

APPOLO STUDY CENTRE

Basic Source for
TEST- 12 (19.4.26) REVISION TEST
Medieval India

DELHI SULTANS

7th TERM I	Unit - 2	Emergence of New Kingdoms in North India
	Unit - 4	The Delhi Sultanate
11th Vol - 1	Unit - 10	Advent of Arab and Turks
MUGHALS		
7th Term II	Unit 2	The Mughal Empire
11 th vol - 2	Unit 14	The Mughal Empire

Modern India

NATIONAL RENAISSANCE- EARLY UPRISING AGAINST BRITISH RULE, INC, EMBEGENCE OF NATIONAL LEADERS AND TAMIL NADU LEADERS

10TH BOOK	Unit - 7	Anti-Colonial Movements and The Birth of Nationalism - (7.5)
	Unit - 8	Nationalism: Gandhian Phase
12TH VOL I	Unit - 1	Rise of Nationalism in India
	Unit - 2	Rise of Extremism and Swadeshi Movement

DIFFERENT MODES OF AGITATION GROWTH OF SATYAGRAHA AND MILITANT MOVEMENTS

12th std	Unit - 3	Impact of World War I on Indian Freedom Movement
	Unit - 4	Advent of Gandhi and Mass Mobilisation
	Unit - 5	Period of radicalism in Anti-imperialist Struggles
	Unit - 6	Religion in Nationalist Politics

COMMUNALISM AND PARTITION

12TH VOL I	Unit - 7	Last Phase of Indian National Movement
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DELHI SULTANS

7th Term - 1

Unit -II - Emergence of New Kingdoms in North India

Introduction:

- There are plenty of stories that speak of the valour and chivalry of Rajputs. Rajput states formed a collective entity that was called Rajputana. Chittor was prominent and had become the rallying point for all Rajput clans. It was small compared to Malwa and Gujarat. Yet the Rajputs ruled over these states. In commemoration of the victory of Rana of Chittor over Malwa, the Jaya Stambha, the tower of victory, was built in Chittor. The Pratiharas and the Palas had established their powerful kingdoms in western India and in eastern India respectively. By the 9th century, the Pratihara dynasty had progressed to such an extent that it called itself the sovereigns of Rajasthan and Kanauj. The decline of Pratihara kingdom led to the rise of Palas in Bengal and Chauhans in north-western India. India's Islamic period might have begun in the immediate context of Arabs' conquest of Sind (A.D. (CE)712) rather than in A.D. (CE)1200. But the resistance shown by the kings of Kanauj, especially of Yasovarman (A.D. (CE)736) and later by the Rajput chiefs and kings who held Kanauj and most of northern India until the middle of the 10th century made it impossible.

Origin of the Rajputs

- The word 'Rajput' is derived from the Sanskrit word Rajputra, which means 'scion of the royal blood'. After the death of Harsha in A.D. (CE) 647, various Rajput clans established kingdoms in different parts of northern and central India. The Rajputs trace their pedigree far back into the past. Their three principal houses are the Suryavanshi or the Race of the Sun, the Chandravanshi or the Race of the Moon and the Agnikula or the Race of Fire God. Among those who claimed descent from solar and lunar lines, Chandelas of Bundelkhand were prominent. Tomaras were ruling in the Haryana region. But they were overthrown by the Chauhans in the 12th century.
- Thirty-six royal Rajput clans were listed by the Oriental scholar James Tod in A.D. (CE) 1829. Among them four claimed a special status: the Pratiharas, the Chauhans, the Chalukyas (different from the Deccan Chalukyas), known as Solankis, and the Paramaras of Pawars. All the four clans were of the Agnikula origin.

Pratiharas

The Pratiharas or Gurjara Pratiharas, one of the four prominent clans of the Rajputs, ruled from Gurjaratra (in Jodhpur). In the 6th century A.D. (CE), Harichandra laid the foundation of the Gurjara dynasty. Nagabhatta I was the first and prominent ruler of Pratiharas. In the 8th century, he ruled over Broach and Jodhpur and extended his dominion upto Gwalior. He repulsed the invasion of the Arabs of Sind from the east and checked their expansion. He was succeeded by Vatsaraja, who desired to dominate the whole of North India. His attempt to control over Kanauj brought him into conflict with the Pala ruler Dharmapala.

- There was a prolonged tripartite struggle between the Gurjara Pratiharas of Malwa, the Rashtrakutas of Deccan and the Palas of Bengal, as each one of them wanted to establish their supremacy over the fertile region of Kanauj. In the process, all the three powers were weakened

- Vatsaraja's successors Nagabhatta-II and Rambhadra did not do anything impressively. Mihirabhoja or Bhoja, son of Rambhadra, within a few years of his accession, succeeded in consolidating the power of the Pratiharas. As a strong ruler, Bhoja was able to maintain peace in his kingdom. The Arab menace was firmly tackled by him. After Bhoja, the Pratihara Empire continued its full glory for nearly a century.
- Having successfully resisted the Arabs, the Pratiharas turned their attention towards the east and by the end of millennium, they ruled over a large part of Rajasthan and Malwa. They also held Kanauj for some time. The Rajputs fought each other endlessly in the 11th and 12th centuries. Taking advantage of these internecine quarrels, many local kings succeeded in making themselves independent.

Palas

Dharmapala (A.D. (CE) 770 - 810)

- Gopala, who founded the Pala dynasty, did not have royal antecedents. He was elected by the people for his superior capabilities. During his reign from 750 to 770, Gopala laid the foundations for the future greatness of this dynasty in Bengal. Dharmapala, his son, made the Pala kingdom a powerful force in northern Indian politics. He led a successful campaign against Kanauj. He was a great patron of Buddhism. He founded Vikramashila Monastery, which became a great centre of Buddhist learning.
- Dharmapala was succeeded by his son, Devapala, who extended Pala control eastwards into Kamarupa (Assam). Devapala was also a great patron of Buddhism. He gifted five villages to Buddhists. He also constructed many temples along with monasteries in Magadha. According to the historian R.C. Majumdar, 'The reigns of Dharmapala and Devapala constitute the most brilliant chapter in the history of Bengal.'
- After Devapala, five rulers ruled the region insignificantly. The kingdom attained unprecedented glory when Mahipala ascended the throne in 988.

Mahipala I (988 - 1038)

- Mahipala I was the most powerful ruler of the Pala dynasty. He is called the founder of the second Pala dynasty. The decline of Pratiharas gave the Palas an opportunity to take a leading role in north Indian affairs. But he could not extend his domain beyond Banaras because of the impressive campaigns of the Chola king from the South, Rajendra Chola. Mahipala restored the old glory of the Palas. He constructed and repaired a large number of religious buildings at Banaras, Sarnath and Nalanda.
- The Pala dynasty declined soon after the death of Mahipala and gave way to the Sena dynasty.

The Chauhans

- The Chauhans ruled between A.D. (CE) 956 and 1192 over the eastern parts of the present-day Rajasthan, establishing their capital at Sakambari. This Rajput dynasty was founded by Simharaji, who was popularly known as the founder of the city of Ajmer.
- The Chauhans were the feudatories of the Pratiharas and staunchly stood by them to check the Arab invasions. The last of Chauhan kings, Prithviraj Chauhan, was considered the greatest of all Chauhan rulers. He defeated Muhammad Ghori in the first battle of Tarain fought in 1191. However, he was defeated and killed in the second battle of Tarain in 1192.

There is a long epic poem Prithvirajraso, composed by the bard Chand Bardai, a few centuries later. The story goes like this: The daughter of the King of Kanauj was to marry. A suyamwara (the bride choosing the bridegroom of her choice) was held to enable her to choose her husband. But she was in love with Prithviraj and desired to marry him. Prithviraj was the enemy of her father. In order to insult him, the King of Kanauj had not only denied him an invitation but had placed a statue of Prithviraj as door keeper at the entrance to his court. To the shock of everyone assembled, the princess rejected the princes present and garlanded the statue of Prithviraj, indicating her choice. Prithviraj, who had been hiding in the vicinity, jumped in and rode away with the princess in a horse. Later both of them were married.

Contribution of Rajputs to Art and Architecture

Art

- Rajput courts were centres of culture where literature, music, dance, paintings, fine arts and sculpture flourished. A specific style of Rajput painting – often focusing on religious themes emerged at Rajput courts. Their style of painting is called ‘Rajasthani’. The Rajasthani style of painting can be seen at Bikaner, Jodhpur, Mewar, Jaisalmer (all in Rajasthan).

Architecture

- The Rajputs were great builders. Some of the important examples of the Rajput buildings are the strong fortresses of Chittorgarh, Ranathambhor and Kumbhalgarh (all in Rajasthan), Mandu, Gwalior, Chanderi and Asirgarh (all in Madhya Pradesh).
- The examples of domestic architecture of the Rajputs are the palaces of Mansingh at Gwalior, the buildings at Amber (Jaipur) and lake palaces at Udaipur. Many of the Rajput cities and palaces stand among the hills in forts or by the side of beautiful artificial lakes. The castle of Jodhpur in Rajasthan is perched upon a lofty rock overlooking the town.
- The temples the Rajput rulers built have won the admiration of art critics. The temples in Khajuraho, the Sun temple in Konark, the Dhilwara Jain temple constructed in Mount Abu and Khandarya temple at Madhya Pradesh are illustrious examples of their architecture.

- The Khajuraho in Bundelkhand has 30 temples. The shikharas of the Khajuraho temples are most elegant. The exterior and interior parts of the temples are adorned with very fine sculptures. These temples are dedicated to Jain Tirthankaras and Hindu deities like Shiva and Vishnu.
- There are sixteen Hindu and Jain temples at Osian, which is 32 miles away from Jodhpur.
- The Jain temple at Mount Abu has a white marble hall and a central dome of 11 concentric rings and richly carved vaulted ceiling and pillars.
- The Raksha Bandhan (Rakhi) tradition is attributed to Rajputs. Raksha (protection) Bandhan (to tie) is a festival that celebrates brotherhood and love. It is believed that if a woman ties a rakhi around the wrists of male members, it means they are treating them like brothers. Such men are placed under an obligation to protect them.
- Rabindranath Tagore started a mass Raksha Bandhan festival during the Partition of Bengal (1905), in which he encouraged Hindu and Muslim women to tie a rakhi on men from the other community and make them their brothers. The exercise was designed to counter British efforts to create a divide between Hindus and Muslims.

Contribution of Palas to Culture

- The Palas were adherents to the Mahayana school of Buddhism. They were generous patrons of Buddhist temples and the famous universities of Nalanda and Vikramashila. It was through their missionaries that Buddhism was established in Tibet. The celebrated Buddhist monk, Atisha (981-1054), who reformed Tibetan Buddhism, was the president of the Vikramashila monastery. The Palas also maintained cordial relations with the Hindu-Buddhist state of the Shailendras of Sumatra and Java.
- Under Pala patronage, a distinctive school of art arose, called Pala art or Eastern Indian art. Pala artistic style flourished in present-day states of Bihar and West Bengal, and also in present-day Bangladesh. It was chiefly represented by bronze sculptures and palm-leaf paintings, celebrating the Buddha and other divinities. The Pala bronze sculptures from this area played an important part in the spread of Indian culture in Southeast Asia.

Advent of Islam

- Islam as a religious faith originated at Mecca in Arabia. The founder of Islam was Prophet Muhammad. The followers of Islam are called Muslims. An Islamic state, especially the one ruled by a single religious and political leader, was known as 'Caliphate'. Caliph means a representative of the Prophet Muhammad. Two early Caliphates were 'Umayyads' and the 'Abbasids'. Both the Umayyads and the Abbasids expanded their rule separately by their conquests and by preaching the principles of Islam.
- In the 8th century India, the Arab presence appeared in the form of a Muslim army that conquered the Sind. But their further expansion was made impossible by the kings of Gangetic plains and the Deccan. By the end of the 9th century, with the

decline of the Abbasid Caliphate, the Arab garrisons in India and elsewhere threw off Caliph's control and began to rule independently.

- The Turkish governor, Alp-Tegin, was one among them whose capital was Ghazni (Afghanistan). His successor and son-in-law Sabuktigin wanted to conquer India from the north-west. But only his son Mahmud succeeded in this endeavour.

Arab Conquest of Sind and its Impact

- In A.D. (CE) 712, Muhammad bin Qasim who was the commander of the Umayyad kingdom invaded Sind. Qasim defeated Dahir, the ruler of Sind, and killed him in the battle. The capital of Sind, Aror, was captured. Qasim extended his conquest further into Multan. He organised the administration of Sind. The people of Sind were given the status of 'protected subjects'. There was no interference in the lives and religions of the people. But soon Qasim was recalled by the Caliph.
- The Arab scholars visited Sind and studied many Indian literary works. They translated many Sanskrit books on astronomy, philosophy, mathematics and medicine into Arabic. They learnt the numerals 0 to 9 from India. Until then, the people in the West did not know the use of zero. Through the Arabs, Europe gained more knowledge in mathematics. The importance of zero was learnt by them from India. It is believed that the people in the West and the Arabs learnt the game of chess only from the Indians.

Mahmud of Ghazni (A.D. (CE) 997 -1030)

- Mahmud is said to have conducted 17 raids into India. At that time, North India was divided into number of small kingdoms. One of them was Shahi kingdom, which extended from Punjab to Kabul. The other important kingdoms were Kanauj, Gujarat, Kashmir, Nepal, Malwa and Bundelkhand. The initial raids were against the Shahi kingdom in which its king Jayapala was defeated in 1001. After his defeat, Jayapala immolated himself because he thought that this defeat was a disgrace. His successor Anandapala fought against Mahmud but was defeated in the battle of Waihind, near Peshawar, in 1008. As a result of his victory at Waihind, Mahmud extended his rule over Punjab.
- The subsequent raids of Mahmud into India were aimed at plundering the rich temples and cities of North India. In 1011 he raided Nagarkot in Punjab hills and Thaneshwar near Delhi. Gujarat. In 1024 A.D. (CE) Mahmud marched from Multan across Rajaputana and defeated the Solanki king Bhimadeva I and plundered Anhilwad. Mahmud is said to have sacked the famous temple of Somanath, breaking the idol. Then he returned through the Sind desert. That was his last campaign in India. Mahmud died in 1030 A.D. (CE) The Ghaznavid Empire roughly included Persia, Trans-Oxyana, Afghanistan and Punjab.

Muhammad of Ghor (1149 - 1206)

- Muhammad of Ghor or Muhammad Ghori started as a vassal of Ghazni but became independent after the death of Mahmud. Taking advantage of the decline of the

Ghaznavid Empire, Muhammad Ghori brought Ghazni under his control. Having made his position strong and secure at Ghazni, Muhammad turned his attention to India. Unlike Mahmud of Ghazni, he wanted to extend his empire by conquering India. In 1175 Muhammad captured Multan and occupied whole of it in his subsequent expeditions. In 1186 he attacked Punjab and captured it.

The Battle of Tarain (1191 - 1192)

- Realising the grave situation in which they were caught, the Hindu princes of North India formed a confederacy under the command of Prithviraj Chauhan. Prithviraj rose to the occasion and defeated Muhammad in the battle of Tarain near Delhi in 1191. This was called the first battle of Tarain. To avenge this defeat, Muhammad made serious preparations and gathered a huge army. He arrived with his large force in Lahore via Peshawar and Multan. He sent a message to Prithviraj, asking him to acknowledge his supremacy and become a Muslim. But Prithviraj rejected the proposal and prepared his army to resist the invader. Many Hindu kings and chieftains also joined him. In the ensuing second battle of Tarain in 1192, Muhammad thoroughly routed the army of Prithviraj who was captured and killed.
- The second battle of Tarain was a major disaster for the Rajputs. Their political prestige suffered a serious setback. The whole Chauhan kingdom now lay at the feet of the invader. The first Muslim kingdom was thus firmly established in India at Ajmer and a new era in the history of India began. After his victory over Prithviraj at Tarain, Muhammad returned to Ghazni to deal with the threat from the Turks and the Mongols. After the death of Muhammad in 1206, his most capable general Qutub-din Aibak who had been left behind in India took control of Muhammad's territories in India and declared himself as the First Sultan of Delhi.

Unit -IV The Delhi Sultanate

Introduction

- During the eleventh century, the Turkish horsemen pillaged northern India and due to their persistent campaigns, they succeeded in seizing political control of the Gangetic plain by the next century. Though the success of their conquests could be attributed to their audacity and ferocity, their success is really due to the failure of Indians to defend themselves and their territories. Indians viewed each other with distrust, failing to take note of the success of Islam in early years of its spread. The superior military might of Muslim soldiers was yet another factor that contributed to success in their conquests. In this lesson, we discuss how Turkish warriors set about founding and consolidating their Islamic rule till the advent of Babur.

Slave Dynasty (1206 - 1290)

- Muslim rule in India was established by Muhammad Ghori in 12th century A.D. (CE). As he had no sons, he nurtured special slaves called bandagan (a Persian term used

for slaves purchased for military service). These slaves were posted as governors and they were later raised to the status of Sultans. After Ghorī's death in 1206, one of his slaves Qutb-ud-din-Aibak who had been left behind by Muhammad Ghorī to govern the territories he had conquered, proclaimed himself ruler of the Turkish territories in India. He laid the foundation of the Slave Dynasty. This dynasty is also known as Mamluk dynasty. Mamluk is an Arabic word meaning "slave". Qutb-ud-din-Aibak, Shams-ud-din-Iltutmish and Ghiyas-ud-din-Balban were the three great Sultans of this dynasty. The Slave Dynasty ruled over the sub-continent for about 84 years.

Qutb-ud-din-Aibak (1206 - 1210)

- Qutb-ud-din-Aibak began his rule by establishing Lahore as the capital of his kingdom. Later he shifted his capital to Delhi. He was active all through his rule in Delhi conquering new territories and suppressing rebellions. He personally led military campaigns to the central and western Indo-Gangetic plain (north India) and left the conquest of the eastern Gangetic Plain (Bihar, Bengal) to the care of Bakhtiar Khalji. Aibak built the Quwwat-ul-Islam Masjid (mosque) in Delhi. This mosque is considered to be the oldest in India. He also laid the foundation of the Qutb-Minar, but he was unable to complete it. It was later finished by his son-in-law and his successor Iltutmish. Aibak died of injuries received during an accidental fall from a horse, while playing polo in 1210.

Iltutmish (1210 - 1236)

- Aibak's son Aram Shah proved incompetent and so the Turkish nobles chose Iltutmish, the son-in-law of Aibak as the Sultan, who served as a military commander of Aibak. Iltutmish firmly established his control over the territories by suppressing rebellions. It was during his reign that the threat of Mongols under Chengiz Khan loomed large over the frontiers of India. He averted the impending danger by refusing to provide shelter to the Kwarezm Shah Jalal-ud-din, who had been driven out by Chengiz Khan. In order to counter the possible attack of the Mongols, Iltutmish organised Turkish nobility into a select group of 40 nobles known as chahalgani or The Forty.
- Iltutmish granted iqta (land) to members of his army. Iqta is the land granted to army officials in lieu of a regular wage. The iqta holder is called the iqtadar or muqti who had to provide the Sultan with military assistance in times of war. The iqtadar collected revenue from his iqta to meet the cost of maintaining his troops and horses.
- Iltutmish completed the construction of the Qutb-Minar, which had been started by Aibak. Iltutmish died in April 1236 after ruling for 26 years.

Razia (1236 - 1240)

- As the most capable son of Iltutmish, Rukn-ud-din-Firuz, was dead, Iltutmish nominated his daughter Razia Sultana as his successor to the throne of Delhi. Razia was an able and brave fighter. But she had a tough time with Turkish nobles as she favoured non-Turkish nobles. She also faced the situation of the ferocious Mongols raiding Punjab during her reign.

- Razia made an Ethiopian slave named Jalal-ud-din Yakut as her personal attendant and started trusting him completely. This led to a revolt of the Turkish nobles who conspired against her and got her murdered in 1240.

Ghiyas-ud-din Balban (1266 - 1287)

- After Razia, three weak rulers in succession ascended the throne. After them came Ghiyas-ud-din Balban. Balban abolished The Forty as it was hostile to him. He established a department of spies to gather intelligence about the conspirators and the trouble makers against his rule. He dealt with insubordination and defiance of royal authority sternly. Tughril Khan, a provincial governor in Bengal, who raised a banner of revolt against Balban, was captured and beheaded. He was ruthless in dealing with enemies like Meos of Mewat (a Muslim Rajput community from north-western India). Balban, however, took care to maintain cordial relationship with the Mongols. He obtained from Hulagu Khan, a grandson of Chengiz Khan and the Mongol viceroy in Iran, the assurance that Mongols would not advance beyond Sutej.
- Balban built forts to guard his empire against the Mongol attacks. He patronised the famous Persian poet Amir Khusru. Balban died in 1287. Balban's son Kaiqubad turned out to be weak. In 1290 Malik Jalal-ud-din Khalji, the commander of the army, assumed the office of Naib (a deputy to the Sultan) and ruled the kingdom in the name of Kaiqubad. Then one day, Jalal-ud-din sent one of his officers and had Kaiqubad murdered. Jalal-ud-din then formally ascended the throne. With him began the rule of Khalji dynasty.

Khalji Dynasty (1290 - 1320)

Jalal-ud-din Khalji (1296 - 1316)

- There were many military campaigns during the reign of Jalal-ud-din. But they were mostly organised and led by his nephew, Ala-ud-din, the governor of Kara. One significant military expedition was against the Deccan kingdom Devagiri. Ala-ud-din, after defeating the Yadava king Ramachandra, plundered the city and returned with huge wealth. Ala-ud-din treacherously killed Jalal-ud-din after buying off the prominent nobles and important commanders with the wealth he had brought from the Deccan and declared himself as the Sultan of Delhi in 1296.

Ala-ud-din Khalji (1296 - 1316)

- Ala-ud-din Khalji consolidated the Delhi Sultanate. The range of his conquests is impressive: in the Punjab (against the Mongols), in Rajasthan and in Gujarat. With his northern frontiers secure, he sent his chief lieutenant Malik Kafur into the southern parts who took even the distant Madurai in 1310. The Yadavas of Devagiri, the Kakatias of Warangal, the Hoysalas of Dwarasamudra and the Pandyas of Madurai accepted Ala-ud-din's suzerainty.

- **Sack of Chittor (1303):** When Ala-ud-din's army overwhelmed the Rajput army in Chittor and in the context of threat of defeat, the men and women of the fortress, in accordance with their old custom, performed the rite of jauhar. According to this custom, left with no other way to survive, the men would go out and die in the field of battle and women would burn themselves on a pyre.
- Ala-ud-din's political and administrative reforms were as impressive as his military conquests. Ala-ud-din undertook a survey of the agrarian resources around his capital and fixed a standard revenue demand. He entrusted the task of collecting the revenue to the military officers. This measure deprived the local chiefs and rajas of their time memorial privilege. Ala-ud-din established a system of forced procurement of food grains for Delhi and other garrison centres. The procurement prices were fixed and grain collected as tax was stored in state granaries. In order to ensure the enforcement of his new regulations, he employed spies who were responsible to report to him directly.
- Ala-ud-din died in 1316. The failure of his successors to retain power led to the seizure of power by Ghiyas-ud-din Tughluq, who founded the Tughluq dynasty.

Tughluq Dynasty (1320 - 1324)

- One of the major tasks of Ghiyas-ud-din as the Sultan was to recover the territories that the Sultanate had lost during the turmoil following the death of Ala-ud-din. Ghiyas-ud-din Tughluq sent his son Jauna Khan to fight against Warangal. Jauna Khan defeated Prataparudra of Warangal and returned with a rich booty. With this looted wealth, Ghiyas-ud-din is said to have laid the foundation of the city Tughluqabad near Delhi. However, as Ala-ud-din treacherously killed his uncle, Jauna Khan was said to have killed his father and ascended the throne with title Muhammad-bin-Tughluq in 1325.

Muhammad-bin-Tughluq (1325 - 1351)

- Muhammad-bin-Tughluq was a learned man. Yet he was a person of cruelty. Ala-ud-din had conquered, looted and left the old ruling families as his dependents. In contrast, Muhammad Tughluq dreamt of making the whole of the subcontinent his domain. With the view to facilitating extended sovereignty, he shifted his capital from Delhi to the centre of the kingdom, namely Devagiri. He also changed its name to Daulatabad. When Muhammad himself decided that the move was a mistake, he ordered a return to Delhi as the capital again. When Ibn Battuta, the Morocco traveller who was with the Sultan, returned to Delhi, he found Delhi 'empty, abandoned and had but a small population'.
- It was a 40-days march to Daulatabad from Delhi. Many people left. Some hid themselves. When they were found, they were punished cruelly, even though one was a blind man and another a paralytic. Describing the city as spreading over eight or ten miles, a historian observed: 'All was destroyed. So complete was the ruin that not a cat or a dog was left among the buildings of the city in its palaces or in its

suburbs.’

- Tughluq changed the Ala-ud-din’s system of revenue collections in grain and ordered that land revenue, which was increased, should henceforward be collected in money. This proved disastrous during famines. When he discovered that the stock of coins and silver was inadequate for minting, he issued a token currency in copper. Counterfeiting soon became order of the day and, as a result, the entire revenue system collapsed. Trade suffered as foreign merchants stopped business. This forced Sultan to withdraw the token currency and pay gold and silver coins in exchange. This move led the state to become bankrupt. Tughluq increased land tax in the Doab region, which triggered peasant revolts. As the revolts were cruelly dealt with, peasants abandoned cultivation, which resulted in the outbreak of frequent famines.
- Tughluq ruled as Sultan for 25 years. During his long reign, he had to face many revolts of the provincial governors. The Governors of Awadh, Multan and Sind revolted and declared themselves independent. In South India, several states arose. The new Daulatabad and the conquered territories around them were declared independent sultanate called Bahmani. Its founder after whom it was named, was a soldier formerly in Tughluq service. Madurai was proclaimed a separate sultanate in 1334. Bengal became independent in 1346. Tughluq died on 23 March 1351.

Firoz Shah Tughluq (1351 - 1388)

- Firoz, the son of Ghiyas-ud-din’s younger brother, succeeded Muhammad-bin-Tughluq. Firoz could neither suppress revolts nor win back the provinces that had broken away. He also showed no interest in re-conquering the southern provinces. He refused to accept an invitation (c. 1365) from a Bahmani prince to intervene in the affairs of the Deccan. Firoz rewarded Sufis and other religious leaders generously and listened to their advice. He also created charities to aid poor Muslims, built colleges, mosques, and hospitals. He adopted many humanitarian measures. He banned inhuman punishments and abolished taxes not recognised by Muslim law.
- He promoted agriculture by waiving off the debts of the agriculturalists and constructing many canals for irrigation. He laid out 1200 new gardens and restored 30 old gardens of Ala-ud-din-Khalji. He had built new towns such as Firozabad, Jaunpur, Hissar and Firozpur.
- Despite adopting a peaceful approach and taking efforts to organise the Sultanate well, he had to spend his last days in unhappiness. His own son Muhammad Khan revolted against him and Firoz Shah died in September 1388, at the age of 83.

Timur’s Invasion (1398)

- The sacking and massacre by Tamerlane or Timur of Delhi came a decade after Firoz Shah Tughluq died. As a ruler of the region around Samarkand in Central Asia, Timur had occupied some parts in the north-west of India. Taking advantage of India’s

weakness, he entered India in December 1398 and plundered Delhi. Punjab, besides the Delhi city, was the province that suffered most by Timur's raid. Timur, apart from carrying huge wealth in the form of gold, silver, jewels, also took along Indian artisans like carpenters and masons to work on monuments in Samarkand.

Sayyid Dynasty (1414 - 1451)

- Though the Sultanate fragmented into a number of independent kingdoms, it endured for 114 years more, till the Mughal invasion. Before leaving Delhi, Timur had left behind his representative Khizr Khan as the governor of the territories he had conquered (Delhi, Meerut and Punjab). He founded the Sayyid Dynasty in 1414, which lasted till 1451. The last ruler of this dynasty, Ala-ud-din Alam Shah, abdicated the throne in 1451. This gave Bahlol Lodi, then the governor of Sirhind (Punjab), the opportunity to become the new Sultan of Delhi, leading to the establishment of Lodi dynasty.

Lodi Dynasty (1451 - 1526)

- In 1489, Bahlol Lodi was succeeded by his son Sikandar Lodi. Sikandar was a patron of arts and learning. He founded the city of Agra and made it his capital. He died in 1517 and was succeeded by his son, Ibrahim Lodi, who was defeated by Babur in 1526 in the Panipat battle. Thus the Lodi dynasty and the Delhi Sultanate were ended by Babur who went on to establish the Mughal Empire in India.

- **Islamic art and architecture:** The mansions of high-ranking Muslim nobles, soldiers and officials were built first in cities and the neighbourhoods. Around them, the mosques in the imperial style were constructed by successive Muslim regimes in Delhi. Mosques and Madrasas looked architecturally different. The graceful decorations of doorways and walls with lines from the Koran made a distinct appearance in these buildings. The shape of all these buildings was Persian, while the decoration was Indian. So, it is called Indo-Saracenic architecture. Qutb Minar, Alai-Darwaza, Quwwat-ul Islam Masjid, Moth-ki-Masjid, the tombs of Iltutmish, Balban and the forts of Daulatabad and Ferozabad were all constructed in this style

11th Volume 1

Advent of Arab and Turks

Introduction

- The period from the thirteenth to the sixteenth centuries (1200-1550 CE) saw the arrival of Islamic institutions and Islamic culture in India. Historians have interpreted the history of this period from differing perspectives. Conventionally the regimes of the Sultanate have been evaluated in terms of achievements and failures of individual Sultans. A few historians, critiquing this personality oriented history, have evaluated the Sultanate as having contributed to material and cultural development, leading to the evolution of a composite culture in India. Historians focusing on history of class relations, have argued that the medieval state served as the agent of the ruling class and hence, the regimes of the Sultanate were diminutive in their institutional advancement when compared with the Great Mughals. Thus there is no consensus yet amongst scholars in determining the true nature of the Sultanate.
- The two-fold objective of this lesson are: (a) to introduce the students to a conventional study of rulers, events, ideas, people and their conditions under the Sultanate, and (b) to structure the content in such a way that the students examine it critically and raise new questions.

Advent of Arabs: The Context

- The geographical location of Arabia facilitated trade contact between India and Arabia. As sea-faring traders the pre-Islamic Arabs had maritime contacts with the western and eastern coasts of India. While there were south Indian settlements in the Persian Gulf, Arabs too settled in Malabar and the Coromandel Coast. Arabs who married Malabar women and settled down on the West Coast were called Mappillais (sons-in-law). Arab military expedition in 712 and subsequent Ghaznavid and the Ghori military raids, intended to loot and use the resources seized to strengthen their power in Central Asia, created a relationship of the conqueror and the conquered. Following the invasion of Afghanistan by Khurasan (Eastern Iran) Shah and later by Chengiz Khan severed the ties of North India Sultanate with Afghanistan. Mongol invasions destroyed the Ghurid Sulatanate and Ghazni, and cut into the resources of Sultan Nasir-ud-din Qubacha (1206-1228), the ruler of Uchch and Multan. Thus the Sultan Iltutmish had the opportunity of expanding his influence in northern India that enabled Muslim rulers to rule Indian provinces with Delhi as capital for about four centuries.
- Though it is customary to describe this period as the Muslim period, the rulers of medieval India came from different regions and ethnicities: Arabs, Turks, Persians, and Central Asians were involved militarily and administratively. Iltutmish was an Olperli Turk and many of his military slaves were of different Turkish and Mongol

ancestries brought to Delhi by merchants from Bukhara, Samarkhand and Baghdad. There were some slaves of other ethnicities as well (notably Hindu Khan, captured from Mihir in Central India) but Iltutmish gave them all Turkish titles.

- The Sultanate (1206–1526) itself was not homogenous. Its rulers belonged to five distinct categories: (a) Slave Dynasty (1206-1290) (b) Khalji Dynasty (1290-1320) (c) Tughlaq Dynasty (1320-1414) (d) Sayyid Dynasty (1414-1451) and (e) Lodi Dynasty (1451-1526).

Sources for the Study of Delhi Sultanate

- **Al-Beruni:** Tarikh-Al-Hind (Indian Philosophy and Religion written in Arabic)
- Minhaj us Siraj: Tabaqat-i-Nasiri (1260) (World Islamic History written in Arabic)
- **Ziauddin Barani:** Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi (1357) History of Delhi Sultanate up to Firuz Tughlaq
- **Amir Khusrau:** Mifta Ul Futuh (Victories of Jalal-ud-din Khalji); Khazain Ul Futuh (Victories of Allauddin Khalji - Texts in Persian)
- **Tughlaq Nama** (History of Tughlaq dynasty in Persian)
- **Shams-i-Siraj Afif:** Tarikh i Firuz Shahi (after Barani's account of Delhi Sultanate in Persian)
- **Ghulam Yahya Bin Ahmad:** Tarikh-i- Mubarak Shahi (Written in Persian during the reign of Sayyid ruler Mubarak Shah)
- **Ferishta:** History of the Muslim Rule in India (Persian)
- Persian chronicles speak about the Delhi Sultanate in hyperbolic terms. Their views dealing with the happenings during the period of a certain Sultan were uncritically appropriated into modern scholarship.
 - Sunil Kumar, Emergence of Delhi Sultanate

The Arab Conquest of Sind

- The Arab governor of Iraq, Hajjaj Bin Yusuf, under the pretext of acting against the pirates, sent two military expeditions against Dahar, the ruler of Sind, one by land and the other by sea. Both were defeated and commanders killed. Hajjaj then sent, with the Caliph's permission, a full-fledged army, with 6000 strong cavalry and a large camel corps carrying all war requirements under the command of his son-in-law, a 17-year-old Muhammad Bin Qasim.

Muhammad Bin Qasim

- Muhammad Qasim marched on the fortress of Brahmanabad where Dahar was stationed with a huge army. Dahar's wazir (Prime minister) betrayed him, which was

followed by the desertion of a section of his forces. The predecessors of Dahar, the Brahmin rulers of Sind, had usurped power from the earlier Buddhist ruling dynasty of Sind and, with the patronage of Dahar Brahmins, had occupied all higher positions. This led to discontentment and therefore Dahar lacked popular support. In this context it was easy for Muhammad Qasim to capture Brahmanabad. Qasim thereupon ravaged and plundered Debal for three days. Qasim called on the people of Sind to surrender, promising full protection to their faith. He sent the customary one-fifth of the plunder to the Caliph and divided the rest among his soldiers.

- The Arab conquest of Sind has been described as a “triumph without results” because it touched but a fringe of the country, which, after Qasim’s expedition had a respite from invasions for about three centuries.

Mahmud of Ghazni

- In the meantime, the Arab empire in Central Asia had collapsed with several of its provinces declaring themselves independent. One of the major kingdoms that emerged out of the broken Arab empire was the Samanid kingdom which also splintered, leading to several independent states. In 963 Alaptigin, a Turkic slave who had served Samanids as their governor in Khurasan, seized the city of Ghazni in eastern Afghanistan and established an independent kingdom. Alaptigin died soon after. After the failure of three of his successors, the nobles enthroned Sabuktigin.
- Sabuktigin initiated the process of southward expansion into the Indian subcontinent. He defeated the Shahi ruler of Afghanistan, Jayapal, and conferred the governorship of the province on Mahmud, his eldest son. When Sabuktigin died in 997, Mahmud was in Khurasan. Ismail, the younger son of Sabuktigin had been named his successor. But defeating Ismail in a battle, Mahmud, aged twenty-seven, ascended the throne and the Caliph acknowledged his accession by sending him a robe of investiture and by conferring on him the title Yamini-ud-Daulah (‘Right-hand of the Empire’).
- To Arabs and Iranians, India was Hind and the Indians were ‘Hindus’. But as Muslim communities arose in India, the name ‘Hindu’ came to apply to all Indians who were not Muslims.

Mahmud’s Military Raids

- Mahmud ruled for thirty-two years. During this period, he conducted as many as seventeen military campaigns into India. He targeted Hindu temples that were depositories of vast treasures. Though the motive was to loot, there was also a military advantage in demolishing temples and smashing idols. The Ghaznavid soldiers viewed it also as a demonstration of the invincible power of their god. The religious passions of Mahmud’s army expressed itself in slaughter of ‘infidels’ and plunder and destruction of their places of worship. However, there is little evidence of any large scale conversion of people to their faith. Even those who became Muslims to save their lives and properties, returned to their original faith when the threat of Ghaznavid invasion ceased.

- After defeating the Shahi king Anandapala, Mahmud went beyond Punjab, penetrating deep into the Indo-Gangetic plain. Before reaching Kanauj, Mahmud raided Mathura. In later historiography, of both the British and Indian nationalists, Mahmud is notorious for his invasion of the temple city of Somnath (1025) on the seashore in Gujarat. Many scholars argue that these plundering raids were more of political and economic character than of religious chauvinism. Desecration of temples, vandalising the images of deities were all part of asserting one's authority in medieval India. Mahmud's raids and his deeds fit this pattern, though their memories went into the creation of communal divide.
- This apart, the plundering raids of Mahmud were meant to replenish the treasury to maintain his huge army. The Turks relied on a permanent, professional army. It was built around an elite corps of mounted archers who were all slaves, bought, trained, equipped, and paid in cash from the war booty taken alike from Hindu kingdoms in India and Muslim kingdoms in Iran.
- Persian sources contain exaggerated claims about the wealth seized from these raids. For instance, it is claimed that Mahmud's plunder of the Iranian city of Ray, in 1029, brought him 500,000 dinars worth of jewels, 260,000 dinars in coins, and over 30,000 dinars worth of gold and silver vessels. Similarly, Mahmud's raid on Somnath is believed to have brought in twenty million dinars worth of spoils. Romila Thapar points out that those who had suffered from these predatory invasions seemed to maintain a curious silence about them, as Hindu and Jain sources available on Somnath expedition do not corroborate the details or viewpoints found in Arab chronicles.
- Such plundering raids were economic and iconoclastic in nature, and communal character was attributed to them later. They represented the kinds of disasters that were inseparable from contemporary warfare and the usual plundering nature of rulers of the medieval period. The history of the Ghaznavid dynasty after the death of Mahmud is a story of endless clashes over succession between brothers, cousins, and uncles. There were, however, exceptions like Sultan Ibrahim who ruled for over forty-two years and his son Masud who ruled for seventeen years. The everhanging threat from Ghuris from the north and the Seljuq Turks from the west proved to be disastrous for the kingdom. The later rulers of Ghaznavid dynasty could exercise their authority only in the Lahore region and even this lasted only for three decades. In 1186 Ghuri prince Muizzud- din Muhammad invaded Punjab and seized Lahore. The last ruler Khurav Shah was imprisoned and murdered in 1192. With his death the Ghaznavid house of Mahmud came to an end.

Muhammad Ghori

- If Ghaznavid invasions were intended for loot, the Ghurids enlarged their scope to establish garrison towns to ensure the regular flow of plunder and tribute. Muizzuddin

- Al-Beruni, mathematician, philosopher, astronomer, and historian, came to India along with Mahmud of Ghazni. He learned Sanskrit, studied religious and philosophical texts before composing his work Kitab Ul Hind. He also translated the Greek work of Euclid into Sanskrit. He transmitted Aryabhata's magnum opus Aryabattiyam (the thesis that earth's rotation around its axis creates day and night) to the West. He was the inter-civilizational connect between India and the rest of the world.
- Muhammad of the Ghori dynasty, known generally as Muhammad Ghori, invested in territories he seized. Through the 1180s and 1190s Ghori established garrisons in the modern provinces of Punjab, Sind, and Haryana. These centres of military power soon attracted the in-migration of mercenaries in search of opportunities. These mercenaries were recruited to organize fiscal and military affairs of the Sultanate. The Sultan's military commanders in north India were drawn from his elite military class. Specially trained in warfare and governance these slaves were different from agrestic (related to land/field labour) and domestic slaves. Lahore, then Uchch and Multan were initially considered significant centres of power. In 1175 Ghori headed for the city of Multan which he seized from its Ismaili ruler. The fort of Uchch fell without a fight. The Chalukyas of Gujarat inflicted a crushing defeat on Muhammad Ghori at Mt. Abu (1179). After this defeat Ghori changed the course of his expedition, consolidating his position in Sind and the Punjab.

Prithviraj Chauhan

- Ghori attacked the fortress of Tabarhinda (Bhatinda), a strategic point for the Chauhans of Ajmer. The ruler of Ajmer Prithviraj Chauhan marched to Tabarhinda and faced the invader in the First Battle of Tarain (1191). Prithviraj scored a brilliant victory in this battle but failed to consolidate his position believing this battle to be a frontier fight, and did not expect the Ghurids to make regular attacks. Ghori was wounded and carried away by a horseman to safety. Contrary to the expectations of Prithviraj Chauhan, Muhammad Ghori marched into India in the following year (1192). Prithviraj underestimated the potential danger of the enemy. In the Second Battle of Tarain, one of the turning points in Indian history, Prithviraj suffered a crushing defeat and was eventually captured. Ghori restored him to his throne in Ajmer. But on charges of treason he was later executed, and Ghori's trusted general Qutb-ud-din Aibak was appointed as his deputy in India.

Jaya Chandra of Kanauj

- Soon Ghori was back in India to fight against the Kanauj ruler Jaya Chandra. When all Rajput chiefs had stood by Prithviraj in his battles against Muhammad Ghori, Jaya Chandra stood apart, as there was enmity between Prithviraj and Jaya Chandra, on account of Prithviraj's abduction of Jaya Chandra's daughter Samyukta. So Ghori easily defeated Jaya Chandra and returned to Ghazni with an enormous booty. On the way while camping on the banks of Indus, he was killed by some unidentified assassins.

Rajput Kingdoms

- By the beginning of the tenth century two powerful Rajput Kingdoms Gurjar Pratihara and Rashtrakutas had lost their power. Tomaras (Delhi), Chauhans (Rajasthan), Solankis (Gujarat), Paramaras (Malwa), Gahadavalas (Kanauj) and Chandelas (Bundelkhand) had become important ruling dynasties of Northern India. Vighraharaja and Prithviraj, two prominent Chauhan rulers, Bhoja of Paramara dynasty, Ghadavala king Jayachandra, Yasovarman, Kirti Varman of Chandelas were all strong in their own regions.
- The world famous Khajuraho temple complex consisting of many temples including the Lakshmana temple, Vishwanatha temple and Kandariya Mahadeva temple was built by the Chandelas of Bundelkhand who ruled from Khajuraho.
- The Rajputs had a long tradition of martial spirit, courage and bravery. There was little difference between the weapons used by the Turks and the Rajputs. But in regimental discipline and training the Rajputs were lax. In planning their tactics to suit the conditions, the Turks excelled. Moreover, the Turkish cavalry was superior to the Indian cavalry. The Rajput forces depended more on war elephants, which were spectacular but slow moving compared to the Turkish cavalry. The Turkish horsemen had greater mobility and were skilled in mounted archery. This was a definite military advantage which the Turks used well against their enemies and emerged triumphant in the battles.

Foundation of Delhi Sultanate

The Slave Dynasty

- After the death of Ghori there were many contenders for power. One was Qutb-uddin Aibak, who ascended the throne in Delhi with his father-in-law Yildiz remaining a threat to him for the next ten years. The three important rulers of this dynasty are Qutb-ud-din Aibak, Iltutmish and Balban.

The Slave dynasty is also known as the Mamluk dynasty. Mamluk means property. It is also the term for the Arabic designation of a slave

Qutb-ud-din Aibak (1206-1210)

- Qutb-ud-din Aibak was enslaved as a boy and sold to Sultan Muhammad Ghori at Ghazni. Impressed with his ability and loyalty the Sultan elevated him to the rank of viceroy of the conquered provinces in India. Muhammad Bin Bhakthiyar Khalji, a Turkish general from Afghanistan assisted him in conquering Bihar and Bengal. Qutb-ud-din Aibak reigned for four years (1206 to 1210 CE) and died in 1210 in Lahore in an accident while playing chaugan.
- Bhakthiyar Khalji is charged with destroying the glorious Buddhist University of Nalanda in Bihar, who is said to have mistaken it for a military camp! Detailed descriptions of Nalanda is found in the travel accounts of Chinese pilgrim Hieun Tsang. The manuscripts and texts in the hundreds of thousands in the Nalanda library on subjects such as grammar, logic, literature, astronomy and medicine were

lost in the Turkish depredations.

Iltutmish (1210–1236)

- Shams-ud-din Iltutmish (1210-36) of Turkish extraction was a slave of Qutb-ud-din Aibak. Many of his elite slaves were also of Turkish and Mongol ancestry. They were brought to Delhi by merchants from trade centres like Bukhara, Samarqand and Baghdad. (There were some slaves of other ethnicities as well). But Iltutmish gave them all Turkish titles. Iltutmish's reliance on his elite military slaves (Bandagan) and his practice of appointing them for the posts of governors and generals in far-off places did not change despite the migration into North India of experienced military commanders from distinguished lineages fleeing from the Mongols.

Shams-ud-din Iltutmish, the slave and son-in-law of Qutb-ud-din Aibak, ascended the throne of Delhi setting aside the claim of Aram Shah, the son of Qutb-ud-din Aibak. During his tenure he put down the internal rebellions of Rajputs at Gwalior, Ranthambor, Ajmer and Jalore. He overcame the challenge of Nasiruddin Qabacha in Lahore and Multan, and frustrated the conspiracy of Alivardan, the Governor of Bengal. He diplomatically saved India by refusing to support the Khwarizmi Shah Jalaluddin of Central Asia against the Mongol ruler Chengiz Khan. Had he supported Jalaluddin, the Mongols would have overrun India with ease. His reign was remarkable for the completion of Qutb Minar, a colossal victory tower of 243 feet at Delhi, and for the introduction of copper and silver tanka, the two basic coins of the Sultanate period.

- Bandagan is the plural of banda, literally military slaves. They were graded according to the years of service, proximity and trustworthiness. This trust led to their appointment as governors and military commanders. The Ghurid bandagan in North India were the slaves of Muiz-ud-Din Ghuri. Since these slaves were without a social identity of their own they were given new names by their masters, which included the nisba, which indicated their social or regional identity. Slaves carried the nisba of their master: hence Mu'izz al-Din's slave carried the nisba Mu'izzi and later Sultan Shams-ud-Din Iltutmish's slave were called the Shamsi bandagan.
- Since the dynastic traditions of the 'slave regime' were weak, succession to the throne was not smooth after Iltutmish's death. The monarch was succeeded by a son, a daughter (Sultana Razia), another son, and a grandson, all within ten years, and finally by his youngest son Sultan Nasir al-Din Mahmud II (1246–66). Iltutmish's descendants fought long but in vain with their father's military slaves who had been appointed as governors of vast territories and generals of large armies. They constantly interfered in Delhi politics, dictating terms to Iltutmish's successors. Though Iltutmish's royal slaves (bandagan-i-khas) were replaced by junior bandagan, the latter were not oriented to their master's vision of a paramount, monolithic Sultanate to the same extent as their predecessors. The slave governors located in the eastern province of Lakhnauti (modern Bengal) and the Punjab and Sind provinces in the west were the first to break free from Delhi. Those in the 'core territories' from Awadh-Kara on the River Sarayu in the east, to Samana-Sunam in the Punjab on the west, sought to resist the intervention of Delhi by consolidating their home bases and

allied with neighbouring chieftains. After two decades of conflict amongst the Shamsi bandagan and successive Delhi Sultans, in 1254, Ulugh Khan, a junior, newly purchased slave in Iltutmish's reign and now the commander of the Shivalikh territories in the North- West, seized Delhi. He took the title of na'ib-i mulk, the Deputy of the Realm, seizing the throne as Sultan Ghiyas al- Din Balban in 1266.

Balban (1265-1287)

- The political intrigues of the nobility that destabilised the Delhi Sultanate came to an end with the accession of Balban as the Sultan. Assertion of authority by Balban led to constant military campaigns against defiant governors and against their local allies. Barani mentions Balban's campaigns in the regions surrounding Delhi and in the doab. During these campaigns forests were cleared, new roads and forts constructed, the newly deforested lands given to freshly recruited Afghans and others as rent-free lands (mafuzi) and brought under cultivation. New forts were constructed to protect trade routes and village markets.

Raziya Sultana (1236-1240).

