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## THE COMMERCIALISATION OF AGRICULTURE DURING BRITISH RULE

The commercialisation of agriculture is referred to as the practice of shifting cultivation from good grains (wheat, rice, etc.) to cash crops (cotton, jute, indigo, etc.) for commercial gain.

- The commercialisation of agriculture during British rule mostly started post-1813, when the Industrial Revolution started in England.

### **Factors Encouraged and Facilitated the commercialisation of agriculture:**

- **Establishment of Political Unity** – The establishment of political unity gave rise to a national unified market.
- **Spread of Money Market** – The use of money replaced the barter system and agricultural products became market goods.
- **India Became a Supplier of Raw Material** – Due to Britain’s one-sided policy, India became a supplier of raw materials and an exporter of finished goods.
- **Better Means of Communication** – With the establishment of railways and shipping, movement of goods became easy and cheap
- **Change in Land Revenue System** – Due to monetisation of the land revenue system was one of the major factors.
- **Entry of British Financial Capital** – Another significant factor is the expansion of international trade and the influx of British financial capital.
- **The American Civil War** – The American Civil War diverted the cotton demand toward India. The demand maintained, even after the civil war due to the establishment of the textile industries in India.

### **Impacts of the Commercialization of Agriculture:**

- **Negative Impact:**
  - ❖ **Increase in Inequality** – It was the rich farmers and landlords who benefited due to the commercialisation, which further increased income inequality in rural India.
  - ❖ **Major Benefits to Traders, Planters and Manufactures** – Planters and traders got agricultural products at low prices and earned a huge fortune.
  - ❖ **Increased Dependency on Moneylenders** – Impoverished farmers had to sell their harvests to moneylenders at whatever price to meet the demands of the government, landlords, and moneylenders.

- ❖ **Frequent Famine** – The shift to cash crops reduced the land dedicated to food crop cultivation, resulting in more frequent famines.
- ❖ **Linking the Agriculture Sector to the World Market** – The price fluctuations and economic shifts in the global market began to exert a previously unprecedented level of influence on Indian farmers.
- ❖ **Shift in Agriculture-Industry Relation** – Commercialisation affected the traditional relations between agriculture and industry.
- ❖ **No Technological Development** – No new technology was introduced or adopted in agriculture.
- ❖ **Peasant Revolts** – Commercialisation led to the oppression of peasants in the hands of Europeans, and this found expression in many major and minor peasant revolts. E.g., Indigo Revolt 1859.

### ➤ **Positive Impact:**

- ❖ **Regional Specialisation of Crop** – Regional specialisation of crop production based on climate conditions, soil, etc. was an outcome of the commercial revolution in agriculture.
- ❖ **Shift to Capitalist Economy** – Commercialization encouraged social exchange and it made possible the transformation of the Indian economy into a capitalistic form
- ❖ **Linkage With World Economy** – It linked India with the world economy.
- ❖ **Integration of National Economy** – The important contribution of commercialisation is reflected in the integration of the national economy. Agricultural problems acquired the national form.
- ❖ **Impetus to Production** – To some limit, commercialization gave impetus to agricultural production.

### **The Deindustrialisation of Handicraft Industry During British Rule**

During the 19th century, as Western nations were experiencing industrialization, India underwent a period of industrial decline characterized by reduced demand for Indian goods in export markets and a decrease in the workforce engaged in secondary industries. This phenomenon is commonly referred to as “deindustrialization.”

- Notably, this decline in Indian handicrafts coincided with the establishment of the Industrial Revolution in England.

**Factors responsible for the decline of the Handicraft Industry:**

- **Competition from Machine-Made Products** – The British were able to manufacture products on a large scale using machinery, posing significant competition to the traditional handicrafts industry.
- **One-Way Policy of Britishers** – Under the policy Indian goods were subjected to high tariffs in the English market whereas British goods gained duty-free access to the Indian markets.
- **Advent of Railways** - The railways facilitated the reach of Britain's finished goods to the remotest parts in India and the procurement of raw materials from these parts.
- **Decline in Patronage** - The decline of indigenous Indian courts that supported and promoted fine arts and handicrafts, was a significant contributing factor as well.
- **Promotion of European Goods** – The rise of educated classes embracing European lifestyles led to reduced demand for indigenous products, promoting European goods instead.
- **Misuse of Power** – Britishers provided preferential treatment to British manufacturers in India and also forced Indian Craftsmen to reveal their secrets.

**Consequences of the Decline of Handicraft Industry:**

- **Negative Consequences:**
  - ❖ **Impact on Self-Sufficiency** - It destroyed the self-sufficiency of the villages.
  - ❖ **Impact on Agriculture** - The destruction of the traditional industries led to overcrowding in the agrarian sector.
  - ❖ **Landless Labour** - This class, having no land or resources, became agricultural labourers when they engaged in farming.
  - ❖ **Industrial Centre Declined** - The decline of traditional industries harmed occupational, commercial, and industrial centres like Surat, Dhaka, and Murshidabad, leading to their decline.
  - ❖ **Failed to Bridge the Gap** - The void created by the decline of traditional industries could not be filled in by the growth of modern industries.
- **Positive Consequences:**
  - ❖ **Availability of Goods** - The expansion of the industrial market in India spurred the accessibility of both domestic and foreign products.
  - ❖ **Growth of Modern Exchange System** - The growth of India's extensive industrial market

was a catalyst for the development of a modern exchange system over time.

- ❖ **Economic Integration** – The growth of the modern exchange also integrated India's economy with the world economy.
- ❖ **Decline of Pre-Capitalist Industry** - This marked the decline of industries influenced by feudal ideals and values, paving the way for the emergence of modern industries.
- ❖ **New Labour Class** - The medieval handicraft industry's workforce eventually integrated into the modern labour class.

**Famine in India During British Rule**

- **Relation With Commercialisation of Agriculture:**
  - ❖ **Shortage of Food Crops** – Between 1893-94 to 1945-46, the production of commercial crops increased by 85% and that of food crops fell by 7 per cent.
  - ❖ **Increase the Price of Food Crops** – Though people earned from cash crops, simultaneously the prices of food crops increased during the period.
    - ✓ Big traders and landlords started to hoard the gains, which made the famines more severe.
- **Relation with Decline of Handicraft Industry:**
  - ❖ **Pressure on the Agricultural Land** – The decline of artisans and their shift towards agriculture added extra strain to the agricultural sector as there were no viable alternatives available at the time.
  - ❖ **Stagnation in Agricultural Production** – The increase in the number of persons in agriculture did not increase in agricultural production, but impoverishment the rural masses.
- **Relation With Land Tenure System:**
  - ❖ **Excessive Revenue and Reduced Income** – Land revenue settlements, excessive revenue and deindustrialisation, reduced the purchasing power of rural poor. It increased the famine-related deaths.
  - ❖ **Evils of Permanent Settlement** - Subinfeudation and absentee landlordism reduced agricultural investment, resulting in lower production. Combined with a growing population, this cycle led to recurring famines.
- **Greedy British Policies:**
  - ❖ **Intrusion in Tribal Areas** - British intrusion

and forest acts limited tribal access to resources, banning Jhum cultivation, and contributing to famine in tribal areas.

- ❖ **Diversion of Food Grains** - The diversion of food grains to fulfil the needs of the army was an important reason for the Great Bengal famine of 1942-43.

**Famine Under Crown Rule (1858-1947) and Related Committees:**

Under the crown, there were ten severe famines besides a large number of scarcities.

- **Famine of 1860-61 (Area between Delhi and Agra)** - During this famine, poor-houses were introduced for relief, marking the first inquiry into famine causes and measures to alleviate distress, led by Colonel Baird Smith.
  - ❖ **“Colonel Baird Smith Committee”** - It was the first committee on Famine but his report did not lead to any formulation of general principles of relief.
- **The Orissa Famine, 1866** - The drought of 1865 followed by a famine the following year affected Orissa, Madras, Northern Bengal and Bihar.
  - ❖ The calamity was most severe in Orissa, hence the name the ‘Orissa Famines’. It was estimated that 13 lakh persons died in Orissa alone.
  - ❖ **“George Campbell Committee” (Viceroy John Lawrence)** - The Orissa famine was followed by the appointment of a committee under the chairmanship of Sir George Campbell.
    - ✓ It blamed government machinery for the tragedy.
    - ✓ Sir John Lawrence was the Viceroy.
- **The Famine of 1876-78** - The great famine of 1876-78 was perhaps the most grievous calamity experienced since the beginning of the 19th century. It affected Madras, Bombay, Uttar Pradesh and the Punjab.
  - ❖ Many villages were depopulated and large tracts of territory went out of cultivation.
  - ❖ R.C. Dutt has estimated that 5 million persons perished in a single year.
  - ❖ **“Strachey Commission, 1880” (Viceroy Lytton)** - Appointed during Viceroy Lytton. The major recommendations were;
    - ✓ Formulation of Famine Code.
    - ✓ Suspension/ Remission of Land Revenue and Rent.

- ✓ Wages paid should be adjusted from time to time to provide sufficient food for a labourer’s support.

- The government broadly accepted the Commission’s recommendations and initiated efforts to establish a Famine fund for addressing exceptional expenses.
  - ❖ **The Famine of 1896-97** - It affected almost every province though in varying degrees of intensity and the total population affected was estimated at 34 million.
  - ❖ **“James Lyall Commission-1898” (Viceroy Elgin 2)** - A commission led by Sir James Lyall, former Lt. Governor of Punjab, mostly agreed with the ideas put forward by their predecessors in 1880 and recommended some minor changes.
- **The Famine of 1899-1900** - In almost all provinces in 1899-1900 and affected an area of 1 89,000 sq. miles and a population of 28 million.
  - ❖ **“Anthony MacDonnell Commission” (Viceroy Curzon)** - The important recommendations were:
    - ✓ Appointment of Famine Commissioner in a province where relief operations were, expected to be extensive.
    - ✓ Opening of Agricultural Banks.
    - ✓ Early distribution of advances for purchase of seed and cattle and sinking of temporary wells.
    - ✓ Improvement of Irrigation facilities.
    - ✓ Creation of better transport facility.
    - ✓ Revision of famine Code.
  - ❖ Most of the recommendations of the Commission were accepted.
- **Bengal Famine of 1942-43** - The root cause of the famine lay in a series of crop failures that Bengal experienced from 1938 and in the conditions created by the Second World War.
- **“John Woodhead Commission” (Viceroy Linlithgow)** - Major recommendations of the commission were:
  - ✓ Creation of All India Food Council.
  - ✓ Increase in production of food Crops.
  - ✓ Amalgamation of the Department of Food and Agriculture.

**The role of agricultural commercialization in exacerbating famines:**

- **Substitute Food Crops with Commercial Crops**

- The shift to cash crops led to a decline in the cultivation of essential food crops like jowar, bajra, and pulses, resulting in famines.

❖ The 1866 famines in Orissa and Bengal exemplified this crop substitution process.

➤ **Shortage of Food Crops** - Between 1893-94 to 1945-46, the production of commercial crops increased by 85% and that of food crops fell by 7 percent.

❖ **Increase the Price of Food Crops** - Though people earned from cash crops, simultaneously the prices of food crops increased during the period.

❖ Big traders and landlords started to hoard the gains, which made famine more severe.

### Peasant Movements During British Rule

Due to the exploitative policies of the Britishers, the land revenue system and the miserable conditions of the agrarian society found their expression through many revolts and aggressions.

#### **Causes of the agrarian Distress:**

➤ **Colonial Economic Policies** - The peasants suffered from high rents, illegal levies, illogical evictions and forced labour (Begar) were the major factors for discontent.

➤ **Overcrowding of Agricultural Land** - As the handicraft industries dwindled, craftsmen shifted their focus to agriculture, resulting in an overpopulation of land.

➤ **The new land revenue system** - Through the Permanent, Ryotwari and Mahalwari systems, the actual cultivators were reduced to the status of tenants-at-will, sharecroppers and landless labourers.

➤ **Colonial administrative and judicial system** - The new judicial and administrative system provided preferential treatment to wealthy zamindars and plantation owners, leaving peasants feeling powerless.

➤ **Economic Exploitation** - Peasants were often subjected to usurious moneylenders who charged exorbitant interest rates, pushing peasants further into debt.

➤ **Droughts and Famines** - Periodic droughts and famines exacerbated the economic distress of peasants, as they struggled to produce enough food for subsistence and to meet the revenue demands of the British.

➤ **Political Factors** - The demand for political rights and representation also played a role in some peasant movements. Peasants often aligned themselves with nationalist movements, seeking a united front against British colonial rule.

➤ **Tribal Displacement** - In tribal regions, the British often appropriated tribal lands for commercial purposes, refused to practice shifting cultivation, tribes lost land to moneylenders, etc. were the major causes.

### The change in nature of the Peasant Movements during British rule:

The nature of the peasant's movements can be classified into two phases; Pre- Gandhian Phase (19<sup>th</sup> Century movement) and the Gandhian Phase (20<sup>th</sup> Century movements).

➤ The nature of the 19th-century peasant movements:

❖ **Limited Objectives** - The demands were centred almost wholly on economic issues.

❖ **Lack of an adequate understanding of colonialism** - The movements were directed against the immediate enemies of the peasants—foreign planters, indigenous zamindars and moneylenders. They did not make colonialism their target.

❖ **Extend of the Movements** - The territorial reach was also limited. They were confined to particular localities with no mutual communication or linkages.

❖ **Lacked continuity of struggle** - They lacked long-term organization and continuity in their struggle. Once their specific goals were met, both the movement's organization and peasant solidarity faded away.

❖ **Leadership** - Peasants themselves took on leadership roles, and there was no prominent national hero who arose during that period.

Many of these weaknesses were addressed in the 20th century when peasant dissatisfaction joined forces with broader anti-imperialist sentiments, integrating their political actions into the larger anti-imperialist movement.

### The famous peasants' movements during the 19<sup>th</sup> century:

➤ **Indigo Revolt or Nilbidroha (1859)** - The indigo planters, nearly all Europeans, exploited the local peasants by forcing them to grow indigo on their lands instead of the more paying crops like rice. The planters forced the peasants to take advance sums and enter into fraudulent contracts which were then used against the peasants.

➤ The reasons for the farmers' discontent with cultivating indigo were as follows:

❖ The compensation for growing indigo was insufficiently low.

- ❖ Indigo cultivation did not prove to be profitable.
- ❖ Planting indigo led to a decline in soil fertility.
- ❖ The peasants endured hardships due to the actions of traders and intermediaries.
- Consequently, they launched a movement for the non-cultivation of indigo in Bengal under the leadership of Digambar Biswas and Bishnu Biswas.
  - ❖ They were supported by the press and the missionaries as well.
  - ❖ Harish Chandra Mukherjee, a Bengali Journalist, described the plight of peasants of Bengal in his newspaper 'The Hindu Patriot'.
  - ❖ Dinabandhu Mitra, Bengali writer and dramatist, in his play 'Nil Darpan' depicted the treatment of the Indian peasantry by the indigo planters.
  - ❖ It was first published in 1860. His play created a huge controversy which was later banned by the East India Company to control the agitation among the Indians.
  - ❖ The government appointed an Indigo Commission and issued an order in November 1860, notifying that it was illegal to force the ryots to cultivate indigo. This marked the victory for the peasants.
- **Pabna Revolt** - During the 1870s and 1880s, large parts of Eastern Bengal witnessed agrarian unrest caused by oppressive practices of the Zamindars. The Zamindars resorted to enhanced rents beyond legal limits and prevented the tenants from acquiring occupancy rights under Act X of 1859.
  - ❖ Zamindars forcibly seized land, livestock, and crops from peasants, subjecting them to costly legal battles with slim chances of success.
  - ❖ Peasants in Yusufshahi Pargana, Pabna district, formed an agrarian league to resist Zamindar's demands. They organized a rent strike, refusing to pay higher rents and challenging Zamindars in court.
  - ❖ The struggles spread throughout Pabna and to other districts of East Bengal. The main form of struggle was that of legal resistance; there was very little violence.
  - ❖ The discontent continued till 1885 when the Government by the Bengal Tenancy Act of 1885 enhanced the occupancy rights.
  - ❖ The struggle was supported by Bankim Chandra Chatterjee, R.C. Dutt and the Indian Association under Surendranath Banerjea.
- **Deccan Riots** - It took place in the 1970s in western India.
  - ❖ The causes of the riots were:
    - ❖ Heavy taxation under the Ryotwari system led to peasants being exploited by outsider moneylenders, mainly Marwaris or Gujaratis.
    - ❖ This situation worsened due to a cotton price crash;
    - ❖ A 50% increase in land revenue in 1867 and poor harvests.
- In 1874, tensions boiled over into a social boycott against these moneylenders, with ryots refusing to buy from their shops and peasants not cultivating their fields. Barbers, washermen, and shoemakers joined the boycott.
  - This escalated into agrarian riots, with attacks on moneylenders' properties and the public burning of debt bonds and deeds.
    - ❖ The Government succeeded in repressing the movement. As a conciliatory measure, the Deccan Agriculturists Relief Act was passed in 1879.
- **The nature of the 20th-century peasant movements:**
  - ❖ **Broader Objective** - The peasants became part of the larger fight against colonialism, starting with the Champaran, Kheda, and subsequently, the Bardoli movement.
  - ❖ **Anti-Colonial Consciousness** - A growing sense of anti-colonial awareness took root among the peasant population.
  - ❖ **All India Movement** - The movements took the stage at the national level. The primary method of mobilization involved organizing farmer conferences and gatherings.
  - ❖ **Continuity in Struggle** - The emergence of the various Kisan parties and the formation of All India Kisan Sabha in 1936 provided a long-term organisation and continuity to these movements.
  - ❖ **Leadership** - The movements were led by Congress and communist leaders, i.e., M K Gandhi, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, Sahajanand Saraswati, etc.

