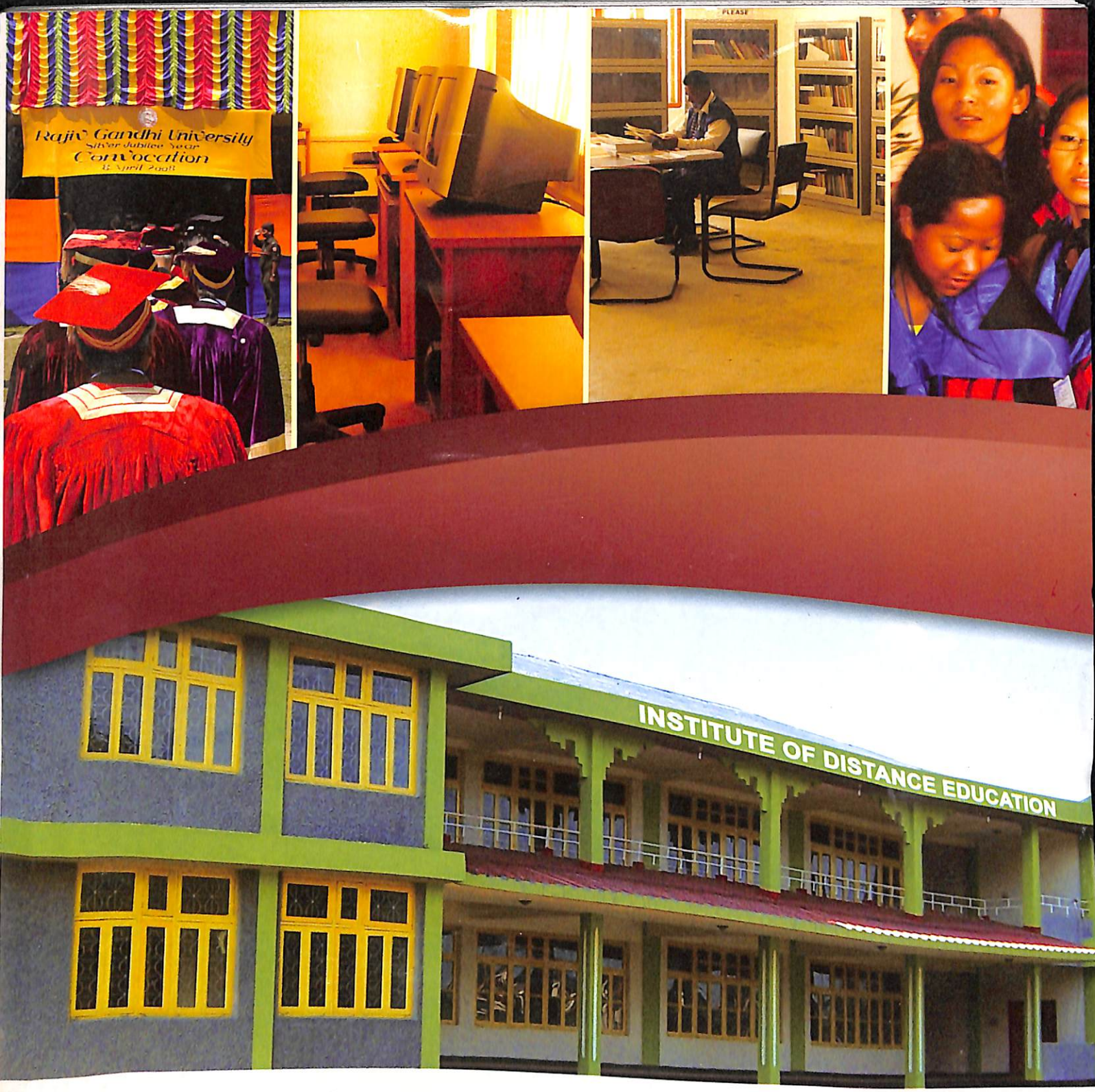


M.A. (History)

SECOND YEAR

MAHIST-501

INSTITUTE OF DISTANCE EDUCATION
Rajiv Gandhi University

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HISTORY OF INDIA (1707-1857)

HISTORY OF INDIA (1707–1857)

MA [History]

Second Year

MAHIST - 501

RAJIV GANDHI UNIVERSITY

Arunachal Pradesh, INDIA - 791 112

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About the University

Rajiv Gandhi University (formerly Arunachal University) is a premier institution for higher education in the state of Arunachal Pradesh and has completed twenty-five years of its existence. Late Smt. Indira Gandhi, the then Prime Minister of India, laid the foundation stone of the university on 4th February, 1984 at Rono Hills, where the present campus is located.

Ever since its inception, the university has been trying to achieve excellence and fulfill the objectives as envisaged in the University Act. The university received academic recognition under Section 2(f) from the University Grants Commission on 28th March, 1985 and started functioning from 1st April, 1985. It got financial recognition under section 12-B of the UGC on 25th March, 1994. Since then Rajiv Gandhi University, (then Arunachal University) has carved a niche for itself in the educational scenario of the country following its selection as a University with potential for excellence by a high-level expert committee of the University Grants Commission from among universities in India.

The University was converted into a Central University with effect from 9th April, 2007 as per notification of the Ministry of Human Resource Development, Government of India.

The University is located atop Rono Hills on a picturesque tableland of 302 acres overlooking the river Dikrong. It is 6.5 km from the National Highway 52-A and 25 km from Itanagar, the State capital. The campus is linked with the National Highway by the Dikrong bridge.

The teaching and research programmes of the University are designed with a view to play a positive role in the socio-economic and cultural development of the State. The University offers Undergraduate, Post-graduate, M.Phil and Ph.D. programmes. The Department of Education also offers the B.Ed. programme.

There are fifteen colleges affiliated to the University. The University has been extending educational facilities to students from the neighbouring states, particularly Assam. The strength of students in different departments of the University and in affiliated colleges has been steadily increasing.

The faculty members have been actively engaged in research activities with financial support from UGC and other funding agencies. Since inception, a number of proposals on research projects have been sanctioned by various funding agencies to the University. Various departments have organized numerous seminars, workshops and conferences. Many faculty members have participated in national and international conferences and seminars held within the country and abroad. Eminent scholars and distinguished personalities have visited the University and delivered lectures on various disciplines.

The academic year 2000-2001 was a year of consolidation for the University. The switch over from the annual to the semester system took off smoothly and the performance of the students registered a marked improvement. Various syllabi designed by Boards of Post-graduate Studies (BPGS) have been implemented. VSAT facility installed by the ERNET India, New Delhi under the UGC-Infonet program, provides Internet access.

In spite of infrastructural constraints, the University has been maintaining its academic excellence. The University has strictly adhered to the academic calendar, conducted the examinations and declared the results on time. The students from the University have found placements not only in State and Central Government Services, but also in various institutions, industries and organizations. Many students have emerged successful in the National Eligibility Test (NET).

Since inception, the University has made significant progress in teaching, research, innovations in curriculum development and developing infrastructure.

About IDE

The formal system of higher education in our country is facing the problems of access, limitation of seats, lack of facilities and infrastructure. Academicians from various disciplines opine that it is learning which is more important and not the channel of education. The education through distance mode is an alternative mode of imparting instruction to overcome the problems of access, infrastructure and socio-economic barriers. This will meet the demand for qualitative higher education of millions of people who cannot get admission in the regular system and wish to pursue their education. It also helps interested employed and unemployed men and women to continue with their higher education. Distance education is a distinct approach to impart education to learners who remained away in the space and/or time from the teachers and teaching institutions on account of economic, social and other considerations. Our main aim is to provide higher education opportunities to those who are unable to join regular academic and vocational education programmes in the affiliated colleges of the University and make higher education reach to the doorsteps in rural and geographically remote areas of Arunachal Pradesh in particular and North-eastern part of India in general. In 2008, the Centre for Distance Education has been renamed as "Institute of Distance Education (IDE)."

Continuing the endeavor to expand the learning opportunities for distant learners, IDE has introduced Post Graduate Courses in 5 subjects (Education, English, Hindi, History and Political Science) from the Academic Session 2013-14.

The Institute of Distance Education is housed in the Physical Sciences Faculty Building (first floor) next to the University Library. The University campus is 6 kms from NERIST point on National Highway 52A. The University buses ply to NERIST point regularly.

Outstanding Features of Institute of Distance Education:

(i) At Par with Regular Mode

Eligibility requirements, curricular content, mode of examination and the award of degrees are on par with the colleges affiliated to the Rajiv Gandhi University and the Department(s) of the University.

(ii) Self-Instructional Study Material (SISM)

The students are provided SISM prepared by the Institute and approved by Distance Education Council (DEC), New Delhi. This will be provided at the time of admission at the IDE or its Study Centres. SISM is provided only in English except Hindi subject.

(iii) Contact and Counselling Programme (CCP)

The course curriculum of every programme involves counselling in the form of personal contact programme of duration of approximately 7-15 days. The CCP shall not be compulsory for BA. However for professional courses and MA the attendance in CCP will be mandatory.

(iv) Field Training and Project

For professional course(s) there shall be provision of field training and project writing in the concerned subject.

(v) Medium of Instruction and Examination

The medium of instruction and examination will be English for all the subjects except for those subjects where the learners will need to write in the respective languages.

(vi) Subject/Counselling Coordinators

For developing study material, the IDE appoints subject coordinators from within and outside the University. In order to run the PCCP effectively Counselling Coordinators are engaged from the Departments of the University, The Counselling-Coordinators do necessary coordination for involving resource persons in contact and counselling programme and assignment evaluation. The learners can also contact them for clarifying their difficulties in then respective subjects.

SYLLABI-BOOK MAPPING TABLE

History of India (1707-1857)

Unit I	**Transition of the 18th Century** (a) Society, Economy, Polity's, Culture (b) Debates thereof of 18th Century	**Unit 1:** Transition of the 18th Century **(Pages 3-29)**
Unit II	**Advent of the Europeans** (a) Emergence of Regional Power (b) Coming of the Europeans- Portuguese, Dutch, French and the British	**Unit 2:** Advent of the Europeans **(Pages 31-47)**
Unit III	**British Relations and Subjugations of Indian Powers** (a) Carnatic (b) Bengal	**Unit 3:** British Relations and Subjugations of Indian Powers **(Pages 49-66)**
Unit IV	**Emergence of Regional Powers - Oudh, Hyderabad, Mysore Marathas and Sikhs**	**Unit 4:** Emergence of Regional Powers **(Pages 67-107)**
Unit V	**Administration Under the East India Company** (a) Diwani, (b) Regulating Act, (c) Pitt's India Act, (d) Charter Act of 1813 & 1833	**Unit 5:** Administration Under the East India Company **(Pages 109-129)**
Unit VI	**Agrarian Policy of the British** (a) Land Revenue-Agriculture (b) Permanent Settlement (c) Ryotwari (d) Mahalwari	**Unit 6:** Agrarian Policy of the British **(Pages 131-146)**
Unit VII	**History of Education in India** (a) Growth of English Education (b) Ram Mohan Roy (c) Derozio (d) Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar	**Unit 7:** History of English Education in India **(Pages 147-160)**
Unit VIII	**Mercantile Capitalism and East India Company** (a) Mercantilist Capitalism and East India (1757–1813) (b) Transition of mercantilism to Free Trade imperialism (1813–1857)	**Unit 8:** Mercantile Capitalism and East India Company **(Pages 161-172)**
Unit IX	**Frontier Policy of the British** • Relations with Afghanisthan • Relation with Burma • Relation with Nepal	**Unit 9:** Frontier Policy of the British **(Pages 173-185)**
Unit X	**Revolt of 1857** • Historiography • Causes • Nature • Impact	**Unit 10:** Revolt of 1857 **(Pages 187-205)**

CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION 1

UNIT 1 TRANSITION OF THE 18TH CENTURY 3-29

1.0 Introduction
1.1 Unit Objectives
1.2 Society, Economy and Culture in the 18th Century
  1.2.1 Social Condition
1.3 Religious Conditions
1.4 Economic Conditions
1.5 Debates of the 18th Century
  1.5.1 Religious Debate
1.6 Summary
1.7 Key Terms
1.8 Answers to 'Check Your Progress'
1.9 Questions and Exercises
1.10 Further Reading

UNIT 2 ADVENT OF THE EUROPEANS 31-47

2.0 Introduction
2.1 Unit Objectives
2.2 Coming of the Europeans
2.3 The Portuguese
  2.3.1 Factories, Fortresses and Commercial Arrangements
  2.3.2 Commodities of Export and Import
  2.3.3 Causes of Decline of the Portuguese
2.4 The Dutch
2.5 French and the British
  2.5.1 The French
  2.5.2 The British
  2.5.3 The French vs. the English
2.6 Summary
2.7 Key Terms
2.8 Answers to 'Check Your Progress'
2.9 Questions and Exercises
2.10 Further Reading

UNIT 3 BRITISH RELATIONS AND SUBJUGATIONS OF INDIAN POWERS 49-66

3.0 Introduction
3.1 Unit Objectives
3.2 The Carnatic Wars
  3.2.1 First Carnatic War (1746-48)
  3.2.2 Second Carnatic War (1749-54)
  3.2.3 Third Carnatic War (1758-63)
  3.2.4 Causes for the Success of the British against the French
3.3 Conquest of Bengal
3.4 Battle of Plassey (1757)
  3.4.1 Consequences of Plassey
3.5 Battle of Buxar (1764)
  3.5.1 Consequences of the Battle of Buxar

3.6 Treaty of Allahabad (1765)
3.7 Puppet Nawabs of Bengal
3.8 Dual Government of Bengal
3.9 The East India Company as Sovereign Ruler of Bengal
3.10 Summary
3.11 Key Terms
3.12 Answers to 'Check Your Progress'
3.13 Questions and Exercises
3.14 Further Reading

UNIT 4 EMERGENCE OF REGIONAL POWERS **67-107**

4.0 Introduction
4.1 Unit Objectives
4.2 Oudh (Awadh)
4.3 Hyderabad
4.4 Punjab
4.4.1 First Anglo-Sikh War (1845–1846)
4.4.2 Second Anglo-Sikh War (1848–1849)
4.4.3 Third Anglo-Sikh War (1849)
4.5 Mysore
4.5.1 Haider Ali (1760–1782)
4.5.2 Tipu Sultan (1782–99)
4.5.3 First Anglo-Mysore War (1767-69)
4.5.4 Second Anglo-Mysore War (1780-84)
4.5.5 Third Anglo-Mysore War (1790-92)
4.5.6 Fourth Anglo-Mysore War (March-May 1799)
4.6 Marathas
4.6.1 Historical Background of the Marathas
4.6.2 Rise of the Peshwas
4.6.3 Causes and Consequences of Third Battle of Panipat
4.6.4 Causes of the Failure of Marathas in Panipat
4.6.5 Maratha Struggle with the British
4.7 Summary
4.8 Key Terms
4.9 Answers to 'Check Your Progress'
4.10 Questions and Exercises
4.11 Further Reading

UNIT 5 ADMINISTRATION UNDER THE EAST INDIA COMPANY **109-129**

5.0 Introduction
5.1 Unit Objectives
5.2 Diwani
5.3 Regulating Act of 1773
5.4 Pitt's India Act of 1784
5.5 Charter Acts of 1813 and 1833
5.5.1 Charter Act of 1813
5.5.2 Charter Act of 1833
5.6 Summary
5.7 Key Terms
5.8 Answers to 'Check Your Progress'
5.9 Questions and Exercises
5.10 Further Reading

UNIT 6 AGRARIAN POLICY OF THE BRITISH **131-146**

6.0 Introduction
6.1 Unit Objectives
6.2 Land Revenue—Agrarian Settlement
6.3 Permanent Settlement in Bengal
6.3.1 History of Permanent Settlement in Bengal
6.3.2 Features
6.3.3 Failure
6.4 Ryotwari Settlement in the Deccan
6.4.1 Features
6.5 Mahalwari Settlement in Central India
6.5.1 Features
6.6 Summary
6.7 Key Terms
6.8 Answers to 'Check Your Progress'
6.9 Questions and Exercises
6.10 Further Reading

UNIT 7 HISTORY OF ENGLISH EDUCATION IN INDIA **147-160**

7.0 Introduction
7.1 Unit Objectives
7.2 Growth of English Education
7.2.1 Hunter Commission or Indian Education Commission (1882-83)
7.2.2 Sir Charles Wood's Education Despatch (1854)
7.3 Rammohan Roy
7.4 Derozio
7.5 Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar
7.6 Summary
7.7 Key Terms
7.8 Answers to 'Check Your Progress'
7.9 Questions and Exercises
7.10 Further Reading

UNIT 8 MERCANTILE CAPITALISM AND EAST INDIA COMPANY **161-172**

8.0 Introduction
8.1 Unit Objectives
8.2 Mercantile Capitalism and East India Company
8.2.1 Phase-I: Mercantile Capitalism (1757–1813)
8.3 Land Revenue Policies
8.4 Transition of Mercantilism to Free Trade Imperialism (1813–58)
8.4.1 Commercialization of Agriculture
8.5 Drain of Wealth Theory
8.6 Summary
8.7 Key Terms
8.8 Answers to 'Check Your Progress'
8.9 Questions and Exercises
8.10 Further Reading

UNIT 9 FRONTIER POLICY OF THE BRITISH 173-185

9.0 Introduction
9.1 Unit Objectives
9.2 British Policy towards Afghanistan
  9.2.1 First Anglo-Afghan War
  9.2.2 Second Anglo-Afghan War
  9.2.3 Third Anglo-Afghan War
9.3 British Policy towards Burma
  9.3.1 First Anglo-Burmese War (1824-26)
  9.3.2 Second Anglo-Burmese War (1852)
  9.3.3 Third Anglo-Burmese War
9.4 Relations with Nepal
9.5 Summary
9.6 Key Terms
9.7 Answers to 'Check Your Progress'
9.8 Questions and Exercises
9.9 Further Reading

UNIT 10 REVOLT OF 1857 187-205

10.0 Introduction
10.1 Unit Objectives
10.2 Uprising of 1857
10.3 Causes of the 1857 Revolt
10.4 Spread of the Revolt
10.5 Causes of Failure of the Revolt
  10.5.1 Impact and Significance of the Revolt
10.6 Reorganization of the Raj (1858 and After)
  10.6.1 Government of India Act, 1858
10.7 Historiography of the 1857 Revolt
10.8 Summary
10.9 Key Terms
10.10 Answers to 'Check Your Progress'
10.11 Questions and Exercises
10.12 Further Reading

INTRODUCTION

NOTES

The period from 1707 to 1857 was interjected with events which had profound consequences on the history of India. The advent of the European traders and their subsequent domination of the subcontinent changed the socio-political and economic milieu forever. The ascendency of the British colonial enterprise was a more complex process than it was initially thought to be. While the British have been criticized for exploiting India's economic resources, the colonial rulers were instrumental in initiating reforms in social, educational, commercial and judicial spheres.

This book *History of India (1707–1857)* has been designed keeping in mind the self-instruction mode (SIM) format and follows a simple pattern, wherein each unit of the book begins with the **Introduction** followed by the **Unit Objectives** for the topic. The content is then presented in a simple and easy-to-understand manner, and is interspersed with **Check Your Progress** questions to reinforce the student's understanding of the topic. A list of **Questions and Exercises** is also provided at the end of each unit. The **Summary**, **Key Terms** and **Activity** further act as useful tools for students and are meant for effective recapitulation of the text.

This book is divided into ten units:

Unit 1: Focuses on 18th century India, which was an important period of transition and remains the subject of debate among scholars of late medieval and modern Indian history.

Unit 2: Discusses the foray of the Portuguese, the Dutch, the British and the French. It also studies how most foreign powers lost while the British succeeded in establishing themselves and ruled over India for two hundred years.

Unit 3: Traces the suppression of the Indian rulers in the Carnatic and Bengal regions by the British East India Company.

Unit 4: Explores how the Indian regional powers like the Marathas, the rulers of Mysore, Oudh and Hyderabad raised their head against a weak Mughal power, but eventually failed fighting the British.

Unit 5: Introduces you to the administrative policies the British East India Company such as the Regulating Act, the Pitt's India Act, the Charter Acts of 1813 and 1833. You will also analyse how the British took the diwani of Bengal from the Mughals.

Unit 6: Outlines the agrarian and revenue policies of the British.

Unit 7: Familiarizes you with the education system in India from the 18th century till the 20th century. You will learn how the Company's attempt to improve the administrative system led to the spread of education in the country and how Western education gave birth to new thoughts among the Indians.

Unit 8: Acquaints you with the phases of colonialism, and how the British manoeuvred policies to suit their business interest causing drain of wealth.

Unit 9: Outlines the British East India Company's relations with Afghanistan, Burma and Nepal and the numerous wars fought with them.

Unit 10: Discusses the causes of the Revolt of 1857, its nature and effect, and the debate regarding it.

UNIT 1 TRANSITION OF THE 18TH CENTURY

Structure

1.0 Introduction
1.1 Unit Objectives
1.2 Society, Economy and Culture in the 18th Century
    1.2.1 Social Condition
1.3 Religious Conditions
1.4 Economic Conditions
1.5 Debates of the 18th Century
    1.5.1 Religious Debate
1.6 Summary
1.7 Key Terms
1.8 Answers to 'Check Your Progress'
1.9 Questions and Exercises
1.10 Further Reading

1.0 INTRODUCTION

The 18th century in India was an important period of transition and remains the subject of continuing debate among scholars of late medieval and modern Indian history. The two main debates on the 18th century are the nature of transition from a centralized Mughal polity to the emergence of regional confederations, and the nature of the transformation brought about by the increasing role of the English East India Company in the economic, commercial, and financial life of the subcontinent. We see the rise of a new economic order, and decentralization of political power which went hand-in-hand with a broader localization process.

The death of Aurangzeb in 1707 laid bare a patchwork of several sovereignties, a network of fragmented and layered forms of regional political powers that had been partly masked and managed by the practices of Mughal state and sovereignty. Eighteenth century was marked by the emergence of regional polities, the so-called successor states like Awadh, Bengal, Hyderabad, although they were politically and financially independent from Mughal state but always used Mughal symbols and titles for legitimacy and political stability. It is generally viewed that East India Company's expansion in India took place due to a power vacuum left after Aurangzeb's death. In the debates of continuity and change, historians have presented enduring socio-economic structures such as financial institutions and information networks that emphasize the utility of Indian agents or collaborators in facilitating early company rule.

In this unit, you will get acquainted with the socio-economic and political milieu in the 18th century and the debates regarding its interpretation.

NOTES

1.1 UNIT OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to:

- Discuss the social fabric of the 18th century India
- Explain the role of women in the society
- Analyse how religion, education and caste system influenced the society
- Describe the economic conditions during this period
- Critically analyse the debates during the 18th century and thereafter

1.2 SOCIETY, ECONOMY AND CULTURE IN THE 18TH CENTURY

The death of Aurangzeb in 1707 created a political vacuum where anarchy was the order of the day. The political uncertainty had its impact on the social, economic and religious condition. For long administrative authorities were devoid of any power and lawlessness prevailed.

1.2.1 Social Condition

Society in the 18th century was marked by stagnation which reveled in the past glory. The society could be termed as a free one and where socially and culturally people could not be compartmentalized. That is to say, there was no set pattern. However, the people were divided on the lines of religion, language, caste and every other possible structure. These divisions were deeply entrenched and gave rise to economic and social disparities. The upper class lived a different life from those in the lower strata. Since wealth concentrated in the hands of this section of the society, this class of nobility were highly conscious of their supremacy. They presided over religious occasions and dictated social practices. The economically weaker classes were looked down upon and had to follow the diktats of the superior class.

By this time, the Muslim concept of equality and fraternity ceased to exist and intolerance was at its heights. Now a Muslim *sharif* could not bear to see a Muslim *radhil* come close to him in the social ladder. Among the Hindus, the caste structure escalated jealousy among groups concerning rights and this resulted in isolation. Communities remained confined within their own customs and social traditions, and had no urge to create any social values. Any aberration from the established laws and conventions would lead to excommunication.

The 18th century social structure was based on two premises. One was grading on the basis of official position and power, and the other was on ordering based on religion and the traditional division of the society. The former was a reflection of the political system. The latter, on the other hand, was based on the caste and its stratification. For the Muslims, the grading was done of the basis of 'kufr' — believers and non-believers.

Caste

The Hindu society, as we know, is based on four different castes — the brahmins held the topmost position, followed by the khatriyas, vaishyas and at the bottom were the

NOTES

shudras. The brahmins, the priestly class, were the sole authority on religious issues. They were also the educators and guide. To quote Craufurd, 'Their caste is the only repository of the literature that yet remains; to them alone is entrusted the education of youth; they are the sole interpreters of the law and the only expounders of their religion.' People were superstitious and did not believe in questioning and reasoning. The brahmanical class took advantage of this and exploited all, from the affluent to the poor.

The kshatriyas were the warrior class. They usually comprised the kings and the soldiers. The role of the kshatriyas during this period has been doubted by many. According to Hindi poet Nagari Dass, they were very selfish and greedy. They had no respect for women, especially if she was a beautiful woman of a poor family or a lower class. The vaisyas were the merchants or traders. They were in the business of giving loans to people and earned heavy interests from them. But one section of the vaisyas was agriculturists. The baniyas were small traders, usually shopkeepers and were ill-famous for the love of money.

The shudras comprise the masses who were engaged in menial jobs. Below these four classes were the *antyajas* with their eight guilds of craftsmen. Like the shudras, they had to live in separate enclosures away from the cities or villages. They were engaged in rendering services to the higher classes. At the bottom of the social rung were the *hadis* and *chandals*. They did odd jobs like performing cremations.

Occupation was another factor that determined the caste of a person. In spite of the general taboos, social and economic exigencies necessitated contacts between the twice-born and the artisan classes and the creation of relationship between the higher and lower castes. Professionals like the barber, weaver, embroiderer, dyer, printer, gardener, potter, and ivory-worker were paid mostly directly for their services. Their remuneration included a fixed quantity of grain at the time of harvest, or money or clothes on occasions. Interestingly though, some occupations such as mercenary, trader and agriculturist were open to all.

The top three sections of the society were further divided into sub-sections, and each section formed an endogamous group. Marriages and inter-dining were permissible only among the community and caste. Restrictions on food habits, social interactions, marriages, and occupation defined a man's social status. People did not go outside the community to share meals. Among the Hindus, though all communities mostly worshipped the same deity, and followed same rituals and customs, they did not eat together. People would refrain from indulging in such practices due to fear of being excommunicated. A form of inter-dinning was permissible only among the Sikhs. It was called the *langer*. This form of community dinning, which did not differentiate among people, is prevalent till today.

There was also a lot of restriction on the types of food one could have. The caste prescribed different codes for different groups. For example, the brahmins did not have non-vegetarian food and refrained from having intoxicants. Meat was considered an acquired food habit, which came from the Muslim invaders. Communities like that of the Jains abstained from eating meat. They usually interacted with people who were vegetarians. However, the Rajputs, the kshatriyas, jats and shudras were among the meat eaters.

The society was sensitive about daughters, though not about women. The caste panchayat decided on important social issues and at times had the final say. The rules pertaining to each caste were strictly implemented and people had to pay fines or

NOTES

perform penance for breaking norms. Expulsion from the caste was the biggest threat. While the caste system may have been instrumental in uniting a community, it was also an element of disintegration. The various layers within the Hindus society created fissures and groups became social atoms living in the same village or region. But it was possible for a person to acquire a higher social status by acquiring a higher post in office or power as was done by the Holkar family in the 18th century. Sometimes, an entire caste succeeded in raising itself in the caste hierarchy.

Family

The Indian society has always been patriarchal, and dominated by a male figure. Exceptions were noticed in Kerala and among the Khasis in the North-East. Women confined themselves to household chores and were expected to fulfill their duties as mother, wife and daughters. Daughters were regarded a liability and her birth was not welcome; but mothers wielded tremendous influence on the family and she often took important decisions. Women did not have any share in the family property and possessed little individuality. But there were exceptions like Ahilya Bai who administered Indore with great success from 1766 to 1796. Several other Hindu and Muslim women played important roles in the politics of that time. Usually, the status of woman in the family depended not on her competence, but her ability to give birth to sons. A woman who had both were respected.

However, women were restricted from interacting with outsiders and could not venture out in the public alone. These restrictions were more stringent for women of the upper class, but not those who were public figures. But all women had to practice *purdah*, both Hindus and Muslims. Social and political insecurity of the period forced people to get their daughters marry early. Historians look at this fact more as a social security and not a sign of backwardness. There have been instances of female infanticide, mostly among the Rajputs. Another feature that became a characteristic of the Rajputs was the practice of sati. Women who lost their husbands in war would jump to the pyre willingly and die. The practice also prevailed in Bengal and central India.

With time, polygamy became admissible among upper caste brahmins in Bengal and Uttar Pradesh, while the practice existed among the lower caste. Widow remarriage was not prevalent though it existed in some quarters. The general condition of the widows was pitiable. They were expected to give up all earthly pleasures and live a life of restriction, such as, on clothing, eating habits and social interactions. Since they lived on the mercy of other family members, they had to serve them selflessly. To curb the practice of widow remarriage, the Maratha Peshwas imposed a tax called 'Patdam'. Interestingly, Raja Sawai Jai Singh of Amber and the Maratha general Parshuram Bhau tried to promote widow remarriage, but failed.

There were several taboos present in the society. Untouchability was one such. The untouchables were denied all rights and were barred from using the community well for water, schools, places of worship, and public institutions. Standing in front of members of the upper caste was regarded as defiance.

Another unacceptable practice was human sacrifice, which was a result of superstition. Humans, at times even children, were sacrificed to please a deity. Self-immolation was another form of forced sacrifice. There have been cases when people suffering disease would drown themselves. People even resorted to self-torture, such as, piercing different body parts in the belief that good results would follow.

Check Your Progress

1. What were the two aspects of the 18th century social system?
2. What were the two occupation of the vaisyas?
3. The antyajas stood in a better position in the caste hierarchy than the sudras. (True/False)
4. Inter-dinning among the people of different castes were not allowed in the 18th century, except among the Sikhs. (True/False)
5. What were the occupation people of all caste and religion could do?
6. _____ of widows was generally looked down upon though it prevailed in some places.

NOTES

Slavery

Slavery, akin to bonded labour, prevailed in the country. The slaves were either domestic labourers or serfs tied to the land. The latter would change hands with the sale of lands. In some cases, economic distress, natural calamities, extreme poverty and famines compelled parents to sell their children. The kings and the upper class families kept slave women for domestic work. In most cases though, the slaves became hereditary servants and lived in the family. According to historians, slaves in India were better treated that those in Europe, America and elsewhere. Slavery became more popular with the advent of the Europeans, particularly the Dutch, the Portuguese and the English. They purchased slaves from the open market. There were reports of Europeans at Surat, Madras and Calcutta purchasing Abbaside slaves and employing them for domestic work.

Muslim household

The 18th century Muslim family was no different from the Hindus. Apart from some religious practices, social life was more or less similar. A polygamous household was the fashion among the royalty and the nobility and all those who could afford it. The rich and the powerful had in their houses several wives and slave girls. Some had harems for the concubines, and dancers and singers. Marriage was a civil contract and the family found legal recognition only in connection with inheritance. The first wife was the senior most and led the household. She was given precedence over all other wives and also presided over major functions. But all children enjoyed equal status.

Although Muslim women did not have more rights or enjoyed many privileges, they had some advantages over their Hindu counterparts. In a Muslim family, the mother wielded considerable authority. The Muslim woman had the right to give or withhold her consent to marriage, but she could not exercise her right. In certain cases, marriage was seen as a temporary contract (*muta*), having no bigger motive than sexual gratification. Under the influence of Hinduism, divorce among Muslims were looked down upon. People, especially those held in high esteem, would concede to all differences and dispute than to become a subject of gossip and lose social status. Muslim parents even started giving dowries which were generally beyond their means. The patriarchal structure gave preference to sons than to daughters.

Islam permitted plurality of wives, up to four, but on the condition that all of them would be treated equally. There was no age limit for marriage, but people preferred to marry off their daughters at an early age. Almost as a rule, boys were not allowed to see the girls before they were married. Mannucci writes, 'Among the Mohammedans, it is the practice not to see their brides beforehand, but to marry upon reports, interests or respect.' The groom had to give 'mehr' to the bride during marriage. This amount was fixed in advanced and could be paid during the ceremony or later. It was usually the aged women who took the charge of match-making, unless it was for political reasons. Though the custom of betrothal was opposed to the Shariat, the Muslims were as particular as the Hindus. There were a several instances of inter-communal marriages, especially, among the kings and the nobility. Farrukh Siyar was married to the daughter of Raja Ajit Singh.

Marriage, hence, was a social obligation. Celibacy was practiced at times by princess of the royal family and Sufi saints. The concept of the prohibited degree in marriage seems to have been obligatory on the Muslims in the 18th century. Among

Check Your Progress

7. Slaves in India were no better than those in Europe. (True/False)
8. Divorces among the Muslims were deplored due to the influence of the Hindus. (True/False)
9. Indians in the 18th century were alert, highly educated and were aware of the scientific development which were taking place in Europe. (True/False)

the orthodox Muslims, there was a prejudice amounting to prohibition in regard to marriages between Sunni Muslims and Shias.

The system of purdah was followed strictly as women lived in separate quarters called the 'zenanah'. The men's quarter was called the 'mardanah'. This could be the fallout of political security, but in the 18th century, probably as a matter of prestige, women were kept in the inner-most quarters. The tradition of seclusion was more rampant among the upper classes. The women from the lower strata had to work as slaves, in the fields and elsewhere, and sell wares in the markets to earn and could not be kept under the veil.

Education

The 18th century Europe was a period of intellectual, social, cultural and political ferment. It was the Age of Enlightenment. Science had taken precedence. People where questioning traditions, customs and conventional ideas and looking at alternatives. Philosophers, scientists, mathematicians and thinkers looked for answers through experiment, observations, questioning and criticism. India during this period saw none of these. Her education system was still bound by tradition and lacked rational reasoning. Although the Indians had come in contact with the Europeans and were trading with them, such as those in Gujarat, Konkan, Kerala, Cholamandal, Orissa and Bengal, they remained unaffected there was practically no exchange of new ideas. The kings and nobles took some interests in animals and birds, toys and perfumes, but only to flaunt their wealth. An interesting aspect was that the Christian world, which was once dominated by the Muslims, was intrigued by the latter's culture, scientific and military developments and had started studying its every branch of knowledge.

But India, till the end of the century, remained untouched by the discoveries and innovations taking place elsewhere in the world. This was not due to lack of education but the quality and the format, which was communal. There were two different systems for the Hindus and the Muslims. The Hindus imparted elementary education through regional language while higher education was imparted in Sanskrit. For the Muslims, it was Persian, which was also the official court language.

The Hindu schools were divided into two water-tight compartments. Sanskrit was taught only to the brahmins and children of the nobles and kings. Pupils who were certain to follow agricultural and commercial pursuits were given elementary education in regional languages. The teachers largely belonged to the writer castes. In Murshidabad, of the sixty-seven teachers in the same number of schools, thirty-nine were kayasthas, fourteen brahmins and fourteen from other castes. In south Bihar, there were 285 schools and the same number of teachers. Of these, 278 were kayasthas and seven came from other castes. None belonged to the brahmin caste.

Primary education continued for a period of five to ten years, which included reading, writing and arithmetic. The idea was to learn writing letters and composing business correspondence, such as, petition, grants and leases, and do calculation in accounting. Emphasis was on tables such as multiplication, weights and measures. Education was purely utilitarian and extremely narrow. It did not allow free thinking or provoke questions among students. Passions and affections were allowed to grow without any thought of pruning their luxuriance or directing their exercise to good purposes.

The quality of higher education was unprogressive and predominantly theological. The institutions were dominated by the brahmins. The teachers as well as the students belonged to the same caste. The courses taught were law, grammar, general literature and logic. Students as young as two year were sent to these schools and could stay for twelve to twenty-two years. Most of these schools were situated in the house of the teacher, which was known as 'gurukuls'. Students wanting to study law had to devote eight to twenty-eight years in mastering the various branches of Hindu law and rites. In Bengal, the treatises of Raghunandan and Jimutavahan, were studied. Manu and Mitakashara were taught in other schools.

Logic had to be studied for twelve to twenty-two years. For medicine and astronomy, students had to refer to ancient text and their commentaries. The study of the old texts did not indulge students to think freely or look outside the compartmentalised philosophy and ideas. Also, study of these subjects were largely formal and verbal.

The Muslim education system was not very different from the Hindus. It was intended only for the upper class of the community and the masses felt discouraged. As we have mentioned earlier, Persian was the medium of instructions. There were three strands of education. The first included memorising the verses of Quran; it was followed by studies in grammar, literature, computation and arithmetic. In poetry, Firdausi, Sadi, Hafiz, Urfi, Jami, and Khaqani were taught. In prose, Gulistan, Waqai Nimat Khan Ali, and Bahar-i-Danish were taught. In epistolary art, Abul Fazl, Alamgh, and Madhoram Brahman were taught. In grammar and rhetoric, Hadjkat-ul-Balaghat, and Dastur-ul-Mubtabi were taught. Rules of arithmetic and geometry were included in the course.

Subjects, such as, medicine, astronomy and science were confined to the books and no new investigations were conducted. Students were not encouraged to apply experimental methods in studies. Also, there were no laboratories and observatories. Emphasis was on study of theology and law and order. The Muslim mind was soaked in medievalism and it was intellectually quite unprepared to withstand the attack from the West.

According to available literatures, centres of higher education in Sanskrit literature were called 'chatuspathis' or 'tola' in Bengal and Bihar. Nadia, Kas, Tirhut and Utkala were some of the reputed centres. Institutions for higher education in Persian and Arabic were called madrasas. As Persian was the court language, Muslims and the Hindus both had to master it. Azimabad (Patna) was a great centre of Persian education. As for elementary education, there were several pathshalas and maktabs as the schools were called among the Hindus and the Muslims. The students were given instruction in the three R's of reading, writing and arithmetic. Moral instruction with emphasis on truth, honesty and obedience found a place in the school curriculum. Education was mainly popular with the higher castes. Female education received very little attention.

Literature

Urdu was widely understood by the masses in the 18th century. Since the language had spread to all corners of the country, several Urdu literary circles had been set up. When As the British dominion extended over north India, Urdu became the language of the educated and the literary class. It was regarded as a language of the elite. But sadly enough, the literature produced during this period was not regarded highly. Its

poetry was dilettantish, weighed with euphemism and conceit. Its spirit was shackled by artificial limitations of rhyme. Its mood alternated between the sensuous and the spiritual, neither deeply experienced. They reflected pessimism and huge clouds of despair hung over them. They were far away from reality. The Urdu writers made Urdu a pliant instrument of expression. The Hindi and Urdu poets of this period were virtuosos and were so engrossed in their pursuit that they lost the meaning of life and higher purpose of literature.

The famous romantic epic, Heer Ranjha, was written by Warris Shah in Punjabi. Sindhi literature too made great achievements in this century. Shah Abdul Latif composed his famous collection of poems, Risalo. Sachal and Sami were the other great Siedfai poets of the century. Daya Ram, one of the great lyricists of Gujarat, wrote during the second half of the 18th century. Tayaumanavar (1706-44) was one of the best exponents of Sittar poetry in Tamil. In line with other Sittar poets, he protested against the abuse of temple-rule and the caste system.

Varadarajan writes about Tamil, 'The literature of this period is full of frigid conceits and pedantic exercises of the grammarians, and the simplicity, the directness and the restraint characteristic of the early literature are now lost. Most of the poets of this age seem imitative and repetitive not only in their narrative but also in their descriptions. Taste in poetry has become sophisticated and poets are judged by the jingle of their alliteration and the acrobatics of their meter. We come across talented writers capable of original productions but they are only a very few. Even the works of these eminent poets evince a childish delight in riotous, imaginations and hyperbolic utterances. There is, in many works of this period, not so much of art as artificiality, and therefore, many of these works have fallen into oblivion.'

Sitapati, expressing his view about Telugu literature, said 'good poetry vanished and a period of decadence prevailed'. Shri Adya Rangacharya writes that 'by the middle of the 18th century, Kannada ceased to exist'. In Marathi, Lavanis (erotic poems) became common and even spiritual love and devotion was described in the degraded fashion of carnal love. Deshpande observes, 'It was obvious that degeneration had set in. Metaphysical acumen was getting blunt. Devotional urge was on the wane and the verse and vigour of a soldier's life was also getting lost. Literature was settling down to the leisurely luxuriousness and erudite ornateness of the later days of the Peshwas.'

According to Trivedi, 'Life was decadent from 1700 until the advent of the British.' Regarding Bengali poetry in the 18th century, S. K. Banerjee says it is 'a colourless dragging in of the old patterns both in subject-matter and form'. In Assamese literature, secular tone was predominant.

Noticeably, behind the diversities of language, race and creed, a deep cultural unity pervaded the whole of India. The appearance of a large number of masters of rhetoric, style and diction, who had the expertise over language, aided to this cultural bonding. These experts refined and developed the language to meet future demands.

The widespread unity over culture was also aided by the advent of the printing press set up by the Christian missionaries. They printed vernacular editions of the Bible. Ziegenbelg, a Danish missionary, published studies on the Tamil language, grammar books and even a Bible in Tamil. Baptist missionaries like Carey, Ward and Marshman set up a printing press at Serampur and published a Bengali version of the Bible.

Art

Art during this period suffered. A politically and economically weak Mughal emperor had lost control, and Delhi could no longer support the artisans and craftsmen. As a result, artisans and craftsmen began migrating to smaller states such as Hyderabad, Lucknow, Murshidabad, and Jaipur. Even artists and painters from the Mughal school made places like Kashmir and Patna their new homes. New schools of painting achieved distinction. The paintings of Kangra and Rajput schools revealed new vitality and taste.

One of the unique constructions of this period is the Bada Imambara in Lucknow, built by Asaf-ud-Daula in 1784. Its uniqueness lies in the fact that blocks have been put together with interlocking system of bricks and there has been absolutely no use of girders and beams. The roof stands steady till date without any pillars to support it. According to Percy Brown, the British archeologist and art critic, it is a work of outward show and tawdry pretence whose style has no spiritual values. The palace of Raja Suraj Mal at Deeg, the capital of Bharatpur, was planned to revive the imperial palaces of Arga. Work on its construction was started in 1725 but was left unfinished.

Music continued to develop and flourish in this century, particularly in the reign of Muhammad Shah.

1.3 RELIGIOUS CONDITIONS

The Hindus worshiped several deities, but broadly, the belief was in the existence of the trinity — Brahma (the creator), Vishnu (the sustainer) and Maheshwar (the destructor). Brahma was not very popular, but the society was divided into two popular sects — the Vaishnavites and the Saivites — the followers of Vishu and Shiva, respectively, along with their female counterparts Lakshmi and Parvati. There was another strand of followers, the Saktas; those who worshipped Parvati or sakti. This shows that the worship represented three distinct forms of belief and practice. However, these divisions did not make any difference in the basic concepts of Hinduism.

Shiva was the deity of the masses and was worshiped by individuals in a simple manner without any fanfare. His form as a lingam is the only way of worshiping Shiva. He was feared and revered as mythology puts him to be a God of destruction. It is said that he destroys the evil with his third eye. He was the patron of craftsmen, cartwrights, smiths, potters, hunters and washermen, the head of the armies, the God of the fighters in any mode of warfare. Har Har Mahadev was a popular war-cry. Thieves and free-booters too were his devotees. Beggars and faqirs showed their affinity with him by wearing long and matted hair or by shaving their heads. He was omnipotent but he was supposed to live on high mountains, dense forests and solitary places. The Rajputs were predominantly the followers of Shiva. Temples dedicated to Shiva can be found even outside Rajasthan in Gujarat and Bundelkhand.

Vishnu was the god of the household. Elaborate preparations are made for his worship. The empowering image of Vishnu over other gods is depicted in a painting of the Rajasthani school dated AD 1740. The painting shows Vishnu seated on a throne in heaven with Lakshmi on his knees and attended by other gods among whom Siva appears on the right as an ascetic along with Ganesh. On the left are Indra and Brahma with his four heads. A Vaishnavite was respected in the society and considered

Check Your Progress

10. What was the centre of higher education in Sanskrit literature called?
11. Who composed Heer Ranjha?
12. Education was organized on religious basis. (True/False)
13. The elementary schools for both Hindus and Muslims were called pathshalas. (True/False)
14. Urdu was a dominant language in the 18th century. (True/False)
15. Christian missionaries printed vernacular editions of the Bible in the 18th century. (True/False)

NOTES

a complete and well-formed human being. hence, it was fashionable to become his devotee.

A person could be follower of Vishnu as well as Shiva. The image of Harihara — Hari representing a form of Vishu and Hara representing Shiva — was a combined representation of both gods in the one idol.

Under Shaivism and Vaishnavism separate sects or communities were created by different teachers. The most prominent Shaiva sect was that of the jogis. They did not have homes and kept wandering, living in most difficult terrains. They professed 'vedantaism' and 'jangamas' and lived a life of severe austerity. The most important order of the jogis was that of the 'kanphatas' or slit ears. Another form of jogis was the mundiyas who kept their heads shaved. The other sects were the 'gosains', 'sannyasis' and the 'dandins' with their ten branches. Some of them practiced the most revolting rites and many sold charms. Some became astrologers, jugglers or minstrels and some practiced incantations and exorcisms. Garibdas (1717-1778), a Jat, was a saint but had a family. Keshavdas, another jogis belonged to the same order. Ram Charan, who was born in 1718, founded the sect of Ram Sanehis. This order consisted exclusively of sadhus. The sect of Sivanarayanis was founded by Shiv Narayan in 1734.

The third strand of believers, the Saktas, was another important sect. They believed that the gods had relegated their more onerous and troublesome executive functions to their female counterparts, the 'devi'. In difficult times, people prayed to the goddesses. Mahadevi, the great goddess, was worshipped under a thousand designations and invested in an infinite variety of forms. This practice was more prevalent in the eastern provinces of northern India. One form was that of Vara Marg, who was worshiped with wine, meat, fish, various body postures and sexual intercourse. Their shrines could be the centers for bloody sacrifices and sensual obscenities. In north India, the goddess was seen a mother. These goddesses were sometimes very gracious and bounteous like Gauri, who was married to Shiva, whom the young girls worshipped in the hope of getting good husbands and a happy married life. The other forms of the goddesses, such as, Shakti, Durga, and Bhawani, who represented courage and power, were worshipped by the Rajputs. Shrines of these goddesses are found all across Rajasthan. She was addressed by such names as Mahamaya, Kali Mata, Chamunda, Sakrai, Rai Mata, Naguechian, Sitala Mata, and Karaiji.

The other gods who had huge followers were Ganesh or Ganapati and the sun god. Ganesh was the God of good luck and fortune, and the one who removed all evils. He was worshipped prior to starting any new project or venture. He was also called Vinayak. The worship of the sun god was widespread in this century. The god was worshipped by offering water in the form of 'aragya' in the morning and the chanting of the 'gayatri mantra'. People, especially agriculturists, also worshipped nature to ward off adverse effects of nature such as rain, drought, heat or cold. Rivers and their tributaries were also worshipped since they were regarded as goddesses. The course of the rivers in the plains was marked as holy cities Tree worship was very common. Pipal was regarded as the Brahman among trees. Tulsi plant was held very sacred by the Hindus. Spirit worship was another major element in Hindu belief.

Muslims

Three factors influenced the beliefs and practices of the 18th century Muslims. The decline of the Mughal empire, the wide prevalence of the doctrine of Wahdat-ul-

NOTES

Wujud (unity of existence or immanence) and the influence of Hinduism. A Muslim state was deemed to follow the Shariat laws, but the rulers of the time did not have the will or the political and economic power to enforce it. The Wahdat-ul-Wujud doctrine encouraged an attitude of indifference towards moral laxity although its main aim was to establish a kind of positive tolerance of the beliefs and practices of non-Muslims, on the ground that God is immanent in his creation and Islam and other religions are one. But this concept was opposed. People like Shaikh Ahmed of Sirhind declared that believers of Wahdat-ul-Wujud were evading or undermining the Shariat, the concept of which was higher and could be realised through a spiritual awareness of the unity of phenomena. An intellectual reconciliation of the two doctrines were brought by religious reformer Shah Walliullail (1703-1763) who claimed that the two were different stages on the road of spiritual knowledge. He also tried relentlessly to bring Islam to the masses by translating the Quran in Presian.

However, the orthodox Muslims preached sectarianism. The Mughal court had coteries of the Shai and the Sunnis. Mirza Mazhar Jani-Janan (1702-81), a leading religious and social personality, was murdered by the Shias as they suspected him of making derogatory remarks about the Tadhiahs.

Practices and beliefs

During this period, several folk deities had emerged. Goga was one of the folk deities worshipped in north India, especially in Rajasthan and Uttar Pradesh. He was worshipped in various forms — as a snake god, a warrior and a saint. According to legends, he was the son of a Chauhan Rajput. Muslims on the other hand considered him to be a peer or a saint. There were also the worshipers of Kkwaja Khizr, the god of water. We also find reference of bisnois, who followed Hinduism, offering the namaz five times a day with their face towards the east. They repeated the names of the Hindu gods, all the angels and prophets such as Allah, Michael, Israel, Jibraeel, and Muhammadaeel and buried their dead. Whenever they uttered the name of Vishnu, they had to say 'bismillah'. Untouchability was common among this sect and they did not eat with one who did not belong to their fraternity.

Hussaini Brahmans were another sect who claimed a mythical relationship with Imam Hussnin. They accepted gifts and charity from none other than the Muslims. The Shanwis followed the religious practices of both the Hindus and Muslims and abstained from eating beef and pork. They danced before the idol of Kalka and witnessed aarti in Mathura and Vrindaban. The sect of Sivanamyanh was popular with the Muslims. The cult of Mian Bibi found favour both with the Hindus and Muslims equally although Mian Bibi was a deity of the female sex. Shah Daulah's mausoleum attracted many. The worship of Panjpir (five saints) was very common in the Punjab and adjacent areas.

Superstition was such that people in general believed in the power of charms and amulets for healing the sick, casting off evil spirits, curing infertility and even identifying thieves. belief in astrology was strong and much depended on the efficiency of the astrologer. There were lucky numbers and unlucky numbers. Thirteen was generally considered to be unlucky, while other odd numbers were considered to be lucky. Number fifty-two was cue of the Hindu favourite numbers. Number five was considered sacred. people believed in charity as it would bring blessings and good luck.

People believed fasting was a road to penance and please the gods; the longer the duration of the fast and the rigourous it is, the better the results. Practices such as the Ramzaan by the Muslims, fasting for a month, or the 'nirjala ekadashi' by the Hindus did not allow even a drop of water during the fasting period. As such, Hindus went on fast in the name of deities on occasions, such as, Janmashtami, Nagapanchmi, Satyanarayan, and Shivratri. These were mostly for a day. During the 'navratris' or 'durga puja' people kept fast for eight to nine days. People celebrated *raksha bandhan, bhai duj*, and *teej*. Holi was a popular festival and celebrated best in Mathura and Vrindaban. It was celebrated both by the Hindus and the Muslims. Dussehra and Diwali were also celebrated by the Hindus. Some of these festivals are celebrated till today.

Islam being a puritanical religion, the Muslims had very few festivals. Id-ul-Azha or Id-i-Qurban was the most important festival. Id-ul-fiter was celebrated after fasting for a month for Ramzan. It was celebrated for three days with great festivities, fire-works and banqueting. Nauroz was the Persian new year day. On that date, the king received presents from the nobles. Muharram was celebrated mainly by the Shia Muslims. Shab-e-Barat was another Muslim festival when houses were illuminated along with great display of fireworks.

1.4 ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

Extreme contrast marked 18th century India. While the rich were extremely rich and led a life of luxury, a section of the population was extremely poor. The latter were the agriculturists who were oppressed and impoverished. The state's increasing demand for higher revenue, oppression by officials, greed and rapacity of the nobles, zamindars and revenue farmers. The masses too were exploited by this hierarchy, the destruction due to the wars and invasions. Several prosperous cities, centres of trade and famous temples were ransacked and devastated. Ahmed Shah Abdali, the king of Afghanistan, attacked India five times. Indian tribes as well as kingdoms too indulged in plunder. The Jats attacked Agra, while the Marathas plundered Surat and other cities of Gujarat and the Deccan, the Sikhs looted Sarhind. The decline of the Mughal as the central power led to disintegration and disrespect for law and order. At this point, the urban centres had become a dead place. Poet Nazir gives a graphic picture of Agra of the 18th century in these words:

'Joblessness could show only one thing—poverty
On the hovels of the poor there are no roofs
Poverty covers the hovels
Everyone in Agra these days is ruined
No one knows how he will live further
Although they know thousands of arts and crafts
Dust settles in bazar while shopkeepers sit in their empty shops
As though thieves lined up in prison.'

V.P.S. Raghuvanshi writes, 'Civilized life cannot flourish amid conditions of insecurity and oppression. In the 18th century the fall of the Mughal monarchy released forces of political disintegration and anarchical conditions which destroyed the creative and cooperative spirit of man. They caused deterioration in every phase of national life. The regions which suffered most from the ravages of the soldiery became the scenes of uprooted humanity and epidemics. The period glorified war, bred anarchy and held civilisation in terror.'

Check Your Progress

16. The worship of nature had a very strong hold over the pastoral and agricultural people. (True/False)
17. What were the followers of Shiva called?
18. What shaped the beliefs and practices of the Muslims?
19. _____ tried to bring Islam to the masses of India by translating the Quran into Persian.
20. People believed in acts of _____ which carried special healing powers.

Ghulam Hussain, a historian from Bengal, calls the 18th century 'an age of senseless, slothful princes and of grandees, ignorant and meddling'. He writes, 'It is in consequence of such wretched administration that every part of Hind has gone to ruin and every one of its discouraged urban inhabitants have broken their hearts. Life itself has become disgustful to most. So that, on comparing the present times with the past, one is apt to think that the world is overspread with blindness and that the earth is totally overwhelmed with an everlasting darkness.'

As we have seen, this period saw several wars and invasions and attempt by regional ruler to consolidate their position. All these created a situation of constant flux and major economic centres such as Delhi, Lahore, Agra and even Mathura began declining. Large tracks of land in the country, like in the Deccan, were destroyed. This was also the period when the European merchants were making inroads. This had some positive impact on the economy of the coastal regions. The European merchants purchased Indian goods in return for gold and silver and this gave a stimulus to industry. Their interest in Indian cotton and silk, embroidery, perfume, art and craft, and ship-building promoted particular groups of artisans, specialisation of skills and small-scale industries. In industrial organization and techniques, India was more advanced than its European counterparts. Demand for Indian goods was growing not only in Europe but also in African countries and other Asian markets viz., Burma, Malaya, Indonesia, China and Japan.

Indian merchants were well established all along the ports of Persian Gulf and Red Sea. They were also met in considerable numbers in Kandahar, Kabul, Balkh, Bukhara, and Kashghar, in Afghanistan and Central Asia. Peter, the Great wrote, 'Commerce of India is the commerce of the world and he who can exclusively control it is the dictator of Europe.'

Within the country, the affluent classes contributed to the growing demand for luxurious goods. They had rich taste and never missed an opportunity to display opulence. These goods were made in small workshops (karkhanas) and at time some artisans became very famous. But a majority of the workers remained poor as they were not reimbursed appropriately. There was usually a middleman who would act as agents who pocketed the maximum profit. Usually merchants advanced money for raw materials and at times wages for finished goods. The agents would bring these finished products to the markets but in some cases the nobles or merchants dealt with the transactions directly.