- Raziya was daughter of Iltutmish, who ascended the throne after a lot of hurdles put up by the Turkish nobles. According to Ibn Battuta, the Moroccan traveller, 'Raziya rode on horseback as men ride, armed with a bow and quiver, and surrounded by courtiers. She did not veil her face.' Yet Raziya ruled for only three and half years. The elevation of an Abyssinian slave, Jalal-ud-din Yaqut, to the post of Amir-i-Akhur, Master of the Stables, a very high office, angered the Turkish nobles. The nobles overplayed her closeness with Yakut and tried to depose her. Since Raziya enjoyed popular support, they could not do anything in Delhi. But while she was on a punitive campaign against the rebel governor Altuniya in southern Punjab, the conspirators used that occasion to dethrone her.

Balban and the Problem of Law and Order

- When Balban took over the reins of power the law and order situation in the Ganga, Jamuna Doab regions had deteriorated badly. The Rajput zamindars had set up forts and defied the orders of the Sultan. Meos, a Muslim community from north-western region, living in the heavily forested region around Mewat were plundering the area with impunity. Balban took it as a challenge and personally undertook a campaign to destroy the Mewatis. Meos were pursued and slaughtered mercilessly. In the Doab region the Rajput strongholds were destroyed, jungles cleared. Colonies of Afghan soldiers were established throughout the region to safeguard the roads and deal with rebellions.

Punitive Expedition against Tughril Khan

- Balban was ruthless in dealing with rebellions. He appointed one of his favourite slaves, Tughril Khan, as the Governor of Bengal. But Tughril Khan soon became rebellious. Amin Khan, the governor of Oudh, sent by Balban to suppress the rebellion meekly retreated. Enraged by this, Balban sent two more expeditions, which also suffered defeat. Humiliated by these successive reverses, Balban himself proceeded to Bengal. On hearing Balban's approach, Tughril Khan fled. Balban

pursued him, first to Lakhnauti and then towards Tripura, where he was captured and beheaded. Bughra Khan, a son of Balban, was thereupon appointed the Governor of Bengal, who carved out an independent kingdom after the death of Balban. He did not claim the Delhi throne even in the midst of a leadership crisis and his son Kaiqubad's indulgence in debauchery.

Measures against Mongol Threats

- Balban used the threat of Mongols as the context to militarise his regime. The frontier regions were strengthened with garrisoning of forts at Bhatinda, Sunam and Samana. At the same time, he took efforts to maintain a good relationship with Hulagu Khan, the Mongol Viceroy of Iran and a grandson of Chengiz Khan. Balban succeeded in obtaining from him the assurance that Mongols would not advance beyond Satluj. Hulagu Khan reciprocated this gesture by sending a goodwill mission to Delhi in 1259. However, Muhammad Khan, the favourite son of Balban, who was given the charge of governor of Multan to protect the frontiers from Mongol aggression, was killed in an encounter. Saddened by this tragedy, Balban fell ill and died in 1286.

The Khaljis (1290-1320)

Jalal-ud-din Khalji (1290-1296)

- As Balban's son Kaiqubad was found unfit to rule, his three-year-old son Kaymar was placed on the throne. As there was no unanimity on the choice of a regent and a council to administer the empire, the contending nobles plotted against each other. Out of this chaos a new leader, Malik Jalal-ud-din Khalji, the commander of the army, emerged supreme. While he ruled the kingdom for some time in the name of Kaiqubad, he soon sent one of his officers to get Kaiqubad murdered and Jalal-ud-din formally ascended the throne. However, Jalal-ud-din faced opposition on the ground that he was an Afghan and not a Turk. But Khaljis were indeed Turks settled in Afghanistan before the establishment of Turkish rule and so they were Afghanized Turks. Jalal-ud-din won many battles and even in old age he marched out against the Mongol hordes and successfully halted their entry into India (1292).
- Ala-ud-din, a nephew and son-in-law of Jalaluddin Khalji, who was appointed governor of Kara, invaded Malwa and this campaign yielded a huge booty. The success of this campaign stimulated his urge to embark on a campaign to raid Devagiri, the capital city of the Yadava kingdom in Deccan. On his return he arranged to get Jalaluddin Khalji murdered and captured the throne.

Ala-ud-din Khalji (1296-1316)

Ala-ud-din and Nobles

- Ala-ud-din spent the first year of his rule in eliminating the enemies and strengthening his position in Delhi. Soon he turned his attention to establishing a firm hold over the nobles. He dismissed several of his top officers. He was particularly severe with the nobles who had shifted loyalty and opportunistically joined him against Jalal-ud-din.
- The term Mongol refers to all Mongolic-speaking nomadic tribes of Central Asia. In

the twelfth century, they had established a very large kingdom, which included most of modern-day Russia, China, Korea, south-east Asia, Persia, India, the Middle East and Eastern Europe, under the leadership of Chengiz Khan. Their phenomenal success is attributed to their fast horses and brilliant cavalry tactics, their openness to new technologies, and Chengiz Khan's skill in manipulative politics.

Mongol Threats

- Mongol raids posed a serious challenge to Ala-ud-din. During thesecond year of his rule (1298), when Mongols stormed Delhi, the army sent by Ala-ud-din succeeded in driving them back. But when they returned the following year with more men, people of the suburbs of Delhi had to flee and take refuge in the city. Ala-uddin had to meet the problem head-on. In the ensuing battle, Mongols were routed. Yet raids continued until 1305, when they ravaged the doab region. This time, after defeating them, the Sultan's army took a large number of Mongols as prisoners and slaughtered them mercilessly. But the Mongol menace continued. The last major Mongol incursion took place in1307-08.

Military Campaigns

- The inability of the Sultanate to effectively harness the agrarianresources of itsNorth Indian territories to sustain its political ambitions was evident in its relentless military campaigns in search of loot and plunder. Ala-ud-din's campaigns into Devagiri (1296, 1307, 1314), Gujarat (1299-1300), Ranthambhor (1301), Chittor (1303) and Malwa (1305) were meant to proclaim his political and military power as well as to collect loot from the defeated kingdoms. It was with the same plan that he unleashed his forces into the Deccan. The first target in the peninsula was Devagiri in the western Deccan. Ala-ud-din sent a large army commanded by Malik Kafur in 1307 to capture Devagiri fort. Following Devagiri, Prataparudradeva, the Kakatiya ruler of Warangal in the Telengana region, was defeated in 1309. In 1310 the Hoysala ruler Vira Ballala III surrendered all his treasures to the Delhi forces.
- Malik Kafur then set out for the Tamil country. Though Kafur's progresswas obstructed by heavy rains and floods, he continued his southward journey, plundering and ravaging the temple cities of Chidambaram and Srirangam as well as the Pandyan capital Madurai. Muslims in Tamil provinces fought on the side of the Pandyas against Malik Kafur. Malik Kafur advised them to desert so that he would not have any occasion to spill the blood of his fellow Muslims. Though there are exaggerated versions about the amount of booty he carried, there is no denying the fact that he returned to Delhi with an enormous booty in 1311. After Malik Kafur's invasion, the Pandya kingdom suffered an eclipse and a Muslim state subordinate to the Delhi Sultan came to be established in Madurai. In 1335 the Muslim Governor of Madurai Jalal-ud-din Asan Shah threw off his allegiance to Delhi kingdom and declared his independence.
- The nobles belonging to aristocratic classes were bestowed withprivileges and powers in the feudal era. They formed the bedrock of the king's authority, as they had to provide the king with armed forces in times of external threat or emergency.

They occupied a position next only to the king in status and rank. Enjoying high social status and commanding vast resources they at times became strong enough to challenge the king.

- In the Delhi Sultanate, nobles were drawn from different tribes and nationalities like the Turkish, Persian, Arabic, Egyptian and Indian Muslims. Iltutmish organized a Corps of Forty, all drawn from Turkish nobility and selected persons from this Forty for appointments in military and civil administration. The Corps of Forty became so powerful to the extent of disregarding the wishes of Iltutmish, and after his death, to place Rukn-ud-Din Firoz on the throne. Razziya sought to counter the influence of Turkish nobles and defend her interest by organizing a group of non-Turkish and Indian Muslim nobles under the leadership of Yakut, the Abyssinian slave. This was naturally resented by the Turkish nobles, who got both of them murdered. Thus in the absence of rule of primogeniture, the nobles sided with any claimants to the throne and either helped in the choice of the Sultan or contributed to the destabilization of the regime. The nobles were organized into several factions and were constantly engaged in conspiracies. Balban therefore abolished the Corps of Forty and thereby put an end to the domination of "Turkish nobles". Alauddin Khalji also took stern measures against the "Turkish nobles" by employing spies to report to him directly on their clandestine and perfidious activities.

Ala-ud-din's Internal Reforms

- The vast annexation of territories was followed by extensive administrative reforms aimed at stabilising the government. Ala-ud-din's first measure was to deprive the nobles of the wealth they had accumulated. It had provided them the leisure and means to hatch conspiracies against the Sultan. Marriage alliances between families of noble men were permitted only with the consent of the Sultan. The Sultan ordered that villages held by proprietary right, as free gift, or as a religious endowment be brought back under the royal authority and control. He curbed the powers of the traditional village officers by depriving them of their traditional privileges. Corrupt royal officials were dealt with sternly. The Sultan prohibited liquor and banned the use of intoxicating drugs. Gambling was forbidden and gamblers were driven out of the city. However, the widespread violations of prohibition rules eventually forced the Sultan to relax the restrictions.
- Ala-ud-din collected land taxes directly from the cultivators. The village headman who traditionally enjoyed the right to collect them was now deprived of it. The tax pressure of Ala-ud-din was on the rich and not on the poor. Ala-ud-din set up the postal system to keep in touch with all parts of his sprawling empire.

Sultan's Market Reforms

- Ala-ud-din was the first Sultan to pay his soldiers in cash rather than give them a share of booty. As the soldiers were paid less, the prices had to be monitored and controlled. Moreover, Ala-ud-din had to maintain a huge standing army. In order to restrict prices of essential commodities, Ala-ud-din set up an elaborate intelligence network to collect information on black-marketing and hoarding. The transactions in

the bazaars, the buying and selling and the bargains made were all reported to the Sultan by his spies. Market superintendents, reporters and spies had to send daily reports on the prices of essential commodities. Violators of the price regulations were severely punished. If any deficiency in weight was found, an equal weight of flesh was cut from the seller's body and thrown down before his eyes!

Ala-ud-din's Successors

- Ala-ud-din nominated his eldest son Khizr Khan, as his successor. However, Ala-ud-din's confidant at that time was Malik Kafur. So Malik Kafur himself assumed the authority of the government. But Kafur's rule lasted only thirty-five days as he was assassinated by hostile nobles. Thereafter there were a series of murders which culminated in Ghazi Malik, a veteran of several campaigns against the Mongols, ascending the throne of Delhi in 1320 as Ghiyas-ud-din Tughlaq. He murdered the incumbent Khalji ruler Khusrau and thereby prevented anyone from Khalji dynasty claiming the throne. Thus began the rule of the Tughlaq Dynasty, which lasted until 1414.

The Tughlaq Dynasty

Ghiyas-ud-din Tughlaq (1320-1324)

- Ghiyas-ud-din Tughlaq followed a policy of reconciliation with thenobles. But in the fifth year of his reign (1325) Ghiyas-uddin died. Three days later Jauna ascended the throne and took the title Muhammad bin Tughlaq.

Muhammad Bin Tughlaq (1324-1351)

- Muhammad Tughlaq was a learned, cultured and talented prince but gained a reputation of being merciless, cruel and unjust. Muhammad Tughlaq effectively repulsed the Mongol army that had marched up to Meerut near Delhi. Muhammad was an innovator. But he, unlike Ala-ud-din, lacked the will to execute his plans successfully.

Transfer of Capital

- Muhammad Tughlaq's attempt to shift the capital from Delhi to Devagiri in Maharashtra, which he named Daulatabad, was a bold initiative. This was after his realization that it was difficult to rule south India from Delhi. Centrally located, Devagiri also had the advantage of possessing a strong fort atop a rocky hill. Counting on the military and political advantages, the Sultan ordered important officers and leading men including many Sufi saints to shift to Devagiri. However, the plan failed, and soon Muhammad realised that it was difficult to rule North India from Daulatabad. He again ordered transfer of capital back to Delhi.

Token Currency

- The next important experiment of Muhammad was the introduction of token currency. This currency system had already been experimented in China and Iran. For India it was much ahead of its time, given that it was a time when coins were based on silver content. When Muhammad issued bronze coins, fake coins were minted which could not be prevented by the government. The new coins were devalued to such an extent

that the government had to withdraw the bronze coins and replace them with silver coins, which told heavily on the resources of the empire.

Sultan's Other Innovative Measures

- Equally innovative was Muhammad Tughlaq's scheme to expand cultivation. But it also failed miserably. It coincided with a prolonged and severe famine in the Doab. The peasants who rebelled were harshly dealt with. The famine was linked to the oppressive and arbitrary collection of land revenue. The Sultan established a separate department (Diwan-i-Amir Kohi) to take care of agriculture. Loans were advanced to farmers for purchase of cattle, seeds and digging of wells but to no avail. Officers appointed to monitor the crops were not efficient; the nobility and important officials were of diverse background. Besides, the Sultan's temperament had also earned him a lot of enemies.
- Ala-ud-din Khalji had not annexed distant territories knowing full well that they could not be effectively governed. He preferred to establish his suzerainty over them. But Muhammad annexed all the lands he conquered. Therefore, at the end of his reign, while he faced a series of rebellions, his repressive measures further alienated his subjects. Distant regions like Bengal, Madurai, Warangal, Awadh, Gujarat and Sind hoisted the flags of rebellion and the Sultan spent his last days fighting rebels. While he was frantically engaged in pursuing a rebel leader in Gujarat, he fell ill, and died at the end of his 26th regnal year (1351).

Firuz Tughlaq (1351-1388)

- Firuz's father, Rajab, was the younger brother of Ghiyas-ud-din Tughlaq. Both had come from Khurasan during the reign of Ala-ud-din Khalji. Rajab who had married a Jat princess had died when Firuz was seven years old. When Ghiyas-ud-din ascended the throne, he gave Firuz command of a 12,000 strong cavalry force. Later Firuz was made in charge of one of the four divisions of the Sultanate. Muhammad bin Tughlaq died without naming his successor. The claim made by Muhammad's sister to his son was not supported by the nobles. His son, recommended by Muhammad's friend Khan-i Jahan, was a mere child. Under such circumstances, Firuz ascended the throne.
- The vizier of Firuz Tughlaq, the famous Khan-i Jahan, was a Brahmin convert to Islam. Originally known as Kannu, he was captured during the Sultanate campaigns in Warangal (present-day Telangana).

Conciliatory Policy towards Nobles

- Firuz Tughlaq followed a conciliatory policy towards the nobles and theologians. Firuz restored the property of the owners who had been deprived of it during the reign of Muhammad Tughlaq. He reintroduced the system of hereditary appointments to offices, a practice which was not favoured by Ala-ud-din Khalji. The Sultan increased the salaries of government officials. While toning up the revenue administration, he reduced several taxes. He abolished many varieties of torture employed by his predecessor. Firuz had a genuine concern for the slaves and

established a separate government department to attend to their welfare. The slave department took care of the wellbeing of 180,000 slaves. They were trained in handicrafts and employed in the royal workshops.

Firuz Policy of No Wars

- Firuz waged no wars of annexation, though he was not averse to putting down rebellions challenging his authority. There were only two Mongol incursions during his times, and both of them were successfully repulsed. His Bengal campaign to put down a rebellion there, however, was an exception. His army slew thousands and his entry into Odisha on his way helped him extract the promise of tribute from the Raja. A major military campaign of his period was against Sind (1362). He succeeded in routing the enemies on the way. Yet his enemies and a famine that broke out during this period gave Sultan and his army a trying time. Firuz's army, however, managed to reach Sind. The ruler of Sind agreed to surrender and pay tribute to the Sultan.

Religious Policy

- Firuz favoured orthodox Islam. He proclaimed his state to be an Islamic state largely to satisfy the theologians. Heretics were persecuted, and practices considered un-Islamic were banned. He imposed jizya, a head tax on non-Muslims, which even the Brahmins were compelled to pay. Yet Firuz did not prohibit the building of new Hindu temples and shrines. His cultural interest led to translation of many Sanskrit works relating to religion, medicine and music. As an accomplished scholar himself, Firuz was a liberal patron of the learned including non-Islamic scholars. Fond of music, he is credited with establishing several educational institutions and a number of mosques, palaces and forts.
- Jizya is a tax levied and collected per head by Islamic states on non-Muslim subjects living in their land. In India, Qutb-ud-din Aibak imposed jizya on non-Muslims for the first time. Jizya was abolished by the Mughal ruler Akbar in 16th century but was re-introduced by Aurangzeb in the 17th century.

Public Works

- Firuz undertook many irrigation projects. A canal he dug from Sutlej river to Hansi and another canal in Jumna indicate his sound policy of public works development.
- Firuz died in 1388, after making his son Fath Khan and grandson Ghiyas-uddin as joint rulers of Delhi Sultanate.
- The principle of heredity permitted for the nobles and applied to the army weakened the Delhi Sultanate. The nobility that had regained power got involved in political intrigues which undermined the stability of the Sultanate. Within six years of Firuz Tughlaq's death four rulers succeeded him.

Timur's Invasion

- The last Tughlaq ruler was Nasir-ud-din Muhammad Shah (1394–1412), whose reign witnessed the invasion of Timur from Central Asia. Turkish Timur, who could claim a blood relationship with the 12th century great Mongol Chengiz Khan, ransacked Delhi virtually without any opposition. On hearing the news of arrival of Timur, Sultan Nasir-ud-din fled Delhi. Timur also took Indian artisans such as masons, stone cutters, carpenters whom he engaged for raising buildings in his capital Samarkhand. Nasir-ud-din managed to rule up to 1412. Then the Sayyid and Lodi dynasties ruled the declining empire from Delhi till 1526.

Sayyid Dynasty (1414–1451)

- Timur appointed Khizr Khan as his deputy to oversee Timurid interests in the Punjab marches. Khizr Khan (1414–21) went on to seize Delhi and establish the Sayyid dynasty (1414–51). The Sayyid dynasty established by Khizr Khan had four sultans ruling up to 1451. The early Sayyid Sultans ruled paying tribute to Timur's son. Their rule is marked for the composing of Tarikh-i- Mubarak Shahi by Yahiya bin Ahmad Sirhindi. By the end of their rule the empire was largely confined to the city of Delhi.
- In the entire history of the Delhi Sultanate there was only one Sultan who voluntarily abdicated his throne and moved to a small town away from Delhi, where he lived for three full decades in contentment and peace. He was Alam Shah of the Sayyid dynasty. – Abraham Eraly, The Age of Wrath

Lodi Dynasty (1451–1526)

- The Lodi Dynasty was established by Bahlol Lodi (1451–1489) whose reign witnessed the conquest of Sharqi Kingdom (Bengal). It was his son Sikander Lodi (1489–1517) who shifted the capital from Delhi to Agra in 1504. The last Lodi ruler Ibrahim Lodi was defeated by Babur in the First Battle of Panipat, which resulted in the establishment of Mughal Dynasty.

Administration of the Sultanate

State and Society

- The Sultanate was formally considered to be an Islamic State. Most of the Sultans preferred to call themselves the lieutenant of the Caliph. In reality, however, the Sultans were the supreme political heads. As military head, they wielded the authority of commander-in-chief of the armed forces. As judicial head they were the highest court of appeal. Balban claimed that he ruled as the representative of god on earth. Ala-ud-din Khalji claimed absolute power saying he did not care for theological prescriptions, but did what was essential for the good of the state and the benefit of the people.
- The Delhi Sultanate deserves to be considered an all-India empire. Virtually all of India, except Kashmir and Kerala at the far ends of the subcontinent, and a few small tracts in between them had come under the direct rule of Delhi towards the close of Muhammad bin Tughlaq's rule. There were no well-defined and accepted rules of

royal succession and therefore contested succession became the norm during the Sultanate. The Sultans required the holders of iqta's (called muqtis or walis) to maintain troops for royal service out of the taxes collected by them. Certain areas were retained by the Sultans under their direct control (khalisa). It was out of the revenue collected from such areas that they paid the officers and soldiers of the sultan's own troops (hashm-i qalb).

- The territorial expansion was matched by an expansion of fiscal resources. The tax rent (set at half the value of the produce) was rigorously sought to be imposed over a very large area. The fiscal claims of hereditary intermediaries (now called chauthuris) and the village headmen (khots) were drastically curtailed. The continuous pressure for larger tax realization provoked a severe agrarian uprising, notably in the Doab near Delhi (1332-34). These and an ensuing famine persuaded Muhammad Tughlaq to resort to a scheme of agricultural development, in the Delhi area and the Doab, based on the supply of credit to the peasants.
- Military campaigns, the dishoarding of wealth, the clearing of forests, the vitality of inter-regional trade - all of these developments encouraged a great movement of people, created a vast network of intellectuals and the religious-minded. These factors also made social hierarchies and settlements in the Sultanate garrison towns and their strongholds far more complex. Through the fourteenth century the Sultanate sought to control its increasingly diverse population through its provincial governors, muqti, but considerable local initiative and resources available to these personnel, and their propensity to ally with local political groups meant that they could often only be controlled fitfully and for a short period, even by autocratic, aggressive monarchs like Muhammad Tughlaq.
- The Turko-Afghan political conquests were followed by large-scale Muslim social migrations from Central Asia. India was seen as a land of opportunity. The society in all stages was based on privileges with the higher classes enjoying a better socio-economic life with little regard of one's religion. The Sultans and the nobles were the most important privileged class who enjoyed a lifestyle of high standard in comparison to their contemporary rulers all over the world. The nobility was initially composed of the Turks. Afghans, Iranians and Indian Muslims were excluded from the nobility for a very long time.
- The personal status of an individual in Islam depended solely on one's abilities and achievements, not on one's birth. So, once converted to Islam, everyone was treated as equal to everyone in the society.
- Unlike Hindus who worshiped different deities, these migrants followed monotheism. They also adhered to one basic set of beliefs and practices. Though a monotheistic trend in Hinduism had long existed, as, for example in the Bhagavad Gita, as noted by Al-Beruni, its proximity to Islam did help to move monotheism from periphery to the centre. In the thirteenth century, the Virashaiva or Lingayat sect of Karnataka founded by Basava believed in one God (Parashiva). Caste

distinctions were denied, women given a better status, and Brahmans could no longer monopolise priesthood. A parallel, but less significant, movement in Tamil Nadu was in the compositions of the Siddhars, who sang in Tamil of one God, and criticised caste, Brahmans and the doctrine of transmigration of souls. Two little known figures who played a part in transmitting the southern Bhakti and monotheism to Northern India were Namdev of Maharashtra, a rigorous monotheist who opposed image worship and caste distinctions and Ramanand, a follower of Ramanuja.

Economy

- The establishment of the Delhi Sultanate was, however, accompanied by some important economic changes. One such change was the payment of land tax to the level of rent in cash. Because of this, food-grains and other rural products were drawn to the towns, thereby leading to a new phase of urban growth. In the fourteenth century, Delhi and Daulatabad (Devagiri) emerged as great cities of the world. There were other large towns such as Multan, Kara, Awadh, Gaur, Cambay (Khambayat) and Gulbarga.
- The Delhi Sultans began their gold and silver mintage alongside copper from early in the thirteenth century and that indicated brisk commerce. Despite the Mongol conquests of the western borderlands, in Irfan Habib's view, India's external trade, both overland and oceanic, grew considerably during this period.
- An important aspect of Islam in India was its early acceptance of a long-term coexistence with Hinduism, despite all the violence that occurred in military campaigns, conquests and depredations. The conqueror Mu'izzuddin of Ghor had, on some of his gold coins, stamped the image of the goddess Lakshmi. Muhammad Tughlaq in 1325 issued a farman enjoining that protection be extended by all officers to Jain priests; he himself played holi and consorted with yogis.
- The historian Barani noted with some bitterness how 'the kings of Islam' showed respect to 'Hindus, Mongols, Polytheists and infidels', by making them sit on masnad (cushions) and by honouring them in other ways, and how the Hindus upon paying taxes (jiziya-o-kharaj) were allowed to have their temples and celebrations, employ Muslim servants, and flaunt their titles (rai, rana, thakur, sah, mahta, pandit, etc), right in the capital seats of Muslim rulers.

Trade and Urbanization

- The establishment of the Delhi Sultanate revived internal trade, stimulated by the insatiable demand for luxury goods by the sultans and nobles. Gold coins, rarely issued in India after the collapse of the Gupta Empire, began to appear once again, indicating the revival of Indian economy. However, there is no evidence of the existence of trade guilds, which had played a crucial role in the economy in the classical age. The Sultanate was driven by an urban economy encompassing many important towns and cities. Delhi, Lahore, Multan, Kara, Lakhnauti, Anhilwara, Cambay and Daulatabad were the important cities that thrived on the mercantile

activities of Jain Marwaris, Hindu Multanis and Muslim Bohras, Khurasanis, Afghans and Iranians. The import-export trade flourished well both through overland and overseas. While the Gujaratis and Tamils dominated the sea trade, the Hindu Multanis and Muslim Khurasanis, Afghans and Iranians dominated the overland trade with Central Asia.

Industrial Expertise

- Paper-making technology evolved by the Chinese and learnt by the Arabs was introduced in India during the rule of the Delhi Sultans. The spinning wheel invented by the Chinese came to India through Iran in the fourteenth century and enabled the spinner to increase her output some six fold and enlarged yarn production greatly. The subsequent introduction of treadles in the loom similarly helped speed-up weaving. Sericulture was established in Bengal by the fifteenth century. Building activity attained a new scale by the large use of brick and mortar, and by the adoption of the vaulting techniques.

Education

- Certain traditions of education were now implanted from the Islamic World. At the base was the maktab, where a schoolmaster taught children to read and write. At a higher level, important texts in various subjects were read by individual pupils with particular scholars who gave instruction (dars) in them. A more institutionalized form of higher education, the madrasa, became widely established in Central Asia and Iran in the eleventh century, and from there it spread to other Islamic countries. Usually the madrasa had a building, where instruction was given by individual teachers. Often there was a provision of some cells for resident students, a library and a mosque. Firoz Tugluq built a large madrasa at Delhi whose splendid building still stands. From Barani's description it would seem that teaching here was mainly confined to "Quran-commentary, the Prophet's sayings and the Muslim Law (fiqh)." It is said that Sikander Lodi (1489- 1517) appointed teachers in maktab and madrasas in various cities throughout his dominions, presumably making provision for them through land or cash grants.

Historiography

- In addition to secular sciences that came with Arabic and Persian learning to India, one more notable addition was systematic historiography. The collection of witnesses' narratives and documents that the Chachnama (thirteenth-century Persian translation of a ninth-century Arabic original), in its account of the Arab conquest of Sind, represents advancement in historical research, notwithstanding the absence of coherence and logical order of latter-day historiography like Minhaj Siraj's Tabaqat-i Nasiri, written at Delhi c. 1260.

Sufism

- In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, two most influential orders emerged among the sufis: the Suhrawardi, centred at Multan, and the Chisti at Delhi and other places. The most famous Chishti Saint, Shaik Nizamuddin offered a classical exposition of Sufism of prepantheistic phase in the conversations (1307- 1322). Sufism

began to turn pantheistic only when the ideas of Ibn al-Arabi (died 1240) began to gain influence, first through the Persian poetry of Jalal-ud-din Rumi(1207- 1273) and Abdur Rahman Jami (1414-1492), and, then, through the endeavours within India of Ashraf Jahangir Simnani (early fifteenth century). Significantly this wave of qualified pantheism began to dominate Indian Islamic thought about the same time that the pantheism of Sankaracharya's school of thought was attaining increasing influence within Vedic thought.

Caliph/Caliphate

- Considered to be the successor of Prophet Muhammad, the Caliph wielded authority over civil and religious affairs of the entire Islamic world. The Caliph ruled Baghdad until it fell before Mongols in 1258. The Caliphs then ruled in Egypt until the conquest of Ottomans in 1516- 17. Thereupon the title was held by Ottoman Sultans. The office of Caliph (Caliphate) ended when Ottoman Empire was abolished and Turkish Republic established by Mushtafa Kemal Attaturk in the 1920s.

Caste and Women

- The Sultans did not alter many of the social institutions inherited from 'Indian Feudalism'.
- Slavery, though it had already existed in India, grew substantially in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Both in war and in the event of default in payment of taxes, people could be enslaved. They were put to work as domestic servants as well as in crafts. The village community and the caste system remained largely unaltered. Gender inequalities remained practically untouched. In upper class Muslim society, women had to observe purdah and were secluded in the zenana (the female quarters) without any contact with any men other than their immediate family. Affluent women travelled in closed litters.
- However, Muslim women, despite purdah, enjoyed, in certain respects, higher status and greater freedom in society than most Hindu women. They could inherit property from their parents and obtain divorce, privileges that Hindu women did not have. In several Hindu communities, such as among the Rajputs, the birth of a girl child was considered a misfortune. Islam was not against women being taught to read and write. But it tolerated polygamy.

Evolution of Syncretic Culture

- The interaction of the Turks with the Indians had its influence in architecture, fine arts and literature.
- Sultan Firoz Tughlaq was reputed to possess 180,000 slaves, of which 12,000 worked as artisans. His principal minister, Khan Jahan Maqbul possessed over 2000 women slaves.

Architecture

- Arch, dome, vaults and use of lime cement, the striking Saracenic features, were introduced in India. The use of marble, red, grey and yellow sandstones added grandeur to the buildings. In the beginning the Sultans converted the existing buildings to suit their needs. Qutb-ud-din Aibak's Quwwat-ul-Islam mosque situated adjacent to Qutb Minar in Delhi and the Adhai din ka Jhopra in Ajmer illustrate these examples. A Hindu temple built over a Jain temple was modified into Quwwat-ul-Islam mosque. Adhai din ka Jhopra was earlier a Jain monastery before being converted as a mosque.
- With the arrival of artisans from West Asia the arch and dome began to show up with precision and perfection. Gradually local artisans also acquired the skill. The tomb of Balban was adorned with the first true arch and the Alai Darwaza built by Alauddin Khalji as a gateway to the Quwwat-ul-Islam Mosque is adorned with the first true dome. The palace fortress built by Ghiyasuddin Tughlaq and Muhammad bin Tughlaq in Tughlaqabad, their capital city in Delhi, is remarkable for creating an artificial lake around the fortress by blocking the river Yamuna. The tomb of Ghiyasuddin Tughlaq introduced the system of sloping walls bearing the dome on a raised platform. The buildings of Firuz Tughlaq, especially his pleasure resort, Hauz Khas, combined Indian and Saracenic features in alternate storeys, displaying a sense of integration.

Sculpture and Painting

- Orthodox Islamic theology considered decorating the buildings with animal and human figures as un-Islamic. Hence the plastic exuberance of well-carved images found in the pre-Islamic buildings was replaced by floral and geometrical designs. Arabesque, the art of decorating the building with Quranic verses inscribed with calligraphy, emerged to provide splendor to the building.

Music and Dance

- Music was an area where the syncretic tendencies were clearly visible. Muslims brought their musical instruments like Rabab and Sarangi. Amir Khusrau proclaimed that Indian music had a preeminence over all the other music of the world. The Sufi practice of Sama, recitation of love poetry to the accompaniment of music, was instrumental in promotion of music. Pir Bhodan, a Sufi saint, was considered a great musician of the age. Royal patronage for the growth of music was also forthcoming. Firuz Tughlaq evinced interest in music leading to synchronisation by translating an Indian Sanskrit musical work Rag Darpan into Persian. Dancing also received an impetus in the official court. Zia-ud-din Barani lists the names of Nusrat Khatun and Mihr Afroz as musician and dancer respectively in the court of Jalaluddin Khalji.
- Qutb Minar, originally a 72.5 metre tower when completed by Iltutmish, was increased to 74 metres by the repairs carried out by Firuz Shah Tughlaq. The Minar is facilitated by 379 steps and it is magnificent for the height, balconies projecting out marking the storeys, the gradual sloping of the tower and the angular flutings creating a ribbed effect around the tower.

Literature

- Amir Khusrau emerged as a major figure of Persian prose and poetry. Amir Khusrau felt elated to call himself an Indian in his Nu Siphir ('Nine Skies'). In this work, he praises India's climate, its languages - notably Sanskrit - its arts, its music, its people, even its animals. The Islamic Sufi saints made a deep literary impact. The Fawai'd-ul-Fawad, a work containing the conversations of Sufi Saint Nizam-ud-din Auliya was compiled by Amir Hassan. A strong school of historical writing emerged with the writings of Zia-ud-din Barani, Shams-ud-din Siraj Afif and Abdul Malik Isami. Zia-ud-din Barani, emerged as a master of Persian prose. Abdul Malik Isami, in his poetic composition of Futuh-us-Salatin, records the history of Muslim rule from Ghaznavid period to Muhammad bin Tughlaq's reign.
- Persian literature was enriched by the translation of Sanskrit works. Persian dictionaries with appropriate Hindawi words for Persian words were composed, the most important being Farhang-i-Qawas by Fakhr-ud-din Qawwas and Miftah-ul-Fuazala by Muhammad Shadiabadi. Tuti Namah, the Book of Parrots, is a collection of Sanskrit stories translated into Persian by Zia Nakshabi. Mahabharata and Rajatarangini were also translated into Persian.
- Delhi Sultanate did not hamper the progress of Sanskrit Literature. Sanskrit continued to be the language of high intellectual thought. The Sanskrit schools and academies established in different parts of the empire continued to flourish. The classical Sanskrit inscription (Pala Baoli) of 1276 in Delhi claims that due to the benign rule of Sultan Balban god Vishnu sleeps in peace in the ocean of milk without any worries. The influence of Arabic and Persian on Sanskrit literature was felt in the form of translations. Shrivara in his Sanskrit work Kathakautuka included the story of Yusuf and Zulaika as a Sanskrit love lyric. Bhattavata took Firdausi's Shah Namah as a model for composing Zainavilas, a history of the rulers of Kashmir.

		Mughals
7th Term II	Unit 2	The Mughal Empire
11 th vol - 2	Unit 14	The Mughal Empire

Unit II The Mughal Empire

Introduction

A new empire began in India with the arrival of the Mughal king Babur. Except for the brief reign of Sher Shah of Sur dynasty, the Mughal rule lasted from A.D.(CE) 1526 to 1707. These were the years when the fame of the Great Mughals of India spread all over Asia and Europe. After six Great Mughal Emperors, the empire began to disintegrate.

Babur (1526–1530)

Ancestry and His Early Career

Zahir-ud-din Muhammad Babur, popularly known as Babur, was the founder of the Mughal Empire in India. The term 'Mughal' can be traced to Babur's ancestors. Babur was the great grandson of Timur (on his father's side). On his mother's side, his grandfather was Yunus Khan of Tashkent, who was known as the Great Khan of the Mongols and the thirteenth in the direct line of descent of Chengiz Khan. Babur was born on 14 February 1483. He was named Zahir-ud-din (Defender of Faith) Muhammad. He inherited Farghana, a small kingdom in Central Asia, when he was 12 years old. But he was soon driven out from there by Uzbeks. After 10 years of adversity, Babur established himself as the ruler of Kabul.

Foundation of the Mughal Empire

In Kabul, Babur set his sights eastward, reminded by the memory of Timur's Indian invasion. In 1505, the very year after he took Kabul, Babur led his first expedition towards India. Yet he was preoccupied with the Central Asian affairs. He did not have any ambition beyond Punjab till 1524. Then a greater opportunity came knocking. Dilawar Khan, who was Daulat Khan Lodi's son, and Alam Khan, who was the uncle of Sultan of Delhi, arrived in Kabul to seek Babur's help in removing Ibrahim Lodi from power. Babur defeated Ibrahim Lodi in the famous Battle of Panipat in 1526 and occupied Delhi and Agra. Following Babur's victory in this battle, Mughal dynasty came to be established in India with Agra as its capital.

Babur's Military Conquests

Babur defeated Rana Sanga and his allies at Khanwa in 1527. He won the war against the chief of Chanderi in 1528 and prevailed over the Afghan chiefs of Bengal and Bihar in 1529. Babur died in 1530 before he could consolidate his victories. Babur was a

scholar in Turkish and Persian languages. He recorded his impressions about Hindustan, its animals, plants and trees, flowers and fruits in his autobiography Tuzuki- Baburi.

Following the tradition set by Chengiz Khan, who nominated the most deserving among his sons as his heir, Babur chose his favourite and eldest son, Humayun, as his heir.

Humayun (1530–1540 and 1555–1556)

Humayun, on his accession to the throne, divided his inheritance as per his father's will and accordingly his brothers, Kamran, Hindal and Askari, got a province each. Yet each of the brothers aspired for the throne of Delhi. Humayun also had other rivals and notable among them was the Afghan Sher Shah Sur, the ruler of Bihar and Bengal. Sher Shah defeated Humayun at Chausa (1539) and again at Kanauj (1540). Humayun, defeated and overthrown, had to flee to Iran. With the help of the Persian ruler Shah Tahmasp of the Safavid dynasty, Humayun succeeded in recapturing Delhi in 1555. But he died in 1556 when he fell down the stairs of his library in Delhi.

Sher Shah (1540–1545)

Sher Shah was the son of the Afghan noble Hasan Suri, ruler of Sasaram in Bihar. After overthrowing Humayun, Sher Shah started the rule of Sur dynasty at Agra. During his brief reign, he built an empire stretching from Bengal to the Indus, excluding Kashmir. He also introduced an efficient land revenue system. He built many roads, and standardised coins, weights and measures.

Akbar (1556–1605) Accession to Throne

After the death of Humayun in 1556, his 14-year-old son Akbar was crowned the King. Humayun's trusted general Bairam Khan became the regent and ruled on behalf of Akbar, as the latter was a minor.

Hemu, a general of Sur dynasty, soon captured Agra and Delhi in 1556. In the same year, Bairam Khan defeated and killed Hemu in the battle at Panipat (Second Battle of Panipat, 1556). As Bairam Khan was murdered in Gujarat, allegedly at the instance of Akbar who could not tolerate his dominance in day-to-day governance of the kingdom, Akbar assumed full control of the government. Akbar brought most of India under his control through conquests and alliances.

Conquests of Women Rulers

Akbar conquered Malwa and parts of Central India. His defeat of Rani Durgavati, a ruler in the Central Province, is not appreciated, since the brave Rani did him no harm. Yet urged by his ambition to build an empire, Akbar had no consideration for the good nature of the ruler. Similarly, another woman ruler Akbar had to confront in South India

was the famous Rani Chand Bibi, regent of Ahmednagar. The fight this woman put up impressed the Mughal army so much that they gave her favourable terms of peace.

Battle of Haldighati

Akbar defeated Rana Uday Singh of Mewar and captured the fort of Chittoor in 1568 and then Ranthambore in 1569. In 1576, he won over Uday Singh's son Rana Pratap at the Battle of Haldighati. Though defeated, Rana Pratap escaped on his horse, Chetak, and continued his fight, leading a life in the jungle. The memory of this gallant Rajput is treasured in Rajputana, and many a legend has grown around him.

Commercial Access to Arabia, Southeast Asia and China

Akbar's conquest of Gujarat helped him to establish control over Gujarat's overseas trade with the Arabs and the Europeans. Akbar's military campaigns in East Bihar and Odisha and victory over Bengal facilitated access to Southeast Asia and China.

Military Campaigns in the North-West (1585–1605)

Among other conquests of Akbar, the important were the campaigns he launched in the North-West of India. Akbar added Kandahar, Kashmir and Kabul to the Mughal Empire. His battles in the Deccan led to the annexation of Berar, Khandesh and parts of Ahmednagar. Under Akbar, the Mughal Empire extended from Kashmir in the north to Godavari in the south, and from Kandahar in the west to Bengal in the east.

Akbar died in 1605 and his mortal remains were buried at Sikandra near Agra.

Akbar's Religious Policy

Akbar, realising that the gains of affection would be more enduring than the gains of the sword, made all out efforts to win the goodwill of the Hindu nobles and the Hindu masses. He abolished the jizya (poll tax) on non-Muslims and the tax on Hindu pilgrims. He also married a girl of a noble Rajput family. Later, he married off his son to a Rajput girl as well. He appointed Rajput nobles to important and top positions in his Empire. Raja Man Singh of Jaipur was sent as governor of Kabul once.

Akbar treated all the religious groups fairly with generosity of spirit. The Sufi saint Salim Chishti and the Sikh Guru Ramdas received Akbar's utmost respect and regard. Guru Ramdas was gifted a plot of land in Amritsar, where the Sikh shrine Harmandir Sahib was later built. In Ibadat Khana, a hall in the new Fatehpur Sikri city, constructed by Akbar, scholars of all religions met for a discourse.

Contributions to culture

Akbar was a great patron of learning. His personal library had more than four thousand manuscripts. He patronised scholars of all beliefs and all shades of opinions. He extended his benevolence to authors such as Abul Fazl, Abul Faizi and Abdur Rahim Khan-i-Khanan, the great storyteller Birbal, competent officials like Raja Todar Mal, Raja Bhagwan Das and Raja Man Singh. The great composer and musician Tansen and artist Daswant adorned Akbar's court as well.

Jahangir (1605-1627)

Akbar was succeeded by Prince Salim, his son through a Rajput wife, who was also named Nur-ud-din Muhammad Jahangir (Conqueror of the World). Jahangir was more interested in art and painting and gardens and flowers, than in running the government. So Jahangir's wife, Mehr-un-nisa, known as Nur Jahan, was the real power behind the throne. Jahangir carried on to some extent his father's traditions. The toleration of religions of Akbar's time continued in Jahangir's time.

But Jahangir ordered the execution of Sikh leader Guru Arjun (or Arjan) for helping his rebellious son Khusrau, who contested for the throne. This resulted in a prolonged fight between the Sikhs and the Mughals. As a result of this confrontation, the Mughals had to lose control over the trade routes to Afghanistan, Persia and Central Asia. The loss of Kandahar exposed India to invasions from the North-West. Ahmednagar, though conquered by Jahangir, remained a source of trouble throughout his reign.

Jahangir granted trading rights to the Portuguese and later to the English. Thomas Roe, a representative of King James I of England, visited Jahangir's court and this agreement paved the way for the British establishing their first factory in Surat.

Shah Jahan (1627-1658)

Prince Khurram, after a struggle for power, succeeded Jahangir as Shah Jahan (King of the World). Shah Jahan ruled for thirty years.

He led a campaign against Ahmednagar and annexed it in 1632. Bijapur and Golconda were also conquered later. Some Maratha warriors, notably Shahji Bhonsle (Shivaji's father), entered the services of the Deccan kingdoms and trained bands of Maratha soldiers to fight against the Mughals. So there was a sustained resistance in the Deccan to the Mughals from the Marathas too. Shah Jahan was intolerant towards other religions than Islam. In his reign came the climax of Mughal splendour, which is detailed in the next part of this lesson.

Shah Jahan fell ill in 1657 and a war of succession broke out among his four sons. Aurangzeb emerged successful after killing his three brothers, Dara, Shuja and Murad.

Shah Jahan passed the last eight years of his life as a prisoner in the Shah Burj of the Agra Fort.

Aurangzeb (1658–1707)

Aurangzeb, the last of the Great Mughals, started off his reign by imprisoning his old father. He assumed the title Alamgir (the Conqueror of the World). He reigned for 48 years. He was no lover of art like his grandfather Jahangir and architecture like his father Shah Jahan.

He tolerated no religion excepting Islam. He re-imposed the jizya tax on Hindus and excluded them from office as far as possible. Between 1658 and 1681, Aurangzeb remained in the North and suppressed the revolt of Bundelas, Jats, Satnamis and Sikhs. Aurangzeb's expansion in the North-East resulted in a war with the Ahoms of Kamarupa (Assam). The kingdom came under repeated attacks of the Mughals, but it could not be subdued totally.

Relationship with Rajputs and Marathas

Aurangzeb's hostility towards Rajputs led to prolonged wars with them. To make matters worse, his rebellious son, Prince Akbar, joined the forces of Rajputs and created troubles to him. Prince Akbar entered into a pact with Shivaji's son Shambuji in the Deccan. So Aurangzeb had to march to the Deccan in 1689.

In the Deccan, Aurangzeb brought Bijapur and Golconda into submission. Shivaji had carved out a kingdom, proclaiming himself the Emperor of Maratha State (1674). Aurangzeb could not stop the rise of Shivaji in the southwest. But he vanquished Shivaji's son and successor Shambuji, who was captured and executed by him. Aurangzeb remained in the Deccan until his death in 1707, at the age of nearly 90.

By the end of Aurangzeb's rule, the British had firmly established their trade centres at Madras (Chennai), Calcutta (Kolkata) and Bombay (Mumbai). The French had their main trade centre in Pondicherry (Puducherry).

The Mughal Administration Central Administration

The Mughals provided a stable administration in larger parts of India. The Emperor was the supreme head of the Mughal administrative system. He was the law maker, the chief executive, the commander-in-chief of the army and the final dispenser of justice. He was assisted by a council of ministers. The most important officials were the Wakil (Prime Minister) and Wazir or diwan (in charge of the revenue and expenditure). Mir Bhakshi was in charge of the army. The Mir Saman looked after the royal household. The Qazi was the Chief Judge. Sadr-us-Sudr was minister for enforcing Islamic law (Sharia).

Provincial Administration

The empire was divided into several Subhas (provinces). Each Subha was under the control of an officer called Subedar. The Subhas were further divided into districts called Sarkars. The Sarkars were subdivided into Parganas. A group of villages (Gramas) formed a Pargana.

Local Administration

The towns and cities were administered by Kotwals. Kotwals maintained law and order. The administration of villages was left in the hands of local village panchayats (informal institution of justice in villages). The Panchayatdars (jury) dispensed justice.

Army

The Mughal army comprised infantry, cavalry, war elephants and artillery. The Emperor maintained a large number of trained and well-armed bodyguards and palace guards

Mansabdari System

Akbar introduced the Mansabdari system. According to this system, the nobles, civil and military officials were combined to form one single service. Everyone in the service was given a mansab, meaning a position or rank. A Mansabdar was a holder of such a rank.

Mansabdar rank was dependent on Zat and Sawar. The former indicated one's status. Sawar was the number of horses and horsemen he had to maintain. His salary was fixed on the basis of the number of soldiers each Mansabdar received ranging from 10 to 10,000. The Mansabdars were paid high salary by the Emperor. Before receiving the salary, a Mansabdar had to present his horsemen for inspection. Their horses were branded to prevent theft. The Emperor could use the troops maintained by a Mansabdar whenever he wished. The rank of Mansabdar was not hereditary during Akbar's time. After him, it became hereditary.

Land Revenue Administration

Land revenue administration was toned up during the reign of Akbar. Raja Todar Mal, Revenue Minister of Akbar, adopted and refined the system introduced by Sher Shah. TodarMal's zabt system was put in place in the north and north-western provinces. According to this system, after a survey, lands were classified according to the nature and fertility of the soil. The share of the state was fixed at one-third of the average produce for 10 years. During the reign of Shah Jahan, the zabt or zabti system was extended to the Deccan provinces.

The Mughal emperors enforced the old iqta system, renaming it jagir. It is a land tenure system developed during the period of Delhi Sultanate. Under the system, the

collection of the revenue of an area and the power of governing it were bestowed upon a military or civil official now named Jagirdar. Every Mansabdar was a Jagirdar if he was not paid in cash. The Jagirdar collected the revenue through his own officials. The Amal Guzar or the revenue collector of the district was assisted by subordinate officers like the Potdar, the Qanungo, the Patwari and the Muqaddams.

Those appointed to collect the revenue from the landholders were called zamindars. Zamindars collected taxes and maintained law and order with the help of Mughal officials and soldiers. The local chieftains and little kings were also called zamindars. But at the end of the sixteenth century, the zamindars were conferred hereditary rights over their zamin. The zamindar was empowered to maintain troops for the purpose of collecting revenue. The emperor granted lands to scholars, holy men and religious institutions. These lands called suyurghal were tax-free.

Religious Policy

The Mughal emperors were the followers of Islam. Akbar was very liberal in his religious policy. In Akbar's court, the Portuguese missionaries were great favourites. Akbar tried to include the good principles in all religions and formulated them into one single faith called Din-I-Ilahi (divine faith). Jahangir and Shah Jahan also followed the policy of Akbar. Aurangzeb rejected the liberal views of his predecessors. As we pointed out earlier, he re-imposed the jizya and pilgrim tax on the Hindus. His intolerance towards other religions made him unpopular among the people.