**Famous Peasant Movements During 20<sup>th</sup> Century:**

- **Champaran Satyagraha (1917): First Civil Disobedience** - European planners imposed the Tinkathiya system, requiring peasants to allocate 3/20 of their land for indigo cultivation.
- By the late 19th century, German synthetic dyes replaced indigo. Planters exploited peasants with high rents, illegal dues, and fixed prices, hindering their shift to other crops
- Gandhi reached the Champaran to probe into the matters, but the authorities ordered him to leave the



area at once.

- Gandhi defied the order and preferred to face the punishment. Under pressure, the authorities appointed a committee and nominated Gandhi as a member.
- As a compromise with planters, he agreed that only 25% of the money taker should be compensated.
- Within a decade the planters left the area and Gandhi had won the First Battle of civil disobedience in India.
- **Khera Satyagraha (1918): First Non-Cooperation** – Because of drought in 1918 the crops failed in Kheda district of Gujarat.
  - ❖ According to the revenue code, if the yield was less than ¼ of the normal produce, the farmers were entitled to remission.
  - ❖ The authorities refused to grant remission. Gandhi supported the peasants' calls and asked them to withhold revenue.
  - ❖ The authorities not willing to openly concede the peasant demand issued secret instructions that only those who could afford to pay should pay.
  - ❖ During the movement, many young nationalists such as Sardar Patel and InduLal Yagnik became Gandhi's followers.
- **Bardoli Satyagraha (1928)** - The enhancement of land revenue by 30% in the Bardoli district of Gujarat by the British government led to the organisation of a 'No-Revenue Campaign' by the Bardoli peasants under the leadership of Vallabhai Patel.
  - ❖ To organise the movement, Patel set up 13 chhavanis or workers' camps in the taluka. Bardoli Satyagraha Patrika was brought out to mobilise public opinion.
  - ❖ British govt failed to quash the movement, even after extensive confiscation of cattle and land.
  - ❖ British govt set up a committee and the committee found the increased revenue unjustified and recommended a rise of 6.03%.

### **Role of Peasant Movements in National Freedom Struggle:**

Peasant movements played a significant and multifaceted role in the national freedom struggle in India. The various role is:

- **Mobilisation of Masses** - Peasant movements helped to mobilize the rural masses from various regions into the national freedom struggle.
- **Influence on Policies** - The success and strength of peasant movements influenced policies related to land reforms, tenancy rights, and rural development. E.g., the Bengal Tenancy Act, of 1885, the Deccan

Agriculturists Relief Act of 1879, etc.

- **Political Awareness** - Through their participation in the freedom struggle, rural areas became politically aware and began to demand not only political freedom but also economic and social justice.
- **Unity and Solidarity** - Peasant movements fostered a sense of unity and solidarity among different communities and castes in rural India. It further strengthened the national unity.
- **Identification of Real Enemy** – Peasant movements revealed the real cause of the misery of rural poor to them i.e., Britishers and they started to take part in national movements to eliminate that cause.

### **Status of Education During British Rule**

A humble beginning towards the development of education in India in 1813 when the Charter Act (1813) provided for an annual expenditure of one lakh rupees “for the revival and promotion of literature and the encouragement of the learned natives of India, and for the introduction and promotion of a knowledge of the sciences among the inhabitants of the British territories”.

### **Factors which Shaped the Education System in India During British Rule:**

- **Administrative Motives** - The primary objective in introducing Western education was to enhance the cost-efficiency of lower-level administration.
- **Political Motives** - To dispel reactionary attitudes, to make educated Indians promoters of British rule and a link between the vast population and the British govt.
- **Commercial Motive** – To make an educated middle-class consumer and promoter of British goods in the market.
- **Religious Motives** - Alexander Duff viewed education as the most effective tool for drawing non-Christians towards Christianity.
- **Economic Consideration** – Indians wanted a system of education that could help them to earn their livelihood.
- **Progressive Indian Elements** - Progressive Indian elements also favoured the spread of English education and Western learning.

### **Role of Western Education in the Freedom Struggle of India:**

- **Spread of Enlightenment Ideas** – It introduced the various ideas of democracy, liberty, equality, etc. and they started to question British rule.
- **Eradication of Social Evils** – Many educated middle

classes voiced against social evils like Sati, Caste Discrimination, Child Marriages, etc., which were major hurdles in national unity.

- **Political Awareness** - Indians with Western education grasped democracy and human rights, motivating their active involvement in the fight against British colonial rule.
- **Communication and Mobilization** - This enabled Indians from different parts of the country to communicate and exchange ideas more effectively.
- **Spread of Ideas of Freedom Struggle** - It played a crucial role in the spread of nationalist sentiments and the organization of political movements.
- **Leadership Development** - Western education provided leadership skills and exposed national leaders to political strategies, aiding their fight for independence.
- **Exposed Real Faces of Britishers** - Educated Indians examine the economic policies of the Britishers and exposed their true nature. E.g., Drain of Wealth theory.
- **Legal and Administrative Skills** - Western education produced a cadre of Indians with skills in law, administration, and governance. These individuals later played critical roles in the post-independence nation-building process.

#### **Evolution of Indian Education During British Rule:**

The evolution of the Indian education system can be divided into two parts. First is the Orientalist phase and second is the Anglicist phase.

- **Orientalist Phase** - The British government, influenced by Orientalist scholars, began to show some interest in preserving and promoting traditional Indian languages and culture.
  - ❖ Institutions like the Calcutta Madrasa and Banaras Sanskrit College received support.
  - ❖ The focus was on the study of classical languages and literature rather than on practical or scientific education.
- **Anglicist Phase** - It started after the Macaulay minutes, in which it was decided to provide education in the English language only to produce clerks for British administration in India. This phase constituted many committees under which the education system evolved in British India.
  - ❖ **Woods Dispatch (1854)** - The dispatch came to be considered the Magna Carta of English education in India. The main recommendations were:
    - ❖ It criticized the downward filtration theory;

- ❖ Emphasized education in vernacular languages;
- ❖ Higher education in the English language;
- ❖ A system of grants in aid to encourage and foster private enterprise in the field of education.
- ❖ A department of public Instruction to be set up in each province;
- ❖ Universities on the model of the London University were proposed for Calcutta, Bombay and Madras.
- ❖ Supported the women's education as well.
- Almost all the proposals in the Wood's Despatch were implemented.
  - In 1855, the Department of Public Instruction was established.
    - ❖ It was in 1857 that the universities of Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay were founded.
    - ❖ Bethune played a pivotal role in transforming girls' schools into modern institutions.
  - **The Hunter Education Commission (1882-83)** - To review the progress of education in the country since the Despatch of 1854. The Commission mostly confined its remarks to secondary and primary education. The major recommendations were:
    - ❖ It emphasized the govt's role in primary education;
    - ❖ Primary education in vernacular languages;
    - ❖ The Commission recommended the transference of the control of primary education to the newly set up District and Municipal Boards;
    - ❖ Secondary education should have two divisions, one is literary education and a second is practical education;
    - ❖ Encourage private enterprises;
    - ❖ Promote women's education outside the provinces.
  - **Impact of the committee's recommendations** - The marked feature of this expansion was the participation of Indian philanthropic activity.
    - ❖ The Punjab University was founded in 1882.
    - ❖ The Allahabad University was set up in 1887.
  - **Thomas Raleigh Commission (1902)** - To enquire into the condition and prospects of universities in India and to recommend proposals for improving their constitution and working. Major recommendations were:
    - ❖ Universities were tasked with promoting study

and research, hiring professors and lecturers, establishing labs and libraries, and teaching students directly.

- ❖ It fixes the number of fellows to 50-100, and their terms would typically last six years instead of a lifetime.
  - ❖ The governor's control on universities was further increased;
  - ❖ Universities control were enhanced on private colleges;
- The recommendations of the commission were criticized by nationalist ranks.
- ❖ However, a good outcome of Curzon's policy was the sanction in 1902 of a grant of Rs. 5 lakhs per annum for five years for the improvement of higher education and universities.
- **Sadler University Commission (1917-19)** - The Sadler Commission reviewed the entire field from school education to university education. The major recommendations were:
- ❖ The fundamental changes were suggested in the secondary education for the sake of improving the university education.
  - ❖ Suggested an intermediary examination to proceed to the universities;
  - ❖ It limited the university course timing to 3 years;
  - ❖ A Board for Secondary and Intermediate Education was to be established, with the responsibility of overseeing and managing Secondary Education;
  - ❖ Autonomous institutions were to be given more encouragement;
  - ❖ Women's education was to be encouraged in a big way;
  - ❖ It required the creation of facilities for teacher training.
- **Impact** - It led to an increase in the number of universities. Due to the suggestions of the Saddler University Commission, the number of universities the number increased to 30 by 1930.
- ❖ Academic activities increased in the universities and colleges with the introduction of Honours courses.
  - ❖ The way universities were run internally got better because they replaced the old Senate and Syndicate with a new University Court and Executive Council.
  - ❖ A Board of Students Welfare was formed in each university.

- **The Hartog Committee (1929)** – Due to the increase in the quantity of colleges, the quality of education degraded. To enhance the quality of the education system, the Hartog Committee was established. The major recommendations were:
- ❖ It recommended mandatory primary education at the national level but condemned the policy of hasty expansion of education.
  - ❖ It recommended a selective system for admission.
  - ❖ To improve the quality of primary school teachers, refresher courses and training programmes should be offered.
  - ❖ To improve the quality of primary school teachers, refresher courses and training programmes should be offered.
  - ❖ To improve the quality of primary school teachers, refresher courses and training programmes should be offered.
  - ❖ To improve university education, it was recommended to enrol only qualified students in universities.
- **Zakir Hussain Committee (1937)** - In 1937 Mahatma Gandhi published a series of articles in his paper, the Harijan, and propose a scheme of education called Basic Education, better known as the Wardha Scheme. The main principle of Basic Education is 'learning through activity'. The Zakir Husain Committee worked out the details of the scheme and recommended:
- ❖ Everyone between the ages of 6 and 14 will get free, compulsory education for 8 years.
  - ❖ It prepared detailed syllabi for several crafts and activities;
  - ❖ Made suggestions concerning the training of teachers, supervision, examination and administration.
  - ❖ It envisaged a seven-year course through the mother tongue of the students.
- The outbreak of the war in 1939 and the resignation of Congress Ministries led to the postponement of the scheme.
- **Sargeant Plan of Education (1944)** - In 1944 the Central Advisory Board of Education drew up a national scheme of education, generally known as the Sargeant Plan. The major recommendations were:
- ❖ The establishment of elementary schools and high schools (junior and senior basic schools)
  - ❖ Introduction of universal free and compulsory education for children between the ages of 6 and 11.

- ❖ A school course of six years was to be provided for children between the ages of 11 and 17.
- The high schools were to be of two types: (a) academic and (b) technical and vocational schools with different curricula.
- Abolition of the Intermediate course and the addition of an extra year each at the high school and the college stage.
- The Sargeant Scheme envisaged a 40-year educational reconstruction plan for the country.

The evolution of Indian education during British rule was marked by a complex interplay of colonial policies, indigenous responses, and a growing awareness of the importance of education in shaping the nation's future.

### Revolt of 1857

#### Factors responsible for the revolt:

- **Economic Causes:**
  - ❖ **Destruction of Handicraft Industry** - The colonial policies of the East India Company destroyed the traditional Indian trade and industry.
  - ❖ The ruination of industry and increased pressure on agriculture and land resulted in the pauperization of the country.
  - ❖ **Impoverishment of the Peasantry** - Unpopular revenue settlement, loans from moneylenders/traders, forceful eviction from land, etc. led to the destitution of the peasantry.
  - ❖ **Renounced land privileges of landlords** - Due to the "Sunset Clause" under Permanent Settlement, many zamindars lost their land to the company and looked for the chance to revolt against the Britishers.
- **Political Causes:**
  - ❖ **Loss of Prestige** - Loss of political prestige of East India Company due to their greedy policy and frequent breaking of pledges and oaths.
  - ❖ Dalhousie's annexations and the Doctrine of Lapse had left most Indian rulers feeling suspicious and uneasy. E.g., Satara, Jhansi, Baghat, etc.
  - ❖ **Right of Succession Denied** - Many rulers were denied the right to succession. Rani Lakshmi Bai's adopted son was not permitted to sit on the throne of Jhansi.
  - ❖ **Absolute Authority of the EIC** - The line between 'dependent states' and 'protected allies' was blurry. In disputes, the East India Company's decision was binding.

- ❖ **Absentee Sovereigntyship** - The Indians felt that they were being ruled from England from a distance of thousands of miles and the country was being drained of its wealth.
- **Administrative Causes:**
  - ❖ **Unpopular Land Revenue System** - It was the one of major causes of resentment in various sections of the society.
  - ❖ **Reserved Post for Europeans** - The Indian aristocracy lost power and couldn't regain their status in the new British administration, as Europeans held all top civil and military positions.
  - ❖ **Corruption** - A high level of corruption in the administration system of the East India Company, especially among the police, petty officials and major law courts was a major cause of discontent.
- **Socio-Religious Causes:**
  - ❖ **Racial overtones and a superiority complex** - The rulers displayed disdain for Indians, labelling Hindus as uncultured barbarians and Muslims as cruel and unfaithful.
  - ❖ **The activities of Christian missionaries** - These missionaries tried to convert people and made violent and vulgar public attacks on Hinduism and Islam. They were, moreover, provided police protection.
  - ❖ **Attempts of socio-religious reform** - Efforts to promote socio-religious reforms like ending sati, endorsing widow remarriage, and advocating women's education were perceived as intrusions into the social and religious aspects of Indian society.
  - ❖ **EIC Policies** - These fears were further compounded by the government's decision to tax Temple and mosque lands and legislative measures such as the Religious Disability Act of 1856.
- **Military Causes:**
  - ❖ **Annexation of the Awadh** - The suffering of Awadh's peasants following its annexation by Dalhousie heightened the sepoys' animosity, as it was home to many of them.
  - ❖ **Restrictions on the Sepoys** - Restrictions on wearing caste and sectarian marks and secret rumours of proselytising activities of Chaplains, were interpreted by Indian sepoys as interference in their religious affairs.
  - ❖ **General Service Enlistment Act** - For religious

Hindus, travelling across seas resulted in caste loss. The General Enactment Act mandated Bengal Army recruits to serve wherever the government required, leading to resentment.

