of Western ideas

Revivalist : negates impact of West, upholds purity of espoused religion

Valmiki Dalmia - rejects labels - both claiming antiquity harking back to mythic 'glorious' past

- all influenced by modernization
- proposes 'traditionalist' or 'reformist'

Features, Analysis

- Confined to narrow social space
reformist ^{spirit} appealed only to small elite group
- Composition : - Bengal - bhadralok (small no. of Western educated elite)
- mostly Hindus - three higher castes — Brahman, Kayastha, Baidya
- Language of reform
eg Sanskritised Bengali (Rammohun Roy) - incomprehensible to uneducated peasants, artisans.

W. India Prarthana samaj — Eng. edu. Chitbavan and Saraswat Brahmins
- some Gujarati merchants & Parsis

Madras slow penetration of English, reform ideas slower to emerge

- Primacy to Scriptures eg Lata Mani - whole debate over sati was grounded in the scriptures.
- Construction of a 'modernity' located within Indian cultural space
Christophe Jaffrelot → reform rel. practices to western modernity while adapt preserving core of Hindu tradition.

SOCIAL REFORM MOVEMENTS

① FEMALE INFANTICIDE

- 1803 • Lord Wellesley banned child sacrifice at Sagar Island (Bay of Bengal)
- Social practice of female infanticide continued - W & N India
- 1870 - Female Infanticide Act

② SATI

Practice → Mughal times - by Rajput princely families in central India and Rajasthan

- Kingdom of Vijaynagara.

→ British pd. early 19th cen - on the rise esp around Calcutta

- not only upper but lower & intermediary castes who sought social mobility
- greed of relatives
- practice esp popular where Sayashaga school of personal law was applicable (widow's right to inherit prop)

Debate on sati

- Initially complete non interference by colonial state.
- Role of Christian missionaries.
- 1813 Regulation - magistrates & police had to be present at each sati ensuring consent, should not be < 14.
- Rammohun Roy - use of public sphere, petitioning. counterposed the idea of ascetic widowhood
- Counterpoints raised by Hindu Sharma Sabha, Radhakanta Deb

1829 → Law criminalizing sati

Lata Mari - absolute primacy of scriptures, trivialization of widow's own agency & will character. debate.

Women remained peripheral to the discourse.

But basis for later exercise of agency could be found now.

Despite legislation, idea continuously affirmed through epic, ballads, folktales

1987 - much publicised sati of Roop Kanwar in Raj.

③ Widow Remarriage

Hindu Widows Remarriage Act 1856

Lucy Carroll: Inherently conservative legis - on remarriage disinherited widow of her deceased husband's property

- Not effective in practice as need for social concern - could not be generated by power of colonial state.

W India - Vishnu Shastri Pandit - Pandit's Ramabai

- exceptional widows
- these few who married - enorm. social pressure, ostracism

South

Telegu speaking areas of Madras Pres. — Veerasalingam

1878: Society for Social Reform.

1891: Widow Remarriage Association

Parsulu

North

Haryana - practice already in vogue
Act provided greater legitimacy to the Act

The colonial legislation for reform, ~~in other~~ — very uneven impact on Indian society.

④ CHILD MARRIAGE, AGE OF CONSENT

In Bengal - Indrasagar's reform movement ag. polygamy & child marriage

Age of Consent Act, 1860

→ Age of consent at (10)
for consummation of marriage

1891 → (12)

⑤ THUGS

→ : disbanding of armies by Indian chiefs
: general contraction of job opportunities.

1830s - Beg. of campaign against thuggee - as part of humanitarian mission of British paramourcy championed by Lord Bentinck

Radhika Singha: Purpose of the campaign was not to root it out through education, regen. of Indian Society

Thuggee Act of 1836 — simply aimed at policing & prosecuting gangs seen as perpetrating a crime in the name of religion.

Emphasis on women, centrality of gender

: Tanika Sarkar: Women were repositories of the social status of the upper castes.

KENNETH JONES

Acculturative movements : originated within colonial milieu, led by individuals who were products of cultural interaction

Transitional movements : had origins in pre-colonial world, arose from indigenous forms of socio-rel. dissent - w little or no influence from colonial milieu

- absence of anglicized leaders, lack of concern w adjusting concepts and prag. to the colonial world.

eg: Deoband, Nirankari movement, Faraizi's

Q How Vivekananda became the 'patron prophet' for a whole generation of extremist leaders and militant revolutionaries? Explain.

→ (IGNOU)

- ① Education : Appraisal
- New spirit of rationalism
 - questioning of traditional values
 - greater accessibility - press

(But) ⇒ Filtering down theory : System did not provide equal access to education to all - led to perpetuation of backwardness of socially backward classes, communities existing divisions in society undurbed

⇒ Emphasis on western lit, philosophy, humanities
- Technology & natural science → neglected
↳ Intellectual dev - hampered.
Economic

⇒ Subordination of education to political power
Whether orientalist or Anglicist - basic object of education policy to strengthen colonial rule - inseparable from political interests

② Indian Renaissance

- ① Inert and degraded society modernised by evangelising mission of the west
- ② Western ideas could make little headway as, hard & complex Indian realities
- ③ West, ideas & pract. instruments of colonisation of India for achieve only a false & superficial modernity.

Complex pr

④ Indian cultural awakening not merely a secular cultural phenomenon
↳ also a religious reformation

⑤ Deeply indigenous modernity in India — not a distorted caricature of Western models.
Tagore → synthesis in which the eternal enriching Indian civ. absorbed new elements

Impact

- Edu
- Vernacular lang growth
- Female edu
- Cast. sys.
- Rel. reform.

Caste
Vivekananda
Marathi Gurm

Rammohan Roy

- Journahim
- Tarfat ul Muwaddat - religion.
- Atmias
Brahme sabha
- idolatry, polytheism, priest.
- Women
- West + East
- Modern edu
- Pol. reform → stood for Indianisation of services, trial by jury, separation of powers b/w exec & judiciary, freedom of press, equality b/w Indians & Europ. criticized the zamindari system.
- attacked rigidities of caste system - division, disunity → deprived them of patriotic feeling
- ∴ He was a progenitor of nationalist consciousness & ideology in India - his efforts towards social reform were aimed at nation building.

Vidyasagar - father of vernacular intelligence

Edu

- Principles of Sans. College 1851
- Introduced study of Western thought in the College
- opened gates to non Brahmin students
- wrote Bengali primer - contrib. to dev of modern Bengali prose - syntax, punctuation.
- spread of vernacular edu in Indian society.
- Secy of Bethune School - consistent championing of women schooling.
- Widow remarriage
- Campaign ag child marriage & polygamy

Vivekananda

- created stia in Hindu society
- Guru - Ramkrishna Paramahansa
 - ↳ universalism in religions
 - ↳ denounced rel. particularism
- Primary concern
↳ relig. salvation not social salvation
- condemned caste system,
appt's obsession w/ rituals and superstitions
- 1896 - Ramkrishna mission
↳ main motto - humanitarian & social work by opening schools, hospitals, orphanages and libraries

INDIAN RESPONSE TO BRITISH RULE

- Peasant movements and tribal uprisings in the 18th & 19th cen. including Rangpur Dhing, the Kol Rebellion, Moplah Rebellion in Malabar, Santhal Hul, Indigo Rebellion, Deccan Uprising - Munda Ulgulan.
- Great Revolt of 1857 - origin, character, causes of failure, consequences
- Shift in character of peasant uprisings in the post 1857 period.
- Peasant movements of the 1920s and 30s.

Rural response to colonial rule → resistance and defiance

Pre 1857 Rural structure - David Hardiman

- * Rural magnates - landlords
- * Rich peasants
- * Poor peasants

Middle/rich - led peasant rebell.

Post 1857 / late 19th cen - Model dev. by Daniel Thorner, D.N. Dhanagare

- * Landlords holding proprietary rights over large estates (absentee rentier class)
- * Rich peasants - Rich landowners
Rich tenants
- * Middle peasants - Landowners w middle size hold.
Tenants w substantial holdings
- * Poor peasants
- * Landless labourers



PRE 1857 REBELLIONS

: Kathleen Gough : 'restorative rebellions'

primary goal to reinstate the old order / restore existing agrarian relations

- Started by disaffected local rulers, Mughal officials, disposs. zamindars.

Examples → Revolt of Raja Chait Singh & other zamindars of Awadh in 1778-81.

→ Bundela Rajput chieftains

→ Insurrection of Velu Thampi, PM of Travancore.

Peasant rebellions

REASONS

- Famine
- Colonial endeav. to draw Indian eco into world capitalist system
- Creation of property right in land, conseq. of a land market

ECONOMIC

- Oppressive land revenue settlements
- Increasing land revenue - Doubled in less than 30 yrs in Bengal → ↑ indebtedness
- Ruin of Indian handicraft industries due to
 - Discriminatory tariffs
 - Disappearance of traditional patrons
- alienation of land

INSTITUTIONAL / STRUCTURAL

Breakdown of all familiar norms of agrarian relations

- New courts/legal system - encouraged rich to oppress the poor, lengthy jud. process
- Prevalence of corruption at lower levels of police, judiciary, general admin
- zamindar daroga nexus

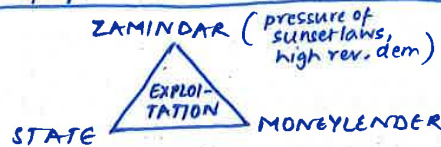
POLITICAL

- Zamindars, poligars lost control over land - displaced by rank outsiders (govt. officials, new men of money) resented loss → assumed leadership
- Scholars & priestly classes - lost patronage - actively incited rebellion against foreign rule

SOCIAL

Ranajit Guha : landlords, moneylenders & the state came to constitute a 'composite apparatus of dominance over the peasant'

- Intrusion of new landed class and moneylender — absence of paternalistic relationship



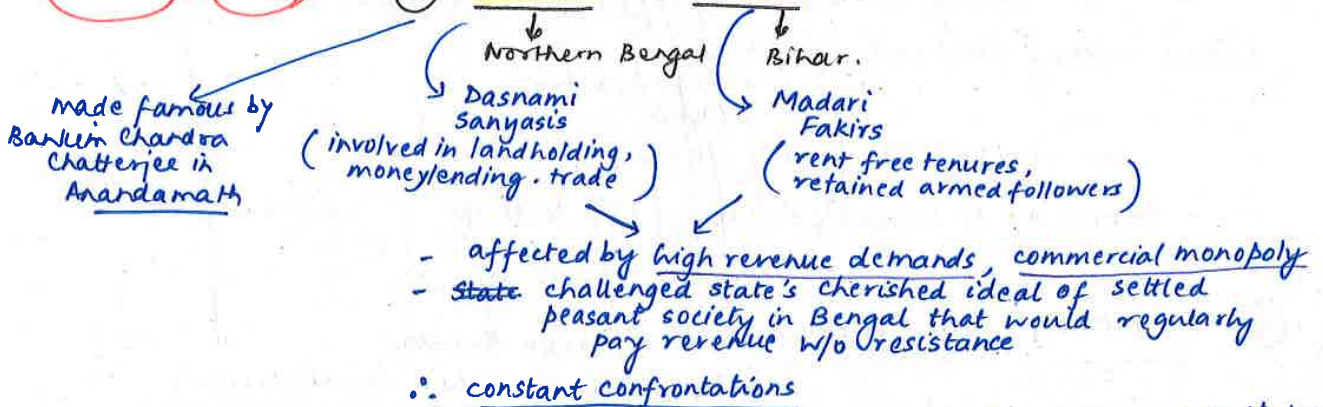
Breakdown of traditional social fabric

- Very foreign character of British rule - feeling of humiliation.

∴ from 1763 — 1856 : More than 40 major rebellions apart from hundreds of minor ones.

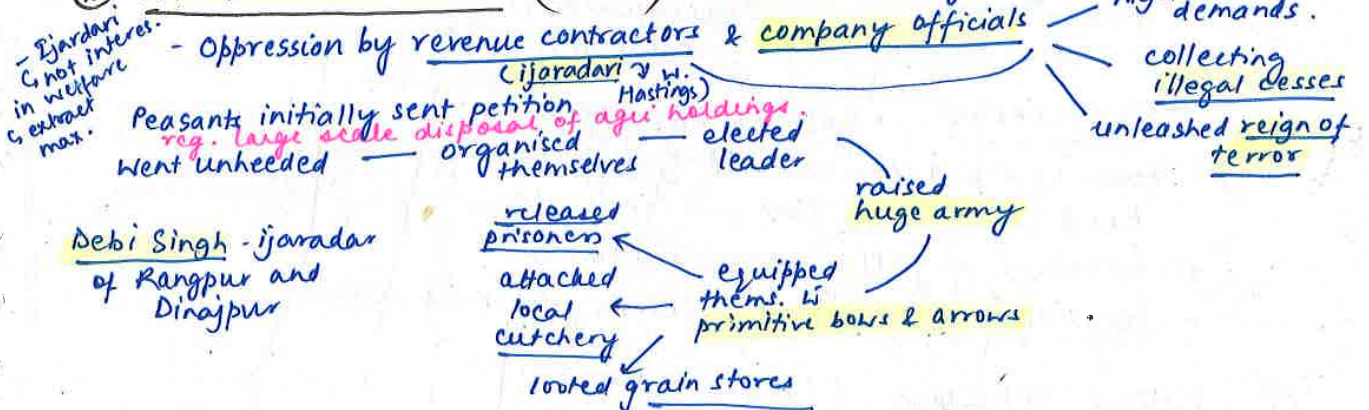
BENGAL & BIHAR

★ SANYASI AND FAKIR REBELLION (1763-1800)



Remarkable philosophical affinity btw 2 religious orders, their mutual relationship, orgⁿal network & communication w/ followers facilitated mobilisation of rebels.

✓ ★ RANGPUR REBELLION (1783) - Northern Bengal



- ✓ Muslim-Hindu peasants fought side by side
- ✓ Stopped paying revenue

✓ Sugata Bose → Legitimacy sought by invoking symbols of 'pre colonial state system'

- ↳ called leader 'namas'
- ↳ levied charges to meet cost

BRUTAL SUPPRESSION — followed by some reforms.
Paved the way for Permanent Settlement.

⑧ TIPU SHAH — PAGALPANTHI SECT (1824)

Mymensingh district (east Bengal) — Tipu Shah began new religious movement among hill-dwelling tribes (Garos, Hajongs, Hadis)

Issue — firmly entrenched zamindari sys.
— illegal abwabs

Pagalpanthi sect — held out promise of new regime, just rents.
Armed insurrection crushed w help of army in 1833

⑧ TARIQAH-I-MUHAMMADIYA — TITUMUR.

- Followers: poor Muslim peasants and weavers — initiated by Sayyid Ahmed Barchin
- community w distinctive dress & beard as markers of identity
- Defied existing authority (— local zamindars, — indigo planters, — state)
 - started collecting taxes, struck terror in region
- Govt had to mobilise army & artillery — crushed 1831

⑧ FARAZI MOVEMENT

— Eastern Bengal
Leadership: Haji Shariatullah

- Indigenous in origin
- Sought to purify Islam by purging all un-Islamic beliefs and practices
- Rural Muslim poor — ag. — Landlords, — Indigo planters, — British rulers

↓
Dudu Mian

MOBILIZATION

- Role of Dudu Mian
- Mob. of peasantry around egalitarian ideology
- Land belonged to God — rent, taxes — ag. divine law.
- Network of village organisations
- Local courts — alt. to British jud. institutions

⑧ CHUAR UPRISING (1766-72)

SOUTH INDIA

- Raja of Vizianagram (1794)
- Poligars of Tamil Nadu (1790s)
- Dewan Velu Thampi of Travancore (1805)
- Mysore peasants (1830-31)

★ MOPLAH UPRISING - Malabar region (1840s-50s)

descendants of Arab traders married local Nair and Tiyar women
- later conversion of lower caste Hindus as well

- dependent on agriculture
- community of cultivating tenants, landless labourers, petty traders, fishermen

★ British rule → Change in traditional ownership rights in land

TRAD. SYS
• Equal sharing of net produce of land by janmi, kanamdar & cultivator (verumpattamdar)

BRITISH SYS.
⇒ Recogn. janmi - absolute ownership of land w right to evict tenants
• Other 2 categ - tenants & leaseholders

★ Overassessment

★ Illegal cesses

★ Pro Landlord attitude of judiciary

★ Court's anti Khilafat policies (1921)

MOBIL

Most janmi were high caste ^{Namboodiri, Nair} Hindus, peasants - Muslim Moplahs

- Trad. Muslim intelligentsia - imp role - recreated a popular ideological domain where religion and economic grievances intermingled.

- Mosques - centres of mobil.

- Targets - Hindu janmi, temples, British officials.

— British armed forces deployed to suppress revolt.
Rose again in 1870.

WESTERN INDIA

- Chiefs of Saurashtra
- Kolis of Gujarat
- Bhil uprisings (1818-31)
- Kittur uprising
- Satara uprising

NORTHERN INDIA

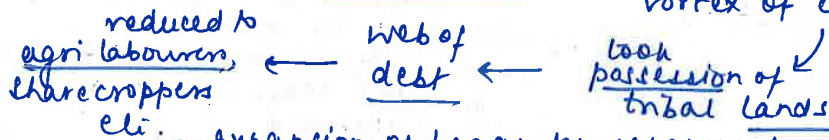
- Talukdars of Aligarh
- Bundelas of ~~Jaipur~~ Jabalpur
- Khandesh.

• Jenmis - held land by birthright → Namboodiri Brahmins + Namblai chieftains.
↳ could not cultivate land (ritual status/ warriors) - gave it to peasants in return for fixed share of crops produced.
∴ net produce of land shared b/w ruler, jenmi and peasants.

TRIBAL REBELLIONS

REASONS

- Economic
 - ✓ New system of land revenue
 - ✓ Taxation of tribal products
 - ✓ Deprivation of land, forest produce
 - ✓ Intro of middlemen → brought tribal people within vortex of colonial economy



- Institutional / Political Admin

- Tribal chiefs recognised as zamindars
- Colonial admin ended relative isolation, brought fully within ambit of colonialism
- Oppression and extortion by policemen, other petty officials.

- Social / Cultural



- Transformed relationship with forest — pract. shifting cultivation
- forest regulations → enclosed forest lands, restrictions on access to forest products, village common lands
- Influx of Christian missionaries
- Settlement of outsiders
- Autonomy of culture — based on egalit. ethos → gradual Hinduisation brought them under oppression of ritual hierarchy

① BHIL — hill ranges of Khandesh in Marathe territory
(1818-31) Armed uprisings against British occupation

✓ ② KOL UPRISING (1831-32) Chotanagpur and Singhbhum region of Bihar and Orissa

- British penetration, imposition of British law posed threat to independ. power of hereditary tribal chiefs which they had enjoyed for centuries.
- Mahajans — 70% interest.

- ✓ Settlement of outsiders / non tribals
- ✓ Constant transfer of land to merchants & moneylenders

Rebellion — attacks on properties of outsiders
— plunder, arson
— rate of killings negligible

• wiped off the Raj from Chotanagpur in a matter of weeks

British army had to move in to quell the disturbances and restore order.

✓ (3) SANTHAL HOOL (REBELLION) (1855-56)

- WHO? Santals lived in the area b/w Bhagalpur and Rajmahal - DAMIN-I-KOH
- WHY?
 - Tribal lands leased out to non Santal zamindars and moneylenders — the outsiders / 'dikus'
 - OPPRESSION — by zamindars, local police, court, money lenders, European officers — railroad constr.



→ Combined system of → extortions / oppr. exactions
 → forcible dispossession of property
 → abuse & personal violence
 → usurious interest on loans (50-500%)
 → false measures @ haat / market

- Destruction of familial word by dikus
 considered morally corrupt — beggary, stealing, lying, drunkenness.

- AIM — open insurrection



⇒ getting rid of dikus + colonial masters ⇒ usher in SATYUG
 'Reign of Truth'
 'True Justice'

• MOBILIZATION

- Leadership — Sido and Kanhu
- Use of religion — Claimed that Thakur (God) had communicated with them, told them to take up arms & fight for independence.
- Mob. by org. huge processions through villages accomp. by drummers, musicians
 Leaders rode at the head on horses, elephants.

