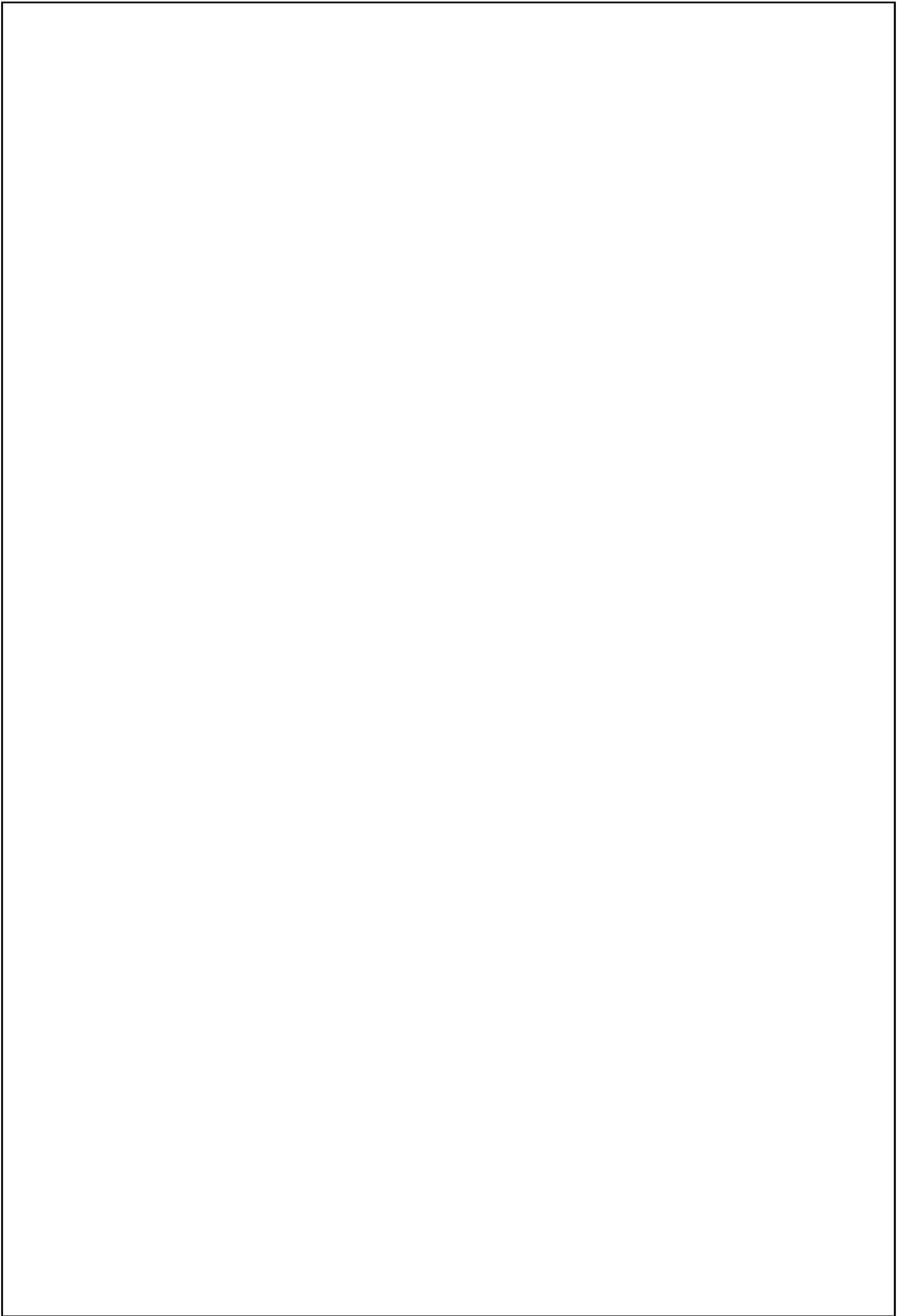


CONTENT

SL. NO.	CHAPTER NAME	PAGE NO.
1.	Stone Age	3 – 4
2.	Indus Civilization	5 – 7
3.	Vedic Age	8 – 11
4.	Buddha & Jainism	12 – 14
5.	Magadha Empire	15 – 15
6.	Mauryan Dynasty	16 – 18
7.	Kingdoms After The Mauryas	19 – 19
8.	Gupta Period	20 – 21
8.	Sangam Age	20 – 22
9.	Harsha Vardhan	23 – 24
10.	Delhi Sultanate	25 – 33
11.	Mughals	34 – 40
12.	Decay of the Mughal Empire	41 – 42
13.	European Penetration into India	43 – 48
14.	The Revolt of 1857	49 – 56
15.	Governors - General	57 – 60
16.	Early Nationalists and Militant Nationalists	61 – 64
17.	Partition of Bengal	65 – 66
18.	Home Rule Leagues	67 – 67
19.	Emergence of Gandhi	68 – 74
20.	Militant Revolutionary Terrorism	75 – 78
21.	Civil Disobedince Movement (1930-34)	79 – 85
22.	Quitindia Movement	86 – 88
23.	British Policy of Divide and Rule	89 – 92
24.	Important Legislations	93 – 100
25.	Development of Education in British India	101 – 102



1. STONE AGE

Man is said to have appeared on the Earth (first in Africa) in early Pleistocene with true ox, true elephant and true horse. Bori in Maharashtra gives the earliest evidence of man in India, in the middle Pleistocene period.

In the Stone Age is divided into three broad divisions.

- Paleolithic Age (Early Stone Age) upto 8000BC.
- Mesolithic Age (Middle Stone Age) 8000-6000BC.
- Neolithic Age (New Stone Age) 6000-1000BC.

PALEOLITHIC AGE

- The Paleolithic sites are spread in practically all parts of India except the alluvial plains of Indus and Ganga.
- The people of this age were food gathering people who lived on hunting and gathering wild fruits and vegetables.
- Man during this period used tools of unpolished, undressed rough stones and lived in a cave and rock shelters. They had no knowledge of agriculture, pottery of any material.
- Homosapiens first appeared in last of this phase.
- It has been pointed out that Paleolithic men belonged to the Negrito Race.
- They mainly used hard axe, cleavers, choppers, blades, scrapers and burin. Their tools were made of hard rock called "Quartzite" hence Paleolithic men are also called "quartzite Men".
- The Paleolithic Age in India has been divided into three phases according to nature of stone tools used by the people and also according to the nature of change in the climate
 - Early or lower Paleolithic
 - Middle Paleolithic
 - Upper Paleolithic
- **Early Paleolithic Age** covers the greater part of the ice age, its characteristics tools are hard axes, cleavers and choppers, such tools have been found in Soan and Sohan river valley and in Belan valley in the Mirzapur district of UP.
- **Middle Paleolithic Phase** is characterized by use of stone tools made of flakes mainly scrapers, borers and blade like tools. The sites are found in

the valley of Soan, Narmada and Tugabhadra rivers.

- In the **upper Paleolithic Phase**, the climate became warm and less humid. This stage is marked by burins and scrapers. Such tools have been found in AP, Karnataka, Maharashtra, Bhopal and Chhota Nagpur Plateau.

MESOLITHIC ERA

- In this age, climate changes brought about changes in fauna and flora and made it possible for human beings to move to new areas.
- The people lived on hunting, fishing and food gathering; at a later stage they also domesticated animals.
- The characteristic tools of the Mesolithic Age are known as Microliths – pointed, crescentic blades, scrapers etc., all made of stone.
- The last phase of this age saw the beginning of plane cultivation.
- Various Mesolithic sites are found in the Chhotanagpur region. Central India and also south of the Krishna River.
- In the Belan valley of Vindhya, all the three phases of the Paleolithic followed by the Mesolithic and then by the Neolithic have been found in sequence. Similar is the case with the middle part of the Narmada.

NEOLITHIC ERA

- During this phase people were again depending on stone implements. But now they use stone other than quartzite for making tools, which were more lethal, more finished and more polished.
- Neolithic men cultivated land and grew fruits and corn like ragi and horse gram. They domesticated cattle, sheep and goat.
- They knew about making fire and making pottery, first by hand and then by potter's wheel. They also painted and decorated their pottery.
- They lived in caves and decorated their walls with hunting scenes and dancing. They also knew the art of making boats. They could also weave cotton and wool to make cloth.
- In later phase of Neolithic phase people led a more

settled life and lived in circular and rectangular houses made of mud and reed.

- Important sites of this age are Burzahom and Gulkral in J&K, Maski, Brahmagiri, Tekkalokota in Karnataka, Paiyampatti in Tamilnadu, Piklihal and Hallur in AP, Garo hills in Meghalaya, Chirand and Senuwar in Bihar, Amri, Kotdihji etc.

CHALCOLITHIC AGE

- In this period copper was used at first time.
- This period also called stone copper phase because stone and copper both were used.
- They used different type of pottery of which Black and Red pottery was most popular. It was wheel made and painted by white line design.
- These people were not acquainted with burnt bricks. They generally lived in thatched houses. It was a village economy.
- They venerated the mother goddess and worshiped the bull.
- Important sites of this phase are spread in Rajasthan, Maharashtra, West Bengal, Bihar, MP etc.

SOME FACTS ABOUT STONE AGE

Kashmir only site where Microlith is completely absent.

- Burzahom-Domestic dogs were buried with their masters in their graves.
- Gilund: - Stone blade industry was discovered.
- Copper was first metal used by man.
- Older evidence from Soan valley (earliest and oldest).
- Alexander Cunningham visited Harappa twice 1853 and 1856 and recorded the existence of series of mounds. He is father of Archeology.
- Earliest site from where wheat evidence came it is Mehrgarh site (Now in Pakistan-Afghanistan border)
- Earliest rice evidence from Allahabad.
- Pallavram (Madras) earliest of early man tools.
- Dead Body in North-south position -> Maharashtra.
- Dead Body in East-west position -> South India.
- Complete extended burial -> west India.
- Fractional burial -> East India.

2. INDUS CIVILIZATION

- Many cultures came together that makes Indus valley civilization.
- In 1921, Harappa discovered by R.B. Dayaram.
- In 1922, Mohenjo-Daro discovered by R.D. Banerjee.
- Harappa civilization forms part of Proto history of India and belongs to the Bronze Age.
- Copper, bronze, silver, gold were known but not iron.
- Indus valley civilization also called Harappa civilization and Bronze Age civilization.
- Duration of Indus civilization.
Beginning - 2750 BC
Mature - 2550 BC
Decline - 1750 BC
- Most of the sites have been found at the Hakra-Ghaggar River.
- Indus civilization script was pictographic.
- Mediterranean, Proto-Australoid, Mongoloids and Alpines formed the bulk of the population, though the first two were more numerous.
- Mohenjo-Daro means Mound of the Dead.

GEOGRAPHICAL EXTENT

- Covered part of Punjab, Sindh, Baluchistan, Gujarat, Rajasthan and some part of western UP.
- Maximum site is confined to river Saraswati (Ghaggar, Hakra).
- Area of Indus valley seems as Triangle.
- Area of Indus valley 12,9960 sq.km.

EXTENT OF INDUS CIVILIZATION

- The settlements of Sutkagendor on the Makren coast (Pak-Iran Border) represented western boundaries.
- Alamgirpur in UP-Eastern Boundary.
- Manda in Jammu of Daimabad in Maharashtra is the southern frontier of Harappan civilization.
- Recent excavation in Rajasthan has revealed a 4000 year old village settlement of Chalcolithic age at Balathal, near Udaipur.

North : Manda (J&k) near Chenab River

West : Sutkangendor (Baluchistan) Pakistan Daskk River

East : Alamgirpur (western UP) river Hindan

South : Daimabad (Maharashtra) Pravara River

TOWN PLANNING AND STRUCTURE

- Town planning was not uniform. Common feature was grid system.
- Towns were divided into two part upper part or citadel and lower part.
- The fortified citadel on the western side housed public buildings and members of ruling class.
- Below the citadel on the eastern side lay the lower town inhabited by the common people.
- Elaborate town planning. It followed the Grid system. Roads were well cut, dividing the town into large rectangular or square blocks. Lamp posts at intervals indicate the existence of street lighting. Used burnt bricks of good quality as the building material. Elsewhere in the contemporary world, mud-bricks were used
- Houses followed the grid system. Road made 90 degree angle to each other. Burnt bricks in the ratio of 4:2:1.
- Indus valley people famous for good drainage system and also for methods of upper and lower town.
- Drains were made of mortar, lime and gypsum and covered with large bricks slabs for easy cleaning. In drains, they made soak pit for deposition of garbage.
- In Mohenjo-Daro largest building is granary and in citadel of Harappa, we find as many as six granaries.
- Playground was also found.

Excavations and Excavators

Chanhudaro 1931	On Indus M.G. Mazumdar
Sutkagendor 1927	On Dasak Sir Aurel stein
Kot Diji 1955	On Indus Fazl Ahmed khan
Ropar 1953	On Sutlej Y.D. sharma
Banawali 1973	On Saraswati R.S. Bhisht

Lothal 1954	On Bhogwa S.R. Rao
Rangpur 1931-53	On Mahar M.S. Vats, B.B. Lal, S.R. Rao
Amri 1929	On Indus M.G. Mazumdar
Kalibangan 1961	On Ghaggar B.B. Lal
Surkotada 1964	J. Joshi
Alamgirpur 1958	On Hindan Y. D. Sharma

RELIGIOUS LIFE OF HARAPPAN CIVILIZATION

- They worshipped Mother Goddess but in lower class and in upper class, worshipped Pashupati Shiva.
- They worshipped trees and animal.
 - Snake
 - Bull (humped) (found mostly)
 - Dove
 - Peepal
 - Unicorn (Most sacred Animal)
- They were also worshipped Phallus (Ling puja)
- They worshipped proto type of Shiva (Found seal from Mohenjo-Daro)
- They also worshipped water, Sapatrishi, Angels etc.
- They believed in charms and spells, found amulets in excavation.
- Yoga practice also done by them.
- At kalibangan and lothal fire altars have been found.

TRADE, TECHNOLOGY, ART AND CRAFT AND SEALS

- They used bronze (copper : Tin , 9:1)
- They bring copper from khetri in Rajasthan, Tin from Afghanistan, Iron (Badaksha).
- They framed seals from steatite. These seals used as stamps not money.
- Maximum no. of seals are square in shape. This is pictographic in language. They used these seals as "Emblem". Seals are also in shape of triangle

and rectangular.

- They didn't use metal money. Probably, they traded through barter system.
- They established trading relationship with Mesopotamia, we know that this through Greek source.

AGRICULTURE

- They produced wheat and barley.
- They practiced agriculture. Evidence received from kalibangan. Probably they used wooden furrow. Ploughed field found in Kalibangan.
- Indus people were the first people who produced cotton because cotton was first produced in this area by Greeks called SINDOM.

DECLINE OF INDUS VALLEY (1750 BC)

- Harappan culture lasted for around 1000yrs.
- Aryan Invasion but it's a myth.
- Earthquakes was cause of Indus valley and (Best cause)
- Recurrent floods

IMPORTANT HARAPPAN SITES

Mohenjo-Daro

Great Bath (most imp. public place of the city). A large granary (the largest building of Mohenjo-Daro), Bronze dancing girl, a bearded man, a seal with a picture suggesting Pashupati Mahadev, a piece woven cotton along with spindle whorls and needles, a college, multi-pillared assembly hall.

HarapPa

- Two rows of six granaries with brick platform, 12 granaries together had the same areas as great granary at Mohenjo-Daro.
- Evidence of coffin burial and cemetery "H" culture.
- A red sandstorm male torso
- Stone symbols of female genitals.
- Idol of Natraj

Kalibangan

- Ploughed field
- 7 fire alters

Lothal

- An artificial dockyard.
- Evidence of hose from doubtful terracotta figurine.
- Fire alters

- It is known as Manchester of Harappan civilization for its cotton trade.

Ropar

- First site to be excavated after independent.
- Evidence of burying a dog with the human burials in very intensely.

Chanhudaro

- Ikkas of Bronze
- Imprint of dog's paw on a brick.
- Footprints of dog and cat.

Surkotda

- Both citadel and lower town were fortified with stone wall.
- It provides the first actual remains of horse bones.

Dholavira

- Giant Reservoirs

- 10-alphabet sign board
- Megalith burial
- Evidences of irrigation, dams and embankments.

Suktagendor

- It was originally a sea port which later cut off from the sea due to coastal uplift.

Amri

- Pre-Harappan settlement that gives the impression of existence of transitional cultural between Pre and Post Harappan culture.

Daimabad

- Bronze images of Charioteer with chariot, ox, elephant and rhinoceros are excavated from here.

Kot Diji

- It was Pre-Harappan fortified settlement with largest number of stone implements and stone arrow heads.

3. VEDIC AGE

- The Vedic texts may be divided into two broad chronological strata - The early Vedic (1500-1000 BC) when most of the hymns of the Rig-Veda were composed, and the Later Vedic (1000-600 BC) when the remaining these Vedas and their branches were composed.

THE ARYANS

- The word "Aryan" literally means of "high birth", but generally refers to language, though some use it as race.
- Many historians have given various theories regarding the original place of the Aryans. However, the Central Asian theory given by Max Muller is most accepted one. It states that the Aryans were semi-nomadic pastoral group around the Caspian Sea in central Asia.
- Entered India probably through the Khyber Pass (in Hindukush Mountain) around 1500 BC.
- The holy book of Iran "Zend Avesta" indicates entry of Aryans to India via Iran.

EARLY VEDIC AGE (1500-1000)

- The early Aryans settled in the Eastern Afghanistan modern Pakistan, Punjab and parts of western UP. The whole region in which the Aryans first settled in India is called the "land of seven Rivers or Sapta Sindhava" (The Indus and its five tributaries and the Saraswati).

POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

- The Aryans came in conflict with Dasas and Dasyus.
- The Rig-Veda mentions the defeat of sambara (dasyus) by a chief called Divodasa of Bharata clan (Dasas).
- The tribal chief called Rajan was the center of administrative machinery. The king position was hereditary.
- Rajan was protection of tribe and cattle and not the ruler of any specific territory.
- Several tribal assemblies called Vidhata, Sabha, Samiti and Gana are mentioned in Rig-Veda. Women attended Vidhata and Sabha.
- Important officers: Purohita, sevnai, Kulpati (head of family), Vishpati, Brajpati, Grahini, Sparsa (Spy), Duffac (Messenger).

- There was no regular revenue system and the kingdom was maintained by the voluntary tribute (Bali) of his subjects and the booty won in battle.
- The term varua was used for color, the Aryans being fair, the dosas dark.

ECONOMY

- Aryans followed a mixed economy – pastoral and agricultural – in which cattle played a predominant part.
- Most of their wars were fought for cow (most important form of wealth). Cattle were in fact a sort of currency, and values were reckoned in heads of cattles (man's life was equivalent to that of 100 cows), but they were not held sacred at this time. The horse was almost as important as the cow.
- Standard unit of exchange was cow. At the same time coins were also their (gold coins like Nishka, Krishal and Satwana). Gavyuti was used as a measure of distance and Goghuli as a measure of time.
- Lived in fortified with settlements.
- Physicians were there called 'Bhishakas'.
- The staple crop was 'yava', which meant barley.

RELIGION

- The Aryans personified the natural forces and looked upon them as living beings.
- The most important divinity was Indra who played the role of warload (breaker of forts Purandar, also associated wife, stoins and thunder.)
- The second position was held by Agni (fire-god). He considered as an intermediary between gods and men.
- Varuna occupied the third position he personified water and was supposed to uphold the natural the natural order (Rita). He was ethically the highest of all Rig-Vedic gods.
- Soma was considered to the God of plants. Maruti personified the storms. Some female deifies are also mentioned, like Aditi and Usha, who represented the appearance of dawn.
- Didn't believe in enacting temples or idol worship. Worshipped in open air through yajnas.

Other Vedic Gods

Diti	Mother of Daityas, who were native tribes opposed to Vedic religion.
Aranyani	Goddess of forests and wild creature.
Lia	Mother of the cattle herds.
Asuniti	Personification of the world of spirits.
Pushan	Protector of cattle, also the god of marriages.
Aditi	Goddess of eternity.
Savitri	Stimulator or god of liguf.
Yama	God of death.
Dyans	Gods of weaver and father of surya
Tyastri	Vedic Vulcan
Dishana	Goddess of vegetables
Ashvins	Healer of diseases and exports in surgical arts.

Types of Marriage

Brahma	Marriage of a duly dowried girl to a man of the same class.
Daiva	Marriage in which a father gave his daughter to a sacrificial priests as part of his fees.
Arsa	Marriage in which a bride-price of a cow is taken and a bull was paid to the daughter's father.
Prajapatya	Marriage in which the father gave the girl without dowry and without demanding bride price.
Gandharva	Marriage, often clandestine by the consent of the two parties.
Asura	Marriage by purchase.
Rakshasa	Marriage by capture.
Paishacha	When a maiden is seduced into marriage.
Anuloma	Was the marriage of higher caste man with a lower caste woman.
Marriage Pratiloma	
Marriage	Was the marriage of lower caste man with a higher caste woman.

Rivers in Rig Veda

Indus – Sindhu
Jhelum – Vitasa
Chenab – Askini
Ravi – Purushni
Beas – Vipasa
Satluj – Satudari
Gomati – Gomul
Kurram – Krumu
Ghaggar - Drisshadvati

LATER VEDIC PERIOD REGION

- Aryans expanded from Punjab over the whole of western UP covered by the Ganga-Yamuna doab.
- In the beginning, they cleared the land by burning later with the use of iron tools which became common by 1000-800 BC.

Important Terms associated with the Vedic Age

Aghanya	Not to be killed, referring to cow.
Akahavapa	Accountant
Charmana	Blacksmith
Datra	Sickle
Duhitri	Daughter
Gavisti	Fight/search for cows
Goghana	Guest
Hiranyakara	Goldsmith
Karmara	Blacksmith
Mahishi	Chief Queen
Narishta	Sabha
Rathakara	Chariot-maker
Sira	Plough
Sita	Furrows
Suta	Court minstrel
Ustra	Camel
Vapta	Carpenter/Barber
Vrihi	Rice

POLITICAL ORGANIZATIONS

- Powers of the king, who was called Samrat increased. Importance of assembles declined. Women were no longer permitted to attend assemblies. The term 'rashtra' indicating territory first appeared in this period.

- References of Priest (Purohita), Commander in chief (Senapati), Charioteer (Suta), treasurer (Sangrhitā), game companion (Aksavābā).

SOCIAL LIFE

- The four fold division of society became clear-initially based on occupation, which later becomes hereditary. Brahmins (Priests), Kshatriyas (warriors), Vaishyas (agriculturists, cattle-rearers, traders and Shudras servers of the upper three).

POTTERY

- The later Vedic people used four types of pottery black and red ware, black-slipped ware, painted grey ware and red ware.
- Red ware was most popular with them, and has been found almost all over western UP. However, the most distinctive pottery of the period is known as painted Grey ware, which comprised bowls and dishes, used either for rituals or for eating by the upper classes.

Religion

- Indra and Agni lost their importance. Prajapati (the creator) became supreme. Vishnu came to be conceived as the preserver and protector of the people.

THE VEDIC LITERATURE

The Veda

- The word 'Veda' comes from the root 'Vidi', signifying knowledge.
- Vedas are also known as 'Shruti' (to hear) as they were passed from generation to generation through verbal transmission.
- They are four in all Rig Veda, Sama Veda, Yajur Veda and Atharva Veda.
- The first three vedas are collectively known as 'Tyari' of 'Trio'. Each Veda is further divided into Samhitas.

Rig Veda

- Oldest religious text in the world.
- Must have been composed around 1500 BC.

Sama Veda

- Derived from the root 'Saman', i.e., 'melody'. It is a collection of melodies.
- It has 1603 verses but except 99 all the rest have been borrowed from Rig Veda.
- Contains 'Dhrupada Raga'.

Yajur Veda

- Deals with the procedure for the performance of sacrifices.
- There are two main texts of Yajur Veda. White Yajur veda (or Shukla Yajur Veda) and Black Yajur Veda (or Krishna Yajur Veda). The former contains mantras and the latter has commentary in prose.

Atharva Veda

- Entirely different from other 3 vedas.
- Divided into 20 Kandas (books) and has 711 hymns – mostly dealing with magic (along with personal problems of people).

The Brahmins

- They explain the hymns of the Vedas in an orthodox manner.
- Each Veda has several Brahmins attached to it
 - Rig Veda** : Kaushetaki and Aitriya
 - Yajur Veda** : Taitriya and Shatpatha
 - Sam Veda** : Panchvish and Jaiminiya
 - Atharva Veda** : Gopatha
- The most important is 'Shatpatha Brahamana' attached to Yajur Veda, which is most exhaustive and important of all. It recommends one hundred sacred paths'.

The Aranyakas

- Called 'forest books', written mainly by the hermits living in the jungles for their pupils.
- These are the concluding portions of the Brahmanas.
- Deals with mysticism and philosophy opposed to sacrifice and emphasize 'meditation'.
- Form a bridge between 'way of work' (Karma Marg) which was the sole concern of the Upanishads and the way of knowledge' (Gyan Marg) which the Brahmanas advocated.

The Upanishads

- The word means 'to sit down near someone' and denotes a student sitting near his guru to learn.
- Called Vedanta (the end of the Vedas) firstly because they denote the last phase of the Vedic period and secondly, because they reveal the final aim of the Vedas.
- They are the main source of Indian Philosophy.
- There are 108 Upanishads.

- They also condemn the ceremonies and the sacrifices.
- They discuss the various theories of creation of the universe and define the doctrine of action (Karma).

Smritis

- Explains rules and regulations in the Vedic life.
- Main are Manusmriti, Naradsmriti, Yagyavalkyasmriti and Parasharsmriti.

Vedangas (Six Vedangas)

Shiksha deals with Pronunciation

Kalpa – Rituals

Vyakarana – Grammar

Nirukta – Etymology

Chhanda – Meter

Jyotisha – Astronomy

Darshan

There are 6 schools of Indian Philosophy known as Shad-Darshana.

Given by 6 philosophers of Ancient India.

Nyaya Darshan – Gautama

Vaishesika Darshana – Kanada Rishi

Sankhyaya Darshana – kapila

Yoga Darshan – Patanjali

Purva Mimansa – Jaimini

Uttara Mimansa – Badaryana or Vyasa

Upavedas

There are four Upvedas

Reg veda – Ayurveda (Medicine)

Sam veda – Gandhrav (Dancing)

Yajur Veda – Dhanurveda (Dhanus Art)

Athrav veda – Shilap-veda (Architecture)

EPICS

- Though the two epics – The Mahabharata and Ramayana were compiled later, they reflect the state of affairs of the later Vedic period.

- The Mahabharata attribute to Vyasa, is considered older than the Ramayana and describes the period from the tenth century BC to 4th century AD. It is also called Jaisamhita and Satasahasri Samhita and has 1, 00,000 verses.

- The Ramayana attributed to Valmiki has 24,000 verses. Its composition started in the fifth century BC and passes through 5 stages.

Other Facts

- Reg-veda divided into 10 mandals. First of all 2 to 7 Mandal was written after that only 8th and then 1, 9 & 10 were written.
- “Om” was used in Reg-veda 108 times and “Jan” was used 275 times.
- Gaytri Mantra in 3rd mandal which is addressed to sun.
- Saraswati River was the deity river in Reg-veda and most mentioned river in Reg-veda and most mentioned river was Indus.
- There are 4 Vedas, 18 Puran, 108 Upnishad (Mundukya was important because here we got “Satyamev Jayte”).
- Upnishad are main source of Indian Philosophy.
- Kulapa – Basic social unit.
- Kula – Head of family.
- Gavyuti was used as a measure of distance.
- Godhuli as a measure of time.
- Physician were there called Bhishakas.
- The staple crop was “Yava” which meant barley.
- In Early Vedic Age Tax was known as Bali. Bali was voluntary taxation.
- Tax was known as Bhag in later Vedic period.
- Oldest Grammar is Panini’s Asth Adhyay and 2nd oldest is Patyanjali’s Mahabhashya.
- Mahabharat attributed to Vyas, is considered older than Ramayana.

4. BUDDHA & JAINISM

BUDDHISM

• Pillars of Buddhism

Buddha: Its founder

Dhamma: His teachings (Monk/Nun)

Sangha: Order of Buddhism monks and nuns

• Five Great events of Buddha's life

Birth – Lotus and Bull

Great Renunciation – Horse

Nirvana – Bodhi tree

First sermon – Dharmachakra or wheel

Parinirvana or death – stupa

BUDDHA

- Also known as Sakyamuni or Tathagata.
- Born in 563 BC on the Vaishakha Purnima Day at Lumbini (near Kapilavastu) in Nepal.
- His father was Suddhodana, who was the Saka ruler.
- His mother – Mahamaya, of Kosala dynasty died after 7 days of his birth. Brought up by step mother Gautmi.
- Married at 16 years old to Yashodhara. He enjoyed 13 years of marriage.
- His son was Rahu
- After seeing an old man, sick man, corpse and ascetic he decided to become a wanderer.
- He left home at 29 years old with Channa, the charioteer and his favorite horse Kanthaka for search of truth and wandered for 6 years.
- Search of truth by Buddha also called The Great Renunciation and Mahabhinishkramana.
- He first mediated with Alara Kalama but he was not satisfied by him. Then his second teacher was Udarka Romputra but again he was not satisfied.
- After that he joined forces with five ascetics – Kondana, Vappa, Bhadiya, Mahanama and Assagi who were practicing the most rigorous self-mortification in the hope of wearing away their Karma and obtaining Jinal Bliis.
- For six years Buddha tortured himself, he have nothing to eat and drink, he was walking skeleton. Then he felt disappointed and left those groups.

- Then he attained 'Nirvana' or Enlightenment at 35 years at Gaya in Magadha (Bihar) under a Pipal Tree.
- First sermon at Sarnath where his five disciples has settled.
- First sermon is called Dharma Chakrapravartan/ Turning of the wheel of Law.
- Attained firstly Mahaparinivana at Kushinagar (village Kasia in Deoria district of UP) in 483 BC at the age of 80 years in the Malla republic.

THE DHAMMA

Four Great Truths

- The world is full of sorrow and misery.
- The cause of all pain and misery is desire.
- Pain and misery can be ended by killing or controlling desire.
- Desire can be controlled by following Eight Fold. Eight fold called Ashath Marg/Ashtang Marg/ Maadhnik Marg which are:

1. **Right Faith**
2. **Right Thought**
3. **Right Action**
4. **Right Livelihood**
5. **Right Efforts**
6. **Right Speech**
7. **Right Remembrance**
8. **Right Concentration**

BELIEF IN NIRVANA

- When desire ceases, rebirth ceases and Nirvana is attained means. If we want to free from death or birth cycle we kill our desire and follow stolid path.
- According to Buddha, soul is myth because till when our desire is continue. We are not free from cycle of death and re-birth. When our desire is finish then we are not take birth. Our soul is made from desire inside.

BELIEF IN AHIMSA

- One should not cause injury to any living being, animal or man.

LAW OF KARMA

- According to Buddha, man reaps the fruits of his past deeds.

THE SANGHA

- Consists of Monk/Nuns. Monks means Bhikshus or shramanas.
- Shramanas means Hetrodox sects (Except Vedic Religion)
- Bhikshus acted as a torch bearer (Publicity) of Dhamma.
- Apart from Sangha, the worshippers were called upasakes.

THREE WHEELS/SECTS OF BUDDHISM

- **Mahayana** – Idol worship is practiced. It became popular in China, Japan, Korea, Afghanistan, Turkey and SE countries.
- **Hinayana** – Became popular in Magadha and Sri-Lanka. Believe in individual salvation not worship.
- **Vajrayana** –Became popular in Bihar and Bengal. They did not consume meat, fish, wine etc. This is also called Thunderbolt, Diamond Path/ Tantrik Buddhism.

BUDDHIST LITERATURE

- Buddhist scriptures in Pali are in commonly referred to as Triptiakas (Three Basket).

Triptiakas are :-

Vinaya Pitaka – Rules of discipline Buddhist.

Sutta Pitaka – Largest contains collection of Buddha's sermons.

Abhidhamma Pitaka – Explanation of the Philosophical Principle of the Buddhist religion.

- Books in Pali language of Buddhism.

Mahavamsa and Deepvamsa : They are in Pali language and provide information about Shri Lanka and also king Ashoka.

Ashokavandana: These are tables about the different births of Buddha.

- First time we know about 16 Mahajanapadas from Buddhism Book "Angutra Nikaya".
- Followers of Buddhism who lead a married life are known as Lay follower/Laity.
- **"Amrapali"** is dancing girl who is join Buddhism after the meet Buddha. She is also called Ambapali in Pali Language.
- Before the birth of Lord Buddha his mother witnessed a white elephant in her dream. So Buddha is also called "White Elephant".
- When Buddhism and Jainism were found 32 new religions were found. One of them became famous.
- Ajivika sect founded by Makhal Gosala
- According to this religion life leads according to nature. God depicts everything before a birth of a person. God writes what a person is in present birth and what will be in next birth period.
- Before the division of follower of Buddhism they were in a group, name was Theravada. Theravada is oldest name of school at Buddhist time.
- In Hinyana there is no "cast bar". They are well acquainted of super natural theory. But they do not believe to share their knowledge to anyone.
- Bodhisattva came. He told his disciple ot get knowledge and after completion left the place.
- Then came Lama.

YEAR	COUNCIL	PLACE	PRESIDENT	KING	PURPOSE
483 BC	1st	Rajgriha	Mehakassapa	Ajatshatru	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • For Collection of Buddha sermon (suttapitaka) • Monastic Rules (Vinaypitaka)
383 BC	2nd	Vaishali	Sabakami	Kalashoka	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • To solve the disputes of Monastic
250 BC	3rd	Patliputra	Mogliputra Tissa	Ashoka	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • To establishment of Sthavirvadin
72 AD	4th	Kundalvan n (Kashmir)	Vasumitra Ashwagosh (Vice President)	Kanishka	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Mahayana • Hinyana

NAME OF BODHISATTVA

1. Avlokiteshwar (also called Padampani)
2. Manjushree (called Buddhi Prasanna)
3. Vajarpani (one who bears thunder)
4. Amitabh (Father of heaven)
5. Kshitigarbha (The guardian of Purgatories)

BODDHISTAVA

- Can attain the status of Buddha any time but will not do so why?
- Because I attained Moksh after transfer of Merit.
- Founded by Rishabhanath his name also appeared in Rig-Veda.
- Parsvanath whose symbol is Hooded serpent.
- Mahavira whose symbol is lion.
- In Jainism, there were 24 tirthankaras (Gurus) all Kshatriyas.

PARSVANATH(EMBLEM – SNAKE)

- He was 23rd Tirthankara. He was the son of king Ashvasena of Banaras. His main teaching was Non-injury, Non-living, Non-stealing, and Non-possession.

MAHAVIRA

- He was 24th and last Tirthankara. His name was Vardhman Mahavira. His first addition was celibacy and second was do not wear any clothes.
- He was born in Kundagram (Distt. Muzaffarpur, Bihar) in 599 BC.
- His father was Siddhartha the head of Jnatrika clan. His mother was Trisha, sister of Lichchhavi Prince Chetak of Vaishali.
- He was related to Bimbisara (Magadh king).
- Wife – Yashoda, daughter – Priyadarsena.
- His daughter's husband Jameli was his first disciple.
- After his parent's death, he became an ascetic at 30 age.
- In 13th year of his asceticism, outside the town of Jrimbhikgrama, he attained supreme knowledge KAIVALYA.

- From now he was called Jaina (Jitendriya) and his followers named Jains. He also got the title of Arihant (worthy).

- At the age of 72, he was died at Pava near Patna in 527 BC.

- After the death of Mahavira, Chandergupta Maurya, led the Jains Monks from Ganga to Deccan.

TEACHINGS OF MAHAVIRA

- Rejected the authority of Vedas and did not attach any importance to the performance of sacrifices.
- He believed that every object, even the smallest particle, possesses a soul and is endowed with consciousness. That is why they observe strict non-violence.
- Jains reject the concept of universal soul/supreme power as creator.
- Jainism does not deny the existence of gods but refuses to give gods any important part in universe scheme. Gods are placed lower than the Jina.
- Universal brotherhood (not-in caste system).
- **Three Ratnas (Triratnas) are given in Jainism:** They are called the easy to Nirvana. They are **Right faith, Right knowledge and Right conduct.**

JAIN COUNCILS

- First in Paltiputra in early 3rd century BC. Head was Sthulbhadra. Book – 12 Angas to replace Purvas.
- Second was at Vallabhi (Gujarat) in 5th century AD head was Devridhigani. It resulted in final compilation of 12 Angas and 12 Upangas.
- Jainism reached the highest point in Chandragupta Mauraya's time. In Kalinga, it was greatly patronized by Kharavela in the first century AD.
- Jain literature is in Argh-Magadh and Prakrit dialects.
- Due to the influence of Jainism many regional languages emerged out, like sauraseni, out of which grew the Marathi, Gujarat, Rajasthani and Kannada.

5. MAGADHA EMPIRE

6th Century – 4th Century BC

- Magadha embraced the former districts of Patna, Gaya parts of Shahabad and grew to be the leading state of the time.

HARYANKA DYNASTY

- Originally founded in 566 BC by the Grandfather of Bimbisara. But actually founded by Bimbisara. Bimbisara's son was Ajatshatru.

BIMBISARA, 544 BC – 492 BC

- Contemporary of Buddha.
- He conquered Anga (E. Bihar).
- His capital was Rajgir (Girivraja).
- He strengthened his position by matrimonial alliance with the ruling families of Kosala, Vaishali and Madra.
- His capital was surrounded by 5 hills.

AJATSHATRU, 492 BC - 460 BC

- Son of Bimbisara, killed his father, first and last historical man, who killed his father.
- Annexed Vaishali and Kosala. Vaishali with the help of a war engine, which was used to throw stones like catapults. Also possessed a chariot to which a mace was attached thus facilitation mass killing. Kosala was ruled by Prasenjit at that time also called Pitrighata.
- Buddha died during his reign, arranged the first Buddhist council.

UDAYIN 460-444 BC

- He founded the new capital at Patliputra situated at the confluence of the Ganga and soan.

SHISHUNAGA DYNASTY

- Founded by a minister Shishunaga. He was succeeded by Kalasoka (2nd Buddhist council). Dynasty lasted for two generations only.
- Greatest achievement was the destruction of power of Avanti.

NANDA DYNASTY

- It is considered first of the non-Kshatriya dynasties.
- Founder was Mahapadma Nanda. He added Kalinga to his empire. He claimed to be the Ekarat,

the sole sovereign who destroyed all the other ruling princes.

- Alexander attacked India during the reign of Dhana-Nanda 326 BC.
- Nandas were fabulously rich and enormously powerful.

CAUSES OF MAGADHA'S SUCCESS

- Geographical Advantages
 - Fertile land.
 - Much agriculture – Much revenue – Income bigger.
 - Elephant – used in war at first time.
 - Iron are available in close proximity. Iron was used in Magadh at first time.
- Strategic capitals – Rajgriha and Patliputra (Rajgir was first also called Ginivraja).
- Patliputra – It is situated at Sangam of three river named Ganga, Gandhak, Son.
- Political advantages.
 - Ambitious kings.
- The name of 16 Mahajanapads were first time known from there.

Buddhist Book – “Angutra Nikaya”

ALEXANDER INVASION

- Alexander (356 BC – 326 BC) was the son of Phillip of Macedon (Greece) who invaded India in 326 BC. At that time NW India was split up into a number of small independent states like Taxila, Punjab (Kingdom of Porus), Gandhara etc.
- Except Porus who fought the famous Battle of Hydaspes on the bank of Jhelum.
- Alexander was with Navel force (Navy). His admiral was Nearchus. He wrote about the geography of India.
- Alexander joined hand with Ambhi the king of Taxila to defeat King Porus. Greek/Mosedoins/Helenistic are same
- Alexander returned to his country after handing other wining India to Selecus Necater.