- ❖ **Denied Foreign Service Allowance** – A more immediate cause of sepoys’ dissatisfaction was the order that they would not be given the foreign service allowance (Bhatta) when serving in Sindh or Punjab.
- ❖ **Discrimination** – The Indian sepoys were made to feel subordinate at every step and were discriminated against racially and in matters of promotion and privileges.
- **Influence of Outside Events:**
  - ❖ The revolt of 1857 coincided with certain outside events in which the British suffered serious losses. E.g., 1<sup>st</sup> Afghan War, Punjab Wars, Crimean Wars, Santhal Rebellion.
  - ❖ These had obvious psychological repercussions.
- **Immediate Causes:**
  - ❖ **Enfield Rifles and Bone Dust Mixing Report** - The reports about the mixing of bone dust in Atta (flour) and the introduction of infield rifles enhanced the sepoys’ growing disaffection with the government.
    - ✓ The army administration did nothing to allay these fears and the sepoys felt their religion was in grave danger.

**Causes of the failure of the revolt:**

- **Limited territorial spread** - The Revolt of 1857 was localized, restricted and poorly organised. The eastern, southern and western parts of India remained more or less unaffected.
  - ❖ The Bombay and the Madras armies remained loyal.
  - ❖ Sind and Rajasthan remained quiet and Nepal’s help proved of great avail in the suppression of the Revolt.
- **Certain classes and groups did not join** – Zamindars acted as “breakwaters to the storm” and moneylenders & merchants saw their class interests better protected under British patronage.
  - ❖ Modern educated Indians viewed this revolt as backward-looking.
- **Poorly equipped Indian soldiers and better equipped British** - Indian soldiers primarily used swords and spears, while European soldiers had advanced weapons like the Enfield rifle, known for

its deadly accuracy.

- **Poorly organised revolt** - Revolt leaders were brave but lacked experience, organization, and coordination. Surprise attacks and guerrilla tactics weren’t enough to regain lost independence.
- **Leadership** - Rebel leaders like Nana Sahib, Tantia Tope, Kunwar Singh, and Laxmibai were outmatched in generalship by their British counterparts, including the Lawrence brothers, Nicholson, Outram, Havelock, and Edwards.
- **Unclear Understanding of Colonial Power** - The mutineers lacked a clear understanding of colonial rule and lacked a forward-looking program, coherent ideology, political perspective, or societal alternative.
- **British’s superior Communication** - The electric telegraph kept the commander-in-chief informed about the movements and strategy of the rebels.

**Consequences of the revolt:**

- **Positive Consequences:**
  - ❖ **Transfer of control** - The direct responsibility for the administration of the country was assumed by the British Crown and Company rule was abolished by The Government of India Act 1858.
  - ❖ **Impart the Consciousness of Nationalism** - The revolt of 1857 played an important role in bringing the Indian people together and imparting to them the consciousness of belonging to one country.
  - ❖ **Beginning of Representative Institution** – To halt such events from happening again, the British govt came up with representative institutions under the Indian Council Act of 1861 to associate Indians in the law-making process.
  - ❖ **Abandoned the Annexation Policy** - The British abandoned their strategy of annexing princely states, allowing many loyal monarchs to become independent.
  - ❖ **Civil services reform** – Posts of the civil services were opened for Indians as well.
    - ✓ The Indian Civil Service Act of 1861 was passed, which established an annual competitive exam in London for recruiting individuals, both Indian and European, into the Covenanted Civil Service.
- **Negative Consequences:**
  - ❖ **Reorganising the Indian Army** - Because the Indian Army played a significant role in the 1857 crisis, it was completely restructured with a focus on the “division and counterpoise”

strategy.

- ❖ A fiction was created that Indians consisted of “martial” and “non-martial” races.
- ❖ All big posts in the army and the artillery departments were reserved for the Europeans
- **Racial bitterness** - Racial hatred and suspicion grew between Indians and the English. Many viewed Indians as inferior beings and imperial agents treated them with insults, humiliation, and contempt.
- **Paramountcy** - Despite abandoning annexation, the British government retained control over the internal governance of princely states through paramountcy and ongoing interference in their affairs.
- **Policy of Divide and Rule** - To keep in check the nationalist forces, the British govt started the ugly policy of divide and rule among various sections of Indian society.
- **Abandoned the Socio-Religious Reforms** - Britishers believed that their measures of social reforms such as the abolition of the custom of Sati and permission to widows to remarry, had been a major cause of the revolt of 1857.
  - ❖ They therefore gradually begin to side with Orthodox opinion and stop their support to the reformers

**Important Changes Made in the Administration of India After the Revolt:**

- **Administrative Changes:**
  - ❖ **Transfer of Power** - The powers of the East India Company were abolished and transferred the powers of government, territories and revenue to the British crown under the Government of India Act of 1858.
  - ❖ **Designation of Viceroy** - It chased the designation of the Governor General of India to that of Viceroy of India.
  - ❖ **Abandoned Double Government System** - The system of double government was abolished and a new office of the secretary of state (SoS) was created to control the Indian administration.
  - ❖ **Committee for SoS** - A 15-member council was established to assist the secretary of state for India.
  - ❖ **Beginning of Representation Institution** - The British govt came up with representative institutions under the Indian Council Act of 1861 to associate Indians in the law-making process.
- **Reforms in Army:**
  - ❖ **Proportion of Europeans to Indians** - The

proportion of Europeans to Indians in the army was raised and fixed at 1 to 2 in the Bengal Army and 2 to 5 in the Madras and Bombay Armies.

- ❖ **Higher Posts Reserved for Europeans** - The older policy of excluding Indians from the officer corps was strictly maintained. Till 1914 no Indians could rise higher than the rank of a subedar.
- ❖ **Divide and Rule Policy** - Discrimination based on caste reason and religion was practised in the recruitment to the army a fiction was created that Indians consisted of “martial and non-martial” classes
- **Provincial Governance:**
  - ❖ **Decentralisation** - The previous acts of centralisation were abandoned and more autonomy was provided to the presidencies or provinces.
    - ✓ Indian Council Act initiated the decentralisation process by restoring the legislative powers to the Bombay and Madras presidencies.
  - **Fixed Fund from Central Revenue** - In 1870, Lord Mayo introduced a system where provincial governments received fixed funds from central revenues to manage services such as police, jails, education, healthcare, and roads independently.
    - ❖ **Fiscal Autonomy to Provinces** - In 1882, all sources of revenue were divided into three heads- general, provincial, and those to be divided between the centre and the provinces.
  - **Local Bodies:**
    - ❖ **Promotion of Local Government** - The Government further decentralized administration by promoting local government through municipalities and district boards.
    - ❖ Local services like education, health, sanitation and water supply were transferred to local bodies that would finance them through local taxes.
  - **Beginning of Representation at Local Level** - Ripon resolution of 1882 laid down the policy of administering local affairs largely through local bodies, a majority of whose members were non-officials.
    - ❖ However, the local bodies functioned just like departments of the government as the Government retained the right to exercise strict control over the activities of the local bodies.

➤ **Civil Services:**

- ❖ **Indian Participation in Civil Services** - Posts of the civil services were opened for Indians as well.
- ❖ **Recruitment Through Exam** - The Indian Civil Service Act of 1861 was passed, which established an annual competitive exam in London for recruiting individuals, both Indian and European, into the Covenanted Civil Service.
- ❖ **Reduction in Qualifying Age** - However, the maximum age of entry into the civil service was gradually reduced from 23 in 1859 to 19 in 1878 by Lytton.
- ❖ Almost every year thereafter one or two Indians joined the coveted ranks of the civil services but their number was negligible compared with that of English entrants.

**Nature of the Revolt of 1857**

**Different historians have different views on the nature of the revolt:**

- **The Mutiny** - Western scholars labelled the revolt of 1857 as “The Mutiny of 1857” (i.e., a military outbreak). This interpretation is the outcome of the British imperial bias.
- ❖ **John Seeley defined it as** a mere “Sepoy Mutiny” a wholly unpatriotic and selfish Sepoy Mutiny with no native leadership and no popular support.
- ❖ **Dr. K Datta** considered it mainly a military outbreak, which was taken advantage of by certain discontented princes and landlords, whose interests had been affected by the new political order.
- **A War of Fanatic Religionists Against Christians** - According to **L E R Rees**, the Revolt was a war of fanatic religionists against Christians.
- **Hindu Muslim Conspiracy** - James Outram and W. Tayler attributed the outbreak to a Hindu-Muslim conspiracy, with Outram emphasizing it as a Mohammedan plot taking advantage of Hindu grievances.
- **Conflict Between Civilization and Barbarism** - English historians like T. R. Holmes promoted the idea that the 1857 Revolt was a clash between civilization and barbarism, which is criticized for its narrow racial bias.
- **A Feudal Outburst** – Jawaharlal Nehru put this theory. According to him, it was a feudal outburst headed by feudal chiefs and their followers and aided

by the widespread anti-foreign sentiment.

- **War of National Independence** - Benjamin Disraeli described it as “a national rising”. He contended that the so-called Mutiny was ‘no sudden impulse but was the result of careful combinations, vigilant and well organisation.
- **Neither the First, Nor National, Nor a War of Independence** - R C Majumdar gave his analysis of the revolt of 1857 in his book entitled “The Sepoy Mutiny and the Revolt of 1857.”
  - ❖ He claimed that the revolt was” Neither the first nor national nor a war of independence” as large parts of the country remained unaffected and many sections of the people took no part in the upsurge.
  - ❖ He maintains that the Revolt took different aspects at different places.
  - ❖ He stresses the point that the most important elements who fought against the British were the sepoys.
  - ❖ He, however, maintains that its national importance was indirect and posterior.
- **First War of Independence** – V.D Savarkar called the 1857 revolt the First War of Indian Independence.
  - ❖ He wrote a book called “The History of the War of Indian Independence” in which he popularized this term in the year 1909.
- **Marxist View** - It was the struggle of the soldier-peasant democratic combine against foreign as well as feudal bondage which failed because of feudal betrayal.
  - ❖ However, this view does not stand scrutiny because the leaders of the revolt themselves came from a feudal background.

**Conclusion:**

- The 1857 Revolt is complex to categorize. While it contained seeds of nationalism and anti-imperialism, it did not embody a sense of common nationality.
- It marked the first major Indian effort to resist British rule, establishing local resistance traditions that later influenced the national movement.
- Initially a military mutiny, it evolved into a popular rebellion. It was more than a mutiny but less than a declaration of independence.
- Despite its nature, it symbolized a challenge to British imperial rule and served as inspiration during the Indian freedom struggle, making it a pivotal moment in modern Indian history.

**The Birth of Indian Nationalism and the Founda-**

**tion of Indian National Congress (INC)**

**Factors leading to the birth of Indian Nationalism:**

- **Failure of the Revolt of 1857 and the emergence of the Middle Class** - The failure of this revolt revealed the inadequacy of the traditional method of protest.
  - ❖ Hence, the foundations of the Indian national movement were laid by the emerging group of the modern intelligentsia.
- **Political and Administrative Unity** - The creation of a centralized state by British conquest resulted in the political and administrative unification of the country.
- **Western Education** - It introduced the Indians to the ideas of democracy, liberty, freedom, etc. and they started to demand these rights.
  - ❖ The English language became the medium of communication among the educated Indians by which they could develop close contacts with one another.
  - ❖ It helped to spread the Nationalist ideas across the country.
- **Development of Transport and Communication** - It encouraged the formation and operation of various political entities such as the Indian National Congress, All India Kishan Sabha, Youth League, and All India Trade Union Congress, among others.
- **The Rise of the Modern Press** - The press enables the rapid dissemination of ideas on a large scale. The introduction of the printing press in India marked a momentous and revolutionary event.
  - ❖ E.g., “Sambad Kaumudi” in Bengali and ‘Mirat-UL-Akbar’ in Persian of Raja Ram Mohan Roy, marked the earliest publications with a distinct nationalist and progressive democratic focus.
- **Economic Exploitation** - Leaders like Dadabhai Naoroji, Mahadev Gobind Ranade, and G.K. Gokhale assessed the economic impact of colonial rule in India.
  - ❖ This severe exploitation had significant consequences on Indian nationalism, leading to widespread agitation against foreign rule.
- **Revival of Glorious Indian Heritage** - During colonial rule in India, some Western scholars like Max Muller, William Jones, and Charles Wilkins played a crucial role in reviving India’s glorious heritage.
  - ❖ Their work helped boost self-confidence and patriotism among Indians, countering

the inferiority complex caused by colonial exploitation.

- **Social and Religious Reform Movements** - Various social reform movements agitated against the social evils of untouchability, orthodoxy, caste discrimination, etc. which was the hindrance to nationalism.
  - ❖ E.g., Several organisations like Arya Samaj, Brahma Samaj, Rama Krishna Mission, Theosophical society etc. helped in bringing movements of reformation and renaissance in India.
- **Repressive policies and Racial Arrogance of the British** - The racial arrogance and the rude behaviour of the Britishers towards the Indians had played a significant role in making them conscious of their condition.
  - ❖ E.g., White Man’s Burden.

**Predecessors of Indian National Congress (INC):**

The Indian National Congress founded in December 1885 was the first organised expression of the Indian national movement on an All-India scale. However, it had many predecessors.

- **East India Association (1866)** - Dada Bhai Naoroji organised the East India Association in London to discuss the Indian question and to influence British public men to promote Indian welfare.
  - ❖ Later he organised branches of the association in prominent Indian cities.
- **Indian Association of Calcutta (1876)** - The Indian Association was the first avowed nationalist organization founded in British India by Surendranath Banerjee and Ananda Mohan Bose in 1876.
  - ❖ The Indian Association set before itself the aims of creating strong public opinion in the country on political questions and the unification of the Indian people on a common political programme.
- **Poona Sarvajanik Sabha (1870)** - The Sabha was founded by Justice Ranade and others.
  - ❖ It was a sociopolitical organization in British India that mediated between the government and Indian people to promote peasants’ legal rights.
- **Madras Mahajan Sabha (1884)** - M. Veeraraghavachariar, G. Subramania Iyer, and P. Ananda Charlu founded the Madras Mahajana Sabha in 1884.
- **Bombay Presidency Association (1885)** - Founded



in 1885, the Bombay Presidency Association was established by Phirozeshah Mehta, K.T. Telang, and Badruddin Tyabji.

- ❖ The creation of The Bombay Presidency Association was a response to Lytton's reactionary policies and the controversy surrounding the Ilbert Bill.

**Indian National Congress (INC)**

- INC was established in December 1885 under the leadership of A.O. Hume, a retired British civil servant.
- He got in touch with prominent Indian leaders and organised with their corporation the first session of the Indian National Congress in Bombay in December 1885.
- It was presided over by WC Banerjee and attended by 72 delegates.

**The objectives of the INS were:**

- **Building a United India** - To foster a sense of togetherness in India, bringing people from all backgrounds together to form a unified nation.
- **Crafting a Shared National Political Agenda** - To create a set of common national political ideas or plans that everyone in India can agree on and use as the basis for all political activities across the country.
- **Spread Political Education** - Politicization of the people and the creation of public interest in political questions and the training and organization of public opinion in the country.
- **The creation of an all-India political leadership** - There was a lack of country-wide leadership in the 1880s.
- **Legislative Reforms** - Their major aim was to reform the legislative machinery.

**Methods Adopted by INC in Initial Phase (Moderate Phase: 1885-1905):**

- **PPP Method** - They protest within the constitutional walls and were limited to the PPP method, i.e., Petition, Prayer and Protest.
- **Holding of Annual Session** - At this session, the government policy was discussed and resolutions were passed forcefully.
- **Persuasion** - The Moderates believed that the British wanted to be just to the Indians but were not aware of the real conditions.
  - ❖ So, they persuaded the British Government and British public opinion to introduce reforms in India on the lines laid out by the nationalists.

- **Deputations to Britain** - Prominent Indians were sent to Britain, some even elected to the House of Commons, forming a strong Indian lobby advocating for Indian interests in the British Parliament

- ❖ E.g., Dadabhai Naoroji was the first Indian to be elected to the House of Commons.

**Demands of the INC (During the moderate Phase):**

- **Democratic Rights** - They didn't demand full self-government or democracy right away. Instead, they wanted democratic rights only for educated Indians who would represent the rest of the population.
- **More Representation in Legislative Assembly** - They aimed to increase Indian involvement in legislative bodies by expanding both central and provincial legislatures.
  - ❖ They also demanded new councils for North-Western Provinces and Punjab.
- **Indianisation of the Services** - They argued that an Indianized civil service would be more responsive to the Indian needs. It would stop the drainage of money.
- **Administrative Reforms** - They demanded Separation of judicial from executive functions.
  - ❖ They also demanded a trial by jury, repeal of the Arms Act and a campaign against the exploitation of indentured labour.
- **Military Reforms** - The moderates insisted that the British government should equitably distribute military expenditures, incorporate Indians as voluntary recruits into the army, and promote their appointment to higher-ranking positions.
- **Tax Reforms** - They demanded a reduction in taxes imposed on farmers and more funds for irrigation and farmers.