• INSURRECTION

- Attacked mahajans, zamindars & their houses, police stations, railway constr. sites, dak (post) carriers

Symbols of dikus exploit. & colonial power

— Helped by large no. of nontribal, poor dikus eg gwalas (milkmen), lohars (blacksmiths)

• SUPPRESSION

- Mobilisation of army — tens of regiments
- Santal ~~regiments~~ villages burnt one after the other with vengeance.
- 15-20,000 / 30-50,000 were killed

• AFTERMATH

- Santal inhabited areas constituted into separate administrative unit — Santal Parganas — which recognised distinctiveness of their tribal culture and identity

✓ ④ MUNDA ULGULAN (1899-1900)

Khuntkatti

destruction of system of common landholdings by violation of jagirdars, thikadars (revenue farmers) & merchant money lenders

- Birsa Munda - declared himself divine messenger
- Rel. movement acquired agrarian & pol. content
- Proclaimed rebellion to estb. Munda rule, encouraged Killing of thikadars, jagirdars, rajās, hakims (Christians)
↳ Estb of Satyug from Kaliyug

Mob — Moved from village to village, org rallies, mobil. followers on rel & pol. grounds
— gathered force of 6000 Mundas armed w/ swords, spears, batle axes

↳ Captured, died in jail 1900

Result: - Chotanagpur Tenancy Act, 1908 - Banned forced/bonded labour
- Recognition of Khuntkatti - symbol of anti feudal, anti colonial struggle

Features of pre 1857 civil rebellions / peasant movements.

Scattered
sporadic

- Local in spread, isolated from each other
Result of local grievances — also localized in effects
- Socially, economically, politically — semi feudal leaders were backward looking + traditional in outlook
- Basic objective - Restorative
of earlier forms of rule, social relations
Represented no societal alternative
- were successfully crushed / pacified by British

Features of tribal movements

- Presence of strong tribal solidarity - tribal identity imp.
- Non tribal poor not subject to violence - seen as allies
- Form of rebellion - spontaneous attacks on outsiders, looting property, expelling them from villages
- Role of religious and charismatic leaders - messiahs promising divine intervention.

ANALYSIS : CHARACTER OF REVOLTS

- **British administration** : Problems of law and order, rebels - primitive savages resisting civilisation
- **Nationalists** : appropriation for freedom struggle, prichistory of modern nationalism
- **Eric Stokes** : 'primary resistance' → traditional society's act of violent defiance
- **D.N. Dhanagare** : 'pre-political' bec. of lack of organisation, programme, ideology
- **Ranajit Guha** : 'there was nothing in the militant movements of the rural masses that was not political.'
 - ↳ a clear awareness of relations of power in rural society
 - ↳ determination to overturn that structure of authority.

- Public character of rebellion - diff. from crime
 - ↳ open & public eg Santhals gave ample warning
- Leadership - came from ranks of rebels themselves
- Mobilisation - along community lines except Rangpur
- Religion - provided an ideology for rebellion - legitimacy to movement
- Differed from modern nationalism
- Conception of 'Golden Age' - eg Santhal, Faraizi

REVOLT OF 1857

DEBATE (1) MILITARY MUTINY OR CIVIL REBELLION

- Official British version : • Bengal Native Army had alone mutinied
 • any civil disturbances were the natural byproducts of the breakdown of law and order
- SEPOY MUTINY THESIS
- eg: official accounts eg-- William Muir
 - new Enfield rifle
 - casual sys. of recruitment
 - feeling of brotherhood among soldiers
 - Reason- long standing indiscipline and inefficiency in army
 - Refused to acknowledge existence of any deep seated discontent against British rule.
- why?
 • downplay extent of revolt
 • justify brutal repression
- John Lawrence, T.R. Holmes - civil rebellion secondary phenomenon
 R.C. Majumdar - civil disturbance arose in the pol. vacuum caused by mil. mutiny

BUT

- Disraeli - Long standing alienation of subject popu by the British - Indians waiting for a pretext, occasion.
- Talmiz Khaldun - criticized labelling as mere sepoy mutiny :
 • many places civilian revolts even before sepoys mutinied
 • why country people were punished / hanged
 - argued it was civil rebellion
 • spread from Delhi to Bihar, Jhansi in south
 • continuous support of country ppl - info, food, shelter
- S.B. Chaudhuri - 'A rising of the people' - Although sepoys struck the first blow, later civil elements put themselves at head of the movement
- Eric Stokes - 1857 Revolt began as military mutiny but was converted into civil rebellion - as with breakdown of British authority peasant grievances surfaced in the form of rural rebellion

R. Mukherjee - both approaches are flawed - fundamentally misunderstand the nature of sepoy action & crucial interconnections between the two.

- parallels in both — Sepoys of Bengal Army mostly drawn from S. Awadh, East. UP.

∴ Began as military mutiny - soon acquired popular colour
 As mutineers captured towns, fall of Delhi → countryside role in rebellion

DEBATE (2) PLANNED CONSPIRACY OR SPONTANEOUS UNOR. OUTBREAK

- Malletson : 1857 outbreak had a pre-meditated design at a level of leadership outside and above that of sepoy regiments.
 - Eric Stokes : Mutinies the work of a 'small minority', were the product of 'designing men'
 - story that chapatti's distrib. over large area in N-India lotus within Bengal Army
 - But no evid to prove
- theory of prior preparation & propaganda

(BUT)

R.C. Majumdar : avail. evidence did not prove existence of any political or military org
- nor did it appear feasible → conspiracy conducted through circulation of chapparis.

R. Mukherjee The revolt may have been sparked off by mutinies in sepoy lines but
↳ considerable degree of organization & administration went into maintaining struggle
- certain pattern in chronol. order → indicating degree of communication b/w sepoy lines

DEBATE (9) NATIONAL WAR OF INDEPENDENCE → nationalist historians

✓ V.D. Savarkar 1909 - termed 1857 as the 'First War of Independence'
calling it a struggle by Indians to win back their freedom
~~struggle by Indians~~ ppl had revolted to defend their swadharma and to win back swarajya

S.B. Chaudhuri ✓ Eric Stokes → Savarkar presented 1857 as war of indep. to revive glorious tradition of resistance ag. British.

S.N. Sen ✗ - 'What began as a fight for religion ended as a war of independence',
(did not support)

↓
The 1st combined effort of many classes of ppl to challenge a foreign power

(BUT)

Talmiz Khaldun - rejects existence of a 'national feeling' in the modern sense due to absence of central org

- affected only 1/6th of total area, 1/10th of total popu.
- a revolt suppressed w active help of Indians themselves could hardly have been 'national' in nature.

⇒ Bengali middle class remained loyal

⇒ Purjais princes hated Hindustani soldiers

✓ R.C. Majumdar

- ✓ narrow geographical region
- ✓ no coordination, common cause among diff. rebel groups.
- ✓ participation of 'criminals'

⇒ no 'premeditation'

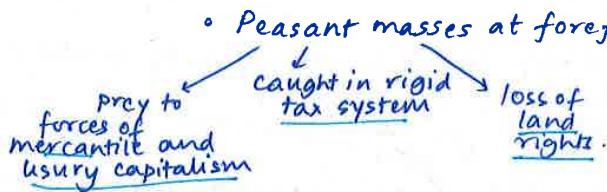
Eric Stokes - rejected both frameworks
'post participation revolt falling b/w primary and secondary resistance'
composed of heterogeneous elements held together loosely by an anti-foreigner sentiment

Rajat Kanta Ray : 3 basic overlapping sentiments of race, religion, realm shaped the political mass of 1857.

↳ The Mutiny is a peculiarly difficult phenomenon to define — a war of the races that was not a race war because the subject race saw it as a war of religion; a patriotic war of the Hindu Muslim brotherhood, or the inchoate nationality of Hindustan, yet not a national war either.

DEBATE ④ : ELITIST OR POPULAR IN CHARACTER

Idea of class war : against combine of sarkar, sahukar, zamindar



M.N. Roy : struggle btw old Indian feudalism & commercial capitalism that the British had introduced.

R.P. Dutt : major peasant revolt

Ranajit Guha : emphasis on peasant participation
only visible symbols of power of sarkar, sahukar and zamindar being destroyed.

∴ revolt not proto nationalist → even oppressive Indian elements attacked.

Talmeiz Khaldun : Revolt crushed so easily precisely coz propertied class betrayed it.

Feudal lords pushed to assume leadership by rebels (Nana Sahib, Tanha Topa)

BUT strips movement of all claims to proto nationalism.

P.C. Joshi : peasantry attacked only new British created landlords.
No struggle against landlords as a class - not a class war

Thomas Metcalf : Revolt can be called popular only in Awadh - talukdars & peasants particip. together in favour of royal court.

Judith Brown - feudal elements the decision makers.

Eric Stokes : Role of magnates → effective decision makers
proprietary body that particip in revolt - very much elite
Says that moneylender (sahukar) was not responsible for the revolt → revenue demand was the most imp. factor

Regional studies

Awadh - Rudrangshu Mukherjee → talukdars and peasants fought against a common foe
Summary Settlement of 1856-57 alienated both classes
↳ talukdars dispossessed
↳ peasants overexposed to overassessment

Bundelkhand - Tapti Roy - began by targeting all visible forms of British power - govt. officials, burning official papers
- 2nd phase - against collaborators - the affluent

Chhotanagpur region - G. Bhadra - Tribal participation, Role played by Gondo (Kol leader)
- unity of tribal and non tribal elements
↳ fought internal exploitation by moneylenders & traders - saw it as being linked to colonial rule.

Causes
- spread - repression
- why failed
- impact

1857 Causes

Econ

Agr

Manuf.

• new civil cont/legalsys

New Land revenue coll. systems

Seizure of tradition econ fabric

exorbitant land revenue

12 major famers

1770-1857

New landlords lacked old ties, pushed rents to ruinous heights + evicted

vicious debt cycle

Artisans lost source of income

agri. ↑ pressure on land

→ crisis of patronage

Pol

Dalhousie Doctrine of misgov

→ Nizam Sahib
Laxmi Bai
Awadh

Nawab taluqdars disp

increase in taxes & no. of unemployed, taxes

Social Rel

→ Reforms

- Lex Loci Act → Christian convert could inherit

- Missionary actv.

Sepoys + peasant in uniform. (1850)

→ Rise of Evangelicalism - subjected

→ salary to racial discrimination

→ distance b/w officer & sepoy ↑

→ forbade to wear red & caste marks

- 1856 → Bume

→ Bhatta removed for serving in distant regions

Nature

Role of religion

• Wahhabi movement

• Maulvi Ahmadullah

• Shakti Chandra - use of religious terms to mobilize

→ use of Christian and foreign interchangeably.

RESTORATIVE

- Idea of allegiance to Emperor
Sabgaraji Bhattacharya → emperor focal point of political unity to bring together diverse elements.
- legitimacy of counter authority
- Adoption of committee sys. — for decision making
↳ 12 pt. Constitution and rules for decision making
 - ↳ mobilization, ensuring represent. character
 - ↳ prob. derived from British sys. of com. in army / Panchayat system.
- C.A. Bayly - What the rebels demanded was the restoration of the Indo-Mughal pax within the broader constellation of Mughal legitimacy.

ARMY

→ homogenous composition

CAUSES

→ RELIGION (for sepoys - upper caste Hindus of NWP & Oudh)

or
Sind,
Afghan.

- 97th regiment at Barrackpur ordered to go to Burma
- Rumours to promote conversion to Christianity

↳ mixing of bone dust in atta

↳ new Enfield rifle to replace the old 'Brown Bess' musket, greased with cow & pig fat

→ EMOLUMENTS AND DISCRIMIN.

- Very less salary

• Sense of deprivation compared to British counterparts.

↳ discriminated ag. racially, in matters of promotion and privileges

1856 - new service rules - abolished extra allowance 'bhatta' for service outside own regions

PEASANTRY

- Sepoy was a 'peasant in uniform' - consciousness not divorced from that of the rural population
- ∴ Revolt of sepoys accomp. by rebellion of civilian popu esp in NW Provinces and Awadh.

⇒ Annexation of Awadh, Summary Settlement

⇒ Burden of excessive taxes

⇒ Indebtedness (Role of bariya & mahajan)

⇒ Sarkar, sahukar, zamindar nexus - even in adverse circumstances, remissions rarely granted

⇒ New civil courts and legal system

Feudal elements

in other areas
(Indore, Indolitor)
princes remained loyal.

- ag. annexations under Dalhousie's Doctrine of Lapse - derecognized the adopted sons of deceased princes.
eg Satara, Nagpur, Sambalpur, Udaipur, Thanasi

namab, princes

AWADH

traditional landed aristocracy

talukdars dispossessed, disarmed, forts demolished

peasants.

Artisans and handicraftsmen

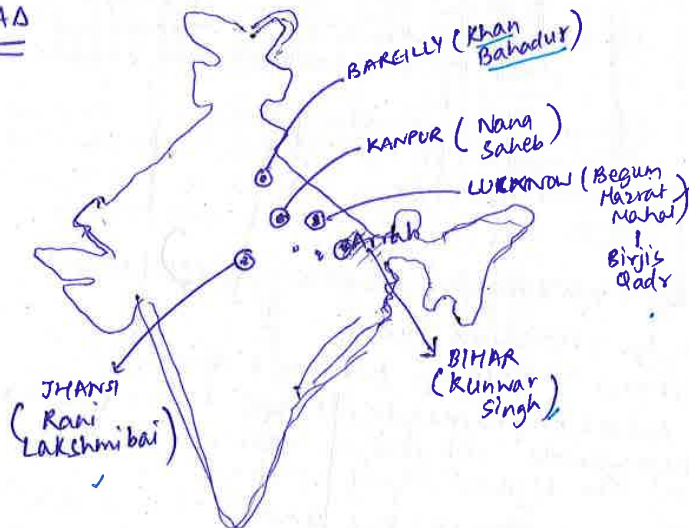
- Annexation cut off sources of patronage
- British policy discouraged Indian handicrafts and promoted British goods

No single causal explanation can be provided for this widespread outbreak of violent protest among the agrarian popl. of North India.
What Eric Stokes has estb, writes C.A. Bayly → The Indian Reb. of 1857 was not one movement, it was many.

EVENTS

- 19th Native Infantry @ Berhampur disbanded in March 1857
- Young sepoy of 34th Native Infantry - Mangal Pandey ✓
fired at the Sergeant Major → overpowered & executed
- Meerut sepoys started the revolt on 10 May.
Rescued arrested comrades, killed European officers,
proceeded to Delhi (11 May) — proclaimed Bahadur Shah
Zafar Emperor of Hindustan
(Shahenshah-i-Hindustan)
- Spread to other army centres in
North Western provinces & Awadh
~~other~~ & soon civil rebellion
- mainly affected Bengal Army, (Madras & Bombay) → quiet
Punjabi, Gurkha soldiers actually helped suppress the rebellion.

SPREAD



REPRESSION

- Rebels carried on struggle for more than a year against heavy odds.
- Lord Canning gathered British troops in Calcutta, sent them to free Delhi
- First to fall → Delhi - 20th Sep 1857 after prolonged battle
 - Bahadur Shah captured, tried, deported to Burma
 - British military then dealt with rebels in one centre after another
 - Ran by Jhansi - died fighting
 - Nana Sahab - escaped to Nepal
 - Tantia Topi - betrayed by zamindar
- very slowly
Barrack, Allahabad,
Kanpur taken over

REASONS for failure

- LACK OF UNITY**
 - Merchants, intelligentsia, Indian rulers not only kept aloof, but actively supported the British eg Indore, Gwalior, princes.
 - Almost half the Indian soldiers fought against own countrymen
 - Recapture of Delhi effected by 5 columns consisting 1700 British troops & 3200 Indians.
 - Most taluqdars tried to protect only their interests eg Man Singh changed sides several times depending on which side had upper hand.
- LACK OF VISION**
 - Apart from a commonly shared hatred for alien rule, rebels had no political perspective or a definite vision of the future.
 - Proved incapable of ushering in a new political order.
- WEAPONS**
 - Superior British army - Indians - no source of arms & ammunition
 - often forced to fight with chords and pikes against an enemy supplied with modern weapons.
- COMMUN.**
 - no quick system of communication → no coordination possible.
- RESOURCES**
 - British committed unlimited men & resources, rebels suffered from desperate scarcity of cash.
- BUREAUCRACY**
 - Facing British army - lacking a centralised bureaucracy, access to efficient communication system.
- FOCUS ON DELHI**
 - Futbarmann as Stokes argued - Rebel rebels showed a remarkable centripetal impulse to congregate at Delhi which prevented rebellion from spreading as much as it could.

IMPACT

Indian Councils Act 1861

Provincial admin

1870 - Mayo

1871 - Lytton

1882 - Revenue divid.
in 3 heads - genl.
provincial, C + St.

• 1882 Ripon
non off. majority
in local
bodies

• Ended rule of EIC.

• Act for Better govt. of India, 1858

↳ Queen Victoria declared sovereign of British India

Secy of State for India
Victory
Executive Council

Queen's Proclamation

Bernard Cohn : 'In conceptual terms - the British who had started their rule as 'outsiders' became 'insiders' by vesting in their monarch the sovereignty of India.

• Sepoys charged with serious breach of trust, made all Indians suspect in the eyes of the British
Demand for retribution

Racial segregation became firmly entrenched - Indians not only different, but racially inferior

Indians beyond reform

• Army - made more heterogeneous - Punjabis, Gurkhas encouraged
↑ in propor of Europeans - key geog & milit. positions

• Thomas Metcalfe - 'conservative brand of liberalism'
principle of complete non interference in traditional structure of Indian society.

• No more expansion - emphasis on consolidation

• Conservative reaction made empire more autocratic, denied aspirations of educated Indians for sharing power

↳ Emergence of modern nationalism towards end of 19th cen.

Army → Europeans - ↑, key areas; top posts.
→ divide & rule - caste, rel. - heterogeneous
→ martial, non martial races
→ Isolated - newspaper, journals

• Acts - Cohn.

• Expansion of Consort. - princely states

• Racial segr.

• Public services

• Princely states - Canning 'breakwaters in the storm'

• Admin policies

→ divide & rule - Sir Syed

→ Hostility to edu Indians

→ Zamindars - counterweights to intelligentsia

→ Social reforms abandoned. - Metcalfe.

→ Backwardness of social services

→ Restriction on press (Vernacular Press Act 1878)

• Nationalism

POST 1857 PEASANT MOVEMENTS

① INDIGO REBELLION 1859-62

Reasons

- Indigo planters (nearly all Europ) ^{Eur. entrepren. operating factories} compelled tenants to grow indigo (Extremely oppressive sys) → meagre amount as advance / forced to accept advance
- Planters maintained small but armies of strongmen → fraudulent contracts - treated as slaves.
- Racial arrogance and contempt for law → cheated even of due low price
- Had to pay regular bribes

CATALYSTS

Resorted to Reign of Terror

(∴ British planters singled out for attack by ryots)

→ kidnapping, illegal confinement in factory godowns, flogging, attacks on women and children

1870 Govt Gen - circular charging planters w no. of offences.

- Exercise of law - The magistrates (mostly European) favoured planters 29 planters and one Indian zamindar apptd as Honorary magistrates in 1857 which gave birth to saying 'je rakha ke bhakat'

ACTION

John Grant
Tenure strengthened, zamindars could no longer evict ryots at will.

Actual revolt in 1859 when their case seemed to get govt support

Rent Act of 1859, Indigo Commission

- Initially attempted redressal through peaceful means - petitions, peaceful demonstrations
- Began → Comindapur village (Madia district) → under Sigambai and Bichu Bismar → gave up indigo cultivation
- Refused to take advances, enter into contracts
- Counter force armed with lathis and spears.
- Rent strike
- Use of legal machinery - raised funds to fight court cases filed against them
- Weapon of social boycott to force planter's servants to leave him.

IMPACT

- Indigo Commission exposed collusion and corruption underlying the entire system
- 1860 govt notification that ryots could not be compelled to sow indigo, that all disputes were settled by legal means

By 1863. Planters had to raise the rates paid to peasants

- Many planters gave up work entirely

The result of 1859-62 effectively destroyed plantation system in rural Bengal → shifted to Bihar

SUCCESS

- ✓ Tremendous initiative, cooperation, organisation, discipline of ryots.
- ✓ Unity among Hindu - Muslim peasants
- ✓ Broad social base → leadership given by Bengali zamindars, petty landholders, moneylenders, rich peasants, village headmen
- ✓ Role of intelligentsia - powerful campaign - newspapers, campaigns, mass meetings, memoranda on government
- eg Harish Chandra Mukherji → The Hindoo Patriot, Din Bandhu Mitra play Neel Darpan
- Missionaries Raja Rammohan Roy.

② PABNA LEAGUE 1873

Peasant struggle in the Susupshahi pargana in the Serajpore subdivision of Pabna district in 1873.