6. MAURYAN DYNASTY

CHANDRAGUPTA MAURYA (322-297 BC)

- With the help of Chanakya/Kautiliya/Vishnugupta he overthrew the Nandas and established the rule of the Maurya Dynasty.
- Chandragupta is called Sandrocottus by the Greek scholars.
- Built vast empire, which included not only good portion of Bihar and Bengal, but also western and north western India and the Deccan.
- This account is given by Megasthenes (A Greek ambassador sent by Seleucus to the court of Chandragupta Maurya) in his book India. We also get details from the Arthashastra of Kautiliya.
- Vishakhadatta wrote a drama Mudrarakshasa (describing Chandragupta enemy) and Debi Chandarguptam in six century AD.
- Chandragupta Maurya became follower of Jainism. In his period North India experienced a famine, half of the North Indians left their houses, who stayed there in North India are called Aryawat.
- The leader of North India was Sthulabhadra.
- Chandragupta Maurya went to Sravanbelagola (near Mysore) with Bhadrabahu where he died by slow starvation.
- Who were in North India were called Shwetamber. (White – clad / clothes).
- Who came back from South India were called Digamber (Naked).

Administration in Patliputra

CIVIL

MILITARY

1. Welfare of foreigners
1. Army infantry
2. Collection of Taxes
2. Chualry
3. Record of birth and death
3. Chariots
4. Manufactured of gods aspection
4. Elephants
5. Distribution of goods (sales and purchase)
5. Navy
6. Sanitation

6. Transportation

- Spy system is superb.
- In the period of Chandragupta Maurya lady body-guard were also appointed.
- Prostitutes were also deputed as spy.
- Mudra a minister of Nanda's was use a minister of planning.
- Mudra joined had with Chandragupta. It was Chanakya behind this conspiracy Nanda was defeated.
- This information receives from Vishakhadutt's book Mudra Rakshasa. This book story line at Maurya's time and written in Gupta Age.

Source of information about Chandragupta Maurya

Kautiya (Arthashastra)	–	Third best
Megasthenes (Indica)	–	Second best
Ashoka's Inscriptions	–	Bestest

BINDUSARA'S (297 – 268 BC)

- Called Amitraghat by Greek writer.
- Chandergupta was succeeded by his son Bindusara in 297 BC. He is said to have conquered "the land between the 2 seas (Arabian Sea and Bay of Bengal). At the time of his death, almost the entire subcontinent came under the Maurya Rule.
- Bindusara was follower of Ajivika.
- Greek Ambassador Deimachos visited his court.
- Bindusara wanted wine, fig. and philosopher but they deny to give the philosopher.

ASHOKA (269 – 232 BC)

- One who became a forecast before the birth of King Ashok 'your son will be a great ruler'. "Pingalavasta" a Ajivika Monk
- In some books it was written Ashok killed his 99 brothers to get the throne. But it is wrong.
- First king who directly talk to their people through his inscription.
- Ashok was appointed the Viceroy of Taxila and Ujjain by his fater, Bindusara. He was at Ujjain when Bindusara died.

- One of greatest kings of all times.
- James Prinsep, told Ashok's second name in 1837 Devamampiya (beloved of the gods) and 'Piyadassi (of pleasing appearance).
- Ashok became the Buddhist under Upagupta Monk.
- Ashok's successor Kunal. Kunal became blind and then his son Dasrath said he want to become the king and there is war between Kunal and Dasrath. Due to this war there is a division and Taxila became the capital of Dasrath, and Patliputra became the capital of Kunal.
- Asoka's empire was divided into provinces with a viceroy in each province. He established Dharamshalas, hospitals and Sarai throughout his kingdom.
- He appointed Dhamma Mahamatras (Publicity of Dharam) to propagate dharma among various social groups including women.

9 Years of his rule – Kalinga war

11 Years of his rule – Bodhi

13 Years of his rule – Dhamma

15 Years of his rule – Dhamma Mahamatra

- He sent his daughter (Sanghamitra) and son (Mahindra) to Ceylon (Shri Lanka), Burma and other South-east Asian regions, notably Thailand for publicity of Buddhist Dharam.
- Ashoka is called "Buddhashakya and Ashok in Maski edict.

FEATURES OF THE DHAMMA

The edicts gave Ashoka the opportunity to expand his Dhamma. The Major Rock Edict XI contains an elaborate explanation of the Dhamma, apart from dealing with charity and Kinship of humanity.

Main features:-

- Prohibition of animal sacrifices and festive gathering and avoiding expensive and meaningless ceremonies and rituals.
- Efficient organization of administration in the direction of social welfare.
- Consideration and non-violence to animals and courtesy to relation and liberality to Brahmins, Shramanas etc.
- Human treatment of servant by masters and of prisoners by the government officials.

- Tolerance among all the sects.
- Replacement of Bherighosa (sound of war drums) by Dhammaghosa (sound of peace).
- Maintenance of constant contact with the rural people through the system of Dhammayatras.

ASHOKA'S Inscription

- Allahabad Inscription – Ashoka
- Allahabad Prasasti – Samundragupta writer - Harisen
- In his inscription following language have been used Brahmi, Kharoshthi, Aramic and Greek.
- Allahabad Kasam was written Kosambhi Jahangir left Allahabad when he was taking it to Delhi. So it is called Allahabad Kasam.
- Jahangir took this action because Firoj Tughlaq did the same. Three inscriptions were taken by Ashoka:

Kosabhi, Merath (Meerut), Topara

ALLAHABAD KASAM

- Pillar Edicts I – VI
- Queen's Edict (This is only who describe his queen's).
- Schism Edict.

BARA BAR HILL CAVES

- Donatory inscription to the Ajivika sect.
- Ashok's grandson Dasrath also donates Ajivika sect.
- The caves were in a group of hills girdling the city of Rajagriha.

DELHI – MEERUT AND DELHI TOPRA

- Pillar Edicts I – VI respectively.
- They were transported to Delhi by Firoz shah from their original sites at Meerut and Topra.

GIRNAR (MAJOR ROCK EDICTS)

- Situated at Junagarh in Kathiawar.
- A number of major inscriptions are found here.
- Its importance was increased by the fact that during the reign of Chandergupta a dam was constructed on the Sundarsana Lake in the neighborhood of Girnar.
- Rudradaman's Junagarh inscription was first Sanskrit inscription in Indian history.
- Sudarsana Lake originally built by Pushyagupta, the provincial governor of Chandergupta.
- Subsequently conduits were worked from it by

Tusapa in the reign of Ashoka.

- After him Skanddagupta repair Sudarsana Lake dam.
- Ruderdaman also repair Sudarsana Lake's dam after Pushyagupta.

KANDAHAR

- Minor Rock edicts.
- Greek Aromic inscription.

RUMMINDIE / LUMBINI AT BUDDHA TIME (NEPAL)

- Tax levied on Lumbini people was decreased from 1/6 to 1/8, it is written on Ashoka's inscription.
- Tax was decreased because it was land of his God "Buddha".

SANCHI

- Schism Edict.
- Modern name of Sanchi was Kakanandabota.

SARNATH

- Schism Edict (addressed to the Mahamattas).
- Piller Inscription.
- Sarnath is three and a half miles from Banaras.
- In this Ashok is called Dharamasoka.
- Schism Edict.
- Allahabad Kasam, Sanchi, Sarnath.
- 13 edicts were about klinga (Rock and Pillar).
- Lion and wheel on National flag taken from Ashoka inscription of Sarnath.

SIGNIFICANT OF MAURYAN RULE

- Gurukul and Buddhist monasteries developed with royal patronage. Universities of Taxila and Banaras are the gifts of this era.
- Taxila is oldest university.
- Kautilya's Arthashastra, Bhadrabahu's Kalpasutra, Buddhist texts like the Katha Vatthu and Jain Texts such as Bhagwati Sutra, Acharanga Sutra and Dasavakalik comprise some of the important literature of this era.

MAURYAN ADMINISTRATION

CENTRAL ADMINISTRATION

- Saptanga Theory –

Kautilya explains the Saptanga theory or the theory of seven elements of the state. According to him state is constituted by:

Swamin (King) – soul

Amatya (minister)

Janapada (territory and population)

Duga – (Fort)

Kosa (Treasury)

Bala (Army)

Mitra (ally)

PROVINCIAL AND LOCAL ADMINISTRATION

- **Provinces** – Divided into four provinces each under viceroy in council.

Four are – Uttarapatha (Capital - Taxila) Avantiratha (Ujjain), Dakshinapatha (Sumavagiri) and Kalinga (Tosali).

- **District** – The district was under the charge of the Rajuka (Ashokan edicts), whose position and function are similar to those of a DC.

- **Intermediate level** – This unit, consisting of five to ten villages was under Gopa and Sthanika.

- **Village** – It was under the charge of Gramani.

- **Municipal Administration** – It was maintenance of law and order, Nagarika or City superintendent's.

- **Land Revenue** – Main source of income for state.

CAUSES OF THE FALL OF MAURYAN EMPIRE

- Revenue from agrarian areas was not sufficient to maintain such a vast empire as booty from was negligible.

- Brahmins were against the Ashoka.

- Last Mauryan king "Brihadratha" was killed by Pushyamitra Shunga (Commander in Chief) in 185 BC who started Shunga dynasty in Magadha.

- "Pushyamitra's son – Agnimitra.

"Malvika Agnimitram" was written by Kalidas.

- Best cause of decline of Mauryan Empire:

Mauryan kings levied tax and everything except air.

7. KINGDOMS AFTER THE MAURYAS

THE SUNGA DYNASTY

- Pushyamitra founded this dynasty. His dominions extended to south as far as the Narmada River and including cities of Pataliputra, Ayodhya and Vidisha. He performed two Ashvamedha sacrifices.
- He also defeated the Bactrian king Demetrius.
- The fifth kind was Bhagabhadra, to whose court Heliodors, the Greek Ambassador visited.
- A Sunga king, Agnimitra was the hero of Kalidasa's Malavikagnimitram.
- Palanjali's classic Mahabhasya was written at time. It is Sanskrit grammar; it is based on Ashath Adhyay older one.
- He killed last Maurya king.

THE KANVA DYNASTY

- The founder of this short-lived dynasty was Vasudeva, who killed the last Sunga king Devabhuti.
- They were swept away by Satavahanas of the Deccan.

THE CHETIS OF KALINGA

- The Hathigumpha inscription (near Bhubhaneshwar, Orissa) of Kharavela, the third ruler of the dynasty gives information about the Chetis.
- He was a follower of Jainism and patronized it to a great extent.

THE SATAVAHANAS OR THE ANDHRAS

- They were the successors of the Mauryans in the Deccan and the Central India.

- Simuka is regarded as the founder of this dynasty.
- The most important king was Gautamiputra Satakarni Satakarni (AD 106-130) who raised the power and prestige of Satavahans to greater heights. He set up his capital at Paithan on the Godavari in Aurangabad district.

ASPECTS OF SATAVAHANA

- Mostly issued lead coins (copper + bronze).
- Acted as a bridge between North and South India.
- Satavahans ruler called themselves Brahmans. Performed Vedic rituals and worshipped gods like Krishna, Vasudeva and other. Also promoted Buddhism.
- Two common religious constructions were the Buddhist temple and Monasteries.
- Buddhist temples were called Chaitya and Monasteries were called Vihara.
- Most famous Chaitya is that of Karle in W. Deccan.
- Their district was called Ahara as it was in Ashoka's time. Their officials were known as Amatyas and Mahamatras as they were known in Mauryan times.
- Started the practice of granting tax free villages to Brahmans and Buddhist monks.
- Official language was Prakrit and script was Brahmi as in Ashokan times. One Prakrit text called Gathasattasai is attributed to a satavahana king called Hala.
- They followed Mauryas.

8. Guptan Empire

Shree Gupta — Founder

Chandragupta I (319 - 335AD)

- He has provided gupta dynasty fame.
- He took a little of 'Maharajadhiraj'.
- First great ruler was Chandragupta I. He introduced Gupta Era in 319 A.D.
- He started a new calendar - 'Gupta Era Gupta Era' is having 241 years gap from Shaka samvata.

Samudragupta (335 - 375 AD)

- He was son of Chandragupta I.
- Gupta dynasty expanded most during his period.
- Vincent Smith titled him as "Napoleon of India"
- The details of his victories described in 'Prayaga Prashasti' written by Harishen.
- He was a triumphant as well as a poet & Lyricist cum conservator of education.
- He has marked playing lute (veena) on the coins.
- He has also titled as 'Dharma Prachar Bandhu' in Allahabad pillar inscription.
- Buddhist Saint - Vasubandhu has given shelter him.
- Samudragupta is called the 'Napoleon of India' because of his India's victory.
- Samudragupta is called the 'Kaviraj'.

Chandragupta II (380 - 412AD)

- Udayagiri cave edict tells about his victories.
- Patliputra and Ujjaini rised as centres of education and culture.
- Ujjaini was his second capital.
- Fahien (Chinese Traveller) came to India during his period. He says Madhyapradesh as 'Nation of Brahmins'.
- This period was peak for Brahmins.

Kumargupta (415 - 454 AD)

- Maximum edicts during Gupta period found of this king.
- Nalanda University established during his period.
- Vilsad edict gives list of Gupta's family Succession up to Kumargupta.

- Silver coins were came in use in middle India during his period.
- He has takes titles like - Mahendraditya .

Skandgupta (455 - 467AD)

- Hun's were attacked during his rule.
- He has repaired lake Sudarshana which was established on Mt. Girnar.

Important Point

- He transferred his capital to Ayodhya.
- Gupta period was called the golden phase due to cultural progress.
- Chandragupta II launched the coins of silver after getting the victory on Shaka.
- Kumaragupta reconstructed Sudarasan Lake
- Huna's attack started at the time of Skandagupta.
- Ujjain was the most important trade center in Gupta's period
- Bhanugupta was the last Gupta ruler.
- Gupta ruler launched more gold coins than others
- Gold coins were called Dinara.
- Erana inscription describes Sati System in 510 A.D (first time). This inscription is of Bhanugupta.
- Most land grant given in gupta period

ADMINISTRATIVE UNITS OFFICER

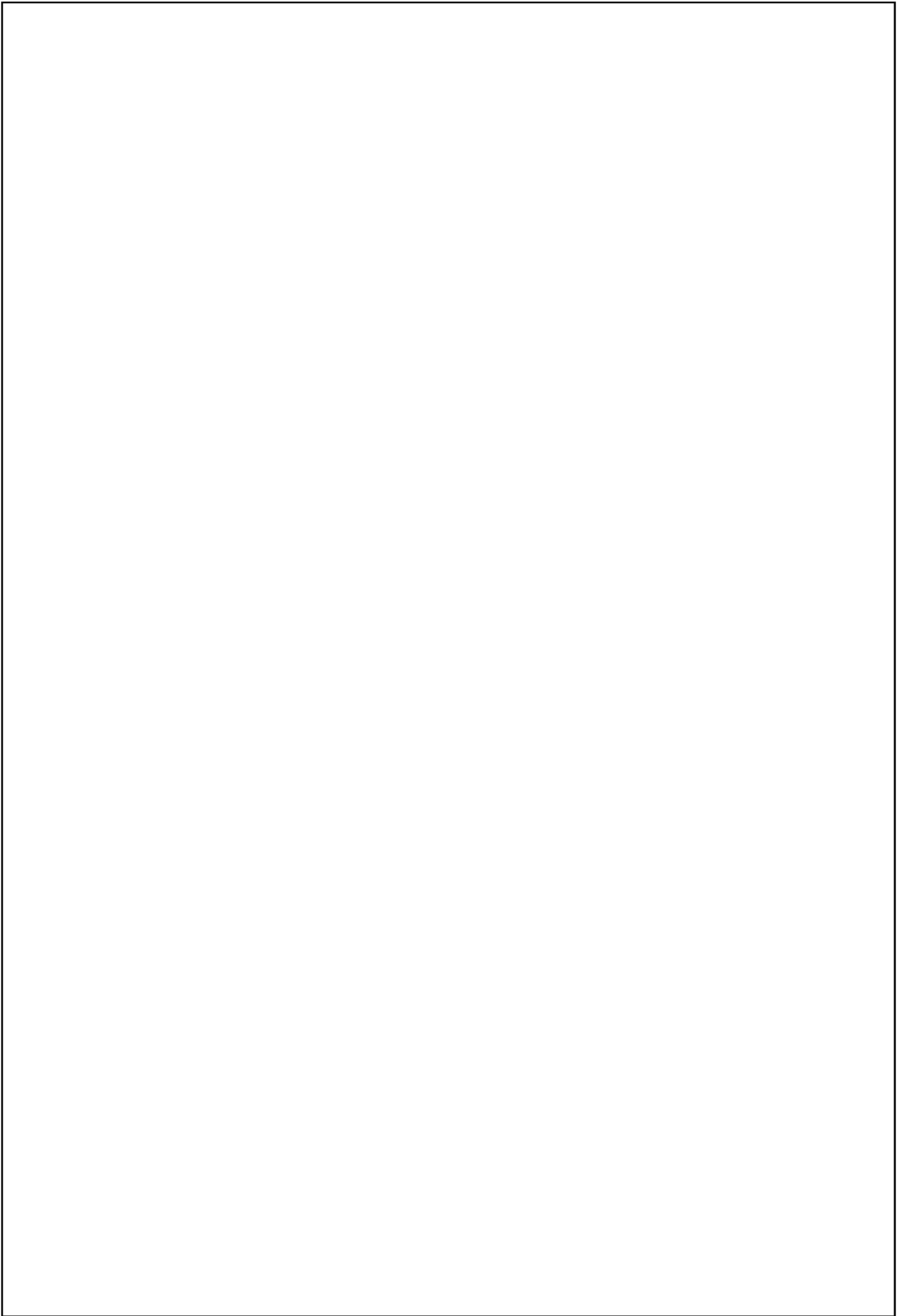
1. Desh	Gopta
2. Bhukti	Uprika
3. Vishaya	Vishaypati
4. Petha	Pethapati
5. Gram	Grampathi / Mahatar

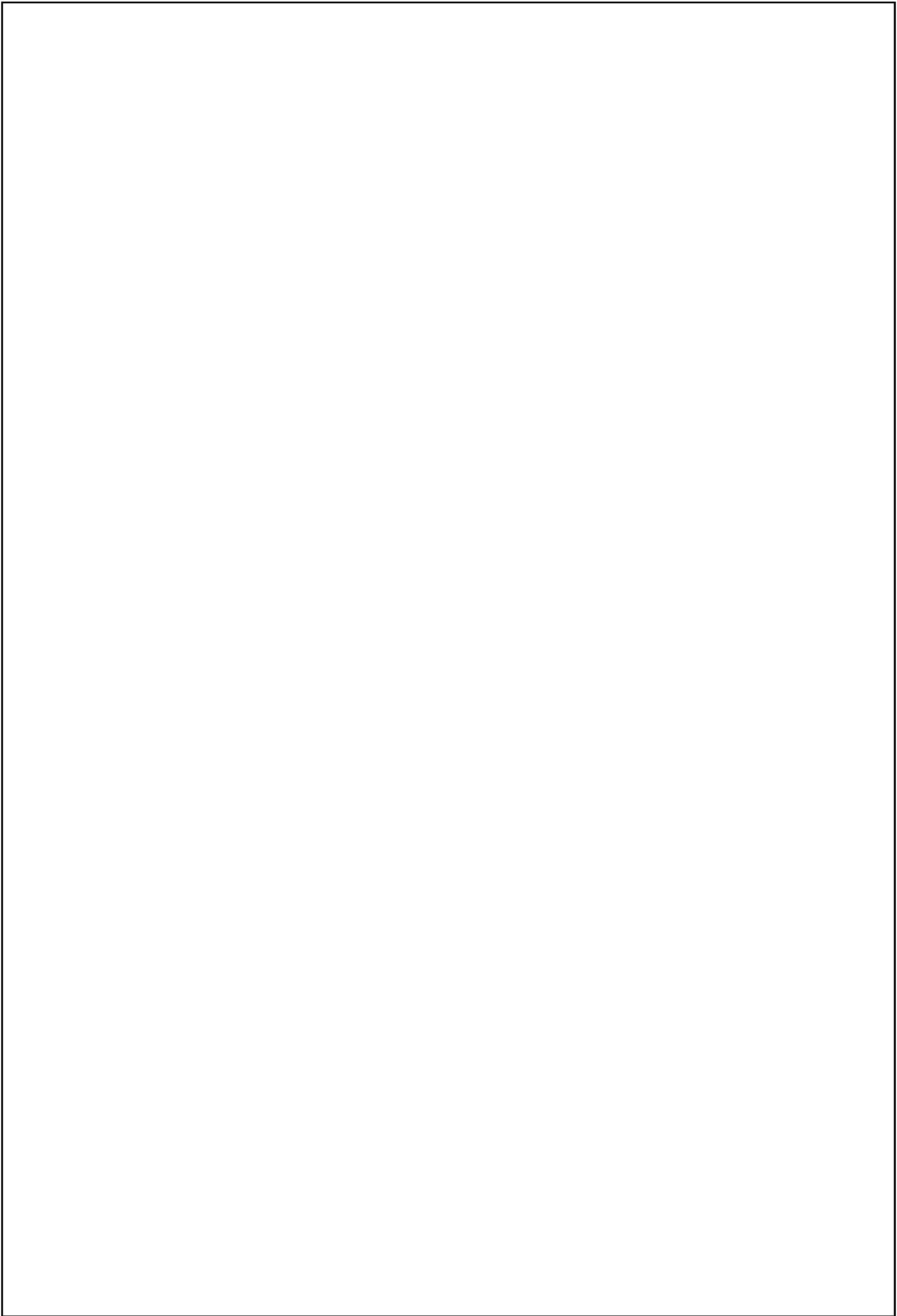
OFFICER

POST

1. Mahabaladhikari	Force captain
2. Mahadandnyak	Chief justice
3. Sandhivigrahak	Defence minister/ war minister
4. Dandpashik	Police officer
5. Mahakshapattalika	Chief of account

		department	• Taxes were in the form of either in cash or in the form of Grain.
6.	Sarthwah	Trade chief	• Forms of Lands
		<u>Taxation</u>	
1.	Bhag	— 1/6 of the total production	1. Kshetra - Farming land
2.	Bhog	— Gift which given to king in the form of fruits, flowers & vegetables	2. Vastu - Land for Residence
3.	Udrang	— Land Tax from permanent Farmers.	3. Khila - Land which were not cultivated
4.	Uprikara	— Land tax levied on all Temporary Farmers.	4. Aprahata - Non cultivated forest land.





9. SANGAM AGE

THE PANDYAS

- Their capital was Madurai.
- First mentioned by Megasthenes who says that their kingdom was famous for pearls and was ruled by a woman.
- The Pandya kings profited from trade with the Roman Empire and sent embassies to the Roman emperor Augustus. All expenditure were bared by Pandyas.
- Their emblem was Fish.

THE CHERAS

- Emblem was Bow and Arrow.
- Also called keralaputra.
- Their capital was Vanji (also called Kerala country)
- It owed its importance to trade with the Romans.
- Fought against the Cholas about 150 AD.
- Greatest king was Senguttuvan, the Red Chera.

THE CHOLAS

- Emblem was tiger.
- The Kingdom was called Cholamandalam or Coromondal. The chief centre was Uraiyur famous for cotton.
- Capital was Kaveripattanam/Puhar.
- A Chola king named Elora conquered Sri Lanka and ruled it over for 50 years. Bay of Bengal also called Chola Lake.
- Karikala was their famous king.
- Main source of wealth was trade in cotton cloth. They also maintained an efficient navy.
- Information about Cholas "Uttanamerur Inscription".
- Kudovallai system means Election system.
- Admn system runs through Variyam.
- Chola Admn Unit.
Provinces divided in to Mandal.
Mandal divided in to Venadu.
Venadu divided in to Taniyer and ur (villages)
- Chola Temple was largest temple made by cholas.
- Chola's Temple had a large Gate called "Gopuram"

OTHER ASPECTS OF THE THREE KINGDOM

- All the gathered information is based on Sangam Literature. Sangam was a college assembly of Tamil poets held probably under Royal Patronage (esp. Pandyas).
- Sangam age corresponds to the Post-Mauraya and the Pre-Gupta period.
- Three Sangams were held.
First Sangam – Madurai, Chairman – Agastya
Second Sangam – Kapatpuram, Chairman – Tolkkpiyar
Third Sangam – Madurai, Chairman – Nakkirar
- It was the third Sangam from which the entire corpus of Sangam literature came down to us.
- Silappadikaram by Ilango Adigal (story of a married couple) and Manimekalai by Sattanar are the famous epics of this time.
- Other books are Tolkappium by Tolkappiyar.
- Jivikachintamani by Tirukkakkdewar.
- Kurool by Tiruvalluvar (Kurool called the fifth Veda/ The Bible of the Tamil land).
- The chief local god was Murugan who was also called Sabramanya.
- 'Pariyars' – agricultural laborers who used to work in animal skin.
- Civil and military offices held by Vellalas (Rich peasants).
- The ruling class was called "Arasar".
- Captains of the army were given the title ENADI in formal functions.

GUPTA DYNASTY

- The first two kings of Dynasty were Sri Gupta and Ghatotkach.

CHANDRAGUPTA – I, AD 319-335

- First important king of Gupta Dynasty.
- Started the Gupta era in 319-320 AD.
- He enhanced his power and prestige by marriage with Kumar Devi, Princess of the Lichchhavi clan of Nepal.
- He acquired the title of Maharajadhiraj (first to get title).
- Struck coins in the joint names of himself, his

queen and the Lichchavi nation, there by acknowledging marriage alliance.

- First Iron Pillar Edict of Gupta Age gives first evidence of Sati.

SAMUDRAGUPTA (AD 335-375)

- The Gupta kingdom was enlarged enormously by Chandragupta's son and successor Samudragupta.
- His court poet Harisena wrote a glowing account of the military exploits of his pattern.
- In a long inscription at the Prayag Prashasti Pillar (Allahabad).
- Samudragupta also called Napoleon of India (by V.A. Smith) because of his bravery and generalship.
- V.A. Smith book – Oxford History of India.
- Samudragupta is said to have composed numerous poems of high merit. Some of his coins represent him playing Vina.
- He also performed Asvamedha sacrifice. He believed in Vedic Age.
- Vasubandhu, a celebrated Buddhist Scholar was his minister. Mean he believes in Boddh Dharam. Then he was liberal.
- Though a follower of the Brahmanical religion, he was tolerant of other faiths.
- Received a missionary from Meghavarman, the ruler of Sri Lanka, seeking his permission to build Buddhist temple at Gaya, which he granted.

CHANDRAGUPTA II (AD – 380-413)

- Samundragupta was succeeded by Ramgupta but Chandragupta II killed him and married his queen Dhruvadevi.
- He entered into matrimonial alliance with the Nagas (of upper and the central provinces) by marring princess Kubernaga whose daughter Prabhawati married to Rudrasena-II of the Vakataka family.
- Took the title of Vikramaditya by defeating Rudrasimha III, a Kshatarp king of Ujjain.
- He also took the title of Simhavikrama.
- He was the first ruler to issue silver coins also issued copper coins.
- The Iron pillar inscription, fixed near Qutab Minar in Delhi mention a king Chandra (considered by many as Chandragupta II).
- His court was adorned by celebrated nine gems

(Navaratna) including Kalidasa, Amarsimha, Varahmihir and Dhanvantri, Aryabhata.

- Chinese pilgrim Fahien visited India at this time.

KUMARAGUPTA – I (AD 413-455)

- He adopted the title of Mahendraditya.
- Founded Nalanda University (a renowned university of ancient India).
- He was worshipper of Lord Kartikeya.
- In the last years of his region, the peace and prosperity of empire was distributed due to the invasion of Turko-Mongol tribe, Hunas Mihirkula was the most famous king of Huna. Hieun Tsang mentions him as a fierce persecutor of Buddhism. He was defeated by Yashodharma.
- During the war with the Hunas, Kumargupta died.

SKANDAGUPTA (AD 455-467)

- Kumargupta-I was followed by Skandagupta. He faced Hunas effectively.
- Restored Sudarshana Lake.
- After his death, the great days of the Gupta were over.

REASON OF FALLING OF GUPTA EMPIRE

- Weak successor of Skandagupta could not check the growing Huna power.
- Feudatories rose in Bihar, Bengal, MP, Vallabhi etc.

ADMINISTRATION OF GUPTA

- Kings were called Parameshwara/Maharajadhiraj/Paramabattaraka.
- Most important officers were Kumaramatyas.
- They issued the largest number of gold coins in Ancient India, which were called Dinars.
- Silver coins were called Rupyakas.

SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT

- The castes were further divided into sub-caste.
- Position of woman declined further.
- First instance of Sati took place of Eran, MP.
- The position of Shudras improved substantially.
- The practice of untouchability intensified (especially hatred for Chandalas). Faihen mentions that the Chandolas lived outside the village and were distanced by the upper class.

RELIGION

- Bhagavad-Gita was written during this time only Buddhism declined.

- Bhagavatism centered around worshipping Vishnu or Bhagvat. History was presented as a cycle of 10 incarnations of Vishnu.
- Idol worship became a common feature.
- Vishnu temple at Deogarh (near Jhansi) a small Temple near Sanchi and brick temple at Bhitragaon (near Kanpur) belong to the Gupta architecture.

ART OF GUPTA AGE

- 2 meter high bronze image of Buddha belonging to the Mathura school the Gandhara Buddha represents mask-like coldness, while the Buddha from the Mathura school imports a feeling of warmth and vitality.
- The Buddha sitting in his Dharam Chakra mudra belongs to Sarnath.
- Buddha images of Bamiyan belonged to Gupta period.
- Ajanta Paintings and paintings at Bagh near Gwalior in MP are of this time, they belong to Buddhist art.

LITERATURE

Kalidasa the great Sanskrit dramatist belonged to this period. His books are Abhigyanashakuntalam, Ritusamhara, Meghadutam, Kumarambhava, Malavikamitram, Raghuvansha.

- It is earliest among translation of Sanskrit into English Abhigyanashakuntalam.
- Sanskrit was the language of rich people.
- Apart from Kalidasa other were Sudraka (author of Mrichchakatikam), Bharavi (Kiratarjuniya), Dandin (Kavyadarshna) and Dasakumaracharita). To this period belong 13 plays written by Bhasa.
- Most famous of these was Charudatta.
- Vishakhadatta wrote Mudrarakshasa and Devi-Chandraguptam.
- Vishnu Sharma wrote Panchatantra and Hitopdes.

- Development of Sanskrit grammar based on Panini and Patanjali. This period is particularly memorable for the compilation of Amarakosha by Amarsimha.
- Ramayana and Mahabharata were almost completed by the 4th century AD.

SCIENCE & TECHNOLOGY

- Aryabhatta, the great mathematician wrote Aryabhatiya and Suryasiddhanta.
- In Aryabhatiya, he described the place value of the first nine number and the use of Zero.
- He also calculated the value of Pie and invented Algebra.
- In Suryasiddhanta, he proved that the earth revolves round the sun and rotates on its axis.
- In this was he discovered the cause of the solar and lunar eclipses and the methods for calculating the timing of their occurrence.
- He also said that the heavenly bodies, like the moon, were spherical and they shone by reflecting the light.
- Varahamihira wrote Panchasi dhankita and Brihatsamhita. He said that the moon moves round the earth and earth, together with the moon move round the sun.
- Brahmagupta was a great mathematician. He wrote – Brahma-sphutic siddhanta in which he hinted at the law of Gravitation First person who introduce gravity.
- In the field of astronomy, Romakasidhanta were compiled.
- Vagbhatta was the most distinguished physician of Ayurvedic system of medicine.
- Palakapya wrote Hastyagarveda a treatise on the disease of elephants.
- Court language was Sanskrit.
- Dhanvantri – famous for Ayurveda knowledge.

9. HARSHA VARDHAN (AD 606-647)

- Belonged to Pushyabhuti family and son of Prabhakar Vardhan originally the feudatories of the Gupta.
- Originally belonged to Thanewar, but shifted to Kannauj (after Harsha's death Kannauj was won from Harsha's successors by the Pratiharas).
- Pajyavardhan succeeded Prabhakarvardhan.
- Grahavarman, the Maukhari ruler of Kannauj and husband of Rajyasri (daughter of Prabhakara) was murdered by Devgupta (the ruler of Malwa) who in alliance with Sasanka (ruler of Gauda or Bengal) now occupied Kannauj and imprisoned Pajyasri. Rajyavardhan undertook a campaign against Devgupta and killed him but he was deceived and killed by Sasanka.
- Harsha now succeeded his brother at Thanewar.
- Harsha brought most of north India under his control and assumed the title of "Siladitya".
- In his first expedition, Harsha drawn away Shashanka from Kannauj.
- Pulakesin – II the great Chalukya king. He bestowed the title of "the lord of the entire north" on him.
- Chinese pilgrim Hieun Tsang (Prince of Travelers) visited during his reign. He spent about eight years (635-643) in the dominions of Harsha and earned his friendship.
- Hieun Tsang has left a detailed account of a grand assembly held at Kannauj in 643 attended by representatives of Hinduism and Jainism.
- Harsh was a great patron of learning. He established a large patron of learning. He established a large monastery at Nalanda.
- Banabhatta, who adorned his court, wrote Harshacharita, Parvatiparinay and Kadambari.
- Harsha himself wrote 3 plays Priyadarshika, Ratnavali and Nagananda.
- After the death of Harsha in 647, the empire once again broke up into petty states.
- I-tsing, another Chinese pilgrim, visited in 670 AD.

THE VAKATAKAS

- The founder of this Brahmin Dynasty was

Vindhyaasakti.

- Most important king was Pravarsen – I who performed 4 Ashvamedha yagyas.
- Rudrasena II was succeeded by Divakarasena, Damodrasena or Pravarasena, who composed a Prakrit work titled Setubandha in glorification of Rama, though he was a devotee of lord Shiva.

CHALUKYAS OF VATAPI (BADAMI)

- Founder Pulakesin – I.
- Pulakesin – II was their most famous king, who was a contemporary of Harsha. He sent an embassy to the Persian king, Khusro – II. His court poet, Ravikirti wrote Aihole inscription. Hiuen Tsang visited his kingdom.
- Much of the painting and sculpture of the Ajanta and Ellora cave were completed during the Chalukyan reign. They built several magnificent temples in Aihole and other places.
- Aihole is called the cradle of Indian temple architecture.
- Vengi dynasty was founded by Pulakesin II's brother Kubja-Vishnu-Vardhana.
- The greatest ruler of Kalyani Chalukyas was Vikramaditya II Tribhuvanmalla. He was Hero of Bilhana's Vikramankadeva Charita. He introduced the Chalukya-Vikrama era (1076 AD).

THE RASTRAKUTAS

- Founder Dantidurga.
- Their king Krishna – I is remembered for constructing the famous rock-cut Kalisha temple at Ellora.
- Their king Amoghvarsha is compared to Vikramaditya in giving patronage to men of letters.
- He wrote the first Kannada poetry named Kaviraj marg and Prashnottar Malika. He built a city of Manyakheta as his capital.
- Their king Krishna – III set up a pillar of victory and a temple at Rameshwaram after defeating the Cholas.

THE GANGAS

- Also called Chedagangs of Orissa.
- Their king Narsimhaddeva constructed the Sun

temple at Konark.

- Their king Anantvarman Ganga built the famous Jagannath temple at Puri.

THE PALLAVAS

- Founder Simhavishnu. They setup their capital at Kanchi. He bore the title Avanisimha (lion of the earth).
- Narasimhavarman I Mahamalla. He was the greatest king of the dynasty. He defeated and killed Pulakesin II and assumed the title Vatapikonda.

THE CHOLAS AD 846-1279

- Founder Vijayalaya capital was Tanjore.
- Parantaka I captured Madurai but was defeated by Rashtrakuta ruler. Krishan III at the battle of Takkolam. Although the Rashtrakutas were later defeated.
- Rajaraja founded the largest dominion in south India.
- He annexed northern Sri-Lanka and named it Mummadi – Cholamandalam. Also conquered Maldives islands.

- He constructed Rajrajeshwari temple (also called Brihadeshwar Shiva temple) at Thanjavur.
- His son Rajendra – I annexed the whole of Sri Lanka. In the North went as far as Ganga and the dominions of the Pala king Mahipale. He took the title of ‘Gangaikonda’ after that and founded a capital Gangaikonda Cholapuram.

THE PALAS OF BENGAL

- Founder was Gopala (750 AD) who was elected to the throne as he had proved his valor and capability as a leader.
- Suleimon, an Arab merchant has termed the Pala Empire as Rhuni.
- Gopala was an ardent Buddhist.
- He was succeeded by Devapala. He extended his control over Pragjyotishpur (Assam). He was a Buddhist.
- Ballalasesna was written Danasagara and Adbhutsagara.
- Founder Samantasena.

10. DELHI SULTANATE

MAHMOOD GHAZNI

- Until the rise of west, India and possibly the richest country in the world, such a country presented an irresistible target for the ravaging Mongols and their descendents who settled in present day Afghanistan, Uzbekistan Tajikistan, all within comparatively easy reach of north-western India.
- The North West was, at this time, a mish-mash of warring kingdoms, more interested in settling scores with their neighbors than in unifying against the Mongols. It is then unsurprising that Mahmood Ghazni's armies so easily defeated those of Indian kings.
- His first expedition was directed against the frontier towns in 1000 AD.
- His second expedition was against Jaipala, the Hindustani King of Punjab whom he defeated in the first Battle of Waihind.
- In his 6th expedition was against Anandpala, the successor of Jaipala, Mahmood defeated Anandpala in IInd Battle of Waihind in 1008 AD.
- His 16th expedition was the plunder of Somnath temple (dedicated to Shiva) in 1025, situated on the sea coast of Kathiawar.
- His last invasion was against Jats bcz Jats had attacked his army when he was going back to Ghazni.
- Objectives of Mahmood's expeditions were to plunder the riches of temples and palaces and were not interested in expanding his empire to India. However he later annexed Punjab and made it a part of his kingdom just to have easy access.
- FIRDUSI (Persian Poet, known as Homer of the east) who wrote Shahnama.
- ALBERUNI (a brilliant scholar from Central Asia) who wrote TAHQIQ-i-HIND.
- UTBI (court historian) who wrote Kitab-ud-yamni.
- Died in 1030.

MUHAMMAD GHORI

- First person who concerned India.
- The real founder of the Muslim Empire in India was SHIHAB-UD-DIN Muhammad of Ghur. But

it is true that Muhammad bin Qasim was the first Muslim invader of India but he failed due to his premature death.

- His first invasion was directed against Multan in 1175 AD, which was successful.
- Prithviraj Chauhan, who was the king of Delhi at that time, received contingents from other Rajput kings and defeated him in the first Battle of Tarain (1181) but he defeated Prithviraj in the second Battle of Tarain in 1182.
- Captured Delhi and Ajmer and thus laid the foundation of Muslim Rule in India.
- Also defeated Jaichandra (ruler of Kannauj) at the Battle of Chhandwar in 1184.
- Died in 1206, leaving Qutub-Ud-Din Aibak the charge.

The Sultanate of Delhi (1206-1526) had 5 ruling dynasties.

1. The slave Mamluk/Ilbari Dynasty (1206-1290)
2. The Khalji (1290-1320)
3. The Tughlaq (1320-1413)
4. The Sayyid (1414-1415)
5. The Lodhis (1451-1526)

MAMLUK DYNASTY(1206-90)

QUTUB-UD-DIN AIBAK (1206-1210)

- He is called the founder of Slave Dynasty. He was a Turk of the Aibak tribe which in Turkish language means 'LORD OF MOON'.
- Md. Ghori could not name his successor because of his sudden death. Aibak assumed reigns of govt. as independent ruler at Lahore on 25 June 1206.
- He did not strike coins nor got the Khutba (read after Namaj) read in his name.
- Lahore and later Delhi were his capital.
- For his generosity he was known as "LAKH BAKSH" or giver of Lakhs.
- Laid the foundation of Qutub Minar after the name of famous Sufi saint, **Khwaja Qutubuddin Bakhtiyar Kaki**.
- Died of a horse fall at Lahore, while playing Chaugan (Polo).
- Built the first mosque in India – "QUWWAT-UL-ISLAM" (at Delhi) and "Adhai Din Ka Jhpora

(at Ajmer).