**Nature of the INC in Its Initiative Phase (Moderate Phase: 1885-1905):**

- **Not a Full-Fledged Political Body** - The early Congress was not a 'full-fledged political party'. It had neither paid members nor a central office, nor a permanent fund, nor permanent officials.
- **Dominated by Educated Middle Class** - There were lawyers, merchants and bankers, landowners, medical men, journalists, educationists, religious teachers and reformers.
- **Non-Radical Organisation** - In its early days, the Indian National Congress wasn't a radical organisation, as the culture of government opposition hadn't fully emerged.

- ❖ They restricted the methods of prayer, petition and memoranda.
- **Absolute Faith in Britishers** - The Congress leaders had trust in the essential sense of justice and kindness of the British nation.
- ❖ The National Congress took pride in the British connection and regarded the British government not as an antagonist, but as an ally.
- **Narrow Social Base** - The basic weakness of the early national movement lay in its narrow social base. It did not penetrate down to the masses. The leaders lacked faith in the masses.

**Nature of INC in Its Later Phase (Extremist Phase: 1905-1920):**

- **Wide Social Base** - The extremists had a broad social foundation for their political protests, engaging not only the educated elite but also the lower-middle and middle-class sections of society.
- **No Faith in Britishers** - They did not believe in British rule and believed the crown's claim unworthy.
  - ❖ They opposed the idealizing of the Western culture by the liberals and considered it a cultural capitulation to the British rulers.
- **Inspiration From Indian History** - Their inspiration was drawn from India's history, tradition, culture, and heritage, and they had confidence in the ability of the masses to participate and make sacrifices.
- **Passive Resistance** - They also adopted extra-constitutional methods of boycott, i.e., strikes, refusing to obey laws, non-cooperation, etc.
- **Demand for Swaraj** - Their demand was not only for gradual reform or democratic rights, but they insisted on self-governance or Swaraj.
  - ❖ They reacted strongly to British imperialist policies in India.

**Methods Adopted by Extremist Leaders of INC:**

- **Boycott of Foreign Goods** - This involved boycotting foreign clothes, salt and sugar, priests declining to officiate marriages involving foreign goods, and washermen refusing to wash foreign clothes.
- **Public Meetings and Gathering** - These emerged as major methods of mass mobilisation and simultaneously as forms of popular expression.
- **Corps of Volunteers or "Samitis"** - These Samitis (e.g., Swadesh Bandhab Samiti of Ashwani Kumar) cultivated political awareness among the masses

using methods such as magic lantern lectures, and Swadeshi songs, providing physical and moral training to their members, and engaging in social work during famines and epidemics.

- **Imaginative use of traditional popular festivals and fairs** - It was used as a platform to reach the masses at large scale.
  - ❖ E.g., Bal Gangadhar Tilak organised the Ganpati and Shivaji Festival to spread Swadeshi propaganda in various regions of the country.
- **Programme of Swadeshi or National Education** - More emphasis was given to the establishment of nationals and colleges to organise a system of Education based on national lines and under national control.
  - ❖ E.g., Bengal National College, Bengal Institute of Technology, etc.

**Safety Valve Theory Related to Formation of INC:**

Safety valve theory was provided by Lala Lajpat Rai in his books. He claimed that the formation of the Indian National Congress was the brainchild of the Viceroy Dufferin.

- He argued that 'the Congress was started more with the object of saving the British Empire from danger than with that of winning political liberty for India.

**Basis of the theory:**

- **Involvement of A O Hume** - Hume's participation in the establishment of the INC sparked significant controversy concerning the Congress's origins.
- **Biography of A O Hume** - The theory (safety valve) originated from William Wedderburn's biography of Hume published in 1913.
  - ❖ Wedderburn, a fellow civil servant, claimed that in 1878, Hume had discovered seven confidential reports in Simla.
  - ❖ These reports revealed widespread discontent among lower classes and a plot to overthrow British rule through force.
  - ❖ Disturbed by this, Hume, in consultation with Lord Dufferin, decided to create an organization comprising educated Indians.
  - ❖ Their goal was to establish a channel of communication between the rulers and the ruled, serving as a pressure release valve and averting a large-scale revolution. In this manner, the Congress was initiated under the auspices of British rule.
- **Statement by W.C. Bannerjee** - Further proof

offered for the safety-valve theory was based on W.C. Bannerjee's statement in 1898 that "the Congress, as it was originally started and as it has since been carried on, is in reality the work of Dufferin".

- **Loyalist Behaviour of Moderates** – Moderates' loyalist behaviour and faith in British kindness and limiting the Swadeshi movement to the Bengal region, further strengthened the theory.

**Criticism of the theory:**

- **Questioning the Existence of the Seven Volumes of Secret Reports** - First of all, those seven volumes of secret reports have not been traced in any of the archives either in India or London.
- And second, if Congress was founded out of the fear of an outbreak, why did Hume and British officialdom wait for seven long years?
- **Theory of Gurus of Tibet** - Wedderburn writes that a warning of the threatened danger came to Hume 'from a religious Guru of Tibet, which is hard to believe.
- **W C Banerjee's Statement** – He might put the statement to protect the National Congress from the wrath of the late 19th century imperialist reaction.
- **Behaviour of Britishers Toward Congress** - Neither Dufferin and his fellow liberal Governors of Bombay and Madras nor his conservative officials were sympathetic to the Congress.
  - ❖ Dufferin criticized INC for representing a "microscopic minority" and this statement if anything else, explodes the safety valves or conspiracy theory.

**Conclusion:**

While Hume's significant involvement in the Congress's establishment remains a fact, it's possible that his role was greatly overstated in the safety valve or conspiracy theories.

- Nevertheless, even if Hume had not taken any proactive steps, it is evident that during the 1870s and 1880s in India, the formation of a national organization was already a growing trend.
- If Indians had attempted to establish such an organization independently, they would have faced insurmountable opposition from the officials, and such an entity would not have been permitted to take shape.
- Even if the British govt used the INC as a safety valve, the leaders of INC also used the Hume as a "lightning conductor" i.e., as a catalyst to bring together the nationalist forces, even if under the guise of a safety valve.

**Non-Cooperation Movement (NCM) 1920-1922**

On September 4, 1920, Mahatma Gandhi initiated the Non-Cooperation Movement, a political initiative aimed at encouraging Indians to withdraw their support from the British government, in hopes of pressuring the British authorities into granting self-governance to India.

**Various factors led to the launch of NCM:**

- **Economic Hardship** - In the post-war years, India faced economic distress marked by soaring commodity prices, declining industrial production, and heavier tax and rent burdens. This widespread hardship fuelled anti-British sentiments across society.
- **Brutality of Govt** - The Rowlatt Act, the imposition of martial law in Punjab and the Jallianwala Bagh massacre exposed the brutal and uncivilised face of foreign rule.
- **White Wash Commission** - The Hunter Commission on Punjab atrocities was seen as a sham. The British House of Lords backed General Dyer's actions, and the public raised £30,000 for him through The Morning Post, demonstrating their support.
- **Unsatisfactory Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms** - The Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms, with their poorly conceived system of Dyarchy, fell short of meeting the growing Indian demand for self-government.
- **Khilafat Issue** – After World War 1, Turkey was dismembered and the Khalifa was removed from power. It led a great resentment in Indian Muslims.
- **Lost Faith in Constitutional Methods** - Another reason for starting the Non-cooperation movement was that Gandhi lost faith in constitutional methods and turned from a cooperator of British Rule to a Non-Cooperator.

**The programmes Under the NCM were:**

- Boycott of government schools and colleges.
- Boycott of law courts and dispensation of justice through Panchayats instead.
- Boycott of Legislative Councils.
- Boycott of foreign cloth and use of khadi instead; also practice of hand-spinning to be done;
- Renunciation of government honours and titles.
- In the second phase, options could involve widespread civil disobedience actions such as quitting government positions and refusing to pay taxes.
- Constructive works like Hindu-Muslim unity, the Prohibition of alcoholic drink, the fostering of temperance, the establishment of national education institutions, etc. was also undertaken.

**The Achievements of NCM:**

- **Mass Mobilisation** - It was the first countrywide popular movement. Millions of people took parts from various sections of society i.e., peasants, labourers, businessmen, women, students, etc.
  - ❖ E.g., About 90,000 students left government schools and colleges and joined national schools and colleges which cropped up during this time.
- **Establishment of National Educational Institutions** - Many famous universities and colleges were established during the NCM.
  - ❖ E.g., Jamia Millia at Aligarh, Kashi Vidyapeeth, Gujarat Vidyapeeth and Bihar Vidyapeeth.
- **Reduced Import of Foreign Items** - Heaps of foreign cloths were burnt publicly and their imports fell by half. Picketing of shops selling foreign liquor and toddy shops was undertaken at many places.
- **Tilka Sawaraj Fund** - Tilak Swaraj Fund was oversubscribed and one crore rupees was collected. Congress volunteer corps emerged as the parallel police.
- **Women Empowerment** - A large number of women participated in the movement for the first time. Sarojini Naidu, Bi Amma (Mother of Md. Ali and Shaikat Ali), Saraladevi Choudhurani, Rajkumari Amrit Kaur, Muthulakshmi Reddi, Swarup Rani etc. also played a role during Non-Cooperation Movement.
  - ❖ E.g., In November 1921 a demonstration of a thousand women greeted the Prince of Wales in Bombay.
- **Local Uprising** - The spirit of defiance and unrest gave rise to many local struggles such as the Awadh Kisan Movement (UP), Eka Movement (UP), Moppila Revolt (Malabar) and the Sikh agitation for the removal of mahants in Punjab.
- **Spread of Nationalist Sentiments Across India's Diverse Demographics** - The Non-Cooperation Movement spread nationalism across India, reaching artisans, farmers, students, the urban poor, women, traders, and more.
- **Dispel the Fear of Colonial Repression Among the Masses** - Colonial rule in India was built on two myths: first, that it benefited Indians, which was exposed by economic critiques from Moderate nationalists, and second, that it was invincible, which was challenged by Satyagraha mass struggles.

**Criticism of NCM:**

- **Communalisation of Indian Politics** - The movement

brought the urban Muslims into the national movement but at the same time it communalised the national politics to an extent.

- ❖ Muslims joined the national movement for the religious issue and left the moment for the same issue.
- **Failure of National Leaders** - While Muslim sentiments reflected a broader anti-imperialist sentiment, national leaders were unable to elevate Muslim political consciousness from religious to secular levels.
- **Gandhi's One-Year Quest** - Gandhi's goal to achieve self-government within one year was not successful.
- **Provide Fuel to Revolutionary Activities** - The abrupt end of the Non-Cooperation Movement surprised revolutionaries. Dissatisfied with national leadership, they charted their own path to combat imperialism.

**Why Gandhi Withdrew the Movement:**

- **Incident of Chauri-Chaura** - After the Chauri-Chaura incident, Gandhi felt that people had not learnt or fully understood the method of non-violence.
  - ❖ He considered that a violent movement could be easily suppressed by the regime.
- **Signs of Fatigue** - The movement was showing signs of fatigue because sustaining a movement for a longer period is challenging. Further, govt was not in the mood for negotiation.
- **Khilafat Issue Lost its Relevance** - In Nov. 2022, the central theme of the agitation, the Khilafat question, lost its relevance when the people of Turkey under Mustafa Kamal Pasha deprived the Sultan of political powers.

**Civil Disobedient Movement (CDM) 1930-1934**

Civil Disobedience Movement was started by Gandhi in 1930 and it was initiated with the Dandi March from Sabarmati Ashram to Dandi (a coastal village in Gujarat).

- On reaching the coast at Dandi, the salt law was violated by Mahatma Gandhi after collecting salt from the beach.

**Causes of the movement:**

- **Refusal of 11 Demands of Gandhi** - After the 1929 Lahore Session, Gandhi issued an ultimatum with 11 demands to the British government. Their refusal triggered the start of the Civil Disobedience Movement (CDM).
- **British Monopoly on Salt Production** - The British government's monopoly on salt production and high

taxes on salt was one of the major causes to start the CDM.

- **Unsatisfactory Simon Commission** - Nationalistic sentiment surged due to the 1928 Simon Commission's exclusion of Indians from constitutional decision-making, refusal of dominion status, and unjust arrests of social revolutionaries.
- **Need for Mass Movement** - Since the Non-Cooperation Movement, there has been no nationwide movement in the country, but the increasing discontent among the masses required an outlet.

### Why Choose Salt:

The reasons provided by the Mahatma Gandhi were:

- **Common Symbolizer for Every Section of Society** - Gandhi considered the salt tax a powerful symbol because it affected all classes in India, resonating more than abstract political demands.
- **Impact on British Raj Revenue** - According to Gandhi the salt tax accounted for 8.2% of British Raj tax revenue and would eventually prove detrimental to their interests.
- **Promote Hindu-Muslim Unity** - He also reasoned that it would build unity between Hindus and Muslims by fighting a wrong that touched them equally.

### Achievement of the CDM:

- **Spread of Salt Disobedience** - In Tamil Nadu, C. Rajagopalachari led a march from Tiruchirapally to Vedaranniyam.
  - ❖ In Malabar, K. Kelappan led a march from Calicut to Poyannur.
  - ❖ On May 21, 1930, Sarojini Naidu, Imam Sahib and Manilal (Gandhi's son) took up the unfinished task of leading a raid on Dharsana Salt Works.
- **Refusal to Pay Chowkidari Tax** - A campaign was launched in Bihar to boycott the Chowkidar tax, calling for the resignation of both Chowkidars and the influential members who appointed them.
- **No-Revenue Campaign** - A no-revenue campaign was arranged in UP, urging Zamindars to withhold payment of revenue to the Government. Simultaneously, a no-rent campaign encouraged tenants to resist their Zamindars.
- **Banner of Revolts in North-East** - Rani Gaidinliu of Nagaland, at just thirteen, bravely rebelled against foreign rule and was subsequently captured in 1932, serving a life sentence.
- **Fell in Import of Foreign Goods** - For example, imports of cloth from Britain had fallen by half.

- **A Global Symbol of Nonviolent Resistance** - The iconic march catapulted India's independence movement to global prominence, with Gandhi featured on Time magazine's front page, highlighting British oppression and the power of nonviolence.

- **Women Participation** - It was during the Civil Disobedience movement that the floodgates were opened. Women took part at a great level during the movement.

❖ E.g., Sarojini Naidu, Rani Gaidinliu.

### Comparison with the NCM:

- **A Clear Goal of Puran Swaraj** - The stated objective this time was complete independence and not just remedying two specific wrongs and a vaguely worded swaraj.
- **Beyond Non-Cooperation** - Right from the start, the methods used involved breaking the law, not just non-cooperation with foreign rule.
- **Changing Nature of Intelligentsia** - Forms of protest involving the intelligentsia, like lawyers quitting their practice or students leaving government schools to attend national institutions, experienced a decline.
- **Declined Muslim Participation** - Muslim participation was not even near compared to the Non-Cooperation Movement, because Muslim leaders asked their followers not to join, and the government encouraged communal tensions.
- **No Major Labour Upsurge** - No major labour upsurge coincided with the movement as compared to the NCM.
  - ❖ But massive participation of peasants and business groups compensated for the decline of other features.
- **More Strong Congress** - The Congress had a stronger organizational structure, and the number of people imprisoned was nearly three times higher this time.

### Quit India Movement

The Quit India Movement, alternatively named the Bharat Chhodo Andolan, commenced on August 9, 1942, during World War II, at the Bombay session of the All-India Congress Committee. It was initiated by Mahatma Gandhi and called for the cessation of British rule in India.

### Causes of the QIM:

- **Failure of Cripps Mission** - The Cripps Mission's failure revealed Britain's unchanged stance on constitutional progress and highlighted the need for Indians to speak up against British decisions without their input.

