R N Sharma

MAIN EVENTS OF INDIAN HISTORY

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ABHISHEK PUBLICATIONS
CHANDIGARH

ISBN:978-81-8247-174-0
Copyright : Publisher
First Edition:2007

Published by:
Abhishek Publications
S.C.O.57-59 Sector 17-C
CHANDIGARH-160017
Email: abhpub@yahoo.com
Website:www.abhishekpublications.com

Printed at:
Balaji Offset Press, Naveen Shahdra Delhi

Preface

Indian history has travelled through aeons. However, to solve the arcane relationship between mythology and factual history has not become possible yet; only hypothesis have been experimented so far. Historians of the world have accepted a general view in order to ease the concept of history and provide the students of Indian history around the globe its access. This book is a comprehensive study of India's history. The facts and dates listed here are in complete resonance with that of the general view about India's history all over the world. The book has been divided into two volumes that provide the readers with an opportunity to carry an exhaustive study of Indian history.

Going through the volume, the readers will find immeasurable information regarding the social, religious and administrative structure of the India of yesteryears. While a few chapters in the volume discuss various aspects of medieval India, providing a concluding feature to the previous volume, there are also chapters on the advent of Mughals and Babur's reign that reveal a new aspect of the India known across the globe.

Moving from medieval history, the book goes on to present the various aspects of Modern India. The English rule over India and the country's struggle for independence form a major chunk of the volume.

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Modern India

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CHAPTER 1

Inception of British Raj

Battle of Plassey

Robert Clive

The Battle of Plassey took place on June 23, 1757, near Plassey or Palashee, a small village on the Bhagirathi River (a distributary of the Ganges River) located just north of Kolkata and south of Murshidabad in India. It was a battle between the forces of the British East India Company and of Siraj Ud Daulah, the last independent Nawab of Bengal.

The reason for the battle was the Nawab's attack and capture of Calcutta, following the dispute on the additional fortification, with mounted guns, of the town built without the consent of the Nawab and the

British policy of favouring Hindu Marwari merchants over local ones. The battle commenced on June 23.

The British army was vastly outnumbered, consisting of 800 Europeans and 2200 Indians. The Nawab had an army of about 50,000. But the British general Robert Clive bribed the Nawab's uncle and chief of army, Mir Jafar, who controlled the artillery and much of the army. The result was that Siraj Ud Daulah was deserted by the best troops in his army, and the British easily defeated those who remained loyal.

The battled opened on a very hot and humid morning on June 23, 1757 where the Nawab's army came out of its fortified camp and launched a massive cannonade against the British camp. Mir Madan, one of the Nawab's most loyal officers, launched an attack against the fortified grove where the East Indian Compay was located, and was mortally wounded. This cannonade was essentially futile in any case; the British guns had greater range than those of the Nawab's army. At noon, a heavy rainstorm fell on the battlefield, wherein the tables were turned. The British covered their cannons and muskets for protection from the rain, whereas the Nawab's men did not. As a result, the cannonade ceased by afternoon and the battle resumed where Clive's chief officer, Kilpatrick, launched an attack against the water ponds in between the armies. With their cannons and muskets completely useless, and with Mir Jafar's cavalry refusing to attack Clive's camp, revealing his treachery, the Nawab was forced to order a retreat. By 5:00 pm, the Nawab's army was in full retreat and the British had command of the field.

The battle cost the British East India Company just 18 killed and 45 wounded, while the Nawab's army lost at least 500 men killed and wounded.

Aftermath

Mir Jafar, for his betrayal of Nawab Siraj and alliance with the British, was installed as the new Nawab, while Siraj Ud Daulah was captured on July 02 in Murshidabad as he attempted to escape

further north. He was later executed on the order of Mir Jafar and his British allies.

The Battle of Plassey is considered as a starting point to the events that established the era of British dominion and conquest in India.

Clive was awarded the title Baron Clive of Plassey and bought lands in Country. He named part of his lands near Limerick City, Plassey. Following Irish independence, these lands became state property. In the 1970s a technical college, which later became Limerick University, was built at Plassey, in Ireland.

King Charles II's Marital Ties With Portugal

In1661 King Charles II of Britain married the Portuguese princess and received Bombay, an island along India's west coast, as part of the dowry. Later, the King rented Bombay to the East India Company.

Soon after, the East India Company already had several trading establishments in India, at Surat, Masulipattam and Fort St. George (Madras). King Charles II also gave the Company the right to issue currency, erect forts, exercise jurisdiction over English subjects and declare war/peace with natives. The Company faced competition from the French, Dutch and Portuguese, all of whom had trading interests in India.

East India Company

English and French had their companies in India. Madras and Pondicherry were the chief trading centres for the English whereas the French centre was on the Coromandel Coast. The relations between both the companies were uncertain.

The Carnatic region was totally disturbed politically. The governor was so engrossed with Marathas and Northern India that he hardly had any time for the Carnatic. Later the Marathas killed the governor. The appointment of the new Nawab worsened the problems of the Carnatic region. But till this time the English and French did not take active interest in Indian politics.

In 1740, England and France took opposite sides in the War of the Austrian Succession. This brought the two companies in India technically in the state of war. French both by sea and land had besieged Madras. So in June 1748 to avenge the capture of Madras, a large army was sent under Rear Admiral Boscawen. But by October the War of Austrian Succession had been concluded and under the treaty Madras was restored to English.

Then during the second Carnatic War, where Duplex, governor of Pondicherry, opened negotiations with the English and the treaty was concluded. The English and the French have decided not to interfere in the quarrels of the native princes and took possession of the territories which are actually occupied by them during the treaty.

In the third Carnatic war, the British East India Company defeated the French forces at the battle of Wandiwash ending almost a century of conflict over supremacy in India. From 1744, the French and English fought a series of battles for supremacy in the Carnatic region. This battle gave the British trading company a far superior position in India compared to the other Europeans.

Third Battle of Panipat

The Third Battle of Panipat took place on January 14, 1761 at Panipat between the Maratha forces of northwestern India aiding their allies, the Mughal Empire, and Afghan forces under Ahmad Shah Abdali.

The battle pitted the French-supplied and trained artillery of the Marathas against the famous light cavalry of the Afghans. The match up would have been rather one sided in favour of the Marathas had not their own cavalry decided to charge prematurely leading to their defeat. Ahmad Shah's Durrani Empire suffered continual attacks by the growing Sikh power and eventually retired to the north of Kandahar. The Marathas had also pursued his fleeing army right up to Attock at the foothills of Afghanistan in 1756 under Raghobadada.

Ahmed Shah Abdali

The Mughal Empire of northwestern India had been in decline for some time after Ahmad Shah's first attacks against them in 1749, eventually culminating in his sacking of Delhi in 1757. He left them in nominal control however, which proved to be a fateful mistake when his son, Timur Shah, proved to be utterly incapable of maintaining control of the Afghan troops. Soon the local Sikh population rose in revolt and asked for the protection of the Marathas, who were soon in Lahore. Timur ran for the hills of Afghanistan.

Ahmad Shah could not allow this to go unchecked, and in 1759 raised an army from the Pashtun tribes with help from the Baloch, and invaded India once again. By the end of the year they had reached Lahore, but Marathas continued to pour into the conflict and by 1760 had formed a single army of over 100,000 to block him.

There followed much manoeuvring, with skirmishes fought at Karnal and Kunjapura. After the Marathas failed to prevent Abdali's forces crossing the Yamuna river, they set up defensive works in the excellent ground near Panipat, thereby blocking Ahmad's access back to Afghanistan just as his forces blocked theirs to south. Abdali slowly tightened the noose by cutting off the Maratha Army's supply lines. Sikhs and Jats did not support Marathas because of their refusal to sack Delhi, which was at that time a Maratha protectorate. Their supplies and stores dwindling, the Marathas then moved in almost 150 pieces of modern long-

range rifled French made artillery. With a range of several kilometres, these guns were some of the best of the times.

The Afghan forces arrived in late 1760 to find the Marathas in well-prepared works. Realising a direct attack was hopeless; they set up for a siege. The resulting face-off lasted two months. During this time Ahmad continued to receive supplies from locals, but the Marathas own supply line was cut off.

Realising the situation was not in their favour, the Marathas under Sadashiv Bhau decided to break the siege. His plan was to pulverise the enemy formations with cannon fire and not to employ his cavalry until the Muslims were thoroughly softened up. With the Afghans now broken, he would move camp in a defensive formation towards Delhi, where they were assured supplies.

The line would be formed up some 12km across, with the artillery in front, protected by infantry, pike men, musketeers and bowmen. The cavalry was instructed to wait behind the artillery and bayonet-wielding musketeers, ready to be thrown in when control of battlefield had been fully established.

Before dawn on January 14, 1761 the Maratha forces emerged from the trenches, pushing the artillery into position on their pre-arranged lines, some 2km from the Afghans. Seeing that the battle was on, Abdali positioned his cannon and opened fire. However, because of the short range of the weapons, the Maratha lines remained untouched. Ahmad then launched a cavalry attack to break their lines.

The first defensive salvo of the Marathas went over the Afghans' heads and inflicted very little damage, but Maratha bowmen nevertheless broke the Afghan attack and pike men, along with some famed Maratha musketeers stationed close to the artillery positions.

The Marathas then started moving their infantry formation forward, led by the artillery. The Afghans responded with repeated cavalry attacks, all of which failed. About 12,000 Afghan cavalry and infantrymen lost their lives in this opening stage of the battle.

Gaping holes were opened in their ranks, and in some places the Afghans and their Indian Muslim allies began to run away.

Some Maratha soldiers, seeing that their general had disappeared from his elephant, panicked and began to flee. Vishwasrao, the son of Prime Minister Nanasaheb, had already fallen to a stray shot, in the head. Sadashivrao Bhau and his loyal bodyguards fought to the end, the Maratha leader having three horses shot out from under him.

Following the battle, masses of surrendered Maratha soldiers were handcuffed and then murdered, their heads chopped off by Afghans.

Abdali's soldiers took about 22,000 women and young children and brought them to their camps. The women were raped in the camp, many committed suicide because of constant rapes perpetrated on them. All of the prisoners were exchanged or sold as sex slaves to Afghanistan or North India, transported on bullock carts, camels and elephants in bamboo cages.

Following the Battle

To save their kingdom, and in the name of Islam, the Mughals once again changed sides and welcomed the Afghans to Delhi, forgetting that Marathas had just lost 100,000 men and women for their cause. However, the news soon arrived that Marathas had organised another 100,000 men in the south to avenge their loss and to rescue the captured prisoners.

The Mughals remained in nominal control over small areas of India, but were never a force again.

The Marathas expansion was stopped in the battle, and soon broke into infighting within their empire. They never regained any unity, and were soon under increasing pressure from the British. Their claims to empire were officially ended in 1818.

It is worth noting the fact the Maratha Empire provided the biggest challenge to the moguls in erstwhile India keeping in check

the influence of foreign invaders, forced conversions and oppression of the local people.

Meanwhile the Sikhs, who were left largely untouched by the battle, soon retook Lahore. When Ahmad returned in March 1764 he was forced to break off his siege after only two weeks due to rebellion in Afghanistan. He returned again in 1767, but was unable to win any decisive battle. With his own troops arguing over a lack of pay, he eventually abandoned the district to the Sihks, who remained in control until 1849.

This 3rd battle of Panipat saw an enormous number of casualties and deaths in a single day of battle, perhaps unmatched even today in the later wars. It was the scene of uncommon valour, unwanted strategic blunders, internal bickering, murders of prisoners of war, and large-scale rapes perpetrated on women.

CHAPTER 2

English Conflicts

Battle of Buxar

Battle of Buxar, was a decisive battle fought between British and Indian forces at Buxar, a town on the Ganges River. Mir Kasim, the nawab of Bengal, wanted to rid his territory of British control. He formed an alliance with the Nawab of Awadh and Shah Alam II, the Mughal emperor. The combined Indian armies invaded Bengal and clashed with British troops, led by Major Hector Munro, in October 1764. A hotly contested battle resulted in victory for the British. As a result of this triumph, in 1765, Robert Clive signed the Treaty of Allahabad with the Nawab of Awadh and Shah Alam II. The treaty effectively legalised the British East India Company's control over the whole of Bengal.

Diwani rights

Shuja was restored to Awadh, with a subsidiary force and guarantee of defence, the emperor Shah Alam solaced with Allahabad and a tribute and the frontier drawn at the boundary of Bihar. In Bengal itself he took a decisive step. In return for restoring Shah Alam to Allahabad he received the imperial grant of the diwani or revenue authority in Bengal and Bihar to the Company. This had hitherto been enjoyed by the nawab, so that now there was a double government, the nawab retaining judicial and police functions,

the Company exercising the revenue power. The Company was acclimatised, as it were, into the Indian scene by becoming the Mughal revenue agent for Bengal and Bihar. There was as yet no thought of direct administration, and the revenue was collected by a Company-appointed deputy-nawab, one Muhammad Reza Khan.

But this arrangement made the Company the virtual ruler of Bengal since it already possessed decisive military power. All that was left to the nawab was the control of the judicial administration. But he was later persuaded to hand this over to the Company's deputy-nawab, so that its control was virtually complete.

Inspite of all this the East India Company was again in the verge of bankruptcy which stirred them to a fresh effort at reform. On the one hand Warren Hastings was appointed with a mandate for reform, on the other an appeal was made to the State for a loan. The result was the beginnings of state control of the Company and the thirteen-year governorship of Warren Hastings.

Hastings's first important work was that of an organiser. In the two and a half years before the Regulating Act came into force he put in order the whole Bengal administration. The Indian deputies who had collected the revenue on behalf of the Company were deposed and their places taken by a Board of Revenue in Calcutta and English collectors in the districts. This was the real beginning of British administration in India.

First Mysore War (1767 -1769)

The second half of the eighteenth century was a period of great confusion in Indian history which witnessed the rise of a colonial power. The only state which offered stiff resistance to their expansion was Mysore, which fought not one but four wars. Tipu participated in all those four Mysore wars, in two of which he inflicted serious blows on the English. In fact Tipu's rule starts in the midst of a war against the English and ends in the midst of war against them. His short but stormy rule was eventful for his

several engagements with his neighbours, the Marathas and the Nizam, as well, whose shortsighted policy prompted them to join the colonials against Mysore.

In the First Mysore war Tipu, a lad of 17 years, suddenly surprised the English when he appeared at the gates of Madras in September 1767. He caused great consternation to the Governor of Madras, to the Nawab of Carnatic, Muhammed Ali, and to almost all Councilors who very narrowly escaped being taken in the country-house in the Company's garden. Happily for them a small vessel that by accident was opposite the garden furnished them with the means of escaping. Thus, it was a providential escape of the entire Madras government, which were about to be captured by Tipu, who had been in independent command of a body of troops in the First Mysore war.

Warren Hastings

The first Governor-General of India was Warren Hastings, who occupied that high position from 1773 to 1784. While Clive was content with creating the impression that the Nawab of Bengal remained sovereign, subject only in some matters to the dictate of the Mughal Emperor, Hastings moved swiftly to remove this fiction. The Nawab was stripped of his remaining powers and the annual tribute paid to the Mughal Emperor was withdrawn. Hastings supported the kingdom of Awadh against the depredations of the Rohillas, chieftains of Afghani descent, and he took measures to contain the Marathas, though they could not be prevented from capturing

Agra, Mathura, and even Delhi, the seat of the Mughal Empire. Hastings concluded treaties with various other Indian rulers and sought alliances against the powerful forces of Haider Ali in the Carnatic. However, in order to wage these wars, Hastings "borrowed" heavily from the Begums of Awadh and King Chait Singh of Benares.

In reality, these Indian rulers and numerous others were compelled to part with their financial resources, on pain of being at the receiving end of British fire-power. These acts of extortion, as well as other charges pertaining to Hastings' conduct of Indian affairs, became the basis of Hastings' impeachment in Parliament after he had resigned his position in India in 1784 and returned to Britain. His prosecution was launched with great vigor by Edmund Burke and a team of "managers" and lasted for nearly ten years; though Hastings was vindicated, he was financially ruined. Warren Hastings occupies, in other respects as well, an unusual place in the annals of British India. He was a patron of Indian learning and evinced a keen interest in Indian literature and philosophy. It was, for instance, with his encouragement that Charles Wilkins rendered the Bhagavad Gita into English, and his preface to that translation suggests that he was a man of some discernment and sophistication.

Regulating Act

By 1773 the East India Company was in dire financial straits. The Company was important to Britain because it was a monopoly trading company in India and in the east and many influential people were shareholders. The Company paid £400,000 annually to the government to maintain the monopoly but had been unable to meet its commitments because of the loss of tea sales to America since 1768. About 85% of all the tea in America was smuggled Dutch tea. The East India Company owed money to both the Bank of England and the government; it had 15 million lbs of tea rotting in British warehouses and more en route from India.

Lord North decided to overhaul the management of the East India Company with the Regulating Act. This was the first step along the road to government control of India. The Act set up a system whereby it supervised (regulated) the work of the East India Company but did not take power for itself.

The East India Company had taken over large areas of India for trading purposes but also had an army to protect its interests. Company men were not trained to govern so North's government began moves towards government control. India was of national importance and shareholders in the Company opposed the Act. The East India Company was a very powerful lobby group in parliament in spite of the financial problems of the Company.

The Act said:

1. That, for the government of the presidency of fort William in Bengal, there shall be a Governor General, and a Council consisting of four councillors with the democratic provision that the decision of the majority in the Council shall be binding on the Governor General.
2. That Warren Hastings shall be the first Governor General and that Lt. General John Clavering, George Monson, Richard Barwell and Philip Francis shall be four first Councillors.
3. That His Majesty shall establish a supreme court of judicature

consisting of a Chief Justice and three other judges at Fort William, and that the Court's jurisdiction shall extend to all British subjects residing in Bengal and their native servants.

4. That the company shall pay out of its revenue salaries to the designated persons in the following rate: to the Governor General 25000 sterling, to the Councillors 10,000 sterling, to the Chief Justice 8000 sterling and the Judges 6000 sterling a year.
5. That the Governor General, Councillors and Judges are prohibited from receiving any gifts, presents, pecuniary advantages from the Indian princes, Zamindars and other people.
6. That no person in the civil and military establishments can receive any gift, reward, present and any pecuniary advantages from the Indians.
7. That it is unlawful for collectors and other district officials to receive any gift, present, reward or pecuniary advantages from Zamindars and other people.

The provisions of the Act clearly indicate that it was directed mainly to the malpractice and corruption of the company officials. The Act, however, failed to stop corruption and it was practised rampantly by all from the Governor General at the top to the lowest district officials. Major charges brought against Hastings in his impeachment trial were those on corruption. Corruption divided the Council into two mutually hostile factions- the Hastings group and Francis group. The issues of their fighting were corruption charges against each other. Consequently, Pitt's India act, 1784 had to be enacted to fight corruption and to do that an incorruptible person, lord Cornwallis, was appointed with specific references to bring order in the corruption ridden polity established by the company.

First Anglo-Maratha War

The First Anglo-Maratha War was the first of three Anglo-Maratha

wars fought between the United Kingdom and Maratha Empire in India. The war began with the Treaty of Surat and ended with the Treaty of Salbai.

After the death of Madhavrao Peshwa in 1772, his brother Narayanrao Peshwa ascended the position of Peshwa of the Maratha Empire. However, Raghunathrao, Narayanrao's uncle, had his nephew assassinated in a palace conspiracy that placed Raghunathrao as the next Peshwa, although he was not a legal heir. However, the late Narayanrao's widow, Gangabai, gave birth to a son after her husband's death. The newborn infant was named 'Sawai' Madhavrao and legally was the next Peshwa. Twelve Maratha chiefs, led by Nana Phadnis directed an effort to name the infant as the new Peshwa and rule under him as regents. Raghunathrao, unwilling to give up his position of power, sought help from the British at Bombay and signed the Treaty of Surat on March 7, 1777. According to the treaty, Raghunathrao ceded the territories of Salsette and Bassein to the British along with parts of revenues from Surat and Bharuch districts. In return, the British were to provide Raghunathrao with 2,500 soldiers. The British Calcutta Council, on the other side of India, condemned the Treaty of Surat and sent Colonel Upton to Pune to annul it. The Colonel was also sent to make a new treaty with the regency that renounced Raghunath and promised him a pension. The Bombay government rejected this and gave refuge to Raghunath. In 1777 Nana Phadnis violated his treaty with the Calcutta Council by granting the French a port on the west coast. The British replied by sending a force towards Pune.

Battle of Wadgaon

The British and the Maratha armies met on the outskirts of Pune. The Maratha army reportedly numbered 80,000 soldiers while the British consisted of 35,000 with highly superior ammunition and cannons. However, the Maratha army was commanded by a brilliant General named Mahadji Shinde (also known as Mahadji Sindia). Mahadji lured the British army into the ghats (valleys)

near Talegaon and trapped the British. Once trapped, the Maratha cavalry harassed the enemy from all sides and attacked the British supply base at Khopoli. The Marathas also utilised a scorched earth policy, burning farmland and poisoning wells. As the British began to withdraw to Talegaon, the Marathas attacked, forcing them to retreat to the village of Wadgaon. Here, the Marathas cut off from food and water surrounded the British army from all sides. The British finally surrendered by mid-January 1779 and signed the Treaty of Wadgaon that forced the Bombay government to relinquish all territories acquired by the British since 1775.

British Response

The British Governor-General in Bengal, Warren Hastings, rejected this treaty and sent a large force of soldiers across India under Colonel Goddard. Goddard captured Ahmedabad in February 1779, and Bassein in December 1780. Another Bengal detachment captured led by Captain Popham captured Gwalior in August 1780. Hastings sent yet another force after Mahadji Shinde. In February 1781, led by General Camac, the British finally defeated Shinde at Sipri.

Treaty of Salbai

After the defeat, Shinde proposed a new treaty between the Peshwa and the British that would recognise the young Madhavrao as the Peshwa and grant Raghunathrao a pension. This treaty, known as the Treaty of Salbai, was signed in May 1782, and was ratified by Hastings in June 1782 and by Phadnis in February 1783. The treaty also returned to Shinde all his territories west of the Yamuna. It also guaranteed peace between the two sides for twenty years, thus ending the war.

The treaty essentially restored pre-war status quo, but allowed the British East India Company to focus on other princely states in India.

Second Anglo-Mysore War

The Second Anglo-Mysore War (1780-1784) was a conflict in India between the Kingdom of Great Britain and the Kingdom of Mysore. At the time, Mysore was a key French ally in India, and the Franco-British conflict raging on account of the American Revolutionary War helped spark Anglo-Mysorean hostilities in India.

Haidar Ali was ruler of Mysore. Stung by a British breach of faith during an earlier war against the Marathas, Haidar committed himself wholeheartedly to the French alliance and to revenge against the British. On the French declaration of war against Britain in 1778, the British resolved to drive the French out of India. The British captured of Mahé on the coast of Malabar in 1779, and annexed certain lands belonging to a dependent of Haidar's.

Haidar Ali sprung at the opportunity to strike back, and suceeded in making himself master of all that the Marathas had taken from him. With an empire extended to the Krishna River, he descended through the passes of the Ghats amid burning villages, reaching Conjeeveram, only 45 miles from Madras, unopposed. Not till the smoke was seen from St Thomas' Mount, where Sir Hector Munro commanded some 5200 troops, was any movement made; then, however, the British general sought to effect a junction with a smaller body under Colonel Baillie recalled from Guntur. The incapacity of these officers, notwithstanding the splendid courage of their men, resulted in the total destruction of Baillie's force of 2800 on September 10, 1780.

Recovery of Chittur

Tipu had taken great interest in the Mysore-Maratha war of 1769-72. After the death of Peshwa Madhava Rao in 1772, he was sent to the northern part of Mysore to recover the territories which the Marathas had occupied. By the time of Second Mysore war he had gained great experience both of warfare and diplomacy. In September 1780 he inflicted crushing defeat on Colonel Baillie

near Polilur. This was the first and the most serious blow the English had suffered in India. The whole detachment was either cut or taken prisoners. Of the 86 European officers 36 were killed, and 3820 were taken prisoners of whom 508 were Europeans. The English had lost the flower of their army. Baillie himself was taken prisoner. Sir Hector the hero of Buxar, who had defeated three rulers of India (Mughal Emperor Shah Alam, Awadh Nawab Shuja-ud-daula and the Bengal Nawab Mir Qasim) in a single battle, would not face Tipu. He ran for his life to Madras throwing all his cannons in the tank of Conjeevaram.

Tipu inflicted a serious defeat on Colonel Braithwaite at Annagudi near Tanjore on 18 Feb 1782. This army consisted of 100 Europeans 300 cavalry, 1400 sepoys and 10 field pieces. Tipu seized all the guns and took the entire detachment prisoners. One should remember that the total force of a few hundred Europeans was the standard size of the colonial armies that had caused havoc in India prior to Haider and Tipu. In December 1781 Tipu had successfully seized Chittur from British hands. Thus Tipu had gained sufficient military experience by the time Haider died in December 1782.