- He was a great person of learning and patronized writers like “Hasan Nizami” who wrote Taj-ul-Massir, and Fakhr-Ud-Din, writer of Tarikh-i-Mubarakshahi.
- Aibak was succeeded by Aram shah who ruled at Lahore for 8 months before being deposited by Iltutmish.

SHAMS-UD-DIN ILTUTMISH (AD 1211-1230)

- He was son-in-law of Aibak. He is considered the greatest of the slave kings and the real consolidator of the Turkish conquest in India.
- Prevented Chengiz khan’s attack by refusing to give refuge to an enemy of Khan, JALALUDDIN MANGABARANI.
- He got his authority (Sultanate of Delhi) recognized by the Caliph of Baghdad (Khalifa) as a member of world fraternity of Islamic states.
- Divided his empire into IQTAS, an assignment of land in lieu of salary, which he distributed to his officers, IQTAS were transferable.
- He introduced the silver tanks and the copper Jital, 2 basic coins of the sultanate.
- He writer Mihraj-ul-siraj, the author of Tabaqqat-i-Nasiri.
- He is called the Father of tomb Building.
- Central Minister
 1. Wazir → Prime Minister
 2. Sadr-i-Jahan → Head of religious affairs.
 3. Chief-Qazi → Head of Judicial affairs

Created

TURKAN-i-CHAHALGANI

BANDGAN-i-SHAMSHI

RUKNUDDIN FIROZE (Apr-Nov 1236)

- Son of Iltutmish
- After 7 months died in confidence
- Shah Turkan began to meddle (Title of Ruknuddin)

RAZIA BEGUM (1236-40 AD)

- She was the first and the last Muslim woman ruler of medieval India.
- She disregarded Purdah, began to adorn make attire and rode out in public on elephant back.
- She promoted Jamaluddin Yakut, an Abyssinian to the important office of superintendent of the

stables. She had affair with Jalaluddin Yakut. She gave the Title of AMIR-i-AKHUR to Yakut (Master of royal stables).

- There was a serious rebellion in Bhatinda, Malik IKHTIYARUDDIN ALTUNIA, Governor of Bhatinda, refused to acknowledge the suzerainty of Raziya, accompanied by Yakut she marched against Altunia, on the way, the Turkish followers of Altunia murdered Yakut and imprisoned Raziya. She had the marey Alturia to get out of this situation.
- But she was killed, along with her husband, by BAHRAM SHAH, a son of Iltutmish, near Kaithal (Haryana).

BAHRAM SHAH (1240-42)

- “The forty” became disorderly and constantly bickered among each other. It was during this period of unrest that the Mongols invaded Multan but repelled by the governor.
- The Chahalgani besieged him and put him to death in 1242 AD.

Nasiruddin Mahmood (1246-65)

- He was the grandson of Iltutmish. He was the posthumous son of Prince Nasiruddin eldest son of Iltutmish.
- From Bahraich, he was rushed to the capital disguised as a woman along with his mother and placed on the throne by the conspirators. Balban was one of the Patron of Nasiruddin who happened to be his son-in-law. Balban was appointed for the past of NAIB-i-MAMALIKAT:

Ghiasuddin Balban (1266-1286 AD)

- He belonged to Ilberi tribe of his master Iltutmish. His original name was Bahauddin and was purchased by Iltutmish.
- He ordered the separation of military department from the finance department (DIWAN-i-WIZARAT) and the former was placed under a ministry for military affairs (DIWAN-i-ARIZ) headed by ARIZ-i-MAMALIK.
- Theory of Kingship
 - ZIL-i-ILAH
 - Descendent of Afrasiab
- Purity of blood
- Sijda and Paibos
- Liquidation of the “THE FORTY”

- Nauroj (New Year)
- Jharokha Darshan

Kaiqubad (AD 1287-1290)

- Balban was succeeded by his grandson Kaikubad, the son of Bughra Knan, Governor of Bengal.
- He was very indolent and Luxury-loving. In 1290, Firoz Shah the governor of Punjab got him killed and became king under the title of Jalal-ud-din Khilji. Thus, the Khilji dynasty began in Delhi.

KHILJI DYNASTY

- The Khilji were one of the sixty four clans of the turks.

Jalaluddin Khilji (1290-96 AD)

- Mongol leader Abdullah attacked in 1292. These Mongols embraced Islam and settled down near Delhi. These converts came to be known as NEO-MUSALMANS.
- He sent his nephew Alauddin invaded Deogiri in 1294 AD.
- But Alauddin killed Jalaluddin after robbery at Kara (Allahabad).
- He was first Sultan of Delhi who clearly put forward the view that state should be based on the willing support of the governed.
- First king who gave the job of Indian he married his daughter to Ulugh khan.

Alauddin Khilji (1296-1316 AD)

- Killed his uncle after he came Devgiri. He brought

1299	Gujrat
1301	Ranthambhor
1303	Chittor
1305	Malwa

South India (only conquered)

1307	Deogiri
1309	Kakatiyas of Warangal
1311	Hoysala of Dwarsamudra
1311	Pandyas of Madhurai

His Reforms

- Abolished the Zamindari system in crown lands.
- Stopped the practices of issuing grants of land in lieu of state services.

himself lot of gold, silver and wealth. When his uncle called him he refused to cross the Ganga, then Jaluluddin gone after crossed river and he killed his uncle.

- Killed his uncle treacherously and won over most of the nobles to his side by use of gold.
- Declared sultan of Delhi immediately after the murder of Jalaluddin at Kara near Allahabad in 1296.
- Theory of Kingship
 - ZIL-i-ILAHl
 - I am the state
 - Kingship known no kinship
 - Chehra and Dagh
- Secular state Policy
 - Separated Religion from the state for the first time in the Delhi sultanate.
- First sultan have permanent army.
- His wild aims.
 - Founding a new religion.
 - Launching a conquest like Alexander and called himself "Sikander-i-Saani" and second Alexander.
- But fissile out later on by the suggestion of ALAUL-MULK (The Kotwal of Delhi)
- Also built Hauz khas, Mahal Hazaar Satoon and Jamait Khana Mosque in Delhi.
- His imperialism (conquered and annexed)

(Ruler)

Kam Baghela
Hammir Deo
Ratan Singh
Mohkol Dev

(Ruler)

Ramchandra Rao
Prataprudra Deo
Vir Ballal
Vir Pandya, Sudar Pandya

- Abolished pensions and endowments.
- Local chieftains (Khut, Muqaddam, Mukhiya choudhary) were taxed for cattle, pastures ground and houses.

Pasture Tax- known as Chari

House Tax- known as Ghari

- Estb. Separate Department called DIWAN-i-MUSTKARAT for the collection of arrears of revenue.
- **Price control and Market regulation.**
 - Appointed Malik Qabul to be controller of all the grain markets.
 - Department of SHAHNA-i-MANDI and DIWAN-i-RIYASAT was made responsible for the successful implementation of the economic regulation.
- Land Reforms
 - First sultan who insisted that DOAB land revenue would be charged on the basis of measuring the Land under cultivation.
 - BISWA was declared to be the standard unit of measurement.
- Though Alauddin was illiterate, he was a patron of learning and Art. There were many great poets in his court. Both Amir Khusrau and Mir Hasan Dehlvi enjoyed his patronage.

MUBARAK KHILJI (1316-1320)

- His name was Qutubuddin Mudarak shah.
- He was one of the sons of Alauddin, who somehow, escaped the praying eyes of Malik Kafur. After the death of Kajar he became the king.
- After seating himself on the throne, he tried to win over the goodwill of the people. He cancelled all harsh regulation started by his father.

TUGHLAQ DYNASTY

Ghiasuddin Tughlaq (1320-25 AD)

- Original name – Ghazi Malik
- First Ghazi Raza
- Sultan recovered a part of the royal treasure which had been distributed by Khusrau Khan led to the estrangement of his relations with SHEIKH NIZAMUDDIN AULIA – (sufi saint of Delhi).
- Reduced land tax and insisted that the rate should not be increased 1/10 or 1/11.
- Took interest in the construction of canal for irrigation.
- Died fall from wooden pavilion.

Mohammad-Bin-Tughlaq (1325-1351)

- Original name – Prince Jauna (son of Ghiasuddin).

- Most highly educated of all the preceding sultan of Delhi.
- Good Calligraphist.
- Contemporary was China King Kub - Lai – Khan of Bin Tughlaq.
- Isami (Historians) called him WISEST FOOL OF EASTERN WORLD.
- His Reforms:-
 - Transfer of the capital from Delhi to Daulatabad (Devgiri) but not successful.
 - He named Daulatabad as Qubbat-UI-Islam.
 - Introduction of Token currency of bronze/copper but failure.
 - The proposed Khurasan expedition but failed because MBT could not be maintenance and equipment caused a heavy drainage of wealth of army organized by him.
 - Introduced Gold Dinar and silver Adali.
 - For all of these Edward Thomas called him “PRINCE OF MONEYERS”.
 - Karachi expedition but failed because of snowfall and his mostly soldiers were died.
 - Taxation in the Duab:-

For this purpose he created a department of agriculture styled DIWAN-I-KOHI. The experiment failed by the corrupt officials and old traditional pattern of cultivation. The department was wound up after three years.

- Rebellion and General upsurge
1335 -> Maduari became independent under the leadership of Jalaluddin Ahsan Shah.
1336-> Foundation of Vijayanagar by Harihar and Bukka.
1341-47 -> Revolts of Sada Amirs and foundation of Bahmani in 1347 by Hasan Gangu.
- He died at Thatta.

Firoze Shah Tughlaq (1351-1386)

- Cousin of Mohammad-Bin-Tughlaq.
- First person to introduce Jajiya.
- His father Rajab and mather, Bhatti Rajput.
- Strengthened his legal position by obtaining investiture from the Khalifa and assumed the title of NAIB-i-AMIR-UL-MOMININ and inscribed Khalifa's name on the coins.
- Jamindar system started again.

- Appoint Khan-i-Jahan Maqbul as his wazir or prime minister.
- Ikta became hereditary.
- Theocratic tinge to the taxation by abolishing as many as 23 cesses and only four taxes were retained:

1. Kharaj -> land tax imposed on Non-Muslims
2. Khams -> warboty 1/5 (MBT,AK – 415)
3. Jajiya -> levying it on Brahmans also for the first time.

In lieu of exemption for military service.

4. Zakat -> on Muslims 1/40 part of total income.
- Revived Zagir system
 - Welfare Activities
 - Estb. DIWAN-i-KHAIRAT (Donation)
 - DIWAN-i-BANDGAN (slaves)
 - Granting old age Pension
 - Opened DARUL SHIFA (Hospital)
 - Estb. Madras
 - Destroyed Mathura temple
 - Construction Activities.
 - Founded new cities like Ferozabad, Fatehabad, Jaunpur Hissar etc.
 - Construction of canal for irrigation and imposed taxes on it.
 - Uses known as HAQ-i-SHARB (1/10 of total produces)
 - Brought two Ashoka pillar to Delhi
 - From Topra
 - From Meerut
 - Estb. 36 state owned factories for manufacture of various accessories managed by DIWAN-i-WIZARAT.
 - Muhmad shah Tughlazz last king of Tughlaq Dynasty.

TIMUR'S INVASION

- He was a great Mongol leader of Central Asia. He became the head of the Chaghtai Turks at the age of 33. Before reaching India, he had already conquered Mesopotamia and Afghanistan. He reached Delhi in December 1398. At that time, Nasiruddin Mahmud was the ruler.
- Timur ordered general massacre in Delhi and robbed people mercilessly.

- He is said to have inflicted on India more misery than had ever before been inflicted by any conqueror in single invasion. The Tughlaq Empire could never recover from such a terrible blow and came to an end.

THE SAYYID DYNASTY (1414-51)

Khizr khan (1414-1421)

- Founded the dynasty and claimed to have descended from the prophet of Islam.
- He helped Timur in his invasion, so he was given the governorship of Lahore, very weak and he didn't take up the title of king and contended himself with that of Rayat-i-Ala. The coins were struck and Khutba was read in the name of Timur and after his death in the name of his successor, Shah Rukh.
- Khizr Khan's 3 successors
 - Mubarak shah
 - Muhammad shah
 - Alauddin Alam shah
- Provided opportunity to Bahlul lodhi.

THE LODHI DYNASTY

- They were Afghan by race considered the first Afghan dynasty of India.

Bahlul Lodhi (1451-1489)

- Conquered Jaunpur by ousting Sharqui Dynasty
- Founder of Lodhi Dynasty

Sikandar Lodhi (1489-1517 AD)

- Nizam Khan, son of Hindu goldsmith's daughter.
- He shifted his capital in 1504 AD for Delhi to Agra which was developed as a town.
- Renounced the idea of Sultan as 1st among equals.
- Jaunpur was annexed to Agra to command areas of eastern Rajasthan
- Founder of Agra city.
- Introduced the Gaz-i-Sikandari 32 digits for measuring cultivated fields.
- Was a poet himself and wrote verses in Persian under the Pen-name of Gurumukhi.
- Repaired Qutub Minar.
- He abolished Octroi duty on grains.
- He reimposed the Jajiya on the Hindus.

Ibrahim Lodhi (AD 1517-26)

- He was the last king of Lodhi dynasty and last

Sultan of Delhi sultanate.

- Was defeated and killed by Babur in the First Battle of Panipat in 1526.
- No Sultan of Delhi Sultanate except Ibrahim had been killed on the battlefield.
- With this the sultanate of Delhi ended.

CAUSES OF DECLINE OF DELHI SULTANATE

- War of succession.
- Incompetent ruler like Feroz shah Tughlaq and his successors.
- Greed and incompetency of ruler.
- Defective administrative system.
- Financial of Timur.

CULTURAL DEVELOPMENT (13TH-15TH CENTURY)

Art and Architecture

- The use of arch and the dome is the special feature of the Muslim architecture. As the arch and dome needed strong cement, finer quality of mortar became wide-spread in north India.
- The Tughlaq built walls called batter combining the principles of arch and the lintel and beam (started first time).

Music

- New musical modes and instruments like rabab and sarangi were introduced.
- Amir Khusrau introduced many Persian Arabic ragas. Also invented the sitar.
- Kavvali, Ghazal, Sitar, Tabla was first time introduced.

Painting

- Paper was introduced by the Arabs in the 15th century and this patronized painting.

Literature

- Udayaraja wrote Rana Vinoda on Mahmud Begarha.
- Merutanga's Prabandha Chintamani.
- A no. of Sanskrit works – Rajatarangani Mahabharata, Koka shastra – were translated into Persian.
- Zai Nakshabi's Tuti Nama (a translation of Sanskrit stories into Persian) was very popular.

Provincial Kingdoms

- Broke away from Delhi under the resign of Muhammad bin Tughlaq.

- In 1342, Ilyas khan founded a new dynasty.
- Famous Sultan was Ghiyas-ud-din Azam who established friendly relations with China and encouraged trade and commerce.
- The celebrated poet, Maladhar Basu, compiler of Sri-Krishna Vijay, was patronized by the sultan and was given the title of "Gunaraja Khan".

Gujarat

- Broke away from Delhi in 1397, under Zafar Khan who assumed the title of sultan Muzaffar shah.
- His grandson Ahmed Shah-1 built a new city, Ahmedabad. He built Jama Masjid of Ahmedabad and Teen Darwaza.
- The next prominent ruler was Mahmud Begarha. In his reign, Portuguese set up a factory at Diu. His court poet was the Sanskrit Scholar, Udayaraja.
- In 1573, Akbar annexed Gujarat to his empire.

Malwa

- Malwa was annexed by Alauddin Khilji in 1305 and remained a part of Sultanate until its Governor, Dhiawan khan Ghuri asserted his independence in 1435.

BUILDINGS OF DELHI SULTANATE

Qutubuddin Aibak

- Quwwat-ul-Islam mosque in Delhi.
- Dhaj-din-ka – Jhopra mosque in Ajmer.
- Started construction of Qutub-Minar.

Iltutmish

- Shamshi Madarsa
- Makbra of Iltutmish
- Construction of Qutub Minar

Alauddin Khalji

- Alai Darwaja (Qutubminar Gateway)
- Started construction of a minor but failed to complete it beyond the 1st story.

Ghiasuddin Tughlaq

- Purana Qila

Feroz S. Tughlaq

- Kotla Feroz Shah Fortification.

Lodhis

- Tombs
- Double dome 1st time in Sikandar Lodhi's tomb.
- After that in Humayun's tomb Taj Mahal.

Literature of Delhi Sultanate

- Alberuni Tarikh-i-Hind or Kitab-ul-Hind in Arabic.

In 1018-19 AD he accompanied the invading hordes of Mahmud of Ghazni.

He made extensive use of the Sanskrit literature.

- Utbi wrote Tarikh-i-yamini or Kitab-ul-yamini. He was attached to the personal staff of Mahmud of Ghazni and never accompanied Mahmud to India. His book is a fine example of Arabic.

- Hasan Nizami Taajul Maasir

- Minhaj wrote Tabaqat-i-Nasiri

- Amir Khusrao (poet can historian)

Miftah-ul-futuh (Jalaludin Khalzi)

Khajain-ul-futuh (Alauddin Khalzi)

Kiran-us-Sadain

Nuh Sipih (Praises India)

Tughlaqnama (a Ghiasuddin Tughlaq)

- He adorned the courts of the Sultans from Balban to Ghiasuddin Tughlaq. He was the disciple of Nizamuddin Aulia.
- For the first time Amir Khusrao used Hindi words into the Persian literature. He also introduced various ragas called Aiman Ghora of Badal etc.
- He came to be called as parrot of India (Tuti-i-Hind)

- **Ziauddin Barni** wrote Tarikh-i-Firozshahi and Fatwa-i-Jahandari during the reign of Ferozshah Tughlaq.

- Barni was the close associate of Amir Khusrao.

- **Feroz Shah Tughlaq** wrote his biography Futuh-i-Feroz Shahi (Futuh = autobiography in Persian)

- **Isami** – Futuh-us-Salatain

- **Ibn-Batuta** – He was the inhabitant of Tangier, Morocco come to Delhi in 1336 during Md-bin-Tughlaq and patronized by him He wrote his travelogue in Arabic named REHLA.

VIJAYNAGAR KINGDOM

Founded in 1336 as a result of the political and cultural movement against Tughlaq authority in the south

THE SANGAMS (1336-1485)

- The Empire of Vijaynagar was founded by

Harihara-I and Bukka two of the five sons of Sangama.

Deva Raya I

- He constructed a dam across the river Tungabhadra to bring canal into city to relieve the shortage of water.
- His court was adorned by the gifted Telegu poet Srinath, the author of Haravilasam.

Deva Raya II

- Was the greatest Sangama ruler, believed to be the incarnation of Indra
- He wrote Mahanataka sudhaidhi and a commentary on the Brahma Sutras of Badaryana (Both in Sanskrit).
- The inscription speak of his title “Gajabetekara”(The Elephant Hunter)
- Sangama dynasty was replaced by Salva which lasted for 2 decades. Ultimately, a new dynasty called Tuluva Dynasty was founded by Vira Narsimha

TULUVA DYNASTY

- Founder was Vir Narsimha to avoid anarchy and to save kingdom.

Krishandeva Raya (1509-1529 AD)

- Most prominent and famous ruler of Vijay nagar.
- His political ideas are contained in his Telegu work “AMUKTAMALYADA”.
- As a great patron of literature he was known as Abhinava Bhoja, Andhra Pitamaha and Andhra bhoja.
- Eight great poets of Telegu, known as Ashta Diggaja adorned his court. Pedanna wrote Manucharitam, while Tenalirama was author of Panduranga Mahamatyam.
- Built a new city “Nagalapuram” and decorated it with hazura temple and Vithaswamy temple.
- Sadasiva, the last ruler of the dynasty, was a puppet in the hands of his PM, Rama Raya, who was an able but arrogant man.
- During the reign of Achyuta Raya (king after Krishandeva Raya) the power vested in Ramraya. He fought Battle of Rakshasa Tangodi (1565) with four powers of Muslim state excluding Bidar.

Aravidu Dynasty(1570-1649AD)

- Founded by Tirumal
- Aravidu dynasty lingered on for almost 100 years,

but without any political influence.

Admn.

- Military fief studded the whole length and breadth of the empire, each under a Nayak or military leader authorized to collect revenue and to administer a specified area provided, he maintained an agreed number of beast of burden. This system was non transferrable and hereditary.

RELIGIOUS MOVEMENT

THE SUFIS

There were 3 chief orders of Sufis in India. The Chisti, the Suharawadi and the Silsilah of Firdausi.

1. The Chisti

- The Chisti order was established by Khwaja Muinuddin Chisti. His two main disciples were Bhaktiyar Kaki and Shaikh Hamiduddin Sufi Nizamuddin Auliya was also his disciple.

2. Suharawadi

- It was popular in Punjab and Sindh.
- Popular saints were Shaikh Shihabuddin Suharawardi and Hamid-ud-din Nagory.

3. The Firdausi

- It was a branch of Suhrawardi and its activities were confined to Bihar. It was popularized by Shaikh Sharfuddin Vahya who was disciple of Khwaja Nizamuddin Firdausi.

THE BHAKTI MOVEMENT

1. Ramanuja (12th Century)

- Earliest exponent of Bhakti movement. According to him, the way of Moksha lies through Karma gyan and Bhakti.
- He gone the concept of Vishishtadvaita

2. Nimbarkara

- The next leader of Bhakti Movement was Nimbarkara a younger contemporary of Ramanuja.
- He was a worshipper of Radha and Krishna.

3. Madhavacharya (1238-1317)

- He ranks with Ramanuja in the Vedanta system. He said that release from transmigration can be secured only by means of knowledge and devotion.

4. Ramanand (15th Century)

- First great Bhakti saint of north India.
- Worshipper of Lord Ram.

- His followers were:

Ravidas – cobbler

Kabir – Weaver

Sena – Barber

Namdeva – Tailor

Sadhana - Butcher

5. Guru Nanak Devji

- Nanak was born in the village of Talwandi (Now called Nankana in present day Pakistan).

- He laid great emphasis on the purity of character and conduct as the first condition of approaching God and the need of a Guru for guidance.

- His concept of God was Nirguna and Nirankar.

- He didn't believe in the Vedas and the Quran.

6. Kabir: (1440-1518)

- Kabir was not only concerned with religious reform but also wished to change the society.

- He composed Bijak, Sabads and Akhis, Mangal, Basant, Holi, Rekhtal etc.

7. Chaitanya: (1485-1534)

- Chaitanya of Bengal traveled throughout India and popularized Krishna cult. "Kirtan system" was given by Chaitanya only.

8. Meerabai(1498-1546)

- Meerabai of Rajasthan was follower of lord Krishna.

- Rathor princess of Merataand daughter in law of Rana Sanga of Mewar.

- Wrote the verse Padavali.

9. Surdas (1497 to 1584)

- Disciple of Vallabhacharya.

- A blind poet of Agra.

- Sang the glory of Krishna in his "Sursagar".

10. Namdeva (AD 1270-1350)

- He was tailor by caste, opposed caste distinction.

- He founded Vakari sect or the cult of Vithoda.

11. Tukaram (1598-1650)

- He was associated with Dharkari and Varkari sect.

- He wrote devotional poems called Abhangas.

- He was the teacher of Shivaji.

12. Tulsi Das (AD 1532-1623)

- Contemporary to Akbar work-Ramcharitamanas, Kavitawali, Gitawali, Parvati Mangal, Janaki Mangal.

13. Dadu Dyal (AD 1554-1603)

- Born in Ahmedabad to Muslim parents, brought by a Hindu.
- Teachings collected in a book called “Bani”.
- Disciple-sundaradasa, Rajjab, Bakham and Warid.

14. Vallabhacharya (1478-153)

- Tailanga a Brahmana, advocated the worship of Krishna and dedication of everything of him alone.

15. Narsingh Mehta

- He was a saint from Gujrat who wrote songs in Gujarati depicting the love of Radha Krishna. He is author of Mahatma Gandhi’s favorite Bhajan “Vishnava jan ko”.

Philosophies of Various Bhakti

Saints

Saints

Advaitavad
Vishishta Advaita
Sudha Advaita
Dvaitadvaita
Achintya Bhedavedavad
Dvaitavad

Philosophies

Sankracharya
Ramanuja
Ballabhacharya
Nimbarka
Chaitanya
Madhavacharya

11. MUGHALS

Babur (1526-1530)

- Was a descendent of Timur on his father's side and Chengiz Khan on his mother side His family belonged to Chaghatayids.
- Originally ruled over Farghana (Afghanistan). He became the sultan at the early age of 12, when his father Sultan Umar Shaikh Mirza died.

Early battles:

1. Battle of Panipat (21 April 1526 AD)

- Defeated Ibrahim Lodhi
- Use of Guns
- Tulguma system of warfare
- Distributed all his wealth among his soldiers and earn the title Shah Qalandar.

2. Battle of Khanwah (March 1527 AD)

- Defeated Rana Sana
- Declared Jihad for this battle.

3. Battle of Chanderi (January 1528 AD)

- Defeated Medini Rai
- Sher Shah Suri fought for Babur.

4. Battle of Ghaghra (May 1529 AD)

- Against the ruler of Bengal Nusrat Shah.
- Wrote his memoir in Turkey as "TUJUK-i-BABRI"

HUMAYUN (1530-40 AD) & Again 1555 to 1556 AD

- **Full Name – Nasiruddin Mohammad Humayun.**
- **Battle of Dadrah in 1532 AD against Afghans.**
- **An expedition against the ruler of Gujarat Bahadur Shah in 1535-36.**
- **Battle of Kannauj 1540:** Humayun was defeated by Sher Suri and rule of Afghan began in 1540 and continued up to 1555 A.D. After two successful battle (Macchiwara and Sirhind)
- Humayun regained his empire in 1555 but died soon in 1556 after a fall from the stairs of his personal library.
- Gulbadan Begum, his half-sister wrote Humayun-nama.

Sher Shah Suri (1540-1545)

(The Afghan Interlude)

- Real name was Farid. Began his career with the

administration of his father Hasan's IQTA at Sahasram in south Bihar.

- Later he moved to the court of the Afghan ruler of Bihar, Sultan Muhammad Nuhani, who gave him the title "Sher Khan" for his bravery.
- Died in 1545 while campaigning against Kalinjar Fort.

Sher Shah's Administration

- For administrative convenience, Sher shah divided his whole empire into provinces, which were further divided into 47 division called Sarkar (under Shiqdar-Shiqdaran and Munsif-i-Musifan) and Sarkar into smaller parganas (under Shiqdar and Amin). In the field of central administration, Sher Shah followed the sultanate pattern. There were four main central departments viz Diwan-i-wizarat, Diwan-i-arz, Diwan-i-insha and Diwan-i-rasalat.

- **Admin:** Central -> Provincial -> Sarkars(shiq) -> Pargana -> village.

Reforms

- Restored the old imperial road from the river Indus to Sonar gaon in Bengal.
- We are told that Sher Shah built 1700 Sarais (Rest houses).
- He struck fine coins of silver (Rupya) and copper of uniform standard.

AKBAR (1556-1605 AD)

- Jalaluddin Muhmmad Akbar.
- Had been born at Amarkot on 15 oct 1542 when Humayun was in hight from Bikaner.

Cordination 1556 AD

- When Akbar was at Kalanaur camp aining against Sikandaar sur news was received of Humayun's death at Delhi after a fall from his library. Nobles raised Akbar to the throne and Bairam khan was appointed Wakil Mutlaq (Regent).

Akbar's conquests and Annexation :

- 2nd Battle of Panipat (1556 AD) -> Hemu VS Bairam Khan and Hemu was defeated.
- 1561 Malwa - Baz Bahadur
- 1564 Garh Katanga – Rani Durgawati
- 1568-69 Chittor, Ranthambhor, Kalinger

- Acceptance of Mughal suzerainty: Amber, Marwar, Bikaner, Jaisalmer
- 1573 Gujarat
- 1574-76 Conquest of Bihar and Bengal
- 1576 Attempt to conquest Mewar Battle of Haldighati with Rana Pratap.

Akbar's Policy and Reform:

1. Rajput Policy – Growth of a composite ruling class.
2. Religious Policy
3. Land revenue Policy
4. Admin Policy and Reform
5. Theory of Kingship

Important Aspects of Akbar's Rule:

- Ralph Fitch (1585) was the first Englishman to visit Akbar's court.
- Abolished Jaziya in 1564 and the tax on pilgrims. The use of beef was also forbidden.
- Believed in Sul-i-Kul or peace to all.
- Built Ibadatkhana (Hall of Prayers) at Fatehpur Sikri.
- In 1579 Akbar issued the Decree of Infallibility.
- Formulated an order called Din-i-Ilahi or Tauhid-i-Ilahi in 1581.
- His land revenue system was known as Todar Mal bandobast or Zabti system.
- Under the Dahsala system land was classified into four categories viz Polaj, Parvati, Chachar and Banjar.
Polaj -> annually cultivated
Parvati -> left fallow for short period
Chachar -> left fallow for 3 to 4 years
Banjar -> uncultivated for 5 years
- Also introduced the Mansabdari system to organize the nobility as well as the army. Mansabdar meant holder of a rank. There were two ranks Zat and Sawar.
- Zat fixed the status and standing in the administrative hierarchy while sawar fixed the number of troopers held by the Mansabdar. It wasn't a hereditary system.

AKBAR'S NAVRATNAS

1. **Abul Fazl** -> Wazir of Akbar and author of the Akbar's reign.
2. **Faizi** -> Abul Fazl's brother. He was historian

in Akbar's court.

3. **Tansen** -> One of the greatest musician.
4. **Raja Birbal** -> courtier in the administration of Akbar. He was poet and author Akbar also conferred on him the title of "Raja".
5. **Raja Todar Mal** -> was Akbar's finance minister Akbar bestowed on the raja the title Diwan-i-Ashraf.
6. **Raja Man Singh** -> was the Kacchawaha raja of Amber. He was mansabdar and trusted general of Akbar.
7. **Abdul Rahim Khan-E-Khana** -> was a poet and the son of Akbar's caretaker, Bairam Khan.
8. **Faqir Aziao Din** -> was one of Akbar's chief advisors.
9. **Mullah Do Piazza** -> was among the Mughal Emperor Akbar's chief advisors. Akbar regarded his advice in high esteem.

Highlights of Akbar's Reign

- Abolition of the practice of converting Pows to Islam - 1562.
- Abolition of Pilgrimage Tax - 1563
- Abolition of Jajiya - 1564
- Establishment of Ibadat Khana - 1575
- Issue of Mahzar - 1578
- Foundation of Din-i-Ilahi - 1581
- Ban on killing animals on certain day - 1583

JAHANGIR(1605-1627)

- Akbar's eldest surviving son Salim assumed the title of Nur-ud-din-Muhammad Jahangir.
- The fifth Sikh Guru, Guru Arjun Dev, had helped Khusrau, so he was also executed of after 5 days of torture.
- Rana Amar Singh (son of Maharana Pratap) of Mewar submitted before Jahangir in 1615. Rana's son Karan Singh was made a mansabdar in the Mughal court.
- Faced a formidable opponent in Malik Amber in his expedition to Ahmednagar.
- His greatest failure was the loss of Kandahar to Persia in 1622.
- The most important event in Jahangir's life was his marriage to Mehr-un-Nisa, the widow of Sher Afghani in 1611. The title of Nur Jahan was conferred on her.

- She had great influence on Jahangir's life, as she was given the status of Padshah Begum, coins were struck in her name and all royal Farmans bore her name.
- She got high positions for her father (Itmad-ud-daulah), and her brother (Asaf Khan). She married Asaf's daughter, Mumtaz Mahal to Khurram (later Shahjahan).
- Captain Hawkins (1608-11) and Sir Thomas Roe (1615-1619) visited his court. Due to the efforts of Sir Thomas Roe English factories were established at Surat and some other places.
- Had a chain of justice outside his palace in Agra (called Zinzir-i-Adil). He also laid a number of gardens, such as the Shalimar and Nishat gardens in Kashmir.
- He forbade the killing of animals for food on Thursdays and Fridays.
- Died in 1627 at Bhimbar in Kashmir. Body buried in Dilkusha garden of Shahdara.
- In his Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri (autobiography) he described his drinking habit.

SHAHJAHAN (1628-1658)

- Jahangir's death made the struggle for the throne imminent. Nur Jahan alerted Shahryar to prepare for war. Asaf Khan sent messengers to Khurram, urging him to come to Agra. Asaf Played for time by proclaiming one of Jahangir's favorites, Khusrau's son Dawar Baksh, king Shahryar proclaimed himself king but Asaf Khan defeated him.
- Shahjahan also expelled the Portuguese from Hughli, as they were abusing their trading privileges.
- In 1639, Shahjahan secured Kandahar and immediately fortified it. But Persia wrested Kandahar from the Mughals in 1649. Shahjahan sent three expeditions to recover Kandahar, but all failed.
- Shah Jahan appointed Shahaji Bhonsle into his service.
- In 1636 Shah Jahan arrived in Daulatabad. The Ahmadnagar kingdom was unable to resist the Mughal on slaught and lost its independence.
- Both Bijapur and Golconda signed a treaty with emperor. Khandesh, Berar, Telengana and Daulatabad were made into four Mughal provinces.
- The first viceroy, Aurangzeb, controlled all four

provinces from 1636 to 1644. In 1652, he was appointed the viceroy of Deccan again. He made Khirki, founded by Malik Ambar, the capital of Mughal Deccan and named it Aurangabad.

- The financial bickering between the father and son formed a large part of Aurangzeb's correspondence known as Adab-i-Alamgiri.
- Shah Jahan's sudden illness in 1657 plunged the empire into a civil war.
- Ultimately, Aurangzeb took control and he was made the prisoner in the Agra Fort, being looked after by his daughter, Jahan Ara, till his death in 1666.
- His reign is considered the "Golden Age" of the Mughal Empire.
- 2 frenchmen, Bernier and Tavernier, and Italian adventurer Monucci, visited during his reign.

AURANGZEB ALAMGIR (1658-1707)

- At the time of shahjahan's illness, Darawas in Delhi and the other brothers were in different places. Shuja in Bengal, Murad in Gujarat and Aurangzeb in Deccan.
- Aurangzeb first defeated the imperial army at Dharmat and then defeated a force led by Dara in the Battle of Samugarh. Thereafter, he entered Agra and crowned himself with the title of 'Alamgir' (conquer of the world).
- Under him the Mughal Empire reached its greatest extent, and the largest single state ever known in India from the dawn of history to the rise of British power was formed.
- His reign can be broadly divided into two 25 years. Periods: first in the affairs of North India when the Maratha power under Shivaji emerged, and second marked by his preoccupations about the affairs of Deccan.
- He caused serious rift in the Mughal Rajput alliance by his policy of annexation of Marwar in 1639 after the death Raja Jaswant Singh.
- In 1675, he ordered the arrest and execution of Sikh Guru, Guru Tegh Bahadur.
- In 1679, he reimposed Jaziyah. Also, Zauroj, singing in the court, and the practice of Jharokhadarshah were banned. Also forbade inscription of Kalma (the Muslim credo) on the coins.
- When he was conducting the campaign against Marwar, his son Akbar rebelled in 1681.

- The Mughal conquests reached the territorial climax during his reign, as Bijapur (1686) and Golconda (1687) were annexed to the Mughal Empire. The Mughal Empire stretched from Kashmir in the west to Chittagong in the east.
- Patronized the greatest digest of Muslim law in India, Fatwa-i-Alamgiri.
- He was called a 'Darvesh or a 'Zinda Pir'.
- He also forbade Sati.

MUGHAL'S PAINTING

HUMAYUN

- He invited 2 Persian artists, Mir Sayyid Ali and Abdus Samad who became his court painters.

AKBAR

- Organized painting in imperial Karkhanas and also introduced European style.
- Abdus Samad, Farrukh Beg, Bhusrau Kuli, Jamshed, Basawan, Daswanth, etc. were the prominent painters.
- Daswanth painted the Razm Namah (Persian Mahabharata).

JAHANGIR

- Painting reached its zenith under Jahangir.
- Special progress was made in portrait painting and painting of animals. Bishan Das was master of portraits while Ustad Mansur specialized in animal painting.
- Use of 'Halo' or Divine Lights started under Jahangir.

MUGHAL LITERATURE

- Khan Abdur Rahman translated Babur's Tuzuk-i-Buburi from Turki to Persian during Akbar's reign.
- Abdul Fazal composed Ain-i-Akbari and Akbarnamah.
- Abdul Qadir Badauni, who was in Akbar's court, wrote: Kitab-ul-Tawarikh, Tarikh-Alfi and Muntakhab-ul-Akbari.
- Jahangir composed his memoir, Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri (in Persian language), and patronized the valuable dictionary, Farhang-i-Jahangiri.
- During Jahangir's reign Hamid wrote Padshah Namah and Khafi Khan wrote Muntakhab-i-Luhab.
- Dara Shikoh was a great scholar. He translated Upanishads and Bhagavad-Gita. He also wrote Majm-ul-Bahrain, Safi-ul-Auliya, Sainat-ul-Auliya, Hasanat-ul-Arifin, and Majma-ul-Bahrain.
- Mirza Md. Qazim wrote Alamgirnama.
- Ishwar Das Nagar wrote Fatunat-i-Alamgiri.
- Nimat Khan Ali wrote Waqai-i-Hyderabad (conquest of Golconda by Aurangzeb).

TAJ MAHAL

- Shah Jahan commissioned its construction for his wife Arjuman Bano, better known as Mumtaz Mahal, in 1631. It was constructed in 22 years.
- Ustad Isa and Isa Muhammad Effendi are credited with a key role in the architectural design of the complex.
- The main dome was designed by Ismail Khan.

MUGHAL ARCHITECTURE

Babur

- Mosque at Kabulibagh in Panipat.
- Mosque at Sambhal in Rohilkhand.

Humayun

- Laid the foundation of the city Din Panah of Delhi.
- Built Jamali Mosque and Mosque of Isa Khan at Delhi.
- Humayun's tomb is called prototype of Taj Mahal. It was built by his widow Haji Begum.

Akbar

- Built Agra for (in red sandstone).
- He also built Fatehpur Sikri (city of victory) near Agra. In Fatehpur Sikri are the Panch Mahal, Diwan-i-Khas, Diwan-i-Aam, Jodhabai's Palace and Sheikh Salim Chishti's tomb. Buland Darwaza (53m high) is located Agra.

Jahangir

- Built his own tomb at Sikandra, near Agra.
- Built the temple of Govindadeva at Vrindavan.
- With Jahangir's reign, the practice of putting up buildings in marble and decorating the walls with floral designs made of semi-precious stones started. This method of decoration was known as Pieta durra.
- Nurjahan built the tomb of Itmad-ud-Daula at Agra.
- Jahangir built Moti Masjid at Lahore and his own Mausoleum at Shahdara (Lahore).

Shahjahan

- Built Taj Mahal, Moti Masjid at Agra, Jama Masjid and Red Fort at Delhi, Shalimar Bagh at Lahore and city of Shahjahanabad.
- Also built Bussaman Burz at Agra (where he spent his last years in captivity), Sheesh Mahal etc.
- He got the peacock throne built by Bebadal Khan on which Amir Khusrau's couplet – 'It there is a paradise on earth, it is here, are inscribed.

Aurangzeb

- Built Moti Masjid at Delhi and Badshahi Mosque at Lahore.

LATER MUGHALS/FALL OF THE MUGHALS

The empire lost power after Aurangzeb's rule. His successors were weak and incapable ruler.

Bahadur shah (1707-1712)

- Assumed the title of Shah Alam I. was also known as Shah-i-Bekhabar. He made peace with Guru Gobind singh and Chhatrasal.
- He granted Sardeshmukhi to Marathas and also released Shanu.