- **Economic Hardship** - Popular discontent grew due to soaring prices, rice and salt shortages, and actions like commandeering boats in Bengal and Orissa.
  - ❖ Additionally, fears of a scorched earth policy by Britain in Assam, Bengal, and Orissa arose in response to potential Japanese advances.
- **Threat of Japanese Invasion** - As news spread that the British were losing in Southeast Asia and might collapse soon, more people felt ready to express their discontent.
- **Shattered Prestige of Britishers** - The British evacuation from Southeast Asia, with separate roads for Indian and European refugees, and their defeat by an Asian power, shattered white prestige and revealed the rulers' racist attitudes.
- **Preparing for the Unthinkable** - The leadership aimed to prepare the masses in case of a potential Japanese invasion.

**How the QIM was different from previous movements?**

- **Spontaneous in Nature** - Following the arrest of most leaders, people spontaneously participated and carried on with the movement themselves.
- **Violent in Nature** - Though previous movements remained the most non-violent, QIM was violent in nature.
  - ❖ The people burnt the Govt. offices, bridges were blown up, railway tracks were removed and telegraph lines were cut.
- **Non-Condemnation of Violence by Gandhi** - Gandhi changed his stance on violence and didn't criticize the violence used by the masses.
- **Formation of Parallel Govts** - Parallel governments were established in many places and they sustained for years.
  - ❖ In Ballia (August 1942 for a week) under Chittu Pandey. He secured the release of many Congress leaders.
  - ❖ In Tamluk (Midnapore, from December 1942 to September 1944) cyclone relief, school grants, paddy distribution, and organizing Bidyut Bahinis, etc.
  - ❖ In Satara (mid-1943 to 1945) known as "Prati Sarkar," led by Y.B. Chavan, Nana Patil, and others.
- **Demand for Immediate Independence** - The key importance of this historic movement was that it made the call for independence a top priority for the national movement right away.

**The Revolutionaries**

The rise of revolutionary ideology in India during the late 19th and early 20th centuries was shaped by various internal and external factors that impacted the mindset of the youth.

**Various factors responsible for the emergence of revolutionaries:**

- **Shortcomings of Moderates and Extremists** - Moderate politics had already lost relevance as an effective political strategy.
  - ❖ It had already come under heavy criticism by the Extremists.
  - ❖ Extremists too had come to a political dead end by the end of 1907.
  - ❖ While their ideology initially seemed full of promise and inspiration, it ultimately remained confined to the realm of ideas.
- **British Attitude** - Despite the persistent official arrogance and repression, the British attitude remained unchanged, making the fulfilment of demands seem remote.
  - ❖ Even after a prolonged protest, the Partition of Bengal was not revoked.
- **Sudden Withdrawal of NCM** - The sudden halt of the Non-Cooperation Movement surprised and disappointed them, leading to deep dissatisfaction and disillusionment.
- **Disintegration of the Hindu-Muslim Unity** - Their feelings of sadness and disappointment were intensified because the unity between Hindus and Muslims was falling apart.
- **No Appeal of the Alternative Political Action** - They were not attracted to the alternative political options presented by the Swarajists' parliamentary politics and Gandhi's Constructive Programme.
- **Influence of the Russian Revolution** - The Russian Revolution, with its socialist success, inspired and mobilized the youth, leading to a new socialist political system.
- **The upsurge of the working class** - The revolutionaries could see the revolutionary potential of this new class and wished to harness it to the national revolution.

**The Ideology of the Revolutionaries:**

- **Promote the Cult of Violence** - The primary feature of their entire program was to instil fear among the British.
  - ❖ They engaged in activities such as assassinating

disliked British officials and organizing swadeshi dacoities to raise funds.

- **Remove Fear** - Another dimension of their ideology was to remove the fear from the people's minds and arouse revolutionary and patriotic sentiments.
- **Promote Notion of Self-Sacrifice** - The passionate nationalist youth initiated, executed, and popularized this movement, emphasizing heroism and self-sacrifice.
- **Use of Religious and Mystical Beliefs** - It motivated them to fight for India's national liberation rather than promoting divisive communal politics or inciting hatred against other Indian communities.
- **Invoke Revolutionary Feeling Among the Masses** - In the later phase, the revolutionaries transitioned from individual sacrifice to involving the masses in their struggle.
  - ❖ The organisation of the workers and peasants was part of their political agenda. They emphasized carrying revolutionary work among them.

**Weaknesses and decline of the Revolutionaries:**

- **Ideas Remained in Realm of Ideas** - The actions of the Revolutionary Terrorists were driven more by idealism than practicality.
  - ❖ E.g., In theory, they planned mass action but in practice, their activities remained restricted to radical and individual action.
- **Little Efforts to Involve Masses** - They couldn't engage with the masses politically and were isolated from them, leading to their failure to turn the movement into a mass movement.
- **Devoid of Popular Base** - They operated individually and in small groups without popular support, resulting in weak and ineffective activities.
- **Failed to Provide a Substitute** - They couldn't make the national movement revolutionary, nor could they establish socialist dominance within it.
- **Lack of Effective Leadership and Organisation** - They didn't have a strong organization, lacked a powerful central leader, and often lost their way. Their few carefully prepared plans didn't bring much success either.
- **Their Efforts and Sacrifices did not Strengthen Their Own Revolutionary Cause** - Their actions ended up inspiring nationalist sentiments instead, which bolstered the leadership of the mainstream nationalist movement. Ironically, their efforts and sacrifices did not strengthen their own revolutionary cause.
- **Attitudes of the Moderates and the Extremists**

**Towards Them** - The Moderates didn't support their ideology, and the Extremists couldn't fully back them either. They operated independently, without the support of prominent political groups or the masses.

**Praja Mandal Movements in the Princely States**

The start of the nationalist movement in British India also affected the people living in the Princely States. Many revolutionary nationalists who were running away from British rule came to the Princely States in the early 1900s and started doing political activities there.

- The movements in princely states for the national cause were led by "Praja Mandals" or "Praja Parishads", and these movements were collectively known as the "Praja Mandal movements".

**Conditions of the People of Princely State:**

- **Autocratic Rule** - Princely States in colonial India were often autocratically ruled, imposing heavy taxes on the populace while neglecting education and social services.
- **Restricted Civil Rights** - Civil rights were restricted, and state revenues were spent on the lavish lifestyles of rulers.
- **British Protection** - British protection from aggression allowed rulers to disregard their people's interests. The British government also expected support for imperialist policies, hindering nationalist sentiments' growth.

**The National Movement in the Princely States:**

- **Faces Two Challenges Simultaneously** - The people of the Praja Mandal movement fought against their feudal princes and the British administration simultaneously for their rights.
- **Main Demands** - The main demand of the Praja Mandal movements was democratic rights.
- **Activities of Praja Mandal Movements** - People in the Praja Mandal Movements adopted the Indian National Movement's constructive programs in their princely states.
  - ❖ E.g., setting up schools, promoting khadi, supporting small-scale industries, and protesting against untouchability.

**The Attitude of Congress Toward the Praja Mandal Movement:**

- **Nagpur Session of 1920** - The Congress, for the first time at its Nagpur Session in 1920, enunciated its policy towards the peoples' movement in the Princely States.
  - ❖ It called upon the princes to grant full responsible

government in their States.

- ❖ It allowed people from princely states to enrol as congress members, but they could not initiate the movements in their states in the name of Congress.
  - ❖ They could carry on political activity in their individual capacity as members of the local Praja Mandals.
- **Lahore Session of 1929** - In 1929, during the Lahore Congress, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru emphasized that the future of the states should be determined by the people living in those states.
- **Lucknow Session of 1936** - In 1936, the Lucknow Congress resolution affirmed that people in princely states should have the same self-determination rights as the rest of India.
- ❖ It emphasized that the struggle for liberty in these states should be led by their own people.
- **Involvement of INC in Movements of Princely States** – In Rajkot, the Satyagraha movement drew personalities like Gandhiji and Sardar Patel.
- **Haripura Session 1938** - It considered the states to be integral parts of India and desired the same political, social and economic freedom in the States as in the rest of India.
- The demand for 'Purna Swaraj' put forward by the Congress was for the whole of India inclusive of the States.
- **Tripuri Session of 1939** – In this session congress removed all restrictions on it and provided full support to the Praja Mandal Movements in the state.
- **During Quit India Movement** - During the Quit India movement, Congress formally extended the call for launching a struggle to the people of the States as well.
- **All-India Congress Resolution of 1947** - In a resolution on June 15, 1947, the AICC (All India Congress Committee) firmly stated that no state in India had the right to declare independence and isolate itself from the rest of the country.
- ❖ Over the following weeks, efforts were made to integrate all 565 princely states into the Indian Union.

**Women in Indian politics (1885-1947)**

One of the most significant features of the 20th Century was the rise of the women's movement.

- Different women's movements have resulted in

various women's issues becoming mainstream in society.

**Involvement of Women with Indian National Congress (INC):**

- **Participation in Early Congress Sessions:**
- ❖ **First Appearance** - In 1889, women made their first appearance at a Congress session during the Bombay Session, with notable delegates such as Pandita Ramabai, Swarnakumari Devi, and Kadambini Ganguly.
  - ❖ In the 1890 Calcutta Session, Kadambini Ganguly addressed the Congress Session.
- **First Lady President of INC Sessions** – In 1917, Annie Beasant became the first lady to preside over the INC session in Calcutta Session.
- ❖ In the Kanpur Session of INC in 1925, Sarojini Naidu became the first woman to preside over the session of INC.
- **Involved in the nationalist independence movement** - From the 1920's women became involved in the nationalist independence movement.
- ❖ The involvement of women in the Indian National Congress legitimized the organization, while their actions recognized Indian unity and the principle of satyagraha.
  - ❖ **National Planning Sub-Committee** - In 1939, the INC formed a sub-committee led by Rani Rajwade to suggest women's roles in a planned economy.
  - ❖ **Women's Department** - In 1940, the Indian National Congress established a Women's Department and appointed Sucheta Mazumdar Kripalani, the wife of Acharya Kripalani, to lead and organize it.
- **Women's Participation in National Movements:**
- ❖ **Swadeshi Movement** - During the Swadeshi Movement, their involvement was largely confined to traditional gender roles, centred around their homes.
  - ❖ They participated by boycotting British goods and using swadeshi, crushing their glass bangles and observing non-cooking days as a ritual of protest.
- **Non-Cooperation Movements** - During the 1921 Non-Cooperation movement, Gandhi initially suggested a limited role for women, focusing on boycotts and Swadeshi. However, women asserted their desire for a more active role.



- ❖ E.g., In 1921 a demonstration of a thousand women greeted the Prince of Wales in Bombay.
  - ❖ In December, Basanti Devi, C.R. Das's wife, along with Urmila Devi and Suniti Devi, shocked the nation by openly demonstrating in the streets of Calcutta and getting arrested.
  - ❖ Sarojini Naidu, Bi Amma, Saraladevi Choudhurani, Rajkumari Amrit Kaur, Muthulakshmi Reddi, Swarup Rani etc. also played a role during the Non-Cooperation Movement.
- **Civil Disobedience Movement** - It was during the Civil Disobedience movement that the floodgates were opened.
- ❖ Women played a role in the picketing of Liquor Shops and demonstrations during CDM.
  - ❖ S. Naidu organised the famous Dharsana Satyagraha in Gujarat during CDM.
  - ❖ Kamladavi Chattopadhyay, Krishnabai Rau etc. played a role during CDM.
  - ❖ Usha Mehta joined Vanar Sena (Monkey Army) during CDM.
  - ❖ At 16, Rani Gaidinliu started an anti-British movement in the Manipur and Naga regions, leading to her arrest and a life sentence in 1932.
- **Individual Satyagraha** - Aruna Asaf Ali courted arrest by offering individual Satyagraha in 1941.
- ❖ Sucheta Kriplani played a role in Individual Satyagraha in 1940; She was imprisoned for two years.
- **Quit India Movement** - Aruna Asif Ali raised the Tiranga in Mumbai's Gwalior Tank Maidan during the Quit India Movement after the arrest of all leaders by the British government.
- ❖ During the Quit India Movement, women participated in underground activities.
  - ❖ Sucheta Kripalani coordinated non-violent resistance, and Aruna Asaf Ali provided leadership for underground revolutionary efforts, despite Gandhi's advice to surrender.
  - ❖ Usha Mehta organised Congress Radio with the name Voice of India till November 1942.
  - ❖ Bhogeswari Phukanani, a female martyr of the 1942 Quit India Movement, originated from Nagaon District in Assam.
  - ❖ A significant aspect of this movement was rural women actively taking the initiative to contribute to their country's liberation.

**Why Women Responded to Gandhi's Appeal?**

- **His Insisted-on Non-Violence** - Gandhi's focus on non-violence and upholding a respectable image for women satyagrahis aligned with societal expectations, assuring men of their women's safety under Gandhi's leadership.
- **At Will of Male Guardian** - Ultimately, women's participation had less resistance because, in essence, they took part due to the wishes of their male guardians.
- **Familial Involvement in the Nationalist Struggle** - In many instances, women who joined the nationalist struggle hailed from families already engaged in Gandhian movements.

**Limitations of the Women's Participation in National Movement:**

- **Neglected Role in Decision Making** - The Congress and its leaders showed little interest in women's issues and rarely included them in decision-making.
  - ❖ E.g., According to Sarla Devi Chaudhrani, the Congress wanted women to be "law-breakers only and not law-makers".
- **Women's Participation Remained Predominantly an Urban Phenomenon** - While rural women did participate in some areas, women's involvement in agitations remained mostly an urban phenomenon.
- **No Change in Their Social Role** - Their involvement in politics did not bring about substantial alterations in their domestic or familial relationships.
  - ❖ E.g., girls or women, who participated the revolutionary activities, were not accepted in society.

**Important Acts**

**Regulating Act 1773**

- This act was of great constitutional significance as it was the first step taken by the British govt to control and regulate the affairs of the East India Company and recognised, for the first time, the political and administrative functions of the company.

**Major features of the Act were:**

- **Change the Designation of Governor of Bengal** - It designated the Governor of Bengal as the Governor-General of Bengal, provided with an executive council of four members.
- **Bombay and Madras Presidency as Subordinate** - The presidencies of Bombay and Madras were placed under the control and superintendence of the Governor General in Council.
- **Establishment of Supreme Court** - A supreme

court was established at Fort William at Calcutta. This Supreme Court consisted of a Chief Justice and three other regular judges.

- **Provisions to Curb Corruption** - It prohibited the servants of the company from engaging in any private trade or accepting presents or bribes from the natives to curb corruption.
- **Strengthened the Control of the British Government over the Company** - It strengthened the control of the British government over the company by requiring the court of directors to report on its revenue, civil, and military affairs in India.

**Criticism of the Act:**

- **Misery of the Tax Payers** - The act failed to address the plight of the Indian populace, who, despite paying revenue to the company, were suffering from famine in Bengal, Bihar, and Orissa.
- **Failed to Control Corruption** - Provisions of the Act were also towards stopping corruption but it failed to do so.
  - ❖ E.g., The major charges were brought against the first Governor-General, Warren Hastings and he was impeached in the trial for corruption.
- **Hurdles in Decision Making** - Due to the decision of the council to be by majority, many times decisions could not be taken as per Hasting as Governor General in Council was first among equals with no veto.
- **Confusion Regarding Jurisdiction of Supreme Court** - There was much confusion regarding its jurisdictions and also on whom its jurisdiction was applicable.

**Pitts India Act 1784**

- To overcome the limitations of the Regulating Act of 1773, the Pitts India Act was enacted by the British government.

**The major provisions of the Act were:**

- **Separation of Power** - The Pitts India Act of 1784 established a clear separation between the East India Company's political and commercial functions.
- **System of Dual Government** - It allowed the Court of Directors to manage the commercial affairs but created a new body called the "Board of Control" to manage the political affairs.
- **Impact on Governor-General Council** - The Governor General's council was now reduced to 3 members, one of whom was to be the commander-in-chief of the King's army in India.
  - ❖ The governor-general was provided with a

casting vote in case of equality of votes in the executive council.

- **More Sub-Ordination of Bombay and Madras Presidencies** - Calcutta gained centralized authority in war, revenue, and diplomacy, while the Governors of Bombay and Madras lost their independent powers.

**Criticism of the Act:**

- **No Clear Boundaries** - The act was naive, dividing responsibility among the Board of Control, Court of Directors, and Governor General in Council without clear boundaries due to the subjective nature of the matter.