Humbling of the British

The Second Mysore war came to an end by the Treat of Mangalore. It is an important document in the history of India. It was the last occasion when an Indian power dictated terms to the English, who were made to play the role of humble supplicants for peace. Warren Hasting called it a humiliating pacification, and appealed to the king and Parliament to punish the Madras Government for "the faith and honor of the British nation have been equally violated." The English would not reconcile to this humiliation, and worked hard form that day to subvert Tipu's power. The Treaty redounds great credit to the diplomatic skill of Tipu. He had honorably concluded a long-drawn war. He frustrated the Maratha designs to seize his northern possession. The great advantage was the psychological impact of his victory with the British, the mode

of conclusion was highly satisfactory to him. The march of the Commissioner all the way from Madras to Mangalore seeking peace made Munnro remark that such indignities were throughout poured upon the British" that limited efforts seemed necessary to repudiate the Treaty at the earliest time." Such public opinion in the country highly gratified Tipu who felt it was his great triumph over the English. That was the only bright spot in his contest with the English, the only proud event which had humbled a mighty power.

Warren Hastings sent from Bengal Sir Eyre Coote, who, though repulsed at Chidambaram, defeated Haidar three times in succession in the battles of Porto Novo, Pollilur and Sholingarh, while Tipu was forced to raise the siege of Wandiwash, and Vellore was provisioned. Tipu defeated Brathwaite on the banks of the Coleroon in February 1782. On the arrival of Lord Macartney as governor of Madras, the British fleet captured Negapatam, and forced Hyder Ali to confess that he could never ruin a power which had command of the sea. He had sent his son Tipu to the west coast, to seek the assistance of the French fleet, when his death took place suddenly at Chittur in December 1782. The young Tipu Sultan therefore took over the war effort.

The British captured Coimbatore in 1783, but neither they nor Mysore were able to obtain a clear overall victory. The war was ended in 1784 with the Treaty of Mangalore, at which both sides agreed to restore the others' lands to the status quo ante bellum.This was the second of four Anglo-Mysore Wars.

CHAPTER 3

Rise of British Raj

Pitt's India Act

Pitt's India Act, 1784 is the parliamentary enactment to cope with the situation arisen out of the operation of the Regulating Act, 1773. The Regulating Act had two major aims to achieve. One was the ideal of managing the new kingdom according to British principles of government from the very beginning and the other was to eliminate rampant corruption among the company officials in Bengal. But the operation of the Act proved to be ineffective in realising the objects. Majority members of the Council consistently opposed warren Hastings in the administration of Bengal. Corruption remained as rampant as before. Impeachment of Hastings charged with manifold corruption and malpractices indicate that such depravity among officials was alleged to be present even in the highest executive. Evidences are there that the Council members took bribes from Kings and Zamindars. Furthermore, both the English and native population showed concern about wide jurisdiction claimed by the supreme court. The jurisdiction of the Supreme Court was never clearly stated in the Regulating Act. The case of King Nanda Kumar is the glaring example of the despotic application of law by the Supreme Court. Therefore, parliament felt that remedial measures must be taken to save the company and the new kingdom from total breakdown. Towards removing the defects of the Regulating Act a Bill was

passed by the coalition government led by Fox in 1783, but the House of Lords rejected the Bill. The new government of Younger Pitt revived the bill in modified form and passed it into an Act in 1784. The salient features relating to the governance of the kingdom of Bengal are as follows:

1. There shall be a Board of Control consisting of maximum six parliamentarians headed by a senior cabinet member to direct, superintend and control the affairs of the company's territorial possessions in the East Indies.
2. The Court of Directors shall establish a Secret Committee to work as a link between the Board and the Court.
3. The Governor General's council shall consist of three members one of whom shall be the commander-in-chief of the King's army in India. In case the members present in a meeting of the council shall any time be equally divided in opinion, the Governor General shall have two votes.
4. The government must stop further experiments in the revenue administration and proceed to make a permanent settlement with Zamindars at moderate rate of revenue demand. The government must establish permanent judicial and administrative systems for the governance of the new kingdom.
5. All civilians and military officers must provide the Court of Directors a full inventory of their property in India and in Britain within two months of their joining their posts.
6. Severe punishment including confiscation of property, dismissal and jail, shall be inflicted on any civilian or military officer found guilty of corruption
7. Receiving gifts, rewards, presents in kind or cash from the Kings, Zamindars and other Indians are strictly prohibited and people found guilty of these offences shall be tried charged with corruption.

Parliament directly appointed Lord charles cornwallis to implement the Act. Immediately after his joining as Governor

General in 1786, Cornwallis embarked upon the responsibility of reform works reposed on him by parliament. In 1793 he completed his mission. He introduced permanent settlement, announced a judicial code, established administrative and police systems and then left for home in the same year.

Third Anglo-Mysore War

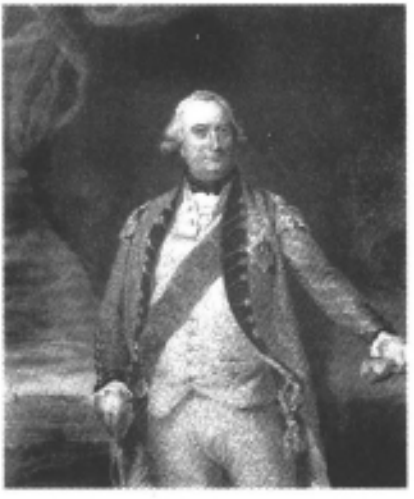
The Third Anglo-Mysore War (1789-1792) was a war in South India between the Kingdom of Mysore and the Kingdom of Great Britain.

Tipu Sultan, the ruler of Mysore and an ally of France, invaded the nearby state of Travancore in 1789, which was a British protectorate. The resultant war lasted three years and resulted in a resounding defeat for Mysore. France, embroiled in the French Revolution and thwarted by British Naval power, was unable to provide as much assistance as Tipu had expected. The war resulted in a sharp curtailment of Mysore's borders to the profit of the Marathas, the Nizam of Hyderabad, and the Madras Presidency - all British allies or agents.

One notable military advance championed by Tipu Sultan was the use of mass attacks with rocket brigades in the army. The effect of these weapons on the British during the Third and Fourth Mysore Wars was sufficiently impressive to inspire William Congreve to invent Congreve rockets.

Permanent settlement in Bengal

Cornwallis's greatest achievement in India was the reorganisation of the land taxation, known as the Permanent Settlement of 1793. Agricultural land in Bengal was cultivated by a large number of



small farmers, who paid rent to a group of Zamindars. Under the Mughals, the government had collected taxes from the Zamindars. The East India Company, however, had tried to set aside the Zamindars, and collect land taxes either directly through company officials, or through revenue-farmers, who collected the rent from peasants and paid a lump sum to the government. The new system led to widespread corruption, and the peasants suffered severely. Cornwallis decided to go back to the old Mughal system. He granted legal ownership of their land to the Zamindars. In return, they had to pay the government 90 per cent of the rent which they collected from the farmers. These arrangements were to last for ever, hence the title Permanent Settlement.

The immediate effects of the permanent settlement were not good. In 1769 Bengal was devastated by a terrible famine. A large number of rural people died from starvation or fled from the countryside. As a result, Zamindars found it difficult to collect rent from such ruined farms. Many of them were unable to pay their fixed taxes, and sold their estates. It was not until the beginning of the 1800s, when the population began to increase once again and land which had gone out of cultivation was brought back under the plough, that the great Bengal Zamindars again became prosperous.

Fourth Anglo-Mysore War

The Fourth Anglo-Mysore War (1798-1799) took place in South India between the Kingdom of Mysore and the British East India Company under Lord Wellesley. He had taken over as Governor-

General of the Company after Lord Cornwallis.

Napoleon's landing in Egypt in 1798 was intended to threaten India, and Mysore was a key to that next step, as the ruler of Mysore, Tipu Sultan, was a staunch ally of France.

Although Horatio Nelson crushed Napoleon's ambitions at the Battle of the Nile, three armies one from Bombay, and two British (one of which was commanded by Arthur Wellesley the future 1st Duke of Wellington) - nevertheless marched into Mysore in 1799 and besieged the capital, Srirangapatnam. On May 04, the armies broke through the defending walls and Tipu Sultan, rushing to the breach, was shot and killed. It is said, Tipu was betrayed in this war by one of his commanders. The British then took indirect control of Mysore, restoring the house of Wodeyar to the Mysorean throne. Tipu's young heir, Fateh Ali, was sent into exile.

One notable military advance championed by Tipu Sultan was the use of mass attacks with rocket brigades in the army. The effect of these weapons on the British during the Third and Fourth Mysore Wars was sufficiently impressive to inspire William Congreve to invent Congreve rockets. This was the last of the four Anglo-Mysore Wars.

Marathas after Kharda

After being victorious over the Nizam at Kharda, Nana Phadnavis' influence in Poona was enhanced. But soon the Marathas indulged in internal quarrels. Tired of Nana Phadnavis' dictatorship, Peshwa Madhavrao Narayan committed suicide on October 25, 1795. After various plots and counter-plots on December 04, 1796, Baji Rao II, son of Raghoba, became the Peshwa and Nana Phadnavis as his chief minister. Taking advantage of the instable situation among the Marathas, the Nizam recovered the territories which were taken by the Marathas after his defeat at Kharda.

Wellesley's move towards Subsidiary Alliance

When Lord Wellesley arrived as a Governor-General on April 26,

1798, he engineered the policy of Subsidiary Alliance. He was of the firm conviction that the best way of safeguarding the interest of England was to reduce the whole country into a military dependence on the East India Company. Though there was no conflict between the English and the Marathas, the English began to gain more strength. The English prospects were brightened after the death of Nana Phadnavis on March 13, 1800. Thus the last chance of keeping the Marathas in order was wiped out.

Treaty of Bassein signed (1802)

Matters among the Marathas were becoming worse by the Peshwa's own intrigues. It worsened more when the Peshwa murdered Vithuji Holkar, brother of Jaswant Rao Holkar in April 1801. This made Holkar rise in rebellion with a huge army and on October 23, he defeated the combined armies of Sindhias and the Peshwas at Poona and captured the city. Jaswant Rao Holkar made Amrit Rao's son Vinayak Rao the Peshwa and on the other hand Baji Rao took refuge in Bassein. And in this helpless situation, Baji Rao had no hesitation to accept the Subsidiary Alliance and signed with the East India Company the Treaty of Bassein on December 31, 1802.

Provisions of the Treaty

The treaty provided for an English force of 6,000 to be permanently stationed with the Peshwa, and for its maintenance the districts yielding twenty-six lakh rupees were to be given to the Company.

It also stated that the Peshwa could not enter into any treaty or declare war without consulting the Company and that the Peshwa's claim upon the Nizam and Gaekwar would be subject to the arbitration of the Company. The Peshwa also renounced his claim over Surat.

On May 13, 1803 Baji Rao II was restored to Peshwarship under the protection of the East India Company. This treaty of Bassein was an important landmark in the history of British supremacy in India. This led to expansion of the sway and influence of the East India Company over the Indian subcontinent. However, the treaty was not acceptable to both the Marathas chieftains - the Shindes nd Bhosales. This directly resulted in the Second Anglo-Maratha war in 1803.

The Second Battle

Although the defeat of Tipu left the Marathas as the chief rivals to Britain, the Second Maratha War arose initially from internal conflict within the Maratha Confederacy. The Peshwa, Baji Rao II, was still the offiicial head of the Marathas, but the most powerful were Doulut Rao Sindhia of Gwalior, and Jaswant Rao Holkar of Indore; lesser powers were the Gaekwar of Baroda and Ragogee Bhonsla, Raja of Berar. Marquess Wellesley's attempts to bring these states into his subsidiary system were unsuccessful, and civil war among the Marathas resulted in the utter defeat of the Peshwa's forces by Holkar at the battle of Poona. Baji Rao II fled to British protection, and by the Treaty of Bassein formed an alliance with the British, ceding territory for the maintenance of a subsidiary force, and agreeing to treat with no other power. This considerably extended British influence in western India, but Wellesley was still concerned over possible French interference, given the French influence in the Maratha forces, notably from Perron.

Marquess Wellesley determined to support the Peshwa, and Arthur Wellesley led a force, which re-installed Baji Rao in Poona, without opposition, on May 13, 1803. By early August, negotiations with

Sindhia having failed, the governor-general moved against the two principal Maratha forces: a combined army of Sindhia and the Raja of Berar in the Deccan, about 50,000 soldiers including 10,500 regular infantry; and further north, Sindhia's main army, about 35,000 soldiers, commanded by Perron. Marquess Wellesley formed two armies, the northern under General Gerard Lake, and the southern under Arthur Wellesley. Collaborating with the latter was the Hyderabad Contingent, some 9,400 soldiers, and in addition to Wellesley's own army, more than 11,000 soldiers were some 5,000-allied Mysore and Maratha light horse.

British defeat the Marathas

On August 06,1803 Arthur Wellesley received news of the failure of negotiations, and marched immediately upon the fortification of Ahmednagar. On 8 August he stormed and took the city, laid siege to Ahmednagar fort, and accepted its surrender on 12 August. This success had a profound effect upon the Maratha chieftain Gokhale, one of the Peshwa's supporters whose forces were present with Wellesley; he wrote that 'These English are a strange people and their General a wonderful man. They came here in the morning, looked at the pettah-wall, walked over it, killed all the garrison, and returned to breakfast.'

Wellesley encountered the army of Sindhia and Ragojee Bhonsla at Assaye on 23 September. The latter numbered between 40,000 and 50,000 men, including three brigades of regular infantry, the largest under the command of the ex-Hanoverian sergeant, Pohlmann. Despite the numbers, Wellesley determined to attack; as Colonel Stevenson's Hyderabad force was not within range of support, Wellesley had only some 7,000 men, of whom perhaps 500 had to guard his baggage, and of the remainder, he had only three European regiments (19th Light Dragoons, 74th Foot and 78th Foot). The Mysore and Maratha light horse, some believed to be of dubious loyalty, could not be used in the main action. Despite sustaining heavy casualties in their frontal attack, the small British and Company force won a considerable victory; it was

Wellesley's first major success, and one which he always held in the highest estimation, even when compared to his later triumphant career. His losses, however, were severe, numbering nearly 650 Europeans and more than 900 Indian troops; from a strength of about 500 rank and file, the 74th lost ten officers and one volunteer killed and seven wounded, and 124 other ranks killed and 270 wounded, a casualty-rate of about three-quarters of those engaged. Having sustained such casualties, and having fought the battle after a 24-mile march, Wellesley was unable immediately to pursue his defeated enemy, who had left 98 guns on the field, which they had bravely attempted to defend.

Wellesley pressed on in due course, until the Raja of Berar's army, with large numbers of Sindhia's cavalry made a stand at Argaum on 29 November 1803. They numbered probably between 30,000 and 40,000, Wellesley's army about 10,000, the European part being only the remains of those who had fought at Assaye, plus the 94th Scotch Brigade from Stevenson's force. The European infantry outpaced the rest as Wellesley ordered a frontal attack; the Marathas broke, abandoning 38 guns and Wellesley's cavalry did severe execution in the pursuit. Wellesley suffered barely 360 casualties in all. On 15 December 1803 a ferocious British assault captured the fortress of Gawilghur; the Raja of Berar sued for peace next day, and on 17 December ceded the province of Cuttack to the Company, and other territory to its allies.

Treaty of Amritsar

After the Treaty of Amritsar with British who simply stated that the International boundry of line between the Sarkar Khalsa and British India is Satluj. Ranjit singh was virtually made master of all the territory to the west of Satluj. But there was several small kingdoms, like Peshawar, Rawalpindi, Kashmir, Multan, Sialkote which were ruled by Afghani or local chiefs.

Thus, Ranjit singh first turned towards North towards Kangra valley which was taken over from Raja Sansar Chand by Gurkhas. Ranjit Singh's forces fought with Gurkhas in Kangra Valley in the

end the Gurkha leader Amar Singh thapa fled leaving the field to the Sikhs. Ranjit singh entered the fort of Kangra and held a royal Darbar which was attended by the hill chiefs of Chamba, nurpur, Kotla, Shahpur, Guler, Kahlur, Mandi, Suket and Kulu. Desa Singh Majithia was appointed governor of Kangra.

Then Ranjit singh sent a force under the command of Hukma Singh Chimmi to Jammu and himself marched on to Khushab. Jaffar Khan held the fort of Khushab, a Baluch chief. He gave up the city and defended the fort stoutly. Ranjit singh invited him to vacate the fort and accept a jagir. In few months, Jaffar Khan accepted Ranjit singh's terms and gave up the fort. He was given a jagir and allowed to remain in Khushab with his family.

Gurkha War

The Gurkha War (1814-1816), also known as the Anglo-Nepalese War, was fought between the British Empire and the Kingdom of Nepal. The prelude to the war was that Nepal had been opposing any British actions in the subcontinent and stood a threat to their capital of Calcutta. The immediate cause was the refusal of Nepalese forces to evacuate the disputed territories of Awadh.

The resulting Sugauli Treaty of 1816 gave the British the tract of hill country where Simla, the site of the future summer capital of British India, was situated and it settled relations between Nepal and British India for the rest of the British period. Nepal remained independent and isolated, supported by the export of soldiers to strengthen the British military presence in India.

Pindari War

Pindari is a word of uncertain origin, applied to the irregular horsemen who accompanied the Maratha armies in central India during the 18th century when the Mughal Empire was breaking up. The Pindaris were loosely organised under self-chosen leaders, and each band was usually attached to one or other of the great Maratha leaders. Their special characteristic was that they received

no pay, but rather purchased the privilege of plundering on their own account. 'They were men,' writes a chronicler of the period, 'of all lands and religions. They generally avoided pitched battles and plunder was their principal object, for which they perpetrated horrible cruelties on all whom they could get hold of.'

When the regular forces of the Marathas had been broken up in the campaigns conducted by Sir Arthur Wellesley and Lord Lake in 1802-04, the Pindaris made their headquarters in Malwa, under the tacit protection of Sindhia and Holkar.

First Burmese War

The First Anglo-Burmese War lasted from 1823 to 1826. It was one of the three wars that were fought between Burma and the British colonial empire during the 19th century, and which resulted in the gradual extinction of Burmese independence.

Due to the difficult terrain, particularly during the rainy season in the summer, campaigning was largely confined to first and last few months of the year.

During the end of the 18th century and beginning of the 19th, the Burmese had engaged in an expansionist policy against its neighbours that has finally set it in contact with the British colonial empire. They apparently were not aware of the tactics, discipline and resources of the Europeans, and thus were not cautious about entering a war.

On September 23, 1823, an armed party of Burmese attacked the British on Shapura, an island close to the Chittagong side, killing and wounding six of the guards. War with Burma was formally declared on March 05, 1824. On May 17, 1824, a Burmese force invaded Chittagong and drove a mixed sepoy and police detachment from its position at Ramu, but did not follow up its success.

The British rulers in India, however, had resolved to carry the war into the enemy's country; an army, under Commodore Charles Grant and Major-General Sir Archibald Campbell, entered the Rangoon River, and anchored off the town of Rangoon, on May

10, 1824. After a feeble resistance the place, then little more than a large stockaded village, was surrendered, and the troops were landed. The place was entirely deserted by its inhabitants, the provisions were carried off or destroyed, and the invading force took possession of a complete solitude. On May 28, Campbell ordered an attack on some of the nearest posts, which were all carried after a steadily weakening defence. On June 10, another attack was made on the stockades at the village of Kemmendine. Some of these were battered by artillery from the war vessels in the river, and the shot and shells had such effect on the Burmese that they evacuated them, after a very unequal resistance.

It soon, however, became apparent that the expedition had been undertaken with very imperfect knowledge of the country, and without adequate provision. The devastation of the country, which was part of the defensive system of the Burmese, was carried out with unrelenting rigour, and the invaders were soon reduced to great difficulties. The health of the men declined, and their ranks were fearfully thinned. The King of Ava sent large reinforcements to his dispirited and beaten army; and early in June an attack was commenced on the British line, but proved unsuccessful. On June 08, the British assaulted. The Burmese were beaten at all points; and their strongest stockaded works, battered to pieces by a powerful artillery, were in general abandoned.

With the exception of an attack by the Prince of Tharrawaddy in the end of August, the enemy allowed the British to remain unmolested during the months of July and August. This interval was employed by Campbell in subduing the Burmese provinces of Tavoy and Mergui, and the whole coast of Tenasserim. This was an important conquest, as the country was salubrious and afforded convalescent stations to the sick, who were now so numerous in the British army that there were scarcely 3,000 soldiers fit for duty. An expedition was about this time sent against the Old Portuguese fort and factory of Syriam, at the mouth of the Pegu River, which was taken; and in October the province of Martaban was reduced under the authority of the British.

The rainy season terminated about the end of October; and the court of Ava, alarmed by the discomfiture of its armies, recalled the veteran legions which were employed in Arakan, under their renowned leader Maha Bandula. Bandula hastened by forced marches to the defence of his country; and by the end of November an army of 60,000 men had surrounded the British position at Rangoon and Kemmendine, for the defence of which Campbell had only 5,000 efficient troops. The enemy in great force made repeated attacks on Kemmendine without success, and on December 07, 1824 Bandula was defeated in a counter attack made by Campbell. The fugitives retired to a strong position on the river, which they again entrenched; and here they were attacked by the British on the 15th, and driven in complete confusion from the field.

Campbell now resolved to advance on Prome; about 100 metres higher up the Irrawaddy river. He moved with his force on February 13, 1825 in two divisions, one proceeding by land, and the other, under General Willoughby Cotton, destined for the reduction of Danubyu, being embarked on the flotilla. Taking the command of the land force, he continued his advance till March 11, when intelligence reached him of the failure of the attack upon Danubyu. He instantly commenced a retrograde march; on March 27 he affected a junction with Cotton's force, and on April 02 entered the entrenchments at Danubyu without resistance, Bandula having been killed by the explosion of a bomb. The English general entered Prome on April 25, and remained there during the rainy season.

On September 17, an armistice was concluded for one month. In the course of the summer General Joseph Morrison had conquered the province of Arakan; in the north the Burmese were expelled from Assam; and the British had made some progress in Cachar, though the thick forests and jungle finally impeded their advance.

The armistice having expired on November 03, 1825 the army of Ava, amounting to 60,000 men, advanced in three divisions against the British position at Prome, which was defended by 3,000 Europeans and 2,000 native troops. But the British still triumphed, and after several actions, in which the Burmese were the assailants

and were partially successful, Campbell, on December 1, attacked the different divisions of their army, and successively drove them from all their positions, and dispersed them in every direction. The Burmese retired on Malun, along the course of the Irrawaddy, where they occupied, with 10,000 or 12,000 men, a series of strongly fortified heights and a formidable stockade.

On December 26, they sent a flag of truce to the British camp; and negotiations having commenced, peace was proposed to them on the following conditions:

1. The cession of Arakan, together with the provinces of Mergui, Tavoy and Ye.
2. The renunciation by the Burmese sovereign of all claims upon Assam and the contiguous petty states.
3. The British East India Company to be paid a crore of rupees as an indemnity for the expenses of the war.
4. Residents from each court of the Company to be allowed, with an escort of fifty men.
5. British ships should no longer be obliged to unship their rudders and land their guns as formerly in the Burmese ports.

This treaty was agreed to and signed, but the ratification of the King was still wanting; and it was soon apparent that the Burmese had no intention to sign it, but were preparing to renew the contest. Accordingly, Campbell attacked and carried the enemy's position at Malun on January 19, 1826. The Burmese here made another offer of peace, but it was found to be insincere; and the fugitive army made at the ancient city of Pagan a final stand in defence of the capital. They were attacked and overthrown on February 09 and the invading force being now within four days' march of Ava.

Dr Price, an American missionary, who with other Europeans had been thrown into prison when the war commenced, was sent to the British camp with the treaty (known as the Treaty of Yandaboo, signed on February 24, 1826) ratified, the prisoners of war released, and an instalment of 25 lakhs of rupees. The war was thus brought to a successful termination, and the British army evacuated the country.

CHAPTER 4

Expansion of The Raj

Mysore

The old province of Mysore comprised the areas of Mysore, Talakad, Kodagu and Srirangapatnam. The Wodeyar dynasty, which was founded by Yaduraya in 1399 AD, has dominated most of Mysore history. Chikkadevara Wodeyar was the man who expanded the Mysore Empire while Kantareeva Narasimha Raja Wodeyar recaptured Mysore from the Dalavayis. The interim period saw the rise to power of two of India's most famous personalities-Hyder Ali and Tipu Sultan. Tipu Sultan was the first to build an army on scientific lines and took on the might of the British. Known as the Tiger of Mysore, his acts of courage, bravery are renowned. This brave heart died at Srirangapatna fighting till the last.

The modern phase of Mysore began from 1800 with the ascent to the throne of Krishnaraja Wodeyar III. Governor William Bentick took over Mysore in 1831 and in 1881 restored it back to Chamaraja Wodeyar.