↳ spread to other areas in EAST Central Bengal

REASON

- Rent enhancement
 - Persistent attempts by landlords to do away with rights of occupancy ~~to~~ of a new class of ryots — occupancy ryots — forced into existence by Bengal Rent Act of 1859.
 - Tried converting illegal cesses into legal rent
- ↳ led to formation of well organised agrarian league PABNA LEAGUE facilitated by:

- A ruling in rent case of 1872 — made ryots feel govt. sympathy. & cause
- lawless character of Pabna landlords created spirit of combination among peasants.

PRIMARY AIM: Defend & consolidate occupancy status gained by Act X of 1859.

FEATURES

- Large crowds of peasants would gather, march through villages frightening zamindars, asking peasants to join.
- Rent strike — refused to pay enhanced rent
- Main form of struggle → legal resistance
- Very little violence, kept within bounds of law — few attacks on police stat.
- Were against zamindars and not the British
- "the peasants want to be ryots of Her Majesty the Queen and of Her only"

Scottish historian Sir William Hunter: Pabna rebellion was an 'agrarian revolution by due course of law.'

Shogom

Composition:

- ✓ Hindu Muslim solidarity
- ✓ Leadership — among considerable means — petty landlords of Ishar Chandra Roy of Saulatpore or village headmen
- ✓ Other sections of peasantry also part of movement — non occupancy ryots, tenants at will, sharecroppers, agri labourers
- ✓ Role of intellectuals — Barin Chandra Chatterjee & KC Saha
 - Indian Association — Chunder. Sen, Anand Mohan Bose, helped form ryot unions, org. meetings demanded that rights of occupancy should go with aerial culture of soil.

IMPACT

- Peasant discontent smouldered till 1885 — many disputes settled partially under official pressure & persuasion, partially out of zamindar's fear.
- Govt promised to undertake special legislation — fulfilled imperfectly in 1885 — Bengal Tenancy Act ✓
- Ryots developed strong awareness of the law and their legal rights, ability to combine & form associations for peaceful agitation.

③ DECCAN RIOTS - Maharashtra, 1875

Instance of peasant resistance aimed at moneylenders or sahukars
 Basis of rural society was the village community with

- head - patel
- moneylender - vani caste
- agricultural groups - kunbi caste.

CAUSES

- ④ Revenue (EIC desire for steady flow of large revenue)
 - so high in some places - desertions and migrations
 - failed rains, poor harvests - impossible to pay
 - 1830s ~ prices of agri products fell sharply
 - famine in 1832-34

- ④ Moneylender - Earlier as village accountant, paternalism land alienation
 - Now - If loan not paid, would get land via govt. decree

✓ Ryotwari sys. of land revenue weakened the cohesion of the village by abolishing the collective responsibility which the kunbis had formerly borne for the village rental.

- ④ Role of court - Increase in civil suits against ryots in this pd. proves that moneylenders recognised new judicial institutions as instruments for self aggrandisement.

✓ Raminder Kumar: position of peasants weakened, that of sahukars ↑
 harmonious relⁿ of sahukars → acute antagonism

- ④ Cotton boom 1861-64 American Civil War
 Raw cotton imports with Britain from USA → 3% of home exports from India ↑↑↑
 End of Civil War → long term credit and advances dried up
 Simultaneous rise in land tax rates (1860-70s tax settlements)

↳ GROWING INDEBTEDNESS.

REBELLION

- 1874: Social boycott of 'outsider' moneylenders → did not work
- 1875 12th May: Supa (large village in Poona district) → gathering of peasants and systematic attack on moneylenders' houses, shops, seizure & publicly burning bonds & deeds, other documents

- Maemari, Goyai moneylenders fled countryside
 - Poona Sahayakini Sabha (Justice Ranade)

- Modern nationalist intelligentsia supported eduse - ✓ Poona Sahayakini Sabha (Justice Ranade)

REPRESSION

Govt acted with speed. Active phase - 3 weeks
 Absence of anti colonial consciousness, limited - easily repressed, placated

IMPACT

- Tanatarach: revolt failed to go beyond Pune & Ahmednagar coz of police, army repression.
- Deccan Riots Commission - report presented to B.P. Parliament - 1878.
- 1879 - Deccan Agriculturalists Relief Act - peasants could not be arrested & sent to jail if they failed to pay debts, restrictions on alienation of peasants' land.
- Sardar Hardeman - even before the coming of British, the power of moneylenders had started to ↑.
- Neil Chatterworth - disputes Kumar's argu that British rule transformed B. society by 1870s.

Other

- Mappila outbreaks in Malabar
- Ramosi peasant force - Vasudev Balwant Phadke
1879 - social banditry
- Kuka Revolt - Punjab — Baba Ram Singh — elements of messianic movement

CHARACTERISTICS OF POST 1857 PEASANT MOVEMENTS

- + • Peasants emerged as main force (as opposed to princes, chiefs, landlords)
- + • centred on economic issues against immediate enemies - planters, zamindars etc.
- ✓ • Specific and limited objectives, redressal of specific grievances
- ✓ • Absence of anti colonial consciousness, did not aim to overthrow exploitative system
- ✓ • Limited territorial reach - particular localities
- ✓ • Lacked continuity of struggle, long term organization
- ✓ • Instinctive & spontaneous response of peasantry to its social condition (exploitation)
- + • Peasant developed strong awareness of his legal rights asserted them in & outside the courts
- + • Great courage, spirit of sacrifice, remarkable organisational abilities, Caste - religious solidarity
- + • Gained considerable concessions from colonial state

Weaknesses → Lack of adequate understanding of colonialism - structure & state
→ did not possess new social, eco. pol. prog. struggles occurred within framework of old social order
→ lacked positive conception of an alternative society



Fresh vision required for all India leadership and movement.

NATURE OF ALL PEAS.

- British - law & order
- Nationalists - anti colonial
- Eric Stokes - primary resistance
- D.N. Shanagare - pre political
- Ranajit Guha - political - awareness of relⁿ of power, determination to overthrow structure.
- Kathleen Courch - 'restorative rebell'
- high revenue demand
- harsh attitudes of officials
- zamindar class & revenue
- new judicial sys. - added to coercive auth,

PEASANT MOVEMENTS 1920s

(Deeply influenced by & had marked impact on national freedom struggle)

① KISAN SABHA MOVEMENT : AWADH (U.P.)

- ★ CONTEXT
- strengthening of hold of talukdars over agrarian society
 - exorbitant rent
 - illegal levies
 - renewal fees / nazrana
 - arbitrary ejectments / bedakhli
 - High price of food and other necessities post WWI

★ COURSE OF ACTION

Initiation of active members of Home Rule League -
org of peasants into Kisan sabhas

U.P. Kisan Sabha (Feb 1918) → Gauri Shankar Mishra,
Indra Narain Dwivedi, Mamajiya

- particip. of Kisan delegates in INC sessions

- Gradual emergence of Baba Ramchandra (Brahmin from Maharashtra)
as leader - great leadership & oratory abilities.
- J.N. Nehru made several visits to rural areas, close contact with Kisan Sabha mov.

Pratapgarh
district: centre.



- Split b/w methods of non cooperation and constitutional agitation reflected in U.P. Kisan Sabha
- ↳ Non coop. set up alternative Oudh Kisan Sabha (1920)

@ Pratapgarh

- Integrated > 330 Kisan sabhas of
Awadh - efforts of Mishra, Nehru,
Ramchandra etc.

★ MEANS

- Initially
- grassroots movement of hai-dhobi band (form of social boycott)
 - Kisan meetings called by village panchayats

- Oudh Kisan Sabha
- ✓ refusing to till bedakhli land
 - ✓ not to offer hari & begar (forms of unpaid labour)
 - ✓ boycott those who did not accept these conditions
 - ✓ solve disputes through panchayats.

→ Both high & low caste Kisans in movement

→ First big show of strength: Ayodhya rally (100,000 peasants)
Baba Ramchandra turned up bound in ropes to symbolize Kisan oppression.

- Post 1921
- ① Pattern of activity - looting of bazaars, houses, granaries, clashes with police.
 - ② Centres of Activity - Rae Bareilly, Fazalabad, Sultanpur
 - ③ Lead often not by Ks activists - local fit (sadhus, holy men, disinherited expropri.)

★ IMPACT / CONSEQUENCE

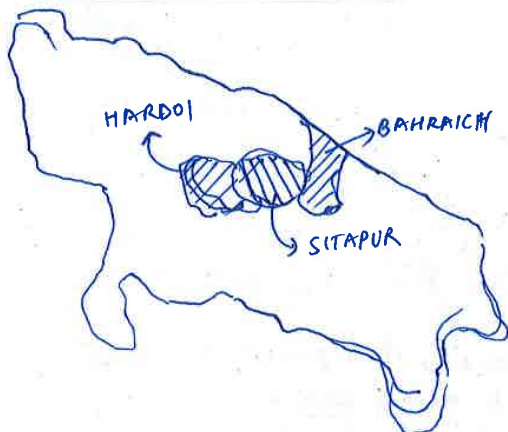
- Suppression - firing / Arresting
- Seditious Meetings Act - to stop pol. activity
- Oudh Rent (Amendment) Act
↳ little relief

★ MOBILISATION

- village panchayats
- Congress org.
- Role of leaders - local links
- Religion - Ramchandra, called Tulsidas Ramayan, gave darshan from prison

②

EKA MOVEMENT



ISSUES

- Extraction of rent 50% higher than recorded rent
- Oppression of thekedars to whom rent collection farmed out
- Practice of share rents

FEATURES

- Initial thrust provided by Congress, Khilafat leaders
- Soon dev. grassroot leadership — Madari Pasi, other low caste leaders
- ↳ gradually diminished links w Congress
- ↳ adoption of violence
- ↳ took own path.
- Unlike K. movement, inclusion of many small zamindars in its ranks (only tenants)
- ↳ disenchanted coz of heavy reven. demand.

MEANS

Eka meetings marked by a religious ritual in which a hole that represented river Ganges was dug in the ground, filled w water, priest brought in to preside, assembled peasants vowed:

- pay only recorded rent but on time
- would not leave when ejected
- refuse to do forced labour
- give no help to criminals
- abide by panchayat decisions.

By March 1922 — severe repression on part of authorities brought movement to an end.

③

MAPPILA REVOLT

1921

ISSUES

- ✓ Lack of security of tenure
- Renewal fees
- High rents
- Other oppressive landlord exactions.

COURSE OF MOVEMENT

- Impetus for resistance → Malabar District Congress Conference @ Manjeri
- (Supported tenants' cause, demanding legislation to regulate landlord-tenant relations)
- ~~It~~ Diffic. to distinguish btw Khilafat and tenants' meetings (same leaders and audience)
- Khilafat-cum-tenant agitation — considerable impetus from visits of Gandhiji, Shaukat Ali, Maulana Azad.

- Post arrest of leaders, greater repression
 (eg: Raid of mosque @ Tiruvargadi to arrest Ali Musaliar,
 a Khilafat leader & highly resp. priest) →
Signs of turbulence, defiance of authority
 ↳ govt offices destroyed, records burnt, treasury looted

- (*) STAGE I: Attacked
- unpopular jenmis (landlords) - mostly Hindu
 - symbols of Gov. authority - eg Kutcheries (courts)
 - police stations
 - treasuries, offices
 - British planters

- ↳ lenient landlords, poor Hindus rarely touched
 ↳ some of the rebel leaders - Kunhammed Haji - punished those who attacked Hindus, ordered execution/punish. of pro govt. Mappilas as well.

- (*) STAGE II: Decadation of martial law, greater repression
- Many Hindus pressurised into helping author / voluntarily did so
 - ↳ strengthened anti Hindu sentiment - poor Mappilas motivated by strong religious ideology
 - Forced conversions, attacks on Hindus

Anti govt
Anti landlord ⇒ Strong communal overtones ⇒ Isolated from Non Cooperation movement

IMPACT

British repression - by Dec 1921 - End of resistance
 = Heavy toll - deaths, arrests in thousands
 = Neither joined national mov. / peasant movement in yrs to come (completely crushed)

Reaction

- C Sankaran Nair - critiqued Gandhi for support to Khilafat cause citing Moplah atrocities
- Annie Besant - wrote about Moplah atrocities

The divergence b/w actions & perceptions of peasants, local leaders & understanding of national leaders → fear of bourgeois leadership that movement would go out of 'safe' hands towards 'radicalism'

But also because violence - could more easily be crushed by British

(4) BARDOLI SATYAGRAHA 1928

↳ child of NCM
 ↳ selected in 1922 as place where Gandhiji would launch CCM

BACKDROP - Post NCM - politicization, awareness, social reform
 Intense constructive work by Congressmen

- Local leaders (Kalyanji, Kunverji Mehta) → set up national schools
 → persuaded students to leave govt schools, boycott foreign cloth, liquor.

- Work for the upliftment of the Kaliparaj inhabitants (60% of popu; low caste untouchable and tribal inhabitants) through a network of 6 ashrams.

↳ tribal education → night schools
→ 1927 school for Kaliparaj children

↳ Sen of Kaliparaj literature

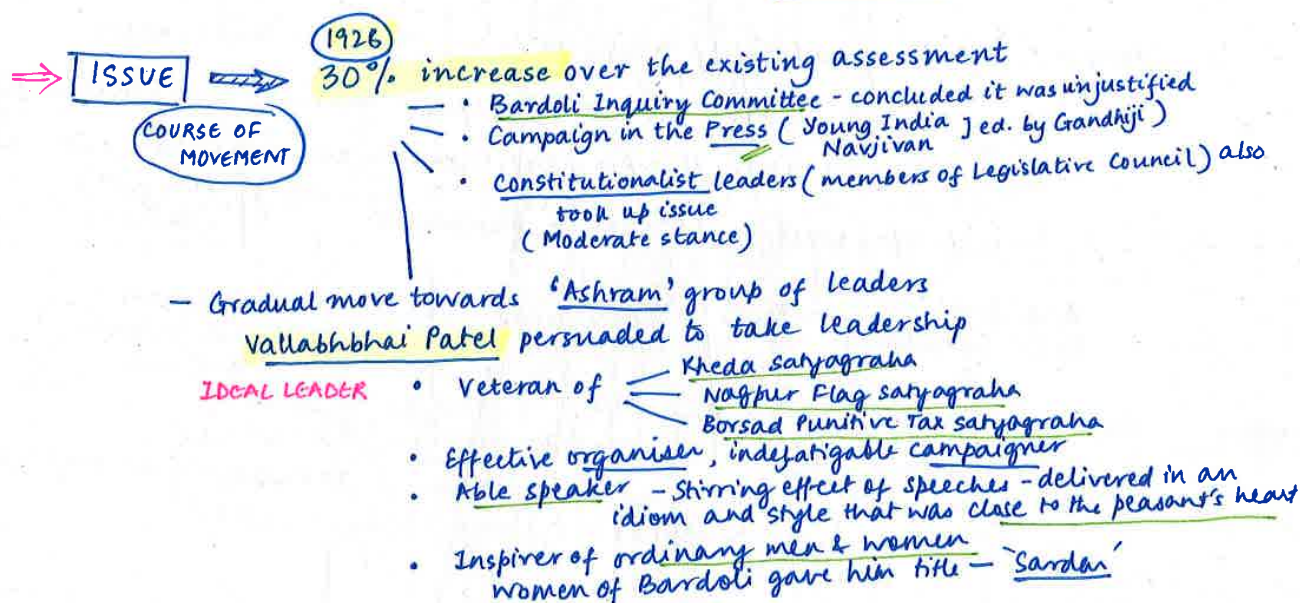
↳ poems and prose that aroused Kaliparaj against the Hali system - under which they laboured as hereditary labourers for upper caste landowners.

↳ Bhajan mandalis (consist of Kaliparaj & Ujaliparaj members) used to spread message.

↳ Annual Kaliparaj conferences - 1922, 27 → Grandhi presided

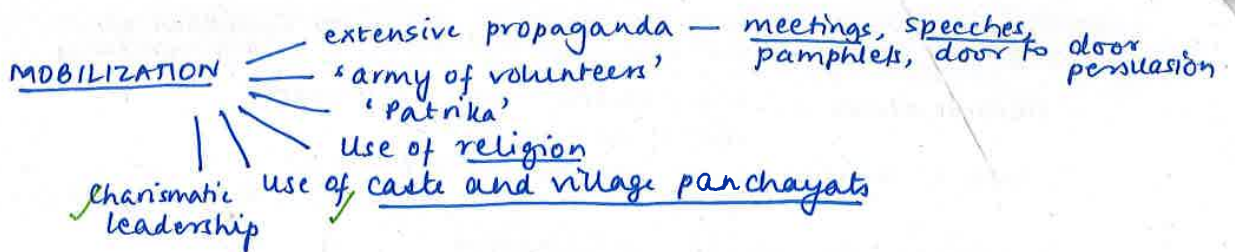
∴ DEVELOPMENT OF SIGNIFICANT BASE AMONG THE KALIPARAJ

(Inquiry into Kaliparaj conditions
Indictment of hali sys, exploitation by money lenders, sexual exploitation of women by upper castes)



ORGANISATION OF MOVEMENT

- Resolution advising all occupants of land to refuse payment of the revised assessment until the Govt. appointed an independent tribunal / accepted the current amount as full payment.
- Use of religion - peasants asked to take oaths in the name of Prabhu & Khuda that they would not pay land rev.
— Resolution followed by recitation of sacred texts from Gita, Koran, songs from Kabir (Hindu-Muslim unity)
- V. Patel - divided taluq into 13 workers' camps / chhavanis each under charge of an experienced leader
- Bardoli satyagraha Patrika - reports abt mov, speeches of leaders, pics etc
- An army of volunteers distrib. this to farthest corners
- Own intelligence wing - ~~also~~ ensure peasants didn't pay, secure info abt govt. moves
- ↳ Those who showed signs of weakness - brought into line by means of social pressure, threats of social boycott
- special emphasis on women mobilisation
Maniben Patel (V.P.'s daughter), Mithuben Petit, Shardaben Shah, Sharda Mehta, Bhaktiba,



IMPACT

Sardar Patel made constant efforts to see — carried constitutionalist, moderate leadership, public opinion on his side

↳ INQUIRY conducted → concluded increase unjustified — reduced enhancement to 6.03%

(Members of Bombay Legis. ass resigned
Support from other areas of Punjab
even Lord Irwin put pressure on Governor)

PEASANT MOVEMENTS OF 1930s & 40s

WHY?

ECONOMIC

→ Great Depression (1929-30) — Agr prices ↓ to half or less
— prices of manu. goods didn't fall as much
— incomes spiralled downwards

→ Agr. exploitation

- High taxes and rents
- Debt
- Landlord exploitation

increased civil lib & expectations
1937 formation of Cong. ministries
POLITICAL

- Impact of Civil Disobedience Movement — new generation of young, militant, political cadres
- Influence of Left ideology — propagated by J. L. Nehru, Subhash Bose
- 1934 — Formation of CSP — Consolidation of Left forces got a push forward.
- Faizpur

All India body to coordinate Kisan movement

(1936) — All India Kisan Congress

→ All India Kisan Sabha

Pres: Swami Sahajanand

Gen Sec: N.G. Ranga

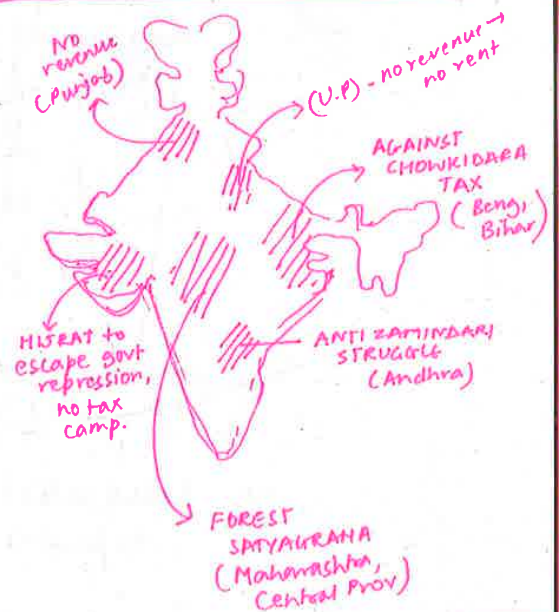
Creation of Kisan Manifesto — considerably influenced agrarian prog. adopted by Congress @ Faizpur

- 50% ↓ in land revenue, rent
- moratorium on debts
- abolition of feudal levies
- security of tenure
- living wage for agri lab.
- recognition of peasant unions

2nd session of AIKS @ Faizpur

NG Ranga — 'we are organizing ourselves in order to prepare ourselves for the final inauguration of a socialist state & society.'