A remarkable feature of this period was that the village was a self-sufficient economic unit. The need of the villagers were restrained by their economic capacity and, hence, most of the goods were available in the village itself. The peasants, who formed a large chunk of the population, was had little left after paying the revenue through their produce. The stream of exchange of goods between the village and the town was thin. Hence, lack of capital, rigidity of caste restrictions and the meagerness of trade between the village and the town, were the factors which prevented the development of the traditional business classes engaged in trade and banking into a strong and well-knit middle class of the European style. The Indian mercantile community consisted of the tradesmen, bankers and moneylenders. A huge portion of

NOTES

wealth of these classes were utilised in forwarding loans to the ruling class. However, they lacked the enterprising spirit.

To explain the greatness and originality of Indian industry and culture, 17th century travel writer Pyrard said about India, 'I have never seen men of wit so fine and polished as are these Indians; they have nothing barbarous and savage about them, as we are apt to suppose.' Again, 'No people in the world know so much about pearls and precious stones; and even at Goa, the goldsmiths, lapidaries and other workmen occupied with the finer crafts, are all baniyas and Brahmans of Cambay and have their own streets and shops.' But this economic prosperity was declining by the middle of the 18th century. While the English capitalist class was ready to take the advantage of the Industrial revolution, the Indian commercial class could not boast of any industrial tradition.

Ship-building was the most flourishing industry of the period. Merchant ships and boats were all manufactures in the country. The places these were built were Dacca, Allahabad, Lahore, Thatta, Masaulipatam, Pulicat, Calicut, Surat, Bassein, Chittagong, Satraon, and Goa. In the art of ship-building, India was ahead of European nations. Parkinson writes, 'In ship-building, they probably taught the English far more than they learnt from them.'

The important centres of textile industry were Dacca and Murshidabad in Bengal, Patna in Bihar, Surat, Ahmedabad and Broach in Gujarat, Chanderl in Madhya Pradesh, Burhanpur in Maharashtra, Jaunpur, Varanasi, Lucknow and Agra in Uttar Vishakhapatnam in Andhra Pradesh, Bangalore in Mysore (Karnataka) and Coimbatore and Madurai in Madras. Kashmir was a centre of woolen manufactures. The principal riches of India consisted chiefly of silk and cotton stuffs. Their great popularity was based upon the excellence of craftsmanship.

Though India was self-sufficient in agriculture and industrial goods, she imported materials, such as, raw silk, ivory, coral, tortoise-shell and amber in addition to metals. She was, however, continued to be a sink of precious metals. Van Twist writes, 'Although there were no gold or silver mines in India, large quantities of both were imported from foreign countries, and it was forbidden to export them.' Similar views are expressed by Hawkins and Terry.

Indian trade and industry was organised and financed by the merchants. It was not confined to the port towns only but spread along the trade routes. Multan in Punjab and the three Sing towns of Bukkur, Sukkur and Rohri were important centres of inland trade in the north-west. These towns had flourishing merchant communities such as the Khattris, Lohanas and Bhatias. Lahore, Delhi and Agra were big centres of commercial activity in northern India. Malda, Rangpur and Kasimbazar were important trade centres in Bengal. In Rajasthan, Ajmer, Jodhpur, Pall and Jaisalmer were old centres. Ahmedabad in Gujarat and Poona and Nagpur in the Maratha country rose in importance after 1750. Hyderabad, Bangalore and Tanjore were flourishing centres of trade and commerce.India exported indigo in huge quantity and limited amount of iron and steel from Masulipatam. Precious stones, marble, drugs, opium, and hing were exported from Gujarat and cotton yarn was exported from the Coromandel coast.

Apart from the merchant class, there existed a group of financiers. Jagat Seth, a rich marwari family from Murshidabad, was considered the biggest banker and money exchanger of the century. According to Nick Robins, 'The Jagat Seths were

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unrivalled in northern India for their financial power. Known as 'banker of the world', this Marwari family had build up formindable economic resources on the back of its control of the imperial mint and extensive monely lending. They wielded this financial clout at the Bengali court and were judged to be 'the chief cause of revolutions in Bengal' by a French commentator at the time.' During the first Maratha invasion of Bengal, it is said they took away two crore of Arcot rupees from Jagat Seth, but the incident did not affect their financing ability. Similarly, the Nathjis of Surat had vast resources for finance. The families of Nathu, Kotharis and Chettis (of the South) monopolised business and were regarded the richest. Their business extended to Burma, Malaya and the eastern islands. The Chettis were powerful bankers and had trade relations with the British. They gave the British merchants cash for their bill of exchange and operated through their agencies in the presidencies of Madras, Bombay and Calcutta.

The big bankers performed all the functions of a modern bank viz., receiving deposits, giving loans and issuing *hundis*. The small bankers and money lenders operated mostly in the villages and gave loans to the artisans, farmers and others in need of capital. If we take into account the activities of the bankers, financiers and moneylenders in 18th century India, we see that the aggregate capital resources of the country were substantial, though scattered.

According to archeologist and historian Tara Chand, the peasants of the century was better off than their successors in the next century. This was so not only in respect to the larger size of his holding, but also because the average productivity of land was higher at that time. Cultivation of foodgrains was mainly for domestic purposes. In the Deccan, mainly wheat, gram, rice and millet were grown. Historian Khafi Khan states that jowar and bajra were the main support of the people of the Deccan and were extensively grown. Millet was the principle crop in north too. Next to foodgrains, sugarcane and cotton were widely grown. Tobacco, opium and indigo were grown for commercial purposes. Despite this self-sufficiency and surplus produce, the country faced several famines. The calamity would spread because of non-availability of foodgrains, while in some regions the food was in surplus.

Also there were huge price variation of foodgrains. Like price in Bengal were lower than north India, while in Gujarat the prices were higher than north India. The prices of commodities of daily consumption were very low. Price fluctuation depended on basically on two factors — regional and periodical. The former was the result of the difficulties and heavy cost of transport of agricultural products. If rains were deficient and crops failed, a farmer could not supplement his stock from outside except at ruinous prices. The margin of fluctuations in prices in the same locality from year to year was very wide.

The concept of wage labourers was an urban phenomenon that emerged in the 18th century. These unskilled people did odd jobs in the urban centres and small industries and were paid in cash. By the middle of the 18th century, the prevailing rate of daily wages in Calcutta was six pice for ordinary labourers and ten pice for skilled workers. At time they even went to the villages to work as agricultural labourers who were given a part of the produce. Hence, price fluctuation had a direct impact on wage earners.

Travellers and writers of the century have talked of poverty in India. These accounts should not be considered as a true picture as the writers based their theory on scantiness of clothing, the spartan lifestyle and the taste of utensils among the

NOTES

lowere classes and not the lack of adequate quantities of nourishing diet. Fitch writes that in northern India, 'people go all naked save a little cloth bound about their middle. In the winter, the men wear quilted gowns of cotton and quilted caps with a slit to look out and tied down beneath their ears.'

Lord Cornwallis wrote in 1790, 'The consequences of the heavy drain of wealth with the addition of that which has been occasioned by the remittances of private fortunes, having been for many years and are now severely felt, by the great diminution of the current specie and by the languor which has thereby been thrown upon the cultivation and the general commerce of the country.'

1.5 DEBATES OF THE 18TH CENTURY

During the 16th and 17th centuries, while northern India was dominated by Mughal politics, the south had small and mid-sized Kingdoms, without much of a concept of a united India, from Kashmir to Kanyakumari. South India was trudging along sleepily, as the Europeans started slipping in and controlling the business, without so much as any controls. In fact, European business was facilitated by the duty free trades, where no such provision was there for the Indians.

Advent of the Europeans

Europeans had planned to come in to India since 15th century. First of the Europeans to have set foot into India were the Portuguese. Vosco-de Gama came in 1498, even before the Mughals arrived in India. When Vasco da Gama docked his ship in Calicut, he announced that he came in search of 'Christians and spices' and the very first people he met here were Christians, who were descendants of those who had settled in India way back in the 4th century AD. Albuquerque followed eleven years later in 1509. Portuguese had a vibrant business in spices in India, as the religious bent was forgotten in the glitter of wealth being generated. Mughals did not warm up to the European trade in India. Besides, the Portuguese, essentially the Catholics were religious fanatics. The intolerance levels ran high that then in Goa, Hindu temples were not allowed to be built. Albuquerque, the second Viceroy of Goa, encouraged mixed marriages, simply with the aim of bonding the indigenous Goans to the Portugal by culture, bloodline and religion. It would be a matter of conjecture, whether the Portuguese should have gone further and consolidated themselves militarily in India. The Portuguese could not move beyond Goa, since Spain had taken over their country in 1580.

The Portuguese were followed by the Dutch in 1595. The Dutch had commenced their business initially from Jakarta, however, they had their factories dotting all over (in Cochin, Nagapatam and even up in Agra). They did not attempt to gain military power, and were satisfied with the business and profit.

French King Loius XII had granted letters of monopoly to French traders in 1611, however, it was not till December 1667 that a French business company came and established in India. They came in through Surat in 1667 and was followed by another French company in South Eastern Coast in Masulipatnam. The French were able to establish themselves in Golconda and thereafter in the Carnatic (Karnatak), as the Golconda King exempted them from paying duty.

English, to begin with moved into East Indies, where the Dutch had already established business. Their relations were cordial, as both the nations had Spain and

Check Your Progress

21. Ahmed Shah Abdali plundered _____ and _____.
22. In industrial organisation and techniques, India was more advanced than the western countries. (True/ False)
23. How has Ghulam Hussain described the 18th century society?
24. Why were luxury goods in demand?
25. Which were the boat-building and ship-building centres in India in this period?
26. Name the textile centres of India in the 18th century.

NOTES

Portugal as the common enemies. The Dutch, however, did not a readily allow the British to get into the spice business in the East Indies. As such the British got nudged towards Carnatic coast in South East India. The British slowly established themselves through diplomacy with Jahangir, and the naval supremacy got them the attention. After Mumbai was gifted to British in 1674 as dowry of the Portuguese queen of Charles II, the British never looked back. The death of Aurangzeb in 1707, the inability of various power centres in India to unite, and the ambitious Marathas left British scheming and crawling up to the areas which had power vacuum. It is a moot point, whether, if the French managed their diplomacy and military power better, they could have the better of the British in India. Besides, if the Mughal Empire had not crumbled in the beginning of the 18th century, the British could have been through out of India by the Marathas in the Deccan, Tipu, supported by the French in the south, and Afghan invaders from the North West. Nevertheless, since the power centres in India, and the invaders from Persia and Afghanistan could never come to terms, the British got the advantage. Besides, East India Company was always supported by the Parliament in the island.

Debate then arises, as to how the British got the better of the indigenous powers, as well as the other European trading companies. There is no doubt that the British are shrewd, astute in the diplomacy, and carry clarity of purpose, and have a long-term vision. The Asians appeared to be rather shortsighted and are self-centred and self-seeking. The other Europeans were either not as ambitious militarily, nor as strong and persistent, and possibly, the government at home were neither in a position to support them, nor interested in venturing on to the political games. Some of the questions that can be sought are as under, nevertheless, the answer to these questions could be any body's guess. The questions that are sought are:

(a) What if Portugal was not occupied by the Spain at the end of 16th century?

(b) Would Portugal have been able to make the rest of the country Luso Indians?

(c) What if the French would have defeated the British in the Carnatic wars?

(d) What if the Marathas had won in the third battle of Panipat?

(e) Had the Marathas treated Rajputs and Jats respectfully, and had they supported Marathas in their campaigns Northwards, Marathas may have sidelined the British, and established Hindu Samrajya.

(f) Had the Dutch and Portuguese been able to establish militarily, what would have been the history of the British, and the rest of India?

1.5.1 Religious Debate

What role did the Christian missions play in the social reforms, as well as the education system? This point could churn up a lot of debate. It could be said with some conviction that though conversions to Christianity had always been a controversial point, there was certainly efforts at reforms in the system of education as well as efforts at social reforms such abolition of sati, child marriage, widow remarriage.

By 1830, evangelists started having a lot of influence on the British government in arriving at the education policy. In 1830, English was being used as the language of instruction. By 1837, Persian was no longer being used as the court language, as English was being used for administration as well as at the court. By the beginning of the 19th century, Christian missionaries were given permission to spread the faith and implement conversion activities.

NOTES

Whether it was right on the part of the local rulers to make it easy for the *phirangis* (foreigners) to establish and carry on their business without paying the duty, and also facilitating them to attain monopoly in their trades locally, such a move was certainly self-centric and without the concern of their subjects/people under their jurisdiction. As the leader or king of the areas they were responsible, the rulers should have had this concern for their public.

Should they not have been particular about the trade agreements, and specified clear terms and products, followed by periodic reviews and feedbacks to make sure that the Europeans were not fleecing the country of its treasures and their trade actions did not cause adverse effect to the economy of their own country. When the British went to Canton, (Guangzau for trade), they were allowed to do specific trade under the clear terms and conditions by the local satrap. There had, therefore, been no military intrusion by the British into China with the exception of Hong Kong, and that, too, on lease from China.

Should the rulers, particularly Mughals, Marathas and others along the coast, have been particular that the European soldiers were not allowed to set foot on Indian soil, as they would have been provided security by the local satraps. It was a foregone conclusion that there was no concept of a united India, and each of the kings, *rajas*, *nawabs*, independent *zamindars*, who has the powers for collection of revenue, particularly those, who had not been brought under the Mughal administration, had no larger concerns of the Indian nation. Probably India as one large united entity was either not there, or its concept was hazy in the minds of its people.

India has been a greatly tolerant country as far as religion was concerned. When we say this, we refer to emergence of new religious thoughts and practices, such as Buddhism, Jainism, and Sufism, which preached tolerance, peace and tranquility. Muslims, particularly during the times of Aurangzeb, did all that was possible to convert Hindus in large scale, and make the life for those unbearable who protested. The tolerance of the Hindus for all the other religions was certainly taken as weakness, and there has been a large scale missionary network with a view to convert. It has been a matter of debate, whether it was religion or politics.

Decline of Mughal regime

Death of Aurangzeb brought about clear power vacuum in India, and British could see it. There was no central power in India, which could stop the British military expansion, and the totally fraudulent business policies and structure, which ended up fleecing India of its long acquired and cherished treasures. This particularly happened in Bengal, Bihar, Delhi and some parts of the Deccan plateau and Coromandel coast. It is hardly surprising that the more insular British thought it was their divine right or the white man's burden to set the house in order for the Indians who seemed to be their own worst enemies. The theory of the 'white man's burden' was only a cover for the plunder the British had meticulously conducted across India, and gather military power for the next two centuries. It will continue to be debated whether the British discriminated against the native Indians for the benefit of their nation or caused their policies and power structure to enable fragmented power centres in the country to be formulated into one large and now consolidated, united progressive, secular, and democratic nation with substantial liberty, and opportunities to its multi religious, multilingual and multicultural society.

Continuation of the chaos and upheaval

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Invasion and plundering of north India by Nadir Shah and thereafter by Ahmad Shah Abdali took place when the Mughal empire had lost its sheen. That was the time the British, waiting in the wings to grab power created by the vacuum, made itself available and began dictating authority. Simultaneously, regional powers such as the Marathas, Sikhs and Nizams of Hyderabad and Bengal were grinding their own axe without thinking of presenting a united front. Smaller kingdoms, what is now Haryana and Rajasthan, did not add any luster to the political situation. It shall always be debated whether a united military force could have dealt with the invaders. Would then, India of those days, avoided the massacre and plunder of Delhi by the Afghan invaders from the North-West? Would not then, it would have been so easy for the East India Company to defeat much stronger nawab's forces in the battles of Plassey and Buxar, and swindle Bengal and Awadh of its treasures during 18th and 19th centuries?

The middle of the 18th century saw the company's servants follow depraved, unethical discriminatory and corrupt practices for individual aggrandizement. While it was some of the policies of the East India Company that tacitly allow these practices to grow freely, there were others in the Parliament in London who thought that the situation had become very bleak, grave, and depressing that some reforms were required to bring order. It is a point to ponder whether the intension for reforms was dispassionate and objective or it came from the jealousy when company's servants were seen to be brazenly ostentatious, because they were not in a position to acquire the disproportionate wealth, or the covetousness, as the newer policies may have enabled them to get richer themselves.

Whatever was the situation, the British government moved on to consolidate their power in the Indian sub-continent and became the unbridled and unquestioned power. During the British rule, a sense of nationalism seems to have got instilled in the minds of the Indian. Hence, when the British left, they left a substantially healthier nation, and their identity, thereby facilitating progress in all the fronts (military, economic, industry, education and infrastructure).

The second half of the 18th century saw two distinct episodes which clearly did not speak well of the British ethos and sense of justice. These were:

(a) The conflict between Hastings and Philip Francis, and

(b) Judicial murder of Maharaja Nanda Kumar

The conflict between Hastings and Philip Francis



Figure 1.1 *Warren Hastings*

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To curb the power of the East India Company, the Parliament in Great Britain imposed a number of administrative and economic reforms. The Regulating Act of 1773 was passed which established the sovereignty and control of the Parliament over the Company. Under the Act, Warren Hastings became the first Governor-General of Bengal and was given the administrative powers over all of British India. Hastings, however, soon ran into trouble and his biggest rival Philips Francis was convinced that the Governor General's policies were self-serving and destructive, and he began raising questions about Hastings' conduct. He even accused Hasting of corruption. However, the attempts to impeach him were unsuccessful.

Murder of Maharaja Nanda Kumar



Figure 1.2 *Nanda Kumar*

Maharaja Nanda Kumar had accused Hastings of bribing him for more than one-third of a million of rupees and claimed that he had proof against Hastings in the form of a letter. On rebound Maharajah Nanda Kumar was charged of forgery and convicted before the supreme court of perjury and his execution under English law (the only law known to British then). Nanda Kumar was hanged in 1775. The episode exposed the moral weakness of the council majority. It may be of interest to know that:

(a) Nanda Kumar was appointed as Collector of Burdwan, Nadia and Hugli by the East India Company in 1764 in place of Warren Hastings.

(b) Warren Hastings was a school friend of Sir Elijah Impey, who was first Chief Justice of Supreme Court in Calcutta and gave judgment to hang Nanda Kumar.

(c) Nanda Kumar's hanging was termed as a judicial murder by certain historians.

(d) Macaulay accused both Hastings and Elijah Impey to have conspired to execute a judicial murder.

(e) Maharaja Nanda Kumar was hanged in Calcutta, near present day Vidyasagar Setu, during Warren Hastings' rule, on 5 August 1775.

NOTES

The British administration did not acquit themselves civilly. Further, the introduction of British law in Bengal, with serious adverse implications in the Indian society caused clear discrimination against Indians. Lord Cornwallis, when sent in 1793 to carry out reforms which were flawed from the beginning, started with the assumption that the race of Europeans were superior and so the top posts were given to the Europeans and the Indians were given the lowest posts. Revenue collectors, such as zamindars were deprived of their judicial powers. A system of courts from session to the supreme (Sadar Deewani Adalat) court through district and provincial courts was established. Interestingly, while courts up to the district level could deliver justice to Indians, the provincial courts could hear appeals from the Indians only, and not the English. Commencement of court and the Company's administrative work in English language, would always to be debated, for its benefits or limitations and clear discrimination against the natives. This was particularly so then, as it would be rare for Indians to know the language.

Notwithstanding the clear prejudice against the Indians, Cornwallis implemented a number of reforms to bring down corruption substantially and bring in professionalism and integrity in public dealings.

ACTIVITY

Discuss what the present day historians have said about the society and polity of the 18th century India.

DID YOU KNOW

Hastings resigned from the East India Company in December 1764 and sailed for Britain the following month. He was left deeply saddened by the failure of the more moderate strategy he supported which had been rejected by the hawkish members of the Calcutta Council. Once he arrived in London, Hastings began spending far beyond his means. He stayed in fashionable addresses and had his picture painted by Joshua Reynolds in spite of the fact that, unlike many of his contemporaries, he had not amassed a fortune while in India. Eventually, having run up enormous debts, Hastings realized he needed to return to India to restore his finances and applied to the East India Company for employment. His application was initially rejected as he had made many political enemies including the powerful director Laurence Sulivan. Eventually an appeal to Sulivan's rival Robert Clive secured Hastings the position of deputy ruler at the city of Madras. He sailed from Dover in March 1769. On the voyage he met the German Baroness Imhoff and her husband. He soon fell in love with the Baroness and they began an affair, seemingly with her husband's consent. Hastings' first wife, Mary, had died in 1759 and he planned to marry the Baroness once she had obtained a divorce from her husband. The process took a long time and it was not until 1777 when news of divorce came from Germany that Hastings was finally able to marry her.

Check Your Progress

27. Why did Persian cease to be a court language in the early 18th century?
28. Give examples to criticise British policies in the 18th century.
29. Who was Nanda Kumar?
30. Middle of the 18th century saw the company's servants follow depraved, unethical discriminatory and corrupt practices for individual aggrandizement. (True/False)

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1.6 SUMMARY

In this unit, you have learnt that:

- Social life in the 18th century was marked by stagnation and dependence on the past.
- Any deviation from established laws and conventions resulted in excommunication.
- The social system in the 18th century had two aspects. One aspect was a grading on the basis of official power and position. The second aspect was an ordering based on religion and the traditional divisions of society.
- The *brahmanas, kshatriyas* and *vaisyas* were all divided and sub-divided into a large number of easiest and sub-castes.
- People of different castes could worship the same God, observe the same manners and customs, but would not eat together.
- The caste prescribed different codes for different groups.
- Occupation was another decisive factor in the formation of caste.
- The family system in the 18th century was, primarily patriarchal.
- The status of a woman in the family depended entirely on her capacity to give births to sons and, hence, they were prepared to make any sacrifice for that purpose.
- The untouchables were denied certain basic privileges of living.
- Slavery prevailed in the country.
- In the 18th century, it became difficult to differentiate between the practices of a Muslim family and a Hindu family although the Muslims conformed to the Shariat.
- In the 18th century, it was made a point of prestige to have the women of the family concealed in the innermost quarters of the house.
- Celibacy did not find any recognition as a virtue in Muslim society.
- The educational system of both the Hindus and Muslims was unprogressive
- The princes and noblemen of India showed some interest in European animals and birds, mirrors, toys, wives and spirits, but they showed no interest in their social, economic or cultural' affairs.
- Although almost every branch of knowledge of the Muslims was studied in the Christian universities of Spain, Italy and France, the new discoveries of Europe remained almost entirely unknown in India till the end of the 18th century.
- The Hindus used the regional language for elementary education and Sanskrit for higher learning.
- The medium of instruction in both Hindu and Muslim schools was Persian.
- The educational system of the Muslims was not very much better than that of the Hindus. It was intended only for the upper classes and did not offer any instruction to the Muslim masses.
- The teaching of rational sciences, including medicine and astronomy, was wholly bookish.

NOTES

- During the 18th century, Urdu spread to all corners of India.
- When the British dominion extended over Northern India, Urdu was employed by polite society of the Muslims and the Hindus.
- A large number of masters of rhetoric, style and diction who possessed supreme authority over language appeared during 18th century.
- It was during the 18th century that the Christian missionaries set up printing-presses in India and brought out vernacular editions of the Bible.
- As there was a lack of patronage at Delhi, the artists migrated to the state capitals like Hyderabad, Lucknow, Murshidabad, Jaipur etc.
- The followers of Vishnu were called Vaishnavites.
- The worship of Surya or the Sun was also prevalent in the 18th century.
- Separate religious communities were organised and consolidated within the pale of Saivism and Vaishnavism by particular teachers in order to restrict and ensure the entire devotion of the individual for either Siva or Vishnu.
- The doctrine of Wahdat-ul-Wujud encouraged an attitude of indifference towards moral laxity although its main aim was to establish a kind of positive tolerance of the beliefs and practices of non-Muslims, on the ground that God is immanent in his creation and Muslims and non-Muslims. Islam and other religions are all one.
- The orthodox Muslims were involved in acute sectarianism.
- The people in general believed in the power of amulets and charms for healing the sick, catching the thieves, casting out devils, establishing friendship between two persons, curing barrenness, ensuring, the birth of male children and identifying thieves etc.
- Islam being a puritanical religion, the Muslims had very few festivals. Id-ul-Azha or Id-i-Qurban was the most important, festival.
- The increasing revenue demands of the state, oppression of officials, greed and rapacity of the nobles, revenue farmers and zamindars, marches and counter-marches of the rival armies and the destruction brought about by foreign invaders, made the life of the people wretched.
- In the 18th century, wars, invasions and other calamities wrought havoc and cities like Lahore, Delhi, Agra and Mathura in the North and large tracts of the country in the Deccan were destroyed.
- The rich created a great volume of demand for luxury goods as they loved good things of life and desired expensive articles of fine make.
- The Indian village was a self-sufficient economic unit.
- Lack of capital, rigidity of caste restrictions and the meagreness of trade between the village and the town, were the factors which prevented the development of the traditional business classes engaged in trade and banking into a strong and well-knit middle class of the European type.
- Indian was self-contained and generally self-sufficient in agricultural and industrial goods required for the consumption of her population.
- Indian industries not only met the home demand but also exported their goods.

NOTES

- Among other articles of export, indigo was of importance. Limited quantities of iron and steel were exported from Masulipatam. Cotton yarn was exported from the Coromandel coast. Gujarat exported precious stones, marble, drugs, opium, Hing etc.
- The view of Tara Chand is that the peasant in the 18th century was better off than his successor in the 19th century. This was so not only in respect of the larger size of his holding, but also because the average productivity of land was higher at that time.
- Every region and even every village tried to be self-sufficient in food supply.
- By the middle of the 18th century, the prevailing rate of daily wages in Calcutta was six pice for ordinary labourers and ten pice for skilled workers.
- There is no doubt that the British are shrewd, astute in the diplomacy, and carry clarity of purpose, and have a long term vision.
- It was a foregone conclusion that there was no concept of a united India, and each of the kings, rajas, nawabs, independent zamindars, who has the powers for collection of revenue, particularly those, who had not been brought under the Mughal administration, had no larger concerns of the Indian nation.
- Should they not have been particular about the trade agreements, and specified clear terms and products, followed by periodic reviews and feedbacks to make sure that the Europeans were not fleecing the country of its treasures and their trade actions did not cause adverse effect to the economy of their own country.
- The theory of the 'white man's burden' was only a cover for the plunder the British had meticulously conducted across India, and gather military power for the next two centuries.
- Middle of the 18th century saw the company's servants follow depraved, unethical discriminatory and corrupt practices for individual aggrandizement.
- The introduction of British law in Bengal, with serious adverse implications in the Indian Society, caused clear discrimination against Indians.

1.7 KEY TERMS

- **Karkhanas:** Hindi terminology for workshops.
- **Jogis:** An ascetic who has renounced material comfort and is a follower of Shiva.
- **Maktabs:** The elementary schools of the Muslims.
- **Muta:** A marriage contract among Muslims which is for a fixed-term or short-term, and where where the duration and compensation are both agreed upon in advance.

1.8 ANSWERS TO 'CHECK YOUR PROGRESS'

1. The social system in the 18th century had two aspects. One aspect was a grading on the basis of official power and position. The second aspect was an ordering based on religion and the traditional divisions of society.

NOTES

2. The vaisyas were the community of businessmen. However, they had two broad divisions. One branch took to trade and the other to agriculture. It was the former who were typical of their class.
3. False
4. True
5. There were certain occupations which were open to all such as trading, agriculture and military service.
6. Remarriage
7. False
8. True
9. False
10. Centres of higher education in Sanskrit literature were called Chatuspathis or tola in Bengal and Bihar.
11. Heer Ranjha, the famous romantic epic in Punjabi, was written by Warris Shah.
12. True
13. False
14. True
15. True
16. True
17. The followers of Siva were called Shaivites.
18. The beliefs and practices of the Muslims in the 18th century were influenced by three factors—the decline of the Mughal Empire, the wide prevalence of the doctrine of Wahdat-ul-Wujud (unity of existence or immanence) and the influence of Hinduism.
19. Shah Waliuliah
20. Charity
21. Delhi and Mathura
22. True
23. Ghulam Hussain, a historian of Bengal, calls the 18th century as 'an age of senseless, slothful princes and of grandees, ignorant and meddling'.
24. The upper classes demanded luxury articles. Its volume was considerable. The rich created a great volume of demand for luxury goods as they loved good things of life and desired expensive articles of fine make. The producers of high quality luxury goods worked in their homes or in the state karkhanas (workshops) in the towns. Some village artisans who had acquired special skill in their respective crafts also contributed to the supply of these articles.
25. There was a flourishing boat-building industry at Dacca, Allahabad, Lahore, Thatta, Masaulipatam. Pulicat, Calicut, Surat, Bassein and Goa. The important ship-building centres were Goa, Bassein, Surat, Masulipatam, Satraon, Dacca and Chittagong.
26. The important centres of textile Industry were Dacca and Murshidabad in Bengal, Patna in Bihar, Surat, Ahmedabad and Broach in Gujarat, Chanderl in

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Madhya Pradesh, Burhanpur in Maharashtra, Jaunpur, Varanasi, Lucknow and Agra in Uttar Pradesh, Multan and Lahore in Punjab, Masulipatam, Aurangabad, Chicacolc and Vishakhapatnam in Andhra Pradesh, Bangalore in Mysore (Karnataka) and Coimbatore and Madurai In Madras. Kashmir was a centre of woollen manufactures.

27. By 1830, evangelists had a lot of influence on the British government in deciding their education policy. In 1830, English was being used as the language of instruction. And, by 1837, Persians was no longer being used as the court language, as English was being used for administration as well as at the court. By the beginning of the 19th century, Christian missionaries were given permission to spread the faith and implement conversion activities.
28. The second half of the 18th century saw two distinct episodes which clearly did not speak well of the British ethos and sense of justice. These were:
    (a) The Conflict between Hastings and Philip Francis, and
    (b) Judicial Murder of Maharaja Nanda Kumar.
29. Maharaja Nanda Kumar was appointed the collector of Burdwan, Nadia and Hugli by the East India Company in 1764, in place of Warren Hastings. He had accused Hasting of bribing him for more than one-third of a million of rupees and claimed that he had proof against Hastings in the form of a letter. Nanda Kumar was, however, hanged on charged of forgery and convicted before the supreme court of perjury and was executed.
30. True

1.9 QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Short-Answer Questions

1. What was the role of a woman in a Muslim household in the 18th century?
2. The education system in the 18th century was unprogressive. Discuss.
3. Write a note on Indian merchants in the 18th century.
4. What was the role of Christian missions in the establishment of British rule in India?
5. How significant was the caste system in the 18th century?

Long-Answer Questions

1. Do you think the Hindu education system was better than the Muslims? Give arguments to justify.
2. What was the relation between superstition and religion? Discuss.
3. How did literature flourish in the 18th century? Give you arguments.
4. India of the 18th century was a land of contrasts. Discuss.
5. Was the establishment of British rule a matter of chance or a conjunction of circumstances?
6. What caused the loss of India's sovereignty? What were the failings of the Indian rulers?

1.10 FURTHER READING

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UNIT 2 ADVENT OF THE EUROPEANS

Structure

2.0 Introduction
2.1 Unit Objectives
2.2 Coming of the Europeans
2.3 The Portuguese
  2.3.1 Factories, Fortresses and Commercial Arrangements
  2.3.2 Commodities of Export and Import
  2.3.3 Causes of Decline of the Portuguese
2.4 The Dutch
2.5 French and the British
  2.5.1 The French
  2.5.2 The British
  2.5.3 The French vs. the English
2.6 Summary
2.7 Key Terms
2.8 Answers to 'Check Your Progress'
2.9 Questions and Exercises
2.10 Further Reading

2.0 INTRODUCTION

In the previous unit, you learnt about the transition of India in the 18th century. With the decline of the Roman Empire, around the 7th century, the commercial contact between the East and the West suffered. The geographical discoveries in the last quarter of the 15th century deeply affected the commercial relations of different countries of the world and produced far-reaching consequences in their history. The European nations now embarked on finding a new sea route towards the East. The first efforts were made by the Portuguese. Prince Henry of Portugal, nicknamed the 'Navigator', devoted his whole life to encouraging voyages for the discovery of a sea route to India.

In 1487, Bartholomew Diaz reached the Cape of Good Hope, and following his route Vasco da Gama, another Portuguese navigator, reached the shores of Calicut in 1498. Thus, the long-sought direct trade link with India was discovered. There was perhaps no event during the middle age, which had such far-reaching repercussions on the civilized world as the opening of the sea route to India.

After the discovery of India by Vasco da Gama, the Portuguese tried to establish a trade link and their rule in India. Later, the Dutch, English and the French companies came to India. The Dutch diverted their attention to Indonesia and Portugal. Since they were unable to compete with the English and the French companies, their rule became confined to Dadar, Goa, Daman and Diu.

In this unit, you will study about the advent of the Europeans—the Portuguese and the Dutch, and the British East India Company and the French. You will also study the reasons that led to the Anglo-French rivalry.

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2.1 UNIT OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to:

- Explain the arrival of the Europeans in India
- Discuss how trade played an important role in the expansion of Portuguese power in the east coast of India
- Interpret the process of Dutch settlements in India
- Explain the reasons for the Anglo–French rivalry
- Summarize the causes of conflict between the French and the British

2.2 COMING OF THE EUROPEANS

The sea route from Europe to India was discovered by Vasco da Gama, a Portuguese explorer. He reached the Port of Calicut on 17 May 1498 and was received by the Hindu ruler of Calicut, the Samudiri, who was known by the title of Zamorin. This led to the establishment of the Portuguese trading stations at Calicut, Cochin and Cannanore. Cochin was the early capital of the Portuguese in India. Later, Goa became its capital and the Portuguese became a significant naval power on the Indian waters.

After the discovery by Vasco da Gama, the Portuguese made a lot of efforts to use the commercial potentialities of Asia, especially India. Local rulers who were ruling at that time allowed them to set up factories for the development of trade and commerce. They initiated propagation of the Christian faith, inter-marriages, conversions and settlements of the Europeans. New social groups emerged due to these activities. Many rulers made political and commercial alliances with them. When other European nations saw the successful commercial activities of the Portuguese, they also felt encouraged to indulge in trading activities with Asia. Many European powers came to India, but you will study about two prominent powers–the Portuguese and the Dutch.

DID YOU KNOW

The Portuguese national epic, the Lusiadas of Luís Vaz de Camões largely concerns Vasco da Gama's voyages.

Check Your Progress

1. Who discovered the sea route to India?
2. Name the early capital of Portuguese India?
3. When did Vasco da Gama reach the port of Calicut?
4. The Portuguese emerged as an important naval power in India. (True/False)

2.3 THE PORTUGUESE

The discovery of the sea route to India by Vasco da Gama, one of the most successful explorers in the Age of Discovery and the commander of the first ships to sail directly from Europe to India, ushered the era of the Portuguese trade in India. He returned to Portugal from India in 1499, with cargo worth sixty times his expenses. Zamorin treated the Portuguese mariner in a friendly manner, which encouraged them to open up commercial relations with Calicut within two years. In 1502, he established a factory at Cochin. The king of Cochin let Vasco da Gama build the first fort. He was followed by Alfonso de Albuquerque, who arrived in India in 1503.

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In 1505, the Portuguese appointed a governor named Francisco de Almeidato who used to look after their affairs in India. He built forts at Anjadiva, Cannanore and Cochin. Alfonso de Albuquerque was the real founder of the Portuguese Empire in the East. In 1510, Albuquerque occupied the port of Goa from the Bijapur Sultan by a sudden attack and arranged for its defense by strengthening its forts. He was a capable ruler and played an important role in the abolition of the 'sati' system.

Albuquerque encouraged the Portuguese men to marry Indian women so that he could establish the authority of the Portuguese in India. He, however, ill-treated the Muslims. When Albuquerque died in 1515, the Portuguese had established themselves as the strongest naval power in India.

Nino da Cunha (1529–1538) transferred his capital from Cochin to Goa (1530) and acquired Diu and Bassein (1534) from Bahadur Shah of Gujarat. The famous Jesuit Saint Francisco Xavier arrived in India with Martin Alfonso de Souza during this time (1542–1545). Under Albuquerque's successors, the Portuguese occupied Diu, Daman, Salsette, Bassein, Chaul and Bombay, San Thome (near Madras) and Hugli (in Bengal).

Portuguese occupation of Diu compelled the Arabs to withdraw from the Indian trade. The Arab merchants of Calicut were apprehensive of the Portuguese designs from the very beginning. The Zamorins, the hereditary royal title used by the Hindu rulers of the medieval Kingdom of Calicut, supported them against the Europeans. On the other hand, Calicut's rivalry with Cannanore and Cochin forced them to cultivate friendship with the Portuguese. Besides, they forced Cochin to sell all its products through Calicut. To retaliate, this was an apt opportunity for Cochin. Its ruler allowed the Europeans to establish a factory in Cochin. The Portuguese exploited the situation to their advantage. They realized that Calicut was a major hindrance in controlling the Malabar trade. Hence, throughout the 16th century, the Portuguese carried on armed clashes against Calicut. With a view to driving out the Portuguese, the Zamorins allied with Bijapur, Gujarat, Ahmednagar and Egypt. However, they did not succeed. At any rate, the Zamorins continued to harass the Portuguese on land. Even on the seas the Portuguese found it difficult to destroy Calicut's naval power, which was organized under the celebrated Marakkar family of admirals. From 1528 to 1598, the Portuguese–Zamorin clashes were mainly confined to the seas. It was only in 1599 that the Portuguese succeeded in making a breakthrough against the Marakkars.

The Portuguese control was effective at only those places where they had built their fortresses. But their highhandedness and cruelty compelled even these allies to part with them in spite of their traditional rivalries with Calicut. For example, the Cannanore rulers, who supported the Portuguese against Calicut in the early years, later supported the Zamorin in 1558 against the Portuguese. Similarly the King of Tanur, who had become a Christian and supported the Portuguese against Calicut, turned his back to the Europeans. In fact, it was only Cochin and Quilon with whom Portuguese succeeded in maintaining a lasting friendship.

Portuguese settlements on the west coast consisted of the following places:

- Calicut (1500)
- Cochin (1501)
- Cannanore (1503)

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- Quilon (1503)
- Cheliyam (1531)
- Rahole (1535)
- Krengannore (1536)
- Mangalore (1568)
- Hanawer (1568)
- Diu (1509)
- Goa (1510)
- Surat (1599)
- Daman (1599)

Portuguese settlements on the east coast consisted of the following places:

- Meliyapur
- Chittagong
- Hugli
- Bandel

The Portuguese power continued to be strong till the middle of the 16th century but with the death of Governor D.J. Castro, the Portuguese power in India began to decline.

2.3.1 Factories, Fortresses and Commercial Arrangements

The Italian merchants had established warehouses (factories) in Cairo and Alexandria to carry on trade and commerce. Following this example the Portuguese, too, founded factories on the coastal regions of India and certain other places in Asia. A factory could be defined as a commercial organization having an autonomous existence set up within the country with which another country had commercial relations. Each factory had an officer who was assisted by a number of persons appointed by the Portuguese king. He was the agent of the crown to promote economic, financial and administrative activities of all sorts. In all situations Portuguese national interests were of paramount consideration. Factories also required protection from hostile elements. Therefore, to consolidate and strengthen their power the Portuguese also attempted to fortify their factories. A chain of factories and fortresses came into existence for the support of the maritime trade conducted by the Portuguese. These fortified centers were expected to serve the Portuguese to check the movements of vessels owned by others and to function as areas for the reserve of military and naval forces. The system of factories had a great role to play in the commercial arrangements in the period beginning with the 16th century till the mid-18th century.

Western India

In the Malabar region, the Portuguese established their first factory in 1500 at Calicut. However, it could not run for a long time because the Zomorins were against the establishment of such factories. In 1525, finally, the Portuguese closed down their factory at Calicut. This did not stop the Portuguese to establish factories in other places, thus, they establsihed factories in other places such as Cochin (1501), Cannanore (1503), Quilon (1503), Chaliyam (1531), Rachol (1535) Crangannore

(1536), and Mangalore and Honaver (1568). Later, in the second decade of the 16th century, Nizamul Mulk of Ahmednagar granted the permission to the Portuguese to construct a factory at Chaul.

In the north-west, Cambay (Khambayat) was the main port of call on the route from Malacca connecting Calicut, the ports of the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf with the ports of the Mediterranean. Apart from this, factories were established by the Portuguese at Diu (1509, 1535), Bassin (1534), Surat, Daman (1599) and Bhavnagar. Thus, almost the entire coastal belt of Malabar, Konkan and north-west India came under the influence of the Portuguese.

Eastern India

The Portuguese navigators came across several merchants from the eastern coast of India who had trade relations with other South-East Asian centers. The Portuguese collected textiles and other commodities from various port-towns of the Coromandel Coast. Some of these port-towns were Masulipatnam, Pulict, San Thome, Pondicherry, Cuddalore, Porto Novo and Nagapatnam.

Meilapore known as San Thome to the north of Nagapatnam was also a Portuguese settlement, which was surrounded by walls. The Portuguese also established a fortress at Manar in 1518 on the western coast of Ceylon. This fortress, though not on the main land of India, could contain the movement of vessels to the east from the western side of the subcontinent.

The Portuguese also tried to establish commercial contacts with Bengal from AD 1517. The first effort in this direction was made at Chittagong–the chief port of Bengal during this period. After much manoeuvering, they at last obtained permission from Mahmud Shah, the king of Bengal, to establish factories at Chittagong and Satgaon in 1536. The second settlement at Hugli was granted to the Portuguese by Akbar in 1579–1580. The third one was established at Bandel with the permission of Shah Jahan in 1633. Yet, during the 16th century there were no fortresses on the eastern coast. Still the settlements, with a few artilleries, were able to oversee the movement of vessels carrying commodities.

South-East Asia

With a view to having an exclusive domination over the trade in the Indian Ocean regions, the Portuguese found it necessary to bring under their control the important trade centers in South-East Asia.

They established a few fortresses at Colombo and Batticaloa–all in Ceylon. Subsequently, contacts with Java, Siam, Moluccas, Martaban and Pegu were established. From 1518, the Portuguese started a settlement in China on the island of Sancheu. It was here that St. Francis Xavier, a Christian missionary, died in 1552.

The beginning of factories in various parts of the subcontinent of India and neighbouring Asiatic kingdoms provided an environment suitable for long distance trade to the Portuguese.

2.3.2 Commodities of Export and Import

The chief aim of the Portuguese in discovering the sea route connecting the East with Portugal was to collect spices directly from the places of production rather

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than from the hands of the intermediaries like the Italian or the Muslim traders. Pepper became a necessary ingredient in European food. The demand for pepper went on increasing, especially for the sake of preserving meat. Besides, ginger, cinnamon, cardamom, mace, nutmeg and several exotic herbs from the East had a market in Europe.

A special variety of textiles like muslin and chintz and few animals like elephants, too, found their way to Portugal. The commodities which the Portuguese had were not acceptable to eastern nobility, thus, they did not have sufficient commodities to give in exchange to acquire commodities available in the East. They bought silver from the West so that they could buy commodities of the East.

Pepper was the most popular commodity which was traded from Malabar and the Konkan coasts. Ginger, white sandalwood, red sandalwood, sealing wax, indigo, spikenard, tamarind, areca nut, textiles, ivory and turmeric were also traded from the Malabar Konkan coasts to Portugal. In 1498, the Zamorin of Calicut asked Vasco da Gama to send gold, silver, coral and scarlet from Portugal. This shows that these commodities were imported to the Malabar and Konkan coasts.

In 1513, Alfonso de Albuquerque gave a list of commodities to the king of Portugal which he felt could be sold in India. This included items like coral, copper, quicksilver, vermilion, velvet, carpets, saffron, rose-water and clothes of various kinds. All these items were not from Portugal, but the Portuguese started procuring them from various places, like Flanders, Germany, England and other European countries.

Indigo, textiles, silk, handicrafts made of tortoise shells, taffeta, satin, chintz, *malmal*, and tripped cotton clothes were some of the things that were exported to Portugal. Among these items, silks were produced in places like Burhanpur and Balaghat, chintz in Cambay, sandalwood in Coromandel, spikenard in Bengal, calico in the vicinity of Daman, Cambay and Balaghat. The volume of export of textile products increased in the 17th century. Copper, broadcloths and cash in various denominations were sent to north-western coast. In addition to this, a few products such as pepper and other spices from the South were also taken to north-western India for the purchase of textiles. The most expensive item of export from this region was pearl, chiefly collected from the pearl fishery coast. Cotton and silk textiles and embroideries from Bengal were exported to the Portuguese. Ginger in conserve, myrobalans, butter, oil, wax and rice were the other commodities that were collected from Bengal.

The Portuguese brought brocades, damasks, satins, taffetas, cloves, nutmegs, mace, camphor, cinnamon, pepper, chests, writing desks, valuable pearls and jewels to Bengal. Most of these were from Malacca, China, Borneo, Ceylon and Malabar Coast. Sea-shells or cowries from Maldives, white and red sandalwood from Solor and Timor were also taken to Bengal by the Portuguese.

Various types of spices were collected from Ceylon and other South-East. Asian regions. For example, Malacca and Java produced pepper for export. Moluccas produced good variety of cloves. The best sort of cinnamon was produced by Ceylon for export to Lisbon. Timor and Tennaserim produced good variety of sandalwood, which was carried by the Portuguese to Lisbon. Sumatra provided sealing wax for Portuguese consumption. Borneo, Sumatra and China produced good variety of camphor for export to Lisbon. Benzoin from Pegu was also taken by the Portuguese to Portugal. Rhubarb was carried by the Portuguese from China.

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In return, the Portuguese took gold, silver, cash and textiles to South-East Asian regions. Most of these textile goods were manufactured in India.

Finances of the Portuguese trade

Taking into account the details of the Portuguese enterprise on the Malabar coast in the period between 1500 and 1506, an Italian estimated in 1506 that the total investment needed for conducting trade with the East was 170,000 ducats every year.

The king of Portugal provided only one-fourth of this amount and the rest was raised by the merchants and financiers who collaborated with the Portuguese king. In 1500, he issued an order permitting natives as well as foreign merchants to send their own vessels to the East. Revenues collected in the form of booty, tributes and taxes levied on ships of the private merchants also provided funds for the conduct of trade with India.

European merchant–financiers

Italians, especially the Florentines, occupied an important position among the financiers in the 16th century. Most of the Italian financiers concluded contracts with the Portuguese king. They supplied cash or materials to the king at Lisbon. The king used them to purchase pepper and other commodities from India. These commodities were given to these financiers at Lisbon in view of the contracts signed. However, some of the financiers also sent their own factors to India. Cash or commodities were always sent under the supervision of the Portuguese authorities to the East.

Indian commodities also attracted the German financiers and merchants. The Portuguese king welcomed them with open arms for he was finding it difficult to finance the Oriental enterprise on his own. Since copper was given in part-payment for Indian commodities, especially pepper and other spices, large quantity of copper was needed for transactions. Some of the German merchant financiers like the Fuggers had a monopoly over the production of copper in Europe. This turned out to be of great use for trade with India. The German financiers could fit out their vessels, entrust cash and commodities to the India House in Lisbon to be taken to India under the Portuguese flag and buy the commodities from Lisbon according to the terms and conditions of the contracts signed.

During the second half of the 16th century both the Welsers and the Fuggers joined the expedition along with Giraldo Paris and Juan Battista Rovalesco for the purchase of 30,000 quintals of pepper directly from India and agreed to send an amount of 1,70,000 crusados to India annually. Thus, the firms of the Welsers and the Fugger's continued to be closely associated with the trade of India. There were a few Portuguese merchants who in their private capacity participated in the trade with India during the 16th century. State officials posted in India were also allowed to participate in the Indian trade. According to their position in the hierarchy, they had some rights to take certain quantity of commodities to Portugal, in lieu of remuneration in cash. The details of their entitlements were spelt out in their appointment orders and this formed part of their emoluments.

Indian merchants and rulers

Several Indian merchants supplied commodities to the Portuguese on credit when the latter did not have cash or commodities to furnish in exchange. The merchants

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of Cochin, especially the Marakkars, were of great help to the Portuguese in this respect and their services were gratefully remembered by the Portuguese officials.

Sometimes, the Portuguese king was persuaded to grant some privileges to such merchants. Khwaja Shamsuddin Gilani, who had settled down in Cannanore after service at the kingdom of Bijapur, was often helpful to the Portuguese in finding funds on loan.

Some of the local rulers stood surety for the Portuguese when they did not have sufficient money to pay the merchants for the commodities bought by them. For example, the king of Cochin came forward to help the Portuguese several times making the required volume of commodities available to them on credit.

The Portuguese had banned all other vessels from plying on the Indian Ocean and the Arabian Sea. They used to confiscate the ships which carried commodities without a pass (cartaz) from the Portuguese officials. All the ships were required to procure pass from the Portuguese officials in case something had to be shipped to India or other Asian countries. Even rulers of India like Akbar and his successors, Nilam Shah of Ahmednagar, Adil Shah of Bijapur, kings of Cochin, the Zamorins of Calicut and the rulers of Cannanore used to procure cartaz when they had to send ships to some places. The fees charged for the issuance of passes also became a source of income for them. Though only a small amount was charged as fees but ships who wished to take passes had to visit ports where the custom houses of the Portuguese asked them to pay tax. Also, the rulers who were defeated by the Portuguese were forced to pay them some money or something in kind. The Portuguese used this method a lot of times to procure money for investment. Thus, the Portuguese used a number of ways to earn money for running their trade in India.

Nature of the Portuguese trade with India

Right from the time Portuguese arrived at Calicut they had demanded that other merchants, Indian as well as foreign, should be ousted and a complete monopoly over trade be granted to them. Portuguese ships equipped with arms and ammunitions threatened other merchants and confiscated their merchandise and vessels. By 1501, the Portuguese king assumed a grandiloquent title showing his proprietary right over the Indian Ocean regions. The title proclaimed him Lord of Navigation, Conquest and Commerce of Ethiopia, Arabia, Persia and India.

In 1502, the Portuguese demanded an exclusive right over trade at Calicut to which the Zamorin, the king of Calicut, did not yield. Vasco da Gama declared war on ships plying on the Arabian Sea and Indian Ocean. He introduced an expedient under which those ships which carried a cartaz duly signed by the Portuguese authorities, namely the royal factor, were not to be attacked. This certificate was first issued in 1502.

Everyone who was involved in maritime activities had to procure cartaz from the Portuguese. There was a condition that they cannot load certain items on their ship such as pepper, ginger, ship pitch, horses, sulphur, lead, coir and cinnamon. The Portuguese had monopoly over these items.

Monopoly trade

Till the end of the 15th century, merchants from various quarters of the world were found on the coastal regions of India engaged in trade and commerce. Vasco da

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Gama reported in 1498 that there were merchants from Mecca, Ceylon, Turkey, Egypt, Persia, Ethiopia and various parts of India at the port of Calicut. It is well-known that Chinese merchants as well as merchants from the Red Sea areas used to come to the Indian ports. There is no record of any group of merchants demanding exclusive right of trade in general, nor of any attempts made to declare a few or all commodities set apart for anybody. But, with the arrival of the Portuguese, this state of affairs underwent considerable change. Kings were pressurized to forbid other merchants from trading with their ports. Similarly, certain commodities were declared forbidden to be traded by others.

In other words, the Portuguese demanded monopoly of trade. The treaties concluded with the Indian rulers specifically mentioned this. The setting up of Portuguese fortresses at strategic places, surveillance by their patrolling vessels, and the insistence on passes for other ships were the attempts made to establish monopoly of trade in Asian waters.

Trade of the Indian rulers and merchants

The Portuguese attempts at establishing total monopoly did not bring about a situation in which trade conducted by the Indian rulers and merchants was totally uprooted. The king of Cannanore, for instance, used to collect passes from the Portuguese to send his vessels laden with commodities to Cambay and Hormuz. He imported horses from the above mentioned places though this was identified by the Portuguese a monopoly item. Sometimes such vessels were at the risk of being confiscated by the Portuguese. The same was the case with the kings of Tanur and Calicut on the Malabar Coast. The nobles of Gujarat continued their trade despite the Portuguese monopoly. Malik Gopi, Malik Ayaz, Khwaja Sofar and others interested in trade plied their ships with or without passes from the Portuguese. Besides, the local and foreign merchants settled in India carried on their trade with or without cartaz. The area between Calicut and Cape produced appoximately 60,000 quintals of pepper but only 15,000 quintals were sent to the Portuguese factories. The rest of the pepper was taken to other ports and this was termed illegal by the Portuguese. The Portuguese were not willing to increase the price of pepper agreed upon in 1503 even after several decades. Hence, the producers of pepper did not have any alternative other than supplying it to the merchants who might buy it and send it to other centers of trade without the knowledge of the Portuguese. Moreover, several Portuguese officials conducted their own private trade in various commodities without the knowledge of their government. In fact, Portuguese monopoly was never effective in the Red Sea zone.

Trade and production

Overseas trade conducted in the 16th century in Asia in general and India in particular was, by and large, long-distance in nature involving the Asiatic ports on one side and the Atlantic ports on the other. The commodities exported from India reached various parts of Europe. There were a number of elements in the pattern of this trade, as explained earlier, which distinguished it from just 'peddling' trade.

In view of the greater demand for pepper, the cultivators strove to increase the production. In the period between 1515 and 1607, the production of pepper in the Malabar area went up by 200 to 275 per cent. Since we are not aware of the amount of production of pepper before the coming of the Portuguese, it is difficult

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to determine the increase in production as well. At any rate, it is reasonable to conclude that the production of pepper in India increased after the Portuguese advent. But it must be borne in mind that the internal demand for pepper from the Mughal Empire and the external one from the Safavi Empire also might have contributed to the increase in pepper production in India.

2.3.3 Causes of Decline of the Portuguese

The Portuguese power witnessed a decline as quickly as it had risen; the reasons of their decline were as follows:

- Nobody could carry on the work of Albuquerque.
- The Portuguese rulers were not tolerant towards religions of the country.
- The administrative system of the Portuguese had gradually become corrupt.
- The rise of other European trading powers–the Dutch, French and the British.
- In 1631, they lost Hugli when Qasim Khan, a Mughal noble, drove them out.
- In 1661, the king of Portugal gave Bombay to Charles II of England as dowry when he married the former's sister.
- The Marathas captured Salsette and Bassein in 1739.
- In the end, the Portuguese were left only with Goa, Diu and Daman.

The short-sighted policy of the Portuguese governors, resorting to every kind of corrupt practice in the name of business including selling people as slaves and carrying on piracy led to their gradual decline in India as well in as the East.

Check Your Progress

5. When was the first factory at Cochin established?
6. Who was considered the real founder of the Portuguese power in the East?
7. Why did Albuquerque encourage the Portuguese to marry Indian women?
8. Why did the Arabs withdraw from trading in India?
9. Identify the places where the Portuguese established settlements.
10. When did the Portuguese establish commercial contacts with Bengal?
11. What were the main trade items exported from India to Portugal?
12. All ships had to procure Portuguese pass in case something had to be shipped to India or other Asian countries. (True/False)

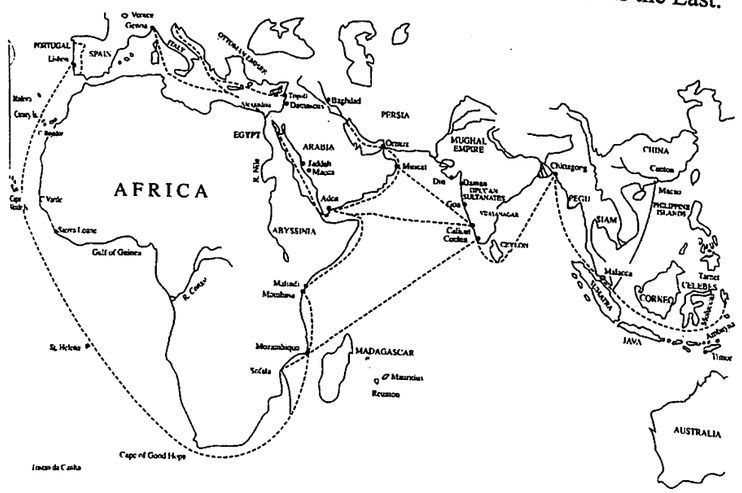


Figure 2.1 *The Portuguese Possessions in the East and the Route to India*

2.4 THE DUTCH

After the Portuguese, the Dutch also felt encouraged to trade in India. They wanted to have direct access to the spice market of India. To fulfill their ambition, they undertook many voyages to India from 1596 to 1602. In 1602, they established an organization named the United East India Company. The Dutch had conflicts with the Portuguese and the English merchants.