**Charter Act of 1813**

- The East India Company Act of 1813, also known as the Charter Act of 1813, was an Act of the Parliament of the United Kingdom that renewed the charter issued to the British East India Company and continued the Company's rule in India.

**Key provisions of the Act were:**

- **Abolish the Trade Monopoly of EIC** - It abolished the trade monopoly of the East India Company in India. However, it continued the monopoly of the company over tea and trade with China.
- **Advent of Christian Missionaries** - It allowed the Christian missionaries to come to India to enlighten the people.
- **Financial Provision for Education and Revival of Indian Literature & Promotion of Science** - Financial provision was made to encourage a revival in Indian literature and for the promotion of science.
  - ❖ There was also a provision that the Company should invest Rs. 1 Lakh every year in the education of Indians.
- **More Power to Local Governments** - It authorized the local government in India to impose taxes on persons. They could also punish the persons for not paying taxes.

**Criticism of the Act:**

- **Legal Protection to Christian Missionaries** - The Act allowed Christian missionaries to come to India, which provided legal protection to missionaries to intervene in the religious affairs of the country.
- **Inadequate Finance for Promotion of Education** - Rs I lakh announced under the Act, was not only inadequate but also provided by the EIC after enactment of Act of 1833.

**Charter Act of 1833**

- The Saint Helena Act 1833 or The Government of India Act 1833 or The Charter Act of 1833 was the final step towards centralisation in British India.

**Major Provisions of the Act were:**

- **Ended Monopoly of EIC** - It ended the trade monopoly of East India Company in trade completely and EIC became a purely administrative body.
- **Change the Designation of Governor-General of Bengal** - The Governor-General of Bengal became Governor-General of India, having authority over entire British possessions in India.
  - ❖ **Deprived of Legislative Powers** - It deprived the Governor of Bombay and Madras of their legislative powers. The Governor-General of India was given exclusive legislative powers for the entire region.
  - ❖ **Increase Members of G-G Council** - The number of the members of the Governor General's council was again fixed to 4, which had been reduced by the Pitt's India Act to three.
  - ❖ **Codifying the Laws** - The act of 1833 provided that all laws made in India were to be laid before the parliament and were to be known as Acts.
  - ❖ In a step towards codifying the laws, the Governor-General-in-Council was directed under the Charter Act of 1833, to set up an Indian law Commission.
- **Mitigation of Slavery** - This act also directed the Governor General-in-Council to adopt measures to mitigate the state of slavery, persisting in India.
- **More Bishops** - The Charter Act of 1833 laid down regulations for the establishment of Christian establishments in India and the number of Bishops was made three.

**Charter Act of 1853**

- This was the last Charter Act passed by the British parliament between 1793-1853.

**The features of this Act were:**

- **Separate of Power** - It separated, for the first time, the legislative and executive functions of the Governor-General's council.
- **Introduced Open Competitions for Civil Services** - It introduced an open competition system for the selection and recruitment of civil servants. The Covenanted Civil Service was, thus, thrown open to the Indians also.
- **Extended Company's Right** - It extended the

company's rule and allowed it to retain the possession of Indian territory, but did not specify any particular period.

- **Local Representation In Indian Legislative Council** - of the six new legislative members of the Governor-General Council, four members were appointed by the local governments of Madras, Bombay, Bengal, and Agra.

**Government of India Act 1858**

- The Act was known as the Act for the Good Government of India abolished the East India Company and transferred the powers of government territories and revenue to the British government.

**The features of the Act were:**

- **Change the Designation of Governor-General of India** - It changed the designation of the Governor-General of India to that of Viceroy of India.
- **Ended the System of Double Government** - It ended the system of double government by abolishing the Board of Control and Court of Directors.
- **Office of Secretary of State** - It created a new office, the Secretary of State for India, vested with complete authority and control over Indian administration.
  - ❖ It established a 15-member council of India to assist the Secretary of State for India.
- **SoS Council as a Body Corporate** - It constituted the Secretary of State-in-Council as a body corporate, capable of suing and being sued in India and England.

**Indian Councils Act of 1861**

- The Act of 1861 was an important landmark in the constitutional and political history of India.

**The major features of the Act were:**

- **Beginning of Representative Institution** - It initiated the establishment of representative institutions by involving Indians in the legislative process.
  - ❖ It mandated that the viceroy should appoint certain Indians as non-official members of his extended council.
- **Initiated Process of Decentralisation** - It initiated the process of decentralisation by restoring the legislative powers to the Bombay and Madras Presidencies.
- **New Legislative Councils Established** - It also provided for the establishment of new legislative councils for Bengal, North-western provinces and Punjab.
- **Gave Recognition to the Portfolio System** - It also

gave recognition to the “portfolio system” introduced by Canning in 1859.

- **Issuance of Ordinances** – It empowered the voice to issue ordinances without the concurrence of the Legislative Council during an emergency.

### **Indian Councils Act of 1909**

- This Act is also called Morley-Minto Reforms.

#### **The major features of the Act were:**

- **Expanded the Legislative Councils** – It considerably increased the size of the legislative councils both central and provincial.
- **Official Majority** – It retained the official majority in the central Legislative Council, but allowed the provincial legislative councils to have the non-official majority.
- **Enlarged the Functions of Legislative Councils** – The act allowed legislative councils to ask supplementary questions, move resolutions on the budget, and so on.
- **Indian in Executive Council** – It provided for the Association of Indians with the Executive Councils of the Vice Roy and Governors.
- **Introduced Separate Electorate** – It introduced a system of communal representation for Muslims by accepting the concept of “separate electorates”.

### **Government of India Act of 1919**

- This Act is also known as Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms.

#### **Features of the Act were:**

- **Introduced Dyarchy in Provinces** – It relaxed the central control over the provinces by demarcating and separating the central and provincial subjects.
  - ❖ It divided provincial subjects into two categories: transferred and reserved. Transferred subjects were to be governed by the governor with responsible ministers, while reserved subjects would be under the governor and his executive council without accountability to the Legislative Council. This system was called “Dyarchy”
- **Introduced Bicameralism** – It was introduced, for the first time, by bicameralism and direct election in the country the majority of members of both houses were chosen by direct elections.
- **Extended Communal Representation** – It extended the principle of communal representation by providing separate electorates for Sikhs, Indian Christians, Anglo-Indians, and Europeans.
- **Provisions for the Establishment of Public Service**

**Commission** – It provided for the establishment of a Public Service Commission. Hence a central public service commission was set up in 1926.

- **Separate Budgets** – It separated for the first time provincial budgets from the central budget and authorised the provincial legislatures to enact their budgets.

### **Government of India Act of 1935**

The Government of India Act 1935 was originally passed in August 1935 and was the longest British Act of Parliament ever enacted by that time. The Government of Burma Act 1935 was also included in it.

#### **The key features of this Act were:**

- **Establishment of All-India Federation** – It called for the creation of an All-India Federation, with provinces and princely states as its constituent units.
- **Separation of Power** – The act divided the powers between the centre and provinces in terms of three lists; Federal List, Provincial List, and Concurrent List.
- **Abolition of Dyarchy in Provinces and introduced Bicameralism** – It abolished dyarchy in the provinces and introduced provincial autonomy in its place.
  - It introduced bicameralism in six out of 11 provinces.
  - **Introduced Dyarchy in the Centre** – It provided for the adoption of dyarchy at the centre.
  - **Extended Communal Representation** – It further extended the principle of communal representation by providing separate electorates for depressed classes, women, and labour.
  - **Abolished Council of India** – It abolished the Council of India, established by the Government of India Act of 1858.
  - **Provisions Related to the Reserve Bank of India** – It provided for the establishment of a reserve Bank of India to control the currency and credit of the country.
  - **Provisions for Federal Public Service Commission** – It not only mandated the formation of a Federal Public Service Commission but also required the establishment of Provincial Public Service Commissions and Joint Public Service Commission for two or more regions.
  - **Establishment of Federal Court** – It provided for the establishment of a Federal Court which was set up in 1937.

### **Governor-General/Viceroy of British India: Pivotal Events During Their Tenure**

[Warren Hastings \(1773-1786\)](#)

- Warren Hastings became the first Governor of Fort William (Bengal) Presidency in 1772 and the first Governor-General of Bengal in 1774.

**Important events during his period are:**

- **First Governor-General of Bengal** – Regulating Act of 1773 was passed during his reign and he became the first Governor-General of Bengal.
- **Abolition of Dual-System of Clive** - He Abolished the Dual System in Bengal which was introduced by Robert Clive after the Battle of Buxar.
- **Formation of Supreme Council of Bengal** – The First Supreme Court of India was established under his Governor-Generalship in 1774.
- **First Indian Newspaper Published** - James Augustus Hicky's Bengal Gazette (the first Indian newspaper) was published in 1780.
- **Establishment of Asiatic Society of Bengal** – The Asiatic Society of Bengal was founded by William Jones during the tenure of Warren Hastings.
- **Pitts India Act** – The British Parliament enacted the Second Regulating Act of 1784 while Warren Hastings was in office.

**Charles Cornwallis (1786-1793)**

- Cornwallis became the Governor-General of Bengal in 1786 and remained in the office till 1793.

**The important events related to his tenure are:**

- **Introduction of Permanent Settlement** - Cornwallis introduced the Permanent Settlement (Zamindari System of Land Revenue) in Bengal, Bihar and Odisha.
- **Cornwallis Code** – He introduced the Cornwallis Code (1793) which incorporated several judicial reforms, and separation of revenue administration and civil jurisdiction.
- **Third Anglo-Mysore War** – The 3<sup>rd</sup> Anglo-Mysore War and Treaty of Seringapatam took place during his tenure.
- **Introduction of Civil Services** – He introduced the civil services in India and led the effort to Europeanize the administrative machinery.
- **Sanskrit College of Banaras** – The Sanskrit College of Banaras was founded by Jonathan Duncan in 1791 during his term in office.

**Richard Wellesley (1798-1805)**

- Lord Wellesley served as Governor-General of Fort Williams from 1798 to 1805.

**Key events associated with his time in office include:**

- **Introduction of Subsidiary Alliance** – Wellesley was responsible for the introduction of the policy of subsidiary alliance.
- **Passing of Censorship Act of 1799** - To stop the French from printing anything critical of the British, Governor-General Richard Wellesley passed the Censorship of Press Act in 1799.
- **2<sup>nd</sup> Anglo-Maratha War** - The Subsidiary Treaty of Bassein in 1802 and the Second Anglo-Maratha War (1803–05) took place during his tenure.
- **Capture of Mysore** – During Wellesley's tenure, the 4th Anglo-Mysore war occurred, resulting in the demise of Tipu Sultan.
- **Establishment of Fort William College (1800)** - Lord Wellesley established Fort William College, within the Fort William compound, to provide education to European administrators.

**Francis Hasting (1813-1823)**

- He was appointed as the Governor-General of Bengal in 1813 and served the period up to 1823.

**Key events associated with his time in office include:**

- **Culmination of Anglo-Gurkha War (1814-1816)** – The Treaty of Sugauli ended the Anglo-Gurkha War during the tenure of Hastings.
- **Abolition of Peshwaship** - The Peshwaship was abolished by the British at the time of Hastings, after the 3<sup>rd</sup> Anglo-Maratha War.
- **Establishment of Hindu College of Calcutta** – Raja Ram Mohan Roy established the Hindu College of Calcutta in 1817.
- **Implementation of Ryotwari and Mahalwari System** - The establishment of the Ryotwari System in Madras Presidency in 1820 by the governor Sir Thomas Munro and Mahalwari System in Northern India by Holt Mackenzie (1822) occurred during the Hastings period.
- **Enactment of Bengal Tenancy Act of 1822** – The Bengal Tenancy Act, passed by Warren Hastings in 1822, granted cultivators hereditary land rights as long as they paid rent.

**William Bentick (1828-35)**

- William Bentick was the first Governor-general of India and assumed office in 1828.

**Noteworthy occurrences linked to his tenure in office encompass:**

- **Enactment of Bengal Sati Regulation Act of 1829** – The act was passed during the tenure of Bentick which prohibited the practice of Sati.
- **Passing of Charter Act of 1833** – This act

culminated the process of centralisation of the East India Company's administration.

- **Establishment of Brahmo Samaj** – Raja Ram Mohan Roy founded the Brahmo Samaj in 1828 during the period of Bentick.
- **Kol Rebellion (1831)** - The Kol uprising was a revolt of the tribal Kol people of Chhota Nagpur that took place between 1831 and 1832.
- **Administrative Reforms** – He abolished the provincial courts of appeal and circuit set up by Cornwallis and appointed the commissioners of revenue and circuit.
- **Introduction of Mahalwari System** – During his time in office, the Mahalwari system was implemented in Central India, Eastern UP, and Punjab.

### Auckland (1836-42)

- Lord Auckland served as Governor-General of India from 1836 to 1842.

Significant events associated with his time in office include:

- **Tripartite Treaty** - In 1838, Shuja Shah received backing from the British and Maharaja Ranjit Singh to oust Dost Mohammad Khan through the Tripartite Treaty signed in June 1838 with Lord Auckland.
- **Publication of First Bengali Daily Newspaper** - The first Bengali daily newspaper was the "Sambad Prabhakar". It was inaugurated by Ishwar Chandra Gupta.
- **Formation of Tattwabodhini Sabha** - Sabha was founded by Debendranath Tagore in 1839 to promote a rational and humanist form of Hinduism based on Vedanta.
- **Forward Policy** - The Forward Policy of Auckland, in the late 19th century, aimed to bolster the British presence in Afghanistan and Central Asia through military outposts along the Afghan frontier.
- **First Anglo-Afghan War** - War took place during the tenure of Auckland.

### Dalhousie (1848-56)

- He was appointed the Governor-General of India in 1848 and stayed in office till 1856.

Key events associated with his time in office include:

- **Doctrine of Lapse** - Dalhousie implemented the Doctrine of Lapse, which required Indian rulers without heirs to seek British permission to adopt a

son as a successor.

- **Annexation of Punjab** - Dalhousie captured the Punjab after the 2<sup>nd</sup> Anglo-Sikh War in 1848-49.
- **Enactment of Religious Disability Act** - The 1850 Religious Disabilities Act modified Hindu Property Law, allowing converts from Hinduism to inherit their father's property.
- **First Passenger Train** - On 16 April 1853, the first passenger train ran between Bombay and Thane during the tenure of Dalhousie.
- **Charles Wood Dispatch** - Wood's Dispatch, introduced during Dalhousie's tenure, is referred to as the "Magna Carta of Education" in India.
- **Enactment of the Post Office Act** - In 1854, the new Post Office Act was enacted, bringing in a standardized half-anna postage rate per letter and introducing postage stamps for the first time.
- **First Telegraph Line** - The first telegraph line was laid between Diamond Harbour to Calcutta in 1851.

### The Viscount Canning (1856-62)

- Canning became the first Viceroy of India after the transfer of power from the East India Company to the Crown in 1858.

Events of significance during his tenure in office encompass:

- **Revolt of 1857** - The 1857 revolt took place during the tenure of Canning.
- **Transfer of Power** - Following the 1857 revolt, authority shifted from the East India Company to the British Crown through the Government of India Act in 1858.
- **Introduction of Representative Institution** - Under the Indian Council Act of 1861, the beginning of the representative institutions was introduced.
- **Portfolio System** - The portfolio system was established by Canning in 1859.
- **Establishment of Archaeological Survey of India** - The establishment of the Archaeological Survey of India (ASI) occurred in 1861 under Canning's leadership.
- **Enactment of the Civil Services Act** - The Indian Civil Services Act was enacted in 1861 during Lord Canning's Viceroyalty.
- **Establishment of Budgetary System** - India's first budget was presented on April 7, 1860, during the tenure of Canning.

### Mayo (1869-72)

- He held the position of Viceroy of India from 1869 until his assassination in 1872.