Art and Architecture

Babur introduced the Persian style of architecture to India by building many structures at Agra, Biana, Dholpur, Gwalior and Kiul (Aligarh), but only a few of them exist today. Humayun's palace in Delhi, Din-i-Panah, was probably destroyed by Sher Shah Sur who built the Purana Qila in its place. The most prominent monument of Sher Shah's reign was his mausoleum built at Sasaram in Bihar.

The Diwan-i-Khas, Diwan-i-Am, Panch Mahal (pyramidal structure in five stories), Rang Mahal, Salim Chishti's Tomb and Buland Darwaza were built during Akbar's time. Jahangir completed Akbar's tomb at Sikandara and the beautiful building containing the tomb of Itmad-ud-daula, father of Nur Jahan, at Agra.

Shah Jahan's time witnessed the climax of Mughal splendour. The famous peacock throne, covered with expensive jewels, was made for the Emperor to sit on. Then rose the world famous Taj Mahal, by the side of the Jumna river at Agra. Besides Taj, he built the Moti Masjid, the pearl mosque at Agra, the great Jama Masjid of Delhi and the Diwan-i-Khas and Diwan-i-Am in his palace in Delhi.

During Aurangzeb's reign, architecture did not receive much patronage. The Bibi Ka Maqbara in Aurangabad, a mausoleum built by his son Prince Azam Shah as a loving tribute to his mother in the late seventeenth century, is, however, worth mentioning.

Red Fort

Red Fort, also called Lal Qila, in Delhi was the residence of the Mughal emperors. Constructed in 1639 by Emperor Shah Jahan as the palace of his fortified capital Shajahanabad. The Red Fort is named for its massive enclosing walls of red sandstone.



11th vol II
Unit14. The Mughal Empire

Introduction

India had been invaded from the west/ north-west several times over the centuries, beginning with Alexander. Various parts of north India had been ruled by foreigners like the Indo-Greeks, Sakas, Kushans and Afghans. The Mughals, descended from the Mongol Chengiz Khan and the Turk Timur, founded an empire in India which lasted for more than three centuries. But we remember them not as rulers of foreign origin, but as an indigenous, Indian dynasty. Babur was the founder of the Mughal Empire which was established in 1526 after Babur defeated Ibrahim Lodi in the battle of Panipat. Thus a new epoch and a new empire in India began, lasting for nearly three centuries beginning from 1526 to 1857. Six major rulers of this dynasty, Babur, Humayun, Akbar, Jahangir, Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb, known as the “Great Mughals”, left their mark on Indian history. The empire declined after the death of Aurangzeb in 1707. The empire formally ended a century and a half later, when power passed to the British crown after the great revolt of 1857.

At the height of its power the Mughal Empire stretched from Afghanistan to Bengal and from Kashmir down to the Tamil region in the south. Mughal rule created a uniform, centralized administration over the entire country. The Mughals, especially Akbar, created a polity integrating Hindus and Muslims into a unified nation, forging a composite national identity. In addition, the Mughals left behind a heritage of great architecture, literature and art which has enriched India.

Zahiruddin Muhammad Babur (1526–1530)

The race for political supremacy in Central Asia amongst the Uzbeks (Turkic ethnic group), the Safavids (the members of the dynasty that ruled Iran patronising Shia Islam) and the Ottomans (Turkish people practicing Sunni Islam) forced Zahiruddin Muhammad Babur, the ruler of Samarkand, to seek his career prospects elsewhere. Historically the trade conducted by countries of Central Asia through the Silk Route with India had provided the required knowledge about the country (India) they were interested in. Babur who dreamed of repeating what Timur had done a century and a quarter earlier, succeeded in founding the Mughal kingdom with Delhi as its capital in 1526 in the wake of the political disintegration of the Delhi Sultanate.

Babur, a boy of eleven, inherited the throne of Samarkand (now a city in Uzbekistan) from his father. As there were enemies all round him, he lost his throne but soon reclaimed it. But soon he realized that, with the powerful Safavid dynasty in Iran and the Uzbeks in Central Asia, he should rather turn to the southeast towards India to build an empire of his own. As a Timurid, Bābur had an eye on the Punjab, part of which had been Timur’s possession. Between 1519 and 1524 when he invaded Bhera, Sialkot and Lahore, he showed his definite intention to conquer Hindustan, where the political scene also favoured his adventure. After conquering Kabul and Ghazni, Babur crossed the Indus to India and established a small kingdom. The time for invading India was also

ripe as there was discontent among the Afghans and the Rajputs, as Sultan Ibrahim Lodi of the Lodi dynasty was trying to expand his territory. Babur received an embassy from Daulat Khan Lodi, a principal opponent of Ibrahim Lodi, and Rana Sangha, ruler of Mewar and the chief of Rajput Confederacy, with a plea to invade India. When Babur marched to India he first defeated the forces of Daulat Khan Lodi at Lahore as he had gone back on his promise to help Babur.

First Battle of Panipat, 21 April 1526

Babur then turned towards the Lodi-governed Punjab. After several invasions, he defeated the formidable forces of Ibrahim Lodi with a numerically inferior army at Panipat. Babur won this battle with the help of strategic positioning of his forces and the effective use of artillery. Babur's victory provided hopes for him to settle in India permanently. Babur had conquered Delhi and Agra, but he still had to suppress the Rajputs and the Afghans.

Artillery is an army unit that uses large cannon-like weapons, transportable and usually operated by more than one person. Gun powder was first invented by the Chinese and found its way to Europe in the 13th century A.D. (CE). It was used in guns and cannons from the mid-fourteenth century onwards. In India we have no instances of artillery being used in war before Babur.

Battle of Khanwa, 1527

Babur decided to take on Rana Sanga of Chittor, who as ruler of Mewar, had a strong influence over Rajasthan and Malwa. Babur selected Khanwa, near Agra, as a favourable site for this inevitable encounter. The ferocious march of Rana Sanga with a formidable force strengthened by Afghan Muslims, Mahmud Lodi, brother of Ibrahim Lodi, and Hasan Khan Mewati, ruler of Mewar, confronted the forces of Babur. With strategic positioning of forces and effective use of artillery, Babur defeated Rana Sanga's forces. This victory was followed by the capture of forts at Gwalior and Dholpur which further strengthened Babur's position.

Battle of Chanderi, 1528

The next significant battle that ensured Babur's supremacy over the Malwa region was fought against Medini Rai at Chanderi. Following this victory Babur turned towards the growing rebellious activities of Afghans.

Battle of Ghagra, 1529

This was the last battle Babur fought against the Afghans. Sultan Ibrahim Lodi's Brother Mahmud Lodi and Sultan Nusrat Shah, son-in-law of Ibrahim Lodi, conspired against Babur. Realising the danger Babur marched against them. In the battle that ensued along the banks of Ghagra, a tributary of Ganges, Babur defeated the Afghans. But he died on his way from Agra to Lahore in 1530

There is a story about Babur's death. His son Humayun was ill and Babur in his love for him is said to have prayed, offering his own life if his son got well. Humayun recovered.

Estimate of Babur

Babur, the founder of Mughal Empire, was a scholar of Persian and Arabic. Babur's memoirs *Tuziuk-i-Baburi* (*Baburnama*) is considered a world classic. Babur found nothing admirable either in the Afghans who ruled India for some time or in the majority of the people they governed. But his description of India is delightful.

What Hindustan possessed, in Babur's view, is described as follows: 'The chief excellence of Hindustan is that it is a large country and has abundance of gold and silver? Another convenience of Hindustan is that the workmen of every profession and trade are innumerable and without end.'

Babur's dominions were now secure from Kandahar to the borders of Bengal. However, in the great area that marked the Rajput desert and the forts of Ranthambhor, Gwalior and Chanderi, there was no settled administration, as the Rajput chiefs were quarrelling among themselves. So Babur left a difficult task for his son Humayun.

Humayun (1530-1540 & 1555-1556)

Humayun, a cultured and learned person, was not a soldier like his father. He was faced with the problems of a weak financial system and the predatory Afghans. Bahadur Shah, the ruler of Gujarat, also posed a great threat. Humayun's brother Kamran who was in-charge of Kabul and Kandahar extended his authority up to Punjab. Humayun remembering the promise he had made to his father on the eve of his death that he would treat his brothers kindly, agreed to Kamran's suzerainty over Punjab to avoid a civil war.

The growth of Afghan power in the regions around Bihar and Uttar Pradesh under the leadership of Sher Khan (later Sher Shah) made Humayun to initiate action. Defeating the Afghans at Daurah in 1532 Humayun besieged the powerful fort of Chunar. After a period of four months, Humayun, believing the word of Sher Shah that he would be loyal to the Mughals, withdrew the siege. This turned out to be a great mistake.

Humayun spent the succeeding years of his life in constructing a new city in Delhi, Dinpanah, while his enemies were strengthening themselves. Realising the ensuing danger from Bahadur Shah who had annexed Rajasthan and instigated and provided refuge to all anti-Mughal elements, Humayan marched against him. He captured Gujarat and Malwa and left them under the control of his brother Askari. Unable to put down the rebellions of the Gujarati people, Askari decided to proceed to Agra. This alarmed Humayun stationed at Mandu, for he was afraid that Askari would

take Agra for himself. Hence, abandoning Gujarat and Malwa Humayun pursued his brother. Both the brothers reconciled after a meeting at Rajasthan.

When Humayun was deeply engrossed in the affairs of Bahadur Shah, Sher Khan had strengthened himself by defeating the ruler of Bengal. Sher Khan captured the fort of Rohtas and Bengal.

After capturing Chunar Humayun marched to Bengal to confront Sher Khan. When Humayun reached Gaur or Gauda he received information on the rebellion of Hindal, his younger brother. Humayun proceeded to Agra to quell the rebellion. Sher Khan who had been quiet all this time started attacking the army of Humayun. When Humayun reached Chausa with great difficulty there was a full-fledged battle.

Battle of Chausa (1539)

This battle was won by Sher Khan due to his superior political and military skills. Humayun suffered a defeat in which 7000 Mughal nobles and soldiers were killed and Humayun himself had to flee for his life by swimming across the Ganga. Humayun who had arrived at Agra assembled his army with the support of his brothers Askari and Hindal to counter Sher Khan. The final encounter took place at Kanauj.

Battle of Kanauj (1540)

This battle was won by Sher Khan and Humayun's army was completely routed, and he became a prince without a kingdom.

Sher Shah and Sur Dynasty

From the time Humayun abandoned the throne in the Battle of Kanauj to his regaining of power in 1555 Delhi was ruled by Sher Shah of the Sur Dynasty. Born in the family of a Jagirdar and named as Farid, he received the title of Sher Khan after killing a tiger (sher in Hindi). When he ascended the throne, he was called Sher Shah. Through his ability and efficiency, he emerged as the chief of Afghans in India. His military capability and diplomacy made him victorious over Humayun and many other Rajput rulers. Malwa fell without a fight. Rana Uday Singh of Mewar surrendered without resistance. Sher Shah's next venture to capture Kalinjar failed as a gunshot caused his death in 1545. Sher Shah was succeeded by his second son Islam Shah who ruled till 1553. His death at a young age led to a state of confusion about succession. Humayun used this opportunity to regain Delhi and Agra from the Sur rulers.

Sher Shah's Reforms

When Sher Shah was pursuing Humayun, he had left Khizr Khan as the Governor of Bengal. Khizr Khan married the daughter of the former ruler of Bengal, Sultan Mahmud, and started behaving like a king. On his return Sher Shah ordered him to be put in chains. As one familiar with the problem of provincial insubordination, he thought that the real solution to the problem would be to setup a strong administrative system. So he made his government highly centralised. The local administrative structure of the Delhi Sultanate was followed with certain changes. The village headmen who were made responsible for the goods stolen within the area under their control became vigilant. The welfare of the peasants was a prime concern. When the peasant is ruined, Sher Shah believed, the king is ruined. Sher Shah took great care that the movements of the army did not damage crops. He followed a flexible revenue system. Land was surveyed and revenue settled according to the fertility of the soil. In some areas, the jagirdari and zamindari systems were allowed to continue. In yet other places he arranged to collect only a portion of the gross produce.

Sher Shah showed the same concern while dealing with traders. In order to encourage trade, he simplified trade

Jagirdari

It is a land tenure system developed during the Delhi Sultanate. Under the system the collection of the revenue of an estate and the power of governing it were bestowed upon an official of the state.

Zamindari

The term refers to another land tenure system. The word zamindar means landowner in Persian. In Mughal times the zamindars were drawn from the class of nobles. Akbar granted land to the nobles as well as to the descendents of old ruling families and allowed them to enjoy it hereditarily. Zamindars collected revenue from the tenants and cultivators and remitted a fixed amount to the state.

Imposts, collecting taxes only at the point of entry and the point of sale. The standardization of the metal content of gold, silver and copper coins also facilitated trade. His currency system continued through the entire Mughal period and became the basis of the coinage under the British.

For enhancement of trade and commerce Sher Shah maintained a robust highway system by repairing old roads and laying down new roads. Apart from repairing the Grand Trunk road from the Indus in the west to Sonargaon in Bengal, he also built a road connecting Gujarat's seaports with Agra and Jodhpur. A road was laid connecting Lahore with Multan. The highways were endowed with a large network of sarais, rest houses, where the traders were provided with food and accommodation, ensuring brisk commerce. Some of the sarais constructed by Sher Shah still survive. These sarais also ensured the growth of towns in their vicinity.

Sher Shah practiced charity on a large scale. He gave stipends from the treasury to destitute people. Sher Shah was an orthodox and devout Sunni. He is said to have

dispensed justice without bias, punishing the oppressors even if they were nobles or his relatives. Through stern punishments to rebellious zamindars and nobles and to thieves and robbers he ensured effective maintenance of law and order in the empire.

The fiscal administration for which Akbar and Todar Mal have been so highly praised was largely based on the methods of Sher Shah. During his short rule, Sher Shah did not have much time for building new cities and palaces. He started building a new walled city in Delhi, which later came to be known as Purana Qila (Old Fort). He built his own mausoleum in

Humayun's Return from Exile

After Sher Shah's death in 1545 his weak successors ruled for ten years. Humayun, who had fled after his defeat at Kanauj, had taken asylum in Persia. Humayun then went to Afghanistan with Persian troops. He succeeded in capturing Kandahar and Kabul. But his brother Kamran did not allow him to hold them in peace. The struggle between the brothers intensified, and yet in the end Kamran had to seek a compromise with Humayun. Meanwhile the Sur Empire had fragmented, and so Humayun's invasion became easy. The Afghan forces in Punjab, on the approach of Mughals, began to flee. Humayun became the Emperor once again. He died very soon after regaining Delhi when he slipped down the stairs of the library in the fort at Delhi. In the colourful words of Lane Poole, "Humayun stumbled out of his life, as he has stumbled through it."

Emperor Akbar (1556-1605)

During Humayun's wanderings in the Rajputana desert, his wife gave birth to a son, Jalaluddin, known as Akbar, in 1542. Akbar was crowned at the age of fourteen. At the time of Akbar's ascension, the Afghans and Rajputs were still powerful and posed a great challenge. Yet he had a guardian and protector in Bairam Khan.

Second Battle of Panipat

Hemu, the Hindu general of the displaced Afghan king Adil Shah, successor of Sher Shah, induced the king to permit him to lead the Afghan army against the Mughals. Encouraged by the king, Hemu first took Gwalior, expelling the Mughal governor. Then he marched on Agra and captured it without any resistance. Hemu's generosity helped him to overcome potential enemies when he took Delhi. In November 1556 Akbar marched towards Delhi to meet the forces of Hemu in the Second Battle of Panipat. An arrow struck the eye of Hemu when the battle was likely to end in his favour. The leaderless Afghan army became demoralised and the Mughal forces emerged victorious. Hemu was captured and executed. This victory made Akbar the sovereign of Agra and Delhi and re-establishes the Mughal Empire.

Akbar and Bairam Khan

Akbar's rule saw the expansion of the Mughal empire from Kabul to Jaunpur, including Gwalior and Ajmer, under his regent Bairam Khan. Soon Bairam Khan began to behave haughtily towards his fellow nobles. Akbar, enraged by his behaviour issued a farman dismissing Bairam Khan. This led to Bairam Khan's revolt which was ably dealt with by Akbar. Bairam Khan, finally agreeing to submit himself to Akbar, proceeded to Mecca. But on his way he was murdered by an Afghan. The family of Bairam Khan was brought to Delhi and his son Abdur Rahim became one of the luminaries of Akbar's court with the title Khan-e-Khanan.

Akbar's Military Conquests

Akbar laid the foundation for a great empire through his vast conquests. Malwa was conquered in 1562 from Baz Bahadur who was made a mansabdar in Akbar's court. The Gondwana region of central India was annexed after a fierce battle with Rani Durgavati and her son Vir Narayan in 1564. The ruler of Mewar, Rana Udai Singh, put up a great fight before losing Chittor, which was conquered by Akbar after a siege of six months. Rana Udai Singh retreated to the hills. Yet his generals Jaimal and Patta carried on their fight. Finally, the generals, along with 30,000 Rajputs were killed. Out of admiration for the gallant Jaimal and Patta. Akbar honoured them by erecting statues to their memory outside the chief gate of Agra fort. The capture of Chittor was followed by the surrender of Rajput states like Ranthambhor, Kalinjar, Bikaner, Jodhpur and Jaisalmer.

After subordinating the regions of central India, Akbar turned his attention to Gujarat, a wealthy province renowned for its maritime commerce. Akbar conquered Gujarat from Muzaffar Shah in 1573. Gujarat became a launch pad for the annexation of Deccan. After defeating Daud Khan, the Afghan ruler of Bihar and Bengal, both the provinces were annexed to the Mughal Empire in 1576.

Akbar defeated Mirza Hakim of Kabul with the help of Raja Man Singh and Bhagwan Das. His conquest of Kashmir (1586) and Sindh (1591) consolidated the political integration of North India. Akbar turned his attention to the Deccan. Akbar's forces had occupied Khandesh region in 1591. In 1596 Berar was acquired from Chand Bibi, who, as the regent of her nephew Muzaffar Shah, the Nizam Shahi ruler of Ahmednagar, valiantly defended Ahmednagar against the Mughal forces of Akbar. By 1600 parts of Ahmed Nagar had fallen into the hands of Mughal forces. Akbar fell sick in September 1604 and died on 27 October 1605.

Rajput Policy

Akbar took earnest efforts to win the goodwill of the Hindus. He abolished the jizya (poll tax) on non-Muslims and the tax on Hindu pilgrims. The practice of sati by Hindu widows was also abolished. The practice of making slaves of war prisoners was also discontinued. His conciliatory Rajput policy included matrimonial alliances with Rajput princely families, and according Rajput nobles high positions in the Mughal court. A tolerant religious policy ensured the cultural and emotional integration of the people. Even before Akbar, many Muslim kings had married Rajput princesses. But Akbar with his broadminded nature was instrumental in these matrimonial alliances becoming a synthesising force between two different cultures as he maintained close relations with the families.

Akbar had married Harkha Bhai (also referred to as Jodha in popular accounts), the daughter of Raja Bhar Mal (also known as Bihari Mal) of Amber. He also married the Rajput princesses of Bikaner and Jaisalmer. Prince Salim who was born of Harkha Bhai married the daughter of Raja Bhagwan Das. Raja Man Singh, son of Bhagwan Das, became the trusted general of Akbar. Even the Rajputs who chose not to have any matrimonial alliances were bestowed great honours in Akbar's court. His Rajput policy secured the services of great warriors and administrators for the empire. Raja Todar Mal, an expert in revenue affairs, rose to the position of Diwan. Birbal was a favourite companion of Akbar.

Mewar and Marwar were the two Rajput kingdoms that defied the Mughal Empire. After the death of Rana Udai Singh, his son Rana Pratap Singh refused to acknowledge Akbar's suzerainty and continued to fight the Mughals till his death in 1597. The Battle of Haldighati in 1576 was the last pitched battle between the Mughal forces and Rana Pratap Singh. In Marwar (Jodhpur), the ruler Chandra Sen, son of Maldeo Rathore, resisted the Mughals till his death in 1581, though his brothers fought on the side of the Mughals. Udai Singh, the brother of Chandra Sen was made the ruler of Jodhpur by Akbar. Akbar's capital was at Agra in the beginning. Later he built a new city at Fatehpur Sikri. Though a deserted city now, it still stands with its beautiful mosque and great Buland Darwaza and many other buildings.

Mansabdari System

Akbar provided a systematic and centralised system of administration which contributed to the success of the empire. He introduced the Mansabdari system. The nobles, civil and military officials combined into one single service with each officer receiving the title of Mansabdar. Mansabdar rank was divided into Zat and Sawar. The former determined the number of soldiers each Mansabdar received ranging from 10 to 10,000. The latter determined the number of horses under a Mansabdar. Each officer could rise from the lowest to the highest ranks. Promotions and demotions were made through additions or reductions of Mansabs. The Mansabdari system diversified the ethnic base of his nobility. During Akbar's early years the nobles were drawn exclusively from Central Asians or Persians. But after the introduction of the Mansabdari system, the nobility encompassed Rajputs and Shaikhzadas (Indian Muslims). The salary of a

Mansabdar was fixed in cash but was paid by assigning him a jagir (an estate from which he could collect money in lieu of his salary), which was subjected to regular transfers. The rank of Mansabdar was not hereditary and immediately after the death of a Mansabdar, the jagir was resumed by the state.

Akbar's Religious Policy

Akbar began his life as an orthodox Muslim but adopted an accommodative approach under the influence of Sufism. Akbar was interested to learn about the doctrines of all religions, and propagated a philosophy of Sulh-i-Kul (peace to all). Badauni, a contemporary author, who did not like Akbar's inter-religious interests, accused him of forsaking Islam. Akbar had established an Ibadat Khana, a hall of worship in which initially Muslim clerics gathered to discuss spiritual issues. Later he invited Christians, Zoroastrians, Hindus, Jains and even atheists to discussions.

In 1582, he discontinued the debates in the Ibadat Khana as it led to bitterness among different religions. However, he did not give up his attempt to know the Truth. Akbar discussed personally with the leading lights of different religions like Purushotam and Devi (Hinduism), Meherji Rana (Zoroastrianism), the Portuguese Aquaviva and Monserrate (Christianity) and Hira Vijaya Suri (Jainism) to ascertain the Truth. Because of the discussions he felt that behind the multiplicity of names there was but one God. The exact word used by Akbar and Badauni to illustrate the philosophy of Akbar is Tauhid-i-Ilahi namely Din Ilahi. Tauhid-i-Ilahi literally meant divine monotheism.

It can be considered a sufistic order but not a new religion. He had become a Pir (Sufi Guru) who enrolled Murids (Sufi disciples) who would follow a set pattern of rules ascribed by the Guru. Thousands of disciples enrolled as his disciples. Akbar's intention was to establish a state based on the concept of secular principles, equal toleration, and respect to all sections irrespective of their religious beliefs. He set up a big translation department for translating works in Sanskrit, Arabic, Greek, etc, into Persian. The Ramayana, Mahabharata, the Atharva Veda, the Bible and the Quran were translated into Persian. The Din Ilahi ceased to exist after Akbar.

Jahangir (1605-1627)

Akbar was succeeded by his son Salim with the title Nur-ud-din Jahangir. He was Akbar's son by a Rajput wife. His ascension was challenged by his eldest son Prince Khusrau who staged a revolt with the blessings of Sikh Guru Arjun Dev. Prince Khusrau was defeated, captured and blinded, while Guru Arjun Dev was executed. Jahangir also tamed the rebel Afghan Usman Khan in Bengal. Mewar, which had defied Akbar under Rana Udai Singh and his son Rana Pratap Singh, was brought to terms by

Jahangir after a military campaign led by his son Prince Khurram (later to become Emperor Shah Jahan) against Rana Amar Singh, the grandson of Rana Udai Singh. They concluded a treaty whereby Rana Amar Singh could rule his kingdom after accepting the

suzerainty of Jahangir. In 1608 Ahmad Nagar in the Deccan had declared independence under Malik Ambar.

Several attempts by prince Khurram to conquer Ahmad Nagar ended in failure. Prince Khurram had conquered the fort of Kangra after a siege of 14 months. Kandahar, conquered by Akbar from the Persians in 1595, was retaken by the Persian King Shah Abbas in 1622. Jahangir wanted to recapture it. But he could not achieve it due to the rebellion of Prince Khurram. Jahangir's reign witnessed the visit of two Englishmen – William Hawkins and Sir Thomas Roe. While the former could not get the consent of the Emperor for establishing an English factory in India, the latter, sent as ambassador by King James I, succeeded in securing permission to establish a British factory at Surat.

Jahangir was more interested in art and painting and gardens and flowers, than in government. His Persian wife Mehrunnisa, renamed as Nur-Jahan by Jahangir, became the real power behind the throne. The political intrigues that prevailed because of Nur-Jahan, led Prince Khurram to rebel against his father but due to the efforts of Mahabat Khan, a loyal general of Jahangir, the rebellion could not be fruitful. Prince Khurram had to retreat to the Deccan. The intrigues of Nur-Jahan also made Mahabat Khan to rise in revolt which was effectively handled by Nur-Jahan. Mahabat Khan also retreated to Deccan to join Prince Khurram. Immediately after the death of Jahangir, Nur-Jahan wanted to crown her son-in-law Shahryar Khan but due to the efforts of Nur-Jahan's brother and Prince Khurram's father-in-law Asaf Khan, Prince Khurram succeeded as the next Mughal emperor with the title Shah-Jahan. Nur-Jahan, who ruled the empire for ten years, lost her power and influence after Jahangir's death in December 1645.

Shah Jahan (1627-1658)

When Shah Jahan ascended the throne in Agra his position was secure and unchallenged. Yet the affairs of the empire needed attention. The Afghan Pir Lodi, with the title Khanjahan, who had been governor of the southern provinces of the empire, was hostile. Despite Shah Jahan's order transferring him from the government of the Deccan, he aligned with Murtaza Nizam Shah II, the Sultan of Ahmed-Nagar, and conspired against Shah Jahan. As the situation turned serious, Shah Jahan proceeded to the Deccan in person. The newly appointed governor of the Deccan, Iradat Khan, who received the title Azam Khan led the imperial army and invaded the Balaghat. Seeing the devastation caused by the imperial troops, Murtaza changed his attitude towards Khanjahan. Khanjahan thereupon fled from Daulatabad into Malwa, but was pursued and finally slain. Peace thus having been restored in the Deccan, Shah Jahan left the Deccan after dividing it into four provinces: Ahmednagar with Daulatabad; Khandesh; Berar; and Telengana. The viceroyalty of the four provinces was conferred by Shah Jahan on his son Aurangzeb, then eighteen years of age.

Deccan Sultanates

After flourishing for over a hundred years the Bahmani kingdom, that covered much of Maharashtra and Andhra along with a portion of Karnataka, disintegrated and powerful nobles carved out new dominions at Golkonda (Qutb Shahs), Bijapur (Adil

Shahs), Berar (Imad Shahs), Bidar (Barid Shahs) and Ahmad Nagar (Nizam Shahs), which go by the collective name of Deccan Sultanates or Southern Sultanates.

Thus the Deccan was brought under the effective control of the Mughal Empire during the reign of Shah Jahan. Ahmad Nagar, which offered resistance to the Mughals, was annexed despite the efforts of Malik Ambar. Shah Jahan, with the help of Mahabat Khan, subdued the Nizam Shahi rulers of Ahmad Nagar in 1636. When the Shi'ite Qutub Shahi ruler of Golkonda imprisoned his own minister Mir Jumla it was used as a pretext by Aurangzeb to invade Golkonda. A treaty made the Qutub Shahi ruler a vassal of the Mughal Empire.

European Factories/Settlements during Mughal Rule

Portuguese

In 1510, Albuquerque captured Goa from the ruler of Bijapur and made it the capital of the Portuguese Empire in the East. Subsequently Daman, Salsette and Bombay on the west coast and at Santhome near Madras and Hugli in Bengal on the east coast had become Portuguese settlements.

Dutch

The Dutch set up factories at Masulipatam (1605), Pulicat (1610), Surat (1616), Bimilipatam (1641), Karaikal (1645), Chinsura (1653), Kasimbazar, Baranagore, Patna, Balasore, Nagapattinam (all in 1658) and Cochin (1663).

Danes

Denmark also established trade settlements in India and their settlements were at Tranquebar in TamilNadu (1620) and Serampore, their headquarters in Bengal.

French

Surat (1668), Masulipatnam (1669), Pondicherry, a small village then (1673), Chandernagore in Bengal (1690). Later they acquired Mahe in the Malabar, Yanam in Coromandal (both in 1725) and Karaikal (1739).

English

The Company first created a trading post in Surat (where a factory was built in 1612), and then secured Madras (1639), Bombay (1668), and Calcutta (1690). Though the Company had many factories, Fort William in Bengal, Fort St George in Madras, and the Bombay Castle were the three major trade settlements of the English.

In 1638 Shah Jahan made use of the political intrigues in the Persian empire and annexed Kandahar, conquered by Akbar and lost by Jahangir.

The Portuguese had authority over Goa under their viceroy. In Bengal they had their chief settlements in faraway Hugli. Shah Jahan ordered the Mughal Governor of Bengal, to drive out the Portuguese from their settlement at Hugli. About 200 Portuguese at Hugli owned nearly 600 Indian slaves. They had forced many of them to be baptised into the Christian faith. Moreover Portuguese gunners from Goa had assisted the Bijapur

forces against the Mughals. Though the Portuguese defended themselves valiantly, they were easily defeated.

In 1641, Shah Jahan's minister and father-in-law Asaf Khan died. Asaf Khan's sister and Shah Jahan's old enemy Nur Jahan, survived until December 1645, but lived in retirement and never caused him trouble again.

Taj Mahal:

The Taj Mahal, is the epitome of Mughal architecture, a blend of Indian, Persian and Islamic styles. It was built by the Shah Jahan to immortalize his wife Mumtaz Mahal. Mumtaz Mahal died in childbirth in 1631, after having been the emperor's inseparable companion since their marriage in 1612. The plans for the complex have been attributed to various architects of the period, though the chief architect was Ustad Ahmad Lahawri, an Indian of Persian descent. The complex - main gateway, garden, mosque and mausoleum (including its four minarets)- were conceived and designed as a unified entity. Building commenced in about 1632. More than 20,000 workers were employed from India, Persia, the Ottoman Empire and Europe to complete the mausoleum by about 1638-39; the adjunct buildings were finished by 1643, and decoration work continued until at least 1647.

A contemporary of Louis XIV of France, Shah Jahan ruled for thirty years. In his reign the famous Peacock Throne was made for the King. He built the Taj Mahal by the side of the Yamuna at Agra. Europeans like Bernier (French physician and traveller), Tavernier (French gem merchant and traveller), Mandelslo (German adventurer and traveller), Peter Mundy (English Trader) and Manucci (Italian writer and traveller) visited India during the reign of Shah Jahan and left behind detailed accounts of India.

During the last days of Shah Jahan, there was a contest for the throne amongst his four sons. Dara Shukoh, the eldest, was the favourite of his father. He had been nominated as heir apparent, a fact resented by his brothers. Aurangzeb, the third son, was astute, determined and unscrupulous. Dara, professed the Sunni religion, but was deeply interested in Sufism. A war of succession broke out between the four sons of Shah Jahan in which Aurangzeb emerged victorious.

Aurangzeb imprisoned Shah Jahan and crowned himself as the Mughal emperor. Shah Jahan died broken hearted as a royal prisoner in January 1666 and was buried in the Taj Mahal next to his wife.

Dara Shukoh, who lost the battle for the throne of Delhi to his brother Aurangzeb, was known as the Philosopher Prince. He brought different cultures into dialogue and found a close connection between Hinduism and Islam. He translated the Upanishads from Sanskrit to Persian.

Aurangzeb (1658-1707)

Aurangzeb Alamgir (“World Conqueror”) ascended the throne in 1658 after getting rid of all the competitors for the throne, Dara Shukoh, Shuja and Murad, in a war of succession. His reign of fifty years falls into two equal parts. During the first twenty-five years he resided in the north, chiefly at Delhi, and personally occupied himself with the affairs of northern India, leaving the Deccan in the hands of his viceroys. Around 1681 he was prompted by the rebellion of one of his sons, Prince Akbar, to go to the Deccan. He never returned to Delhi, dying disappointed at Ahmad Nagar in 1707.

Aurangzeb conducted several military campaigns to extend the frontiers of the Mughal empire. His wars in the northwest and northeast drained the treasury. Already under his father, the revenue of the crops had been raised from a third to a half, and the extensive and the prolonged military campaigns he waged required him to keep the peasantry heavily taxed. Aurangzeb retained Shah Jahanabad as his capital, but after some two decades the capital was shifted to wherever Aurangzeb would set up camp during his long military campaigns.

In the north there were three major uprisings against Aurangzeb. The Jats (Mathura district), the Satnamis (Haryana region), and the Sikhs rebelled against Aurangzeb. The Jat rebellion (1669), a constant feature even during the reign of Jahangir and Shah Jahan, was crushed temporarily but they remained restive even after the death of Aurangzeb. The Satnamis revolt was crushed with the help local Hindu zamindars. The Sikh (The Punjab) rebellion erupted due to the political intrigues of Ram Rai, a claimant for the position of Sikh Guru, against the incumbent Guru Tegh Bahadur. This finally ended with the execution of Guru Tegh Bahadur, the ninth Sikh Guru.

Aurangzeb’s decision that the jizya (poll tax) should be levied on Hindus of all classes agitated the chiefs of Rajasthan, who had until then served the empire faithfully. The death of Jaswant Singh of Marwar brought about a succession issue. The Rajput queen Rani Hadi, wife of Raja Jaswant Singh, resented the move of Aurangzeb to install Indra Singh, a grandnephew of Jaswant Singh, a titular chief of the state. This led to a revolt with the help of Rathor Rajputs, but was effectively put down. The Rana of Mewar, Rana Raj Singh, resenting the interference of Aurangzeb in the affairs of Marwar rose in revolt and he was supported by Prince Akbar, the rebellious son of Aurangzeb. However, the Rana could not match the Mughal forces and fought a guerrilla warfare till his death in 1680. In 1681 Rana Jai Singh, the new Rana of Mewar, signed a peace treaty with Aurangzeb.

Aurangzeb’s Deccan Policy

The Deccan policy of Aurangzeb was motivated by the policy of containing the growing influence of the Marathas, the rebellious attitude of the Shia kingdoms of Deccan like Golkonda and Bijapur and to curtail the rebellious activities of his son Akbar who had taken refuge in the Deccan. Aurangzeb came to the Deccan in 1682 and remained in the Deccan till his death in 1707. The Adil Shahi ruler Sikkandar Adil Shah of Bijapur resisted the different forces sent by Aurangzeb. Aurangzeb first sent his son Azam Shah (1685) but to no avail. Then he sent another son, Shah Alam to capture

Bijapur. Though Bijapur Sultan, a Shia Muslim, ably defended the fort, he lost in the end, because Aurangzeb himself entered the battlefield and inspired his forces to fight to the finish. Golkonda was captured in 1687 after defeating the ruler Abul Hasan.

Against Marathas

The Marathas under Shivaji were a threat to Aurangzeb. Aurangzeb sent two of his great generals Shaista Khan and Jai Singh one after the other to capture Shivaji. Jai Singh captured Shivaji and took him to Delhi but Shivaji managed to escape to the Deccan. Shivaji, employing guerrilla tactics, defied the Mughal forces till his death at the age of 53 in 1680. Aurangzeb was severely tested by the Marathas till his death in 1707 as the sons of Shivaji continued the rebellion. The death of Aurangzeb in 1707 marked a watershed in Indian history as the Mughal Empire virtually came to end even though the weak successors of Aurangzeb held the throne the next 150 years.

Aurangzeb nursed a grudge against the Sikhs for having supported his brother and principal rival to the throne, Dara Shukoh. Guru Tegh Bahadur, was killed at Aurangzeb's command. In 1680 Aurangzeb sent a formidable army under his son Akbar to subdue the rebellious Rajput kings, but the emperor had not reckoned with his son's traitorous conduct. Akbar, had declared he the emperor, but was compelled to flee to the Deccan, where he enlisted the help of Shivaji's son, Sambhaji. Aurangzeb decided to take to the field himself, and eventually drove his own son into exile in Persia. Sambhaji was captured in 1689 and executed. The Sultanates of Bijapur and Golkonda were also reduced to utter submission.

Towards the end of his reign, Aurangzeb's empire began to disintegrate and this process was accelerated in the years after his death, when "successor states" came into existence. The empire had become too large and unwieldy. Aurangzeb did not have enough trustworthy men at his command to manage the more far-flung parts of the empire. Many of his political appointees broke loose and declared them independent. Aurangzeb's preoccupation with affairs in the Deccan prevented him from meeting political challenges emanating from other parts of the empire. Shortly after the death of Aurangzeb, the Mughal Empire ceased to be an effective force in the political life of India.

Aurangzeb re-imposed jizya. He also issued orders that new temples should not be constructed; but the repair of old long-standing temples was permitted. These measures were rooted not only in his religious faith but also due to political compulsions. Jizya had been levied for a long time in India. As a staunch Muslim, Aurangzeb had discontinued the practise of levying *abwab*, a tax levied on the lands over and above the original rent, not sanctioned by Shariah. Likewise, the order on temples was also an older one whichin practice applied to places where he had political adversaries. In areas where there was no political insubordination, Aurangzeb provided endowments to build temples. It should be noted that during the reign of Aurangzeb the number of Hindu officials increased when compared to the reign of Shah Jahan.

Mughal Society

The population of India is estimated to have been around 15 crores in the 16th century and 20 crores in the 18th century. Large areas of land were under forest cover and the area under cultivation would have been much less. As agriculture was the prime occupation of the society the village community was the chief institution of social organisation. Though the nature, composition and governance of village differed from place to place there were certain similarities in the village administration. The Muqaddam, privileged headman of the village, formed the Panch (Panchayat), an administrative organ of the village. The Panch was responsible for collection and maintenance of accounts at the village level. The Panch allotted the unoccupied lands of the village to artisans, menials and servants for their service to the village.

The middle class consisted of small Mansabdars, petty shopkeepers, hakims (doctors), musicians, artists, petty officials of Mughal administration. There was a salaried class, and received grants called Madad-i-Mash from the Mughal emperor, local rulers and zamindars. This section often became part of the rural gentry and a link between the village and the town. Delhi, Agra, Fatehpur Sikri, Lahore, Ahmadabad, Dacca and Multan were important cities of the empire which could be ranked along with contemporary European cities like London and Paris.

The inequality in the standard of life amongst the privileged and the underprivileged classes was clear. Among the lower strata of society, the men wore just a langota and the women a sari. Footwear was not common. The poor lived in houses made of mud and their diet consisted of wheat chapatis with pulses and vegetables. On the contrary the Mughal privileged class consisting of zamindars and nobles led an ostentatious life. The nobles were Mansabdars who received jagirs or land grants as payment according to their ranks. The jagirdars were exploitative and oppressive in nature. The nobles maintained a large train of servants, large stables of horses, elephants, etc. The nobles lived in fine houses containing gardens with fruit trees and running water. They wore the finest of clothing.

The Zamindars, members of dominant clans and castes with armed retainers, were a dominant class with privilege over lands of the peasants. Abul Fazal in his Ain-i-Akbari enlists the castes that were entitled to be zamindars. While mostly upper caste Hindus and Rajputs were zamindars, in certain localities Muslim zamindars existed. The zamindars had the right to evict the peasants, in default of payment of rent.

In Mughal social structure, the nobles came mostly from Central Asia and Iran. Afghans, Indian Muslims (shaikhzadas), Rajputs and Marathas also obtained the status of nobility. It is estimated that during the reign of Akbar over 15% of the nobility consisted of Rajputs. Raja Man Singh, Raja Todar Mal and Raja Birbal were Rajput nobles of repute during Akbar. The Rajputs appointed Kayasths and Khatri for various positions in government administration. Jahangir, Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb employed Marathas in their nobility. For example, Shaji, father of Shivaji, served Shah Jahan for some time.

There were continuous migrations from Central Asia as there were better career prospects in India. These migrations led to the enrichment of culture through assimilation of diversity. Though the nobility was divided on ethnic lines they formed a composite class promoting a syncretic culture by patronising painters, musicians and singers of both Persian and Indian origin.

The caste system was a dominant institution in the society. Castes at lower levels were subject to much repression. Despite the popular Bhakti movement raising the banner of revolt against discrimination, the deprived and disadvantaged classes, who were landless peasants, were subject to forced labour.

The Hindu women had only limited right of inheritance. Widow Remarriage was not permitted among upper caste women. Along with household activities the women were involved in spinning yarn and helped in agricultural operations. Mughal administration discouraged the practise of sati that was prevalent among communities of the higher caste. Muslim brides were entitled to receive mehr (money mandatorily paid by the groom) at the time of marriage, and also had the right to inherit property, though it was not equal to the share of the male members of the family.

Economy

The Mughal economy was a forest-based agricultural economy. The forests provided the raw materials for the craftsmen. Timber went to carpenters, wood carvers and shipwrights, lacquerware makers; wild silk to reelers and weavers; charcoal to iron miners and metal smiths. Hence the relationship between manufacturing and the forest was very close.

Different classes of the rural population were involved in agriculture. Agriculture was the chief activity in the economy. Landless agricultural labourers without right to property formed almost a quarter of the population. Zamindars and village headmen possessed large tracts of land in which they employed labourers and paid them in cash and kind. Well irrigation was the dominant mode of irrigation.

The Ain-i-Akbari lists the various crops cultivated during the Rabi and Kharif seasons. Tobacco and maize were introduced in the seventeenth century. Chilli and groundnut came later. Pineapple was introduced in the sixteenth century. Grafted varieties of mango came to be developed by the Portuguese. Potato, tomato and guava came later. Indigo was another important commercial crop during the Mughal period. Sericulture underwent spectacular growth in Bengal to the extent that it became the chief supplier of silk to world trade.

As the farmers were compelled to pay land tax they had to sell the surplus in the market. The land tax was a share of the actual produce and was a major source of revenue for the Mughal ruling class. The administration determined the productivity of the land and assessed the tax based on the total measurement. Akbar promulgated the Zabt System (introduced by Todal Mal): money revenue rates were now fixed on each unit of area according to the crops cultivated. The schedules containing these rates for different localities applicable year after year were called dasturs.

The urban economy was based on craft industry. Cotton textile industry employed large numbers of people as cotton carders, spinners, dyers, printers and washers. Iron, copper, diamond mining and gun making were other chief occupations. Kharkhanas were workshops where expensive craft products were produced. The royal kharkhanas manufactured articles for the use of the royal family and nobility. The excess production of the artisans was diverted to the merchants and traders for local and distant markets.

Trade and Commerce

The political integration of the country with efficient maintenance of law and order ensured brisk trade and commerce. The surplus was carried to different parts of the country through rivers, and through the roads on ox and camel drawn carts. Banjaras were specialised traders who carried goods in a large bulk over long distances. Bengal was the chief exporting centre of rice, sugar, muslin, silk and food for its textile production grains. The Coromandel Coast was reputed Kashmiri shawls and carpets were distributed from Lahore which was an important centre of handicraft production. The movement of goods was facilitated by letters of credit called hundi. The network of sarais enabled the traders and merchants to travel to various places. The traders came from all religious communities: Hindus, Muslims and Jains. The Bohra Muslims of Gujarat, Marwaris of Rajasthan, Chettians on Coromandel Coast, and Muslims of Malabar were prominent trading communities.

Europeans controlled trade with the West Asia and European countries, and restricted the involvement of Indian traders. Moreover, the Mughal Empire, despite its vast resources and a huge army, was not a naval power. They did not realise that they were living in an era of expanding maritime trade.

Europeans imported spices, indigo, Bengal silk, muslin, calico and chintz. In return, India obtained large quantities of silver and gold. Mughal silver coinage fuelled the demand for silver.

Religion

The Mughal period witnessed a continuing assertion of all the basic elements in puranic traditions. Though it was difficult to speak of Hinduism as a single body of doctrine, in view of the countless faiths and innumerable customs and practices, having developed in mutual interaction and expressed in a large part in the same language (Sanskrit), the different sects of Hinduism yet shared the same idiom and the same or similar deities. The sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were the centuries of Vaishnavism. Tulsidas (Ramcharitmanas) a great proponent of Rama cult in his popular verses of devotion portrayed Rama as a god incarnate. The expression of bhakti was deeply emotional as the object of bhakti (devotion) was Krishna, an incarnation of Vishnu.

The Bhakti movement made great strides during this period. Poets and saints emerged from various parts of the country. They were critical of rituals, and criticised the caste system. Rather than using Sanskrit for expressing their devotion, they employed the language of the common people. The radical ideas, and the easy but catchy language often set to music made them popular among the masses. Some of the major religious figures like Vallabhacharya and his son Vitthalnath propagated a religion of grace; and Surdas, an adherent to this sect, wrote Sur-Saravali in the local language. Eknath and Tukaram were Bhakti poets from Maharashtra. The Dasakuta movement, a bhakti movement in Karnataka, popularised by Vyasaraya, turned out to be a lower class movement.

The most important figure of the Bhakti movement was Kabir. Said to be a weaver, Kabir propounded absolute monotheism, condemned image worship and rituals, and the caste system. His popular poetry written in a simple language was spread orally across large parts of north India.

An interesting aspect of the Bhakti poets was that they came from lower castes practising craft and service occupations. Kabir was a weaver, Ravidas, a worker in hides, Sain, was a barber, and Dadu, a cotton carder. The Satnami sect in Haryana credited its origin to Kabir and his teachings. While Sanskrit and Persian were the languages of administration and intellectual activity, the vernacular languages demonstrated their literary vitality.

Sikhism

Sikhism originated as a popular monotheistic movement, and evolved into one of the recognised religions of the world. Guru Granth Sahib, the holy book of Sikhs, contained the sayings of Muslim saint Shaikh Farid and of Bhakti poets such as Namdev, Kabir, Sain and Ravidas. Guru Nanak believed in one God who was formless and omnipresent. He condemned image worship and religious rituals. He stressed ethical conduct, kindness to all human beings and condemned caste system.

Sufism

India was a fertile soil for the prevalence of Sufism or Muslim mysticism that had its origin in Iran. It was accepted by the orthodox theologians as long as it fulfilled the obligations of the shariah. Sufism played a key role in creating religious harmony.

Christianity

Along with the European traders came the Christian missionaries like Roberto De Nobili, Francis Xavier. The early missionaries were Catholics. The first Lutheran missionaries under Danish patronage arrived in 1706 at Tranquebar and Ziegenbalg translated the New Testament of the Bible into Tamil in 1714, and soon the Old Testament as well. This was the earliest translation of the Bible in any Indian language.

Science and Technology

The Madrasas continued to be concerned principally with Muslim theology and its vast literature. In great learning centres like Varanasi, astrology was taught and there was no institution in India, as noted by the French traveller Bernier, to the standards of colleges and universities in Europe. This made the imparting of scientific subjects almost impossible. Attention was, however, given to mathematics and astronomy. Akbar's court poet Faizi translated Bhaskaracharya's famous work on mathematics, Lilavati. Despite the presence of Europeans, there was no influence of them on the Indian society during the Mughal period.

The method of water-lift based on pin-drum gearing known as Persian wheel had been introduced during Babur's time. A complicated system of water lift by a series of gear-wheels had been installed in Fatehpur Sikri. Akbar was also credited with popularizing the device of cooling water using saltpetre. He is also the first known person in the world to have devised the 'ship's camel', a barge on which the ship is built to make it easier for the ship to be carried to the sea. Some mechanical devices like the screw for tightening, manually driven belt-drill for cutting diamonds were in use. Agricultural tools continued to be the same, made entirely of wood. In metallurgy, the inability to produce cast iron remained an obvious drawback. As Irfan Habib observed, 'India's backwardness in technology was obvious when the matchlock remained the most common weapon in Indian armies. In Europe the flintlock had long come into use. Indians continued to use the expensive bronze cannon, long after these had become obsolete in Europe. This was because of India's inability to make cast iron even in the seventeenth century.'