Abolition of company's trading rights (1833)

Renewal of Charter

After the separation of the Company's commercial and political

financial accounts, tracking charges to Indian territorial revenues became somewhat easier Company accounts distinguished a class of territorial expenses incurred in Britain that were chargeable to the Indian revenues. After the 1833 Charter Renewal that abolished the Company's commercial operations, calculating what were called Home Charges become straightforward anything spent by the Company in Britain was an expense for the Indian treasury. Whether all these charges represented a transfer of wealth from India as a drain or tribute or whether some or all should be considered payments for services rendered is a difficult question and one that this paper cannot really answer. However, the impact of the Home Charges upon Indian budgets between 1815 and 1859 is clear.

It was only after passage of the Charter Act of 1833 had closed India Company trading operations that a shift occurred. After that date, the regime began a systematic policy of building and improving public works. For example, the regime invested 2.2 million sterling in improving three grand trunk roads: Peshawar-Delhi-Calcutta; Calcutta to Bombay; and Bombay to Agra. In the 1850's the state began work for the first time on new irrigation projects. The Ganges Canal that tapped into the perennial water flow of the Himalayan river sources, finished in 1854, cost 1.4 million sterling. The Kaveri, Godavari and Krishna river systems in the south were also completed.

These long-term East India Company fiscal data reveal several characteristic features of the Company's fiscal approach: First, decision-makers at home and in India were bent on creating a usable revenue surplus each year suitable for commercial investment (until 1833) and paying dividends to the holders of East India Company stock. To do so, they raised their revenue demands in each territory acquired to levels equal to the highest assessments made by previous Indian regimes. Second, those surpluses produced were never adequate to meet the combined administrative, military and commercial expenses of the Company. Third, the Company resorted to borrowing on interest-bearing

bonds in India and at home in steadily rising amounts to meet its obligations. Fourth, the escalating cost of the East India Company armies and of incessant warfare formed the greatest single fiscal burden for the new regime. Finally, the Company allocated negligible funds for public works, for cultural patronage, for charitable relief, or for any form of education. The Company confined its generosity to paying extremely high salaries to its civil servants and military officers. These characteristics marked the East India Company fiscal system from its inception to its demise in 1859.

Abolition of Slavery (1833)

Slavery Act

The common law of England did not recognise anyone as a slave (although in Scotland, which does not have the common law, bondage still existed until the late eighteenth century, when it was abolished by legislation). Slavery, however, existed in a number of British colonies, principally in the West Indies.

The House of Lords passed by the House of Commons and the Slavery Abolition Bill 1833. It received the Royal Assent (which means it became law) on 29 August 1833 and came into force on 1 August 1834. On that date slavery was abolished throughout the vast British Empire. The Act automatically applied as new possessions subsequently became part of the British Empire.

Exceptions

- Its application to the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope (now the Cape Province of the Republic of South Africa) was delayed for 4 months and its application to the Colony of Mauritius (now the Republic of Mauritius) was delayed for 6 months.
- Section 64 excluded Ceylon (now Sri Lanka), St Helena and the territories in the possession of The Honourable East India Company, namely in British India, but the section was

subsequently repealed. The Honourable East India Company, in theory, administered large parts of India as an agent for the Mogul Emperor in Delhi.

Subsequently, section 1 of 5 & 6 Vict c 101 was enacted which prohibited certain officers of The Honourable East India Company from being involved in the purchase of slaves, but it did not actually abolish slavery in India. It was the provisions of the Indian Penal Code 1860 which effectively abolished slavery in India by making the enslavement of human beings a criminal offence.

Purposes of the Act

The purposes of the Slavery Abolition Act 1833 were described in the preamble to the Bill as:

1. the abolition of slavery throughout the British colonies;
2. for promoting the industry of the manumitted slaves; and
3. for compensating the persons hitherto entitled to the services of such slaves.

The second purpose was achieved by providing for a period of apprenticeship.

The third purpose was achieved by appropriating £20 million — a huge sum in those days — to compensate slave owners.

Tripartite Treaty (1838)

As the rumours of Russian infiltration into Persia and Afghanistan spread in the late thirties of the nineteenth century, the Governor-General, Lord Auckland, despatched Captain Alexander Burnes to Kabul to make an alliance with Amir Dost Muhammad. The Afghan ruler made Peshawar the price of his co-operation which the British could not afford without going to war with the Sikhs.

Auckland had to choose between Dost Muhammad and Ranjit Singh. He chose Ranjit. Singh decided to seek his help in ousting Dost Muhammad and putting Shah Shuja' on the throne of Afghanistan. In April 1838, Burnes' mission was withdrawn from

Kabul. In May 1838, Sir William Macnaghten was deputed to Lahore to engage the Maharaja in a treaty which aimed at the revival of the defunct Sikh-Afghan agreement of 1833. After prolonged negotiations, Ranjit Singh signed the treaty on June 26, 1838 which is known as the Tripartite Treaty. The Treaty confirmed control of the Sikh kingdom, in perpetuity, over the former Afghan possessions of Kashmir, Attock, Hazara, Peshawar and its dependencies up to the Khaibar, Bannu, Tonk, Kalabagh and other dependent Waziri districts, the Derajat and the rich and fertile province of Multan. For relinquishing its claims to Shikarpur, the Lahore Government, under British mediation, was to receive a sum of 1,500,000 rupees out of the levy on the Amirs of Sindh. Shah Shuja' renounced all his claims in regard to Sindh and agreed to abide by the settlement made by the British and the Sikh ruler in Sindh. Shah Shuja' surrendered to joint Anglo-Sikh authority control of the foreign relations of Afghanistan. The Lahore Government bound itself, for an annual payment of 200,000 rupees by the Shah, to maintain a Muhammadan auxiliary force of not fewer than 5,000 men for the Shah's aid. Finally, Hirat was to be independent, and, at Kabul, Shah Shuja' was required to have a British envoy. It has been said that the real purpose of the British in working out the Tripartite treaty was to thwart Sikh designs on Sindh.

The First Afghan War (1839 - 1842)

With the failure of the Burnes mission (1837), the governor general of India, Lord Auckland, ordered an invasion of Afghanistan, with the object of restoring shah Shuja who had ruled Afghanistan from 1803 to 1809. From the point of the view of the British, the First Anglo-Afghan War (often called "Auckland's Folly") was an unmitigated disaster. The war demonstrated the ease of overrunning Afghanistan and the difficulty of holding it.

Army of British and Indian troops set out from the Punjab in December 1838 and by late March 1839 had reached Quetta. By the end of April the British had taken Qandahar without a battle.

In July, after a two-month delay in Qandahar, the British attacked the fortress of Ghazni, overlooking a plain that leads to India, and achieved a decisive victory over the troops of Dost Mohammad, which were led by one of his sons. The Afghans were amazed at the taking of fortified Ghazni, and Dost Mohammad found his support melting away. The Afghan ruler took his few loyal followers and fled across the passes to Bamian, and ultimately to Bukhara, where he was arrested, and in August 1839 Shuja was enthroned again in Kabul after a hiatus of almost 30 years. Some British troops returned to India, but it soon became clear that Shuja's rule could only be maintained by the presence of British forces. Garrisons were established in Jalalabad, Ghazni, Kalat-i-Ghilzai (Qalat), Qandahar, and at the passes to Bamian.

The destruction of the British garrison prompted brutal retaliation by the British against the Afghans and touched off yet another power struggle among potential rulers of Afghanistan. In the fall of 1842 British forces from Qandahar and Peshawar entered Kabul long enough to rescue the British prisoners and burn the great bazaar. All that remained of the British occupation of Afghanistan was a ruined market and thousands of dead (one estimate puts the total killed at 20,000). Although the foreign invasion did give the Afghan tribes a temporary sense of unity they had lacked before, the accompanying loss of life (one estimate puts the total killed at 25,000) and property was followed by a bitterness and resentment of foreign influence that lasted well into the twentieth century and may have accounted for much of the backlash against the modernisation attempts of later Afghan monarchs.

The Gwalior War (1843)

Years of turbulence and intrigue in Gwailor culminated in 1843 in the adoption of the child-heir Jayavi Rao Sinhia to the vacant throne. With the country's geographical position so strategically significant to British interests, especially regarding the Punjab and Sind, and the fact that Gwailor possessed significant military forces,

the British naturally wanted certain re-assurances from the Gwailor council of regency. The council refused even to discuss the situation with Lord Ellenborough and, in 1843, war was declared.

The British formed two armies: one at Agra under Sir Hugh Gough; and one at Jansi under Major-General John Grey. Opposing them was an army, which included European-trained "regulars" and a formidable force of artillery.

On 29th December 1843, Gough's force of two cavalry and three infantry brigades encountered about 17,000 Marathas in a strong position at Maharajpore. Naturally Gough attacked immediately and, despite strong resistance, the Mahrathas were routed and 56 guns captured. Gough suffered almost 800 casualties.

On the same day, Grey's column encountered a second Maratha force some 12,000 strong at Punniar, about 20 miles away from Gough. Again the British attacked, and again the Marathas were routed and their artillery captured.

Under these twin blows, the Gwalior regency capitulated and on 31st December 1843 a treaty was signed that effectively gave control of the country to the British.

First Anglo Sikh War

Battle of Ferozeshah

(21-22 December 1845)

Following Mukdi, the British Army proceeded northwestwards with a view to joining forces with the besieged British garrison of Ferozepore. The Sikh Army did not prevent the meeting of the two forces around its main defensive position centred around the village of Ferozeshah in the early morning of 21 December 1845.

Around 4.00pm in the afternoon, the British proceeded to attack the Sikh Army entrenched in the village. The majority of fighting took place in darkness and continued throughout the night with the British succeeded in capturing and securing parts of the Sikh encampment despite fearing Sikh counter-attacks.

The British position was precarious. During one stage of the battle, orders were given by the Governor General, Lord Hardinge, who was present throughout the campaign, to destroy all state papers left at Mukdi should the Army be defeated.

The next morning, the British attacked and were able to dislodge the remainder of the Sikh Army from the village. By this time, the British Army were exhausted having fought without respite for in excess of 16 hours.

By midday, sizeable Sikh reinforcement appeared to the east of the village under command of the Sikh Commander-in-Chief, Tej Singh. The Sikh attack that followed was uncoordinated and lacked direction, which otherwise would have led to victory against the exhausted and depleted British. By 4.00pm in the afternoon, the Sikh Army was ordered by its Commander-in-Chief to withdraw.

Battle of Aliwal

(28 January 1846)

The direction of offensive operations by the Sikh Army moved eastwards towards the end of January 1846 with a strong Sikh concentration appearing in the area around Ludhiana. A British force under the able leadership of Sir Harry Smith moved to deal with the threat that the Sikhs now presented to the British supply lines.

The Battle of Aliwal witnessed a Sikh force consisting of approximately 7,000 cavalry and 17,000 infantry, half of which were regular troops, in a defensive formation with a river to its rear. Sir Henry Smith was able to direct well co-ordinated attacks using cavalry, artillery and infantry in such a manner resulting in the most decisive outcome for the British during that stage of the war.

By late afternoon, the Sikh Army withdrew out of range having been dislodged from the two villages, which formed its main line of defence.

Battle of Sobraon

(10 February 1846)

Following the arrival of heavy artillery from Delhi and the rejoining of forces engaged at Aliwal, the British proceeded towards the Sikh fortified position at Sobraon.

Despite being the Commander-in-Chief of the Sikh Army, Tej Singh proceeded to secure the destruction of the Sikh Army by placing his forces behind fortifications with its rear to a wide fast-flowing river, severely inhibiting the Army's manoeuvrability and affording no means of effective withdrawal.

Following a punishing two hour bombardment by the British siege artillery, the lines of British infantry began their assault.

Initially, the Sikhs were able to repulse the attacks, however having deployed further men, the British was able to exploit the weak east wing of the Sikh defences.

As with the previous engagements, the fighting was bitter, with close hand to hand fighting; the Sikhs preferring to rely on their tulwars whilst the British pressed forward with their bayonets. The veteran Sir Henry Smith who described it as 'A brutal bulldog fight' evidenced the ferocity of the battle.

Tej Singh fled across the single and feeble bridge of boats which afforded the sole means of withdrawal. Shortly after his flight, the bridge broke. With the British Army driving forward, thousands of Sikhs were to be killed either fighting to the end alongside the resilient Sikh commander, Sham Singh Attariwala or otherwise drowning whilst seeking to reach the other side of the river.

The Sikh Army was decimated at Sobraon and would not ever fully recover. Approximately 10,000 were killed and wounded, many being regular troops.

British losses were also high, 23,003 killed and wounded, approximately one-seventh of its total strength.

The Battle of Sobraon ended the First Sikh War. A peace treaty

followed, the Lahore Court remained intact, Tej Singh retained a place in the Council at Lahore working under a British protectorate and the Sikh Army who had underpinned the security and independence of the Lahore Court, had been critically wounded.

Lord Dalhousie

Lord Dalhousie was appointed Governor General of India in 1848. His eight years of rule is considered one of the greatest period of British rule. His policy of Annexation was a lethal weapon of conquest which raised the rule of the East India Company to the height of glory. It was also during his rule that various reforms were brought to improve the conditions of India. Though these directly benefited the British yet they were foundations on which the country built itself after independence. The policy of annexation known as the Doctrine of Lapse was based on the forfeiture of the right to rule in the absence of a natural heir. By this policy the state of Satara was annexed in 1848, in 1849 the state of Sambhalpur and in 1853 Jhansi was also annexed. After the death of the Raja of Nagpur in 1853 the policy claimed yet another victim. By 1854 owing to the failure to have a natural heir Nagpur too was annexed.

Another method of annexation was by conquest. In 1849 Punjab was annexed after the Second Anglo Sikh War. In 1852 after the Second Burmese Lower Burma known as Pegu was annexed. In 1850 part of the state of Sikkim was annexed on the pretext of maltreatment of English officials. Other territories were annexed on the grounds of misgovernment and Assignment.To this policy fell the territories of Berar in 1853 and Oudh in 1856.

Dalhousie proved his worth in the matters of administration by the demarcation of various departments of the administrative machinery and appointment of Lieutenant Governor for Bengal. He introduced the non-regulation system under which the non-regulation provinces was to be under a Chief Commissioner responsible to the Governor-General in council. Punjab, Oudh, Burma were a few non-regulating provinces.

Dalhousie introduced Railways and Telegraph in India with a purpose to improve communication which was essential to administer the far flung areas of this vast country. He also reformed the postal system. To undertake works for the public benefit he introduced the public works department. In the educational field Dalhousie's reforms such as the system of vernacular education was praise worthy. Anglo Vernacular Schools were established. In the matters of commerce the policy of free trade was introduced by declaring free ports. Indian trade by now was dominated by the English. The military reforms of Dalhousie included the shift of the Bengal Artillery from Calcutta to Meerut. The Army head quarter shifted to Simla from Calcutta. Sensing the dangers of the increasing Indian troops he proposed reduction of Indian soldiers. He encouraged the inclusion of Gorkhas to the Indian Army; and organised an irregular force for Punjab.

Dalhousie's policy of annexations and reforms only appealed to the English interests in India and this is said to have created the grounds for a rise of the Indian opposition which reflected as the mutiny of 1857. Though started by the sepoys of the Indian army, it gave an opportunity for the discontent Indian rulers to express their discontent. It also was an attempt aimed at erasing the British rule in India. Before the revolt of 1857 several revolts preceded reflecting the Indian opposition to the British domination. They included the Sanyasi revolt of 1770, the Chuar and Ho rebellion of Midnapur in 1768, 1820-22 and 1831. They continued their stand against the British till 1837. The Santhals of Rajmahal hills rebelled in 1855. In 1828 and 1830 the Ahoms in Assam rebelled against the company followed by the Khasi's in the Jaintia and Garo hills.

In 1817-19 the Bhils of the Western Ghats revolted and continued their struggle in 1831 and 1846. The rulers of the Kutch, the Wagheras of Okha Mandal, the Ramosis also revolted against the British. In South India the Raja of Vizianagram, the Poligars of Dindigul and Malabar rose in 1856. The imposition of the subsidiary alliance of 1805 on the ruler of Travancore led to the rise of Diwan Velu Tampi with the Nair battalion.

The revolt of 1857 broke out owing to political, administrative and economic causes besides the social and religious causes. The discontented sepoys of the British army were fuelled by the immediate reason, said to be the use of the greased cartridges. An infuriated sepoy Mangal Pandey is said to have shot dead an officer leading to punishment and disbanding of the soldiers of that regiment. The revolt spread to the North Central part of India. Owing to poor organisation and superiority of the British forces the revolt was subdued.

The revolt of 1857 was followed by several changes that included the transfer of Indian administration from East India Company to the crown, respect of the honour, dignity and territorial possession of the native princes. Thus the revolt witnesses the end of an era of the rule of the few in the company. It also marked the beginning of an organised struggle for freedom from the British yoke.

Second Anglo Sikh War

The Battle of Chillianwala

Described as 'the last attempt of the army of Ranjit Singh to recover independence', the battle of Chillianwala ranks as one of the most awesome encounters of the Second Anglo Sikh Wars. Fought on the January13, 1849, it was to be followed close to a month later by the battle of Gujerat which led almost directly to the final surrender of the Sikh forces to the British. But Chillianwala was a different proposition. So fierce was the battle, and so much the loss suffered by the British here, that it created great disquiet

in England. The Sikh army had planned well, forming themselves in majestic battle array along the furrowed hills. Bushes masked their batteries, and compact infantry and cavalry were marshalled with exactness. The battle was furious. At the end of the day, with the battle lasting well into the night, the Sikhs left some of their positions, leading to the British claiming a victory. But it was the Sikhs who fired gun salutes in celebration of a great triumph. The losses on both sides were enormous, and the records show that the Khalsa army had fought with great courage and determination.

A memorial to the Battle of Chillianwala and cannons, which were engaged in the battle, is to be found at the Royal Hospital Chelsea. Armour captured by the British Commanding Officer, Colonel Thackwell, was donated by his daughter to Ipswich Museum and will be on view in a new exhibition that is being opened to coincide with the East Anglian Launch of the Anglo Sikh Heritage Trail in September 2004. This exhibition will include a magnificent shield, clearly taken from the battlefield, which is in marked contrast to the more ceremonial shields on display at the Wallace Collection, Birmingham Museum & Art Gallery and Manchester Museum & Art Gallery.

Second Anglo-Sikh War (1848-49)

Lord Dalhousie was hardly three months in India when he faced a fresh crisis in the Punjab. Diwan Mulraj of Multan revolted against the British in 1848. General Gough advised Dalhousie to delay the action against the rebels of Multan.

A large British army under General Gough crossed the Ravi and fought an indecisive battle with Sher Singh at Ramnagar. The Sikhs took a stronger position at Chillianwallah, where a terrible battle was fought on January 13, 1849. The Sikhs fought desperately, and the British victory was at high cost. The British then stormed the citadel of Multan and occupied on January 22, 1849. Mulraj was tried and was transported to life beyond the seas.

The Sikhs now entrenched themselves at Gujarat, a town near the Chenab. The battle of Gujarat fought on February 21, 1849, was final and decisive. The Sikhs fought with courage. They suffered immense losses and their defeat was complete. On March 30, 1849, came the proclamation from the Governor-General which ran thus: "The kingdom of the Punjab is at an end and that all the territories of Maharaja Dalip Singh are now, and henceforth, a portion of the British Empire in India." Dalip Singh was given the pension of 50,000 pounds per annum and sent to England with his mother Rani Jindan for education. The administration of Punjab was entrusted to a Board of Commissioners. A band of able British officers like Sir Henry Lawrence, his brother John Lawrence, Herbert Edwardes, John Nicholson, Richard Temple and many others, who under the supervision of Governor-General, introduced various reforms in different branches of administration, such as, army, police, land revenue, etc. Later in 1853, the Board was abolished and John Lawrence was made the first Chief Commissioner of the Punjab. The Sikhs henceforth became loyal to the British Empire and served its cause faithfully during the Second Anglo-Burmese War and the Revolt of 1857-59.

Second Anglo-Burmese war (1852)

After the treaty of Yandaboo 1826 (After first Anglo-Burmese War), a large number of British merchants had settled on the southern coast of Burma and Rangoon. Tharrawady, the new king of Burma (1837-1845) refused to consider the treaty of Yandaboo. The British Residents also did not get proper treatment at the court and finally the Residency had to be withdrawn in 1840.

The British merchants often complained of ill treatment at the hands of the Governor of Rangoon. They sent a petition to Lord Dalhousie. Dalhousie was determined to maintain British prestige and dignity at all the costs and so deputed Commodore Lambert to Rangoon to negotiate the redress of grievances and demand compensation.

Declaration of War

At first the King of Burma was inclined to avoid war and removed the old Governor and appointed the new one. But when a deputation of some naval officers was refused admission, Lambert adopted a very provocative line of action. He captured one of the Burmese King's ships. With this incident, the Burmese did not resist and the war was declared.

On April 01, 1852, British forces reached Rangoon. The famous Pagoda of Rangoon was stormed on April 14, 1852. A month later Bassein, situated at Irrawaddy Delta was captured. Prome was occupied in October and Pegu in November. Dalhousie wanted the Burmese king to recognise the conquest of the Lower Burma. On the refusal of the king to conclude the treaty, Dalhousie annexed Pegu by issuing a proclamation on December 20, 1852.

By the annexation of Pegu the eastern frontier of the British Indian Empire was extended upto the banks of Salween. Major Arthur Phayre was appointed Commissioner of the newly acquired British province extending as far as Myede.

Railways and Telegraph

In 1833 the Charter of the East India Company was renewed. Influenced no doubt somewhat by the Anglo-Indians' petition, Section 87 of the said Act stated that -'No native of the said territories, nor any natural born subject of His Majesty resident therein, shall, by reason of his religion, place of birth, descent, colour, or any of them, be disabled from holding any place, office, or employment under the said Company. In theory all posts were thrown open to people of any race in India, but in practice only the subordinate trades were bestowed upon Indians and Anglo-Indians, since higher services could be filled only by recruitment in England. Fortunately for Anglo-Indians, about this same time (1833), English took the place of Persian as the official language of the Courts and Government offices. In future English was to be the only medium of correspondence in commercial houses.

English being their mother tongue, the Anglo-Indians had an advantage in this direction and very soon many of the community found employment under Government and in commercial firms as clerks, though in subordinate positions. This advantage, however, was only temporary because Lord Bentinck, who was Governor-General from 1828 to 1836, with the cooperation of Lord Macaulay who drew up his famous Minute on Education in 1835, determined that 'The linguistic disadvantage of Indians should be removed, and accordingly instruction in English was ordered to be imparted in Indian schools. Very soon the graduates from Indian Universities and educated young men from the Government High Schools were rapidly elbowing Anglo-Indians out of the clerical posts which they had filled efficiently.

Fortune once again came to the rescue of Anglo-Indians for soon new avenues of employment were opening up for them. In 1825 the first railway had run in England. In 1845 the East India Railway was projected in India. Simultaneously railway schemes were set on foot in Madras and Bombay. The first train in India ran from Bombay to Thana in 1853. In 1851 the Telegraph system was inaugurated. During the latter half of the 19th century (1850-1900) Anglo-Indians found ample employment on the railways, and in the telegraph and custom services. These departments needed men of adventurous stock who were willing to endure the hardships, risks, and perils of pioneers. The Anglo-Indians had in them the spirit of their forefathers and so the community furnished the Navigation Companies with captains, second officers, engineers and mechanics. From them were recruited telegraph operators, artisans and electricians. They supplied the railways with station staffs, engine drivers, permanent way-inspectors, guards, and auditors in fact every higher grade of railway servant. The Mutiny of 1857 too had proved beyond doubt the absolute loyalty of the Anglo-Indians and removed the suspicion which had been responsible for the repressive measures of the latter part of the 18th century and the first half of the 19th century. The latter part of the 19th century and the first decade of the 20th century were once again a period of prosperity and contentment for Anglo-Indians.

CHAPTER 5

First War of Indenpendence: 1857

First Indian War of Independence

India's First War of Independence, termed Sepoy Riots by the British was an attempt to unite India against the invading British and to restore power to the Mogul emperor Bahadur Shah. The resistance disintegrated primarily due to lack of leadership and unity on the part of Indians, as also to cruel suppression by the British Army. It was a remarkable event in Indian history and marked the end of the Mogul empire and sealed India's fate as a British colony for the next 100 years.

Conditions

Indians working for the British Army, due to their deep traditions and faith faced numerous social barriers. In 1856 it was rumored that additional troops were to be recruited for service in Burma, where they could not follow all their religious rules, and that Christian missionary efforts among the troops were to receive official encouragement. The Zamindars of the time wanted to protect their interests in the wake of land reforms by the British and funded anti-English activities.

The insurrection was triggered when the British introduced new rifle cartridges rumored to be greased with oil made from the fat

of animals. The fat of sacred cows was taboo to Hindus while Muslims were repelled by pig fat.