**Notable incidents during his term in office involve:**

- **Establishment of Indian Reform Association** - The Indian Reform Association was established on October 29, 1870, with Keshub Chandra Sen as its President. It was aligned with the secular aspect of the Brahma Samaj and welcomed members from outside the Brahma Samaj as well.
- **Financial Decentralisation** - Lord Mayo pursued a policy of non-interference and initiated the decentralization of financial administration in India in 1870.
- **First Census of India** - India's first census in 1872 was carried out under the leadership of Lord Mayo.
- **Established Statistical Survey of India** - During Lord Mayo's tenure in 1872, the Statistical Survey of India was established.
- **Established the Department of Agriculture and Commerce** - The Department of Agriculture and Commerce was set up in June 1871 to deal with all the agricultural matters in India.
- **Assassinated During Office** - Sher Ali Afridi assassinated Mayo in 1872 in the Andaman and Nicobar Islands.

**Lytton (1876-80)**

- He held the position of Viceroy of India from 1876 to 1880 and is widely seen as a harsh viceroy of all times.

**Key events associated with his time in office include:**

- **Enactment Royal Title Act** - The Royal Titles Act of 1876 was a piece of legislation passed by the United Kingdom's Parliament that formally acknowledged Queen Victoria as the "Empress of India."
- **Constitution of Famine Commission** - After the great famine of 1876-78, Lytton formed a famine committee under the Chairmanship of Richard Strachey.
- **First Delhi Durbar** - The inaugural Delhi Darbar took place in 1877 and was conceived by Lord Lytton.
- **Enactment of Vernacular Press Act** - The Vernacular Press Act (1878) was enacted to curtail the freedom of the Indian press and prevent the expression of criticism toward British policies.
- **Signing of Treaty of Gandamak** - The Treaty of Gandamak was signed between the British and Afghans, which officially ended the first phase of the 2<sup>nd</sup> Anglo-Afghan War.
- **Passing of Arms Act** - During Lord Lytton's tenure, the Indian Arms Act of 1878 was enacted, which restricted gun ownership for Indians, requiring prior authorization or a valid license, while exempting

Europeans.

**Ripon (1880-84)**

- He assumed the office of Viceroy in 1880 and initiated many reforms to ease the plight of the local Indians during his tenure.

**Significant occurrences linked to his tenure are:**

- **First Factory Act** - During the tenure of Ripon, the first Factory Act of 1881 was passed by the British govt.
- **First Complete Census of India** - The first full Census in India took place in 1881 under the administration of Lord Ripon.
- **Repeal of Vernacular Press Act** - Ripon repealed the Vernacular Press Act introduced by the Lytton.
- **Resolution for Local Self-Government** - Ripon introduced the resolution to provide local self-government to the people of India.
- **Enactment of Ilbert Bill** - During Ripon's tenure, the Ilbert bill was passed allowing senior Indian magistrates to preside over cases involving British individuals in India, including European residents.
- **Increase the Maximum Age for Appearing in Civil Service** - He increased the maximum age of appearing in civil services from 18 to 21, which decreased during Lytton's tenure.
- **Formulation of Hunter Commission** - As a viceroy, he appointed the Hunter Commission to review the working of education since the recommendations of Wood's dispatch.

**Dufferin (1884-88)**

- He came to the office of Viceroy of India in 1884 and left in 1888.

**Prominent occurrences during his tenure are:**

- **Formation of INC** - Indian National Congress was formulated during the tenure of Dufferin in 1885.
- **Bengal Tenancy Act** - The Bengal Tenancy Act of 1885 was enacted during his tenure following the Pabna Revolt.
- **Third Anglo-Burmese War** - It occurred in 1885 under the administration of Lord Dufferin.
- **Burma Made Province of India** - While he served as Viceroy, Burma was incorporated as a province of India, with Rangoon serving as its capital.

**Curzon (1899-1905)**

- He was a British statesman who served as Viceroy of India from 1899 to 1905.

**Notable incidents during his term in office involve:**

- **Munda Rebellion** – The Munda Rebellion led by Birsa Munda occurred during the administration of Lord Curzon.
- **Appointment of Raleigh Commission** – The Indian Universities Commission was a body appointed in 1902 on the instructions of Viceroy Curzon, intended to make recommendations for reforms in university education in India.
- **Creation of North-West Frontier Province** – The North-West Frontier Province was created in 1901.
- **Banaras Hindu Girls School** – Annie Besant founded the Banaras Hindu Girls School in 1904 during the tenure of Curzon.
- **Enactment of Official Secret Act** - In 1904, Viceroy Lord Curzon enacted the Indian Official Secrets Act, curbing press freedom and making information leaks illegal and punishable.
- **Partition of Bengal** – Under Curzon’s rule, Bengal was divided into East and West Bengal, giving rise to the Swadeshi movement in 1905.
- **Drafting of Ancient Monuments Preservation Act 1904** – Enacted during the Curzon period to preserve ancient monuments, control antiquities traffic, manage excavation in specific areas, and safeguard/acquire historical artefacts.

**Reading (1921-26)**

- Reading succeeded Lord Chelmsford as Viceroy of India in 1921 and remained in office till 1926.

**Significant occurrences linked to his tenure are:**

- **Annulment of Press Act of 1910 and Rowlatt Act of 1919** – He revoked these two cruel acts while serving in his position.
- **Moplah Revolt** – The Moplah Rebellion of 1921 occurred during his tenure as the viceroy.
- **Chauri-Chaura Incident** – The Chauri-Chaura incident during NCM took place during his tenure, after which Gandhi withdrew the movement.
- **Formation of Swaraj Party** – After the withdrawal of the NCM, C R Das and Motilal Nehru founded the Swaraj Party in 1923.
- **Separation of Railway Budget** – During his time as viceroy, the railway budget was segregated from the general budget in 1924.
- **Kakori Train Robbery** – Kakaori train robbery was organised by the Hindustan Republic Association and executed by Bismil, Khan, Chandrashekhar Azad, Rajendra Lahiri, Shachindra Bakshi, Keshab Chakravarty, etc.
- **Foundation of Vishva-Bharati University** – During

his tenure, Rabindranath Tagore established the Vishva Bharati University in 1921.

- **Establishment of the Communist Party of India** - The Communist Party of India was formed on 26 December 1925 at the first Party Conference in Kanpur.

**Irwin (1926-31)**

- Irwin, a prominent British Conservative politician in the 1930s, served as the Viceroy of British India from April 3, 1926, to April 18, 1931.

**Significant occurrences throughout his time in office include:**

- **Simon Commission** – The Simon Commission was instituted and arrived in India while he was serving as viceroy.
- **Death of Lala Lajpat Rai** – After injuries during a protest against the Simon Commission, Lala Lajpat Rai died on 17 November 1928.
- **Lahore Session of INC** – The Lahore Session of INC took place in December 1929, in which the resolution of Purna Swaraj was adopted.
- **Formulation of Nehru Report** – The Nehru Report, formulated by Motilal Nehru in 1928, had the primary motive of assigning Dominion status to India within the British Commonwealth.
- **Launching of Civil Disobedient Movement** – Gandhi launched the CDM in 1930 during the tenure of Irwin.
- **First Round Table Conference** – 1<sup>st</sup> Round Table Conference (Nov. 1930-Jan. 1931) took place during the period of Irwin as viceroy.
- **Chittagong Armory Raid** - On April 18, 1930, the Chittagong armoury raid occurred, wherein freedom fighter Surya Sen led an attempt to raid the police and auxiliary forces’ armoury.
- **Execution of Bhagat Singh, Sukhdev and Rajguru** – In March 1931, under Irwin’s tenure, these three freedom fighters were executed.

**Linlithgow (1936-44)**

- From 1936 to 1944, he was Governor-General and Viceroy of India.

**Key events associated with his time in office include:**

- **India Entered into WW-2** – Under Linlithgow’s tenure, the British government declared India’s involvement in World War 2.
- **Lahore Session of Muslim League** – In 1940, the Muslim League conducted its session in Lahore, where it proposed the demand for a separate Muslim state.



- **Day of Deliverance** - Deliverance Day was observed by the Muslim League on December 22, 1939, to celebrate the resignation of all provincial Congress Ministries in protest of Linlithgow's unilateral decision to involve India in World War II without consulting Indians.
- **Cripps Mission** - The British government dispatched the Cripps Mission to solicit the backing of Indian leaders and their support for World War II in 1942.
- **Launching of Quit India Movement** - Mahatma Gandhi launched the QIM on 8 August 1942 to demand full independence from British rule.
- **Formation of Indian National Army** - During Linlithgow's tenure, it was formed in Southeast Asia on September 1, 1942, amidst World War II.
- **Bengal Famine of 1943** - During Linlithgow's term in office, the Bengal famine of 1943 took place in the Bengal province of British India, stemming from human causes, amidst World War II.

#### Wavell (1944-47)

- Wavell, a seasoned British Army officer, became Viceroy of India during a crucial period in the struggle for independence. He assumed the office of viceroy in 1944 and remained in office till 1947.

#### **Notable incidents during his term in office involve:**

- **CR Formula of 1944** - C. Rajagopalachari's formula, also known as the Rajaji formula, aimed to resolve the political deadlock between the Muslim League and the Indian National Congress regarding India's independence.
- **Simla Conference** - The Shimla Conference of 1945 was a meeting between the Viceroy Wavell and the major political leaders of British India at the Viceregal Lodge in Shimla.
- **Ending of WW 2** - World War 2 was ended during his tenure.
- **Cabinet Mission** - British Prime Minister Clement Atlee initiated the Cabinet Mission, with the involvement of Viceroy Wavell, even though he wasn't an official member.
- **Indian National Army (INA) Trials** - The INA trials, or Red Fort trials, were British Indian court-martials from November 1945 to May 1946, involving INA officers accused of treason, torture, and murder during World War II.
- **Direct Action Day** - On August 16, 1946, during the tenure of Wavell, the Muslim League declared 'Direct Action Day' to assert their demand for a separate Muslim country after British departure from the Indian subcontinent.

#### **Important Personalities During Independent**

#### Struggle

##### **Pt. Madam Mohan Malviya**

- Madan Mohan Malaviya (25 December 1861 — 12 November 1946) was an Indian scholar, educational reformer and politician notable for his role in the Indian independence movement.
- Rabindranath Tagore adorned him with the title of "Mahamana" and Dr. S. Radhakrishnan hailed him with the title of "Karmayogi".

#### **Roles in the freedom struggle are:**

- **President of INC Session** - He presided over the INS sessions four times in 1909, 1918, 1932 and 1933.
- **Participated in NCM and CDM** - Pandit Malviya played a big role in the Civil Disobedience Movement and Non-cooperation movement which were led by Mahatma Gandhi.
- **Publications** - He started the Hindi weekly "Abhudaya", an English daily "Leader" and a Hindi newspaper "Maryada".
- **Founded Banaras Hindu University** - He was instrumental in founding the Banaras Hindu University in 1916.
- **Oppose the Separate Electorate** - Though he was the promoter of Hindu-Muslim unity, he opposed the separate electorate for Muslims and also opposed the Lucknow pact.
  - ❖ He was also against the INC's participation in the Khilafat movement due to its religious issue.
- **Slogan and Script Advocate** - Pandit Malviya, as the President of the Indian National Congress in 1918, coined the famous slogan "Satyamev Jayate".
  - ❖ Devnagri was introduced in the British-Indian courts because of Malviya's efforts with the British government.
- **Social Works** - He founded the Ganga Mahasabha in 1905 to conserve the river Ganga and also opposed the construction of a dam on the river Ganga.
  - ❖ He also actively campaigned against untouchability and made efforts to secure temple access for Dalits in Nashik.

#### Bal Gangadhar Tilak

- Bal Gangadhar Tilak, often called Lokmanya, was an important Indian leader who fought for independence from British rule. He was part of a famous trio known as "Lal-Bal-Pal".
- The British authorities referred to him as "The father

of the Indian unrest.”

- He earned the title “Lokmanya,” meaning “leader accepted by the people.” Mahatma Gandhi recognized him as “The Maker of Modern India.”

**Contributions of Bal Gangadhar Tilak:**

- **Part of INC** – He joined the Indian National Congress in 1880 and was against the moderate’s attitude to achieve self-government.
  - ❖ He was one of the extremist leaders of INC.
- **Role in Swadeshi Movement** – He enthusiastically participated in the Swadesh movement following the Bengal Partition.
  - ❖ He organised the Ganpati festival and Shivaji festival to reach out to the masses and spread the ideas of nationalism.
  - ❖ **Arrested for Sedition** – He was arrested two times for sedition charges, one in 1898 and the other in 1908. He was sentenced to 6 years in 1908.
  - ❖ **Assist the Lucknow Pact** – Both he and Jinnah played pivotal roles in the successful creation of the Lucknow Pact, a significant agreement between the Indian National Congress (INC) and the All-India Muslim League.
  - ❖ **Initiated Home-Rule Movement** – He started the Home Rule League in 1916 along with Annie Besant. The league aimed to attain self-government (swaraj).
  - ❖ He gave the slogan – “Swaraj is my birthright and I shall have it”.
- **Literary Work and Publication** - He started two weekly publications, Kesari (in Marathi) and Mahratta (in English), which criticized the British government’s policies.
  - ❖ He also wrote two books, “The Orion or Researches into the Antiquity of the Vedas” (1893) and “The Arctic Home in the Vedas” (1903).

**Swami Sahajanand Saraswati**

- His real name was Navrang Rai, born in Ghazipur, UP, he was an ascetic, nationalist and famous peasant leader of India. He was addressed as “Kisan Pran” (Life of Kisans).
- Though he was born in UP, his political activities were mostly confined to the Bihar in beginning and later spread in all over India.

**Major roles of the Sahajanand Saraswati:**

- **Spread the Non-Cooperation Movement** – He played a prominent role in organising NCM in the Shahabad district of Bihar and Ghazipur district of UP.
- **Organised the Farmers** – Through organizing the farmers, he instilled a fresh sense of awareness in the freedom movement.
- **Founded Bihar Provincial Kisan Sabha** – In 1929, he established the Bihar Provincial Kisan Sabha to address the grievances of peasants who were facing encroachments on their occupancy rights by zamindars.
- **Presided First Meeting of All India Kisan Sabha** – All India Kisan Sabha was formed in 1936 and Sahajanand Saraswati became its first President.
- **Organised Bakasht Movement** – He arranged the Bakasht movement in Bihar to resist the eviction of tenants from Bakasht land by zamindars.
  - ❖ As a result, the Bihar Tenancy Act and Bakasht Land Tax were enacted to safeguard the rights of farmers.
- **Struggle in the Dalmia Sugar Mill** - He also played a key role in a successful movement at the Dalmia Sugar Mill in Bihta, emphasizing the unity between peasants and workers.

**Aruna Asaf Ali**

- Aruna Asaf Ali was an Indian educator, political activist, and publisher, who actively took part in the freedom struggle.
- She is popularly known as the “Grand Old Lady of the Independence Movement”.

**Contribution of Aruna Asif Ali:**

- **Took Part in Saly Satyagraha** - She became a member of the Indian National Congress after marrying Asaf Ali and participated in public processions during the Salt Satyagraha.
- **Arrested at Young Age** - She was arrested at 21 on vagrancy charges and wasn’t released in 1931 under the Gandhi-Irwin Pact, which was meant to free political prisoners.
  - ❖ Her fellow women inmates refused to depart the premises until her release, relenting only when Mahatma Gandhi intervened.
- **Hunger Strike in Tihar Jail** - In 1932, she was imprisoned in Tihar Jail and initiated a hunger strike to protest the neglectful treatment of political prisoners. Her actions led to an improvement in conditions at Tihar Jail.
- **Hoist Flag in Gwalior Tank Ground** – During the

Quit India Movement, when all political leaders were arrested, Aruna Asif Ali hoisted the Indian flag in Gwalior Tank Maidan in Mumbai.

- **Post-Independence Contribution** – Post-independence, she worked towards the upliftment of women’s status by encouraging women’s education.

- ❖ To achieve this objective, she started a weekly journal “Weekly” and a newspaper “Patriot”.