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In 1602, the Dutch Parliament passed a Charter. This Charter led to the formation of the Dutch East India Company. As per this Charter, the company had the authority to make wars in order to acquire territories. It also had the power to make treaties and build fortresses.

Establishment of factories

Many factories were set up by the Dutch. Some of the factories were set up at Masulipatam (1605), Pulicat (1610), Surat (1616), Bimilipatam (1641), Karikal (1645), Chinsura (1653) and Cochin (1663). In 1668, the company set up factories in Kasimbazar, Patna, Balasore and Negapatam as well. After the establishment of these factories, they became the most dominant power in the European trade with the East. Till 1690, Pulicat was the main centre of their trading activities. After 1690, Negapatam became the main centre of the Dutch merchants.

The Dutch lost the Battle of Bedera to the English in 1759 and conceded to the English after this battle.

Although there were occasional amicable settlements between the English and the Dutch, hostilities were renewed when in 1623 the Dutch massacred ten Englishmen and nine Japanese at Amboyna, which marked the climax of the hatred of the Dutch towards the English as well as the other trading nations.

The Dutch in their bid for expansion of trade, came into conflicts with Mir Jumla and during 1672–74, they repeatedly obstructed the communication between Surat and other English settlements in Bombay and even captured three English vessels on the Bay of Bengal.

Between 1580 and 1640, Portugal was under Spain. There were hostilities going on between England and Spain, which naturally meant hostilities between the English and the Portuguese. With the Treaty of Madrid in 1630, commercial hostilities between the English and the Portuguese diminished although they did not cease altogether. When in 1640 Portugal became independent of Spain, the relations between the English and Portuguese further improved and the English right to trade in the East was conceded by the Portuguese. This facilitated the conclusion of treaty with the English in 1661 by which the English agreed to support the Portuguese against the Dutch.

Finally, the rivalry of the trading companies ousted the Dutch and the Portuguese from the Indian trading market.

ACTIVITY

Make a comparative report on Portuguese and Dutch invasion of India.

2.5 FRENCH AND THE BRITISH

After the Dutch and the Portuguese, the English and the French companies were the only competitors for trade in India.

2.5.1 The French

Compagnie des Indes was the first French company to establish trading relations with India. Louis XIV, the then king of France, granted charter to this company in

Check Your Progress

13. The Dutch undertook many voyages to India from 1602-1609. (True/False)
14. The main feature of the Dutch trade in India was their conflict with the Portuguese and the English merchants. (True/False)
15. What was the name of the first Dutch organisation in India?

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1664. After this, the planning of this French company was done by Colbert, the then finance minister of France.

Under this company, the first factory was established in 1668 at Surat. The founder of the first factory was Coron, a Dutchman in the French Service. The next factory was set up in 1669 at Masulipattinam. In 1674, Pondicherry became their capital. From 1690 to 1692, the French set up one more factory at Chandra Nagar, Bengal, on the bank of river Hugli. Mahe (now Malabar) and Karikal (now Coromandel) were acquired by the French in 1725 and 1739 respectively.

The company was given a loan of 3,000,000 livres by the king. For this loan, the king did not charge any interest. The company had the monopoly for 25 years to conduct trading activities from the Cape of Good Hope to India and the South Seas. Aurangzeb gave a *farmaan* in the favour of the company according to which the company had the permission to conduct trading activities in the Gujarat coast as well.

2.5.2 The British

The East India Company, initially named The Governor and Company of Merchants of London Trading in the East Indies was granted a royal charter by Queen Elizabeth in 1600. The company was given rights for carrying out trading activities in the East. Later, the company became popular as the English East India Company.

For many years, the company traded only with Java, Sumatra and the Moluccas. At this time, they dealt only in the trading of spices. In 1608, Captain William Hawkins met Jehangir. He showed him the letter which he brought from James I, king of England. In this letter, James I requested Jehangir to allow the English merchants to establish their shops in the country. The merchants of the Portuguese and Surat strongly opposed the establishment of the English merchants in India. Thus, Jehangir had to decline the request of James I.

In 1609, however, Jehangir gave permission to the English to set up their factory at Surat. The company also received permission from the Sultan of Golkunda to trade in Golkunda. However, for this the sultan made a condition that the company will have to pay fixed custom duty of 500 pagodas per year. In 1651, Nawab Shuja-ud-Din permitted the company to continue their trading activities for which the company would be obliged to pay ₹3,000 annually.

In 1656, the English was given the security of trade as well. According to this directive, the English received permission to carry on their import and export activities on land as well water without the need to pay customs or tolls.

In 1691, Ibrahim Khan, the successor of Shaista Khan, issued a *farmaan* in favour of the English. According to this *farmaan*, the English were given permission to carry out duty-free trade but they were asked to pay ₹3,000 annually. After 1691, the company prospered by leaps and bounds in Bengal. In 1696, the company gave an excuse that it is at risk from Sobha Singh, a zamindar of Burdwan as he might rebel against the company. With the help of this excuse, the company got the rights for the fortification of their factory.

The zamindari of three villages—Sutanuti, Govindapur and Kalighata or Kalikata—was given to the English in 1698. In return, they were to pay ₹1,200 to Sabarna Chaudhari who was the zamindar of these three villages before the zamindari was granted to the English. In 1700, a separate President and Council took charge

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of the factories of Bengal. Also, the English constructed a fort. This fort was named after King William II of England. Later, this fort became the seat of the Council which took charge of the factories. The first President and Governor of this Council was Sir Charles Eyre.

In 1714, the English sent John Surman to the Delhi court to arrange all trading facilities for the East India Company. When he met Emperor Farukhsiyar, the emperor issued a *farmaan* by which the company was granted permission to carry on custom free trade in Bengal, Madras and Bombay. In addition to this, the company was also allowed to mint its own coins.

2.5.3 The French vs the English

In 1749, the French company seemed to be a serious rival of the English Company, but it could not survive for a long time due to the following reasons:

- The French Company was controlled by the Government but the Government was not too interested in the company's affairs. On the other hand, the English company was a private concern.
- The English company had more money as compared to the French company. The area of the English trade was also vast.
- The English were strong on the waters as well. They had big ships and their merchants made regular voyage for trading activities.

War between the English and the French

From 1746 to 1763, English East India Company and French East India Company fought with each other in India. These wars are known as Carnatic wars. They fought with each other in order to get monopoly over trade in India. The Indian rulers, the Mughals, the subedar of Deccan did not participate in these wars.

2.6 SUMMARY

In this unit, you have learnt that:

- Vasco da Gama discovered the sea route from Europe to India. He reached the Port of Calicut on the 17 May 1498.
- The discovery of the sea route to India by Vasco da Gama ushered the era of Portuguese trade in India.
- The local Indian rulers allowed the Portuguese to set up factories for the development of trade and commerce, and also initiated propagation of the Christian faith, inter-marriages, conversions and settlements of the Europeans.
- Portuguese governor Francisco de Almeidato built forts at Anjadiva, Cannanore and Cochin.
- Nino da Cunha (1529–1538) transferred his capital from Cochin to Goa (1530) and acquired Diu and Bassein (1534) from Bahadur Shah of Gujarat.
- The Italian merchants had established warehouses (factories) in Cairo and Alexandria to carry on trade and commerce.
- To consolidate and strengthen their power the Portuguese also attempted to fortify their factories. A chain of factories and fortresses came into existence for the support of the maritime trade conducted by the Portuguese.

Check Your Progress

16. When and where was the first French factory established in India?
17. What was the initial name of the English East India Company?
18. Why did Jehangir refuse the East India Company to establish themselves in India?
19. When was the British trading company allowed to trade in India?
20. Name the villages of which the British got the zamindari.
21. The Mughals and the subedar of Deccan also participated in the war between the French and the British. (True/ False)

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- Pepper was the most popular commodity which was traded from Malabar and the Konkan coasts. Ginger, white sandalwood, red sandalwood, sealing wax, indigo, spikenard, tamarind, areca nut, textiles, ivory and turmeric were also traded from the Malabar Konkan coasts to Portugal.
- The Portuguese brought brocades, damasks, satins, taffetas, cloves, nutmegs, mace, camphor, cinnamon, pepper, chests, writing desks, valuable pearls and jewels to Bengal.
- Taking into account the details of the Portuguese enterprise on the Malabar coast in the period between 1500 and 1506, an Italian estimated in 1506 that the total investment needed for conducting trade with the East was 170,000 ducats every year.
- Italians, especially the Florentines, occupied an important position among the financiers in the 16th century.
- During the second half of the 16th century both the Welsers and the Fuggers joined the expedition along with Giraldo Paris and Juan Battista Rovalesco for the purchase of 30,000 quintals of pepper directly from India and agreed to send an amount of 1,70,000 crusados to India annually.
- Several Indian merchants supplied commodities to the Portuguese on credit when the latter did not have cash or commodities to furnish in exchange.
- Right from the time Portuguese arrived at Calicut they had demanded that other merchants, Indian as well as foreign, should be ousted and a complete monopoly over trade be granted to them.
- Overseas trade conducted in the 16th century in Asia in general and India in particular was, by and large, of long-distance in nature involving the Asiatic ports on one side and the Atlantic ports on the other.
- After the Portuguese, the Dutch also felt encouraged to trade in India. They wanted to have direct access to the spice market of India.
- The Dutch in their bid for expansion of trade, came into conflicts with Mir Jumla and during 1672–74, they repeatedly obstructed the communication between Surat and other English settlements in Bombay and even captured three English vessels on the Bay of Bengal.
- Compagnie des Indes was the first French company to establish trading relations with India.
- The English East India Company initially traded only with Java, Sumatra and the Moluccas
- In 1609, Jehangir gave permission to the English to set up their factory at Surat. The company also received permission from the Sultan of Golkunda to trade in Golkunda.
- In 1691, Ibrahim Khan, the successor of Shaista Khan, issued a farmaan in favour of the English. According to this farmaan, the English were given permission to carry out duty-free trade but they were asked to pay ₹3,000 annually.
- From 1746 to 1763, English East India Company and French East India Company fought with each other in India. These wars are known as Carnatic wars.

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2.7 KEY TERMS

- **Crusado:** A gold coin of Portugal.
- **Zamorin:** The title used by the Nair rulers of the erstwhile state of Kerala.
- **Mariner:** A man who serves as a sailor.
- **Harass:** Subject to aggressive pressure or intimidation.
- **Autonomous:** Acting independently or having the freedom to do so.
- **Manoeuver:** To act in order to achieve a certain goal.
- **Bullion:** Gold or silver in bulk before coining.
- **Brocade:** A rich fabric, usually silk, woven with a raised pattern, typically with gold or silver thread.
- **Emolument:** A salary, fee or profit from employment or office.
- **Grandiloquent:** Pompous or extravagant in language, style or manner.
- **Evince:** Reveal the presence of a quality or feeling.

2.8 ANSWERS TO 'CHECK YOUR PROGRESS'

1. The sea route from Europe to India was discovered by Vasco da Gama.
2. Cochin was the early capital of the Portuguese in India.
3. Vasco da Gama reached the Port of Calicut on 17 May 1498.
4. True
5. In 1502, he established a factory at Cochin.
6. Alfonso de Albuquerque was the real founder of the Portuguese Empire in the East.
7. Albuquerque encouraged the Portuguese men to marry Indian women so that he could establish the authority of the Portuguese in India.
8. Portuguese occupation of Diu compelled the Arabs to withdraw from the Indian trade. The Arab merchants of Calicut were apprehensive of the Portuguese designs from the very beginning.
9. Portuguese established settlements on the west and the east coast. The areas in the west coast consisted of
   - Calicut (1500)
   - Cochin (1501)
   - Cannanore (1503)
   - Quilon (1503)
   - Cheliyam (1531)
   - Rahole (1535)
   - Krengannore (1536)
   - Mangalore (1568)
   - Hanawer (1568)
   - Diu (1509)

UNIT 3 BRITISH RELATIONS AND SUBJUGATIONS OF INDIAN POWERS

Structure

3.0 Introduction
3.1 Unit Objectives
3.2 The Carnatic Wars
  3.2.1 First Carnatic War (1746-48)
  3.2.2 Second Carnatic War (1749-54)
  3.2.3 Third Carnatic War (1758-63)
  3.2.4 Causes for the Success of the British against the French
3.3 Conquest of Bengal
3.4 Battle of Plassey (1757)
  3.4.1 Consequences of Plassey
3.5 Battle of Buxar (1764)
  3.5.1 Consequences of the Battle of Buxar
3.6 Treaty of Allahabad (1765)
3.7 Puppet Nawabs of Bengal
3.8 Dual Government of Bengal
3.9 The East India Company as Sovereign Ruler of Bengal
3.10 Summary
3.11 Key Terms
3.12 Answers to 'Check Your Progress'
3.13 Questions and Exercises
3.14 Further Reading

3.0 INTRODUCTION

In the previous unit, you learnt how the Portuguese, the Dutch, the French and the British approached and extended their power in India. You came to know about the rivalry among these powers and the various wars they fought with the Indian rulers and themselves. These wars finally led to the erosion of the Portuguese power in the east and the coastal areas and the establishment of the British East India Company. You also studied about the changes in the social fabric brought in by Christianity, conversion and inter-faith marriages.

The Portuguese, the Dutch, the English and the French companies had come to India with the basic objective of trade. By the time the British came and started establishing themselves, the Mughal Empire was on the decline. After the invasion of India by Nadir Shah, the Shah of Iran, in 1738-39, both the French and English companies found the Mughal Empire weak, which led both of them to establish their political power. The natural result was a war between these companies that lasted for about twenty years. This war was fought in the Carnatic as both the trading companies had important possessions in those parts. The English came out victorious in the end. The disintegration of the Mughal Empire and the dispatch of forces to India made possible the acquisition of a British Empire in India.

In this unit, you will read about the suppression of the Indian rulers in the Carnatic and Bengal regions.

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3.1 UNIT OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to:

- Describe the basic causes of the Carnatic wars
- Discuss the impact of the first, second and third Carnatic wars
- Explain the conquest of Bengal
- Discuss the causes and consequences of the Battle of Plassey
- Interpret the causes of the Battle of Buxar and its political implications
- Describe how the nawabs of Bengal became a puppet in the hands of the Brtitish

3.2 THE CARNATIC WARS

The Carnatic Wars were a series of battles, primarily between the British and French, for control of the ports of India during the years 1746 to 1763. Also involved were several independent Indian rulers and their regional allies. They fought mainly for succession as well as territory. These wars were described as a diplomatic or a military struggle among the French East India Company and the British East India Company for power. Due to these military wars, the British East India Company formed its dominance among the European trading companies in the India. The French Company's powers were restricted mainly till Pondicherry. The period during which these wars were fought spanned two European wars—the War of the Austrian Succession (1740-48) and the Seven Year's War (1756-1763). The First and Third Carnatic Wars were essentially the Indian colonial front in these two international wars.

3.2.1 First Carnatic War (1746-48)

The basic causes that led to the first Carnatic war were as follows:

- The commercial rivalry between the English and the French companies in India.
- Both the English and the French wanted to throw the other out of India and establish its monopoly.
- The close proximity of the kingdoms they owned in Southern India was an important factor that brought the English and the French in constant war with each other.
- French Governor Dupleix concentrated on total eviction of the English from India. This policy prompted tensed relations among the two nations.
- The war of the Austrian succession that broke out in Europe turned into the basic cause of war. The French and the English fought with each other in the Austrian war of succession and as a result a war broke out in India as well among the two nations.

The first Carnatic war was directly linked with the events that took place in Europe. The reason on which the English and French were clashing was the issue of Austria's succession (1740–1748). After the war started in March 1740, both the companies started getting ready for it. The French Governor-General Dupleix was the first person who realized that it was necessary for obtaining political influence and territorial control in India.

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The French East India Company was owned by the French government and it was in trouble. Even though the company's trade had increased in recent years yet its expenditure was even more than what it was earning. So, it accumulated heavy debts and the situation got worsened by the rivalry among two senior leaders of the company–Dupleix and La Bourdonnais. La Bourdonnais arrived at Pondicherry in July 1746. He came with ten vessels, 406 canons, 2,350 white soldiers and 700 black soldiers as he wanted to act with total independence, but Governor-General Dupleix did not approve of this as he considered himself superior to La Bourdonnais.

On 21 September 1746, the French troops, guided by La Bourbononais, overtook Madras, which, was an important English trading center from the mid-17th century. Anwar-ud-Din, the Nawab of Carnatic sent a huge Indian army in order to drive out the French from Madras. The English were guiding him and in the battle of St. Thome (4 November 1746), which is situated on the bank of river Adyar, Mahfuz Khan, son of Anwar-ud-Din got defeated by the French captain Paradis as he had just a thousand soldiers and was compelled to fight 10,000 French men. So, the disciplined and the organized army of the French, which was being led by capable officers, won the battle.

The English alternatively laid siege on Pondicherry from 6th September to 15th October 1748. But Dupleix created a strong defense, which forced the English to move back. This victory of Dupleix made him a popular figure in the Indian courts. The war ended with the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle (1748). Based on the treaty, Madras was given back to the English and the French got Quebec (Canada) for themselves and the English gave the word that they will never attack Pondicherry.

The first Carnatic war taught a very important lesson to the French that a small army of Europeans, when supported by the Indian troops and trained according to the European style could quite easily conquer many huge Indian armies.

In order to achieve political advantages, Dupleix began to interfere with the internal matters of Hyderabad and Carnatic. Chin Qilich Khan–Nizam-ul-Mulk, the founder of the independent Hyderabad kingdom passed away in 1748. Dupleix seized this opportunity and supported Muzaffar Jang, the grandson of Nizam instead of Nasir Jung, the son.

The Nawab of Carnatic, Anwar-ud-Din also passed away in 1749 and in this case Dupleix supported Chanda Sahib to the throne of the Carnatic as against Mohammad Ali, the illegitimate son of late Nawab. This left the English with an opportunity in Carnatic. Hence, the war of succession among these two kingdoms led to the second Carnatic War (1749–1754).

3.2.2 Second Carnatic War (1749-54)

The basic causes that led to the second Carnatic war were as follows:

- The Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle (1748) could not end the Anglo–French rivalry in India.
- The authority of the French quickly amplified in the Deccan specifically after the Nawab's army's defeat and the French made the decision to take an active part in the fight between Mohammad Ali and Chanda Sahib in the Carnatic.
- With the death of Nizam Asif Jah in 1748 a dispute started between Muzaffar Jung and Nasir Jung for the throne of Hyderabad. An identical competition began in Carnatic between Chanda Sahib–the son-in-law of

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Dost Ali and Anwar-ud-Din–the Nawab of Carnatic. The two fights soon got combined in one and in the subsequent year there were a lot of political alliances as well as counter alliances that were being formed in quick series.

The fight ensued at a time when the English and French had peace in Europe. This showed that the two were fighting in India for commercial supremacy and not just due to their traditional rivalry.

On 3 August 1749, French soldiers with sepoys attacked Arcot in Ambur, the capital of Carnatic. In this attack, Anwaruddin Muhammed Khan, the first Nawab of Arcot of the second dynasty, was killed and his elder son, Mahfuz Khan, was captured but his younger son Mohammad Ali Khan Wallajah fled. He took shelter at Trichinopoly, proclaimed himself the Nawab of Arcot and received support from the English. Chanda Sahib and French officer Jacques Law seized Trichinopoly. At this critical juncture a young English officer, Robert Clive seized Arcot, the capital of Chanda Sahib on 11 September 1751 with only 200 European soldiers and 300 sepoys. The purpose was to free Trichinopoly from Chanda Sahib. The plan worked; Chanda Sahib had to withdraw his large army from Trichinopoly to lay siege to Arcot to recapture it. Clive and his small army stood the siege for fifty days. Chanda Sahib had to withdraw; later the English defeated him and his Indian allies at several places. He surrendered and was finally executed and the French gave up their entire claim over Carnatic.

However, the French supremacy over Hyderabad continued. Muzaffar Jung was installed as the Nizam and *subedar* of the Deccan. In return, the French got command of a vast area from Krishna to Cape Camorin, which was the *jagir* of Valdavur. Though Muzaffar Jung was killed in 1751, his successor Salabat Jung continued his 'friendship' with the French. Bussy–the French officer at Hyderabad, even succeeded in obtaining *farman* from the Mughal emperor Ahmad Shah, confirming Salabat as the ruler of the Deccan.

The failure of the French in Carnatic was a great setback. The French Government, which was always in trouble, could not bear this defeat. So, it recalled Dupleix to France in 1754. His departure was followed by the Treaty of Pondicherry, which ended the second Carnatic war. This war ended with English acquiring dominance in Carnatic and French–a place in the Court of Nizam.

3.2.3 Third Carnatic War (1758-63)

The third Carnatic war had far-reaching effects. The main causes that led to it are as follows:

- The peace brought about by the Treaty of Pondicherry proved to be short lived. The Seven Years War broke out in 1756 in Europe and soon after the fighting started in India also.
- Count de Lally was sent by the French Government with instructions to oust English from India.
- Lally arrived in Southern India at the end of April 1758. He attacked and captured St. David.

The third Carnatic War (1758–1763) began with the Seven Years War (1756–1763) of Europe. This war was not just confined to Carnatic but had traversed vastly. The English Governor and Lieutenant Colonel of Fort St. David, Robert Clive, took

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hold of Chandan Nagar–the French settlement in Bengal in 1757. He was also responsible for Siraj-ud-Daulah–the Nawab of Bengal's defeat by British, in the battle of Plassey (23 June 1757). Thus, financially English East India Company was more secured.

The Seven Years War ended in 1763 and a treaty was signed in Paris (10 February 1763). It was also decided that France would get Pondicherry and five trading ports and many factories but just as a trading centre. It will not have any fortification or armies.

The French East India Company was a state undertaking and its directors were hired by the crown. The laziness and bureaucratic control of this company can be compared with the bureaucratic control of some public sector companies of post–Independent India. The English East India Company, on the other hand, was a private undertaking that was based on free enterprise and individual proposal. It earned revenues from the Asian trade and was not dependent on the state itself.

The French could never concentrate on India as its main priority was Europe whereas England gave their complete attention to the oceans as well as distant lands like India. The French could not understand the intricate political circumstances of India dissimilar to the British. The French also could not struggle with the English in naval superiority. So, the third Carnatic war ended the French challenge in India and it created the way for the establishment of the British Empire in India.

3.2.4 Causes for the Success of the British against the French

The main reasons for the success of the British against the French were as follows:

- **Superior geographical position of England in Europe:** France had to concentrate more towards its borders while it is at war as compared to relative secure position of England.
- **The English navy was superior to the French navy:** The English navy helped to cut off the link among the French possessions in India and France; because of this the English could send help to India whenever it was needed. No one would check them on the way. The French had to avoid the Englishmen while coming back to India. It resulted in months and sometimes years of wastage of time and money.
- **The English company was a private enterprise:** It generated a sense of self-confidence among people who knew that if they worked hard, they would be able to generate profits and if they relaxed they were to be ruined. As a result the English company became rich and prosperous. Its condition became so good that it could afford to give loans to the government itself. Alternatively the French company was just a small department of the French government. It was not self-reliant and it was completely depended on the government, which was in itself quite rotten during the eighteenth century. The corruption in the French government got imitated in the French company. Furthermore, the French government also assured some percentage in the profit to the shareholders. This also led to the destruction of initiative among those who were in charge of the French company.
- French government was never very actively interested in the Indian affairs.
- The English had three important places, i.e., Calcutta, Bombay and Madras while the French had just one, i.e., Pondicherry.

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Check Your Progress

1. When were the Carnatic wars fought?
2. The period during which the Carnatic wars were fought, Europe was going through a turmoil. What was it?
3. Why did Dupleix interfere in the internal matters of Hyderabad and Carnatic?
4. When did the Nawab of Carnatic die?
5. When did the French attack the Carnatic capital?
6. What did the French do after losing Carnatic to the British?
7. Whom did the French proclaim as the ruler of Deccan?
8. When was Dupleix recalled in France?
9. When did the Third Carnatic War begin?
10. The French East India Company was a state undertaking company whose directors were appointed by the crown. (True/False)
11. Count de Lally came to India to oust the British. (True/False)

- The French considered their commercial interest to be subordinated as compared to the territorial ambition and it made the French company short of funds.
- **Commercial superiority and better financial position:** The business conducted by the English company was at a much larger level than the French company. Based on an estimate the worth of the Indian goods in England from 1736 to 1756 was £41,200,000 and the value of the French goods was £11,450,000. The dominance in trade and business had made the English company's the financial position much better than of the French company. The French company's financial position had become so bad that during the closing years of the third Carnatic War the French company could not even afford to pay their troops on a regular basis.
- **Recall of Dupleix:** The French government made another blunder and that was its recalling of Dupleix in 1754. Dupleix was a proficient person and he could have done a lot to recover the French position in India. His recall by the French government created a vacuum, which could not be easily filled and France could not send a capable person in order to take his place.
- **The continental position of France also contributed to the ultimate failure of the French company:** Due to its messy involvement in the European affairs, the French government could not take required, proper and active interest in the Indian affairs.
- **The English were lucky to have Bombay as their naval base**: It was an appropriate place for them to keep and repair their ships and they could bring their ships anytime they wanted at the port for sailing or for any other purpose. The French had their naval base in the Isle of France and it was very far off. So, they were at quite a disadvantageous position and hence they could not take any speedy action in the Carnatic Wars.

ACTIVITY 1

On an ancient map of India, mark the important places that were affected due to the Carnatic wars.

3.3 CONQUEST OF BENGAL

In 1717, the Mughal emperor issued a *farman* by which it granted special benefits to the English East India Company, namely, exemption of taxes on goods imported and exported from Bengal. However, this concession did not ensure that they could trade in Bengal without paying any taxes. The Company servants like other Indian traders had to pay taxes. This misinterpretation of the *farman* became a constant cause of dispute between the nawabs of Bengal and the Company. All the nawabs of Bengal, beginning from Murshid Quli Khan to Alivardi Khan, refused to sympathize with the Company's misconstrued explanation of the *farman* and even forced them to pay a huge amount as indemnity if they used the *dastaks* wrongly.

In 1741, when Muhammad Shah Rangila was the Mughal sovereign, Alivardi Khan, the governor of Bengal, announced himself independent and established his capital at Murshidabad. In 1756, with Alivardi's demise, and in the absence of any rightful successor, several factions vied with each other to make their chosen candidate the Nawab of Bengal. Though Alivardi wanted his grandson, Siraj-ud-Daulah, son of his youngest daughter, to acquire the nawabship, the latter's succession to the throne was not accepted by other contenders, such as Shaukat Jang (*faujdar* of Purnea) and Ghasiti Begam, eldest daughter of Alivardi. In the wake of increasing court intrigues, the English East India Company took the opportunity to win factions in their favour and work against the Nawab, and thereby went into a headlong confrontation with the Nawab.

As Bengal, in the 18th century, was the most prosperous province, the English East India Company considered it economically and politically extremely lucrative. Hence, it is natural that they wanted to consolidate their position further in Bengal. They wanted to base their operations in Calcutta. There were other European contenders too in Bengal, namely, the Dutch, who had their factory at Chinsura, and the French with their factory at Chandernagor.

Siraj-ud-Daulah became the Nawab of Bengal in 1756. Apart from having several foes in the family who were not happy with the succession, he was immature and lacked adequate skills to tackle the situation. In the south, the English East India Company and the French were fighting with each other. Without seeking Nawab Siraj-ud-Daulah's consent, the English began fortification of Calcutta. They even chose to disregard the Nawab's order to curtail augmentation of their military resources and abuse the use of *dastak*s granted to them by the *farman* of 1717. Company servants began misusing the concessions granted by the *farman* of 1717 by extending the privileges over their private trade. Causing further economic loss to Bengal, the officials began to profit by selling off the *dastak*s to the Indian merchants. Another cause of discontentment towards the English for Siraj was their conscious move to give protection to Siraj's foe Krishna Das, son of Raja Rajballava.

DID YOU KNOW

As a teenager, Siraj-ud-Daula led a reckless life which came to the notice of his grandfather. But keeping a promise he made to his grandfather on his deathbed, he gave up gambling and drinking alcohol completely after taking the title Nawab of Bengal. He trusted very few people and often insulted and defamed his enemies and rivals including the British.

3.4 BATTLE OF PLASSEY (1757)

To punish the highhandedness of the Company, Siraj-ud-Daulah retaliated by striking Calcutta on 16 June 1756 and bringing it under his sway by 20 June 1756. The English were caught unawares and the Nawab's huge force was more than a match to their troops. Most Englishmen escaped to Fulta, twenty miles down the Hoogly, and the rest were held back as prisoners.

It was Siraj's folly to have allowed the English to flee to Fulta and not annihilate them entirely. Again, after capturing Calcutta, he did not attempt to consolidate his position and ensure its defense from any counter attack. Such errors are seldom

NOTES

Check Your Progress

12. What did the Mughal emperor's farman to the East India Company say?
13. Who established Murshidabad as the capital?
14. When did Siraj-ud-Daulah become the Nawab of Bengal?

overlooked in history. In January 1757, the English troops, headed by Robert Clive and Watson, attacked Calcutta and recaptured it. Siraj-ud-Daulah was compelled to consent to the Treaty of Alinagar (as Calcutta was renamed on 9 February 1757), agree to all their claims. Having strengthened their position, the English wanted to embarrass the Nawab further and in March 1757, they sent their troops to strike at the French settlement at Chandernagor.

As Siraj wanted to seek French support in his fight against the English, he requested Clive to refrain from aggression towards the French. This prompted Clive to conspire against the Nawab and ally with those in the court and army who were dissatisfied with Siraj's succession to the throne, namely, Mir Jafar, Mir Bakshi, Jagath Seth and Amin Chand.

Owing to the betrayal of Mir Jafar and Rai Durlab, Siraj, despite being armed with a huge contingent, was defeated by the small band of English soldiers under Robert Clive in the Battle of Plassey (23 June 1757). Siraj-ud-Daulah was held captive and finally was killed by Mir Jafar's son Miran. Clive placed Mir Jafar on the throne of Bengal. In lieu of nawabship, Mir Jafar had to pay a huge sum to the English, and part with the 24 Parganas. The enormity of the wealth looted from Bengal can be gauged by the fact that almost 300 boats were required to carry the spoils to Fort William. The Battle of Plassey was not a battle in the real sense, as the Nawab's army was headed by Mir Jaffer and Rai Durlabh, who had shifted their allegiance towards the English and made no effort to contest the English troops.

After the war, Mir Jafar was installed as the nawab. However, as demands for more presents and bribes from the Company's servants increased, the coffer of Mir Jafar's soon became empty, and when Mir Jafar became unable to meet the Company's expectations any further, the English replaced him by his son-in-law Mir Qasim. The newly appointed nawab won the favour of the English by granting them the zamindari of the districts of Burdwan, Midnapur and Chittagong and rewarding them with expensive gifts.

3.4.1 Consequences of Plassey

According to Sir Jadunath Sarkar, an eminent historian, 23 June 1757, marked the end of the medieval period in India and the beginning of the modern period. Retrospectively speaking, in the years following Plassey (1757–76), that not even covered a single generation, one notices the waning out of the medieval practice of theocratic rule, which can be considered as a fallout of the battle.

The Company's resident at the Nawab's *durbar*, Luke Scrafton, in his observations on post-Plassey Bengal had commented, 'The general idea at this time entertained by the servants of the Company was that the battle of Plassey did only restore us to the same situation we were in before the capture of Calcutta (by Siraj-ud-Daulah); the *Subah* (*subedar*) was conceived to be as independent as ever, and the English returned into their commercial character...' This observation hides the fact that most of the restrictions inflicted on the nawab post-Plassey had been already been enforced on Mir Jafar in a treaty signed (5 June 1757) before the onset of the battle.

However, Plassey did not make the English the rightful legal rulers of Bengal. The Supreme Court of Calcutta even pointed out that apart from those living in Calcutta, other English officials were not British subjects. Thus, post-Plassey, the English did not shed off their 'commercial character'. This was all the more evident

when the English won the Battle of Buxar (1764). However, the commercial activities of the English were gradually becoming political as Clive, determined to yield more benefits, pressurized the meek puppet nawab, Mir Jafar, to concede more privileges. During this period, the Marathas also suffered a crushing defeat at Panipat and the French underwent heavy losses owing to a shipwreck in South India, thereby leaving no serious contenders to challenge the English in Bengal.

After Plassey, it was quite unexpected that the Marathas would be routed, or the French would be subdued, thereby allowing the English to gain control over Bengal. It was the event of the next ten years that turned paramount influence into a new regime.

The English obtained a few immediate military and commercial benefits after Plassey. They worked their way to consolidate their position politically in the 'three provinces abounding in the most valuable production of nature and art'. Their confidence got further boosted when the French were ousted from Bengal. They took this opportunity to consolidate their position in the south. In fact, foreseeing perhaps the potentials of the English, Clive had advised Pitt the Elder, a prominent member of the King's government in London, to request the Crown to take over direct control over Bengal and lay the foundation of the British empire.

3.5 BATTLE OF BUXAR (1764)

The Battle of Buxar (1764) was fought between the forces under the command of the British East India Company led by Hector Munro, and the combined armies of Mir Qasim, the Nawab of Bengal; Shuja-ud-Daula the Nawab of Awadh; and the Mughal Emperor Shah Alam II.

When Robert Clive and his Company officials had completely emptied the Bengal Nawab's treasures, they thought Mir Jafar to be incapable of yielding any further benefits. A few English officials like Holwel were lobbying against Mir Jafar. Mir Qasim, son-in-law of Mir Jafar, replaced him as nawab on 27 September 1760. As rewards of his nawabship, Mir Qasim had to concede Burdwan, Midnapore and Chittagaon to the East India Company. He shifted the capital to Mungher. Though during the initial years, he accepted British domination, however, the increasing misuse of the *dastak*s by the Company servants and the consequent losses to the treasury exasperated him to abolish the *dastak* system and exempt duties on trade for all. This precipitated the deposition of Mir Qasim, with Mir Jafar being reinstated to nawabship. Mir Qasim planned an offensive at Buxar (22 October 1764) against the English by allying with Shah Alam II, the Mughal king, and Shuja-ud-Daulah, the Nawab of Awadh. However, the joint forces of the Indian sovereigns could not win against the well-trained and regulated English troops, armed with advanced ammunitions. The failure at Buxar made it evident that India lacked in industrial and technological development.

After reinstating Mir Jafar to the throne of Bengal and the English negotiated a treaty with Shah Alam at Allahabad in 1765 by which the latter conceded *diwani* rights to the Company in lieu of a pension of ₹26 lakh from the Company. Shuja-ud-Daulah, who was a party to the same treaty had to agree to give Allahabad and Kara to the Mughals as well as part with the zamindari of Banaras to Balwant Rai, who was an English loyalist.

Check Your Progress

15. When did the British troops, headed by Clive and Watson, attack Calcutta?
16. With whom did Clive conspire against Siraj?
17. Who killed Siraj-ud-Daulah?
18. Mir Jafar refused to give more privileges to the British. (True/ False)

In Bengal, between 1765 and 1772, an innovative governing machinery, the dual system of administration, was introduced. With the Company's consent, the Nawab appointed Raja Shitab Rai and Reza Khan as deputy *diwans*, who in actual terms were delegated to work for the English rather than the Nawab. By acquiring the *diwani* rights (authority of revenue collection), the Company virtually became the de facto power, while the Nawab remained the titular head responsible for civil and criminal administration. The inhabitants of the region suffered the most through this arrangement. This system of administration reflected the Company's inexperience in matters related to administration, as the Company was essentially a trading body.

In 1765, the Company became the actual sovereign of Bengal, gaining exclusive rights over all military and political affairs. The Nawab was made responsible for the defense of the British, within and outside Bengal. The East India Company exercised direct control over *diwani* functions, which gave them the right to collect the revenues of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. The Company had indirect hold over the *nizamat* functions, namely, judicial and police rights, also possessing the right to nominate the deputy subedar.

3.5.1 Consequences of the Battle of Buxar

Though the Battle of Buxar was precipitated by the alliance drawn by Mir Qasim with Shuja-ud-Daulah and thereby had caused political repercussions in Bengal, Mir Qasim's decision to break up the alliance even before Munro's attack, saved him. It appears that Shuja-ud-Daulah was the most affected by the defeat at Buxar, making him a nominal power. The influential position that he held in North India got curbed overnight. To get back his lost prestige, he tried to annex Varanasi, Chunar and Allahabad, but could not progress further when his troops abandoned him. Trying to launch another offensive against the English, he went from place to place to ally with other powers. He even sought shelter from the Ruhelas and Bangash Afghans, who had been traditional enemies of his family However, with all his attempts becoming futile, he surrendered to the English in May 1765 and sought shelter. Prior to Shuja's surrender, Shah Alam had accepted the English supremacy and remained under their protection.

Militarily Buxar was very significant for the English. The English victory at Plassey was not entirely commendable as Siraj suffered defeat when his generals betrayed him. However, there was no instance of betrayal at Buxar. The English troops emerged victorious defeating an experienced politically influential personality like Shuja. After their having established their position in Bengal, Buxar laid out the path for British supremacy over north India.

Political implications of the Battle of Buxar

The Battle of Buxar established British control over Bengal. Buxar revealed the political and military shortfalls of the Indian rulers and the decadence of the Mughal empire. With increasing intrigues and factionalism at the Nawab's court, and with vested interests coming into play, corruption increased and Company officials like Clive used the opportunity to become wealthy. The Treaty of Allahabad signed by Shuja-ud-Daulah and Shah Alam II with the English granted the latter the right to trade freely in Awadh. Moreover, the English possessed the right to station an army

Check Your Progress

19. Who replaced Mir Jafar?
20. Why did Mir Jafar ally with the Mughal emperor?
21. When was the Treaty of Allahabad signed with the Mughals?
22. What happened after the Battle of Buxar?

at Awadh, which were to be maintained by Shuja-ud-Daulah. In lieu of transferring the *diwani* rights over Bengal, Bihar and Orissa to the English, Shah Alam II received Kora and Allahabad and an annual pension of ₹26 lakh.

3.6 TREATY OF ALLAHABAD (1765)

In May 1765, Clive was entrusted with the governorship of Bengal for the second time. The Company officials were looking for the appropriate means to tackle Shuja and Shah Alam. There were no further annexation plans with regard to Shuja's territories, which was already under the sway of the English forces. The newly acquired responsibility of governing both Awadh and Allahabad prompted the English to look for innovative designs.

According to the Treaty of Allahabad, the concluding agreement drawn with Shuja-ud-Daulah, (16 August 1765), the territories earlier belonging to Shuja, except Allahabad and Kora, were given back. Shah Alam was given Allahabad and Kora. Also, Shuja was assured regular revenue payment from his zamindari of Varanasi, which was presented by the English to Balwant Singh for having helped them during Buxar. In this way, the Company established 'perpetual and universal peace, sincere friendship and firm union' with the Nawab. It was also agreed that if a third party attacked any one of the powers, the other party to the treaty would assist him in ousting the intruder by sharing his troops totally or partially. The nawab had to bear the expenses of the Company's army if it assisted the nawab. However, it is not clear if the Company met the expenses of the nawab's army when the Company used its services. Also, the nawab had to pay ₹50 lakh as compensation for the war, and grant permission to the Company to continue duty-free trade in his territories.

3.7 PUPPET NAWABS OF BENGAL

After Buxar, Mir Jafar was reinstated to the throne of Bengal by the English. By agreeing to reduce his troops, Mir Jafar had curbed the military powers of the nawab further. He was unable to bring in any formidable political or administrative changes in Bengal at this stage because he had a very weak personality and had developed a negative approach considering the unpleasant political situation he had to tackle and his ailment (believed to be leprosy). The English success at Buxar, followed by Mir Jafar's demise sealed the fate of the nawabs in Bengal and laid the foundation of the British empire in Bengal.

The Company made Najm-ud-Daulah, Mir Jafar's minor son, the nawab and signed a treaty with him that made the throne completely subservient to the English. Muhammad Reza Khan was appointed deputy governor by the nawab under English directives. Khan looked after the entire administration, and he could only be replaced with the approval of the governor and Council. The governor and Council's approval were also essential while appointing or removing revenue collectors.

Subsequently, the Nawab's status deteriorated further. After resuming his second term of governorship in May 1765, Clive pressurized Najm-ud-Daulah to grant all the revenues to the Company in exchange of an annual pension of ₹50 lakh. Subsequently, Najm-ud-Daulah's pension was reduced by ₹12 lakh. When

Check Your Progress

23. In May 1765, Clive was entrusted with the governorship of Bengal for the third time. (True/False)
24. How much did the nawab pay as compensation after the Treaty of Allahabad?

Najm-ud-Daulah died in 1766, he was succeeded by his minor brother Saif-ud-Daulah, whose pension was further reduced by ₹10 lakh. Before his death (1770), he had signed a treaty with the English in 1766 by which he had granted all matters related to the administration and protection of the provinces of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa to the English.

3.8 DUAL GOVERNMENT OF BENGAL

In Bengal's history, the Treaty of Allahabad (1765) is extremely significant as it ushered in a new administrative mechanism, which laid down the foundation of the British administrative system in India. The nawab's administrative powers were clipped, bringing in a new mechanism of power devoid of responsibility and vice versa.

We need to understand the meaning of the *diwani* and *nizamat* functions to understand the dual system of government better. The provincial administration in the Mughal period was divided into two branches: the *nizamat* (military defense, police and administration of justice) functions which were looked after by *subedar* or governor and his officials, and the *diwani* affairs (management of revenues and finances) which were handled by another similar such set of officials under another *subedar*. These officers were answerable to the central government and they kept a check on each other. Murshid Quli was in charge of Bengal, when Aurangzeb died.

By signing the treaty of Allahabad (with Shah Alam II), the English obtained *diwani* in lieu of ₹26 lakh as annual pension for the Bengal nawab. In a treaty signed earlier in February 1765 with Nawab Najm-ud-Daulah, the Company had already secured all *nizamat* powers, including military, defence and foreign affairs. However, the Company had received the *diwani* rights from the Mughal emperor and the nizamat powers from the nawab. Though the Company kept all administrative matters under its control, the *diwani* and the *nizamat* operations were handled by its Indian representatives. As this administrative mechanism involved both the nawab and the Company, it is referred as the dual or double government of Bengal.

The dual government had badly affected the administration. While there was no discipline and order, trade and commerce suffered, and merchants almost became paupers, thriving industries, such as of silk and textiles, collapsed, agriculture was evaluated by the Company to be unyielding and thereby, peasants were subjected to dire poverty. The outbreak of the great famine of 1770 reflected the flaws of the Company's indirect governing policy. Around ten million people lost their lives in the famine, which meant almost a third of the population of Bengal and Bihar. However, during this period of utter distress when the people in desperation were even feeding on the dead to survive, Company's servants and *gomastas* continued with their illegal private trade. While exercizing monopoly over the obtainable grain, they even seized the seeds to be used for successive harvests from the peasants.

The Company, under Cartier's governorship (1769–1772), chose to overlook the high mortality and the reduction of cultivable land, granted absolutely no remittance on land revenue and instead, increased it by 10 per cent for the following year.

Check Your Progress

25. Who succeeded after Mir Jafar's demise?
26. When did Najm-ud-Daulah die?

The high mortality rate affected the obtainable quantum of production from agriculture and seriously upset the economic well being of the province. As the revenue-paying capacity dwindled, the zamindars failed to collect adequate revenue. This in turn had an impact on the Company's income as it lost its cultivators and artisans.

3.9 THE EAST INDIA COMPANY AS SOVEREIGN RULER OF BENGAL

Clive's dual government proved to be a complete failure. In 1772, Warren Hastings became the governor of Bengal, and embarked upon an offensive plan that would remove 'the mask of Mughal sovereignty' from the soil of Bengal, and make the English the rightful rulers. The Company servants were made responsible for dual administration. The nawab practically had no share in administration. The pension granted to Shah Alam II was discontinued and he was compelled to part with Allahabad and Kora, which were sold out to Shuja-ud-Daulah.

In this way, within a span of two decades, the reins of Bengal's administration passed over to the Company. Unfortunately, under the Company rule, the most prosperous and industrially developed province soon became steeped in abject poverty and suffering that aggravated in the wake of famines and epidemics. Gaining control over Bengal, the English had become successful in establishing a colonial empire and fulfill its imperial designs.

3.10 SUMMARY

In this unit, you have learnt that:

- The Carnatic Wars were a series of battles, primarily between the British and French, for control of the ports of India during the years 1746 to 1763.
- The First and Third Carnatic Wars were essentially the Indian colonial front in these two international wars.
- The first Carnatic war was straightly linked with the events that occurred in Europe. The reason on which the English and French were clashing was the issue of Austria's succession (1740–1748).
- The basic causes that led to the second Carnatic war was the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle (1748).
- Robert Clive seized Arcot, the capital of Chanda Sahib on September 11, 1751 with only 200 European soldiers and 300 sepoys.
- Clive and his small army stood the siege for fifty days. Chanda Sahib had to withdraw; later the English defeated him and his Indian allies at several places. He surrendered and was finally executed and the French gave up their entire claim over Carnatic.
- The French installed Muzaffar Jung in Hyderabd. He was succeded by Salabat Jung in 1751.
- Bussy–the French officer at Hyderabad, even succeeded in obtaining farman from the Mughal emperor Ahmad Shah, confirming Salabat as the ruler of the Deccan.

Check Your Progress

27. How did the British acquire the diwani and the nizamat rights of Bengal?
28. When did Hastings become the governor of Bengal?
29. The dual government had improved the British administration over Bengal. (True/ False)
30. Gaining control over Bengal, the English had become successful in establishing a colonial empire and fulfill its imperial designs. (True/ False)

NOTES

- The third Carnatic War (1758–1763) began with the Seven Years' War (1756–1763) of Europe.
- The English Governor and Lieutenant Colonel of Fort St. David, Robert Clive, took hold of Chandan Nagar–the French settlement in Bengal in 1757. He was also accountable for Siraj-ud-Daulah–the Nawab of Bengal's victory against British, in the battle of Plassey (June 23, 1757). Thus, financially English East India Company was more secured.
- The French also could not struggle with the English in naval superiority. So, the third Carnatic war ended the French challenge in India and it created the way for the establishment of the British Empire in India.
- The English navy helped to cut off the link among the French possessions in India and France; because of this the English could send help to India whenever it was needed.
- French Government was never very actively interested in the Indian affairs.
- In 1717, the Mughal emperor issued a farman by which it granted special benefits to the English East India Company, namely, exemption of taxes on goods imported and exported from Bengal.
- In 1741, when Muhammad Shah Rangila was the Mughal sovereign, Alivardi Khan, the governor of Bengal, announced himself independent and established his capital at Murshidabad.
- Though Alivardi wanted his grandson, Siraj-ud-Daulah, son of his youngest daughter, to acquire the nawabship, the latter's succession to the throne was not accepted by other contenders, such as Shaukat Jang (faujdar of Purnea) and Ghasiti Begam, eldest daughter of Alivardi.
- Siraj-ud-Daulah became the Nawab of Bengal in 1756.
- Without seeking Nawab Siraj-ud-Daulah's consent, the English began to build fortifications in Calcutta.
- To punish the highhandedness of the Company, Siraj-ud-Daulah retaliated by striking Calcutta on 16 June 1756 and bringing it under his sway by 20 June 1756.
- It was Siraj's folly to have allowed the English to flee to Fulta and not annihilate them entirely from Fulta.
- The English troops, headed by Robert Clive and Watson, attacked Calcutta and recaptured it.
- Siraj-ud-Daulah was compelled to consent to the Treaty of Alinagar (as Calcutta was renamed in 9 February 1757), agree to all their claims. Having strengthened their position, the English wanted to embarrass the Nawab further and in March 1757, they sent their troops to strike at the French settlement at Chandernagor.
- Owing to the betrayal of Mir Jafar and Rai Durlab, Siraj, despite being armed with a huge contingent, was defeated by the small band of English soldiers under Robert Clive in the Battle of Plassey (23 June 1757).
- The Battle of Plassey was not a battle in the real sense, as the Nawab's army was headed by Mir Jaffer and Rai Durlabh, who had shifted their allegiance towards the English and made no effort to contest the English troops.
- Siraj-ud-Daulah was held captive and finally was killed by Mir Jafar's son Miran. Clive placed Mir Jafar on the throne of Bengal.
- According to Sir Jadunath Sarkar, an eminent historian, 23 June 1757, marked the end of the medieval period in India and the beginning of the modern period. Retrospectively speaking, in the years following Plassey (1757–76), that not even covered a single generation, one notices the waning out of the medieval practice of theocratic rule, which can be considered as a fallout of the Battle.
- The Supreme Court of Calcutta even pointed out that apart from those living in Calcutta, other English officials were not British subjects. Thus, post Plassey, the English did not shed off their 'commercial character'.
- After Plassey, it was quite unexpected that the Marathas would be routed, or the French would be subdued, thereby allowing the English to gain control over Bengal.
- The Battle of Buxar (1764) was fought between the forces under the command of the British East India Company led by Hector Munro, and the combined armies of Mir Qasim, the Nawab of Bengal; Shuja-ud-Daula the Nawab of Awadh; and the Mughal Emperor Shah Alam II.
- Mir Qasim, son-in-law of Mir Jafar replaced him as nawab on 27 September 1760. He shifted the capital to Mungher.
- After reinstating Mir Jafar to the throne of Bengal and the English negotiated a treaty with Shah Alam at Allahabad in 1765 by which the latter conceded diwani rights to the Company in lieu of a pension of ₹26 lakh from the Company and ₹53 lakh from the Nawab of Bengal.
- In Bengal, between 1765 and 1772, an innovative governing machinery, the dual system of administration, was introduced.
- Since 1765, the Company became the actual sovereign of Bengal, gaining exclusive rights over all military and political affairs.
- The Battle of Buxar established British control over Bengal. Buxar revealed the political and military shortfalls of the Indian rulers and the decadence of the Mughal empire.
- Though the Battle of Buxar was precipitated by the alliance drawn by Mir Qasim with Shuja-ud-Daulah and thereby had caused political repercussions in Bengal, Mir Qasim's decision to break the alliance even before Munro's attack, saved him.
- In May 1765, Clive was entrusted with the governorship of Bengal for the second time. The Company officials were looking for the appropriate means to tackle Shuja and Shah Alam.
- According to the Treaty of Allahabad, the concluding agreement drawn with Shuja-ud-Daulah, (16 August 1765), the territories earlier belonging to Shuja, except Allahabad and Kora, were given back.
- After Buxar, Mir Jafar was reinstated to the throne of Bengal by the English.
- The English success at Buxar, followed by Mir Jafar's demise sealed the fate of the nawabs in Bengal and laid the foundation of the British empire in Bengal.
- After resuming for his second term of governorship in May 1765, Clive pressurized Najm-ud-Daulah to grant all the revenues to the Company in exchange of an annual pension of ₹50 lakh.
- When Najm-ud-Daulah died in 1766, he was succeeded by his minor brother Saif-ud-Daulah, who was granted a pension of ₹12 lakh only.
- In Bengal's history, the treaty of Allahabad (1765) is extremely significant as it ushered in a new administrative mechanism, which laid down the foundation of the British administrative system in India.

- By signing the treaty of Allahabad (with Shah Alam II), the English obtained diwani and nizamat rights in lieu of ₹26 lakh as annual pension and ₹53 lakh, respectively.
- The dual government had badly affected administration. While there was no discipline and order, trade and commerce suffered, and merchants almost became paupers, thriving industries, such as of silk and textiles, collapsed, agriculture was evaluated by the Company to be unyielding and thereby, peasants were subjected to dire poverty.
- Clive's dual government proved to be a complete failure. In 1772, Warren Hastings became the governor of Bengal, and embarked upon an offensive plan that would remove 'the mask of Mughal sovereignty' from the soil of Bengal, and make the English the rightful rulers.

3.11 KEY TERMS

- ***Diwani***: The right to collect revenue.
- ***Subedar***: The person who looked after the *nizamat.*

3.12 ANSWERS TO 'CHECK YOUR PROGRESS'

1. The Carnatic Wars between the British and French were fought between 1746 and 1763.
2. The period during which the Carnatic Wars were fought, Europe saw two wars, the War of the Austrian Succession (1740-48) and the Seven Year's War (1756-1763).
3. To achieve political advantages, Dupleix began to interfere with the internal matters of Hyderabad and Carnatic.
4. The Nawab of Carnatic Anwar-ud-Din died in 1749.
5. On 3 August, 1749, French soldiers attacked Arcot in Ambur, the capital of Carnatic.
6. After the French lost the Carnatic region to the British, they continued their hold on Hyderabad and installed Muzaffar Jung as the Nizam and subedar of the Deccan. In return, they got command of a vast area from Krishna to Cape Camorin, which was the jagir of Valdavur.
7. Salabat Jung was proclaimed ruler of Deccan after French officer Bussy obtained a farman from the Mughal emperor Ahmad Shah.
8. After the French defeat in the Carnatic region, Dupleix was recalled to France in 1754.
9. The third Carnatic War began in 1758–1763.
10. True
11. True
12. The Mughal emperor issued a farman in 1717 by which it granted special benefits to the English East India Company, namely, exemption of taxes on goods imported and exported from Bengal.
13. In 1741, when Muhammad Shah Rangila was the Mughal sovereign, Alivardi Khan, the governor of Bengal, announced himself independent and established his capital at Murshidabad.
14. Siraj-ud-Daulah became the Nawab of Bengal in 1756.
15. In January 1757, the English troops, headed by Robert Clive and Watson, attacked Calcutta and recaptured it.
16. Clive took the help of people like Mir Jafar, Mir Bakshi, Jagath Seth and Amin Chand and the army who were dissatisfied with Siraj's succession to the throne.
17. Siraj-ud-Daulah was held captive and was finally killed by Mir Jafar's son Miran.
18. False
19. Mir Qasim, son-in-law of Mir Jafar replaced him as nawab on 27 September 1760.
20. After being reinstated, Mir Qasim planned an offensive at Buxar (22 October 1764) against the English by allying with Shah Alam II, the Mughal king and Shuja-ud-Daulah, the Nawab of Awadh.
21. The English negotiated a treaty with Shah Alam at Allahabad in 1765.
22. The Battle of Buxar established British control over Bengal.
23. False
24. The Nawab had to pay ₹50 lakh as compensation for the war.
25. After Mir Jafar passed away, his minor son Najm-ud-Daulah was made the nawab.
26. Najm-ud-Daulah died in 1766.
27. By signing the Treaty of Allahabad (with Shah Alam II), the English obtained diwani in lieu of ₹26 lakh as pension for the Bengal nawab.
28. Warren Hastings became the governor of Bengal in 1772.
29. False
30. True

3.13 QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Short-Answer Questions

1. What are the causes of the first Carnatic War?
2. What were the immediate causes of the third Carnatic War?
3. What were the differences between the French and the English East India Company?
4. What was the main cause of dispute between the Nawab of Bengal and the British East India Company?
5. What was the dual system of government of Bengal?
6. How did the second Carnatic War end?

Long-Answer Questions

1. Discuss the reasons that made the British more successful than the French.
2. What were the consequences of the Battle of Plassey?
3. How important was the Treaty of Allahabad to the Mughals and the British?
4. Write a short note on the concequences of the Carnatic Wars?
5. Why did the British want to conquer Bengal?