Jahandar Shah (1712-13)

- First puppet Mughal emperor
- He abolished Jaziya

Farrukhsiyar (1713-18)

- Ascended the throne with the help of Sayyid brothers.
- He executed Banda Bahadur.
- Farrukhsiyar himself was murdered by the Sayyid brothers with Maratha help in 1718.

Mohammad Shah (1718-48)

- Nadir shah (of Iran) defeated him in the Battle of Karnal. During his tenure, Chin Kilich Khan founded Hyderabad, Murshid Quli Khan founded and Saddat Khan laid down the foundation of Awadh out of realms of Mughal Empire.

Alamgir II (1754-59)

Shah Alam II (1759-1806)

- Shah Alam II joined hand with Mir Qasim of Bengal and Suja-ud-Daula of Awadh in the Battle of Buxar against the British in 1764. They were defeated.

Akbar II (1806-37)

- He gave Rammohan the title "Raja".
- He sent Raja Ram Mohan Roy to London to seek a raise in his allowance.

Bahadur Shah II (1837-57)

- He was confined by British to the Red fort, during the revolt of 1857; he was proclaimed the Emperor by the rebels. He was deported to Rangoon after that.

MUGHAL ADMINISTRATION

- The entire kingdom was divided into Suba or Pranta, Suba into Sarkar, Sarkar into Pargana and the Pargana into villages.
- Babur and Humayun had a Prime Minister known as Wakil. The office of Wakil, was however, discontinued after Bairam Khan.
- **Wazir** was the Prime Minister.
- Diwan was the head of the revenue department.
- **Mir Bakshi:** Military Department.
- **Jhan-i-Saman:** Royal house-hold.
- **Qazi-ul-qazat:** Judicial Department. The Qazis were helped by the Muftis.

- **Sadr-us-Sadr:** Charitable and religious endowments.
- **Mustaufi:** Auditor-General
- **Amil:** Judicial officer in civil and judicial disputes.
- **Quanungo:** Head accountant.
- **Lambardar:** Village headman.
- **Patwari:** Village accountant.
- During Akbar's reign the empire was divided into Khalisa (crown lands), Jagirs (land granted to nobles) and inam (Land granted to religious and learned men).

THE MARATHAS

- Rose to prominence under Shivaji.
- He was born to Shahji Bhonsle and Jijabai in 1627 at fortress of Shivner in Poona. Shahji was a military officer in the state of Bijapur and he owned the territory of Poona as a Jagir.
- He was highly impressed by his mother, Dadaji Kondadeo (his guardian), Guru Ramdas Samarth and Tuka Ram, both Bhakti Saints.
- From 1656 he started capturing many forts from the local officers of Bijapur.
- Ali Adil Shah, Sultan of Bijapur sent Afzal Khan to teach Shivaji a lesson in 1659. But Shivaji killed him in a meeting with his tiger claws.
- Ultimately, in 1662 the Sultan of Bijapur made peace with Shivaji and acknowledge him as an independent ruler of his conquered territories.
- Aurangzeb got worried by Shivaji's extensive conquests. He sent Shaista Khan (Viceroy of Mughal Deccan) to kill him. Here again, in a daring manner, Shivaji attacked Shaista Khan's camp in night, injuring him.
- Then Aurangzeb send Raja Jai Singh (of Amber) who forced him to sign the Treaty of Purnadar in 1665. Under the treaty, Shivaji had to surrender 23 of his major fort out of the total 35 forts. Shivaji also agreed to help the Mughals in their attack of Bijapur.
- Shivaji visited Agra with his son Sambhaji in 1666. There he was put on a house arrest. But he escaped from there, concealing in a basket of sweets.
- He very soon conquered all the forts which he had surrendered to the Mughals.

- He defeated a Mughal force in the Battle of Salherin 1672.
- He was crowned in 1674 at Raigarh and assumed the titles of Chhatrapati he became the sovereign ruler of Maharashtra.
- Unfortunately, Shivaji didn't live long he died 1680 at the age of 53.

MARATHAS AFTER SHIVAJI

- After Shivaji, his son Sambhaji (1680-9) succeeded throne (although a lot many supported his step-brother, Rajaram). He was a man of loose character and spent all his time in merry-making. When Aurangzeb was busy in his campaigns against Bijapur and Golconda, he and his followers did not take full advantage of the opportunity. When Sambhaji gave shelter to Aurangzeb's rebel son, Akbar, he was executed and his infant son, Shivaji II, better known as Shahu, was taken captive by Aurangzeb.
- Sambhaji was succeeded by Rajaram in 1689. Rajaram also lacked the qualities of his father. He was hardly ten when his father died and he was kept a prisoner by his brother Sambhaji. The result was that he failed to get the education which was necessary for his status. However, he was fortunate in having brilliant advisors and helpers. Initially, he was successful against the Mughals. But he was killed 1700 when Aurangzeb himself conducted an expedition against him. After Raja Ram's death, his widow Tarabi put her infant son, Shivaji III on the throne.
- After the death of Aurangzeb in 1707, Shahu was released by Aurangzeb's successor, Bahadur Shah I now he claimed the government. His release led to the Maratha civil war between Shahu and Tarabai. In the Civil war Shahu emerged victorious (Battle of Khed) with the help of Balaji Vishwanath, the founder of the line of Peshwas. After the battle, Tarabai retired to Kolhapur with her son.
- In the reign of Shahu, the Peshwas or Prime Minister, Balaji Vishwanath, virtually became the ruler of the state. From now onward began the rule of the Peshwas who had their seat of Power at Poona. (Shahu's capital was Satara).
- In all, there were seven Peshwas, namely:
- Balaji Vishwanath (1713-20)

- Balaji Baji Rao I (1720-40)
- Balaji Baji Rao (1740-61)
- Madho Rao (1761-72)
- Narayana Rao (1772-73)
- Madho Rao Narayana (1773-95)
- Baji Rao II (1795-1818)
- Of these seven Peshwas, the ablest was Baji Rao I and the weakest and most incompetent was Baji Rao II.
- Baji Rao II signed the Treaty of Bassein in 1802 with the British, which gave the British effective control of not only the Maratha region but also of the Deccan and western India.
- Under Peshwas, Maratha kingdom transformed into an empire based on the principle of confederacy, in which prominent Maratha chiefs were assigned a territory as their 'sphere of influence', which they were supposed to conquer on their own and which they can administer autonomously.
- Consequently, several Maratha families became prominent in different parts of India:
- Gaekwad in Baroda, Bhonsle at Nagur, Holkar at Indore, Scindia at Gwalior, Peshwa at Poona.

MARATHA ADMINISTRATION

- Besides the land revenue, Chauth or 1/4th land revenue was the main revenue.
- Sardeshmukhi was an additional levy of 10% on those lands of Maharashtra over which the Marathas claimed hereditary rights, but which formed part of the Mughal Empire.
- Shivaji was helped by 8 ministers of Ashta Pradhana.
 1. Peshwa or Mukhya Prahdan (Prime Minister).
 2. Majumdar or Amatya (Finance Minister)
 3. Mantri or Waquinavis (Personal safety of royal secretariat).
 4. Sachiva or surunovis (Incharge of Royal Secretariat)

5. Samant or Dabir (Foreign Minister).
 6. Senapati (Commander in chief).
 7. Pandit Rao (Chief Religious Advisor).
 8. Nyayadnish (Administration of Justice).
- With the exception of Nyayadnish and Pandit Rao, all other ministers were required to command armies and lead expeditions.
 - Later, Rajaram created a new post of Pratinidhi, thus taking the total ministers to nine.

MYSORE

- In the second half of the 18th century, the rise of Mysore under Haider Ali and Tipu Sultan and their alliance with the French was seen as a danger to the British Power in India.
- Mysore emerged as a powerful throne under Haider Ali who became the king in 1761.
- He used western military training to strengthen his army.
- In the I Anglo-Mysore war (1767-1769), Haider Ali faced the Triple Alliance of English, the Nizam and the Marathas. As Haider Ali was a great diplomat, he bought off the Marathas and won over the Nizam and thus broke the alliance. The war was brought to an end by signing of the Treaty of Madras 1769.
- Hyder Ali died in 1782 during the II Anglo-Mysore war. His son Tipu Sultan carried on the war till 1784 when the two sides concluded peace by signing the Treaty of Mangalore.
- Tipu planted a tree of liberty at Srirangapatnam. He employed French officers to train his army and showed a keen interest in French revolution and became a member of the Jacobin Club.
- He assumed the title of PADSHAH in 1797.
- In the III Anglo-Mysore war (1789-1792) he was defeated by the triple alliance of British, Nizam and the Marathas and had to sign the Treaty of Srirangapatnam. By this treaty, Tipu ceded half of his territory to the English and paid a large Amount as war indemnity.
- He was defeated and killed in the IV Anglo-Mysore war by Lord Wellesley (1799).

12. DECAY OF THE MUGHAL EMPIRE

Aurangzeb's death in 1707 in Deccan led to war of succession among his **three sons** : Price Muazzam, Muhammad Azam and Kam Baksh. Muazzam defeated and Killed Muhammad Azam at Jajau and Kam Baksh near Hyderabad.

BAHADUR SHAH (1707-12)

Prince Muazzam asumed the title Bahadur Shah I. He pursued pacific policy of conciliation with Rajputs (Jai Singh (Amber) and Ajit Singh (Marwar). Jat chief Churaman and Bundela chief Chattrasat were taken into Mughal service. With Marathas there was half hearted reconciliation, Shahu was released and given Sardeshmukhi of Deccan but not Chauth and was also not recognized as Maratha sovereign-leading to civil war between Shahu and Trabal. He reconciled with Sikhs by giving Guru Gobind Singh a Mansab. But after Guru's death Skihs under Banda revolted who was defeated at Lohgarh (fort built by Guru Gobind) but the continued to fight Mughals. The historian khafi khan, called him 'Shah-i-Bekhabar' Bahadur shah gave away large number of Jagirs to Nobels, thus creating poor financial condition.

JAHANDAR SHAH (1712-13)

His period reflected increasing influence of nobels and administrators such as Zulfigar khan who along with Lal Kanwar the Mistress took all important decisions. The war of succession broks out again in 1712 amongst sons of Bahadur Shah. One of them Jahandar Shah became emperor with the help of zulfikar khan, senior-most noble of Aurangzeb.Zulfikar khan abolished Jiziyah. Jahandar Shah become the first mughal emperor to be killed in captivity.

FARRUKHSIYAR (1713-19) (Shahid-i-Mazlum)

He killed his uncle Jahandar Shah with the help of Saiyid brothers-Abdullah Khan and Hussain Ali who dominated the court till 1720. He appointed Abdulla khan as wazir and Hussain Ali as the Mir Bakshi. In 1717 he granted to the East India Company many trading privileges (called Golden Farman). including the exemption from custom duties for its trade through Bengal. Constant struggle between Emperor and Saiyid Borthers for domination. Banda bahadur was captured and killed by Mughal in July 1715 at gurdaspur fort. Johan surman who laid inenglish embassy consisting of huge backer, edward stephenson and a surgeon wil-

liam Hamilton. Hamilton was successful in curing the emperor from ceertain disease. In 1719, Saiyids with help of Maratha troops under Balaji Vishwanath killed Farrukhsiyar.

SAIYIDS

Saiyid brothers raised 2 young princes Refi-ud Darajat and Rafi-ud-Daula one after the other but both died of consumption. Saiyid brothers then raised 18 year old Roshan Akhtar as Muhammad shah to throne. Saiyids adopted the policy of religious tolerance and are known as King-makers. Saiyids abolished Jiziyah and pilgrim tax, made peace with Rajputs and Jats. They also reached pact with Shahu by granting him the Swarjya (territories of Shivaji) and right to collect Chauth and Sardesmukhi of 6 provinces of Deccan. Saiyid due to murder of Farrukhsiiyar and their tolerant policies were declared as anti-Islam and anti-Mughal by the anti-Saiyid faction. They murdered Hussain Ali and Abdullah khan was made prisoner. But Saiyid could not save the disintegration of the Empire as this was period of intenser rivalry and factionalism at Mughal court.

MUHAMMAD SHAH (1719-1748) (Roshan Akhatr)

He was put on thrown by the king maker saiyid brothers. He was under the influence of his queen qadriya Begum (Udham Bai). Also called Rangila due to his indulgent nature. He supported anti-Saiyid faction of Nizam-ul-Mulk & his uncle Mohd. Amin Khan. In spite of 30 years of rule Rangila could not save the empire. He intrigued against able Wazir Nizam-ul-Mulk who tried to bring in reforms but left to Deccan frustrated by court intrigues. "His departure was symbolic flight of loyalty and virtue from Empire" Autonomus states of Deccan (Nizam), Bengal (Murshid Quli) and Awadh (Saadat Khan Burhan-ul-Mulk) were carved out during his reign. Khayal (New poem of classical singing), ghajal and Kathak (Classical dance) were greatly supported by rangeela.

INVASIONS ON THE EMPIRE

Pashwa Baji Rao I become the First peshwa to invade delhi in 1737. In 1739 Nadir Shah, ruler of persia invaded India and inflicted heavy defeat at Karnal. Nadir Shah plundered Delhi, took away Kohinoor and Peacock throne. The provinces west of Indus including Kabul were also acquired from Ranglia thus leaving

open the north-west frontier for further invasions. Ahmad Shah Abdali India for the first time during his reign in 1748 he invaded and repeated this practice eight times.

AHMAD SHAH (1758-54)

He was able to come to throw with help of queen mother udham Bai. Abdli attacked and ceded Punjab and north west frontier region.

ALAMGIR II (1754-59)

He was merely the puppet of his wazir imad-ul-mulk. He went on to have a pact with marathas so as to capture north west frontier against the invasion of Ahamad Shah. This was one of Major Reason behind the III battle of panipat.

SHAH ALAM II (1759-1806)

Prince Ali Gauhar crowned himself as Shah Alam II' In Bihar but he did not enter Delhi fearing his Wazir Imad-ul-Mulk who had killed earlier emperors. After Panipat, Abdali nominated Shah Alam as the Emperor but power remained in hands of Abdali protege Najib Khan Rohilla. He was defeated at Battle of Buxar (Oct. 1764) by English. He signed the treaty of Allahabad with English and granted them the Diwani of Bengal,

Bihar and Orissa in return, he received the territories of kara and Allahabad and an annual tribute of 26 Lakhs from Bengal. He left the British shelter in 1772 and returned to Delhi under the protection of Maratha chief Mahadaji Scindia. But he was soon blinded by Rohilla leader Ghulam Qadir. When British captured Delhi in 1803 he was bound to rule over Delhi only as emperor.

AKBAR SHAH II (1806-1837)

Symbolic rule continued but limited to red fort and surrounding Area. Lord Hastings attacked over Delhi and wrested all ceremonial power and title which proclaimed Mughal emperor as superior. He gave title of Raja to Rammohun Roy and sent him to England to plead for hike in emperor's pension.

BAHADUR SHAH II (1837-1862)

he was last Mughal ruler. The son of Akagar II and Rajput Princess Lal Bai. He was a passionate Urdu poet. Who patronized Mirza Galib. Dalhousie declared that his successors would have to leave the Red Fort. Canning declared that his successors would not be recognized as kings but only as princes. After revolt of 1857, he was deported to Rangoon.

13. EUROPEAN PENETRATION INTO INDIA

The arrival of Portuguese in India

The arrival of Vasco da Gama, a nobleman from the household of the King of Portugal, at the port of Calicut in south-west India on 27 May 1498 inaugurated a new chapter in Indian history. For some time, the Portuguese, among other Europeans, had been looking for a sea route to India, but they had been unable to break free of the stranglehold exercised by Egyptian rulers over the trade between Europe and Asia. The Red Sea trade route was a state monopoly from which Islamic rulers earned tremendous revenues.

In the fifteenth century, the mantle of Christendom's resistance to Islam had fallen upon Portugal; moreover, the Portuguese had inherited the Genoese tradition of exploration. It is reported that the idea of finding an ocean route to Ocean had become an obsession for Henry the Navigator (1394- 1460), and he was also keen to find a way to circumvent the Muslim domination of the eastern Mediterranean and all the routes that connected India to Europe. In 1454, Henry received a bull (Papal charter) from Pope Nicholas V, which conferred on him the right to navigate the "sea to the distant shores of the Orient", more specifically "as far as India", whose inhabitants were to be brought to help Christians "against the enemies of the faith".

By the terms of the Treaty of Trodesilhas (1494), all new territories were divided between Spain and Portugal. The stage was thus set for the Portuguese incursions into the waters surrounding India. In 1487, the Portuguese navigator, Bartholomew Dias, rounded the "Cape of Good Hope", and so opened the sea route to India. An expedition of four ships headed out to India in 1497, and arrived in India in slightly less than eleven months' time. The coming of the Portuguese introduced several new factors into Indian history. As almost every historian has observed, it not only initiated what might be called the European era, it marked the emergence of naval power. Doubtless, the Ch'olas, among others, had been a naval power, but for the first time a foreign power had come to India by way of the sea; moreover,

Portuguese dominance would only extend to the coasts, since they were ever able to make any significant inroads into the Indian interior. The Portuguese ships carried cannon, but the significance of this is not commonly realized, especially by those who are merely inclined to view the Portuguese as one of a series of invaders of India, or even as specimens of 'enterprising' Europeans.

For centuries, the numerous participants in the Indian Ocean trading system- Indians, Arabs, Africans from the east coast, Chinese, Javanese, Sumatrans, among others - had ploughed the sea routes and eroded various tacit rules of conduct. Though all were in the trade for profit, as might be expected, lit) sought to have overwhelming dominance: certainly no one had sought to enforce their power through arms. Trade flourished, and all the parties played their role in putting down piracy: this was a free trade zone. Into this arena stepped forth the Portuguese, who at once declared their intention to abide by no rules except their own, and who sought immediate and decisive advantage over the Indians and over the Indian Ocean trading system.

The conduct of the Portuguese in India was 'barbaric'. Vasco da Gama's initial conduct set the tone. On his way to India, he encountered an unarmed vessel returning from Mecca; as a contemporary Portuguesesource states, da Gama ordered the ship emptied of its goods, and then had it set on fire, prohibiting "any Moor" being taken from it alive. He then spent four months in India. Having waited out the monsoons, he set out to return to Portugal with a cargo worth sixty times what he had brought with him, and raised to pay the customary port duties to the Zamorin, the ruler of Calicut. To ensure that his way would not be obstructed, he took a few hostages with him. When he returned to Portugal in 1499, the pepper he brought with him was sold at an enormous profit; and nothing underscores the importance of direct access to the pepper trade as much as the fact that elsewhere the Europeans, who relied on Muslim middlemen, would have to spend ten times as much for the same

amount of pepper. Emboldened by this success, King Dom Manuel sent another expedition of six ships headed by Pedro Cabral. With their usual ignorance of, and disdain for, local customs, Cabral and the Portuguese sent a low-caste Hindu as a messenger to the Zamorin upon their arrival at port. Meanwhile, the Portuguese were claiming the sole right to the sea. Cabral attacked all Arab vessels within his reach, which provoked a riot at the port that led to the destruction of the Portuguese factory. Cabral retaliated in the only way known to a Portuguese marauder and bandit of his times: he massacred the crews of the boats, and burnt all the ships that were not his own. The intent, which would be repeatedly witnessed in the history of Portuguese interactions with the Indian's (and with others), was to brutalize and terrorize the native population, and with evident justice, that Cabral's behavior persuaded the Indians that "the intruders were uncivilised barbarians, treacherous and untrustworthy".

Portuguese Governors in India

In March 1505, Francisco de Almeida was appointed Viceroy of India, on the condition that he would set up four forts on the southwestern Indian coast: at Anjediva Island, Cannanore, Cochin and Quilon. Francisco de Almeida left Portugal with a fleet of 22 vessels with 1,500 men. In September, Francisco de Almeida reached Anjadip Island, where he immediately started the construction of Fort Anjediva. In October, with the permission of the friendly ruler of Cannanore, he started building St. Angelo Fort at Cannanore, leaving Lourenço de Brito in charge with 150 men and two ships. Francisco de Almeida then reached Cochin in October 1505 with only 8 vessels left. There he learned that the Portuguese traders at Quilon had been killed. He decided to send his son Lourenço de Almeida with 6 ships, who destroyed 27 Calicut vessels in the harbor of Quilon. Almeida took up residence in Cochin. He strengthened the Portuguese fortifications of Fort Manuel on Cochin.

The Zamorin prepared a large fleet of 200 ships to oppose the Portuguese, but in March 1506 Lourenço de Almeida (son of Francisco de Almeida) was victorious in a sea battle at the entrance to the harbor

of Cannanore, the Battle of Cannanore (1506), an important setback for the fleet of the Zamorin. Thereupon Lourenço de Almeida explored the coastal waters southwards to Colombo, in what is now Sri Lanka. In Cannanore, however, a new ruler, hostile to the Portuguese and friendly with the Zamorin, attacked the Portuguese garrison, leading to the Siege of Cannanore (1507)

In 1507 Almeida's mission was strengthened by the arrival of Tristão da Cunha's squadron. Afonso de Albuquerque's squadron had, however, split from that of Cunha off East Africa and was independently conquering territories in the Persian Gulf to the west. In March 1508 a Portuguese squadron under command of Lourenço de Almeida, was attacked by a combined Mamluk Egyptian and Gujarat Sultanate fleet at Chaul and Dabul respectively, led by admirals Mirocem and Meliqueaz in the Battle of Chaul (1508). Lourenço de Almeida lost his life after a fierce fight in this battle. Mamluk-Indian resistance was, however, to be decisively defeated at the Battle of Diu (1509).

Alfonso de Albuquerque (1509-15) was the second Portuguese governor. He was the real founder of Portuguese empire in India. He encouraged his countrymen to marry Indian women to increase the number of his supporters. The products of these marriages were known as Feringhees. Albuquerque made provisions for the education of the natives and retained Indian system of government (Village Panchayats) in the villages. He took steps to prohibit the practice of Sati.

A new fleet under Marshal Femão Coutinho arrived with specific instructions to destroy the power of Zamorin's Calicut. The Zamorin's palace was captured and destroyed and the city was set on fire. But the king's forces rallied fast to kill Marshal Coutinho and wounded Albuquerque. Albuquerque nevertheless was clever enough to patch up his quarrel and entered into a treaty with the Zamorin in 1513 to protect Portuguese interests in Malabar. Hostilities were renewed when the Portuguese attempted to assassinate the Zamorin sometime between 1515 and 1518. In 1510, Afonso de Albuquerque defeated the Bijapur sultans with the help of Timayya, on behalf of the Hindu

Vijayanagara Empire, leading to the establishment of a permanent settlement in Velh'a Goa (or Old Goa). The Southern Produce, also known simply as Goa, was the headquarters of Portuguese India, and seat of the Portuguese viceroy who governed the Portuguese possessions in Asia.-There were Portuguese-settlements in and around Mylapore. The Luz Church in Mylapore, Madras (Chennai) was the first church that the Portuguese built in Madras in 1516. Later in 1522, the Sao Tome church was built on the grave of Saint Thomas. The Portuguese acquired several territories from the Sultans of Gujarat: Daman (occupied 1531, formally ceded 1539); Salsette, Bombay, and Bacaim (occupied 1534); and Diu (ceded 1535).

These possessions became the Northern Province of Portuguese India, which extended almost 100 km along the coast from Daman to Chaul, and in places 30-50 km inland. The province was ruled from the fortress-town of Bagaim.

From the 16th century, the Portuguese meddled in the church affairs of the Syrian Christians of Malabar. The Udayamperoor Synod (1599) was a major attempt by the Portuguese Archbishop Menezes to Latinize the Syrian rite. Later in 1653, Coonan Cross Oath led to the division of the local church into Syrian Catholics and Syrian Christians (Jacobites). Bombay (present day Mumbai) was given to Britain in 1661 as part of the Portuguese Princess Catherine of Braganza's dowry to Charles II of England. Most of the Northern Province was lost to the Marathas in 1739, and Portugal acquired Dadra and Nagar Haveli in 1779. In 1843 the capital was shifted to Panjim, then renamed "Nova Goa", when it officially became the administrative seat of Portuguese India, replacing the city of Velha Goa (now Old Goa), although the Viceroys lived there already since December 1759. Before moving to the city, the viceroy remodeled the fortress of Adil Khan, transforming it into a palace.

The Portuguese also shipped over many Orfas del Rei to Portuguese colonies in India, Goa in particular. Orfas del Rei literally translates to "Orphans of the King", and they were Portuguese girl orphans sent to overseas colonies to marry either Portuguese settlers

or natives with high status. Thus there are Portuguese footprints all over the western and eastern coasts of India, though Goa became the capital of Portuguese Goa from 1530 onwards until the annexation of Goa proper and the entire Estado da India Portuguesa, and its merger with the Indian Union in 1961.

The arrival-of Dutch in India

In 1593 AD under William Barents the Dutch made their first determined effort to reach Asia. Huyghen / Van Linschoten was the first Dutch national to reach India: He reached Goa in 1583 AD and stayed there till 1589 AD. Cornelius Houtman, a Dutch citizen reached India in 1596 AD and returned with large cargo in 1597 AD. Between 1595 AD and 1601 AD fifteen voyages had been by the Dutch to East Indies. The Dutch East India Company was formed in 1602 AD by an order of the government of Holland. This company's name was Vereenigde Oost Indische Compagnie (VOC).

The Dutch got favourable response from the rulers of Golkunda. They got the right to mint coin in the Pulicat mint in 1657 from Golkunda king. By the fall of 1676 the Golkunda ruler granted the Dutch complete freedom from tariffs in Golkunda. The Dutch succeeded in getting farman from the Mughal Emperor Jahangir for trading along the west coast. They were exempted from tolls from Burhanpur to Cambay and Ahmadabad. Shah Jahan granted total exemption to the company from paying transit throughout the Mughal Empire. Aurangzeb confirmed all the privileges granted by Shahjahan to the Dutch in Bengal in 1662. Jahandar Shah confirmed all the privileges granted by Aurangzeb in Coromandal in 1712.

Initially the headquarters of Dutch was at Pulicat after obtaining permission from king of Chandragir Venkat I and in 1690 Negapatnam became their headquarters. The Dutch minted a gold coin named Pagoda. The Dutch established their first factory at Masulipattnam in 1605 AD. Their first factory in Bengal was established at Pipli. After some time Balasore replaced Pipli. The Dutch used to exchange spices of Malaya Archipelago for cotton goods from Gujarat and the Coromandal coast. The Dutch used to export Cotton cloths, silk, saltpetre and opium from

Bengal. They shattered the Portuguese commercial monopoly in India. The Dutch dominated the trade between India and Java during 17th century. They popularized spice and textile trade, besides they exported indigo, saltpetre and Raw Silk. The Dutch commercial activities began to decline by the beginning of 18th century?

The Dutch were defeated by the English in the Battle of Bedera in 1759 and with this defeat the Dutch influence in India almost came to an end. The English decided to drive the Dutch away from their Indian possessions. The English joined hands with the Portuguese in India to drive the Dutch out. By 1795, the English succeeded in expelling the Dutch completely.

English East India Company

The "English Trading Company" was formed by a group of merchants known as the 'Merchant Adventurers' in 1599 AD. This company was granted a charter by Queen Elizabeth I on 31st Dec. 1600 AD. 'The Governor and the Company of Merchants of London trading into East Indies' was the name of English company. This company was given monopoly rights over eastern trade for fifteen years.

In 1608 AD Captain William Hawkins reached the court of Jahangir. Hawkins was the ambassador of King James I. He lived at the court for three years. He was given the title of English Khan and Mansab of 400 Jats by Jahangir. But because of Portuguese influence at the court, Hawkins failed to get permission to erect a factory at Surat.

In 1611 Capt. Middleton landed at Swally near Surat in spite of Portuguese opposition and got permission to trade from the Mughal governor. In 1612 AD Capt. Best defeated the Portuguese at Swally near Surat and this defeat broke their naval supremacy. Captain Best succeeded in getting a royal Farman to open factories in the East Coast, Surat, Cambay, Ahmadabad and Goa in 1613 AD. Sir Thomas Roe (1615-18) came to the court of Jahangir as the Royal ambassador of King James I and received permission to trade and establish factories in different parts of the empire.

The first English factory in south was established at Masulipattanam in 1611 AD. Another factory was established at Armagon (near Pulicat) in 1626 AD. In 1632 AD the Sultan of Golkunda issued the company the Golden Farmān. This farman allowed them to trade within the ports of the kingdom freely on lump sum payment of 500 pagodas a year. In 1639 AD Francis Day obtained the site of Madras from the Raja of Chandragiri with permission to build a fortified factory. This factory was named Fort St. George. In Sep. 1641 AD Madras replaced Masulipattanam as the headquarters of the English on the Coromandal coast. All the English settlements in Eastern India (Bengal, Bihar and Orissa) and the Coromandal were placed under the control of the President and Council of Fort St. George. The Portuguese gave the island of Bombay to King Charles II of England in dowry in 1661 AD. Bombay was given to company in 1668 AD on annual rent of £ 10. Thereafter Bombay replaced Surat as the headquarters on the west coast. Bombay was fortified in 1720 by Charles Boon.

Expansion of the factories of English East India Company

The English established their first factory in Orissa at Hariharpur (near the mouth of river Mahanadi), Balasore and Pipli in 1633 AD. In 1651 Shah Shuja, the governor of Bengal, granted the English Trading Company a Nishan through which they received trading privileges in return for a fixed annual payment of Rs. 3000. By another Nishan the English Company was exempted from Custom duties in 1656. First English factory in Bengal was established at Hughli in 1651 AD. In 1667 AD Aurangzeb confirmed the privileges enjoyed by the company. In 1672 AD Shayista Khan, the Mughal governor of Bengal confirmed the privileges enjoyed by the company.

In 1686 two pirate ships (Ships of English free traders) captured several Mughal ships in Red Sea. Upon this the Mughal governor of Surat attacked the English. Hostilities broke out in Bengal also. Hughli was sacked by the Mughals. The English were forced to leave Hughli. Aurangzeb granted them permission to trade, on payment of Rs. 1,50,000 as compensation. In 1691 AD Job Charnock established a factory at

Sutanati. In 1691 AD Aurangzeb granted a farman-by which they were exempted from the of custom duties in Bengal in return for an annual payment of Rs 3000. The rebellion of Shoba Singh, a Zamindar of Burdwan provided opportunity to the English to fortify the settlement at Sutanati.

Sir William Norris was sent as a special envoy by the English king to Aurangzeb's court to secure the formal grant of the trading concessions and the right to exercise full English jurisdiction over the English settlements in 1698 AD. In the same year British acquired the Zamindari of the villages of Sutanati, Kalikata and Govindpur from Mughal governor Azimush Shah on payment of Rs 1200 to the original proprietors. These three villages crested the nucleus of modern Calcutta. The rebellion of Afghan Rahini Khan provided the English opportunity to fortify Calcutta. It was named Fort William (1700 AD). Sir Charles Eyre was the first president of Fort William. All settlements in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa were placed under Fort William (1700 AD)

Emperor Farruksiyar's Farman

In 1717 AD the Presidencies of Bombay, Madras and Calcutta sent a combined mission to the court of Emperor Farruksiyar. The mission was led by John Sunnan. Dr. William Hamilton was a member of the Surman commission. He cured Farruksiyar of a painful disease. The relieved Farruksiyar @ ias academy granted the company three Farmans in 1717 AD for duty free trade. These Farmans of Farruksiyar (1717) are called the Magna Carta of the Company.

By this farman the Company was granted right to duty free trade in Bengal in lieu of an annual payment of Rs. 3000. The Company was also allowed to wherever they pleased and rent addition, i territory around Calcutta. In case of province of Hyderabad, the English Company was allowed freedom from all dues except rent paid for Madras. The Company was granted right to duty free trade at Surat in lieu of an annual payment of Rs. 10000. The currency coined by company was made current throughout the Mughal Empire.

Development of the East India Company

The internal management of the English company was administered by a court of committees whose nomenclature later was changed to court of directors. It consisted of a governor, a deputy governor, and 24 members to be elected annually by a general body of the merchants forming the company. Besides, there was a secretary and a treasurer. The company's superior body court of directors was based in London while its subordinate body was in Asia. The Directors to be annually elected by the shareholders of the company. Each shareholder, irrespective of the value of the share had only one vote. The membership of the company was not confined to shareholders only but it could be secured through inheritance or presentation by paying an entrance fee through apprenticeship, services etc. Company enjoyed extensive powers to issue orders and to make laws in accordance with the laws and customs of the realm. The company also possessed judicial powers to punish its servants for their offences by imprisonment or fine.

In India, each factory was administered by a Governor-in-council. The governor was the President of the council with no extra privileges. Everything was decided in the council by majority vote. The members of the council consisted of senior merchants of the company. The Court of Directors was the supreme authority in framing policies for the company.

Queen Elizabeth was one of the shareholders of the company. After Queen Elizabeth's death, James I renewed the charter though it could be revoked at any time at three year notice. The company got the power to enforce law to maintain discipline on long voyages. The Charter Act of 1683 AD gave the company full power to declare war and make peace with any power. In spite of all opposition English independent merchants, known as Interlopers continued to defy the monopoly of the company by indulging in the East Indian trade of their own. These Free Merchants tried to press their demands in public as well as in Parliament. In 1694 AD the Parliament passed the resolution that all the citizens of England had equal right to trade in the East. In 1698 AD British Govt, sold the monopoly rights of East Indies trade to a new company named General Society. The London Company was given a

notice of three to wind up the business. The Old Company refused to surrender their privileges. After long drawn conflict both the companies agreed to join hands in 1702 AD. In 1708 AD a new Company named The united Company of Merchants of England Trading to the East Indies' was formed by amalgamating both the companies.

French East India Company

The French were the last European traders to arrive in India. French East India Company founded under state patronage by Colbert in 1664 AD. The French company was named the *Compagnie des Indes Orientales*. In Dec 1667 AD the first French factors was set up at Surat by In 1669 AD Marcara set up a factory at Masulij)attnam by securing a patent from the Sultan of Golkunda. They also succeeded in getting a farman from Aurangzeb in 1669 AD to open their factory at Surat. In 1673 AD the French (Francois Martin & Bellanger De Lespinary acquired from the Muslim governor of Valikoindapuram Sher Khan Lodi a small village. This village developed into Pondichery and its first governor was Francois Martin. Fort Louis was established here. They acquired site of Chandemagore in Bengal from the Mughal governor Shayista Khan in 1674 AD. French factory was established here in 1690 AD. Pondichery (Fort Louis) was made the headquarters of all the French settlements in India and Francois Martin become the governor general of French affairs in India.

French commander Martin readily acknowledged the authority of Shivaji and agreed to pay him an amount in lieu of license to trade in his dominions: The French got permission to fortify Pondichery in 1689 from Sambhaji. Duplex was the most important French Governor in India.

The supreme body of the French Company was known as superior council of the Indies and headed by

a Director-General. The Supreme Council composed of five members was presided over by the governor. French East India Company was a state controlled organization and thus differed from the Chartered Companies of England and the Netherlands. It was highly dependent on the French government for its grants, subsidies, loans etc.

The French maintained close ties with Dost-ali the Nawab of Camatic. On the basis of a strong recommendation by Dost-Ali the Mughal emperor Muhammad Shah issued a farman granting permission to the French to mint and issue gold and silver currency bearing the stamp of the Mughal emperor and the name of the place of minting.

The Dutch blocked the French commercial activities at Hugli. They seized San Thome near Madras in 1672 but were soon defeated by combined forces of Sultan of Golkunda and the Dutch Later. Dutch established their control over San Thome. In the Dutch-French rivalry the Dutch were always supported by the English. The Dutch captured Pondichery in 1692 AD from the French but later gave back in 1697 by the **Treaty of Ryswick**.

After 1742, the political motives began to overshadow commercial gains. The French governor *Comte de Duplex* began the policy of extending territorial empire in India. This led to a series of conflict with the English. The French fought three Camatic wars with the English. During the third Camatic War the French lost badly in the battle of Wandiwash in 1760 AD. With this defeat the French lost almost all their possessions in India. The battle ended by the Treaty of Paris in 1763 AD. Pondichery and some other French settlements were returned to the French but they were not allowed to fortify their settlements. The French continued to exist in India but they were no more a challenge to English hegemony.

14. THE REVOLT OF 1857

GENERAL SURVEY

There was no aspect of public life which was untouched or unexploited by the colonial power. It completely disrupted the traditional economy. The colonial regime hurt the religious sentiments of both the Hindus and Muslims in India and activities of Christian missionaries created suspicion. Politically, the arrogance and dictatorial attitude of Lord Dalhousie and his predecessors shocked the traditional rulers of the country. His policy of annexation sent a wave of resentment over the country. The annexation of Awadh for misgovernment was the most dangerous step which put the government in bad faith. The conditions of Indian sepoys, employed in the British army, were heinous and unbearable. Slightest pretext was enough to play havoc, and this was supplied by the introduction of greased cartridges. The greased cartridges alone would not have, however, sufficed to provoke such an explosion, there was a mix of political, social, economic as well as religious factors.

The Revolt began and spread like wild fire through most of north India. It was put down only after severe military operations. The important incidents were:

- the siege of Delhi and its recovery by the British force in late September,
- the military operations around Kanpur and Lucknow and;
- the central Indian campaign in 1858 of Tantia Tope and the Rani of Jhansi.

In these events, several native Princes, Sikhs and certain other sections supported British operations. Besides, Deccan and south India was largely passive. It was fought with great ferocity on both sides, and reprisals were often savage.

There is also a general controversy on the nature and character of the revolt. Like - whether it was just a mutiny as the British called it or the first national war of Indian Independence as characterized by nationalist historians; whether it was a spontaneous outburst of sepoy discontent or an organized and premeditated

revolt; whether it was limited to the army or was it a popular rebellion.

However, the revolt of 1857 was the first and the most severe outburst of anger and discontent accumulated in the hearts of Indian people ever since the advent of British following the Battles of Plassey and Buxar. Though the apologists of imperialism dubbed it as a 'Sepoy Mutiny', the Indian historians have praised it as the 'First War of Indian Independence'. In the words of Nehru: "It was much more than a military mutiny and it rapidly spread and assumed the character of a popular rebellion and a war of Indian independence".

DETAILED ANALYSIS

Causes of the Revolt of 1857

It is in the very nature of colonial rule to exploit the conquered land. To quote Lenin: "There is no end to the violence and plunder which is called British rule in India". When the English established their authority through dual 'government' in Bengal, the financial bleeding of India began. Introduction of Permanent Settlement, huge and revenue assessment, burden of debt. The legal system, over-crowding and pressure on agriculture (due to de-industrialization) all led to the stagnation and determination of the peasants thus alienating them from the British. The machine-made cotton goods from England ruined the weavers. In fact, India underwent a commercial transformation and not an industrial revolution. Introduction of England and change in the nature of administration deprived the middle and upper classes of highly-paid posts. Those who enjoyed the power and privilege under the patronage of Indian States were now crumbled and crushed by the mighty British army.

The British Company confiscated a number of Jagirs from landlords and talukdars, especially from Awadh (this shows why the revolt was so strong in this province). Even in the Deccan, the Inam Commission at Bombay, appointed by Lord Dalhousie, confiscated some 20,000 estates in the early fifties of the 19th century. Following the annexation of native states,

thousands of soldiers serving them became jobless. For instance, as many as 60,000 families lost their livelihood when Awadh's army was disbanded. Even religious preachers, pandits and moulvis were divested of their livelihood with the extinction of native kingdoms. Thus peasants, artisans, and a large number of traditional zamindars and chiefs were seething with anger and were seeking an opportunity to strike at the new regime which had deprived them of their traditional hold and livelihood.

ADMINISTRATIVE AND ECONOMIC CAUSES

- Annexation of Indian states deprived the Indian aristocracy of the power and position which they were enjoying earlier. Under the British rule all High Posts were reserved for the Europeans.
- New land revenue settlements made by the East India Company in the newly-annexed states drove poverty in the ranks of aristocracy and the peasants were the worst affected class due to the heavy assessments and ruthless manner of collection.
- The East India Company destroyed Indian handicraft and industry by using its power and made Indian industry an appendage of a foreign exploitative system.
- Further, the Indian Handicraft and Industry was adversely affected due to the loss of its consumers in the country in the form of princes and aristocrats.