Violence

The violence started on May 10, 1857 in Meerut, when Mangal Pandey, a soldier in the Army shot his commander for forcing the Indian troops to use the controversial rifles. Indians constituted 96% of the 300,000 British Army and the violence against British quickly spread (Hence the name Sepoy Mutiny). The local chiefs encouraged scattered revolts in hopes of regaining their lost privileges.

Siege of Delhi

Bahadur Shah II, pensioned descendant of the Mogul dynasty, was popularly acclaimed emperor. On June 8 a British relief force defeated an army of mutineers at Badli Sari and took up a position on the famous ridge, overlooking the city of Delhi. Nominally the besieging force, they were themselves besieged by the mutineers, who made a daring attempt to intercept their train. The arrival of more British reinforcements finally led to the defeat of the mutineers by John Nicholson, commander of the relief force. After six days of street fighting, Delhi was recaptured. This action was the turning point in the campaign and is known as Siege of Delhi. Bahadur Shah was captured and was exiled to Burma.

Rani of Jhansi (1835 - 1858)

Rani Lakshmi Bai, the fiery Queen of Jhansi, also known as the Rani of Jhansi, one of the great nationalist heroine of the first war of India freedom. A symbol of resistance to the British rule in India, she was born on 19th November 1835 at Kashi (Presently known as Varanasi). Her father Moropanth was a Brahmin and her mother Bhagirathibai was a cultured, intelligent and God fearing lady. Mannikarnika (Manu) was the name of Rani Lakshmi Bai in her childhood. Manu lost her mother at the age

of four. The Complete responsibility of the young girl fell on the father. She completed her education and also learned horse riding, Sword fighting and shooting on a target with a gun.

She was married to Raja Gangadhar Rao, the Maharaja of Jhansi in 1842, and became the Rani of Jhansi. After the marriage She was given the name Lakshmi Bai. The Marriage ceremony was performing in Ganesh Mandir, the temple of Lord Ganesha situated in the city of Jhansi. Rani Lakshmi Bai gave birth to a son in 1851, but unfortunately this child died when he was about four months old. After this tragedy, Damodar Rao was adopted as son. Later on Maharaja Gangadhar Rao also died on 21st November 1853. After the death of Maharaja Gangadhar Rao, Rani Lakshmi Bai was left alone. At this time she was eighteen years old. Rani Lakshmi Bai did not lost her courage but she always remembered her responsibility.

At that time Lord Dalhousie was the Governor General of India. Though little Damodar Rao, adopted son of late Maharaja Gangadhar Rao and Rani Lakshmi Bai was Maharaja's heir and successor as per the Hindu tradition, but the British rulers rejected Rani's claim that Damodar Rao was their legal heir. Loard Dalhousie decided to annexe the state of Jhansi, as Maharaja Gangadhar Rao had left no legal heir. This misfortune of Jhansi was used by the Briton to expand their Empire.

In March 1854 the British ruler announced 60,000 annual pensions for Rani and also ordered to leave the Jhansi fort. Jhansi was in humiliating condition but it was like a silent volcano before eruption.

Rani Jhansi was determined not to give up Jhansi She was a symbol of patriotism and self respect. Britishers were making every effort to destroy the freedom of country whereas Rani was determined to get rid of Britishers.

Rani Lakshmi Bai strengthened the defence of Jhansi and she assembled a volunteer army of rebellions. Women were also given Military training. Rani was accompanied by her brave warriors,

some of them were Gulam Gaus Khan, Dost Khan, Khuda Baksh, Lala Bhau Bakshi, Moti Bai, Sunder-Mundar, Kashi Bai, Deewan Raghunath singh and Deewan Jawahar Singh. Along with all these warriors the local population of Jhansi irrespective of their religion or caste were always determined to fight and give their lives with pleasure for the cause of Independent and their beloved Rani.

The Britishers attacked Jhansi in March 1858. Rani Jhansi with her faithful warriors decided not to surrender. The fighting continued for about two weeks. Shelling on Jhansi was very fierce. In the Jhansi army women were also carrying ammunition and were supplying food to the soldiers. Rani Lakshmi Bai was very active. She herself was inspecting the defence of the city. However, after this great war, Jhansi fell to the British forces.

On that black day, the British army entered the Jhansi City. Rani Lakshmi Bai, still full of courage and deathless patriotism dressed as a man, took up arms, her son Damodar Rao was strapped tightly to her back. She was holding the reins of her horse in her mouth. In the fierce fighting she was using the sword with both her hands. When the situation was not in control, Rani of Jhansi with some of her warriors departed from Jhansi.

Rani Lakshmi Bai reched Kalpi where many other rebellions force joined her. Tatia Tope from Kalpi was also one of them, from Kalpi Rani departed to the Gwalior. Again a fierce battle took place. Rani Jhansi fought with great patriotism. However on the second day of fighting, the great heroine of the first struggle for India freedom, at the age of 22 years, lost her life. That unfortunate day was 18th June of 1858.

Rani Lakshmibai of Jhansi was probably the bravest of all the leaders who fought for India's independence against the mighty British. She died in battle as she led the Indian mutiny in 1857, the first armed uprising against British rule.

Rani Lakshmibai of Jhansi will always be remembered for her unbreakable patriotism and astonishing courage.

In the early part of 1800, when the British were already well

established in India, Manikarnika or Manu (the maiden name of Lakshmibai) was born in the family of a courtier, Moropant, in Bittoor, a place located in Central India.

Manu was very athletic and loved to compete with boys. She was also an avid reader with a love for learning. When Manu reached marriageable age, quite unexpectedly, a marriage proposal came from the Maharaja (king) of Jhansi.

She was married a year later, in 1842. Manu was named Rani or queen Lakshmibai, after the goddess of wealth and victory. After nine years, Lakshmibai gave birth to a son. All of Jhansi celebrated the happy event. Alas, the child died after three months. Both Lakshmibai and the Maharaja were grief stricken.

The Maharaja was also unwell and was worried that he had no successor to the throne. He knew the British would not lose the opportunity to take over the kingdom of Jhansi if it were left without an heir. He quickly arranged to adopt a son in November 1853.

On the following day, the Maharaja died. The prince was still a minor. Lakshmibai decided to run the kingdom until the adopted son reached maturity. It was not easy for a woman to be the head of state at that time. Rani Lakshmibai faced many difficulties but she ran the kingdom well.

She mastered the martial arts, and inspired Jhansi's women to join the army and take a more active role in defending the country. The British were determined to take over the kingdom Jhansi. So they objected to the adoption.

Lakshmibai wrote a petition to the Governor General, and later sent an envoy to London to plead her case. The British rejected her arguments.

When the Indian soldiers of the Meerut garrison heard the rumor that their rifle cartridges, which they cut with their teeth, were greased with lard and cow fat, both Muslims and Hindus revolted as eating pork is against the Muslim faith, and eating beef is against the Hindu faith.

On May 9, 1857, British officers were shot and prison inmates were released. The rebelling nationalist soldiers marched to Delhi and received a warm welcome from the citizens. The aged ex emperor, Bahadur Shah, was reinstated to the Mughal throne and Delhi became the nationalist soldiers' headquarters.

Later they seized Lucknow and Satara and pushed the British soldiers southwards to Jhansi. The British approached Rani Lakshmibai for refuge but the Rani refused, saying that she could not betray her fellow Indians.

The British army was totally uprooted and the nationalist soldiers returned to Delhi. The British, however, were shrewd politicians and highly organised. Their soldiers were better equipped and better trained. They recaptured Delhi on September 2, 1857 with the help of their Indian allies.

All but three of the independent states surrendered and their rulers became British puppets. The three exceptions were: The Rani of Jhansi, Tantia Topi and Rao Sahib Peshwa. These three swore that they would jointly fight the British until their last breath.

The Rani of Jhansi warned her people that the British would soon come back. The people of Jhansi unanimously supported their queen and assured her that they would lay down their lives to defend Jhansi. On March 25, 1858, the British attacked Jhansi with a huge army equipped with powerful cannons.

With the help of traitors, they entered the fort at night in overwhelming numbers. Rani Lakshmibai was worried that Rao Sahib Peshwa had left himself open to attack from the rear and suggested a change in his battle formations. Rao Sahib Peshwa did not think any woman could teach him how to wage war and ignored her suggestions.

As a result, Kalpi fell into the hands of the British on May 24, 1858.

The rebels then sought shelter at the Gwalior fort. The king of Gwalior was not willing to give up his fort without a fight as he was afraid of the British.

But the soldiers laid down their arms in respect for the Rani of Jhansi. Thus the rebels entered Gwalior without a fight. The British wasted no time in attacking Gwalior. It was the fiercest, bloodiest battle ever fought on Indian soil.

Lakshmibai's courage, strength, and ability, as she valiantly fought the British army's vastly superior forces, are remembered to this day.

She died fighting and Gwalior was captured. Tantia Topi was hanged and Rao Sahib escaped. India became free in August, 1947, after a long struggle of nearly one hundred years.

Queen Takes Over Indian Governance (1858)

Aftermath of 1857

By the middle of the nineteenth century, the British Empire was the largest and richest empire in the world. This naturally gave rise to the belief that the British themselves, were the chosen race; chosen to bring the benefits of western civilisation to the less developed and civilised areas of the world. This white supremacy was enforced in Britain's colonies, especially in India and naturally, saw much native opposition. Indian uprisings against British rule, however, were unsuccessful due to the superior technology and organisation of the British army.

In 1857, with the outbreak of the Indian Mutiny, India witnessed its first war of independence against the British. Thanks to the efficiency of British media coverage, the Britishers followed the developments of the mutiny avidly. The British saw the India Mutiny as a fight against barbarians who were rejecting the civilizing influence of Victorian Britain. But as the suppression developed, the atrocities committed by both sides became obvious. The British armies swept across Northern India in an enraged and cruel rampage of rape, murder and savagery, which shocked Victorian society.

The Background

British presence in India stretched all the way from the 17th century when the East India Company (EIC) acquired its first territory in Bombay to 1947 when India and Pakistan were granted self rule. Over the years the EIC expanded by both direct (force) and indirect (economic) means eventually, chasing the French out (after the War of Plassey, 1757) and dominating the whole of the Indian sub-continent.

British rule in India rested on its military might and as long as the British army in India was invincible, British rule was assured. This of course depended on the Indian army, which comprised of Indian troops under British officers.

British rule inevitable brought western influences into India. The spread of Christianity was to cause great unease among the Indians. Evangelical Christian missionaries had little or no understanding and respect for India's ancient faiths and their efforts to convert many natives quickly brought clashes with the local religious establishments. As the missionaries were mostly British citizens, the Colonial Administration often had to intervene to protect them, which naturally gave an impression of official condolence for Christianity.

It was against this backdrop of uneasiness in which the mutiny erupted in 1857. But the spark was interestingly not so much of religious clashes, but the grease used in the new Enfield rifle. The cartridge of the Enfield rifle was heavily greased - with animal fat, to facilitate an easier load into the muzzle. Rumors began to circular among sepoys that the grease was made of cow (sacred to Hindus) and pig (taboo to Muslims) fat. As such, biting such a cartridge was sacrilegious to both Hindus and Muslims alike. British officers realised their mistake and changed the grease to vegetable oils, but in this atmosphere of distrust, the mutiny seemed inevitable.

Meerut

Meerut witnessed the first serious outbreak of the Indian Mutiny

when angry sepoys broke open the town jail and released their comrades, who had refused to bite the new cartridges. The mutineers, joined by locals soon degenerated into a fanatic mob, which poured into the European settlement and slaughtered any Europeans or Indian Christians there. Whole families, men, women, children and servants, were killed on sight. The settlement was then burned and the mutineers fled to Delhi and proclaimed Bahadur Shah, the last of the Moguls as Emperor.

This, the mutineers had hoped to create a general rising against the British and they turned to Bahadur Shah to lead them. Forced to cooperate, Bahadur Shah accepted the allegiance of the mutineers and became the titular leader of the Indian Mutiny. Most of the Europeans living in Delhi were murdered along with Indian Christians.

The massacre at Meerut provoked a strong British respond. In mid-August, British forces, reinforced by Gurkhas from Nepal and the Queen's regiments fresh from the Crimea War began a bloody campaign to re-establish British rule in India. After a short siege, Delhi fell to the British. The Emperor's three sons, Mizra Moghul, Mizra Khizr Sultan and Mizra Abu Bakr along with the mutineers were executed. Although Bahadur Shah was spared, he was deposed and with this, ended some 200 years of Mogul rule in India.

The Aftermath

By the first six months of 1858, the British managed to regain their losses in spite of heavy resistance from the locals. With the relief of Lucknow, the possibility of British defeat became remote. The British saw themselves as dispensers of divine justice and given the initial atrocities committed by the mutineers, their cruelties were simply repayment in kind. Every mutineer was a "black-faced, blood-crazed savage" which do not deserve mercy from the British troops. Their fellow countrymen derided some British like the Governor Lord Canning, who spoke of restraint as "weak" and "indifferent to the sufferings of British subjects".

In fact, Canning became known contemptuously as 'clemency Canning'.

After the British recovery, there were few sepoys captured as British soldiers bayoneted any who survived the battle. Whole villages were hanged for some real or imagined sympathy for the mutineers and the widespread looting of Indian property, was common and endorsed by the British officers. Later, convicted mutineers were lashed to the muzzles of cannon and had a round shot fired through their body. It was a cruel punishment intended to blow the body to pieces thus depriving the victim of any hope of entering paradise. Indians called this punishment "the devil's wind".

Apart from the fury reprisals of the British, another significant impact for India was the abolishment of the East India Company. The British Parliament finally realised that it was inappropriate for a private company like the East India Company to exercise such enormous powers and control a land the size of India. In 1858, John Stuart Mill dissolved the East India Company, despite a brilliant defence of its achievements, and the administration of India became the responsibility of the Crown. Direct rule on India was exercised through the India Office, a British department of state and till 1947, India became known as the Raj, the Crown Jewel of Queen Victoria's extensive empire.

Queen Victoria

The title Empress of India was given to Queen Victoria in 1877 when India was formally incorporated into the British Empire. It is said Victoria's desire for such a title was motivated partially out of jealousy of the Imperial titles of some of her royal cousins in Germany and Russia. Prime minister Benjamin Disraeli is usually credited with having given her the idea. When Victoria died and her son Edward

VII ascended the throne, his title became Emperor of India. The title continued until India became independent from the United Kingdom in 1947.

Vernacular Press Act (1878)

Lord Lytton

Vernacular Press Act, a highly controversial measure repressing the freedom of vernacular press, was passed in 1878. The regime of viceroy Lord Lytton is particularly noted for his most controversial press policy which led to the enactment of the Vernacular Press Act on 14 March 1878. Earlier dramatic performances act (1876) was enacted to repress the writing and staging of the allegedly seditious dramas. Vernacular Press Act (1878) was aimed at repressing seditious propaganda through vernacular newspapers. Introducing the Bill the Law Member of the Council narrated how the vernacular newspapers and periodicals were spreading seditious propaganda against the government. The viceroy Lord Lytton strongly denounced newspapers published in the vernacular languages as mischievous scribblers preaching open sedition. He remarked that the avowed purpose of most of the vernacular newspapers was an end to the British raj.

The papers that made the government worried were *Somprakash, Sulabh Samachar, Halisahar Patrika, Amrita Bazar Patrika, Bharat Mihir, Dacca Prakash, Sadharani* and *Bharat Sanskarak*. All these papers were said to have been leading the seditious movement against the government. The Act provided for submitting to police

all the proof sheets of contents of papers before publication. What was seditious news was to be determined by the police, and not by the judiciary. Under this Act many of the papers were fined, their editors jailed. Obviously this repressive measure came under severe criticism. All the native associations irrespective of religion, caste and creed denounced the measure and kept their denunciations and protestations alive. All the prominent leaders of Bengal and of India condemned the Act as unwarranted and unjustified, and demanded for its immediate withdrawal. The newspapers themselves kept on criticizing the measure without an end. The succeeding administration of Lord Ripon reviewed the developments consequent upon the Act and finally withdrew it.

Factory Act (1881)

The First Factories Act

In 1875, the first committee appointed to inquire into the conditions of factory work favoured legal restriction in the form of factory laws. The first Factories Act was adopted in 1881. The Factory Commission was appointed in 1885. The researcher takes only one instance, the statement of a witness to the same commission on the ginning and processing factories of Khandesh: "The same set of hands, men and women, worked continuously day and night for eight consecutive days. Those who went away for the night returned at three in the morning to make sure of being in time when the doors opened at 4 a.m., and for 18 hours' work, from 4 a.m. to 10 p.m., three or four annas was the wage. When the hands are absolutely tired out new hands are entertained. Those working these excessive hours frequently died." There was another Factories Act in 1891, and a Royal Commission on Labour was appointed in 1892. Restrictions on hours of work and on the employment of women were the chief gains of these investigations and legislation.

CHAPTER 6

The Indian National Movement (1885-1919)

Indian National Congress (1885)

Events like the passage of the Vernacular Press Act in 1878 and the Ilbert Bill of 1882, as well as the reduction of the age limit for the Civil Services Exams in 1876 resulted in a wave of opposition from the middle class Indians. Consequently some of them came together and formed a number of small political parties that came out in the streets for protests and rallies. The British foresaw the situation resulting in another rebellion on the pattern of the War of Independence of 1857. To avoid such a situation, the British decided to provide an outlet to the local people where they could discuss their political problems. In order to achieve this goal, Allan Octavian Hume, a retired British civil servant, had a series of meetings with Lord Dufferin, the Viceroy. He also visited England and met people like John Bright, Sir James Caird, Lord Ripon and some members of the British Parliament. Hume also had the support of a large number of Englishmen in India, including Sir William Wedderbun, George Yule and Charles Bradlaugh.

On his return from Britain, Hume consulted the local Indian leaders and started working towards the establishment of an Indian political organisation. He invited the convention of the Indian National Union, an organisation he had already formed in 1884,

to Bombay in December 1885. Seventy delegates, most of whom were lawyers, educationalists and journalists, attended the convention in which the Indian National Congress was established. This first session of Congress was presided over by Womesh Chandra Banerjee and he was also elected as the first president of the organisation.

Muslims primarily opposed the creation of Congress and refused to participate in its activities. Out of the 70 delegates who attended the opening session of the Congress, only two were Muslims. Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, who was invited to attend the Bombay session, refused the offer. He also urged the Muslims to abstain from the Congress activities and predicted that the party would eventually become a Hindu party and would only look after the interests of the Hindus. Syed Ameer Ali, another important Muslim figure of the era, also refused to join Indian National Congress.

Plague in Bombay (1897)

In September 1896 the first case of Bubonic plague was detected in Mandvi. It spread rapidly to other parts of the city, and the death toll was estimated at 1,900 people per week through the rest of the year. Many people fled from Bombay at this time, and in the census of 1901, the population had actually fallen to 780,000.

In the first year of the plague, a research laboratory was set up at the J. J. Hospital. It moved in 1899 to the Government House in Parel under the directorship of Dr. W. M. Haffkine. This was the beginning of the Haffkine Institute.

Those who could afford it, tried to avoid the plague by moving out of the city. Jamsetji Tata tried to open up the northern suburbs to accommodate such people. The brunt of the plague was borne by mill workers. The anti-plague activities of the health department involved police searches, isolation of the sick, detention in camps of travellers and forced evacuation of residents in parts of the city. These measures were widely regarded as offensive and as alarming as the rats.

In 1900, the mortality rate from plague was about 22 per thousand.. In the same year, the corresponding rates from Tuberculosis were 12 per thousand, from Cholera about 14 per thousand, and about 22 per thousand from what were classified as "fevers". The plague was fearsome only because it was contagious. More mundane diseases took a larger toll.

On 9th December 1898 the Bombay City Improvement Trust was created by an act of the (British) parliament. It was entrusted with the job of creating a healthier city. One of the measures taken by the CIT was the building of roads, like Princess Street and Sydenham Road (now Mohammedali Road), which would channel the sea air into the more crowded parts of the town.

Lord Curzon

George Curzon, the eldest son of Baron Curzon, was born on 11th January, 1859. A brilliant student, at Eton College he won a record number of academic prizes before entering Oxford University in 1878. He was elected president of the Oxford Union in 1880 and although he failed to achieve a first he was made a fellow of All Souls College in 1883.

A member of the Conservative Party, Curzon was elected MP for Southport in 1886. It was a safe Tory seat and Curzon neglected his parliamentary duties to travel the world. This material provided the material for Russia in Central Asia (1889), Persia and the Persian Question (1892) and Problems of the Far East (1894).

In November 1891, Marquis of Salisbury appointed Curzon as his secretary of state for India. Curzon lost office when Earl of Rosebery formed Liberal Government in 1894.

After the 1895 General Election, the Conservative Party regained power and Curzon was rewarded with the post of under secretary for foreign affairs. Three years later the Marquis of Salisbury granted him the title, Baron Curzon of Kedleston, and appointed him Viceroy of India.

Curzon introduced a series of reforms that upset his civil servants. He also clashed with Lord Kitchener, who became commander-in-chief of the Indian Army, in 1902. Arthur Balfour, the new leader of the Conservative Party, began to have doubts about Curzon and in 1905 he was forced out of office.

Curzon returned to England where he led the campaign against women's suffrage in the House of Lords. In 1908 he helped establish the Anti-Suffrage League and eventually became its president.

In 1916 the new prime minister, David Lloyd George, invited Curzon into his War Cabinet. Curzon served as leader of the House of Lords but refused to support the government's decision to introduce the 1918 Qualification of Women Act. Despite Curzon's objections, the Lords passed it by 134 votes to 71.

Curzon was appointed foreign secretary in 1919 and when Andrew Bonar Law resigned as prime minister in May 1923, Curzon was expected to become the new prime minister. However, the post went to Stanley Baldwin instead. He continued as foreign secretary until retiring from politics in 1924. George Curzon died on 20th March, 1925.

Frontier policy

Curzon's earliest policy measure was to withdraw troops from

Chitral, the Khyber, and the Khurram valley, which were not directly governed by British India. His policy was to use the concerned tribes to protect themselves with British help, if necessary at all. This policy kept the frontier quiet until the end of the First World War. Linked with this frontier policy was the creation of the North-West Frontier Province.

Internal administration

There was no part of the administration, from the rent assessment at village level to the expenditures in the viceregal household, into which Lord Curzon did not look over. He undertook a complete overhaul of the whole bureaucratic machine. As preludes to reform, he tried to identify weaknesses and defects of office management, department by department.

Regular delay in office attendance, slow movement of files, uncalled-for lengthy noting on files, writing long minutes in flamboyant style, endless and purposeless movement of files up and down the desks, taking the stereotype as the model, dependence on the subordinates for even a trifling matter etc tormented him. He had a very poor opinion of Indian Civil Service. Therefore, he took the most unprecedented steps by personally supervising the office improvement measures. Even the offices of the ICS officials came under his scrutiny. He asked them to take initiatives in good governance.

The civilians coldly received Curzon's paternalistic outlook, but finally they gave in and followed him as faithfully as the British bureaucracy followed the Prime Minister. Based on the police report of 1903, Curzon reorganised the Indian and provincial police services. He brought changes in dilatory office procedures.

Most remarkable was Curzon's dealing with the land question. He noticed that the rent rate of *raiyats* cultivating *khas* (government owned) land was much higher than that of the Zamindari peasants. He issued orders to scale down rent for *khas* land. The most famous was the Punjab Land Alienation Act which

aimed at protecting cultivators from eviction from their lands for debt and prohibiting non-agricultural people to take control of land. He created an Agricultural Department to promote scientific agriculture. An experimental farms and research institute was set up at Pusa in Bihar. A more positive measure was the establishment of co-operative societies whose aim was to emancipate the peasantry from the bondage of the *mahajans* (moneylenders).

Curzon's idea of improvement was rooted in the balanced development of agriculture, industry and communication to all of which he paid equal attention. By the end of the 19th century, India had 27000 miles of railway. Curzon added 6000 miles more, which was a phenomenal development in terms of growth rates. For better management, railway was transferred from the public works department to a newly established Railway Board, which operated the state railways and made plans for their development. A new department of commerce and industry was created to deal with exclusively the commercial and industrial questions. Besides railways, Curzon pushed forward irrigation works with equal vigour. He set up a commission (Scott-Moncrieff Commission) which planned extension of irrigation works at a cost of Rs 40 million.

Though an arch imperialist, Lord Curzon rounded off his material development by cultural activity. He conceived and carried out the project of a monument of British rule, the victoria Memorial in Calcutta. He founded the Imperial Library to be the Bodleian of Oxford or British Museum of the East. By establishing the Department of Archaeology for the conservation of the Indian artistic heritage and the carrying out of new excavation, Lord Curzon had firmly institutionalized the pioneer work of General cunningham and others whose initiatives were seldom followed up by required institutionalisation. He ruthlessly evicted offices and officers from the sites of historical monuments.