3.14 FURTHER READING

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UNIT 4 EMERGENCE OF REGIONAL POWERS

Structure

4.0 Introduction
4.1 Unit Objectives
4.2 Oudh (Awadh)
4.3 Hyderabad
4.4 Punjab
  4.4.1 First Anglo-Sikh War (1845–1846)
  4.4.2 Second Anglo-Sikh War (1848–1849)
  4.4.3 Third Anglo-Sikh War (1849)
4.5 Mysore
  4.5.1 Haider Ali (1760–1782)
  4.5.2 Tipu Sultan (1782–99)
  4.5.3 First Anglo-Mysore War (1767-69)
  4.5.4 Second Anglo-Mysore War (1780-84)
  4.5.5 Third Anglo-Mysore War (1790-92)
  4.5.6 Fourth Anglo-Mysore War (March-May 1799)
4.6 Marathas
  4.6.1 Historical Background of the Marathas
  4.6.2 Rise of the Peshwas
  4.6.3 Causes and Consequences of Third Battle of Panipat
  4.6.4 Causes of the Failure of Marathas in Panipat
  4.6.5 Maratha Struggle with the British
4.7 Summary
4.8 Key Terms
4.9 Answers to 'Check Your Progress'
4.10 Questions and Exercises
4.11 Further Reading

4.0 INTRODUCTION

In the previous unit, you learnt about the British subjugation of regional powers like Bengal and the Carnatic. With fall of the Mughal empire, the territories under its reign witnessed chaos and were fragmented into small princely states. Regional rulers who had till now nourished dreams of throwing out the Mughals started waging bitter wars. States like Oudh (Awadh), Hyderabad, Punjab, and Mysore came to the fore.

In this unit, you will learn how the nawabs of Awadh and Hyderabad became puppets in the hands of the British. You will also study how the Sikhs, the Marathas and rulers of Mysore fought the British before accepting British sovereignty.

4.1 UNIT OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to:

- Explain how the British annexed Awadh
- Describe how the princely state of Hyderabad came under British subjugation

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- Analyse the Anglo-Sikh wars
- Outline the rise of Tipu Sultan and the interpret the Anglo-Mysore wars
- Discuss the historical background of the great Marathas
- List the causes and consequences of the Third Battle of Panipat
- Describe Marathas relations with the English East India Company
- Assess the causes of the failure of the Marathas

4.2 OUDH (AWADH)

The second half of the 18th century witnessed gradual expansion of the British East India Company's role in North India and this had a strong bearing on the economy and politics of Awadh. Until 1801, Awadh was treated as a buffer state protecting Bengal against the powers to the Marathas and the question of encroachment and annexation did not arise. It was only around the turn of the 19th century that Awadh became a block to further British expansion. This eventually led to the takeover of the province in 1856.

The enmity between Awadh and the English started in 1764 with the Battle of Buxar. In this battle, the English defeated the combined forces of the Nawab Shuja-ud-Daula of Awadh, Mughal emperor Shah Alam and Nawab of Bengal, Mir Qasim. After the battle, the Treaty of Allahabad was signed between Nawab of Awadh and the British. According to this treaty, Shuja-ud-Daula was allowed to retain Awadh. However, Kora and Allahabad were ceded to the Mughal emperor. A war indemnity of ₹50,00,000 to be paid in instalments was imposed on Shuja who entered into a reciprocal arrangement with the company for defence of each other's territory. The nawabs were aware of the company's burgeoning strength and aspirations and, like the Bengal nawabs, they were not prepared to let go without at least a semblance of a struggle. This assumed in the initial stages the form of a concerted drive against British commercial penetration of Awadh. Alongside, a major reorganization and reform of the Awadh army was initiated.

The military reforms initiated by Shuja-ud-Daula after the humiliation at Buxar were not intended to either intimidate the English or promote a war against them. Rather, it would seem that the overall military effort reflected the Nawab's anxiety to defend his political authority at a time when it was being steadily undermined by the alien company. For the Company, Awadh was too important and lucrative a province to be left alone. Its vast amount of revenue could be used to subsidize the company's armies. In carefully planned stages, the company stepped up its fiscal demands. In 1773 the first definitive treaty was concluded between Awadh and the English East India Company. By this treaty, the Nawab agreed to pay ₹2,10,000 monthly for each brigade of company troops that would remain present in Awadh or Allahabad. This provision established the beginning of Awadh's chronic indebtedness to the company and represented the initial British thrust into the region's political system.

It was in and after 1775 that the vulnerability of the nawabi came into sharp focus. It was also in these years, ironically enough, that the emergence of a provincial cultural identity centered on the new court and capital at Lucknow (the capital had been shifted from Fyzabad) was more clearly identifiable than before. Asaf-ud-Daula's succession to the throne in 1775 went without a hitch notwithstanding the

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hostility of some of Shuja' s courtiers and of the opposition faction of his brother Saadat Ali, the governor of Rohilkhand. Soon, however, under the stewardship of Murtaza Khan (Asaf's favorite who received the exalted title of Mukhtar-ud-Daula), the stability of the existing political set up was strengthened as older nobles and generals were displaced. Furthermore, Mukhtar allowed the Company to negotiate a treaty with the Nawab ceding to English control the territories surrounding Benaras, north to Jaunpur and west to Allahabad, then held by Chait Singh. The treaty also fixed a larger subsidy than before for the Company brigade and excluded the Mughal emperor from all future Anglo-Nawabi transactions. Finally all diplomatic transactions and foreign intelligence were to be controlled by the English through the Resident at the Nawab's court. The disintegration of the political system, the blatant intervention of the English in Awadh's affairs and Asaf-ud-Daula's excessively indulgent disposition and disregard of political affairs alarmed a sizeable section of the Awadh nobility. The situation worsened as troops were in arrears and at places mutinied. These acts of disturbance and lawlessness smoothened the way for British intervention. In the 1770s, the English East India Company persistently eroded the basis of Awadh's sovereignty. The rapid inroads of the English made by virtue of their military presence seriously undermined the Nawabi regime which in 1780 came up with the first declaration of protest. The supreme government in Calcutta was forced to realize that unremitting pressure on Awadh's resources could not be sustained indefinitely and that the excessive intervention of the English Resident would have to be curtailed if Awadh's usefulness as a subsidiary was to be guaranteed.

Thus, in 1784, Warren Hastings entered into a new series of arrangements with Asaf-ud-Daula which reduced the debt by ₹50 lakh and thereby the pressure on the Awadh regime. In the following decade and a half, the Awadh regime continued to function as a semi-autonomous regional power whose relations with the company were cordial. This state of affairs lasted until 1797, the year of Asaf's demise, when the British once more intervened in the succession issue. Wazir Ali, Asaf's chosen successor, was deposed in favour of Saadat Ali. With Saadat Ali a formal treaty was signed on 21 February 1798 which increased the subsidy to ₹76 lakh yearly.

A more forward policy was initiated by Lord Wellesley who arrived in 1798 only to reject the Awadh system. The Nawab's declaration of inability to pay the increased financial demand of the company gave Wellesley a suitable pretext to contemplate annexation. In September 1801, Henry Wellesley arrived in Lucknow to force Saadat's surrender of his whole territory. After protracted negotiations, the company accepted the perpetual sovereignty of Rohilkhand, Gorakhpur and the Doab which yielded a gross amount of ₹1 crore 35 lakh. The annexations inaugurated a new era in Anglo-Awadh relations. The shrunken subah could no longer pose a threat to the stability of the Company dominions nor did the rulers of Awadh entertain any notion of resistance to the relentless forward march of the English. Deprived of their army and half of their territory, they concentrated their energies in cultural pursuits.

In this, they were following the footsteps of Asaf-ud-Daula who had built up around the Lucknow court a vibrant and living cultural arena. The patronage extended to luminaries and poets like Mirza Rafi Sauda (1713-86) and Mir Ghulam Hasan (1734–86). Lucknow had been a second home for these sensitive men of letters who had left Delhi and lamented for the world they had loved and lost. The assumption of imperial status by Ghazi-ud-din-Hyder (1819) and the formal revocation of Mughal sovereignty was an integral part of the blooming court culture of Awadh. But this

coincided with the decline in the ruler's control over the administration and province. The heavy price that had to be continually paid to the Company for 'protection', the devolution of administrative responsibility to ministers, and the dominant position of the British Resident, were facts which no regal pomp and ceremony could conceal.

The Nawab of Awadh had many heirs and could not, therefore, be covered by the Doctrine of Lapse. Some other pretext had to be found for depriving him of his dominions. Finally, Lord Dalhousie hit upon the idea of alleviating the plight of the people of Awadh. Nawab Wajid Ali Shah was accused of having misgoverned his state and of refusing to introduce reforms. His state was, therefore, annexed in 1856. Undoubtedly, the degeneration of the administration of Awadh was a painful reality for its people.

4.3 HYDERABAD

Six Deccan subahs of the Mughal Empire made up the area of Hyderabad. Since the Mughals were constantly involved in a struggle with the warring Marathas, they had neglected to consolidate the newly-conquered Deccan region. After Aurangzeb had died, an ambitious Zulfiqar Khan, who had hitherto been the strongest and most influential general of Aurangzeb, vowed to seize control of the Deccan subahs. To do so, he decided to befriend the Mughal enemies—the Marathas—and entered into a secret pact with them. Since Khan was a Shia Muslim, his ambition was to establish a Shia kingdom where Bijapur and Golconda had been. But he was not the only one with his eye on the coveted prize of these two states. Chin Qilich Kahan (later known as Nizam-ul-Mulk Asaf Jah) was a powerful mansabdar who also wanted to set up an independent state in the Deccan.

Zulfiqar Khan and Chin Qilich Khan had been enemies for a long time, since they belonged to two warring camps in the Mughal court—Irani and Turani. However, after Aurangzeb died, Zulfiqar Khan had a slight edge because his father Asad Khan, had been the wazir in Aurangzeb's time and managed to maintain his influence for much longer after the Emperor died. Zulfiqar came even closer to realizing his ambition when in 1708, he was granted the vice-royalty of the Deccan by Bahadur Shah I. He held that post until his death in 1713 at the hands of his killer, Farrukh-Siyar.

Immediately after Aurangzeb died, as was the norm, his sons started fighting among themselves to take over the throne. However, Chin Qilich Khan remained neutral at his post in Bijapur. He was made the governor of Awadh and Faujdar of Gorakhpur by Bahadur Shah on 9 December 1707. He was thus removed from Bijapur where his ambitions had lain. When Bahadur Shah eventually came close to the end of his reign, Chin Qilich Khan rejoined public service because he saw another opportunity for gaining power. However, the reigns of the Deccan were handed over to Nizam-ul-Mulk in 1713 by Farrukh-Siyar, who gave Nizam-ul-Mulk prestigious titles like Khan Khana and Bahadur Fatehjang in return for his services. The new Governor, Nizam-ul-Mulk, was an ambitious man and aspired to rule the Deccan region independently of the Mughal interference.

Nizam-ul-Mulk was a shrewd and tactful administrator. He wanted to suppress the Marathas and to do so, he put a stop to the payment of 'chauth' and incited the already proud and selfish Maratha chiefs against the Sahu. In the meantime, at the Delhi court a number of political intrigues were brewing and as a result, Nizam-ul-

Check Your Progress

1. When did Lord Wellesley come to India?
2. How did Dalhousie annex Awadh?
3. In 1773 the first definitive treaty was concluded between Awadh and the English East India Company. (True/False)

Mulk was summoned from the Deccan close to the end of 1715 and replaced by Husain Ali. Nizam-ul-Mulk was sent to control Muradabad and later to Bihar. While he was still preparing to assume charge of his new duties Farrukh-Siyar fell and Nizam-ul-Mulk was transferred again, this time to Malwa. This time, he received the pledge that he would not be transferred again.

It was finally in Malwa that Nizam-ul-Mulk came into his own as a great leader. He became so popular that the Sayyid brother became jealous of him and he was summoned back to the court. However, Nizam-ul-Mulk was not happy with this decision and rebelled against it—he led the army to take control of Asirgarh in May 1720 and three days later, Burhanpur. The Sayyid brothers sent Sayyid Dilawar Ali Khan and Alam Ali Khan to overcome Nizam-ul-Mulk. However, Dilawar Ali Khan tasted defeat in June 1720 and Alam Ali Khan was killed in the battle. Husain Ali was also murdered when he was on his way to the Deccan, on 8 October 1720. Sayyid Abdullah was also killed soon after.

Once the Sayyid brothers were out of his way, Nizam-ul-Mulk appointed himself the ruler of the six subahs of the Deccan and shifted his attention to overpowering the Marathas. In February 1722, his feats were recognized by the Mughal ruler and he was granted the office of the Wazir of the Mughal Empire, which he remained until 1724. He was a strict disciplinarian and tried to rule the court with an iron hand. However, the hangers-on at the court did not like this. They spread stories about him to the king. As a wazir, his tenure was highly dissatisfying for him, even though he managed to add Malwa and Gujarat to the Deccan area.

Once he found out that he was not appreciated at the court, he left for the Deccan without taking leave of the emperor. Obviously, the emperor felt insulted and appointed Mubariz Khan as the Viceroy of the Deccan and ordered the new Viceroy to bring the Nizam to the court, dead or alive. But the Nizam was not so easily defeated and he killed Mubariz Khan and sent his head to the emperor instead. Nizam-ul-Mulk also defeated Mubariz Khan's son and overtook the reigns of Hyderabad in early 1725.

The historian, Irvine, writes, 'From this period may be dated Nizam-ul-Mulk's virtual independence and the foundation of the present Hyderabad state.' The Nizam started his rule in earnest and appointed officers for various posts, besides promoting his favorites and conferring titles upon the deserving officers. He also issued assignments on land revenue according to his own idea of administration. While in all other ways, he was like a king, he refrained from overt royal manifestations like the use of scarlet or imperial umbrella, the recitation of the Friday prayer in his own name and the issue of coins stamped with his own superscription.

Nizam-ul-Malik was an intelligent ruler and gauged the intentions of the Marathas, specifically Peshwa Baji Rao I, to oppose his independent rule in the Deccan. He decided thus to take preventive measures. At the same time, there were many Maratha chieftains who were dissatisfied with the Peshwa and the Nizam got them to his side. The battle between the Nizam and supporters and Peshwa Baji Rao I continued for five years—from 1727 to 1732. In 1728, the Nizam was defeated at Palkhed. His main supporter, Senapati Trimbak Rao Dabhade, was killed later in 1731.

Nizam-ul-Mulk realized that he needed to negotiate a mutually beneficial treaty with the Peshwa, who also wanted peace after such a long period of strife and wanted Nizam's support for his expeditions to the north. The two leaders managed

to reach a compromise in December 1732 which gave the Nizam freedom to expand his empire in the south and the Peshwa to expand his empire in the north.

When Peshwa Baji Rao I suddenly died soon after, the Nizam was summoned by the emperor and he reached Delhi in July 1737. Here, the Nizam was given the title of Asaf Jah. The Nizam then proceeded to Malwa but was overpowered by Peshwa Baji Rao near Bhopal and forced to sign a humiliating peace treaty in January 1738. The Nizam had to sign away the subedari of Malwa to Baji Rao as well as the area between rivers Narmada and Chambal.

After the attack of Nadir Shah on the Mughal India, the Nizam was summoned to Delhi by the emperor who wanted the Nizam to finalize a peace treaty with Nadir Shah. The Nizam succeeded in this task but it didn't amount to much due to the intervention of Saadat Ali Khan.

Nizam-ul-Mulk controlled the Deccan region until he died in 1748. He maintained his loyalty to the Mughal ruler and rejected Nadir Shah's offer of gaining control of the throne in Delhi. Not only was Nizam-ul-Mulk an able general and a thoughtful, progressive administrator but he was a shrewd statesman and diplomat as well. He helped to uplift the regions under his reigns financially by successfully suppressing the refractory chiefs, over-ambitious officers and robbers. He promoted trade through his measured revenue assessment and taxation policies. Religion-wise also, he was tolerant and progressive. His right hand man was Puran Chand, designated as Diwan.

After Nizam-ul-Mulk died, a war of succession followed which ultimately became interlinked with the Anglo-French dispute in the Deccan. It was finally in 1762 that India reached a level of political stability when Nizam Ali came to the throne and ruled for over 40 years. After the English East India company started to establish itself, and Lord Wellesley was the administrator, the Nizam entered into a subsidiary alliance with them and became their ally.

4.4 PUNJAB

Ranjit Singh made himself the master of Punjab. The first regular contact between Ranjit Singh and the British seems to have been made in 1800, when India was threatened by an invasion of Zaman Shah, the Afghan ruler who had been invited by Tipu Sultan, a bitter enemy of the British. As a precautionary measure, the British sent Munshi Yusuf Ali to the court of Ranjit Singh with rich presents to win the Maharaja over to the British side. Soon, however, he learnt that the danger of Zaman Shah's invasion receded and Yusaf Ali was recalled.

The second contact was made in 1805, when the Maratha chief Holkar entered Punjab with help from Ranjit Singh. Ranjit Singh had gone to conquer Multan and Jhang but came to Amritsar on learning about Holkar's arrival. He called a meeting of a Sarbat Khalsa to decide about the policy to be followed towards Holkar. Fateh Singh Ahluwalia and Bhag Singh of Jind advised Ranjit Singh not to come in conflict with the British by helping Holkar. Ranjit Singh told Holkar politely that he would not help him against the British. General Lake and Maharaja Ranjit Singh concluded an agreement in January, 1806.

Check Your Progress

4. What were the designations of Zulfiqar Khan and Chin Qilich Khan?
5. Who replaced Nizam-ul-Mulk as the Governor of Deccan?
6. Who all joined the nizam in his fight against Peshwa Baji Rao I?
7. Bahadur Shah removed Chin Qilich Khan from the Deccan and made him the Governor of _____ and _____of Gorakhpur.

As the danger of French invasion on India became remote, the English adopted a stern policy towards Ranjit Singh. He was given a note by the governor general Metcalfe which contained some soft-worded warnings against his aggressive policy. Ranjit Singh was asked to restore all the places he had taken possession of since 1806 to the former possessors which will confine his army right to the bank of the Sutlej. Ranjit Singh was not prepared to accept the demand. However, he withdrew his troops from Ambala and Saniwal but continued to retain Faridkot. Ranjit Singh fortified the fort of Govindgarh. But in the last stage, Ranjit Singh changed his mind and agreed to sign the Treaty of Amritsar in 1809.

One of the effects of the treaty of Amritsar was that the British government was able to take the Sutlej states under its protection. Ranjit Singh's advance in the east was checked but he was given a carte blanche so far as the region to the west of the Sutlej was concerned.

The death of Maharaja Ranjit Singh in June 1839 was followed by political instability and rapid changes of government in the Punjab. Selfish and corrupt leaders came to the front. Ultimately, power fell into the hands of the brave and patriotic but utterly indisciplined army. This led the British to look greedily across the Sutlej upon the land of the five rivers even though they had signed a treaty in 1809. Figure 4.1 shows a map displaying the kingdom of Maharaja Ranjit Singh.

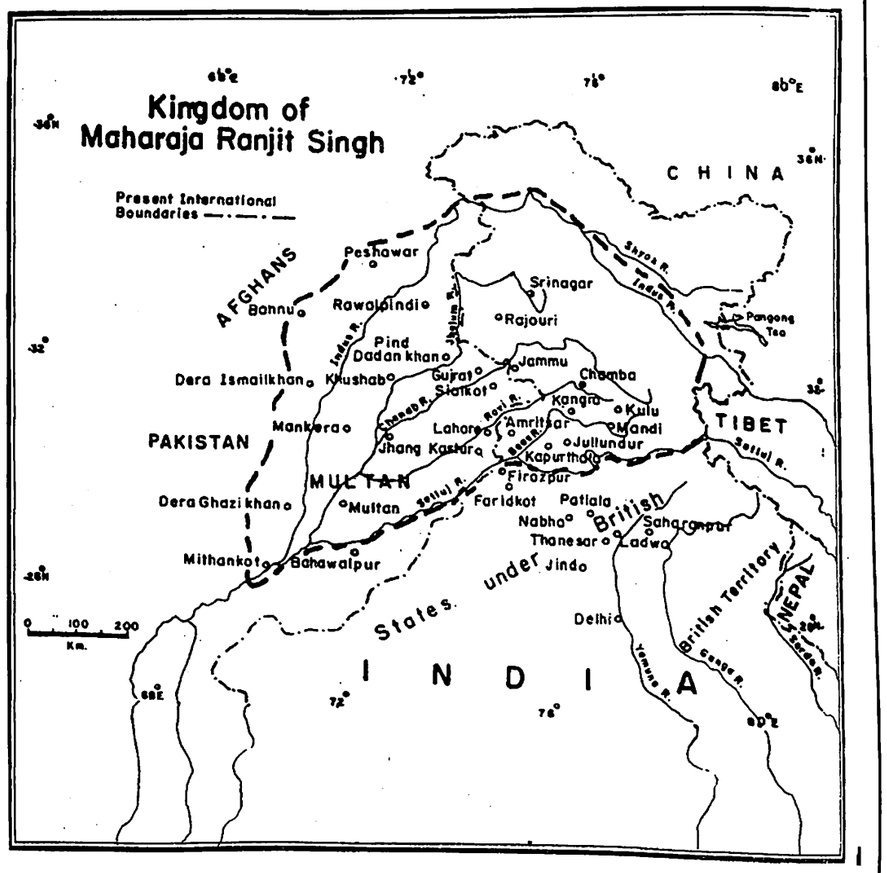


Figure 4.1 Kingdom of Maharaja Ranjit Singh

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4.4.1 First Anglo-Sikh War (1845–1846)

The First Anglo-Sikh War was fought at Mudki on 18 December 1845 and the Sikhs were defeated. The English again won the battle at Ferozepur on December 21. The Sikhs, under Ranjit Singh Majithia, however, defeated the English at Buddwal on 21 January 1846. But, the Sikhs were again defeated at Aliwal on January 28. The decisive battle was fought at Sobraon on 10 February 1846 and the Sikhs were routed. The English then crossed the Sutlej on February 13 and captured the capital of Lahore on February 20. As the Sikhs were absolutely beaten, many people advised Lord Hardinge to annex the Empire, but he did not accept this.

The war came to an end by the Treaty of Lahore which was signed on 9th March, 1846. This treaty left the Sikhs with no capacity for resisting the English. Another treaty was made with the Sikhs on 16 December 1846. This treaty is known as the 'Second Treaty of Lahore' or the 'Treaty of Bhairowal'.

4.4.2 Second Anglo-Sikh War (1848–1849)

The Sikhs considered their defeat in the first Sikh War as a great humiliation. They had been accustomed to victories during the time of Ranjit Singh and this defeat gave a rude shock to their mentality. The Sikhs wanted to restore the fallen fortunes of their kingdom and the Second Anglo-Sikh War was fought between them in 1848–1849.

Lord Gough, the British Commander-in-Chief, reached Lahore with the grand army of the Punjab on 13 November. On 22 November, the rebels were defeated in a battle at Ramnagar. Another indecisive action was fought at Sadullapur on 3 December.

4.4.3 Third Anglo-Sikh War (1849)

The third battle was fought on 13 January 1849 at Chelianwala. On 21 February, Lord Gough met the Sikhs in another battle at Derajat. The Sikhs were utterly defeated. They surrendered themselves at Rawalpindi.

The complete defeat of the Sikhs sealed the fate of their kingdom. Lord Dalhousie, on his own responsibility, annexed Punjab on 29 March, 1849.

The annexation of Punjab extended the British territories in India up to the natural frontiers of India towards the north-west. Besides, after the destruction of the power of the Sikhs, there remained no active power which could pose a threat to the security of the English in India.

Check Your Progress

8. What happened in 1846?
9. Who were the parties of Treaty of Lahore?
10. When was Punjab annexed?
11. When was the first regular contact made between Ranjit Singh and the British?

4.5 MYSORE

Mysore, which lies between the two Ghats—the eastern and western—were ruled by the Wodeyar dynasty. However, between 1731 and 34 there began a fierce contest between Devaraja, the head of the army, and his brother Naniaraja, the guardian of the state's finances, to gain suzerainty over Mysore. Corresponding to this phase, the entire Deccan had become a battleground for several powers, namely, Marathas, the Nizam, English and the French.

Owing to frequent Maratha invasions, Mysore had become financially insolvent, making it more susceptible to attacks. Being under Mughal suzerainty earlier, Mysore, in the Nizam's eyes, was a legitimate part of his kingdom.

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Hence, began the scramble for power over Mysore between the Peshwa and the Nizam. The French and the English also became a part of this struggle with the involvement of the English during the Second Carnatic War. Nanaraja had approached the English for help. However, loyalty towards the French later, embroiled both the English and the French in the political tussle in Deccan.

4.5.1 Haider Ali (1760–1782)

Hyder Ali was a great Indian general whose outstanding martial splendour saw him become the factual ruler of the Kingdom of Mysore in south-western India. Haider Ali's father, Fatah Mohammad, belonged to the lineage of Qurush of Mecca, and was an administrative servant in Mysore. From such humble parentage, Haider Ali brought himself into limelight by annexing Devanhalli in 1749 and by raiding Hyderabad and amassing a large booty. Using the looted resources, he strengthened his army. With French aid, Haider Ali trained his troops as well. In 1775, as *faujdar* of Dindigul he brought the Poligars under his control. Soon, with the help of French engineers, he set up an arsenal.

Subsequently, using the enmity that existed between the Raja of Mysore and Nanajaraja, he took over the reins of administration in his own hands in 1761, making the Raja, a de jure head, who had practically no powers and received a fixed amount as pension. Interestingly, Haider Ali never wanted to proclaim himself with a new title or establish a new dynasty as an independent ruler. Even the term 'Sultan', in the name of his son and successor Tipu Sultan, did not denote any title, but was a part of the name.

In 1760, Haider Ali was defeated by the Marathas. He could only establish himself firmly after the Battle of Panipat, where the Marathas faced a humiliating defeat. During the period between 1764 and 1776, Haider Ali was engaged in constant wars with the Marathas, whom he managed to appease by offering a huge booty or by granting territories.

However, post 1776, Haider Ali retrieved all lands granted earlier, and brought under his sway the strategically significant areas lying in the Krishna–Tungabhadra Doab. His stance posed to be most challenging to the English. He overwhelmed the English in the First Anglo–Mysore War (1767–69) with the help of the French and the Nizam and in 1769 compelled them to draw an embarrassing pact with him. During the Second Anglo–Mysore War (1780–84) he faced the English with a combined army comprising the Nizam and the Maratha forces. In 1782, Arcot was annexed by Haider after crushing the English forces. However, on 7 December 1782 Haider Ali died during the course of the war. His son Tipu Sultan took over the reins of Mysore to fulfill his father's unaccomplished mission and carried on fighting against the English.

4.5.2 Tipu Sultan (1782–99)

The eldest son of Hyder Ali, Tipu ascended the throne on his father's death in 1782, following the Second MysoreWar. The Second Anglo–Mysore War, which was prolonged further under Tipu Sultan's leadership, finally ended in 1784 when both parties had been waned of their resources. The Treaty of Mangalore was drawn in March 1784, and both parties agreed to compensate each other for the losses suffered.

Under Tipu Sultan, Mysore's hegemony increased further; this caused its foes, the Marathas and the Nizam, to ally against him. But, showing his astounding military

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skills, Tipu Sultan resisted such attempts and defeated them. This in turn prompted the Marathas and the Nizam to look for help from the English, who wanted to take revenge of their earlier defeat. This culminated into the Third Anglo–Mysore War (1790–92). With the cooperation of the Marathas and the Nizam, the English proceeded to Srirangapatnam.

Despite putting up a fierce resistance, Tipu Sultan failed to quell the combined forces for long. The Treaty of Srirangapatnam was signed in March 1792, owing to which Tipu Sultan had to give away more than fifty per cent of his kingdom. In 1799, with the conclusion of the Fourth Anglo–Mysore War, Tipu Sultan lost his suzerainty completely. The Fourth Anglo–Mysore War was triggered by English accusations against Tipu of having conspired with the Marathas and the Nizam to launch an attack against the English in India. They claimed that to attain his goal, Tipu had sent embassies to Arabia, Afghanistan, the French in Mauritius and to Versailles.

Lord Wellesley as Governor-General of India became increasingly concerned at Tipu Sultan's growing power and acquisitions. Though Tipu had put up a brave resistance against the English, he lost his life in May 1799 during the course of the war. With Tipu's demise, Mysore lost its autonomy and the English finally became successful in ousting their most formidable foe. The East India Company captured larger portions of Mysore state. Following Lord Wellesley's subsidiary alliance, a minor from the Hindu royal family was put on the throne of Mysore.

Haider Ali and Tipu Sultan were remarkable rulers of the second half of 18th century. They were benevolent and allowed the practice of all religions. As the Peshwa remained subordinate to Shahu and accepted the latter as the de jure head of the state, so also Haider Ali refrained from assuming any title. However, in 1786 Tipu Sultan proclaimed himself to be the Sultan after dethroning the king. Coins belonging to Haider and Tipu's regime show images of Hindu deities and refer to the Hindu calendar, which reflect on the tolerant attitude of the rulers.

Jagadguru Shankaracharya of Sringeri was greatly regarded by Tipu Sultan and the latter had even provided monetary aid for the restoration of temples. Being competent rulers Haider and Tipu were also great patrons of architecture. It is interesting to note that Tipu Sultan even tried to restructure his administration according to the Western model, a novel step initiated for the first time by an Indian ruler. He considered the Almighty to be the real sovereign for whom his subjects had complete faith. He encouraged trade, both internal and foreign. He looked after the welfare of the peasants. He was fair and just with judicial disputes. Office holders in his administration were selected because of their merit and not owing to their lineage to a particular social strata, race or religion. Hence, the dynamism of the reign of Haider Ali and Tipu Sultan has left a permanent mark in the history of India as no other sovereign of the period showed such vibrancy.

Did You Know

Tipu was commonly known as the Tiger of Mysore and adopted this animal as the symbol of his rule.

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4.5.3 First Anglo-Mysore War (1767-69)

To oust Haider Ali, the Nizam of Hyderabad and the Marathas joined hands with the English. This led to the First Anglo–Mysore War (1767–69). The key factors that led to the war are listed below.

- Haider Ali's desire to oust the English from the Carnatic and establish his suzerainty, and the English apprehension of him being an obstacle to their imperial designs.
- The formation of a coalition among the English the Nizam and the Marathas to expel Haider Ali.
- Haider Ali's proclamation of war against the English after being able to split the tripartite coalition formed against him.

Being a competent general and an astute diplomat, Haider Ali was able to rupture the coalition formed against him. Following his instructions, Tipu Sultan paid a visit to the Nizam and appeased him by addressing him at the Nizam's court as Nasib-ud-daulah (the Fortune of the State) and Fateh Ali Khan Bahadur. Tipu always provided with the necessary aid whenever required. In Tiruvannamalai, when Haider was embroiled in a difficult situation Tipu saved his father. Their combined efforts won them the forts of Tiruppatur and Vaniyambadi. With the annexation of Mangalore by Tipu, Haider drove out the English from the Malabar Coast. This crystallized into the signing of the Treaty of Madras between the English and Haider Ali, whereby the English had to comply with Haider's demands.

Treaty of Madras (1769)

The signatories of this treaty were Haider Ali and the East India Company with its allies – the Raja of Tanjore and the sovereign of Malabar. The clauses of the treaty were as follows:

- Apart from Karur and its districts, which would remain with the ruler of Mysore, the other annexed territories would be restored back.
- Each party to the treaty was to be mutually responsible to help each other if attacked. Prisoners belonging to the Madras government were to be freed by Haider Ali.
- The Raja of Tanjore was to be accepted as friend of Haider Ali.
- The Bombay Presidency and English factories were to get back their trading benefits.

4.5.4 Second Anglo-Mysore War (1780-84)

The important events that led to the outbreak of the Second Anglo–Mysore War are listed as follows:

- When the Marathas attacked Haider Ali in 1771, the English refused to come to Haider's aid, thereby refuting the clause of mutual assistance as agreed earlier in the Treaty of Madras. The antagonism between the English and the French during the American War of Independence was extended to the Indian soil. As Haider was an ally of the French, the hostility against the French was directed against Haider too. Mahe, a French settlement in Haider Ali's territories, was captured by the English.
- Haider Ali created anti-English coalition with the Nizam and Marathas in 1779.

The attack on Mahe by the English triggered the Second Anglo–Mysore war (1780–84). Haider and Tipu immediately proceeded to strike Arcot, the capital of Carnatic, to oust the English from the Carnatic, and simultaneously attacked Porto Novo where the offensive was led by Karim, Haider's second son. At Perambakkam, where Tipu disrupted the troops led by Baillie, the English suffered defeat. Tipu's constant assaults on Baillie's troops, prevented the latter from reaching and annexing Conjeeveram. When Tipu advanced his offensive against Baillie, the latter mistook Tipu's extremely disciplined infantry to be English troops, headed by Hector Munro, sent to his aid. At the end, Baillie had no option but to accept defeat. Thomas Munro had commented that Baillie's defeat was 'the severest blow that the English ever sustained in India.'

But, Haider had made a slight miscalculation. While Tipu was fighting Baillie, if he had ousted Munro too, he could have also captured Madras. But he sent Tipu armed with a small contingent after Munro. Such was the progress of events in the earlier half of September 1780. Thereafter Tipu made a series of annexations: Arcot, Satghur, Ambar and Tiagar forts. His plan to advance to Wandiwash was marred when he learned about Haider's defeat at Porto Novo.

After ousting Col. Braithwaite at Tanjore in February 1782, Tipu, with French assistance, proceeded to annex the Malabar Coast, but knowing about his father's death, he had to withdraw. On 7 December 1782, Haider Ali died at Narasingarayanpet near Chittoor. It is believed that he died from multiple carbuncles. To prevent any outbreak of any possible rebellion in the army, his death was not declared till the time Tipu arrived. Tipu became Haider's successor to a huge empire that stretched from river Krishna in the north to Travancore and Tinnevelly in the south, Eastern Ghats in the east and the Arabian Sea in the west. He declared himself as Nawab Tipu Sultan Bahadur. After consolidating his newly acquired empire, he resumed the Anglo–Mysore War. However, in 1784, the parties of the war were too tired to continue further. They understood the need to conclude a peaceful treaty and concluded the Treaty of Mangalore on 11 March 1784.

Treaty of Mangalore (1784)

The Treaty of Mangalore was signed between Tipu Sultan and the British East India Company on 11 March 1784. It was signed in Mangalore and brought an end to the Second Anglo-Mysore War.

The terms of the treaties were as follows:

- None of the parties could offer direct or indirect help to the foes of any party to the treaty. Neither could they declare war against any of the allies of the parties to the treaty. Apart from restoring the former trading benefits granted by Haider Ali in 1770 to the Company, no further privileges were to be given.
- Except the Amboorgur and Satgur forts, the parties acceded to grant the territories back. Tipu also promised to refrain from raising any cause of contention over the Carnatic. Around 1,680 captives of war were to be freed by Tipu.
- Tipu consented to reinstate all benefits enjoyed by the Company until 1779 as well as the factory at Calicut.

In return, Tipu Sultan gained back all territories, which he had lost to the English during the war. Both sides mutually agreed to refrain from helping each other's foes, directly or indirectly, or to declare war against their allies. Owing to this clause, the Treaty of Salbai became inconsequential.

Consequence: For Tipu, the Treaty of Mangalore was a great diplomatic feat. The treaty was beneficial for the English who signed it when they realized that they could not afford to continue with the war further. With this treaty, Tipu got an opportunity to strengthen his position, and look into the organization of the administrative machineries and army. He emulated his administrative structure on the Mughal and Western models and named it Sarkar-i-Khudadad (Government given by God). As Dodwell observes, 'Tipu was the first Indian sovereign to seek to apply western methods to his administration'.

4.5.5 Third Anglo-Mysore War (1790-92)

Pursuing his father's dream of gaining control over southern India, in 1789, Tipu struck Travancore. This aroused Cornwallis' apprehensions of affecting British interests. Even the Marathas and the Nizam were more skeptical about Mysore's annexation policies than that of the English. Fear of Tipu became the common ground for the English, Marathas and Nizam for forging a coalition against him. In 1790, the English planned a three-pronged attack and advanced towards Mysore. General Medows headed the army towards Coimbatore, while another brigade proceeded towards the Malabar Coast. However, seeing Tipu's prompt defensive measures, Lord Cornwallis decided to head the English troops. After annexing Bangalore, Cornwallis proceeded to Srirangapattinam. Though Tipu had managed to put the English forces under pressure by cutting off their food supplies, the Marathas rescued the latter by providing them with large quantities of grain. When the English occupied Srirangapattinam in January 1792, Tipu had got no other option but to agree to the Treaty of Srirangapattinam (23 February 1792).

Causes of Third Anglo–Mysore War

The key factors that led to the Third Anglo–Mysore War are listed as follows:

- Tipu's accomplishment in consolidating his empire internally through several reforms made his stance against the other powers more formidable
- Tipu's policy of annexation posed a serious threat to the British, Nizam and Marathas
- Tipu's plans to seek the help of France and Turkey against the British as evident by the envoys he sent to these countries posed a direct threat to British interests
- Tipu's policy of annexation, incorporating the territories of his neighbouring kingdoms, namely, the kingdom of the Raja of Travancore, an ally of the British (1789), aroused British apprehensions.

Treaty of Srirangapatna

The parties to the treaty were Tipu Sultan and the English along with their allies. The terms of the treaty are listed as follows:

- Former treaties between the English and the sovereigns of Mysore were reaffirmed.
- Fifty per cent of Tipu's territories were to be distributed among the allies of the British.
- Tipu had to pay three crores and thirty lakh rupees, in gold or bullions, as indemnity. Out of this amount, a crore and sixty-five lakh rupees, had to

NOTES

be paid immediately, while the remaining amount could be paid in three installments, within the span of a year.

- All captives of war were to be freed.
- Till the time, the treaty was completely realized, Tipu's two sons, Abdul Khaliq (eight years) and Muiz-ud-din (five years old), to remain in English custody. Both of them were looked after well and it is believed that Cornwallis had even gifted them gold watches.

The main cause of Tipu Sultan's failure was that he had three foes that had to keep under control individually. If Tipu were given the task of only tackling the English, he would have been successful. Such an assumption is confirmed by Cornwallis' comment, 'Tipu's looties were the best troops in the world for they were always doing something to harass their enemies' and Munro's observation that 'Cornwallis could not have reduced Tipu without the assistance of the Marathas.'

Another reason for Tipu's failure lay in the fact that he was stronger in his offensive attacks than in his defensive actions. Hence he remained unsuccessful in defending Bangalore and Srirangapattinam. Also, had he decided to proceed beyond Arikere on 15 May 1791 after defeating the English troops and taking advantage of their weakness he would have inflicted formidable damage to them. Even Haider Ali had made a similar miscalculation during the Second Anglo–Mysore War However, it must be noted that the European army was generally superior to the Tipu's forces as they had access to more advanced military equipments and had a more structured military organization.

Despite having modernized their troops Haider Ali and Tipu Sultan failed to raise an equally strong infantry and artillery as possessed by the English army. The English enjoyed the advantage of getting constant supplies of men, money and material from England, as well as from the Nizam and the Marathas. However, Tipu had to constantly struggle to maintain his supplies of recruits and money as they were often disrupted by Maratha incursions. Overcoming all such drawbacks, Tipu had faced the English and their allies bravely and had kept them at bay for almost two years. Even after the Treaty of Srirangapattinam, his indomitable spirit could not be dampened. The English had realized that without surrendering Mysore, they could not become the 'Power Paramount' in India. This led Lord Wellesley, as soon as he became Governor-General, to draw Tipu Sultan into the Subsidiary Alliance, and Tipu's reluctance perpetuated the Fourth Anglo–Mysore War (March–May 1799).

4.5.6 Fourth Anglo-Mysore War (March-May 1799)

The primary causes behind Fourth Anglo–Mysore War have been listed below:

- Tipu Sultan's determination to win back his lost territories and his ability to make Mysore regain its strength
- Tipu's attempts to obtain aid from France and the Muslims of Arabia, Kabul and Turkey to oust the English from India
- Lord Wellesley's firm plan to eliminate all possibilities of attack from Mysore permanently

By forging a neutral pact with its allies against Tipu, the English again followed a three –pronged offensive: one under General Harris, the second led by General Stewart, and the third headed by Arthur Wellesley marched from three different directions on Tipu's kingdom.

Check Your Progress

12. What are the factors that led to the first Anglo-Mysore war in 1767?
13. Who all signed the Treaty of Mardas?
14. When did Haider Ali die?
15. Who succeeded Tipu after his death?
16. The third Anglo–Mysore war started in_____.

NOTES

Stewart defeated Tipu Sultan at Sedasere on 8 March while Harris inflicted a crushing blow on 27 March. On 17 April Srirangapattinam was besieged and Mir Sadiq, betrayed Tipu and allowed the English to attack the fort. Despite putting up a brave fight, Tipu was killed on 4 May 1799. Lord Wellesley succeeded in imposing the subsidiary alliance by placing Krishnaraja, a descendant of Woodeyar dynasty on the throne.

4.6 MARATHAS

During the Mughal rule, a powerful group emerged in the Deccan known as the Marathas. They were great warriors. When the Bahmani empire collapsed, many Hindu kingdoms rose to high positions, the Marathas were among them. The Deccan then consisted of the present region of Maharashtra and north Karnataka.

Shivaji and Peshwa Baji Rao were the prominent Maratha rulers and they challenged the supremacy of the Mughal empire. But the Third Battle of Panipat shattered the dream of the Marathas to establish their supremacy on whole India and gave the opportunity to the East India Company to establish its rule on India.

4.6.1 Historical Background of the Marathas

At the beginning of the 17th century, most of the territory in Maharashtra was under the possession of the Nizam Shah of Ahmadnagar and Adil Shah of Bijapur. They took the help of local Marathi speaking people to run their administration. They recruited a large number of Maratha sardars and soldiers in their armies. The Mores, Ghatages, Nimbalkars, Jadhavs, Gorpades, Sawants and Bhonsales were sardar families who rose to fame during the sixteenth and seventeenth century. The Desphandes and Deshmukhs traditionally performed the duty of collecting land revenue. They were granted tax free land in return for their services. Such a land grant was called *watan*.

Shahji Bhonsle

The Bhonsle family of the Poona district acquired military and political prominence in the Ahmadnagar kingdom at the close of the 16th century. Shahji Bhonsle was the major ruler of this clan and he was married to Jija Bai. He sought his fortune under the Sultan of Bijapur and had his jagir at Poona.

Shivaji

Shivaji was the son of Shahji Bhonsle. When he was fourteen years old, his father entrusted the administration of Poona *jagir* to him. The peasants living in Shivaji's *jagir* had grown tired of the despotic rule of the *Watandars*. Shivaji's administration responded to the aspirations of the masses. Shivaji realized that he could establish a welfare state for the benefit of his subjects only by controlling the neighbouring forts and building new ones.

Shivaji showed his mettle at the young age of eighteen, when he overran a number of hill forts near Poona—Rajgarh, Kondana and Torana —in the years 1645–1647. Shivaji began his real career of conquest in 1656, when he conquered Javli from the Maratha chief, Chandra Rao More. The Mughal invasion of Bijapur in 1657 saved Shivaji from Bijapuri reprisal. In 1659, Bijapur, free from the Mughal

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menace, sent in army against Shivaji under Afzal Khan, whom he murdered treacherously. In 1660, a combined Mughal–Bijapuri campaign started against Shivaji. In 1663, Shivaji made a surprise night attack on Poona, wounded Shaista Khan (maternal uncle of Aurangzeb) and killed one of his sons. In 1665, Purandhar Fort, at the centre of Shivaji's territory was besieged by Jai Singh and a treaty was signed between the two. Shivaji's visit to Agra and his escape from detention in 1666, proved to be the turning point for Mughal relations with the Marathas.

The Treaty of Purandhar was signed in 1665, according to which Shivaji agreed to help the Mughals against Bijapur. Shivaji ceded 23 forts to the Mughals and agreed to visit the imperial court of Aurangzeb. Shivaji reached Agra in 1666, and was admitted in the hall of public audience. The Emperor gave him a cold reception by making him stand among the *mansabdars*. A humiliated and angry Shivaji, walked out of the court. He was put under house arrest, along with his son. However, they tricked their guards and managed to escape in a basket of sweets which was to be sent as a gift to the Brahmins. Shivaji reached Maharashtra in September, 1666. After consolidating his position and reorganizing his administration, Shivaji renewed his war with the Mughals and gradually recovered many of his forts.

Shivaji declared himself the independent ruler of the Maratha kingdom and was crowned Chattrapati in 1674. Politically speaking, two factors contributed to the rise of Maratha power under Shivaji. These were as follows:

- The comparatively advantageous position of the Marathas under the Deccan Sultanates
- The threat to Bijapur and Golkonda from the annexationist policy of the Mughal Empire

The saints and writers of Maharashtra played a significant role in provoking and sustaining the national spirit of the Marathas. Among the saints, special mention should be made of the following:

- Jnaneswar and Namdev (13th and 14th centuries)
- Eknath and Tukaram (15th and 16th centuries)
- Ramdas (17th century)

Apart from the above reasons, Mughal's control over the Deccan had weakened. Secondly the Marathas had worked out a revenue system by which they attained large revenue and could maintain strong armies.

Shivaji's coronation symbolized the rise of people to challenge the might of the Mughals. By coronating himself king under the title '*Haindava Dharmodharak*' of the new and independent state *Hindavi Swarajya*, Shivaji proclaimed to the world that he was not just a rebel son of a Sardar in Bijapur court, but equal to any other ruler in India. Only a coronation could give Shivaji the legitimate right to collect revenue from the land and levy tax on the people. This source of income was necessary to sustain the treasury of the new kingdom.

Administration

Shivaji laid the foundations of a sound system of administration. His system of administration was largely borrowed from the administrative practices of the Deccan states. Although he designated eight ministers, sometimes called the '*ashtapradhan*', it was not in the nature of a council of ministers, each minister being directly responsible to the ruler. The most important ministers were the Peshwas, who looked after the finances and general administration, and the '*sar-i-naubat*' (senapati), which was a post of honour and was generally given to one of the leading Maratha chiefs. The '*majumdar*' was the accountant, while the '*waqianavis*' were responsible for the intelligence posts and household affairs.

The '*shur-nawis*' or '*chitnis*' helped the king with his correspondence. The '*dabir*' was master of ceremonies and also helped the king in his dealing with foreign powers. The finance minister was called '*amatya*'.

The eight ministers were as follows:

1. **Peshwa:** He was the king's principal minister. He performed all tasks of administration, put his seal on the official letters and documents and made arrangements for the preservation of the conquered districts.
2. ***Dabir***: He was also known as the '*sumanta*'. He was in-charge of foreign affairs.
3. ***Shru-navis*:** He was the '*sachiv*'. He looked after the royal correspondence.
4. ***Pandit rao*:** He was the minister of religion.
5. ***Sar-i-naubat*:** He was the *senapati*; also known as the commander-in-chief and in this capacity he maintained the army.
6. ***Nyayadhish***: He was the Chief Justice exercising jurisdiction over all civil and criminal cases in the kingdom.
7. ***Muzmudar*:** He was also known as the *Amatya*. He was the minister for finance and revenue.
8. ***Waqianavis*:** His duties were similar to those of a Home Minister of today.

Besides performing the departmental duties, three of the ministers; the Peshwa, the *sachiva* and the *mantri* were put in-charge of the extensive provinces. Moreover, all ministers, except the *pandit rao* and the *nyayadhish*, had to serve in war whenever necessary. In his departmental duties each minister was assisted by a staff of eight clerks, who were known as follows:

- *Diwan* (secretary)
- *Majumdar* (auditor and accountant)
- Fadnis (deputy auditor)
- Sabnis or daftardar (office-in-charge)
- *Karkhanis* (commissary)
- Chitnis (correspondence clerk)
- *Jamadar* (treasurer)
- Potnis (cashier)

There were eighteen departments in the state, which were looked after by the ministers under the guidance of the king. The swaraj territory, which was directly under the rule of Shivaji, was divided into a number of parts (groups of districts), which were all aggregated into three provinces, each being placed under a viceroy. The system of *jagirs* was abolished and the officers were paid in cash, a practice which resulted in great administrative efficiency. Though the Maratha bureaucracy was well-adapted to meet the needs of the time, it contained within itself the seeds of dissolution. All members of the Council, except the *Pandit rao* and the *Nyayadhish*, were expected to be like the Mughal officers, military commanders who, when they got an opportunity, tried to set up their own independent power, as happened during the later period of Maratha history.

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In the army administration, Shivaji preferred to give cash salaries to the regular soldiers, though sometimes the chiefs received revenue grants (*saranjam*).The regular army (*paga*) consisting of about 30,000 to 40,000 cavalry, as distinct from the loose auxiliaries (*silahdars*), were supervised by '*havaldars*' who received fixed salaries.

Revenue system

The revenue system seems to have been patterned on the *kathi* system of Malik Ambar; in which land was carefully measured with the help of a measuring rod or '*Kathi*'. A new revenue assessment was completed by Annaji Datto in 1679. Shivaji strictly supervised the '*mirasdars*' that is those with hereditary rights in land.

Shivaji supplemented his income by levying a contribution on the neighbouring Mughal territories. This contribution which came to one-fourth of the land revenue began to be called '*chauth*'. In some territories, an additional levy of the 10 per cent of the land revenue, known as '*Sardeshmukhi*' was imposed.

He also laid the foundation of a strong state by curbing the power of the 'deshmukhs'. The army was an effective instrument of his policies where rapidity of movement was the most important factor. The army depended for its salaries to a considerable extent on the plunder of the neighbouring areas. He abolished the *Jagirdari* system and replaced it with *Ryotwari* system.

Chauth and *Sardeshmukhi*

The two most important taxes in the Maratha taxation system were *chauth* and *sardeshmukhi*.

According to Ranade, *chauth* was a military contribution in lieu of protection against the invasion of third power. But Jadunath Sarkar does not agree with this view. He says that the payment of *chauth* merely saved a place from the unwelcome presence of the Maratha soldiers and civil underlings; it did not impose on Shivaji any corresponding obligation to guard the district from foreign invasion or internal disorder.

S.G. Sardesai says that *chauth* was a military tribute realized from hostile or conquered territories. The *sardeshmukhi* was an additional levy of 10 per cent which Shivaji demanded on the basis of a legal fiction that he was the hereditary *sardeshmukh* of Maharashtra. According to Ishwasi Prasad, *desai* is the corrupt form of the Sanskrit word *deshswami* also called *deshmukh*. The *sardeshmukh* stood above several *desais* or *deshsmukhs*, and his duty was to look after the work of the latter. He was paid for his services, and this payment was called *sardeshmukhi*. Shivaji claimed to be the hereditary *sardesh-mukh* of the country.

Shivaji was a born leader. From the son of a small *jagirdar* of Ahmadnagar; he rose to be an independent king and a formidable foe of the Mughal Empire, His greatest contribution was that he united the Marathas and instilled in them the sense of self-pride, sacrifice and chivalry.

Shambhaji (1680-1689)

The death of Shivaji (1680) was followed by the internal dissensions in the newly created Maratha kingdom. There was a dispute about succession between the two sons of Shivaji (Sambhaji and Rajaram) from his two different wives. Finally, after deposing Rajaram from the throne, Sambhaji or Sambhuji ascended the throne on

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July 20, 1680. For more than a year afterwards, however, his position continued to be insecure. As a matter of fact, his whole reign was disturbed by frequent conspiracies and desertions among, his officers.

Shambhaji, the eldest son of Shivaji, found a faithful adviser in a Kanauji Brahmin on whom he conferred the title of *Kavi Kalash*. Aurangzeb was determined to crush Shambhaji. In 1689, Shambhaji and *Kavi Kalash* were captured by a Mughal general and put to death. Rajaram was crowned by the Maratha ministers at Raigarh as Shambhaji's son Shahu, was too young. Then Raigarh was captured by the Mughals. By the end of 1689, Aurangzeb's Deccan policy appeared to have achieved complete success. However, animated by desire to avenge their wrongs, the Maratha bands spread over the Mughal territories harassing Mughal armies, destroying their outposts. The Mughals could not deal effectively with such raiders. When Aurangzeb died in 1707, he was aware that his efforts to crush the Marathas had failed.

Rajaram (1689-1700)

At the time of Sambhaji's death, his son Sahu was only seven years old. Rajaram, the younger son of Shivaji and stepbrother of Sambhaji, who had been kept in prison by the latter, was proclaimed King by the Maratha Council of Ministers and crowned at Raigarh in February 1689. But soon thereafter, apprehending a Mughal attack, Rajaram left Raigarh and, moving from one place to another, ultimately reached Jinji (South Arcot district, Tamil Nadu). The Maratha Council of Ministers and other officials also joined him at Jinji which, till 1698, became the centre of Maratha activity against the Mughals.

Shortly after Rajaram's flight to Jinji, the Mughals under Zulfiqar Khan captured Raigarh in October 1689 and all members of Sambhaji's family, including his son Sahu, fell into Mughal hands. Although Sahu was given the title of Raja and granted a *mansab*, he virtually remained a prisoner in the hands of the Mughals till the death of Aurangzeb (1707). Thus, at the close of 1689, the situation in the Maratha kingdom had completely changed. The royal family was virtually immobilized, the Maratha country no longer had a common head or a central government and the whole of the Deccan was divided into different spheres of influence under various Maratha commanders. With a nominal Maratha king living at a distance from the Maratha homeland, the resistance to the Mughals in the Deccan was organized by the Maratha leaders and commanders. This situation changed the basic character of the Mughal–Maratha struggle into a civil war or a war of independence.

Tarabai (1700-1707)

After Rajaram's death, his minor son by his wife Tarabai, named Shivaji II, was placed on the throne. Tarabai's energy and ability made her the de facto ruler of the state. She saved the Maratha state during a period of grave crisis. The succession to the throne was in dispute. Personal jealousies divided the Maratha leaders. Several thousands of *mavles* (Maratha hill infantry) were in the Mughal pay.

Aurangzeb, after the fall of Jinji, concentrated all his resources on the siege of successive Maratha forts. In this situation Tarabai played a role which elicited high praise from the hostile Muslim historian Khafi Khan who says 'Under Tarabai's guidance, Maratha activities began to increase daily. She took into her own hands the control of all affairs, such as the appointment and change of generals, the cultivation of the country and the planning of raids into the Mughal territory. She

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Shortly after Rajaram's flight to Jinji, the Mughals under Zulfiqar Khan captured Raigarh in October 1689 and all members of Sambhaji's family, including his son Sahu, fell into Mughal hands. Although Sahu was given the title of Raja and granted a *mansab*, he virtually remained a prisoner in the hands of the Mughals till the death of Aurangzeb (1707). Thus, at the close of 1689, the situation in the Maratha kingdom had completely changed. The royal family was virtually immobilized, the Maratha country no longer had a common head or a central government and the whole of the Deccan was divided into different spheres of influence under various Maratha commanders. With a nominal Maratha king living at a distance from the Maratha homeland, the resistance to the Mughals in the Deccan was organized by the Maratha leaders and commanders. This situation changed the basic character of the Mughal–Maratha struggle into a civil war or a war of independence.

Tarabai (1700-1707)

After Rajaram's death, his minor son by his wife Tarabai, named Shivaji II, was placed on the throne. Tarabai's energy and ability made her the de facto ruler of the state. She saved the Maratha state during a period of grave crisis. The succession to the throne was in dispute. Personal jealousies divided the Maratha leaders. Several thousands of *mavles* (Maratha hill infantry) were in the Mughal pay.