The new regime created suspicion among the Indians that they would be converted to Christianity. The activities of Christian missionaries and establishments of Chaplains and Churches strengthened this fear. The religious sentiments of the people were further hurt when a tax was levied on property held by temples and mosques. An Act was passed in 1856 called the 'General Services Enlistment Act' which imposed on the Indian sepoys the obligation to serve wherever required. They dreaded sea voyage and considered this measure to be against their religious customs. By passing the Convert Inheritance Act in 1850, the British made no secret of Hindu Widows' Remarriage Act of 1856, the abolition of the practices like Sati and infanticide and even the introduction of railways and the telegraph were viewed by the conservative sections

of Indian society as an attack on their time-honoured customs and practices. The people at large were alarmed at the rapid spread of English education and Western civilization.

SOCIAL AND RELIGIOUS CAUSES

- Like every conqueror, English rulers of India were rude and arrogant towards the subjects and described the Hindus as barbarians with hardly any trait of culture and civilization, while the Muslims were dubbed as bigots, cruel and faithless.
- There was discrimination on the basis of religion in the administration and Judiciary between the Indian and Europeans.
- Indians were called as 'nigger' and 'Suar'.
- In the Religions Disabilities Act of 1850, provision was made that change of religion did not debar a son from inheriting the property of his father. This was seen by the Indians as an act of conversion to Christianity.
- Further, strange rumours were current in the India that Lord Canning is specially charged to convert Indians into Christianity.
- Activities of Christian padres and Bethune towards woman education made Indian's feel that through education, the British were going to conquer their civilization.

The Indians were considered no better than the drawers of water and hewers of wood'. The foreignness of British was exposed by its treatment of Indians who were subjected to the racial prejudices of the Englishmen. The latter took pleasure in calling Indian the creatures of an inferior breed, 'half Negro'. Dr. Majumdar points out the mood of the Indians when he says: "The impurity with which the members of the royal race could insult, humiliate, injure and even kill the Indian subjects was far more galling to the people than their political or even the more material losses they suffered at the hands of the British."

A wave of resentment rocked the country as a sequel to Lord Dalhousie's policy of annexation. Nana Sahib, the adopted son of the last Peshwa, Baji Rao II, was refused the pension which his father had been getting. Rani Laxmi Bai was not allowed to install her

adopted son on the throne after the death of her husband (1853). Nagpur met the same fate. The abolition of titles of the Nawab of Carnatic and the Raja of Travancore was rude shock to the native princes. The house of the Mughals was humiliated when Lord Dalhousie announced in 1849 that the successors of Bahadur Shah Zafar would not be allowed to use the historic Red Fort which is their Palace and must move to a place near the Qutub Minar. To add insult to injury, Lord Canning announced in 1856 that after the death of Bahadur Shah Zafar, his successor would not be allowed to use the title of king. Awadh was annexed to the Company's dominions in 1856 without satisfactory reason, although its ruler had always been faithful to the British Government (in fact, it was the immense potential of Awadh as a market of Manchester goods that prompted the imperialists to annex it).

The impression regarding the invincibility of the British army was shattered when they were badly beaten in the First Afghan War, the Anglo-Sindh wars and the Santhal rebellion.

The Indian soldiers who became the ladder for the Britishers to climb to the paramouncy were looked down upon as inferiors by their superiors. They were poorly paid, ill-fed and badly housed. Indian soldiers, formerly occupying high positions in the armies of native princes, could not rise above the rank of Risaldar or Subedar. They were grievously shocked when they were deprived even of their foreign service allowance.

POLITICAL CAUSES

- Lord Dalhousie annexed Punjab, Pegu and Sikkim by the right to conquest.
- Satara, Jaitpur, Sambhalpur, Baghat, Udaipur, Jhansi and Nagpur were annexed by the application of the Doctrine of Lapse.
- Awadh was the only state which was annexed on the pretext of the 'mis-governance'.
- The Regal titles of the Nawabs of Carnatic and Tanjore were abolished.
- The Pension of Peshwa Baji Rao II's adapted son called Nana Saheb was stopped.
- Lord Canning declared that the next Mughal prince would have to renounce the regal title and

the ancestral Mughal palaces, this greatly angered the Muslims.

- The Indians held that the existence of all states was threatened and absorption of all states was a question of time.
- The annexation of Baghat and Udaipur was cancelled and they were restored to their rulers.
- When Dalhousie wanted to apply Doctrine of lapse to Karauli (Rajputana), he was overruled by the Court of Directors.

They groused when they were required to go to strange and distant countries. The Bengal army consisted of Hindu sepoy of high caste who disliked menial services and dreaded sea voyage which, they believed, endangered their caste. Their discontent was expressed on many occasions before the Revolt of 1857 also. The pent-up emotions of the Indian sepoy burst forth in 1856 when they were ordered to use the new Enfield Rifles. The cartridges of which were greased with the fat of cows and pigs. The sepoy had to remove the greased covers of the cartridges with their teeth before loading them into the rifles. Both Hindu and Muslim sepoy refused to use these cartridges and felt that the English were defiling their religions. The issue of cartridges fell on the already existing grievances as spark on dry timber and very soon the whole country from the Sutlej to the Narmada was ablaze.

MILITARY CAUSES

- Three-fifth of the recruits of the Bengal Army was drawn from Awadh and North-Western province and most of them came from high castes such as Brahmins and Rajputs who were averse to accepting that part of the army discipline which treated them on par with the low caste recruits.
- Since most of the recruits in Army were from Awadh, the annexation of Awadh on the pretext of mal-administration marked the rebellion mood in the army.
- In 1856, Lord Canning's government passed the General Service Enlistment Act which declared that all future recruits for the Bengal Army would have to give an undertaking to serve anywhere even outside India. This was considered by the caste Hindus as defiling of their religion because

going oversea was considered by the Hindu's as being polluted religiously.

- By the passing of the Post Office Act of 1854, the privilege of free postage, so long enjoyed by the sepoys, was withdrawn.
- In 1856, the Government decided to replace the old-fashioned musket "Brown Bess" by the "Enfield rifle". The loading process of the Enfield rifle involved bringing the cartridge to the mouth and biting off the top paper with mouth.

In February 1857, the 19th Native Infantry at Berhampur refused to use the cartridges but, before the tide could turn against the British, it was disbanded. In March 1857, Mangal Pande, a young officer of 34th N.I. at Barrackpur wounded his officer, an Englishman. He was hanged and even this unit was disbanded. This news travelled to Meerut cantonment. In May 1857, when the new cartridges were issued to 90 Indians in Meerut, 85 of them refused to use them. These 85 soldiers were court-martialled and sentenced to ten years imprisonment. After a few days the excited cavalrymen attacked the jail where the 85 persons were imprisoned. The sky was rent with deafening shouts of 'Maro Firangee Ko'. The same night the mutineers marched to Delhi and thousand able-bodied civilians also joined them.

The British Garrison at Delhi could not resist the rebels and consequently fell into their hands. The Mughal Emperor, Bahadur Shah II, joined the revolutionaries after initial vacillations and was proclaimed Emperor of India. Here, the mutineers were headed by General Bakht Khan, the person responsible for leading the Bareilly troops to Delhi. The loss of Delhi lowered the prestige of the British in India. To retrieve their prestige they put everything at stake and Sir John Lawrence sent a strong British contingent under John Nicholson. After a long siege of four months, the British were able to recover Delhi in September 1857. Bhadur Shah II was captured at the tomb of Humayun. Two of his sons and a grandson were shot in cold blood before his eyes. The emperor was deported to Rangoon where he died in the year 1862. The other highlights were the operations around Kanpur, Lucknow, Gwalior, Jhansi, Bihar and Faizabad.

The tide of revolt touched its zenith in Awadh where the common people the taluqdars to help the dispossessed Nawab, Wajid Ali Shah. General Collin Campbell himself marched towards Lucknow at the head of English and Gorkha soldiers. Finally, Lucknow fell into the hands of the British after a fierce battle in March 1858.

Sir Hugh Rosled the British forces against the rebels in central India. The Rani of Jhansi was holding out with the help of Tantia Tope. Jhansi was taken by heavy attack in April 1858, but Rani Lakhshmi Bai slipped away and managed to occupy the stronghold of Gwalior. Finally, the Rani; 'the best and bravest' of the rebel leaders, as Sir Hugh Rose described her, fell fighting in June and Gwalior fell into the hands of the English. Tantia Tope carried on a guerrilla campaign in the traditional Maratha fashion with great skill until April 1859 when he was caught and hanged.

In Bihar, the revolt was led by Kunwar Singh, a Zamindar of Jagdishpur, who played a dominant part in the revolt despite his old age. He fought the British in Bihar and then joined Nana Sahib's forces and took part in various encounters with the English in Awadh and central India. He died in April 1858 leaving behind a glorious record of valour and bravery.

Maulvi Ahmadullah, a native of Madras, led the revolt at Faizabad. The Muslim community under his command took part in various battles in Awadh and Rohilkhand. He was, however treacherously killed.

At Kanpur, the struggle was led by Nana Sahib. The British commander Hugh Wheeler, finding the odds heavy against him, surrendered in June 1857. Only with the arrival of a large force under General Havelock was Kanpur recaptured after defeating Nana Sahib in a hotly contested battle in June 1858. In the meantime, Tantia Tope was successful in winning over the troops at Shivajinagar and Moral by appealing to their sense of patriotism. With the concerted strength of these troops, Nana Sahib and Tantia Tope recaptured Kanpur in November 1858. But this was only a short term victory. The British under Campbell, won a decisive victory against the force of Nana Sahib in a battle. Nana Sahib fled toward Nepal where he probably died after sometime.

Officers

John Nicholson
 Havelok, Outram
 & Sri Colion Campbell

Sir Colin Campbell
 Sir Hugh Rose
 Col Neill

Leaders

Bahadur Shah Zafar
 Nana Saheb
 Begum Hazrat Mahal
 Khan Bahadur
 Rani Laxmibai
 Kunwar Singh
 Maulvi Ahmadullah
 Tantia Tope

Places where they suppressed rebellion

Delhi
 Lucknow
 Kanpur
 Jhansi
 Banaras

Their fate after the revolt

Imprisoned and deported to Rangoon where he died natural death.
 Fled to Nepal
 Fled to Nepal
 Died Fighting
 Died Fighting
 Died Fighting
 Died Fighting
 Treacherously Murdered in the forest of central india.

By mid-1853 the revolt was violently crushed. It is not necessary to follow the complicated operations of the British to put down the Great Revolt. But it can be said that it was a popular revolt in north India, as was evidenced by the British operations against entire villages in almost all the places where the uprising took place.

Nature of Revolt: Divergent views

Divergent opinions have been expressed regarding the nature or the great out break of 1857. These views may be broadly divided into two categories. One section considers it as primarily a mutiny of sepoys though in certain areas it drifted into a revolt of the people. The other category expresses a feeling that the revolt was really a rebellion of the people rather than merely a mutiny of the soldiers and goes further to state that it was indeed the first war of Indian independence. Both these views need a detailed examination before coming to a conclusion.

After much uneasy and unconvincing argument, British historians, anxious to minimize Indian grievances and to preserve the good faith of their country, for many years insisted that the rising was nothing more than a sepoy mutiny. They viewed it as a wholly unpatriotic and selfish attempt with no native leadership and no popular support. The main pillars of

this comforting belief were that the Sikhs remained loyal and that the native states which had escaped annexation were mostly neutral. The British concentrated on the greased cartridges, the activities of the rebellious sepoys, and the British campaigns of 1857-58. The civil unrest which accompanied the mutiny was made to look insignificant or ignored altogether. But the popular participation in the revolt is an open secret. The speed with which it spread and the swelling mass sympathies cannot be ignored in characterizing the revolt. The fact that the British army burnt and massacred villages in large numbers shows how popular the revolt was.

Indians, generally speaking, subscribe to the view of V.D. Savarkar who called it the 'First War of Indian Independence'. But a general revolt or a war of independence necessarily implies definite plan and organization. The circumstances, under which Bahadur Shah, Nana Saheb, Rani Lakshmi and other cast in their lot, with the mutinous sepoys, were rebelling, are sufficient to expose the limitations of the theory that it was a struggle for independence. All the leaders had their own axes to grind. Bahadur Shah's association with the rebels was half-hearted. Rani Lakshmi of Jhansi offered to stop her resistance if her adopted son was recognized as the legal heir to the throne.

The sudden and unexpected way in which the unity spread across the country has always excited the suspicion that it must have been planned in advance. Many Englishmen could, in fact find no explanation for this baffling outbreak other than deliberate conspiracy. The wide circulations of chapattis just before the outbreak of 1857 is regarded by many as an important evidence in favour of an organized

conspiracy. But this mysterious circulation of chapattis in the villages of northern India does not provide any satisfactory explanation. The chapattis apparently meant differently to different people and to many signified nothing at all. Thus, it will be totally misleading to say that the revolt was the result of careful and secret organization.

Western Historians

Sir John Lawrence and Seeley

L.E.R. Rees

T.R. Holmes

Sri James Outram

W. Taylor" It was a Mohammedan

Benjamin Disraeli

Prof. Stanley Wolpert

Their Views about the nature of Revolt

"Sepoy's Mutiny"

"A war of fanatic religionists against Christians."

"Conflict between civilization and barbarism."

"A result of Hindu-Muslim conspiracy".

Conspiracy making capital of Hindu grievances."

"A National rising."

"It was far more than a mutiny... yet much less than a first war of independence."

It would also be a travesty of truth to describe the Revolt of 1857 as a national war of independence. National, it certainly was not, for the upsurge of the people was limited to mainly North India. Moreover, nationalism of the modern type was yet to come. No leader of the revolt had even the slightest idea of what sort of power should replace British authority once it was overthrown. Moreover, in this violent upheaval, the civil participants were not so much against the political supremacy of British as against the whole new order of things which they were importing into India.

A large section of people, in fact, actively cooperated with British during the revolt. Thus it can be said that the so-called first war of independence was neither first nor national nor a war of independence. It was definitely something more than a sepoy mutiny but something less than a national revolt. It took place everywhere in the name of one sovereign and under one flag. The rapidity with which the revolt progressed and the vast area over which it spread proves that it enjoyed, in that area at least, strong mass support.

Modern Indian Historians

V.D. Sararkar

R.C. Majumdar

Dr. S.N. Sen

Dr. S.B. Chaudhary

Their views about the Revolt

"A planned war of National Independence."

"Neither first nor National nor War of Independence."

"What began as mutiny ended as a war of Independence."

"Revolt of 1857 can be bifurcated into two sub-divisions; mutiny and rebellion."

Religious flavour: The war was fought as much for Swadharma as against the discontentment. Religious grievances formed an important ingredient of the dynamite that caused the explosion. A 'maulvi' or a 'pundit' used to be attached to every regiment to minister to the spiritual needs of the men. Fakirs (beggars) are reported to have played an important part

in the espionage services of the rebels. Though religious feelings strengthened the courage and compose of the rebels, it did not make them fanatical. Religion heightened the appeal of the revolt but its content remained predominantly political. Its leaders were temporal, not spiritual, spokesmen of society.

Was it backward looking?

The revolt reflected the social ethos of the time. It was infused with traditional as well modernist ideas. Any assessment of its character must carefully review this duality at its core. This revolution, however, was an attempt to return to the earlier and traditional relation in rejecting the new classes who had supplanted them, the old and traditional ruling classes were assisted by their former subjects. In fact, it can be said that it was the decaying reactionary element, the discontented princes and feudal forces, which led the opposition. They were joined by common people who were groaning under the burden of over taxation, rack-renting and social humiliation. The revolt was thus a feudal upheaval.

Failure of the Revolt

Lack of planning, organization and leadership were some of the most important causes for the failure of the revolt. The leaders had no clear cut plans and targets. The movement lacked a leader who could command obedience from all and put up a concerted action. The leaders of the revolt could never agree on a common plan. They were mutually jealous and continually intrigued against one another. In fact, these personal jealousies and intrigues were largely responsible for the Indian defeat.

It was a tragedy that some of the princes helped the British to suppress a bid for freedom by their compatriots. Sikh princes of Nabha, Patiala and Kapurthala and the rulers of Hyderabad and Gwalior openly helped the British with men and money. Holkar and Sindhia remained loyal to the British. Regarding Sindhia's help, General Innes says: "His loyalty saved India for the British".

The money lenders (who were the targets of attack by the villagers) and educated Indians (who thought that the British would destroy the feudal forces) also did support the revolt. Besides, Bombay, Madras, Bengal, Rajputana and western Punjab did not participate in the revolt.

The superior resources of the British in men, money and materials, their control over the seas, better means of communication at their command and the help from the natives put them definitely in an advantageous position.

Reasons of Failure

- The Revolt of 1857 was limited to the areas of Awadh, Rohilkhand, Delhi, Kanpur, Western Bihar and some portion of Central India. A large part of country remained not only unaffected, but also helped in suppression of the revolt.
- A large section of society, particularly the middle class intelligentsia and barring the peasantry class of Oudh the peasants as well as the lower castes were totally kept away from the revolt.
- The Superior weapons and better discipline in the British Army and use of Electric telegraph was far advanced against the old-fashioned and traditional weapons of Indian soldiers.
- The Revolt was ill-organized.
- Indians had no match to the exceptional military leader's the East India Company had in the form of Lawrence, Nicholson, Outram, Havelok and Edwards.

Significance

It was a glorious landmark in in history in as much as Hindus and Muslims fought shoulder to shoulder against a common enemy. Though the revolt was unsuccessful, the spirit of the people remained unshaken. The revolt left an indelible impression on the minds of the Indian people and thus paved the way for the rise of a strong national movement. In the words of Dr. Majumdar - 'It has been said that Julius Caesar when dead was more powerful than when he was alive. The same thing may be said about the revolt of 1857. Whatever might have been its original character, it soon became a symbol of challenge to the mighty British power in India. It remained a shining example before the nascent nationalism in India in its struggle for freedom from the British yoke'

After the revolt of 1857, the British rule in India underwent major transformation in its policy. It started protecting and fostering the princes as its puppets. The reactionary social and religious survivals were jealously guarded and preserved against the demands of progressive Indian opinion for their reform. After initial harsh treatment of Muslims, the rulers started talking for the betterment of the Muslim subjects. Realising that Hindu-Muslim unity would pose a serious danger

to them, the British re-employed the policy of “Divide and Rule”

Impact of the Revolt

- The Administration of the India was transferred from the East India Company to the Crown by the Government of India Act, 1858. The Act of 1858 provided for the appointment of a Secretary of State for India, who was to be assisted by an Advisory Council of Fifteen. Eight members are to be nominated by the Crown and seven members are to be selected by the Court of Directors.
- The Queen’s announcement declared against any desire for extension of territorial possessions and promised to respect the rights, dignity and honour of native princes.
- Indian army was thoroughly re-organized, the strength of European troops in Indian army was increased from the pre-1857 figure of 45,000 to

65,000 and the number of Indian troops reduced from the pre-1857 figure of 238,000 to 140,000. All higher posts in the army and police were reserved for Europeans.

Direct consequence: The direct result of the revolt was the end of the Company’s rule and the passing of the responsibility of the Indian administration of British India into the hands of the British Queen and the Parliament. The Board of Control was abolished and the Board of Directors was done away with. An Office of Secretary of State for India with a 15-member council was constituted for the administration of India. The designation of the Governor-General was changed to Viceroy. While he remained Governor General for the provinces under his rule, he came to be known as Viceroy while dealing with Nawab, Rajas and native princes. The army was reorganized thoroughly. The economic exploitation of India became more serious and much wider.

15. GOVERNORS-GENERAL

GOVERNORS-GENERAL AND VICEROYS OF INDIA : SIGNIFICANT EVENTS IN THEIR RULE

Governors-Genera I

1. Warren Hastings 1773-1785

- (i) Regulating Act of 1773.
- (ii) Act of 1781, under which the powers of jurisdiction between the governor-general-in-council and the Supreme Court at Calcutta, were clearly divided.
- (iii) Pitt's India Act of 1784.
- (iv) The Rohilla War of 1774.
- (v) The First Maratha War in 1775-82 and the Treaty of Salbai in 1782.
- (vi) Second Mysore War in 1780-84.
- (vii) Strained relationships with Chait Singh, the Maharaja of Benaras, which led to Hastings' subsequent impeachment in England.
- (viii) Foundation of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (1784).

2. Lord Cornwallis 1786-1793

- (i) Third Mysore War (1790-92) and Treaty of Seringapatam (1792).
- (ii) Cornwallis Code (1793) incorporating several judicial reforms, and separation of revenue administration and civil jurisdiction.
- (iii) Permanent Settlement of Bengal, 1793.
- (iv) Europeanisation of administrative machinery and introduction of civil services.

3. Sir John Shore 1793-1798

- (i) Charter Act of 1793.
- (ii) Battle of Kharrada between the Nizam and the Marathas (1795).

4. Lord Wellesley 1798-1805

- (i) Introduction of the Subsidiary Alliance System (1798); first alliance with Nizam of Hyderabad.
- (ii) Fourth Mysore War (1799).
- (iii) Second Maratha War (1803-05).
- (iv) Took over the administration of Tanjore (1799), Surat (1800) and Carnatic (1801).

(v) Treaty of Bassein (1802).

5. Sir George Barlow 1805-1807

Vellore Mutiny (1806).

6. Lord Minto I 1807-1813

Treaty of Amritsar with Ranjit Singh (1809).

7. Lord Hastings 1813-1823

- (i) Anglo-Nepal War (1814-16) and the Treaty of Sagauli, 1816.
- (ii) Third Maratha War (1817-19) and dissolution of Maratha Confederacy; creation of Bombay Presidency (1818).
- (iii) Strife with Pindaris (1817-1818).
- (iv) Treaty with Sindhia (1817).
- (v) Establishment of Ryotwari System by Thomas Munro, governor of Madras (1820).

8. Lord Amherst 1823-1828

- (i) First Burmese War (1824-1826).
- (ii) Capture of Bharatpur (1826).

9. Lord William Bentinck 1828-1835

- (i) Abolition of sati and other cruel rites (1829).
- (ii) Suppression of thug (1830).
- (iii) Charter Act of 1833.
- (iv) Resolution of 1835, and educational reforms and introduction of English as the official language.
- (v) Annexation of Mysore (1831), Coorg (1834) and Central Cachar (1834).
- (vi) Treaty of 'perpetual friendship' with Ranjeet Singh.
- (vii) Abolition of the provincial courts of appeal and circuit set up by Cornwallis, appointment of commissioners of revenue and circuit.

10. Lord Metcalfe 1835-1836

New press law removing restrictions on the press in India.

11. Lord Auckland 1836-1842

- (i) First Afghan War (1838-42).
- (ii) Death of Ranjit Singh (1839).

12. Lord Ellenborough 1842-1844

- (i) Annexation of Sindh (1843).
- (ii) War with Gwalior (1843).

13. Lord Hardinge I 1844-1848

- (i) First Anglo-Sikh War (1845-46) and the Treaty of Lahore (1846).
- (ii) Social reforms including abolition of female infanticide and human sacrifice.

14. Lord Dalhousie 1848-1856

- (i) Second Anglo-Sikh War (1848-49) and annexation of Punjab (1849).
- (ii) Annexation of Lower Burma or Pegu (1852).
- (iii) Introduction of the Doctrine of Lapse and annexation of Satara (1848)/ Jaitpur and Sambhalpur (1849), Udaipur (1852), Jhansi (1853), Nagpur (1854) and Awadh (1856).
- (iv) "Wood's (Charles Wood, President of the Board of Control) Educational Despatch" of 1854 and opening of Anglo-vernacular schools and government colleges.
- (v) Railway Minute of 1853; and laying down of first railway line connecting Bombay and Thane in 1853.
- (vi) Telegraph (4000 miles of telegraph lines to connect Calcutta with Bombay, Madras and Peshawar) and postal (Post Office Act, 1854) reforms.
- (vii) Ganges Canal declared open (1854); establishment of separate public works department in every province.
- (viii) Widow Remarriage Act (1856).

15. Lord Canning 1856-1857

- (i) Establishment of three universities at Calcutta, Madras and Bombay in 1857.
- (ii) Revolt of 1857.

Viceroy**1. Lord Canning 1858-1862**

- (i) Transfer of control from East India Company to the Crown, the Government of India Act, 1858.
- (ii) 'White Mutiny' by European troops in 1859.
- (iii) Indian Councils Act of 1861.

2. Lord Elgin I 1862-1863

Wahabi Movement

3. Lord John Lawrence 1864-1869

- (i) Bhutan War (1865)
- (ii) Setting up of the High Courts at Calcutta, Bombay and Madras (1865).

4. Lord Mayo 1869-1872

- (i) Opening of the Rajkot College in Kathiawar and the Mayo College at Ajmer for political training of Indian princes.
- (ii) Establishment of Statistical Survey of India.
- (iii) Establishment of Department of Agriculture and Commerce.
- (iv) Introduction of state railways.

5. Lord Northbrook 1872-1876

- (i) Visit of Prince of Wales in 1875.
- (ii) Trial of Gaekwar of Baroda.
- (iii) Kuka Movement in Punjab.

6. Lord Lytton 1876-1880

- (i) Famine of 1876-78 affecting Madras, Bombay, Mysore, Hyderabad, parts of central India and Punjab; appointment of Famine Commission under the presidency of Richard Strachey (1878).
- (ii) Royal Titles Act (1876), Queen Victoria assuming the title of 'Kaiser-i-Hind' or Queen Empress of India.
- (iii) The Vernacular Press Act (1878).
- (iv) The Arms Act (1878).
- (v) The Second Afghan War (1878-80).

7. Lord Ripon 1880-1884

- (i) Repeal of the Vernacular Press Act (1882).
- (ii) The first Factory Act (1881) to improve labour conditions.
- (iii) Continuation of financial decentralisation.
- (iv) Government resolution on local self-government (1882).
- (v) Appointment of Education Commission under chairmanship of Sir William Hunter (1882).
- (vi) The Ilbert Bill controversy (1883-84).
- (vii) Rendition of Mysore.

8. Lord Dufferin 1884-1888

- (i) The Third Burmese War (1885-86).
- (ii) Establishment of the Indian National Congress.

9. Lord Lansdowne 1888-1894

- (i) Factory Act (1891).
- (ii) Categorisation of civil services into imperial, provincial and subordinate.
- (iii) Indian Councils Act (1892).

- (iv) Setting up of Durand Commission (1893) to define the Durand Line between India and Afghanistan (now between Pakistan and Afghanistan).

10. Lord Elgin II 1894-1899

Two British officials assassinated by Chapekar brothers (1897).

11. Lord Curzon 1899-1905

- (i) Appointment of Police Commission (1902) under Sir Andrew Frazer to review police administration.
- (ii) Appointment of Universities Commission (1902) and passing of Indian Universities Act (1904).
- (iii) Establishment of Department of Commerce and Industry.
- (iv) Calcutta Corporation Act (1899).
- (v) Ancient Monuments Preservation Act (1904).
- (vi) Partition of Bengal (1905).
- (vii) Curzon-Kitchener controversy.
- (viii) Younghusband's Mission to Tibet (1904).

12. Lord Minto II 1905-1910

- (i) Popularisation of anti-partition and Swadeshi Movements.
- (ii) Split in Congress in the annual session of 1907 in Surat.
- (iii) Establishment of Muslim League by Aga Khan (1906).

13. Lord Hardinge II 1910-1916

- (i) Creation of Bengal Presidency (like Bombay and Madras) in 1911.
- (ii) Transfer of capital from Calcutta to Delhi (1911).
- (iii) Establishment of the Hindu Mahasabha (1915) by Madan Mohan Malaviya.
- (iv) Coronation durbar of King George V held in Delhi (1911).

14. Lord Chelmsford 1916-1921

- (i) Formation of Home Rule Leagues by Annie Besant and Tilak (1916).
- (ii) Lucknow session of the Congress (1916).
- (iii) Lucknow pact between the Congress and Muslim League (1916).

- (iv) Foundation of Sabarmati Ashram (1916) after Gandhi's return; launch of Champaran Satyagraha (1916), Kheda Satyagraha (1918), and Satyagraha at Ahmedabad (1918).

(v) Montagu's August Declaration (1917).

(vi) Government of India Act (1919).

(vii) The Rowlatt Act (1919).

(viii) Jallianwalla Bagh massacre (1919).

(ix) Launch of Non-Cooperation and Khilafat Movements.

(x) Foundation of Women's University at Poona (1916) and appointment of Saddle's Commission (1917) for reforms in educational policy.

(xi) Death of Tilak (August 1, 1920).

(xii) Appointment of S.P. Sinha as governor of Bihar (the first Indian to become a governor).

15. Lord Reading 1921-1926

- (i) Chauri Chaura incident (February 5, 1922) and the subsequent withdrawal of Non-Cooperation Movement.
- (ii) Moplah rebellion in Kerala (1921).
- (iii) Repeal of the Press Act of 1910 and the Rowlatt Act of 1919.
- (iv) Criminal Law Amendment Act and abolition of cotton excise.
- (v) Communal riots in Multan, Amritsar, Delhi, Aligarh, Arvi and Calcutta.
- (vi) Kakori train robbery (1925).
- (vii) Murder of Swami Shraddhanand (1926).
- (viii) Establishment of Swaraj Party by C.R. Das and Motilal Nehru (1922).
- (ix) Decision to hold simultaneous examinations for the ICS both in Delhi and London, with effect from 1923.

16. Lord Irwin 1926-1931

- (i) Visit of Simon Commission to India (1928) and the boycott of the commission by the Indians.
- (ii) An All-Parties Conference held at Lucknow (1928) for suggestions for the (future) Constitution of India, the report of which was called the Nehru Report or the Nehru Constitution.

- (iii) Appointment of the Harcourt Butler Indian States Commission (1927).
- (iv) Murder of Saunders, the assistant superintendent of police of Lahore; bomb blast in the Assembly Hall of Delhi (1929); the Lahore Conspiracy Case and death of Jatin Das after prolonged hunger strike (1929), and bomb accident in train in Delhi (1929).
- (v) Lahore session of the Congress (1929); Purna Swaraj Resolution.
- (vi) Dandi March (March 12, 1930) by Gandhi to launch the Civil Disobedience Movement.
- (vii) 'Deepavali Declaration' by Lord Irwin (1929).
- (viii) Boycott of the First Round Table Conference (1930), Gandhi-Irwin Pact (1931) and suspension of Civil Disobedience Movement.

17. Lord Willingdon 1931-1936

- (i) Second Round Table Conference (1931) and failure of the conference, resumption of Civil Disobedience Movement.
- (ii) Announcement of Communal Award (1932) under which separate communal electorates were set up.
- (iii) 'Fast unto death' by Gandhi in Yeravada prison, broken after the Poona Pact (1932).
- (iv) Third Round Table Conference (1932).
- (v) Launch of Individual Civil Disobedience (1933).
- (vi) The Government of India Act of 1935.
- (vii) Establishment of All India Kisan Sabha (1936) and Congress Socialist Party by Acharya Narendra Dev and Jayaprakash Narayan (1934).
- (viii) Burma separated from India (1935)..

18. Lord Linlithgow 1936-1944

- (i) First general elections (1936-37); Congress attained absolute majority.
- (ii) Resignation of the Congress ministries after the outbreak of the Second World War (1939).
- (iii) Subhash Chandra Bose elected as the president of Congress at the fifty-first session of the Congress (1938).

- (iv) Resignation of Bose in 1939 and formation of the Forward Bloc (1939).
- (v) Lahore Resolution (March 1940) by the Muslim League, demand for separate state for Muslims.
- (vi) 'August Offer' (1940) by the viceroy; its criticism by the Congress and endorsement by the Muslim League.
- (vii) Winston Churchill elected prime minister of England (1940).
- (viii) Escape of Subhash Chandra Bose from India (1941) and organisation of the Indian National Army.
- (ix) Cripps Mission's Cripps Plan to offer dominion status to India and setting up of a Constituent Assembly; its rejection by the Congress.
- (x) Passing of the 'Quit India Resolution' by the Congress (1942); outbreak of 'August Revolution'; or Revolt of 1942 after the arrest of national leaders.
- (xi) 'Divide and Quit' slogan at the Karachi session (1944) of the Muslim League.

19. Lord Wavell 1944-1947

- (i) C. Rajagopalachari's CR Formula (1944), failure of Gandhi-Jinnah talks (1944).
- (ii) Wavell Plan and the Shimla Conference (1942).
- (iii) End of Second World War (1945).
- (iv) Proposals of the Cabinet Mission (1946) and its acceptance by the Congress.
- (v) Observance of 'Direct Action Day' (August 16, 1948) by the Muslim League.
- (vi) Elections to the Constituent Assembly, formation of Interim Government by the Congress (September 1946).
- (vii) Announcement of end of British rule in India by Clement Attlee (prime minister of England) on February 20, 1947.

20. Lord Mountbatten 1947-1948

- (i) June Third Plan (June 3, 1947) announced.
- (ii) Introduction of Indian Independence Bill in the House of Commons.
- (iii) Appointment of two boundary commissions under Sir Cyril Radcliff for the partition of Bengal and Punjab.

16. EARLY NATIONALISTS AND MILITANT NATIONALISTS

A fundamental difference existed between the policy and programmes of the early nationalists and the militant nationalists. It is essentially due to this that the first group of nationalists (early nationalists) are described as the 'moderates', and the second group (militant nationalists) as the 'extremists' and the consequent periodisation of the Indian nationalist movement into the moderates era (1885-1905), the extremist era (1905-1919) and the Gandhian era (1919-1947). Though much can be said in favour of this division of the Indian nationalist movement, the basic continuities and changes involved in this periodisation are subject to diverse opinions. As a matter of fact, there has existed a general tendency to overlook some of the basic continuities from the early nationalist or the so called moderate era to the militant nationalist era or the extremist era. To see discontinuities or changes where none existed, and to over emphasize or wrongly interpret the change that did occur.

THE MODERATES

The moderates did not advocate a direct struggle for the political emancipation of the country, instead, they worked towards a number of political achievements. The most important of these activities were:

- completion of the process of unifying Indian people into a nation,
- creation of a national political platform,
- exposing the exploitative character of British imperialism,
- introduction of modern politics,
- creation of a feeling of self-confidence among Indians,
- promotion of the growth of a modern capitalist economy in India, etc.

They were fully aware of the fact that India was a nation in making and Indian nationhood was gradually coming into being and could not, therefore, be taken for granted. They were also aware that the political leaders had to constantly work for the development and consolidation of the feeling of national unity irrespective of region, caste or religion. The economic and political demands of the moderates were formulated

with a view to unite the Indian people on the basis of common economic and political programme.

Moderates' Programme

Moderates desired to create a national political platform on which all Indians belonging to different regions, religions and social classes could agree and which could serve as the basis for all-India political activity whose basic aim was not just good government, but democratic self government. The Indian National Congress, for instance, was established apart from other reasons with the hope to provide a national political platform and thus promote close contact and friendly relations among active nationalists from different parts of the country.

From the beginning the moderates believed that India should eventually move towards democratic self-government. But they did not demand immediate fulfillment of this goal. Instead, they suggested a gradual approach towards it. Their immediate political demands were extremely moderate. Initially, they demanded that Indians should be given a large share in the government by expanding and reforming the existing legislative Councils. They also demanded the widening of the powers of the councils and an increase in the powers of the members who were to be the elected representatives of the people. The Indian Councils Acts of 1892 and 1909 were passed mainly due to the efforts of the moderates, though these Acts did not secure much for the Indians. But by the turn of the 19th century, the moderates made good progress in their political demands. Their demands were no longer confined to petty reforms but were extended to full self-government, including full Indian control over all legislation and finances, on the model of the self-government colonies of Canada and Australia. This demand was initially made by Dadabhai Naoraji in 1904 and later by Gokhale in 1905.

Economic Critique: Exposing the exploitative character of British imperialism and spreading their understanding of the British rule in India among the people was another important item on the agenda of the moderates. They took note of all the three forms of contemporary economic exploitation, namely, through trade, industry and finance. Realizing that the essence

of British imperialism lay into subordination of the Indian economy to that of Britain, they strongly opposed the British attempts to develop in India the basic characteristics of the economy, viz., the transformation of India into a supplier of raw materials, a market for British manufacturers and a field of investment for capital. Moreover, in every sphere of economic life they advocated the lessening and even severance of India's economic dependence on England.

Agitations: Besides, they organized many agitations against all the important official economic policies based on the colonial structure. For instance, they organized a powerful all-India agitation against the abandonment of tariff duties on imports from 1857 to 1880 and against the imposition of cotton excise duties in 1849-96. This agitation played a major role in arousing country-wide national feelings and in educating the people regarding the real aims and purpose of British rule in India. Thus, all the efforts of the moderates finally resulted in the growth of an all-India opinion that the British were exploiting India and thus leading to its impoverishment, economic backwardness and under development.

Sovereignty: Another important programme of the moderates was the introduction of modern politics based on the doctrine of the sovereignty of the people and on the notion that politics is not the preserve of the ruling class only. They formed several political associations, including the Indian National Congress, to spread political education and to initiate political work in the country. This work was to be based on new political ideas, a new intellectual perception of reality, new socio-economic and political objectives, new forces of struggle and resistance and new techniques of political organization. It was to represent a turning point in ideology, policy, organization and leadership.

Capitalism: They also wanted to promote the growth of modern capitalist economy in India. They rightly believed that the British economic policies were responsible for bringing about the ruin of India's traditional handicraft industries and for obstructing the development of modern industries. Most of them opposed the large scale import of foreign capital for investment in the Indian railways, plantations and industries on the ground that it would lead to the suppression of Indian capitalists and a further increase

in the hold of the British over India's economy and polity.

Remedy: The chief remedy they suggested for the removal of poverty was the modernization of Indian life in all fields and, in particular, the development of modern industries, which are essential for the proper growth of a capitalist economy. But rapid industrialization required active state assistance and a policy of tariff protection. So, they urged the British government to aid Indian industries through financial subsidies, loans and guarantees through state-aided or controlled banks, by borrowing abroad and lending in India, by pioneering state-owned industries in fields such as steel and mining which Indian capitalists were too weak to enter, but which were essential for industrial development, by collecting and disseminating industrial and commercial information and by promoting technical education.

Constraints: The task was difficult for Moderates since Indians were utterly unfamiliar with modern politics. Even the notion that people could organize themselves politically in opposition to their rulers was a novel one. Consequently their work proceeded rather slowly and it took more than half a century to bring the common people within the fold of modern politics.

THE EXTERMISTS

The programmes of the militant nationalist or the extremists were almost similar to those of the moderates. Their programmes were built on their predecessors' programmes and their i.e., the moderates concrete exposure of the character of the British rule in India. But they differed from the latter in one important respect, i.e., the extremists demanded complete independence, while the moderates were content with democratic self-government as in the colonies of Australia and Canada.

However, this difference in their political goals was not substantial as the moderates were as much interested in the question of political power as the extremists. In fact, Tilak himself repeatedly pointed out that there were no real difference between him and the moderates regarding the goals of the national movement. The moderates did not strive for complete independence mainly because of the feeling that the time was not yet ripe for it. It is interesting to note here that even Tilak had no hesitation in going back time

and again from the demand for complete independence to dominion status.

Thus, the basic difference between the early nationalist and the militant nationalists did not lie in their programme or in a different definition of the nationalist political goal. The real difference, if there was any, lay in their policies or the methods of struggle to achieve the agreed goals. In other words, the difference was not in the programmes or what was to be done, but in the policies or how it was to be done.

What were the Extremists' policies?

Some of the extremists deviated from the moderate method of peaceful and bloodless struggle in theory. In practice, however they too operated within its basic framework. The tenet was to serve as a basic guarantee to the propertied class that they would at no time be faced with a situation in which their interests might be put in jeopardy even temporarily. The only difference between the moderates and the extremists in this matter was in their attitude towards non-violence. It was a matter of personal conviction for most of the moderates though practical considerations too played an important role in determining their attitude towards non-violence. To the extremists, it was mostly a practical expedient. The extremists, therefore, did not condemn violence as such, though they themselves did not resort to violent methods.