Architecture

Architectural progress during the Mughals is a landmark in world art. Mughal buildings were noted for the massive structures decorated with bulbous domes, splendid minarets, cupolas in the four corners, elaborate designs, and pietra dura (pictorial mosaic work). The mosques built during the time of Babur and Humayun are not of much architectural significance. The Sur dynasty left behind a few spectacular specimens in the form of the Purana Qila at Delhi, and the tombs of Sher Shah and Islam Shah at Sasaram in Bihar. The Purana Qila with a raised citadel and the tombs on a terraced platform surrounded by large tanks were novel features.

During Akbar's reign, Humayun's tomb was enclosed with gardens and placed on a raised platform. Built by Indian artisans and designed by Persian architects it set a pattern to be followed in the future. The Agra fort built with red sandstone is a specimen where Rajput architectural styles were also incorporated. The new capital city of Akbar Fatehpur Sikri enclosed within its walls several inspiring buildings. The magnificent gateway to Fatehpur Sikri, the Buland Darwaza, built by Akbar with red sandstone and marble is considered to be a perfect architectural achievement. The mausoleum of Akbarat Sikandra near Agra started by Akbar and completed by Jahangir includes some Buddhist architectural elements. The tomb of Itimad-ud-daula, father of Nurjahan, built by Jahangir was the first Mughal building built completely with white marble.

Mughal architecture reached its apex during the reign of Shah Jahan. The Taj Mahal is a marble structure on an elevated platform, the bulbous dome in the centre rising on a recessed gateway with four cupolas around the dome and with four free-standing minarets at each of its corners is a monument of universal fame. The Red Fort in Delhi, encompassed by magnificent buildings like Diwan-I Aam, Diwan-i-Khas, Moti Mahal and Hira Mahal reflect the architectural skills of the times of Shah Jahan. The Moti Masjid inside the Agra Fort made exclusively of marble, the Jama Masjid in Delhi, with its lofty gateway, series of domes and tall and slender minarets are the two significant mosques built by Shah Jahan. He also established a new township, Shah jahanabad (present-day Old Delhi) where Red Fort and Jama Masjid are located. Aurangzeb's reign witnessed the construction of Badshahi mosque in Lahore and the marble tomb of Rabia ud daurani, known as Bibi-ka-maqbara (Tomb of the Lady) at Aurangabad.

The Shalimar Gardens of Jahangir and Shah Jahan are showpieces of Indian horticulture. Apart from the many massive structures, the Mughals contributed many civil works of public utility, the greatest of them being the bridge over the Gomati River at Jaunpur. The most impressive feat is the West Yamuna Canal which provided water to Delhi.

Mughal architecture influenced even temple construction in different parts of the country. The temple of Govind Dev at Vrindavan near Mathura and Bir Singh's temple of Chaturbhuj at Orchha (Madhya Pradesh) display Mughal influence.

Paintings

The Mughals achieved international recognition in the field of painting. Mughal miniatures are an important part of the museums of the world. Ancient Indian painting traditions kept alive in provinces like Malwa and Gujarat along with the central Asian influences created a deep impact in the world of painting. The masters of miniature painting, Abdu's Samad and Mir Sayyid Ali, who had come to India from Central Asia along with Humayun inspired Indian painters. The primary objective of painting was to illustrate literary works. The Persian text of Mahabharata and Akbar Namah were illustrated with paintings by various painters. Daswant and Basawan were famous painters of Akbar's court. European painting was introduced in Akbar's court by Portuguese priests. During Jahangir's time portrait painting and the painting of animals had developed. Mansur was a great name in this field. The great Dutch painter Rembrandt was influenced by Mughal miniatures. While Shah Jahan continued the tradition of painting, Aurangzeb's indifference to painting led to dispersal of the painters to different parts of the country and thereby led to promotion of painting in the provinces.

Music and Dance

According to Ain-i-Akbari, Tansen of Gwalior, credited with composing of many ragas, was patronised by Akbar along with 35 other musicians. Jahangir and Shah Jahan were patrons of music. Though there is a popular misconception that Aurangzeb was

against music, a large number of books on Indian classical music were written during his regime. His queens, princes and nobles continued to patronise music. The later Mughal Muhammad Shah was instrumental in inspiring important developments in the field of music. Paintings in Babur Namah and Padshah Namah depict woman dancing to the accompaniment of musical instruments.

Literature

Persian, Sanskrit and regional languages developed during the Mughal rule. Persian was the language of administration in Mughal Empire and the Deccan states. It influenced even the Rajput states where Persian words were used in administration. Abul Fazal patronised by Akbar compiled the history of Akbar in Akbar Nama and described Mughal administration in his work Ain-i-Akbari. The Ain-i-Akbari is commendable for its interest in science, statistics, geography and culture. Akbar Namah was emulated by Abdul Hamid Lahori and Muhammad Waris in their joint work Padshah Nama, a biography of Shah Jahan. Later Muhammad Kazim in his Alamgir Nama, a work on the reign of the first decade of Aurangzeb, followed the same pattern. Babur's autobiography written in Chaghatai Turkish was translated into Persian by Abdur Rahim Khan-e-Khanan. Dabistan is an impartial account of the beliefs and works of different religions. Persian literature was enriched by translations of Sanskrit works. The Mahabharata was translated under the supervision of Abul Faizi, brother of Abul Fazal and a court poet of Akbar. The translation of Upanishads by Dara Shukoh, entitled Sirr-I-Akbar (the Great Secret), is a landmark. The Masnawis of Abul Faizi, Utbi and Naziri enriched Persian Poetry in India.

The Sanskrit works produced during the Mughal rule are impressive. Sanskrit literature of this period is noted for the kavyas and historical poetry. Rajavalipataka, a kavya, written by Prajna bhatta which completed the history of Kashmir belonged to reign of Akbar. Graeco-Arabic learning was transmitted to India through Persian works in the form of Sanskrit translations. Akbar's astronomer Nilakantha wrote the Tajika Neelakanthi, an astrological treatise. Shah Jahan's court poet Jaganatha Panditha wrote the monumental Rasagangadhara.

The greatest contribution in the field of literature during the Mughal rule was the development of Urdu as a common language of communication for people speaking different dialects. Regional languages acquired stability and maturity and some of the finest lyrical poetry was produced during this period. Abdur Rahim Khan-e-Khanan composed Bhakti poetry with a blend of Persian ideas of life and human relations in the Brij form of Hindi. Tulsidas who wrote in Awadhi, the Hindi dialect spoken in the eastern Uttar Pradesh, was very popular for his devotional ideals. Marathi literature had an upsurge due to the literary contribution of Eknath, Tukaram, Ramdas and Mukteshwar during this period. Eknath questioned the superiority of Sanskrit over other languages. The verses of Tukaram kindled monotheism. Mukteshwar composed Ramayana and Mahabharata in literary Marathi.

Krishnadevaraya, the Vijayanagar ruler, through his Amuktamalyada (an epic poem on the Tamil woman poet, Andal) and his court Poet Allasani Peddana with his Manu Charitra were the leading beacons of Telugu literature during this period. Malayalam which had separated from Tamil as a language received a separate literary identity during this period. Ramayana and Mahabharata were composed in Malayalam. In Assamese language the tradition of Bhakti poetry was emulated by Shankara Deva who initiated a new literary tradition. Assamese literary works were produced in the fields of astronomy, arithmetic, and treatment of elephants and horses. Ramayana and Mahabharata were also retold in the Assamese language. The Chaitanya cult which portrayed the love of Krishna and Radha in poetic verses promoted Bengali literature. The Guru Granth Sahib, the holy book of the Sikhs compiled by Guru Arjun in which the verses of the Sikh Gurus as well as Shaikh Farid and other monotheists are a landmark in the evolution of Punjabi language.

During this period Tamil literature was dominated by Saivite and Vaishnavite literature. Kumaraguruparar, a great Saiva poet, is said to have visited Varanasi in the late seventeenth century. He composed important literary works such as Meenakshiammai Pillai Tamil and Neethineri Vilakkam. Thayumanavar wrote highly devotional verses with compassion for all humanity and he formulated a sanmargathat tried to bridge differences between the various Saivite sects. The Christian missionaries like Roberto de Nobili and Constantine Joseph Beschi contributed much too Tamil language.

The empire the Mughals built at the national level made an everlasting impact on India as they knit the fragments into a single political unit, well aided by an effective central administration. Multiple identities also got synthesized in the process leading to the evolution of a unique culture that is Indian.

10h Std Unit -7

Anti-Colonial Movements and The Birth of Nationalism

1915. The rising popularity of Annie Besant was the other factor which compelled the moderates to put up a common front against the colonial government. In the Lucknow session of Indian National Congress (1916), it was decided to admit the militant faction into the party.

Tilak set up the first Home Rule League in April 1916. In September 1916, after repeated demands of her impatient followers, Annie Besant decided to start the Home Rule League without the support of Congress. Both the leagues worked independently. The Home Rule Leagues were utilised to carry extensive propaganda through, press, speeches, public meetings, lectures, discussions and touring in favour of self-government.

They succeeded in enrolling young people in large numbers and extending the movement to the rural areas. The Home Rule Movement in India borrowed much of its principles from the Irish Home Rule Movement.

(b) Objectives of the Home Rule Movement

- To attain self-government within the British Empire by using constitutional means.
- To obtain the status of dominion, a political position accorded later to Australia, Canada, South Africa, and New Zealand.
- To use non-violent constitutional methods to achieve their goals.

(c) Lucknow Pact (1916)

The Home Rule Movement and the subsequent reunion of moderate and militant nationalists opened the possibility of fresh talks with the Muslims. Under the Lucknow Pact (1916), the Congress and the Muslim League agreed that there should be self-government in India as soon as possible. In return, the Congress leadership accepted the concept of separate electorate for Muslims.

(d) British Response

The response of the government of British India to the Home Rule Movement was not consistent. Initially it stated that there should be reform to accommodate more Indians in local administrative bodies. As the demand for Swaraj was raised by Tilak and Annie Besant that gained popularity, the British used the same old ploy to isolate the leaders by repressing their activities.

In 1919 the British government announced the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms which promised gradual progress of India towards self-government. This caused deep disappointment to Indian nationalists. In a further blow the government enacted what was called the Rowlatt Act which provided for arbitrary arrest and strict punishment.

I mean by self-government that the country shall have a government by councils, elected by the people, elected with the power of the purse and the government is responsible to the house.... India should demand self-government not based on loyalty to the British government or as a reward for her services in the war but as a right based on the principle of national self-determination.

– Annie Besant (in September 1915)

Unit - 8

Nationalism: Gandhian Phase

Introduction

Mahatma Gandhi arrived in India in 1915 from South Africa after fighting for the civil rights of the Indians there for about twenty years. He brought with him a new impulse to Indian politics. He introduced satyagraha, which he had perfected in South Africa, that could be practiced by men and women, young and old. As a person dedicated to the cause of the poorest of the poor, he instantly gained the good will of the masses. Before Gandhi, the constitutionalists appealed to the British sense of justice and fair play. The militants confronted the repression of the colonial state violently. Gandhi, in contrast, adopted nonviolent methods to mobilise the masses and mount pressure on the British. In this lesson we shall see how Gandhi transformed the Indian National Movement.

Gandhi and Mass Nationalism

(a) Evolution of Gandhi

Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi was born on 2 October 1869 into a well-to-do family in Porbandar, Gujarat. His father Kaba Gandhi was the Diwan of Porbandar and later became the Diwan of Rajkot. His mother Putlibai, a devout Vaishnavite, influenced the young Gandhi. After passing the matriculation examination, Gandhi sailed to England in 1888 to study law. After becoming a barrister in June 1891 Gandhi returned to India as a firm believer in British sense of justice and fair play. His experiences in London had not prepared him for the racial discrimination he would encounter in South Africa.

On returning to India, Gandhi's attempt to practice in Bombay failed. It was during this time that a Gujarati firm in South Africa, sought the services of Gandhi for assistance in a law-suit. Gandhi accepted the offer and left for South Africa in April 1893. Gandhi faced racial discrimination for the first time in South Africa. On his journey from Durban to Pretoria, at the Pietermaritzburg railway station, he was physically thrown out of the first class compartment. Indians were treated only as coolies. But Gandhi was determined to fight.

Gandhi called a meeting of the Indians in the Transvaal and exhorted them to form an association to seek redress of their grievances. He continued to hold such meetings, petitioned to the authorities about the injustices which were in violation of their own laws. Indians in the Transvaal had to pay a poll tax of £ 3, could not own land except in areas marked for them, and could not move outdoors after 9 p.m. without a permit. He launched a struggle against such unjust laws.

Gandhi was introduced to the works of Tolstoy and John Ruskin. He was deeply influenced by Tolstoy's *The Kingdom of God is Within You*, Ruskin's *Unto This Last* and Thoreau's *Civil Disobedience*. Gandhi's ideas were formed due to a blend of Indian and Western thought. Despite being deeply influenced by Western thinkers he was highly critical of Western civilisation and industrialisation. Inspired by Ruskin

Gandhi established the Phoenix Settlement (1905) and the Tolstoy Farm (1910). Equality, community living and dignity of labour were inculcated in these settlements. They were retraining grounds for the satyagrahis.

Satyagraha as a Strategy in South Africa

Gandhi developed satyagraha (devotion to the truth, truth-force) as a strategy, in which campaigners went on peaceful marches and presented themselves for arrest in protest against unjust laws. He experimented with it for fighting the issues of immigration and racial discrimination. Meetings were held and registration offices of immigrants were picketed. Even when the police let loose violence no resistance was offered by the satyagrahis. Gandhi and other leaders were arrested. Indians, mostly indentured labourers turned hawkers continued the struggle despite police brutality. Finally, by the Smuts-Gandhi Agreement the poll tax on indentured labourers was abolished. Gandhi's stay in South Africa was a learning experience for him. It was there that Gandhi realised that people of different religions, regions, linguistic groups could be welded into one to fight against exploitation. After the outbreak of the First World War, Gandhi returned to India.

Gandhi's Early Satyagrahas in India

Gandhi regarded Gopal Krishna Gokhale, whom he had met on previous visits to India, as his political guru. On his advice, Gandhi travelled the length and breadth of the country before plunging into politics. This enabled him to understand the conditions of the people. It is on one of these journeys through Tamil Nadu that Gandhi decided to discard his following robes and wear a simple dhoti. Gandhi before returning to India visited England where he enlisted for the War to offer ambulance services. Considering himself a responsible citizen of the Empire he believed it was his duty to support England in its difficult times and even campaigned for the recruitment of Indians in the army. However, his views changed over the years.

(a) Champaran Satyagraha

In Champaran in Bihar the tinkathia system was practiced. Under this exploitative system the peasants were forced by the European planters to cultivate indigo on three-twentieths of their land holdings. Towards the end of nineteenth century German synthetic dyes had forced indigo out of the market. The European planters of Champaran, while realising the necessity of relieving the cultivators of the obligation of cultivating indigo, wanted to turn the situation to their advantage. They enhanced the rent and collected illegal dues as a price for the release of cultivators from the obligation. Resistance erupted. Rajkumar Shukla, an agriculturist from Champaran who suffered hardships of the system, prevailed on Gandhi to visit Champaran. On reaching Champaran, Gandhi was asked by the police to leave immediately. When he refused he was summoned for trial. The news spread like wild fire and thousands swarmed the place in support of Gandhi. Gandhi pleaded guilty of disobeying the order, and the case had to be finally withdrawn. According to Gandhi, "The country thus had its first object lesson in

Civil Disobedience". He was assisted by Brajkishore Prasad, a lawyer by profession, and Rajendra Prasad, who became the first President of independent India. The Lieutenant Governor eventually formed a committee with Gandhi as a member which recommended the abolition of the tinkathia system, thereby ending the oppression of the peasants by the Indigo Planters.

The success of Champaran satyagraha, followed by his fruitful intervention in Ahmedabad mill strike (1918) and the Kheda Satyagraha (1918) helped Gandhi establish himself as a leader of mass struggle. Unlike earlier leaders, Gandhi demonstrated his ability to mobilise the common people across the country.

(b) Rowlatt Satyagraha and Jallianwala Bagh Massacre

In the aftermath of the First World War, people expected liberal political reforms from the British. The Government of India Act 1919, however, caused disappointment, as it did not transfer real power to the Indians. Besides, the government began to enforce the permanent extension of war time restrictions. The Rowlatt Act was enacted which provided for excessive police powers, arrest without warrant and detention without trial. Gandhi called it a 'Black Act' and in protest called for a nation-wide satyagraha on 6 April 1919. It was to be a non-violent struggle with fasting and prayer, and it was the earliest anticolonial struggle spread across the country. The anti-Rowlatt protest was intense in Punjab, especially in Amritsar and Lahore.

Gandhi was arrested and prevented from visiting Punjab. On 9 April two prominent local leaders Dr. Saifuddin Kitchlew and Dr. Satyapal were arrested in Amritsar leading to protests in which a few Europeans were killed. Martial law was declared.

General Dyer's Brutality

On 13 April 1919 a public meeting was arranged at Jallianwala Bagh in Amritsar. As it happened to be Baisaki day (spring harvest festival of Sikhs) the villagers had assembled there in thousands. General Reginald Dyer, on hearing of the assemblage, surrounded the place with his troops and an armoured vehicle. The only entrance to the park that was surrounded. The brutality enraged Indians. Rabindranath Tagore returned his knighthood. Gandhi surrendered his Kaiser-i-Hind medal.

(c) Khilafat Movement

The First World War came to an end in 1918. The Caliph of Turkey, who was considered the head of Muslims of the world, was given a harsh treatment. A movement was started in his support called the Khilafat Movement. Led by the Alibrothers, Maulana Mohamed Ali and Maulana Shaukat Ali, it aimed to restore the prestige and power of the Caliphate. Gandhi supported the movement and saw in it an opportunity to unite Hindus and Muslims. He presided over the

All India Khilafat Conference held at Delhi in November 1919. Gandhi supported Shaikat Ali's proposal of three national slogans, Allaho Akbar, Bande Mataram and Hindu-MuslamankiJai. The Khilafat Committee meeting in Allahabad on 9 June 1920 adopted Gandhi's non-violent non-cooperation programme. Non-Cooperation was to begin on 1 August 1920.

Non-Cooperation Movement and Its Fallout

The Indian National Congress approved the non-cooperation movement in a special session held in Calcutta on September 1920.

It was subsequently passed in the Nagpur Session held on December 1920, Chaired by Salem C. Vijayaraghavachariar. The programme of non-cooperation included:

1. Surrender of all titles of honours and honorary offices.
2. Non-participation in government functions.
3. Suspension of practice by lawyers, and settlement of court disputes by private arbitration.
4. Boycott of government schools by children and parents.
5. Boycott of the legislature created under the 1919 Act.
6. Non-participation in government parties and other official functions.
7. Refusal to accept any civil or military post.
8. Boycott of foreign goods and spreading the doctrine of Swadeshi.

(a) No-Tax Campaign and Chauri Chaura Incident

Programmes such as no-tax campaigns caught the imagination of the kisans (peasants). Gandhi announced a no-tax campaign in Bardoli in February 1922. These movements greatly enhanced Gandhi's reputation as a national leader, especially the peasants. Gandhi made a nation-wide tour. Wherever he visited there was a bonfire of foreign cloth. Thousands left government jobs, students gave up their studies in large numbers and the lawyers gave up thriving practices. Boycott of British goods and institutions were effective. The boycott of the Prince of Wales' visit to India was successful. During this boycott trade unions and workers participated actively. However, Gandhi suddenly withdrew the movement because of the Chauri Chaura incident.

On 5 February 1922 a procession of the nationalists in Chauri Chaura, a village near Gorakhpur in present-day Uttar Pradesh provoked by the police turned violent. The police finding themselves outnumbered shut themselves inside the police station. The mob burnt the police station 22 policemen lost their lives. Gandhi immediately withdrew the movement. This was done much against the wishes of many congressmen including young leaders like Jawaharlal Nehru and Subhas Chandra Bose who thought the movement was gaining momentum. Gandhi was arrested and was released only in 1924. Gandhi believed that the movement failed not because of any defect in the means employed, viz. non-violent non-cooperation but because of lack of sufficiently trained

volunteers and leaders. Soon after the Khilafat Movement also came to an end as the office of the Caliph (Caliphate) was abolished in Turkey.

(b) Swarajists

Meanwhile Congress was divided into two groups viz. pro-changers and no-changers. Some of the Congressmen led by Motilal Nehru and C.R. Das wanted to contest the elections and enter the legislature. They argued that the national interest could be promoted by working in the Legislative Councils under Dyarchy and wrecking the colonial government within. They were called the pro-changers. Staunch followers of Gandhi like Vallabhbhai Patel, C. Rajaji and others, known as no-changers, wanted to continue non-cooperation with the government. Despite the opposition C.R. Das and Motilal Nehru formed the Swaraj Party on 1 January 1923, which was later approved by a special session of the Congress. Swaraj Party members were elected in large numbers to the Imperial Legislative Assembly and the various Provincial Legislative Councils. They effectively used the legislature as a platform for propagation of nationalist ideas. In Bengal, they refused to take charge of transferred subjects, as they did not want to cooperate with the government. They exposed the true nature of the colonial government. However, the Swaraj Party began to decline after the death of its leader C.R. Das in 1925. Some of the Swaraj Party members began to accept government offices. Swaraj Party withdrew from the legislatures in 1926.

Dyarchy, a system of dual government introduced under the Government of India Act 1919, divided the powers of the provincial government into Reserved and Transferred subjects. The Reserved Subjects comprising finance, defence, the police, justice, land revenue, and irrigation were in the hands of the British. The Transferred Subjects that included local self-government, education, public health, public works, agriculture, forests and fisheries were left under the control of Indian ministers. This system ended with the introduction of provincial autonomy in 1935.

(c) Constructive Programme of Gandhi

After the Chauri Chaura incident, Gandhi felt that the volunteers and the people had to be trained for a non-violent struggle. As a part of this effort he focused on promoting Khadi, Hindu-Muslim unity and the abolition of untouchability. He exhorted the Congressmen, "Go throughout your districts and spread the message of Khaddar, the message of Hindu-Muslim unity, the message of anti-untouchability and take up in hand the youth of the country and make them the real soldiers of Swaraj." He made it compulsory for all Congress members to wear khaddar. The All India Spinner's Association was formed. Gandhi believed that without attaining these objectives Swaraj could never be attained.

Despite the cooperation of the Hindus and Muslims during the Khilafat Movement and the Non-Cooperation Movement, the unity was fragile. The 1920s saw a series of communal riots between the Hindus and the Muslims. Hindu Mahasabha was gaining in popularity under Madan Mohan Malaviya and the Muslim League under the

Ali Brothers. Gandhi undertook a 21-day fast in between 1924 to appeal to the hearts of the Hindus and Muslims involved in communal politics. Serious efforts by Gandhi and Muhammad Ali Jinnah, who at that time believed Swaraj was possible only with Hindu-Muslim unity, failed to stem the communal riots.

(d) Boycott of Simon Commission

On 8 November 1927, the British Government announced the appointment of the Indian Statutory Commission. Composed of seven members headed by Sir John Simon it came to be widely known as the Simon Commission. It was an all-white commission with no Indian member. Indians were angered that they had been denied the right to decide their own constitution. All sections of India including the Congress and the Muslim League decided to boycott the commission. Wherever the Commission went there were protests, and black flag marches with the slogan 'Go Back Simon'. The protesters were brutally assaulted by the police. In one such assault in Lahore, Lal Lajpat Rai was seriously injured and died a few days later.

(e) Nehru Report

The Simon boycott united the different political parties in India. An all party conference was held in 1928 with the objective to frame a constitution for India as an alternative to the Simon Commission proposals. A committee under the leadership of Motilal Nehru was formed to outline the principles on the basis of which the constitution was to be drafted. The committee's report, known as the Nehru Report, recommended,

- Dominion status for India.
- Elections of the Central Legislature and the Provincial Legislatures on the basis of joint and mixed electorates.
- Reservation of seats for Muslims in the Central Legislature and in provinces where they are in a minority and for the Hindus in North-West Frontier Province where they were in a minority.
- Provision of fundamental rights, and universal adult franchise.

Jinnah proposed an amendment to the reservation of seats in the Central Legislature. He demanded that one-third of the seats be reserved for Muslims. Tej Bahadur Sapru supported him and pleaded that it would make no big difference. However, it was defeated in the All Party Conference. Later he proposed a resolution which came to be known as Jinnah's Fourteen Points. However, it was also rejected. Jinnah who was hailed as Ambassador of Hindu-Muslim Unity thereafter changed his stand and began to espouse the cause of a separate nation for Muslims.

The Struggle for Poorna Swaraj and Launch of Civil Disobedience Movement

Meanwhile some congressmen were not satisfied with dominion status and wanted to demand complete independence. In the Congress session held in Lahore in December 1929 with Jawaharlal Nehru as the President, Poorna Swaraj was declared as the goal. It was also decided to boycott the Round Table Conference and launch a Civil

Disobedience Movement. 26 January 1930 was declared as Independence Day and a pledge was taken all over the country to attain Poorna Swaraj non-violently through civil disobedience including non-payment of taxes. The Indian National Congress authorised Gandhi to launch the movement.

(a) Salt Satyagraha Movement

A charter of demands presented to the Viceroy Lord Irwin with an ultimatum to comply by 31 January 1930 included:

- Reduction of expenditure on army and civil services by 50%
- Introduction of total prohibition
- Release of all political prisoners
- Reduction of land revenue by 50%
- Abolition of salt tax.

When the Viceroy did not respond to the charter of demands, Gandhi launched the Civil Disobedience Movement. The inclusion of abolition of salt tax was a brilliant tactical decision. Salt was an issue which affected every section of the society. It transformed Civil Disobedience Movement into a mass movement drawing all sections of the population including women to the streets. At the break of dawn on 12 March 1930 Gandhi set out from Sabarmati Ashram with 78 of his inmates. The procession became larger and larger when hundreds joined them along the march. At the age of 61 Gandhi covered a distance of 241 miles in 24 days to reach Dandi at sunset on 5 April 1930. The next morning, he took a lump of salt breaking the salt law.

Salt Satyagraha in Provinces

In Tamil Nadu, C. Rajaji led a similar salt march from Tiruchirappalli to Vedaranyam. Salt marches took place in Kerala, Andhra and Bengal. In the North West Frontier Province Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan led the movement. He organized the Khudai Khidmatgar, also known as the Red Shirts. Government crushed the movement with brutal force, causing in many casualties. The soldiers of the Garhwali regiment refused to fire on unarmed satyagrahis.

Gandhi was arrested at midnight and sent to Yeravada Jail. Jawaharlal Nehru, Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan and other leaders were swiftly arrested. Soon other forms of protests such as boycott of foreign cloth, picketing of liquor shops, non-payment of taxes, breaking of forest laws etc. were adopted. Women, peasants, tribals, students, even children and all sections participated in the nation-wide struggle. It was the biggest mass movement India had ever witnessed. More than 90,000 people were arrested.

The British enacted the first forest act in 1865. This act restricted the access of the forest dwellers to the forest areas to collect firewood, cattle fodder and other minor forest produce such as honey, seeds, nuts, medicinal herbs. The Indian Forest Act of 1878 claimed that original ownership of forests was with the state.

Waste lands and fallow lands were included as forest. Shifting cultivation practiced by the tribal people, was prohibited. Alienation of forests from local control was stiffly resisted by the aggrieved adivasis (tribals) and the nationalists.

The most striking evidence of continuing struggles of the tribal groups was the one waged by Alluri Sitarama Raju in Rampa. Raju made Adivasi areas in the Eastern Ghats (the forest area along the Visakapatnam and Godavari district) his home. The Adivasis who were organized by Alluri Sitarama Raju lived in abject poverty. They were also harassed by police, forest and revenue officials in 'Manyam' (forest area). Raju's efforts at fighting corrupt officials to protect the interests of Rampa tribals prompted the British to target his life. A special Malabar Police team was sent to quell the uprisings (1922-24) of Rampa Adivasis. Alluri Sitarama Raju attained martyrdom for the cause of forest dwellers.

(b) Round Table Conferences

In the midst of the movement the First Round Table Conference was held at London in November 1930. Ramsay Macdonald, the British Prime Minister, proposed a federal government with provincial autonomy. There was a deadlock over the question of separate electorates for the minorities. The Congress did not attend it as its leaders were in jail. The Conference closed without any decision on the question. It was clear that without Congress participation the discussions were of no value. Gandhi was released unconditionally.

(c) Gandhi-Irwin Pact

Lord Irwin held talks with Gandhi which resulted in the Gandhi-Irwin Pact on 5 March 1931. The British agreed to the demand of immediate release of all political prisoners not involved in violence, return of confiscated land and lenient treatment of government employees who had resigned. It also permitted the people of coastal villages to make salt for consumption and non-violent picketing. The Congress agreed to suspend the Civil Disobedience Movement and attend the conference. Gandhi attended the Second Round Table Conference which began on 7 September 1931. Gandhi refused to accept separate electorates for minorities. As a result, the second conference ended without any result.

(d) Renewal of Civil Disobedience Movement.

On returning to India, Gandhi revived the Civil Disobedience Movement. This time the government was prepared to meet the resistance. Martial law was enforced and Gandhi was arrested on 4 January 1932. Soon all the Congress leaders were arrested too. Protests and picketing by the people were suppressed with force. Nearly 80,000 people

were arrested within four months. The nationalist press was completely gagged. Despite Government's repressive measures it is worth mentioning here in that the movement continued till April 1934.

In the meantime, the Third Round Table Conference was held from 17 November to 24 December 1932. The Congress did not participate in the conference as it had revived the Civil Disobedience Movement.

(e) Communal Award and Poona Pact

On 16 August 1932, Ramsay MacDonald, announced the Communal Award. It provided separate electorates to the minorities, viz. Muslims, Sikhs, Indian Christians, Anglo-Indians and women and the "depressed classes". Gandhi strongly opposed the inclusion of depressed classes in the list of minorities. Gandhi argued that it would not only divide the Hindus but also make the campaign against untouchability meaningless, as they would be considered distinct from the Hindus. However, he supported reservation of seats. B.R. Ambedkar, the leader of the depressed classes, strongly argued for the separate electorate, as it, according to him, would give them political representation and power. On 20 September 1932, Gandhi went on a fast unto death against the separate electorates for the depressed classes. Madan Mohan Malaviya, Rajendra Prasad and others held talks with Ambedkar and M.C. Rajah the leaders of the depressed classes. After intense negotiations an agreement was arrived between Gandhi and Ambedkar. Known as the Poona Pact, its main terms were:

„The principle of separate electorates was abandoned. Instead, the principle of joint electorate was accepted with reservation of seats for the depressed classes.

„Reserved seats for the depressed classes were increased from 71 to 148. In the Central Legislature 18 percent of these seats were reserved.

(f) Campaign Against Untouchability

Gandhi devoted the next few years towards abolition of untouchability. His engagement with Dr. B.R. Ambedkar made a big impact on his ideas about the caste system. He shifted his base to the Satyagraha Ashram at Wardha. He undertook an all-India tour called the Harijan Tour. He started the Harijan Sevak Sangh to work for the removal of discriminations. He worked to promote education, cleanliness and hygiene and giving up of liquor among the depressed class. He also undertook two fasts in 1933 for this cause. An important part of the campaign was the Temple Entry Movement. 8 January 1933 was observed as 'Temple Entry Day'. His campaign earned the ire of the orthodox Hindus and an attempt was made on his life by obscurantist upper caste Hindus. But this did not deter his mission. The work among the depressed classes and the tribals took the message of nationalism to the grassroots.

Beginnings of Socialist Movements

Inspired by the Russian Revolution of 1917 the Communist Party of India (CPI) was founded at Tashkent, Uzbekistan in October 1920. M.N. Roy, Abani Mukherjee,

and M.P.T. Acharya were some of its founding members. The British government in India made vigorous efforts to suppress the communist movement by foisting a series of cases in the 1920s. In a further attempt to eliminate the threat of communism M.N. Roy, S.A. Dange, Muzaffar Ahmed, M. Singaravelar among others were arrested and tried in the Kanpur Conspiracy Case of 1924. The charge on them was "to deprive the King Emperor of his sovereignty of British India, by complete separation of India from imperialistic Britain."

(a) Foundation of Communist Party

The communists used it as a platform to propagate their views and to expose the 'true colour of British rule in India'. In an attempt to form a party an All India Communist Conference was held at Kanpur in 1925. Singaravelar gave the Presidential Address. It led to the founding of the Communist Party of India in Indian soil. The Communists organised workers' and peasants' organisations in different parts of India. A number of strikes were organised in the 1920s. Their efforts eventually led to the establishment of the All India Workers' and Peasants' Party in 1928. The progress in this direction was halted with the Meerut Conspiracy Case in 1929. Muzaffar Ahmed, S.A. Dange, S.V. Ghate, G. Adhikari, P.C. Joshi, S.S. Mirajkar, Shaukat Usmani, Philip Stratt and twenty-three others were arrested for organising a railway strike. They were charged with conspiring to overthrow the British government of India.

(b) Revolutionary Activities

The youths who were disillusioned with the sudden withdrawal of the Non Cooperation Movement by Gandhi took to violence. In 1924 Hindustan Republican Army (HRA) was formed in Kanpur to overthrow the colonial rule by an armed rebellion. In 1925 Ram Prasad Bismil, Ashfaqulla Khan and others held up a train carrying government money and looted in Kakori, a village near Lucknow. They were arrested and tried in the Kakori Conspiracy Case. Four of them were sentenced to death while the others were sentenced to imprisonment.

Bhagat Singh, Sukhdev and their comrades reorganized the HRA in Punjab. Influenced by socialist ideas they renamed it as Hindustan Socialist Republican Association in 1928. Sanders, a British police officer, responsible for the lathi charge that led to Lala Lajpat Rai's death was assassinated. Bhagat Singh along with B.K. Dutt threw a smoke bomb inside the Central Legislative Assembly in 1929. It was not intended to hurt anyone. They threw pamphlets and shouted 'Inquilab Zindabad' and 'Long Live the Proletariat'. He along with Rajguru was arrested and sentenced to death. Bhagat Singh's daring and courage fired the imagination of the youth across India, and he became popular across India. During the Gandhi-Irwin negotiations there was widespread demand to include the case of Bhagat Singh and Rajguru. The Viceroy was not willing to commute the death sentence.

In April 1930, the Chittagong Armoury Raid was carried out by Surya Sen and his associates. They captured the armouries in Chittagong and proclaimed a provisional

revolutionary government. They survived for three years raiding government institutions. In 1933 Surya Sen was caught and hanged after a year.

(c) Left Movement in the 1930s

By the 1930s the Communist Party of India had gained strength in view of the economic crisis caused by world-wide Great Depression. Britain transmitted the effects of Depression to its colonies. The effects of Depression were reflected in decline in trade returns and fall in agricultural prices. The governmental measures included forcible collection of land revenue which in real terms had increased two-fold due to a 50% fall in agricultural prices, the withdrawal of money in circulation, retrenchment of staff and expenditure on developmental works.

In this context, the Communist Party, fighting for the cause of peasants and industrial workers hit by loss of income and wage reduction, and problems of unemployment gained influence and was therefore banned in 1934. The Congress, as a movement with a wide spectrum of political leanings, ranging from the extreme Left to the extreme Right, welded together by the goal of Swaraj, emerged as a powerful organisation. There was a constant struggle between the right and left in the Congress during the 1930s. In 1934 the Congress Socialist Party was formed by Jayaprakash Narayan, Acharya Narendra Dev and Minoo Masani. They believed that nationalism was the path to socialism and that they would work within the Congress. They worked to make Congress pro-peasant and pro-worker.

‘Real Swaraj will come not by acquisition of authority by a few, but by the acquisition of the capacity by all to resist authority, when abused.’ - M. K. Gandhi

First Congress Ministries under Government of India Act, 1935

The Government of India Act 1935 was one of the important positive outcomes of the Civil Disobedience Movement. The key features of the Act were provincial autonomy and dyarchy at the centre. The Act provided for an all India Federation with 11 provinces, 6 Chief Commissioner's provinces and all those Princely states which wished to join the federation. The Act also provided autonomy to the provinces. All the subjects were transferred to the control of Indian ministers. Dyarchy that was in operation in provinces was now extended to the central government. The franchise, based on property, was extended though only about ten percent of the population enjoyed the right to vote. By this Act Burma was separated from India.

(a) Congress Ministries and their Work

The Government of India Act 1935 was implemented with the announcement of elections in 1937. The Congress immensely benefitted because of the Civil Disobedience Movement. The Congress called off its programme of boycott of legislature and contested elections. It emerged victorious in seven out of the eleven provinces.

It formed ministries in 8 provinces – Madras, Bombay, Central Provinces, Orissa, Bihar, United Provinces, North West Frontier Province. In Assam it formed a coalition government with Assam Valley Muslim Party led by Sir Muhammad Sadullah. The Congress Ministries functioned as a popular government and responded to the needs of the people. The salaries of ministers were reduced from Rs. 2000 to Rs. 500 per month. Earlier action taken against nationalists were rescinded. They repealed the Acts which vested emergency powers in the government, lifted the ban imposed on political organisations except the Communist Party, and removed the restrictions on the nationalist press. Police powers were curbed and reporting by the CID on political speeches discontinued. Legislative measures were adopted for reducing indebtedness of the peasantry and improving the working conditions of the industrial labour. Temple entry legislation was passed. Special attention was paid to education and public health.

(b) Resignation of Congress Ministries

In 1939 the Second World War broke out. The colonial government of India entered the War on behalf of the Allies without consulting the Congress ministries. The Congress ministries resigned in protest. Jinnah who had returned from London with the determination of demanding separate state for Muslims, revived the Muslim League in 1934. He was one of the staunchest critics of the Congress Ministries. He declared the day when the Congress Ministries resigned as the 'Day of Deliverance'. By 1940 he was demanding a separate state for the Muslims arguing that in an independent India the Muslims would lose all political power to the Hindus.

(c) National Movement during the Second World War, 1939–45

In 1939 Subhas Chandra Bose became the President of the Congress by defeating Pattabhi Sitaramayya, the candidate of Gandhi. When Gandhi refused to cooperate, Subhas Chandra Bose resigned his post and started the Forward Bloc. The Communists initially opposed the War, calling it an imperialist war. However, with the Nazi attack on the Soviet Union, they called it the 'People's War' and offered cooperation to the British. As a result, in 1942, the ban on the Communist Party of India was lifted.

Hindu Communalism, Muslim Communalism and Indian Nationalism

The Muslim League dubbed the Congress as a Hindu organisation and claimed that it alone was the representative of the Muslims of India. Similarly, the Hindu Mahasabha and the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS) took a pronounced anti-Muslim stance. Both Hindu Mahasabha and Muslim League claimed that the interests of the Hindus and Muslim were different and hostile to each other. The British policy of divide and rule, through measures such as Partition of Bengal, Communal Award, had encouraged the vested interests out to exploit the religious differences. In 1933, Rahmat Ali a student of Cambridge University conceived the idea of Pakistan, comprising the provinces of Punjab, Kashmir, North West Frontier Province, Sind and Baluchistan. Muhammad Iqbal, who was advocating Hindu-Muslim unity later changed his stance and began to campaign for the formation of a separate state for Muslims. Indian Nationalism

represented by Gandhi, Nehru, Vallabhbhai Patel and others opposed the idea of partitioning the country.

Developments leading to Quit India Movement

(a) Individual Satyagraha

In August 1940 Viceroy Linlithgow made an offer in return for Congress' support for the war effort. However, the offer of dominion status in an unspecified future was not acceptable to the Congress. However, it did not want to hamper the British during its struggle against the fascist forces of Germany and Italy. Hence Gandhi declared limited satyagraha which would be offered by a few individuals. The objective was to convey to the world that though India was opposed to Nazism it did not enter the War voluntarily. Vinobha Bhave was the first to offer satyagraha on 17 October 1940. The satyagraha continued till the end of the year. During this period more than 25,000 people were arrested.

(b) Cripps Mission

On 22 March 1942, the British government sent a mission under Cabinet Minister Sir Stafford Cripps as the Japanese knocked on the doors of India. The negotiations between the Cripps Mission and the Congress failed as Britain was not willing to transfer effective power immediately. The Cripps Mission offered:

1. Grant of Dominion Status after the War
2. Indian Princes could sign a separate agreement with the British implying the acceptance for the demand of Pakistan.
3. British control of defence during the War.

Both the Congress and the Muslim League rejected the proposal. Gandhi called the proposals as a post-dated cheque on a crashing bank.

(c) "Do or Die" Call by Gandhi

The outcome of the Cripps Mission caused considerable disappointment. Popular discontent was intensified by war time shortages and steep rise in prices. The All India Congress Committee that met at Bombay on 8 August 1942 passed the famous Quit India Resolution demanding an immediate end to British rule in India. Gandhi gave a call to do or die. Gandhi said, 'We shall either free India or die in the attempt; we shall not live to see the perpetuation of our slavery.' A non-violent mass struggle under Gandhi was to be launched. But early next morning on 9 August 1942 Gandhi and the entire Congress leadership was arrested.

(d) Role of Socialists

With Gandhi and other prominent leaders of the Congress in jail, the Socialists provided the leadership for the movement. Jayaprakash Narayan and Ramanand Misra

escaped from prison and organised an underground movement. Women activists like Aruna Asaf Ali played a heroic role. Usha Mehta established Congress Radio underground which successfully functioned till November 1942. British used all its might to suppress the revolt. Thousands were killed with machine guns and in some cases airplanes were used to throw bombs. Collective fines were imposed and collected with utmost rigour. Gandhi commenced a twenty-one day fast in February 1943 which nearly threatened his life. Finally, the British government relented. Gandhi was released from jail in 1944.

(e) People's Response

As news spread to different parts of India, a spontaneous protest broke out everywhere. The people protested in whatever form that they could, such as hartals, strikes, picketing. The government suppressed it with brute force. People attacked government buildings, railway stations, telephone and telegraph lines and all that stood as symbols of British authority. This was particularly widespread in Madras. Parallel governments were established in Satara, Orissa, Bihar, United Provinces and Bengal.

Though the movement was suppressed, it demonstrated the depth of nationalism and the readiness of the people to sacrifice for it. Nearly 7000 people were killed and more than 60,000 jailed. Significantly it also demonstrated the weakening of the colonial hegemony over the state apparatus. Many officials including policemen helped the nationalists. Railway engine drivers and pilots transported bombs and other materials for the protestors.

(f) Subhas Chandra Bose and INA

Subhas Chandra Bose's INA Subhas Chandra Bose who had left the Congress was now under house arrest. He wanted to strike British hard by joining its enemies. In March 1941, he made a dramatic escape from his house in disguise and reached Afghanistan. Initially he wanted to get the support of Soviet Union. After the Soviet Union joined the Allied Powers which included Great Britain, he went to Germany. In February 1943, he made his way to Japan on a submarine and took control of the Indian National Army. The Indian National Army Captain Lakshmi Sahgal headed it (Azad Hind Fauz) had earlier been organized by Gen. Mohan Singh with Indian prisoners of war with the support of Japanese in Malaya and Burma. Bose reorganised it into three brigades: Gandhi Brigade, Nehru Brigade and a women's brigade named after Rani of Jhansi. Subhas Chandra Bose formed the Provisional Government of Free India in Singapore. He gave the slogan 'Dilli Chalo'. INA was deployed as part of the Japanese forces. However, the defeat of Japan stopped the advance of INA. The airplane carrying Subhas Chandra Bose crashed bringing to an end his crusade for freedom.

The British government arrested the INA officers and put them on trial in the Red Fort. The trial became a platform for nationalist propaganda. The Congress set up a defence committee comprising Nehru, Tej Bahadur Sapru, Bhulabhai Desai and Asaf Ali.

Though the INA officers were convicted they were released due to public pressure. The INA exploits and the subsequent trials inspired the Indians.

Towards Freedom

(a) Royal Indian Navy Revolt

The Royal Indian Navy ratings revolted at Bombay in February 1946. It soon spread to other stations involving more than 20,000 ratings. Similar strikes occurred in the Indian Air Force and the Indian Signal Corps at Jabalpur. Thus the British hegemonic control ceased even in the armed forces. Despite the victory in the War, it left the British completely weakened. British surrender in South-East Asia to the Japanese was a big blow to imperial prestige. All the political leaders were released and the ban on Congress was lifted.

(b) Negotiating Independence: Simla Conference

The Wavell Plan was announced on 14 June 1945. It provided for an interim government, with an equal number of Hindus and Muslims in the Viceroy's Executive Council. All portfolios, except war portfolio, were to be held by Indian ministers. However, in the Shimla Conference, the Congress and the Muslim League could not come to an agreement. Jinnah demanded that all the Muslim members should be from the Muslim League and they should have a veto on all important matters. In the provincial elections held in early 1946 the Congress won most of the general seats and the Muslim League won most of the seats reserved for the Muslims thus bolstering its claim.

(c) Cabinet Mission

In Britain, the Labour Party had won a landslide victory and Clement Attlee became the Prime Minister. He declared that he wanted to transfer power at the earliest. He sent a Cabinet Mission comprising Pethick Lawrence, Sir Stafford Cripps and A.V. Alexander. Rejecting the demand for Pakistan, it provided for a Federal government with control over defence, communications and foreign affairs. The provinces were divided into three groups viz. Non-Muslim Majority Provinces, Muslim Majority Provinces in the Northwest and the Muslim Majority Provinces in the Northeast. A Constituent Assembly was to be elected and an interim government set up with representation for all the communities. The Congress and the Muslim League accepted the plan. However, both interpreted it differently. The Congress wanted the division of the provinces to be temporary while the Muslim League wanted it to be a permanent arrangement.

(d) Direct Action Day Call by Muslim League

Difference arose between Congress and Muslim League when the former nominated a Muslim member. The League argued it was to be the sole representative of the Muslims and withdrew its approval. Jinnah declared 16 August 1946 as the 'Direct Action Day'. Hartals and demonstrations took place which soon turned into Hindu-Muslim conflict. It spread to other districts of Bengal. The district of Noakhali was the worst affected. Gandhi left for the worst affected regions and toured them on barefoot

bringing the communal violence under control and spreading the message of peace and nonviolence.

(e) Mountbatten Plan

The interim government headed by Jawaharlal Nehru was formed in September 1946. After some hesitation the Muslim League joined it in October 1946. Its representative Liaqat Ali Khan was made the Finance Member. In February 1947, Clement Atlee declared that power would be transferred by June 1948. Lord Mountbatten was sent as Viceroy to India with the specific task of transfer of power. On 3 June 1947 the Mountbatten Plan was announced. It proposed:

- Power would be transferred on the basis of dominion status to India and Pakistan.
- Princely states would have to join either India or Pakistan.
- Boundary commission was to be set up under Radcliffe Brown and the award would be announced after the transfer of power.
- Punjab and Bengal Legislative Assemblies would vote on whether they should be partitioned.

(f) Independence and Partition

The Mountbatten Plan was given effect by the enactment of the Indian Independence Act on 18 July 1947 by the British Parliament. The Act abolished the sovereignty of the British Parliament over India. India was partitioned into two dominions – India and Pakistan. On 15 August 1947 India won independence.

12TH HISTORY

1. Rise of Nationalism in India

Introduction

The political and economic centralisation of India achieved by the British for the better exploitation and control of India inevitably led to the growth of national consciousness and the birth of the national movement. The history of nationalism in India begins with the campaigns and struggles for social reforms in the nineteenth century followed by the Western-educated Indians' prayers and petitions for political liberties. With the return of Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi from South Africa in 1915, and his leadership of the Indian nationalist movement in 1919 Indian nationalism entered a mass phase.

Prior to Gandhi, prominent leaders like Dadabhai Naoroji, Gopal Krishna Gokhale, Bipin Chandra Pal, Lala Lajpat Rai, Bal Gangadhar Tilak, and others took the early initiative to educate the Indians about their national identity and colonial exploitation. In this chapter, while tracing the origin and growth of Indian Nationalism, we focus on the contribution of these leaders who are known as the early nationalists.

Broadly, nationalism means loyalty and devotion to a nation. It is a consciousness or tendency to exalt and place one nation above all others, emphasising promotion of its culture and interests as opposed to those of other nations

Socio-economic Background

(a) Implications of the New Land Tenures

The British destroyed the traditional basis of Indian land system. In the pre-British days, the land revenue was realised by sharing the actual crop with the cultivators. The British fixed the land revenue in cash without any regard to various contingencies, such as failure of crops, fall in prices and droughts or floods. Moreover, the practice of sale in settlement of debt encouraged money lenders to advance money to landholders and resorting to every kind of trickery to rob them of their property.