Aurangzeb, after the fall of Jinji, concentrated all his resources on the siege of successive Maratha forts. In this situation Tarabai played a role which elicited high praise from the hostile Muslim historian Khafi Khan who says 'Under Tarabai's guidance, Maratha activities began to increase daily. She took into her own hands the control of all affairs, such as the appointment and change of generals, the cultivation of the country and the planning of raids into the Mughal territory. She

In the army administration, Shivaji preferred to give cash salaries to the regular soldiers, though sometimes the chiefs received revenue grants (*saranjam*).The regular army (*paga*) consisting of about 30,000 to 40,000 cavalry, as distinct from the loose auxiliaries (*silahdars*), were supervised by '*havaldars*' who received fixed salaries.

Revenue system

The revenue system seems to have been patterned on the *kathi* system of Malik Ambar; in which land was carefully measured with the help of a measuring rod or '*Kathi*'. A new revenue assessment was completed by Annaji Datto in 1679. Shivaji strictly supervised the '*mirasdars*' that is those with hereditary rights in land.

Shivaji supplemented his income by levying a contribution on the neighbouring Mughal territories. This contribution which came to one-fourth of the land revenue began to be called '*chauth*'. In some territories, an additional levy of the 10 per cent of the land revenue, known as '*Sardeshmukhi*' was imposed.

He also laid the foundation of a strong state by curbing the power of the 'deshmukhs'. The army was an effective instrument of his policies where rapidity of movement was the most important factor. The army depended for its salaries to a considerable extent on the plunder of the neighbouring areas. He abolished the *Jagirdari* system and replaced it with *Ryotwari* system.

Chauth and *Sardeshmukhi*

The two most important taxes in the Maratha taxation system were *chauth* and *sardeshmukhi*.

According to Ranade, *chauth* was a military contribution in lieu of protection against the invasion of third power. But Jadunath Sarkar does not agree with this view. He says that the payment of *chauth* merely saved a place from the unwelcome presence of the Maratha soldiers and civil underlings; it did not impose on Shivaji any corresponding obligation to guard the district from foreign invasion or internal disorder.

S.G. Sardesai says that *chauth* was a military tribute realized from hostile or conquered territories. The *sardeshmukhi* was an additional levy of 10 per cent which Shivaji demanded on the basis of a legal fiction that he was the hereditary *sardeshmukh* of Maharashtra. According to Ishwasi Prasad, *desai* is the corrupt form of the Sanskrit word *deshswami* also called *deshmukh*. The *sardeshmukh* stood above several *desais* or *deshsmukhs*, and his duty was to look after the work of the latter. He was paid for his services, and this payment was called *sardeshmukhi*. Shivaji claimed to be the hereditary *sardesh-mukh* of the country.

Shivaji was a born leader. From the son of a small *jagirdar* of Ahmadnagar; he rose to be an independent king and a formidable foe of the Mughal Empire, His greatest contribution was that he united the Marathas and instilled in them the sense of self-pride, sacrifice and chivalry.

Shambhaji (1680-1689)

The death of Shivaji (1680) was followed by the internal dissensions in the newly created Maratha kingdom. There was a dispute about succession between the two sons of Shivaji (Sambhaji and Rajaram) from his two different wives. Finally, after deposing Rajaram from the throne, Sambhaji or Sambhuji ascended the throne on

July 20, 1680. For more than a year afterwards, however, his position continued to be insecure. As a matter of fact, his whole reign was disturbed by frequent conspiracies and desertions among, his officers.

Shambhaji, the eldest son of Shivaji, found a faithful adviser in a Kanauji Brahmin on whom he conferred the title of *Kavi Kalash*. Aurangzeb was determined to crush Shambhaji. In 1689, Shambhaji and *Kavi Kalash* were captured by a Mughal general and put to death. Rajaram was crowned by the Maratha ministers at Raigarh as Shambhaji's son Shahu, was too young. Then Raigarh was captured by the Mughals. By the end of 1689, Aurangzeb's Deccan policy appeared to have achieved complete success. However, animated by desire to avenge their wrongs, the Maratha bands spread over the Mughal territories harassing Mughal armies, destroying their outposts. The Mughals could not deal effectively with such raiders. When Aurangzeb died in 1707, he was aware that his efforts to crush the Marathas had failed.

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made such arrangements for sending troops to ravage the 'six subahs' of the Deccan and winning the heart of her officers to the extent that all the efforts of Aurangzeb against the Marathas down to the end of his reign failed.'

Tarabai moved from place to place with a view to guiding the Maratha operations against the Mughals.

4.6.2 Rise of the Peshwas

Nearly three months after the Aurangzeb's death, Sambhaji's son Sahu (born on 18 May 1682) who had been in Mughal captivity since November 3, 1689 was liberated on 8 May 1707 by Aurangzeb's second son, who ascended the throne as Bahadur Shah I. Sahu was recognized as the king of the Marathas and his right to the Maratha swaraj and to *chauth* and *sardeshmukhi* of the Deccani *subahs* of the Mughals was also probably recognized. The Mughal suzerainty was protected through the arrangement that he would rule as a vassal of the Empire. The intention of the Mughals was to end long-drawn wars in the Deccan or to create dissensions in the Maratha camp. Both situations were advantageous to the Mughals and they were not disappointed. Sahu's release was followed by a civil war between the forces of Tarabai and Sahu, which lasted up to 1714.

Balaji Viswanath (1713-1720)

Balaji Viswanath began his career as a small revenue official and was given the title of '*Sena Karte*' (maker of the army) by Shahu in 1708. He became Peshwa in 1713 and made the post the most important and powerful as well as hereditary. He played a crucial role in the final victory of Shahu by winning over almost all the Maratha sardars to the side of Shahu.

He concluded an agreement with the Sayyid brothers (1719) by which the Mughal Emperor (Farukh Siyar) recognized Shahu as the king of the Swarajya. Balaji's character and capacity and the peculiar circumstances of the country favoured the rise of the Peshwas to power and renown. One of the first things Balaji was called upon to do was to secure the restoration of Sahu's mother to him from the custody of the Mughals who had detained her at Delhi as hostage for the good behaviour of her son Sahu, Balaji opened direct negotiations with the Saiyid brothers and in February 1719 all his demands were accepted.

Accordingly Sahu's mother and family was released, he was recognized as the ruler of Shivaji's home dominions and was allowed to collect *chauth* and *sardeshmukhi* from the six *subahs* of the Deccan, as also in Karnataka and Tamil Nadu. In return for all this, the Marathas were expected to keep a contingent on 15,000 horses in the service of the Mughals and to maintain order in the Deccan. Balaji's success in Delhi greatly increased his power and prestige. Balaji Vishwanath has been rightly called the 'second founder of the Maratha state'.

He perceived that the revival of Maratha power in its old monarchical form was no longer possible and it would be difficult to harness the nation's military resources to the common cause unless concessions were made to the great warlords who had won an important place for themselves. He made them subordinate allies or confederates of the sovereign, granting them a free hand in administering their conquests and called from them no greater sacrifice than uniting on matters of common policy. This arrangement, however, left too much authority in the hands of these chiefs, without providing for checks to call them to account, which was

responsible for the speedy expansion of the Maratha power and its rapid dissolution. The term of Balaji's peshwaship marks the transition from the royal period to the age of the Peshwas.

Balaji has been credited with 'a mastery of finance'. Though constantly engaged in war and diplomacy, he took firm measures to put a stop to anarchy in the kingdom. He suppressed freebooters and restored civil government. Solid foundations were laid for a well-organized revenue system in the Swaraj territory, which was under direct royal administration.

Baji Rao I (1720-1740)

Baji Rao, the eldest son of Balaji Viswanath, succeeded him as peshwa at the young age of twenty. He was considered the greatest exponent of guerrilla tactics after Shivaji and Maratha power reached its zenith under him.

Under him, several Maratha families became prominent and got themselves entrenched in different parts of India. Some of these places were as follows:

- Gaekwad at Baroda
- Bhonsles at Nagpur
- Holkars at Indore
- Scindias at Gwalior
- Peshwas at Pune

After defeating and expelling the Siddhis of Janjira from the mainland (1722), he conquered Bassein and Salsette from the Portuguese (1733). He also defeated the Nizam-ul-Mulk near Bhopal and concluded the Treaty of Durai Sarai by which he got Malwa and Bundelkhand from the latter (1737). He led innumerable successful expeditions into north India to weaken the Mughal Empire and to make the Marathas the supreme power in India.

Balaji Baji Rao (1740-1761)

Balaji Baji Rao was popularly known as 'Nana Saheb'. He succeeded his father at the age of twenty. After the death of his father, the management of all state affairs was left in his hands. In an agreement with the Mughal emperor (Ahmad Shah), the peshwa (1752) was to protect the Mughal Empire from the internal and the external (Ahmad Shah Abdali) enemies in return for the *chauth*. He remained dependent on the advice and guidance of his cousin Sadashiva Rao Bhau.

With regard to the future policy of his government, he asked Sadashiva Rao Bhau to continue the policies of his father and said 'The elder Bajirao achieved great deeds in the devoted service of the king. But his life was cut short. You are his son, and you ought to consummate his policy of conquering the whole of Hindustan and establish an Empire and lead your horses beyond Attock.'

One of the earliest achievements of Nana Saheb was better financial management of the Empire by exercising careful supervision over all financial transactions. He later discussed the affairs of northern India with Holkar and Scindia and in April 1742 marched northwards to consolidate the Maratha authority in Bundelkhand. In 1743 he undertook the second expedition to the north to help Ali Vardi Khan (in Bengal) whose territories had been ravaged by Raghuji Bhonsle. The Peshwa reached Murshidabad and met Ali Vardi Khan who agreed to pay him the *chauth* for Bengal and ₹22 lakh to the Peshwa for the expenses of his expedition. By this arrangement the Peshwa freed Ali Vardi Khan's territories from the ravages

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of Raghuji's troops. During the first half of his Peshwaship he established Maratha supremacy in Karnataka and sent expeditions to Rajputana.

Sahu died childless on 15 December 1749. He had nominated Ramraja, a grandson of Tarabai, as his successor before his death. Ramaraja was crowned as Chhatrapati in January 1750. Since he was weak and incompetent, Tarabai tried to make him a puppet in her own hands, which caused utter confusion and crisis in the Maratha kingdom; it deepened further when the Peshwa learnt that Ramaraja was not the grandson of Tarabai but an impostor. When this fact came to knowledge, the Chhatrapati was virtually confined in the fort at Satara and lost all contacts with political developments. Hence forth, Pune became the real capital of the Maratha confederacy and the peshwa its virtual ruler.

During the second period of Balaji's regime (1751–1761), four campaigns were organized in the north. The Punjab politics was at the time in a confused state and as a result the first two invasions of Ahmad Shah Abdali, the subahs of Lahore, Multan and Kashmir were annexed by Abdali to his dominions. After the third invasion, the Mughal wazir, Safdarjung, persuaded the Emperor to enter into an agreement with the Marathas in May 1752 for undertaking defence of the Empire against its internal and external foes. In return the Marathas were to get the *chauth* of the north-western provinces usurped and occupied by the Afghans. However, that *chauth* could only be secured by the actual conquest. The Marathas were also given the *subahs* of Agra and Ajmer. As a result of this agreement the Maratha military force was posted at Delhi and they repeatedly interfered in the politics of North India and established their supremacy at Delhi.

This arrangement would have marked the fulfillment of Balaji Baji Rao's dream of 'a Mughal–Maratha alliance for the governance of India as a whole'. But Safdarjung lost his wazirship and retired to Awadh in 1753, and power in the imperial court passed to Imad-ul-Mulk, grandson of Nizam ul-Mulk. He terrorized the helpless Emperor with Maratha help and secured the office of wazir, dethroned Ahmad Shah and placed Alamgir II, grandson of Bahadur Shah, on the imperial throne in 1754.

There was a wazir of Delhi whose rule was so barren of good result and so full of misery to himself and to the empire, to his friends and foes alike, as Imad-ul-Mulk's. At first he 'clung like a helpless infant to the breast of the Marathas'; but being unable to continue 'the cash nexus on which alone Maratha friendship depended', he agreed to Ahmad Shah Abdali's project of ousting the Marathas from the Doab and Shuja-ud-Daula of Awadh, son and successor of Safdarjang, from provincial governorship (1757). This drew Shuja-ud-Daula, Surajmal Jat and the Marathas together and left Imad-ul-Mulk utterly friendless during the absence of Abdali from India. As per the above arrangements early in 1758, Raghunath Rao, accompanied by Malhar Rao Holkar, entered the Punjab. He was joined by Adina Beg Khan and the Sikhs. Sirhind fell, Lahore was occupied and the Afghans were expelled (April 1758). Timur Shah fled, pursued by the Marathas up to the Chenab. They did not cross the river because it was too deep for fording and the districts beyond it were inhabited mostly by the Afghans.

Raghunath Rao returned from Punjab after leaving the province in the charge of Adina Beg Khan. Confusion followed the latter's death a few months later (October 1758). The Peshwa sent a large army under Dattaji Scindia who reached the eastern bank of the Sutlej (April 1759), and sent Sabaji Scindia to Lahore to take over the governorship of the province. Within a few months, a strong army sent by Abdali

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crossed the Indus. Sabaji fell back precipitately, abandoning the entire province of the Punjab to the Afghans. Abdali established his government at Lahore, resumed his march and entered Sirhind (November 1759).

The Maratha adventure in the Punjab has been acclaimed by some historians as 'carrying the Hindu paramount up to Attock'. It is doubtful if the Maratha army actually advanced as far as Attock and the collection of revenue in the trans-Chenab district was a purely temporary affair. The peshwa did not realize that the Punjab could not be retained without keeping a large well-equipped force constantly on the spot. This was not possible because the necessary funds were not available and no Maratha soldier could stand the winter of Lahore. No first-rate Maratha general was posted in the Punjab as warden of the North-west frontier. The peshwa sanctioned 'a provocatively advanced frontier', which made war with Abdali inevitable, but he made no adequate arrangement for its defence.

North India: Bhau's expedition (1760)

On return towards Delhi (May 1759) after the conquest of Punjab, Dattaji Scindia was involved in hostilities with Najib-ud-Daula in Rohilkhand. He suffered defeat and retreated towards Panipat (December 1759), and heard that Abdali's forces were advancing from Sind and had occupied Ambala. His resistance failed and he was killed in a battle with Abdali at Barari, some 16 km north of Delhi (January 1760). Malhar Rao Holkar was routed by the Afghans at Sikanderabad. Thereafter the Maratha army in Hindustan ceased to exist.

When the news of these disasters reached the Peshwa at Poona, he realized that 'all his gains in North India had been wiped out, and he must again fight for the Maratha control over the Delhi Empire and build up his supremacy in Hindustan from the very foundations.' This crisis could be met only by sending a strong army to the North. Soon the Peshwa dispatched the Maratha troops under his cousin Sadashiv Rao Bhau and his eldest son Vishwas Rao. The Maratha artillery was to be commanded by Ibrahim Khan Gardi. In July 1760, the Marathas occupied Delhi. This small success added to the prestige of the Marathas, but they were friendless in the whole of North India. Even the Jat king Surajmal deserted them at the last moment. On the other hand, Ahmad Shah Abdali had been able to secure the support of the Ruhela Chiefs Najib-ud-daula and Nawab Shuja-ud-Daula of Awadh. During this period some futile attempts were made for peace between Ahmad Shah Abdali and the Peshwa, but they could not succeed due to the exorbitant demands of the Marathas and self-interest of the Muslim rulers. This culminated in the unfortunate and disastrous battle of Panipat. The Battle of Panipat (January 14, 1761) resulted in the death of Viswas Rao (son of Nana Saheb).

Madhav Rao (1761–1772), Narayana Rao (1772–1773), Sawai Madhav Rao (1773–1795), and Baji Rao II (1795–1818) succeeded him thereafter.

4.6.3 Causes and Consequences of Third Battle of Panipat

The conquest and occupation of the Punjab by the Marathas brought them into conflict with Ahmad Shah Abdali. The Third Battle of Panipat took place on 14 January 1761, at Panipat (Haryana). The battle pitted the French-supplied artillery and cavalry of the Marathas against the heavy cavalry and mounted artillery of the Afghans led by Ahmad Shah Durrani, also known as Ahmad Shah Abdali. The battle is considered as one of the largest battles fought in the 18th century. The

battle lasted for several days and involved over 1, 25,000 men. Protracted skirmishes occurred, with losses and gains on both sides. The forces led by Ahmad Shah Durrani came out victorious after destroying several Maratha flanks. The extent of the losses on both sides was heavily disputed by historians, but it is believed that between 60,000–70,000 were killed in fighting, while number of the injured and prisoners taken vary considerably. The result of the battle was the halting of the Maratha advances in the north.

Causes of Third Battle of Panipat

The causes of the Third Battle of Panipat were many. Some of them were as follows:

- **Invasions of Nadir Shah:** Nadir Shah defeated the Mughal troops near Karnal. Then he marched to Delhi, where he stayed for 57 days. He took away the accumulated wealth of 348 years and the famous Peacock Throne from Delhi. The invasion of Nadir Shah exposed the weakness of Mughal Empire. It encouraged the Afghans to invade India.
- **Ambitions of Ahmad Shah Abdali:** He was an ambitious ruler and a gallant soldier. He dreamt to be the ruler of India and was not satisfied by merely plundering raids.
- **Attack of Maratha army on Punjab:** Maratha army attacked those regions which belonged to the heirs of Nadir Shah. Ahmad Shah Abdali wanted to teach lesson to the Marathas and break their power.
- **Internal disputes:** The internal disputes were also responsible for foreign invasion. Ahmad Shah Abdali took full advantage of the internal disputes. The Mughals, Rajputs, Rohillas and the Marathas have not combined together to face their common enemy. Had they combined together it would have been not so easy for Abdali to crush Marathas. The Marathas had interfered in the internal affairs of the Rajputana states (present day Rajasthan) and levied heavy taxes and huge fines on them. They had also made huge territorial and monetary claims upon Awadh. Their raids in the Jat territory had resulted in the loss of trust of Jat chiefs like Suraj Mal. They had, therefore, to fight their enemies alone. The main reason for the failure of Marathas was that they went to war without good allies.
- **Distance of Punjab from south:** Though Marathas had conquered portions of Punjab but it was difficult to rule on Punjab from south because Marathas did not want to be away from their homes in the south. It made the task of recapturing of lost territories by Ahmad Shah easier. The Marathas did not care to defend northern frontier properly. Had the Marathas settled in Punjab, Abdali's success would have been doubtful.
- **Maratha relation with Ruhelas:** Marathas did not have good relations with Ruhelas because the Mughals had gained support from Scindia and Holker against Ruhelas. Under these circumstances, the Ruhelas invited Ahamad Shah Abdali to invade India.
- **Strong position of Afghans:** After the murder of Nadir Shah, Abdali ascended the throne and improved his power. In a short period of one year, he was strong enough to invade India again and again.
- **Dream of the Marathas to establish a Hindu State:** Knowing the weaknesses of the Mughals, they thought it is practicable to establish a Hindu State on the ruins of the Mughal Empire. But Abdali never wanted that their dreams should be materialized.

Third Battle of Panipat (1761)

At Panipat, the two rival armies stood entrenched, face to face, for more than two months. There were skirmishes and minor battles. The Afghan cavalry patrols dominated the environs of the Maratha camp and cut off its communications and also food supply. Gradually, despair and terror seized the straying Marathas. They decided to launch a direct attack on the Afghans when there was no food for men and no grass for horses, and when filth and stench 'made the confines of the entrenchment a living hell'.

The Bhau's army marched out to battle on January 15, 1761. The battle actually began about four hours after daybreak. Vishwas Ruo was shot dead at quarter past two. Soon after the Bhau was also killed. Among the leading chiefs who met death were Jankoji Scindia, Tukoji Scindia and Ibrahim Khan Gardi. Mahadji Scindia received wounds, which claimed his life. 'It was a nation-wide disaster like a flooded field. An entire generation of leaders was cut off at one stroke. Apart from those who fell on the field, many fugitives lost their lives during their long flight without food or rest. About 50,000 men and women were saved by the kindness and hospitality of Suraj Mal.

The crushing defeat of the Marathas is easily explained. Numerically, the Afghans had considerable superiority. Against 60,000 Afghans and their Indian allies actually present in the field, supported by 80,000 behind the fighting line, the Bhau had 45,000 troops in the field and 15,000 Pindaris in the rear. The Afghan army had better training and discipline, and it was better organized. Moreover, a famished army on less than half-dead country mares met the finest Afghan cavalry. Abdali had superiority in artillery; he employed 'the most efficient mobile artillery known in that age'. Although the field guns of the Marathas were of larger caliber than those of the Afghans, they could not be dragged forward with the advancing troops and became useless as the battle developed. The Bhau had no worthy and dependable lieutenants as comparable to Abdali's front-rank officers. Malhar Rao Holkar did not exchange fire till after the contest at the centre had been decided in Abdali's favour; and at the last stage he fled away. Abdali was a far greater military leader and strategist than the Bhau. The defeat became virtually inevitable after the Bhau's postponement of battle for two and a half months. He kept his army on the defensive in a besieged camp until starvation compelled him to make the last desperate effort for escape.

From the political point of view the defeat was largely due to the alienation of the Rajputs and the Jats and the failure to neutralize Shuja-ud-Daula and Najib-ud-Daula. While half of Abdali's army was composed of troops furnished by his Indian allies, the valiant Rajputs and the Jats did not fight on the Maratha side. The clue to this situation lies in 'the total diplomatic failure on the part of the Peshwa who dictated, and the Bhau who carried out, his North Indian policy'.

Consequences of Third Battle of Panipat

Some modern Maratha writers argue that although the Marathas suffered terrible losses in manpower at Panipat, the battle did not destroy the Maratha power in North India nor did it essentially shake the Maratha Empire as a whole. Abdali made several unsuccessful efforts to conclude peace with the Peshwa and Surajmal, and in the following years he failed to crush the Sikhs in the Punjab. There was a revival of the Maratha power in North India under Peshwa Madhav Rao I (1761–

1972). After the death of Najib-ud-daula (1770) who 'administered Delhi as Abdali's agent after Panipat, the Marathas .restored the exiled Mughal emperor Shah Alam II to the capital of his ancestors(1972). Mahadji Scindia occupied Delhi in 1788 and it was from his successor Daulat Rao Scindia that the English wrested the imperial capital in 1803. In South India the Marathas secured victories against Haider Ali and the Nizam, S.G. Sardesai maintains that 'the disaster at Panipat was indeed like a natural visitation destroying life, but leading to no decisive political consequences'. But the views of Sardesai and the others were too simplistic. Undoubtedly the disaster at Panipat was the greatest loss to the Marathas in manpower and personal prestige both. The Maratha dream of being a successor to the great Mughals was lost forever. Certainly Panipat paved the way for the rise of the British power, which became a paramount power in India by the close of the eighteenth century.

Peshwa Balaji Bajirao could not bear the shock of the awful catastrophe at Panipat and died six months after the battle (June 1761). During the post-Panipat era, the links of the Peshwa with the Maratha Confederacy also grew very loose. In the words of Kashiraj Pandit, who was an eyewitness to the Third Battle of Panipat, 'It was verily doomsday for the Maratha people'.

Peshwa Madhav Rao I (1761-1772)

After the death of Balaji Bajirao, his younger son Madhav Rao was placed on the Peshwa's *gaddi*. Since the new Peshwa was only seventeen years old, his uncle Raghunath Rao, the eldest surviving member of the Peshwa's family, became his regent and the *de facto* ruler of the state. During this period, serious differences broke out between the Peshwa and his uncle, leading to war between the two in 1762, in which the Peshwa's army was defeated. For some time a reconciliation was arrived at between the Peshwa and his uncle, but soon serious differences again erupted. In 1765, Raghunath Rao demanded the partition of the Maratha state between himself and the Peshwa. In the meantime, when the Maratha state was paralysed by the internal strife, Haider Ali of Mysore ravaged the Maratha territories in Karnataka; but the first Anglo-Mysore war involved Haider Ali in a greater crisis. During this period, the Marathas tried to restore their lost position in North India. In January 1771, Mahadji Scindia occupied Delhi and succeeded in exacting money from the leading Rajput princes; but the premature death of Madhav Rao in November 1772 placed the Maratha dominion in a deep crisis. Madhav Rao was the last great Peshwa, had he survived longer, the Maratha Empire could have been saved from disaster.

After Madhav Rao's death the fortunes of the Maratha Kingdom and the prestige of the Peshwas under Narayan Rao (1772–1774), Madhav Rao Narayan(1774–95) and Bajirao rapidly declined, owing to their internal feuds and prolonged wars with the English. The last Peshwa surrendered to the English and the Peshwaship was abolished.

Effects and Importance of the Third Battle of Panipat

The effects and the importance of the Third Battle of Panipat were as follows:

- **Loss of the wealth and human power:** The Third Battle of Panipat decided the fate of India. In this battle the loss of money and life was enormous. It was a nationwide disaster. It was stated that–two pearls had been dissolved, twenty seven gold mohars had been lost and the loss of silver and copper could not be reckoned.

- **End of Maratha confederacy:** The decisive battle of Panipat completely destroyed the Maratha Confederacy. It destroyed the central organization of the Marathas. After this battle Maratha's central power became weak.
- **Decentralization of Maratha power:** The Third Battle of Panipat also brought about the decentralization of the Maratha power. The power of Marathas was scattered and divided. Maratha leaders established their independent kingdoms. Scindias were wounded in the battle field. They established their independent kingdom and made Gwalior centre of their kingdom.
- **Downfall of Mughal Empire:** The Third Battle of Panipat was the last and final blow to the staggering Mughal power. It hastened its decline and paved the way for British supremacy.
- **Freedom of Rajputs:** After the Battle of Panipat the Marathas lost their hold over the Rajputana. The Rajputs regained their freedom. They did not support Marathas either against Ahamad Shah Abdali or Britishers.

4.6.4 Causes of the Failure of Marathas in Panipat

The causes that led to the failure of Marathas in Panipat were as follows:

- The main reason of the failure of the Marathas was Abdali's superior strategy and novel tactics and superiority of arms and ammunitions. Though Sada Shiva Rao was a brave and capable leader but he lacked the maturity and experience of Abdali.
- The Marathas had made Jats and Rajputs their enemy while Abdali was supported by Ruhelas and others. It was total diplomatic failure on the part of the Peshwa who dictated, and the Bhau who carried out, his North Indian policy.
- Marathas had neither adequate force nor a good supply of quality horses or seasonal troops.
- The Marathas had terrible want of food and adequate clothing. Starved and barebacked on the bitter cold of January many of them fell sick or even died.
- The absence of Duttaji from this fateful fight was a serious handicap to the Marathas.
- Marathas had used guerrilla warfare in North India. Though their infantry was based on the European style contingent and had some of the best French made guns of the times, their artillery was static and lacked mobility against the fast moving Afghan forces.

Marathas under Mahadji Scindia and Nana Phadnavis

Mahadji Scindia and Nana Phadnavis were contemporaries and both of them played an important role during the first Anglo-Maratha war and came into prominence in Maratha politics. Nana Phadnavis controlled the Maratha affairs at Poona and Mahadji Scindia busied himself in the north. Both of them served the Maratha state faithfully. It is pointed out by Sardesai that if Mahadji Scindia and Nana Phadnavis had not acted in concert and brought all the resources to bear on the First Maratha war, there would have been an end of Maratha power.

Mahadji Scindia and Nana Phadnavis worked in close co-operation during the First Anglo-Maratha war, faced the British challenge united and succeeded in thwarting the British design to curb the Marathas. But Mahadji Scindia entered into

NOTES

the treaty of Salbai without the concurrence of Nana Phadnavis. By this treaty Mahadji Scindia became virtually independent and was recognized by the East India Company as mediator between it and Peshwas and guarantor of the honourable peace with the Marathas.

Mahadji and Nana Phadnavis had different physical features and mental cast. The life of Mahadji was a long period of strenuous activity. His life can be divided into four parts. During the first part up to 1761, he was an obscure figure over-shadowed by his brilliant brothers. From 1761 to 1772 his life was one of the apprenticeship in which he acquired the supreme fitness, which later on helped him to co-operate with Nana Phadnavis to defeat the English during the first Anglo-Maratha war. During the third part, he gained valuable experience of war and diplomacy on his own initiative which he put in actual test later on. During the fourth part he created the kingdom which he left for his children.

The private life of Mahadji was pure and free from blemish. He was free from caste and religious bias. He was equally respected by the Muslims and the Hindus. He employed Brahmans, Marathas and Mahars. The Saraswat Brahmans attained special distinction in his service as soldiers and diplomats.

Mahadji was always careful and faithful to the Peshwa family. He never tried to assert his independence. It was unfortunate that Nana Phadnavis was jealous of Mahadji and always tried to keep him away from Poona. Mahadji did not manage his financial affairs properly. He borrowed a large amount of money from all sources. A lot of money was pocketed by unscrupulous middlemen. There was confusion and misappropriation. Money was poured into useless channels. Lands were deserted and cultivation was stopped at many places. Robberies became frequent. Life became insecure. Mahadji agreed to pay the expenses of the Mughal armies but he had no money to do so.

Nana Phadnavis was born in 1742. He worked very hard at his desk. He attended to all the details of the administration. He did not like the open methods of Mahadji and always worked in secret. He was usually reasonable and fair in his dealings. He was afraid to commit treachery or wrong. He was strict in punctually carrying on work. However he did not possess self-confidence of Mahadji. He took counsel with all separately, but acted according to his own considered judgment. He was not at all loved as he was a stern task master. He was often in danger of assassination. On about 20 occasions, he had miraculous escape from attempts on his life.

Nana Phadnavis lacked military leadership and that was a great disadvantage in the rough times in which he lived. Nana Phadnavis did not possess a conciliatory spirit. He gradually removed all the members, one by one, of the Bara–Bhai council and concentrated all the power in his own hands. If, instead of that, Nana Phadnavis had shared powers with others, there would have been better prospects for the future of the Marathas. It has been suggested that if Nana Phadnavis had taken into confidence all the Maratha chiefs and pooled together all the resources of the Marathas, the Marathas would not have fallen as they did under Bajirao II.

According to Sardesai, Nana would have acquired a much higher place in history if he had subordinated his love of power and money to the service of the nation.

Nana had too much love for power. It is suggested that if he had retired from politics in 1795, he would have rendered a great service to the Maratha cause. Another criticism against Nana is that he loved money too much.

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4.6.5 Maratha Struggle with the British

The word 'confederacy' is derived from Anglo-French word '*Confederate cie'*, which means a league or union, whether of states or the individuals. After the death of Shivaji in 1680, there was no great leader among the Marathas who could unite them. Sahu, the grandson of Shivaji, was under Mughal custody (between 1689 and 1707), which made him weak, passive and dependent on others. The emergence of Peshwa as the 'de facto' ruler is directly linked with the weak character of Sahu. When Balaji Vishwanath served as Peshwa (1713–1720), he made the king a puppet in his hands and his own post hereditary.

However, the Maratha Confederacy really began in the Peshwaship of Baji Rao I (1720–1740), son of Balaji Vishwanath, when Maratha Empire expanded in the North and South India. The Peshwa put large areas under the control of his following subordinates:

- Gwalior under Ramoji Scindia
- Baroda under Damaji Gaekwad
- Indore under Malhar Rao Holkar
- Nagpur under Raghuji Bhonsle

The Peshwa's seat was at Pune and Sahu was relegated to being only a nominal king. The confederacy was strictly controlled by the two Peshwas:

- Baji Rao I (1720–1740)
- Balaji Baji Rao (1740–1761)

The defeat of the Marathas in the Third Battle of Panipat by the Afghan army of Ahmad Shah Abdali made the post of Peshwa very weak. He was now dependent on Phadnavis and the other Maratha chiefs.

The origin of the Maratha confederacy may be traced to the revival of the *jagir* or *saranjam* system by Rajaram. But, it was only in the time of Baji Rao I that the system made a base for itself. In this process, Sahu issued letters of authority to his various Maratha sardars for collecting *Chauth* and *Sardeshmukhi* from various parts of India. These letters of authority were called '*saranjam*'. The holders of these *saranjams* were called *saranjamdars*. They merely recognized the Maratha Peshwas as their nominal head after the death of Sahu. In this way, arose the confederacy, consisting of very important Maratha jagirdars. Some of them were as follows:

- Raghuji Bhonsle of Berar
- Gaekwad of Baroda
- Holkar of Indore
- Scindia of Gwalior
- The Peshwa of Poona

1. First Anglo-Maratha War (1775-1782)

The first Anglo-Maratha War started when Raghunath Rao, after killing Peshwa Narayan Rao, claimed the post of Peshwa. But the widow of Narayan Rao gave birth to Madhav Rao Narayan. The Maratha Sardars, led by Nana Phadnavis, accepted the minor Madhav Rao Narayan as Peshwa and rejected Raghunath Rao, who in

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search of a friend concluded a treaty with the English at Surat on March 7, 1775. This treaty led to the first war between the British and the Marathas.

Causes of the first Anglo-Maratha war

The causes of the first Anglo-Maratha war were as follows:

- Friendship with Ragunath Rao
- Defeat of British by the Marathas at Talegoan (1776)
- March of British army under Goddard from Calcutta to Ahmedabad through central India (which itself was a great military feat in those days) and the brilliant victories on the way (1779–1780)
- Stalemate and deadlock for two years (1781–1782)

Results

The results of the first Anglo-Maratha war were as follows:

- **Treaty of Surat (1775):** Signed by Raghunath Rao, wherein he promised to hand over Bassein and Salsette and a few islands near Bombay to the British.

  The provisions of the Treaty of Surat were as follows:
  - o The English agreed to assist Raghunath Rao with a force of 2,500 men.
  - o Raghunath Rao agreed to give Salsette and Bassein to the English and as security deposited six lakh.
  - o The Marathas would not raid in Bengal and Karnataka.
  - o Some areas of Surat and Bharuch would be given to the English.
  - o If Raghunath Rao decided to enter into a pact with Pune, the English would be involved.

The Calcutta Council became more powerful by the Regulating Act, 1773, than by the Government of Bombay and Madras. The Council condemned the activities of Bombay Government as 'dangerous', 'unauthorized' and 'unjust' and rejected the Treaty of Surat. It sent Lieutenant on to Pune who concluded the Treaty of Purandhar on March 1, 1776.

- **Treaty of Purandhar (1776):** Signed by Madhav Rao II; the Company got a huge war indemnity and retained Salsette.

  The provisions of the Treaty of Purandhar were as follows:
  - o The English and the Marathas would maintain peace.
  - o The English East India Company would retain Salsette.
  - o Raghunath Rao would go to Gujarat, and Pune would give him ₹2,500 per month as pension.

This time, the treaty was not acceptable to the Bombay Government, and Pune was also not showing any interest in its implementation. In the mean-time American War of Independence started (1776–1781). In this war the French supported the Americans against the English. French, who were old rivals of English East India Company, came closer to the Pune Durbar. The Court of Director of English East India Company was worried with the new political development, so it rejected the Treaty of Purandhar. The Government of Bombay was more than happy and the Calcutta Council, obviously, felt insulted. The Government of Bombay renewed its ties with Raghunath Rao (the Treaty of Surat) and a British troop was sent to Surat (November 1778) but the British troop was defeated and the Bombay government was forced to sign Treaty of Wadgaon (1779) with Pune Durbar.

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Treaty of Wadgaon: Provisions

The provisions of the Treaty of Wadgaon were as follows:

- The Bombay Government would return all the territories, which it occupied after 1773, to the Marathas.
- The Bombay Government would stop the English army coming from Bengal.
- Scindia would get some income from Bharuch.

Once again the treaty created a rift between the Calcutta Government and the Bombay Government. Warren Hastings, the Governor General (1773–1785), rejected the Convention of Wadgaon. An army, led by Godard, came from Bengal and captured Ahmedabad (February, 1780) and Bassein (December, 1780). But the English army was defeated at Pune (April, 1781). Another British army led by Captain Popham came from Calcutta and won Gwalior (3 August 1780), Scindia was also defeated at Sipri (16 February 1781) and agreed to work as a mediator between the English and the Pune Durbar resulting into the Treaty of Salbai (17 May 1782).

- **Treaty of Salbai (1782):** Signed by Mahadji Scindia, whereby the British influence in Indian politics and mutual conflicts increased among the Marathas. It, however, gave the British twenty years peace with the Marathas.

  The provisions of the Treaty of Salbai were as follows:
  - o The British would support Rahghunath Rao, but he would get pension from Pune, the headquarters of Peshwa.
  - o Salsette and Elephanta were given to the English.
  - o Scindia got the land to the west of Yamuna.
  - o The Marathas and the English agreed to return the rest of the areas to each other.

The Treaty of Salbai established the status quo. It benefited the company because they got peace from Marathas for the next twenty years. They could focus their energy and resources against their bitterest enemy in India, which was Mysore.

2. Second Anglo-Maratha War (1803-1806)

The internal conflict of Maratha Confederacy brought them once again on the verge of war. The Peshwa, Baji Rao II, after killing Bithuji Holkar, the brother of Jaswant Rao Holkar, fled from Pune. Holkar installed Vinayak Rao as Peshwa at Pune. Baji Rao came to Bassein and signed a treaty with the English on 31 December 1802. The Company, which was always in search of such situation, made Peshwa virtually a puppet.

- **Treaty of Bassein (1802):** Signed between Baji Rao II; The treaty gave effective control of not only Maratha but also Deccan regions to the Company.

  The provisions of the Treaty of Bassein were as follows:
  - o The English would help Peshwa with 600 troops and artillery.
  - o Peshwa agreed to cede, to the Company, territories yielding an income of 26 lakh rupees. Territories included Gujarat, South of Tapti, territories between Tapti and Narbada and some territories near Tungabhadra.
  - o Peshwa promised that he would not keep any European in his army other than the English.

NOTES

- Peshwa would give up his claim over Surat.
- Peshwa would not have any foreign relationship with other states without the English approval.
- Peshwa would settle all its disputes, if any, with Nizam of Hyderabad and Gaekwad of Baroda with Company's mediation.

The Peshwa, with the help of Arthur Wellesley, entered Pune on 13 May 1803 and captured it. But the Treaty of Bassein was perceived as a great insult by the other Maratha chiefs. Daulat Rao Scindia and Raghuji Bhonsle joined hands together against the British. Instead of bringing peace, this was the treaty which brought war. The war started in August 1803 from both North and South of the Maratha Kingdom. The Northern Command was led by General Lake and Southern Command by Arthur Wellesley. The British started fighting in Gujarat, in Bundelkhand and in Orissa. The strategy was to engage all the Maratha chiefs at different places, and not allow them to unite. On September 23, 1803, Arthur Wellesley defeated a joint army of Scindia and Bhonsle at Assaye, near Aurangabad. Gwalior fell on December 15, 1803. In the North, General Lake captured Aligarh in August, Delhi in September and Agra in October 1803. Scindia was defeated again at Laswari (November 1803) and lost the territory south of Chambal river. The English also captured Cuttack and succeeded in Gujarat and Bundelkhand.

This humiliating defeat forced Bhonsle and Scindia to conclude similar kind of treaty as signed by the Peshwa. On 17 December 1803, Bhonsle at Dergaon, and on 30 December 1803, Daulat Rao Scindia at Surajarjan Gaon signed the peace treaty; Treaty of Surji-Arjangaon. Bhonsle gave Cuttack, Balasore, and Western part of Wardha River to the British. Scindia gave Jaipur, Jodhpur, North of Gohad, Ahmednagar, Bhaduch, Ajanta and all their territory between Ganga and Yamuna. Both agreed that in resolving their outstanding issues with Nizam and Peshwa, they would seek English 'help'. They agreed that they would not allow any enemy of English to stay in their territory, that they would keep a British Resident in their capital and they would accept the Treaty of Bassein. Holkar, so far aloof from the war, started fighting in April 1804. After defeating Colonel Monson in the passes of Mukund Dara near Kota, he advanced towards Delhi and made an unsuccessful attempt to seize Delhi. He was defeated at Deeg on November 13, 1804 and at Farrukhabad on November 17, 1804. Finally, he too concluded a treaty with the British on January 7, 1806 at Rajpurghat. He agreed to give up his claims to places north of the river Chambal, Bundhelkhand and Peshwa's territory. He promised not to entertain any European, other than English, in his kingdom. In return, the British promised not to interfere in the southern territory of river Chambal.

3. Third Anglo-Maratha War (1817–1818)

The third Anglo-Maratha War was partly related with the British imperialistic design in India and partly with the nature of the Maratha state. In 1813, the Charter Act was passed, which ended the monopoly of English East India Company. All the English Companies, now, were allowed to sell their products in India and purchase raw material from India. The British capitalists were in search of a greater market. Annexation of Indian territories meant a big market for British goods in India and cheap raw materials for British industries. English cotton mills were heavily dependent on Indian cotton and Deccan region was famous for cotton produce. The policy of 'non-interference', with Indian States, was no longer relevant.

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The Company was in search of an excuse to wage war against the Marathas. The issue of Pindaris provided an opportunity. The Pindaris, who consisted of many castes and classes, were attached to the Maratha armies. They worked like mercenaries, mostly under the Maratha chiefs. But once the Maratha chief became weak and failed to employ them regularly, they started plundering different territories, including those territories which were under the control of the Company or its allies. The Company accused the Maratha for giving them shelter and encouragement.

Lord Hastings, the Governor-General (1813–1823), made a plan to surround the Pindaris in Malwa by a large army and to prevent the Marathas from assisting them. By the end of 1817 and early 1818, the Pindaris were hunted across the Chambal. Thousands of them were killed. Their leaders, Amir Khan and Karim Khan, surrendered while the most dangerous, Chitu, fled into the jungles of Asirgarh. The direct conflict between the English and the Marathas, however, started when Gangadhar Shastri, the ambassador of Gaekwad, was killed by Tryanbakji, the Prime Minister of Peshwa. The English Resident, Elphinston told Peshwa to hand over Trayanbakji, but he escaped. Colonel Smith besieged Pune and forced the Peshwa to sign the Pune Pact (June 13, 1817). The Maratha confederacy was dissolved and Peshwa's leadership was brought to an end. The fort of Ahmednagar, Bundelkhand and a vast territory of Malwa was ceded to the Company. The Peshwa agreed to keep English troops at Pune and his family under British custody till Triyanbankji was arrested or surrendered.

The Pune Pact was, once again, humiliating for the Marathas. The Peshwa too was unhappy. He started thinking of revenge so he burnt the British Residency and started war against the English. He was defeated at Kirki in November 1817. In the same month Appaji, the Bhonsle chief, was also defeated at Sitabaldi. In the Battle of Mahidpur (December, 1817), Holkar was defeated and was compelled to sign a treaty at Mandsor (January, 1818). He had to cede Khandesh and the vast territory across the river Narmada.

The Peshwa continued the war but he was defeated again at Koregaon (January, 1818) and finally at Ashti (February, 1818), he surrendered. A small part of his territory was given to the descendent of Shivaji, based at Satara, whereas a large part of his territory including Pune was annexed. The post of Peshwa was abandoned and Baji Rao was sent to Bithur (near Kanpur). An annual pension was fixed for him. With this defeat the British supremacy in Maratha kingdom was already established and the hopeful successor of Mughals lost all hopes.

Causes of the Third Anglo-Maratha war

The causes of the third Anglo-Maratha war were as follows:

- Resentment of the Marathas against the loss of their freedom to the British
- Rigid control exercised by the British residents on the Marathas chiefs

Results of the Third Anglo-Maratha war

The results of the third Anglo-Maratha war were as follows:

- Dethronement of the Peshwa (he was pensioned off and sent to Bithur near Kanpur) and the annexation of all his territories by the British (the creation of the Bombay Presidency)
- Creation of the kingdom of Satara out of Peshwa's lands to satisfy Maratha pride

After this war the Maratha chiefs existed at the mercy of the British.

Check Your Progress

17. What were the traditionally duties of the Deshmukhs and Deshpandes?
18. Shivaji was entrusted with administration of _____ _____ at 14 years by his father.
19. The Mughal invasion of Bijapur in 1657 saved Shivaji from Bijapuri reprisal. (True/False)
20. What was the finance minister under the Marathas called?
21. How did Shambhaji come to power?
22. The term of Balaji's peshwaship marks the transition from the royal period to the age of the peshwas. (True/False)

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Check Your Progress

23. What was the name of Shahji Bhonsle's wife?
24. Name the two most important taxes in the Maratha taxation system.
25. Who was given the title sena karte?
26. When did the Third Battle of Panipat take place?
27. Who was Madhav Rao?
28. Name the two contemporaries who played an important role during the first Anglo-Maratha War.
29. When was Nana Phadnavis born?
30. How did the first Anglo-Maratha War begin?
31. When did Daulat Rao Scindia sign the 'Peace Treaty'?
32. What was the biggest weakness of Daulat Rao Scindia?
33. What was the duration of Peshwaship of Baji Rao I?
34. The Third Battle of Panipat completely destroyed the Maratha confederacy. (True/False)
35. The main reason of the failure of the Marathas in the Third Battle of Panipat was Abdali's superior strategy. (True/False)

Causes of the failure of Marathas

The causes of the failure of Marathas were as follows:

- **Weak rulers:** Most of the Maratha chiefs, with few exceptions, were not capable to lead the Marathas. Rulers like Daulat Rao Scindia were lovers of luxury. Besides, Maratha rulers were jealous of each other and always conspired against each other. It helped the Company's cause.
- **Nature of the Maratha state:** The Maratha state was never stable. An English historian called their state as 'robber's state'. After the death of Shivaji (1680), various Maratha chiefs carved their own independent kingdoms. During the Peshwaship of Baji Rao I (1720–1740) they were loosely attached with the Peshwa, but after the debacle of Panipat (January 14, 1761) they became enemy of each other and plundered each other's territory.
- **Low morale:** During the period of Shivaji and the Maratha war of independence, the morale of the Maratha state was very high which enabled them to resist the imperial armies of the Mughals. In the absence of strong leadership, the moral of the army was low and the soldiers often fled from the battlefield.
- **Unstable economy:** The economy of the Maratha state was not on a sound basis. Agriculture was the main source of income, but it depended on rainfall. No proper attention was paid to industry and commerce. The success of any kingdom depended heavily on its resources. The regular civil war had ruined Maratha's agriculture, trade and industry. Plunder was their main source of income. The Maratha chiefs were always found in debt. They failed to evolve a stable economic policy. War and plunder became most sought after job for Maratha youths, but most of the time their chiefs struggled to pay them. The soldiers always shifted their loyalty. Many of them joined Company's army, where they could get a regular salary.
- **Superior English diplomacy:** Before any war the British always made some allies and isolated the enemy. This was the policy which most of the European nations in the eighteenth and nineteenth century adopted but the English succeeded the most. In the second Anglo-Maratha war, they were allies of Peshwa and Gaekwad and in the third Anglo Maratha war they made Scindia their ally.
- **Superior British espionage system:** The Company's espionage system had no match in Asia. They carefully recorded each and every movement of their enemies, their strengths, weaknesses, military methods etc. The entire diplomacy of the East India Company was based on the 'inputs' provided by their spies. The Marathas, on the other hand, were completely ignorant about the activities of the Company. The English learned Marathi and other India languages, but the Marathas failed to learn English. They had no knowledge about England, English people, their factories, their arms and their strategy. Wars were fought in the battlefield but strategies were made on the table which required 'inputs'.
- **The Marathas lacked national spirit:** Individually, the Marathas were clever and brave but the internal jealousies and selfish treacheries triumphed over public interest.

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- **The Marathas lacked a scientific spirit:** The Marathas tried to preserve religion at the sacrifice of science. They avoided handling modern equipment for fear that they would lose their religion. They failed to develop artillery as the main support of defence.
- **Defence policy:** The Marathas recruited foreigners as soldiers to defend their country. Thus, the Maratha army lacked homogeneity. Also, they failed to develop a strong navy.
- **Superior British military organization:** The Marathas failed to adopt modem technique of warfare. Except Mahadji Scindia, no Maratha chief gave importance to artillery. He too, was dependent on French. The Pune Government set up an artillery department, but it hardly functioned effectively. The Marathas also gave up their traditional method of guerilla warfare which had baffled the Mughals. Besides, there was no motivation for the mercenary soldiers of the Marathas.

ACTIVITY

Conduct a research to draw a comparative analysis between Hyder Ali and Tipu Sultan.

4.7 SUMMARY

In this unit, you have learnt that:

- The second half of the 18th century witnessed gradual expansion of the British East India Company's role in North India and this had a strong bearing on the economy and politics of Awadh.
- The enmity between Awadh and English started in 1764 with the Battle of Buxar.
- The military reforms initiated by Shuja-ud-Daula after the humiliation at Buxar were not intended to either intimidate the English or to promote a war against them. Rather it would seem that the overall military effort reflected the Nawab's anxiety to defend his political authority at a time when it was being steadily undermined by the alien company.
- Murtaza Khan allowed the company to negotiate a treaty with the Nawab ceding to English control the territories surrounding Benaras, north to Jaunpur and west to Allahabad, then held by Chait Singh. The treaty also fixed a larger subsidy than before for the company brigade and excluded the Mughal emperor from all future Anglo-Nawabi transactions.
- In the 1770s, the English East India Company persistently eroded the basis of Awadh's sovereignty.
- The supreme government in Calcutta was forced to realize that unremitting pressure on Awadh's resources could not be sustained indefinitely and that the excessive intervention of the English Resident would have to be curtailed if Awadh's usefulness as a subsidiary was to be guaranteed.
- Thus, in 1784, Warren Hastings entered into a new series of arrangements with Asaf-ud-Daula which reduced the debt by ₹50 lakh and thereby the pressure on the Awadh regime.

Check Your Progress

36. Nana Phadnavis controlled the Maratha affairs in Mumbai. (True/False)
37. The life of Mahadji was a long period of luxury. (True/False)
38. Nana Phadnavis was born in 1740. (True/False)
39. Nana Phadnavis lacked military leadership. (True/False)
40. The Third Anglo-Maratha war was partly related to the British imperialistic design in India and partly to the nature of Maratha state. (True/False)
41. The Marathas tried to preserve religion at the cost of science. (True/False)
42. The Marathas recruited foreigners as soldiers to defend their country. (True/False)
43. The Bhonsle family of the Pune district acquired military and political prominence in the Ahmadnagar kingdom at the close of the 16th century. (True/False)

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- A more forward policy was initiated by Lord Wellesley who arrived in 1798 only to reject the Awadh system.
- The Nawab's declaration of inability to pay the increased financial demand of the company gave Wellesley a suitable pretext to contemplate annexation.
- The Nawab of Awadh had many heirs and could not therefore be covered by the Doctrine of Lapse.
- Hyderabad was formed by the six Deccan Subahs of the Mughal Empire.
- Zulfiqar Khan, the most powerful and reputed general of Aurangzeb, made plans to seize the Deccan subahs after the death of Aurangzeb. To achieve his aim, the entered into a secret understanding with the Marathas.
- At the time of the death of Aurangzeb, Chin Qilich Khan was at Bijapur and he observed neutrality during the war of succession among the sons of Aurangzeb.
- The Sayyid brothers ordered Sayyid Dilawar Ali Khan and Alam Ali, Khan to oppose the march of Nizam-ul-Mulk.
- After the fall of the Sayyid brothers, Nizam-ul-Mulk made himself the master of the six subahs of the Deccan and began his operations against the Marathas.
- As Wazir, Nizam-ul-Mulk added Malwa and Gujarat to the subedari of the Deccan.
- Nizam-ul-Mulk correctly realized that the activities of Peshwa Baji Rao I were opposed to his own policy of establishing an independent kingdom in the Deccan and, hence, he decided to oppose him.
- There were many Maratha chiefs who were not satisfied with the Peshwa and they joined the Nizam against him.
- When Nadir Shah attacked India, the Mughal Emperor called Nizam-ul-Mulk to Delhi to negotiate the terms of agreement with the invader. The agreement was actually made by the Nizam but the same was upset by Saadat Ali Khan.
- After the death of Nizam-ul-Mulk, there was a war of succession which became linked with the Anglo-French conflict in the Deccan.
- In the time of Lord Wellesley, the Nizam entered into a subsidiary alliance with the English East India Company and virtually became their subordinate ally.
- Ranjit Singh made himself the master of Punjab.
- The first regular contact between Ranjit Singh and the British seems to have been made in 1800, when India was threatened by an invasion of Zaman Shah, the Afghan ruler who had been invited by Tipu Sultan, a bitter enemy of the British.
- The second contact was made in 1805, when the Maratha chief Holkar entered Punjab with help from Ranjit Singh.
- As the danger of French invasion on India became remote, the English adopted a stern policy towards Ranjit Singh.
- Ranjit Singh fortified the fort of Govindgarh. But in the last stage, Ranjit Singh changed his mind and agreed to sign the Treaty of Amritsar in 1809.
- The death of Maharaja Ranjit Singh in June 1839 was followed by political instability and rapid changes of government in the Punjab.
- The First Anglo-Sikh War was fought at Mudki on December 18, 1845 and the Sikhs were defeated.

NOTES

- The Sikhs, under Ranjit Singh Majithia, however, defeated the English at Buddwal on January 21, 1846.
- But, the Sikhs were again defeated at Aliwal on January 28. The decisive battle was fought at Sobraon on February 10, 1846 and the Sikhs were routed.
- The war came to an end by the Treaty of Lahore which was signed on 9th March, 1846.
- Another treaty was made with the Sikhs on 16th December, 1846. This treaty is known as the Second Treaty of Lahore or the Treaty of Bhairowal.
- The annexation of Punjab extended the British territories in India up to the natural frontiers of India towards the north-west.
- Mysore, which lies between the two Ghats—the Eastern and Western—were ruled by the Wodeyar dynasty
- Owing to frequent Maratha invasions, Mysore had become financially insolvent, making it more susceptible to attacks.
- Hyder Ali was a great Indian general whose outstanding martial splendour saw him become the factual ruler of the Kingdom of Mysore in south-western India.
- Haider Ali brought himself into limelight by annexing Devanhalli in 1749 and by raiding Hyderabad and amassing a large booty.
- using the enmity that existed between the Raja of Mysore and Nanajaraja, he took over the reins of administration in his own hands in 1761, making the Raja, a de jure head, who had practically no powers and received a fixed amount as pension.
- In 1760, Haider Ali was defeated by the Marathas.
- On 7 December 1782, Haider Ali died and his son Tipu Sultan took over the reins of Mysore.
- During the first half of seventeenth century when the Mughal Empire was at the height of its glory, the rise of the Marathas under Shivaji gave a severe jolt to it.
- The Marathas washed out all the achievements of Mughals in the later half of seventeenth century. They emerged as the most formidable power in India, till they were decisively defeated in the Third Battle of Panipat in 1761.
- The defeat of the Marathas in the Third Battle of Panipat was due to the alienation of the Rajputs and Jats and the failure to neutralize Shuja-ud-Daula and Najib-ud-daula.
- In the Third Battle of Panipat, the Afghan army had better training and it was better organized than the Maratha army.
- Panipat paved the way for the rise of British power, which became a paramount power in India by the eighteenth century.
- During the period of Peshwa Madhav Rao I Marathas tried to restore their lost position in North India.
- After the Battle of Panipat, Mahadji Scindia and Nana Phadnavis played an important role to regain Maratha glory. In 1818, the Marathas made a last attempt to restore their independence. The third Anglo-Maratha war ended in their ignominious defeat.
- After the third Anglo-Maratha war, the Peshwa was dethroned and pensioned off. His territories were annexed and the enlarged presidency of Bombay was brought into existence.