Sir John Marshall

Curzon's glorious administrative record was largely marred by two controversial policies. One was the education policy illustrated by the Universities Act, 1904. The Act aimed at reforming the University of Calcutta and its relations with other educational institutions. So long the Calcutta University had been operating only as an examining and affiliating body without any educational agenda of its own. Curzon's reform had introduced post-graduate department in the University. To the people this reform was salutary indeed. But bitter criticisms were aroused by his other reforms affecting management of schools and colleges. Under the Universities Act, government nominees were made predominant on the governing bodies of schools and colleges. Affiliations and grants-in-aid were subjected to many stringent conditions. Curzon's education reforms were obviously interpreted by the nationalists as an attempt to keep the educational institutions under tight imperial control.

The second and most controversial reform measure was the Partition of Bengal. In the name of improving the efficiency of the traditionally neglected Bengal province, Curzon divided it into two halves (a) West Bengal and (b) East Bengal and Assam. The nationalists again interpreted this measure as a project of imperial control that was increasingly coming under threat from the Bengali nationalists. The Congress branded it as a policy of 'Divide and Rule'. The resistance to the partition measure took the forms of Swadeshi and Terrorism, which practically shook the foundation of the British empire in India.

Curzon, who was so confident and boastful in dealing with the native people and who once commented about the nationalist leaders of the Congress that they were 'incapable of setting the Ganga on fire', was now so disgruntled and disturbed that he was really looking forward for an opportunity to leave the job with honour. Lord Kitchener, the commander-in-chief of the Indian army, provided the opportunity. On the issue of army reforms,

Curzon and Kitchener differed fundamentally. Curzon felt that the India Office was favouring Kitchener. He thus responded to the situation by his resignation in August 1905 which the India Office accepted at once. The Bengali nationalist Bhadralok class in fact effected Curzon's nemesis. About them he remarked disparagingly, 'they are not an inspiring or manly race'. Curzon died on 20 March 1925.

Partition of Bengal

Partition of Bengal, 1905 effected on October 16 during the viceroyalty of Lord Curzon, proved to be a momentous event in the history of modern Bengal. The idea of partitioning Bengal did not originate with Curzon. Bengal, which included Bihar and Orissa since 1765, was admittedly much too large for a single province of British India. This premier province grew too vast for efficient administration and required reorganisation and intelligent division.

The lieutenant governor of Bengal had to administer an area of 189,000 sq miles and by 1903 the population of the province had risen to 78.50 million. Consequently, many districts in eastern Bengal had been practically neglected because of isolation and poor communication which made good governance almost impossible. Calcutta and its nearby districts attracted all the energy and attention of the government. The condition of peasants was miserable under the exaction of absentee landlords; and trade, commerce and education were being impaired. The administrative machinery of the province was under-staffed. Especially in east Bengal, in countryside so cut off by rivers and creeks, no special attention had been paid to the peculiar difficulties of police work till the last decade of the 19th century. Organised piracy in the waterways had existed for at least a century.

Along with administrative difficulties, the problems of famine, of defence, or of linguistics had at one time or other prompted the government to consider the redrawing of administrative boundaries. Occasional efforts were made to rearrange the

administrative units of Bengal. In 1836, the upper provinces were sliced off from Bengal and placed under a lieutenant governor. In 1854, the Governor-General-in-Council was relieved of the direct administration of Bengal which was placed under a lieutenant governor. In 1874 Assam (along with Sylhet) was severed from Bengal to form a Chief-Commissionership and in 1898 Lushai Hills were added to it.

Proposals for partitioning Bengal were first considered in 1903. Curzon's original scheme was based on grounds of administrative efficiency. It was probably during the vociferous protests and adverse reaction against the original plan, that the officials first envisaged the possible advantages of a divided Bengal.

The government contention was that the Partition of Bengal was purely an administrative measure with three main objectives. Firstly, it wanted to relieve the government of Bengal of a part of the administrative burden and to ensure more efficient administration in the outlying districts. Secondly, the government desired to promote the development of backward Assam (ruled by a Chief Commissioner) by enlarging its jurisdiction so as to provide it with an outlet to the sea. Thirdly, the government felt the urgent necessity to unite the scattered sections of the Uriya-speaking population under a single administration. There were further proposals to separate Chittagong and the districts of Dhaka (then Dacca) and Mymensigh from Bengal and attach them to Assam. Similarly Chhota Nagpur was to be taken away from Bengal and incorporated with the Central Provinces.

The government's proposals were officially published in January 1904. In February 1904, Curzon made an official tour of the districts of eastern Bengal with a view to assessing public opinion on the government proposals. He consulted the leading personalities of the different districts and delivered speeches at Dhaka, Chittagong and Mymensigh explaining the government's stand on partition.

The enlarged scheme received the assent of the governments of

Assam and Bengal. The new province would consist of the state of Hill Tripura, the Divisions of Chittagong, Dhaka and Rajshahi (excluding Darjeeling) and the district of Malda amalgamated with Assam. Bengal was to surrender not only these large territories on the east but also to cede to the Central Provinces the five Hindi-speaking states. On the west it would gain Sambalpur and a minor tract of five Uriya-speaking states from the Central Provinces. Bengal would be left with an area of 141,580 sq. miles and a population of 54 million, of which 42 million would be Hindus and 9 million Muslims.

The new province was to be called 'Eastern Bengal and Assam' with its capital at Dhaka and subsidiary headquarters at Chittagong. It would cover an area of 106,540 sq. miles with a population of 31 million comprising of 18 million Muslims and 12 million Hindus. Its administration would consist of Legislative Council, a Board of Revenue of two members, and the jurisdiction of the Calcutta High Court would be left undisturbed. The government pointed out that the new province would have a clearly demarcated western boundary and well defined geographical, ethnological, linguistic and social characteristics. The most striking feature of the new province was that it would concentrate within its own bounds the hitherto ignored and neglected typical homogenous Muslim population of Bengal. Besides, the whole of the tea industry (except Darjeeling), and the greater portion of the jute growing area would be brought under a single administration. The government of India promulgated their final decision in a Resolution dated 19 July 1905 and the Partition of Bengal was effected on 16 October of the same year.

The leadership of the Indian National Congress viewed the partition as an attempt to 'divide and rule' and as a proof of the government's vindictive antipathy towards the outspoken Bhadralok intellectuals. Mother-goddess worshipping Bengali Hindus believed that the partition was tantamount to the vivisection of their 'Mother province'. 'Bande-Mataram' (Hail Motherland) almost became the national anthem of the Indian

National Congress. Defeat of the partition became the immediate target of Bengalee nationalism. Agitation against the partition manifested itself in the form of mass meetings, rural unrest and a swadeshi movement to boycott the import of British manufactured goods. Swadeshi and Boycott were the twin weapons of this nationalism and Swaraj (self-government) its main objective. Swaraj was first mentioned in the presidential address of Dadabhai Naoroji as the Congress goal at its Calcutta session in 1906.

The Hindu religious fervour reached its peak on 28 September 1905, the day of the Mahalaya, the new-moon day before the puja, and thousands of Hindus gathered at the Kali temple in Calcutta. In Bengal the worship of Kali, wife of Shiva, had always been very popular. She possessed a two-dimensional character with mingled attributes both generative and destructive. Simultaneously she took great pleasure in bloody sacrifices but she was also venerated as the great Mother associated with the conception of Bengal as the Motherland. This conception offered a solid basis for the support of political objectives stimulated by religious excitement. Kali was accepted as a symbol of the Motherland, and the priest administered the Swadeshi vow. Such a religious flavour could and did give the movement a widespread appeal among the Hindu masses, but by the same token that flavour aroused hostility in average Muslim minds. Huge protest rallies before and after Bengal's division on October 16, 1905 attracted millions of people heretofore not involved in politics

The Swadeshi Movement as an economic movement would have been quite acceptable to the Muslims, but as the movement was used as a weapon against the partition (which the greater body of the Muslims supported) and as it often had a religious colouring added to it, it antagonised Muslim minds.

The new tide of national sentiment against the Partition of Bengal originating in Bengal spilled over into different regions in India Punjab, Central Provinces, Poona, Madras, Bombay and other cities. Instead of wearing foreign made outfits, the Indians vowed to use only swadeshi (indigenous) cottons and other clothing

materials made in India. Foreign garments were viewed as hateful imports. The Swadeshi Movement soon stimulated local enterprise in many areas; from Indian cotton mills to match factories, glassblowing shops, iron and steel foundries. The agitation also generated increased demands for national education. Bengali teachers and students extended their boycott of British goods to English schools and college classrooms. The movement for national education spread throughout Bengal and reached even as far as Benaras where Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya founded his private Benaras Hindu University in 1910.

The student community of Bengal responded with great enthusiasm to the call of nationalism. Students including schoolboys participated en masse in the campaigns of Swadeshi and Boycott. The government retaliated with the notorious Carlyle Circular that aimed to crush the students' participation in the Swadeshi and Boycott movements. Both the students and the teachers strongly reacted against this repressive measure and the protest was almost universal. In fact, through this protest movement the first organised student movement was born in Bengal. Along with this the 'Anti-Circular Society', a militant student organisation, also came into being.

The anti-partition agitation was peaceful and constitutional at the initial stage, but when it appeared that it was not yielding the desired results the protest movement inevitably passed into the hands of more militant leaders. Two techniques of boycott and terrorism were to be applied to make their mission successful. Consequently the younger generation, who were unwittingly drawn into politics, adopted terrorist methods by using firearms, pistols and bombs indiscriminately. The agitation soon took a turn towards anarchy and disorder.

Several assassinations were committed and attempts were made on the lives of officials including Sir Andrew Fraser. The terrorist movement soon became an integral part of the Swadeshi agitation. Bengal terrorism reached its peak from 1908 through 1910, as

did the severity of official repression and the number of 'preventive detention' arrests.

The new militant spirit was reflected in the columns of the nationalist newspapers, notably the Bande Mataram, Sandhya and Jugantar. The press assisted a great deal to disseminate revolutionary ideas. In 1907, the Indian National Congress at its annual session in Surat split into two groups - one being moderate, liberal, and evolutionary; and the other extremist, militant and revolutionary. The young militants of Bal Gangadhar Tilak's extremist party supported the 'cult of the bomb and the gun' while the moderate leaders like Gopal Krishna Gokhale and Surendranath Banerjea cautioned against such extremist actions fearing it might lead to anarchy and uncontrollable violence. Surendranath Banerjea, though one of the front-rank leaders of the anti-Partition agitation, was not in favour of terrorist activities.

When the proposal for partition was first published in 1903 there was expression of Muslim opposition to the scheme. The Moslem chronicle, the central national muhamedan association, chowdhury kazemuddin Ahmad Siddiky and Delwar Hossain Ahmed condemned the proposed measure. Even Nawab salimullah termed the suggestion as 'beastly' at the initial stage. In the beginning the main criticism from the Muslim side was against any part of an enlightened and advanced province of Bengal passing under the rule of a chief commissioner.

They felt that thereby, their educational, social and other interests would suffer, and there is no doubt that the Muslims also felt that the proposed measure would threaten Bengali solidarity. The Muslim intelligentsia, however, criticised the ideas of extremist militant nationalism as being against the spirit of Islam. The Muslim press urged its educated co-religionists to remain faithful to the government. On the whole the Swadeshi preachers were not able to influence and arouse the predominantly Muslim masses in east Bengal. The anti-partition trend in the thought process of the Muslims did not continue for long. When the wider scheme of

a self contained separate the educated section of the Muslims knew province they soon changed their views. They realised that the partition would be a boon to them and that their special difficulties would receive greater attention from the new administration.

The economic aspect of the movement was partly responsible for encouraging separatist forces within the Muslim society. The superiority of the Hindus in the sphere of trade and industry alarmed the Muslims. Fear of socio-economic domination by the Hindus made them alert to safeguard their own interests. These apprehensions brought about a rift in Hindu-Muslims relations. In order to avoid economic exploitation by the Hindus, some wealthy Muslim entrepreneurs came forward to launch new commercial ventures. One good attempt was the founding of steamer companies operating between Chittagong and Rangoon in 1906.

In the context of the partition the pattern of the land system in Bengal played a major role to influence the Muslim mind. The absentee Hindu zamindars made no attempt to improve the lot of the raiyats who were mostly Muslims. The agrarian disputes (between landlords and tenants) already in existence in the province also appeared to take a communal colour. It was alleged that the Hindu landlords had been attempting to enforce Swadeshi ideas on the tenants and induce them to join the anti-partition movement.

In 1906, the Muslims organised an Islamic conference at Keraniganj in Dhaka as a move to emphasise their separate identity as a community. The Swadeshi Movement with its Hindu religious flavour fomented aggressive reaction from the other community. A red pamphlet of a highly inflammatory nature was circulated among the Muslim masses of Eastern Bengal and Assam urging them completely to dissociate from the Hindus. It was published under the auspices of the anjuman-i-mufidul Islam under the editorship of a certain Ibrahim Khan. Moreover, such irritating moves as the adoption of the Bande Mataram as the song of

inspiration or introduction of the cult of Shivaji as a national hero, and reports of communal violence alienated the Muslims. One inevitable result of such preaching was the riot that broke out at Comilla in March 1907, followed by similar riots in Jamalpur in April of that year. These communal disturbances became a familiar feature in Eastern Bengal and Assam and followed a pattern that was repeated elsewhere. The 1907 riots represent a watershed in the history of modern Bengal.

While Hindu-Muslims relations deteriorated, political changes of great magnitude were taking place in the Government of India's policies, and simultaneously in the relations of Bengali Muslim leaders with their non-Bengalee counterparts. Both developments had major repercussions on communal relations in eastern Bengal. The decision to introduce constitutional reforms culminating in the Morley-Minto reforms of 1909 introducing separate representation for the Muslims marked a turning point in Hindu-Muslim relations.

The early administrators of the new province from the lieutenant governor down to the junior-most officials in general were enthusiastic in carrying out the development works. The anti-Partition movement leaders as being extremely partial to Muslims accused Bampfylde Fuller. He, because of a difference with the Government of India, resigned in August 1906. His resignation and its prompt acceptance were considered by the Muslims to be a solid political victory for the Hindus. The general Muslim feeling was that in yielding to the pressure of the anti-Partition agitators the government had revealed its weakness and had overlooked the loyal adherence of the Muslims to the government.

Consequently, the antagonism between the Hindus and Muslims became very acute in the new province. The Muslim leaders, now more conscious of their separate communal identity, directed their attention in uniting the different sections of their community to the creation of a counter movement against that of the Hindus. They keenly felt the need for unity and believed that the Hindu

agitation against the Partition was in fact a communal movement and as such a threat to the Muslims as a separate community. They decided to faithfully follow the directions of leaders like Salimullah and Nawab Ali Chowdhury and formed organisations like the Mohammedan Provincial Union.

Though communalism had reached its peak in the new province by 1907, there is evidence of a sensible and sincere desire among some of the educated and upper class Muslims and Hindus to put an end to these religious antagonisms. A group of prominent members of both communities met the Viceroy Lord Minto on 15 March 1907 with suggestions to put an end to communal violence and promote religious harmony between the two communities.

The landlord-tenant relationship in the new province had deteriorated and took a communal turn. The Hindu landlords felt alarmed at the acts of terrorism committed by the anti-partition agitators. To prove their unswerving loyalty to the government and give evidence of their negative attitude towards the agitation, they offered their hands of friendship and co-operation to their Muslim counterparts to the effect that they would take a non-communal stand and work unitedly against the anti-government revolutionary movements.

In the meantime the All-India Muslim League had come into being at Dacca on December 30, 1906. Though several factors were responsible for the formation of such an organisation, the Partition of Bengal and the threat to it was, perhaps, the most important factor that hastened its birth. At its very first sitting at Dacca the Muslim League, in one of its resolutions, said: 'That this meeting in view of the clear interest of the Muhammadans of Eastern Bengal consider that Partition is sure to prove beneficial to the Muhammadan community which constitute the vast majority of the populations of the new province and that all such methods of agitation such as boycotting should be strongly condemned and discouraged'.

To assuage the resentment of the assertive Bengali Hindus, the British government decided to annul the Partition of Bengal. As regards the Muslims of Eastern Bengal the government stated that in the new province the Muslims were in an overwhelming majority in point of population, under the new arrangement also they would still be in a position of approximate numerical equality or possibly of small superiority over the Hindus. The interests of the Muslims would be safeguarded by special representation in the Legislative Councils and the local bodies.

Lord Hardinge succeeded Minto and on 25 August 1911. In a secret despatch the government of India recommended certain changes in the administration of India. According to the suggestion of the Governor-General-in-Council, King George V at his Coronation Darbar in Delhi in December 1911 announced the revocation of the Partition of Bengal and of certain changes in the administration of India. Firstly, the Government of India should have its seat at Delhi instead of Calcutta. By shifting the capital to the site of past Muslim glory, the British hoped to placate Bengal's Muslim community now aggrieved at the loss of provincial power and privilege in eastern Bengal. Secondly, the five Bengali speaking Divisions viz The Presidency, Burdwan, Dacca, Rajshahi and Chittagong were to be united and formed into a Presidency to be administered by a Governor-in-Council. The area of this province would be approximately 70,000 sq miles with a population of 42 million. Thirdly, a Lieutenant-Governor-in-Council with a Legislative Council was to govern the province comprising of Bihar, Chhota Nagpur and Orissa. Fourthly, Assam was to revert back to the rule of a Chief Commissioner. The date chosen for the formal ending of the partition and reunification of Bengal was I April 1912.

Reunification of Bengal indeed served somewhat to soothe the feeling of the Bengalee Hindus, but the down grading of Calcutta from imperial to mere provincial status was simultaneously a blow to 'Bhadralok' egos and to Calcutta real estate values. To deprive Calcutta of its prime position as the nerve centre of political activity

necessarily weakened the influence of the Bengalee Hindus. The government felt that the main advantage, which could be derived from the move, was that it would remove the seat of the government of India from the agitated atmosphere of Bengal.

The Partition of Bengal of 1905 left a profound impact on the political history of India. From a political angle the measure accentuated Hindu-Muslim differences in the region. One point of view is that by giving the Muslim's a separate territorial identity in 1905 and a communal electorate through the Morley-Minto Reforms of 1909 the British Government in a subtle manner tried to neutralise the possibility of major Muslim participation in the Indian National Congress.

The Partition of Bengal indeed marks a turning point in the history of nationalism in India. It may be said that it was out of the travails of Bengal that Indian nationalism was born. By the same token the agitation against the partition and the terrorism that it generated was one of the main factors which gave birth to Muslim nationalism and encouraged them to engage in separatist politics. The birth of the Muslim League in 1906 at Dacca (Dhaka) bears testimony to this. The annulment of the partition sorely disappointed not only the Bengali Muslims but also the Muslims of the whole of India. They felt that loyalty did not pay but agitation does. Thereafter, the dejected Muslims gradually took an anti-British stance.

Formation of Muslim League (1906)

The foundation of Indian National Congress in 1885 was an attempt to narrow the Hindu-Muslim divide and place the genuine grievances of all the communities in the country before the British. But Sir Sayed and other Muslim leaders like Ameer Ali projected the Congress as a representative body of Hindus and thus, thwarted the first genuine attempt in the country for Hindu-Muslim unity. Poor participation of Muslims in Congress proves it. "Of the seventy-two delegates attending the first session of the Congress only two were Muslims". Muslim leaders opposed the Congress tooth and nail on the plea that Muslims' participation in

it would create an unfavorable reaction among the rulers against their community.

Muslim orthodoxy or its patrons in elite sections in the community with the sword of 'religious identity' and slogan - 'Islam is in danger' continuously challenged the political awakening in Indian society if it directly or indirectly affected their superior status and influence. They therefore viewed the democratic and secular movement launched by the Congress - as challenge to their supremacy over the Hindus. Acceptance of Devanagari script and Hindi as an official language of United Province now Uttar Pradesh in place of Persian in 1900 by Lieutenant Governor A. Macdonnel was another significant development to stir the Muslims on communal line. No such aggressive resistance was made when the British replaced Persian with English in late thirties of nineteenth century. Sir Sayed Ahmed died in 1898 but his followers in defence of Urdu language launched agitation against the decision of the representative of British power in United Province.

On first October 1906 a 35-member delegation of the Muslim nobles, aristocracies, legal professionals and other elite section of the community mostly associated with Aligarh movement gathered at Simla under the leadership of Aga Khan to present an address to Lord Minto. They demanded proportionate representation of Muslims in government jobs, appointment of Muslim judges in High Courts and members in Viceroy's council etc. Though, Simla deputation failed to obtain any positive commitment from the Viceroy, it worked as a catalyst for foundation of AIML to safeguard the interests of the Muslims.

Under the active leadership of Aligarhians, the movements for Muslim separatism created political awakening among the Muslims on communal line. This ideology of political exclusivism in the name of religion gave birth to AIML in the session of All India Mohammedan Educational Conference held in Dacca. Nawab Salimullah, Chairman of the reception committee and convener of the political meeting proposed the creation of AIML. A 56-member provisional committee was constituted with

prominent Muslim leaders from different parts of the country. Even some Muslim leaders within Congress like Ali Imam, Hasan Imam, Mazharul Haque (All Barristers from Bihar) and Hami Ali Khan (Barrister from Lucknow) were included in the committee. Mohsin-ul-Mulk and Viqar-ul-Mulk were jointly made the secrearies. After the death of Mohsin-ul-Mulk in 1907, Viqar-ul-Mulk was in full control of the League. First session of the League was held at Karanchi on December 29 & 30, 1907 with Adamjee Peerbhoy as its President.

Mohammad Ali Jinnah, a prominent leader of the Congress did not join the AIML till 1913 though, he supported the League movement for separate electorate for Muslims. He even successfully contested against the League candidate for the election of Viceroy's Legislative Council. Within the Congress he however always tried to bargain for one-third reservation for his community.

CHAPTER 7

Indian Struggle For Freedom

Home Rule Movement (1916)

On June16, 1914 Bal Gangadhar Tilak was released after serving a prison sentence of 6 years, most of which he had spent in Mandalay in Burma . He returned to India very different from one he had been banished from. Aurobindo Ghosh, the firebrand of the Swadeshi days, had taken Sanyas in Pondicherry and Lala Lajpat Rai was away in U.S.A.

Tilak initially concentrated all his attention on seeking readmission, for himself and other extremists, into the Indian National Congress (I.N.C.). Many of the moderate leaders of the Congress were also unhappy with the happenings at Surat in 1907.

They were quite sympathetic to Tilak's overtures. Further, they were under considerable pressure from Mrs. Annie Besant who had just joined the I.N.C. and was keen to arose Nationalist political activity, to admit the extremists. But the annual Congress session in December 1914 was to prove a disappointment. Pherozeshah Mehta and his Bombay moderate group succeeded in keeping out the extremists. Tilak and Besant thereupon decided political activity on their own.

In early 1915, Annie Besant launched a campaign through her

two papers, New India and Commonweal, and organised public meetings and conferences to demand that India be granted self-government on the lines of the white colonies after the war. From April 1915, her tone became more peremptory and her stance more aggressive. Meanwhile Tilak began his political activities. His efforts and those of Annie Besant were soon to meet with success, and at the annual session of the Congress in December 1915, it was decided that the extremist be allowed to rejoin the Congress.

Tilak having gained the right of admission, now took the lead and set up the Home Rule League at the Bombay Provincial Conference held at Belgaum in April 1916. Annie Besant's impatient followers, unhappy with her decision to wait till September, secured her permission to start Home Rule groups. Jamnadas Dwarkadas, Shankarlal Banker and Indulal Yagni set up a Bombay paper 'Young India' and launced an all India propaganda fund to publish pamphlets in regional languages and English.

In September 1916, Annie Besant announced the formation of her Home Rule League with George Arundale, her theosophical follower, as the organizing secretary. The two leaues acvoided any friction by demarcating their area of activity. Tilak's league was to work in Maharashtra (excluding Bombay), Karnataka, the Central Provinces and Berar and Annie Besant's league was given the charge of the rest of India . Tilak promoted the Home Rule campaign with a tour of Maharashtra and through his lectures clarified and popularized the concept of Home Rule. His stand on the question of non-Brahmin representation in the movement and the issue of untouchability demonstrated that he was no casteist. At the conference for the removal of untouchability during the Home Rule movement, Tilak declared: 'If a God were to tolerate untouchability, I would not recognise him as God at all.'

Tilak's league furthered its propaganda efforts by publishing 6 Marathi and two English pamphlets, of which 47,000 copies were sold. As soon as the movement began to gain steam, the

Government hit back, and it chose a particularly auspicious day for the blow.

On April 23, 19s16 Bal Gangadhar Tilak formed The Home Rule League in Bombay. Six months later Mrs. Annie Besant founded the league in Madras. The Home Rule League became popular and it broke fresh ground even in small towns that hitherto had little or no political consciousness. Bal Gangadhar Tilak and Mrs. Annie Besant, the two pivots of the movement, designed a new flag. It comprised five red and four green horizontal stripes arranged alternately, with seven stars denoting the Saptrishi configuration. On the left upper quadrant, towards the hoist it had the Union Jack, and on the upper right quadrant, towards the flag's fly there was a crescent and a star. It is believed to have been hoisted at the 1917 Congress session held in Calcutta for the first time.