There were also two other major implications of the new land settlements introduced by the East India Company. They institutionalised the commodification of land and commercialisation of agriculture in India. As mentioned earlier, there was no private property in land in pre-British era. Now, land became a commodity that could be transferred either by way of buying and selling or by way of the administration taking over land from holders, in lieu of default on payment of tax/rent. Land taken over in such cases was auctioned off to another bidder. This created a new class of absentee landlords who lived in the cities and extracted revenue from the lands without actually living on the lands. In the traditional agricultural set-up, the villagers produced largely

for their consumption among themselves. After the new land settlements, agricultural produce was predominantly for the market.

The commodification of land and commercialisation of agriculture did not improve the lives and conditions of the peasants. Instead, this created discontent among the peasantry and made them restive. These peasants later on turned against the imperialists and their collaborators.

(b) Laissez Faire Policy and De-industrialization: Impact on Indian Artisans

The policy of the Company in the wake of Industrial Revolution in England resulted in the de-industrialization of India. This continued until the beginning of the World War I. The British Government pursued a policy of free trade or laissez faire. Raw materials like cotton, jute and silks from India were taken to Britain. The finished products made from those raw materials were then transported back to the Indian markets. Mass production with the help of technological advancement enabled them to flood the Indian market with their goods. It was available at a comparatively cheaper price than the Indian handloom cloth. Prior to the arrival of the British, India was known for its handloom products and handicrafts. It commanded a good world market. However, as a result of the colonial policy, gradually Indian handloom products and handicrafts lost their market, domestic as well as international. Import of English articles into India threw the weavers, the cotton dressers, the carpenters, the blacksmiths and the shoemakers out of employment. India became a procurement area for the raw material and the farmers were forced to produce industrial crops like indigo and other cash crops like cotton for use in British factories. Due to this shift, subsistence agriculture, which was the mainstay for several hundred years, suffered leading to food scarcity.

The Indigo revolt of 1859-60 was one of the responses from the Indian farmer to the oppressive policy of the British. Indian tenants were forced to grow indigo by their planters who were mostly Europeans. Used to dye the clothes indigo was in high demand in Europe. Peasants were forced to accept meagre amounts as advance and enter into unfair contracts. Once a peasant accepted the contract, he had no option but to grow indigo on his land. The price paid by the planter was far lower than the market price. Many a times, the peasants could not even pay their land revenue dues. Hoping that the authorities would address their concerns, the peasants wrote several petitions to authorities and organised peaceful protests. As their plea for reform went in vain, they revolted by refusing to accept any further advances and enter into new contracts. Peasants, through the Indigo revolt of 1859-60, were able to force the planters to withdraw from northern-Bengal.

(c) Famines and Emigration of Indians to Overseas British Colonies **Famines**

As India became increasingly de-industrialised and weavers and artisans engaged in handicrafts were thrown out of employment, there were recurrent famines due to the neglect of irrigation and oppressive taxation on land. Before the arrival of the British,

Indian rulers had ameliorated the difficulties of the populace in times of famines by providing tax relief, regulating the grain prices and banning food exports from famine-hit areas. But the British extended their policy of non-intervention (*laissez faire*) even to famines. As a result, millions of people died of starvation during the Raj. It has been estimated that between 1770 and 1900, twenty five million Indians died in famines. William Digby, the editor of Madras Times, pointed out that during 1793-1900 alone an estimated five million people had died in all the wars around the world, whereas in just ten years (1891-1900), nineteen million had died in India in famines alone.

Sadly when people were dying of starvation millions of tonnes of wheat was exported to Britain. During the 1866 Orissa Famine, for instance, while a million and a half people starved to death, the British exported 200 million pounds of rice to Britain. The Orissa Famine prompted nationalist Dadabhai Naoroji to begin his lifelong investigations into Indian poverty. The failure of two successive monsoons caused a severe famine in the Madras Presidency during 1876-78. The viceroy Lytton adopted a hands-off approach similar to that followed in Orissa. An estimated 3.5 million people died in the Madras presidency.

Indentured Labour

The introduction of plantation crops such as coffee, tea and sugar in Empire colonies such as Ceylon (Sri Lanka), Mauritius, Fiji, Malaya, the Caribbean islands, and South Africa required enormous labour. In 1815, the Governor of Madras received a communication from the Governor of Ceylon asking for “coolies” to work on the coffee plantations. The Madras Governor forwarded this letter to the collector of Thanjavur, who reported that the people were very much attached to the soil and unless some incentive was provided it was not easy to make them move out of their native soil. But the outbreak of two famines (1833 and 1843) forced the people, without any prompting from the government, to leave for Ceylon to work as coolies in coffee and tea plantations under the indentured labour system. The abolition of slavery in British India in 1843 also facilitated the processes of emigration to Empire colonies. In 1837 the number of immigrant Tamil labourers employed in Ceylon coffee estate was estimated at 10,000. The industry developed rapidly and so did the demand for Tamil labour. In 1846 its presence was estimated at 80,000 and in 1855 at 128,000 persons. In 1877, the famine year, there were nearly 380,000 Tamil labourers in Ceylon. Besides Ceylon, many Indians opted to emigrate as indentured labour to other British colonies such as Mauritius, Straits Settlements, Caribbean islands, Trinidad, Fiji and South Africa. In 1843 it was officially reported that 30,218 male and 4,307 females had entered Mauritius as indentured labourers. By the end of the century some 500,000 labourers had moved from India to Mauritius.

Indentured Labour: Under this penal contract system (indenture), labourers were hired for a period of five years and they could return to their homeland with passage paid at the end. Many impoverished peasants and weavers went hoping to earn some money. It turned out to be as worse than slave labour. The colonial state allowed agents (*kanganis*) to trick or kidnap indigent landless labourers. The labourers suffered terribly on the long sea voyages and many died on the way. The percentage of deaths of indentured labour during 1856-57, in a ship bound for Trinidad from Kolkata is as follows: 12.3% of all males, 18.5% of the females, 28% of the boys 36% of the girls and 55% of the infants perished.



(a) Education in Pre-British India

Education in pre-colonial India was characterised by segmentation along religious and caste lines. Among the Hindus, Brahmins had the exclusive privilege to acquire higher religious and philosophical knowledge. They monopolised the education system and occupied positions in the society, primarily as priests and teachers. They studied in special seminaries such as Vidyalyayas and Chatuspathis. The medium of instruction was Sanskrit, which was considered as the sacred language. Technical knowledge – especially in relation to architecture, metallurgy, etc. – was passed hereditarily. This came in the way of innovation. Another shortcoming of this system was that it barred women, lower castes and other under-privileged people from accessing education. The emphasis on rote learning was another impediment to innovation.

(b) Contribution of Colonial State: Macaulay System of Education

The colonial government aided the spread of modern education in India for a different reason than educating and empowering the Indians. To administer a large colony like India, the British needed a large number of personnel to work for them. It was impossible for the British to import the educated lot, needed in such large numbers, from Britain. With this aim, the English Education Act was passed by the Council of India in 1835. T.B. Macaulay drafted this system of education introduced in India. Consequently, the colonial administration started schools, colleges and universities, imparting English and modern education, in India. Universities were established in Bombay, Madras and Calcutta in 1857. The colonial government expected this section of educated Indians to be loyal to the British and act as the pillars of the British Raj.

T. B. Macaulay was India's first law member of the Governor General in Council from 1834 to 1838. Before Macaulay arrived in India the General Committee of Public Instruction was formed in 1823 with the responsibility to guide the East India Company on the matter of education and the medium of instruction. The Committee was split into two groups. The Orientalist group advocated education in vernacular languages. The Anglicists advocated Western education in English.

Macaulay was on the side of Anglicists and wrote his famous 'Minute on Indian Education' in 1835. In this Minute, he argued for Western education in the English language. His intention behind supporting the Anglicists was that he wanted to create a class of persons from within India who would 'be Indian in blood and colour, but English in taste, in opinion, in morals and in intellect'.

The British created an educated Indian middle class for their own ends but sneered at it as the Babu class. That very class, however, became the progressive

intelligentsia of India and played a leading role in mobilising the people for the liberation of the country.



(c) Role of Educated Middle Class

The economic and administrative transformation on the one side and the growth of Western education on the other gave the space for the growth of new social classes. From within these social classes, a modern Indian intelligentsia emerged. The “neo-social classes” created by the British Raj, which included the Indian trading and business communities, landlords, money lenders, English-educated Indians employed in imperial subordinate services, lawyers and doctors, initially adopted a positive approach towards the colonial administration. However, soon they realised that their interests would be better served only in independent India. People of the said social classes began to play a prominent role in promoting patriotism amongst the people. The consciousness of these classes found articulation in a number of associations prior to the founding of the Indian National Congress at the national level.

Raja Ram Mohan Roy, Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar, Swami Vivekananda, Aurobindo Ghose, Gopala Krishna Gokhale, Dadabhai Naoroji, Feroz Shah Mehta, Surendra Nath Banerjea and others who belonged to modern Indian intelligentsia led the social, religious and political movements in India. Educated Indians had exposure to ideas of nationalism, democracy, socialism, etc. articulated by John Locke, James Stuart Mill, Mazzini, Garibaldi, Rousseau, Thomas Paine, Marx and other western intellectuals. The right of a free press, the right of free speech and the right of association were the three inherent rights, which their European counterparts held dear to their heart, and the educated Indians too desired to cling to. Various forums came into existence, where people could meet and discuss the issues affecting their interests. This became possible now at the national level, due to the rapid expansion of transport network and establishment of postal, telegraph and wireless services all over India.

(d) Contribution of Missionaries

One of the earliest initiatives to impart modern education among Indians was taken up by the Christian missionaries. Inspired by the proselytizing spirit, they attacked polytheism and caste inequalities that were prevalent among the Hindus. One of the methods adopted by the missionaries, to preach Christianity, was through modern secular education. They provided opportunities to acquire education to the underprivileged and the marginalised sections, who were denied learning opportunities in the traditional education system. However only a very small fraction converted to Christianity. But the challenge posed by Christianity led to various social and religious reform movements.

Social and Religious Reforms

The English educated intelligentsia felt the need for reforming the society before involving the people in any political programmes. The reform movements of nineteenth century are categorised as 1. Reformist movements such as the Brahmo Samaj founded by Raja Ram Mohan Roy, the Prarthana Samaj, founded by Dr Atmaram Pandurang and the Aligarh Movement, represented by Syed Ahmad Khan; 2. Revivalist movements

such as the Arya Samaj, the Ramakrishna Mission and the Deoband Movement. 3. There were social movements led by Jyotiba Phule in Pune, Narayana Guru and Ayyankali in Kerala and Ramalinga Adigal, Vaikunda Swamigal and later Iyothee Thassar in Tamilnadu. All these reformers and their contributions have been dealt with comprehensively in the XI Std. text book.

The reformers of nineteenth century responded to the challenge posed by Western Enlightenment knowledge based on reason. Indian national consciousness emerged as a result of the rethinking triggered by these reforms. The Brahmo Samaj was founded by Ram Mohan Roy in 1828. Other socio-cultural organisations like the Prarthana Samaj (1867), the Arya Samaj (1875) were founded subsequently. Roy's initiative was followed up by reformers like Keshav Chandra Sen and Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar. Abolition of sati and child marriage and widow remarriage became the main concerns for these reformers. The Aligarh movement played a similar role among the Muslims. Slowly, organisations and associations of political nature came up in different parts of British India to vent the grievances of the people.

(a) Memories of 1857

Indian national movement dates its birth from the 1857 uprising. The outrages committed by the British army after putting down the revolt remained "un-avenged". Even the court-martial law and formalities were not observed. Officers who sat on the court martial swore that they would hang their prisoners, guilty or innocent and, if any dared to raise his voice against such indiscriminate vengeance, he was silenced by his angry colleagues. Persons condemned to death after the mockery of a trial were often tortured by soldiers before their execution, while the officers looked on approvingly. It is worth recalling what Elphinstone, Governor of Bombay Presidency, wrote to Sir John Lawrence, future Viceroy of India (1864) about the British siege of Delhi during June-September, 1857: '...A wholesale vengeance is being taken without distinction of friend or foe. As regards the looting, we have indeed surpassed Nadirshah.'

(b) Racial Discrimination

The English followed a policy of racial discrimination. The systematic exclusion of the Indians from higher official positions came to be looked upon as an anti-Indian policy measure and the resultant discontent of the Indian upper classes led the Indians to revolt against the British rule. When civil service examinations were introduced the age limit was fixed at twenty one. When Indians were making it, with a view to debarring the Indians from entering the civil services, the age limit was reduced to nineteen. Similarly, despite requests from Indian educated middle class to hold the civil service examinations simultaneously in India, the Imperial government refused to concede the request.

(c) Repressive as well as Exploitative Measures against Indians

Repressive regulations like Section 124A of the Indian Penal Code (1870), punishing attempts to excite disaffection towards the Government, and the Vernacular Press Act (1878), censoring the press, evoked protest. Abolition of custom duty on cotton manufactures imported from England and levy of excise duty on cotton fabrics manufactured in India created nationwide discontent. During the viceroyalty of Ripon the Indian judges were empowered through the Ilbert Bill to try Europeans. But in the face of resistance from the Europeans the bill was amended to suit the European interests.

(d) Role of Press

The introduction of printing press in India was an event of great significance. It helped people to spread, modern ideas of self-government, democracy, civil rights and industrialisation. The press became the critic of politics. It addressed the people on several issues affecting the country. Raja Rammohan Roy's Sambad Kaumudi (1821) in Bengali and Mirat-ul-Akbar (1822) in Persian played a progressive role in educating the people on issues of public importance. Later on a number of nationalist and vernacular news papers came to be launched to build public opinion and they did yeomen service in fostering nationalist consciousness. Among them Amrit Bazaar Patrika, The Bombay Chronicle, The Tribune, The Indian Mirror, The Hindu and Swadesamitran were prominent.

(e) Invoking India's glorious Past

Orientalists like William Jones, Charles Wilkins and Max Muller explored and translated religious, historical and literary texts from Sanskrit, Persian and Arabic into English and made them available to all. Influenced by the richness of Indian traditions and scholarship, many of the early nationalists made a fervent plea to revive the pristine glory of India. Aurobindo Ghose would write, 'The mission of Nationalism, in our view, is to recover Indian thought, Indian character, Indian perceptions, Indian energy, Indian greatness and to solve the problems that perplex the world in an Indian spirit and from the Indian standpoint.'

(a) Madras Native Association

One of the first attempts to organise and vent the grievances against the British came through the formation of the Madras Native Association (MNA) on 26 February 1852. An association of landed and business classes of the Madras Presidency, they expressed their grievances against the Company's administration in the revenue, education and judicial spheres. Gajula Lakshminarasu, who inspired the foundation of MNA, was a prominent businessman in Madras city.

The Association presented its grievances before British Parliament when it was discussing the East India Company's rule in India before the passing of the Charter in 1853. In a petition submitted in December 1852, the MNA pointed out that the ryotwari and zamindari systems had thrown agricultural classes into deep distress. It urged the revival of the ancient village system to free the peasantry from the oppressive

interference of the zamindars and the Company officials. The petition also made a complaint about the judicial system which was slow, complicated and imperfect. It pointed out that the appointment of judges without assessing their judicial knowledge and competence in the local languages affected the efficiency of the judiciary. The diversion of state funds to missionary schools, under the grants-in-aid system, was also objected to in the petition.

The MNA petition was discussed in the Parliament in March 1853. H. D. Seymour, Chairman of the Indian Reform Society, came to Madras in October 1853. He visited places like Guntur, Cuddalore, Tiruchirappalli, Salem and Tirunelveli. However, as the Charter Act of 1853 allowed British East India Company to continue its rule in India, the MNA organised an agitation for the transfer of British territories in India to the direct control of the Crown. MNA sent its second petition to British Parliament, signed by fourteen thousand individuals, pleading the termination of Company rule in India.

The life of MNA was short. Lakshminarasu died in 1866 and by 1881, the association ceased to exist. Though the MNA did not achieve much in terms of reforms, it was the beginning of organised effort to articulate Indian opinion. In its lifetime, the MNA operated within the boundaries of Madras Presidency. The grievances that the MNA raised through its petitions and the agitations it launched were from the point of view of the elite, particularly the landed gentry of Madras Presidency. What was lacking was a national political organisation representing every section of the society, an organisation that would raise the grievances and agitate against the colonial power for their redress. The Indian National Congress filled this void.

(b) Madras Mahajana Sabha (MMS)

After the Madras Native Association became defunct there was no such public organisation in the Madras Presidency. As many educated Indians viewed this situation with dismay, the necessity for a political organisation was felt and in May 1884 the Madras Mahajana Sabha was organised. In the inaugural meeting held on 16 May 1884 the prominent participants were: G. Subramaniam, Viraraghavachari, Ananda Charlu, Rangiah, Balaji Rao and Salem Ramaswamy. With the launch of the Indian National Congress, after the completion of the second provincial conference of Madras Mahajana Sabha, the leaders after attending the first session of the Indian National Congress (INC) in Bombay amalgamated the MMS with the INC.

(c) Indian National Congress (INC)

The idea of forming a political organisation that would raise issues and grievances against the colonial rule did not emerge in a vacuum. Between 1875 and 1885 there were many agitations against British policies in India. The Indian textile industry was campaigning for imposition of cotton import duties in 1875. In 1877, demands for the Indianisation of Government services were made vociferously. There were protests

against the Vernacular Press Act of 1878. In 1883, there was an agitation in favour of the Ilbert Bill.

But these agitations and protests were sporadic and not coordinated. There was a strong realisation that these protests would not impact on the policy makers unless a national political organisation was formed. From this realisation was born the Indian National Congress. The concept of India as a nation was reflected in the name of the organisation. It also introduced the concept of nationalism.

In December 1884, Allan Octavian Hume, a retired English ICS officer, presided over a meeting of the Theosophical Society in Madras. The formation of a political organisation that would work on an all India basis was discussed and the idea of forming the Indian National Congress emerged in this meeting. The Indian National Congress was formed on 28 December 1885 in Bombay. Apart from A.O Hume, another important founding member was W C. Bonnerjee, who was elected the first president.

Though the activities of the INC then revolved around petitions and memoranda, from the very beginning the founders of the INC worked to bring every section of the society into its ambit. One of the main missions of the INC was to weld the Indians into a nation. They were convinced that the struggle against the colonial rule will be successful only if Indians saw themselves as the members of a nation. To achieve this, the INC acted as a common political platform for all the movements that were being organised in different parts of the country. The INC provided the space where the political workers from different parts of the country could gather and conduct their political activities under its banner. Even though the organization was small with less than a hundred members, it had an all-India character with representation from all regions of India. It was the beginning of the mobilisation of people on an all-India basis.

The major objectives and demands of INC were

Constitutional

Opportunity for participation in the government was one of the major demands of the Indian National Congress. It demanded Indian representation in the government.

Economic

High land revenue was one of the major factors that contributed to the oppression of the peasants. It demanded reduction in the land revenue and protection of peasants against exploitation of the zamindars. The Congress also advocated the imposition of heavy tax on the imported goods for the benefit of swadeshi goods.

Administrative

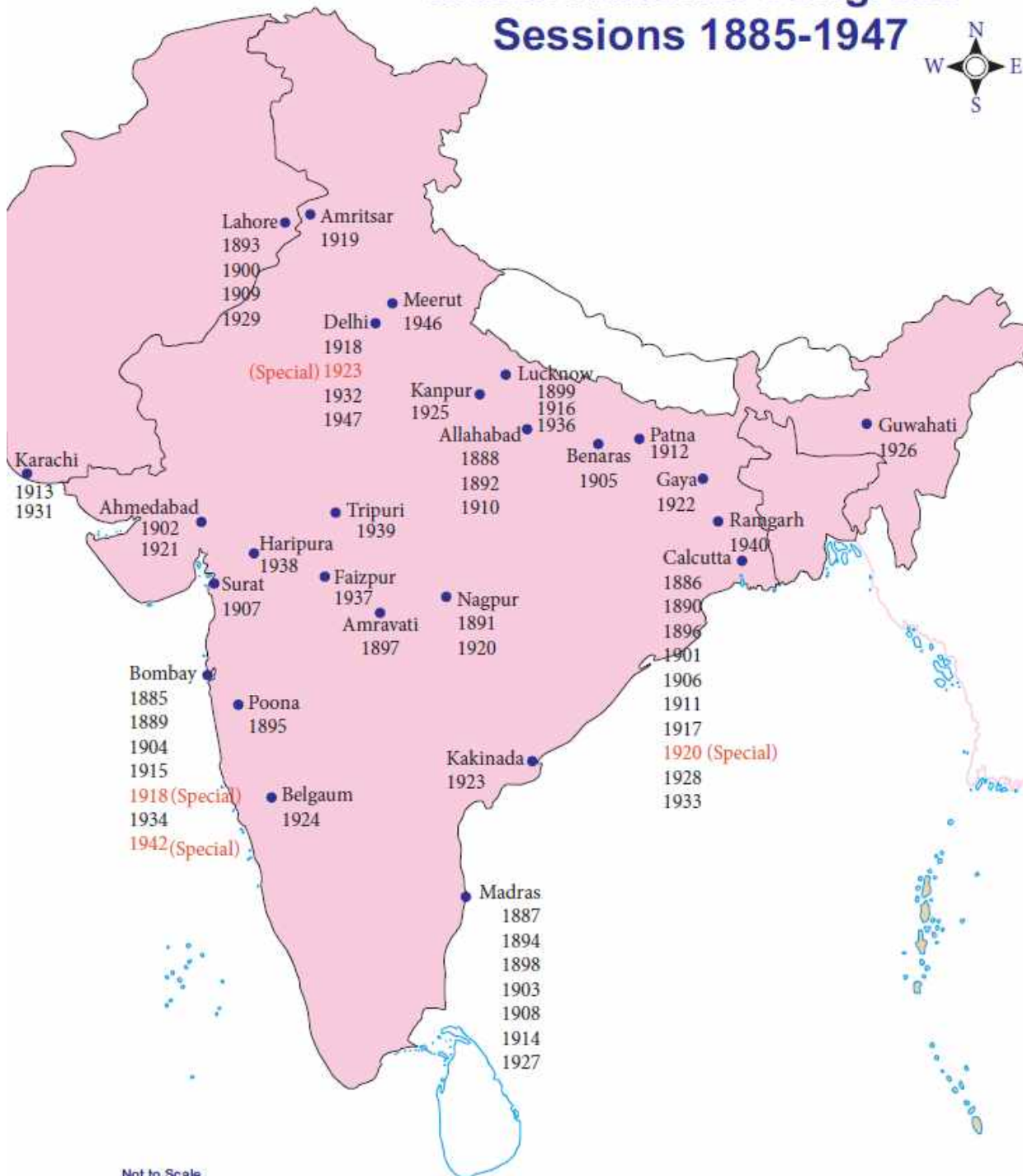
Higher officials who had responsibility of administration in India were selected through civil services examinations conducted in Britain. This meant that educated Indians who could not afford to go to London had no opportunity to get high

administrative jobs. Therefore, Indianisation of services through simultaneous Indian Civil Services Examinations in England and India was a major demand of the Congress.

Judicial

Because of the partial treatment against the Indian political activists by English judges it demanded the complete separation of the Executive and the Judiciary.

Indian National Congress Sessions 1885-1947



No Session - 1930, 1935, 1941-1945

(d) Contributions of Early Nationalists (1885–1915)

The early nationalists in the INC came from the elite sections of the society. Lawyers, college and university teachers, doctors, journalists and such others represented the Congress. However, they came from different regions of the country and this made INC a truly a national political organisation. These leaders of the INC adopted the constitutional methods of presenting petitions, prayers and memorandums and thereby earned the moniker of “Moderates”. It was also the time some sort of an understanding about colonialism was evolving in India. There was no ready-made anti-colonial understanding available for reference in the late nineteenth century when the INC was formed. It was the early nationalists who helped the formulation of the idea of *weas* a nation. They were developing the indigenous anti-colonial ideology and a strategy on their own which helped future mass leaders like M. K Gandhi.

From the late 1890s there were growing differences within the INC. Leaders like Bipin Chandra Pal, Bal Gangadhar Tilak and Lala Lajpat Rai were advocating radical approaches instead of merely writing petitions, prayers and memorandums. These advocates of radical methods came to be called the “extremists” as against those who were identified as moderates. Their objective became clear in 1897 when Tilak raised the clarion call “Swaraj is my birth right and I shall have it”. Tilak and his militant followers were now requesting Swaraj instead of economic or administrative reforms that the moderates were requesting through their petitions and prayers.

Though they criticised each other, it would be wrong to place them in the opposing poles. Both moderates and militants, with their own methods, were significant elements of the larger Indian nationalist movement. In fact, they contributed towards the making of the swadeshi movement. The partition of Bengal in 1905, by the colonial government, which you will be studying in the next lesson, was vehemently opposed by the Indians. The swadeshi movement of 1905, directly opposed the British rule and encouraged the ideas of swadeshi enterprise, national education, self-help and use of Indian languages. The method of mass mobilisation and boycott of British goods and institutions suggested by the radicals was also accepted by the Moderates.

Both the Moderates and the Radicals were of the same view when it came to accepting the fact that they needed to fulfil the role of educators. They tried to instil nationalist consciousness through various means including the press. When the INC was founded in 1885, one-third of the members were journalists. Most stalwarts of the early freedom movement were involved in journalism. Dadabhai Naoroji founded and edited two journals called Voice of India and RastGoftar. Surendra Nath Banerjea edited the newspaper called Bengalee. Bal Gangadhar Tilak edited Kesari and Mahratta. This is the means that they used to educate the common people about the colonial oppression and spread nationalist ideas. News regarding the initiatives taken by the INC were taken to the masses through these newspapers. For the first time, in the history of India, the

press was used to generate public opinion against the oppressive policies and acts of the colonial government.

Bal Gangadhar Tilak was a firm believer that the lower middle classes, peasants, artisans and workers could play a very important role in the national movement, He used his newspapers to articulate the discontent among this section of the people against the oppressive colonial rule. He called for national resistance against imperial British rule in India. On 27 July 1897, Tilak was arrested and charged under Section 124 A of the Indian Penal Code. Civil liberty, particularly in the form of freedom of expression and press became the significant part of Indian freedom struggle.

Naoroji and his Drain Theory

Dadabhai Naoroji, known as the 'Grand Old Man of Indian Nationalism', was a prominent early nationalist. He was elected to the Bombay Municipal Corporation and Town Council during the 1870s. Elected to the British Parliament in 1892, he founded the India Society (1865) and the East India Association (1866) in London. He was elected thrice as the President of the INC.

His major contribution to the Indian nationalist movement was his book *Poverty and Un-British Rule of the British in India* (1901). In this book, he put forward the concept of 'drain of wealth'. He stated that in any country the tax raised would have been spent for the wellbeing of the people of that country. But in British India, taxes collected in India were spent for the welfare of England. Naoroji argued that India had exported an average of 13 million pounds worth of goods to Britain each year from 1835 to 1872 with no corresponding return. The goods were in lieu of payments for profits to Company shareholders living in Britain, guaranteed interest to investors in railways, pensions to retired officials and generals, interest for the money borrowed from England to meet war expenses for the British conquest of territories in India as well as outside India. All these, going in the name of Home Charges, Naoroji asserted, made up a loss of 30 million pounds a year.

2. Rise of Extremism and Swadeshi Movement

Introduction

By the last decade of the nineteenth century, there was conspicuous resentment against moderate politics within the Indian National Congress. This feeling of resentment eventually evolved into a new trend, referred to as the 'Extremist' trend. The extremist or what we may call radical or militant group was critical of the moderates for their cautious approach and the "mendicant policy" of appealing to the British by way of prayers and petitions. This form of militancy developed under the leadership of Bal Gangadhar Tilak in Maharashtra, Bipin Chandra Pal in Bengal and Lala Lajpat Rai in the Punjab. The primary reasons for the rise of this trend were: factionalism in the Congress, frustration with the moderate politics, anger against Lord Curzon for dividing Bengal.

The partition of Bengal in 1905 - a prime example of the British divide and rule policy - acted as the catalyst for the growth of anti-colonial swadeshi nationalism. The partition plan was first opposed by moderates but as the movement progressed, different techniques were improvised for the Swadeshi campaign. Swadeshi constructive programme included boycott of foreign goods and government-administered educational institutions. The Swadeshi movement (1905-1911) is the most important phase of the Indian National Movement in the pre-Gandhian era, as, during the course of the movement, the character of the Indian national movement changed significantly in terms of the stated objectives, methods and in its social base.

The mass base of the movement was expanded by exposing the problems of various social groups under the British governance and the underlying commonality in their lives - that is colonial exploitation. For the first time, in the history of Indian national movement, women, workers, peasants, and marginalised groups were exposed to modern nationalist ideas and politics. It was a period when the elite made a conscious effort to address the common people, calling upon them to join politics. The other prominent development during the Swadeshi period was the growth of the vernacular press (newspapers published in Indian languages) in various parts of India. The nationalistic tone of the vernacular press became more pronounced during this time. The role played by Swadesamitranin Tamil Nadu, Kesariin Maharashtra, Yugantar in Bengal are a few examples.

As the movement gained support among the people, the government passed a series of repressive Acts such as the Public Meetings Act (1907), the Explosive Substance Act (1908), the Newspaper (Incitement and Offence Act 1908) and the Indian Press Act (1910) to crush the nationalistic activities of any nature. One such measure was recording and monitoring of public meetings which were considered a matter of judicial scrutiny. (Shorthand was used by the police for the first time to record political speeches.) In this lesson, while discussing the Bengal as well as national scenarios, the Swadeshi

Campaigns conducted in Tamil nadu with particular focus on the role played by V.O. Chidambaram, V.V. Subramaniam, Subramania Siva and Subramania Bharati.

Partition of Bengal

On January 6, 1899, Lord Curzon was appointed the new Governor General and Viceroy of India. This was a time when British unpopularity was increasing due to the impact of recurring famine and the plague. Curzon did little to change the opinion of the educated Indian class. Instead of engaging with the nationalist intelligentsia, he implemented a series of repressive measures. For instance, he reduced the number of elected Indian representatives in the Calcutta Corporation (1899). The University Act of 1904 brought the Calcutta University under the direct control of the government. The Official Secrets Act (1904) was amended to curb the nationalist tone of Indian newspapers. Finally, he ordered partition of Bengal in 1905. The partition led to widespread protest all across India, starting a new phase of the Indian national movement.

Bengal Presidency as an administrative unit was indeed of unmanageable in size; the necessity of partition was being discussed since the 1860s. The scheme of partition was revived in March 1890. In Assam, when Curzon went on a tour, he was requested by the European planters to make a maritime outlet closer to Calcutta to reduce their dependence on the Assam- Bengal railways. Following this, in December 1903, Curzon drew up a scheme in his Minutes on Territorial Redistribution of India, which was later modified and published as the Risely Papers. The report gave two reasons in support of partition: Relief of Bengal and the improvement of Assam. The report, however, concealed information on how the plan was originally devised for the convenience of British officials and the European businessmen.

From December 1903 and 1905 this initial idea of transferring or reshuffling some areas from Bengal was changed to a full-fledged plan of partition. The Bengal was to be divided into two provinces. The new Eastern Bengal and Assam were to include the divisions of Chittagong, Dhaka, parts of Rajshahi hills of Tippera, Assam province and Malda.

Aimed at Hindu Muslim Divide

The intention of Curzon was to suppress the political activities against the British rule in Bengal and to create a Hindu-Muslim divide. The government intentionally ignored alternative proposals presented by the civil servants, particularly the idea of dividing Bengal on linguistic basis. Curzon rejected this proposal as this would further consolidate the position of the Bengali politicians. Curzon was adamant as he wanted to create a clearly segregated Hindu and Muslim population in the divided Bengal. Curzon, like many before him, knew very well that there was a clear geographical divide along the river Bhagirathi: eastern Bengal dominated by the Muslims, and western Bengal dominated by the Hindus and in the central Bengal and the two communities balancing out each other. There was a conscious attempt on the part of British administration to

woo the Muslim population in Bengal. In his speech at Dhaka, in February 1904, Curzon assured the Muslims that in the new province of East Bengal, Muslims would enjoy a unity, which they had never enjoyed since the days of old Muslim rule.

The partition, instead of dividing the Bengali people along the religious line, united them. Perhaps the British administration had underestimated the growing feeling of Bengali identity among the people, which cut across caste, class, religion and regional barriers. By the end of the nineteenth century, a strong sense of Bengali unity had developed among large sections in the society. Bengali language had acquired literary status with Rabindranath Tagore as the central figure. The growth of regional language newspapers played a role in building the narrative of solidarity. Similarly, recurring famines, unemployment, and a slump in the economic growth generated an anti-colonial feeling.

Anti-Partition Movement

Both the militants and the moderates were critical of the partition of Bengal ever since it was announced in December 1903. But the anti-partition response by leaders like Surendranath Banerjee, K.K. Mitra, and Prithwishchandra Ray remained restricted to prayers and petitions. The objective was limited to influencing public opinion in England against the partition. However, despite this widespread resentment, partition of Bengal was officially declared on 19 July 1905.

With the failure to stop the partition of Bengal and the pressure exerted by the radical leaders like Bipin Chandra Pal, Aswini Kumar Dutta, and Aurobindo Ghose, the moderate leaders were forced to rethink their strategy, and look for new techniques of protest. Boycott of British goods was one such method, which after much debate was accepted by the moderate leadership of the Indian National Congress. So, for the first time, the moderates went beyond their conventional political methods. It was decided, at a meeting in Calcutta on 17 July 1905, to extend the protest to the masses. In the same meeting, Surendranath Banerjee gave a call for the boycott of British goods and intuitions. On 7 August, at another meeting at the Calcutta Town Hall, a formal proclamation of Swadeshi Movement was made. However, the agenda of Swadeshi movement was still restricted to securing an annulment of the partition and the moderates were very much against utilizing the campaign to start a full-scale passive resistance. The militant nationalists, on the other hand, were in favour of extending the movement to other provinces too and to launch a full-fledged mass struggle.

Spread of the Movement

Besides the organized efforts of the leaders, there were spontaneous reactions against the partition of Bengal. Students, in particular, came out in large numbers. Reacting to the increased role of the students in the anti-partition agitation, British officials threatened to withdraw the scholarships and grants to those who participated in programmes of direct action. In response to this, a call was given to boycott official educational institutions and it was decided that efforts were to be made to open national

schools. Thousands of public meetings were organized in towns and villages across Bengal. Religious festivals such as the Durga Pujas were utilized to invoke the idea of boycott. The day Bengal was officially partitioned – 16 Oct 1905 – was declared as a day of mourning. Thousands of people took bath in the Ganga and marched on the streets of Calcutta singing Bande Mataram.

Boycott and Swadeshi Movements in Bengal (1905–1911)

Such efforts, both organized and spontaneous, laid the foundation for a sustained campaign against the British. The boycott and swadeshi were always interlinked to each other and part of a wider plan to make India self-sufficient. G. Subramaniam, a nationalist leader from Madras, succinctly explained the aim of the swadeshi movement as ‘a revolt against their state of dependence...in all branches of their national life’. In the words of Gopal Krishna Gokhale, ‘the swadeshi movement is not only for the improvement of our industry but for an allround enhancement of our national life’ As the movement progressed, different definitions of Swadeshi appeared. However, for the larger part, the movement of Swadeshi and Boycott was practiced as an anti-colonial political agitation and not as a viable method to achieve dignity and freedom in life, a definition which would be later infused with the entry of Mahatma Gandhi.

Evolution of the idea of Swadeshi

During the freedom struggle, the idea of Swadeshi movement was conceptualized first during 1905 by a string of Congress leaders and then later in the 1920s under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi.

Swadeshi means ‘of one’s own country’. The origin of the idea can be traced to 1872 when Mahadev Govind Ranade, in a series of lectures in Poona, popularised the idea of Swadeshi. According to Ranade, the goods produced in one’s own country should be given preference even if the use of such goods proved to be less satisfactory.

In the 1920s Gandhi gave a new meaning to the idea of Swadeshi by linking it to the fulfilment of a duty that all Indians owed to the land of their birth. For Gandhi, Swadeshi did not merely mean the use of what is produced in one’s own country. Gandhi defined Swadeshi in following words “Swadeshi is that spirit in us which restricts us to the use and service of our immediate surroundings to the exclusion of more remote. I should use only things that are produced by my immediate neighbours and serve those industries by making them efficient and complete where they may be found wanting.”

(a) Constructive Swadeshi

The constructive Swadeshi programmes largely stressed upon self-help. It focused on building alternative institutions of self-governance that would operate entirely free from British control. It also laid emphasis on the need for self-strengthening of the

people which would help in creating a worthy citizen before the launch of political agitations.

Rabindranath Tagore was one of the central figures who popularised such ideas through his writings. He outlined the constructive programme of atmashakti (self-help). Tagore called for economic self- development and insisted that education should be provided in swadeshi languages. He also made the call for utilising melas, or fairs, to spread the message of atmashakti. This became the creed of the whole of Bengal and swadeshi shops sprang all over the place selling textiles, handlooms, soaps, earthenware, matches and leather goods.

The idea of education in vernacular language made its appearance much before the swadeshi movement with the foundation of Dawn Society by Satish Chandra in 1902

On 5 November 1905, at the initiative of the Dawn Society, the National Council of Education was formed. In August 1906, Bengal National College and a School were founded. A passionate appeal was made by Satish Chandra to the students to come out of 'institutions of slavery.' Such efforts, however, failed to attract many due to the bleak job prospects.

(b) Samitis

The other successful method of mass mobilization was the formation of samitis (corps of volunteers). The samitis were engaged in a range of activities such as physical and moral training of members, philanthropic work during the famines, epidemics, propagation of Swadeshi message during festivals, and organization of indigenous arbitration courts, and schools. By its very nature boycott was passive action and its aim was to refuse to cooperate with the British administration.

But these mass mobilization efforts failed to flourish as they could not extend their base among the Muslim peasantry and the "Depressed Classes". Most of the samitis recruited from the educated middle class and other upper caste Hindus. Besides this, the swadeshi campaigners often applied coercive methods, both social and physical. For instance, social boycott of those purchasing foreign goods was common and taken up through caste associations and other nationalist organisations.

(c) Passive Resistance

From 1906, when the abrogation of partition was no longer in sight, the Swadeshi Movement took a different turn. For many leaders, the movement was to be utilized for propagating the idea of the political independence or Swaraj across India. The constructive programmes came under heavy criticism from Aurobindo Ghose, Bipin Chandra Pal, and other militant leaders. Under their new direction, the swadeshi agenda included boycott of foreign goods; boycott of government schools and colleges; boycott

of courts; renouncing the titles and relinquishing government services; and recourse to armed struggle if British repression went beyond the limits of endurance. The programme of this nature required mass mobilization. Using religion, combined with the invocation of a glorious past, became the essential features of their programmes.

Militant Nationalism

As pointed out earlier, thanks to the campaigns conducted by Bal Gangadhar Tilak Bipin Chandra Pal and Lala Lajpat Rai, often referred to as the Lal-Bal-Pal triumvirate, Maharashtra, Bengal, Punjab, emerged as the epicentres of militant nationalism during the Swadeshi phase. Aurobindo Ghose was another influential figure in the militant leadership. The nationalism of this form was more assertive compared to the early Indian nationalism.

Both the groups, moderate and militant, were well aware of the evils or the wrong doings of the British rule. The moderates, however, worked under the belief that the British rule in India could be reformed by convincing the rulers through representation and petitioning. The militant nationalist, on the other hand, was of the opinion that the colonial rulers would never be amenable to reason, as they would not like to give up the advantages of an empire.

Sometime around 1905, Aurobindo Ghose was asked by a man as to how to become a patriot. In response Aurobindo pointed to a wall map of India, and said "Do you see this map? It is not a map but the portrait of Bharat Mata: its cities and mountains rivers and jungles form her physical body. All her children are her nerves, large and small.... Concentrate on Bharat as a living mother, worship her with nine-fold bhakti."

Militant nationalism also changed the nature of political pressure from the earlier force of public opinion of educated Indians to the protesting masses. Despite these changes, the militant nationalism phase retained a continuity from the moderate phase. This continuity was evident in the inability to transcend the peaceful method of struggle and for the most parts militant nationalism remained tied to the idea of non-violence. However, they appealed to the patriotic sentiments of the people using the religious symbols.

Swaraj or Political Independence

One of the common goals of the militant leaders was to achieve Swaraj or Self Rule. However, the leaders differed on the meaning of Swaraj. For Tilak, Swaraj was restricted to the Indian control over the administration or rule by the natives, but not total severance of relation with Britain. In Bipin Chandra Pal's view, Swaraj was the attainment of complete freedom from any foreign rule.

The other point of departure of the militants from the moderates was over the rising extremism in Bengal, Punjab, and Maharashtra. Unlike the moderates, who were critical of the reckless revolutionaries, militant nationalists were sympathetic towards

them. However, the political murders and individual acts of terrorism were not approved of by the militant leaders and they were cautious of associating themselves with the cause of revolutionaries.

The patriotism glued with the assertion of Hindu beliefs was not acceptable to the Muslims. Also much like their predecessors the leaders of the swadeshi movement failed to penetrate the larger section of the society. By 1908 militant nationalism was on the decline. The Surat split of 1907 was another contributing factor to this decline.

Surat Split

The tension between the militants and the moderates became more pronounced with the appointment of Lord Minto as the new Secretary of State to India in 1906. As the tension was rising between the two groups, a split was avoided, in the 1906 Calcutta session, by accepting demands of moderate leaders and electing Dadabhai Naoroji as president. Most of the moderates, led by Pherozeshah Mehta, were defeated in the election. The militants managed to pass four resolutions on Swadeshi, Boycott, National Education, and Self-Government.

The next session of Congress was originally planned to be held in Poona, considered to be a stronghold of the militants. Fearing a repeat of the Calcutta session, the moderates shifted the venue to Surat. The militants proposed Lala Lajpat Rai's name for the next Congress presidency opposing the moderate's candidate Rash Behari Ghosh. Lala Lajpat Rai, however, turned down the offer to avoid the split. The matter finally boiled down to the question of retaining the four resolutions that were passed in the Calcutta session in 1906. The Pherozeshah Mehta group sought removal of those items from the agenda. In order to counter Mehta's manoeuvring, the militants decided to oppose the election of Rash Behari Gosh as president. The session ended in chaos.

The Indian National Congress, born in December 1885, was now split into two groups - militant and moderate. The Congress which emerged after the Surat split was more loyal to the British than they were before. The new Congress, minus the militants, came to be known as Mehta Congress and the 1908 session of the Congress was attended only by the moderates who reiterated their loyalty to the Raj. The politics of militants, on the other hand, could not crystallize into a new political organization. The primary reason was the repressive measures of the government by putting all the prominent leaders in jail.

Revolutionary Extremism

Around 1908, the decline of the militant nationalists and the rise of revolutionary activities marked an important shift from non-violent methods to violent action. It also meant a shift from mass-based action to elite response to the British rule. In Bengal, revolutionary terrorism had developed even earlier; around the 1870s, when the akharas or gymnasiums were setup in various places to develop what Swami Vivekananda had described as strong muscles and nerves of steel. Bankim Chandra Chatterjee's novel,

Anandmath also had a significant impact. *Anandmath* was widely read by the revolutionaries in Bengal. The *Bande Mataram* song, which is part of the novel, became the anthem of the swadeshi movement.

During the Swadeshi movement three factors contributed to the upsurge in the individual acts of violence:

The apolitical constructive programmes had little acceptance among the youth who was growing impatient under the repressive foreign rule.

The failure of the militant nationalists to lead the young people into a long-term mass movement also contributed to the growth of individual action.

The revolutionary action was part of an effort towards the symbolic recovery of Indian manhood, which the revolutionaries believed was often challenged and looked down upon by the British.

Such actions, however, did not lead to any organised revolutionary movement as was the case in Russia. The revolutionary actions were mostly attempts to assassinate specific oppressive British officers.

(a) Alipore Bomb Case

In Bengal, the story of revolutionary terrorism begins in 1902 with the formation of many secret societies. Most notable among them all was the Anushilan Samity of Calcutta, founded by Jatindernath Banerjee and Barindarkumar Ghose, brother of Aurobindo Ghose. Similarly, the Dhaka Anushilan Samity was born in 1906 through the initiative of Pulin Behari Das. This was followed by the launch of the revolutionary weekly *Yugantar*. The Calcutta Anushilan Samity soon started its activities and the first swadeshi dacoity, to raise funds, was organised in Rangpur in August 1906.

In the same year, Hemchandra Kanungo went abroad to get military training in Paris. After his return to India in 1908, he established a bomb factory along with a religious school at a garden house in Maniktala. In the same garden house, young inmates underwent various forms of physical training, reading classic Hindu text, and reading literature on revolutionary movement across the world

A conspiracy was hatched there to kill Douglas Kingsford, notorious for his cruel ways of dealing with the swadeshi agitators. Two young revolutionaries - 18-year-old Khudiram Bose and 19-year-old Prafulla Chaki - were entrusted with the task of carrying out the killing. On 30 April 1908, they mistakenly threw a bomb on a carriage, that, instead of killing Kingsford, killed two English women. Prafulla Chaki committed suicide and Khudiram Bose was arrested and hanged for the murder.

Aurobindo Ghose, along with his brother Barinder Kumar Ghose and thirty-five other comrades, were arrested. Chittaranjan Das took up the case. It came to be known as the Alipore Bomb case.

The judgement observed that there was no evidence to show that Aurobindo Ghose was involved in any conspiracy against the British rule. Ghose was acquitted of all the charges. Barindra Ghose and Ullaskar Dutt were given the death penalty (later commuted to the transportation of life), with the rest being condemned to transportation for life. The year-long hearing of Alipore Bomb case made a great impact and portrayed the nationalist revolutionaries as heroes to the general public.

Trial and the Aftermath

After his acquittal, Aurobindo Ghose took to a spiritual path and shifted his base to Pondicherry, where he stayed until his death in 1950. The idea of bringing an armed revolution, envisaged by Aurobindo Ghose, never materialized. The reason for the gradual decline in the revolutionary activities in Bengal was a combination of government repression and alienation from the people. Beside this, revolutionary terrorism suffered from certain social limitations too as most of the revolutionaries were drawn from the three upper castes – Brahmin, Kayastha, and Vaishya.

(b) British Repression

In December 1908 the Morley-Minto constitutional reforms were announced. The moderates welcomed the reforms. However, they soon realised that there was hardly any shift of power. In fact, measures taken by Minto were highly divisive as it institutionalised communal electorates creating Hindu-Muslim divide. Beside this, the colonial government also introduced certain repressive laws such as:

The Newspapers (Incitement to Offence) Act, 1908. This act empowered the magistrate to confiscate press property which published objectionable material making it difficult to publish anything critical of British rule.

Indian Press Act 1910 made it mandatory for publishers and the printers to deposit a security that could be seized in case they printed 'obnoxious material'.

The Indian Criminal Law Amendment Act allowed summary trials and also imposed the prohibition of 'association dangerous to the public peace'.

Even with the widespread repression, the charm of revolutionary action never disappeared from the Indian national movement. The centre of activities moved from Bengal to Uttar Pradesh and Punjab.

Swadeshi Campaign in Tamil Nadu

Swadeshi movement in Tamil Nadu, notably in Tirunelveli district, generated a lot of attention and support. While the Swadeshi movement in Tamil Nadu had an all India flavour, with collective anger against the British rule remaining the common

thread, it was also underpinned by Tamil - pride and consciousness. There was a deep divide in the TamilNadu congress between the moderates and the extremists.

(a) Development of Vernacular Oratory

Initially, the movement was more of a reaction to the partition of Bengal and regular meetings were held to protest the partition. The speakers, in such meetings, spoke mostly in the vernacular language to an audience that included students, lawyers, and laborers at that time. The shift from English oratory to vernacular oratory was a significant development of this time, which had a huge impact on the mass politics in Tamil Nadu.

Swadeshi meetings at the Marina beach in Madras were a regular sight. The Moore Market complex in Madras was another venue utilised for such gatherings. During the period (1905- 1907) there are police reports calling students dangerous and their activities as seditious. Europeans in public places were greeted by the students with shouts of Vande Mataram. In 1907, Bipin Chandra Pal came to Madras and his speeches on the Madras Beach electrified the audience and won new converts to the nationalist cause. The visit had a profound impact all over Tamil Nadu. The public speeches in the Tamil language created an audience which was absent during the formative years of the political activities in Tamil Nadu.