NOTES

- The other Maratha chiefs also lost most of their territories and were reduced to very subordinate positions under British residents.
- The main causes of failure of Marathas were as follows:
  - Lack of national spirit
  - Superior British diplomacy
  - Military organization
  - Weak Maratha rulers

4.8 KEY TERMS

- **Doctrine of Lapse:** It was an annexation policy purportedly devised by Lord Dalhousie, who was the Governor General for the East India Company in India between 1848 and 1856. According to the Doctrine, any princely state or territory under the direct influence (paramountcy) of the British East India Company (the dominant imperial power in the subcontinent), as a vassal state under the British subsidiary system, would automatically be annexed if the ruler was either manifestly incompetent or died without a direct heir.
- **Mansabdar:** It was a generic term for the military-type grading of all imperial officials of the Mughal Empire.
- **Chauth:** A tax or tribute imposed from early 18th century by the Maratha empire.
- **Subahs:** It refered to a province under the Mughal empire. The governor of a subah was known as a subahdar.
- **Doab:** It refers to a track of land lying between two confluent rivers.

4.9 ANSWERS TO 'CHECK YOUR PROGRESS'

1. Lord Wellesley came to India in 1798.
2. The Nawab of Awadh had many heirs and could not, therefore, be covered by the Doctrine of Lapse. So, Lord Dalhousie accused Nawab Wajid Ali Shah of having misgoverned his state and of refusing to introduce reforms. His state was, therefore, annexed in 1856.
3. True
4. Zulfiqar Khan was a powerful and reputed general of Aurangzeb and Chin Qilich Khan was a powerful Mansabdar who later became Nizam-ul-Mulk Asaf Jah.
5. Nizam-ul-Mulk was recalled from the Deccan by the end of 1715 and in his place Husain Ali was appointed the governor.
6. Several dissatisfied Maratha chiefs allied with Nizam-ul-Mulk, the nizam, in his fight against the Peshwa.
7. Awadh, Faujdar
8. On 21 January, 1846, the Sikhs, under Ranjit Singh Majithia, defeated the English at Buddwal, but were defeated at Aliwal on January 28. On 10 February 1846, the Sikhs were routed at Sobraon. The English crossed the Sutlej on February 13 and captured the capital of Lahore on February 20.

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9. The Treaty of Lahore was signed between the Sikhs and the British on 9 March 1846.
10. Punjab was annexed on 29 March 1849 under the leadership of Lord Dalhousie.
11. The first regular contact between Ranjit Singh and the British seems to have been made in 1800.
12. The key factors that led to the first Anglo–Mysore war were:
    (i) Haider Ali's desire to oust the English from the Carnatic and establish his suzerainty, and the English apprehension of him being an obstacle to their imperial designs.
    (ii) The formation of a coalition among the English the Nizam and the Marathas to expel Haider.
    (iii) Haider's proclamation of war against the English after being able to split the tripartite coalition formed against him.
13. The signatories of the Treaty of Madras were Haider Ali and the East India Company with its allies, the Raja of Tanjore and the sovereign of Malabar.
14. Haider Ali died on 7 December 1782 at Narasingarayanpet near Chittoor.
15. After Tipu Sultan's death on 4 May 1799, Lord Wellesley imposed the subsidiary alliance and placed Krishnaraja, a descendant of Woodeyar dynasty on the throne of Mysore.
16. 1790
17. The Desphandes and Deshmukhs traditionally performed the duty of collecting land revenue.
18. Poona jagir
19. True
20. The finance minister was called amatya.
21. Shambhaji, the eldest son of Shivaji, had to fight a battle of succession against his step brother Rajaram.
22. True
23. Shahji Bhonsle's wife's name was Jija Bai.
24. The two most important taxes in the Maratha taxation system were chauth and sardeshmukhi.
25. Balaji Viswanath , a small revenue official, was given the title of 'sena karte' (maker of the army) by Shahu in 1708. He became Peshwa in 1713 and made the post the most important and powerful as well as hereditary. He played a crucial role in the final victory of Shahu by winning over almost all the Maratha sardars to the side of Shahu.
26. The Third Battle of Panipat took place on January 15, 1761.
27. Madhav Rao was the younger son of Balaji Bajirao. He was placed on the Peshwa's gaddi after the death of his father when he was only 17 years old. So, his uncle Raghunath Rao, the eldest surviving member of the Peshwa's family, became his regent and the de facto ruler of the state.
28. The two contemporaries who played an important role during the first Anglo-Maratha war were Mahadji Scindia and Nana Phadnavis.

29. Nana Phadnavis was born in 1742.
30. The first Anglo-Maratha War started when Raghunath Rao, after killing Peshwa Narayan Rao, claimed the post of Peshwa.
31. Daulat Rao Scindia signed the 'Peace Treaty' on December 30, 1803.
32. The biggest weakness of Daulat Rao Scindia was that he was a lover of luxury.
33. Baji Rao I was Peshwa from 1720 to 1740.
34. True
35. True
36. False
37. False
38. False
39. True
40. True
41. True
42. True
43. True

4.10 QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Short-Answer Questions

1. Why was Asaf-ud-Daula's succession a turning point in the history of Awadh?
2. How was Ranjit Singh able to keep the British East India Company from taking over Punjab?
3. Briefly discuss the life of Hyder Ali.
4. What do you know about chauth and sardeshmukhi?
5. What are the causes of the Third Battle of Panipat?
6. What were the provisions of the Treaty of Purandhar?
7. What led the Marathas towards the second Anglo-Maratha War?
8. Name the various treaties signed between the Maratha chiefs and the Company.

Long-Answer Questions

1. Discuss the annexation of Awadh.
2. Explain how the Deccan subahs of Hyderabad slipped into the hands of the British.
3. Discuss the three Anglo-Sikh wars. What were the consequences?
4. What led to the second Anglo-Mysore war? What were its consequences?
5. Why was the Treaty of Srirangapatnam signed? What were its clauses?
6. What were the causes of Tipu Sultan's failure in the late 18th century? Were these roots to the fourth war with the British?
7. Write a detailed note on Shivaji.

8. Describe the changes that Marathas saw under Balaji Baji Rao's regime.
9. Discuss the effects and the importance of the Third Battle of Panipat.

4.11 FURTHER READING

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UNIT 5 ADMINISTRATION UNDER THE EAST INDIA COMPANY

Structure

5.0 Introduction
5.1 Unit Objectives
5.2 Diwani
5.3 Regulating Act of 1773
5.4 Pitt's India Act of 1784
5.5 Charter Acts of 1813 and 1833
  5.5.1 Charter Act of 1813
  5.5.2 Charter Act of 1833
5.6 Summary
5.7 Key Terms
5.8 Answers to 'Check Your Progress'
5.9 Questions and Exercises
5.10 Further Reading

5.0 INTRODUCTION

In the previous unit, you learnt that the emergence of regional powers such as Awadh, Punjab, Hyderabad, Mysore and the Marathas and the growing weakness of the Mughal emperor. You also learnt how these powers fought the British East India Company to retain their suzerainty, but finally lost due to internal feuds.

The entire administrative machinery of the East India Company was designed to ensure the smooth functioning of trade. Maintaining law and order was significant to ensure that exploitation of the Indian resources could take place effectively. Bengal was the first major administrative region of the East India Company. As the Company expanded its powers in India, the government in Britain started questioning its authority. In 1767, the Parliament in Britain passed a law under which the East India Company was asked to pay an annual tribute of 470,000 thousands a year to the government. Situation in Britain coupled with the need to retain its authority over regional Indian powers and the Mughals, saw the trading company acquire ownership of regions.

The Regulating Act of 1773 had many defects and in order to correct them the British Parliament passed the Pitt's India Act in 1784. In 1786, the Court of Directors sent Cornwallis to India to carry out the policy of peace outlined in Pitts India Act and to reorganize the administrative system in the country. He introduced the Permanent Settlement in Bengal and Bihar. He also implemented police, judicial and revenue reforms. After Cornwallis, Lord Wellesely was sent to India in 1798. He introduced the system of Subsidiary Alliance and the first subsidiary treaty was signed by the Nizam of Hyderabad in 1798. Then, in 1814, arrived Lord Hastings from London. He adopted the policy of intervention and war.

In this unit, you will learn how the East India Company extracts the diwani of the lucrative province of Bengal from the Mughal emperor Shah Alam II after defeating the latter in the Battle of Buxar. You will also learn how the government in Britain tried to exercise its control over the East India Company, which was

NOTES

actually a trading company under its jurisdiction but was growing its power and authority in Asia.

5.1 UNIT OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to:

- Explain how the East India Company got the diwani of Bengal from the Mughal emperor
- Describe the Regulating Act and its defects
- Analyse the Pitt's India Act and its shortcomings
- Discuss the Charter Acts of 1813 and 1833

5.2 DIWANI

The East India Company's battles at Plassey in 1757 and Buxar in 1764 laid the foundation of the British rule in India. The battle at Buxar was the crucial one. It was fought between the British, led by Major Hector Munro, on the one hand and a united force of Mir Kasim, the nawab of Bengal, Suja-ud-Daula, the nawab of Awadh and Shah Alam II, the Mughal Emperor on the other. The defeat of the Indian powers established the superiority of the British, and Robert Clive extracted the diwani of the lucrative Bengal province from Shah Alam II through the Treaty of Allahabad.

The idea of the acquisition of diwani for the Company was mooted by the President and the Council who wrote to the Court of Directors on 31 December 1758 proposing the takeover of diwani of the British rule. But Clive was hesitant to accept it.

Clive was afraid that 'so large a sovereignty may possibly be an object too extensive for a mercantile company'. He requested the Elder Pitt to consider 'whether the execution of a design, that may hereafter be still carried to greater lengths, be worthy of the Government's taking it into hand'. The latter's comment was that there were legal and practical difficulties.

The Company's Charter had not expired. It was uncertain whether the Company's conquests and acquisitions belonged to it or to the crown. The large revenues raised in India 'would endanger its liberties. There would be administrative difficulties after Clive's retirement; it was not probable that he would be succeeded by persons equal to the task. On the whole, Pitt was inclined to leave the Company free to do what it pleased.

In 1761, Shah Alam offered Major Carnac the grant of the diwani if the Company guaranteed the payment of the Emperor's share of the revenues. Vansittart rejected the offer on the ground that acceptance would cause jealousy and ill-will between the Company and the nawab. This was approved by the Court of Directors. Its political aims were thus defined:

> If we can secure our present possessions and privileges in Bengal, preserve the peace of the province and the Nabob in the government, and prevent the borders from being invaded or disturbed by the neighbouring rajahs or other powers, we shall be fully satisfied, and think our forces judiciously employed in answering these principal points: for we are by no means desirous of making further acquisitions, or engaging our forces in very distant projects, unless the most absolute necessity should require it, to answer one or other of the political views afore-mentioned.

NOTES

In 1765, Clive found himself in an entirely changed situation. The two grounds on which the acquisition of the diwani had been considered undesirable on previous occasions (1758, 1759, and 1761)—fear of the nawab's dissatisfaction and inadequacy of the Company's military forces—had lost their relevance. Najm-ud-Daula had been converted into a helpless tool, and the defeat of the nawab of Oudh had removed all possibilities of external military danger. In April 1765, Clive felt that the English had 'at last arrived at that critical period... 'that period which renders it necessary for us to determine, whether we can or shall take the whole to ourselves'. The policy of ruling through nominated nawabs might put the Company in a precarious position: 'The very *nabobs* whom we might support, would be either covetous of our possessions, or jealous of our power'. So he concluded: 'We must indeed become *nabobs* ourselves, in fact, if not in name, perhaps totally so without disguise.'

The treaty with Najm-ud-Daula, concluded before Clive's arrival, had made the English 'nabobs.. . in fact'. Shah Alam's grant of diwani formalized this political revolution. But the Company did not become nawab 'in name...totally so without disguise'. The reasons were explained by Clive himself in January 1767. If the Company 'threw off the mask' and assumed the nawab's functions such as the appointment of officers, foreign nations would immediately take umbrage, and complaints preferred to the British court might be attended with very embarrassing consequences'. Nor could it be supposed that 'either the French, Dutch, or Danes would readily acknowledge the Company's *subahship*, and pay into the hands of their servants the duties upon trade, or the quit rents' of lands held by them. So, every act of the 'country government must be carried on in the name of the nabob, and by his authority'.

Several months before the grant of the diwani, the English had assumed full control over the nawab's revenues through the treaty with Najm-ud-Daula. That this might provoke jealousies among 'foreign nations' was anticipated by a member of Calcutta Council, George Gray, in February 1765. He wrote:

> ... if we encroach on his (nawab's) authority by taking such a share of the administration we shall make it appear that the Company make the grant to themselves and that they oppose the entrance of foreign nations into Bengal. The Company and not the *nabob* will then be considered as the principal and in all disputes they will be accountable for whatever is done in the country and as force is the only argument we can produce in our favour, we tacitly acknowledge the same right in the French, Dutch or any other power whenever they could make use of it.

Although the Calcutta Council ignored this warning in February 1765, Clive appreciated its gravity when he arranged the settlement with Shah Alam II. The Company, he felt, should not 'make it appear' that it was itself granting the Bengal revenues to itself; it should not appear as 'the principal... accountable for whatever is done in the country'; force should not appear to be the 'only argument' it can produce in its favour. Whatever authority the Company might seize should appear to be based on a lawful grant. Such a grant could be made only by the Emperor of Delhi who, despite his political and military helplessness, had not yet lost his nominal sovereignty.

Clive made use of the imperial authority because Shah Alam was then a protégé of the Company. At the time of Najm-ud-Daula's accession, the Calcutta Council observed that the right of nominating nawabs without reference to Delhi had been

'thrice already assumed' (twice in the case of Mir Jafar and once in the case of Mir Qasim), and the same right could be exercised in the case of Mir Jafar's son. Moreover, if the Company could dictate to the Emperor the appointment of successors to the *subahdari* of Bengal, there could be no hesitation in imposing restraints on a young nawab incapable of managing his affairs. If *sanads* from the Emperor ever appeared necessary, they were to be obtained through the Council. Matters were arranged in such a way that Najm-ud-Daula appeared to receive the throne only from the Company. The Council observed:

> ... shall we, who have lost so many lives in support of privileges heretofore held by grants from Delhi, yield up our authority in Bengal, and sacrifice, at once, all we have been contending for? To admit the King's right of confirming, while we support a man by force in the Nizamut, would be the grossest absurdity.

Clive had much greater political wisdom than his predecessor's Council. He was no less anxious to retain 'all we have been contending for'; but he knew that this could best be done by 'admitting the King's right of confirming the actual position secured by the Company through its skilful use of political and military weapons.

Shah Alaim's historic *farman* (12 August 1765) was a brief and simple document.

> ... we have granted them (the English Company) the *Dewanny* of the Provinces of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa... as a free gift and *ultumgau*... It is requisite that the said Company — engage to be security for the sum of twenty-six lakh of rupees a year, for our royal revenue... and regularly remit the same to the royal Circar; and... as the said Company are obliged to keep up a large army for the protection of the Provinces of Bengal, etc., we have granted to them whatsoever may remain out of the revenues of the said provinces, after remitting the sum of twenty-six lakh of rupees to the royal Circar, and providing for the expenses of the *Nizamut.*

Under the Mughal system, the tenure of the provincial dewans was not permanent; but the grant to the Company was 'a free gift' (with an exemption from the payment of the customs of the *'dewanny'* and *'ultumgau'*, i.e., near-permanent. Indeed, the *farman* directed 'our royal descendants' and imperial officers, 'as well as the future as the present', to 'leave the said office in possession of the said Company, from generation to generation, forever and ever'. The office of diwan was always held by individuals; there was no precedent for granting it to a group of individuals functioning jointly.

The functions of the diwani included the collection and management of the revenues as also the administration of civil justice; those of the nizamat included the maintenance of law and order as also the administration of criminal justice. Out of the revenues collected by the Company, an amount of twenty-six lakh per year was to be 'regularly remitted' to the 'royal circar' (i.e., the imperial treasury) and 'the expenses of the Nizamat' were to be provided for. By implication, the Nizamat was to be retained by Najm-ud-daula. The amount of expenses to which he would be entitled was not specified; but by an agreement dated 30 September 1765, he agreed to accept the annual sum of *sicca* rupees 5,386,131,9 annas 0 paise as 'an adequate allowance for the support of the Nizamat'.

Of this sum, the amount of ₹36,07,277,8 annas 0 paise was to be spent on the maintenance of troops for 'the support of the king's (my) dignity only'. This

expenditure was to be controlled, not by the nawab himself, but by an official nominated by the Company. Thus, the nawab became a mere pensioner.

After meeting the imperial charges and the expenses of the nizamat, the Company was to retain 'whatsoever may remain out of the revenues of the said provinces'. This surplus was to be used for the maintenance of the 'large army' which it had to 'keep up... for the protection of the provinces of Bengal, etc.'. In normal circumstances, it was not the dewan's duty to take responsibility for military protection; that was the Nazim's duty, and the necessary expenses would be included in the 'expenses of the Nizamat'. By directly recognizing the maintenance of 'a large army for the protection of the provinces of Bengal, etc' as a function of the *dewan*, the *farman* extended the scope of the diwani so as to include the most, important of the functions of the nizamat. This was a gross deviation from the traditional Mughal system, a clear repudiation of the bifurcation of functions which was the basis of Mughal provincial administration.

The grant of the diwani was a cession to the Company of the military government of the three provinces in addition to the right to administer civil justice as also the complete control of the finances.

It was, in fact, though not in name, a cession of the sovereignty of these provinces, seeing that it was a cession of all the essentials of sovereignty.

The implications of the change were quite clear to Clive and his colleagues. The Select Committee described the Company as having 'come into the place of the country Government, by his Majesty's royal grant of the dewannee'. The general letter from Bengal to the Court of Directors, dated 30 September 1765, stated:

> By this acquisition of the Dewanny, your possessions and influence are rendered paramount and secure, since no future Nabob will either have the power, or riches sufficient, to attempt your overthrow, by means either of force or corruption. All revolutions must henceforward be at an end, as there will be no fund for secret services, for donations, or for restitutions.... The power is now lodged where it can only be lodged with safety to us....

The Court of Directors approved the acquisition of the diwani but refused to accept the wide responsibilities involved in it. 'The office of diwan' was to be exercised by the resident at the durbar 'only in superintending the collections and disposal of the revenues...under the control of the governor and the Select Committee'. The ordinary bounds of that control should 'extend to nothing beyond the superintending the collection of the revenues, and the receiving the money from the Nabob's treasury to that of the dewanny or the Company'. The administration of justice, the appointment of officers, the management of zamindar is, in short, 'whatever comes under the denomination of civil administration', was to remain in the hands of the nawab or his ministers.

Firminger comments:

> The Court of Directors imagined that all it wanted their servants to do was to lie beneath the tree and let the ripe fruit tumble into their open mouths. They would take the produce of the people's labour, and, in return, offer the people no protection against injustice and oppression.

Muhammad Reza Khan, who was functioning as the *naib subah* or deputy *subahdar* as the Company's nominee under the treaty with Najm-ud-Daula, was appointed by Clive as the *naib dewan* to discharge the diwani functions of the Company in Bengal. An analogous position was held in Bihar by Raja Dhiraj Narayan

NOTES

who was replaced in 1766 by Raja Shitab Roy. Reza Khan and his counterpart in Bihar were in charge of the Nizamat as also of the Diwani; they controlled the entire administration as agents of the English. It was 'a dual system in a double sense'. The authority (under the Emperor) was divided in theory between Company and nawab; in practice the administration was divided between 'English controllers and Indian agency'.

The head of the 'Indian agency' in Bengal was Reza Khan; the *de facto* chief of the 'English controllers' was the resident at the durbar who had to 'superintend the collections and disposal of revenues...under the control of the governor and the Select Committee'. His functions and procedure of work were specified in the court's instructions.

It will be his duty to stand between the administration and the encroachments always to be apprehended from the agents of the Company's servants, which must first be known to him; and we rely upon his fidelity to the Company to check all such encroachments, and to prevent the oppression of the natives.

His correspondence with the Select Committee was to be carried on through the channel of the President. He was to keep a diary of all his transactions. His correspondence with the Indians 'must be publicly conducted'. Copies of all his letters 'sent and received' were to be transmitted monthly to the Presidency as also the Court 'by every ship'. The duties of the Resident were found to be so heavy that in 1767 the court took two steps—it ordered that the office of Chief of Qasimbazar was to be separated from that of Resident and that, in spite of this relief, he was to be paid 2 per cent commission on the revenue collections.

The resident's jurisdiction in revenue matters covered the 'diwani portion' of Bengal, consisting of twenty-four districts; it did not extend to the three 'ceded districts' (Burdwan, Midnapore and Chittagong). There the company's servants (the residents of Burdwan and Midnapore and the chief of Chittagong) were primarily in charge of management of revenues; in fact, they exercised all functions of the government including control over the police. In criminal justice, the Nawab's formal authority was recognized, but they were 'invested with the superintendence of the *faujdari* courts'.

In the 'diwani portion', the resident exercised important judicial functions in addition to the general supervision of revenue affairs. He inspected the Courts of Justice at Murshidabad. Along with the *naib subah,* he received and determined appeals from the district courts. In 1770, it was decided that in 'all criminal cases throughout the province' the decisions should be submitted to the Murshidabad Controlling Council for its 'approbation', and that in all cases relating to property in land and to the revenue 'tried in the country government courts' the Council would have the power of 'final determination'.

The functions of the diwani extended to control and collection of customs. Through the exercise of this power, the Company put its commercial supremacy on a firm basis.

The Directors, as we have seen, had assigned to their servants very limited functions: nothing beyond the superintending the collection of the revenues, and receiving the money from the nawab's treasury to that of the *dewanny* or the Company.

NOTES

The Select Committee directed the Resident in 1767 not 'to make the Company appear as a principal in any measure or act of government'. But, the men on the spot found it convenient actually to rule under the guise of superintending or giving advice, without accepting formal responsibility.

The results were deplored by Richard Becher, the Resident at the Durbar, in May 1769:

> ... this fine country, which flourished under the most despotic and arbitrary government is verging towards its ruin....

A few months later (December 1769) Governor Verelst wrote:

> Such a divided and complicated authority gave rise to oppressions and intrigues unknown at any other period; the officers of government caught the infection, and being removed from any immediate control proceeded with still greater audacity.... The consequences are but too evidently exemplified in the decline of commerce and cultivation, the diminution of specie, and the general distress of the poor.. ..

The 'pretended nawabs' had, meanwhile, passed into oblivion. Najm-ud-Daula died in May 1766. As he left no issue, his brother Saif-ud-Daula, a boy of sixteen, was proclaimed his successor. The new nawab's allowance was 12 lakh less than that of his predecessor. He was made to a sign a treaty 'agreeing that the protecting the provinces of Bengal, Behar and Orissa, and the force sufficient for that purpose, be left entirely to their (i.e., the Company's) discretion and good management'. He died in 1770. His successor was his younger brother, Mubarak-ud-Daula, a boy of twelve, who had to submit to a further cut of 10 lakh in his allowance.

On 29 August 1771, the Directors recorded their censure of Muhammad Reza Khan who, they observed, had 'abused the trust reposed in him and been guilty of many acts of violence and injustice towards his countrymen. They directed that a 'minute investigation' should be held into his 'general conduct during the time the *dewanny* revenues have been under his charge'. At the same time they took the historic decision to stand forth as *duan*, and, by the agency of the Company's servants to take upon themselves the entire care and management of the revenues.

The success of the Company's servants in improving the collection of the revenues in the 'ceded districts' probably convinced the Directors that their English servants were not absolutely unfit for revenue work. They felt that the experiment of collecting the revenues through a *naib dewan* had failed. They wrote:

> ... we have not a doubt but that by the exertion of your abilities and the care and assiduity of our servants in the superintendency of the revenue the collections will be conducted with more advantage to the Company and ease to the natives than by the means of a Naib Duan....

There was some apprehension that 'the abolition of the office of naib dewan and stepping forth as principals' might 'alarm... European neighbours'. The Directors relied on the 'prudence' of the governor and Council 'for removing every improper jealousy that may be entertained on that account'.

The removal of the 'paradox' was described by Mill as a 'revolution': A total change in the management of the revenues...was an innovation by which the whole property of the country and along with it the administration of justice, were placed upon a new foundation.

The task of giving a concrete shape to this 'revolution' fell upon Warren Hastings who assumed office as Governor of Bengal in April 1772. After the fall of

NOTES

Reza Khan and Shitab Roy, he transferred the headquarters of revenue and judicial administration from Murshidabad to Calcutta. By these and other measures (he wrote on 2 March 1773):

> ... the authority of the Company is fixed in this country without any possibility of a competition and beyond the power of any but themselves to shake it. The *nabob* is a mere name, and the seat of Government most effectually and visibly translated from Murshidabad to Calcutta....

Hastings did not believe that 'the authority of the Company' was based on Shah Alam's *farman*; the Diwani, he wrote, was 'a presumptuous gift of what was not his to give'. Force, not law, was the source of power. He wrote:

> The sword which gave us the dominion of Bengal must be the instrument of its preservation; and if.. .it shall ever cease to be ours, the next proprietor will derive his right and possession from the same natural Charter.

The 'presumptuous' giver of the *diwani* had left the Company's protection, and entered Delhi as a protégé of the Marathas three months before Hastings' assumption of charge at Calcutta. The new Governor refused under instructions from the Court of Directors to make the annual payment of twenty-six lakh of rupees which was the primary condition of the 'presumptuous gift'. This was 'in effect a declaration of the practical independence of Bengal'. As Dodwell says, 'The payment of tribute was the one really crucial element in the relations between the emperors and the rulers of the provinces'. It 'alone signified a real, living allegiance to the imperial power'.

Moreover, the puppet emperor was dispossessed of the districts of Kora and Allahabad which he had received from Clive. Hastings declined the title which Shah Alam offered him. Thus, the links with the Mughal empire were clearly and publicly cut off.

Since the deposition of Mir Qasim in 1763, the nawab had been 'a mere name'. By 1772, Clive's insistence on the political necessity of maintaining 'the name and shadow of (the Nawab's) authority' had become an anachronism. Not a mouse stirred when Najm-ud-Daula and Saif-ud-Daula signed away their powers, nor when Saif-ud-Daula and Mubarak-ud-Daula accepted cut in their pensions. The 'revolution' of 1772 was accomplished without any protest from any quarter. This was a practical demonstration of the fact that the 'mask' could be thrown off without giving 'umbrage' to the French, Dutch or Danes.

In regard to the nawab, however, Hastings was more cautious than he was in the case of the emperor. He wrote in July 1773 that he would supersede, whenever necessary, the authority of the Nazim 'to supply deficiencies or correct the irregularities of his (criminal) courts'; but this license ought never to be used without an absolute necessity, and after the most solemn deliberation'.

Two years later (December 1775) he wrote:

> .. .it is as visible as the light of the sun that.. .the Nabob is a mere pageant without so much as the pageant of authority, and even his most consequential agents receive their appoint-ment from the recommendation of the Company, and the express nomination of their own servants.

The question of the nawab's sovereignty was raised before the Supreme Court at Calcutta in 1775 in connection with two cases. One was a case of conspiracy against Hastings; the other, a case of conspiracy against Barwell, a pro-Hastings member of the Council. One of the defendants in both cases was Roy Radha Charan.

NOTES

Three members of the Council (Clavering, Monson, and Francis) wrote to Chief Justice Impey and the other Judges that Radha Charan was 'the Vakeel, or public minister of the Subah of these provinces' and was, therefore, 'entitled to the rights, privileges, and immunities allowed by the Law of Nations and the Statute Law of England to the Representatives of Princes'.

The Company's counsel pleaded that Mubarak-ud-daula was a sovereign prince. 'He exercises criminal justice throughout his dominions, and signs the death-warrants, without any control whatsoever from this Government. He has exercised the right of sending Ambassadors from time immemorial. He is possessed of a royal mint, and coins money. He keeps in pay a body of troops.... If the Nawab is not the Sovereign, I should be glad to know who is'.

The counsel for the prosecution argued that the Nawab's power of signing the death-warrants was 'a delusion': it was vested in him by the Company from 'political motives'. His army was 'no other than his *Swarry* (body of ceremonial troops), of which the number of sepoys and peons is limited by the Company'. As he had 'no possessions to lose' he could have no 'occasion for an army'. Affidavits sworn by Hastings and a high officer of the Company stated that the judicial changes introduced in 1772 were ordered by the Company, 'without consulting the said Nabob, or requiring his concurrence'.

Chief Justice Impey relied on two sets of documents. He interpreted Mubarak-ud-Daula's treaty as 'a surrender' by him of all power into the hands of the Company. The affidavits proved, according to him, that the Nawab performed no act of sovereignty independent of, and without the consent of, the Company. So he concluded: 'Nothing is left to Mubarick but an empty title'. Justice Lemaistre stated the same conclusion in uncharitable language:

> With regard to this phantom, this man of straw, Mubaruck-ul-Dowlah, it is an insult to the understanding of the Court to have made the question of his Sovereignty.

Justice Hyde observed:

> The Act of Parliament does not consider Mobaruck-ul-Dowlah as a Sovereign Prince; the jurisdiction of this Court extends over all his dominions: his situation is not such as will enable him to confer the character of Ambassador.

Justice Chambers concentrated his attention on the question of the alleged immunity of Radha Charan as an Ambassador. He did not think himself 'obliged' to decide the basic question of sovereignty 'because the Parliament seems cautiously to have avoided it, by founding the jurisdiction of this Court over those who do not reside in Calcutta or the interior factories, on personal not local subjection'.

The Majority in the Council (Clavering, Monson, and Francis) took the cue from Chambers' observation and wrote again to the judges:

> If it is true that the sovereignty of Mubarick-ul-Dowlah be not admitted by the Supreme Court.. .we should not be left in doubt as to the party to whom the Sovereignty belongs.

In 1776, Francis asked a fundamental question:

> ...whether the natives of Bengal are to acknowledge one Sovereign and be subject to one Government; or whether they are to be left... divided between their native Prince, claiming the rights of Subadar.. .the Emperor, whose rights, as Lord Paramount, inherent in the constitution of the Empire, have been for a number of years acknowledged by the Company—the Presidency of Fort William, who

NOTES

hold by the sword by agreement with the Nabob, as they do the purse by grant from the Emperor; and lastly a Court (i.e., the Supreme Court).. .exercising an unlimited jurisdiction through the provinces, in the name of the King of Great Britain.

Such questions were not strictly relevant to the issue of Radha Charan's alleged immunity, but their political importance could not be denied. It was, however, not the duty of the Supreme Court to decide whether the 'ostensible' sovereign (i.e., the Nawab) was 'a real sovereign'. Impey wrote in 1776 that the Supreme Court was bound by oaths and evidence and could not function politically like the servants of the Company.

They (servants of the Company) do their duty in obeying their superiors, by holding them (him, i.e., the nawab) out as the ostensible; we should be guilty of a breach of duty, and of oaths, should we solemnly and judicially determine him to be the acting ruling Sovereign of this Province.

The Supreme Court, in effect, upheld Hastings' view that the nawab was 'a mere pageant without so much as the pageant of authority'. The Emperor had already been eliminated through stoppage of payment of the annual tribute. The Presidency of Fort William, guided and controlled by the Court of Directors, exercised *de facto* sovereignty, subject to the ultimate authority of the (British) State to dictate the terms on which that sovereignty was to be exercised.

5.3 REGULATING ACT OF 1773

The British government directed the affairs of the Company through the Regulating Act, 1773. It was particularly initiated with to serve this purpose. The Act reorganized the government in Calcutta and established the Supreme Court there. The Regulating Act of 1773 was the first instance where Parliamentary Acts deviated from its royal charters, but was the turning point in the constitutional history of India as it protested against the putrefaction of East India Company.

Warren Hastings was formally declared the governor general of Bengal and he was to be assisted by an executive council comprising four members. The Act empowered the governor general in council to make rules, ordinances and regulations that were meant to bring order and establish civil government. Through this Act, Hastings was able to convert a trading company into an administrative body that formed the basis of the British empire in India.

The Act said: The Government of the presidency of Fort William in Bengal should have a governor general and a council, which consists of four councilors with the general democratic rule that the governor general would consider decision of the majority of the Councilors. Warren Hastings shall be the first Governor General and Lt. General John Clavering, George Monson, Richard Barwell and Philip Francis shall be the first four Councilors.

Main provisions

The main specifications of the Regulating Act, 1773, are listed below.

- The King of England was in charge of the East India Company. High officials of the company, judges and member of the court of directors were to be nominated.
- The qualifying sum to gain voting right in the court of proprietors was increased from £500 to £1000.
- The directors, who were earlier elected annually, had to continue office for four years, and a quarter of the number of were to be re-elected annually.
- A supreme court comprising a chief justice and three other judges was established in Bengal. Apart from the governor general and the members of his council, it entailed civil, criminal, admiralty and ecclesiastical jurisdiction over all British subjects in the Company's dominions
- The governor general and his four councillors were to look after civil and military affairs and they who were mentioned in the Act in the first instance, they were to hold office for five years and during their tenure they could only be removed by the king on the representation of the court of directors.
- Though he had a casting vote which were to be used to break a stalemate, the governor general had to abide by the decision of the majority of the council.
- In matters of war and peace, governor general's decision was considered final above the opinions expressed by the governors of Madras and Bombay. Salaries were augmented if officers showed better merit. Company servants were not permitted to accept presents or bribes and indulge in private trade.
- Only with the prior permission of the home secretary could the governor general in council make rules.
- The governor general in council had the right to issue rules, ordinances and regulations, though they had to be registered in the supreme court.

Check Your Progress

1. Why was Clive reluctant to take over the diwani of Bengal?
2. What condition did Shah Alam put before granting of Bengal diwani to the British?
3. What were the functions of the diwani and the nizamat?

Important features of the Act

A few important features of this Act are listed below:

- It made it clear that the administration of Indian territories was not a personal affair of the Company servants. The British Parliament was empowered to make amendments.
- This Act initiated the course of territorial integration and administrative centralization in India.
- It started a process of parliamentary control over administrative decisions taken by the Company.
- The Act set up a supreme court of judicature comprising a chief justice and three other members. The Act provided the licence to the British government to have a say in the internal affairs of the Company.
- A council of four members was established to help the governor general. Though these members were to hold office for five years, they could only be removed by the British Crown.
- The supreme government was entrusted 'from time to time to make and issue rules, ordinances, and regulations the good order and civil government' of the British territories.
- The Presidency of Bengal was made superior to other presidencies and the governor of Bengal was appointed as governor general. Governors and the councils of Madras and Bombay had to follow the decisions taken by the governor general and council of Bengal.

NOTES

The defects of the Regulating Act

The defects of the Regulating Act have been outlined below:

- The governor general did not have any veto power. Hastings often had to struggle with his councillors who could easily thrust their decisions on him by majority voting.
- The jurisdiction of the Supreme Court and its relation with the governor general in council was not specified.
- The presidencies of Madras and Bombay often declared war, without consulting the governor general and council of Bengal. In case of Marathas and Haidar Ali, the Bombay government and Madras council, respectively, chose to decide on their own.
- The reports sent by the governor general in council in India was not considered seriously and was not analyzed systematically.
- The Court of Directors had become 'more or less permanent oligarchy' Also, the court of proprietors enjoyed immunity from any scrutiny based on moral grounds. These privileges gave them allowance to participate in intrigues and create factions plagued the home government internally.

5.4 PITT'S INDIA ACT OF 1784

The British government had passed the Regulating Act in 1773, but this Act was not successful. So, in order to control its defects an Act of Settlement was passed by the British Parliament in 1781. The Act of Settlement of 1781, however, could not cure the defects of the Regulating Act and an agitation for an effective control over the Company's Indian affairs continued. The matter was raised in the Parliament and the Parliament appointed two committees.

The committee recommended for the recall of the Governor-General Warren Hastings and the Chief Justice Sir Elijah Impey. But the Court of Proprietors refused to recall them. This demonstrated the inadequate degree of parliamentary control over the East India Company and its administration. To remedy this situation, the Pitts India Act was passed by the Parliament.

The East India Company Act of 1784, also known as the Pitt's India Act, provided for the appointment of a Board of Control, and a joint government of British India by both the Company and the Crown with the government holding the ultimate authority.

The Act gave veto power to the governor general. This way he held the authority not to allow a few things to be included in the agenda for discussion by the council.

It also called for an inquiry into the real jurisdiction, rights and privileges of zamindars and directed the rehearsal of the grievances of those zamindars who had been unjustly displaced. The Court of Directors suggested that the settlements should be made with the land-holders, but at the same time the rights of all descriptions of persons should be maintained. It also suggested that durable assessment of revenue on the basis of past experience should be made. Thus, during the time of Lord Cornwallis the Decennial Settlement was ordered in 1789 in the agrarian sector of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. It was ultimately made permanent in the year 1793. This is known as the Permanent Settlement of revenue for Bengal, Bihar and Orissa and gave birth to zamindari system in these provinces.

Some of the important features of this Act were as follows:

- The Act distinguished between commercial and political functions of the Company.
- The Court of Directors was allowed to manage commercial affairs of the Company, but for political affairs, Board of Six Commissioners, known as Board of Control, was appointed to control such affairs.
- The Commissioners were appointed by the King and were to hold office during his pleasure.
- The Board was empowered to superintend, direct and control all operations of the civil and military governments of the British possessions in the East India. But the Court of Directors were still strong, they had retained their vast patronage and had a right to appoint and dismiss their servants in India, initiating policies and receiving all information from India.
- The function of Board of Control was merely to revise and control over the doings of Directors.

This Act too failed due to the realization that the demarcation between government's control and company's power were subjective. Compartmentalization of responsibilities among the Board of Control, Court of Directors and the Council of the Governor General could not stand due to the same reasons. Moreover, corruption was breeding in all quarters, and the Board of Control, which comprised corrupt people, were alleged for nepotism.

Did You Know

William Pitt or Pitt the younger was the prime minister of Britain during the French Revolution and Napoleonic wars. He was elected to the British Parliament at the age of 21 and became the youngest man to become a prime minister at 24.

5.5 CHARTER ACTS OF 1813 AND 1833

The Charter Act of 1793 had renewed the Charter of the Company for twenty years. When the time for the renewal of the Charter arrived, there was a lot of agitation. The people demanded the ending of the commercial monopoly of the Company. They were determined to have a share in the trade with India. They pointed out four advantages which the abolition of monopoly would bring, viz., the extension of British commerce and industry, the prevention of the diversion of Indian trade to other countries of Europe or America, the reduction in the cost of trade, especially in transportation and warehousing charges, and the cheapening of the Indian raw imports into Britain. Stalwarts like Warren Hastings, Malcolm and Munro defended the monopoly of the Company. Ultimately, the Charter Act of 1813 was passed after many changes.

Check Your Progress

4. What did the 1773 Regulating Act do for Hastings?
5. The Regulating Act had made the Court of Directors more or less permanent oligarchy. (True/False)
6. The _____ was the first instance where Parliamentary Acts deviated from its royal charters.

Check Your Progress

7. What was done to remove the defects of the Regulating Act?
8. What is the other name of Pitt's India Act?
9. The Pitt's India Act distinguished between commercial and political functions of the Company. (True/False)
10. The Pitt's India Act gave the Governor-General ____ ____.

5.5.1 Charter Act of 1813

(1) The Act of 1813 renewed the Charter of the East India Company for 20 years. The Company was deprived of its monopoly trade with India, but she was to enjoy her monopoly of trade with China for 20 years. The Indian trade was thrown open to all British merchants, although they had to work under certain limitations. The Directors were to grant licences to those Englishmen who applied for permission to trade with India. Licences were also to be given to persons who wanted to come to India for the purpose of enlightening or reforming the Indians or for other lawful purposes. If the Directors refused to issue a licence, the Board of Control could be approached for the same purpose. The persons who tried to go to India without a licence were to be regarded as interlopers and were liable to punishment.

(2) The Act laid down certain rules for the application of the Indian revenues. Maintenance of forces was to be the first charge on the revenues of the Company, payment of interest was the second charge, and the maintenance of the civil and commercial establishment was the third charge. Provision was also made for the reduction of the debt of the Company. The Company was required to keep its commercial and territorial accounts separately.

(3) It was provided that not more than 29 thousand troops were to be maintained out of the revenues of the Company.

(4) The Company was authorized to make laws, regulations and arti-cles of war for the Indian troops. It was also authorized to provide for the holding of Court-Martial's.

(5) The powers of superintendence and direction of the Board of Control were not only defined but also enlarged to a very great extent.

(6) The local governments in India were empowered to impose taxes on persons, and punish those who did not pay them. These powers were to be exercised by the local governments subject to the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court.

(7) The Act provided for the religious learning and education of the people of India. A sum of ₹100,000 a year was to be set 'apart and applied to the revival and to the improvement of literature and the encouragement of the learned natives of India and for the introduction and promotion of knowledge of the sciences among the inhabitants of the British Territories in India'.

(8) The Act also made provision for the training of the civil and military servants of the Company. The College at Haileybury and military school at Adiscombe were to be maintained and brought under the authority of the Board of Control. The colleges at Calcutta and Madras were also to work according to the regulations of the Board of Control.

(9) The Act provided for the appointment of a, bishop and three archdeacons for the religious welfare of the Europeans in India.

(10) The Act made special provisions for the administration of justice in cases in which the Britishers and Indians were involved. Special penalties were provided for theft, forgery and coinage offences.

5.5.2 Charter Act of 1833

The Charter of the Company was renewed in 1833. There was a lot of controversy before the Charter was actually renewed. The Englishmen were opposed to the continuance of the monopoly of the Company and consequently one of the provisions of the new Charter was that the monopoly of the Company was to be abolished.

(1) While the commercial functions of the Company ended, its political functions were to continue. The Government of India was to pay the debts of the Company. The shareholders of the Company were guaranteed a dividend of 10½ per cent per annum out of the Indian revenues for the next 40 years. The Indian possessions of the Company were declared to be held by the Company in trust for the British Crown.

(2) The Charter Act restricted the patronage of the directors. It was provided that nominations to seats in the Haileybury College were to be double the number of vacancies in the services. Nominated persons were to join the college and the top-most candidates among them were to be selected to fill the vacancies. This provision was amended in 1834 in favour of the directors and continued up to 1853.

(3) President of the Board of Control became the Minister for Indian affairs. His colleagues disappeared both in fact and in name. The minister was to have two assistant commissioners who were to be assistants and not colleagues. The secretary of the minister occupied a position of great importance on account of his presence in Parliament and he spoke for his chief when the latter sat in the House of Lords.

(4) The Charter Act centralized the administration of the English Company in India. Governor-General in Bengal became the Governor-General of India. Governor-General-in-Council was given the power to control, superintend and direct the civil and military affairs of the Company in India. Presidencies of Bombay, Madras and Bengal and the other possessions were placed under the control of the Governor-General-in-Council. All revenues were to be raised under the authority of the central government. The central government was to have complete control over expenditure. So far as the presidencies were concerned, they were permitted to expand only that amount which was approved for them by the central government. The creation of any new office which carried a pension was to require the sanction of the central government. Governor-General-in-Council could suspend any member of the governments of Madras and Bombay who disobeyed him. If the provincial government failed to carry out the orders of the central government it could be superseded. When the governor general went to a presidency he was to supersede the governor and exercise the right of over-riding the local council.

(5) The Charter Act also brought about the legislative centralization of India. Formerly, the Presidencies could make their own laws and consequently there was a lot of confusion in the laws of the country. With a view to set up a uniform system of laws for the whole of the country, the Presidencies of Bombay and Madras were deprived of their law-making powers. In future, the Governor-General-in-Council alone was to make laws. He could make laws on all subjects. Those laws were to apply to all things and to all persons in British India. Those laws were enforceable by all the courts in the country and no one could refuse to enforce them. Governor-General-in-Council was authorized to make 'articles of war' and 'code of military discipline' and provide for the administration of justice. The power of making laws included also the power of making, repealing, amending or altering any laws and regulations in force in India. However, there were certain limitations on the law making power. Governor-General-in-Council could not alter the constitution of the Company or amend the Charter itself. It should not alter the Mutiny Act. It could not pass laws against the laws of England. The laws passed by the Government of India were to be called Acts. Before 1833, they were known as regulations.

NOTES

(6) The Charter Act added a new member to the executive council of the governor general known as the law member. His work was purely legislative. He attended meetings of the executive council of the governor general by special invitation. He was not given any vote. Neither the presence nor the concurrence of the law member was necessary either for the consideration of the bill or for its passage. The quorum of the executive council was fixed at three for legislative work and two for administrative work.

(7) The number of the members of the councils of the governors of Bombay and Madras was reduced to two.

(8) Bombay and Madras were to keep their separate armies under their commanders-in-chief, but they were to be under the control of the central government.

(9) The Act provided for the codification of laws in India. Provision was made for the appointment of a law commission for that purpose. It was recognized that there was a lot of confusion and uncertainty in the laws in force in the country. The laws varied from presidency to presidency. What was legal at one place was illegal at another. What was considered to be a trivial offence at one place, was considered to be a serious one at another. To quote the Law Commission, 'The British regulations having been made by three different legislatures, contained, as might be expected, very different provisions. Thus, in Bengal, serious forgeries were punishable with imprisonment for a term double of the term fixed for perjury. In the Bombay presidency on the contrary perjury was punishable with imprisonment for a term double of the Madras presidency. There were many more and equal glaring discrepancies. The result was utter chaos and confusion in administering the law of crimes.'

Referring to the confusion and uncertainty of the law, the judges of the Supreme Court of Calcutta stated that 'no one could pronounce an opinion or form a judgment, however sound, upon any disputed right of persons respecting which doubt and confusion may not be raised by those who may choose to call it in question; for very few of the public persons in office, at home not even the law officers, can be expected to have so comprehensive and clear a view of the present Indian system, as to know readily and familiarly the bearings of each part of it on the rest. There are English Acts of Parliament specially provided for India, and others of which it is doubtful whether they apply to India, wholly, or in part or not at all. There is the English common law and constitution of which the application, in many respects, is still more obscure and perplexed; Mohammedan law and usage, Hindu law, usage and scripture; Charters and Letters Patent of the Crown; Regulations of the Government, some made declaredly under Acts of Parliament particularly authorizing them, and others which are founded, as some say, on the general power of government entrusted to the Company by the Parliament and others assert on their rights as successors of the old native government; some regulations require registry in the supreme court, others do not; some have effects generally throughout India, others are peculiar to one Presidency or two.'

According to Campbell, 'Our criminal law is very much a patch-work.... engrafted at all times and seasons on a ground nearly covered and obliterated. The general result is that all the worst and most common crimes are satisfactorily provided for by special enactments; but that there is very great want of definition, accuracy and uniformity as to the miscellaneous offences. .. .We have the main points of a tolerable system; but it wants remodeling, classification and codification.'

NOTES

Regarding the condition of the local system at that time, another writer has remarked, 'At this time, each of the three presidencies enjoyed equal legislative powers; though the governor general possessed the right of veto over the legislation of the subordinate governments, it had in fact been little exercised. There had come into existence three series of regulations, as these enactments were called frequently ill-drawn, for they had been provided by inexperienced persons with little skilled advice; frequently conflicting in some cases as a result of varying conditions but in others merely by extant; and in all cases enforceable only in the Company's courts, because that had been submitted to and registered by the King's Court.'

No wonder, Section 53 of the Charter Act, 1833, provided thus, 'And whereas it is expedient .... that such laws as may be applicable in common to all classes of the inhabitants of the said territories, due regards being had to the rights, feelings and peculiar usages of the people should be enacted and that all laws and customs having the force of law within the same territories should be ascertained and consolidated as occasion may require amended. Be it therefore enacted .... and the said Commission shall fully inquire into the jurisdiction, powers and rules of the existing courts of justice and police establishments in the said territories and all existing forms of judicial procedure and into nature and operation of all laws whether civil or criminal, written or customary, prevailing and in force in any part of the said territories and where to any inhabitants of the said territories whether Europeans or others are now subject; 'and the said Commission shall from time to time make reports in which they fully set forth result of their said enquiries and shall from time to time suggest such alterations as may in their opinion be non-officially made in the said courts of justice and police establishments, forms of judicial procedure and laws, due regard being had to the distinction of castes, difference of religion and the manners and' opinions prevailing, among different races and in different parts of the said territories.'

(10) Section 87 of the Act declared that no Indian subject of the Company in India was to be debarred from holding any office under the Company 'by reason of his religion; place of birth, descent and colour'. This was a declaration of very great importance. It is true its immediate effect was very little, but it was to have far-reaching effects in the long run.

(11) Europeans were allowed to come to India and settle. However, they were required to get themselves registered on their landing on the Indian soil. Governor-General-in-Council was empowered to take measures to protect Indians from insult and outrage with regard to their person. religion, and opinions at the hands of Europeans.

(12) The Bishops of Bombay, Madras and Calcutta were to be appointed for the benefit of Christians in India.

(13) The Government of India was required to take measures for the abolition of slavery and betterment of slaves.

(14) The Act proposed to divide the Presidency of Bengal into two Presidencies, viz., Presidency of Agra and Presidency of Bengal. However, this provision was suspended by the Act of 1835 which authorized the appointment of a lieutenant-governor for the North Western Provinces. The governor general of India was to continue as the Governor of Bengal.

Critics point out that the Act of 1833 was passed before 'empty benches and an uninterested audience' of the House of Commons. But the *Calcutta Gazette* of October, 1833, hailed the Charter's renewal by call for a general 'illumination and a display of fireworks,' which were granted, and brought much satisfaction to a populace always agreeably avid for *tamashas*'.

According to Herbert Cowell, 'Thus there was established in India one central legislative authority in place of the three councils which had before existed. The new council was armed with authority to pass laws and regulations for the whole of the British territories in India. It continued to exist with some changes and modifications till 1861, when it again gave way to the prevalent desire for local legislative councils. During that time it passed a considerable number of Acts, some of general application throughout the empire, but the greater portion having a limited and partial operation. Local legislatures had been tried and superseded by an imperial legislature, which in its turn was found inadequate to the political necessities of the country. An attempt was made to increase its usefulness and authority in 1853. But in 1861 a new system was introduced by which local legislatures were re-established not to supersede, but to work in harmony with and to a certain extent in subordination to the legislative council of the Viceroy.'

ACTIVITY

Trace the similarities and dissimilarities in the reforms established by Robert Clive and Warren Hastings.

Check Your Progress

11. What was the immediate effect of the Act of 1813?
12. The Act of 1813 laid down certain rules for the application of the Indian revenues. (True/False)
13. The Act of 1813 made it compulsory for the Company to keep its ____ and ____ accounts separate.
14. The Charter Act of 1833 restricted the patronage of the Directors. (True/False)
15. The _____ centralized the administration of the English Company in India.
16. Bombay and Madras were to keep their separate armies under the Charter Act of 1813. (True/False)

5.6 SUMMARY

In this unit, you have learnt that:

- The East India Company's battles at Plassey in 1757 and Buxar in 1764 laid the foundation of the British rule in India.
- It was uncertain whether the Company's conquests and acquisitions belonged to it or to the crown.
- In 1761, Shah Alam offered Major Carnac the grant of the diwani if the Company guaranteed the payment of the Emperor's share of the revenues.
- Shah Alam's grant of diwani formalized this political revolution.
- Several months before the grant of the diwani, the English had assumed full control over the nawab's revenues through the treaty with Najm-ud-Daula.
- Clive made use of the imperial authority because Shah Alam was then a protégé of the Company.
- Clive had much greater political wisdom than his predecessor's Council.
- Under the Mughal system, the tenure of the provincial dewans was not permanent; but the grant to the Company was 'a free gift' (with an exemption from the payment of the customs of the Dewanny') and 'ultumgau', i.e., near-permanent.
- The functions of the diwani included the collection and management of the revenues as also the administration of civil justice; those of the nizamat included the maintenance of law and order as also the administration of criminal justice.

- The Court of Directors approved the acquisition of the diwani but refused to accept the wide responsibilities involved in it.
- Muhammad Reza Khan, who was functioning as the naib subah or deputy subahdar as the Company's nominee under the treaty with Najm-ud-Daula, was appointed by Clive as the naib dewan to discharge the diwani functions of the Company in Bengal.
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- In the 'diwani portion', the resident exercised important judicial functions in addition to the general supervision of revenue affairs.
- The 'pretended nawabs' had, meanwhile, passed into oblivion. Najm-ud-Daula died in May 1766. As he left no issue, his brother Saif-ud-Daula, a boy of sixteen, was proclaimed his successor.
- On 29 August 1771, the Directors recorded their censure of Muhammad Reza Khan who, they observed, had 'abused the trust reposed in him and been guilty of many acts of violence and injustice towards his countrymen.
- The 'presumptuous' giver of the diwani had left the Company's protection, and entered Delhi as a protégé of the Marathas three months before Hastings' assumption of charge at Calcutta.
- In regard to the nawab, however, Hastings was more cautious than he was in the case of the emperor.
- The Majority in the Council (Clavering, Monson, Francis) took the cue from Chambers' observation.
- The British government directed the affairs of the Company through the Regulating Act, 1773.
- The Act reorganized the government in Calcutta and established the Supreme Court there.
- Warren Hastings was formally declared to be as Governor-General of Bengal and he was to be assisted by an executive council comprising four members.
- The British government had passed the Regulating Act in 1773, but this Act was not successful.
- The committee recommended for the recall of the Governor-General Warren Hastings and the Chief Justice Sir Elijah Impey.
- The East India Company Act of 1784, also known as the Pitt's India Act, provided for the appointment of a Board of Control, and a joint government of British India by both the Company and the Crown with the government holding the ultimate authority.
- The Charter Act of 1793 had renewed the Charter of the Company for 20 years. When the time for the renewal of the Charter arrived, there was a lot of agitation.
- Ultimately, the Charter Act of 1813 was passed after many changes and compromises.

NOTES

- The Act of 1813 renewed the Charter of the East India Company for 20 years.
- The Company was authorized to make laws, regulations and articles of war for the Indian troops. It was also authorized to provide for the holding of Court-Martial's.
- The Charter of the Company was renewed in 1833.
- The Charter Act restricted the patronage of the Directors.
- Governor-General in Bengal became the Governor-General of India.
- The Charter Act also brought about the legislative centralization of India.
- Bombay and Madras were to keep their separate armies under their Commanders-in-Chief, but they were to be under the control of the Central Government.
- The Act proposed to divide the Presidency of Bengal into two Presidencies, viz., Presidency of Agra and Presidency of Bengal.

5.7 KEY TERMS

- **Sanad:** Means deed. In British India, a deed granted to the native princely state confirming them in their states, in return for their allegiance.
- **Subahdar:** The person in-charge of a shuba who would work as the Company's nominee.

5.8 ANSWERS TO 'CHECK YOUR ANSWERS'

1. Clive was afraid that 'so large a sovereignty may possibly be an object too extensive for a mercantile company'.
2. In 1761, Shah Alam offered Major Carnac the grant of the diwani if the Company guaranteed the payment of the Emperor's share of the revenues.
3. The functions of the diwani included the collection and management of the revenues as also the administration of civil justice; those of the nizamat included the maintenance of law and order as also the administration of criminal justice.
4. Through the Regulating Act of 1773, Warren Hastings was formally declared the governor general of Bengal. It also empowered the governor general in council to make rules, ordinances and regulations that were meant to bring order and establish civil government. Through this Act, Hastings was able to convert a trading company into an administrative body that formed the basis of the British empire in India.
5. True
6. Regulating Act
7. To remove the defects of Regulating Act of 1773, an Act of Settlement of 1781 was passed.
8. The Pitt's India Act was also called known as the East India Company Act of 1784.
9. True
10. Veto power

11. The Act of 1813 renewed the Charter of the East India Company for 20 years. The Company was deprived of its monopoly trade with India, but she was to enjoy her monopoly of trade with China for 20 years.
12. True
13. Commercial, territorial
14. True
15. Charter Act of 1833
16. False

5.9 QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Short-Answer Questions

1. The Act of 1833 provided for the codification of laws in India. Discuss briefly.
2. Discuss the defects of the Regulating Act.
3. What were the main features of the Pitt's India Act?