Peasant role in CDM: No tax no rent campaign



1937-39 - high watermark of peasant movement

→ Formation of
Cong ministries

- Political atmos - civil liberties, sense of 'freedom', heightened expectation
- Intro of legislation - for debt relief, restoration of lands lost during depression, security of tenure
- ↳ Impetus for mobil. - in support ✓
- asking for changes ✓

MOBILISATION

- Holding of Kisan conferences/meetings @ thana, taluq, district, prov. levels.
- Touring of villages, collecting subscriptions, exhorting peasants
- ↳ Use of cultural shows - to carry msg of movement

SPREAD

① Malabar

- Powerful peasant movement due to CSP activists



- Amend
Malabar Tenancy Act of 1929
- Demands
- abolition of feudal levies
 - renewal fees
 - advance rent
 - reduction in tax, rent, debt
 - end to corrupt practices of landlords' managers

- Mobil
- Formation of KARSHAKA SANGHAMS (peasant asso)
 - Marching of jathas (large grp of peasants) to houses of big jennis

- supported by Kerala Pradesh Congress Committee

② Coastal Andhra

History

- Andhra Provincial Ryots Association
- Andhra Zamindar Ryots Association
- N. G. Ranga - Indian Peasants' Institute

↳ Anti zamindari movements.

weapon of peasant marches used effectively since 1933

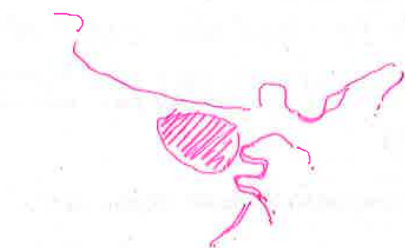
(1938) Provincial Kisan Conference organized for the 1st time - Long March (2000 kisans, 1500 miles, 130 days)

- ↳ demand for debt relief incorporated in legislation
- ↳ Appt of zamindari Enquiry Comm.

→ org of summer schools of Economics and Politics for peasant activists

→ Celebration of various Kisan & other 'days'
popularization of peasant songs.

③ Bihar



Bihar Provincial Kisan Sabha - Swami Sahajanand
helped by - Karyanand Sharma,
Rahul Sankrityayan,
Panchanan Sharma

- Use of meetings, conferences, rallies,
mass demonstration eg 1 L peasants @ Patna 1938

DEMANDS → zamindari abolition
→ stopping illegal levies
→ Prevention of eviction

RETURN OF BAKASHT LANDS - which occupancy
tenants had lost to
zamindars during
depression years.

Methods of
satyagraha,
forcible sowing &
harvesting of crops

vs zamindars
Use of
lathials / Use of
police

④ Punjab



Kisan Sabhas of the 1930s given new sense of direction
and cohesion by Punjab Kisan Committee in 1937

Demands - reduction of taxes, moratorium on debts,
feudal levies (canal colony areas),
Increase in canal tax/water rate

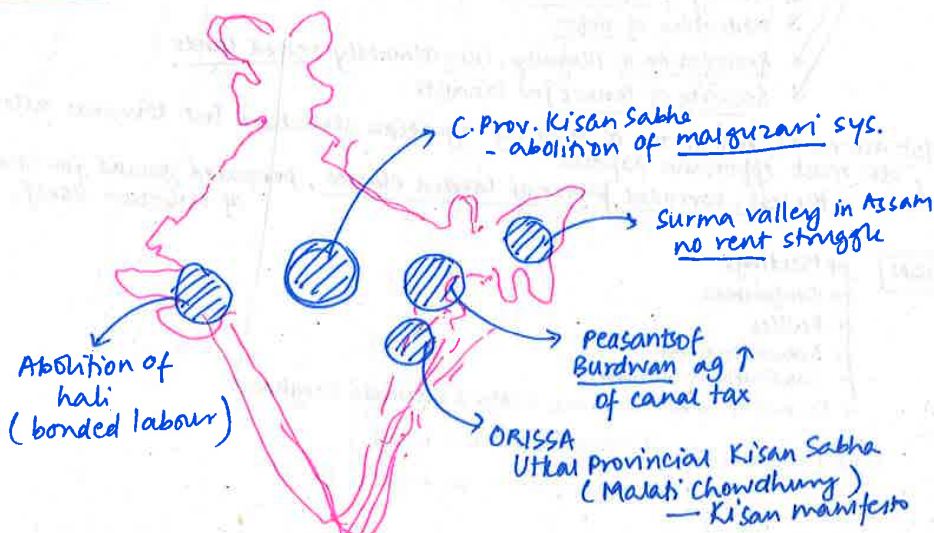
Resettlement of land revenue in Lahore & Amritsar

Target of attack - Unionist ministry (dominated by big
landlords of W. Punjab)

Means

- Meetings, conferences etc
- Lathas
- Lahore Kisan Morcha 1939 - 100s of Kisans counted arrest
- Multan, Montgomery canal areas - refused to pick
cotton, harvest crops
(Large private companies imposing
feudal levies on leased land
from sharecroppers)

Other areas



BREAK IN MOVEMENTS

: • Outbreak of World War II

↳ Resignation of Congress ministries

- Launching of severe repression against left wing & Kisan Sabha leaders
- Post 1941 attack on SU, CPI → People's War stance - asked cadres to stay away from movement
the party line sealed the rift in the Kisan Sabha ranks resulting in split in 1943

↳ NG Ranga, Sahajanand Saraswati, Indulal Jagnik left the org

NEVERTHELESS

- Kisan Sabha continued to play imp. role in various kinds of relief work during war yrs
eg, Bengal Famine 1943
- also contin. organisational work.

Post War : Many struggles left off in 1939 → renewed

- demand for zamindari abolition
- Andhra - higher wages
- Telangana - anti Nizam struggle

TEBHAGA STRUGGLE

Late 1946 : Sharecroppers of Bengal began to assert :

- ⇒ Would not pay 1/2 share to jotedars → Only 1/3rd
- ⇒ Before division, crop would be stored in their khamars (godowns) and not that of the jotedars.

— encouraged by fact : Bengal Land Revenue Commission (Floud Commission) already made this recommend. to govt.

⇒ Hajong tribals : demanding commutation of kind rents → cash rents

Means : • Peasants tried to remove paddy stored in jotedars' khamars to their own
• Clashes w govt, police, jotedars
• Support by Muslim League, Congress → 1950: Bargadars Bill

Centres : Dinajpur, Rangpur, Mymensingh, 24 Parganas

Base : Initially Rajbansi Kshatriya peasants, spread to Muslims, Hajongs, Santhals, Oraons.

PEASANT MOVEMENTS

SUMMARY

IMPACT : Even if did not register immediate success, created climate which necessitated the post independence agrarian reforms — eg zamindari abolition

DEMANDS

- Reduction of taxes
- Abolition of illegal cesses, feudal levies, begar, vethi
- Ending of oppression by landlords & their agents
- Reduction of debts
- Restoration of illegally, illegitimately seized lands
- Security of tenure for tenants

Not aimed at overthrow of existing agrarian structure but towards alleviating its most oppressive aspects
↳ nevertheless, corroded power of landed classes, prepared ground for transformation of structure itself.

MOBILIZATION

- Meetings
 - Conferences
 - Rallies
 - Demonstrations
 - Enrolment of members
 - Formation of Kisan sabhas, ryotu & Karshaka sanghams
- Direct action → SATYAGRAHA / CIVIL DISOB.
→ NON PAYMENT OF RENT & TAXES

Relⁿship w national movement

- Areas where peasant movements were active were usually ones - drawn into earlier national struggles (Punjab, Kerala, Andhra, U.P., Bihar)
- Nmov - created initial conditions req. - politicized & conscious peasantry, band of active political workers - orgⁿ & leadership & based itself on
- Kisan movement accepted ideology of nationalism - message - orgⁿ on caste lines + national freedom
- Most areas - simult. enrolment as Kisan Sabha & Congress ~~leaders~~ members
Leadership overlapped

In some regions eg Bihar - diff b/w Cong & KS leadership - contained before 1942
with split of 1942 - Kisan movement found - diverged too much - lost its mass base

8. EARLY INDIAN NATIONALISM

- i) Factors leading to the birth of Indian nationalism; Politics of Association; The Foundation of the INC; The Safety Valve thesis relating to birth of the Congress
- ii) Programme and objectives of Early Congress; the social composition of early Congress leadership; the Moderates and Extremists
- iii) The Partition of Bengal (1905); The Swadeshi Movement in Bengal; the economic & political aspects of Swadeshi movement
- iv) The beginning of revolutionary extremism in India

Anderson: Nationalism in Asia, Africa followed one or the other model of nationalism dev. in the West

P. Chatt

Long before pol. struggle, Indian society imagining its nation in a priv. cultural sphere.

INDIAN NATIONALISM: is a process, not a full blown phenomenon that suddenly erupts at a particular point in time.

Bayly: 'solidified' under colonial rule but drew upon earlier patterns of social relations, attachment to land, 'old patriotisms' which it recast since pre-colonial days, 'traditional patriotism' - attach to lang, culture (land, language, cult)

Intertwining of pol & eco. fate of ppl in diff areas

★ ROLE OF THE **BRITISH** (Conducive environment)

selective appropriation & manip. of knowledge to craft own critique of colonialism, weapon ag. the state.

- ★ Political unification: annexing large no. of states under one umbrella
- ★ Uniform administration/modern judicial system
- ★ Communication → modern means - telegraph, postal network
- ★ Transport. network - railways/roads
- ★ Western education - West. ideas of Enlightenment
Bruce McCully - growth of Indian nationalism result of formal training of Indians in the liberal thought of the West

Dietmar Rothermund: Nationalist consciousness emerged out of the vision of a steadily growing Eng educated elite - who 'learned to look at India in the intellectual armoury of her conquerors'.

★ Modern press - initially intro by British, gradually Indian owned newspapers & journals
By 1875, 400 Indian owned newspapers - broke internal barriers

Amita B.P., Hindu Patriot, Hindu, Hindustan

★ BRITISH **POLICIES** → DISCONTENT

- ★ Lex Loci Act 1850 - encouraging Christian conversion
- ★ Imp. of income tax 1880 - background of famines
- ★ 1870 - proposed to cut back funding for Eng edu in Bengal - contr. to spend excessively on army, home charges, public works
- ★ Indian Councils Act of 1861 - Inclusion of very few non official members with limited powers in imperial & local legislative councils

- ★ **LYTTON** reactionary policies: Intensified discontent
 - Massive famine 1876-77 - busy holding Delhi Durbar
 - Lowering of CSE age (21-19)
 - Vernacular Press Act 1878
 - Arms Act 1878
 - 1879 - Imports duty reduced on British goods

- ★ **RACE**: Ilbert Bill: drafted by Justice C.P. Ilbert at behest of Ripon
proposed to grant limited criminal jurisdiction to native officials of admin service over British subjects in the mofussil.
(Indian judges could be empowered to try criminal cases involving Europ.)

↳ generated 'white mutiny' - brought to the fore deep seated racism of England's European subjects in India
(British would never accept Indians as equal)

- Modified bill: allowed Europeans to demand trial by jury in which not less than 1/2 judges were to be European.

★ ROLE OF **IDEAS**

- ★ Revolutions - USA, France, Germany, Italy etc.
- ★ Western edu - Enlightenment ideas
- ★ Drain theory - by moderates - Naoroji, BR in India exposed true face of

Pipesh Chakrabarty: These ideas constituted an ideological package of pol. modernity - citizenship, civil society, public sphere, democracy etc

- ★ New historical research - emergence of nationalist school of Indian history, glorious achievements highlighted Gupta pd (Golden Age), Mauryan empire etc.

✓ Ishita Banerjee Dube - Vishnu Shastri Chiplunkar: need for complete history of Maharashtra

Punjab: qissa: a mix of epic & romance in the tradition of Arabic & Persian storytelling dev. into imp genre of Punjabi lit.

★ Vernacular lit

- Vidyasagar - Bengali
By the 1840s the writing & pub. of Bengali lang educational material had outstripped those of any other lang, including Eng - pamphlets in simple lang
Bankim Chandra Chatt - Anandamath

Bharatendu Harishchandra - 1st great writer of 'Khari boli Hindi'
championed cause of Hindi and Nagari script

★ SOCIAL FACTORS

'Renaissance' - purpose to purify, rediscover an Indian civ that would be conformant w Europ. ideals of rationalism, empiricism, indiv. - to fashion a modern national culture - not western
→ provided ideol. foundation of modern Indian nationalism in late 19th cen.

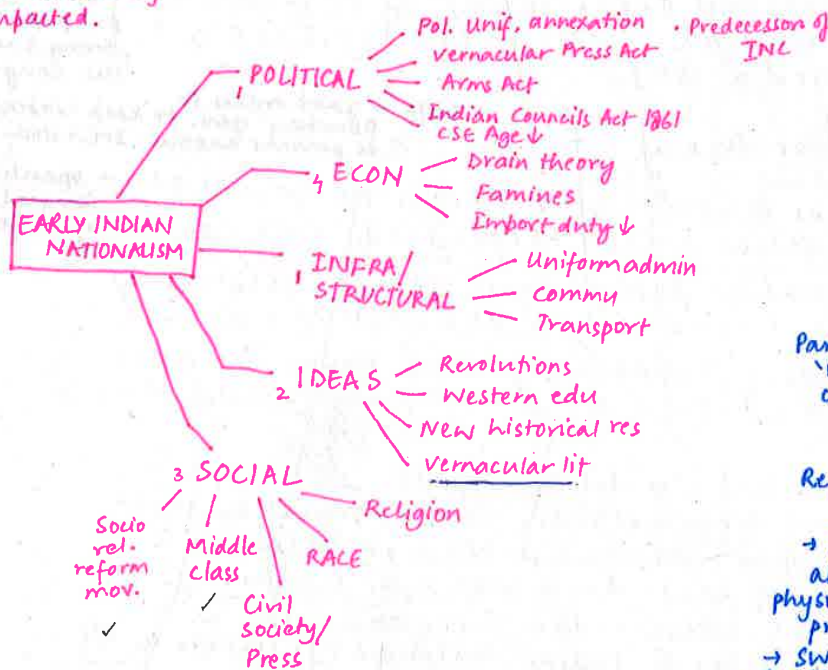
Bernard Cohn - 'objectification of culture' - educated Indians defining their culture as a concrete entity
→ strong educated awakened - British rule blocking progress
/ High offices monopolised prov. leadership to INC

★ Emergence of middle class

★ Civil society, public sphere (Shekhar Band.)

★ Religion: Eg: Madras Native Association
Oppos. to Christian missionary activity & legislation eg Lex Loci Act

Each class in society was impacted.



Read Nationalism
Bandopadhy. ch 4
Notes

Question of women

Ranajit Guha - the nation as a historical imaginary emerged in early 19th cen pd of social reform - prior to emergence of nationalism in politics

Partha Chatterjee - division of 'inner' and 'outer' domains - complete control in 'inner domain'

Responses to charges of 'effeminacy'

→ Bengal - attempts to revive akharai/gym to bolster physical training, instil sense of pride.

→ Swami Vivekananda - ardently advocated a way to God through physical activity rather than just reading the Bhagavad Gita

→ 'First of all our young men must be strong. Religion will come afterwards.'

→ Bankim Ch. novels - Rajput & Bengali Hindus matched Muslim and British heroes in strength and courage.

INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

AIMS is to promote friendly relations b/w nationalist pol. workers from diff parts of country

Estb in 1885 @ Bombay by group of Indian nationalists under leadership of A.O. Hume 72 delegates.

- 1st pan India nationalist platform

① Brainchild of Lord Sufferin - comment of W.C. Banerjee

(BUT) - Banerjee wanted to convince British govt that Cong. was not anti British

- Lord Sufferin was extremely apprehensive about Hume, wanted Congress to limit its activities to socio-cult. matters but from very beginning - was a nationalist political org

- ii) Dev & consol. of feeling of nat. unity (caste, class, reli.)
- iii) Formu. of popu. demands & presen. before govt.
- iv) Training & org of pub. opinion
- v) Bring large no. of Indians into politics
- vi) Eco & pol. demands to unify nation

② Safety valve theory - Lala Lajpat Rai in 'Young India'

Hume wanted Congress to work as a platform from which Indian leaders could raise issues - to prevent massine revolt

↳ basis of biography by William Wedderburn - hundreds of secret reports and network of mahatmas had informed Hume about impending threat of revolt

(BUT) - Unreliable assumption in Wedderburn biography
- If so concerned about safety in 1878 - why did he wait for 7 yrs for INC foundation
Reborn in 1882

• 7 volumes of secret reports have not been traced
• opening up of Duff's pvt papers show strong suspicion of the Congress

③ Lightning condenser theory -

Indian nationalist leaders well aware Hume's real intentions - deliberately cooperated with him

↳ pan Indian nationalist pol. prog under leadership of Indians - British would never allow it to emerge.

∴ Indian leaders deliberately kept Hume in float so he could be used as a lightning condenser.

• Duff - gave orders to Bombay gov. to keep watchful eye (to prevent another Irish Home Rule mov)
→ openly criticize Congress soon after formation

Role of A.O. Hume

- limited to organiser
- circumstances existed, just brought Indian nationalist leaders active in diff parts on a common platform.

- triggered into action when S.V. Banerjee announced estb. of Indian National Conference in 1883

Pre Congress org

- 1836 - Bangabhasha Prakashini Sabha - Rammonar Roy
- 1838 - Zamindari Association / Landholders Society - Dwarkanath Tagore
- 1843 - Bengal British India Society
- 1857 - British India Association - Debendranath Tagore
- 1852 - Bombay Association
- 1870 - Poona Samajwadi Sabha
- 1875 - Moli Lal Chhosh / Sisir Kumar Chhosh - Indian League
- 1876 - Indian Asso - S.V. Banerjee
- 1884 - Madras Mahajan Sabha - M. Virarajavaradhan, P. Ananda Chakr

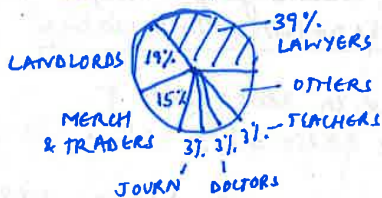
MODERATE PHASE (1885-1905)

Influenced by Util. theories of Edmund Burke, T.S. Mill & John Mill

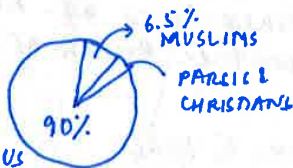
- Congress initially an annual conference, not full fledged political party
- Not radical, limited in goals and methods → did not demand abstract idea of equality
only wanted reform, not expulsion of British
piecemeal, gradual changes.
- Methods - 'prayer, petition, protest'
limited demands posed in a lang. that was gentle & cautious
eg Lalajay Seth: 'regret', 'suggest' rather than 'condemn', 'demand'
- annual sessions
- Belief in providential nature of British rule
complaint only against 'un-British rule'
- Strategy of mendacity - tried to prepare convincing 'logical case' aimed at persuading liberal political opinion in England

- ✓ Westernised in outlook
- Elitist in character
- Urban base
- Secular
- Constitutionalist ✓
- Non violent
- Democratic
- Egalitarian
- Failed to understand signif. of participation of masses ✓
- SOCIAL COMPOSITION

⇒ Mostly belonged to propertied sections - did not represent peasants, workers



RELIGION



↳ ~50% were Brahmins

- ⇒ Most - western edu. intelligentsia
- ⇒ Primarily from towns & cities
Particip. of rural India negligible.
• Bombay, Calcutta, Madras.

W.C. Bonnerjee - Congress was an asso. of 'loyalist & consistent well wishers of British govt.'

DEMANDS

1. CONSTITUTIONAL

- Limited self govt. within imperial frame work
- Abolition of India Council
- Broadening Indian particip. in legis
 - ✓ 50% elected repr. from local bodies
 - ✓ new Councils for NWFP & Punjab
 - ✓ 2 Indian memb. in vic exec. council
- Budget to be referred to legislature

ACHIEVEMENT: 1892 Ind. Coun. Act - only marginal expansion of legis. councils, budget not to be voted upon, fn of legis. recommen.

2. ADMINISTRATIVE

- ✓ Indianisation of services - Drainage of money
- Mil. expen - shared evenly - Responsive to needs ag. racism
- more Indians in higher ranks
- ✓ Extension of trial by jury, repeal of Arms Act
- ag. over assess. of land revenue
- ✓ Campaign ag. exploitation of indentured labor in Assam tea gardens.