**Pandita Ramabai Saraswati**

- Pandita Ramabai Saraswati (23 April 1858 – 5 April 1922) was an Indian social reformer, notable as the first woman to earn the titles of “Pandita” for her Sanskrit scholarship and “Saraswati” after evaluation by the University of Calcutta faculty.
- She was a women’s rights & education activist, a pioneer in the education and emancipation of women in India, and a social reformer.
- She was awarded with the Kaisari-i-Hind Medal for community service in 1919

**Contribution of Pandita Ramabai Saraswati:**

- **Delegate to INC** - She was one of the ten women delegates of the Congress session of 1889.
- **Provide Evidence to Hunter Education Commission 1882** - In 1882, the Indian government formed the Hunter Education Commission to examine education in India.
  - ❖ Ramabai provided testimony to the commission, recommending teacher training and greater inclusion of women in schools.
- **Established Arya Mahila Samaj** - On November 30, 1882, Pandita Ramabai established the Arya Mahila Samaj to enable and educate every woman to live a respectable life.
- **Literary Work** – She wrote “Stri Dharma Niti” to provide counselling to the helpless and ignorant womenfolk.
  - ❖ In her other work “The Cry of Indian Women”, she offered a detailed account of the plight of Indian women given various social evils like-forced widowhood, early marriage, marital harassment and desertion by husband.
- **Establishment of Mukti Sadan** - Pandita Ramabai established Mukti Sadan in 1889 near Poona to provide shelter to helpless women and children.
  - ❖ Women were encouraged to be independent and taught various skills from carpentry and masonry to industrial training and the printing press.

**Keshav Chander Sen**

- Keshab Chandra Sen (1838-1884) was an Indian intellectual, philosopher, and social-religious reformer who played a prominent role in the Brahma Samaj movement. His goal was to promote a universal religion.

**Contributions of Keshav Chandra Sen are:**

- **Role in Brahma Samaj** – He became the Acharya of the Samaj soon after he joined the Samaj.
- He was instrumental in popularising the movement and branches of the Samaj were opened outside Bengal in the UP, Punjab, Bombay, Madras, and other towns.
- In 1861, he started The Indian Mirror, an organ of the Brahma Samaj through which he spread anti-sectarian, universal religious ideas.
- **Social Reforms** – He voiced against the social evils prevailing in the society like Child Marriage, Caste system, Untouchability, etc.
- **Women Empowerment** - Sen was instrumental in the establishment of the Albert College in 1862, as well as the Bethune College for Ladies and several other schools.
  - ❖ Sen supported the causes of widow remarriage, and inter-caste marriages, and spoke out against child marriage. He played a significant role in pushing for the recognition of indigenous marriages.

**Gopal Ganesh Agarkar**

- Gopal Ganesh Agarkar was a social reformer, educationist, and thinker from Bombay Presidency, British India.
- He was an advocate for rationalism, individualism, equality, and humanism. He believed that both education and the press could play a critical role in spreading these ideas.

**Contribution of G G Agarkar:**

- **Promote Women’s Empowerment** – He voiced against child marriage and supported widow remarriage.
  - ❖ He offered his support to the Age of Consent Bill and provided his support to Pandita Ramabai’s Widow’s Home in Pune.
- **Encourage Education** - Gopal Ganesh Agarkar held the belief that education played a crucial role in empowering both women and men.
  - ❖ With this aim in mind, he, alongside Bal

Gangadhar Tilak, founded several educational institutions such as the New English School, the Deccan Education Society, and Fergusson College.

- **Believed in Rationalism** - Gopal Ganesh Agarkar had faith in the ability of reason to inspire people to overcome unfounded superstitious beliefs.

### Lala Lajpat Rai

- Lala Lajpat Rai was an Indian freedom fighter, politician, and author. He was popularly known as "Punjab Kesari, which means the 'Lion of Punjab'. He was one of the three members of the Lal Bal Pal trio.

### **Contributions of Lala Lajpat Rai:**

- **Joined Indian National Congress** - Lala Lajpat Rai joined the Congress's extremist group and took part in the Swadeshi movement.
  - ❖ For his involvement in movements and after Surat Split, he was deported to Burma without trial in 1907 but returned after some time.
  - ❖ He further, gave the Safety Valve Theory to critic the politics of the moderates.
  - ❖ He was elected President of the Indian National Congress in the Calcutta Special Session of 1920.
- **Founded the Home Rule League** - In 1917, while in New York, Lala Lajpat Rai established the Home Rule League of America.
  - ❖ During his time in the United States, he actively sought moral backing for the Indian independence movement on an international scale.
- **Elected President to All India Trade Union Congress** - All India Trade Union Congress (AITUC) was founded in 1920 with Lala Lajpat Rai as its first president.
- **Supported the NCM** - Lala Lajpat Rai wholeheartedly backed Mahatma Gandhi's non-cooperation movement, joining the Nagpur Congress session in 1920.
  - ❖ He vigorously opposed repressive laws like the Rowlatt Act and condemned the tragic Jallianwala Bagh massacre.
- **Role in Central Legislative Assembly** - In 1926, Lala Lajpat Rai was chosen as the deputy leader of the Central Legislative Assembly.
  - ❖ Two years later, in 1928, he tabled a resolution in the assembly, rejecting collaboration with the

Simon Commission due to its absence of Indian members.

- **Anti-Simon Commission Protest** - Engaging in a demonstration against the Simon Commission in Lahore, he sustained injuries in a lathi charge.
  - ❖ These injuries ultimately led to his passing on November 17, 1928.
- **Literacy Works** - Lala Lajpat Rai was a prolific author. His famous works are "The Story of My Deportation, Arya Samaj, England's Debt to India: A Historical Narrative of Britain's Fiscal Policy in India, etc".

### Alluri Sitaram Raju

- Born in 1897 in Mogallu, located in the West Godavari district of the Madras Presidency, Alluri Sitarama Raju rose to prominence as a revered figure believed to possess messianic abilities.
- He is commonly known as 'Manyam Veerudu,' a title that can be loosely interpreted as the 'forest hero.'

### **Role of the Alluri Sitaram Raju:**

- **Revolutionary Connections Across India** - He was a member of a Calcutta Secret Society where he learnt to make bombs.
  - ❖ He attended a meeting in Chittagong where other revolutionaries came together.
  - ❖ He arranged for arms and ammunition from across India for his fight in the Rampa region.
- **Spread the Non-Cooperation Movement** - Sitarama Raju was instrumental in spreading the Non-Cooperation movement in the hill region (Rampa and Gudem).
- **Launched Rampa Rebellion** - He launched the Rampa Rebellion against the British govt in 1922.
  - ❖ He was a great tactician and used gorilla warfare against the colonial govt.

### Rampa Rebellion (Manyam Rebellion)

- The Rampa Revolt, also known as the Manyam Uprising, was a rebellion led by tribal communities.

### **The factors responsible for the rebellion are:**

- **Change in Status of Muttadars** - The Muttadars, who were the true leaders of the area, faced a threat to their social and economic status when they were forcefully integrated into the colonial system.
- **Restriction on Shifting Cultivation** - The abrupt prohibition of Podu cultivation (shifting farming) by the new colonial government.

- **Impact on Livelihood** - The colonial authorities took away the locals' rights to gather Minor Forest Produce.
- **Forced Labour** - Tribals were compelled to provide free or unpaid labour, known as "Vetti".

**The course of the movement:**

- **Seeking Modern Weapons** - He initiated attacks on police stations to acquire modern firearms.
- **First Strike at Chintapalli** - His initial attack targeted the Chintapalli police station in the Visakhapatnam Agency area.
- **Unique Features of Rebellion** - All the attacks were concluded by a trademark letter, signed by Raju himself.
  - ❖ Further, he announced the date and time of his attacks in advance.
- **Martyrdom on May 7, 1924** - After a relentless pursuit by British forces, Rama Raju was captured and martyred on May 7, 1924, leading to a harsh British response.

**Ganesh Damodar Savarkar**

- Ganesh Damodar Savarkar, also called Babarao Savarkar, was an Indian politician, activist, and nationalist. He was the elder brother of famous freedom fighter V D Savarkar.

**Contributions of Ganesh Damodar Savarkar:**

- **Co-founded the Abhinav Bharat Society** - He co-founded the Abhinav Bharat Society in 1904, along with V D Savarkar.
- **Founded Mitra Mela** - Vinayak Savarkar and Ganesh Savarkar started Mitra Mela, a revolutionary secret society in Nasik in 1899.
- **Rashtra Bhagat Samooh** - He joined the Rashtra Bhagat Samooh, a revolutionary group.
- **Association with Nashik Conspiracy Case** - He was inspired by the Italian Revolutionary Mazzini and associated with the Nashik Conspiracy Case.
- **Sentenced to Rigorous Punishment** - He was sentenced to rigorous punishment for his nationalistic activities in cellular jail.

**Expected Miscellaneous Questions**

**Home Rule Movement**

- The All-India Home Rule League, founded in 1916, aimed to secure self-government, termed Home Rule, and achieve Dominion status within the British Empire, like Australia, Canada, South Africa, New Zealand, and Newfoundland.

**Factors responsible for the Leading to the Home Rule Movement:**

- **Popular Pressure** - India's political split on war issues, stalled progress on self-government, so some nationalists believed they needed popular pressure to get concessions from the Government.
- **Unsatisfactory Morley-Minto Reform** - Morley-Monto reforms didn't provide any satisfactory outcome, which disillusioned the Moderates.
- **Wartime Misery** - Due to wartime hardships like heavy taxes and rising prices, people were willing to join any aggressive protest or movement.
- **Exposed Myth of White Superiority** - The war, involving powerful imperialist nations and fuelled by propaganda against each other, shattered the idea of white superiority.
- **Tilak's Leadership** - When Tilak was released in June 1914, he wanted to lead and reassure the Government of his loyalty. He, like the Irish Home Rulers, sought administrative reform, not government overthrow.

**Factors responsible for the failure of movement:**

- **Little Response from Masses** - Despite influencing a broader community, the Home Rule Leagues couldn't spark mass political agitation in India.
- **Brahminical Dominance** - In Madras, Maharashtra and Karnataka, despite some untouchable support, the Leagues being under Brahman domination, invited the opposition of the non-Brahmans.
- **Moderates' Shift in Perspective** - The Moderates, who joined after Besant's arrest, were satisfied with promises of reforms and her release.
  - ❖ They were deterred by civil disobedience talk and stopped attending Congress in September 1918.
- **Division in Nationalist Groups** - The release of the Government reform plan in July 1918, known as the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms, created additional divisions among nationalist groups.
- **Annie Besant's Shift in Strategy** - Annie Besant, Congress President in 1917, adopted a conciliatory approach towards moderates, especially after the Montagu-Chelmsford reform proposals, and suspended the passive resistance program.
- **Emergence of Gandhi** - The expansion and actions of this group faced obstacles with the emergence of Mohandas Gandhi and his Satyagraha method of revolution: non-violent, yet built on mass civil disobedience.
- **Divide on Passive Resistance** - Talk of passive resistance by the Extremists kept the Moderates off

from activity from September 1918 onwards.

**Positive Gain from the movement:**

- **Birth of Ardent Nationalists** - It cultivated a generation of passionate nationalists who became the core of the national movement during its mass phase under Mahatma Gandhi's leadership.
- **Organisation Link Between Town and Country** - The Home Rule Leagues created organizational links between town and country which were to prove invaluable in later years.
- **A New Direction for the Movement** - The movement changed its focus from the educated elite to the common people and permanently altered its direction away from what the Moderates had planned.
- **Spread Political Awareness in New Areas** - The League spread political awareness in new areas like Sindh, Punjab, Gujarat, United Provinces, Central provinces, Bihar, Orissa as well as Madras, which all sought an active political movement.
- **Influenced August Declaration** - The August 1917 declaration of Montagu and the Montford reforms were influenced by the Home Rule agitation.
- **Strengthened the Congress** - Tilak's and Besant's efforts in the Moderate-Extremist reunion revived the Congress as an effective instrument of Indian nationalism.

**Lucknow Pact 1916**

Lucknow Pact refers to an agreement reached between the Indian National Congress and the Muslim League at the joint session of both parties, held in Lucknow, in 1916.

**Reasons for the shift in League's stance:**

- **Annulment of the Partition of Bengal** - The All-India Muslim League initially sought friendly relations with the British Crown but shifted its stance when the British reversed the partition of Bengal.
- **New Young Leaders** - In 1913, a fresh wave of Muslim leaders joined the Muslim League with markedly different perspectives compared to their forerunners.
- **British Indifference to the Caliph** - England's indifference to the Caliph of Turkey provoked hostility among Muslims, as the Caliph held great religious significance as the leader of Muslims worldwide.
- **The Muslim League's Bid for a Share in Post-WWI Reforms** - As World War I ended, Lord Chelmsford sought Indian input for post-war reforms. The Muslim League, previously on the sidelines, aimed to secure a more favourable share of these

anticipated reforms.

Muslim League and Indian National Congress worked together to present a set of demands to the British which came to be known as the Lucknow Pact.

**The demands put forward under the Pact were:**

- **Demand for Self-Government** - India should have self-government, the abolition of the India Council, and the payment of the Secretary of State for Indian Affairs' salaries by the British government instead of Indian funds.
- **Separate Electorate** - Allocate one-third of representation in the Central Government for Muslims, and maintain separate electorates for all communities until a request for a joint electorate is made.
- **Expansion in Legislative Council** - The number of the members of Central Legislative Council should be increased to 150.
  - ❖ Half of the members of the Imperial Legislative Council must be Indians.
  - ❖ **Representative Institute** - All members, except those nominated, should be elected directly based on adult franchise.

**THE SWARAJISTS**

The Swaraj Party, initially known as the Congress-Khilafat Swarajaya Party, was created in India in December 1922. Its goal was to fight for more self-rule and political freedoms for Indians from British rule.

**Aims and Objectives of the Swarajists:**

- **Attainment of dominion status** - To achieve dominion status under British rule.
- **Right to frame a constitution** - To create a document by the people for the people.
- **Control over bureaucracy** - To make them responsible and accountable and establish the principle that bureaucracy derived its power from the people.
- **Full Provincial Autonomy** - Provincial autonomy on budget, revenue and legislation.
- **Attainment of Swarajya** - To attain the Self-Rule for the people of the country.
- **Organization of labour** - Industrial and Agricultural.
- **Control at Local Level** - Establishment of control over local and municipal bodies.
- **Creating Deadlock** - To propagate the self-interests in the legislative councils and create deadlocks within the councils to make governance through councils impossible.

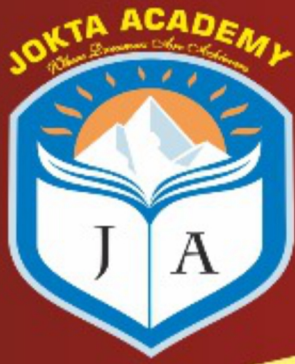
**Achievement of Swarajists:**

- **Coalition Power** - With coalition allies, they consistently outvoted the Government, even on budgetary grants and adjournment motions.
- **Advocating Change** - They passionately advocated for self-government, civil liberties, and industrialization through compelling speeches.
- **Indian at Higer Posts** - Vithalbai Patel was elected speaker of the Central Legislative Assembly in 1925.
- **Agitation Against Unlawful Acts** - A significant milestone came in 1928 when they successfully thwarted the passage of the Public Safety Bill.
- **Fill the Political Vacuum** - By their activities, they filled the political vacuum at a time when the national movement was recouping its strength.
- **Unmasking the Flaws of the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms** - They exposed the hollowness of the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms or Montford scheme.

**Factors responsible for the decline of Swarajists:**

- **Weak Coalition Ideology** - The coalition of the Swaraj Party with its partners was held on weak ideology, which led to its disintegration.
- **Widespread Communal Riots** - By 1924, Swarajist influence waned due to communal riots, and internal divisions on communal and Responsivist-Non-responsivist lines.
- **Death of CR Das** - C.R. Das's death in 1925 further weakened their stance.
- **The Responsivists among Swarajists** - Lala Lajpat Rai, Madan Mohan Malaviya, and N.C. Kelkar endorsed collaborating with the Government and actively seeking positions to safeguard Hindu interests.
  - ❖ They accused Non-responsivists like Motilal Nehru of being anti-Hindu and a beef-eater.
- **Reiterated Faith in Mass Civil Disobedience** - The main leadership of the Swarajya Party reiterated faith in mass civil disobedience and withdrew from legislatures in March 1926.
- **The Strategy's Limits and Constraints** - The strategy of obstructing and undermining reforms from within had its limitations.
- **Situations at Arrival of Simon Commission** - The arrival of the Simon Commission led to a new political landscape, with parties uniting due to anti-Simon protests. The constitutional program lost its significance.
- **Merger with Congress** - In 1930, Swarajists joined Congress after the Lahore resolution for full independence, initiating the Civil Disobedience

Movement.



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