Long-Answer Questions

1. What were the main provisions of the Regulating Act of 1773?
2. What were the provisions laid down under the Charter Act of 1813?
3. The question of retaining the Company's monopoly raised a new storm before the Act of 1833 was passed. Discuss.

5.10 FURTHER READING

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UNIT 6 AGRARIAN POLICY OF THE BRITISH

Structure

6.0 Introduction
6.1 Unit Objectives
6.2 Land Revenue—Agrarian Settlement
6.3 Permanent Settlement in Bengal
  6.3.1 History of Permanent Settlement in Bengal
  6.3.2 Features
  6.3.3 Failure
6.4 Ryotwari Settlement in the Deccan
  6.4.1 Features
6.5 Mahalwari Settlement in Central India
  6.5.1 Features
6.6 Summary
6.7 Key Terms
6.8 Answers to 'Check Your Progress'
6.9 Questions and Exercises
6.10 Further Reading

6.0 INTRODUCTION

In the previous unit, you studied about the various administrative policies of the British East India Company, such as the Diwani, the Regulating Act, Pitt's India Act and the Charter Acts of 1813 and 1833.

Agrarian economy is considered to be the backbone of Indian economy. More than half of the Indian population depends on the agrarian sector for its livelihood. This ratio was much higher before the advent of British rule in India. As the British entered India, the entire agrarian economic system changed as they brought profound changes in the history of agrarian India. Before Independence, several pioneering experiments were made by kings, landlords, and the British government for agrarian development, but all these efforts could not wipe out the multidimensional problems of rural India. In agrarian society, land is the primary resource on which the rural economy is based. The pattern of ownership of the land has to be rational if growth and justice has to be achieved along with profit.

In this unit, you will learn that the East India Company formulated several policies and added several settlement acts during their period. Some of the most well known acts were the Permanent Settlement of Bengal (1793), the Ryotwari Settlement, and the Mahalwari Settlement. All these system gave birth to zamindari system in India under which the land was owned by the landlords and a fixed amount of rent or tax was paid to the government.

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6.1 UNIT OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to:

- Describe the land revenue and agrarian settlement of India
- Explain the process of Permanent Settlement in Bengal
- Discuss the Ryotwari Settlement in the Deccan
- Describe the concept of Mahalwari Settlement in Central India

6.2 LAND REVENUE—AGRARIAN SETTLEMENT

Agrarian settlement is one of the most important features of the Indian agrarian economy. The agrarian settlement mainly denotes the land system of rural India. Since, time immemorial, the country derived its principal revenues from agriculture. According to some thinkers, private property and peasant proprietorship existed in agrarian India even in the Vedic period. According to one view, the kings could acquire proprietary rights on the plot of the agrarian land under a tenant only if he purchased it from the latter. Thus, the king was not the owner of the land, but he was only entitled to levy taxes on the holders of the land.

According to the *Manusmriti*, 'land is the property of him who cut away the wood or who tilled or cleared it'. In the *Arthasastra*, it is maintained that 'land may be confiscated from those who do not cultivate them and given to others; or they may be cultivated by village labourers and traders, left those owners who do not cultivate them might pay less'.

In ancient times, the main aim of the king was to get the agrarian land continuously cultivated as the tenant paid them taxes. The king claimed not the ownership right of the soil but the right to the realization of rent, cess and the power to grant the waste land. The king, thus, enjoyed the right to a share of the produce. In the beginning there was no intermediary between the cultivator and the king. Even before the Mauryan times the right of the ruler to a share in produce of all cultivated land was recognized. It was normally one-sixth of the gross produce. Later on it was raised to one-fourth. This was the time when the agrarian land was classified into several classes. Some of such classes are as follows:

- State land
- Land in the occupation of the tenant who paid taxes to the king
- Uncultivated and wasteland under the control of the king
- Land allotted to officers of the ruler in lieu of their services

Thus, the king's right in the agrarian land was at best a limited one. The right in the soil actually belonged to the person who had brought it under cultivation. But with the change in the political situations over centuries the rules invested their senior officers or relatives with the right of revenue collection and general administration in distant places of the kingdom. This resulted in rack-renting by changing the holders from year to year in order to extract the enlarged revenue.

In some part of the country, all village lands were jointly owned by the village community. The growth of monarchies like the Mauryan empire and subsequently the Gupta empire produced the whole system of bureaucratic administration. The rights on the land were divided between chiefs of the state, the village communities

NOTES

and the individual producers. The rulers or their vassals had the right to collect tribute from the village communities. But the state was the ultimate power in a certain sense because it collected a share of produce, realized through tributary chiefs. In between the collapse of one dynasty and the rise of another the local rulers and the chiefs were the actual caretaker of the agrarian land.

During the Muslim rule in India significant changes took place in the agrarian land settlement. This was the time when the system of revenue farming developed. The new rulers farmed out kingdoms for fixed revenue either with the old rulers or with their superior officers and relatives. Despite this new development the long established rights of the *khudkasht raiyats* were not only recognized but also honoured by the new rulers. But between the king as the supreme owner of the entire domain and the actual tillers of the soil there grew up an intermediary class who collected and transmitted the land revenue to the king. A number of zamindars and jagirdars came into existence as a result of generous gifts offered by the king. The multiplication of land titles originated mainly from these grants or assignments of revenue. It was always intended to convey a title to the land as well. Such grants were called *inam* or *muafi* grants. The other type of grant had nothing to do with the land right. These were jagir lands of which the revenue was assigned to certain state offices and military commands. In course of time, people receiving such gifts established their own estates. Usually, such zamindars acted as an intermediary between the king and the *khudkasht raiyat* and appear to be closely related with the right of collecting land revenue.

During the Mughal period all the agrarian lands were divided into two categories, i.e., the Khalsa lands and the assigned lands. The revenue administration of the former was directly under the government while the revenue of the latter was assigned by the emperor to different categories of officers and subjects. Revenue was accepted both in cash and in kind and was often taken in installment. As a matter of fact, the position of the cultivators during the Muslim period was essentially the same as during the earlier Hindu period.

During the British rule, initially they did little to interfere with the existing land system. As a matter of fact, the East India Company itself obtained zamindari rights over the estates. These zamindaries were framed out to the highest bidders, because the Company was interested only in the collection of highest amount. Thus, the company's *banyas* and other speculator became the farmers of revenue and began to fleece the peasants. The introduction of a new zamindari system marked the beginning of a new feudal landlordism in total disregard of the peasant's traditional rights. For the first time the agrarian land became a commodity.

In 1765, the East India Company obtained the diwani of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa from Mughal Emperor Shah Alam. For some years the Company did not take upon itself the actual collection of revenue, but delegated it to the naib diwan whose role was to collect the largest amount of money in the shortest possible time. From 1765 to 1772 this system continued and caused great hardship to the peasants. In 1772, Warren Hasting was sent to Bengal as governor general and was directed to undertake the work of diwani directly. As a result of this many of the zamindars were displaced and the peasants suffered the most.

In 1784, Pitt's India Act was passed. It called for an inquiry into the real jurisdiction, rights and privileges of zamindars and directed the rehearsal of the

NOTES

grievances of those zamindars who had been unjustly displaced. The Court of Directors suggested that the settlements should be made with the land-holders, but at the same time the rights of all descriptions of persons should be maintained. It also suggested that durable assessment of revenue on the basis of past experience should be made. Thus, during the time of Lord Cornwallis, the Decennial Settlement was ordered in 1789 in the agrarian sector of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. It was ultimately made permanent in 1793. This is known as the Permanent Settlement of revenue for Bengal, Bihar and Orissa and gave birth to zamindari system in these provinces.

By the Permanent Settlement of 1793, the zamindars were declared to be the proprietors of their estates and were given the right to transfer their proprietary rights to whomever they linked by sale, gift or otherwise. The main objective of the Permanent Settlement was to ensure a regular flow of revenue to the Company and to create a class of persons who would be a great supporter of the English in India. With this settlement, British brought three major changes in the agrarian land relation. Firstly, all the remnants of village communities were swept away. Secondly, the British converted the landlords into real estate owners. Thus, the capitalist concept of private property in land relations was introduced with the hope that the landlord would take measures for the improvement of agriculture in India. Thirdly, under the British land systems, land became a saleable commodity. Previously, the concept of sale and purchase of land for money was completely unknown to the Indian agrarian society. The British introduced measures which transformed land into a commodity. Under this new settlement, three classes emerged in the rural society of India, i.e., the landlords the peasants and the agricultural labourers.

Later, the British extended the settlement to the other states and created zamindari there too, but they changed over to 'temporary settlement' under which the land revenue could be reassessed after a period ranging between 25 and 40 years in different states.

Another and totally different agrarian settlement known as Ryotwari Settlement evolved for large parts of Bombay and Madras and subsequently extended to north-eastern and north-western India. According to this settlement, each peasant holding a plot of land was recognized as the landlord and made directly responsible to the state for the annual payment of land revenue.

Next was the Mahalwari Settlement, which also had the same features of Ryotwari Settlement but here the settlement was made with the entire village community instead of an individual peasant.

It may be pointed out that in all the cases the land rents fixed were excessive and all the settlements were instrumental in the destruction of the organic village community based on custom and tradition. According to Daniel and Alice Thorner 'whereas the zamindari system made the landlords the master of the village communities, the Roytwari system cut through the heart of the village communities by making separate arrangements between each peasant, cultivator and the state'. Through the introduction of several forms of agrarian settlements in rural India, the British were able to create a class of people whose interests were directly tied to British rule in India. But the system also helped to create a class of absentee landlords who were more interested in squeezing higher land rents than in real agricultural progress. Excessive pressure of population resulting in a high demand for land helped the zamindars to charge exorbitant rent and numerous other excavations from the

NOTES

tenant cultivators. The result of the whole change in the agrarian land system led to the emergence of subsistence agriculture. Even the Ryotwari settlement lost its original form and the rigorous, prompt and inelastic demands of high revenue forced peasant cultivators to sell land to moneylenders. The British agrarian settlements introduced by Lord Cornwallis thus, helped the concentration of economic power in the hands of absentee landlords in rural India. It depressed the agriculture and peasantry.

Thus, we see that the Indian agrarian society has undergone a great change since the beginning of the last two centuries. The evolutionary process of history has built the agrarian structure of India in which the social, economic and political changes did play a very prominent role. The feudalism of the Indian type developed between the sixth and the twelfth centuries CE and it further developed and perpetuated through the entire period of Muslim rule in India. The introduction of the zamindari system under British agrarian settlement marked by the beginning of a new feudal landlordism in total disregarded the peasants' traditional rights.

Agrarian production

Agrarian production forms the backbone of the Indian economy and despite the concerted industrialization in the last five decades; it occupies a place of pride. The performance of the agrarian sector is judged primarily by its ability to expand production of food and raw materials. Increased agrarian production is of critical importance when both population and the income growth are concerned, particularly if the poorest segments of the population share in the economic growth. For example, the ratio of population growth and the agrarian growth should not be same, that is, the quality of food demanded will change the pattern and volume of demand. Therefore, the agrarian production in terms of quantity and quality must accelerate if future demands are to be met. It was observed generally that the increase in the agrarian production may come from the following major sources:

- Extension of the agricultural land
- Increase in yield or intensification method
- Change in cropping pattern or the increasing percentage share of high yield giving crops

The above-mentioned sources were not very functional before India got Independence in the year 1947. The available agrarian statistics for pre-independence period, though sketchy and defective, indicate that during the first half of this century, agrarian production rose only marginally, as compared to the growth of population. For instance, according to J.P Bhattacharjee, India's population rose by 38 per cent between 1901 and 1946, but the area of cultivated land rose only by 18 per cent, the average productivity of all crops rose by 13 per cent and of food crops by 1 one per cent.1 The increase in population had thus overtaken the increase in food production by a considerable extent. The common belief held at that time was that there was deterioration in fertility of land and a general decline in the efficiency of the agricultural practices.

ACTIVITY

What factors helped the British East India Company establish its rule in India?

Check Your Progress

1. Which were the states on which the British obtained their diwani?
2. When was the Pitt's India Act passed?
3. What is the other name of the Decennial Settlement?
4. What was the main objective of the Permenant Settlement?
5. The land revenue systems of the British created a class of absentee landlords. (True/ False)
6. According to the _____, 'land is the property of him who cut away the wood or who tilled or clear it'.
7. According to _____, India's population rose by 38 per cent between 1901 and 1946.

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6.3 PERMANENT SETTLEMENT IN BENGAL

Bengal became famous during the British period because of the Permanent Settlement system of land revenue. Bengal was the first considerable province to come under the British administration. Zamindars and revenue farmers were very famous in the territory of Bengal and they were used by the British to interact with the locals. The British administration attributed a proprietary interest for the first time to them. In the case of revenue-farmers there was no well established rule of inheritance. But the British administration made their position definitely hereditary by recognizing them as proprietors. This was passed as an Act in the year 1793. The act was famous by the name of Permanent Settlement. The act was especially passed for the state of Bihar, Bengal and Orissa.

Through the Permanent Settlement Act, the British declared that all landlords, zamindars and *talukadars* have to pay some amount of rent to the government. The amount of rent was fixed permanently by the government itself. The zamindars were elevated to the rank of landlord over the land in respect of which he was merely responsible for revenue collection. This was one of the ways through which the British rule established a permanent position in India. In Bengal, the Permanent Settlement created royal zamindars that strengthened the hold of British rule in India.

6.3.1 History of Permanent Settlement in Bengal

It was in 1784 that Pitt's India Bill became law which placed the administration of the Company under the control of the Crown, and thus, compelled some reforms. The directors of the Company felt that they must put their house in order. They selected a nobleman of high character and broad sympathies to succeed Warren Hasting, and in their letter of the 12th April 1786 they gave the new Governor General, Lord Cornwallis, full instructions for his guidance.

In this letter, the directors expressed their disapprobation of the frequent changes in the revenue system of Bengal and their desire to pursue any one system under watchful superintendence. They condemned the endeavors which had been made to continually increase the land tax, and to exile zamindars in favour of farmers, *sazawals* and *amins*, who had no permanent interest in the well being of the cultivators. They expressed their opinion that the most likely means of avoiding defalcations would be to introduce Permanent Settlement of the land revenue, estimated on responsible principles, for the due payment of which the hereditary tenure of the possessor would be the best and the only necessary security. They directed that the settlement should be made in all practicable instances with the zamindars and they declared that 'a moderate *jumma* or assessment, regularly and punctually collected, unites the consideration of our interests with the happiness of the natives and security of the landholders more rationally than any imperfect collection of any exaggerated *jumma* to be enforced with severity and vexation'. While they intended the settlement to be ultimately made permanent, they desired that the first settlement should be concluded for ten year only. The man who was chosen to give effect to this new scheme was none other than Lord Cornwallis who was worthy of his task.

NOTES

On his arrival in India, Lord Cornwallis found it impossible to conclude a ten years settlement without some further inquiry into the question of usages, tenures and rents, and he vigorously prosecuted these inquiries. After all inquires and investigations, in November 1791 an amended and complete Code of Regulation was passed by the government for a settlement of ten years and the settlement was concluded in every district of Bengal in 1793. The whole amount of land revenue obtained from the Bengal, Bihar and Orissa for the year 1790–91 was ₹26,800,989. Lord Cornwallis issued a proclamation on the 22 Mrach 1793, announcing the permanency of the settlement.

Permanent Settlement and the condition of Bengal

The Permanent Settlement is the one Act of the British nation within the century and a half of their rule in India which most effectually safeguarded the economic welfare of the people. It was an Act which was in consonance with the modern policy of the civilized nations to permit the people to profit by their own industries, instead of paralyzing their industries by an uncertain and increasing state demand. Agriculture had largely extended in Bengal within the last hundred years and the land tax of Bengal, which was fixed in 1793 at 90 per cent of the rental, now bears a proportion of about 28 per cent to the rental of landlords and new taxes amounting to 61/4 per cent on the rental have been added for the roads and public works.

Since 1793, there has never been a famine in permanently settled Bengal, which has caused any serious loss of life. If the prosperity and happiness of a nation be the criterion of wisdom and success, Lord Cornwallis's Permanent Settlement of 1793 is the wisest and the most successful measure which the British nations ever adopted in Bengal.

6.3.2 Features

On the examination of the Permanent Settlement Act in Bengal, it became evident that the British administration made the zamindar the proprietors, instead of recognizing them as mere revenue-collecting agencies. Thereafter, the government had strictly limited claims from them. The significant features of the Permanent Settlement were as follows:

- The total amount of revenue was fixed for each locality.
- The amount was to be fixed in perpetuity and was unalterable.
- The zamindars were to retain one-eleventh of the total revenue.
- Zamindars were given virtually free power to evict the occupiers who fail to pay the rent.
- The zamindars that collected the land revenue were made the owner of the land.
- The zamindars had to pay a fixed amount of revenue to the Company. It could neither be increased no decreased later on
- It was decided that the Government would have a claim to the 10/11th of the gross revenue, the balance being kept by the zamindars. The government assured the zamindars that except the land revenue, they would not have to pay any other gift or tax to the government.
- In case any zamindars failed to pay the fixed amount of the revenue, the government had the right to confiscate some part of his land holding to recover the amount due.
- The farmer or the *ryots* were made the tenants of the zamindars.

NOTES

- The zamindars were deprived of their judicial and administrative powers.
- The government assured the zamindars that it would not interfere with their traditions.

Achievements of Permanent Settlement

The immediate achievements of the Permanent Settlement in Bengal were as follows:

- The security of the interests of zamindars increased.
- There was an assurance of fixed revenue as far as the government was concerned.
- The revenue, the zamindars was to pay to the Government was fixed in perpetuity and the zamindar was left practically free to levy rent at will on his ryots and the underholders.
- The zamindars were permitted to appropriate to their own use the difference between the sum which they paid to the Government and the rent they use to realize from the land.
- They were moreover encouraged to exert themselves to reclaim cultivable waste land for cultivation.

All these achievements helped the zamindars to emerge as a very powerful class in society by concentrating immense bargaining power in their hands as well as in their relation with the land. The Permanent Settlement not only benefited the zamindars but the entire agricultural community. The entire peasant population shared the benefit and become more prosperous and resourceful on the account of this measure. It afforded a protection to agriculture which was virtually the only means of the nation's subsistence. In Bengal, the Permanent Settlement precluded the state from increasing the annual economic drain of wealth out of the country. It saved the nation from fatal and disastrous famines.

6.3.3 Failure

The Permanent Settlement suffered from many serious drawbacks and hence, failed. It was difficult for then landlords to collect much money from their tenants or *ryots*. The East India Company had fixed exorbitant rates of land revenue. Also, the settlement ignored all the rights of tenants and small proprietors whose land became the private property of the zamindars. Thus, in many cases, the lands of the landlords were sold due to non-payment of fixed amount of land revenue to the Company.

Check Your Progress

8. What did Cornwallis do on his arrival to Bengal?
9. ___ and ___ _____ were used by the British to interact with the local farmers.
10. The Permanent Settlement had made the zamindar the proprietors, instead of recognizing them as mere revenue-collecting agencies. (True/False)

6.4 RYOTWARI SETTLEMENT IN THE DECCAN

Not long after Cornwallis introduced the Permanent Settlement in Bengal, the question of extending it to other territories, acquired by Company from time to time, presented itself. The capture of Baramahal and Dindigul from Tipu Sultan in the Third Mysore War and the cession of the northern Cicars in 1794 as a *jagir* brought the issue to the fore. In 1799, Tanjore and Coimbatore and in 1801 Malabar and the territory of the Nawab of Arcot had been annexed to Madras Presidency. Among the first officials to be associated with land revenue settlement in these areas were Alexander Read and Lionel Place. Thomas Munro was one of the Read's assistants. In 1800, he was transferred from Kanara to the Deccan districts ceded by the Nizam of Hyderabad.

NOTES

While these officials were busy sorting out the complex revenue affairs under their charge, Lord Wellesley, the governor general, issued a peremptory order to the Madras government to introduce the Bengal System of Permanent Settlement in its newly acquired dominion. The directive was not well received, for as Munro and his assistants gained in experience, they became extremely critical of the Bengal system. Moreover they were able to sell their new ideas to the local administration. In particular, William Bentinck, the governor of Madras, was attracted by what they were doing and ruled that further progress with the zamindari settlement be stayed. Later in the year 1808, permission was accorded to experiment with village panchayat apart from the Ryotwari Settlement.

The Ryotwari Settlement had a staunch champion in Munro. As a result of the earlier experiences in Tanjore, Hodgson, who was then powerful in the Madras Board of Revenue, was keen on the village panchayats. In 1808–1809, the Ryotwari experiment was tried in most of the districts. The settlement was just like the Permanent Settlement of Bengal. The Ryotwari Settlement in the Deccan also followed similar pattern of collecting revenue from the agricultural land by the landlords. Under the Ryotwari Settlement, the revenue not only consisted of rents but also certain land taxes. The land revenue under this settlement was directly imposed on the cultivators, the actual owner of the land. There was not a single involvement of any middleman in between the landowner and the government. While describing the Ryotwari Settlement in the Deccan John Stuart Mill in his report in the 1857 state that:

> Under the Ryotwari System every registered holder of land is recognized as its proprietor, and pays direct to government. He is at liberty to sublet his property, or to transfer it by gift, sale, or mortgage. He cannot be ejected by government so long as he pays the fixed assessment, and has the option annually of increasing or diminishing his holding, or of entirely abandoning it. In unfavourable seasons remissions of assessment are granted for entire or partial loss of produce. The assessment is fixed in money, and does not vary from year to year, in those cases where water is drawn from a government source of irrigation to convert dry land into wet, or into two-crop land, when an extra rent is paid to government for the water so appropriated; nor is any addition made to the assessment for the improvements effected at the Ryot's own expense. The Ryot under this system was virtually a proprietor on a simple and perfect title, and has all the benefits of a perpetual lease without its responsibilities, in as much as he can at any time throw up his lands, but cannot be ejected so long as he pays his dues; he receives assistance in difficult seasons, and is responsible for the payment of his neighbours.

The annual settlements under Ryotwari were often misunderstood and it has necessary to explain that they were rendered necessary by the right accorded to the ryot of diminishing or extending his cultivation from year to year. Their object was to determine how much of the assessment due on his holding the ryot shall pay, and not to reassess the land. In these cases where no change occurs in the Ryots holding a fresh potta or lease is not issued, and such parties are in no way affected by the annual settlement, which they are not required to attend.

Did You Know

Thomas Munro founded the Ryotwari system of land revenue as the Governor of Madras. Munro was created a Baronet, of Lindertis in the County of Forfar, in 1825. He died of cholera on 6 July 1827 while on tour in the ceded districts, where his name is preserved by more than one memorial.

NOTES

6.4.1 Features

According to this settlement there was an individual ownership of land and each landlord was responsible for the payment of the land revenue to the government. The rate of land revenue could be changed from time-to-time and the land was classified according to its productive capacity.

Initially, the Ryotwari Settlement was only a part of Madras Presidency where Sir Thoman Munro was the governor general. But soon after there the settlement extended to several other parts of Deccan India such as Mumbai. In both the areas a significant social upheaval was being caused by the Ryotwari Settlement, which undermined the authority of the village headmen and thus caused a status revolution in the villages of Maharashtra and Madras. In Madras, by 1818, the suppression of landed aristocrats, the poligars, the establishment of judicial courts and the improvement of the revenue system had been ensured. However, in the bargain they had claimed a heavy toll. As soon as Munro became the Governor General in May 1820 the system was declared generally operative in all parts of the Madras Presidency, barring areas already under the Permanent Settlement. As to the latter, every opportunity was taken of getting back, on account of lapses or by means of purchase, the zamindari mootahs and such other tenures as existed, with the view to introducing the new system therein.

The central characteristic of Munro's system was that the government demand on land was now permanently fixed and each cultivator could take or reject the field he was offered if he thought its rent to be excessive. Munro reduced the assessment from roughly half to one third of the estimated produce; even so, in many cases the latter represented the entire economic rent and was thus by definition oppressive.

Two other factors also get associated with this settlement. Firstly, the cultivator had to pay a fixed sum of money irrespective of the actual yield or the prevalent price; secondly, the rent was not calculated through local bodies. According to a rough estimate, by 1928–1929 around 52 per cent of the cultivable land in the Deccan parts of India came under the protection of Ryotwari Settlement.

A common feature of Ryotwari Settlement was the over-assessment and the primary aim of the Company's government was to increase the revenue income. The results were arrears of payment, mounting debt, increasing land sale and dispossession. Contrary to received wisdom, modern research had established that the effect of these changes were less spectacular than once imagined, and had significant regional variations, as the land transfer could not fundamentally alter the structure of landholdings everywhere. Due to this settlement, the agrarian society thus proved to be more resilient than once thought to be. But the group and classes that survived had substantially different rights, obligations and powers. These changes and grievances generating from then were amply reflected in the series of agrarian disturbances that marked the first century of British rule in India.

Benefits to the government and peasants from Ryotwari settlement

The government got the following benefits from the Ryotwari settlement:

- The settlement was not permanent but for a fixed tenure, normally for 30 years; therefore in case of the increased production, the government could also increase the land revenue unlike in Permanent Settlement.
- The Government collected land revenue mainly in cash, therefore, in case of price rise the government also benefitted.

Check Your Progress

11. Under the ____ ____, the revenue not only consisted of rents but also certain land taxes.
12. Munro reduced the assessment from half to one third of the estimated produce. (True/ False)
13. The Ryotwari settlement was not ____ but for a fixed tenure.
14. What is the main feature of Ryotwari Settlement?

NOTES

- The government had control over non-occupied and other community land unlike in Permanent Settlement.

Benefits to the peasant

- The peasants were treated as the owner of the land. They could sell or give their land on contract.
- They were saved from any intermediaries.

6.5 MAHALWARI SETTLEMENT IN CENTRAL INDIA

The word 'Mahal' means village. Under Mahalwari system, the settlement was made with 'Mahal' instead of an individual peasant. The immediate credit for the formation of the system goes to Holt Mackenzie, secretary to the government in the territorial department. He personally made a local investigation into the nature of land tenures in the ceded and conquered provinces; prepared a general survey of their revenue history; studied the silent features in the development of the court's policy and drew from all his researches a principle of settlement, which he recommended to the approval of government in July, 1819. The system got legal sanction in 1822; however, it developed only in 1833–1834.

Under the Mahalwari Settlement, the village land was held jointly by the village communities, and members of which were jointly and severally responsible for the payment of land revenue. Under the settlement, the village common or *Shamlat* was the property of the village community as a whole. Similarly, the waste land also belonged to the village community and it was free to rent it out and divide the rents among the members of the community or partition it to bring it under cultivation without any leave of the Government. The system was the product of Muslim tradition and development.

A certain sum was assessed as land revenue for the whole village for which the whole bodies of co-sharers were jointly and severally responsible. The village *lambardar* collected revenue for which he received *panchortra,* i.e., 5 per cent as commission.

The settlement was first introduced in Agra and Oudh and later on in Punjab and some parts of Central Provinces. In Central India, the settlement got more popularity. There was more village unity in the parts of Central India. Therefore, to generate revenue from a community was an easy task from these areas.

6.5.1 Features

Some of the common features of the Mahalwari system are as follows:

- Land revenue settlement was made with *mahal* or *gram*. Local zamindars or *Lambardar* was responsible, on behalf of all peasants, for the payment of land revenue.
- Initially, in 1833, two-third of net produce was fixed as land revenue but later it was reduced to one-half of net produce.
- The peasant had to deposit the revenue to the zamindars. The percentage, which each peasant had to pay, was same but the quantity varied.
- The peasant was free to sell or mortgage their land.

NOTES

- The settlement was made for thirty years and in some places for twenty years.

Benefits to the government

The Government was hugely benefitted from Mahalwari system. It got the following benefits:

- Collection of land revenue from one person instead of all the peasants of the village was easier and cheaper for the Government.
- The system was already prevailing in some areas; therefore the Government had no problem in implementing it.
- The government was assured of its income for the next 20–30 years.

The Mahalwari system affected the peasants in a different manner. They had very little to cheer. They could take solace from the fact that they were saved from a possible corrupt revenue officials of the government and that they had better control over their land. But they had to face some real difficulties, which were as follows:

- High rate of taxation, which was fifty per cent of the net produce
- The idea of net produce was very vague
- The zamindars and the *lambardars* were present to exploit the peasants.
- The moneylenders, by clever means captured the mortgage land.

Effect of Mahalwari Settlement in central province

The effects of Mahalwari settlement on central province were as follows:

- Due to high land revenue demand from the government, large areas of the land began to pass into the hands of moneylenders and merchants, who ousted the old cultivating proprietors or reduced them to tenants at, will.
- There was an impoverishment and widespread dispossessions among the cultivating communities of Central India, which led to the development of uprising.

6.6 SUMMARY

In this unit, you have learnt that:

- Agrarian settlement is one of the most important features of the Indian agrarian economy. The agrarian settlement mainly denotes the land system of rural India.
- In ancient times, the main aim of the king was to get the agrarian land continuously cultivated as the tenant paid them taxes.
- The growth of monarchies like the Mauryan Empire and subsequently the Gupta Empire produced the whole system of bureaucratic administration. The rights on the land were divided between chiefs of the state, the village communities and the individual producers.
- During the Muslim rule in India significant changes took place in the Indian agrarian land settlement.
- The multiplication of land titles originated mainly from these grants or assignments of revenue. It was always intended to convey a title to the land as well.
- During the British rule, initially they did little to interfere with the existing land system. In fact, the East India Company itself obtained zamindari rights over the estates.

Check Your Progress

15. On whose idea was the Mahalwari Settlement introduced?
16. In a Mahalwari system, who collected the revenue?
17. The Mahawari Settlement saved the farmers from the corrupt government officials. (True/ False)

NOTES

- In 1765, the East India Company obtained the Diwani of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa from Mughal Emperor Shah Alam.
- In 1772, Warren Hasting was sent to Bengal as Governor-General and was directed to undertake the work of Diwani directly.
- Th ePitt's India Act called for an enquiry into the real jurisdiction, rights and privileges of zamindars and directed the rehearsal of the grievances of those zamindars who had been unjustly displaced.
- during the time of Lord Cornwallis, the Decennial Settlement was ordered in 1789 in the agrarian sector of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. It was ultimately made permanent in 1793.
- By the Permanent Settlement of 1793, the zamindars were declared to be the proprietors of their estates and were given the right to transfer their proprietary rights to whomever they linked by sale, gift or otherwise.
- The British extended the system of Permanent Settlement to other states and created zamindari there too, but they changed over to temporary settlement under which the land revenue could be reassessed after a period ranging between twenty-five and forty years in different states.
- Another and totally different agrarian settlement known as Ryotwari Settlement evolved for large parts of Bombay and Madras and subsequently extended to north-eastern and north-western India.
- Next was the Mahalwari settlement, which also had the same features of Ryotwari settlement but here the settlement, was made with the entire village community instead of an individual peasant.
- Through the introduction of several forms of agrarian settlements in rural India, the British were able to create a class of people whose interests were directly tied to British rule in India.
- The British agrarian settlements introduced by Lord Cornwallis thus, helped the concentration of economic power in the hands of absentee landlords in rural India.
- Through the Permanent Settlement Act, the British declared that all landlords, zamindars and talukadars have to pay some amount of rent to the Government.
- The british officers felt that the settlement should be made in all practicable instances with the zamindars and they declared that 'a moderate jumma or assessment, regularly and punctually collected, unites the consideration of our interests with the happiness of the natives and security of the landholders more rationally than any imperfect collection of any exaggerated jumma to be enforced with severity and vexation'.
- On his arrival in India, Lord Cornwallis found it impossible to conclude a ten years settlement without some further inquiry into the question of usages, tenures and rents, and he vigorously prosecuted these inquiries.
- The whole amount of land revenue obtained from the Bengal, Bihar and Orissa for the year 1790–91 was ₹26,800,989.
- On the examination of the Permanent Settlement Act in Bengal, it became evident that the British administration made the zamindar the proprietors, instead of recognizing them as mere revenue-collecting agencies.
- The achievements of Permenant Settlement helped the zamindars to emerge as a very powerful class in society by concentrating immense bargaining power in their hands as well as in their relation with the land.

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- The Permanent Settlement failed because it was difficult for the landlords to collect much money from their tenants or ryots.
- Not long after Cornwallis introduced the Permanent Settlement in Bengal, the question of extending it to other territories, acquired by Company from time to time, presented itself.
- Lord Wellesley, the Governor General, issued a peremptory order to the Madras government to introduce the Bengal System of Permanent Settlement in its newly acquired dominion.
- The Ryotwari Settlement had a staunch champion in Munro.
- The Ryotwari Settlement in the Deccan followed similar pattern of collecting revenue from the agricultural land by the landlords.
- Initially, the Ryotwari Settlement was only a part of Madras Presidency where Sir Thoman Munro was the Governor General. But soon after there the settlement extended to several other parts of Deccan India such as Mumbai.
- In Madras, by 1818, the suppression of landed aristocrats, the poligars, the establishment of judicial courts and the improvement of the revenue system had been ensured
- The central characteristic of Munro's system was that the government demand on land was now permanently fixed and each cultivator could take or reject the field he was offered if he thought its rent to be excessive.
- A common feature of Ryotwari Settlement was the over-assessment and the primary aim of the Company's government was to increase the revenue income.
- Under Mahalwari system, the settlement was made with 'Mahal' instead of an individual peasant.
- Under the Mahalwari Settlement, the village land was held jointly by the village communities, and members of which were jointly and severally responsible for the payment of land revenue.
- A certain sum was assessed as land revenue for the whole village for which the whole bodies of co-sharers were jointly and severally responsible. The village lambardar collected revenue for which he received panchortra, i.e., 5 per cent as commission.
- The Mahalwari system affected the peasants in a different manner. They had very little to cheer. They could take solace from the fact that they were saved from a possible corrupt revenue officials of the government and that they had better control over their land.

6.7 KEY TERMS

- **Khudkasta raiyats:** The khudkasta raiyats were permanent resident cultivators of the village. Under the Mughal system of land control there were two types of raiyats: khudkasta and paikasta.
- **Jagir:** A type of feudal land grant in South Asia bestowed by a monarch to a feudal superior in recognition of his administrative and/or military service.
- **Naib:** A diwan whose role was to collect the largest amount of money in the shortest possible time.
- **Ryots:** Was a general economic term used throughout India for peasant cultivators but with variations in different provinces.
- **Lambardar:** Another term for zamindar.

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6.8 ANSWERS TO 'CHECK YOUR PROGRESS'

1. In 1765, the East India Company obtained the Diwani of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa from Mughal Emperor Shah Alam.
2. The Pitt's India Act was passed in 1784.
3. The Decennial Settlement, which was ordered in 1789 in the agrarian sector of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, was made permanent in 1793 and came to be known as the Permanent Settlement.
4. The main objective of the Permanent Settlement was to ensure a regular flow of revenue to the Company and to create a class of persons who would be a great supporter of the English in India
5. True
6. Manusmriti
7. J.P Bhattacharjee
8. Cornwallis found it impossible to conclude a ten years settlement without some further inquiry into the question of usages, tenures and rents, and he vigorously prosecuted these inquiries. Following this, in November 1791 an amended and complete Code of Regulation was passed by the Government for a settlement of ten years and the settlement was concluded in every district of Bengal in 1793.
9. Zamindars, revenue farmers
10. True
11. Ryotwari Settlement
12. True
13. Permanent
14. Under the Ryotwari Settlement, the rate of land revenue could be changed from time-to-time and the land was classified according to its productive capacity.
15. The Mahalwari Settlement was the brainchild of Holt Mackenzie, Secretary to the Government in the Territorial Department.
16. Under the Mahalwari system of land revenue, the village lambardar collected the revenue for which he received panchortra, i.e., 5 per cent as commission.
17. True

6.9 QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Short-Answer Questions

1. What were the achievements of the Permenant Settlement of Bengal?
2. What was the impact of the Permenant Settlement on Bengal?

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3. What were the benefits of the Mahalwari system for the government?
4. What are the features of the Ryotwari Settlement?

Long-Answer Questions

1. Discuss the land revenue system of India?
2. Why was Permenant Settlement of revenue implemented in Bengal? What are its merits and demirits?
3. Explain Ryotwari Settlement and Munro's role in it.
4. Why was Mahalwari Settlement introduced in Central India?

6.9 FURTHER READING

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NOTES

UNIT 7 HISTORY OF ENGLISH EDUCATION IN INDIA

Structure

7.0 Introduction
7.1 Unit Objectives
7.2 Growth of English Education
  7.2.1 Hunter Commission or Indian Education Commission (1882-83)
  7.2.2 Sir Charles Wood's Education Despatch (1854)
7.3 Rammohan Roy
7.4 Derozio
7.5 Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar
7.6 Summary
7.7 Key Terms
7.8 Answers to 'Check Your Progress'
7.9 Questions and Exercises
7.10 Further Reading

7.0 INTRODUCTION

In the previous unit, you were introduced to the agrarian policies and land revenue systems of the British, such as, the Permanent Settlement, Ryotwari Settlement and Mahalwari Settlement.

The British rule in India did not just have political and economical impacts; its social impact was deep as well. The constant drumming of the colonial ideology led to serious introspection about Indian culture mainly among the emerging middle class. Some gained inspiration from the indigenous past, others held that modern Western thought had to be imbibed to regenerate the Indian society. The need for reform was, however, recognized unanimously. India made tremendous progress both in the religious and the social fields during the 19th century and after. It was a period of transition from medievalism to the modern age. The Indian mind was stirred as a result of its contact with the forces from the West and no wonder progress was registered in many fields.

In this unit, you will learn about the education system in India from the 18th century till the 20th century. You will learn how the Company's attempt to improve the administrative system led to the spread of education in the country and how Western education gave birth to new thoughts among the Indians.

7.1 UNIT OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to:

- Describe the growth of English education in India
- Explain how various commissions and Acts increased the government's role in spreading education
- Recognize the importance of education and the contemporary factors affecting its development
- Discuss Raja Rammohan Roy's role in spreading liberal thoughts and education in India

- Analyse how Derozio inspired students to question social evils
- Discuss Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar's contribution in ushering a new education system in India

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7.2 GROWTH OF ENGLISH EDUCATION

The improvements of modern Western education and thought afforded opportunities for Indians to imbibe a modern rational, secular, democratic and nationalistic political outlook. The system of English education in India was introduced by Sir Charles E. Trevelyan, T.B. Macaulay and Lord William Bentinck (the governor general from 1828 to 1835).

The cause of education in India gained momentum during the British rule. Although many developments took place, the Indian educational system was still seen in a transitional phase. The main characteristic of Indian education during the British rule was the promotion of English as a medium of instruction. This period is also marked by a number of laws and reforms in the field of education.

Though a long period after the establishment of the Company's rule, the British did not take the responsibility of the spread of education, which was left largely to the *madrasas* and *tols*. As a result the Indians 'groped in the darkness.' The Company did not have any enthusiasm to educate the masses over which it ruled. Yet, some enlightened personalities among the Company servants tried to establish new schools and colleges. But they were meant only for the promotion of oriental studies. No effort was made to educate the Indians in Western sciences and philosophies. The British Parliament enacted a Charter Act in 1813, which sanctioned the Company a sum of one lakh of rupees for educational development of the ruled. The East India Company adopted a dual policy of education and gave importance to Western education and English language.

Lord Macaulay's Minute of 1815 on judicial administration of the presidency of Fort William recommended the need of teacher training, which is considered as the first document to recognize the need for teacher training in the British period. As a result many schools were set up in different parts of the country like Surat, Pune and Calcutta. To train teachers, a number of teacher training centers were also set up in places like Meerut, Madras and Agra and by 1824 twenty-six teacher training centers were opened at different corners of the province.

The English system of education, though conceived by the rulers in the interests of efficient administration, opened to the newly educated Indians the floodgates of liberal European thought. The liberal and radical thought of European writers like Milton, Shelley, Bentham, Mill, Spencer, Rousseau and Voltaire inspired the Indian intelligentsia with the ideals of liberty, nationality and self-government and made clear to them the anachronism of British rule in India. The English language played an important role in the growth of nationalism. It became the medium for spread of modern ideas. It also became the medium of communication and exchange of ideas between educated Indians from different linguistic regions of the country.

Early efforts of the Company

In 1781, Warren Hastings founded the Calcutta Madrasa to encourage the study of Islamic laws along with the Arabic and the Persian languages. A decade later, in 1791, British resident Jonathan Duncan started a Sanskrit college at Benaras to promote the study of Hindu laws and philosophy. Both these institutions were designed to provide a regular supply of Indians to help the administration of law in the courts of the Company. In 1802, Lord Wellesley started the Fort William College for educating English officers in Indian languages and social customs.

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Contribution of Christian missionaries

No doubt, the Christian missionaries publicly denounced the persistence of the Oriental learning. Yet, they were themselves opening up schools of vernacular learning. Though, their zeal was only meant for the propagation of their religion, they adopted the vernacular languages and set up schools for the same. At this point it would be apt to mention that the Serampore missionaries were particularly very enthusiastic for the spread of education. The efforts of the Baptist missionary, William Carey outshines every other effort taken in this respect. He was followed by David Hare and many others.

The state of Oriental learning during the establishment of Company rule was clearly evident from the government and church records. During this time, there were about 80,000 traditional institutions of learning in Bengal alone, which means that there was at least one institution for every four hundred people in that province. Different educational surveys of Madras, Bombay, Bengal and Punjab also demonstrate similar facts. All the scholars, i.e., Thomas Munroe (1812-1813) from Madras Presidency, Prendergast (1830) from Bombay Presidency, Adam (1835) from Bengal and Lightener (1880) from Punjab agreed to the fact that there was at least one school in every village of India at that time.

Education and the Charter Act of 1813

The East India Company, for the first time through the Charter Act of 1813, adopted a provision to spend one lakh rupees per annum 'for the revival and promotion of literature and the encouragement of the learned natives of India, and for the introduction and promotion of knowledge of the sciences among the inhabitants of the British territories'. Its importance lay in the fact that the Company at least assumed its responsibilities for the first time in the field of education. However the real motive of the East India Company was not philanthropic; rather, it was more of an administrative necessity. The Company needed people to work as clerks. There was a prolonged debate on education in the British Parliament regarding the Act of 1813. Unfortunately, the matter continued to generate debate for the next 20 years and eventually not even a single penny out of the allocated funds could be spent on education.

Lord Macaulay was instrumental in introducing English as a medium of instruction in Indian education. Although he initiated some developments in education, he considered the Indian educational system inferior. The sense of superiority is obvious in the following words, 'a single shelf of a good European library was worth the whole native literature of India and Arabia'. In order to strengthen the British rule in India, Macaulay stressed English as a medium to converse. His theory of exploiting a country's resources through a planned system, such as education, was termed as Macaulayism. In simpl terms, it can be described as the subjugation of a culture by a colonial power through the medium of education. Though, Lord Macaulay encouraged Indian education, at the same time he considered it impossible to educate the masses. These circumstances gave birth to the theory of

infiltration according to which educated Indians would deliver western knowledge to the illiterate masses of India.

Macaulay also emphasized the development of vernacular languages as it would assist in teaching English language. Though he encouraged teaching English to the Indian masses, his main objective was to create a subservient class of clerical workers who would be 'Indian in blood and colour and English in taste, in opinions, in morals and in intellect'.

7.2.1 Hunter Commission or Indian Education Commission (1882-83)

The Hunter Commission was also known as the Indian Education Commission (1882). The Government of India set up a commission under W.W. Hunter to review the state of education and make recommendations for its progress. Another reason to implement the Hunter Commission was to find out whether the Indian education system was following the guidelines laid down by Wood's Despatch. The main objective of the Hunter Commission was to enquire about the present state of primary and secondary education and make recommendations to improve the state of education. At this point, no efforts were made in the development of universities as they were excluded from the jurisdiction of the Hunter's Commission.

After visiting all the provinces of British India, the commission laid down its recommendations to improve and develop the current stage of Indian education. They are as follows:

(i) Special emphasis to be given on improving primary education

(ii) Use of vernacular language as most of the primary education was aimed at the masses

(iii) Vocational and literary learning for secondary education

(iv) Responsibility of primary education should be transferred to the municipal board

(v) Privatization of education at all stages, except for primary education which was to be provided by reference to local cooperation

7.2.2 Sir Charles Wood's Education Despatch (1854)

As the President of the Board of Control, Sir Charles Wood did a fine job in spreading education in India. He believed the English race to be superior and considered English institutions as benchmark for education. With these thoughts, he wished to change the Indian educational system to a standard which would eventually benefit the British government. In July 1854, he sent a despatch to Lord Dalhousie, the then governor general of India, setting the guidelines for educational reforms. Wood's Despatch made the following recommendations:

- Set up of an education department in every province.
- Based on the model of the London University, universities to be set up in big cities
- At least one government school to be opened in every district
- Provide grants to affiliated private schools
- Emphasis on vernacular language along with English
- Establishment of technical schools
- Impetus to women's education

Check Your Progress

1. Name the people who contributed to English education in India.
2. When and where did the first Hindu educational institution come up?
3. What were the recommendations of Wood's Despatch?
4. What was the Indian Education Commission commonly known as?
5. The British Parliament enacted a Charter in ____, sanctioning the Company a sum of one lakh of rupees for educational development of the ruled.
6. ____ emphasized the development of vernacular language.
7. A commission was set up by the government under the Chairmanship of W.W. Hunter to review the progress of education since Wood's Despatch. (True/False)

Although, all recommendations proved conducive for the development of education, the most important recommendation of Wood's Despatch was the establishment of universities in Calcutta, Bombay and Madras based on the model of London University.

7.3 RAMMOHAN ROY

One of the most prominent leaders of the Indian Renaissance is Raja Rammohan Roy. He is also known as the father of modern India. He was born in 1774 in Radhanagar, in the state of undivided Bengal, to rich, orthodox, brahmin family of zamindars (landowners). When he was hardly 15, he wrote a pamphlet in Bengali in which he denounced idol-worship which, he asserted, was not recognized in the Vedas. Young Rammohan Roy had to pay very heavily for it. He was turned out from his orthodox family and he had to live in exile. However, he made the best of the opportunity offered to him by providence. He travelled far and wide and, thus, was able to gather a lot of experience and learning. He had deep thirst for knowledge and had learnt many languages like Persian, Arabic and Sanskrit. He was well versed in Hindu and Muslim religious scriptures and laws. As an employee of the East India Company in 1797, he was exposed to the Western culture and traditions and during that period learned English, Greek and Latin. He also learnt Hebrew (the original language of Bible) so that he could study the Bible and other works of Christianity. He had deep knowledge of tantra, Jainism and Buddhism.

In 1805, Rammohan Roy joined the service of the English East India Company in Bengal, and continued to work there up to 1814. After his retirement, he settled in Calcutta and devoted himself entirely to the service of the people. In 1814, he started the Atmiya Sabha. In 1828, he founded the Brahmo Samaj. He went to England in 1831 on a special mission to plead the cause of the Mughal emperor of Delhi. While he was still busy in that work, he died at Bristol on 27 September 1833. He was given the title of Raja by the Mughal emperor.

The 18th and early 19th century was termed the dark age of India as the Indian society was crippled with many social evils and inequalities. Some of the practices that plagued the India society during that time were polygamy, child marriage, female infanticide, sati and the caste system. The people were superstitious and backward.

Raja Rammohan Roy started a campaign against all these social evils by setting up modern religious groups, by publishing books and newspapers, by initiating debates and discussions and by establishing modern schools and colleges.

The first book he wrote on Islam and its influence was *Tuhfat-ul-Muwahhidin*. It was published in 1803 and clearly portrays the influence of Islam and Matazilah's philosophy on him. The great Persian Sufi poets and mystics, Maulevi Jalal-ud-din Rumi and Hafiz also had deep impressions on him.

The concepts of one God and absence of idol worship were the main attributes of Islam that influenced him deeply.

His deep knowledge of Christianity and the Bible and his admiration for the Christ and his teachings are all reflected in the various books he wrote. His book, *The Precepts of Jesus*, reflects his deep respect for Jesus Christ and his teachings. His knowledge of Sanskrit enabled him to translate many old Hindu scriptures like

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the Upanishads and Shakracharya's works into Bengali. *Gayatrir Artha* and *Atmanantratma Vivek* are two of his famous works. The main reason for all this research and writings was to influence the Indian society with the concept of belief in one Supreme Self and God. He deeply desired that all religious and social superstitions could be eradicated from the India cultural and social psyche. His book *Manazarat-ul-Adiyan* showed the common message of all religions, in order to bring about religious harmony in India. He tried to allay the fears that Hindus had about the goals and aims of the Christian missionaries. The Raja fought for the freedom of the press. He himself founded and edited a Bengali journal called the *Samvad Kaumudi* which was among the earliest Indian-edited newspapers. He carried on a vigorous agitation against the Press Regulations of 1823. He submitted a memorial to the supreme court in which he dwelt on the benefits of a 'free press. His agitation for the freedom of the press must have paved the way for the final emancipation of the press in 1885.

Raja Rammohan Roy was a man of reason and great rationality. He had deep faith in the universal message of all religions but also did not hesitate to reject ideas or concepts that were unreasonable and irrational.

During his stay in England from 1831 to 1833, the Raja agitated for reform in the administrative system of British-India. He was the first Indian to be consulted on Indian affairs by the British Parliament. While giving his evidence before a Select Committee of House of Commons, he suggested reforms in practically all branches of Indian administration.

Raja Rammohan Roy along with many other modern thinkers of that time like, Dwarkanath Tagore (father of Devendranath Tagore), Prasanna Kumar Tagore, Kalisankar Ghosal, Brindaban Mitra, Brajmohan Majumdar, Nandkishore Bose, Siva Prasad Mitra and Ram Chandra Vidya Vagish, set up the Atmiya Sabha in 1814 in Calcutta. However his ideas of one God and influence of Islam and Christianity and his rejection of caste system shocked many traditional and conservative Hindus and thus the Atmya Sabha could not sustain itself beyond a point and by 1819 it ceased to exist.

In the year 1829 he started the Brahmo Samaj with the philosophy of devotion to one Supreme Being, the Brahman. He believed in the one immortal soul from which spring the whole of the Universe and its numerous beings and non-beings to unite with it after death. The Brahmo Samaj had some specific guidelines:

- No idol or image worship.
- People from all castes and creeds were allowed to be part of the Samaj.
- No religious rituals were practiced. Meditation and prayer were held. The Upanishads were read.

Raja Rammohan Roy was almost single handedly responsible for the abolition of the practice of Sati. He proved how Sati was a ploy to keep the widow of the deceased from inheriting a share the husband's property and had no religious significance. It was also a way to get rid of the widow who would now be a burden on the relatives with the husband dead. He often went to spots were Sati was being practiced and tried to stop the heinous ritual of burning a woman alive. A petition to stop it from being banned was made by the orthodox Hindus before the Governor-General Lord William Bentinck but Raja Rammohan Roy filed a counter petition and finally got it banned. The British Government legally prohibited the practice of Sati with effect from 1829.

Raja Rammohan Roy campaigned for the right to inheritance of women, for the remarriage of widows especially widows who were products of child marriages. However he himself could not explain why he wore a sacred thread when he was against caste system, or why he had three wives when he opposed polygamy. Despite this he remains one of the foremost torch bearers of India's social and religious revival till today.

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The Raja has been rightly called 'the herald of a new age'. According to Monier-Williams, the Raja was 'perhaps the first earnest minded investigator of the science or comparative religions that the world has produced'. According to Seal, 'the Raja was the harbinger of the idea of universal humanism, the humanist, pure and simple, watching from his conning tower the procession of universal humanity in universal history'. According to Colet, 'Rammohan stands in history as the living-bridge over which India marches from her unmeasured past to her incalculable future. He was the arch which spanned the gulf between ancient caste and modern humanity, between superstition and science, between despotism and democracy, between immobile custom and conservative progress, between a bewildering polytheism and a pure, if vague, theism'.

According to Nandlal Chatterjee, Raja Rammohan Roy 'was the human link between the unfading past and the dawning future, between vested conservatism and radical reform, between superstitious isolationism and progressive synthesis, in short, between reaction and progress'.

According to Rabindranath Tagore, Raja Rammohan Roy 'inaugurated the modern age in India'. He has also been described as the Father of Indian Renaissance and the Prophet of Indian Nationalism. Behind all of his ideas of social and religious reforms, there lay the thought of bringing about the political regeneration of his countrymen. To quote him, 'I regret to say the system adhered to by the Hindus is not well-calculated to promote their political interest. The distinction of castes, introducing division and sub-divisions among them, has entirely deprived them of political feeling, multitude of religious rites and ceremonies and the laws of purification have totally disqualified them from undertaking any difficult enterprise. It is, I think, necessary that some change should take place in their religion at least for the sake of their political advantage and social comfort'.

Did You Know

The tomb of Raja Rammohan Roy was built by Dwarkanath Tagore in 1843, 10 years after Rammohan Roy's death. The tomb is located in the Arnos Vale Cemetery on the outskirts of Bristol. Roy died at Stapleton, which was then a village to the north east of Bristol but currently a suburb, on 27 September 1833. In June 2008, the Arnos Vale restorers conceded that they could not locate Roy's remains at the site after searching for it by digging. Thebrahmosamaj.net stated, to everyone's surprise the coffin was not to be seen under the *chattri*.

7.4 DEROZIO (1809–1831)

Henry Louis Vivian Derozio, a teacher of the newly established Hindu College, was probably the youngest faculty of his age. Though he died young, at 22, he had inspired many young men to question social norms and evils of the Indian society.

Check Your Progress

8. What was Raja Rammohan Roy's first public writing about?
9. What was the name of the Bengali journal Roy edited?
10. The British gave Rammohan Roy the title of Raja. (True/False)
11. Roy was the first Indian to be consulted on Indian affairs by the British Parliament. (True/False)

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Derozio and Hindu College

Derozio was appointed as a teacher in English and History at the Hindu College in May 1826 when he was seventeen. Though he taught youngsters, his forthcoming nature and radical views encouraged even senior students to open up to him. He encouraged students to read Thomas Paine's Rights of Man and similar literature, which encouraged open and logical reasoning. He also infused in his students the spirit of free expression, the yearning for knowledge and a passion to live up to their identity, while questioning irrational religious and cultural practices. He even organized debates on social issues. Himself being an atheist, Derozio encouraged questioning the orthodox Hindu customs and conventions on the basis of Italian renaissance and its offshoot rationalism.

While he created a sensation at Hindu College, Derozio's followers came to be known as Derozians. In 1828, he urged students to form a literary and debating club called the Academic Association. In 1830, this club brought out a magazine named Parthenon (only one issue came out).

He was the editor of many papers such as *The Hesperus* and *The Calcutta Library Gazette* and was associated with the *India Gazette* as well. Derozio inspired people like Rasik Krishna Mullick and Krishna Mohan Banerjee. The journal, *Jnanavesan*, and *The Society for the Acquisition of General Knowledge* were used as their mouthpiece. The movement was at its peak between 1826 and 1831. S.N. Banerjee termed the leaders of the movement as the 'pioneers of modern civilization of Bengal'.

Young Bengal

The Young Bengal movement was started by a group student from the Hindu College of Calcutta with a radical bent of mind. They were mostly the Derozians. These college students were inspired by the spirit of free thought and revolt against the existing social and religious structure and practices of Hindu society. When the Young Bengal movement started fading, several Derozians got attracted to the Brahmo Samaj movement of Raja Rammohan Roy. A scholar characterized this change stating, 'the Young Bengal movement was like a mighty storm that tried to sweep away everything before it. It was a storm that lashed society with violence causing some good, and perhaps naturally, some discomfort and distress'.

7.5 ISHWAR CHANDRA VIDYASAGAR (26 SEPTEMBER 1820 – 29 JULY 1891)

Born as Ishwar Chandra Bandopadhyay, Vidyasagar was a key figure of the Bengal Renaissance. He was a philosopher, academic, educator, writer, translator, printer, publisher, entrepreneur, reformer, and philanthropist. Born in a simple rural family in Medinipore of Bengal, Ishwar Chandra worked very hard as a child to educated himself. At the age of 6, he went to Calcutta to study where he came to realize the plight of the widow.