3. ECONOMIC - Trade + Industry + Finance.

- ✓ Reduction in expenditure, taxes
- ✓ Realloc. of military charges
- ✓ Protectionist policy - to protect India's industries
- ✓ ↓ of land revenue assessment, extension of PS.
- ✓ Encouragement of cotton industries & handlooms
- Defence of civil rights

→ REACTIONS OF GOVT - 'wait and watch' strategy

- Initially facilitated → Lord Dufferin hosted dinner for delegates
→ WC Bonnerjee quote
1st session 28/100 delegates were officials

By Dec 1887 - true nationalist character was visible

- Govt. started attacking Congress → govt officials not allowed to accept membership
- Dufferin: org representing 'microscopic minority of Indians'
- Secretary of State 'seditions body'
- prominent leaders targ. → Surat split engineered by govt
- ✓ Anubindo Cth (Alipore Cong)
- ✓ B. G. Tilak (Sedition)

Lord Curzon: (Letter to Sec. of State) 1905
'Congress is tottering to its downfall and while being in India it is my greatest desire to see its peaceful demise'

ACHIEVEMENTS

- ① Most significant historical contribution → economic critique of colonialism
Dadabhai Naoroji, MG. Ranade, R.C. Dutt

- Drain of wealth
- deindustrialisation
Reduction to status of dependent agrarian economy
↓
exposed true character of British rule

Emphasised Indian poverty, deindus., famine → direct consequences of B. rule.

- ② Corroded moral authority of colonial rule → Challenging concept of Paternalistic Imperialism

- ③ Realisation of true character → resulted in emergence of extreme nationalists within Congress

- ④ Writings and speeches ^{with councils} → maturity

- ⑤ Were first generation nationalists - worked hard ag. heavy odds to convince British of need for reforms

- ⑥ Reforms

- Aitchison
✓ Appt. of Commission to review Civ. Serv. in 1886
- ✓ Indian Councils Act 1892
- ✓ 1895 Welby Commission - better mgmt of expenditure
- ✓ 1893 Resolution for simul. holding of C.E. in India

Lalajay Seth - 'Moderate nationalism should not be seen as an incomplete/failed ideology but a 'base' for their extremist counterparts to develop.
It used 'loyalty' to British as a tactical element to diffuse suspicion.

REFORMS POST 1857

Post 1857 trends - utilitarianism

- ① Liberal ^{Extreme} position → John Bright, Manchester School
outrageously critical of British rule in India
- ② Middle course - J.S. Mill - believed that democracy and self govt were essential checks on despotic power, but the doctrine was only suitable for civilized people
∴ India had to be governed despotically.
- Concerned imperial govt as educational mission.
- ③ More authoritarian
Strand - Fitzjames Stephen.
He combined Benthamism with Hobbesian despotism - law and good govt were instruments of improvement - both were meaningless unless backed by power.
∴ No moral duty to introduce representative institutions
Could be conceded only if there was strong demand from among sizeable section of Indians

Let Reforms → 1881, 1892, 1909, 1919, Local Self govt Act of 1882, Libert Bill 1888

WHY → Cambridge School: Because of functional needs of imperialism
Empire being essentially 'weak' - politically need for Indian collaboration

B.R. Tomlinson - fiscal crisis
∴ devolution of power to buy Indian support

→ Growing Indian nationalism
India could no longer be ruled with a 'cast iron bureaucracy'

RABINDRANATH TAGORE'S NATIONALISM - based on a Catholic internationalism?

- ✓ 'Separatist nationalism devoid of love for mankind is a great menace'
- ✓ Rejected the idea of a nation state, believed in the 'great federation of man'
- 'Pride patriotism is not for me, I earnestly hope that I shall find my home anywhere in the world'
- Believed that nationalism nations outlook & vision of the people.
- The entire world was a state - the Kingdom of God → one should be a citizen of this kingdom
- all humans to be treated equally
- even criticised Gandhi's Nehru - parochial outlook
opposed burning of foreign clothes - deliberate promotion of hatred
- ① Even in eulogies of India, remarkably free from rhetoric of patriotism. Responded to European lit w/ keen mind - fond of Romantic, Victorian poets, Shakespeare
- ② Pioneer of intellectual union of East and West - 'In India what is needed is the broad mind which is not afraid of accepting truth from all sources.'
- ③ Unity of nations - any nation which takes an isolated view of its own country will run counter to spirit of the new Age
- ④ ~~Wrote~~ wrote national anthems of India & Bang; Inspired SL's anthem.
- ⑤ Aim to estb a new education not on basis of nationalism but of a wider relationship of humanity.
- Transformed Santiniketan into a world university to which scholars from East & West were invited to meet and study - named 'Vishva Bharati'

RISE OF EXTREMISTS

Punjab
Bengal
Maharashtra

• Social - ↑ Westernisation
+ growth of spiritual nationalism

WHY?

- Response to evils of colonial rule — greater exploitation
- Economic hardship - severe famines 1896-97, 1899-1900
- Sedition clause - 1898 : CrPC amended by inserting clause 124A

- Realisation of true character of British rule
- Frustration with moderate politics
 - Congress governed by undemo. Constitution
 - Most demands unfulfilled
 - Financially broke
 - Too cautious

1892 disapp. Repression
- POL - Famines
- SOC
- INTL

- Factionalism BENGAL : Within Brahmo Samaj; b/w Bengalee & Anarista Basar Patnake (S.N. Banerjee) (Monsi Ghosh)

MAHARASHTRA : b/w Gokhale & Tilak for Pune & Sabha
↳ formed Deccan Sabha

MADRAS : 3 factions — Mylapur, Egmore cliques, Suburban elite

PUNJAB : Arya Samaj — College grp & radical revivalist grp.

- Curzonian admin magnified nationalist angst further

- Calcutta Municipal Amendment Act 1899
- Indian Universities Act 1904
- Indian Official Secrets Act 1904
- Partition of Bengal (Am)

FEATURES

- Aim of swaraj — interpr. differently by diff. ppl.
- Aims & methods — radical
- Mass character
↳ no longer elitist
- Use of religion — Granesh Shivaji festiv.
- Cultural dimension
↳ lit, paintings, music
- Extra constit. methods
↳ burning of foreign goods, strikes, lockouts etc.

Int. dev

- ✓ 1896 - Ethiopia defeated Italy
- ✓ 1905 - Japan defeated Russia

Immediate cause : Partition of Bengal

SURAT SPLIT

Main issue — How far the radicalism generated by Swadeshi in B. was to be incorporated into the future politics of the Congress on an all India theatre.

moderate stronghold

- = Pherozeshah Mehta omitted Calcutta resolutions from the agenda
- = The extremists in return decided to oppose nomination of Rash Behari Ghosh as prez unless resolutions were retained
↳ Immediate cause for split
- = violence broke out with a famous 'Marathi Chappal' hitting Surendranath Banerjee & Pherozeshah Mehta

REASONS FOR SPLIT

- ① Marxist view — R.C. Dutt, M.N. Roy : Result of class conflict
- Moderates represen. 'big bourgeoisie' — native capitalists, collapsed w colonialists
- Extremists — 'petty bourgeoisie' — smaller towns, not all w. edu
↳ lesser eco & intell. ties w the British
∴ less compromising

① Cambridge school

David Washbrook, J.R. McLane

Result of factional conflict b/w ins & outs for control of Congress
(Bengal, Maharashtra, Madras etc.)

Anil Seal - extremists tried to take over Congress leadership at the Surat session to compensate for losses accrued at local level during Swadeshi

② Nationalist school → Failure of moderates - unable to gain mass support (Bipin Chandra)

- unable to organise any all India campaign
- no signif. concessions from British
- failure to attract youth support

→ New British policy - 'carrot and stick' / repression conciliation suppression
(mild) of extremists of moderates of extremists
eg 1906: L. Minto invited moderates to discuss legis council reform.

→ Increasing disagreement - reg. methods, Swadeshi spread etc.
(Chandra, Sumit Sarkar) b/w moderates & extremists.

→ Differing interpretations of Calcutta Resolutions

→ Miscalculations - Moderates misjudged Minto's overtures
Extremists didn't recognise strengths of Moderates as Cong. interface with state

Rajat Kanta Ray critiques all 3 schools

- (M): No signif. class diff.
- (C): Not clear factions - loose groupings lacking formal org & discipline
- (N): goals of both were similar

→ Represented diff 'psycholog. moods'
Moderate demands could be appeased by British
Extremists could not

→ Struggle b/w radical Tilakites of Poona v/s Moderates of Bombay.

	Mod	Extre.
Social base	Edu upper m. class. profess.	M + lower middle
Ideol. Insp.	W. lib thought	Inde. cult + hist + Hindu symb
Goals		
Methods		
Relig. masses		
British Loyalty	providential mission	exploitative

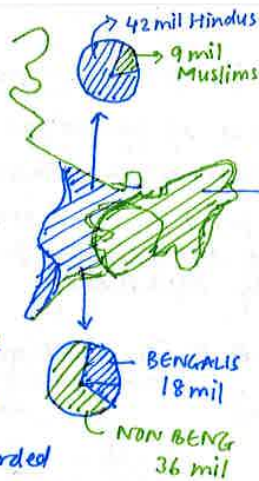
PARTITION OF BENGAL

Unoff. known - Dec 1903
 Officially announced - 19 July 1905
 Came into force 16 Oct 1905

REASONS

- STATED:
 - Reducing admin. burden
 - Solve problem of Assam - become a Lt province w/ separate civil service cadre
 - substantial commercial benefits
 - ↳ interests of tea gardens, oil & coal industries safeguarded
 - Assam planters - wanted to influence taxation policy of govt, cheaper maritime outlet through port of Chittagong
 - Assam Bengal railways under single admin
 - ↳ vital for econ. dev. of NE India

making it a viable administrative unit by adding more Bengali areas



Bengal divided is a power. Bengal divided will pull in different ways. - Risley

⇒ WEST BENGAL (Cap: Calcutta) Popu: 54 mil
 ⇒ EAST BENGAL + ASSAM (Cap: Dacca) Popu: 31 mil

Sumit Sarkar - fallacious arguments / secondary concerns

- ACTUAL:
 - Anti Bengali feelings of colonial bureaucracy - desire to weaken politically an articulate community - Bengali Hindus
 - would destroy 'class rule' of Bengali bhadralok
 - encourage dev. of other comm (In this case Muslims)
 - fanning Hindu-Muslim divide
- separating Hindu polit. b/w East & West Bengal

SUMIT SARKAR - 4 MAJOR TRENDS.

- ① Moderate trend - only sought to pressurise British Parl. to secure annulment of Partition
 1903-05
 - could not conceptualise boycott as a step towards regeneration of national economy

Means: appealing to conscience of British through speeches, pamphlets.
 Some moderate actions moved beyond old style petitioning
 eg Surendranath B. - fiery speeches urging boycott of Manchester cloth

- ② Constructive swadeshi: self strengthening movement - amateurish attempts to manuf. daily necessities, national edu, arbitration courts, village org. along indig lines
 • boycott
 • Tagore - Raksha Bandhan - brotherhood
 • Arandhan - keeping hearths unlit as a sign of mourning
 • Swadeshi
 • Charkha - typified the country's eco. self-sufficiency
 seen as involving masses
 aided by use of the vernacular, trad instit - melas
 blended w/ Hindu revivalism
 Tagore - urged volunteers to go to villages, spread social & pol. enlight. through melas, lectures, reviving trad village samaj
 - Satishchandra Mukherjee - Bhagabat chatuspathi, Journal Dawn, Dawn Society
 - Saraswati Ayatan (Brahmabandhab Upadhyay)
 - Santiniketan Ashram

③ Political extremism

1906 onwards - goal no longer remained annulment of P but complete ind - SWARAJ
 Bipin C. Pal
 Brahm. Upadh. Aurobindo Ghosh: 'Protest not ag. bad govt' but ag. continuance of British control irresp. of if they ruled well or ill.'

- MEANS
- boycott of British goods and instit, dev. of indig. alternatives, violation of unjust laws and violent agitation if necessitated
 - Req. mass mobil - through samitis - moral & phy. training, philanthropic work, propag. of Swadeshi msg, education, arbitration courts
 - new English daily 'Bande Mataram' - expressed extremist opinions.
- Aurobindo clearly demarcated 'passive resistance' from petitioning
↳ relentless boycott

Limit
(Memb. of samitis did not extend beyond edu. bhadrak)

④ Shift to terrorism

- By 1908
- ↳ either return to moderate ways
 - OR
 - ↳ secret societies of revolutionary men - terrorist acts.
 - Calcutta Anushilan Samiti - Bar. Kum Ghosh, Bhup. Dutta
 - assassinations of oppressive officials / traitors
 - Swadeshi dacoities to raise funds

IMPACT

- ↳ Annulment of Partition
- ↳ mass movement
- ↳ Reforms 1909, 1919

anticipated the methods of the Gandhian phase

Boycott and Swadeshi

- +ve
- 1905-1906: 22% ↓ in qty of imported cloth (but other factors contrib.)
 - Swadeshi mood did bring signif. revival in handloom, silk weaving, trad. artisan crafts
 - No. of attempts to promote modern ind. — successful ventures in porcelain, chrome tanning, soap, matches, cigarettes
- BUT
- lack of capital crucial limiting factor
 - Swadeshi could never seriously threaten British stranglehold over crucial sectors of Bengal's economy.
- social boycott of anyone found selling / using British goods.

National Education

Variety - technical training; Santin. & Oram → combined trad. & modern; Bengal National College, Beng. Technical Instit. Sonarong National School - virtual recruiting centre for revolutionaries

- BUT
- negligible job prospects - failed to attract stud.
 - little focus on village level edu.

Labour unrest

1903-08: No. of strikes → support from nationalists

- eg - Howrah worker strike - Burn Company
- Calcutta tram strike

newsp. sympathy, financial help, aid in setting up unions

- BUT
- no real political strikes
 - Plantation and mine labour - unaffected
 - Nationalist interest in labour slumped suddenly after 1908



Samitis

'National Volunteer movement'

Samitis as mass org for work in the villages, spreading the msg through vernacular and trad. means anticipate the tradition of open mass work by volunteers of the Gandhian Congress.

Tasks / Activ : Physical/moral training of members, social work during famines, epidemics or rel. festivals, preaching Swadeshi msg, organising crafts, schools, arbitration courts, village societies.

- Calcutta - Anti Circular Society
- Barisal Swadesh Bandhab Samiti - Ashwini Kumar Dutta

BUT : - use of traditionalist religious idiom alienated many
 - bhadralok domination
 - By 1908, many disapp. in the face of repression, some turned into revolutionary outfits eg Sacca Anushilan Samiti

Hindu Muslim relations

- Communal riots in East Bengal eg Mymensingh, Comilla
 Extremist propaganda took on aggressive Hindu colours, simul. veered towards terrorism

social sphere ← Raksha B. Granapathi Shiksha festiv - newspapers
Amar Sonar Bangla

Other areas → Punjab : Constructive sw. led by College faction
Lala Lajpat Rai - pol. extremism
 → Maharashtra : pol. extrem w dominant Hindu revival streak
 by B.G. Tilak - Swaraaj, boycott, passive resistance
 → Madras esp. Andhra Tirunelveli
Vandemataram movement → V.O. Chidambaram Pillai
1906 - Swadeshi Steam Navigation Company

(*) Swadeshi movement failed to close gap btw bhadralok & the masses
Real Achilles heel - lack of a peasant prog.

Rab. Tagore : Peasants were expected to buy inferior and costly goods for the sake of a cause that must have seemed rather abstract, were being asked to do this by babus who had treated them w condescension for so long.

ANTI CLIMAX

- Govt repression ← controls/bans on meetings, press
 Students expelled, banned from gov service
- Internal squab ← Surat split
Ajit Singh
- Leadership ← Ashwini K. Dutta, Lala Laj Rai deported ✓
Tilak - imprisoned ✓, C. Pillai arrested ✓
Bipin Chandra Pal) retired
A. Ghosh

9. NATIONALISM UNDER GANDHI'S LEADERSHIP

- i) Rise of Gandhi; Character of Gandhian nationalism; Gandhi's popular appeal
- ii) Rowlatt Satyagraha; the Khilafat movement; the NCM; National politics from end of NCM — beg of CDM; 2 phases of CDM; Simon Commission; The Nehru Report; Round Table Conferences
- iii) Nationalism and peasant movements; Nationalism & working class movements; Women and Indian youth & students in Indian politics (1885-1947)
- iv) The election of 1937 and the formation of ministries; Cripps Mission; the Quit India Movement; the Wavell Plan; The Cabinet Mission.

GANDHI

Of the gamut of Indian personalities dredged up from the past to serve contemporary urges of appropriation, exemplification and justification, the Father of the Nation holds a place of special significance.

READ BANDOPADHYAY NOTES 6.2

PROBLEMS w/ EARLIER POLITICS

CONTEXT POST WWI

Under Gandhi the movement acquired a truly mass character, a definite method and a long term objective. However not correct to conceptualise the movement as a monolith under Gandhian direction, Sumit Sarkar — Gandhian movements contained within them many movements, often with diverging, conflicting interests.

APPEAL

- ① South Africa - developed cross community, cross class contacts, notion of Hindu Muslim unity → made him a pan India figure even before he came to India.

— Gandhi's advent marked by speech @ BHU in 1916 — statement of fact and intent — Indian nationalism thus far an elite phenomenon of lawyers, doctors, landlords → more representative of Indian masses.

- ② Political goal - swaraj / self rule → never defined it (interpret. diff. by diff. ppl)
Inclusivism - unique style of politics
fully aware of Indian pluralism — did not alienate

work among Muslims, lower castes.

- ③ Methods - Concept of satyagraha / truth force and ahimsa / non violence inspired by Emerson, Thoreau, Tolstoy

Benefits → Bipin Chandra: ahimsa - high moral ground non violent methods → state would lose ground irrespective of whether it conceded or came down heavily

gave Gandhi immense manoeuvrability in terms of real politics

acceptable to business groups

Large part of masses could not have particip. if violent

Inclusion of women

∴ Doctrine of ahimsa — heart of unifying 'umbrella type' role assumed by Gandhi

Sumit Sarkar - dev. of methods used in SA

focused on strength organisational basis of movements, incl. tow. negotiations
↳ training of cadres ✓
↳ non viol. satyagr ✓
↳ peaceful violation of laws ✓
↳ counting arrests ✓

→ expanded social base, yet control remained

⑥ Social ideals — critical of modern industrial civilisation

As a response to modernisation, Gandhi argued for a return to traditional village economy model through use of khadi, village reconstruction and later Harijan welfare.
self reliance

⑥ Ascetic lifestyle — Simplicity

- choice of clothing — dhoti/ loincloth → relatability
- charkha — breaking boundaries btw mental and manual labour in trad. caste system

⑥ Use of religious idiom, Shrewd use of symbols

- Use of simple Hindustani is visually drawn from Tulsidas Jainism

Ramayana

Gandhi spoke for social reform within framework of religion

Ref. to religious morality; 'Ram rajya' — God's rule

- ✓ tried evolving Hinduism so that its followers could accept modern values. rather than history.

⑥ In a predominantly illiterate society, Gandhi's popularity was benefitted by the role of rumours → image of Gandhi as a holy and spiritual man with miraculous powers

Shahid Amin's study of Gorakhpur

before and after Gandhi's visit in 1921 — Idea of Mahatma reworked in popular imag leading to Gandhi's deification in minds of masses

- boons attributed power to bring
- seeking darshan Kaliyuga to an end
identified as Kalki

Champaran 1917 — 1st CDM.