More importantly, the extremists advocated the organization of mass struggle against British imperialism. This was, in fact, the most important and, perhaps the only significant difference between the policies of the extremists and those of the moderates. Tilak, Bipin Chandra Pal, Lala Lajpat Rai and other extremists had infinite faith in the power of the masses for action and in the Indian people's capacity to bear the strain of a prolonged political struggle against imperialism. They believed that suppression by the government would not throttle the mass movement. It would instead, educate the people, arouse them further, strengthen their resolve to overthrow imperialism and lead to a heightened political struggle. They therefore, advocated the organization of a mass struggle against imperialism as a first step in making the masses politically active. They talked of bridging the gulf between the educated people and the masses though not all of them.

Different Concept: The extremists evolved a higher concept of the forms of political struggle in order to improve the techniques of political action. In other words, the extremists apart from employing the moderate forms of agitation gave a call for passive resistance, to cooperate with the government and to boycott, government service, government courts and government schools and colleges. But they were unable to implement this concept fully and as a result, not transcend agitation (the form adopted by the moderates,) though their agitation was much more militant and effective than that of the moderates because the former had a broader base than the latter.

P-C-P strategy: The extremists too like the moderates, had adopted the P-C-P (pressure-compromise-pressure) strategy in order to attain completed independence. Because the extremists gave several calls for immediate independence, it is easy to be misled into thinking that their strategic approach was deferent. In fact, such calls were part of the same overall strategy. Every such call was succeeded by a set of immediate demands which had little direct relation to the demand for immediate and complete independence. So what changed after 1905 was not the basic strategy of P-C-P. The extremists were not working for the direct overthrow of British rule. They too emphasized the technique of negotiations backed by controlled mass action.

Different Mode: The extremists did, however, change the mode of persuasion or putting pressure. They put greater mass pressure behind demands. They shifted from intellectuals to the masses to a significant extent; and from memorials, petitions and resolutions; to processions, demonstration and large mass movements. The sanctions behind their demand were different and far stronger. But the political advance was still to occur by stages and through compromise, that is, ultimately through British consent and action.

Short-comings: While recognizing this different between the moderate and the extremist eras; we should also make a distinction between hope and the fulfillment. For one even at the height of the extremist movement in Bengal, the peasantry was not mobilized. The alienation between the educated extremist political workers and the masses was not lessened to any significant extent. In fact, the extremists did not even know how to go about the task. In practice what they

succeeded in doing was to spread the movement deeper among the lower middle classes who were already brought within the ambit of nationalism in the moderate era.

Failure: The failure of the extremists inevitably led to revolutionary terrorism. Since most of the extremist leaders had wrongly defined their differences

with the moderates (they had concentrated on 'action' and sacrifices rather than on the need to evolve a different type of politics), the young men brought upon an ideology of 'action' and sacrifice were soon disenchanted with militant agitation, demanded 'action' and took recourse to individual terrorism.

17. PARTITION OF BENGAL

They hoped to stem the rising tide of nationalism in Bengal, considered at the time to be the nerve centre of Indian nationalism.

Risely, Home Secretary to the Government of India, broke in an official note on 6 December 1904 as

Bengal united is a power. Bengal divided will pull in several different ways. One of our main objective is to split up and thereby to weaken a solid body of opponents to our rule.

The Indian National Congress and the Nationalists of Bengal firmly opposed the partition.

Within Bengal, different sections of the population - zamindars, merchants, lawyers, students, the city poor, and even women - rose up in spontaneous opposition to the partition of their province.

The nationalists saw the act of partition as a challenge to Indian nationalism and not merely an administrative measure.

They saw that it was a deliberate attempt to divide the Bengali territorial and on religious grounds - for in the Eastern part Muslims would be in a big majority and in the western part Hindus - and thus to disrupt and weaken nationalism in Bengal.

It would also be a big blow to the growth of Bengali language and culture.

They pointed out that administrative efficiency could have been better secured by separating the Hindi speaking Bihar and the Oriya-speaking Orissa from the Bengali speaking part of the province.

Moreover, the official step had been taken in utter disregard of public opinion.

Thus the vehemence of Bengal's protest against the partition is explained by the fact that it was a blow to the sentiments of very sensitive and courageous people.

The Anti-Partition Movement

- The Anti-Partition Movement was the work of the entire national leadership of Bengal and not of any one section.
- Its most prominent leaders at the initial stage were moderate leaders like Surendra Nath Banerjee and Krishna Kumar Mitra; militants and revolutionary nationalists took over in the later stages.
- In fact, both the moderate and militant nationalists co-operated with one another during the course of the movement.

- The Anti-Partition Movement was initiated on 7 August 1905. On the day a massive demonstration against partition was organised in the Town Hall in Calcutta.
- From this meeting delegates dispersed to spread the movement to the rest of the province.
- The partition took effect on 16 October 1905.
- The leaders of the protest movement declared it to be a day of national mourning throughout Bengal.
- It was observed as a day of fasting. There was a Hartal in Calcutta.
- People walked barefooted and bathed in the Ganga in the morning hours.
- Rabindranath Tagore composed the national song, 'Amar Sonar Bangla', for the occasion which was sung by huge crowds parading the streets.
- This song was adopted as its national anthem by Bangladesh in 1971 after Liberation.
- The streets of Calcutta were full of the cries of 'Bande Mataram' which overnight became the national song of Bengal and which was sung to become the theme song of the national movement.
- The ceremony of Raksha Bandhan was utilized in a new way.
- Hindus and Muslims tied the rakhi on one another's wrists as a symbol of the unbreakable unity of the Bengalis and of the two halves of Bengal.
- In the afternoon, there was a great demonstration when the veteran leader Ananda Mohan Bose laid the foundation of a Federation Hall to mark the indestructible unity of Bengal.

The Swadeshi and Boycott

- The Bengal leaders felt that more demonstrations, public meetings and revolutions were not likely to have much effect on the rulers.
- More positive action that would reveal the intensity of popular feelings and exhibit them at their best was needed.
- The answer was Swadeshi and Boycott.
- Mass meetings were held all over Bengal where Swadeshi or the use of Indian goods and the boycott of British goods were proclaimed and pledged.

- In many places public burning of foreign cloth were organised and shops selling foreign cloth were picketed. The Swadeshi Movement was an immense success.
- An important aspect of the Swadeshi Movement was the emphasis placed on self-reliance or 'Atmasakti'.
- Self-reliance meant assertion of national dignity, honour and self-confidence.
- In the economic field, it meant fostering indigenous industrial and other enterprises.
- Many textile mills, soda and match factories, handloom weaving concerns, national banks and insurance companies were opened.
- Acharya P.C. Ray Organised his famous Bengal Chemical Swadeshi Stores.
- Even the great Rabindranath Tagore helped to open a Swadeshi store.
- The Swadeshi Movement had several consequences in the realm of Culture.
- There was a flowering of nationalist poetry, prose and journalism.
- The patriotic songs written at the time by poets like Rabindranath Tagore, Rajani Kant Sen. Syed Abu Mohammed and Mukunda Das are sung in Bengal to this day.
- Another self-reliant, constructive activity undertaken at the time was that of National Education. National Educational Institutes where literary, technical or physical education was imparted were opened by nationalists who regarded the existing system of education as denationalising and, in any case, inadequate.
- On 15 August 1906, a National Council of Education was set up. A National College with Aurobindo Ghose as Principal was started in Calcutta.

Role of Students, Women, Muslims and the Masses

- A prominent part in the Swadeshi agitation was played by the students of Bengal.
- They practised and propagated Swadeshi and took the lead in organising picketing of shops selling foreign cloth.
- The government made every attempt to suppress the students.
- Orders were issued to penalise those schools and colleges whose students took an active part in the Swadeshi agitation; their grants-in-aid and other privileges were to be withdrawn, they were to be disaffiliated, their students were not to be

permitted to compete for scholarships and were to be barred from all services under the government.

- Disciplinary action was taken against students found guilty of participating in the nationalist agitation. Many of them were fined, expelled from schools and colleges, arrested and sometimes beaten by the police with lathis.
- A remarkable aspect of the Swadeshi agitation was the active participation of women in the movement.
- The traditionally home-centred women of the urban middle classes joined processions and picketing. From then on they were to take an active part in the nationalist movement.
- Many prominent Muslims joined the Swadeshi Movement including Abdul Rasul, the famous barrister, Liaquat Hussain, the popular agitator and Guznavi, the businessman.
- Maulana Abul Kalam Azad joined one of the revolutionary terrorist groups.
- Many other middle and upper class Muslims, however, remained neutral or, led by the Nawab of Dhaka (who was given a loan of Rs. 14 lakh by the Government of India), even supported Partition on the plea that East Bengal would have a Muslim majority.
- In this communal attitude, the Nawab of Dhaka and others were encouraged by the officials.
- In a speech at Dhaka, Lord Curzon declared that one of the reasons for the partition was to invest the Mohammedans in Eastern Bengal with a unity which they had not enjoyed since the days of the old Musalman Viceroy and Kings.

All-India Aspect of the Movement

- The cry to Swadeshi and Swaraj was soon taken up by other provinces of India.
- Movements in support of Bengal's unity and boycott of foreign goods were organised in Bombay, Madras and northern India.
- The leading role in spreading the Swadeshi Movement to the rest of the country was played by Tilak.
- Tilak quickly saw that with the inauguration of this movement in Bengal a new chapter in the history of Indian nationalism had opened.
- Here was a challenge and an opportunity to lead to a popular struggle against the British Raj and to unite the entire country in one bond of common sympathy.

18. HOME RULE LEAGUES

- During the First World War, the nationalist feelings grew stronger, which outburst into rise of two Home Rule Leagues in India. One was founded by Tilak at Poona and the other by Mrs. Annie Besant at Madras.
- Mrs. Annie Besant was one of the firebrand politicians of the national movement. She was one of the leaders of the Theosophical movement and had adopted India as her home and worked for its social, educational and religious regeneration. She was disillusioned with the tone of the moderates.
- Like a true patriot, she wanted to do something tangible and concrete for the political liberation of India. It was with this aim in view that she organized the Home Rule Movement.
- Annie Besant was inspired by the Irish Home Rule Movement. In the Congress session of 1915, she proposed that a similar movement should be started in India. Bal Gangadhar Tilak and other extremists supported the move whole-heartedly. They felt that under the Moderates, the Congress organization had become lifeless and that it should be made more vigorous so as to win over mass sympathy.
- Tilak and Mrs. Annie Besant decided to put a new life in the national movement of India. They started two separate Home Rule Leagues to carry on propaganda all over the country in favour of the demand for the grant of Home Rule after the First World War. Tilak set up the Home Rule League in December 1915. Its headquarters were at Poona. Annie Besant set up a similar Home Rule League in September 1916. Its headquarters were at Adyar near Madras.
- The leaders of the Home Rule Movement followed constitutional means to achieve their aim. They shunned violent and revolutionary methods because they did not like to embarrass the British Government during the war.
- Tilak's activities were confined to Bombay Presidency and the Central province while Annie Besant popularized this movement in the rest of India. The branches of the league were set up all over the country.
- Tilak made a whirlwind tour of the country in 1916 and in his speeches he said, "Swaraj is my birthright and I shall have it." He said that Home Rule was the only cure of India's political ills and the grievances of the Indians. He preached the idea of Home Rule through his two newspapers - Kesari and Maratha.
- Annie Besant also toured the country and created a lot of enthusiasm among the people for the cause of Home Rule. She carried on the propaganda in favour of it in the newspapers named New India and Commonwealth.
- The movement reached its peak in 1917. The Government got panicky at the activities of the Home Rule Movement and it thought of suppressing it with a heavy hand. The Government made use of Defence of India Act to curb the activities of the agitators. Students were prohibited from attending Home Rule meetings.
- Tilak was prosecuted for his fiery and exciting speeches and his entry in Punjab and Delhi was banned. Important leaders of the movement including Annie Besant were interned.
- Various restrictions were imposed on the press by using the Indian Press Act of 1910. But the repressive policy followed by the Government only added fuel to the fire. Strikes, agitation and protest meetings were organized throughout the country.
- The government realized the seriousness of the demonstrations that broke out in support of the Home Rule League. The Indians seemed to be prepared to pay any price to achieve the Home Rule. Therefore, to appease the nationalists, the Secretary of State for India made a declaration on August 20, 1917 announcing the British policy towards India.
- As a result, the Home Rule Movement died out gradually.

19. EMERGENCE OF GANDHI

M.K. Gandhi had not played any leading role in the Congress and was unknown to the masses before his arrival in India in 1915. But, surprisingly, he became the undisputed leader of the Congress and the leader of masses within a short span of 5 years, i.e. from 1915 to 1920. Was this phenomenon an outcome of a skilful political game on the part of Gandhi or was it due to the circumstances? A number of factors contributed to the rise of Gandhi as the undisputed leader of the Congress.

Reasons for his rise

Satyagraha: A major factor responsible for the emergence of Gandhi in Indian politics was the success of his resistance, namely Satyagraha, based on truth and non-violence in South Africa. The South African experience (1893-1914) contributed in a number of ways to the foundations of Gandhi's ideology and methods as well as to his later achievements in India. Till 1906, Gandhi was a rising lawyer-politician. He followed the 'moderate' techniques of prayers and petitions in the struggle against racial discrimination, a totally new departure began with three campaigns of Satyagraha during 1907-1908, 1908-1911 and 1913-1914. The peculiar conditions of South Africa enabled Gandhi to bring together people of different religions, communities and classes.

South African experience: This South African experience projected Gandhi as an all India figure from the beginning of his work in India more than any other politician all of whom (like Tilak, Lajpat Rai or Bipin Chandra Pal) had essentially regional bases. The South African experience made him an international celebrity. Further, the connections which many South African Indians had with their original homes in different parts of the country helped to spread the name of Gandhi throughout India. Thirteen out of the first 25 inmates of the Sabarmati Ashram (1915) came from Tamilnadu, something which would have been inconceivable then for any other Indian leader.

Disappointment from Moderates: The disillusionment of the people with the methods and failures of the Moderates was another contributory factor. The methods and techniques of the moderates did not include any technique for mass mobilization

because, in their opinion, the masses were not yet sufficiently educated and enlightened to take part in the nationalist movement. Their achievements also did not bring about any substantial relief to the masses in general and the peasants and the workers in particular. So, the masses were eagerly waiting for a leader who could lead them in a movement aimed at removing their hardships.

Inability of Extremists: Equally important was the failure of the Extremists to reach and mobilize the masses. Though the extremists made a departure in theory from the methods of the Moderates by including mass participation in their methods and techniques of political agitation, they could not put it into practice essentially because they had doubts about their ability to control the masses once they are aroused. Thus, the Extremists too, like the Moderates, did not provide leadership to the eagerly waiting masses, though they believed that mass action could be a variable weapon for achieving their aims.

Failure of Revolutionaries: The failure of the Revolutionary Terrorists to achieve their main goal of expelling the British from India through the use of force was as much responsible as the above factors for the emergence of Gandhi. The Revolutionary Terrorists did not bother to involve the masses in their activities. Even if they wanted to do so, they would not have succeeded in their goals because of the essentially peaceful nature of the Indian masses.

Personality: Above all, the personality of Gandhi and his simple and saintly habits were also responsible of his emergence in Indian politics. Gandhi had a good knowledge of the people and hence deliberately cultivated certain simple and saintly habits or what the non-disciples usually consider Gandhian Fads such as vegetarianism, nature therapy, experiments in sexual self-restraint, etc. Also, his use of simple Hindustani in preference to English and of religious texts, travelling in third class, wearing simple cloth from 1921 onwards etc., had the same impact on the minds of the common people who at once took him to their hearts. Gandhi was thus firmly rooted in the Indian traditions and it was from that fact that he drew his immense strength.

What is Satyagraha?

'Satyagraha' was based on truth and non-violence (ahimsa). Though Gandhi's 'Satyagraha' revised considerate originality and was, in fact a meticulously worked out philosophy, nevertheless was influenced by Thoreau, Emerson, and Tolstoy.

The term, Satyagraha was coined by Gandhi to express the nature of non-violent direct action of the Indians in South Africa against the racial policy of the government there. The literal meaning of Satyagraha is holding on to truth. He was anxious to distinguish Satyagraha from passive resistance (the method adopted by the Moderates). Passive resistance is an act of expediency where as Satyagraha is a moral weapon based on the superiority of soul-force or love-force over physical force. Passive resistance is the weapon of the weak, while 'Satyagraha' can be practiced only by the bravest who have the courage to die without killing. While in passive resistance the aim is to embarrass the opponent into submission, the aim of Satyagraha is to wean the opponent away from error by love and patient suffering. Passive resistance is static, while Satyagraha is dynamic. While passive resistance is a negative approach, Satyagraha is positive in content and it emphasized internal strength of character.

Techniques: There are different techniques of Satyagraha. Fasting is one technique, but it has to be applied generally against those who are bound by ties of close personal affection. Hijrat or voluntary migration is another technique of Satyagraha. Gandhi, however, made it very clear that people who adopt this technique should only aim at getting their legitimate rights and status and not be hostile to the other party. Thus, he felt that strikes and hartals could be effective weapons if they did not aim at destruction and sabotage. Gandhi would not consider scorched earth policy to be a technique of Satyagraha. He also ruled out underground activities. For him, means were as important as the end.

Satyagraha in India

In India, the first time Gandhi was obliged to resort to Satyagraha was in Champaran district in Bihar where he got the grievances of the indigo cultivators redressed in 1917. For the second time, he put the technique of Satyagraha into practice in 1918 at Ahmedabad in order to solve a dispute between the textile mill workers and the owners there. In the same year, he launched Satyagraha for the third time in the Khera district of

Gujarat in order to force the British government to meet the peasants' demand of suspension of land revenue for the famine period. All these Satyagrahas were launched to solve the local issues. But they provided him with the required experience to launch future movements at an all-India level.

The technique of Satyagraha, being based on non-violence, could easily attract the masses to participate in the nationalist movement. However, as a politician, Gandhi in practice sometimes settled for less than complete non-violence. This was evident in his campaign for military recruitment in 1918 in the hope of winning post-war political concessions. Further, his repeated insistence that even violence was preferable to cowardly surrender to injustice sometimes created delicate problems of interpretation. But historically much more significant than this personal philosophy (fully accepted only by a relatively small group of disciples) was the way in which the resultant perspective on controlled mass participation objectively fitted in with the interests and sentiments of socially-decisive sections of the Indian people. Indian politicians, before Gandhi, had tended to oscillate between moderate mendicancy and individual terrorism basically because of their inhibition about uncontrolled mass movements. The Gandhian model proved acceptable to business groups as well as to the relatively better-off or locally dominant sections of the peasantry, all of whom stood to lose something if political struggle turned into uninhibited and violent social revolution. In more general terms, the doctrine of 'ahimsa' lay at the heart of the essentially unifying role assumed by Gandhi, mediating internal social conflicts, contributing greatly to the joint national struggle against foreign rule, but also leading to periodic retreats and sometimes major reverses.

Gandhi's idea of 'non-cooperation'

To Gandhi, non-cooperation with the evil-doers; in this case the British government, was the duty of the virtuous man. It was considered by Gandhi as a mild form of agitation, and it was resorted to by him between 1921-1922 during the Non-cooperation Movement. This technique, with its programmes like the surrender of titles by the patriotic Indians conferred on them by the British, boycott of government schools and colleges by students as well as teachers, boycott of courts and other government services, boycott of foreign goods etc, had an immediate appeal to the masses who were suffering under the British rule.

Gandhi's views about 'civil disobedience'

Civil disobedience of the laws of the unjust and tyrannical government is a strong and extreme form of political agitation according to Gandhi. Also, in his opinion, this technique can be more dangerous and powerful than armed rebellion and, hence, should be adopted only as a last resort. To the masses who had been the main victims of British imperialism and whose suffering reached the extreme point in the late 1920's due to the worldwide economic crisis (1929-32), this technique of agitation with its programmes such as the breaking of the notorious Salt Laws, picketing foreign cloth and liquor shops, hartals and strikes, non-payment of taxes (restricted to only a few areas) etc., seemed to be the only way to remove their sufferings.

Gandhian socio-economic programmes

His socio-economic programmes consisted of those of Khadi, village reconstruction, Hindu-Muslim unity, Harijan welfare, etc. To begin with, his programme of Khadi and his anti-industrial theme had a real attraction of the peasants and the artisans who suffered heavily due to the process of modernization and industrialization particularly under colonial conditions. The programme of village reconstruction could immediately get him the support of rural folks who formed the overwhelming majority of Indian population. His programme of Harijan welfare, which included opening of wells, roads and temples and also some humanitarian work, aimed at improving the lot of the untouchables (called Harijans or the people of God by Gandhi), naturally endeared him to the hearts of these people. Thus, this programme indirectly helped to spread the message of nationalism down to the lowest and most oppressed sections of rural society and Harijans in many parts of the country developed a traditional loyalty towards the Congress which helped the party even after independence.

Non-cooperation Movement (1921 - 1922)

The Non-Cooperation movement was launched by the Gandhi-led Congress Party in January 1921 in order to pressurize the British to redress three of its grievances:

- Punjab wrong
- Khilafat wrong
- Denial of Swaraj

Punjab wrong: Indian leadership wanted the British to remedy the 'Punjab wrong', i.e., the British government should express its regret on the happenings in Punjab, particularly in Amritsar.

The government, determined to suppress the nationalist agitation against the Rowlatt Act of 1919 (under this Act, anyone could be arrested and imprisoned without any trial), decided to meet the popular protest with repression, particularly in Punjab. At this time was perpetrated one of the worst political crimes in modern history. An unarmed but large crowd had gathered on 13 April 1919 in the Jallianwalla Bagh (a garden) at Amritsar to protest against the arrest and deportation of two of their popular leaders, (Dr. Satya Pal and Dr. Kitchlu). General Dyer, who had been recently given charge of the town to restore law and order, had already issued a proclamation banning all meetings but it was not made public. The General now surrounded the garden and closed the only exit and opened fire on the large peaceful crowd without any provocation. This massacre of innocent people sent the whole of the Punjab into ferment. As a result, martial law was proclaimed throughout Punjab and the people were subjected to the most uncivilized atrocities such as crawling on the ground, flogging, being deprived of water and electric supplies, etc. People got a glimpse of the ugliness and brutality that lay behind the facade of civilization that imperialism and foreign rule professed.

Khilafat wrong: Indians demanded the government to remedy the 'Khilafat Wrong', i.e. the British should adopt a lenient attitude towards Turkey which stood defeated in World War I. The Indian Muslims became apprehensive of the fate of Turkey and its Sultan who was also the Khalifa or the religious head of the Muslims all over the world. The Muslims, therefore, formed a Khilafat Committee under the leadership of the Ali brothers (Maulana Mohammed Ali and Shaukat Ali), Maulana Azad, Hakim Ajmal Khan and Hasrat Mohani. Its purpose was to organize a country wide agitation if the position of the Khalifa was undermined. Britain announced its peace terms to Turkey on 15th May 1920 and decided to abolish the title of Khalifa enjoyed by the Sultan of Turkey. The Central Khilafat Committee adopted the Non-Cooperation resolution (suggested by Mahatma Gandhi) at its Bombay session on 28th May 1920. A meeting of the Hindus and Muslims was held at Allahabad on June 1st and 2nd, and an appeal was made

to the government that Britain should offer better peace terms to Turkey and should not take away the title of the Khalifa. In case the government did not agree to their demand, they would refuse to cooperate with the government. Gandhi and many other Congress leaders viewed the Khilafat agitation as a golden opportunity for bringing the Hindus and Muslims together on the national front. Therefore, the Congress decided to cooperate with the Khilafat movement and club its demand with those of the Khilafat Committee.

Swaraj issue: Indians demanded a new scheme of reforms which would take India nearer to its goal of Swaraj. However, the word Swaraj was not yet properly defined by the Congress leaders at this stage.

But the British government had refused to annul the Rowlatt Act, make amends for the atrocities in the Punjab, satisfy the nationalist urge for Swaraj, and offer more lenient terms to Turkey. So, in June, 1920 an all party conference met at Allahabad and approved a programme of boycott of schools, colleges and law courts. The Khilafat Committee launched a non-cooperation movement on 31st August, 1920.

What was the programme of Non-cooperation?

The Congress, under the leadership of Gandhi, started the Non-cooperation movement in January 1921. The movement included some negative as well as positive programmes. The negative programmes were: surrender of titles and honorary officers and resignation from nominated seats in local bodies; refusal to attend government or semi-government functions; boycott of government schools and colleges by the students and teachers; boycott of British courts by lawyers and litigants; boycott of elections for the councils as suggested by the reforms of 1919; boycott of foreign goods; refusal on the part of the military, clerical and labouring classes to offer themselves as recruits in Mesopotamia. These programmes were negative in nature as through these, Indians sought to refuse to cooperate with the British in administering and exploiting their country for the benefit of the foreign rulers.

Some positive programmes were also undertaken during the non-cooperation movement so that the Indians in general would not have to suffer unduly due to the above mentioned negative programmes and also in order to make the movement a success. They were: establishment of national schools, colleges, and private arbitration courts (known as panchayats) all over India;

popularization of Swadeshi and revival of hand spinning and hand-weaving for producing Khadi (hand-woven cloth); development of harmony between the Hindus and Muslims; removal of untouchability and other measures for Harijan welfare; emancipation and upliftment of women. The first two programmes sought to remove the hardships caused to the people by the negative programmes, while the last three ensured the participation of Muslims, Harijans and women in the Non-cooperation movement.

Phases of Non-cooperation

Four phases may be distinguished in the course of the movement, specifically responding to successive calls from the Congress. During the first phase, i.e. from January to March 1921, the main emphasis was on students leaving government, schools and colleges and lawyers giving up practice. Even the 'charkha' (the spinning wheel) programme initially had a strong intelligentsia orientation; with students and educated urban people in general being urged to take up spinning on a voluntary basis is a symbol of their identification with the rural masses and as a quick road to Swadeshi. After spectacular beginning with massive student strikes at Calcutta and Lahore and eminent lawyers like C.R. Das and Motilal Nehru giving up their practice, this exclusively intelligentsia movement soon began showing signs of decline.

The second phase (April to June 1921) started when the Vijaywada session of the All India Congress Committee (AICC) found the country not yet sufficiently disciplined, organized and ripe for civil disobedience. So, it decided to concentrate on raising Rs. one crore for the Tilak Swaraj Fund enrolling one crore Congress members and installing 20 lakh charkhas by 30th June.

The third phase covered the period from July to November 1921. In the face of mounting pressures from the masses, the Bombay AICC meeting of July adopted a somewhat more militant stance, concentrating on boycott of foreign cloth (including public bonfires) and boycott of the expected visit of the Prince of Wales in November, though full scale civil disobedience through non-payment of taxes was again postponed. At this juncture, Gandhi gave a call for flooding the prisons with volunteers, and organization of volunteer bands was given top priority. Viceroy Reading quickly grasped the significance of the new mass orientation involved in the picketing and courting of arrest by tens

of thousands. He realized that the change from Gandhi's appeal to intellectuals to appeal to ignorant masses had altered the situation but it had the advantage of bringing intellectuals and persons of property closer to the British. The Prince of Wales was treated with an extremely successful country-wide hartal on 17th November and there were violent clashes in Bombay which made Gandhi denounce the violence and postpone once again plans for civil disobedience in the selected single taluka of Bardoli.

The developments in the fourth phase (between November 1921 and February 1922) nearly brought the government to its knees. Some Khilafat leaders like Hasrat Mohani, angered by the jailing of the Ali brothers in November (for speeches at the Karachi Khilafat), were demanding complete independence and giving up of the non-violence dogma. The new government policy of large-scale arrests and ban on meetings and volunteer groups threatened to alienate the liberals while much of the country seemed to be on the brink of formidable revolt. Gandhi finally decided on the issue of infringed liberties of speech, press and association to begin from the second week of February 1922. As is well known, this campaign, together with the entire movement, was abruptly called off on 11th February, at Gandhi's insistence, following news of the immolation of 22 policemen by angry peasants at Chauri Charua in Gorakhpur district of Uttar Pradesh on 5th February, 1922.

Participation in Non-cooperation

The response of different social groups and classes to the movement was quite varied. To begin with students and teachers actively participated in the movement. Hence, the programme of educational boycott was quite effective, particularly in Bengal. All-India figures collected by the Intelligence Department revealed the impact to have been considerable in colleges, but non-existent at the primary level. A considerable number of national schools and colleges were also founded (like the Jamia Millia Islamia in Aligarh, later shifted to Delhi, the Kashi Vidyapeeth at Banaras and the Gujarat Vidyapeeth) along with 442 institutions started in Bihar and Orissa, 190 in Bengal, 189 in Bombay, and 137 in Uttar Pradesh. Many of these proved short-lived, as the pull of conventional degrees and jobs naturally reasserted itself when Swaraj failed to come in a year but quite a few survived to serve as valuable seminaries of nationalism.

For the peasants, the Gandhian programmes envisaged economic revival through self-help. Panchayats proved very popular in Bihar and Orissa while in Bengal 866 arbitration courts were set up between February 1921 and April 1922 and at their height they considerably outnumbered the government courts. The anti-liquor campaign became formidable partly because lower castes found in it an opportunity for sanskritizing and social upliftment. No definite statistics are available about the impact of the charkha drive but handloom cloth production did go up sharply between 1920 and 1923. The Khilafat agitation made Hindu-Muslim unity a powerful, though temporary fact. Progress regarding untouchability was much less marked, though Gandhi deserves all credit for bringing the issue to the forefront of national politics for the first time.

Labourers seemed to be running amuck throughout 1921 by the middle of 1920. The post war boom had succeeded by a recession particularly in the Calcutta industry, with the mill-owners trying to cut back production with a four-day week. The workers fought back, and there were a number of strikes in Bengali jute mills in 1921. Swami Vishwanand and Swami Dersananand tried to organize the coal miners of the Raniganj-Jharia belt, initially with some help from Indian mine owners fighting European hegemony. Though Gandhi himself did not include strikes, particularly political strikes, in the various programmes of the Non-cooperation movement, some regional Congress leaders did take active part in some strikes, most notably in Bengal and Madras.

The initial appeal for self-sacrifice to the upper and middle classes was hardly successful. Only 24 titles were surrendered out of 5,000 odd, and the number of lawyers giving up practice stood at 180 in March 1921. Polling was low in many places in the November 20 elections, falling to only 8% in Bombay city and 5% in Lahore, but candidates offered themselves in all but 6 out of 637 seats, and council functions could not be disrupted as planned.

A good number of merchants participated in the movement by refusing to indent foreign cloth. The value of imports of foreign cloth fell from Rs. 102 crores in 1920-21 to Rs. 57 crores in 1921-22. For importers of Lancashire cloth, nationalism in 1921 nearly coincided with short term business interests, as with the fall in the rupee sterling exchange ratio, Indian merchants were being asked to pay much more for British goods

than previously contracted for. Their support was decisive in bringing about a qualitative change in the Congress funds. The Congress had only Rs. 43,000 in its coffers in 1920 but was able to collect more than Rs. 130 lakhs between 1921 and 1923.

The big industrialists and capitalists, however, still remained hostile, and an Anti-Non-Cooperation Association was started in 1920 by Purshottamdas Thakurdas, Jamunadas Dwarkadas, Setalvad etc. While the textile was certainly helped by the national Swadeshi upsurge, fear of labour unrest was probably crucial in keeping industrialists ambivalent.

What the Non-cooperation achieved?

The Non-Cooperation movement, despite its failure to achieve any of its three major objectives, had great significance in the Indian national movement. The Indian nationalist movement, for the first time in its history, acquired a real mass base with the participation of different sections of Indian society and more notably of peasants and workers. The nationalist sentiments reached the remotest corners of the country during this movement. Besides, it transformed the Indian National Congress from a deliberative assembly to an organization for action. The movement, above all, demonstrated the willingness and ability of the people in general to endure hardships and punishments caused by the government to a remarkable degree. The movement also inspired the people for further sacrifices in the cause of national independence.

THE SWARAJIST PARTY

- When C. R. Das and the other Bengal leaders were in Alipore Central Jail, they evolved a new programme of non-cooperation with the Government through legislatures.
- Their idea was to enter the legislatures in large numbers and “carry on a policy of uniform, continuous and consistent opposition to the Government.” Motilal Nehru also shared the views of C.R. Das. In July 1922, C.R. Das came out of jail and began to carry on propaganda in favour of Council- entry.
- When a meeting of the All-India Congress Committee was held at Calcutta in November 1922, there were differences of opinion among the Congress leaders on the question of Council-entry. While C. R. Das, Motilal Nehru and Hakim Ajmal Khan were in favour of it, C.

Rajagopalachari, Dr. Ansari, etc., were opposed to it.

- In spite of lengthy debates, no decision was arrived at. At the annual session of the Congress held at Gaya in December 1922, the “No-changers” won a victory and the programme of Council-entry was rejected. C.R. Das who presided over the session resigned from the Congress and announced his decision to form the Swarajist Party.
- The Object of the new party was to wreck the Government of India Act, 1919 from within the Councils. In March 1923, the first Conference of the Swarajist Party was held at the residence of Motilal Nehru at Allahabad and the future programme of the Party was decided. The keynote of the programme of the Party was obstructionism.
- Its members were to contest elections on the issue of the redress of the wrongs done by the British bureaucracy, to oppose every measure of the Government and to throw-out all legislative enactments proposed by the British Government. The view of the Swarajists was that the seats in the legislatures must be captured so that they did not fall into the hands of undesirable persons who were tools in the hands of the bureaucracy in India.
- Leaders of the Swarajist Party declared that outside the Councils, they would co-operate with the constructive programme of the Congress under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi and in case their methods failed, they would, without any hesitation, join Mahatma Gandhi’s Civil Disobedience Movement, if and when launched by him.
- The Swarajist Party fought the elections in 1923 and refused to come to any understanding with the Liberal Federation. The Swarajist Party won a majority in the Legislative Council of the Central Provinces.
- It was the dominant Party in Bengal. It also won good support in U.P. and Bombay. However, the Swarajist party was at its best in the Central Assembly under the leadership of Motilal Nehru. By winning over the support of the Nationalist Party and a few other members, the Swarajist Party was able to command a working majority and was thus able to accomplish a lot.
- On 18th February, 1924, the Swarajist Party was able to get a resolution passed by which the

Government was requested to establish full responsible Government in India. A demand was also made that a Round Table Conference consisting of the representatives of India should be called at an early date to frame a Constitution for India.

- The appointment of the Muddiman Committee was the result of a resolution of the Swarajist Party. Motilal Nehru was requested to become a member of this Committee but he refused. Some of the demands in the budget of 1924-25 were rejected by the Central Assembly as a result of the efforts of the Swarajist Party.
- The Assembly also refused to allow the Government to introduce the entire Finance Bill. In February 1925, V.J.Patel introduced a Bill asking for the repeal of certain laws and with the

exception of one, the Bill was passed. A resolution was passed with the help of the Swarajist Party demanding the release of certain political prisoners.

- The Swarajists resorted to walkouts as a mark of protest against the policy of the Government. They boycotted all receptions, parties or functions organized by the Government. What was done in the Central Assembly was also done in those provincial legislatures where the Swarajists had some influence.
- For the first time, the Legislative Assembly wore the appearance of a truly National Assembly where national grievances were fully voiced, national aims and aspirations expressed without any reservation and real character of the British rule exposed. The British autocracy and Indian bureaucracy stood exposed to the whole world.

20. MILITANT REVOLUTIONARY TERRORISM

The rise and growth of revolutionary terrorism in India from the beginning of the 20th century was due to several factors. The youth, particularly those of Bengal, Punjab and Maharashtra, were increasingly getting frustrated with the moderate methods and techniques of political struggle such as petitions, meetings, resolutions, speeches, etc. The youth were also gradually losing faith in the extremists' methods of passive resistance (i.e. to refuse to cooperate with the government and to boycott government service, court, government schools and colleges) to achieve nationalist aims. This feeling was further strengthened by the failure of the Swadeshi and Anti-partition Movement. Besides, there was growing hatred among the Indian youth for foreign rule due to the racial superiority and arrogant behaviour of the British. This hatred was also due to cruel measures adopted by the British to suppress the national movement.

Secret Societies

Several secret societies were set up especially in Bengal and Maharashtra. In Bengal, the first revolutionary secret societies started around 1902 - the Anushilan Samiti of Calcutta founded by Barindra Kumar Ghosh and Jatindranath Banerji (Aurobindo's emissaries) and Promotha Mitter, and the Anushilan Samiti of Dacca founded by Pulin Das. In Maharashtra, the first secret society, viz., Mitra Mela, was founded by the Savarkar brothers in 1889. Later, when V.D. Savarkar went abroad, his elder brother Ganesh Savarkar started it in 1907 the 'Abhinava Bharat' which soon had many branches all over western India. Secret societies were also established in Bihar, Orissa, Punjab and other regions of India as well. A few of them succeeded in keeping mutual contact among them but most of them worked as isolated groups of leaders.

It was only in the 1920's that revolutionary militant groups came at forefront. The 'Hindustan Socialist Republican Association' even established centres of revolutionary activity abroad. In London, the lead was taken by Shayamji Krishnavarma and V.D. Savarkar, in Europe by Madam Cama and Ajit Singh, while in the U.S.A and Canada Sohan Singh Bhakna and Har Dayal were the prominent leaders, While the Indian revolutionaries in Britain and Europe were no

more than fairly isolated emigre groups, those in the U.S.A and Canada acquired mass base. These people, under the leadership of Sohan Singh Bhakna and Har Dayal, had established the 'Ghadar' (revolution) party in 1913. While most of its members were Sikh peasants, workers, petty traders, soldiers, etc., their leaders were mostly educated Hindus or Muslims. The party had active members in other countries such as Mexico, Japan, China, Philippines, Malaya, Singapore, Thailand, Indo-China and East and South Africa.

How did they spread their ideas?

The revolutionary terrorists, both in India and abroad, published a number of newspapers, journals and pamphlets in order to propagate revolutionary ideas. Newspapers like 'Sandhya' and 'Yugantar' in Bengal and 'Kal' in Maharashtra began to advocate revolutionary terrorism. A good number of Journals were also brought out by Indian revolutionaries abroad. Some of these journals were - 'Indian Sociologist' by Shyamji Krishna Varma from London, 'Bande Mataram' by Madam Cama from Paris, 'Talvar' by Virendranath Chattopadhyay from San Francisco, etc. The most important pamphlets brought out by revolutionaries were the 'Bhawani Mandir' (by Aurobindo Ghose in 1905) and 'Oh! Martyrs' by the London group in 1907.

Assassination of unpopular officials

A beginning in the direction of assassination of oppressive and unpopular officials had been made in 1897 when the Chapekar brothers, Damodar and Balakrishna, assassinated two unpopular British officials at Poona. Again in 1907, an unsuccessful attempt was made on the life of the unpopular Lt. Governor of East Bengal, Mr. Fuller, by some members of the Anushilan Samiti of Calcutta. In 1908 Khudiram Bose and Prafulla Chaki threw a bomb at a carriage which was believed to be occupied by Kingsford, the unpopular Judge of Muzzaffarpur. The revolutionary terrorists became so bold that two of them, Rash Behari Bose and Sachindranath Sanyal, threw a bomb at the Viceroy Lord Hardinge while he was riding on an elephant in a state procession in Delhi in 1912. The Viceroy was wounded but not killed. Another dramatic manifestation of revolutionary terrorist activity was the

assassination of the British police officer, Saunders, by Bhagat Singh, Azad and Rajguru in 1928. The police officer had earlier ordered lathi-charge on a demonstration (against the appointment of the Simon Commission) led by Lala Lajpat Rai, and this 'Sher-e-Punjab' incurred a fatal injury to which he succumbed later.