Rowlatt Act

The Rowlatt Act was passed in 1919 and basically authorised the government to imprison any person living in the Raj without trial on suspicion of being a terrorist. Mahatma Gandhi, among other Indian leaders, was extremely critical of this act and argued that not everyone should be imprisoned if only certain people were committing these political crimes. These acts led to severe indignation from Indian leaders and the public which caused the government to implement repressive measures. Indians found that constitutional opposition to the act was fruitless so on April 06, a strike was organised where Indians would suspend all business and fast as a sign of their hatred for this legislation. However, the hartal in Delhi was overshadowed by tensions running high which resulted in rioting in the Punjab and other provinces. Gandhi saw that the Indians were not ready for such a stand due to these riots and suspended it. The Rowlatt Act came into effect in March 1919. In the Punjab the protest movement was very strong, and on April 10th, two outstanding leaders of the congress Dr. Satya Pal and Dr. Saifuddin Kithlew, were arrested and taken to an unknown

place. A protest was held in Amritsar, which led to the Amritsar Massacre of 1919.

Jallianwala Bagh Massacre in India 1919

Soon after Dyer's arrival, on the afternoon of April 13, 1919, some 10,000 or more unarmed men, women, and children gathered in Amritsar's Jallianwala Bagh (bagh, "garden"; but before 1919 it had become a public square) to attend a protest meeting, despite a ban on public assemblies. It was a Sunday, and many neighbouring village peasants also came to Amritsar to celebrate the Hindu Baisakhi Spring Festival. Dyer positioned his men at the sole, narrow passageway of the Bagh, which was otherwise entirely enclosed by the backs of abutted brick buildings. Giving no word of warning, he ordered 50 soldiers to fire into the gathering, and for 10 to 15 minutes 1,650 rounds of ammunition were unloaded into the screaming, terrified crowd, some of whom were trampled by those desperately trying to escape. According to official estimates, nearly 400 civilians were killed, and another 1,200 were left wounded with no medical attention. Dyer, who argued his action was necessary to produce a "moral and widespread effect," admitted that the firing would have continued had more ammunition been available.

The Jallianwala Bagh massacre turned millions of moderate Indians from patient and loyal supporters of the British raj into nationalists who would never again place trust in British "fair play." It thus marks the turning point for a majority of the Congress supporters from moderate cooperation with the raj and its

promised reforms to revolutionary noncooperation. Liberal Anglophile leaders, such as Jinnah, were soon to be displaced by the followers of Gandhi, who would launch, a year after that dreadful massacre, his first nationwide Satyagraha (devotion to truth) campaign as India's revolutionary response.

Khilafat Movement (1919-1924)

Khilafat Movement was a Pan-Islamic movement influenced by Indian nationalism. The Ottoman Emperor Abdul Hamid II (1876-1909) had launched a Pan-Islamic programme to use his position as the Sultan-Khalifa of the global Muslim community with a view to saving his disintegrating empire from foreign attacks and to crush the nationalistic democratic movement at home. The visit of his emissary, Jamaluddin Afghani, to India in the late nineteenth century to propagate Pan-Islamic ideas received a favourable response from some Indian Muslim leaders.

These sentiments intensified early in the twentieth century with the revocation in 1911 of the 1905 partition of Bengal, the Italian (1911) and Balkan (1911-1912) attacks on Turkey, and Great Britain's participation in the First World War (1914-18) against Turkey.

The defeat of Turkey in the First World War and the division of its territories under the Treaty of Sevres (10 August 1920) among European powers caused apprehensions in India over the Khalifa's custodianship of the Holy places of Islam. Accordingly, the Khilafat Movement was launched in September 1919 as an orthodox communal movement to protect the Turkish Khalifa and save his empire from dismemberment by Great Britain and other European powers. Khilafat Conferences were organised in several cities in northern India. A Central Khilafat Committee, with provisions for provincial branches, was constituted at Bombay with Seth Chotani, a wealthy merchant, as its President, and Shawkat Ali as its Secretary. In 1920 the Ali Brothers produced the Khilafat Manifesto. The Central Khilafat Committee started a Fund to

help the Nationalist Movement in Turkey and to organise the Khilafat Movement at home.

Contemporaneously, Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi led his non-violent nationalist movement satyagraha, as a protest against government repression evidenced, for example, in the Rowlatt Act of 1919, and the Jalian Wallah Bagh Massacres of April 1919. To enlist Muslim support in his movement, Gandhi supported the Khilafat cause and became a member of the Central Khilafat Committee. At the Nagpur Session (1920) of the Indian National Congress Gandhi linked the issue of Swaraj (Self-Government) with the Khilafat demands and adopted the non-cooperation plan to attain the twin objectives.

By mid-1920 the Khilafat leaders had made common cause with Gandhi's non-cooperation movement promising non-violence in return for Gandhi's support of the Khilafat Movement whereby Hindus and Muslims formed a united front against British rule in India. Support was received also of Muslim theologians through the Jamiyat-al Ulama-i-Hind (The Indian Association of Muslim Theologians). Maulana Mohmmad Akram Khan of Bengal was a member of its Central Executive and Constitution Committee.

The first stirrings in favour of the Khilafat Movement in Bengal was seen on 30 December, 1918 at the 11th Session of the All India muslim league held in Delhi. In his presidential address, Ak Fazlul Huq voiced concern over the attitude of Britain and her allies engaged in dividing and distributing the territories of the defeated Ottoman Empire.

When the Paris Peace Conference (1919) confirmed these apprehensions, Bengali Khilafat leaders such as Maulana Akram Khan, Abul Kasem, and Mujibur Rahman Khan held a Public meeting in Calcutta on February 09, 1919 to enlist public support in favour of preserving the integrity of the Ottoman Empire and saving the institution of Khilafat.

In Bengal, the Khilafat-Non-Cooperation Movement (1918 to 1924) became a mass movement in which both Muslims and Hindus participated.

During the observance of the first Khilafat Day on 17 October 1919, most Indian-owned shops remained closed in Calcutta, prayers were offered at different mosques, and public meetings were held all over Bengal. On 23-24 November 1919 the first All-India Khilafat Conference held in Delhi was presided over by AK Fazlul Huq from Bengal. It was resolved that pending a resolution of the Khilafat problem there would be no participation in the proposed peace celebrations, that British goods should be boycotted, and that a policy of non-cooperation with the government would be adopted. In early 1920 the Bengal Provincial Khilafat Committee was organised with Maulana Abdur Rauf as President, Maniruzzaman Islambadi as Vice President, Maulana Akram Khan as General Secretary, and Mujibur Rahman and Majid Baksh as Joint Secretaries respectively. The office of the organisation was located at Hiron Bari Lane of Kolutola Street in Calcutta.

The first Bengal Provincial Khilafat Conference was held at the Calcutta Town Hall on 28-29 February 1920. Several members of the Central Khilafat Committee attended. Prominent Bengali Khilafat leaders such as A K Fazlul Huq, Abul Kasem, Mujibur Rahman participated in the conference and reiterated the view that unless their demands on the Khilafat problem were met non-cooperation and boycott would continue. The conference decided to observe 19 March 1920 as the Second Khilafat Day.

In March 1920 a Khilafat delegation led by Maulana Muhammad Ali went to England to plead for the Khilafat cause. Abul Kasem represented Bengal in this delegation. Local Khilafat Committees were also constituted. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad and Maulvi Abdur Rahman became President and Secretary respectively of the Calcutta Khilafat Committee.

On March 19, 1920 the Second Khilafat Day was observed in Bengal. In Calcutta life almost came to a standstill and numerous Khilafat meetings were held in Dhaka, Chittagong and Mymensingh. The largest meeting was held in Tangail and was

presided over by Abdul Halim Ghaznavi, the liberal nationalist Muslim zamindar. At this meeting, Maniruzzaman Islambadi urged the public to adopt *Satyagraha* as the symbol of the Khilafat movement.

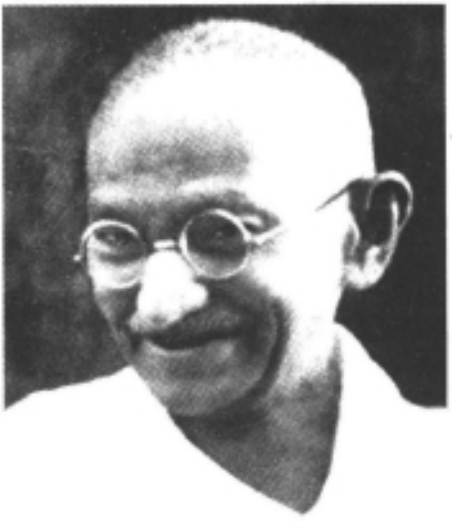
Most districts of Bengal witnessed a mushroom growth of Khilafat Committees alongside existing Congress Committees, often with common membership. This was the first significant anti-British mass movement in which Hindus and Muslims participated with equal conviction. The media, both Muslim and Hindu, played a vital role in popularising the movement. 'Mohammadi', 'Al-Eslam' and 'The Mussalman' were publications which deserve mention. The Khilafat Movement engendered a Muslim political consciousness that reverberated throughout Bengal under the leadership of Maulana Azad, Akram Khan, Maniruzzaman Islambadi, Bipin Chandra Pal and Chittaranjan Das. Though the Khilafat movement was orthodox in origin, it did manage to generate liberal ideas among Muslims because of the interaction and close understanding between Hindus and Muslims. Following the example of Calcutta, volunteer organisations were set up in rural Bengal to train volunteers to enforce boycott of foreign goods, courts, and government offices. They were also engaged in spinning, popularising items of necessity, and raising contributions for the Khilafat cause. In some areas in Dhaka, Muslim zamindars extracted 'Khilafat Salami' from Muslim tenants by declaring themselves the representatives of the Sultan of Turkey. Ironically, due to the ignorance of these tenants this custom continued long after the Khilafat was abolished.

Visibly shaken by the popularity of the Movement, through a Notification on 19 November 1921 the Government of Bengal declared the activities of the Khilafat and Congress volunteers illegal. Government officers raided Khilafat offices, confiscated documents and papers, banned meetings, and arrested office bearers. About a hundred and fifty personalities including Maulana Azad, CR Das, Akram Khan, and Ambika Prashad Bajpai were arrested in Calcutta on 10 December 1921.

At this critical juncture, a rift arose among Khilafat and Non-cooperation leaders on the issue of boycotting educational institutions and legislative councils. Some Muslim leaders believed that such boycott would be suicidal for Muslims. They were in favour of participating in the elections under the India Act of 1919 that assured self-governing institutions in India.

Though the Khilafat movement ended abruptly, the political activities it gave rise to and the experience gained therefrom, proved invaluable to Bengali Muslims after the 1947 partition. The Khilafat movement provided an opportunity to throw up a new Mofassil based leadership which played a key role in introducing a coherent self-assertive political identity for Bengali Muslims. After the 1947 Partition, these personalities played effective roles in their respective areas of activity.

Non Cooperation Movement



Non-Cooperation Movement was initiated by Mahatma Gandhi. To advance the Indian nationalist cause, the indian national congress under the leadership of of Gandhi decided in 1920 to follow a policy of passive resistance to British rule.

The Rowlatt Act, the Jalliwanwala Bagh massacre and martial law in Punjab had belied the generous war time promises of the British. The montagu-chelmsford report with its ill-considered scheme of dyarchy satisfied few. Gandhi, so far believing in the justice and fair play of the government, now felt that Non-Cooperation with the government

must be started. At the same time, the harsh terms of the Treaty of Sevres between the Allies and Turkey was resented by the Muslims in India. The Muslims started the khilafat movement and Gandhi decided to identify himself with them. Gandhi's skillful top level political game secured in winning over the Muslim support in the coming Non-Cooperation Movement in India.

The movement was launched formally on August 01,1920, after the expiry of the notice that Gandhi had given to the Viceroy in his letter of 22 June, in which he had asserted the right recognised 'from time immemorial of the subject to refuse to assist a ruler who misrules'. At the Calcutta Session (September 1920) the programme of the movement was clearly stated. It involved the surrender of the titles and offices and resignation from nominated posts in the local bodies. The Non-Cooperators were not to attend Government duties, Durbars and other functions and they were to withdraw their children from schools and colleges and establish national schools and colleges. They were to boycott the British courts and establish private arbitration courts; they were to use swadeshi cloth. Truth and non-violence were to be strictly observed by Non-Cooperators.

The Calcutta decision was endorsed at the Nagpur Session of the Congress (December 1920). There the betterment of party organisation was emphasised. Congress membership was thrown open to all adult men and women on payment of 4 annas as subscription. The adoption of the Non- Cooperation resolution by the Congress gave it a new energy and from January 1921, it began to register considerable success all over India. Gandhi along with Ali Brothers undertook a nation-wide tour during which he addressed hundreds of meetings.

In July 1921, a new challenge was thrown to the government. Mohammad Ali along with other leaders was arrested for holding the view that it was 'religiously unlawful for the Muslims to continue in the British army'. Gandhi as well as the Congress supported Mohammad Ali and issued a manifesto. The next dramatic event was the visit of the Prince of Wales that began on 17 November

1921. The day the Prince landed in Bombay was observed as a day of hartal all over India. He was greeted with empty streets and downed shutters wherever he went. Emboldened by their successful defiance of the government, Non-Cooperators became more and more aggressive. The Congress volunteer corps emerged as a powerful parallel police, and the sight of its members marching in formation and dressed in uniform was hardly one that warmed the government heart. The Congress had already granted permission to the Provincial Congress Committees to sanction mass civil disobedience including the non-payment of taxes wherever they thought that the people were ready. The Non-Cooperation Movement had other indirect effects as well. In UP it became difficult to distinguish between a Non-Cooperation meeting and a peasant meeting. In Malabar in Kerala it helped to rouse Muslim tenants against their landlords. In Assam, labourers on tea plantations went on strike. In Punjab, the Akali movement was a part of the general movement of Non-Cooperation.

In Bengal, particularly, it acquired considerable strength. Not only in Kolkata, but also in rural Bengal an elemental awakening was observed. It reached a major climax following the Gurkha assault on coolies at the river port of Chandpur. Under the leadership of JM Sengupta the whole of Eastern Bengal was in ferment. But the best organised of the village movements was the anti-Union Board agitation in Midnapur led by Birendranath Sasmal.

As regards the limitations and achievements of the Non-Cooperation Movement, it apparently failed to achieve its object of securing the Khilafat and making good of the Punjab wrongs. The Swaraj was not attained in a year as promised. Still, the retreat that was ordered on 12 February 1922 was only a temporary one. The battle was over, but the war would continue.

The Simon Commission

The British Prime Minister, Stanley Baldwin, announced in the House of Commons in November 1927 that a commission would be sent to India to look into the political situation of India and

suggest reforms. This commission would 'inquire into the working of the Indian constitution and consider the desirability of establishing, extending, modifying or restricting the degree of responsible government'. The Simon commission was to be headed by Sir John Simon and would have six other members which included Clement Atlee who was to preside over Indian independence as Prime Minister in 1947.

When the composition of the commission was announced, it was found that it included only British members and no Indian. This was greeted with strong protest from all parts of India and all assurances that the government would consider the Indian viewpoint in all matters was rejected. Complete equality with the British members of the commission was demanded and no one was satisfied with the status of just being petitioners.

Jinnah and many Hindu and Muslim leaders signed a manifesto which declared that unless Indian members were included in the commission, it was not possible for them to conscientiously share in its work or take any part in it. Jinnah felt that by not allowing Indians to participate in the commission, the British have tried to show that Indians are not capable of making any decisions regarding the constitution of India.

Jinnah protested against this commission along with the Congress and other leaders of the subcontinent. He tried to unite the Muslims to see how this commission would not be beneficial for them, but at this point the Muslim League split into two; Jinnah who opposed the Simon Commission headed one faction known as the 'Jinnah Group' while Sir Mohammed Shafi who was in favour of cooperating with the Simon Commission headed the other known as the 'Shafi Group'.

Lala Lajput Rai passed a resolution in the Legislative Assembly on the 16th of February 1928, which was strongly supported by Jinnah. This resolution declared that the Indians had no confidence in the Simon Commission. The Simon Commission arrived in Bombay on the 3rd of February and was greeted by black flags and loud slogans saying 'Simon go back'. Wherever the Commission

went it was meeted out hostile treatment. The Simon Commission left India on the 31st of March.

Simon Commission Boycott

In 1927, however, the Conservative Government of Britain, faced with the prospect of electoral defeat at the hands of the Labour Party, suddenly decided that it could not leave an issue which concerned the future of the British Empire in the irresponsible hands of an inexperienced Labour Government; and it was thus that the Indian Statutory Commission, popularly known as the Simon Commission after its Chairman, was appointed.

The response in India was immediate arid unanimous. That no Indian should be thought fit to serve on a body that claimed the right to decide the political future of India was an insult that no Indian of even the most moderate political opinion was willing to swallow. The call for a boycott of the Commission was endorsed by the Liberal Federation led by Tej Bahadur Sapru, by the Indian Industrial and Commercial Congress, and by the Hindu Mahasabha; the Muslim League even split on the issue, Mohammed Ali Jinnah carrying the majority with him in favour of boycott.

It was the Indian National Congress, however, that turned the boycott into a popular movement. The Congress had resolved on the boycott at its annual session in December 1927 at Madras, and in the prevailing excitable atmosphere, Jawaharlal Nehru had even succeeded in getting passed a snap resolution declaring complete independence as the goal of the Congress. The action began as soon as Simon and his friends landed at Bombay on February 03,1928. That day, all the major cities and towns observed a complete hartal, and people were out on the streets participating in mass rallies, processions and black-flag demonstration. Wherever Simon went like Calcutta, Lahore, Lucknow, Vijayawada, Poona - a sea of people greeted him with black-flags. And ever-new ways of defiance were being constantly invented.

But the worst incident happened in Lahore where Lala Lajpat Rai, the hero of the extremist days and the most revered leader of Punjab, was hit on the chest by lathis on 30 October and succumbed to the injuries on 17 November 1928. It was his death that Bhagat Singh and his comrades avenged by killing Saunders, in December 1928. The Simon boycott movement provided the first taste of political action to a new generation of youth. Subhash Bose and Jawaharlal Nehru merged as the leaders of this new wave of youth and students, and they traveled from one province to another addressing and presiding over innumerable youth conferences.

Civil Disobedience Movement

Civil Disobedience Movement launched in 1930 under Gandhi's leadership, was one of the most important phases of India's freedom struggle. The Simon Commission, constituted in November 1927 by the British Government to prepare and finalise a constitution for India and consisting of members of the British Parliament only, was boycotted by all sections of the Indian social and political platforms as an 'All-White Commission. The opposition to the Simon Commission in Bengal was remarkable. In protest against the Commission, a hartal was observed on 3 February 1928 in various parts of the province. Massive demonstrations were held in Calcutta on 19 February1928, the day of Simon's arrival in the city. On 1 March 1928, meetings were held simultaneously in all thirty-two wards of Calcutta urging people to renew the movement for boycott of British goods.

Following the rejection of the recommendations of the Simon Commission by the Indians, an All-Party Conference was held at Bombay in May 1928 under the presidentship of Dr M.A. Ansari. The Conference appointed a drafting committee under Motilal Nehru to draw up a constitution for India. The Nehru Report was accepted by all sections of Indian society except by a section of Indian Muslims. In December 1928, the Indian National Congress pressed the British Government to accept the Nehru Report in its entirety. The Calcutta Session of the Indian Congress (December

1928) virtually gave an ultimatum to the British Government, that if dominion status was not conceded by December 1929, a countrywide Civil Disobedience Movement would be launched. The British Government, however, declared in May 1929 that India would get dominion status within the Empire very soon.

A few months later, Lord Irwin, the Governor General, stated that the ultimate goal of the constitutional reforms was to offer dominion status to the Indians. Following this statement, Indian leaders like Gandhi, Tej Bahadur Sapru, Pandit Madan Mohan Malavya and Annie Besant urged the Governor General to devise a more liberal formula so that the whole constitutional crisis could be rescued in a peaceful manner. They demanded the release of all political prisoners. They also urged the British government to convene the proposed Round Table Conference in which the constitutional problems of India were supposed to be discussed. Meanwhile within the Congress itself young leaders like Subhas Chandra Bose and Jawaharlal Nehru demanded that their aim was not to fight for dominion status but for complete independence. The Congress, at its historic Lahore Session (December 1929) under the presidentship of Jawaharlal Nehru, adopted a resolution to this effect. It authorised the Working Committee to launch a Civil Disobedience Movement throughout the country. It was decided that 26 January should be observed all over India as the Purna Swaraj (complete independence) Day.

Gandhi, who was called upon to lead the movement, decided to do so in a non-violent way. The violation of the unpopular Salt Law was his first challenge to the government. His famous march from Sabarmati Ashram to Dandi (March-April 1930) initiated a count-rywide movement to violate the Salt Law. It soon turned into a popular movement. Realising the popu-larity as well as the intensity of the movement, the government decided to crush it. The Congress Committee was banned. Both Jawaharlal Nehru and Gandhi were put behind bars.

Gandhi's Dandi March had drawn members from Bengal also and the March aroused enormous enthusiasm in the province.

Thousands of Bangalis went to jail and faced lathis, bullets and loss of property in the course of the Civil Disobedience Movement. In April 1930 there were violent police-crowd clashes in Calcutta. After the death of Chitta Ranjan Das, Bengal Congress politics became faction-ridden. Provincial Congress leaders like Subhas Chandra Bose and Jatindra Mohan Sengupta, a barrister from Chittagong, set up rival organisations to conduct the Civil Disobedience Movement. Both Bose and Sengupta along with many of their followers were arrested and spent about half of 1930 in prison.

In March the Gandhi-Irwin Pact was signed and the government agreed to set all political prisoners free. On the other hand, Gandhi agreed to discontinue the Civil Disobedience Movement and participate as the sole representative of the Congress in the Second Round Table Conference, which was held in London in September 1931. In Bengal, Jatindra Mohan Sengupta was entrusted with the responsibility of defending the Gandhi-Irwin Pact. But Subhas Chandra Bose began to criticise the terms of the pact. He also challenged Gandhi's right to be the sole spokesman of the Indian National Congress in the second Round Table Conference.

However the Second Round Table Conference ended in failure in December 1931. Gandhi came back to India without achieving his goal. Meanwhile the government of India renewed its policy of suppressing Indian political movements. Gandhi was utterly disgusted at the attitude of the government and decided to resume the Civil Disobedience Movement in January 1932. The government, on its part, lost no time in taking retaliatory measures. Prominent Congressmen were arrested. The Congress was declared illegal. In spite of the ruthless repression the Civil Disobedience Movement continued and within a short period nearly 120,000 people courted arrest. But as time passed, the leaders who had always been active were imprisoned. The ruthless action of the Government slowed down the movement. Consequently the movement was suspended for three months in May 1933 and ultimately ended in April 1934.

The Civil Disobedience Movement ended without any result. It could bring neither Swaraj nor complete independence to India. It had practically no significant contribution towards the process of constitution making which culminated in the Government of India Act, 1935. Nevertheless, it was an important step in the Indian struggle for independence. It generated political consciousness among the Indian multitude. But it failed to bring about communal harmony between the Hindus and the Muslims, the two major communities of India. It is significant that the Muslims of India, as a community, kept themselves aloof from the movement. Only a few Muslim leaders became involved in it. Gandhi never succeeded in recovering the position among the Muslims, which he had won during the days of the khilafat movement.

CHAPTER 8

India`s Road To Independence

First Round Table Conference

The Indian political community received the Simon Commission Report issued in June 1930 with great resentment. Different political parties gave vent to their feelings in different ways.

The Congress started a Civil Disobedience Movement under Gandhi's command. The Muslims reserved their opinion on the Simon Report declaring that the report was not final and the matters should decided after consultations with the leaders representing all communities in India.

The Indian political situation seemed deadlocked. The British government refused to contemplate any form of self-government for the people of India. This caused frustration amongst the masses, who often expressed their anger in violent clashes.

The Labour Government returned to power in Britain in 1931, and

a glimmer of hope ran through Indian hearts. Labour leaders had always been sympathetic to the Indian cause. The government decided to hold a Round Table Conference in London to consider new constitutional reforms. All Indian politicians; Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs and Christians were summoned to London for the conference.

Gandhi immediately insisted at the conference that he alone spoke for all Indians, and that the Congress was the party of the people of India. He argued that the other parties only represented sectarian viewpoints, with little or no significant following.

The first session of the conference opened in London on November 12, 1930. All parties were present except for the Congress, whose leaders were in jail due to the Civil Disobedience Movement. Congress leaders stated that they would have nothing to do with further constitutional discussion unless the Nehru Report was enforced in its entirety as the constitution of India.

The Muslim-Hindu differences overcastted the conference as the Hindus were pushing for a powerful central government while the Muslims stood for a loose federation of completely autonomous provinces. The Muslims demanded maintenance of weightage and separate electorates. The Muslims claimed statutory majority in Punjab and Bengal, while Hindus resisted their imposition. In Punjab, the situation was complicated by inflated Sikh claims.