Kheda 1918

Ahmedabad 1918 — 1st hunger strike

Rowlatt Saty 1919

Judith Brown — 'Gandhi's Rise to Power'

○ made possible by work among Muslims, low caste Hindus, commercial men — groups who found no place in Congress position because

- ⑥ Recruiting of 'subcontractors' — Rajendra Prasad, J.B. Kripalani, V. Patel — played vital roles in peasant & worker mobilisation

Ravinder Kumar — 'perceptive view of structure of society in India'

NON COOPERATION MOVEMENT

↳ Bando notes

- ag — Punjab wrong
- Khilafat wrong
- Swaraj → not defined

Stage 1: withdrawal from govt schools, surrender of titles, boycott of courts, reformed legis. councils

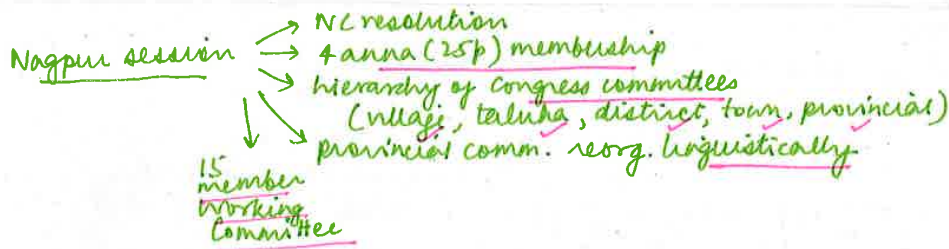
- Complement. by — boycott of British cloth
- founding on nat. edu. instt., arbitration courts
- popul. of khadi charkha

If no swaraj in 1 year — CDM, non payment of taxes

all India movement only asked for middle class particip.

funds — Tilak, Swaraj Fund

Jail Bhao.



- Boycott of schools and courts - Ltd. success
 - national edu movement slumped soon
 - only few imp. instit → Jamie Millie (Aligarh)
 - Kashi Vidyapeeth (Benaras)
 - confined to colleges
 - primary schools hardly affected
- Boycott of Council elections - Mahatma Nehru
CR Rao gave up practice
 ↳ Suce except Indic Party
- Elson boycott → success
 massive public bonfires
 Mainwari, Grij. merchant support (Lahore)
- Regional variations - Peasant org"

⊕ Lagore was hostile to educational boycott

~~_____~~

- Swrajists
- Simon Commission
- CDM — Bardoloi + Baliyan.

GANDHI ON WOMEN

Gandhi valorised women for their powers of endurance and self suffering, endurance spiritual and moral courage

↳ for him these 'feminine' qualit. had the strength to combat imperial power

- Idealized Mira and Sita - immense capacity for self suffering / sacrifice.
- Home as main sphere of activity
- Wives not properties of husbands

NCM

- new groups
- peasants
- 3/4 living prov. in S India
- Lower caste particip in Madras Mahar.
- tribal mov - Andhra & Bengal

→ Khadi 30-40% → Econ boycott - intense & successful
expensive exports of cloth &
large industrialists pro govt - Malhari, Gujarati
merchants pro nationalists
- Public boycott of foreign cloth.

Nagpur - inadequacy of national schools → National Edu - ~~set~~ confined to colleges, primary schools hardly affected
only few instit → Jamia Millia (Aligarh)
→ Kashi Vidyapeeth (Benares)

→ Arbitration courts became defunct.
→ Boycott of council elections - success except Madras
where Brahmins - non Brahmins conflict
- 1st time anti untouchability brought to forefront but remained secondary concern.

Particip

- Malhari, Gujarati merchants
- Peasants & working class particip more impressive than middle class particip.
- Green geog. spread - wide regional variation - involvement of members not involved in the past
- ⑧ → peasants in Raj, Sind, Guj, Awadh, Assam, Maharashtra
- tribal movements in Andhra delta & Bengal
- lower caste particip in Madras & Mah.
- 3/4 linguistic regions in South India.

Regional variations

- Mobilisation depended on local issues / personal influence of local leaders eg CR Das (Bengal)
- Punjab - Khali movement - Sikh leadership only selectively adopted NCM.
- Attempts to involve working class ran into problems due to dependence on capitalists - Chamarpur, Nagpur, Berar, Madras
- NCM most effective where peasants already org themselves
- eg - peasant militancy in Awadh (Baba Ramchandra)
- North Bihar - anti planker agit.
- Medinipur dist (Bengal) - Mahishya peasants
✓ Orissa - tradition of peasant melis - anti feudal demonstrators
✓ Khede - Patidar no revenue camp.
Internal dynamics of regions acted for success.
- NCM remained more under control of Congress leaders - & homogenous dominant peasant commu
holding sway over lower caste agri labour
eg Mahishya peasants (Bengal)
Patidar (Gujarat) not in Awadh, Odissa, Punjab.

- Tribas popu - local leaders org movement ag
localised grievances
eg Kumbar & Garkwad, Medhapur. ✓ Chidem Hills (Andhra)
- Alluri Sitarama
Raju.

- Masses often crossed limits of Gandhian non violence.

Shahid Amia - 'The Mahatma of his rustic protagonists was not as he really was - but as they had thought him up'

- easily crossed threshold of Gandhian ideals.

⇒ Gandhian mass movements contained within it various levels of consciousness unified by different visions of freedom.

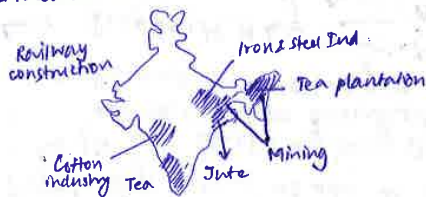
→ After official withdrawal - contin. in Beng. Behai,
Odisha.
✓ Khed - no revenue camp.
✓ UP - Eka movement.

Gradual death of Khilafat

- violent tendencies - Moplah uprising
- diff b/w Gandhi & Ali brothers in use of relig. rhetoric
- Last significance

ROLE OF THE WORKING CLASS / WORKING CLASS MOVEMENTS

Gradual industrialisation of India



→ creation of industrial working class

Vast increase in size of working class in late 19th, early 20th cen.

Other factors (Rural urban migration)

→ Overstretched agrarian economy

→ Lure of urban living

Nature of working class

- Rajnarayan Chandavarkar: maintained connections with villages
∴ migrant workers instead of dev. working class const. maintained cultural dual self → peasant + industrial worker

- Village ties operated in urban industrial settings

↳ spatial segregation - mohallas

↳ certain tasks - certain castes

↳ structured recruitment system

— use of sardars
— jobbers — mistris

working class remained differentiated and hierarchised.

no open recruitment

- Horizontally divided working class by religious and caste divisions

↳ used by employers to weaken industrial action

'community' consciousness
'class consciousness'

(*) eg Madras textile strike 1921

↳ Adi Dravidas (untouchables) used as strike breakers against caste Hindus and Muslims

• Limited growth of trade unionism

(*) Bipesh Chakrabarty -

'paradox of working class history'

↳ concept of trade union as a bourgeois-democratic organisation alien to the cultural space of Indian workers.

YET - Bipesh Chakrabarty:

✓ - perfectly aware of poverty

✓ - conscious of power relations in factory

✓ - dissatisfied about subordination in jobs

went to move beyond idea of western 'class consciousness'

- Use of informal community ties, rel. instab. like mosque, gurdwara — forge inter communal class solidarities

- Usual mode of response - 'disaggregated resistance' — wildcat and absenteeism
- Landlord-state combination

- a few pro labour legis - Bengal Factory Acts 1881, 1911 regulating employment, working hrs → but regularly flouted
- Representation to labour in legislative councils - Act of 1919
- ✓ BUT POST 1928 general textile strike → HOSTILITY tow. trade unions, working class activism
- Anti labour legis 1934, 1938, 46
- Use of police - handy tool to break strikes, ensure labour discipline
- ∴ Chandavarkar - employer-state collusion
- contained growth of trade unionism.

① 19th century

- Strikes → textile mills: Bombay, Calcutta, Ahmedabad, Surat etc
- Railways
- Plantations
- 1890s - Calcutta jute mills - workplace discipline, denial of holidays on religious festivals
- SPORADIC, SPONTANEOUS, UNORG REVOLTS BASED ON IMMEDIATE ECONOMIC GRIEVANCES

- Bengal - Lalipada Banerjee - monthly journal Bharat Samajeebi (Indian Labour)
- support by philanthrop. Bombay - N.M. Lokhanday Anglo Marathi weekly Surabandhu
- ∴ but no beg. of organised working class movement

- Mauritian nationalist movement indifferent to question of labour
- Infant anti-imperialist movement - did not want to create divisions with ranks of the Indian people
- Saw govt legislation on labour as guided by British many interests to reduce Indian competitive edge
- Early nationalists - Rapid indist. as parable for prob of Indian poverty
- ∴ most nationalist newspapers actively opposed Factories Act of 1881 and 1891
- did not support strikes

- Diff attitude for British owned enterprises eg tea plantation workers in Assam

- ✓ 1899 - Signaller's strike in Great Indian Peninsula (GIP) Railway
- 1st org. strike by any sec. of working class occurred in a British owned & mgt railway.
- ↳ supported by → Tilak - Kesari, Maharashtra
- ↳ Manzeshwar Mehta
- ↳ D.E. Wacha
- ↳ Surendharath Tagore

② Early 20th century / Swadeshi movement

- Growth of working class
 - Support of nationalist intelligentsia
 - B.C. Pal
 - G. Subramaniam Iyer
 - C.R. Das

need for legislation to protect workers ag. powerful capitalists
 - Swadeshi upsurge 1903-08
 - ↑ in no. of strikes
 - Rise of Swadeshi leaders - org. trade unions, strikes fund collection
 - eg: Ashwini Kumar ~~banerjee~~ Banerjee
 - greatest success in govt press, railways, jute industry (greater role of foreign capital / colonial state)
 - Working class strikes in Bengal
 - Tuticori - Subramaniam Iyer
 - Rawalpindi - Railway engg workers etc.
- FEATURES**
- Rise of the 'professional agitator'
 - 'Power of organisation' of labour into industrial strikes
 - Shift from agitations on purely econ. questions → Involvement of worker with wider pol. issues of the day.

③ 1919-21

Bardhaman - Waiting decline in real wages leading to strikes eg. Ahmedabad textile strike 1918, Bombay textile strike 1919.

↳ Spontaneous movement with no centralised leadership, no coordination among workers, no programme, no org. 'WORKING CLASS JACQUERIE'

Bipin Chandra - Involvement of working class in mainstream nationalist politics

- Creation of national level org by working class
 - ALL INDIA TRADE UNION CONGRESS 1920 - Lok. Tilak
 - ↳ Pres - Lala Lajpat Rai
 - ↳ Gen Sec - Dewan Chaman Lal
 - ⇒ Other names also — C.R. Das, V.K. Nehru, Sarayamurti, Subhash Bose

Role of INC

- INC - Gaya session 1922 welcomed formation of AITUC, formed a committee consisting of prominent Congressmen to assist its work

- Apr 1919 - Post Gandhiji's arrest — strikes, agitations, demands. Ahmedabad
- All India general strike given by NW Railway workers in Apr 19
- 1921 Prince of Wales: Bombay — textile workers responded to Congress call of countrywide general strike.

④ 1919 Amritsar session - resol. urging prov. commit to 'promote labour unions throughout India' - but could afford to be articulate only where Euro. capitalists were involved — railways, jute mills, tea gardens (PTD-pink)

Gandhi → aversion to AITUC

1918 - Founding of ATLA (Ahmed. Textile Labour Assn) by Gandhiji

Majdoor
Mahajan Sangh

could it afford
all out class war

based on principle of
trusteeship (capitalist
being trustee of workers'
interest) & arbitration

Though Cong socialists
showed greater symp.
compulsion to
remain umbrella
org.

reality: Congress not
a labour org. but a
large body comprising
all manner of people.

• Public Safety Bill
Indes Disputes Bill
passed without any
Congress opposition

Workers asked to sacrifice present day needs for future of the
nation, workers' unresolved grievances to be met once
Swaraj attained

Some Congress leaders did particip - Gandhiji - Ahm 1918
S.C. Bose - Jamshedpur 28-29

But all to Bombay - did so as individuals, often to
increase popu. as nationalist leaders

Despite organisational apathy from INC, working class
participated overwhelmingly in nationalist movement
- integrated nationalist agitation into own

struggles
(NCM) → Ahmedabad
(NW Railways
Assam Bengal
Madras Railway strike
Cellon Mills

1918-21 → 80% strikes
through workers'
initiative

④ Late 1920s

Consolidation of various Left ideological trends -
Impact on national movement.

By early 1927 - Org of Workers' and Peasants' Parties (WPP)
→ pred as left wing within the Congress

Leadership
• S.A. Dange
• Muzaffar Ahmed
• P.C. Joshi
• Sohan Singh Josh

✓ Bombay 1928 - Historic 6 month long general strike by
textile workers
- Communist led Girni Kamgar Union

By end of 1928 - govt: 'hardly a single public utility
service or industry which had not been
affected in whole or in part, by the wave of
communism which swept the country.'

1927 - AITUC - decision to boycott Simon Commission.

GOVT
RESPONSE

- Public Safety Act - to arrest individuals & prevent changes
- Trade Disputes Act - declared unlawful secondary action and any strike where purpose was to coerce the govt. of the day
- arresting entire radical leadership
- Meerut Conspiracy Case
- Concessions - eg Royal Commission on Labour 1929.

End of 1928 - ^{Comm.} Reversed policy of aligning themselves w mainstream national movement

↳ Isolation of Communists from national movement + Reduced hold over working class

Withdrew from CDM

(But)

Participation by

Bombay CDM slogan - 'workers & peasants are the hands & feet of the Congress'

- ✓ textile workers of Chelapuri ^{govt offices, law courts, police stations, railway stns were attacked, rebels took over city admin for some days}
- ✓ dock labourers of Karachi
- ✓ transport, mill owners of Calcutta
- ✓ mill workers of Madras
- ✓ strikes in GIP railway in 1930.
(batches of workers prostrated themselves on the tracks with red flags posted in front of them)

- Dip in working class movement 1931-36

- Did not take an active part - CDM - 1932-34

(5) 1937-39

✓
No. and membership of unions ↑

- Communists re-entered mainstream nationalist politics, rejoined AITUC (1935)
- Communists, Congress socialists, Left nationalists led by Nehru, Bose - powerful Left consolidation within Cong.
- Congress provincial govt - election manifests: promises for labour welfare prog. ∴ expectations
 - increased civil liberties
 - pro labour attitude of ministers

Nazi attack on SU in 1941: Communists withdrew from Quit India movement

QUIT INDIA

- Strikes and hartals all over country -

- Tata Steel plant

- Ahmedabad

Workers in Delhi, Lucknow, Kanpur, Bombay, Nagpur, Ahmedabad, Madras

Yet worker particip low in areas w Commu. influence

1945-47 - Resurgence

pent up econ. grievances during war + prob. due to post-war demobilisation

- Asso w INA trials
- Bombay & Cal dockworkers
- Mutiny of naval ratings 1946
- All India strike of Post & Telegraph dept.

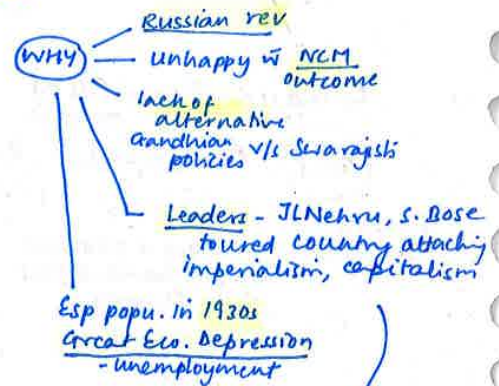
LEFT WING

A powerful left wing group dev. in India - late 1920s-30s → Radicalization of the national movement
goal of political independence acquired a clearer and sharper social and economic content

PUNJAB - Ghulam Hussain 'Inquilab'
BOMBAY - S.A. Dange 'Grandhi's Lenin', 'The Socialist'
BENGAL - Muzaffar Ahmed - Navayug, Langal (w/ Nazim Islam)
MADRAS - M. Singaravelu Labour Kisan Gazette

2 imp parties - CPI
- CSP

- Student, youth org all over country from 1927 onw
- Revolutionary terror. led by C. Arad and Bhagat Singh
- Trade union & peasant movements - 1920s



Nehru: Political freedom would be meaningful only if it led to the economic emancipation of the masses, ∴ had to be followed by estb. of a socialist society

CPI

M.N. Roy - helped evolve Communist Intl's policy towards the colonies

Oct 1920, Tashkent - formation of CPI

Main work - org peasants & workers parties, work through them
WPPs (UP, Raj, Pith) Dec 1923 - KANPUR All India org

Objective - work within the Congress - indepen org peas & workers in class org
to give it more radical orientation - adhere indepen then full socialism

Repression

- (1924) KANPUR Bolshenik Conspiracy Case - SA Dange, Muzaffar Ahmed, Nalini Gupta, Shaukat Usmani
- (1929) MCCRUT Conspiracy Case - 32 activists incl 3 Brit Commu. arrested

Nature of nat. movement

Guided by resolutions of Sixth Congress of Commu. Intl, Communists broke connection with NC - declared it as class party of the bourgeoisie → of Grandhi turnipact

- slogan of armed struggle ag. imperialism
- Isolation from national movement
- ~~CPI~~ declared illegal. Splitting of Commu ranks.

1934 - CPI declared illegal

1935 - CPI reorg. under leadership of P.C. Joshi

1939 - 'the greatest struggle today is our national struggle' of which Congress was the 'main organ'.

CSP

Young Congressmen disenchanted w/ Gandhian strategy. Leadership - attracted by socialist ideology.

not in agreement w/ prevalent pol. line of CPI

Oct 1934 → Formation of CSP - J.P. Narayan, Acharya Narendra Dev, Minoo Masani

- Primary struggle - national struggle
- national then soc. step this. socialism
- suicidal to cut off from national movement
- socialist direction to Cong

At the time no alternative to Grandhi's leadership

PRO LABOUR PRO PEASANT STAND

organise workers and peasants

Aim: wear anti-imperialist leadership → revolutionary socialism
Bilt fairly grounded in the reality of India.

3 ideol. currents
• Marxian
• Fabian
• Influenced by Grandhi

OTHERS • Subhash Bose - Forward Bloc 1939

• HSRA, Revolutionary Socialist Party, various Trotskyist groups also functioned during 1930s

• Left wing indiv - Swami Sahajanand Saraswati, NG Ranga, Indulal Lagnik — worked outside framework of any org. Left wing party

LEFT - failed to estb hegemony of socialist ideas & parties over national movement

WHY?

- failed to show ideological, tactical flexibility
- fought with Congress on wrong issues (seen as compromise with imperialism)
- failed to make deep study of Indian reality eg armed struggle - rather than concern of nature of mass involvement & mobil. & ideology.
- Ideolog. factionalism (failed to grasp Gandhian strategy of struggle.)

IMPACT

• Able to command influence over ~ 1/3 votes in All India Congress Committee on imp. issues

• Nehru, Bose - Cong Prez from 1936 - 39

• Politically, ideologically - Congress given a strong Left orientation

Accepted that poverty, misery also result of internal socio-econ structure of Indian society - need to transform

— Fundamental Rights & Econ Policy passed by Karachi session of Cong - 1931

— Resolutions on econ. policy — Faizpur session 1936

— Election Manifesto of Congress 1936

— National Planning Committee 1938

• All India Women's Conference

• Foundation of All India Students' Federation
Progressive Writers' Association.

• JLN, SC Bose - toured the country attacking imperialism, capitalism, landlordism

• JLN Prez 1936, 37; SC Bose - 38, 39

• 1921 - Nehru dev an interest in the peasant movement.

• 1927 - attended the Int. Congress ag. colonial oppression & imperialism @ Brussels - in contact w/ comm & anticolonial fighters - all over the world

• 1928 Nehru + Bose - Independence for India League for complete independence & 'a socialist revision of eco. structure of society.'

• Complex relationship w/ Gandhi - criticised Gandhi for refusing to recognise the conflict of the classes - preaching harmony among exploiters & exploited - trusteeship

• Left not @ loggerheads w/ Congress; put the centre to the left

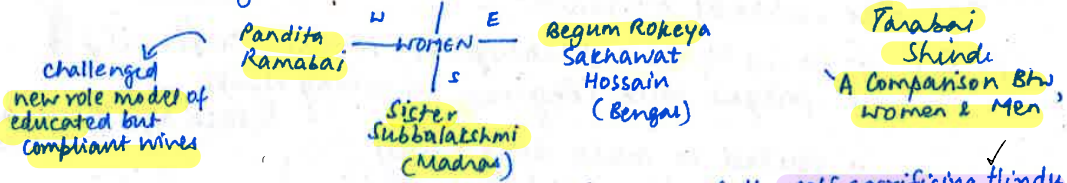
• did not favour creation of an org. inden of Cong.

WOMEN

gendered colonial discourse
'colonial masculinity' vs 'effeminate' Indians

'Women's question' used by Western observers to construct a 'civilisational critique' of India
Indian male reformers — treated women as subjects of their modernising project

19th century Movement for female education



New concept of womanhood — fine blending of the self-sacrificing Hindu wife + Victorian helpmate
educated bhadramahila — ideal companion to enlightened Hindu bhadralok

Resalind O'Hanlon
broad degree of consensus b/w colonial state and nationalist male elites.