Conspiracies hatched

The revolutionary terrorists also tried to organize military conspiracies with the help of Indian soldiers in the British army and also that of the foreign countries hostile to Britain. For revolutionaries striving for immediate complete independence, the First World War seemed a heaven-sent opportunity, draining India of troops (the number of white soldiers was reduced to just 15,000) and bringing the possibility of financial and military help from the enemies of Britain, mainly Germany and Turkey. Britain's war with Turkey brought about close cooperation between Hindu nationalists and militant

Muslim pan-Islamists. As a result of this cooperation, important Muslim revolutionary leaders emerged like - Barkatullah in the Ghadar Party and; Muhammad Husan and Obaidulla Sindhi in Deobandh.

On Indian Soil: In Bengal, most of the revolutionary groups united under Jatin Mukherji popularly known as 'Bagha Jatin'. These groups planned the disruption of rail communications, seizure of Fort William in Calcutta (contacts had been made with the 16th Rajput Rifles stationed there) and landing of German arms (for arranging this, Naren Bhattacharji, later known as M.N. Roy, was sent to Java). The grandiose plans were, however, ruined by poor coordination and Jatin died a hero's death near Balasore on the Orissa coast where he had been tracked down by the police through the help of local villagers. The Bengal plans were part of a far-flung conspiracy organized by Rash Behari Bose and Sachindranth Sanyal in cooperation with the returned Ghadarites in Punjab. But many of the Punjabis who returned after 1914 were quickly rounded up by the British and the plan for a coordinated revolt on 21st February 1915, based on mutinies by Ferozpur, Lahore and Rawalpindi garrisons was foiled at the last moment by treachery. Rash Behari Bose had to flee to Japan and Sanyal was transported for having tried to subvert the garrisons of Banaras and Danapore. Though the plan for an all India revolt misfired badly, its organizers, and particularly

the Ghadarites, were still pioneers in taking revolutionary ideas to the army and the peasants. There were some scattered mutinies, most notable of them are - at Singapore, by the Indian sepoy of the British army on 15th February 1915, of the Punjab Muslim 5th Light Infantry and the 36th Sikh Battalion.

On Foreign Land: Efforts to send help to revolutionaries form abroad were centered during the war years in Berlin where the Indian Independence Committee was set up in 1915 under Virendranath Chattopadyay, Bhupen Dutta, Hardayal and some others in collaboration with the German foreign office under the so-called Zimmerman Plan. An Indo-German-Turkish mission tried to stir up anti-British feelings among tribes near the Indo-Iranian border and in December 1915, Mahendra Pratap, Barkatullah and Abaidulla Sindhi set up a 'Provisional Government of Free India' at Kabul with some backing from crown prince Amanullah but not from the Amir, Habibulla. Funds were channeled through German embassies in the far East and from Japan. Rash Behari Bose and Abani Mukherji made several efforts to send arms after 1915.

Dacoities and Robberies

Revolutionaries organized a number of raids on government armouries, banks and police stations to raise funds, arms and ammunition. According to official record, between 1907 and 1917, the number of dacoities that were conducted in different parts of India was 1121. The Chittagong groups of revolutionaries headed by Surya Sen brought off the most spectacular coup in the entire history of militant nationalism in April 1930 by seizing the local armoury and issuing an independence proclamation in the name of the 'Indian Republic Army'. The Chittagong raid proved to be the curtain raiser for an extremely intense wave of terrorism in Bengal with no less than 56 incidents reported in 1930 (as against just 47 for the entire decade 1919-29). Among them, the most spectacular raid was the one on the Government headquarters in Writer's Building in Calcutta in December 1930. In Punjab also, where the Hindustan Socialist Republic Association had become very active, 26 incidents of robberies were reported in 1930.

Simon Commission

- The Indian Statutory Commission was a group of seven British Members of Parliament that had been dispatched to India in 1927 to study

constitutional reforms there. It was commonly referred to as the Simon Commission after its Chairman.

Background

- The Government of India Act 1919 had introduced the system of dyarchy to govern the provinces of British India. However, the Indian public clamoured for revision of the difficult dyarchy form of government, and the Government of India Act 1919 itself stated that a commission would be appointed after 10 years to investigate the progress of the governance scheme and suggest new steps for reform.
- In the late 1920s, the Conservative government, then in power in Britain, feared imminent electoral defeat at the hands of the Labour Party, and also feared the effects of the consequent transference of control of India to such an “inexperienced” body.
- Hence, in November of 1927, Prime Minister Stanley Baldwin appointed seven MPs (including Chairman Simon) to constitute the commission that had been promised in 1919 that would look into the state of Indian constitutional affairs.
- The people of the Indian subcontinent were outraged and insulted, as the Simon Commission, which was to determine the future of India, did not include a single Indian member.
- The Indian National Congress, at its December 1927 meeting in Chennai, resolved to boycott the Commission and accepted the challenge of Lord Birkenhead, the Secretary of State for India, to draft a constitution that would be acceptable to the Indian populace. A faction of the Muslim League, led by Muhammad Ali Jinnah, also decided to boycott the Commission.
- In Burma (Myanmar), which was included in the terms of reference of the Simon Commission, there was strong suspicion either that Burma's unpopular union with India would continue, or that the constitution recommended for Burma by the Simon Commission would be less generous than that chosen for India; these suspicions resulted in tension and violence in Burma leading to the rebellion of Saya San.

Death of Lajpat Rai

- Almost immediately with its arrival in Mumbai on February 3, 1928, the Simon Commission was

confronted by throngs of protestors. The entire country observed a hartal (strike), and many people turned out to greet the Commission with black flags. Similar protests occurred in every major Indian city that the seven British MPs visited. However, one protest against the Simon Commission would gain infamy above all the others.

- On October 30, 1928, the Simon Commission arrived in Lahore where, as with the rest of the country, its arrival was met with massive amounts of protestors. The Lahore protest was led by Indian nationalist Lala Lajpat Rai, who had moved a resolution against the Commission in the Central Legislative Assembly of Punjab in February 1928.
- In order to make way for the Commission, the local police force began beating protestors with their lathis (sticks). The police were particularly brutal towards Lala Lajpat Rai, who later that day declared, ‘The blows which fell on me today are the last nails in the coffin of British imperialism.’ On November 17, Lajpat Rai died of his injuries.

Report of the Commission

- The Commission published its 17-volume report in 1930. It proposed the abolition of dyarchy and the establishment of representative government in the provinces. It also recommended that separate communal electorates be retained, but only until tensions between Hindus and Muslims had died down.
- Noting that educated Indians opposed the Commission and also that communal tensions had increased instead of decreasing, the British government opted for another method of dealing with the constitutional issues of India.
- Before the publication of the report, the British government stated that Indian opinion would henceforth be taken into account, and that the natural outcome of the constitutional process would be dominion status for India. The outcome of the Simon Commission was the Government of India Act 1935, which established representative government at the provincial level in India and is the basis of many parts of the Indian Constitution.

NEHRU REPORT

- The “Nehru Report” (1928) was a memorandum outlining a proposed new Dominion constitution

for India. It was prepared by a committee of the All Parties Conference chaired by Motilal Nehru with his son Jawaharlal acting as secretary. There were nine other members in this committee, including two Muslims.

- The Constitution outlined by the Nehru report was for India enjoying dominion status within the British Commonwealth. Some of the important elements of the report were:

- (i) Unlike the eventual Government of India Act 1935, it contained a Bill of Rights;
- (ii) All power of government and all authority - legislative, executive and judicial - were to be derived from the people and the same would be exercised through organizations established by, or under, and in accordance with, the Constitution ;
- (iii) There would be no state religion; men and women would have equal rights as citizens;
- (iv) There was to be federal form of government with residuary powers vested in the centre. (Some scholars, such as Moore in 'The Making of India's Paper Federation, 1927-35" in 1988, considered the Nehru Report proposal as essentially unitary rather than federal.);
- (v) It included a description of the machinery of government, including a proposal for the creation of a Supreme Court and a suggestion that the provinces should be linguistically determined;
- (vi) It did not provide for separate electorates for any community or for weightage for minorities. Both of these were liberally provided in the eventual Government of India Act, 1935. However, it did allow for the reservation of Muslim seats in provinces having a Muslim minority of at least ten per

cent, but this was to be in strict proportion to the size of the community;

- (vii) The language of the British Commonwealth would be Hindustani, which might be written either in Devnagari or in Urdu character. The use of the English language would be permitted.

- The Nehru Report, along with that of the Simon Commission was available to participants in the three Indian Round Table Conferences 1931-1933. However, the Government of India Act 1935 owes much to the Simon Commission report and little, if anything, to the Nehru Report. Historical significance of the Jinnah Report.

JINNAH'S FOURTEEN POINTS

- With few exceptions, Muslim leaders rejected the Nehru proposals. In reaction, Mohammad AN Jinnah drafted his Fourteen Points in 1929 which became the core demands of the Muslim community put forward as the price of their participating in an independent united India. Their main objections were:
- Separate Electorates and Weightage - the 1916 Congress-Muslim League agreement - the Lucknow Pact, provided these to the Muslim community whereas they were rejected by the Nehru Report;
- Residuary Powers - the Muslims realized that while they would be a majority in the provinces of the North-East and North-West of India, and hence would control their provincial legislatures, they would always be a minority at the Centre. Thus they demanded, contrary to the Nehru Report, that residuary powers go to the provinces.
- The inability of Congress to concede these points must be considered a major factor in the eventual partition of India.

21. CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE MOVEMENT (1930 -34)

The Lahore Session was followed by a two-month lull, while the country and the government waited of Gandhi to decide on the precise methods of Non-violent struggle for 'Poorna Swaraj'. Independence pledges were taken at innumerable meetings throughout the country on 26th January denouncing the British for having ruined India economically, politically, culturally, and spiritually. In the pledges, it was asserted that it was a crime against man and God to submit any longer to such a rule. The Congress legislators were ordered to resign on 6th January 1930.

Gandhi issued an eleven-point ultimatum to Lord Irwin on 31st January, 1930. Further serious appeals were made for Civil disobedience, including non-payment of taxes. The choice of salt as the main issue also appeared somewhat eccentric at first, and Nehru later recalled his initial sense of bewilderment. Though the eleven points seemed a kind of retreat, they at least concretized the national demand and related it to specific grievances.

Demands

The eleven points included redressal of two peasants grievances, three specific bourgeois demands and six issues of general interest. The peasants' demands were:

- 50 per cent reduction in land revenue and;
- abolition of the salt tax and government salt monopoly.

The three specific bourgeois demands were:

- lowering of the Rupee-Sterling exchange ratio,
- textile protection and;
- reservation of coastal shipping for Indians.

The six issues of general interest were:

- 50 per cent cut in military expenditure,
- 50 per cent reduction in expenditure on civil administration (civil service salaries),
- total prohibition of Intoxicants,
- release of all political prisoners,
- reforms in the Central intelligence Department (C.I.D.) and;
- changes in the Arms Act enabling citizens to bear arms for self-defence.

What is Dandi March?

The Civil Disobedience Movement was started by Gandhi with his Dandi March (12th March to 6th April 1930). The Dandi March, from the Sabarmati Ashram to Dandi (a village on the Gujarat sea-coast) with 71 Ashram members drawn from all parts of India, attracted enormous publicity and attention from the entire country and even abroad. Gandhi declared on 11th March 1930 that wholesale illegal manufacture and auctioning of salt should begin after he had himself violated the law at Dandi; it could be accompanied by boycott of foreign cloth and liquor after his own arrest and everyone would have a free hand, subject to the pledge of non-violence and truth, though local leaders should be obeyed.

Stages of Civil Disobedience

The three different stages of the civil Disobedience movement witnessed varying role of different social groups and classes.

First stage (March to September 1930): It saw the high point of bourgeois participation in towns and controlled peasant mobilization in the villages on issues selected by Gandhi such as salt, non-payment of revenue, picketing of liquor shops, and non-payments of Chaukidari tax. Among industrialists, G.D. Birla donated approximately 5 lakh rupees to the movement according to British Intelligence estimates. His letters reveal him as actively trying to persuade the Calcutta Marwari foreign piece-goods importers to establish trade contacts instead with Ahmedabad and Bombay cotton mills. While Jammalal Bajaj was unique among capitalists in being a full time Congress activist (he served as AICC treasurer for many years and went to jail in 1930), Walchand Hirachand urged fellow-businessmen in a letter to the FICCI in April 1930 to give up the policy of sitting on the fence and throw in their lot with those that were fighting for Swaraj. In May 1930, FICCI also decided to boycott the Round Table Conference as long as Gandhi stayed away from it and till the Viceroy made a definite promise regarding dominion status.

During the period 1921-22, the merchants and petty traders were, on the whole, much more enthusiastic supporters of the national movement than

industrialists and capitalists. Collective pledges by merchants not to indent foreign goods became very common in Bombay, Amritsar, Delhi and Calcutta and represented a more effective form of boycott than the spectacular picketing by (often women) volunteers. The overall impact was a remarkable fall in British cloth imports. Other British imports also suffered and, from May to August 1930, the British Trade Commissioner's office was flooded with panic-stricken reports and complaints from 'white' firms.

In the countryside, the initial Gandhian Civil Disobedience movement took place in areas which had already witnessed some amount of Gandhian rural constructive work through local ashrams. Salt provided the initial vital catalyst, but illegal manufacture became difficult with the onset of the monsoon. Naturally, salt became the basis for a sustained campaign only in the coastal parts of Bombay presidency, Balasore in Orissa and Midnapur in Bengal. Picketing of liquor shops and of excise license auctions became an important element of Civil Disobedience movement both in small towns and villages. On the other hand, the peasants in many areas firmly refused to pay the chaukidari tax despite enormous physical correction and sale of property. Rural taluka of Khera district and Bardoli of Surat became centres of very successful no-revenue campaign with peasants taking refuge in the neighbouring Baroda state in a 'Hijrat' (voluntary migration) which, at its height on October 1930, involved over 15,000 peasants in Khera. In the Central Provinces, Maharashtra and Karnataka, the Congress leadership tried to utilize in a controlled manner the potentially explosive issue of poor peasants and tribal grievances regarding forest laws. Setting up training camps for 'forest satyagrahis' and carefully selecting satyagraha centres.

Second stage (October 1930 to March 1931):

From the beginning of this stage, there was an evident decline in enthusiasm and support from urban merchants with dealers breaking Congress-imposed seals on foreign cloth at a number of places. The gains from Swadeshi demand were counter-balanced by frequent hartals which dislocated trade and industry. The alarm-signals from business groups calling for compromise, as well as the ultimate nationalist response to them, were more probably connected with developments in the countryside.

In the rural areas, the more purely Gandhian forms based on the relatively propertied peasants were losing some of their earlier potency in the face of ruthless

British suppression. At the same time, there were signs of a 'second wave', taking less manageable and socially dangerous forms, like no-rent or tribal rebellion. (No-rent campaigns were different from No revenue campaigns, since the former were aimed at the local zamindars and landlords, whereas the latter were aimed at the Government). In scattered incidents throughout the country, the peasants were resisting the arrests of their leaders and the seizure of their property, mobilizing neighbouring villages through the blowing of conch-shells and surrounding and attacking police parties.

In August 1930 itself, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and Mr. Jayakar attempted to bring about compromise between the Congress and the government but failed because the government insisted on the withdrawal of the movement first. Meanwhile, the report of the Simon Commission had been submitted. The British government decided to call the first Round Table Conference to deliberate and discuss future constitutional reforms with the Indian leaders. The Conference started its deliberations on 12th November 1930. But the Congress did not participate in it. Realizing the futility of talks in the absence of the representatives of the Congress, the Conference was adjourned 'sine die' on 19th January 1931.

The government now realized the necessity of coming to terms with the Congress. He released the members of the Working Committee of the Congress, including Gandhi on 26th January 1931. Efforts for a compromise between the Congress and the government were revived by Tej Bahadur Sapru, Dr. Jayakar, etc. The efforts proved successful this time and the Gandhi-Irwin Pact was signed in March 1931. By it, the government agreed to:

- (a) Withdraw all ordinances and end prosecutions.
- (b) Release all political prisoners, except those guilty of violence.
- (c) Restore the confiscated property of the Satyagraha.
- (d) Permit peaceful picketing of liquor, opium and foreign cloth shops and;
- (e) Permit the collection or manufacture of salt, free of duty, to persons residing within a specific distance of the seashore.

The Congress, on its part agreed to:

- (a) suspend the Civil Disobedience movement.
- (b) participate in the second Round Table Conference, and
- (c) not to press for investigation into police excesses.

The Congress ratified it in its session held at Karachi in March 1931 due to the persuasion of Gandhi. Gandhi was deputed to attend the second Round Table Conference as the sole representative of the Congress. The spirit of the pact was already marred by the execution of Bhagat Singh and his comrades on the eve of the Karachi Session of the Congress. Certain other changes also took place between the signing of the Pact and the holding of second Round Table Conference. Lord Irwin was replaced by Lord Wellington as the Viceroy of India. Lord Wellington was staunch conservative and revived the repressive policy of the government soon after his arrival in India. In England, while the Conference was still in session, general elections took place and the Conservative government was in no mood to grant any concession to India. Gandhi returned to India in December 1931 as a dejected person and found that the government had already revived its policy of repression. He therefore, decided to revive the Civil Disobedience movement and the Congress Working Committee approved it.

Third stage (January 1932 to April 1934): The third phase of the movement was officially withdrawn by the Congress in April 1934 though, unofficially, the Congress admitted defeat in the 1933 itself. Outmaneuvered and facing repressive measures on an unprecedented scale, the national movement under the Congress still fought on valiantly for about a year and a half. The movement, during this phase comprised a wide range of activities almost totally suppressed. The forms of defiance included picketing the cloth and liquor shops, closing of markets and boycott of 'white' or loyalist business concerns, symbolic hoisting of Congress flags, holding in public of 'illegal' Congress sessions, salt satyagrahas, non-payment of chaukidari taxes, no-rent as well as no-revenue, forest law violations, etc.

But by the second half of 1932 itself, the Civil Disobedience movement was evidently losing ground. It is true that the decline in peasants' participation, evident for instance in Gujarat, Andhra Pradesh and

U.P., was clearly a submission to overwhelmingly superior force rather than any loss of faith in the Congress. The halo of sacrifice and martyrdom, won by the latter during 1930-34, helped decisively in the winning elections from 1934 onwards. But we should not forget that voting was not the same as agitating. The days of the classic satyagrahas had passed and, though the propertied peasants would go on voting Congress, they were no longer ready to sacrifice their land, now that Gandhi had failed to get it restored for them in 1931. In some areas, most notably Gujarat, they would also become more prosperous after Depression was succeeded by a war boon and correspondingly less militant.

How Civil Disobedience collapsed?

As the mass movement declined, political 'realism' and certain sectional economic calculations pushed some business groups towards collaboration much as signing agreements, giving preferential treatment and lower import duty rates to British textile imports and other British commodities. Yet strong objective compulsions, both economic and political, existed to prevent anything like total sell-out or unqualified collaboration by Indian business groups. British insistence on retaining the existing exchange ratio remained a permanent grievance. Above all, collaboration was made difficult by the fact that the years 1932-34 were marked by a full-scale counter-offensive by British business interests. With Lancashire in particular closely aligning itself with the ultra-Tory opposition led by Churchill to any constitutional concession going beyond the Simon Commission's framework.

The ultimate result of the opposite pressures towards collaboration and conflict was an important re-alignment of business attitudes in support of a change in Congress policy away from mass agitation and towards Assembly and eventually ministerial participation. This realignment enabled Indian capitalists to overcome the fairly sharp split between near loyalists and nationalists within their own ranks which had become quite marked during the early 1930's. It also fitted in with developments in the Congress leaderships as it came to terms gradually with the evident decline of Civil Disobedience in the face of overwhelming repression.

Significance of Civil Disobedience

The Civil Disobedience Movement of 1930-34 was an advance over the Non-cooperation Movement of 1921-22 in quite a few respects.

- First of all, the stated objective of the movement of 1930-34 was the achievement of complete independence and not just the remedying of two specific 'wrongs' plus a very vague Swaraj.
- Secondly, in sharp contrast to what had happened after Chauri Chaura incident, Gandhi, during 1930-34, pushed ahead with the non-violent main stream despite sporadic incidents which were realistically recognized now as more or less inevitable.
- Thirdly, the methods adopted during the 1930-34 movement, from the beginning, involved deliberate violation of law and not mere Non-cooperation with foreign rule.
- Fourthly, participation in this movement involved much greater risk than in 1921-22, for, a frightened government from May 1930 onwards adopted a policy of senseless brutality even towards absolutely peaceful Satyagrahis, Apart from life and limb, the meagre property of the poor was very much at stake, for non-payment of land revenue or chaukidari tax was met by wholesale confiscation of household goods, implements and even land.
- Fifthly, large scale participation of women and teenagers was another significant feature of the civil disobedience movement. The Civil Disobedience movement, in fact, marked a major step forward in the emancipation of Indian women.
- Sixthly, the movement of 1930-34 obtained a better response from business groups and large sections of the peasantry than the movement of 1921-22.
- And finally, organizationally the Congress was now much stronger in most parts of the country than in 1921-22 when it had just taken the first step on the road towards becoming a mass party.

Yet it would be a considerable oversimplification to present the Civil Disobedience Movement as an unqualified advance in every respect over the Non-cooperation Movement. To begin with, the stirring Hindu-Muslim unity of 1919-22 was obviously a thing of the past in 1930s. For, between the two movements

stood not only the breakdown of the Nehru Report negotiations but a decade of intense communal organization and fratricidal strife. Outside the North West Frontier Province and a few isolated pockets like Delhi, Muslim participation remained low throughout the civil disobedience years. Further, unlike the Non-cooperation Movement, the Civil Disobedience Movement did not coincide with any major labour upsurge. Another difference between the two movements was that under the influence of the Civil Disobedience Movement, there was an evident decline in the older and more purely intelligentsia forms of protest like lawyers giving up their practice and students and teachers leaving official institutions to start national schools and colleges.

COMMUNAL AWARD

- After the failure of the Second Round Table conference, Ramsay MacDonald announced the 'Communal Award' on August 16, 1932. According to the Award, the right of separate electorate was not only given to the Muslims of India but also to all the minority communities in the country.
- The Award also declared untouchables as a minority and thus the Hindu depressed classes were given a number of special seats, to be filled from special depressed class electorates in the area where their voters were concentrated.
- Under the Communal Award, the principle of weightage was also maintained with some modifications in the Muslim minority provinces. Principle of weightage was also applied for Europeans in Bengal and Assam, Sikhs in the Punjab and North West Frontier Province, and Hindus in Sindh and North West Frontier Province.
- Though the Muslims constituted almost 56 per cent of the total population of Punjab, they were given 86 out of 175 seats in the Punjab Assembly. The Muslim majority of 54.8 per cent in Punjab was thus reduced to a minority. The formula favoured the Sikhs of Punjab and the Europeans of Bengal the most.
- The Award was not popular with any Indian party. Muslims were not happy with the Communal Award, as it has reduced their majority in Punjab and Bengal to a minority. Yet they were prepared to accept it.

- On the other hand, the Hindus refused to accept the awards and decided to launch a campaign against it. For them it was not possible to accept the 'untouchables' as a minority. They organized the Allahabad Unity Conference in which they demanded for the replacement of separate electorates by joint electorates. Many nationalist Muslims and Sikhs also participated in the conference.
- The Congress also rejected the Award in toto. Gandhi protested against the declaration of untouchables as a minority and undertook a fast unto death. He also held meetings with the untouchable leadership for the first time and try to convince them that they were very much part of the mainstream Hindu society.
- He managed to sign the Poona Pact with Dr. B. R. Ambedker, the leader of untouchables, in which the Congress met many of the untouchables' demands.

POONA PACT

- Poona Pact (1932) is the popular name of an agreement between the Untouchables (called Depressed Classes) of India led by Dr. B. R. Ambedkar and the Hindus of India, that took place on 24 September 1932 at Yerawada Jail in Pune.
- The text uses the term "Depressed Classes" to denote Untouchables who were later called Scheduled Castes under the Government of India Act 1935, and the later Indian Constitution of 1950. The Untouchables are now popularly known as Dalits.

Major highlights of the Pact are as follows:

1. There shall be seats reserved for the Depressed Classes out of general electorate seats in the provincial legislatures as follows: - Madras 30; Bombay with Sindh 25; Punjab 8; Bihar and Orissa 18; Central Provinces 20; Assam 7; Bengal 30; United Provinces 20. Total 148. These figures are based on the Prime Minister's (British) decision;
2. Election to these seats shall be by joint electorates subject;
3. The representation of the Depressed Classes in the Central Legislature shall likewise be on the principle of joint electorates and reserved seats

by the method of primary election in the manner provided for in clause above for their representation in the provincial legislatures;

4. In the Central Legislature, 18 per cent of the seats allotted to the general electorate for British India in the said legislature shall be reserved for the Depressed Classes; and
5. In every province, out of the educational grant, an adequate sum shall be ear-marked for providing educational facilities to the members of Depressed Classes.

GANDHIJI'S EPIC FAST

- In September 1932, Gandhiji declared a fast unto death, to undo the provisions of the Communal Award of Ramsay McDonald, the then British Prime Minister, providing for the scheme of separate representation for the depressed classes, since that would cut across Hinduism.
- In May, 1933 Gandhiji undertook another fast not against the Government but "for purification of myself and my associates and for greater vigilance and watchfulness in connection with the Harijan cause."
- The President of the Congress, in consultation with Gandhiji, announced the suspension of the Civil Disobedience movement for 6 weeks. The Government continued its course of repression. Gandhiji, who was later released, decided to devote his time to Harijan work.
- The struggle was finally suspended by the All India Congress Committee who were allowed to meet at Patna and decided to call off the Civil Disobedience unconditionally, except for the provision that Gandhiji alone, when he thought it necessary, could offer Civil Disobedience.
- Gandhiji decided to start an individual Civil Disobedience movement, as from 1 August 1933, but he was arrested the previous night. He was released after a couple of days but was ordered to reside at Poona.
- Gandhi disobeyed this order, was re-arrested and sentenced to one year's imprisonment. There upon hundreds of Congressmen followed Gandhiji to prison. This movement continued till the early part of April, 1934.

- Throughout this period, the government continued to pursue a policy of severe repression which included imprisonment, police firing, beating in lock-up, shooting of detainees, atrocity on women, blockading of villages, and even looting and pillage.
- During the Civil Disobedience movement of 1930-31, more than 60,000 persons were imprisoned and during the Second Civil obedience movement of 1932-34 the number of persons who courted arrest were, about 66,000.
- The programme or the boycott of British goods which was part of the movements led to a substantial fall in the import of British goods into India. Further, the Civil Disobedience Movement roused the Indian people in general, including villagers and women folk. Women rarely came out of the seclusion of their homes in order to take part in the struggle for freedom.
- This not only gave an impetus to the freedom movement, but also helped in bringing out another social revolution: the emancipation of women.
- When the Civil Disobedience movement came to an end in April, 1934, Gandhiji appealed to Congressmen to devote themselves to nation-building activities: promotion of Hindu-Muslim unity, removal of untouchability, and spread of hand-spinning.

GANDHI-IRWIN PACT AND FIRST ROUND TABLE CONFERENCE (Nov. 1930-Jan. 1931)

- While the Civil Disobedience Movement continued vigorously in spite of untold repression, efforts were made for a compromise and after several attempts of Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and Mr. M.R. Jayakar, an agreement was reached after 15 days' strenuous discussions between the Viceroy and Mahatma Gandhi.
- This agreement, better known as the Gandhi-Irwin Pact, was signed on 5 March, 1931. Under the agreement, the Government was to make concession take steps for the participation of the representatives of Congress in the Second Round Table Conference, and the Congress on its part, had to withdraw the Civil Disobedience Movement.

- Meanwhile, a Round Table Conference had met in London early 1931. The intention seemed to have been, to set off the stage, before the world of "representative gathering" of Indians trying for an agreed plan for the future government of their country.
- It was not Indians, but the Viceroy and his officials who chose these representatives. What they actually did was to carefully assemble all the diverse elements, every creed, every party, every racial minority, every interest in this subcontinent.
- The spirit in which the Gandhi-Irwin Pact was signed did not last long. In spite of protests from all quarters, the Government carried out the execution of Sardar Bhagat Singh, Sukh Dev and Raj Guru on 23rd March 1931. On 18 April 1931, Lord Irwin was succeeded by Lord Willington. The new Viceroy had no intention to abide by the terms of the Pact.

SECOND ROUND-TABLE CONFERENCE (September-December 1931)

- In the meantime, however, the Congress Working Committee passed a resolution that Mahatma Gandhi should represent the Congress at the Second Round Table Conference to be convened later in 1931 in London. Mahatma Gandhi did attend the Conference as the sole representative of the Congress.
- As was expected, the communal question and the differences among the Indian people loomed large in this conference and all efforts to solve it by consent proved unsuccessful. Gandhiji put up a valiant fight and some of the speeches he delivered were most striking.
- Apparently the Government's scheme at the Round Table Conference was only a scheme for Indians sharing power with the bureaucracy and not one designed to achieve responsible Government.
- Gandhiji returned empty-handed from the Round Table Conference. The condition on which the Congress had agreed to participate, abandonment of stark repression, was also being broken. Jawaharlal Nehru and T.A.K. Sherwani had been arrested and put in jail again.

- In the North West Frontier Province Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan and Dr. Khan Saheb were also arrested. Special ordinances had been enforced in the United Provinces, the North West Frontier Province and in Bengal.

THIRD ROUND TABLE CONFERENCE (November-December 1932)

- From September 1931 until March 1933, under the supervision of Samuel Hoare, the proposed

reforms took the form reflected in the Government of India Act, 1935.

- Most of the main political figures of India were not present for this conference. In this conference, Chaudhary Rahmat Ali, a college student, coined the name PAKISTAN. He took the P from Punjab, the

A from Afghanistan, the KI from Kashmir, the S from Sindh and the TAN from Balochistan. In this Conference M.A.Jinnah was not present.

22. QUIT INDIA MOVEMENT

The failure of the Cripps Mission left no meeting ground between the Congress and the government. The government was not prepared to part with its power, while the congress insisted on the immediate transfer of power to the Indians because it believed that an effective resistance against the Japanese aggression could be organized only by a popular government. Gandhi, who was not prepared to oppose the government by a mass movement so far, was now convinced of the necessity of starting a mass movement again and, hence, changed his mind. Some Congressmen were not convinced of his argument to start a mass movement with a view to force the British to hand over power to India during the course of war, but all submitted before him and those who did not, like C. Rajagopalachari and Bhulabhai Desai, resigned from the Congress (July 1942). The Congress Working Committee met at Wartha in July and demanded the immediate withdrawal of the British from India. The All India Congress Committee ratified this 'Quit India' resolution at its meeting at Bombay on 8th August, 1942.

Major Causes

The roots of the Revolt of 1942 can be found in certain national as well as international developments. The first and the foremost cause was the new popular mood of August 1942 caused by the rout of the British by an Asian power, viz., Japan. The victory of Japan and subsequent events shattered the white prestige on the one hand and on the other, revealed the gross racism of the rulers of India once again. While the defeat of the British made the Indians believe that British rule was ending, the way the British cared about the safety of their own people in South East Asia leaving the Indian immigrants there to their own fate caused great amount of anti-white fury among all the Indians. The British in Malaya, Singapore and Burma commandeered all forms of transport in their ignominious flight and left the Indian immigrants there to find their own way. The result was a compound of anti-white fury and an expectation that British rule was ending. It is probably not accidental that east U.P., and west and north Bihar, the region where the 'August Rebellion' (Revolt of 1942) attained its maximum popular intensity, was also traditional one of the

principle catchment areas for Indian migrant labour going to South East Asia and other parts of the world.

Gandhi: In Militant Mood

This new popular mood of August 1942 was certainly sensed by Gandhi and his own statements before launching the Quit India movement are proof of this fact. That is why, the summer of 1942 found Gandhi in a strange and uniquely militant mood. 'Leave India to God or to anarchy', he repeatedly urged the British. 'This orderly disciplined anarchy should go and, if as a result there is complete lawlessness, I would risk it'. Though the need for non-violence was always reiterated, the famous "Quit India" resolution followed up its call for mass struggle on non-violent lines under Gandhi's leadership with the significant rider that if the Congress leadership was removed by arrest, every Indian, who desired freedom and strives for it, must be his own guide. Gandhi also declared in his passionate 'Do or Die' speech that every Indian should consider himself to be a free man, and also that mere jail-going would not do. 'If a general strike becomes a dire necessity, I shall not flinch', was yet another most uncharacteristic remark made by Gandhi in an interview on 6th August, 1942. It may be noted that Gandhi was, for once, prepared to countenance political strikes precisely at a time when the communists were bound to keep aloof from them in very sharp contrast to his attitude in previous of left-led labour militancy in 1928-29 or the late 1930's and early 1940's.

How was Quit India Movement Organized?

Three broad phases can be distinguished in the Quit India Movement or the Revolt of 1942. The first phase (from 9th to 15th August 1942) was massive and violent but quickly suppressed. It was predominantly urban and included hartals, strikes and dashes with police and army in most cities. Bombay, as so often before, was the main storm centre during this phase. Calcutta also witnessed many hartals. There were violent dashes with heavy casualties in Delhi and, in Patna, control over the city was virtually lost for two days after a famous confrontation in front of the Secretariat on 11th August. The violence of Delhi was largely due to 'mill hands on strike', and strikes by

mill-workers were also reported in Lucknow, Kanpur, Bombay, Nagpur and Ahmedabad. The Tata Steel

Plant was totally closed down for 13 days in a strike in which the sole labour slogan was that they would not resume work until a national government had been formed. At Ahmedabad, the textile strike which began during this period lasted for 3 months, and a nationalist chronicle later described the city as the "Stalingrad of India". The urban middle class was extremely prominent in this first phase spearheaded by students.

From the beginning of the second phase (from 15th August to 30th September 1942), the focus shifted to the countryside, with militant students fanning out from centers like Banaras, Patna and Cuttack, destroying communications on a massive scale and leading a veritable peasants' rebellion against white authority strongly reminiscent in some ways of the Revolt of 1857. Northern and western Bihar and eastern U.P., Midnapur in Bengal, and pockets in Maharashtra, Karnataka and Orissa were the major centers of this second phase which saw the installation of a number of local-national governments, which, however, were usually short-lived.

Weakened by the brutal repression (no less than 57 army battalions were used), the movement, from about the beginning of October 1942, entered its longest but also the least formidable phase, i.e., the third and final phase. This phase was characterized by terrorist activity by educated youth directed against communications, police and army installations occasionally rising to the level of guerrilla war, such as the one along the north Bihar-Nepal border led by Jayaprakash Narayana. Part-time peasant squads engaged in farming by day and sabotage activities by night and, in some pockets, secret parallel 'National Government' functioned most notably at Tamruk in Midnapur, Satara in Maharashtra and Talcher in Orissa. Extremely impressive and heroic by any standards, such activities, however, were no longer a threat either to the British rule or to the war plans of the Allies.

Response of Different Classes

An examination of the social composition of the movement reveals the role of different social groups and classes in it. Unlike in the Civil Disobedience days, students, belonging to the middle class, were very much in the forefront in 1942, whether in urban clashes as organizers of sabotage, or inspirers of the peasant

rebellions. What made the August movements formidable however, was a massive upsurge of the peasantry in certain areas. But as the one available attempt at statistical analysis of the "crowd" in the east U.P. and west Bihar regions indicates, the Revolt of 1942 was essentially an upsurge of peasant, small holders, and hence far from being a movement of habitual 'criminals' or rootless 'hooligans'.

The role of the labourers was somewhat short lived. The mill element (participation by mill workers) in general was dropping out by August 14-15. The industrial belts of Calcutta and Bombay were largely quiet, probably because of the communist opposition to the movement. Labour participation in the movement was, however, considerable in some centers like Jamshedpur, Ahmedabad, Ahmadnagar and Poona, where there had been little communist activity and where Gandhian influences had contributed to cordial relations between labour and capital.

No detailed study has been made so far of the extent of business participation but it seems to have been considerable at least in the city of Bombay. Stories are, in fact, current about considerable covert upper-class and even Indian high official support to secret nationalist activities in to set up a fairly effective illegal apparatus, including even a secret radio station under Usha Mehta for three months in Bombay.

Impact of the Movement

The British realized that it would be wiser to try for negotiated settlement rather than risk another confrontation as massive and violent as the Revolt of 1942. It is true that by the end of 1942 the British had come out victorious in their immediate total confrontation with Indian nationalism and the remaining two years of the war in the country. Yet, the victory was ambiguous and with several limitations and was possible only because war conditions had allowed really ruthless use of force.

Negotiations Became Necessity: The British were not prepared to risk such a confrontation again and that the decision in 1945 to try for a negotiated settlement was not just a gift of the new labour government is indicated by the attitude of Lord Wavell. In a letter to Churchill dated 24th October 1944, Wavell pointed out that it would be impossible to hold India by force after the war, given the likely state of world opinion and British popular or even army attitudes, as well as the economic exhaustion of Britain. Hence, he felt, that it

would be wise to start negotiations. Churchill's pig-headedness delayed the process somewhat, but this was precisely what the British were able to persuade the Congress leadership to do after 1945. Thus, it is amply clear that the decision of negotiated transfer of power taken in 1945 was not just a gift of the new labour government; rather, it was primarily the result of the above realization.

Benefits to Rightists: Imprisonment and defeat paradoxically brought certain benefits to the Congress leaders. Isolation in jail helped them to avoid taking a clear public stand on the anti-Japanese war issue, something which, otherwise, would have become very ticklish indeed for a few months in 1944 when Subhas Chandra Bose's Indian National Army appeared on the borders of Assam at a time when, on a world scale, the Allies were clearly winning the war. Much more important was the fact that the glamour of jail served to wipe out the unimpressive record of the Congress ministries in office, thereby restoring the popularity of the organization among the masses. Rightist Congress leaders, who throughout the 1930's had urged more and more cooperation with the British and pursued increasingly conservative policies as minister, could not sit back in the halo of patriotic self-sacrifice, as much as the Socialists who had done most of the actual

fighting in 1942, while the Communists were rated in the eyes of a big section of nationalist public opinion as collaborators and traitors. Thus, if the British ultimately came to realize the wisdom of a negotiated transfer of power from the Quit India experience, the 1942 Revolt and its aftermath also strengthened forces preferring a compromise on the nationalist side by giving a new prestige to the rightist Congressmen.

Weakening of the Left: The Revolt of 1942 weakened the left alternative in two ways. Brutal repression exhausted, at least temporarily, many peasant bases built up through years of Gandhian constructive work or radical Kissan Sabha activity. It is significant that the country side of Bihar, U. P., Maharashtra, Karnataka and Orissa played little or no part in the anti-imperialist upsurge of 1945-46, while most of the rural Gandhians of Midnapur and Hooghly found themselves largely pushed aside in the Bengal Congress politics of the post-war and post independence years. In the second place, the left was now divided as never before. The searing memory of 1942, with its charges and counter-charges of 'treachery' and its 'fifth-columnist' activity, erected a wall between the socialists and followers of Bose on one side and the Communists on the other, which had not been entirely overcome even after a generation.

23. BRITISH POLICY OF DIVIDE AND RULE

Along with the rise of nationalism, communalism too made its appearance around the end of the 19th century and posed the biggest threat to the unity of the Indian people and the national movement.

- Communalism is the belief that because a group of people follow a particular religion they have, as a result, common, that is, social, political and economic interests. In case of India, it means that Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs and Christians form different and distinct communities; that all the followers of a religion share not only a commonality of religious interests but also common secular interests.
- The British adopted different policies to counter and contain the rapidly growing nationalist movement. They encouraged pro-English individuals like Sir Syed Ahmed Khan and Raja Siva Prasad to start an anti-Congress movement.
- Later, they fanned the Hindu-Muslim communal rivalry, first among the educated Indians and then among the common people through the introduction of communal electorates. They even exploited the controversy of Hindi and Urdu and the cow-protection movement.
- Relentless efforts were made to create a split in the nationalist ranks by adopting a more friendly approach towards the more conservative or moderate sections.
- In the 1890's, efforts were made to separate the radicals of yesterday like Justice Ranade and others from leaders such as Dadabhai Naoroji who come to be considered 'moderates'. Similarly, in the first two decades of the 20th century moderates were sought to be played against extremists.
- The British also succeeded in turning the traditional feudal classes like princes and zamindars against the new intelligentsia and the common people. Princes were won over by the creation of the Chamber of Princes in 1921. Zamindars were already won over by the introduction of the Permanent Settlement.
- Attempts were also made to turn one caste against another even among the Hindus. For example, the

Communal Award of 1932 attempted to treat Harijans as a separate political entity.