(b) V.O.C. and Swadeshi Steam Navigation Company (SSNC)

The Swadeshi movement in Tamil Nadu came to national attention in 1906 when V.O. Chidambaram mooted the idea of launching a swadeshi shipping venture in opposition to the monopoly of the British in navigation through the coast.

In 1906, V.O.C. registered a joint stock company called The Swadeshi Steam Navigation Company (SSNC) with a capital of Rs 10 Lakh, divided into 40,000 shares of Rs. 25 each. Shares were open only to Indians, Ceylonese and other Asian nationals. V.O.C. purchased two steamships, S.S. Gallia and S.S. Lawoe. When in the other parts of India, the response to Swadeshi was limited to symbolic gestures of making candles and bangles, the idea of forging a Swadeshi Steam Navigation Company was really spectacular. V.O.C invoked the rich history of the region and the maritime glory of India's past and used it as a reference point to galvanize the public opinion in favour of a Swadeshi venture in the sea.

The initiative of V.O.C. was lauded by the national leaders. Lokmanya Tilak wrote about the success of the Swadeshi Navigation Company in his papers Kesari and Mahratta. Aurobindo Ghose also lauded the Swadeshi efforts and helped to promote the sale of shares of the company. The major shareholders included Pandithurai Thevar and Haji Fakir Mohamed.

The initial response of the British administration was to ignore the Swadeshi company. As patronage for Swadeshi Company increased, the European officials exhibited blatant bias and racial partiality against the Swadeshi steamship.

(c) The Coral Mill Strike

After attending the session of the Indian National Congress at Surat, V.O.C. on his return decided to work on building a political organisation. While looking for an able orator, he came across Subramania Siva, a swadeshi preacher. From February to March 1907, both the leaders addressed meetings almost on a daily basis at the beach in Tuticorin, educating the people about swadeshi and the boycott campaign. The meetings were attended by thousands of people. These public gatherings were closely monitored by the administration.

In 1908, the abject working and living conditions of the Coral Mill workers attracted the attention of V.O.C and Siva. In the next few days, both the leaders addressed the mill workers. In March 1908, the workers of the Coral Cotton Mills, inspired by the address went on strike. It was one of the earliest organised labour agitations in India.

The strike of the mill workers was fully backed by the nationalist newspapers. The mill owners, however, did not budge and was supported by the government which had decided to suppress the strike. To further increase the pressure on the workers, the leaders were prohibited from holding any meetings in Tuticorin. Finally, the mill owners decided to negotiate with the workers and concede their demands.

This victory of the workers generated excitement among the militants in Bengal and it was hailed by the newspapers in Bengal. For instance, Aurobindo Ghosh's *Bande Matram* hailed the strike as "forging a bond between educated class and the masses, which is the first great step towards swaraj.... Every victory of Indian labour is a victory for the nation...."

(d) Subramania Bharati: Poet and Nationalist

The growth of newspapers, both in English and Tamil language, aided the swadeshi movement in Tamil Nadu. G. Subramaniam was one of the first among the leaders to use newspapers to spread the nationalist message across a larger audience. Subramaniam, along with five others, founded *The Hindu* (in English) and *Swadesamitran* (which was the first ever Tamil daily). In 1906 a book was published by Subramaniam to condemn the British actions during the Congress Conference in Barsal. *Swadesamitran* extensively reported nationalist activities, particularly the news regarding V.O.C. and his speeches in Tuticorin.

Subramania Bharati became the sub-editor of *Swadesamitran* around the time (1904) when Indian nationalism was looking for a fresh direction. Bharati was also editing *Chakravartini*, a Tamil monthly devoted to the cause of Indian women.

Two events had a significant impact on Subramania Bharati. A meeting in 1905 with Sister Nivedita, an Irish woman and a disciple of Vivekananda, whom he referred

to as Gurumani (teacher), greatly inspired his nationalist ideals. The churning within the Congress on the nature of engagement with the British rule was also a contributory factor.

As discussed earlier in this lesson, the militants ridiculed the mendicancy of the moderates who wanted to follow the constitutional methods. Bharati had little doubt, in his mind, that the British rule had to be challenged with a fresh approach and methods applied by the militant nationalists appealed to him more. For instance, his fascination with Tilak grew after the Surat session of the Congress in 1907. He translated into Tamil Tilak's *Tenets of the New Party* and a booklet on the Madras militants' trip to the Surat Congress in 1907. Bharati edited a Tamil weekly *India*, which became the voice of the radicals.

(e) Arrest and imprisonment of V.O.C. and Subramania Siva

On March 9, 1907, Bipin Chandra Pal was released from prison after serving a six-month jail sentence. The swadeshi leaders in Tamil Nadu planned to celebrate the day of his release as 'Swarajya Day' in Tirunelveli. The local administration refused permission. V.O.C., Subramania Siva and Padmanabha Iyengar defied the ban and went ahead. They were arrested on March 12, 1908, on charges of sedition.

The local public, angered over the arrest of the prominent swadeshi leaders, reacted violently. Shops were closed in a general show of defiance. The municipality building and the police station in Tirunelveli were set on fire. More importantly, the mill workers came out in large numbers to protest the arrest of swadeshi leaders. After a few incidents of confrontation with the protesting crowd, the police open fired, and four people were killed.

On 7 July 1908, V.O.C. and Subramania Siva were found guilty and imprisoned on charges of sedition. Siva was awarded a sentence of 10 years of transportation for his seditious speech whereas V.O.C. got a life term (20 years) for abetting him. V.O.C. was given another life sentence for his own seditious speech. This draconian sentence reveals how seriously the Tirunelveli agitation was viewed by the government.

In the aftermath of this incident, the repression of the British administration was not limited to the arrest of a few leaders. In fact, people who had actively participated in the protest were also punished and a punitive tax was imposed on the people of Tirunelveli and Tuticorin.

Excerpts from the Judgment in the case of King Emperor versus V.O.C. and Subramania Siva (4 November 1908). "It seems to me that sedition at any time is a most serious offense. It is true that the case is the first of its kind in the Presidency, but the present condition of other Presidencies where the crime seems to have secured a foothold would seem to indicate that light sentences of imprisonment of a few months or maybe a year

or two are instances of misplaced leniency. ...The first object of a sentence is that it shall be deterrent not to the criminal alone but to others who feel any inclination to follow his example. Here we have to deal with a campaign of sedition which nearly ended in revolt. The accused are morally responsible for all the lives lost in quelling the riots that ensued on their arrest”.

(f) Ashe Murder

Repression of the Swadeshi efforts in Tuticorin and the subsequent arrest and humiliation of the swadeshi leaders generated anger among the youth. A plan was hatched to avenge the Tirunelveli event. A sustained campaign in the newspapers about the repressive measures of the British administration also played a decisive role in building people's anger against the administration.

In June 1911, the collector of Tirunelveli, Robert Ashe, was shot dead at Maniyachi Railway station by Vanchinathan. Born in the Travancore state in 1880, he was employed as a forest guard at Punalur in the then Travancore state. He was one of the members of a radical group called Bharata Mata Association. The aim of the association was to kill the European officers and inspire Indians to revolt, which they believed would eventually lead to Swaraj. Vanchinathan was trained in the use of a revolver, as part of the mission, by V.V. Subramanianar in Pondicherry.

After shooting Ashe at the Maniyachi Junction, Vanchinathan shot himself with the same pistol. A letter was found in his pocket which helps to understand the strands of inspiration for the revolutionaries like Vanchinathan.

The aftermath of the Assassination

During the course of the trial, the British government was able to establish that V.V.S and other political exiles in Pondicherry were in close and active association with the accused in the Ashe murder conspiracy. The colonial administration grew more suspicious with the Pondicherry groups and their activities. Such an atmosphere further scuttled the possibility of nationalistic propaganda and their activities in Tamil Nadu. As a fall-out of the repressive measure taken by the colonial government, the nationalist movement in Tamil Nadu entered a period of lull and some sort of revival happened only with the Home Rule Movement in 1916.

MILITANT MOVEMENTS

3. Impact of World War I on Indian Freedom Movement

Introduction

Several events that preceded the First World War had a bearing on Indian nationalist politics. In 1905 Japan had defeated Russia. In 1908 the Young Turks and in 1911 the Chinese nationalists, using Western methods and ideas, had overthrown their governments. Along with the First World War these events provide the background to Indian nationalism during 1916 and 1920.

Europe was the main theatre of the War, though fighting took place in other parts of the world as well. The British recruited a vast contingent of Indians to serve in Europe, Africa and West Asia. After the War, the soldiers came back with new ideas which had an impact on the Indian society. India had to cough up around £ 367 million, of which £ 229 million as direct cash and the rest through loans to offset the war expenses. India also sent war materials to the value £ 250 million. This caused enormous economic distress, triggering discontent amongst Indians.

The nationalist politics was in low key, since the Indian National Congress had split into moderates and extremists, while the Muslim league supported British interests in war. In 1916 "the extremists" led by Tilak had gained control of Congress. This led to the rise of Home Rule Movement in India under the leadership of Dr Annie Besant in South India and Tilak in Western India. The Congress was reunited during the war. The strength of Indian nationalism was increased by the agreement signed between Hindus and Muslims, known as the Lucknow Pact, in 1916.

During the War, western revolutionary ideas were influencing the radical nationalists and so the British tried to suppress the national movement by passing repressive acts. Of all the repressive acts, the most draconic was the Rowlatt Act. This act was strongly criticized by the Indian leaders and they organised meetings to protest against the act. The international events too had its impact on India, such as the revolution in Russia. The defeat of Turkey

In World War I and the severe terms of the Treaty of Sevres signed thereafter undermined the position of Sultan of Turkey as Khalifa. Out of the resentment was born the Khilafat Movement.

India and Indians had taken an active part in the War believing that Britain would reward India's loyalty. But only disappointment was in store. Thus the War had multiple effects on Indian society, economy and polity. In this lesson we discuss the role played by Home Rule League, factors leading to the signing of Lucknow Pact and its provisions,

the repressive measures of the British culminating in Jallianwala Bagh Massacre, the Khilafat Movement and the rise of an organized labour movement.

All India Home Rule League

We may recall that many foreigners such as A.O. Hume had played a pivotal role in our freedom movement in the early stages. Dr Annie Besant played a similar role in the early part of the twentieth century. Besant was Irish by birth and had been active in the Irish home rule, fabian socialist and birth control movements while in Britain. She joined the Theosophical Society, and came to India in 1893. She founded the Central Hindu College in Benaras (later upgraded as Benaras Hindu University by Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya in 1916). With the death of H. S. Olcott in 1907, Besant succeeded him as the international president of the Theosophical Society. She was actively spreading the theosophical ideas from its headquarters, Adyar in Chennai, and gained the support of a number of educated followers such as Jamnadas Dwarkadas, George Arundale, Shankerlal Banker, Indulal Yagnik, C.P. Ramaswamy and B.P. Wadia.

In 1914 was when Britain announced its entry in First World War, it was claimed that it fighting for freedom and democracy. Indian leaders believed and supported the British war efforts. Soon they were disillusioned as there was no change in the British attitude towards India. Moreover, split into moderate and extremist wings, the Indian National Congress was not strong enough to press for further political reforms towards self-rule. The Muslim League was looked upon suspiciously by the British once the Sultan of Turkey entered the War supporting the Central powers.

It was in this backdrop that Besant entered into Indian Politics. She started a weekly The Commonweal in 1914. The weekly focussed on religious liberty, national education, social and political reforms. She published a book How India Wrought for Freedom in 1915. In this book she asserted that the beginnings of national consciousness are deeply embedded in its ancient past.

She gave the call, 'The moment of England's difficulty is the moment of India's opportunity' and wanted Indian leaders to press for reforms. She toured England and made many speeches in the cause of India's freedom. She also tried to form an Indian party in the Parliament but was unsuccessful. Her visit, however, aroused sympathy for India. On her return, she started a daily newspaper New India on July 14, 1915. She revealed her concept of self-rule in a speech at Bombay: "I mean by self-government that the country shall have a government by councils, elected by the people, and responsible to the House". She organized public meetings and conferences to spread the idea and demanded that India be granted self-government on the lines of the White colonies after the War.

On September 28, 1915, Besant made a formal declaration that she would start the Home Rule League Movement for India with objectives on the lines of the Irish Home Rule League. The moderates did not like the idea of establishing another separate

organisation. She too realised that the sanction of the Congress party was necessary for her movement to be successful.

In December 1915 due to the efforts of Tilak and Besant, the Bombay session of Congress suitably altered the constitution of the Congress party to admit the members from the extremist section. In the session she insisted on the Congress taking up the Home Rule League programme before September 1916, failing which she would organize the Home Rule League on her own.

In 1916, two Home Rule Movements were launched in the country: one under Tilak and the other under Besant with their spheres of activity well demarcated. The twin objectives of the Home Rule League were the establishment of Home Rule for India in British Empire and arousing in the Indian masses a sense of pride for the Motherland.

(a) Tilak Home Rule League

Tilak Home Rule League was set up at the Bombay Provincial conference held at Belgaum in April 1916. It League was to work in Maharashtra (including Bombay city), Karnataka, the Central Provinces and Berar. Tilak's League was organised into six branches and Annie Besant's League was given the rest of India.

Tilak popularised the demand for Home Rule through his lectures. The popularity of his League was confined to Maharashtra and Karnataka but claimed a membership of 14,000 in April 1917 and 32,000 by early 1918. On 23 July 1916 on his 60th birthday Tilak was arrested for propagating the idea of Home Rule.

Home Rule: It refers to a self-government granted by a central or regional government to its dependent political units on condition that their people should remain politically loyal to it. This was a common feature in the ancient Roman Empire and the modern British Empire. In Ireland the Home Rule Movement gathered force in the 1880s and a system of Home Rule was established by the Government of Ireland Act (1920) in six counties of Northern Ireland and later by the Anglo-Irish Treaty (1921) in the remaining 26 counties in the south.

(b) Besant's Home Rule League

Finding no signs from the Congress, Besant herself inaugurated the Home Rule League at Madras in September 1916. Its branches were established at Kanpur, Allahabad, Benaras, Mathura, Calicut and Ahmednagar. She made an extensive tour and spread the idea of Home Rule. She declared that "the price of India's loyalty is India's Freedom". Moderate congressmen who were dissatisfied with the inactivity of the Congress joined the Home Rule League. The popularity of the League can be gauged from the fact that Jawaharlal Nehru, Muhammad Ali Jinnah, B. Chakravarti and

Jitendralal Banerji, Satyamurti and Khaliquzzaman were taking up the membership of the League.

As Besant's Home Rule Movement became very popular in Madras, the Government of Madras decided to suppress it. Students were barred from attending its meetings. In June 1917 Besant and her associates, B.P. Wadia and George Arundale were interred in Ootacamund. The government's repression strengthened the supporters, and with renewed determination they began to resist. To support Besant, Sir S. Subramaniam renounced his knighthood. Many leaders like Madan Mohan Malaviya, and Surendranath Banerjea who had earlier stayed away from the movement enlisted themselves. At the AICC meeting convened on 28 July 1917 Tilak advocated the use of civil disobedience if they were not released. Jannadas Dwarkadas and Shankerlal Banker, on the orders of Gandhi, collected one thousand signatures willing to defy the interment orders and march to Besant's place of detention. Due to the growing resistance the interned nationalists were released.

On 20 August 1917 the new Secretary of State Montagu announced that 'self-governing institutions and responsible government' was the goal of the British rule in India. Almost overnight this statement converted Besant into a near-loyalist. In September 1917, when she was released, she was elected the President of Calcutta session of the Indian National Congress in 1917.

(c) Importance of the Home Rule Movement

The Home Rule Leagues prepared the ground for mass mobilization paving the way for the launch of Gandhi's satyagraha movements. Many of the early Gandhian satyagrahis had been members of the Home Rule Leagues. They used the organisational networks created by the Leagues to spread the Gandhian method of agitation. Home Rule League was the first Indian political movement to cut across sectarian lines and have members from the Congress, League, Theosophist and the Laborites.

(d) Decline of Home Rule Movement

Home Rule Movement declined after Besant accepted the proposed Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms and Tilak went to Britain in September 1918 to pursue the libel case that he had filed against Valentine Chirol, the author of Indian Unrest.

The Indian Home Rule League was renamed the Commonwealth of India League and used to lobby British MPs in support of self-government for India within the empire, or dominion status along the lines of Canada and Australia. It was transformed by V.K. Krishna Menon into the India League in 1929.

Impact of the War

During the years prior to First World War the political condition of the India was in disarray. In order to win over the “Moderates” and the Muslim League with a view to isolating the “Extremists” the British passed the Minto- Morley Reforms in 1909. The Moderates observed a policy of wait and watch. The Muslim League welcomed the separate electorate accorded to them. In 1913 a new group of leaders joined the League. The most prominent among them was Muhammad Ali Jinnah who was already a member of the Congress and demanded more reforms for the Muslims.

The First World War provided the objective conditions for the revolutionary activity in India. The revolutionaries wanted to make use of Britain's difficulty during the War to their advantage. The Ghadar Movement was one of its outcomes.

The First World War had a major impact on the freedom movement. Initially, the British didn't care for Indian support. Once the war theatre moved to West Asia and Africa the British were forced to look for Indian support. In this context Indian leaders decided to put pressure on the British Government for reforms. The Congress and Muslim League had their annual session at Bombay in 1915 and spoke on similar tones. In October 1916, the Hindu and Muslim elected members of the Imperial Legislative Council addressed a memorandum to the Viceroy on the post-War reforms. The British Government was unmoved. The Congress and the League met at Calcutta in November 1916 and deliberated on the memorandum. It also agreed on the composition of the legislatures and the number of representation to be allowed to the two communities in the post-War reforms.

Parallel to this, Tilak and Besant were advocating Home Rule. Due to their efforts the Bombay session accepted to take back the extremist section and, consequently, the constitution of the Congress was altered. 1916 was therefore a historic year since the Congress, Muslim League and the Home Rule League held their annual sessions at Lucknow. Ambika Charan Mazumdar, Congress president welcomed the extremists: "... after ten years of painful separation ... Indian National Party have come to realize the fact that united they stand, but divided they fall, and brothers have at last met brothers..." The Congress got its old vigour with extremists back into it.

Besant and Tilak also played an important role in bringing the Congress and the Muslim League together under what is popularly known as the Congress-League Pact or the Lucknow Pact. Jinnah played a pivotal role during the Pact. The agreements accepted at Calcutta in November 1916 were confirmed by the annual sessions of the Congress and the League in December 1916.

Lala Hardayal, who settled in San Francisco, founded Pacific Coast Hindustan Association in 1913, with Sohan Singh Bhakna as its president. This organization was popularly called Ghadar Party. ('Ghadar' means rebellion in Urdu.) The members of this party were largely immigrant Sikhs of US and Canada. The party published a journal called Ghadar. It began publication from San Francisco on November 1, 1913. Later it was published in Urdu, Punjabi, Hindi and other languages.

The Ghadar Movement was an important episode in India's freedom struggle. A ship named Komagatamaru, filled with Indian immigrants was turned back from Canada. As the ship returned to India several of its passengers were killed or arrested in a clash with the British police. This incident left a deep mark on the Indian nationalist movement.

Provisions of the Lucknow Pact

- i) Provinces should be freed as much as possible from Central control in administration and finance.
- ii) Four-fifths of the Central and Provincial Legislative Councils should be elected, and one-fifth nominated.
- iii) Four-fifths of the provincial and central legislatures were to be elected on as broad a franchise as possible.
- iv) Half the executive council members, including those of the central executive council were to be Indians elected by the councils themselves.
- v) The Congress also agreed to separate electorates for Muslims in provincial council elections and for preferences in their favour (beyond the proportions indicated by population) in all provinces except the Punjab and Bengal, where some ground was given to the Hindu and Sikh minorities. This pact paved the way for Hindu-Muslim cooperation in the Khilafat Movement and Gandhi's Non-Cooperation Movement.
- vi) The Governments, Central and Provincial, should be bound to act in accordance with resolutions passed by their Legislative Councils unless they were vetoed by the Governor-General or Governors-in-Council and, in that event, if the resolution was passed again after an interval of not less than one year, it should be put into effect;
- vii) The relations of the Secretary of State with the Government of India should be similar to those of the Colonial Secretary with the Governments of the Dominions, and India should have an equal status with that of the Dominions in any body concerned with imperial affairs.

The Lucknow Pact paved the way for Hindu Muslim Unity. Sarojini Ammaiyar called Jinnah, the chief architect of the Lucknow Pact, "the Ambassador of Hindu-Muslim Unity".

The Lucknow Pact proved that the educated class both from the Congress and the League could work together with a common goal. This unity reached its climax during the Khilafat and the Non-Cooperation Movements.

Repressive Measures of the Colonial State

Parallel to the Congress there emerged revolutionary groups who attempted to overthrow away the British government through violence methods. The revolutionary movements constituted an important landmark in India's freedom struggle. It began in the end of the nineteenth century and gained its momentum from the time of the partition of Bengal. The revolutionaries were the first to demand complete freedom. Maharashtra, Bengal, Punjab were the major centers of revolutionary activity. For a brief while Madras presidency was also an active ground of the revolutionary activity.

In order to crush the growing nationalist movement, the government adopted many measures. Lord Curzon created the Criminal Intelligence Department (CID) in 1903 to secretly collect information on the activities of nationalists. The Newspapers (Incitement to Offences) Act (1908) and the Explosives Substances Act (1908), and shortly thereafter the Indian Press Act (1910), and the Prevention of Seditious Meetings Act (1911) were passed. The British suspected that some Indian nationalists were in contact with revolutionaries abroad. So the Foreigners Ordinance was promulgated in 1914 which restricted the entry of foreigners. A majority of these legislations were passed in order to break the base of the revolutionary movements. The colonial state also resorted to banning meetings, printing and circulation of seditious materials for propaganda, and by detaining the suspects.

The Defence of India Act, 1915

Also referred to as the Defence of India Regulations Act, it was an emergency criminal law enacted with the intention of curtailing the nationalist and revolutionary activities during the First World War. The Act allowed suspects to be tried by special tribunals each consisting of three Commissioners appointed by the Local Government. The act empowered the tribunal to inflict sentences of death, transportation for life, and imprisonment of up to ten years for the violation of rules or orders framed under the act. The trial was to be in camera and the decisions were not subject to appeal. The act was later applied during the First Lahore Conspiracy trial. This Act, after the end of First World War, formed the basis of the Rowlatt Act.

Khilafat Movement

In the First World War the Sultan of Turkey sided with the Triple Alliance against the allied powers and attacked Russia. The Sultan was also the Caliph and was the custodian of the Islamic sacred places. After the war, Britain decided to weaken the position of Turkey and the Treaty of Sevres was signed. The eastern part of the Turkish Empire such as Syria and Lebanon were mandated to France, while Palestine and Jordan became British protectorates. Thus the allied powers decided to end the caliphate.

The dismemberment of the Caliphate was seen as a blow to Islam. Muslims around the world, sympathetic to the cause of the Caliph, decided to oppose the move. Muslims in India also organised themselves under the leadership of the Ali brothers – Maulana Muhammad Ali and Maulana Shaukat Ali started a movement known as Khalifat Movement. The aim was to support the Ottoman Empire and protest against the British rule in India. Numerous Muslim leaders such as Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, M.A. Ansari, Sheikh Shaukat Ali Siddiqui and Syed Ataullah Shah Bukhari joined the movement.

The demands of the Khilafat Movement were presented by Mohammad Ali to the diplomats in Paris in March 1920. They were:

1. The Sultan of Turkey's position of Caliph should not be disturbed.
2. The Muslim sacred places must be handed over to the Sultan and should be controlled by him.
3. The Sultan must be left with sufficient territory to enable him to defend the Islamic faith and
4. The Jazirat-ul-Arab (Arabia, Syria, Iraq, Palestine) must remain under his sovereignty.

Gandhi had been honoured with Kaisari- Hind gold medal for his humanitarian work in South Africa. He had also received the Zulu War silver medal for his services as an officer of the Indian volunteer ambulance corps in 1906 and Boer War silver medal for his services as assistant superintendent of the Indian volunteer stretcher-bearer corps during Boer War of 1899–1900. When Gandhi launched the scheme of non-cooperation in connection with Khilafat Movement, he returned all the medals saying, ‘...events that have happened during the past one month have confirmed in me the opinion that the Imperial Government have acted in the Khilafat matter in an unscrupulous, criminal and unjust manner and have been moving from wrong to wrong in order to defend their immorality. I can retain neither respect nor affection for such a government.’

The demands of the movement had nothing do to with India but the question of Caliph was used as a symbol by the Khilafat leaders to unite the Indian Muslim community who were divided along regional, linguistic, class and sectarian lines. In Gail Minault's words: "A pan-Islamic symbol opened the way to pan- Indian Islamic political mobilization." It was anti-British, which inspired Gandhi to support this cause in a bid to bring the Muslims into the mainstream of Indian nationalism. Gandhi also saw this as an opportunity to strengthen Hindu–Muslim unity.

The Khilafat issue was interpreted differently by different sections. Lower-class Muslims in U.P. interpreted the Urdu word khilaf (against) and used it as a symbol of general revolt against authority, while the Mappillais of Malabar converted it into a banner of anti-landlord revolt.

Rise of Labour Movement

Introduction of machinery, new methods of production, concentration of factories in certain big cities gave birth to a new class of wage earners called factory workers. In India, the factory workers, mostly drawn from villages, initially remained submissive and unorganised. Many leaders like Sorabjee Shapoorji and N.M. Lokhanday of Bombay and Sasipada Banerjee of Bengal raised their voice for protecting the interests of the industrial labourers.

In the aftermath of Swadeshi Movement (1905) Indian industries began to thrive. During the War the British encouraged Indian industries which manufactured war time goods. As the war progressed they wanted more goods so more workers were recruited. Once the war ended workers were laid off and production cut down. Further prices increased dramatically in the post-War situation. India was also in the grip of a world-wide epidemic of influenza. In response labourers began to organize to fight and trade unions were formed to protect the interests of the workers.

The success of the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917 also had its effect on Indian labour.

A wave of ideas of class consciousness and enlightenment swept the world of Indian labours. The Indian soldiers who had fought in Europe brought the news of good labour conditions. The industrial unrest that grew up as a result of grave economic difficulties created by War, and the widening gulf between the employers and the employees, and the establishment of International Labour Organisation of the League of Nations brought mass awakening among the labours.

Madras played a pivotal role in the history of labour movement of India. The first trade union in the modern sense, the Madras Labour Union, was formed in 1918 by B.P. Wadia. The union was formed mainly due to the ill-treatment of Indian worker in the Buckingham and Carnatic Mills, Perambur. The working conditions was poor. Short interval for mid-day meal, frequent assaults on workers by the European assistants and inadequate wages led to the formation of this union. This union adopted collective bargaining and used trade unionism as a weapon for class struggle.

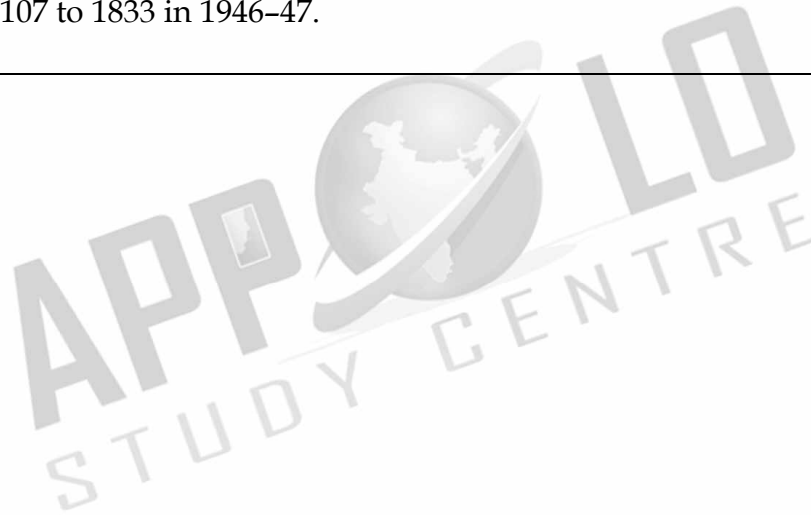
This wave spread to other parts of India and many unions were formed at this time such as the Indian Seamen's Union both at Calcutta and Bombay, the Punjab Press Employers Association, the G.I.P. Railway Workers Union Bombay, M.S.M. Railwaymen's Union, Union of the Postmen and Port Trust Employees Union at Bombay and Calcutta, the Jamshedpur Labour Association the Indian Colliery Employees Association of Jharia and the Unions of employees of various railways. To suppress the labour movement the Government, with the help of the capitalists, tried by all means to subdue the labourers. They imprisoned strikers, burnt their houses, and fined the unions, but the labourers were determined in their demands.

Nationalist leaders and intellectuals were moved by the plight of the workers, and many of them worked towards organizing them into unions. Their involvement also led

to the politicization of the working class, and added to the strength of the freedom movement as most of the mills were owned by Europeans who were supported by the government.

On 30 October 1920, representatives of 64 trade unions, with a membership of 140,854, met in Bombay and established the All India Trade Union Congress (AITUC) under the Chairmanship of Lala Lajpat Rai. It was supported by national leaders like Motilal Nehru, Jawaharlal Nehru, C.R. Das, Vallabhbhai Patel, Subhash Chandra Bose and others from the Indian National Congress.

The trade unions slowly involved themselves in the national movement. In April 1919 after the Jallianwala Bagh Massacre and Gandhi's arrest, the working class in Ahmedabad and other parts of Gujarat resorted to strikes, agitations and demonstrations. Trade unions were not recognised by the capitalists or the government in the beginning. But the unity of the workers and the strength of their movement forced the both to recognise them. From 1919-20 the number of registered trade unions increased from 107 to 1833 in 1946-47.



4. Advent of Gandhi and Mass Mobilisation

Introduction

Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi was born in the coastal town of Porbandar in 1869. When he returned to India in 1915 he had a record of fighting against inequalities imposed by the racist government of South Africa. Gandhi certainly wanted to be of help to forces of nationalism in India. He was in touch with leaders India as he had come into contact with Congress leaders while mobilizing support for the South African Indian cause earlier. Impressed by activities and ideas of Gopala Krishna Gokhale, he acknowledged him as his political Guru. On his return to India, following Gokhale's advice, Gandhi, who was away from India for over two decades, spent a year travelling all over the country acquainting himself with the situation. He established his Sabarmati Ashram at Ahmedabad but did not take active part in political movements including the Home Rule movement.

While in South Africa, Gandhi, gradually evolved the technique of 'Satyagraha,' based on 'Satya' and 'Ahimsa' i.e, truth and non-violence, to fight the racist South African regime. Even while resisting evil and wrong a Satyagrahi had to be at peace with himself and not hate the wrongdoer. A Satyagrahi would willingly accept suffering in the course of resistance, and hatred had no place in the exercise. Truth and nonviolence would be weapons of the brave and fearless and not cowards. For Gandhi there was no difference between precept and practice, faith and action.

Gandhi's Experiments of Satyagraha

(a) Champaran Movement (1917)

The first attempt at mobilizing the Indian masses was made by Gandhi on an invitation by peasants of Champaran. Before launching the struggle he made a detailed study of the situation. Indigo cultivators of the district Champaran in Bihar were severely exploited by the European planters who had bound the peasants to compulsorily grow indigo on lease on 3/20th of their fields and sell it at the rates fixed by the planters. This system squeezed the peasants and eventually reduced them to penury. Accompanied by local leaders such as Rajendra Prasad, Mazharul Huq, Acharya Kripalani and Mahadeva Desai, Gandhi conducted a detailed enquiry. The British officials ordered Gandhi to leave the district. But he refused and told the administration that he would defy the order because it was unjust and face the consequences.

Subsequently an enquiry committee with Gandhi also as a member was formed. It was not difficult for Gandhi to convince the committee of the difficulties of the poor peasants. The report was accepted and implemented resulting in the release of the indigo cultivators of the bondage of European planters who gradually had to withdraw from Champaran itself.



(b) Mill Workers' Strike and Gandhi's Fast at Ahmedabad (1918)

Thus Gandhi met with his first success in his homeland. The struggle also enabled him to closely understand the condition of peasantry. The next step at mobilizing the masses was the workers of the urban centre, Ahmedabad. There was a dispute between the textile workers and the mill owners. He met both the parties and when the owners refused to accept the demands of the low paid workers, Gandhi advised them to go on strike demanding a 35 percent increase in their wages. To bolster the morale of the workers he went on fast. The worker's strike and Gandhi's fast ultimately forced the mill owners' to concede the demand.

(c) The Kheda Struggle (1918)

The peasants of Kheda district, due to the failure of monsoon, were in distress. They had appealed to the colonial authorities for remission of land revenue during 1918. As per government's famine code, in the event of crop yield being under 25 percent of the average the cultivators were entitled for total remission. But the authorities refused and harassed them demanding full payment. The Kheda peasants who were also battling the plague epidemic, high prices and famine approached the Servants of India Society, of which Gandhi was a member, for help. Gandhi, along with Vithalbai Patel, intervened on behalf of the poor peasants and advised them to withhold payment and 'fight unto death against such a spirit of vindictiveness and tyranny.' Vallabhbhai Patel, a young lawyer and Indulal Yagnik joined Gandhi in the movement and urged the ryots to be firm. The government repression included attachment of crops, taking possession of the belongings of the ryots and their cattle and in some cases auctioning them.

The government authorities issued instructions that revenues shall be collected only from those ryots who could afford to pay. On learning about the same, Gandhi decided to withdraw the struggle

The three struggles led by Gandhi, demonstrated that he had understood where the Indian nation lay. It was the poor peasants and workers of all classes and castes, who constituted the pith and marrow of India, whose interests Gandhi espoused in these struggles. He had confronted both the colonialist and Indian exploiters and by entering into dialogue with them, he had demonstrated that he was a leader who could mobilize the oppressed and at the same time negotiate with the oppressors. These virtues made him the man of the masses and soon he was hailed as the Mahatma.

Servants of India Society was founded by Gopal Krishna Gokhale in 1905 to unite and train Indians of different castes, regions and religions in welfare work. It was the first secular organization in the country to devote itself to the betterment of underprivileged, rural and tribal people. The members involved themselves in relief work, the promotion of literacy, and other social causes. Members would have to go through a five-year training period and agree to serve on modest salaries. The

organization has its headquarters in Pune (Maharashtra) and notable branches in Chennai (Madras), Mumbai (Bombay), Allahabad and Nagpur.

Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms

Edwin Montagu and Chelmsford, the Secretary of State for India and Viceroy respectively, announced their scheme of constitutional changes for India which came to be known as the Indian Councils Act of 1919. The Act enlarged the provincial legislative councils with elected majorities. The governments in the provinces were given more share in the administration under 'Dyarchy.' Under this arrangement all important subjects like law and order and finance 'reserved' for the whitemen and were directly under the control of the Governors. Other subjects such as health, educations and local self-government were 'transferred' to elected Indian representatives. Ministers holding 'transferred subjects' were responsible to the legislatures; but those in-charge of 'reserved' subjects were not further the Governor of the province could overrule the ministers under 'special (veto) powers,' thus making a mockery of the entire scheme. The part dealing with central legislature in the act created two houses of legislature (bi-cameral).

The Central Legislative Assembly was to have 41 nominated members, out of a total of 144. The Upper House known as the Council of States was to have 60 members, of whom 26 were to be nominated. Both the houses had no control over the Governor General and his Executive Council. But the Central Government had full control over the provincial governments. As a result, power was concentrated in the hands of the European / English authorities. Right to vote also continued to be restricted.

The public spirited men of India, who had extended unconditional support to the war efforts of Britain had expected more. The scheme, when announced in 1918, came to be criticized throughout India. The Indian National Congress met in a special session at Bombay in August 1918 to discuss the scheme. The congress termed the scheme 'disappointing and unsatisfactory.'

The colonial government followed a 'carrot and stick policy.' There was a group of moderate / liberal political leaders who wanted to try and work the reforms. Led by Surendranath Banerjee, they opposed the majority opinion and left the Congress to form their own party which came to be called Indian Liberal Federation.

The Non-Brahmin Movement

The hierarchical Indian society and the contradictions within, found expression in the formation of caste associations and movements to question the dominance of higher castes. The higher castes also were controlling the factors of production and thus the middle and lower castes were dependent on them for livelihood. Liberalism and humanism which influenced and accompanied the socio-religious reform movements of the nineteenth century had affected the society and stirred it. The symptoms of their

awakening were already visible in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. The Namasudra movement in the Bengal and eastern India, the Adidharma movement in North Western India, the Satyashodhak movement in Western India and the Dravidian movements in South India had emerged and raised their voice by the turn of the century. They were all led by non Brahmin leaders who questioned the supremacy of the Brahmins and other 'superior' castes.

It first manifested itself, through Jyoti Rao Phule's book of 1872 titled *Gulamgiri*. His organization, Satyashodak Samaj, underscored the necessity to relieve the lower castes from the tyranny of Brahminism and the exploitative scriptures. The colonial administrators and the educational institutions that were established indirectly facilitated their origin. Added to the growing influence of Brahmin - upper caste men in the colonial times in whatever opportunity was open to natives, the colonial government published census reports once a decade. These reports classified castes on the basis of 'social precedence as recognized by native public opinion'. The censuses were a source of conflict between castes. There were claims and counterclaims as the leaders of caste organizations fought for pre-eminence and many started new caste associations. These attempts were further helped by the emerging political scenario.

Leading members of castes realized that it was important to mobilise their castes in struggles for social recognition. More than the recognition, many of them, as years passed by, started providing education of their caste brethren and helped their educated youth in getting jobs. In the meantime, introduction of electoral politics from the 1880s gave a fillip to such organisations. The outcome of all this was the expression of socio-economic tensions through caste consciousness and caste solidarity.

Two trends emerged out of the non- Brahmin movements. One was what is called the process of 'Sanskritisation' of the 'lower' castes and the second was a radical poor and progressive peasant-labour movements. While the northern and eastern caste movements by and large were Sanskritic, the western and southern movements split and absorbed by the rising nationalist and Dravidian-Left movements. However all these movements were critical of what they called as 'Brahmin domination' and attacked their 'monopoly', and pleaded with the government through their associations for justice. In Bombay and Madras presidencies clear-cut Brahmin monopoly in the government services and general cultural arena led to non-Brahmin politics.

The pattern of the movement in south was a little different. The Brahmin monopoly was quite formidable as with only 3.2% of the population they had 72% of all graduates. They came to be challenged by educated and trading community members of the non-Brahmin castes. They were elitist in the beginning and their challenge was articulated by the Non- Brahmin Manifesto issued at the end of 1916. They asserted that they formed the 'bulk of the tax payers, including a large majority of the zamindars, landlords and agriculturists', yet they received no benefits from the state.

The colonial government made use of the genuine grievances of the non-Brahmins to divide and rule India. This was true with the Brahmanetara Parishat, and the Justice

Party of Bombay and Madras presidencies respectively at least till 1930. Both the regions had some socially radical possibilities as could be seen in the emergence of a radical Dalit-Bahujan movement under the leadership of Dr Ambedkar and the Self-Respect Movement under the leadership of Periyar Ramaswamy.

The nationalists were unable to understand the liberal democratic content in the awakening among the lower strata of Indian society. While a section of the nationalists simply ignored the stirrings, a majority of them and particularly the so-called extremists-radicals were opposed to the movements. A few of them were even hostile and labelled them as stooges of British, anti-national etc. The early leaders of the non-Brahmin movement were in fact using the same tactics as the early nationalist leaders in dealing with the colonial government.

Non-cooperation Movement

(a) Rowlatt Act

It was as part of the British policy of 'rally the moderates and isolate the extremists' that the Indian Councils Act 1919 and the Rowlatt Act of the same year were promulgated. Throughout the World War, the repressive measures against the terrorists and revolutionaries had continued. Many of them were hanged or imprisoned for long terms. As the general mood was restive, the government decided to arm itself with more repressive powers. Despite every elected member of the central legislature opposing the bill, the government passed the Rowlatt Act in March 1919. This Act empowered the government to imprison any person without trial.

Gandhi and his associates were shocked. It was the 'Satyagraha Sabha' founded by Gandhi, which pledged to disobey the Act first. In the place of the old agitational methods such as meetings, boycott of foreign cloth and schools, picketing of toddy shops, petitions and demonstrations, a novel method was adopted. Now 'Satyagraha' was the weapon to be used with the wider participation of labour, artisan and peasant masses. The symbol of this change was to be khadi, which soon became the uniform of nationalists. India's Swaraj would be a reality only when the masses awakened and became active in political work. Almost the entire country was electrified when Gandhi called upon the people to observe 'hartal' in March-April 1919 against the Rowlatt Act. He combined it with the Khilafat issue which brought together Hindus and Muslims.

(b) Jallianwala Bagh Massacre

The colonial government was enraged at the mass struggles and the enthusiasm of the masses as evidenced in the upsurge all over the country. On 13th April 1919, in Amritsar town, in the Jallianwala enclave that the most heinous of political crimes was perpetrated on an unarmed mass of people by the British regime. More than two thousand people had assembled at the venue to peacefully protest against the arrest of their leaders Satyapal and Saifudding Kitchlew. Michael O'Dwyer was the Lt. Governor of Punjab and the military commander was General Reginald Dyer. They decided to demonstrate their power and teach a lesson to the dissenters. The part where the

gathering was held had only one narrow entrance. Dyer ordered firing on the trapped crowd with machine guns and rifles till the ammunition was exhausted. While the official figures of the dead was only about 379 the real number was over a thousand. Martial law was imposed all over Punjab and people were subject to untold indignities.

The entire country was horrified at the brutalities. In Bombay, Calcutta, Delhi, Lahore there were widespread protests against the Rowlatt Act where the protesters were fired upon. There was violence in many towns and cities. Protesting against the brutalities many celebrities renounced their titles, of whom Ravindranath Tagore was one.

Rabindranath Tagore renounced his knighthood immediately after the Jallianwalla Bagh massacre. In his protest letter to the viceroy on May 31, 1919, Tagore wrote "The time has come when the badge of honour makes our shame glaring in their incongruous context of humiliation, and, I for my part, wish to stand shorn of all special distinctions, by the side of those of my countrymen who for their so-called insignificance are liable to suffer degradation not fit for human beings."

The two immediate causes responsible for launching the non-cooperation movement were the Khilafat and the Punjab wrongs. While the khilafat issue related to the position of the Turkish Sultan vis-a-vis the holy places of Islam, the Punjab issue related to the exoneration of the perpetrators of the Jallianwalla massacre. While the control over holy places of Islam was taken over by non-Islamic powers against the assurances of the British rulers, the British courts of enquiry totally exonerated Reginald Dyer and Michael O'Dwyer of the crime perpetrated at Jallianwala.

Gandhi and the Congress, who were bent upon Hindu-Muslim unity, now stood by their Muslim compatriots who felt betrayed by the British regime. The Ali brothers - Shukha and Muhammed - and Maulana Abul Kalam Azad were the prime movers in the Khilafat movement.

A Sikh teenager who was raised at Khalsa Orphanage named Udham Singh saw the happening in his own eyes. To avenge the killings of Jallianwalla Bagh, on 30 March 1940, he assassinated Michael O'Dwyer in Caxton Hall of London. Udham Singh was hanged at Pentonville jail, London

(c) Launch of Non-Cooperation Movement

The Khilafat Conference, at the instance of Gandhi, decided to launch the non-cooperation movement from 31 August 1920. Earlier an all party meet at Allahabad had decided on a programme of boycott of government educational institutions and their law

courts. The Congress met in a special session at Calcutta in September 1920 and resolved to accept Gandhi's proposal on non-cooperation with the colonial state till such time as Khilafat and Punjab grievances were redressed and self-government established.

Non-cooperation movement included boycott of schools, colleges, courts, government offices, legislatures, foreign goods, return of government conferred titles and awards. Alternatively, national schools, panchayats were to be set up and swadeshi goods manufactured and used. The struggle at a later stage was to include no tax campaign and mass civil disobedience, etc. A regular Congress session held at Nagpur in 1920 endorsed the earlier resolutions. Another important resolution at Nagpur was to recognize and set up linguistic Provincial Congress Committees which drew a large number of workers into the movement. In order to broad base the Congress, the workers were to reach out to the villages and enroll the villagers in the Congress on a nominal fee of four annas (25 paise). The overall character of the Congress underwent change and an atmosphere where a large majority of the masses could develop a sense of belonging to the nation and the national struggle developed. But it also led to some conservatives who were opposed to mass participation in the struggle to leave the Congress. Thus the Congress under Gandhi was shedding its elitist character, becoming a mass organization and in a real sense 'National'.

(d) Impact of Gandhi's Leadership

Thousands of schools and hundreds of colleges and vidyapeethas were established by the natives as alternatives to the government institutions. Several leading lawyers gave up their practice. Thousands of school and college students left the government institutions. The Ali brothers were arrested and jailed on sedition charges. The Congress committees called upon people to launch civil disobedience movement, including no tax movements if the Congress committees of their region were ready. The government as usual resorted to repression. Workers were arrested indiscriminately and put behind bars. The visit of Prince of Wales in 1921 to several cities in India was also boycotted. The calculation of the colonial government that the visit of the Prince would evoke loyal sentiments of the Indian people was proved wrong. Workers and peasants had gone on strike across the country. Gandhi promised Swaraj, if Indians participated in the non-cooperation movement on non-violent mode within a year.

South India surged forward during this phase of the struggle. The peasants of Andhra, withheld payment of taxes to the zamindars and the whole population of Chirala-Perala refused to pay taxes and vacated the town en-mass. Hundreds of village Patels and Shanbagues resigned their jobs. Non-Cooperation movement in Tamil Nadu was organised and led by stalwarts like C. Rajagopalachari, S. Satyamurthi and Periyar E.V.R. In Kerala, peasants organized anti-jenmi struggles.

The Viceroy admitted in a letter to the Secretary of State that the movement had seriously affected lower classes in certain areas of UP, Bengal, Assam, Bihar and Orissa the peasants have been affected. Impressed by the intensity of the movement, in a special session the Congress reiterated the intensification of the movement. In February 1922 Gandhi announced that he would lead a mass civil disobedience, including no tax

campaigns, at Bardoli, if the government did not ensure press freedom and release the prisoners within seven days.

(e) Chauri Chaura Incident and Withdrawal of the Movement

The common people and the nationalist workers were exuberant that Swaraj would dawn soon and participated actively in the struggle. It had attracted all classes of people including the tribals living in the jungles. But at the same time sporadic violence was also witnessed along with arson. In Malabar and Andhra two very violent revolts also took place. In the Rampa region of coastal Andhra the tribals revolted under the leadership of Alluri Sitarama Raju. In Malabar, Muslim (Mapilla) peasants rose up in armed rebellion against upper caste landholders and the British government.

Chauri-Chaura, a village in Gorakhpur district of UP had an organized volunteer group which was participating and leading the picketing of liquor shops and local bazaar against high prices. On 5 February 1922, a Congress procession, 3000 strong, was fired upon by police. Enraged by the firing, the mob attacked and burnt down the police station. 22 policemen lost their lives. It was this incident which made Gandhi announce the suspension of the non-cooperation movement.

The Congress Working Committee ratified the decision at Bardoli, to the disappointment of the nationalist workers. While the younger workers resented the decision, the others who had faith in Gandhi considered it a tactical retreat. Both Jawaharlal Nehru and Subhas Bose were critical of Gandhi, who was arrested and sentenced to 6 years in prison. Thus ended the non-cooperation movement.

The Khilafat issue was made redundant when the people of Turkey under the leadership of Mustafa Kamal Pasha rose in revolt and stripped the Sultan of his political power and abolished the Caliphate and declared that religion and politics could not go together.

Swarajist Party and its Activities

Following the suspension of Non-cooperation the question was what next? Chittaranjan Das and Motilal Nehru proposed a new line of activity. They wanted to return to active politics which included entry into electoral politics and demonstrate that the nationalists were capable of obstructing the working of the reformed legislature by capturing them and arousing nationalist spirit. This group came to be called the 'Swarajists and pro-changers'. In Tamil Nadu, Satyamurti joined this group.