Eight subcommittees were set up to deal with the details. These committees dealt with the federal structure, provincial constitution, franchise, Sindh, the North West Frontier Province, defence services and minorities.

The conference broke up on January 19, 1931, and what emerged from it was a general agreement to write safeguards for minorities into the constitution and a vague desire to devise a federal system for the country.

Irwin-Gandhi Pact : 1931

The conclusion of the First Round Table Conference, the British government realized that the cooperation of the Indian National

Congress was necessary for further advancement in the making of the Indian constitution. Thus, Lord Irwin, the Viceroy, extended an invitation to Gandhi for talks. Gandhi agreed to end the Civil Disobedience Movement without laying down any preconditions.

The agreement between Gandhi and Irwin was signed on March 5, 1931. Following are the salient points of this agreement:

- The Congress would discontinue the Civil Disobedience Movement.
- The Congress would participate in the Round Table Conference.
- The Government would withdraw all ordinances issued to curb the Congress.
- The Government would withdraw all prosecutions relating to offenses not involving violence.
- The Government would release all persons undergoing sentences of imprisonment for their activities in the civil disobedience movement.

The pact shows that the British Government was anxious to bring the Congress to the conference table.

Second Round Table Conference

The second session of the conference opened in London on September 07, 1931. The main task of the conference was done through the two committees on federal structure and minorities. Gandhi was a member of both but he adopted a very unreasonable attitude. He claimed that he represented all India and dismissed all other Indian delegates as non-representative because they did not belong to the Congress.

The communal problem represented the most difficult issue for the delegates. Gandhi again tabled the Congress scheme for a settlement, a mere reproduction of the Nehru Report, but all the minorities rejected it.

As a counter to the Congress scheme, the Muslims, the depressed

classes, the Indian Christians, the Anglo-Indians, and the Europeans presented a joint statement of claims which they said must stand as an interdependent whole. As their main demands were not acceptable to Gandhi, the communal issue was postponed for future discussion.

Three important committees drafted their reports; the Franchise Committee, the Federal Finance Committee and States Inquiry Committee.

On the concluding day, the British Prime Minister, Ramsay MacDonald appealed to the Indian leaders to reach a communal settlement. Failing to do so, he said, would force the British government would take a unilateral decision.

Third Round Table Conference

The third session began on November 17, 1932. It was short and unimportant. The Congress was once again absent, so was the Labour opposition in the British Parliament. Reports of the various committees were scrutinized. The conference ended on December 25, 1932.

The recommendations of the Round Table Conferences were embodied in a White Paper. It was published in March 1933, and debated in parliament directly afterwards, analyzed by the Joint Select Committee and after the final reading and loyal assent, the bill reached the Statute Book on July 24, 1935.

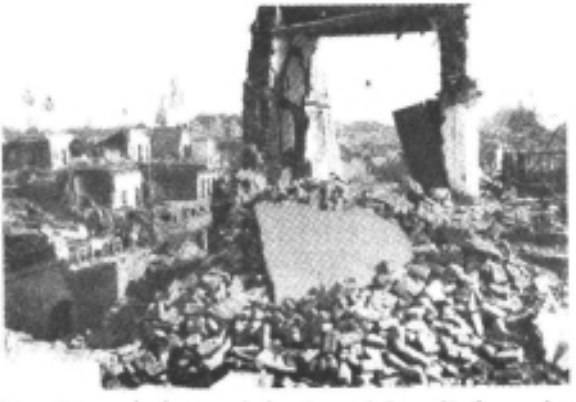
Civil Disobedience Movement called off

The Second Round Table Conference ended in failure in December 1931. Gandhi came back to India without achieving his goal. Meanwhile the government of India renewed its policy of suppressing Indian political movements. Gandhi was utterly disgusted at the attitude of the government and decided to resume the Civil Disobedience Movement in January 1932. The government, on its part, lost no time in taking retaliatory measures. Prominent Congressmen were arrested. The Congress

was declared illegal. In spite of the ruthless repression the Civil Disobedience Movement continued and within a short period nearly 120,000 people courted arrest. But as time passed, the leaders who had always been active were imprisoned. The ruthless action of the Government slowed down the movement. Consequently the movement was suspended for three months in May 1933 and ultimately ended in April 1934.

The Civil Disobedience Movement ended without any result. It could bring neither Swaraj nor complete independence to India. It had practically no significant contribution towards the process of constitution making which culminated in the Government of India Act, 1935. Nevertheless, it was an important step in the Indian struggle for independence. It generated political consciousness among the Indian multitude. But it failed to bring about communal harmony between the Hindus and the Muslims, the two major communities of India. It is significant that the Muslims of India, as a community, kept themselves aloof from the movement. Only a few Muslim leaders became involved in it. Gandhi never succeeded in recovering the position among the Muslims, which he had won during the days of the Khilafat movement.

Bihar Earthquake



In 1934, Bihar was shaken by an earthquake, which caused immense damage and loss of property. The quake, devastating by itself, was followed by floods and an outbreak of malaria which heightened misery. Dr. Prasad dove right in with relief work, collecting food, clothes and medicine.

The Elections

For five years, the Congress and government were locked in conflict and negotiations until what became the Government of India Act of 1935 could be hammered out. But by then, the rift between the Congress and the Muslim League had become unbridgeable as each pointed the finger at the other acrimoniously. The Muslim League disputed the claim by the Congress to represent all people of India, while the Congress disputed the Muslim League's claim to voice the aspirations of all Muslims.

The Government of India Act of 1935 was practically implemented in 1937. The provincial elections were held in the winter of 1936-37. There were two major political parties in the Sub-continent at that time, the Congress and the Muslim League. Both parties did their best to persuade the masses before these elections and put before them their manifesto. The political manifestos of both parties were almost identical, although there were two major differences. Congress stood for joint electorate and the League for separate electorates; Congress wanted Hindi as official language with Deva Nagri script of writing while the League wanted Urdu with Persian script.

According to the results of the elections, Congress, as the oldest, richest and best-organised political party, emerged as the single largest representative in the Legislative Assembles. Muslim Leagues' condition was bad as it could only win 106 Muslim seats. The party only managed to win two seats from the Muslim majority province of Punjab.

The Congress majority

The final results of the elections were declared in February 1937. The Indian National Congress had a clear majority in Madras, Uttar Province, Central Province, Bihar and Orrisa. It was also able to form a coalition government in Bombay and Frontier Province Congress was also able to secure political importance in Sindh and Assam, where they joined the ruling coalition. Thus directly or indirectly, Congress was in power in nine out of eleven

provinces. The Unionist Party of Sir Fazl-i-Hussain and Praja Krishak Party of Maulvi Fazl-i-Haq were able to form governments in Punjab and Bengal respectively, without the interference of Congress. Muslim League failed to form government in any province. The Congress refused to set up its government until the British agreed to their demand that the Governor would not use his powers in legislative affairs. Many discussions took place between the Congress and the British Government and at last the British Government consented, although it was only a verbal commitment and no amendment was made in the Act of 1935. Eventually, after a four-month delay, Congress formed their ministries in July 1937.

The Congress declared Hindi as the national language and, Deva Nagri as the official script. The Congress flag was given the status of national flag, slaughtering of cows was prohibited and it was made compulsory for the children to worship the picture of Gandhi at school. Vande-Mataram, from Bankim Chandra Chatterji's novel Ananda Math, was made the national anthem of the country.

The Congress Resigns

The Congress victory in 1937 election and the consequent formation of popular ministries changed the balance of power within the country vis-a-vis the colonial authorities. The stage seemed to be set for another resurgence of the nationalist movement. Just at this time, the Congress had to undergo a crisis at the top an occurrence that plagued the Congress every few years.

Subhash Bose had been a unanimous choice as the President of the Congress in 1938. In 1939, he decided to stand again - this time as the spokesperson of militant politics and radical groups. Putting forward his candidature on January 21, 1939, Bose said that he represented the 'new ideas, ideologies, problems and programmes' that had emerged with 'the progressive sharpening of the anti-imperialist struggle in India.' The presidential elections, he said, should be fought among different candidates 'on the basis of definite problems and programmes.'

On January 24, Sardar Patel, Rajendra Prasad, J.B. Kripalani and four other members of the Congress Working Committee issued a counter statement, declaring that the talk of ideologies, programmes and policies was irrelevant in the elections of a Congress president since these were evolved by the various Congress bodies such as the AICC and the Working Committee, and that the position of the Congress President was like that of a constitutional head who represented and symbolized the unity and solidarity of the nation. With the blessings of Gandhiji, these and other leaders put up Pattabhi Sitaramayya as a candidate for the post. Subhas Bose was elected on 29th January by 1580 votes against 1377. Gandhiji declared that 'Pattabhi's defeat is my defeat'.

The line of propaganda adopted by Bose against Sardar Patel and the majority of the top Congress leadership whom he branded as rightists. He openly accused them of working for a compromise with the Government on the question of federation. The Congress leaders, labeled as compromisers, resented such charges and branded them as a slander. After Subhash's election, they felt that they could not work with a President who had publicly cast aspersions on their nationalist bonafides. Jawaharlal Nehru did not resign along with the other twelve working committee members. He did not like the idea of confronting Bose publicly. But he did not agree with Bose either.

Subhash Bose believed that the Congress was strong enough to launch an immediate struggle and that the masses were ready for such struggle. He was convinced, as he wrote later, 'that the country was internally more ripe for a revolution than ever before and that the coming international crisis would give India an opportunity for achieving her emancipation, which is rare in human history.'

At the outbreak of the World War II, the Viceroy proclaimed India's involvement without prior consultations with the main political parties. When Congress demanded an immediate transfer of power in return for cooperation of the war efforts, the British government refused. As a result Congress resigned from power.

CHAPTER 9

Indian Independence

Cripps Mission

Gandhi was thus firmly anchored to pacifism when the war broke out in 1939, but many of his closest colleagues and the rank and file in the Indian National Congress could not bring themselves to accept the feasibility of defending the country against aggression without resort to arms. Twice during the war—after the fall of France in 1940, and the collapse of the British position in South East Asia in 1941—when there was a possibility of a rapprochement between the Congress and the Government for a united war effort, Gandhi stepped aside rather than be a party to organized violence. The rapprochement did not come. The only serious British effort for a compromise was made in the Spring of 1942 with the despatch of the Cripps Mission to India; it proved abortive.

For nearly tow and a half years, Gandhi had resisted pressure from a section of his following for the launching of a mass movement. It became clear that the British Government first under Chamberlain, and then under Churchill, was reluctant to assure Indian freedom in the future, or to offer a practical token of it in the present Gandhi had endeavoured to restrain the radical wing of the Congress party, and diverted its discontent into "individual Satyagraha", a subdued form of civil resistance confined to "selected individuals"

After the failure of the Cripps Mission, Gandhi noted with concern that in the face of grave peril posed by the Japanese advance in South East Asia, the mood of the people of India was not one of resolute defiance, but of panic, frustration and helplessness. If India was not to go the way of Malaya and Burma, something had to be done, and done quickly. He came to the conclusion that only an immediate declaration of Indian independence by the British Government could give the people of India a stake in the defence of their country.

Quit India Movement

Quit India Movement, 1942 an important event of the Indian freedom struggle, was the outcome of a compound of anti-white fury. The Cripps Mission, with its vague proposals of a post-war Dominion Status for India, a constitution making body elected by provincial legislatures and the native states, provincial opt out clause, the immediate participation of Indian leaders in war effort but the retention of the control of Indian defence by the British, satisfied none and threatened to Balkanise the Indian subcontinent.

The retreat of the British from Malaya, Burma and Singapore, leaving their dependants to fend for themselves, the indescribable plight of the Indians trekking back home from these places, the racial ill-treatment meted out to Indians by white soldiers stationed here and there in India, the 'scorched earth' policy pursued by the British in Bengal to resist probable Japanese invasion which resulted in the commandeering of all means of communicating,

war-time price rise, black-marketeering and profiteering - all these contributed to the creation of an anti-white fury. Above all, there was the attempt of the British bureaucracy right from the outbreak of the war for a wholesale crackdown on the Congress on the pattern of 1932.

The early morning round up of Congress leaders on August 09 unleashed an unprecedented and countrywide wave of mass fury. And the wave engulfed the Bengal cities, particularly the bigger ones. There were three broad phases of the movement. The first was predominantly urban and included strikes and clashes with the police and army in most major cities. All these were massive and violent but quickly suppressed.

The second phase of the movement started from the middle of August. Militant students fanned out from different centres, destroying communications and leading peasant rebellion in Northern and Western Bihar, Eastern UP, Midnapore in Bengal, and pockets in Maharastra, Karnataka and Orissa. A number of short-lived local 'national governments' were also set up.

The third phase of the movements started from about the end of September and was characterised by terrorist activities, sabotage and guerrilla warfare by educated youths and peasant squads. Parallel national governments functioned at Tamluk in Midnapore, Satara in Maharasfra, and Talcher in Orissa. All the three phases of the movement were crushed by brutal atrocities including the use of machine guns from the air.

A good deal of controversy exists about the nature of the movement-whether it was a spontaneous revolution or an organised rebellion. The famous Quit India resolution passed by the Bombay session of the AICC on August 08, 1942 followed up its call for mass struggle on non violent lines on the widest possible scale, inevitably under Gandhi, with the significant rider that if the Congress leadership was removed by arrest, every Indian who desires freedom and strives for it must be his own guide.... The Wardha working committee resolution of July 14 had also introduced an unusual note of social radicalism- the princes,

*jagirdar*s, zamindars and propertied and moneyed classes derive their wealth and property from the workers in the fields and factories and elsewhere, to whom eventually power and authority must belong.

At the crucial working committee session of April 27 to May 01, Gandhi's hard-line was backed by a combination of Right-wingers like Patel, Rajendra Prasad and Kripalni and the socialists like Achyut Patwardhan and Narendra Dev. Jawaharlal was initially hesitant, but ultimately joined the queue and only the Communists opposed the Quit India resolution.

During and after the Quit India upsurge, the British in documents like Tottenhams' Report painted the whole outburst as a deliberate fifth columnist conspiracy', intending to strengthen the Axis powers. This interpretation not only ignored the consistent anti-fascist international stance of the Congress throughout the 1930s, but also made a historical travesty of the facts that being arrested in the early morning of 9 August the Congress leaders could hardly lead the outburst and that the Quit India resolution was also remarkably vague about the details of the coming movement. Far from ruling out further negotiations, the whole thing may conceivably have been an exercise in brinkmanship and a bargaining counter which was followed by an explosion only because the British had decided on a policy of wholesale repression. Despite strenuous efforts, the British failed to establish their case that the Congress before August 09 had really planned a violent rebellion.

The movement was, in reality 'elemental and largely spontaneous'. It was sparked off by a variety of factors and of an expectation that British rule was coming to an end. Bureaucratic high-handedness and provocation worsened the situation. Financial losses incurred in Malay and Burma induced sections of Indian business community to give some covert support to a movement (even if violent) for a short while.

The real picture was that the removal of established leaders left younger and more militant cadres to their own initiative and gave greater scope to pressure from below. Amery's slander that the

Congress had planned attacks on communications and sabotage boomeranged with a vengeance, for many believed that this really had been the Working Committee's plan. In any case, in a primary hegemonic struggle as the Indian National Movement was, preparedness for the volume of immediate organisational activity but cannot measure struggle by the degree of hegemonic influence that the movement has acquired over the people.

The participation of labour was short-lived and limited but there was certainly considerable covert upper class and even Indian high official support to secret nationalist activities in 1942. Such support enabled activists to set up a fairly effective illegal apparatus, including even a secret radio station under Usha Mehta for three months in Bombay. Unlike in the Civil Disobedience days, middle class students were very much in the forefront in 1942, whether in urban clashes, as organisers of sabotage, or as motivators of present rebellion. What made the movement so formidable, however, was the massive upsurge of the peasantry in certain areas, particularly in Bihar.

Indeed, that 1942 clearly surpassed all previous Congress led movements in its level of anti-British radicalism possibly reduced internal class tensions and social radiation. The characteristic feature of this movement was that private property was less attacked and even no-revenue was not as comprehensive as in 1930-34.

The paradox why the people turned violent when the Congress insisted on non-violence may be solved in the following manner. In the struggle there were many who refused to use on sanction violent means and confined themselves to the traditional weaponry of the Congress. But many of those, including many staunch Gandhians, who used 'violent means' in 1942 felt that the peculiar circumstances warranted their use. Many maintained that the cutting of telegraph wires and the blowing up of bridges were all right as long as human life was not taken but others admitted that they could not square the violence they used, with their belief in

non-violence, although they did resort to it in most trying circumstances and in self-defence.

Gandhi refused to condemn the violence of the people because he saw it as a reaction to the much bigger violence being perpetrated on the state. It is held that Gandhi's major objection to violence was that its use prevented mass participation in a movement. For in 1942, Gandhi had come round to the view that mass participation would not be restricted as a result of isolated violence. Gandhi had come to realise that the kind of non-violence he had wanted his country men to inculcate and practise, could not be achieved and so towards the end of his career he had kept some amount of space for the participants to follow their own line of action. His patience had been dragged to such extremes that he felt that even at the cost of some risks, he should ask his people to resist slavery. Although Gandhi was now in an unusually militant mood, at no stage was he prepared to forsake his faith in non-violence. He would have liked the movement to be non-violent but was prepared to run the risk of unrestricted mass action even if that meant civil war. He thus said, 'Let them entrust India to God or, in modem parlance, to anarchy'.

The Quit India movement was thus not a controlled volunteer movement like Gandhi's previous movements of 1920-22 and 1930-34. It was not conceived as a traditional *Satyagraha*. It was to be a 'fight to the finish', an 'open rebellion', 'short and swift' which could very well plunge the country into a 'conflagration'. Foreign domination was to be ended whatever the cost.

Scholars have analysed the questions of 'spontaneity' and 'preparedness' in terms of action and reaction. The arrest of the leaders made the people aghast and took them completely unaware. Strikes and demonstrations followed and 'the very size of the crowds made the Government nervous'. Tension bred tension and led to confrontation. The people had no guidance, the leaders were either behind the bars or underground. Passions were ranging high. Individuals and groups interpreted the situation to the best of their understanding and acted, as they thought best. The

continuing police repression and 'Ordinance Raj' further inflamed the feelings of the people. There had been no Congress call for civil disobedience. 'Therefore what started as individual acts of angry defiance, soon swelled into a movement, and the movement into a revolt'.

Indian National Army

Indian National Army was formed under the initiative of leaders like Subhas Chandra Bose, Rashbehari Bose and others who, being imbued with the spirit of national independence, sided with the Axis Powers during the Second World war (1939-1945). The Indian National Army (INA) is also called *Azad Hind Fauj*.

In December 1941 the Japanese defeated the British at Malaya and Captain Mohan Singh together with an Indian and a British officer capitulated to them. Indians residing in southeast Asia were much inspired at the victory of Japan at the initial stage of the war. A number of associations were formed aiming at the independence of India. Pritam Singh was a leader of such an organisation. He and Major Fujihara, a Japanese officer, requested Mohan Sing to form an Indian Army comprising the captured Indian soldiers. Mohan Singh hesitated but ultimately agreed. Fujihara handed over about 40,000 Indian soldiers, who had surrendered to him, to Mohan Singh. It was actually the first step towards the formation of the INA.

Wavell Plan and Simla Conference (1945)

In May 1945, Lord Wavell, the Viceroy of India, went to London and discussed his ideas about the future of India with the British

administration. The talks resulted in the formulation of a plan of action that was made public in June 1945. The plan is known as Wavell Plan.

The Plan suggested reconstitution of the Viceroy's Executive Council in which the Viceroy was to select persons nominated by the political parties. Different communities were also to get their due share in the Council and parity was reserved for Cast-Hindus and Muslims. While declaring the plan, the Secretary of State for Indian Affairs made it clear that the British Government wanted to listen to the ideas of all major Indian communities. Yet he said that it was only possible if the leadership of the leading Indian political parties agreed with the suggestions of the British Government.

To discuss these proposals with the leadership of major Indian parties, Wavell called for a conference at Simla on June 25, 1945. Leaders of both the Congress and the Muslim League attended the conference, which is known as the Simla Conference. However, differences arose between the leadership of the two parties on the issue of representation of the Muslim community. The Muslim League claimed that it was the only representative party of the Muslims in India and thus all the Muslim representatives in the Viceroy's Executive Council should be the nominees of the party. Congress, which had sent Maulana Azad as the leader of their delegation, tried to prove that their party represented all the communities living in India and thus should be allowed to nominate Muslim representative as well. Congress also opposed the idea of parity between the Cast-Hindus and the Muslims. All this resulted in a deadlock. Finally, Wavell announced the failure of his efforts on July 14. Thus the Simla Conference couldn't provide any hope of proceeding further.

Provincial and General Elections (1945-46)

With the failure of the Simla Conference, Lord Wavell announced that the Central and Provincial Legislature elections would be held in the winter of 1945, after which a constitution-making body

would be set up. He also announced that after the elections, the Viceroy would set an Executive Council that would have the support of the main Indian political parties. Both the Muslim League and the Congress opposed the proposal.

Jinnah declared that Muslims were not ready to accept any settlement less than a separate homeland for them and the All India Congress Committee characterized the proposal as vague, inadequate and unsatisfactory because it had not addressed the issue of independence. Despite this, the two parties launched huge election campaigns. They knew that the elections would be crucial for the future of India, as the results were to play an important role in determining their standing. The League wanted to sweep the Muslim constituencies so as to prove that they were the sole representatives of the Muslims of Sub-continent, while Congress wanted to prove that, irrespective of religion, they represent all the Indians.

Both the Muslim League and the Congress promulgated opposite slogans during their campaigns. The Muslim League presented a one-point manifesto "if you want Pakistan, vote for the Muslim League". Jinnah himself toured the length and breadth of India and tried to unite the Muslim community under the banner of the Muslim League.

The Congress on the other hand stood for United India. To counter the Muslim League, the Congress press abused the Quaid and termed his demand for Pakistan as the "vivisection of Mother India", "reactionary primitivism" and "religious barbarism". Congress tried to brand Muslim League as an ultra-conservative clique of knights, Khan Bahadurs, toadies and government pensioners. The Congress also tried to get the support of all the provincial and central Muslim parties who had some differences with the League, and backed them in the elections.

The Congress was able to sweep the polls for the non-Muslim seats. They managed to win more then 80 percent of the general seats and about 91.3 percent of the total general votes. The Leagues performance, however, was even more impressive: it managed to

win all the 30 seats reserved for the Muslims. The results of the provincial election held in early 1946 were not different. Congress won most of the non-Muslim seats while Muslim League captured approximately 95 percent of the Muslim seats.

In a bulletin issued on January 6, 1946, the Central Election Board of the Congress claimed that the election results had vindicated the party as the biggest, strongest and the most representative organization in the country. On the other hand, the League celebrated January 11, 1946, as the Day of Victory and declared that the election results were enough to prove that Muslim League, under the leadership of Quaid-i-Azam, was the sole representative of the Muslims of the region.

Cabinet Mission Plan (1946)

All of the British Government's attempts to establish peace between the Congress and the Muslim League had failed. The results of the general elections held in 1945-46 served to underline the urgency to find a solution to the political deadlock, which was the result of non-cooperation between the two major parties. To end this, the British government sent a special mission of cabinet ministers to India.

The mission consisted of Lord Pethic Lawrence, the Secretary of State for India, Sir Stafford Cripps, President of the Board of Trade, and A. V. Alexander, the First Lord of the Admiralty.

The purpose of the mission was:

- Preparatory discussions with elected representatives of British India and the Indian states in order to secure agreement as to the method of framing the constitution.
- Setting up of a constitutional body.
- Setting up an Executive Council with the support of the main Indian parties.

The mission arrived on March 24, 1946. After extensive discussions with Congress and the Muslim League, the Cabinet Mission put forward its own proposals on May 16, 1946.

The main points of the plan were:

- There would be a union of India comprising both British India and the Indian States that would deal with foreign affairs, defence and communications. The union would have an Executive and a Legislature.
- All residuary powers would belong to the provinces.
- All provinces would be divided into three sections. Provinces could opt out of any group after the first general elections.
- There would also be an interim government having the support of the major political parties.

The Muslim League accepted the plan on June 06, 1946. Earlier, the Congress had accepted the plan on May 24, 1946, though it rejected the interim setup.

The Viceroy should now have invited the Muslim League to form Government as it had accepted the interim setup; but he did not do so.

Meanwhile Jawaharlal Nehru, addressing a press conference on July 10, said that the Congress had agreed to join the constituent assembly, but saying it would be free to make changes in the Cabinet Mission Plan.

Under these circumstances, the Muslim League disassociated itself from the Cabinet Plan and resorted to "Direct Action" to achieve Pakistan. As a result, Viceroy Wavell invited the Congress to join the interim government, although it had practically rejected the plan.

However, the Viceroy soon realized the futility of the scheme without the participation of the League. Therefore, on October 14, 1946, he extended an invitation to them as well.