∴ education confined women to idealised domestic roles as good wives, better mothers.

Nationalism

women perceived as protector and nurturer of the spiritual essence of Indian national identity

Nationalist imagining of country as 'motherland' opposed to fatherland in Europe initiated in 1875 (Bankim C. Chatterjee wrote Vande Mataram (Hail Mother))

Abanindranath Tagore's painting of Bharat Mata → mother goddess offering protection and prosperity

Jasodhara Bagchi: Ideology of motherhood by creating a myth about her strength and power took away from women their 'real power'

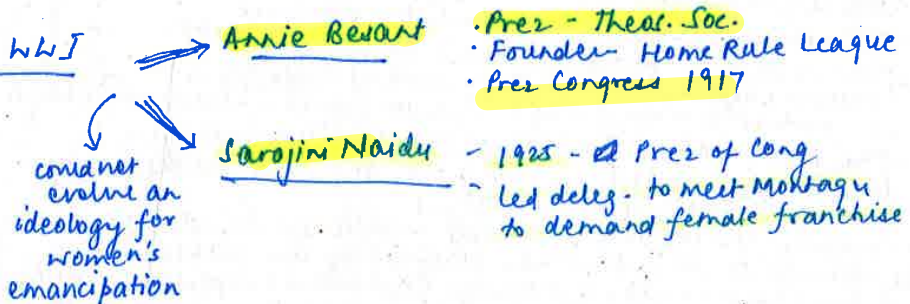
SWADESHI

↳ whatever participation women had, it was within this accepted gender ideology that prescribed home as the rightful arena of activities for women.

'crushing of glass bangles'
exceptions - Sarala Devi Chaudhurani ✓

- DOMESTICATION OF THE PUBLIC SPHERE
- POLITICIZATION OF THE DOMESTIC SPHERE

Post WWI



Appeal
Insistence on non-violence did not breach accepted norms of feminine behaviour.

GANDHI

Shifted focus from motherhood → sisterhood
negating women's sexuality

- Couched in religious metaphors

Sita - Damayanti - Draupadi → role models capable of making supreme sacrifice for welfare of family, society, state

- Men & women equal but had diff. roles to play
- Accepted 'natural division of labour' → look after hearth & home
- Women's biol. weakness but turned that 'weakness' into power by glorifying strength of soul
- Redefined pol. participation by creating space for politics in home

But 1921 Initially prescribed limited role → boycott & shradhhi
 'Once mobilized women moved on their own'

• Women claimed for themselves a greater active role.
 eg Basanti Devi, Urmila Devi, Suriti Devi } counted arrest

• Bi Amman
 Gremoval g purdah
 (Khalifat)

CDM - massive involvement

Kasturba Gandhi led 37 women volun from Sabarmati Ashram
 most org. in Bombay, most militant in Bengal, limited in Madras.

- Women's particip remained an urban phenomenon.

- Politicisation failed to promote social emancipation

Why? Tanika Sahas → Congress except for allowing symbolic presence, not interested in women's issues, not involving in decision making

Sarala Devi Chaudhurani - 'Congress wanted them to be law breakers only & not law makers'

Women's org - early 20th cen

1917 Madras: Women's Indian Association

Margaret Cousins
 Annie Besant

1925 National Council of Women in India - Lady Mehribai Tata

1927 All India Women's Conference

↳ Initially non pol body for women edu eventually got involved in nationalist pol → lobbied for women's rights.

- Sarala Devi Chaudhurani - Bharat Stree Mahamandal

- Bengal - Bangiya Nari Samaj
All Bengal Women's Union

Methods: • petitioning govt.
 • appealing to nationalists for support

Legis

- 1919 Mont-Chelm. — left undecided of women's franchise
- Prov. leg 1921-30 - granted voting right to women
- 1935 GoI Act - Increased ratio of female voters to 1:5 & gave women reserved seats in legislatures.

- Female activism visible most significantly in Quit India movement of 1942. (Front ranking male leaders put in prison)
- Sucheta Kripalani coordin. non violent resistance
- Aruna Asaf Ali - leadership to underground revolutionary activities.
- Engagement of rural women — esp lifting of col bar.
- girls wing of All India Students Federation
- 1942 Mahila Atmaksha Samiti / Women's Self Def. League (leftist women leaders in Bengal)
- Tebhaga → formed 'Nari Bahinis' / women's brigades — own initiative

resisted col. police with ltd. weapons

- few of them took up guns, became participating members of the dalamas (revolutionary units)

Yet not treated as equals even by commu. leaders
preferred only supportive and secondary roles for women.

BOSE 1928 - women's volunteer Corps under Lata Ghosh.
• 1943 INA - women's regiment: Rang Thani regiments

• Muslim League 1938 Women's sub committee to involve Muslim women

1940s → Indian women across class, caste, rel. barriers claimed agency in particip in anti imperialist & democr. mov.

Kumari Jayawardena: did not use occasion to raise issues that affected them as women.
goals subordinated to those of national liberation.

REVOLUTIONARY TERRORISM

Indiv. attacks ag. British officials, Indian collaborators

1902 onwards - formation of groups

Midnapur Society, gymnasium by Sarala Ghosal, Atmonnati Samiti, Anushilan Samiti

1906: Dacca Anushilan Samiti (Pulin Behari Das)
Revolutionary Weekly - Jugantar.

Distinct grp within Calcutta Anushilan Samiti - Barindra Kr. Ghosh, Hemachandra Qanungo, Prafulla Chaki [Maniktala group]

(Abortive attempt 1908
on Mag. Kingsford. (Muzaffarpur Consp.)

In terms of direct gains - achieved v. little - most attempts failed
BUT - fired imagination of entire Bengali pop.

Phase 1 : Popularity of extremism, French, Irish revolutions, WW I

Bombay : ¹⁸⁹⁷ Chapekar brothers, V.D. Savarkar's Mitra Mela 1899 →
1909 Nasik conspiracy case : Anant Kanhere's (Abhinav Bharat) execution of Jackson, Nasik's magistrate 1904

Bengal 'Anushilan Samiti' founded by Pramod Mitter
Barindra Kumar pub. 'Bharani Mandal', Vartaman, Jugantar

Alipore Conspiracy Case - Khudiram Bose & Prafulla Chaki 1908

- Hindu-German Conspiracy Case / - Bagna Latin 1915
Zimmerman plan

- Delhi Conspiracy Case - Rashbehari Bose's attempt on Lord Hardinge. 1912

Madras Bharat Mata Samiti - Vanchi Iyer
N. Brahm

Punjab : mostly Ghadar party influence
Ghadar Party 1913 - San Francisco
Lala Hardayal is Sohan Singh Bakh.
as Prez.

Phase II

- ① Hindustan Republican Association - Sachindranath Sanyal, Ramprasad Bismil (1924) (wrote 'Bandi Jivan') , J.C. Chatterjee, Ramprasad Bismil
 - Objectives i) arouse consciousness about futility of Gandhian methods
 - ii) need & desirability of Direct Action / Revolution
 - iii) Substitute British imperialism by United States of India
- ② Hindustan Socialist Republican Asso (HSRA) by Chandra Sekhar Azad (1928) - Killed Saunders to avenge death of Lala Lajpat Rai
- ③ Kakori Conspiracy Case - looting of treasury on train from Lucknow: Ashfaqullah, Bismil, Rajendra Lahiri & Roshan Singh executed 1927.
- ④ Lahore Consp case - execution of Bhagat Singh, Sukhdev - Rajguru after police raided HSRA's bomb factory at Lahore. Singh & Babu Keshwan Dutt had thrown bombs in Central Leg. Assem.
- ⑤ Chittagong Armoury raid : Surya Sen in 1930. killed in 1934
Shanti Ghosh & Suniti Chaudhury killed Stevens, magistrate of Comilla
Bina Das killed gov. of Bengal in University Convocation Prog.

Limitations

1. Lack of mass movement
2. No organised leadership
3. Violence as a means could be suppressed by British superior weapons.
4. Gandhi's mass movement politics
5. Lack of long term strategy
6. Veil of secrecy was hazardous
7. Sometimes innocent citizens were harmed
eg one passenger died on Kakori train
8. Lacked political party support.

whether freedom was seized by Indians or power was transferred voluntarily by the British as an 'act of positive statesmanship' decision based on 'ungovernability' of India and a consistent policy of deprivation of power.
↳ Eco Hindu muslim divide

- WW II → Need for Indian support
- → Baring
- → Atlantic Charter
- British post. → RO Moore
- → Labour victory.
- Eco relations → Hindu - Muslim
- → change.
- → August
- → Cripps.
- → Urgency /
- → Consistent policy
- → of power div.

March 1944

- Both Congress and ML should work together for attainment of indepen. from British rule.
- Issue of partition → after indepen by holding plebiscite in Muslim areas.
- Even in case of partition → coop. on essential matters = defence / foreign affairs / currency communication

Bhulabhai
Dessai

- Should work together for indepen.
- Cong & ML → equal places in interim govt.

- Simla Conference Aug 1945
- Exec Council to work as interim govt.
↳ all Indian except Naidu, Comm in Chief
- Caste Hindus and Muslims to have equal places in interim govt.
- Constituent assem to be formed by using Cripps plan formula.
- insisted all Muslim members of interim govt. to be members of ML.
- The failure of Simla Conference gave neto power to ML to block any talk for constitutional advancement if not in their interest.

Cabinet Mission Plan

- Single Indian Union demand for Pakistan rejected → impractical
- 3 groups
 - Group (A) - NWFP, CP, Bihar, Orissa, Bombay, Madras
 - Group (B) - NWFP, Punjab & Sind
 - Group (C) - Bengal & Assam.
- ↳ 2 or more groups could come together → could decide what matters they wanted to take up in common.
- Central govt. → control over defence, communication, foreign affairs, currency.
- C.A. → proportional represen - prov. legis. councils
Native states → nominated by ruling prince
- Congress believed grouping was voluntary, ML → compulsory.

MOUNTBATTEN PLAN

PARTITION : REASONS / HISTORIOGRAPHY

- ① Pakistani historians - liberatory experience
Logical culmination of long historical process - stalled in 19th cen - IAK.
(Akbar Ahmed - 'claiming a separate history')

- ② Role of Jinnah's Two Nation Theory and the Muslim League
(Focus on high politics)
- Anita Indar Singh, R.T. Moore, Ian Barker, Mushir Hasan, Sucheta Mahajan

Mushir Hasan
2 nation idea
based on
mistaken belief
of Muslim
unanimity

- Institutionalisation of Muslim politics at a national level - Jinnah emerging as ~~authoritative~~ leader.
authoritative
- Lahore Resolution 1940 → Stanley Wapent - 14 officials
(pronouncement for Partition)
demand for separate Muslim nation/indep. state
- Anita Indar Singh - Jinnah outmanoeuvred a war weary British & Congress led by 'hard men' to successfully accomp. goal of partitioning India
→ 1946 elections - presented as plebiscite for Pak by ML

Revisionist view: AYESHA JALAL

- Lahore Resolution - mentioned neither Partition nor Pak was Jinnah's 'bargaining counter' - wanted near federal structure w/ strong autonomy for provinces
- ML rejected Royaji's plan of Pak - Muslim majority areas as 'maimed, mutilated, moth eaten Pak' - did not deal w/ Muslims in minority areas.
- Cabinet Mission Plan - rejected Partition, Pak yet accepted by League.

- ③ Sunil Sarkar — Jinnah after mobilisation couldn't control the demand

- ④ Role of Congress
- Commitment to strong Centre if pitted against unity
 - Bipin Chandra - partition caused by naivety of Congress (left) Muslim Communalism brought by Congress failure to accommodate them
 - Failure to challenge ML w/ uncomprom. brand of secular politics
 - William Gould : Congress party in UP dominated by Hindu Nationalist - provoked Muslim partitioning
 - Ziaud - Indians of rising growth needed mass movement, accepted temporary abandonment of an early transfer of power. w/ partition as necessary price.

- ⑤ Role of British - of transfer plan - gave net to ML - Hindu and Muslim dev. Pak as wartime ally.

- ⑥ Role of Ulama - esp. Deobandi Ulama in conceptualising 'New Medina' - Islamist Utopia - verbal Shulipala

Inevitability of Pak / Unity of Purpose.

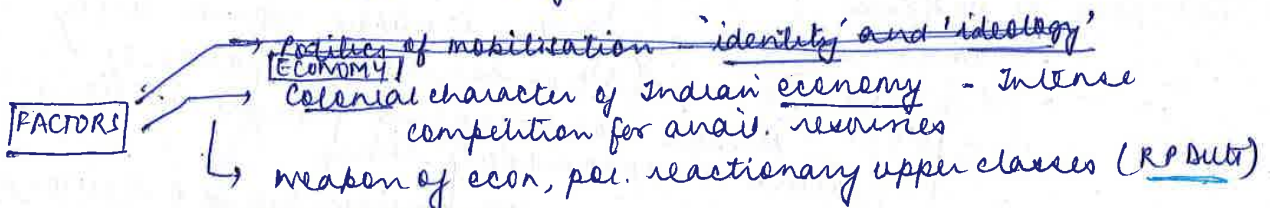
- Even ML - as faction ridden and ideologically fragmented as Congress
- Pakistan remained a vague idea till long not mentioned in Lahore Res.
- Liaquat Ali Khan - Pakistan understood by most Muslims as a 'transcendental symbol of Muslim solidarity' rather than a territorial nation state located in any specific part of India.
- Cyan Pandey - no clear idea about what goal meant 'emotional slogan'
- ML had become 'everything to everybody'

- Pak historians
- ML, Jinnah → Lahore Res
- Venkat Shrivastava → 2 nation theory
- PUT - Musharraf Hasan
- Arzoo Zafar
- Vagueness of idea

- ① Subaltern historians
 Cyan Pandey - ag. conventional elitist history
 Partha Chatterjee - focus on consequences and experiences rather than causes.

COMMUNALISM

- ~~Bandopadhyay~~
- Bandopadhyay → CH 5 - Hindu Revivalism & Politics
- Muslim politics & Foundation of ML
- Read com essay/answer
- ⑦ - Muslim alienation



ROLE OF BRITISH

- Policy of 'Divide & Rule' - separate electorates
- Highly distorted & perverted reading of history by James Mill & colonialists
- Census

IDEOLOGICAL

- Politics of mobilisation - 'identity' & 'ideology'
- Role played by reform & revival - Arya Samaj, Wahab
- Distortion of conflict - Moplah peasantry side from Khilafat movement
- Pronounced Hindu influence with subsequent Muslim alienation
- Politics of language → Hindi vs Urdu

POLITICAL REACTIONS TO ABOVE FACTORS.

- Swadeshi
- SAK
- Lucknow Pact
- Jinnah 14 pt.

David Gilman - col. pol.

Sandra Freitag - symbol.

Gyan Pandey
1920s - Congress
secular

CONSOLIDATION AS A NATION (Grewal 79/82)

- Too diverse $\rightarrow \therefore$ democracy $\rightarrow$ unity in diversity as a concept as unifier
- Constitutional structure - basic framework within which struggle ag. divisive forces carried on.
- Parliament - great unifier
- Congress leadership - 'rainbow coalition' - accommodative politics
- Indian army, admin services - all India in character & sentiment common training, allegiance to Central govt.
- Integrated economy, national market, transport & commerce.
- Planning Commission - estb. of industries, plants based on equity licence quota sys.
- Secularism as core value
- India's foreign policy - unifier of region $\rightarrow$ anti colonialism and non alignment
- Reservation of SC
- Landlordism abolished, land redistributed.



- Dipesh Chakrabarty - process of transference and adaptation from colonial ^{pd.}
a process of hybridisation through which the meanings of freedom would be expanded.
- Sri Gupta Ray - 'continuity yet change' process.
dialogic process b/w the colonial past & post colonial present

NEHRU'S FOREIGN POLICY

Anti fascism

Anti racism

Anti colonialism

Non alignment

Pan Asianism

Panchsheel

Idealism

+

Pragmatism

principles, internationalism,
socialism, universalist approach,
non partisanship

Nuclear prog, dev. of industry,
econ policy, self sufficiency,
dams, energy

SUCCESSES : NAM, Asia Africa Conference, Third world Leadership, 1960 Indus W. Treaty

FAILURES : Kashmir @ UN, 1962: Indo China War, Domestic communists, Pakistan (UNCIP-Dixon Plan)

LANGUAGE PROBLEM

i) Dispute over official lang (Prov. in Const - Art 351, 120, 210, 343 etc)

ii) Linguistic reorg of states.

Read self study

SUPPORT OF HINDI

- * Accepted by most leaders from ^{even} non Hindi regions as the most widely understood and spoken lang.
- * 1925 - Cong. amended Const. to hold proceedings in Hindi
- * Nehru Report (1928) - Hindustani will be common lang. of India
- * Gandhi : "Crores of men should learn foreign tongue for the convenience of a few hundreds of officials is the height of absurdity"

Hind Swaraj

considered Hindustani → a correct mixture of Hindi and Urdu to be the national lang
'Hindi, Hindustani, Urdu' → different names for the same speech

Post Indep - demand for 'Sanskritised Hindi' as national lang.

'National Lang'

Hindi - mother tongue of 40% ppl

→ 2 camps → Hindi - Tandon,

Ravi Shankar Shukla, KM Munshi
Hindustani JL Nehru, Azad

Cong Legis Hindi v/s Hindustani 78 v/s 77 votes

* Zeal, enthusiasm of enforcing Hindi → provoked counter movement

* Sanskritisation of news bulletins on AIR

Official Lang Commission 1956

Mar 1958

C Rajagopalachari
ex. P. of Hindi Pracharini Sabha in South - Hindi as much alien to non Hindi as Eng to Hindi sp

* Purush Das Tandon - accused JPL → pro English

Lohia Socialist P + Jan Sangh - movem for immed. replacement

Hindi to be official lang ^{after 15 yrs},
until then only 'language of the Union',
Act - Hindi to be official lang from 1965 but, Eng as 'associate addⁿ official lang'

Bilingual soln (Eng-Hin) for official commu. b/w centre & states
- multilingual concession by recog. regional lang. in prov. admin & public service exams.

constitutional formula / compromise
shaped official language policy of Republic of India.

Part XVII of Indian Const.
Hindi - offi lang, for 15 yrs - Eng also.
did not mention National lang.

Intl. form of numerals.
Lang Commission after 5 yrs. → recom. ways to promote Hindi, phase out Eng (344)
offi Commun. (345)

NEHRU'S FOREIGN POLICY

Anti fascism

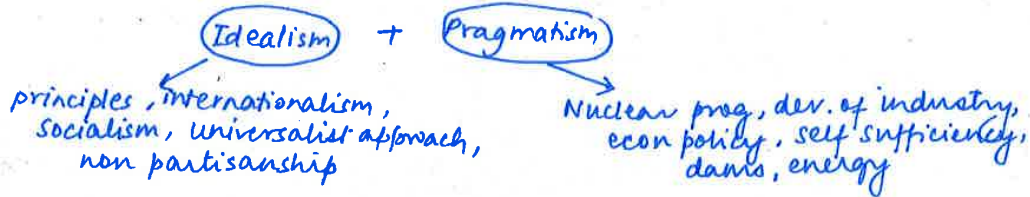
Anti racism

Anti colonialism

Non alignment

Pan Asianism

Panchsheel



SUCCESSES : NAM, Asia Africa Conference, Third world Leadership, 1960 Indus W. Treaty

FAILURES : Kashmir @ UN, 1962: Indo China War, Domestic communists, Pakistan (UNCIP-Dixon Plan)

LANGUAGE PROBLEM

- i) Dispute over official lang (Prov. in Const - Art 351, 120, 210, 343 etc)
- ii) Linguistic reorg of states.

Read Self Study

SUPPORT OF HINDI

- * Accepted by most leaders from ^{even} non Hindi regions as the most widely understood and spoken lang.
- * 1925 - Cong. amended Const. to hold proceedings in Hindi
- * Nehru Report (1928) - Hindustani will be common lang. of India
- * Gandhi : 'Crores of men should learn foreign tongue for the convenience of a few hundreds of officials is the height of absurdity'
considered Hindustani → a correct mixture of Hindi and Urdu to be the national lang.
'Hindi, Hindustani, Urdu' → different names for the same speech
- Post Indep - demand for 'Sanskritised Hindi' as national lang.
Ultimately Const. assembly - Hindi to be official lang ~~after 15 yrs.~~,
until then only 'language of the Union'

1963 Official Languages Act - Hindi to be official lang from 1965 but, Eng as 'associate addⁿ official lang'

1967 OL (Am.) Act - Bilingual soln (Eng-Hin) for official commu. b/w Centre & States
- multilingual concession by recog. regional lang. in prov. admin & public service exams.