There was another group which opposed council entry and wanted to continue the Gandhian line by mobilizing the masses. This team led by Rajagopalachari, Vallabhai Patel and Rajendra Prasad was called 'No changers.' They argued that electoral politics would divert the attention of nationalists and pull them away from the work of mass mobilization and their issues. They favoured the continuation of the Gandhian constructive programme of spinning, temperance, Hindu-Muslim unity, removal of

untouchability and mobilise rural masses and prepare them for new mass movements. The pro-changers launched the Swarajya party as a part of the Congress. A truce was soon worked out and both the groups would engage themselves in the Congress programmes and their work should complement each other's activities under the leadership of Gandhi, though Gandhi personally favoured constructive work.

The Swarajya party did reasonably well in the elections to Central Assembly by winning 42 of the 101 seats open for election. With the cooperation of other members they were able to stall many anti-people legislations of the colonial regime, and were successful in exposing the inadequacy of the Act of 1919. But their efforts and enthusiasm petered out as time passed by and consciously or unconsciously they came to be co-opted by the Government as members of several committees constituted by it.

In the absence of nationalist mass struggle, fissiparous tendencies started rising their head. There were a series of communal riots with fundamentalist elements occupying the space. Even the Swaraj party was affected by the sectarianism as one group in the name of 'responsivists' started cooperating with the government, claiming to safeguard "Hindu interests". The Muslim fundamentalists similarly seized the space created by the lull in national struggle and started fanning communal feeling. Rise of Left Radicalism Gandhi was pained at the developments. To contain the communal frenzy he went on a 21 day fast.

Left Movement

Meanwhile socialist ideas and its activists also had filled some space through their work among peasants and workers. The labour and peasant movements were organized by the 'leftists'. Marxism as an ideology to criticise colonialism and capitalism had gained ground. It manifested itself in the organization of students and youth apart from trade unions. Jawaharlal Nehru and Subhas Bose contributed to the spread of leftist ideology. They argued that both colonial exploitation and the internal exploitation by the emerging capitalists should be fought. A group of youngsters with S A. Dange, M.N Roy, Muzaffar Ahmed along with elderly persons such as Singaravelu from Tamilnadu founded the peasants and worker's parties. The government came down heavily on the communist-socialists and the revolutionaries a series of 'conspiracy cases' such as Kanpur, Meerut, Kakori were booked.

It was at this juncture Bhagat Singh, Chandrashekar Azad, Rajguru and Sukhdev emerged on the scene. The Naujawan Bharat Sabha, Hindustan Republican Association were started and thousands of youngmen and women became active anti-colonialists and revolutionaries. Youth and student conferences were organized all over the country. Meanwhile Ramprasad Bismil and Ashfaq-ullah were convicted to death and 17 others were sentenced to long term imprisonment in the Kakori conspiracy case. Bhagat Singh, Chandrashekar Azad and Rajguru, enraged at the police brutality and death of Lajpat Rai, killed Saunders, the British police officer who led the lathi charge at Lahore. Bhagat Singh and Batukeswar Dutt threw a bomb into the central Assembly hall on 8 April 1929. In 1929 the Meerut conspiracy case was filed and three dozen

communist leaders were sentenced to long spells of jail terms. All these developments and incidents are discussed in detail in the next lesson.

Simon Commission- Nehru Report - Lahore Congress

The British were due to consider and announce another instalment of constitutional reforms some time in 1929-30. In preparation, it announced the setting up of Indian Statutory commission (known as 'Simon Commission' after its chairman). The commission had only whitemen as members and it was an insult to Indians. The Congress at its annual session in Madras in 1927 resolved to boycott the commission. The Muslim League and the Hindu Mahasabha also supported the decision. A series of conferences were held and the consensus was to work for an alternative proposal. Most of the parties agreed to challenge the colonial attitude towards India and the result was the Motilal Nehru Report. However the All- Parties meet held in 1928 December at Calcutta failed to accept it on the issue of communal representation.

Simon Go Back

But the most important development was the popular protest against the Simon Commission. Whenever the commission went protests were held and the slogan 'Simon Go Back' rent the air. The movement demonstrated that the masses were gearing up for the next stage of the struggle. It was at Calcutta that the Congress met in December 1928. To conciliate the left wing it was announced that Jawaharlal would be the President of the next session in 1929. Thus Jawaharlal Nehru, son of Motilal Nehru, who presided over Congress in 1928, succeeded his father.

Lahore Congress Session-Poorna Swaraj

Lahore session of the Congress has a special significance in the history of the freedom movement. It was at the Lahore session that the Congress declared that the objective of the Congress was the attainment of complete independence. On 31 December 1929 the tricolour flag of freedom was hoisted at Lahore. It was also decided that 26 January would be celebrated as the Independence day every year.

It was also announced that civil disobedience would be started under the leadership of Gandhi

Dandi March

As a part of the movement Gandhi announced the 'Dandi March'. It was a protest against the unjust tax on salt, which is used by all. But the colonial government was taxing it and had a near monopoly over it. The Dandi March was to cover 375 kms from Gandhi's Sabarmati Ashram to Dandi on the Gujarat coast. Joined by a chosen band of 78 followers from all regions and social groups, after informing the colonial government in advance, Gandhi set out on the march and reached Dandi on the 25th day i.e. 6 April 1930. Throughout the period of the march the press covered the event in such a way that it had caught the attention of the entire world. He broke the salt law by picking up a fist

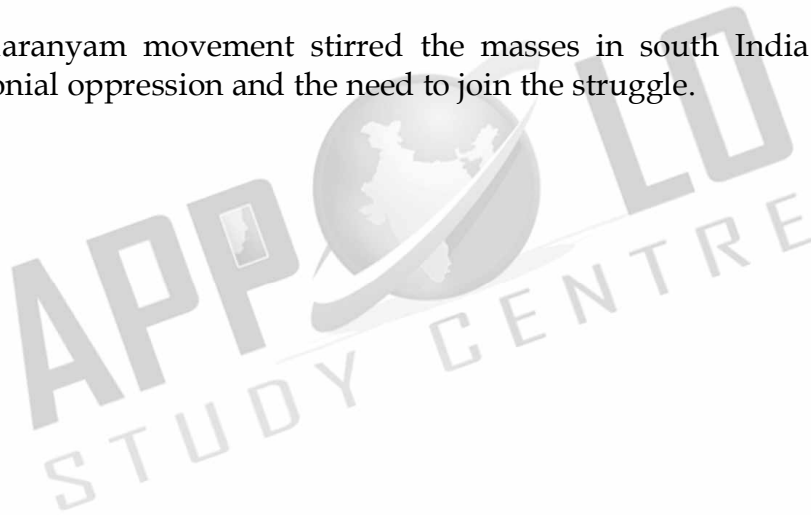
full of salt. It was symbolic of the refusal of Indians to be under the repressive colonial government and its unjust laws.

Vedaranyam Salt Satyagraha

In Tamilnadu, a salt march was led by Chakravarthi Rajagopalachari (Rajaji) to Vedaranyam. Vedaranyam, situated 150 miles from Tiruchirapalli from where march started was an obscure coastal village in Thanjavur district. Rajaji had just been elected president of the Tamilnadu Congress. The march started on 13th April and reached Vedaranyam on 28th April 1930.

The Thanjavur collector J.A Thorne had warned the public of severe action if the marchers were harboured. But the Satyagrahis were warmly welcomed and provided with food and shelter. Those who dared to offer food and shelter were severely dealt with. The Satyagrahis marched via Kumbakonam, Semmangudi, Thiruthuraipoondi where they were given good reception.

The Vedaranyam movement stirred the masses in south India and awakened them to the colonial oppression and the need to join the struggle.





The Round Table Conferences

The Simon Commission had submitted the report to the government. The Congress, Muslim league and Hindu Mahasabha had boycotted it. The British regime went ahead with the consideration of the report. But in the absence of consultations with Indian leaders it would have been useless. In order to secure some legitimacy and credibility to the report, the government announced that it would convene a Round Table Conference (RTC) in London with leaders of different shades of Indian opinion. But the Congress decided to boycott it, on the issue of granting independence. Everyone

knew, more so the government, that it would be an exercise in futility if the Congress did not participate.

Thus negotiations with Congress were started and the Gandhi-Irwin pact was signed on March 5, 1931. It marked the end of civil disobedience in India. The movement had generated worldwide publicity, and Viceroy Irwin was looking for a way to end it. Gandhi was released from custody in January 1931, and the two men began negotiating the terms of the pact. In the end, Gandhi pledged to give up the *satyagraha* campaign, and Irwin agreed to release tens of thousands of Indians who had been jailed during the movement.

That year Gandhi attended the Second Round Table Conference in London as the sole representative of the Congress. The government agreed to allow people to make salt for their consumption, release political prisoners who had not indulged in violence, and permitted the picketing of liquor and foreign cloth shops. The Karachi Congress ratified the Gandhi-Irwin pact. However the Viceroy refused to commute the death sentence of Bhagat Singh and his comrades.

Gandhi attended the Second RTC but the government was adamant and declined to concede his demands. He returned empty handed and the Congress resolved on renewing the civil disobedience movement. The economic depression had worsened the condition of the people in general and of the peasants in particular. There were peasant protests all over the country. The leftists were in the forefront of the struggles of the workers and peasants. The government was determined to crush the movement. All key leaders including Nehru, Khan Abdul Gafar Khan and finally Gandhi were all arrested. The Congress was banned. Special laws were enacted to crush the agitations. Over a lakh of protesters were arrested and literature relating to nationalism was also declared illegal and confiscated. It was a reign of terror that was unleashed on the unarmed masses participating in the movement. The movement started waning and it was officially suspended in May 1933 and withdrawn in May 1934.

Emergence of Dr. B.R. Ambedkar and the Separate Electorates

Dr. Ambedkar came to the centre stage of the struggles of the oppressed world in the 1920's. Born in the then so-called "untouchable" caste called Mahar in Central India as the son of an army man, he was a brilliant student and was the first to matriculate from his community.

Ambedkar's Academic Accomplishments

Ambedkar joined the Elphinston College, with the help of a scholarship and graduated in 1912. With the help of a scholarship from the Maharaja of Barona he went to United States and secured a post-graduate degree, and doctorate, from the Columbia University. Then he went to London to study law and economics.

Ambedkar's brilliance caught the attention of many. Already in 1916, he had participated in an international conference of Anthropology and presented a research paper on 'Castes in India', which was published later in the *Indian Antiquary*. The British government which was searching for talents among the downtrodden of India invited him to interact with the Southborough or the Franchise Committee which was collecting evidence on the quantum and qualifications to be fixed for the Indian voters.

It was in these interactions that Ambedkar first spoke about separate electorates. He argued the untouchables be given separate electorates and reserved seats. Under this scheme only untouchables could vote in the constituencies reserved for them. Ambedkar felt that if any untouchable candidate contesting elections were to depend on non-untouchable voters he or she would be more obliged to the latter and would not therefore be in a position to work at freely for the good of the untouchables. If only untouchable voters were to vote and elect in the reserved seats, those elected would be their real representatives.

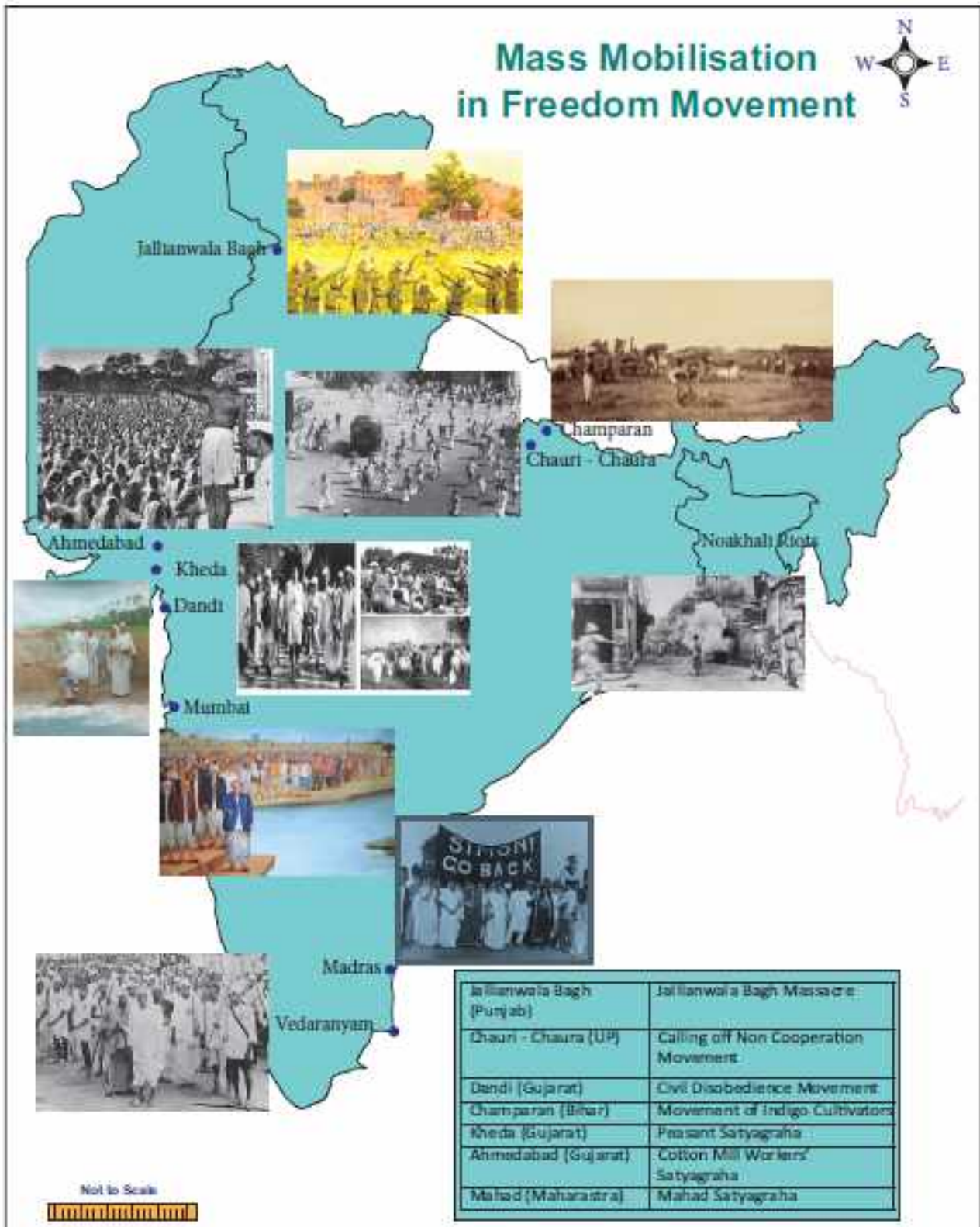
Ambedkar's Activism

Ambedkar launched news journals and organizations. Mook Nayak (leader of the dumb) was the journal to articulate his views and the Bahishkrit Hitakarini Sabha (Association for the welfare of excluded) spearheaded his activities. As a member of the Bombay legislative council he worked tirelessly to secure removal of disabilities imposed on untouchables. He launched the 'Mahad Satyagraha' to establish the civic right of the untouchables to public tanks and wells. Ambedkar's intellectual and public activities drew the attention of all concerned. His intellectual attacks were directed against leaders of the Indian National Congress and the colonial bureaucracy. In the meanwhile the struggle for freedom under Congress and Gandhi's leadership had reached a decisive phase with their declaration that their objective was to fight for complete independence or 'Purna Swaraj'

Ambedkar on Separate Electorate for "Untouchables"

Ambedkar was concerned about the future of "untouchables" and the oppressed in an independent India which was certain to be under the control of Congress under the hegemony of the caste Hindus. He renewed his demand for separate electorates, be it before the All-Parties conference or the Simon commission or at the Round Table Conference. The Congress and Gandhi were worried that separate electorates for untouchables would further weaken the national movement, as separate electorates to Muslims, Anglo Indians and other special interests had helped the British to successfully pursue its divide and rule policy. Gandhi feared that the separation of untouchables from other Hindus politically would also have its social impact.

Mass Mobilisation in Freedom Movement



Not to Scale



Communal Award

A meeting between Gandhi and Ambedkar on this issue of separate electorates before they went to London to attend the Second Round Table Conference ended in failure. There was an encounter between the two again in the RTC about the same issue. It ended in a deadlock and finally the issue was left to be arbitrated by the British Prime Minister Ramsay McDonald. The British government announced in August 1932 what came to be known as the Communal Award. Ambedkar's demands for separate electorates with reserved seats were conceded.

Poona Pact

Gandhi was deeply upset. He declared that he would resist separate electorates to untouchables 'with his life'. He went on a fast unto death in the Yervada jail where he was imprisoned. There was enormous pressure on Ambedkar to save Gandhi's life. Consultations, confabulations, meetings, prayers were held all over and ultimately after a meeting with Gandhi in the jail, the communal award was modified. The new agreement, between Ambedkar and Gandhians, called the 'Poona Pact' was signed.

The Poona Pact took away separate electorates but guaranteed reserved seats for the untouchables. The provision of reserved seats was incorporated in the constitutional changes which were made. It was also built into the Constitution of independent India.

Ambedkar and Party Politics

Ambedkar launched two political parties. The first one was the Independent Labour party in 1937 and the second Scheduled Caste Federation in 1942. The colonial government recognizing his struggles and also to balance its support base used the services of Ambedkar. Thus he was made a member of the Defence Advisory Committee in 1942, and a few months later, a minister in the Viceroy's cabinet.

The crowning recognition of his services to the nation was electing him as the chairman of the Drafting Committee of the independent India's Constitution. After independence Ambedkar was invited to be a member of the Nehru cabinet.

5.Period of radicalism in Anti-imperialist Struggles

Introduction

The influence of the Left-wing in the Indian National Congress and consequently on the struggle for independence was felt in a significant manner from the late 1920s. The Communist Party of India (CPI) was formed, by M.N. Roy, Abani Mukherji, M.P.T. Acharya, Mohammad Ali and Mohammad Shafiq, in Tashkent, Uzbekistan then in the Soviet Union in October 1920. This opened a new radical era in the anti-imperialist struggles in India.

Even though there were many radical groups functioning in India earlier the presence of a Communist state in the form of USSR greatly alarmed the British in India. The first batch of radicals reached Peshawar on 3 June 1921. They were arrested immediately under the charges of being Bolshevik (Russian communist agents) coming to India to create troubles. A series of five conspiracy cases were instituted against them between the years 1922 and 1927. The first of these was the Peshawar Conspiracy case. This was followed by the Kanpur (Bolshevik) Conspiracy case in (1924) and the most famous, the Meerut Conspiracy case (1929). Meanwhile, the CPI was formally founded on Indian soil in 1925 in Bombay.

Various revolutionary groups were functioning then in British India, adopting socialist ideas but were not communist parties. Two revolutionaries - Bhagat Singh of the Hindustan Revolutionary Socialist Association and Kalpana Dutt of the Indian Republican Army that organised repeated raids on the Chittagong Armoury in Bengal will be the focus of the next section. The Karachi Session of the INC and its famous resolutions especially on Fundamental Rights and Duties is dealt with next. The last two topics are about the world-wide economic depression popularly known as Great Depression and its impact on India and Tamil Society and the Industrial Development registered in India in its aftermath. The Great Depression dealt a severe blow to the labour force and peasants and consequently influenced the struggle for independence in a significant way.

Kanpur Conspiracy Case, 1924

The colonial administrators did not take the spread of communist ideas lightly. Radicalism spread across the British Provinces - Bombay, Calcutta and Madras - and industrial centres like Kanpur in United Province (UP) and cities like Lahore where factories had come up quite early. As a result, trade unions emerged in the jute and cotton textile industries, the railway companies across the country and among workers in the various municipal bodies. In order to curb the radicalisation of politics, especially to check what was then called Bolshevism, repressive measures were adopted by the British administration. The Kanpur Conspiracy case of 1924 was one such move. Those charged with the conspiracy were communists and trade unionists.

The accused were arrested spread over a period of six months. Eight of them were charged under Section 121-A of the Indian Penal Code - 'to deprive the King Emperor of his sovereignty of British India, by complete separation of India from imperialistic Britain by a violent revolution', and sent to various jails. The case came before Sessions Judge H.E. Holmes who had earned notoriety while serving as Sessions Judge of Gorakhpur for awarding death sentence to 172 peasants for their involvement in the Chauri Chaura case.

In the Kanpur Conspiracy case, Muzaffar Ahmed, Shaukat Usmani, Nalini Gupta and S. A. Dange were sent to jail, for four years of rigorous imprisonment. The trial and the imprisonment, meanwhile, led to some awareness about the communist activities in India. A Communist Defence Committee was formed in British India to raise funds and engage lawyers for the defence of the accused. Apart from these, the native press in India reported the court proceedings extensively.

The trial in the conspiracy case and the imprisonment of some of the leaders rather than kill the spirit of the radicals gave a fillip to communist activities. In December 1925, a Communist Conference of different communist groups, from all over India, was held. Singaravelu Chettiar from Tamil Nadu took part in this conference. It was from there that the Communist Party of India was established, formally, with Bombay as its Headquarters.

13 persons were originally accused in the Kanpur case: (1) M.N. Roy, (2) Muzaffar Ahmad, (3) Shaukat Usmani, (4) Ghulam Hussain, (5) S.A. Dange, (6) M. Singaravelu, (7) R.L. Sharma, (8) Nalini Gupta, (9) Shamuddin Hassan, (10) M.R.S Velayudhun, (11) Doctor Manilal, (12) Sampurnananda, (13) Satyabhakta. 8 persons were charge-sheeted: M.N. Roy, Muzaffar Ahmad, S.A. Dange, Nalini Gupta, Ghulam Hussain, Singaravelu, Shaukat Usmani, and R.L. Sharma. Ghulam Hussain turned an approver. M.N. Roy and R.L. Sharma were charged in absentia as they were in Germany and Pondicherry (a French Territory) respectively. Singaravelu was released on bail due to his ill health. Finally the list got reduced to four.

M. Singaravelu (18 February 1860 - 11 February 1946), was born in Madras. He was an early Buddhist, and like many other communist leaders, he was also associated with Indian National Congress initially. However, after sometime he chose a radical path. Along with Thiru. V. Kalyanasundaram, he organised many trade unions in South India. On 1 May 1923, he organised the first ever celebration of May Day in the country. He was one of the main organisers of the strike in South Indian Railways (Golden Rock, Tiruchirappalli) in 1928 and was prosecuted for that.

Meerut Conspiracy Case, 1929 Communist Activities

The Meerut Conspiracy Case of 1929, was, perhaps, the most famous of all the communist conspiracy cases instituted by the British Government. The late 1920s witnessed a number of labour upsurges and this period of unrest extended into the decade of the Great Depression (1929–1939). Trade unionism spread over to many urban centres and organised labour strikes. The communists played a prominent role in organising the working class throughout this period. The Kharagpur Railway workshop strikes in February and September 1927, the Liluah Rail workshop strike between January and July 1928, the Calcutta scavengers' strike in 1928, the several strikes in the jute mills in Bengal during July-August 1929, the strike at the Golden Rock workshop of the South Indian Railway, Tiruchirappalli, in July 1928, the textile workers' strike in Bombay in April 1928 are some of the strikes that deserve mention.

Government Repression

Alarmed by this wave of strikes and the spread of communist activities, the British Government brought two draconian Acts - the Trade Disputes Act, 1928 and the Public Safety Bill, 1928. These Acts armed the government with powers to curtail civil liberties in general and suppress the trade union activities in particular. The government was worried about the strong communist influence among the workers and peasants.

Determined to wipe out the radical movement, the government resorted to several repressive measures. They arrested 32 leading activists of the Communist Party, from different parts of British India like Bombay, Calcutta, Punjab, Poona and United Provinces. Most of them were trade union activists though not all of them were members of the Communist Party of India. At least eight of them belonged to the Indian National Congress. The arrested also included three British communists-Philip Spratt, Ban Bradley and Lester Hutchinson - who had been sent by the Communist Party of Great Britain to help build the party in India. Like those arrested in the Kanpur Conspiracy Case they were charged under Section 121A of the Indian Penal Code. All the 32 leaders arrested were brought to Meerut (in United Province then) and jailed. A good deal of documents that the colonial administration described as 'subversive material,' like books, letters, and pamphlets were seized and produced as evidence against the accused.

The British government conceived of conducting the trial in Meerut (and not, for instance in Bombay from where a large chunk of the accused hailed) so that they could get away with the obligations of a jury trial. They feared a jury trial could create sympathy for the accused.

Trial and Punishment

Meanwhile, a National Meerut Prisoners' Defence Committee was formed to coordinate defence in the case. Famous Indian lawyers like K.F. Nariman and M.C. Chagla appeared in the court on behalf of the accused. Even national leaders like Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru visited the accused in jail. All these show the importance of the case in the history of our freedom struggle.

The Sessions Court in Meerut awarded stringent sentences on 16 January 1933, four years after the arrests in 1929. 27 were convicted and sentenced to various duration of transportation. During the trial, the Communists made use of their defence as a platform for propaganda by making political statements. These were reported widely in the newspapers and thus lakhs of people came to know about the communist ideology and the communist activities in India. There were agitations against the conviction. That three British nationals were also accused in the case, the case became known internationally too. Most importantly, even Romain Rolland and Albert Einstein raised their voice in support of the convicted.

Under the national and international pressure, on appeal, the sentences were considerably reduced in July 1933.

Bhagat Singh and Kalpana Dutt

Bhagat Singh's Background

Bhagat Singh represented a distinct strand of nationalism. His radical strand complemented, in a unique way, to the overall ideals of the freedom movement.

Bhagat Singh was born to Kishan Singh (father) and Vidyavati Kaur (mother) on 28 September 1907 in Jaranwala, Lyallpur district, Punjab, now a part of Pakistan. His father was a liberal and his family was a family of freedom fighters. The Jallianwala Bagh massacre happened when Bhagat Singh was 14 years. Early in his youth, he was associated with the Naujawan Bharat Sabha and the Hindustan Republican Association. The latter organisation was founded by Sachin Sanyal and Jogesh Chatterji. It was reorganised subsequently in September 1928 as the Hindustan Socialist Republican Association (H.S.R.A) by Bhagat Singh and his comrades. Socialist ideals and the October Revolution in Russia of 1917 were large influences on these revolutionaries. Bhagat Singh was one of the leaders of the H.S.R.A along with Chandrashekhar Azad, Shivaram Rajguru and Sukhdev Thapar.

"I began to study. My previous faith and convictions underwent a remarkable modification. The romance of the violent methods alone which was so prominent among our predecessors was replaced by serious ideas. No more mysticism, no more blind faith. Realism became our cult. Use of force justifiable when resorted to as a matter of terrible necessity: non-violence as a policy indispensable for all mass movements. So much about methods. The most important thing was the clear conception of the ideal for which we were to fight..... from Bhagat Singh's "Why I am an Atheist".

Bhagat Singh's Bomb Throwing

The image that comes to our mind at the very mention of Bhagat Singh's name is that of the bomb he threw in the Central Legislative Assembly on April 8, 1929. The

bombs did not kill anybody. It was intended as a demonstrative action, an act of protest against the draconian laws of the British. They chose the day on which the Trade Disputes Bill, an anti-labour legislation was introduced in the assembly.

Lahore Conspiracy Case

Bhagat Singh along with Rajguru, Sukhdev, Jatindra Nath Das and 21 others were arrested and tried for the murder of Saunders (the case was known as the Second Lahore Conspiracy Case). Jatindra Nath Das died in the jail after 64 days of hunger strike against the discriminatory practices and poor conditions in jail. The verdict in the bomb throwing case had been suspended until the trial of Lahore Conspiracy trials was over. It was in this case that Bhagat Singh, Rajguru and Sukhdev were sentenced to death on 7 October 1930.

A letter from them to the Governor of Punjab shows their courage and their optimism over the future of India even while facing death for the cause of freedom of their country. It says, 'the days of capitalism and imperialism are numbered. The war neither began with us nor is going to end with our lives... According to the verdict of your court we had waged a war and we are therefore war prisoners. And we claim to be treated as such i.e., we claim to be shot dead instead of being hanged.'

Some narratives describe Bhagat Singh and his fellow patriots as terrorists. This is a misconception. The legendary Bhagat Singh clarified how his group is different from the terrorists. He said, during his trial, that revolution is not just the cult of bomb and pistol... Revolution is the inalienable right of mankind. Freedom is the imperishable birth-right of all. The labourer is the real sustainer of society.. To the altar of this revolution we have brought our youth as incense, for no sacrifice is too great for so magnificent a cause.' Symbolically, they also shouted Inquilab Zindabad after this defence statement of his in the court.

Bhagat Singh, Rajguru and Sukhdev were hanged early in the morning of March 23, 1931 in the Lahore Jail. They faced the gallows with courage, shouting Inquilab Zindabad and Down with British Imperialism until their last breath. The history of freedom struggle is incomplete without the revolutionary strand of nationalism and the ultimate sacrifice of these revolutionaries. One more name in the list of such fighters is Kalpana Dutt.

Kalpana Dutt (1913–1995)

In the late 1920s a young woman, Kalpana Dutt (known as Kalpana Joshi after her marriage to the communist leader P.C. Joshi), fired the patriotic imagination of young people by her daring raid of the Chittagong armoury.

To understand the heroism of Kalpana Dutt, you should understand the revolutionary strand of nationalism that attracted women like her to these ideals. You have already learnt that there existed many revolutionary groups in British India. The

character of these organisations gradually changed from being ones that practiced individual annihilation to organising collective actions aimed at larger changes in the system.

As Surya Sen, the revolutionary leader of Chittagong armoury raid, told Ananda Gupta, 'a dedicated band of youth must show the path of organised armed struggle in place of individual action. Most of us will have to die in the process but our sacrifice for such noble cause will not go in vain.' When revolutionary groups like the Yugantar and the Anushilan Samiti began stagnating in the mid-1920s, new groups sprang out of them. Among them, the most important group was the one led by Surya Sen, a school teacher by profession, in Bengal. He had actively participated in the Non-cooperation movement and wore Khadi. His group was closely working with the Chittagong unit of the Indian National Congress.

The H.S.R.A was a renewed chapter of the Hindustan Republican Association. Its aim was the overthrow of the capitalist and imperialist government and establish a socialist society through a revolution. The H.S.R.A involved a number of actions such as the murder of Saunders in Lahore. In that, Saunders was mistaken for the Superintendent of Police, Lahore, James A. Scott who was responsible for seriously assaulting Lajpat Rai, in December 1928, and Rai's subsequent death. They also made an attempt to blow up the train in which Lord Irwin (Governor General and Viceroy of India, 1926-1931) was travelling, in December 1929, and a large number of such actions in Punjab and UP in 1930.

Chittagong Armoury Raid

Surya Sen's revolutionary group, the Indian Republican Army, was named after the Irish Republican Army. They planned a rebellion to occupy Chittagong in a guerrilla-style operation. The Chittagong armouries were raided on the night of 18 April 1930. Simultaneous attacks were launched on telegraph offices, the armoury and the police barracks to cut off all communication networks including the railways to isolate the region. It was aimed at challenging the colonial administration directly.

The revolutionaries hoisted the national flag and symbolically shouted slogans such as Bande Matram and Inquilab Zindabad. The raids and the resistance continued for the next three years. Often, they operated from the villages and the villagers, gave food and shelter to the revolutionaries and suffered greatly at the hands of police for this. Due to the continuous nature of the actions, there was an Armoury Raid Supplementary Trial too. It took three years to arrest Surya Sen, in February 1933, and eleven months before he was sent to the gallows on 12 January 1934. Kalpana Dutt was among those who participated in the raids.

On 13 June 1932 in a face-to-face battle against government forces, two of the absconders of the Armoury Raid were killed, while they in turn killed Capt. Cameron, Commander of the government forces in the village of Dhalghat in the house of a poor Brahmin widow, Savitri Debi. After the incident the widow was arrested together with her children. Despite many offers and temptations, not a word could the police get out of the widow. They were uneducated and poor, yet they resisted all the temptation offers of gold and unflinchingly could bear all the tortures that were inflicted upon them.

–From Kalpana Dutt’s autobiography Chittagong Armoury Raiders’ Reminiscences.

Women in Action

While Bhagat Singh represented young men who dedicated their lives to the freedom of the country, Kalpana Dutt represented the young women who defied the existing patriarchal set up and took to arms for the liberation of their motherland. Not only did they act as messengers (as elsewhere) but they also participated in direct actions, fought along with men, carrying guns.

Kalpana Dutt’s active participation in the revolutionary Chittagong movement led to her arrest. Tried along with Surya Sen, Kalpana was sentenced to transportation for life. The charge was “waging war against the King Emperor.” As all their activities started with the raid on the Armoury, the trial came to be known as the Chittagong Armoury Raid Trial.

Kalpana Dutt recalls in her book Chittagong Armoury Raiders Reminiscences the revolutionary youth of Chittagong wanted “to inspire self-confidence by demonstrating that even without outside help it was possible to fight the Government.

Karachi Session of the Indian National Congress, 1931

The Indian National Congress, in contrast to the violent actions of revolutionaries, mobilised the masses for non-violent struggles. The Congress under the leadership of Gandhi gave priority to the problems of peasants. In the context of great agrarian distress, deepened by world-wide economic depression, the Congress mobilised the peasantry. The Congress adopted a no-rent and no-tax campaign as a part of its civil disobedience programme. Under the pressure of Great Depression, socio-economic demands were sharply articulated in its Karachi Session of the Indian National Congress.

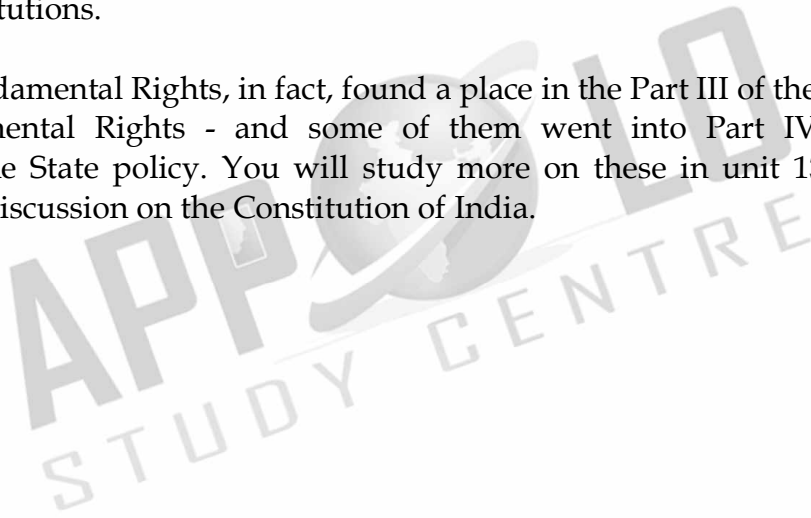
The freedom struggle was taking a new shape. Peasants organised themselves into Kisan Sabhas and industrial workers were organized by the trade unions, made their presence felt in a big way in the freedom struggle. The Indian National Congress had become a mass party during the 1930s. The Congress leadership, which was now taking a left turn under Nehru’s leadership, began to talk about an egalitarian society based on social and economic justice.

The Karachi session held in March 1931, presided over by Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, adopted a resolution on Fundamental Rights and Duties and provided an insight into what the economic policy of an independent India. In some ways, it was the manifesto of the Indian National Congress for independent India. These rights and the social and economic programmes were derived from a firm conviction that political freedom and economic freedom were inseparable.

Even a cursory look at the fundamental rights resolution will tell you that all the basic rights that the British denied to the Indians found a prominent place in the Resolution. The colonial government curtailed civil liberties and freedom by passing draconian acts and ordinances. Gandhian ideals and Nehru's socialist vision also found a place in the list of rights that the Indian National Congress promised to ensure in free India.

The existing social relations, especially the caste system and the practice of untouchability, were also challenged with a promise to ensure equal access to public places and institutions.

The Fundamental Rights, in fact, found a place in the Part III of the Constitution of India- Fundamental Rights - and some of them went into Part IV, the Directive Principles of the State policy. You will study more on these in unit 13 of the second volume in the discussion on the Constitution of India.



The Great Depression and its Impact on India

The Great Depression was a severe and prolonged economic crisis which lasted for about a decade from 1929. The slowdown of the economic activities, especially industrial production, led to crises like lockouts, wage cut, unemployment and starvation. It began in North America and affected Europe and all the industrial centres in the world. As the world was integrated by the colonial order in its economic sphere, developments in one part of the world affected other parts as well.

The crash in the Wall Street (where the American Stock Exchange was located) triggered an economic depression of great magnitude. The Depression hit India too. British colonialism aggravated the situation in India. Depression affected both industrial and agrarian sectors. Labour unrest broke out in industrial centres such as Bombay, Calcutta, Kanpur, United Province and Madras against wage cuts, lay-offs and for the betterment of living conditions. In the agriculture sector, prices of the agricultural products, which depended on export markets like jute and raw cotton fell steeply. The depression brought down the value of Indian exports from Rs. 311 crores in 1929–1930 to Rs 132 crores in 1932–33. Therefore, the 1930s witnessed the emergence of the Kisan Sabhas which fought for rent reduction, relief from debt traps and even for the abolition of Zamindari.

The only positive impact was on the Indian industrial sector that could use the availability of land at reduced prices and labour at cheap wage rates. The weakening ties with Britain and other capitalist countries created a condition where growth was recorded in some of the Indian industries. Yet only the industries which fed the local consumption thrived.

Industrial Development in India

The British trade policy took a heavy toll on the indigenous industry. Industrialization of India was not part of British policy. Like other colonies, India was treated as a raw material procurement area and a market for their finished goods.

Despite this, industrial expansion took place in India, because of certain unforeseen circumstances, first during the course of the First World War and then during the Great Depression.

The first Indian to start a cotton mill was Cowasjee Nanabhoy Davar (1815–73), a Parsi, in Bombay in 1854. This was known as the Bombay Spinning and Weaving Company. The city's leading traders, mostly Parsis, contributed to this endeavour. The American Civil War (1861–65) was a boon to the cotton farmers. But after the Civil War when Britain continued to import cotton from America, Indian cotton cultivators came to grief. But Europeans started textile mills in India, taking advantage of the cheapness of cotton available. Ahmedabad textiles mills were established by Indian entrepreneurs and both Ahmedabad and Bombay became prominent centres of cotton mills. By 1914,

there were 129 spinning, weaving and other cotton mills within Bombay presidency. Between 1875-76 and 1913-14, the number of cotton textile mills in India increased from 47 to 271.

An important landmark in the establishment of industries in India was the expansion of the railways system in India. The first passenger train ran in 1853, connecting Bombay with Thane. By the first decade of the twentieth century, railways was the biggest engineering industry in India. This British-managed industry, run by railway companies, employed 98,723 persons in 1911. The advent of railways and other means of transport and communication facilities helped the development of various industries.

Jute was yet another industry that picked up in India in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. The first jute mill in Calcutta was founded in 1855. The growth of jute industry was so rapid and by 1914, there were 64 mills in Calcutta Presidency. However, unlike the Bombay textile industry, these mills were owned by Europeans. Though the industrial development in the nineteenth century was mainly confined to very limited sectors like cotton, jute, etc., efforts were made to diversify the sectors. For example, the Bengal Coal Company was set up in 1843 in Raiganj by Dwarakanath Tagore (1794-1847), grandfather of Rabindranath Tagore. The coal industry picked up after 1892 and its growth peaked during First World War years.

It was in the early twentieth century, industries in India began to diversify. The first major steel industry – Tata Iron and Steel Company (TISCO) – was set up by the Tatas in 1907 as a part of swadeshi effort in Sakchi, Bihar. Prior to this, a group of Europeans had attempted in 1875 to found the Bengal Iron Company. Following this, the Bengal Iron and Steel Company was set up in 1889. However, TISCO made a huge headway than the other endeavours in this sector. Its production increased from 31,000 tons in 1912-13 to 1,81,000 tons in 1917-18.

The First World War gave a landmark break to the industrialisation of the country. For the first time, Britain's strategic position in the East was challenged by Japan. The traditional trade routes were vulnerable to attack. To meet the requirements, development of industries in India became necessary. Hence, Britain loosened its grip and granted some concessions to the Indian capitalists. Comparative relaxation of control by the British government and the expansion of domestic market due to the War, facilitated the process of industrialisation. For the first time, an industrial commission was appointed in 1916. During the war-period, the cotton and jute industries showed much growth. Steel industry was yet another sector marked by substantial growth.

Other industries showing progress were paper, chemicals, cement, fertilisers, tanning, etc. The first Indian owned paper mill – Couper Paper Mill – was set up in 1882 in Lucknow. Following this, Itaghur Paper Mill and Bengal Paper Mill, both owned by Europeans, were established. Cement manufacturing began in 1904 in Madras with the establishment of South Indian Industries Ltd. Tanning industry began in the late nineteenth century and a government leather factory was set up in 1860 in Kanpur. The

first Indian-owned National Tannery was established in 1905 in Calcutta. The gold mining in Kolar also started in the late nineteenth century in the Kolar mining field, Mysore.

The inter-war period registered growth in manufacturing industries. Interestingly the growth rate was far better than Britain and even better than the world average. After a short slug in 1923–24, the output of textile industry began to pick up. During the interwar period, the number of looms and spindles increased considerably.

In 1929–30, 44 per cent of the total amount of cotton piece goods consumed in India came from outside, but by 1933–34, after the Great Depression, the proportion had fallen to 20.5 percent. Other two industries which registered impressive growth were sugar and cement. The Interwar years saw a growth in the shipping industry too. The Scindia Steam Navigation Company Limited (1919) was the pioneer. In 1939, they even took over the Bombay Steam Navigation Company Ltd., a British concern. Eight Indian concerns were operational in this sector. A new phase of production began with the Second World War, which led to the extension of manufacturing industries to machineries, aircrafts, locomotives, and so on

Jamsetji Nusserwanji Tata, popularly known as J. N. Tata (1839– 1904), came from a Parsi (Zoroastrian) business family in Navsari, Baroda. The first successful Indian entrepreneur, he is called the father of the Indian modern industry. In order to help his father's business, he travelled all over the world and this exposure helped him in his future endeavours. His trading company, established in 1868, evolved into the Tata Group. A nationalist, he called one of the mills established in Kurla, Bombay "Swadeshi". His children Dorabji Tata and Ratanji Tata followed his dream and it was Dorabji Tata who finally realised the long term dream of his father to establish an iron and steel company in 1907. His enthusiasm was such that he spent two years in US to learn from the American Iron Industrialists. His yet another dream to set up a hydroelectric company did not materialize during his life time. However, the first major Hydroelectric project - Tata Hydroelectric Company-was set up in 1910. With great foresight the Tatas founded the Indian Institute of Science, Bangalore.

Industrial Development in Tamilnadu during the Depression

The industrial growth in the Madras Presidency was substantial. In Coimbatore, after Stanes Mill (Coimbatore Spinning and Weaving Mills) was established in 1896, no other mill could come up. The objective conditions created by the Depression like fall in prices of land, cheapness of labour and low interest rates led to the expansion of textile industry in Coimbatore. Twenty nine mills and ginning factories were floated in the Coimbatore area during 1929-37. A cement factory started at Madukkarai in Coimbatore district in 1932 gave fillip to the cement industry in the state. The number of sugar

factories in the province rose from two to eleven between 1931 and 1936. There were also proliferation of rice mills, oil mills and cinema enterprise during this period.

6. Religion in Nationalist Politics

Introduction

Before the establishment of British Raj, Mughals and their agents had ruled large parts of the country. Large sections of the Muslims therefore enjoyed the advantages of being the co-religionists of the ruling class many of whom were sovereigns, landlords, the generals and officials. The official and court language was Persian. When the British gradually replaced them they introduced a new system of administration. By the mid-nineteenth century English education predominated. The 1857 rebellion was the last gasp of the earlier ruling class. Following the brutal suppression of the revolt, the Muslims lost everything, their land, their job and other opportunities and were reduced to the state of penury. Unable to reconcile to the condition to which they were reduced, the Muslims retreated into a shell. And for the first few generations after 1857 they hated everything British. Besides they resented competing with the Hindus who had taken recourse to the new avenues opened by colonialism. With the emergence of Indian nationalism especially among the educated Hindu upper castes, the British saw in the Muslim middle class a force to keep the Congress in check. They cleverly exploited the situation for the promotion of their own interests. The competing three strands of nationalism namely Indiannationalism, Hindu nationalism, and Muslim nationalism are dealt with in this lesson.

Origin and Growth of Communalism in British India

(a) Hindu Revivalism

Some of the early nationalists believed that nationalism could be built only on a Hindu foundation. As pointed out by Sarvepalli Gopal, Hindu, revivalism found its voice in politics through the Arya Samaj, founded in 1875, with its assertion of superior qualities of Hinduism. The organization of cow protection leagues in large parts of North India in the late nineteenth century gave a fillip to Hindu communalism. The effort of organizations such as Arya Samaj was strengthened by the Theosophical movement led by Annie Besant from 1891. Besant identified herself with Hindu nationalists and expressed her ideas as follows: 'The Indian work is first of all the revival, strengthening

and uplifting of ancient religions. This has brought with it a new self-respect, a pride in the past, a belief in the future and as an inevitable result, a great wave of patriotic life, the beginning of the rebuilding of a nation.'

(b) Rise of Muslims Consciousness

Islam on the other hand, to quote Sarvepalli Gopal again, was securing its articulation through the Aligarh movement. The British, by building the Aligarh college and backing Syed Ahmed Khan, had assisted the birth of a Muslim national party and Muslim political ideology. The Wahabi movement had also created cleavage in Hindu-Muslim relations. The Wahabis wanted to take Islam to its pristine purity and to end the superstition which according to them had sapped its vitality. From the Wahabis to the Khilafatists, grassroots activism played a significant role in the politicization of Muslims.

Muslim consciousness developed due to other reasons as well. The Bengal government's order in the 1870s to replace Urdu by Hindi, and the Perso-Arabic script by Nagri script in the courts and offices created apprehension in the minds of the Muslim professional group.

(c) Divide and Rule Policy of British

The object of the British was to check the development of a composite Indian identity, and to forestall attempts at consolidation and unification of Indians. The British imperialism followed the policy of Divide and Rule. Bombay Governor Elphinstone wrote, 'Divide at Impera was the old Roman motto and it should be ours.' The British government lent legitimacy and prestige to communal ideology and politics despite the governance challenge that communal riots posed. The consequence of such sectarian approaches by all parties led to increasing animosity between Hindus and Muslims in northern India which had its fall out in other parts of India as well. The last decades of the nineteenth century was marked by a number of Hindu-Muslim riots. Even in south India, there was a major riot in Salem in July-August 1882.

(d) Cow Slaughter and Communal Riots

In July 1893, a dispute arose between Hindus and Muslims in Azamgarh district in the North-West Provinces. The riots that followed spread over a vast area, encompassing the United Provinces, Bihar, Gujarat and Bombay, claiming over a hundred lives. Gaurakshini Sabhas (cow protection leagues) were becoming more militant and there were reports of forcible interference with the sale or slaughter of cows. The riots over cow-slaughter became frequent after 1893 and 15 major riots of this type brokeout in the Punjab alone between 1883 and 1891. Cow protectionists in the Punjab, the activities of Gaurakshini Sabhas in the Central Provinces, the campaigners for the recognition of Devanagiri as official language in courts and government offices in the United Provinces were also involved in the Congress organization.

(e) Failure of Congress and Government to combat Communalism

The Indian National Congress, despite its secular and nationalist claims was unable to prevent the involvement of its members in the activities of Hindu communal organisations. This was a major factor in the Muslim distrust of the Congress. Congressmen's participation in shuddhi and sangathan campaigns of the Arya Samaj further estranged Hindus and Muslims. The British government could have adopted measures to outlaw Cow Protection Associations or to arrest the rank communalists who were causing distrust among the people. But the British deliberately dodged the issue, as the identification of the Congressmen with revivalist and communal causes provoked anti-Congress feelings among Muslims in North India. The Secretary of State Hamilton considered the development a happy augury for he was earlier worried over the growing solidarity among various social and religious groups in the context of the foundation of the Indian National Congress.

'One hardly knows what to wish for, unity of ideas and action would be very dangerous politically; divergence of ideas and collision are administratively troublesome. Of the two, the latter is the least risky, though it throws anxiety and responsibility upon those on the spot where the friction exists.'- Hamilton to the Viceroy Elgin

(f) Moves of the Congress

Though many congress men had involvement in Hindu organisations like Arya Samaj, the Congress leadership was secular. When there was an attempt by some Congressmen to pass a resolution in the third session of the Indian National Congress, making cow killing a penal offence, the Congress leadership refused to entertain it. The Congress subsequently resolved that if any resolution affecting a particular class or community was objected to by the delegates representing that community, even though they were in minority, it would not be considered by the Congress.