Jinnah nominated Liaquat Ali Khan, I. I. Chundrigar, Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar, Ghazanfar Ali Khan and Jogandra Nath Mandal to the cabinet.

Congress allocated the Finance Ministry to the League. This in effect placed the whole governmental setup under the Muslim

League. As Minister of Finance, the budget Liaquat Ali Khan presented was called a "poor man's budget" as it adversely affected the Hindu capitalists.

The deadlock between the Congress and the League further worsened in this setup.

On March 22, 1947, Lord Mountbatten arrived as the last Viceroy. It was announced that power would be transferred from British to Indian hands by June 1948

Lord Mountbatten entered into a series of talks with the Congress and the Muslim League leaders. Jinnah made it clear that the demand for Pakistan had the support of all the Muslims of India and that he could not withdraw from it. With staunch extremists as Patel agreeing to the Muslim demand for a separate homeland, Mountbatten now prepared for the partition of the Sub-continent and announced it on June 3, 1947.

Lord Mountbatten's plan for partition of India (June 03, 1947)

The British government sent a Cabinet Mission to India in March 1946 to negotiate with Indian leaders and agree to the terms of the transfer of power.

After difficult negotiations a federal solution was proposed. Despite initial agreement, both sides eventually rejected the plan.

An interim government with representatives of all the Indian parties was proposed and implemented. However, it soon

collapsed through lack of agreement. While the Muslim League consented to join the interim government the Indian National Congress refused. By the end of 1946 communal violence was escalating and the British began to fear that India would descend into civil war. The British government's representative, Lord Wavell, put forward a breakdown plan as a safeguard in the event of political deadlock. Wavell, however, believed that once the disadvantages of the Pakistan scheme were exposed, Jinnah would see the advantages of working for the best possible terms inside a united India. Lord Mountbatten replaced Lord Wavell as Viceroy of India in 1947.

Mountbatten's first proposed solution for the Indian subcontinent, known as the 'May Plan', was rejected by Congress leader Jawaharlal Nehru on the grounds it would cause the balkanisation of India. The following month the 'May Plan' was substituted for the June Plan, in which provinces would have to choose between India and Pakistan. Bengal and Punjab both voted for partition.

On June 03, 1947, Lord Mountbatten announced his plan. The salient features were:-

Mountbatten's formula was to divide India but retain maximum unity. The country would be partitioned but so would Punjab and Bengal, so that the limited Pakistan that emerged would meet both the Congress and League's position to some extent. The League's position on Pakistan was conceded to the extent that it would be created, but the Congress position on unity would be taken into account to make Pakistan as small as possible. Whether it was ruling out independence for the princes or unity for Bengal or Hyderabad's joining up with Pakistan instead of India, Mountbatten firmly supported Congress on these issues.

The Mountbatten Plan sought to effect an early transfer of power on the basis of Dominion status to two successor states, India and Pakistan. For Britain, Dominion Status offered a chance of keeping India in the commonwealth for India's economic strength and defence potential were deemed sounder and Britain had a greater value of trade and investment there.

The rationale for the early date for transfer of power was securing Congress agreement to Dominion status. The additional benefit was that the British could escape responsibility for the rapidly deteriorating communal situation.

A referendum was to be held in NWEP to ascertain whether the people in the area wanted to join India or not. The princely states would have the option of joining either of the two dominions or to remain independent. The Provinces of Assam, Punjab and Bengal were also to be divided. A boundary commission was to be set up to determine the boundaries of these states.

Independence and partition

India finally won independence in 1947. But for Mahatma Gandhi, triumph was tempered with disappointment over the violent partitioning of the country into India and Pakistan.

Nearly one million people died in the riots that ensued between Hindus and Muslims.

Mahatma Gandhi had always been against the partition. The year before he had said, "Before partitioning India, my body will have to be cut into two pieces."

But the alternative to partition was thought to be civil war between Hindus and Muslims, and so at the last minute Gandhi urged the Congress Party to accept partition.

When he saw the extent of the bloodshed, Mahatma Gandhi again turned to non-violent protest. He went on a hunger strike, saying he would not eat until the violence stopped and India gave back the 550 m rupees (about £40m) that it was holding from Pakistan.

CHAPTER 10

The Independent India

National Integration

The euphoria of independence was short-lived as partition brought disastrous consequences for India in the wake of communal conflict. Partition unleashed untold misery and loss of lives and property as millions of Hindu and Muslim refugees fled either Pakistan or India. Both nations were also caught up in a number of conflicts involving the allocation of assets, demarcation of boundaries, equitable sharing of water resources, and control over Kashmir. At the same time, Indian leaders were faced with the stupendous task of national integration and economic development.

When the British relinquished their claims to paramountcy, the 562 independent princely states were given the option to join either of the two nations. A few princely states readily joined Pakistan, but the rest—except Hyderabad (the largest of the princely states with 132,000 square kilometers and a population of more than 14 million), Jammu and Kashmir and Junagadh merged with India. India successfully annexed Hyderabad and Junagadh after "police actions" and promises of privileges to the rulers. The Hindu maharajah of predominantly Muslim Jammu and Kashmir remained uncommitted until armed tribesmen and regular troops from Pakistan infiltrated his domain, inducing him to sign the Instrument of Accession to India on October 27, 1947. Pakistan

refused to accept the legality of the accession, and, as a result, war broke out. Kashmir remains a source of friction between the neighbours. The assassination of Mahatma Gandhi on January 30, 1948, in New Delhi, by a Hindu extremist opposed to Gandhi's openness to Muslims ended the tenuous celebration of independence and deepened the hatred and mutual suspicion in Hindu-Muslim relations.

Economic backwardness was one of the serious challenges that India faced at independence. Under three successive five-year plans, inaugurated between 1951 and 1964 under Nehru's leadership, India produced increasing amounts of food. Although food production did not allow self-sufficiency until fiscal year 1984, India has emerged as the nation with the seventh largest gross national product in the world.

Linguistic regionalism eventually reached a crisis stage and undermined the Congress' attempts at nation building. Whereas in the early 1920s, the Congress had deemed that the use of regional vernaculars in education and administration would facilitate the governance of the country, partition made the leaders, especially Nehru, realised how quickly such provincial or subnational interests would dismantle India's fragile unity. However, in the face of widespread agitation for linguistic separation of states, beginning with the Telangana Movement in 1953, in 1956 Nehru reluctantly accepted the recommendations of the States Reorganisation Commission, and the number of states grew by reorganization along linguistic lines. The states became the loci for democratization of political processes at district levels, for expression of regional culture and popular demands against a national culture and unity, for economic development at strategic localities in the rural areas, and for proliferation of opposition parties that ended the possibility of a pan-Indian two-party system

Nehru became India's prime minister and minister of foreign affairs and led the country through the difficult early years of independence. The domestic problems of those years included the massive influx of Hindu refugees from Pakistan; the integration

of the princely states into the new political structure (Hyderabad was incorporated by force in 1948, and Kashmir's accession caused the first India-Pakistan War, ending in the partition of the state); and controversy and unrest associated with the re-organization of the states on a linguistic basis. On the economic front the government launched a series of five-year plans with the declared goal of achieving a "socialist pattern of society."

In foreign affairs Nehru adopted a policy of neutralism. He stressed the importance of the movement of nonaligned nations in international politics and became one of its leading spokesmen. He also opposed the formation of military alliances and urged a moratorium on all nuclear testing. Some observers felt that he lost stature as an advocate of peace by employing force in Kashmir and by seizing (1961) Goa from the Portuguese. It also appeared that he might be abandoning strict neutralism for a more pro-Western policy when he requested Western aid to defend India against Chinese border incursions in 1962.

Gandhi assassinated

On January 30, 1948, India's Father of the Nation, Mahatma Gandhi, was assassinated.

A fellow Hindu killed Gandhi, one of the world's most famous pacifists. A fellow Hindu, Nathuram Godse, who felt that Gandhi had betrayed the Hindu cause, assassinated him.

Mahatma Gandhi, aged 78, was on the way to a prayer meeting,

when he was shot three times in the chest and died on January 30, 1948.

Constitution of India

The Constitution of India guarantees equal rights to all citizens, and prohibits discrimination on the basis of race, ethnicity, gender, caste, and religion; it also allows universal franchise, thereby making the Indian electorate the largest in the world. The Fourth Part of the Constitution contains what are called "directive principles of state policy", which require the government to set goals for the welfare of the people, such as a minimum wage, jobs for people from disadvantaged backgrounds, and subsidized medical care. The Indian Constitution is one of the largest in the world, and comprehensive and sweeping in its scope. The Indian state, however, has been failure in its commitment to enforce the directive principles, and constitutional rights have been abrogated much too often. During the internal emergency of 1975-77, proclaimed by Prime Minister Indira Gandhi, the Constitution was sadly rendered ineffective. In recent years, the Supreme Court of India, as well as the higher courts, have shown much daring in so interpreting the Constitution as to advantage the oppressed, the poor, and the victims of state and police brutality. Indeed, the Supreme Court has become renowned for its judicial activism and what is termed Public Interest Litigation or Social Action Litigation. The Constitution remains a vital and living document, and the political awareness of recent years suggests that it will continue to be a source of inspiration for those who strive valiantly to make Indian society more egalitarian.

India goes for elections (1952)

The Congress Party of India, led by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, has won an outright victory in the country's first general election.

The party won 249 of the 489 seats contested in the Lower House, and even with 133 results yet to be declared it is clear that the Congress Party will control the next Parliament.

The victory has earned Pandit Nehru a further five-year term in office. He has led the interim government since 1947, when power passed from British to Indian hands, but this makes him India's first prime minister to be elected by universal suffrage.

The elections are widely seen as a test for India's ability to succeed as a democracy following independence from Britain two years ago.

They are the first to be held under the new constitution, drawn up with the British parliamentary system as a model.

There were fears that extremist groups would use the opportunity to whip up inter-ethnic tensions, but to everyone's relief voting has so far gone peacefully.

The polling operation is on a massive scale. There are 176 million people eligible to vote, although only 15% can read or write.

Symbols are being used on ballot papers for each of the parties and independent candidates, so that those who cannot read know where to cast their vote.

Voters are not even required to mark their ballot papers - they simply have to put them into a box marked with the symbol of their favoured candidate.

Dalai Lama escapes to India (1959)

The spiritual leader of Tibet, Dalai Lama, has crossed the border into India after a 15-day journey on foot from the Tibetan capital, Lhasa, over the Himalayan Mountains.

There had been no news of his safety or whereabouts since he left Lhasa on 17 March with an entourage of 20 men, including six Cabinet ministers.

Many thought he had been killed in the fierce Chinese crackdown that followed the Tibetan uprising earlier this month.

Dalai Lama had to cross the 500-yard wide Brahmaputra river, and endure the harsh climate and extreme heights of the Himalayas, travelling at night to avoid the Chinese sentry guards.

He finally crossed the Indian border at the Khenzimana Pass, and is now resting at the Towang Monastery, 50 miles inside the Indian border.

It is not known whether the Indian Government will offer him asylum. The government of Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru has been heavily criticised internationally for failing to condemn the Chinese crackdown.

The Liberation of Goa (1961)

Goa was originally a Portuguese colony after the British left India. The Portuguese refused to give up their colonies in-spite of repeated requests of India. The struggle was two fold. From within Goa and from the Indian Government outside Goa.

Even though the Portuguese assumed that India had renounced the use of force, both the Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru as well as the defence minister, Krishna Menon made it clear that India would not fail to resort to force as an option, if all diplomatic efforts to make the Portuguese give up Goa fail.

After years of negotiation, in late 1961, The government decided to deploy the armed forces in an effort to evict the Portuguese out of Goa and other enclaves.

The build up to the operations started on December 02, 1961. Probing flights by some fighters and bombers were carried out on December 8th and 9th to lure and draw out any Portuguese air opposition that may have been there. A Vampire, from No.108 Squadron, flew a P R Mission over some strategic targets without encountering opposition These baiting missions were flown up trying to draw out the Portuguese Air Force, but to no avail.

Then on 18 December, the Army Chief had sent a directive for the air force to take out specific targets. Namely:

1. Dabolim airfield to be made unusable but at the same time ensure the terminals & facilities are not damaged.
2. The Wireless Station at Bambolim to be knocked out.

3. Close support to the land forces.
4. Denial of use of Diu and Daman airfields. However, these airfields are not to be attacked without Prior approval.

Diu Operations

The nearest Airfield to Diu was the airbase at Jamnagar where the armament training wing was located. Four Toofanis armed with 1000 lbs. bombs took off from Jamnagar arriving over the Diu airfield in minutes. The leader of the Toofanis, noticed some white flags being waved from the area surrounding the airfield which he assumed as a sign of surrender. Added to the confusion was a garbled message received by the Toofani flight about, "the airfield is in our hands". Assuming the surrender had already taken place, the flight leader took the Toofanis over to the sea and jettisoned their bombs into the sea! It was only after returning to the base that they found out that no surrender took place. The white flags noticed near the airfield were actually Dhobies washings hung out in the open to dry!

Two Toofanis took off again at 1400 hours and bombed the intersection of the runways at Diu. Another four Toofanis followed up later on rocketing the control tower, wireless station and the meteorological station.

Around the same time, four Vampires flying from Jamnagar over the sea near Diu, noticed a Fast Patrol Boat traveling out of the Diu harbour. Upon closer observation, the Vampires were fired at by the Boat. Flight Officer P.M. Ramachandran - the lead pilot - immediately engaged with gunfire and rockets and sank the patrol boat. For this feat he received the Shaurya Chakra.

Diu received the maximum air effort of all the three theatres during the Goa operations. With nearly 67 sorties being flown by aircraft from Jamnagar and elsewhere. All expenditure of ammunition ceased by the end of the second day, the surrender had all but taken place formally.

Indo-Pak War (1965)

The Pakistani invasion of India in 1965, similar to that of 1947, was a well thought out diabolical plan consistent with Pakistan's anti-India and annex-Kashmir policies pursued since its formation. The objectives and modus operandi were the same. Pakistan-trained infiltrators supported by its regular army soldiers were pushed into Indian territory with the same purpose of sabotage, disruption and distribution of arms among the locals to start a guerrilla uprising. The prevailing conditions which encouraged Pakistan to undertake the misadventure were in fact, construed as ideal by Pakistan. The death of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru in 1964 and the coming to power of the late Lal Bahadur Shastri as Nehru's successor were treated by Pakistan as an encouragement to complete its unfinished war of 1947. Shastri was considered as a weakling and India was perceived as being deeply pre-occupied with its internal crises. Therefore, Pakistan assumed that India would not be able to react effectively to the situation. Simultaneously, article 356 and 357 of the Indian constitution which provided for governor's rule were extended to J&K under the process of integration. This was considered by Sheikh Abdullah as an encroachment on Kashmir's status as the article, in fact, provided for the governor's rule without the consent of the state legislature. The resentments expressed by Sheikh Abdullah were also construed as a probable Kashmiri support to Pakistan in the eventuality of a war with India. The invasion into J&K in the form of an armed infiltration in small numbers started from August 1965. The Pak incursions in J&K continued for about a month till the ceasefire was effected under the aegis of the UN Security Council on 23 September 1965. The invaders were repulsed by the Indian army and Pakistan's 'Operation Gibraltar' resulted in a total failure. The Kashmiris' support, in fact, was miscalculated by the Pakistani authorities and the invaders. Both the countries later signed the Tashkent Declaration on 10 January 1966 which provided for a temporary truce.

Indira Gandhi takes charge

Indira Gandhi, only daughter of India's first Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru, is to become the country's next leader.

She was chosen at the end of a bitter leadership battle with former finance minister Morarji Desai.

Following her win, Mrs Gandhi pledged herself to serve the Congress Party and the country, and said she would "strive to create what my father used to call a climate of peace."

Crowds had gathered outside Parliament House while the election was held, and cheered Mrs Gandhi wildly as she went to the President's House to report.

Mrs Gandhi did not confirm she would be a candidate until four days ago, when chief ministers from 11 of India's 16 states let it be known they would support her to take over.

Another leading candidate, Gulzarilal Nanda, withdrew once it was clear Mrs Gandhi would be running.

He has been acting as prime minister since the unexpected death of Nehru's successor, Lal Bahadur Shastri, earlier this month.

Mr Desai was under extreme pressure to pull out as well and avoid a potentially damaging leadership contest, but he insisted on going to a vote.

It was predicted he would get less than 100 of the 526 votes from Congress MPs, but he surprised many by winning 169 votes to Mrs Gandhi's 355.

Afterwards, Mr Desai pledged to cooperate fully with Mrs Gandhi. It is the second time running he has been defeated in a leadership

contest: the first time, against Mr Shastri, he withdrew his candidacy without a vote.

Mrs Gandhi, 48, was educated at West Bengal and Oxford and has two sons, Rajiv and Sanjay.

She gets her name not from Mahatma Gandhi, the legendary independence campaigner and founder of the Congress Party, but from her husband Feroze Gandhi, a lawyer who died in 1960. The couple spent 13 months in prison for subversion after fighting against British rule in India during the 1940s. She played a key part in the Congress Party since 1955, and served as information minister in Mr Shastri's government.

Indo Pak War (1971)

The Indo-Pak war of 1971 had reasons much beyond Jammu and Kashmir as Pakistan failing to have its administrative control over East Pakistan resorted to brutal force on the population leading a mass exodus of people from East Pakistan to India, particularly West Bengal. While Pakistan's military establishment realised that it cannot retain hold over East Pakistan it tried to compensate the loss by capturing territory inside Jammu and Kashmir.

Ever since partition the people of East Pakistan (now Bangladesh) had a grudge that the Pakistani masses and leaders were ignoring them. They belived that their rightful claim to governance was being thwarted by politicians from West Pakistan. There was a

feeling that the military leadership in West Pakistan and its politicians were out to impose their wishes on the population of East Pakistan.

The desperation among the people of East Pakistan was further fuelled by the formation of Sheikh Mujibur Rehman's Awami League, who favoured seperation of East Pakistan. The Awami League secured a clear majority in the 1971 elections of Pakistan. Still, its leader Mujibur Rehman was deprived of the Pakistan's Prime Ministership following opposition from leaders in West Pakistan.

The Awami League and Mukti Vahini a local mass movement in East Pakistan perturbed by the developments announced independence from Pakistan naming the state as Bangladesh. This resulted in a bloody confrontation between the Pakistan army and people of Bangladesh resulting in mass migration of about a million people into Indian territories.

The migrant problems assumed alarming proportions affecting the economic condition of West Bengal besides, resulting in a huge humanitarian crisis. It was at this juncture that India decided to side with the Bangladeshi locals in their struggle for liberation.

With stiff resistance from local population, Pakistan realised that it would be impossible for it to retain control over East Pakistan and it decided to compensate the loss of territory by securing Kashmir. Pakistan resorted to pre-emptive strikes on Indian air bases in the Western and Northern sectors on December 3, 1971 resulting in a full scale war. Indian armed forces repulsed persistent Pakistani attempts to push into Jammu and Kashmir state and capture the valley.

The Indian army also inflicted a crushing defeat on Pakistan in Sindh and Lahore sectors. Pakistan navy and Karachi port were paralysed after Indian navy surrounded it. Lahore was besieged and 5,000 sq. miles of Pak territory in Lahore sector was occupied while the Pakistan army could capture only 60 sq. miles of Indian territory in the Chhamb sector in Jammu region of Jammu and Kashmir. In the Eastern sector the Pakistan army surrendered to

India's might and Indian army took more that 90,000 Pakistani troops as prisoners of war.

The decisive win for Indian forces in the 1971 resulting in the disemberment of Pakistan and liberation of Bangladesh, with over 90,000 Pakistani soldiers as prisoners and over one-third of Pakistani territory, India was in the most advantageous position to settle all the outstanding issues including Kashmir with Pakistan, once and for all. But, as history would suggest India frettered away the advantage at the negotiating table during the Shimla agreement.

A dejected and cornored Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto, the then Pakistan President pleaded to the Indian establishment more time to settle Kashmir issue citing political compulsions back home and violent reactions including threat to his life. The Indians gave in to Bhutto's plea and once back in Pakistan, Bhutto never kept his word, rather he raised the rhetoric over Jammu and Kashmir.

Nuclear Testing at Pokhran

India conducted its first nuclear detonation, described by India as a peaceful nuclear explosion, on May 18, 1974. This test, which may have only been partially successful, demonstrated a claimed yield of perhaps 12 kt. The underground test produced a crater with a radius variously reported at between 47 and 75 meters, and a depth of about 10 meters. The test was conducted in the Rajasthan Desert near the town of Pokhran.

Media reports of nuclear test preparations in 1981 and 1982 located the alleged activity within the vicinity of India's first nuclear test. In April 1981, US Senator Alan Cranston, citing classified US intelligence, asserted that in in February 1981 India had begun nuclear test preparations at Pokhran. The activity was described as "surface excavations for burial of a nuclear warhead - for an underground test." Subsequently, Indian news media reported that January or February 1981 a barbed wire fence had been strung enclosing an area some eight kilometers long and three kilometers wide, about three kilometers south of the 1974 nuclear test site. Local villagers used the area around the site for grazing cattle. Further Indian media reports a year later reaffirmed these assertions. Credible evidence from several sources indicated that shafts were constructed in the early 1980s for two underground nuclear tests.

In December 1995 American intelligence satellites detected additional scientific and technical activity at the Pokaran test site in the Rajasthan desert. But intelligence experts could not tell whether the activity involved preparations for exploding a nuclear bomb or testing a ballistic missile. The site had been routinely maintained, but US intelligence noted new efforts to clean out a deep underground shaft for lowering a nuclear weapon into the earth, as well as possible preparations for instrumentation of a test to determine whether it occurred as predicted. Indian news reportes suggested the activity was associated with preparations for tests of the Prithvi missile, although no such tests subsequently occured. In January 1996 the United States presented New Delhi with a demarche demanding the test be halted. When India denied such preparations, US Ambassador Frank Wisner confronted the Indian government with satellite imagery of activity at the Pokhran site, and India's nuclear test preparations were halted.

One of the few concrete steps taken by BJP leader Atal Behari Vajpayee during his brief 13-day term as Prime Minister in May 1996 was approval for DRDO and DAE to begin preparations for a nuclear test. Reportedly, these test preparations were detected

by US intelligence, provoking another demarche from the US government. However, the BJP Government fell two days before the tests could begin, and the succeeding United Front government of H.D. Deve Gowda declined to proceed.

On 11 May 1998 India carried out three underground nuclear tests at the Pokhran range. Two days later, after carrying out two more underground sub-kiloton tests, the Government announced the completion of the planned series of tests. The three underground nuclear tests carried out on 11 May were reportedly of three different devices - a fission device with a yield of about 12 KT, a thermonuclear device with a yield of about 43 KT and a sub-kiloton device. All the 3 devices were detonated simultaneously. The two tests carried out at 1221 hours on 13 May. The yields of the sub-kiloton devices were claimed to be in the range of 0.2 to 0.6 KT.

CHAPTER 11

Apendix

Governors-General of India

1. Lord Mountbatten
2. Chakravarthi Rajagopalachari

Presidents of India

1. Dr. Rajendra Prasad
2. Dr. Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan
3. Dr Zakir Hussain
   Varahagiri Venkata Giri *
   Muhammad Hidayat Ullah*
4. Varahagiri Venkata Giri
5. Fakhruddin Ali Ahmed
   Basappa Danappa Jatti*
6. Neelam Sanjiva Reddy
7. Giani Zail Singh
8. Ramaswamy Venkataraman
9. Dr. Shankar Dayal Sharma
10. Kocheril Raman Narayanan

11. Dr. A. P. J. Abdul Kalam

* Acting Prime minsters of India

- Jawaharlal Nehru
- Gulzari Lal Nanda
- Lal Bahadur Shastri
- Gulzari Lal Nanda
- Indira Gandhi
- Morarji Desai
- Choudhary Charan Singh
- Indira Gandhi
- Rajiv Gandhi
- Vishwanath Pratap Singh
- Chandra Shekhar
- P. V. Narasimha Rao
- Atal Behari Vajpayee
- H. D. Deve Gowda
- Inder Kumar Gujral
- Atal Behari Vajpayee
- Dr. Manmohan Singh

Map Of India

States of India

1. Andhra Pradesh
2. Arunachal Pradesh
3. Assam

4. Bihar
5. Chhattisgarh
6. Goa
7. Gujarat
8. Haryana
9. Himachal Pradesh
10. Jammu and Kashmir
11. Jharkhand
12. Karnataka
13. Kerala
14. Madhya Pradesh
15. Maharashtra
16. Manipur
17. Meghalaya
18. Mizoram
19. Nagaland
20. Orissa
21. Punjab
22. Rajasthan
23. Sikkim
24. Tamil Nadu
25. Tripura
26. Uttaranchal
27. Uttar Pradesh
28. West Bengal

Union Territories

1. Andaman and Nicobar Islands

2. Chandigarh
3. Dadra and Nagar Haveli
4. Daman and Diu
5. Lakshadweep
6. Pondicherry

National Capital Territory

7. Delhi