- The British also followed the policy of apparent concession or conciliation, on the one hand and ruthless repression on the other against the growth of nationalism. The policy was relentlessly pursued throughout the freedom struggle and knew no bounds particularly during the Anti-partition, Non-Cooperation, Civil Disobedience and Quit India Movements.
- The British authorities felt that the spread of modern education had been a major cause of the growth of nationalism. So, they deliberately followed a policy of joining hands with the socially and intellectually reactionary forces in order to prevent the spread of modern ideas.
- Plans were now set afoot to impose greater government control over education and to change its modern liberal character into a conservative and reactionary one. Modern secular education was sought to be replaced by a system based on religious and moral training.
- Partonage in Government Services used to Foster Communalism. In the absence of any avenues of gainful employment in trade and industry, the British Indian Government remained the biggest employer to which the educated youth hopefully looked for their means of livelihood. This enormous patronage—in higher and subordinate services—was cleverly used by the rulers to promote rivalry and discord among different sections of society. Our nationalist leaders were fully aware of the mischievous character of this bait, but the hunger—rather compulsion—for loaves and fishes blinded them to its dangerous potentialities. Jawaharlal Nehru explained then, 'This enormous partongae was exercised to strengthen the British hold on the country, to crush discordant and disagreeable elements, and to promote rivalry and discord amongst various groups anxiously looking forward to employment in government service. It led to demoralization and conflict and the government could play one group against the other.'

Partition of India

The origin of the idea of a separate state for Muslims can be traced back to Muhammad Iqbal's reference to the need for a 'North West Indian Muslim State' in his presidential address to the Muslim League in 1930, but the context of the speech makes it clear that the great Urdu poet and patriot was really visualizing not partition but reorganization of Muslim-majority areas in N.W. India into an autonomous unit within a single Indian Federation.

Germination of Pakistan

Choudhary Rahmat Ali's group of Punjabi Muslim students in Cambridge have a much better claim to be regarded as the original proponents of the idea. In a pamphlet, written in 1933, Rahmat AN demanded a separate national status for a new entity for which he coined the name 'PAKISTAN' - 'P' for Punjab, 'A' for Afghan Province or the North-West Frontier Province, 'K' for Kashmir, 'S' for Sindh, and 'TAN' for Baluchistan. No one took this demand for separate state for Muslims very seriously at that time. But from 1937 there was a marked change in the attitude of the League towards the idea of a separate state for Muslims. This was mainly due to two reasons. Firstly, the federal clauses of the Act of 1935 showed signs of a strong and Hindu dominated central government. Secondly, Jinnah and the Muslim League as a whole greatly resented the refusal of the Congress in 1937 to form coalition ministries with the League in the provinces. The Aligarh scheme of Zafrul Hasan Hussain Qadri suggested four independent states of Pakistan, Bengal, Hyderabad and Hindustan. The Punjab Unionist Sikandar Hayat Khan suggested a kind of 3-tier structure with autonomous provinces legislatures, together constituting a loose confederation with the center having charge only over matters like defense, external affairs, customs and currency as if in anticipation of the cabinet mission plan of 1946. There was considerable British encouragement behind this sudden search of alternatives. As per Khali-al-quzaman, the Secretary of states, Zetland, had given a sympathetic hearing on 20th march, 1939 to redefinition of Rahmat Ali's scheme, suggesting two Muslim Federations, one in the North-West and the other in the East (covering Bengal and Assam).

League-Congress Relations

The League celebrated the resignation of the Congress Ministries in 1939 as 'Deliverance Day',

because the Congress Ministries, according to the League, carried out a number of acts detrimental to Muslim interests during their rule between 1937 and 1939. The famous resolution of 23rd March, 1940, passed by the Lahore session of the Muslim League demanded that geographically contiguous units are demarcated into regions which should be constituted, with such territorial re-adjustments as may be necessary, that the areas in which the Muslims are numerically in a majority as in the north-western and eastern zones of India should be grouped to constitute independent states, in which constituent units shall be autonomous and sovereign. The remarkably clumsy wording left ample (and probably deliberate) scope for vagueness, ambiguity and equivocation. Neither 'Pakistan' nor 'Partition' were explicitly mentioned. Though some Indian and British Newspapers began to use the name 'Pakistan' for the proposed new states in 1940, the League officially adopted this name only in 1943. The stress on the sovereignty of the units became very important after partition for they provided the theoretical basis for the Awami League agitation (started under Fazlul Haq) against a Punjab-dominated unitary conception of Pakistan which eventually led to the break away of Bangladesh.

What was the CR Formula?

The British made a settlement between the Muslim League and the Congress a precondition for the grant of Independence to India. A few congressmen also felt it necessary. C. Rajagopalachari was one of those who realized it in 1944 and, therefore, evolved a formula, called the 'C.R. Formula' to bring about a settlement between the League and the Congress. The main proposals of the formula were the following:

- The Muslim League should cooperate with the Congress in the formation of provisional Interim Government for the transitional period.
- After the close of the war, a commission shall be appointed to demarcate the boundaries of the Muslim dominated districts in the North-West and East of India. The people of these districts shall decide by plebiscite, the issue of separation from India.
- In the event of separation, mutual agreements shall be entered into between the two governments for jointly safeguarding defense, commerce, and communications and for other essential purposes.

This formula became the basis for the Gandhi-Jinnah Talks held in 1944 to reach a settlement on the constitutional problem. Though Jinnah rejected the whole formula saying that the kind of Pakistan it was offering was a maimed, mutilated and moth-eaten one, the main reason behind his refusals was that he was vehemently opposed to the idea of conducting a plebiscite.

Essence of the Wavell Plan

After the failure of the Gandhi-Jinnah Talks based on the C.R. Formula, Lord Wavell, the Viceroy went to England in March 1945 to consult Churchill regarding the political deadlock in India. The general elections were due in Britain and the Conservative party desired to justify that it was, like the Labour party, interested in resolving the deadlock in India. Hence, a new plan was offered to the Indians. This plan, called 'Wavell Plan' was announced on 14th June 1945. It was offered as an interim agreement. The main features of the Plan were:

- To form an interim government at the center with equal representation to Hindus and Muslims.
- All portfolios except that of defense were to be transferred to the Indians.
- Only the Governor-General and the commander-in-chief were to remain free from the control of the Indian ministers.
- The Interim government consisting of all Indian ministers would work under the framework of the Act of 1935 till a new constitution was framed.
- The Governor-General would however retain the right to veto the advice of his newly constituted executive council.

A conference was called at Simla to discuss the plan. All Indian leaders representing the Congress, the Muslim League, the Sikhs, Scheduled Castes, Europeans and the Unionist Party of Punjab were called to attend the conference, but the talks broke down primarily because of the unreasonable attitude of the League. Jinnah wanted that the League alone should choose the Muslim members of the executive council. But the Congress naturally did not accept this stand of Jinnah, so the only result of this Conference was the strengthening of Jinnah as Lord Wavell practically gave him the power of Veto.

Cabinet Mission Plan

The British government headed by the Labour party was eager to solve the Indian problem and sent, in March 1946, a Cabinet Mission to India to negotiate with the Indian leaders the terms for the transfer of power to Indians. It proposed a two-tiered federal plan which was expected to maintain national unity while conceding the largest measure of regional autonomy. There was to be a federation of the provinces and the states, with the center controlling defense, foreign affairs, and communications. At the same time, individual provinces could form regional unions to which they could surrender by mutual agreement some of their powers. Both the National Congress and the Muslim League accepted this plan. But the two could not agree on the plan for an interim government which would convene a constituent assembly to frame a constitution for a free, federal India. The two put differing interpretations on the Cabinet Mission plan to which they had agreed earlier. Finally, in September 1946, an interim cabinet headed by Jawaharlal Nehru was formed by the Congress. The Muslim League decided to boycott the Constituent Assembly. The League launched the 'Direct Action Day' on 16th August 1946 to protest against the formation of interim government by the Congress, and even after joining the interim Government, it pursued a policy of disrupting the functioning of the government.

Mountbatten Plan

The British government finally tried to put an end to the Constitutional deadlock by announcing that the power be transferred to India before the end of June, 1948, irrespective of whether the Indian political parties agreed among themselves or not. Lord Mountbatten was appointed as the Viceroy in March, 1947. He resolved to execute the transfer of power at the earliest possible moment and worked out a compromise plan after long discussions with the leaders of the Congress and the League. According to this 'Mountbatten Plan', India was to be free but not united. The main contents of the plan were:

1. Muslim majority provinces would be permitted to form a separate state and set up a separate Constituent Assembly for framing a constitution for their state.
2. Provinces of the Punjab and Bengal would be partitioned.

3. Question of North-West Frontier Province and the Sylhet district of Assam was to be decided by a plebiscite.
4. A bill to be introduced in the British Parliament at once to give effect to these proposals.

Thus, the country was to be partitioned. The nationalist leaders agreed to the partition of India not because they accepted Jinnah's two-nation theory, but because they wanted to stop the widespread communal riots. The country was still ruled by foreigners who did little to check the riots but instead encouraged these riots by their policies, perhaps hoping to play the two newly independent states against each other.

24. IMPORTANT LEGISLATIONS

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA ACT, 1858

- After the revolt of 1857, the administration of the British East India Company was over, the British India territories were taken over by the British Crown, and an Act called, 'The Act for the better Government of India, 1858' was passed.
- With the enactment of the Government of India Act, 1958, India was to be governed by the Secretary of the State for India assisted by a council of 15 members. The Secretary of State would directly be responsible to the British Parliament.
- The Governor-General received the title of Viceroy. Lord Canning was the first Viceroy of India.
- The Government of India Act, 1858, made the provision for the appointment to the covenanted civil services through the open competitive examination.

THE INDIAN COUNCILS ACT, 1861

- The Viceroy's legislative council was enlarged and from now onwards it was known as Imperial Legislative Council.
- A fifth member was added to the Viceroy's executive council.
- The portfolio system (based on Lord Canning's Rules of Business) was introduced, in which each member of the Viceroy's executive council was put in charge of a department.
- In Bombay, Bengal and Madras provinces, the legislative councils were established.
- The Indian Councils Act, 1861, empowered the Governor-General to issue ordinances which were not to remain in force for more than six months.

Morley - Minto Reforms

- To placate the moderate nationalists, British government announced constitutional concessions through the Indian Councils Act of 1909 which are known as the Morley-Minto Reform of 1909.
- Popularly known as the Minto-Morley Reforms, they took their name after their official sponsors, Minto the Governor-General and John Morley, Secretary of State for India.

- In 1908, the British Parliament appointed a Royal Commission on Decentralisation to inquire into relations between the Government of India and the provinces and suggest ways and means to simplify and improve them.
- More specifically, it was asked to suggest 'how the system of government could be better adapted both to meet the requirements and promote the welfare of the different provinces'.
- Later in the year, on the basis of its recommendations a Bill was introduced in Parliament which, in May 1909 emerged as the new scheme of constitutional reform.

INDIAN COUNCILS ACT, 1909

- Its authors claimed that the chief merit of the Act lay in its provision to further enlarge the legislative councils and at the same time, to make them more representative and effective. This was sought to be done under two main heads - Constitutional and Functional.
- Constitutionally, the councils were now bigger, their numbers doubled in some cases and more than doubled in others.
- Thus, whereas the Indian Council Act of 1892 had authorised only a maximum of 16 additional members, that figure was now raised to 60.
- In much the same manner, the number of additional members for the Presidencies of Madras, Bombay and Bengal were raised, from 20 to 50.
- The proportion of official to non-official members in the Governor-General's Council was substantially reduced. The new figures were 36 to 32. Of the latter, 27 were to be elected and 5 nominated. In this way, the Council continued to have the official majority.
- This was a deliberate policy. In provinces, there was to be a non-official majority for the first time.
- In Bengal there was even an elected majority, outnumbering both the official as well as nominated non-official blocs - 28 to 20 and 4 respectively.

- The Morley-Minto Reforms increased the number of elected members in the Imperial Legislative Council and the provincial councils.
- But most of the elected members were elected indirectly by the provincial councils in the case of the Imperial council and by municipal committees and district boards in the case of provincial councils.
- Some of the elected seats were reserved for landlords and British capitalists in India. For instance, of the 68 members of the Imperial Legislative Council, 36 were officials and 5 were nominated non-officials.
- Of the 27 elected members, 6 were to represent the big landlords and 2 British capitalists.
- Moreover, the reformed councils still enjoyed no real power, being merely advisory bodies.

Critical Appraisal of the Act:

The real purpose of the Reforms of 1909 was to confuse the moderate nationalists, to divide the nationalist ranks, and to check the growth of unity among Indians.

The Reforms also introduced the system of separate electorates under which all Muslims were grouped in separate constituency from which Muslims alone could be elected. This was done in the name of protecting the Muslims minority. But in reality this was a part of the policy of dividing Hindus and Muslims and thus maintaining British supremacy in India.

This nation was unscientific because religions cannot be the basis of political and economic interests or of political groupings.

What is even more important, this system proved extremely harmful in practice. It checked the progress of India's unification which had been a continuous historical process. It became a potent factor in the growth of communalism - both Muslim and Hindu - in the country.

The separate electorates thus introduces for Muslims were later viewed by the Simon Commission as a cardinal problem and ground of controversy at every revision of the Indian electoral system.

Instead of removing the educational and economic backwardness of the middle class Muslims and thus integrating them into the mainstream of Indian nationalism, the system of separated electorates tended to perpetuate their isolation from the developing

nationalist movement. It encouraged separatist tendencies.

It prevented people from concentrating on economic and political problems which were common to all Indians, Hindu or Muslim.

Apart from their constitution, the functions of the councils also underwent a change. They could now, for instance, discuss the budget before it was finally settled, propose resolutions on it and divide upon those resolutions. The budget apart, members could discuss matters of public importance through resolutions and divisions. Additionally, the right to ask questions was enlarged and supplementaries allowed.

It may be noted that the resolutions were in the nature of recommendations and were not binding on the government.

A much trumpeted change was the appointment of an Indian to the Executive Council of the Governor-General; Indians were also appointed to the councils in Madras and Bombay. Satyendra Prasanna Sinha, later Lord Sinha, was the first Law Member. Two Indians were appointed to the Council of the Secretary of State in London.

In Madras and Bombay, the Executive Councils were enlarged from 2 to 4. Such Councils were also to be formed in provinces ruled by Lieutenant Governors. An executive council was thus constituted in Bengal (1909), Bihar, Orissa (1912) and the United Provinces (1915).

The moderate nationalists did not fully support the Morley-Minto Reforms. They soon realized that the Reforms had not really granted much. But they decided to cooperate with the government in working the reforms. This cooperation with the government and their opposition to the programme of the militant nationalism proved very costly to them. They gradually lost the respect and support of the public and were reduced to a small political group.

In 1911, the Government also announced the annulment of the Partition of Bengal. Western and Eastern Bengals were to be reunited while a new province consisting of Bihar and Orissa was to be created. At the same time the seat of the Central Government was shifted from Calcutta to Delhi.

MONTAGUE'S DECLARATION

- In August 1917, the new Liberal Secretary of State for India, Edwin Montagu, announced the British aim of "increasing association of Indians in every

branch of the administration, and the gradual development of self-governing institutions, with a view to the progressive realization of responsible government in India as an integral part of the British Empire”.

- Although the plan envisioned limited self-government at first only in the provinces - with India emphatically within the British Empire - it represented the first British proposal for any form of representative government in a non-white colony.
- Earlier, at the onset of World War I, the reassignment of most of the British army in India to Europe and Mesopotamia, had led the previous Viceroy, Lord Harding, to worry about the “risks involved in denuding India of troops.” Revolutionary violence had already been a concern in British India; consequently, in 1915, to strengthen its powers during what it saw was a time of increased vulnerability, the Government of India passed the Defence of India Act.
- This Act allowed British Govt, to intern politically dangerous dissidents without due process, and added to the power it already had - under the 1910 Press Act - both to imprison journalists without trial and to censor the press.
- Now, as constitutional reform began to be discussed in earnest, the British began to consider how new moderate Indians could be brought into the fold of constitutional politics and, simultaneously, how the hand of established constitutionalists could be strengthened.
- However, since the Government of India wanted to ensure against any sabotage of the reform process by extremists, and since its reform plan was devised during a time when extremist violence had ebbed as a result of increased governmental control, it also began to consider how some of its war-time powers could be extended into peace time.

MONTAGUE-CHELMSFORD REFORMS

- The Montague-Chelmsford Reforms were reforms introduced by the British Government in India to introduce self-governing institutions gradually to India. The reforms take their name from Edwin Samuel Montague, the Secretary of State for India during the latter parts of World War I and Lord

Chelmsford, Viceroy of India between 1916 and 1921.

- The reforms were outlined in the Montagu-Chelmsford Report prepared in 1918 and formed the basis of the Government of India Act 1919. Indian nationalists considered that the reforms did not go far enough while British conservatives were critical of them.

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA ACT, 1919

- The Government of India Act 1919 was passed by the Parliament of the United Kingdom to expand participation of the natives in the government of India. The Act embodied the reforms recommended in the report of the Secretary of State for India, Sir Edwin Montague, and the Viceroy, Lord Chelmsford. The Act covered ten years, from 1919 to 1929.
- The Act provided a dual form of government (a “dyarchy”) for the major provinces. In each such province, control of some areas of government (the ‘transferred list’) were given to a Government of ministers answerable to the Provincial Council. The ‘transferred list’ included Health and Education. The Provincial Councils were enlarged.
- At the same time, all other areas of government (the ‘reserved list’) remained under the control of the Viceroy. The ‘reserved list’ included Defence (the military), Foreign Affairs, and Communications.
- The Imperial Council was enlarged and reformed. It became a bicameral legislature for all India. The lower house was the Legislative Assembly of 144 members, of which 93 were elected and 41 were nominated. The upper house was the Council of States consisting of 34 elected and 26 nominated members.
- This structure allowed Britain to use the Princely States (who were directly represented in the Council of States) to offset the growing power of the native political parties.
- The Act also provided for a High Commissioner who resided in London, representing India in Great Britain.
- The Indian National Congress was unhappy at these reforms and termed them as ‘disappointing.’ A special session was held in Mumbai under Hasan Imam and the reforms were condemned.

However, leaders such as Surendranath Banerjee were inclined to accept the reforms, so they left the Congress and formed the Indian Liberal Federation, which played a minor role in subsequent affairs.

The Government of India Act, 1935

The Constitution introduced by the Act of 1935 was federal in structure embracing the Indian States as well as the British Provinces, each autonomous within its own sphere with a Federal Court to decide matters between the Federal Government and federating units. The Federation was to consist of the Provinces called Governor's Provinces, Indian States and Chief Commissionerships of whom the Provinces and the Chief Commissionship had no choice in the matter of joining the Federation, only the States had. Each State joining the Federation had to sign an Instrument of Accession detailing the powers it would be ready to delegate to the Central Government, beyond which the Central Government would have no power in that state, not so with regard to the Provinces, in relation to which the powers of the Federal Government were precise and laid down in the Act.

Federation was to be established when Rules of States representing not less than half of the aggregate population of India and entitled to not less than half the seats to be allotted to the States in the Federal Upper Chamber have acceded to the Federation and an address has been presented to the King by both the Houses of Parliament calling upon him to proclaim the establishment of Federation. The Federal Government was to consist of the Federal Executive and the Federal Legislature.

The Federal Executive : The Executive head of the Federation was to be His Majesty, whose authority was to be exercised on his behalf by the Governor General and was to extend to all matters in which the Federal Legislature had power to make laws, to the raising of forces and to the exercise of such rights as are exercisable by His Majesty by treaty, grant and usage and to exercise all powers in relation to the tribal areas.

The Federal Legislature was to consist of two houses known as the Council of State and the Federal Assembly. The former was to consist of 156 members from British India and 104 members from the acceding States. While the latter was to consist of a total of 375 members of whom 125 were to be representatives of

the states. The Council of State was to be a permanent body, one-third of its members retiring every third year, while the Federal Assembly was to continue for five years unless sooner dissolved. The allocation of seats between the communities was to be in accordance with the Communal Award. Members from Provinces were to be elected with this difference that election to the Council of State was to be direct, while that to the Federal Assembly indirect. Members from States were to be nominated by the ruler himself. The Federal Legislature would have the power to legislate on all matters included in the Legislative list subject to the powers and special responsibilities of the Governor-General.

The powers of the Governor General were two-fold. Firstly those that he exercised in his discretion and secondly those that he exercised in his individual judgement. In respect of the former, his Minister had no right to advise him and he was not bound to consult them. In respect of the latter the Ministers had a right to advise him, but the Governor General was not bound by that advice. In both cases he was supreme, irresponsible and irremovable.

The Governor-General and the Reserved subjects. The Act of 1935 while it abolished diarchy in the Provinces introduced in the Centre. Certain subjects as defence, ecclesiastical affairs, external affairs and tribal areas were classed as reserved subjects in relation to which the Governor General was supreme exercising all powers in his discretion. To assist him in the administration of the reserved subject he may appoint councillors not exceeding three in number who will be responsible to him* alone.

Special responsibilities of the Governor-General -

The Act enumerated a list of subjects and classed them as the special responsibilities of the Governor-General in relation to which he was to act in his discretion. The list included such matters as:

1. the prevention of any grave menace to the peace of tranquility of India or any part thereof;
2. the safeguarding of the financial stability and credit of the Federal Government;
3. the safeguarding of the legitimate interests of the Federal Government.
4. the safeguarding of the legitimate interests of the minorities;
5. the protection of the rights of any state and the rights and dignities of the rulers thereof;

6. prevention of action which would subject goods of the United Kingdom of British origin imported into India to discriminatory or penal treatment etc. In addition, the Governor-General was to have certain legislative and emergency powers;

Legislative Powers : The Governor-General had power to make ordinances immediately he was satisfied that circumstances exist which render it necessary for him to take immediate action. The ordinance were of two kinds:- first, those which he promulgated when the Legislature was not in session and which lapsed immediately on its meeting unless extended by it; second, those which he made irrespective of the session of the Legislature or its wishes. In addition he had powers to enact such bills as he deemed necessary as Governor-General's Acts. No bill passed by the Legislature could become law without the Governor-General's consent, which he in his discretion could give or refuse to give or send down the bill for reconsideration or reserve it for his Majesty's pleasure. He could stop the discussions of any bill or any part thereof on the ground that it interfered with the proper discharge of his special responsibilities. In case of emergency the Governor-General had power to suspend the Constitution by proclamation and assume all the powers of the Federation himself.

Council Of Ministers: There was to be a Council of Ministers chosen by the Governor-General, not exceeding ten in number to aid and advise him in his functions. The Governor-General was not bound to accept their advice. They were to hold office during his pleasure. This was the provision for the inclusion of the popular element in the executive.

The Provincial Government: The Act made the province entirely independent of the center and in no way subordinate to it, each drawing its powers from the constitution. In its structure the Provincial Governments were very similar to the Central Government with this difference that the provincial Legislatures had no representatives from the states and some were unicameral, the Governor had no reserved subjects to look after there were slight changes in the list of special responsibilities.

The Provincial Executive: The executive authority of the Province was to be exercised by the Governor on behalf of his Majesty and limited to

matters in respect of which the provincial legislatures had power to make laws.

Council Of Ministers: To aid and advise him the Governor was empowered to appoint a Council of Ministers chosen by himself and holding office during his pleasure. While the selection of his Ministers was entirely left to the discretion of the Governor the Instrument of Instructions enjoined him to select Ministers in consultation with a person most likely to command a stable majority in the Legislature and to appoint those persons including so far as practicable members of important Minority communities who will best be in a position to command the confidence of the Legislature. But in so doing he shall bear constantly in mind the need for fostering a sense of joint responsibility among the Ministers. The Governor was not, however, bound by the advice of his Ministers and none of his actions could ever be called in question.

Special Responsibilities And Powers Of The Governor : The Act enumerated certain special responsibilities of the Governor in the discharge of which he was empowered to act in his discretion, i.e. not bound to consult his Ministers. Some of the special responsibilities were:

1. the prevention of any grave menace to the peace of any part thereof;
2. the safeguarding of the legitimate interest of minorities;
3. the safeguarding of the interest of the services;
4. the securing of the peace and good government of partially excluded areas.
5. the protection of Indian States and the rights and dignities of the rulers thereof;
6. the securing of the execution of orders and directions of the Governor-General made in his discretion..
7. the Governor in his discretion was empowered to make rules for securing that no information relating to the Intelligence service dealing with terrorism is to be disclosed beyond persons indicated by the Governor-

Powers Of Governor : The Act empowered the Governor in his discretion to promulgate ordinances and to assume the entire administration of the Province by a proclamation when satisfied that the Constitution of the Province could not be carried on. To such a proclamation of the concurrence of the Governor-

General was essential. Further the Act empowered the Governor for the satisfactory discharge of his functions to make Acts which shall have the same force as any other Act. No bill passed by the Provincial Legislature was to become law unless assented to by the Governor. He may in his discretion refuse to give assent or send down the bill with recommendations for consideration or with suitable amendments.

Provincial Legislature : The Provincial Legislatures were to be entirely elected bodies, except for some seats in the Upper House. They were to consist of two chambers in the Provinces of “Madras (Tamil Nadu), Bombay (Maharashtra), Bengal, Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, and Assam known as the Legislative Assembly. In other Province the Legislature was to consist of one house known as the Assembly. The provincial Legislatures had powers to make laws pertaining to all matters enumerated in the Provincial Legislative list. The Legislative Assembly was to continue for five years unless sooner dissolved while the Council was to be a permanent body, one-third of its members retiring every third year. The members of both Houses were to be elected in accordance with the Communal Award. Powers of both the Houses were to be coordinated except in money bills which were to originate in the Lower Houses.

Finance Under The Act Of 1935 : The heads — of revenue were divided between the center and the provinces except a few, such as income-tax etc. The budget both in the Central and Provincial Governments was divided into two parts which may be described as votable and non-votable. Members of the Legislature had power to vote, cut and refuse grants, but the Governor-General or the Governor had power to restore the cut or refuse grant, and in this final shape the budget was to be passed without voting.

Division Of Subjects: Every federation implies a division of subjects between the Federation and the federating units. The Act of 1935 effected this division by enumerating three list of subjects the Federal list, the Provincial list, and the concurrent list.

The Federal List: This list contained all subjects on which the Federal Legislature had power to make laws. This included subjects of all India interest in which it was admissible that the administrative authority should be one. Matters such as the armed forces, currency, post and telegraph, control services,

railways etc., were included in the Federal list. In all, the list included some 50 subject.

The Provincial Legislative List : The provincial included matters of provincial and local interest such as education, land revenue, law and order, public health, local” self- government, press, provincial services, excise etc. In all the list included some 54 subjects.

The Concurrent List : The concurrent list enumerated subjects on which both the Federal . as well as the Provincial Legislatures had power to make laws. In case of conflict between the two, the law of the Federal Government was to continue. The list included such subjects as Criminal law and procedure. Civil Procedure, Marriage and Divorce bills tenancy and succession etc. In all the list enumerated 36 subjects.

Residuary Powers: The Act provided that in case of subjects not enumerated in the three lists the Federal Government had power to make laws and in case of conflict as to which subject fell in what list and which authority had power to make laws pertaining to it, the Federal Court “was to decide.

The Federal Court: The Act provided for the institution of a Federal Court sitting at Delhi consisting of the Chief Justice of India and six Puisne Judges. The Court was to have original, appellate and advisory jurisdiction. The original’ jurisdiction related to matters concerning the interpretation of the Constitution as for instance whether a particular subject falls within the Central or Provincial List. Its appellate jurisdiction extended to the hearing of appeals from the judgement or decrees of High Courts in India in matters in which the High Court certified that the case involved a substantial question of law as to the interpretation of the Act of 1935. The advisory jurisdiction of the court extended to matters, referred to it by the Governor-General involving questions of law for its advice.

The Council Of The Secretary Of State : Criticism against the Council of State had been long and sustained. The Act abolished the Council and in its place empowered the Secretary of State to appoint not more than six and not less than three persons to advise him on matters referred to them by the Secretary of State. The Secretary of State was not bound to accept their advice in matters so referred. The change made the Secretary of State more powerful than he was before. **Criticism Of The Act:** Such in brief was the structural outline of Act 1935. Criticism against its

provisions, especially its combination of the autocracy of the States with the democracy of the Province and the wide powers of the Governor-General. and Governors was vehement. Its model though based on the Federal structure was based on the same principle of checks and balances, special powers and responsibilities which underlay the previous constitutional acts. And yet the Act did mark an appreciable advance from the position of 1919. The Federal part of the new constitution was never put in operation and was finally suspended with the outbreak of the war in 1939. The provincial part, however, was set in motion in 1937.

Election And The Formation Of Ministries :

Elections under the new Act to the Provincial Legislature were held in 1936-37. The Congress and the League both contested the elections, with this difference that while the League fought the elections having determined to utilize the provincial legislatures for-all that they were worth, the Congress fought the elections with no clear thought of accepting office. The elections manifested the extreme popularity of the Congress and at the same time the growing bitterness of communal feelings. While the Congress swamped the polls in the general constituencies the Muslim League was equally successful in the communal electorates. The attempt of the Congress to nominate Congress Muslims for Muslims seats invariably failed. Invariably the Muslim League candidate won; the attempt, however, further embittered Congress-League relations. In the five Provinces of Madras (Modern Tamil Nadu), Bihar, Orissa, C.P. (a part of Modern Madhya Pradesh and Maharashtra), N.W.F. Province, Bengal (Modern Bengal & Bangladesh) and Assam it was the largest single party, without the cooperation or neutrality, of which no ministry could be formed. The Muslim League was in no position to form a Ministry anywhere, no even in the Muslim majority provinces. Muslim politics were being distracted by personal rivalries and jealousies. The question of office acceptance became the burning topic of the day. The Congress which alone could form the ministries and work the provincial scheme refused to accept office unless it was assured that the extraordinary and special powers of the Governor would not be used. Neither Lord Linlithgow the Viceroy, nor Lord Zetland, the Secretary of State were ready to give the assurance, with the result that the majority party kept out of office. Lord Zetland, in an attempt "to further embitter the

already bitter negotiations between the Congress and the League, coupled his refusal to meet the Congress demand for assurances vis-a-vis the Governor's special powers with a reference to the interests of minority and the situation which would arise if the Congress in office acted against it. A reduction in the number of schools he said for a minority community by a ministry would be clearly within the Congress formula for it would be legal and could not be described as other than a constitutional activity. So the Governor would no longer be free to protect the minority. It was precisely because it was realized that such an action would be possible within the constitution that Parliament had inserted the safeguards. The statement had its desired effect; the Muslims became suspicious as to the intention of the Congress behind the demand for assurances. While the Congress without the assurance stood aloof, attempts to form ministries were made but they proved futile. A compromise between the Congress and the Government was arrived at. The Viceroy in a statement of June, 1937 assured the Congress that the Governors would not interfere in the day to day administration of the provinces. The Congress agreed and formed Ministries in seven Provinces of N.W.F. Province, U.P., CP., Bihar, Orissa, Madras and Bombay. A little later it formed coalition ministries in Sind and Assam. The refusal of the Congress to enter into coalitions with the league or any party in the provinces in which it was in the majority, considerably influenced Muslim League politics. The Muslims were annoyed, and from the opposition benches began to propagate a series of imaginary grievances and to paint the Ministers as despots out to exterminate the minorities. This stream of falsehood intensified the communal virus leading to riots and disturbances, which were "used to great advantage" by the League propagandists. Jinnah who was gradually developing the idea that the League alone represented the Muslims and he alone represented the League could not tolerate the inclusion of Muslim nationalists in the Congress Ministries. He characterized them as traitors and show-boys. He was annoyed at their inclusion as it meant to him an attempt to alienate the Muslim masses from the League. For the same reason he was antagonistic to the Muslim mass contact of the Congress. To keep the Muslim masses attached to him and the League, he kept them intoxicated with hatred for the Hindus and the Congress which he described as faonyras filled them with vague fears about the impending threat to their religion and

culture, exhorted them to unite and rise under the League for the defence of Islam. A list of imaginary atrocities of the Congress against the Muslim, he diligently drew up and spread throughout the country. The sentiments of the Muslims were roused and the power of Jinnah rose to immeasurable heights. In pursuance of the resolution of the League dated 20th March, 1938, a committee under the Raja of Pirpur in U.P. was appointed to investigate the injustice suffered by the Muslims in general and the workers of the League in particular, reports concerning which were alleged to have been received by the Central office of the League. Within eight months the Raja of Pirpur submitted his report. It fulfilled the purpose for which the Committee had been designed. It was an astute move to give a sort of ratification to the virulent propaganda of the League. With its publication the communal barometer registered another rise. The repeated refutation of the Congress Ministries regarding the harrowing tales of oppression and misery could not wipe out the impressions made. Dr. Rajendra Prasad, the Congress President, then offered to have the matter investigated by an impartial tribunal and suggested the name of Sir K. C. Gwyer, but Jinnah had no interest in or desire for impartial investigation. His only purpose was to make the charges for the purpose of exciting communal fury and in this he was completely successful. In fact the Congress in an attempt to vindicate its position as a national, non-communal body often sacrificed the interests of the majority community and exposed itself to attacks from the Hindu Mahasabha. With every increase in the virulence of the League and the seemingly pacifist policy of the Congress towards it, the power of the Mahasabha and other Hindu organizations increased. Attacks upon Gandhi and the Congress as Pro-Muslim were repeatedly made and the popularity of the Congress among the Hindus considerably diminished.

The attempts at Hindu-Muslim settlement which were incessantly made failed, for each attempt saw Jinnah's Demands rise higher by a degree. Finally Jinnah took up a position in which any settlement became impossible. In his letter to Gandhi in March, 1938 he wrote. We have reached a stage when no doubt should be left. You recognize the All India Muslim League as the one authoritative and representative organization of Muslims in India and on the other hand you represent the Congress and other Hindus throughout the country. It is on that basis we can proceed further and devise the machinery of approach. For the Congress to agree to such a position was to sacrifice its own existence and to abandon the character which it had claimed for more than half a century, it was ready to recognize the League as the "largest Muslim organization but not the only one. It could not sacrifice the nationalist Muslims or the Kulludai Kliidmatgars of the Frontier Province. But Jinnah would not budge an inch from the position he had taken up, and it was on this vital point that all the attempts failed. Each failure increased communal bitterness, for invariably the correspondence was published and while the Congress blamed Jinnah for his intransigence, Jinnah blamed the Congress for its refusal to recognize the League as the sole representative of the Muslims, and attributed its refusal to a desire to divide the Muslims. With the outbreak of the war in September, 1939 a sincere effort was made by the Congress to come to a settlement with the League but in vain and with pathetic desperation Jawahar Lai Nehru wrote in December, 1939. Unfortunately we never seem to search even the proper discussion of these problems as various hurdles and obstructions in the shape of conditions precedent come in our way. As these hurdles continue and others are added to them I am compelled to think that the real difficulty is the difference in the political outlook and objectives. This really was the case as we shall presently see.

25. DEVELOPMENT OF EDUCATION IN BRITISH INDIA

The Government of East India Company and later on the British crown government showed little interest in the education of its subjects. Whatever efforts were made by the British in the education were basically to action of their own objectives of getting English educated clerks in India at lower salaries. Here is a chronicle of British efforts towards the development of education in British India:

- Warren Hastings set up the Calcutta Madrasa in 1781.
- In 1791, Jonathan Duncan opened a Sanskrit College at Benaras.
- In 1800, Lord Wellesley founded Fort Williams College at Calcutta with the objective of teaching Indian languages and culture to the British East India Company's factors.
- The Charter Act of 1813, recognized for the first time the British East India government's responsibility of educating the people, hence, it provided for an annual expenditure of one lakh of rupees.
- David Hare founded Calcutta Hindu College in 1817.
- In 1835, it was declared that the medium of instruction at higher level would only be English.
- Lord Macaulay propounded his famous Infiltration Theory.
- Lord Macaulay did not accept the worthiness of Eastern Literature and said that "a single shelf of a good European library was worth the whole native literature of India and Arabia".

Wood's Dispatch on Education, 1854

- Charles Woods Dispatch is called that Magna Carta of education in British East India.
- Charles Woods formulated a comprehensive document on education in British India from primary level to the higher level. Woods Dispatch also decided that what would be the medium of instruction at primary level, secondary level and at college level.
- The aim of government's educational policy was the teaching of masters education.

- For higher education of instruction, English was adopted and for primary education, Vernacular languages were accepted as medium.
- Vernacular Primary Schools, Anglo-Vernacular High Schools and affiliated colleges were set up.
- Grants-in-aid system encouraged the private enterprise in education.
- The importance of women education was recognized and it was given priority.
- Training to the teachers was emphasized, thus Teachers Training Programmes were set up.
- The importance of technical education was recognized.
- The Roorkee University was set up.
- In 1857, universities at Calcutta, Bombay and Madras were set up. **Hunter Commission 1882-83**
- It was one member commission appointed by Viceroy Lord Ripon to review Education Policy of the Government. The Hunter Commission stressed that the Government should pay special attention for the extension and improvement of primary education.
- It also stressed on secondary, commercial and technical education.
- The Hunter Commission also made recommendation for special efforts for women education.
- It emphasized to encourage private enterprise in education.
- Punjab University was set up in 1882
- Allahabad University was set up in 1887.

Indian Universities Act, 1904

- The Indian Universities Act 1904, was passed and enacted in the viceroyalty of Lord Curzon.
- This Act was passed on the recommendation of Sir Thomas Raleigh Commission on Education appointed by Lord Curzon in 1901, at the conclusion of Shimla Education Conference.
- Gurudas Benerjee was the only Indian member in the Raleigh Commission.

- The provisions of Indian University Act, 1904 provided that the fellows of the universities were to be nominated by the government.
- The Act provided veto power to the government in the matter of universities.
- The Act increased universities' control over private colleges.
- The number of Fellows were fixed.
- The Act empowered Governor General-in-council to define the territorial limits of a university or divide the affiliation of colleges to universities.

Resolution on Education Policy, 21st February, 1913

- In 1906, the progressive state of Baroda introduced compulsory primary education throughout its territories.
- During 1910-13, Gopal Krishna Gokhale refused to recognize the Principle of Compulsory Education but accepted the policy of the removal of illiteracy.

The Sadler University Commission, 1917-19

- The Sadler Commission was set up basically to look into the functions of Calcutta University.
- Sir Ashutosh Mukherjee and Ziauddin Ahmad were two India members in the Commission.
- Sadler Commission gave recommendation for the improvement in higher education.
- Sadler Commission recommended that after intermediate level there should be 3 years degree course.

- The Commission emphasized on women education.
- Sadler Commission recommended that facilities for teachers' training are to be increased.
- Sadler Commission recommended that the universities should have the campus which has to provide residential and boarding facilities to the students.

The Hartog Committee 1929

- The Hartog Committee emphasized the national importance of primary education.
- It recommended the Policy of Consolidation and improvement.
- Improvement of university management was stressed.

Wardha Scheme of Basic Education, 1937

- In 1937, Mahatma Gandhi published a series of articles in his paper 'The Harijan' in which he proposed a scheme of education called Basic Education Scheme, better known as the Wardha Scheme.
- The main principle of Basic Education is - learning through activity.
- The Zakir Hussain Committee worked out the details of the scheme and prepared detailed syllabi for a number of courses and made suggestions conforming training of teachers, supervision, examination and administration.