(g) Role of Syed Ahmed Khan

Sir Syed Ahmed Khan, the founder of Aligarh movement was initially supportive of the Congress. Soon he was converted to the thinking that in a country governed by Hindus, Muslims would be helpless, as they would be in a minority. However, there were Muslim leaders like Badruddin Tyabji, Rahmatullah Sayani in Mumbai, Nawab Syed Mohammed Bahadur in Chennai and A. Rasul in Bengal who supported the Congress. But the majority of Muslims in north India toed the line of Syed Ahmed, and preferred to support the British. The introduction of representative institutions and of open competition to government posts gave rise to apprehensions amongst Muslims and prompted Syed and his followers to work for close collaboration with the Government. By collaborating with the Government Syed Ahmed Khan hoped to secure for his community a bigger share than otherwise would be due according to the principles of number or merit.

The foundation of the 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 Syed Ahmed Khan and other Muslim leaders like Syed Ameer Ali, the first Indian to find a place in London Privy Council, projected the Congress as a representative body of only the Hindus. Of these 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 unfavourable reaction among the rulers against their community.

(h) Religion in Local Body Elections

Democratic politics had the unintended effect of fostering communal tendencies. Local administrative bodies in the 1880s provided the scope for pursuing communal politics. Municipal councillors acquired vast powers of patronage which were used to build-up one's political base. Hindus wresting the control of municipal boards from the Muslims and vice-versa led to communalisation of local politics.

Lal Chand, the principal spokesperson of the Punjab Hindu Sabha and later the leader of Arya Samaj, highlighted the extent to which some Municipalities were organised on communal lines: 'The members of the Committee arrange themselves in two rows, around the presidential chair. On the left are seated the representatives of the banner of Islam and on the right the descendants of old Rishis of Aryavarta. By this arrangement the members are constantly reminded that they are not simply Municipal Councillors, but they are as Muhammedans versus Hindus and vice-versa....'.

(i) Week-kneed Policy of the Congress

At the dawn of twentieth century, during the Swadeshi Movement in Bengal (1905-06), Muslim supporters of the Swadeshi movement were condemned as "Congress touts." The silence of the Congress and its refusal to deal with such elements frontally not only provided stimulus to communal politics but also demoralized and discouraged the nationalist Muslims. Hindu communalism had also gathered strength round this time. It derived its sustenance from the view that the history of Muslim rule in India was characterised by degradation of the Hindus through forcible conversion, imposition of jizya, strict application of the shariat and the destruction of the places of worship. History textbooks and literature based on the prejudiced views of British writers added fuel to such views.

Hindu and Muslim Communalism were products of middle class infighting utterly divorced from the consciousness of the Hindu and Muslim masses. —Jawaharlal Nehru

The situation took a turn for the worst in the first decade of the twentieth century when political radicalism went hand in hand with religious conservatism. Tilak, Aurobindo Gosh and Lala Lajpat Rai aroused anti-colonial consciousness by using

religious symbols, festivals and platforms. The most aggravating factor was Tilak's effort to mobilise Hindus through the Ganapati festival. The Punjab Hindu Sabha founded in 1909 laid the foundation for Hindu communal ideology and politics. Lal Chand spared no efforts to condemn the Indian National Congress of pursuing a policy of appeasement towards Muslims.

Formation of All India Muslim League

On 1 October 1906, a 35-member delegation of the Muslim nobles, aristocrats, legal professionals and other elite sections of the community mostly associated with Aligarh movement gathered at Simla under the leadership of Aga Khan to present an address to Lord Minto, the viceroy. They demanded proportionate representation of Muslims in government jobs, appointment of Muslim judges in High Courts and members in Viceroy's council, etc. Though the Simla deputation failed to obtain any positive commitment from the Viceroy, it worked as a catalyst for the foundation of the All India Muslim League (AIML) to safeguard the interests of the Muslims in 1907. A group of big zamindars, erstwhile Nawabs and ex-bureaucrats became active members of this movement. The League supported the partition of Bengal, demanded separate electorates for Muslims, and pressed for safeguards for Muslims in Government Service.

Objectives of All India Muslim League

The All India Muslim League, the first centrally organized political party exclusively for Muslims, had the following objectives:

To promote among the Muslims of India feelings of loyalty to the British Government, and remove any misconception that may arise as to the instruction of Government with regard to any of its measures.

To protect and advance the political rights and interests of Muslims of India, and to respectfully represent their needs and aspirations to the Government.

To prevent the rise among the Muslims of India of any feeling of hostility towards other communities without prejudice to the aforementioned objects of the League.

Initially, AIML was an elitist organization of urbanized Muslims. However, the support of the British Government helped the League to become the sole representative body of Indian Muslims. Within three years of its formation, the AIML successfully achieved the status of separate electorates for the Muslims. It granted separate constitutional identity to the Muslims. The Lucknow Pact (1916) put an official seal on a separate political identity to Muslims.

Separate Electorate or Communal Electorate: Under this arrangement only Muslims could vote for the Muslim candidates. Minto-Morely Reforms, 1909 provided for eight seats to Muslims in the Imperial Legislative Council, out of the 27 non-officials to be elected. In the Legislative Council of the provinces seats reserved for the Muslim

candidates were: Madras 4; Bombay 4; Bengal 5.

(a) Separate Electorates and the Spread of Communalism

The institution of separate electorate was the principle technique adopted by the Government of British India for fostering and spreading communalism. The people were split into separate constituencies so that they voted communally, thought communally, judged the representatives communally and expressed their grievances communally.

That the British did this with ulterior motive was evident from a note sent by one of the British officers to Lady Minto: 'I must send your Excellency a line to say that a very big thing has happened to-day. A work of statesmanship, that will affect Indian History for many a long year. It is nothing less than pulling of 62 million people from joining the ranks of seditious opposition.'

Communalism: Organising a religious group on the basis of its hostility towards the followers of other religions to fight even material issues. Communalism as an ideology or movement has been defined in various ways by various scholars. According to Nehru, communalism is one of the obvious examples of backward-looking people trying to hold on to something that is wholly out of place in the modern world and is essentially opposed to the concept of nationalism. According to another scholar, communalism denotes 'organised attempt of a group to bring about change in the face of resistance from other groups or the government through collective mobilisation based on a narrow ideology.'

The announcement of separate electorates and the incorporation of the principle of "divide and rule" into a formal constitutional arrangement made the estrangement between Hindus and Muslims total.

Emergence of the All India Hindu Mahasabha

In the wake of the formation of the Muslim League and introduction of the Government of India Act of 1909, a move to start a Hindu organisation was in the air. In pursuance of the resolution passed at the fifth Punjab Hindu Conference at Ambala and the sixth conference at Ferozepur, the first all Indian Conference of Hindus was convened at Haridwar in 1915. The All India Hindu Mahasabha was started there with headquarters at Dehra Dun. Provincial Hindu Sabhas were started subsequently in UP, with headquarters at Allahabad and in Bombay and Bihar. While the sabhas in Bombay and Bihar were not active, there was little response in Madras and Bengal.

Predominantly urban in character, the Mahasabha was concentrated in the larger trading cities of north India, particularly in Allahabad, Kanpur, Benares, Lucknow and Lahore. In UP, the Mahasabha, to a large extent was the creation of the educated middle class leaders who were also activists in the Congress. The Khilafat movement gave some respite to the separatist politics of the communalists. As a result, between 1920 and 1922, the Mahasabha ceased to function.

The entry of ulema into politics led Hindus to fear a revived and aggressive Islam. Even important Muslim leaders like Ali brothers had always been Khilafatists first and Congressmen second. The power of mobilisation on religious grounds demonstrated by the Muslims during the Khilafat movement motivated the Hindu communalists to imitate them in mobilising the Hindu masses. Suddhi movement was not a new phenomenon but in the post-Khilafat period it assumed new importance. In an effort to draw Hindus into the boycott of the visit of Prince of Wales in 1921, Swami Shradhananda tried to revive the Mahasabha by organizing cow-protection propaganda.

Before the World War I, Britain had promised to safeguard the interests of the Caliph as well the Kaaba (the holiest seat of Islam). But after Turkey's defeat in the War, they refused to keep their word. The stunned Muslim community showed its displeasure to the British government by starting the Khilafat movement to secure the Caliphate in Turkey.

The bloody Malabar rebellion of 1921, where Muslim peasants were pitted against both the British rulers and Hindu landlords, gave another reason for the renewed campaign of the Hindu Mahasabha. Though the outbreak was basically an agrarian revolt, communal passion ran high in consequence of which Gandhi himself viewed it as a Hindu-Muslim conflict. Gandhi wanted Muslim leaders to tender a public apology for the happenings in Malabar.

(a) Communalism in United Provinces (UP)

The suspension of the non-cooperation movement in 1922 and the abolition of the Caliphate in 1924 left the Muslims in a state of frustration. In the aftermath of Non-Cooperation movement, the alliance between the Khilafatists and the Congress crumbled. There was a fresh spate of communal violence, as Hindus and Muslims, in the context of self-governing institutions created under the Act of 1919, began to stake their political claims and in the process vied with each other to acquire power and position. Of 968 delegates attending the sixth annual conference of the Hindu Mahasabha in Varanasi in August 1923, 56.7 % came from the U.P. The United Provinces (UP), the Punjab, Delhi and Bihar together contributed 86.8 % of the delegates. Madras, Bombay and Bengal combined sent only 6.6% of the delegates. 1920s was a trying period for the Congress. This time the communal tension in the United Province was not only due to the zeal of Hindu and Muslim religious leaders, but was fuelled by the political rivalries of the Swarajists and Liberals.

In Allahabad, Motilal Nehru and Madan Mohan Malaviya confronted each other. When Nehru's faction emerged victorious in the municipal elections of 1923, Malaviya's faction began to exploit religious passions. The District Magistrate Crosthwaite who conducted the investigation reported: 'The Malavia family have deliberately stirred up the Hindus and this has reacted on the Muslims.'

(b) The Hindu Mahasabha

In the Punjab communalism as a powerful movement had set in completely. In 1924 Lala Lajpat Rai openly advocated the partition of the Punjab into Hindu and Muslim Provinces. The Hindu Mahasabha, represented the forces of Hindu revivalism in the political domain, raised the slogan of 'Akhand Hindustan' against the Muslim League's demand of separate electorates for Muslims. Ever since its inception, the Mahasabha's role in the freedom struggle has been rather controversial. While not supportive of British rule, the Mahasabha did not offer its full support to the nationalist movement either.

Since the Indian National Congress had to mobilize the support of all classes and communities against foreign domination, the leaders of different communities could not press for principle of secularism firmly for the fear of losing the support of religious-minded groups. The Congress under the leadership of Gandhi held a number of unity conferences during this period, but to no avail.

(c) Delhi Conference of Muslims and their Proposals

One great outcome of the efforts at unity, however, was an offer by the Conference of Muslims, which met at Delhi on March 20, 1927 to give up separate electorates if four proposals were accepted. 1. the separation of Sind from Bombay 2. Reforms for the Frontier and Baluchistan 3. Representation by population in the Punjab and Bengal and 4. Thirty-three per cent seats for the Muslims in the Central Legislature. Motilal Nehru and S. Srinivasan persuaded the All India Congress Committee to accept the Delhi proposals formulated by the Conference of the Muslims. But communalism had struck such deep roots that the initiative fell through. Gandhi commented that the Hindu-Muslim issue had passed out of human hands. Instead of seizing the opportunity to resolve the tangle, the Congress chose to drag its feet by appointing committees, one to find out whether it was financially feasible to separate Sind from Bombay and the other to examine proportional representation as a means of safeguarding Muslim majorities. Jinnah who had taken the initiative to narrow down the breach between the two, and had been hailed the ambassador of Hindu-Muslim unity by Sarojini, felt let down as the Hindu Mahasabha members present at the All Parties Convention held in Calcuttain 1928 rejected all amendments and destroyed any possibility of unity. Thereafter, most of the Muslims were convinced that they would get a better deal from Government rather than from the Congress. In despair Jinnah left the country, only to return many years later as a rank communalist.

Expressing anguish over the development of sectarian nationalism, Gandhi wrote, 'There are as many religions as there are individuals, but those who are conscious of the spirit of the nationality do not interfere with one another's religion. If Hindus believe that India should be peopled only by Hindus, they are living in a dream land. The Hindus, the Sikhs, the Muhammedans, the Parsis and the Christians who have made their country are fellow countrymen and they will have to live in unity if only for their interest. In no part of the world are one nationality and one religion synonymous terms nor has it ever been so in India.'

(d) Communal Award and its Aftermath

The British Government was consistent in promoting communalism. Even the delegates for the second Round Table Conference were chosen on the basis of their communal bearings. After the failure of the Round Table Conferences, the British Prime Minister Ramsay MacDonald announced the Communal Award which further vitiated the political climate.

The R.S.S. founded in 1925 was expanding and its volunteers had shot up to 1,00,000. K.B. Hedgewar, V.D. Savarkar and M.S. Golwalker were attempting to elaborate on the concept of the Hindu Rashtra and openly advocated that 'the non-Hindu people in Hindustan must adopt the Hindu culture and language...they must cease to be foreigners or may stay in the country wholly subordinated to the Hindu Nation claiming nothing.' V.D. Savarkar asserted that 'We Hindus are a Nation by ourselves'. Though the Congress had forbidden its members from joining the Mahasabha or the R.S.S. as early as 1934, it was only in December 1938 that the Congress Working Committee declared Mahasabha membership to be a disqualification for remaining in the Congress.

First Congress Ministries

The nationalism of the Indian National Congress was personified by Mahatma Gandhi, who rejected the narrow nationalism exemplified by the Arya Samaj and the Aligarh movement and strove to evolve a political identity that transcended the different religions. Notwithstanding the state-supported communalism of different hues, the Indian National Congress remained a dominant political force in India. In the 1937 elections, Congress won in seven of the eleven provinces and formed the largest party in three others. The Muslim League's performance was dismal. It succeeded in winning only 4.8 per cent of the Muslim votes. The Congress had emerged as a mass secular party. Yet the Government branded it a Hindu organisation and projected the Muslim League as the real representative of the Muslims and treated it on a par with the Congress.

Seeing this dismal performance, the Muslim League was convinced that the only choice left to it was to whip up emotions on communal lines in provinces like Bengal and

Punjab. The over confidence of the Congress, given its overwhelming victory in the elections, made it misjudge Muslim sentiment. Jinnah exploited the emotional campaign of 'Islam in danger' to gain mass Muslim support after the 1936-37 elections - a divisive cause in which the Hindu Mahasabha came to its help through coalition ministries.

Observation of Day of Deliverance

The Second World War broke out in 1939 and the Viceroy of India Linlithgow immediately announced that India was also at war. Since the declaration was made without any consultation with the Congress, it was greatly resented by it. The Congress Working Committee decided that all Congress ministries in the provinces would resign. After the resignation of Congress ministries, the provincial governors suspended the legislatures and took charge of the provincial administration.

The Muslim League celebrated the end of Congress rule as a day of deliverance on 22 December 1939. On that day, the League passed resolutions in various places against Congress for its alleged atrocities against Muslims. The demonstration of Nationalist Muslims was dubbed as anti-Islamic and denigrated. It was in this atmosphere that the League passed its resolution on 26 March 1940 in Lahore demanding a separate nation for Muslims.

Neither Jinnah nor Nawab Zafrullah Khan then had considered creation of separate state for Muslims practicable. However, on March 23, 1940, the Muslim League formally adopted the idea by passing a resolution. The text of the resolution ran as under: "Resolved that it is the concerted view of this session of the All India Muslim League that no c o n s t i t u t i o n a l scheme would be workable in this country or acceptable to Muslims unless it is designed on the following basic principles, viz. that geographically contiguous units are demarcated into regions which should be constituted with such territorial readjustments as may be necessary, that the area in which the Muslims are numerically in majority should be grouped to constitute Independent State." The League resolved that the British government before leaving India should effect the partition of the country into Indian union and Pakistan.

Though the idea of Pakistan came from the Muslim League platform in 1940 it had been conceived ten years earlier by the poet-scholar Mohammad Iqbal. At the League's annual conference at Allahabad (1930), Iqbal expressed his wish to see a consolidated North-west Indian Muslim State. It was then articulated forcefully by Rahmat Ali, a Cambridge student. The basis of League's demand was its "Two Nation Theory" which first came from Sir Wazir Hasan in his presidential address at Bombay session of League in 1937. He said, "the Hindus and Mussalmans inhabiting this vast continent are not two communities but should be considered two nations in many respects."

Direct Action Day

Hindu communalism and Muslim communalism fed on each other throughout the early 1940s. Muslim League openly boycotted the Quit India movement of 1942. In the elections held in 1946 to the Constituent Assembly, Muslim League won all 30 seats reserved for Muslims in the Central Legislative Assembly and most of the reserved provincial seats as well. The Congress Party was successful in gathering most of the general electorate seats, but it could no longer effectively insist that it spoke for the entire population of British India.

In 1946 Secretary of State Pethick-Lawrence led a three-member Cabinet Mission to New Delhi with the hope of resolving the Congress-Muslim League deadlock and, thus, of transferring British power to a single Indian administration. Cripps was primarily responsible for drafting the Cabinet Mission Plan. The plan proposed a three-tier federation for India, integrated by a central government in Delhi, which would be limited to handling foreign affairs, communications, defence, and only those finances required to take care of union matters. The subcontinent was to be divided into three major groups of provinces: Group A, to include the Hindu-majority provinces of the Bombay Presidency, Madras Presidency, the United Provinces, Bihar, Orissa, and the Central Provinces; Group B, to contain the Muslim-majority provinces of the Punjab, Sind, the North-West Frontier, and Baluchistan; and Group C, to include the Muslim-majority Bengal and the Hindu-majority Assam. The group governments were to be autonomous in everything excepting in matters reserved to the centre. The princely states within each group were to be integrated later into their neighbouring provinces. Local provincial governments were to have the choice of opting out of the group in which they found themselves, should a majority of their people desire to do so.

Jinnah accepted the Cabinet Mission's proposal, as did the Congress leaders. But after several weeks of behind-the-scene negotiations, on July 29, 1946, the Muslim League adopted a resolution rejecting the Cabinet Mission Plan and called upon the Muslims throughout India to observe a 'Direct Action Day' in protest on August 16. The rioting and killing that took place for four days in Calcutta led to a terrible violence resulting in thousands of deaths. Gandhi who was until then resisting any effort to vivisection the country had to accede to the demand of the Muslim League for creation of Pakistan.

Mountbatten who succeeded Wavell came to India as Viceroy to effect the partition plan and transfer of power.

COMMUNALISM AND PARTITION

12TH HISTORY

7. Last Phase of Indian National Movement

Introduction

The outbreak of Second World War and Britain's decision to involve India in the War without consulting Congress ministries in provinces, provoked the leaders of Indian National Congress and Gandhi. The Congress ministers resigned in protest. Gandhi launched the individual Satyagraha in October 1940 to keep up the morale of the Congress. In the meantime, the election of Subash Chandra Bose as Congress President upset Gandhi this led to Bose's resignation. Later Bose started his Forward Bloc Party. After his escape to Germany and Singapore formed Indian National Army and carried on his revolutionary activities independent of the Congress movement.

The Cripps Mission arrived in March 1942 to assuage the nationalists. But its proposals bore no fruit. Gandhi decided to embark on the Quit India Movement in August 1942. The British arrested all prominent leaders of the Congress and put down the movement with an iron hand. Gandhi languished in jail until May 1944. Then came the Cabinet Mission, whose plan was eventually accepted by the Congress. However, Jinnah and the Muslim League, persisting in their Pakistan demand, announced Direct Action Day programme that ignited communal riots in East Bengal. Gandhi began his tour in the riot-hit Naokali. Rajaji's compromise formula and Wavell plan and the Simla conference convened to consider the latter's plan did not help to resolve the deadlock. In the meantime, Royal Indian Navy revolted, prompting the British to quicken the process of Independence. Mountbatten was appointed governor general to oversee independence and the partition of the subcontinent into India and Pakistan.

Individual Satyagraha

Unlike in the past, where Gandhi's campaign had assumed a mass character, Gandhi decided on the strategy of individual Satyagraha so that the war against fascism was not hampered. The satyagrahis were handpicked by Gandhi and their demand was restricted to asserting their freedom of speech to preach against participation in the war. The chosen satyagrahi was to inform the District Magistrate of the date, time and place of the protest. On reaching there at the appointed time, and publicly declare the following: 'It is wrong to help the British War effort with men or money. The only worthy effort is to resist all war efforts with non-violent resistance' and offer arrest.

The programme began on October 17, 1940 with Vinobha Bhave offering Satyagraha near his Paunar ashram in Maharashtra. Gandhi suspended the Satyagraha in December 1941. It was revived with some changes and groups offered satyagrahas from January 1941 and was eventually withdrawn in August 1941.

August Offer

Individual Satyagraha was the Congress response to the August offer by the Viceroy, Lord Linlithgow. On August 8, 1940, Linlithgow offered the following: Dominion status at some unspecified future; expansion of the Viceroy's Council (or the Executive Council) to accommodate more Indians in it; setting up a War Advisory Council with Indians in it; recognition of the rights of the minority; and a promise to recognize the Indian peoples' right to draft a constitution at some future date after the war.

Removal of Bose from Congress

The August offer came too late for the Congress to even negotiate a settlement. The Congress, at this time, was losing its sheen. Its membership had fallen from 4.5 million in 1938–39 to 1.4 million in 1940–41. Subhas Chandra Bose was isolated within the Congress, as most leaders in the organisation's top refused cooperation with him. Bose resigned and the AICC session at Calcutta elected Rajendra Prasad as president. Bose founded the Forward Bloc to function within the Congress and was eventually removed from all positions in the organization in August 1939.

Lahore Resolution

The arrogance displayed by the colonial government and its refusal to find a meeting point between the promise of dominion status at some future date and the Congress demand for the promise of independence after cessation of the war as a pre-condition to support war efforts was drawn from another development. That was the demand for a separate nation for Muslims. Though the genesis of a separate unit or units consisting of Muslim majority regions in the Eastern and North-Western India was in the making since the 1930s, the resolution on March 23, 1940, at Lahore was distinct.

There is ample evidence that the Muslim League and its associates were given the necessary encouragement to go for such a demand by the colonial administrators. The resolution, then, gave the colonial rulers a certain sense of courage to refuse negotiating with the Indian National Congress even while they sought cooperation in the war efforts.

In many ways the Congress at the time was weaker in the organizational sense. Moreover, its leaders were committed to the idea that the British war efforts called for support given the character of the Axis powers – Germany, Italy and Japan – being fascist and thus a danger for democracy. Bose was the only leader who sought non-cooperation with the allied forces and active cooperation with the Axis powers.

All these were the important markers of 1940. Things however changed soon with the Japanese advance in Southeast Asia and the collapse of the British army. It led to a sense of urgency among the colonial rulers to ensure cooperation for the war efforts in India even while not committing to freedom. Winston Churchill, now heading the war cabinet, dispatched Sir Stafford Cripps to talk with the Congress.

Cripps Mission

Japan Storm South-East Asia

The year 1941 was bad for the allied forces. France, Poland, Belgium, Norway and Holland had fallen to Germany and Great Britain was facing destruction as well. Of far more significance to India was Japan's march into South-east Asia. This was happening alongside the attack on Pearl Harbour, where Japanese war-planes bombed the

American port on December 7, 1941. US President F.D. Roosevelt and Chinese President Chiang Kai-Shek were concerned with halting Japan on its march. India, thus, came on their radar and the two put pressure on British Prime Minister, Churchill to ensure cooperation for the war from the Indian people.

By the end of 1941, the Japanese forces had stormed through the Philippines, Indo-China, Indonesia, Malaysia and Burma and were waiting to knock at India's doors in the North-East. The way the South East Asian region fell raised concerns to Britain and the Indian National Congress. The British forces ran without offering any resistance. The Indian soldiers of the British Indian Army were left to the mercy of the Japanese forces. It was from among them that what would later on to become the Indian National Army (INA) would be raised. We will study that in detail in this lesson (in Section 7.3). Churchill was worried that Calcutta and Madras might fall in Japanese hands. Similar thoughts ran in the minds of the leaders of the Congress too and they too were desperate to seek an honourable way out to offer cooperation in the war effort. It was in this situation that the Congress Working Committee, in December 1941, passed a resolution offering cooperation with the war effort on condition that Britain promised independence to India after the war and transfer power to Indians in a substantial sense immediately.

Arrival of Cripps

A delegation headed by Sir Stafford Cripps reached India in March 1942. That Cripps, a Labour party representative in the War cabinet under Churchill, was chosen to head the delegation lent credibility to the mission. Before setting out to India, he announced that British policy in India aimed at 'the earliest possible realisation of self-government in India'. But the draft declaration he presented before he began negotiations fell far short of independence.

Cripps Proposals

Cripps promised Dominion Status and a constitution-making body after the war. The constitution-making body was to be partly elected by the provincial assemblies and nominated members from the Princely states. The draft also spelt out the prospect of Pakistan. It said that any province that was not prepared to accept the new constitution would have the right to enter into a separate agreement with Britain regarding its future status. The draft did not contain anything new. Nehru recalled later: 'When I read these proposals for the first time I was profoundly depressed.'

Rejection of Cripps' Proposals

The offer of Dominion Status was too little. The Congress also rejected the idea of nominated members to the constitution-making body and sought elections in the Princely States as in the Provinces. Above all these was the possibility of partition. The negotiations were bound to breakdown and it did.

Options for Congress in the wake of Pearl Harbour Attack

Churchill's attitude towards the Indian National Movement for independence in general and Gandhi in particular was one of contempt even earlier. He did not change even when Britain needed cooperation in the war efforts so desperately. But he came under pressure from the US and China.

The Indian National Congress, meanwhile, was pushed against the wall. This happened in two ways: the colonial government's adamant stand against any assurance of independence on the one hand and Subhas Bose's campaign to join hands with the Axis powers in the fight for independence. Bose had addressed the people of India on the Azad Hind Radio broadcast from Germany in March 1942. This was the context in which Gandhi thought of the Quit India movement.

Quit India Movement

Sometime in May 1942 Gandhi took it upon himself to steer the Indian National Congress into action. Gandhi's decision to launch a mass struggle this time, however, met with reservation from C. Rajagopalachari as much as from Nehru. Conditions were ripe for an agitation. Prices of commodities had shot up many-fold and there was shortage of food-grains too.
Congress Meet at Wardha

It was in this context that the Working Committee of the Indian National Congress met at Wardha on July 14, 1942. The meeting resolved to launch a mass civil disobedience movement. C. Rajagopalachari and Bhulabhai Desai who had reservations against launching a movement at that time resigned from the Congress Working Committee. Nehru, despite being among those who did not want a movement then bound himself with the majority's decision in the Working Committee.

'Do or Die'

The futility that marked the Cripps mission had turned both Gandhi and Nehru sour with the British than any time in the past. Gandhi expressed this in a press interview on May 16, 1942 where he said: 'Leave India to God. If that is too much, then leave her to anarchy. This ordered disciplined anarchy should go and if there is complete lawlessness, I would risk it.' The Mahatma called upon the people to 'Do or Die' and called the movement he launched from there as a 'fight to the finish'.

Quit India

The colonial government did not wait. All the leaders of the Indian National Congress, including Gandhi, were arrested early in the morning on August 9, 1942. The Indian people too did not wait. The immediate response to the pre-dawn arrests was hartals in almost all the towns where the people clashed, often violently, with the police. Industrial workers across India went on strike. The Tata Steel Plant in Jamshedpur closed down by the striking workers for 13 days beginning August 20. The textile workers in

Ahmedabad struck work for more than three months. Industrial towns witnessed strikes for varied periods across India.

Brutal Repression

The colonial government responded with brutal repression and police resorted to firing in many places. The army was called in to suppress the protest. The intensity of the movement and the repression can be made out from the fact that as many as 57 battalions were called in as a whole. Aircrafts were used to strafe protesters. The momentum and its intensity was such that Linlithgow, wrote to Churchill, describing the protests as 'by far the most serious rebellion since 1857, the gravity and extent of which we have so far concealed from the world for reasons of military security.'

Though this phase of the protest, predominantly urban, involving the industrial workers and the students was put down by use of brutal force, the upsurge did not end. It spread in its second phase into the villages. A sixty-point increase in prices of food-grains recorded between April and August 1942 had laid the seeds of resentment. In addition, those leaders of the Congress, particularly the Socialists within, who had managed to escape arrest on August 9 fanned into the countryside where they organised the youth into guerrilla actions.

Outbreak of Violence

Beginning late September 1942, the movement took the shape of attacks and destruction of communication facilities such as telegraph lines, railway stations and tracks and setting fire to government offices. This spread across the country and was most intense in Eastern United Provinces, Bihar, Maharashtra and in Bengal. The rebels even set up 'national governments' in pockets they liberated from the colonial administration. An instance of this was the 'Tamluk Jatiya Sarkar' in the Midnapore district in Bengal that lasted until September 1944. There was a parallel government in Satara.

Socialists like Jayaprakash Narayan, Achyut Patwardhan, Asaf Ali, Yusuf Mehraly and Ram Manohar Lohia provided leadership. Gandhi's 21 day fast in jail, beginning February 10, 1943, marked a turning point and gave the movement (and even the violence in a limited sense) a great push.

Spread and Intensity of the Movement

The spread of the movement and its intensity can be gauged from the extent of force that the colonial administration used to put it down. By the end of 1943, the number of persons arrested across India stood at 91, 836. The police shot dead 1060 persons during the same period. 208 police outposts, 332 railway stations and 945 post offices were destroyed or damaged very badly. At least 205 policemen defected and joined the rebels. R.H. Niblett, who served as District Collector of Azamgarh in eastern United Province, removed from service for being too mild with the rebels, recorded in his diary that the British unleashed 'white terror' using an 'incendiary police to set fire to

villages for several miles' and that 'reprisals (becoming) the rule of the day.' Collective fines were imposed on all the people in a village where public property was destroyed.

Clandestine Radio

Yet another prominent feature of the Quit India movement was the use of Radio by the rebels. The press being censored, the rebels set up a clandestine radio broadcast system from Bombay. The transmitter was shifted from one place to another in and around the city. Usha Mehta was the force behind the clandestine radio operations and its broadcast was heard as far away as Madras.

The Quit India movement was the most powerful onslaught against the colonial state hitherto. The movement included the Congress, the Socialists, and the Forward Bloc. The movement witnessed unprecedented unity of the people and sent a message that the colonial rulers could not ignore.

Release of Gandhi

Gandhi's release from prison, on health grounds, on May 6, 1944 led to the revival of the Constructive Programme. Congress committees began activities in its garb and the ban on the Congress imposed in the wake of the Quit India movement was thus overcome. The colonial state, meanwhile, put forward a plan for negotiation. Lord Archibald Wavell, who had replaced Linlithgow as Viceroy in October 1943, had begun to work towards another round of negotiation. The message was clear: The British had no option but to negotiate!

Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose and the INA

A considerably large contingent of the Indian Army was posted on the South East Asian countries that were part of the British Empire. They were in Malaya, Burma and elsewhere. The forces, however, could not stand up to the Japanese army. The command of the British Indian Army in the South-East Asian front simply retreated leaving the ranks behind as Prisoners of War (POWs).

Mohan Singh, an officer of the British Indian Army in Malaya, approached the Japanese for help and they found in this an opportunity. Japan's interests lay in colonising China and not much India. The Indian POWs with the Japanese were left under Mohan Singh's command. The fall of Singapore to the Japanese forces added to the strength of the POWs and Mohan Singh now had 45,000 POWs under his command. Of these, Mohan Singh had drafted about 40,000 men in the Indian National Army by the end of 1942. Indians in the region saw the INA as saviours against Japanese expansionism as much as the commander and other officers held out that the army would march into India but only on invitation from the Indian National Congress. On July 2, 1943, Subhas Chandra Bose, reached Singapore. From there he went to Tokyo and after a meeting with Prime Minister Tojo, the Japanese leader declared that his country did not desire territorial expansion into India. Bose returned to Singapore and set up the Provisional Government of Free India on October 21, 1943. This Provisional Government

declared war against Britain and the other allied nations. The Axis powers recognised Bose's Provisional Government as its ally.

After the Indian National Congress acted against Bose in August 1939, shunting him out of all offices including as president of the Bengal Congress Committee, Bose embarked upon a campaign trail, to mobilise support to his position, across India. He was arrested by the British on July 3, 1940 under the Defence of India Act. and kept under constant surveillance. As the war progressed in Europe Bose believed that Germany was going to win. He began to nurture the idea that Indian independence could be achieved by joining hands with the Axis powers. In the midnight of January 16-17, 1941, Bose slipped out of Calcutta, and reached Berlin by the end of March, travelling through Kabul and the Soviet Union on an Italian passport. Bose met Hitler and Goebbels in Berlin. Both the Nazi leaders were cold and the only concession they gave was to set up the Azad Hind Radio. Nothing more came out of his rendezvous with Hitler and his aides. With Germany facing reverses, Bose found his way to Singapore in July 1943

Subash and INA

Bose enlisted civilians too into the INA and one of the regiments was made up of women. The Rani of Jhansi regiment of the INA was commanded by a medical doctor and daughter of freedom fighter Ammu Swaminathan from Madras, Dr Lakshmi. On July 6, 1944, Subhas Bose addressed a message to Gandhi over the Azad Hind Radio from Rangoon. Calling him the 'Father of the Nation', Bose appealed to Gandhi for his blessing in what he described as 'India's last war of independence.'

INA with Axis Powers in War

A battalion of the INA commanded by Shah Nawaz accompanied the Japanese army, in its march on Imphal. This was in late 1944 and the Axis powers, including the Japanese forces, had fallen into bad times all over. The Imphal campaign did not succeed and the Japanese retreated before the final surrender to the British command in mid-1945. Shah Nawaz and his soldiers of the INA were taken prisoners and charged with treason.

INA Trial

The INA trials were held at the Red Fort in New Delhi. The Indian National Congress fielded its best lawyers in defence of the INA soldiers. Nehru, who had given up his legal practice as early as in 1920 responding to Gandhi's call for non-cooperation, wore his black gown to appear in defence. Even though the INA did not achieve much militarily, the trials made a huge impact in inspiring the masses. The colonial government's arrogance once again set the stage for another mass mobilisation. The Indian National Congress, after the debacle at the Simla Conference (June 25 and July 14, 1945) plunged into reaching out to the masses by way of public meetings across the

country. The INA figured more prominently as an issue in all these meetings than even the Congress's pitch for votes in the elections (under the 1935 Act) that were expected soon.

It was in this context that the colonial rulers sent up three prominent officers of the INA – Shah Nawaz Khan, P.K. Sehgal and G.S. Dhillon – to trial. The press in India reported the trials with all empathy and editorials sought the soldiers freed immediately. The INA week was marked by processions, hartals and even general strikes across the nation demanding release of the soldiers. The choice of the three men to be sent up for trial ended up rallying all political opinion behind the campaign. The Muslim League, the Shiromani Akali Dal and the Hindu Maha Sabha, all those who had stayed clear of the Quit India campaign, joined the protests and raised funds for their defence. Although the trial court found Sehgal, Dhillon and Shah Nawaz Khan guilty of treason, the commander in chief remitted the sentences and set them free on January 6, 1946. The INA trials, indeed, set the stage for yet another important stage in the history of the Indian National Movement in February 1946. The ratings of the Royal Indian Navy (RIN) raised the banner of revolt.

The Royal Indian Navy Revolt

The economic impact of the war was manifest in rising prices, shortage of food-grains and closure of war time industries causing retrenchment and employment. This merged with the anti-British sentiments evident in the mass scale of the protests revolving around the INA trials. B.C. Dutt, a rating (the designation for the Indians employed in the various war-ships and elsewhere in the Royal Indian Navy) in the HMIS Talwar was arrested for scribbling 'Quit India' on the panel of the ship. This provoked a strike by the 1,100 ratings on the ship. The ratings resented the racist behaviour of the English commanders, the poor quality of the food and abuses that were the norm. Dutt's arrest served as the trigger for the revolt on February 18, 1946. The day after, the revolt was joined by the ratings in the Fort Barracks and the Castle and a large number of them went into the Bombay cities in commandeered trucks waving Congress flags and shouting anti-British slogans. Soon, the workers in the textile mills of Bombay joined the struggle.

The trade unions in Bombay and Calcutta called for a sympathy strike and the two cities turned into war zones. Barricades were erected all over and pitched battles fought. Shopkeepers downed shutters and hartals became the order of the day. Trains were stopped in the two cities with people sitting on the tracks. On news of the Bombay revolt reaching Karachi, ratings in the HMIS Hindustan and other naval establishments in Karachi went on a lightning strike on February 19. The strike wave spread to almost all the naval establishments across India and at least 20,000 ratings from 78 ships and 20 shore establishments ended up revolting in the days after February 18, 1946. There were strikes, expressing support to the ratings in the Royal Indian Air Force stationed in Bombay, Poona, Calcutta, Jessore and Ambala units. The sepoys in the army cantonment station at Jabalpur too went on strike.

The ratings, in many places, hoisted the Congress, the Communist, and the Muslim League flags together on the ship masts during the revolt.

The colonial government's response was brutal repression. It was, indeed, a revolt without a leadership; nor did the ratings move in an organised direction. While the trade unions came out in solidarity with the ratings in no time and the strikes in Bombay and Calcutta and Madras were strong expressions against British rule in India, these did not last for long and the ratings were forced to surrender soon.

Sardar Vallabhai Patel, then in Bombay, took the initiative to bring the revolt to an end. The RIN mutiny, however, was indeed a glorious chapter in the Indian National Movement and perhaps the last act of rebellion in the long story of such acts of valour in the cause of independence.

The March 23, 1940 resolution read as follows: 'That geographically contiguous units are demarcated into regions which should be so constituted, with such territorial readjustments as may be necessary, that the areas in which the Muslims are numerically in a majority as in the north-western and eastern zones of India should be grouped to constitute "Independent States", in which the constituent units shall be autonomous and sovereign.' (Source: Sumit Sarkar *Modern India 1885-1947*, Pearson, 2018, p 324)

Rajaji Proposals and the Wavell Plan Demand for a Separate Nation

Meanwhile, the communal challenge persisted and the Muslim League pressed with its demand for a separate nation. The Lahore resolution of the Muslim League in March 1940 had altered the discourse from the Muslims being a 'minority' to the Muslims constituting a 'nation'. Mohammed Ali Jinnah was asserting this right as the sole spokesperson of the community.

Rajaji's Proposals

In April 1944, when the Congress leaders were in jail, C. Rajagopalachari put out a proposal to resolve the issue. It contained the following:

- A post-war commission to be formed to demarcate the contiguous districts where the Muslims were in absolute majority and a plebiscite of the adult population there to ascertain whether they would prefer Pakistan;
- In case of a partition there would be a mutual agreement to run certain essential services, like defence or communication;
- The border districts could choose to join either of the two sovereign states;
- The implementation of the scheme would wait till after full transfer of power.

After his release from prison, Gandhi, in July 1944, proposed talks with Jinnah based on what came to be the 'Rajaji formula'. The talks did not go anywhere.

Wavell Plan

In June 1945 Lord Wavell moved to negotiate and called for the Simla conference. The rest of the Congress leaders, including Jawaharlal Nehru, Sardar Patel and the Congress president, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad were released from jail for this. Wavell had set out on this project in March 1945 and sailed to London. There he convinced Churchill of the imperative for a Congress–Muslim League coalition government as a way to deal with the post-war political crisis.

The Viceroy's proposal before the leaders of all political formations and most prominently the Congress and the Muslim League was setting up of an Executive Council, exclusively with Indians along with himself and the commander-in-chief; equal number of representatives in the council for the caste Hindus and the Muslims and separate representation for the Scheduled Castes; and start of discussions for a new constitution.

The proposal displeased everyone. The Simla Conference held between June 25 and July 14, 1945 ended without resolution. The talks broke down on the right of the Indian National Congress and the Muslim League to nominate members to the Viceroy's Council.

The Muslim League insisted on its exclusive right to nominate Muslim members to the Council. Its demand was that the Congress nominees shall only be caste Hindus and that the Indian National Congress should not nominate a Muslim or a member from the Scheduled Caste! This was seen as a means to further the divide on communal lines and deny the Congress the status of representing the Indian people. Lord Wavell found a council without Muslim League representation as unworkable and thus abandoned the Simla talks.

The years between the Lahore resolution of 1940 and the Simla Conference in 1945 marked the consolidation of a Muslim national identity and the emergence of Jinnah as its sole spokesperson. It was at a convention of Muslim League Legislators in Delhi in April 1946, that Pakistan was defined as a 'sovereign independent state'. For the first time the League also declared its composition in geographical terms as 'the region consisting of the Muslim majority provinces of Bengal and Assam in the Northeast and the Punjab, North-West Frontier Province, Sind and Baluchistan in the Northwest. The Congress president Maulana Abul Kalam Azad rejected this idea and held that the Congress stood for a united India with complete independence.

All these were developments after the Simla conference of June–July 1945 and after Churchill was voted out and replaced by a Labour Party government headed by Clement Attlee. Times had changed in a substantial sense. British Prime Minister, Attlee had declared the certainty of independence to India with only the terms left to be decided.

Mountbatten Plan Cabinet Mission

The changed global scenario in the post- World War II context led to the setting up of the Cabinet Mission. Headed by Secretary of State for India, Sir Stafford Cripps, and A.V. Alexander, the mission landed in India in March 1946 and began work on its brief: to set up a national government before the final transfer of power. The mission proposed to constitute a 'representative' body by way of elections across the provinces and the princely states and entrust this body with the task of making a constitution for free India. The idea of partition did not figure at this stage. Instead, the mission's proposal was for a loose-knit confederation in which the Muslim League could dominate the administration in the North-East and North- West provinces while the Congress would administer rest of the provinces.

Jinnah sounded out his acceptance of the idea on June 6, 1946. The Congress, meanwhile, perceived the Cabinet Mission's plan as a clear sanction for the setting up of a Constituent Assembly. Nehru conveyed through his speech at the AICC, on July 7, 1946, that the Indian National Congress accepted the proposal. Subsequently, Jinnah on July 29, 1946, reacted to this and announced that the League stood opposed to the plan.

After elaborate consultations, the viceroy issued invitations on 15 June 1946 to the 14 men to join the interim government. The invitees were: Jawaharlal Nehru, Vallabhbhai Patel, Rajendra Prasad, C. Rajagopalachari and Hari Krishna Mahtab (on behalf of the INC); Mohammed Ali Jinnah, Liaquat Ali Khan, Mohammed Ismail Khan, Khwaja Sir Nazimuddin and Abdul Rab Nishtar (from the Muslim League) and Sardar Baldev Singh (on behalf of the Sikh community), Sir N.P. Engineer (to represent the Parsis), Jagjivan Ram (representing the scheduled castes) and John Mathai (as representative of the Indian Christians).

Meanwhile, the Congress proposed Zakir Hussain from its quota of five nominees to the interim council. The Muslim League objected to this and, on 29 July 1946, Jinnah announced that the League would not participate in the process to form the Constituent Assembly. This invited a sharp reaction from the British administration. On 12 August 1946, the viceroy announced that he was inviting Nehru (Congress president) to form the provisional government. After consultation with Nehru, 12 members of the National Interim Government were announced on 25 August 1946. Apart from Nehru, the other members were: Vallabhbhai Patel, Rajendra Prasad, Asaf Ali, C. Rajagopalachari, Sarat Chandra Bose, John Mathai, Sardar Baldev Singh, Sir Shafaat Ahmed Khan, Jagjivan Ram, Syed Ali Zaheer and Cooverji Hormusji Bhabha. It was stated that two more Muslims will be nominated in due course.

Five Hindus, three Muslims and one representative each from the scheduled castes, Indian Christians, Sikhs and Parsis formed the basis of this list. Later Hare Krishna Mahtab was replaced by Sarat Chandra Bose. The Parsi nominee, N.P. Engineer was replaced by Cooverji Hormusji Bhabha. In place of the League's nominees, the Congress put in the names of three of its own men: Asaf Ali, Shafaat Ahmed Khan and Syed Ali Zaheer.

The League, meanwhile, gave a call for 'Direct Action' on 16 August 1946. There was bloodshed in Calcutta and several other places, including in Delhi. This was when

Gandhi set out on his own course to arrive in Calcutta and decided to stay on at a deserted house in Beliaghatta, a locality that was worst affected, accompanied only by a handful of followers. Muslims who were hounded out of their homes in Delhi were held in transit camps (in Purana Quila and other places). It was only after Gandhi arrived there (on 9 September 1946) and conveyed that the Muslims were Indian nationals and hence must be protected by the Indian state (Nehru by then was the head of the interim government) that the Delhi authorities began organising rations and building latrines.

It was in this context that the Congress agreed to the constitution of the interim government. Nehru assumed office on 2 September 1946. Yet another round of communal violence broke out across the country and more prominently in Bombay and Ahmedabad. Lord Wavell set out on another round of discussion and after sounding out Nehru, he proposed, once again, to Jinnah that the League participate in the interim government. The Muslim League accepted the proposal but Jinnah refused to join the cabinet.

The interim cabinet was reconstituted on October 26, 1946. Those who joined on behalf of the League were Liaquat Ali Khan, I.I. Chundrigar, A. R. Nishtar, Ghazanfar Ali Khan and Jogendra Nath Mandal.

But there was no let-up in the animosity between the Congress and the League and this was reflected in the functioning (rather non-functioning) of the interim council of ministers. The League, meanwhile, was determined against cooperating in the making of the constituent assembly. At another level, the nation was in the grip of communal violence of unprecedented magnitude. Naokhali in East Bengal was ravaged by communal violence. The members of the League who were part of the interim government refused to participate in the 'informal' consultations that Nehru held before the formal meeting of the cabinet in the viceroy's presence. The Muslim League, it seemed, were determined to wreck the interim government from within.

While the Congress scored impressive victories in the July–August 1946 elections and secured 199 from out of the 210 general seats, the Muslim League did equally well in seats reserved for the Muslims. The League's tally was 76. All but one of the 76 seats came from the Muslim-reserved constituencies. The League, however, decided against participating in the Constituent Assembly. Hence, only 207 members attended the first session of the Constituent Assembly on 9 December 1946.

Meanwhile the functioning of the interim government was far from smooth with animosity between the Congress and the League growing by the day. The 'informal' meetings of the cabinet intended to settle differences before any proposal was taken to the formal meeting that the Viceroy presided over, could not be held from the very beginning.

The proverbial last straw was the budget proposals presented by Liaquat Ali Khan in March 1947. The finance minister proposed a variety of taxes on industry and trade and proposed a commission to go into the affairs of about 150 big business houses and inquire into the allegations of tax evasion against them. Khan called this a 'socialistic

budget'. This, indeed, was a calculated bid to hit the Indian industrialists who had, by this time, emerged as the most powerful supporters of the Congress. The intention was clear: to hasten the partition and prove that there was no way that the League and the Congress could work together towards independence.

British Prime Minister Atlee's statement in Parliament on February 20, 1947, that the British were firm on their intention to leave India by June 1948 set the pace for another stage. Lord Wavell was replaced as Viceroy by Lord Mountbatten on March 22, 1947.

Mountbatten Plan

Mountbatten came up with a definite plan for partition. It involved splitting up Punjab into West and East (where the west would go to Pakistan) and similar division of Bengal wherein the Western parts will remain in India and the East become Pakistan. The Congress Working Committee, on 1 May 1947, conveyed its acceptance of the idea of partition to Mountbatten. The viceroy left for London soon after and on his return disclosed the blueprint for partition and, more importantly, the desire to advance the date of British withdrawal to 15 August 1947. There were only 11 weeks left between then and the eventual day of independence. The AICC met on 15 June 1947. It was here that the resolution, moved by Govind Ballabh Pant, accepting partition, was approved. It required the persuasive powers of Nehru and Patel as well as the moral authority of Gandhi to get the majority in the AICC in favour of the resolution.

The period between March 1946 and 15 August 1947 saw many tumultuous events such as (i) the setting up of the Cabinet Mission, (ii) the formation of the interim government, (iii) the birth of the Constituent Assembly and (iv) the widening of rift between the Congress and the Muslim League leading to the partition and finally the dawn of independence.