K.M. Munshi
Gopalaswami Ayyangar

Munshi Ayyangar formula → constitutional formula / compromise

→ shaped official language policy of Republic of India.

Eng ~~to be~~ to be off lang till 1965

- Part XVII of Indian Const.
- Hindi - off lang, for 15 yrs - Eng also.
- did not mention National lang.
- Int'l. form of numerals.
- Lang Commission after 5 yrs. → recom. ways to promote Hindi, phase out Eng (344)
- off. Commun. (345)

27th June 1947 - Sardar Patel assumed additional charge of newly created States dept. with V.P. Menon as its secretary.

→ made no threats
→ emphasised unity of India, common interests of princes and independent India, reassured them about common intentions, invited them to join independent India - "to make laws setting together as friends rather than to make treaties as aliens".

① Standstill Agreement - agreements & administrative practices that existed as between princely states & British. → continued

② Instr. of Accession

→ common interests → foreign relations, defense, communications.

→ Also gave them impression - if they did not accept terms - would subseq post Aug 15 have to accede on less favourable terms

CARROT

→ spirit of nationalism
→ promised protection of trad. rights
→ autonomy on internal matters
→ assured prov. of new Constt won't apply to them.
→ offered privy purses, reversion of personal property & titles, inducement of Governorship as 'Rajapramukh'
→ cmph → w/o integration → economy collapse → anarchy.

STICK

• threat of popular protest
• encouraged Raja Mandals - agitation for accession to India - Manipal, Mysore, Kathiawar, Orissa.
• cut off critical supplies & comm → Suragadh.
• use of military occupation → Surag.
• use of police action (Op. Polo → Hyd)

Growth of Salis consciousness

- New system of edu.
- New pol & econ. forces → indiv. liberty, equity, demo. spirit.
- Reaction ag. social, cultural, econ. exclusiveness, exploitation.
- British policy → divide & rule
→ role of census
- Western philosophies - equality
- Improved commu. network.
- Commercialisation of agri production & agrarian relations
- Social reform movements
- Const. provisions.

Movements

- Bhakti cult - Ramakrishna, Ramakrishna, Dasu, Tukaram.

- Jyotirao Phule (1827-90)
→ 1st leader of Salis - Jyashodhak Samaj
- Chhatrapati Shahuji
→ founder of reservation, 1st person to make prov. for reserv.
- Narayan Guru (Erthana) - SNDP Yogam.
→ One religion, one caste, one God for mankind
→ built temples open for all castes
- Rameswami Naicker - leader of Justice Party - Dravidian movement.
→ crusade for social equality, fought ag. untouchability
- Jagjivan Ram
→ 1937 org. agri labourers @ Gopalganj in Bihar to fight for their right to move from one place to another for higher wages.
→ founder Pres of Salis Varga Sangh → biggest org. of Salis in India
→ Labour minister → Labour Act → minimum wages.
→ All India Backward Classes Federation
- Gandhiji - Harijan Sevak Sangh 1932

→ Ambedkar

1920 - Marathi fortnightly - Mooknayak

1924 - Bahiskrit Hirkarari Sabhe

1927 - Bahiskrit Bharat Weekly

1930 - 'Janta'

1927 - Samaj Samta Sang.

↳ preaching social eq. among untouch.
(over caste dinner, marriage)
('Samta' - paper.

1927 - Mahad Satyagrah

1930 - Nashik - Temple entry - Kalaram.

↳ representative in RTCs

1936 - Independent Labour Party

- Scheduled Caste Federation

Dalit Buddhist movement (Neo Buddhist) - socio-pol.

movement by Dalit → 'Navayana' new sect

↳ socially & pol. engaged form of Buddhism

→ Dalit Panthers 1970s - Maharashtra

insp. by Black Panther party (socialist mov to
combat racial
discrim. of African
Americans) - USA

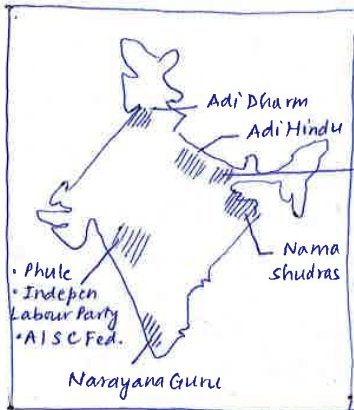
→ Kanshi Ram SC/ST/OBC & min.
Employees Welfare Assn. (1971)

✓ 1981 - Dalit Sheshir Samaj Sangharsh Samiti

✓ 1984 - BSP.

→ Dalit Ashmita Yatra → Ahmedabad → Una
for justice & not revenge.

CASTE POLITICS AND DALIT MOVEMENTS (POST INDEPEN)



20th century

Legal backing

- ① Constitution - political rights to all
 - Art 14, 15
 - Art 17 - untouchability
- ② 1955 Untouchability (Offences) Act
- ③ 1976 Protection of Civil Rights (Amendment) Act
 - enhanced & stringent pun.
 - special courts.
- ④ Reservation policy.

Dalit Org / movements

- ① Republican Party (1957) - won few seats in Bombay but personality clashes → splits LA.
- ② 1972 - Dalit Panthers (Maharashtra) - POLITICS OF ANGER
 - Ambedkarite thought, radical politics and creative literature
 - Base: Youth & Students in urban areas.

1978 Anti Dalit riots (Mah) - renaming Marathwada Univ as Ambedkar Univ (Namantar movement by DP)

opposed the Dalit middle classes for lack of commitment
 decried the Gandhian agenda of 'Harijan uplift' - as paternalism
 went back to an older word 'Dalit',
 called for an autonomous
and revolutionary agency.

BUT

- 1980s
- Primacy of cultural v/s economic struggle (inclusion of non Dalit poor, non Brahmin, non Budah, Dalit?)
 - Personalities: Raja Dhale v/s Namdeo Dhasal
 - splits occurred - most factions joined Congress

③ Bahujan Samaj Party 1980s

- Dalit based party willing to ally with any pol. force (BJP, Cong, Janata, SP) as long as gets pol. power
- signif. base among SCs in UP, Punjab, MP
- signif. factor in electoral calculations of other parties

2007 - clear majority in U.P.

- Brahmins, Shakers, Muslims, OBCs voted
- Kathi nahin, Ganesh nahin - Brahma, Vishnu, Maresh nahin,

- new Dalit self confidence
- Non Dalit parties/groups - taken up issues of concern
 - Agri labour union
 - Dalit youth in rural areas - Ambedkar Sangam
 - Urban associations

YET

(A) Buddhist converts - not given up an old Hindu gods & goddesses, added photos of Ambedkar & the Buddha.

(B) Converts to Christianity - separate Dalit churches, refusal by priests to accept water from their hands.

High C → Syrian Christ.
Low → Playas

" Islam - discriminated against by high caste Ashrafs (Saiyid, Shaikh, Pathan)

Ajlat - Julaha, Hajjam.

(C) Reservation of jobs and edu instit - diff in literacy rates. higher edu enrolment

(D) Legis reservation

- tendency for cooption & personal aggrandizement
- Intra SC hostility becoming pol. visible - demands for quotas
- Mahars and Mahangs (Maharashtra) rather quotas
- Malas and Madigas (Andhra)
- Chamars & Churbas (North India)

Bipin Chandra - invisible proc of socio-eco change. anti poverty strategies, processes of industrialization, edu & health fac - helped more

= Backward Castes - intermediate castes - certain ritual disabilities

Sociologists have shown - Backward castes →

Ahirs, Yadavs, Kurmis, Vokkaligas, Lingayats.

Yadavs - gained considerable econ adv.

via post independence land reform - which gave land rights to ex-tenants of zamindars

- ↑ pol. clout

- biggest exploiters of SCs - agri labourers.

TRIBES IN POST COLONIAL ELECTORAL POLITICS

1971 Census
400 tribal commu
~ 6.9% of pop.

- ① Indian sociologists - G.S. Ghurye - regarded tribals as 'backward Hindus' - policy of assimilation
- A.V. Thakkar (Thakkar Bapa) - ardent advocate of assimilation

→ lead to loss of social and cultural identity

- ② Missionaries like Verrier Elwin, British scholar-administrators W.G. Archer, J.F. Hutton → upheld isolationist and protectionist approach.

- ↳ insisted on program of develop. through protective measures - 'national park' approach.

- Nehru - treating them as 'museum specimen to be observed & written about' - was to insult them.

The dominant discourse of the Constituent Assembly debates spoke of assimilation of 'tribals' within the Indian polity, discarding the 'salad bowl' approach which permitted adivasis to retain their autonomy.

- Integration any way impossible - colonial penetration anyway gone too far

- consensus on need for reservation
- 3 pronged strategy
 - ↳ Protective arrangements
 - ↳ affirmative action
 - ↳ Economic development

- neither possible nor desirable.

- ③ 1950s - Idea of integration - J.L. Nehru
↳ political, economic and psychological integration as 'Indians'
↳ critiqued assimilation and isolation

Nehru's proposal formulated through 'Panchsheel'
(published under book - A Philosophy for NEFA)

⑤ Principles

- Non imposition of alien values. should not be approached w a superiority complex.
- Tribal rights in land & forest should be respected + trad. art, culture, social instt.
- Ints of outsiders to a minimum
Tribals trained in own admin.
- Not to be overadm. / overwhelmed w a no. of schemes
- Not to be judged by statistics but by 'high quality of human character' developed.

Nehru - 'India to them should not only signify a protecting force but a liberating one'

While Nehru recognized the autonomous identity of 'tribes', simultaneous attempts at assimilation through claiming Adivasis as Hindus continued during 1950s.

↳ new identities of 'vanvasi' - forest dwellers
'girivasi' - hill dwellers.

1951 - Balasaheb Seshpande - Vanvasi Kalyan Ashram (under RSS)
- mission of national renaissance,
counter Christian missionary activity

Utilization of India's mythology
↳ Hanuman, Vali, Sugreev, Chabri → Tanyali heroes of Ramayana.

best implemented
in NEFA

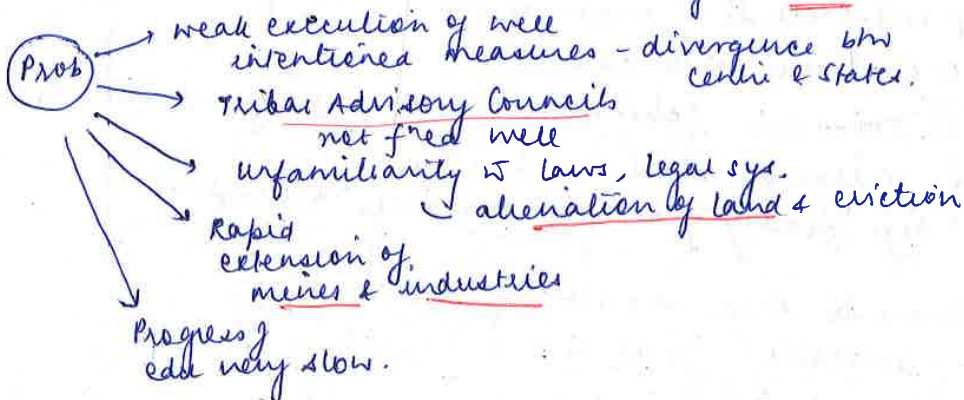
• The lofty ideas of Nehru's 'integration' remained confined to paper

1960 Verrier Elvin Committee Report - scheme of special Tribal Blocks mainly benefitted non-tribals

1961 Shree Commission - need to fully integrate Adivasis w/ mainstream.

- no precise working defⁿ of ST.
Shirur Committee - diff connotations for different people.

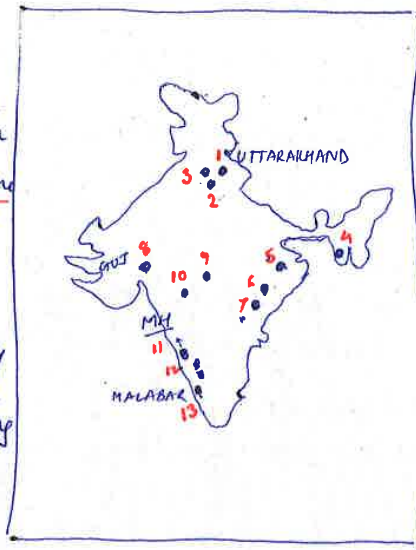
- Art 46
- governors given special responsibility to protect tribal interests
- reservation
- Commissioner for SC & ST
- FYPs - Funding for tribal welfare signif^t after 1971



ENVIRONMENTAL GOVERNANCE

1 CHIPKO

- 2 Save the Bhagirathi & stop ~~the~~ Tehri dam
- 3 Movement of Limestone Quarrying in Doon V.
- 4 GUMTI DAM
- 5 Rural Women's Advancement Society
- 6 Movement by youth & tribal groups opposing bauxite mining in Gandhamardan Hills.



7 Movement by youth & tribal groups of Bailapali & Bhogarai Test range.

- 8 Sardar Sarovar Dam
- 9 Narmada Sagar dam
- 10 SAVE NARMADA MOVEMENT
- 11 Groups opposing Kaiga N.P. plant
- 12 Appiko movement
- 13 SILENT VALLEY MOVEMENT

Environmental movements are an expression of the socio-ecological effects of narrowly conceived development based on short term criteria of exploitation.

CHIPKO

At the head of movement - indigenous subsistence farmers
Pahariya → Shetiya.

Uttarakhand - Post 1962 Indo-China border conflict -

- an extensive network of roads throughout region
- Rich supply of natural resources accessible to entrepreneurs in resource hungry plains.
- eg timber, limestone (cement), magnesite, potassium,
- Road construction - erosion & landslides, loss of soil, water, forests, use of firewood & forest products by labour crews & military units.
- Hydroelectrical sites along Ganga & Yamuna rivers, tributaries - exploited eg (Tehri on Bhagirathi)
- Redds: Land cultivated by local farmers - subsistence crops → Commercial Crops
- Mass tourism - Badrinath, Kedarnath, Gangotri, Yamunotri

Consumption of ^{fuelwood} firewood alone is devastating - demand for fires to cook food for tourists, warm shelters far exceeds that of local residents.

- Migration to plains ↑.
 (Local ppl are not even employed in enterprises brought to region by dev or as porters, guides, manual labourers)

Uttarakhand villages - most of the able bodied men emigrate leaving families behind to run farms & depleted work forces & resources.

- Conflict w/ state forest dept → exploitation of forest by outside entrepreneurs.

effects of timber & charcoal contractors massive but local ppl blamed for deforestation

✓ 1972 - local cooperative denied permission to cut small annual allotment of 12 ash trees → construction & tools

- Trees sold to sporting goods mfg → cricket bats

1970s - More than a dozen non violent confrontations → successful.

Diversification of movement:

Sponsoring research → forest, minerals, soil, water conservation

SAVE THE NARMADA

Narmada basin 95,000 sq. km.

Narmada project → displace 1 mn ppl, submerge 350,000 ha of forestland
200,000 ha of agri. land

The withdrawal of WB funding was a moral victory of the movement.

SILENT VALLEY MOVEMENT - one of the few remaining undisturbed rainforest areas

1960s - planning a dam for the Kuntipuzha river for regional economic development

Classic dilemma - dev vs. env.

Movement by Kerala People's Science Movement (Kerala Sasha Parishad / Sahitya Parishad)

↳ network of rural schools teachers & local citizens - promotes environmental scientific projects in ~~school~~ the villages.

Benefits of dam would go to neighboring areas.

young & old
Paharias &
Bhotiyas
across regions
methods of Chipko
adopted in
Appiko.

- ④ Integrative social effect of movements - cut across social & cultural cleavages.
- ④ women prominent as leaders and participants
- ④

Nehru:

S&T

Science is not merely an individual's search for truth - it was something infinitely more than that if it worked for the community.

1938 Nehru in a message to the Indian Science Congress:

'It was science alone that could solve these problems of hunger & poverty, of insanitation and illiteracy, of superstition and of vast resources turning to waste.'

- Reiterated in Scientific Policy Resolution (Mar 1958)
↳ role of S&T in eco, social & cultural advancement of country.

- 1947 National Physics Laboratory followed by 17 National Labs
- Nehru - Chair of CSIR.

- 1958 DRDO
↳ ICBMs (Agni) & combat aircraft (MAZ Tejas)

- 1952 - IIT (modelled on MIT) in Kharagpur later in Madras, Bombay, Kanpur, Delhi.

- 1948 - Atomic Energy Commission - Homi J. Bhabha

- 1954 - Dept of Atomic Energy

- 1969 ISRO

- 1962 - INCOSPAR - space research

Thumba Rocket Launching Facility

Defining contributions

- ④ Green Revolution wheat-
1962 - dwarf spring variety is the Norin 10 dwarfing gene dev in Mexico - grown in LARI.
↳ led to launch of HYV Progr - covering wheat, rice, maize, sorghum & pearl millet
→ All India Coordinated Wheat Research Project - under plant breeder Benjamin Swamy Pal.
outstanding eg of agri research
6mmt wheat (1947) → 20mmt (1970)

- ④ White Revolution milk surplus - no takers
European dairy companies not willing to part w milk powder technology, claimed buffalo milk can't be converted to milk powder.

- ✓ M.M. Kalaya, dairy engineer working w Kurien. - demonstrated it could be done
↳ later the Niro Atomizer → a commercially avail. machine used to do the same.

④ Satellite & Commu revolution

Vikram Sarabhai - INCOSPAR 1960s.

SITE (Satellite Instructional Television Experiment),

launch of Aryabhata satellite from Soviet Union.

- INSAT, IRS series of satellites

④ Drugs & Vaccines manuf. 'pharmacy of the world'

Hindustan Antibiotics Ltd in 1954

Indian Drugs & Pharmaceuticals Ltd (IDPL) w/ Soviet assistance

National Chemicals Laboratory

Central Drug Research Institute

Patent Act of 1970.

④ C-DOT & Telecom Revolution

1970s - waiting pd. for a telephone line was several years.

1st ~~break~~ breakthrough - 100 line electronic switch dev in 1973.

✓ 1984 - Centre for Development of Telematics (C-DOT) under leadership of Sam Pitroda.

④ IT Rev and railways computerisation

ECIL, CMC.

1st major application of IT → passenger reservation project of Railways launched in 1986.

& how tech could improve efficiency, cut corruption and touch lives of millions w/o owning digital gadget.

Probs

- 2000-2015: NO of scientific publication ↑ 4 fold overtaking Russia & France → but firmness same
→ no. of citations per paper less than average.
- Significant brain drain
- Quality of workforce very low
2011 census ~ 6% of population - at least a graduate

POST INDEPENDENCE

- (13) Consolidation as a Nation
- Nehru's Foreign Policy; India & her neighbour (1947-64)
 - Linguistic reorg. of States (1935-47); Regionalism and regional inequality.
 - Question of National Language
 - Integration of princely states
 - Princes in electoral politics
- (14) Caste and Ethnicity after 1947
- Backward castes in post colonial electoral politics
 - Tribes in post colonial electoral politics
 - Salit movements
- (15) Economic development & Political change
- Land reforms; the politics of planning and rural reconstruction
 - Ecology and environmental policy in post colonial India
 - Progress of science

QUESTIONS

- (2020) ① Planning was seen as a powerful instrument that could be used to remove regional inequality. (10) Examine.
- ② After Indian independence, India-China relations started on a high note, but during the course of the coming years, India had to face a bitter experience due to Chinese aggression. Elaborate. (20)
- ③ The reorg. of states on the basis of lang. was a major aspect of national consolidation and integration. Comment. (10)
- (2019) ① How did the introduction of Community Development Prog and Panchayati Raj promote welfare of rural India? (10)
- (2018) ① States reorganization did not, of course resolve all the problems relating to linguistic conflicts. (10)
- ② Analyse various trends in Salit movements in various parts of post independent India (20)

③ Trace the development of land reforms in India b/w 1947 and early 1960s (20)

2017 ① How far the developments in science and technology in post independence period put India on the path of modernity? (20)

② Throw light on the nature of 'Instrument of Accession' and 'Standstill Agreement' signed by the Princely States to India's Union

2016 ① Critically examine the nature and scope of environmental movements in Independent India. (10)

② India's need for a federal system was more an imperative than a political choice (10)