He was an ardent knowledge seeker and studied under streetlights. He was rewarded with a number of scholarships for his academic performance. He also took up part-time job as a teacher to support his family. His philanthropism was

Check Your Progress

12. What were the followers of Derozio called?
13. Name two journals with which Derozio was associated.

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evident at a very early age. As a student of Sanskrit College, he would spend part of his scholarship proceeds to feed the poor and provide medicines for the sick.

He received the title 'Vidyasagar' (sea of knowledge) from the Calcutta Sanskrit College for his sterling performance in Sanskrit and philosophy. In 1839, Ishwar Chandra passed law examination. In 1841, at the age of twenty one, he joined Fort William College as a head of the Sanskrit department. After five years, Vidyasagar join the Sanskrit College as assistant secretary. In the first year of service, he recommended a number of changes to the existing education system. This resulted into a serious altercation between Ishwar Chandra and College Secretary Rasomoy Dutta. In 1849, he again joined Sanskrit College, as a professor of literature. In 1851, Iswar Chandra became the principal of Sanskrit College. In 1855, he was made special inspector of schools with additional charges. But he soon left the college due to his differences with Rasomoy Dutta.



Figure 7.2 *Sketch of Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar*

Source: http://www.vivekananda.net/pplheknew/Images/Vidyasagar.jpg

He believed that money was not enough to ease human suffering, and showed profound compassion for those who needed love and compassion. He opened the doors of the Sanskrit College to lower caste students (previously it was exclusive to the Brahmins), nursed sick cholera patients, and went to crematoriums to bury unclaimed dead bodies, dined with the people of the lower cast, which was not acceptable to the society.

In addition to his responsibilities as the principal of Sanskrit College, he travelled around Bengal in the capacity of inspector of schools. This enabled him to feel the distress of poor women in Bengal, and the superstition they were subjected to. He saw this as a result of absence of education. In two months, he established twenty model schools. He also realized that unless women were educated, it was impossible to emancipate and liberate them from the terrible burden of inequalities and injustices in the society. He worked day and night and opened thirty schools for the education of girls.

He commenced the process of education with his first book of alphabet (part I and part II) called *Varna Porichoy,* first published in 1855. His pioneering works in Bengali education, in laying the foundation stone of Bengali prose (even though his writing style, was considered at the time as conservative since it was aligned closely with Sanskrit lexicon and grammatical traditions). He also translated some of the Sanskrit masterpieces to Bengali, in his quest to spread of knowledge among the common man.

Widow remarriage

Vidyasagar championed the cause of uplift of the women in the Indian society, particularly in his native place Bengal. Unlike some other reformers who sought to set up alternative societies or systems, he sought to transform orthodox Hindu society from within. Vidyasagar introduced the practice of widow remarriages to the sterile Hindu society. He also proposed and struggled for passage of the Widow Remarriage Act of 1856, which was enacted on 25 July.

The mid-19th century saw many reforms in Kolkata and Bombay. One of them was opening of the colleges for girls.

Apart from the concept of widow remarriage, Vidyasagar raised concern about child-marriage and polygamy. He also opened the doors of the colleges and other educational institutions to lower caste students, which was earlier reserved only for the *brahmins*. For his immense generosity and kind-heartedness, people started addressing him as '*dayar sagar*' (ocean of kindness).

His compassion for widows was not empty rhetoric as some might have assumed, he married his own son off to a widow.

In order to fight the vested interests and orthodox Hindus, he conducted extensive research in Hindu scriptures and proved that there was nothing against widow remarriage and that the polygamy was an evil and hence, should be abolished and not accepted by the sane society. He published two volumes on remarriage of widows and another two volumes on polygamy citing quotes from scriptures and explaining the validity of his arguments.

It was not surprising, therefore, that for his stand he was virulently attacked by vested conservative groups and the *shastrakars* (cleric) of the day. He often received threats of physical violence and death. But nothing stopped Vidyasagar from what he set out to do. His iron-will prevailed in the end. On 26 July 1856 widow marriage was legalized by the then government.

Vidyasagar passed away on 29 July 1891 at the age of 70. Though he lived as a modest life, his work of charity was that of a king. Vidyasagar was a lonely tall tree in the bush around him. He was not happy and his health deteriorated badly in the latter part of his life. Disaffected with petty-mindedness and confronted with selfish behavior, he severed connection with his family and lived with the tribal people in the last years of his life.

No doubt, Vidyasagar can be judged as one of the best literary figures of Bengal, for he mostly devoted his time writing reformist literature and text books, and his Bengali prose has been and is a great influence to the education in Bengal. His simplification of idiomatic expressions and clarification of the writing style provided sound base on which Bengali writers like Tekchand Thakur, Pyarichand Mitra and Bankim Chandra Chatterjee built their literary superstructures. Indeed,

Tagore revered him as 'the father of modern Bengali prose'. Vidyasagar's other contribution in this area was to translate the best of Sanskrit works to Bengali so that the ordinary people, who were not sufficiently versed with that language, could appreciate the immortal contribution by literary greats of India. *Betal Panchavinsati* (The twenty-five tales of the demon), published in 1847, was a translation from the Sanskrit *Kathasaritsagara.* It was probably the most popular work of Vidyasagar. Some of the other works of Vidyasagar are as:

- *Bidhobabivah,* (a text on whether widows should remarry) (1855)
- *Bidhobabivah*, the second book, (1855)
- *Bahubivah*, (whether polygamy should be banned) (1871)
- *Bahubivah*, the second book, (1873)
- *Balyabivah,* (a text on the flaws of child marriage). Publication date not known.

7.6 SUMMARY

In this unit, you have learnt that:

- The system of English education in India was introduced by Sir Charles E. Trevelyan, T.B. Macaulay and Lord William Bentinck (the Governor-General from 1828 to 1835).
- The liberal and radical thought of European writers like Milton, Shelley, Bentham, Mill, Spencer, Rousseau and Voltaire inspired the Indian intelligentsia with the ideals of liberty, nationality and self-government and made clear to them the anachronism of British rule in India.
- Though long after the establishment of the Company's rule, the British did not take responsibility of the spread of education, which was left largely to the madrasa.
- In 1781, Warren Hastings founded the Calcutta Madrasa to encourage the study of Islamic laws along with Arabic and Persian.
- Though the Christian missionaries publicly denounced the persistence of the Oriental learning yet, they were themselves opening up schools of vernacular learning.
- Scholars such as Thomas Munroe (1812-1813) from Madras Presidency, Prendergast (1830) for Bombay Presidency, Adam (1835) from Bengal and Lightener (1880) for Punjab agreed to the fact that there was at least one school in every village of India at that time.
- The East India Company for the first time through the Charter Act of 1813 adopted a provision to spend one lakh rupees per annum 'for the revival and promotion of literature and the encouragement of the learned natives of India, and for the introduction and promotion of knowledge of the sciences among the inhabitants of the British territories.'
- As the President of the Board of Control, Sir Charles Wood did a fine job in spreading education in India.
- Hunter's Commission was also known as the Indian Education Commission (1882). The Government of India set up a commission under W.W. Hunter to review the state of education and make recommendations for its progress.
- Curzon on becoming the Governor-General of India sought to make changes not only in administration but in education as well.

Check Your Progress

14. Who awarded Ishwar Chandra the title of Vidyasagar?
15. What was Vidyasagar's designation at Fort William College?
16. Why did Vidyasagar resign from Sanskrit College?
17. What was the book of Bengali alphabets written by Vidyasagar called?
18. When was the Widow Remarriage Act passed?
19. Towards the end of his life, Ishwar Chandra stayed away from his family and lived with the tribals. (True/False)
20. Vidyasagar was for widow remarriage but not against child remarriage. (True/False)

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- On 21 February 1913, the Government of India refused to recognize the principle of compulsory education, but accepted the policy of the removal of illiteracy.
- Sir Michael Ernest Sadler was appointed by the then Secretary of State in India, Austen Chamberlain to head a commission to study and report the problems of Calcutta University.
- The Congress Party prioritized education in its list of objectives and devised a national scheme of education for the country.
- The Sergeant Plan contemplated a forty year reconstruction plan for education.
- The name of Raja Rammohan Roy stands foremost in the field of religious and social development.
- In 1805, Rammohan Roy joined the service of the English East India Company in Bengal, and continued to work there up to 1814.
- Although he himself was one of the foremost Orientalists of the age, his conviction was that India could progress only through liberal education covering all the branches of Western learning.
- During his stay in England from 1831 to 1833, the Raja agitated for reform in the administrative system of British-India.
- Roy was a prolific writer in many languages. He was one of the greatest savants of his age.
- Henry Louis Vivian Derozio, a teacher of the newly established Hindu College, was probably the youngest faculty of his age.
- He infused in his students the spirit of free expression, the yearning for knowledge and a passion to live up to their identity, while questioning irrational religious and cultural practices.
- Ishwar Chandra Visyasagar was a key figure of the Bengal Renaissance.
- He received the title 'Vidyasagar' (sea of knowledge) from the Calcutta Sanskrit College for his sterling performance in Sanskrit and philosophy.
- In 1841, at the age of twenty one, he joined Fort William College as a head of the Sanskrit department. After five years, Vidyasagar join the Sanskrit College as assistant secretary.
- He opened the doors of the Sanskrit College to lower caste students (previously it was exclusive to the Brahmins), nursed sick cholera patients, and went to crematoriums to bury unclaimed dead bodies, dined with the people of the lower cast, which was not acceptable to the society.
- He commenced the process of education with his first book of alphabet (part I and part II) called *Varna Porichoy,* first published in 1855.
- Unlike some other reformers who sought to set up alternative societies or systems, he sought to transform orthodox Hindu society from within.
- He also proposed and struggled for passage of the Widow Remarriage Act of 1856, which was enacted on 25 July.
- Apart from the concept of widow remarriage, Vidyasagar raised concern about child-marriage and polygamy.
- Vidyasagar passed away on 29 July 1891 at the age of 70.

7.7 KEY TERMS

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- **Macaulayism:** Lord Macaulay's theory of exploiting a country's resources through a planned system, such as education, was coined as Macaulayism.
- **Madrasa:** Muslim educational institutions.
- **Shastrakars:** People who studied the shastras and prescribed their applications in day-to-day life.
- **Derozians:** Students who followed Derozio.
- **Brahmo Samaj:** A school of thought started Raja Rammohan Roy which denounced idolatry.
- **Sati:** A practice by Hindu women to self-immolate in the pyre of her husband.

7.8 ANSWERS TO 'CHECK YOUR PROGRESS'

1. The system of English education in India was introduced by Sir Charles E. Trevelyan, T.B. Macaulay and Lord William Bentinck.
2. The first Hindu educational institution came up in 1791in Benaras under the stewardship of British Resident Jonathan Duncan.
3. The Wood's despatch made the following recommendations:
   - Set up of an education department in every province.
   - Based on the London University, universities to be set up in big cities
   - At least one government school to be opened in every village.
   - Provide grants to affiliated private schools.
   - Emphasis on vernacular language along with English.
   - Establishment of technical schools.
   - Impetus to women's education.
4. The Indian Education Commission of 1882 was commonly known as the Hunter's Commission.
5. 1813
6. Macaulay
7. True
8. Raja Rammohan Roy's first public was a pamphlet in Bengali in which he denounced idol-worship. He was 15 then.
9. Samvad Kaumudi
10. False
11. True
12. Derozio's student followers were known as Derozians.
13. Derozio was the editor of the *Calcutta Library Gazette* and was associated with the *India Gazette* as well.
14. The Calcutta Sanskrit College awarded the title of Vidyasagar to Ishwar Chandra for his sterling performance in Sanskrit and philosophy.
15. Vidyasagar joined Fort William College as a head of the Sanskrit department in 1841. He was twenty-one-years old then.

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16. Vidyasagar resigned from Sanskrit College twice due to difference of opinion with College Secretary Rasomoy Dutta.
17. The book was called *Varna Porichoy.*
18. The Widow Remarriage Act was passed in 25 July 1856.
19. True
20. False

7.9 QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Short-Answer Questions

1. What role did the Hunter Commission play in spreading education in India?
2. Discuss the early life of Raja Rammohan Roy.
3. Write a note on Henry Louis Vivian Derozio.
4. How was Derozio instrumental in introducing a new thought-wave among young Indians?

Long-Answer Questions

1. Discuss Macaulay's contribution towards English education in India.
2. Analyse Rammohan Roy's contribution towards the Indian education system.
3. Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar worked for the uplift of women in India. Discuss.
4. As a reformist and scholar in Sanskrit, Vidyasagar did pioneering work in Bengali language. Give your arguments.

7.10 FURTHER READING

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UNIT 8 MERCANTILE CAPITALISM AND EAST INDIA COMPANY

Structure

8.0 Introduction
8.1 Unit Objectives
8.2 Mercantile Capitalism and East India Company
  8.2.1 Phase-I: Mercantile Capitalism (1757–1813)
8.3 Land Revenue Policies
8.4 Transition of Mercantilism to Free Trade Imperialism (1813–58)
  8.4.1 Commercialization of Agriculture
8.5 Drain of Wealth Theory
8.6 Summary
8.7 Key Terms
8.8 Answers to 'Check Your Progress'
8.9 Questions and Exercises
8.10 Further Reading

8.0 INTRODUCTION

In the previous unit, you learnt about the growth of education in India, the influence of Western education on Indians, the contribution of Indian scholars and reformists such as Raja Rammohan Roy, Derozio and Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar in ushering change in the society.

Mercantilism was an economic doctrine as well as a system that dominated Europe during the 16th-18th century. The doctrine preached that a nation benefits by accumulating monetary reserves through a positive balance of trade, especially of finished goods. The policy led to escalation of exports by these powers, especially of Western Europe, frequent wars and colonial expansion.

The fact that precious metals, especially gold, were in demand across the globe and served as acceptable means of exchange benefited the mercantilist states. They tended to identify money with wealth and scrambled to acquire bullions. This precipitated a setback for domestic trade against foreign trade, while manufacturing or processing was favored at the expense of the extractive industries like agriculture as they supported the supply flow of goods for foreign trade. The state, an essential feature of the mercantile system, supported the cause.

Another important feature in this system was procurement and supply of raw materials for domestic manufacturers. The government of the day levied taxes on import of these materials to earn revenue. The state, in fact, exercised much control over economic life, chiefly through corporations and trading companies. The objective was to secure high quality goods at low cost while the state held a dominant place in foreign markets. The governments made treaties not only with each other, but also with the governments and rulers in the colonies and their subsidiaries to obtain exclusive trading privileges. Exploitation of the colonies, hence, was rampant as their commerce was stymied.

Among the fighting European powers, England emerged as the strongest nation. Her mercantilist policies were effective in creating a skilled industrial population and a large shipping industry. She destroyed Holland's commerce through a series of Navigation

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Acts. Classical economists later pointed out that a successful mercantilist policy was unlikely to be beneficial as it created an oversupply of money and, with it, inflation. Mercantilism, however, survived until the Industrial Revolution and the birth of *laissez-faire*.

In this unit, you will get acquainted with the colonial process of the British East India Company, and how the British manoeuvred policies to suit their business interest causing drain of wealth.

8.1 UNIT OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to:

- Delineate the three phases of British colonization in India
- Comprehend the changes brought by colonial revenue settlements in the Indian countryside
- Analyse the mixed impact of colonial capitalist innovations within the colony;
- Explain the 'drain of wealth' theory propounded by early nationalists and
- Understand the distinct nature of colonial 'modernization' in the colony and that it did not necessarily imply 'progress'

8.2 MERCANTILE CAPITALISM AND EAST INDIA COMPANY

The British East India Company's colonization process was carried out broadly through three phases:

(i) **Phase-I (Mercantile capitalism, 1757-1813):** Mercantile capitalism was a product of the new- found power and wealth of unguided company servants. This was also the period when the East India Company carried out direct plunder. During this phase surplus Indian revenues were used to buy Indian finished goods to be exported to England.

(ii) **Phase II – (Transition of mercantile to free trade imperialism, 1813-1858):** This period saw the transition from mercantilism to free trade imperialism, when India was turned into a source of raw material and a market for British manufactured goods. This is also known as industrial capitalism.

(iii) **Phase-III – (Finance Capitalism/Imperialism, 1858 onwards):** This period witnessed the supremacy of British capital- controlled banks, foreign trading firms and managing agencies in India.

This phased exploitation was carried out through a range of economic policies, primarily in the industrial and agricultural sectors of the colonial economy. In this unit, we shall cover the first two phases.

8.2.1 Phase-I: Mercantile Capitalism (1757–1813)

The year 1757 marks the beginning the first phase when the British East India Company acquired diwani or the rights to collect revenue from the territories it had subjugated in the eastern and southern parts of the subcontinent, to 1813, when the Company's monopoly over trade with India came to an end. During this phase, the British carried out open plunder of India and established its monopoly while other European powers were eliminated. From 1600 to 1760, the British carried the trade in putting out system. Advances were given to artisans to purchase raw materials and the East India Company was the sole purchaser of the finished goods. It was a completely monopolistic system and none from the domestic sector, such as the traders, artisans or buyers were part of it.

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Initially, the primary charter of the trade for East India Company was to purchase spices, cotton and silk from India and sell them to larger markets, especially European markets, at huge profits. This, however, led to a reverse bullion flow to India as the Company paid for the raw materials. Also, the British failed to sell their goods in India in exchange, to stop or slow down this outflow of bullion. Besides the expenditure on buying commodities, the Company also spent heavily on wars it fought with other European powers, all in search of the same goods to trade in. These included the Portuguese, the Dutch and the French.

As the factory system came in, the elaborate monopolistic system started disintegrating. The industries replaced the small manufacturing houses, and even the site of production shifted to Britain. India became a source for raw materials and the peasants were forced to grow what the 'masters' required; such as indigo was being produced in Bihar and Bengal. Slowly India became a market for the cheap British manufactured goods which gradually destroyed the indigenous markets. A policy of de-industrialization was initiated by the English in India. The British East India Company established the first factory on the banks of river Hugli in Bengal.

To increase their economic hold, the British exploited the administrative and revenue systems. The dastak, which was a permit that exempted European traders, mostly of the British East India Company, from paying customs or transit duties on their private trade, was misused. The Company had managed to acquire the *dastak* or the permits from the weak Mughal emperor. This led to a great deal of corruption among the employees of the Company and also meant heavy losses in revenue for the Bengal *nawabs* in way of customs taxes. This became a contentious issue and was one of the chief factors which led to the Battle of Plassey, fought in 1757. The British even collected compensation from native rulers after concluding treaties following wars.

The acquisition of *diwani* (right to collect revenue) in Bengal, after the Battle of Buxar, which followed the Battle of Plassey, opened the way for the Company to raise money for its expenditure in India.

Did You Know

Adam Smith coined the term mercantile system to describe the system of political economy that sought to enrich the country by restraining imports and encouraging exports. This system dominated Western European economic thought and policies from the 16th to the late 18th centuries. The goal of these policies was, supposedly, to achieve a favourable balance of trade that would bring gold and silver into the country and also maintain domestic employment.

8.3 LAND REVENUE POLICIES

The acquisition of diwani rights in 1765 allowed the Company to tap India's wealth from local rulers, zamindars and merchants in the rich province of Bengal and use them to purchase goods to be shipped to Britain for sale. The Company's men, including officials,

Check Your Progress

1. What are the phases of British Colonialism?
2. What change did the factory system bring?
3. What is a dastak?
4. The British did not enjoy monopoly in the first phase of colonial trade (True/ False)

NOTES

took to plunder and corruption on the face of a weak central government and fighting provincial rulers. An instable political environment across the subcontinent aided the Company officials to amass huge fortunes before they returned home. Their illegal incomes also found their way to England. And back home, they were called 'nabobs' who exhibited flashy lifestyles. A lot of this money was used to fuel the Industrial Revolution in Britain. The greed for incomes from land revenue also led the Company to pursue an aggressive policy of territorial expansion in India.

Subsequent to the granting of diwani of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa were granted to the East India Company in 1765; maximization of revenue from the colony became the primary objective of the Company's administration. Tax from agricultural was the main source of income for the Company and the British administration experimented with various land revenue systems to extract the maximum. A key reason behind this was pay dividends to its investors back home.

These experiments with the revenue systems were partly instrumental in determining the relationship the colonial state would share with the people it governed.

In 1772, Warren Hastings, the Governor of Bengal, introduced a system of revenue farming in the region under which the district collector, who would be an European, would sell the revenue collecting rights to the highest bidder. The system did not work as the cultivators became insolvent and went out of business due to arbitrarily high revenue demands by the company servants.

To stop this downslide, a system of 'permanent settlement' was introduced in 1793 by Hasting's successor as governor general, Cornwallis. Under this system, the zamindars were made the proprietors or owners of land and were responsible for collecting the revenue which was permanently fixed. In case the zamindar failed to pay full tax on time, the state had the right to take away the land and auction them. The objective was to create an enterprising class of landowners who would work to improve crop production and subsequently earn profits. This meant the state had to deal with a limited number of zamindars than with every farmer. Politically, they hoped this would consolidate British power, as zamindars, a powerful section of society would remain loyal to the administration.

On the contrary, the system made the tenant-cultivator impoverished. They were excessively suppressed under the burden of high revenues. The zamindars, too, became weak as they lost their lands due to their inability to pay revenue on time. The system also encouraged sub-infeudation i.e. several layers of intermediaries between the zamindar and cultivator were created, or the subdivision of a feudal estate by a vassal who in turn becomes feudal lord over his tenants, adding to the woes of the peasantry. The system strived to keep the intermediaries from revenue collection, so that the state could acquire a larger share of the income from land.

The ryotwari system was instituted in 1820 in some parts of British India. Under this system, the government went back to having direct relation with the cultivator. A settlement was made with the cultivator (the ryots) who would hand over the revenue to the state; each field was measured separately and assessed annually. These revenues included undifferentiated land taxes and rents, collected simultaneously. Initially, revenue was collected from each village separately, but later each ryot was assessed individually. The system eliminated the middleman but sometimes placed the cultivators at the mercy of lower officials, who often formed cliques of caste groups.

NOTES

Although this system increased the state's revenue, the assessments were faulty and the peasants overburdened by taxes. The landed intermediaries, however, continued to flourish.

After 1822, the mahalwari settlement was established in north and northwest of India. Here the state made settlements with either the village community or, in some cases, the traditional *taluqdar*. Each fiscal unit was called a *mahal.* Under this system, some recognition was given to collective proprietary rights.

As a result of the revenue policies of the British, agriculture stagnated and peasants almost became tenants at will. They also increased the number of landed intermediaries, and strongly entrenched the figure of the moneylender in the countryside. Landlords and zamindars became an important class and collaborators of British colonial rule.

8.4 TRANSITION OF MERCANTILISM TO FREE TRADE IMPERIALISM (1813–58)

The second phase of colonization is generally believed to have begun in 1813 with the implementation of the Charter Act after the Company lost its monopoly trading rights in India, and ended in 1858, when the British crown took over the direct control and administration of all British territory in India. The period is also called the industrial capitalism.

The government in Britain became precarious of the East India Company's growing power. Several parliamentarian had 'East Indian' interests, who used the Company's resources to maintain their patronage within the government. With increasing industrialization in Britain, the economic interests of the members too were changing. Members the parliament now wanted a more say in the Company's activities and greater control over its earnings. The parliament, hence, started accusing Company officials for corruption and even targeted individual officers of misconduct. For example, Clive and Hastings were charged of misconduct and impeachment proceeding were initiated against the latter.

The 'free traders', dominant in the Parliament with the turn of the 19th century, demanded free access to India, which led to the passing of the Charter Act of 1813. This ended the Company's monopoly in India, while bringing their territorial possessions under the British crown. . Every company from England was allowed to trade in India.

Free trade changed the nature of the Indian colony completely, through a dual strategy. It threw open Indian markets for the entry of cheap, mass-produced, machine-made British goods, on which there were no tariff restrictions, if so, they were too limited to be called a fair competition with the local traders. Indian hand-crafted textiles, once popular in Britain, succumbed to this onslaught as excessive taxes obstructed their trade

Further, British-Indian territory was developed as a source of food stuff and raw material for Britain, which facilitated growth of the manufacturing sector, which is essential to a healthy economy. These changes reversed the favourable balance of trade that was in India's favour earlier. This phase laid the foundations of a classic colonial economy within India through the complex processes of commercialization of agriculture and deindustrialization.

Check Your Progress

5. What is the system of revenue farming?
6. Prior to the Permanent Settlement, _____ had the right to collect revenues.
7. The Permanent Settlement was friendly towards the farmers. (True/ False)
8. What did the Ryotwari Settlement do for the farmers?

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Industrial Revolution, which was expanding in England, led to the emergence of the capitalist class who has great influence in the parliament. A new form of exploitation began in this period. As a consequence, India became the destination for 20 per cent of production from England.

According to Bipan Chandra, 'Indian handicrafts were exposed to the fierce and unequal competition of machine-made goods of Britain and faced extinction.'

Karl Marx said, 'British broke up the Indian handlooms and destroyed the spinning-loom and in-undated in very mother country of cottons with cotton.'

The British adopted the dual tariff policy to carry on de-industrialization in India. High taxes on exports were imposed; it was 67.5 per cent on cotton textiles, 37.5 per cent on muslin cloth and 300 per cent on the Indian sugar.

8.4.1 Commercialization of Agriculture

Some believe that commercialization of agriculture, a product of the colonial administrators, improved the position of the Indian peasants in many areas. From the 1860s onwards, demands from the overseas markets dictated the nature of agricultural production. The items exported in the first half of the 19th century included cash crops such as indigo, opium, cotton and silk. Gradually, these were replaced by raw jute, food grains, oil seeds and tea. Raw cotton was the most in-demand item. This growth in production of cash crop was facilitated by the railways, after 1850; trade networks improved vastly.

But commercialization seems to have been an artificial process with limited growth and forced on the peasants.

The lack of any large scale, sustained and well coordinated industrial development meant that commercial agricultural activity had no viable channels of investment, for it to be converted into industrial capital. Commercialization, thus, increased the level of sub-infeudation in the countryside and money was channelized into trade and money lending at exorbitant rates. Expansion of the production through investing in manufacturing was also considered risky, as this sector kept fluctuating. The agricultural sector catered for foreign market across the oceans, while the colonial state provided no protection to agriculturists.

The larger part of the profits generated by the export trade went to British business houses, which controlled shipping and insurance industries, besides agents, traders and bankers. Those who benefited in India were big farmers, and some landlord-moneylender exploiting the rules in the rural areas.

Tea was grown in plantations in Assam owned by the whites who treated the labourers like slaves. Similarly, agriculturalists were forced to grow indigo, which yielded low profits and upset the harvesting cycle. This involved inhuman levels of coercion, which eventually led to the indigo rebellion in 1859-60.

Commercialization did lead to limited phases of success in the cotton-producing areas of western India in 1860s and in jute-producing regions in eastern India, but they were because of increase in demand rather than capitalist innovation in production and organization. Also, farmers saw profit in growing cash crops because they had to pay high revenue, rents and debts in cash. The shift from food crops like jowar, bajra and pulses to cash crops often created disaster in famine years. A decline in world demand for Indian cotton led to heavy indebtedness, famine and agrarian riots in rural areas.

Check Your Progress

9. What is industrial capitalism?
10. When was free trade allowed in India?
11. ___ _____changed the nature of the Indian colony completely, through a dual strategy.
12. There was a high demand of cash crops. (True/False)

8.5 DRAIN OF WEALTH THEORY

NOTES

The concept of Drain of Wealth was first mentioned by the Grand Old Man of India, Dadabhai Naoroji, and by Romesh Chunder Dutt. In his book *Poverty and Un-British Rule in India*, Naoroji talked about this idea and brought it to the forefront R.C. Drain of wealth means exploitation of economic resources of a country by the colonial / imperial power. Dutt held the British policies responsible for all the economic ills that India was facing. He referred to this in his book *Economic History of India*. In this book, Dutt mentioned that a major part of the revenue of India 'flows annually out of India'.

Historians believe that the drain of Wealth started after the Battle of Plassey in 1757. Following the victory of the East India Company in this battle, the Company's officials began exporting the riches that belonged to Indian rulers, zamindars, merchants and common people and sending them back to England. On acquiring the Diwani of Bengal in 1765, Company officials began purchasing Indian goods from the revenue of Bengal and exporting them to England. These purchases started to be called Company's investment. British merchants had a competitive edge over their Indian counterparts because of duty free inland trade. The drain included the salaries and other incomes of English officials and the money that the English merchants earned due to trading. Drain took the form of India's exports over its imports, and India got nothing in return.

The depletion of Indian wealth sounded the death knell of Indian enterprises and ensured that capital formation in the country was impeded. All this wealth that was being systematically pumped out of India was being used to support and pay for the development of capitalism in Britain during the eighteenth century and early first part of the nineteenth century. India was being reserved as a zone of free trade; however, the country was not permitted to grow so that it could compete on a level playing field. Foreign trade and export surplus could have raised the income of India if it was allowed to be invested properly. The profits of private foreign capital invested in trade or industry in India were a major source of the drain.

Clearly, by drain of wealth we refer to the unfair practice whereby part of India's national wealth was being exported to England for which the country got no adequate economic or material compensation. Scores of nationalist scholars believe it was this that was the root cause of the abysmal poverty that raged in India. National leaders brought this moot topic to the fore in the second half of the nineteenth century and came together to speak about it on one platform.

As already mentioned, Dadabhai Naoroji was the first individual who brought the true nature of British rule in India to light. He wrote articles in his paper *English Debt to India* which he later read out at a gathering of the East India Association on 2 May 1867 in London. In his article, he wrote that 'out of the revenues raised in India nearly one-fourth goes clean out of the country, and is added to the resources of England'. He presented several papers on this topic such as '*The Wants and Means of India*' (1870) and '*On the Commerce of India*' (1871) in London. But it was his book *Poverty and un-British rule in India* that made both Indians and the rest of the world, especially the English, sit up and take a look. Naoroji called the British rule as plundering, unrighteous, despotic, destructive and un-British. He drew attention to the fact that it was a falsehood that British rule was in any way beneficial to India. On the contrary, it deprived India of her resources and riches.

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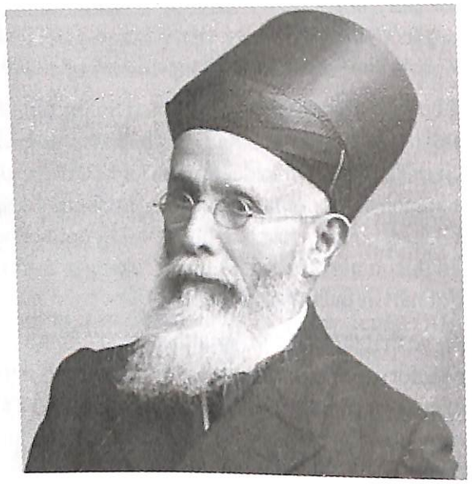


Figure 8.1 *Dadabhai Naoroji*

Source: *http://static.guim.co.uk/sys-images/Guardian/Pix/pictures/2013/7/25/1374747983873/Dadabhai-Naoroji-008.jpg*

However, Dadabhai Naoroji was not the only Indian who brought this issue to light. In 1872, at a lecture in Poona, Justice Govind Ranade observed 'that of the national income of India more than one-third was taken away by the British in some form or other'. Other nationalist leaders who denounced this drain of wealth through various papers were Gopal Krishna Gokhle, PC Ray, GV Joshi, MM Malaviya, DE Wacha, G Subramaniya Iyer, Surendranath Banerji and Bholanath Chandra. Many nationalist newspapers also slammed the drain of wealth from India, notably among them was the *Amrit Bazaar Patrika.* In spite of so many voices condemning this unfair depletion of national wealth, the Indian National Congress officially adopted 'the drain theory' only in 1896 at the party's Calcutta session. Not surprisingly, the President of Congress at that time was Dadabhai Naoroji.

Politically conscious Indians and nationalists began to compare the nature of British invasion of India with the invasions of the country by Alexander the Great, Mahmud of Ghazni, Shihabuddin Ghori, Babur, Nadir Shah and Ahmad Shah Abdali. They realized that the earlier invaders plundered the wealth of India in the form of cash, gold, silver and precious things. But the effect of their plunder was felt by a few, with the exception of Nadir Shah. On the other hand, the British rule distressed the entire nation. It plundered India regularly and systematically. All earlier invaders and rulers who came to India made this country their permanent home. They restricted all their activities within the boundaries of India. Most importantly, the national wealth remained within the country and was spent here. At least some Indians benefited from these invasions. Industry and crafts received a boost under the patronage of these rulers. However, all this changed with the coming of the British. After they founded their rule in India, the local industries and crafts suffered heavily and in a way benefitted only English industries. It was the nature and form of British rule that led to the continuous drain of wealth from India.

As the nationalist leaders set about computing the amount of riches and money that had been drained away, their figures varied greatly from each other. These differences were largely because all individuals were using different modes of calculation. Moreover the gap between exports and imports was growing continuously. In 1867, Dadabhai Naoroji came up with the figure of 8 million pounds worth of wealth that had been drained. In 1870, he increased the figure to 12 million pounds. In 1905, he declared that an exorbitant 34 million sterling or ₹51.5 crore worth of Indian wealth was being drained out of India annually. In 1888 GV Joshi had claimed that ₹25 crores was being drained every year to England. DE Wacha put this figure between ₹30 and ₹40 crores a year.

Check Your Progress

13. Who forwarded the drain of wealth theory?
14. The drain occurred through the interest that ____ paid for foreign debts of the East India Company.

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ACTIVITY

Do you agree with the drain of wealth theory? Go through the arguments presented by scholars and give your own interpretation.

8.6 SUMMARY

In this unit, you have learnt that:

- The British East India Company's colonization process was carried out broadly through three phases:
  - Phase-I (Mercantile Capitalism, 1757-1813)
  - Phase II – (Transition of Mercantile to Free Trade Imperialism, 1813-1858)
  - Phase-III – (Finance Capitalism/Imperialism, 1858 onwards)
- The 'first phase' is generally dated from 1757, when the British East India Company acquired the rights to collect revenue from its territories in the eastern and southern parts of the subcontinent, to 1813, when the Company's monopoly over trade with India came to an end.
- From 1600 to 1760, British carried the trade in putting out system.
- The factory system brought in a lot of change. British started purchasing only raw materials, which the Indian peasants were forced to grow, and finished goods were sold in India.
- The Company had managed to acquire permits or a dastak from the Mughal emperor that exempted it from having to pay duties on its trade.
- Despite efforts, it seemed difficult to find British goods that could be sold in India in exchange, to stop or slow down this outflow of bullion.
- Besides the expenditure on buying commodities, the Company also spent very large amounts on the wars that it had to fight with other European powers, all in search of the same goods to trade in.
- After the diwani of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa was granted to the East India Company in 1765, the maximization of revenue from the colony became the primary objective of the British East India Company's administration.
- In 1772, the Governor of Bengal, Warren Hastings, introduced a system of 'revenue farming' in the province of Bengal.
- Under the Permanent Settlement, zamindars, who earlier only had the right to collect revenue, were established as the proprietors or owners of land.
- If the zamindars failed to paid full tax on time, their lands would be confiscated and auctioned by the state.
- Some of the zamindars, were not able to pay the revenue on time and lost their lands.
- The Permanent Settlement strived to keep the intermediaries from revenue collection, so that the state could acquire a larger share of the income from land.

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- Under the Ryotwari system, in which the settlement was made directly with the cultivator, each field was separately measured and annually assessed.
- The system eliminated the middleman but sometimes placed the cultivators at the mercy of lower officials, who often formed cliques of caste groups.
- The Mahalwari settlement gave some recognition to collective proprietary rights.
- Company officials amassed huge fortunes before they returned home, and they were referred to as 'nabobs' in Britain, on account of their flashy lifestyles.
- The second phase is generally seen to have begun with the charter Act of 1813, when the Company lost its monopoly trading rights in India, and ended in 1858, when the British crown took over the direct control and administration of all British territory in India.
- As unprecedented levels of industrialization were achieved in Britain, there was a gradual change in the constitution of the parliament.
- The passage of expensive, hand-crafted Indian textiles to Britain, which had been very popular there, was however, obstructed by excessive taxes.
- Dual tariff policy was adopted by the British to carry on de-industrialization in India.
- From the 1860s onwards, the nature of agricultural production was determined by the demands of the overseas markets for Indian primary products.
- The larger part of the profits generated by the export trade went to British business houses, which controlled shipping and insurance industries, besides agents, traders and bankers.
- Early Indian nationalists like Dadabhai Naoroji, and M.G Ranade had expected Britain to undertake capitalist industrialization in India, but were deeply disillusioned with the results of colonial industrial policies.
- The drain occurred through the interest that India paid for foreign debts of the East India Company, military expenditure, guaranteed returns on foreign investment in railways and other infrastructure, importing all stationery from England, 'home charges' paid for the Secretary of State in Britain and salaries, pensions and training costs of military and civilian staff employed by the British state to rule India.

8.7 KEY TERMS

- **Dastak:** It is a permit prevalent in 18th century Bengal exempting European traders, mostly of the British East India Company, from paying customs or transit duties on their private trade.
- **Sub-infeudation:** It is the practice by which tenants, holding land under the king or other superior lord, carved out new and distinct tenures in their turn by sub-letting or alienating a part of their lands.
- **Talukdar:** It is a term used for land holders during the Mughal and British period who were responsible for collecting taxes from a district.
- **Free traders:** Traders in the 19th century who did not come under the jurisdiction of the crown of Britain.

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8.8 ANSWERS TO 'CHECK YOUR PROGRESS'

1. The three phases of British Colonialism were:
   (i) Phase-I (Mercantile Capitalism, 1757-1813)
   (ii) Phase II – (Transition of Mercantile to Free Trade Imperialism, 1813-1858)
   (iii) Phase-III – (Finance Capitalism/Imperialism, 1858 onwards)
2. The factory system changed the production process. The artisans were no longer required to buy raw materials, but the owners, in this case, the Britishers, and farmers were forced to produce raw material. Finished goods were sold in the colonial countries like India.
3. The dastak was a permit that exempted European traders, mostly of the British East India Company, from paying customs or transit duties on their private trade. The revenue administration too was controlled.
4. False
5. The system of revenue farming was introduced by Warren Hastings, under which the European district collectors would sell the right to collect revenue to the highest bidder. This system, however, failed, and the cultivators became insolvent and out of business as under this system, due to arbitrarily high revenue demands by the company servants.
6. Zamindars
7. False
8. The Ryotwari Settlement made the peasants the owner of the land. Though it increased the revenue collected by the state, the assessments were faulty and the peasants overburdened by the taxes. The landed intermediaries too continued to flourish.
9. The second phase of British colonialism is also known as industrial capitalism. This period began with the Charter Act of 1813, when the Company lost its monopoly trading rights in India, and ended in 1858, when the British crown took over the direct control and administration of all British territory in India.
10. Free trade was allowed in 1813 to every company from England.
11. Free trade
12. True
13. Dadabhai Naoroji put forward the drain of wealth theory.
14. India

8.9 QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Short-Answer Questions

1. How did the British misuse the dastak?
2. Explain the drain of wealth theory.
3. What were the characteristic of mercantile capitalism?

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Long-Answer Questions

1. Explain how India's handloom suffered due to the free trade policy of the British and Industrial Revolution.
2. Explain how the East India Company lost its trade monopoly.
3. Do you think commercialization of agriculture was forced process? Give your view.

8.10 FURTHER READING

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UNIT 9 FRONTIER POLICY OF THE BRITISH

Structure

9.0 Introduction
9.1 Unit Objectives
9.2 British Policy towards Afghanistan
  9.2.1 First Anglo-Afghan War
  9.2.2 Second Anglo-Afghan War
  9.2.3 Third Anglo-Afghan War
9.3 British Policy towards Burma
  9.3.1 First Anglo-Burmese War (1824-26)
  9.3.2 Second Anglo-Burmese War (1852)
  9.3.3 Third Anglo-Burmese War
9.4 Relations with Nepal
9.5 Summary
9.6 Key Terms
9.7 Answers to 'Check Your Progress'
9.8 Questions and Exercises
9.9 Further Reading

9.0 INTRODUCTION

In the previous unit, you learnt about mercantile capitalism and the East India Company's policies, and transition from mercantilism to free trade imperialism.

While impressing its supremacy over India, the British East India Company was aware that it could not neglect the frontier states. The North-West frontier region and Afghanistan were the most difficult areas, and strategically and militarily important. Tribes from Afghanistan launched frequent attacks. Simultaneously, The East India Company cast anxious glances, early in the 19th century, at India's neighbours to the east—Burma. Burma, truculent and expansionist, seemingly ready to devour Bengal, was hard to subdue. After the initial invasion by the Company in 1824, it took some 60 years and more wars before the whole of Burma came under the British. Nepal was also an important territory, which the British had to subjugate. This was all the more important because it was strategically close to Bengal and the Nepalese government was reluctant to allow the Company trade through the region to Tibet.

In this unit, you will learn the British East India Company's relations with Afghanistan, Burma and Nepal and the numerous wars fought with them.

9.1 UNIT OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to:

- Assess the British policy towards Afghanistan
- Explain the causes of the Anglo-Afghan wars
- Interpret British relations with Burma
- Describe the factors that led to wars between the British East India Company and Burma
- Analyse the causes of the British East India Company to subjugate Nepal

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9.2 BRITISH POLICY TOWARDS AFGHANISTAN

After closely scrutinizing the Russian influence and expansion in Afghanistan, the British decided to have complete control over Afghanistan's foreign affairs. It was observed that after 1858, the British followed a policy of non-interference in the internal affairs of Afghanistan. However, this policy of non-interference took an about turn under Lyttons' government. It was in these circumstances that the British attacked Afghanistan in 1878 and were able to conquer some regions. After Lord Lytton finished his tenure, his office was taken over by Lord Ripon whose policies were the total opposite of Lytton. Lord Ripon reversed the policies followed under Lytton in Afghanistan and offered a policy of peaceful co-existence. By this time, the Afghans wanted full autonomy in all state matters and in 1919 declared war against the British. By 1921, Afghanistan became an independent country.

9.2.1 First Anglo-Afghan War

Until the 1830s, Afghanistan was of little interest to the British Empire. However, with the Russians gradually closing towards India, Britain feared that the Russians wanted to capture all Central Asia and saw destabilizing British India. Britain's major fear was Russia's advance towards south of the Hindu Kush, the mountain range just north of Kabul. It realized that if Afghanistan was captured, the Russians would be able to build up a force and march onto the plains of India with little impediment. With the prospect of all Central Asia, from Persia to Afghanistan, falling under Russian control, the war between Afghanistan and the British empire became imminent. At that time, although Afghanistan was a weak and disunited territory, ruined by a civil war, it was under tight control of a competent leader, the usurper Dost Muhammad Khan.

The first Anglo-Afghan War took place from 1839 to 1842 and was fought between Afghanistan and British India. This war was considered one of the first major conflicts of the Great Game. The Great Game refers to a period of 19th century history which is marked by the tactical rivalry between Britain and Russia for control in Central Asia. This period is also known for the major setbacks suffered by the British powers in this region and is compared to Britain's ill fate during World War II in terms of Japan's invasion of Malaya and Singapore. Although, one factor that has been understated in this war, while mentioning Britain's plight is that most of the war casualties were the Indians who formed the bulk of the British troops. The first attack came from the British in 1839, when they first captured Kabul. In 1841, the Afghans struck back and the British were defeated. The cost of occupation and climate were the major factors responsible for British defeat leading them to retreat back to Peshawar. Efforts to retake Kabul led to another expedition and the British were successful.

Although, they had to abandon Kabul once again in 1842 as they were not able to face resistance from the Afghan forces. The British prided themselves as being unconquerable, however, with losing Kabul, their invincible reputation was challenged. In order to repair its damaged image, the British conquered Sind and the Sikh kingdom in Punjab.

Following the conquests of Sind and the Sikh kingdom, the British achieved a decisive victory over Dost Mohammad and his troops. Dost Mohammad finally

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fled the city with some of his loyal followers to Bukhara. In August 1839, Shuja was enthroned in Kabul after a span of thirty years. Though some British troops remained in Afghanistan, the majority of British troops returned to India. However, in a short span of time it became evident that Shuja constantly required British assistance in ruling Kabul. Although, Britain provided assistance in the form of military and finance, most of the Afghans resented their presence in Afghanistan. It was during this time that William Hay Macnaghten allowed British troops to bring their families to Afghanistan in order to boost their morale. The Afghans figured this as one of the many plans of the British to settle in their territory. In this light, Dost Mohammad attacked the British. This disorganized attempt against the British finally led to Afghan defeat and the subsequent surrender of Dost Mohammad who was later exiled to India in 1840.

Elphinstone who then took over the Afghan cause had already lost his authority and command of his troops. In the three decades after the First Anglo- Afghan War, the Russians were steadily advancing towards Afghanistan and by 1842 the Russian border was on the other side of the Aral Sea. The Russian control extended as far as the northern bank of the Amu Darya. After the annexation of Tashkent and Samarkand in 1865, a peace treaty was signed in 1873 between Amir Alim Khan who was the ruler of Bukhara that time stripping him of his independence and conforming Russian control till River Amu Darya.

9.2.2 Second Anglo-Afghan War

The second Anglo-Afghan War took place from 1878 to 1880 and was fought between the British and the Afghans. During this phase, Afghans were ruled by Sher Ali Khan of the Barakzai Dynasty, who was also the son of the former Emir Dost Mohammad Khan. This was the second instance when the British had invaded Afghanistan. This war ended with the British achieving all its geopolitical goals. After the war, most of the British troops withdrew from Afghanistan as the Afghans were permitted to make decisions regarding internal matters. However, all aspects pertaining to foreign relations were controlled by the British. With the June 1878 Congress session, the tension between Russia and Britain in Europe came to end. Britain and Russia then turned their attention towards Central Asia. Russians also sent an uninvited envoy to Kabul who arrived on 22 July 1878. All attempts on the part of Sher Ali Khan to keep the Russian mission out of Afghanistan proved futile. The British sent a similar mission to Kabul on the 14 August 1878. The British mission under Neville Bowles Chamberlain was not only refused but the Afghans threatened to stop it if it were dispatched. In September 1878, the then Viceroy Lord Lytton ordered another mission to be sent to Kabul which was turned back as it approached the eastern entrance of Khyber Pass. This defiance to the British mission triggered the second Anglo-Afghan War.

The British formulated a strategy to invade Afghanistan. According to this strategy, the 40,000 British troops were divided into three groups and were to attack Afghanistan from three different directions. Sher Ali Khan panicked and made an attempt to appeal to the Russian Czar in person, however, he was unable to do so. He returned to Mazari Sharif without making an appeal and passed away on 21 February 1879. As the British occupied a major part of Afghanistan, Sher Ali Khan's son and successor Mohammad Yaqub Khan signed the Treaty of Gandamak in May 1879. This was done to prevent further British invasion in the rest of the country.

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Furthermore, Yaqub Khan surrendered Afghan control of foreign affairs to the British in lieu of an annual subsidy and assistance in case of foreign aggression. Simultaneously, the British installed their representatives in Kabul and other important cities. The British control increased in Afghanistan from the Khyber Pass to the Michni Pass. Apart from these areas, Afghanistan ceded Quetta and various other areas to Britain.

The British army withdrew after these developments as they were content that their goals in Afghanistan had been met. However, on 3 September 1879, Sir Pierre Cavagnari and his men were slaughtered. This incident triggered the next phase of the second Anglo-Afghan War.

The British expedition was led by Major General Frederick Roberts over the Shutargardan Pass. He led the Kabul Field Force into central Afghanistan and defeated the Afghan army at Char Asiab on 6 October 1879 and successfully occupied Kabul. In December 1879, Ghazi Mohammad Jan Khan Wardark attacked the British troops near the Sherpur Cantonment but was defeated. On the other hand, Yaqub Khan, who was considered a prime suspect in the murders of Cavagnari and his men, was forced to renounce his throne. In order to rule an empire as vast as the Afghans, the British contemplated a number of possibilities, which included partitioning of Afghanistan under multiple rulers, and placing Yaqub's brother Ayub Khan on the throne. The British finally decided to install Yaqub's cousin Abdur Rahman Khan instead.

Ayub Khan, who was serving as a governor in Herat, felt insulted with the British decision of installing Abdur Rahman Khan and then decided to attack the British. He was able to defeat a British detachment at the Battle of Maiwand on July 1880, and was successful in annexing Kandahar. The British troops under the leadership of Major General Frederick Roberts defeated Ayub Khan on 1 September at the Battle of Kandahar.

Abdur Rahman then confirmed the Treaty of Gandamak giving the British control of the territories ceded by Yaqub Khan. The Treaty of Gandamak also gave the British autonomous control over Afghanistan's foreign policy. In return, the British power promised protection from foreign aggression and issued a subsidy to Abdur Rahman.

The British withdrew from Afghanistan once it achieved its objectives. The British were content with control of foreign policies of Afghanistan and the huge territories they had acquired and therefore abandoned the idea of maintaining a British resident in Kabul.

9.2.3 Third Anglo-Afghan War

The Third Anglo-Afghan War was a very short war which lasted for a period of three months. The war began on 6 May 1919 and ended on 8 August 1919 with an armistice. The Third Anglo-Afghan War proved to be a strategic victory for the British as it reaffirmed the political boundaries of British India and Afghanistan. The Durand Line was used as a point of division between the two political entities. This war proved to be a watershed for the Afghans as they were able to gain control of their foreign affairs as an independent state.

Although the Third Anglo-Afghan War was a short war, the root causes for this war lay in Afghanistan's past. After fighting two wars with Afghanistan previously, the British not only considered the Afghans a threat but Russia's intentions in this region was also a matter of worry for them. There was always the fear of

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Indian invasion by the Russians through Afghanistan. The British made frequent attempts to impose their will on Kabul and over a period of time fought two wars in the 19th century.

After the second Anglo-Afghan War in 1880, there was a period of peace marked by the good relations between Britain and Afghanistan. In these years of peace, Afghanistan was under the leadership of Abdur Rahman Khan and Habibullah Khan. During this phase also the British managed Afghanistan's foreign policy through the payment of a large subsidy. Although, Afghanistan remained independent to a large extent, in regards to external matters it has been rightly said that it would '…have no windows looking on the outside world, except towards India'. Emir Abdur Rahman Khan passed away in 1901 and it has been said that his death indirectly led to the war that began eighteen years later. He was succeeded by Habibullah, who was a very unreliable and unstable leader.

Habibullah was known to alternatively side with the British and Russian according to the volume of subsidy. Even though, Afghanistan was not consulted during the 1907 Anglo-Russian Convention, it chose to remain neutral during World War I (1914-1918). Afghanistan was constantly pressurized by the Ottoman Empire and it finally entered the conflict from Germany's side. The Sultan, a titular leader of Islam, called for a jihad against the Allies.

Though Afghanistan remained neutral in the conflict, Habibullah accepted a Turkish-German mission in Kabul and took military assistance from the Central Powers. It was observed that in his own subtle twisted way, Habibullah tried to play both sides of the conflict for the best deal. He constantly misled these powers and refused any sort of assistance. In his quest to fulfill his own selfish motives, he failed to keep a check on the troublesome tribal leaders. Meanwhile, the Turkish agents instigated troube along the frontier region. Departure of a large part of the British Indian army to fight overseas and a Turkish victory over the British, aided the Turkish efforts at sedition. In 1915, there was unrest among two Afghan clans, namely Mohmands and Mahsuds. Notwithstanding these outbreaks, though, the frontier generally remained settled at a time when Britain could ill afford trouble.

By 1916, the Turco-German mission had left Kabul and during their stay successfully convinced Habibullah that Afghanistan was a free nation and that it should not be under the jurisdiction of anyone. After the end of World War I, Habibullah set out to gain reward from the British government for their assistance during World War I. Habibullah sought the right to control Afghanistan's foreign affairs. He also demanded a seat at Versailles Peace Conference in 1919.

However, this request was denied by Viceroy Frederic Thesiger. Further negotiations were to be held in this respect, however, before anything could be scheduled, Habibullah was murdered on 19 February 1919. With Habibullah's death in 1919, a power struggle ensued between Habibullah's brother Nasrullah Khan and Amanullah, Habibullah's third son. Both of them proclaimed themselves to be successors to Habibullah. The Afghan army suspected Amanullah to have a hand in his father's death. In order to gain their trust and solidify his position as their leader, he presented himself to be a man of democratic ideas, who believed in reforms and changing the system of governance. In his quest for power, he declared that Afghanistan is independent and, therefore, no longer bound by the Treaty of Gandamak.

The first thing Amanullah did after seizing power was that he had Nasrullah, who was not only his uncle but also a strong contender to succeed Habibullah,

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arrested. He charged his uncle for the murder of his father and sentenced him to life imprisonment. This conduct of Amanullah did not go down very well with the conservatives who favoured Nasrullah to some extent as Nasrullah himself was known to be more conservative in his outlook. Amanullah saw the conservatives as a threat to his position and realized that he could only hold on to power if he had the support of the conservatives. Meanwhile, British India was going through a phase of civil unrest following the Amritsar massacre and Amanullah saw this as an opportunity. He diverted his attention from the internal turmoil of Afghanistan and decided to invade British India.

The third Anglo-Afghan War ended in a tactical victory for the British who were able to drive the Afghans out of Indian territory. British, though victorious, suffered almost double the amount of war casualties during this war. Some historians even consider this to be of a strategic victory for the Afghans, although, it was quite obvious that, despite going through a phase of civil unrest, British India could easily defeat Afghanistan. It is difficult to understand what Amanullah was expecting to gain from this war. Based on the settlements which came up afterwards, some argue that it was indeed a strategic victory for Amanullah.

A peace treaty was signed at the end of the war. According to this treaty, the British not only withdrew the subsidy they were paying the Afghans, they also ended their right to import arms from India. Over a period of time the British influence declined to an extent that the Afghans resumed their right to conduct their foreign affairs without any British coercion. The Afghans and the British agreed to Durand Line being the political boundary separating Afghanistan from the North-West Frontier Province. On the other hand, the British were content with the fact that the Afghans made an undertaking to stop interfering in the British-dominated territory. Thus, it can be said that both sides did achieve something from this war.

Although the war was long over, the effects of the war were still prevalent on both sides. The nationalism, disruption and unrest that had sparked off during the war itself proved to be more trouble in the years to come, particularly in the region of Waziristan. A large number of tribesmen populated these areas that joined together for a common cause, which was to exploit weakness and cause unrest and violence. These tribesmen had become very powerful during the course of time as they had access to the arms and ammunition left behind by the Afghans. A large number of people who were previously a part of the militia joined their ranks. With ample supply of arms, manpower and confidence, these tribesmen launched numerous campaigns against the British on the North-West Frontier. Their surges continued till the end of the British Raj.

Check Your Progress

1. What is the Great Game?
2. Who signed the Treaty of Gandamak?
3. Who replaced Yaqub Khan?
4. What does the Durand Line represent?

9.3 BRITISH POLICY TOWARDS BURMA

In order to check French and Russian influence in the Indian subcontinent, the British followed an imperialistic policy towards Afghanistan and Burma to establish control. In 1824-26, the British had seized Lower Burma. However, the old ruling dynasty of Burma continued to rule and control Upper Burma. Simultaneously, the French were settling in regions of Indo-China and became interested in Burma. The French also tried to increase their influence in Burma which was not accepted by the British. Therefore, to safeguard their position in Burma, the British asked the Burmese king to accept British control in their foreign policy and requested that a British resident

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be posted at the royal capital of Mandalay. The demands laid down by the British were rejected by the Burmese king. The British troops invaded Burma leading to its annexation in 1885. Despite resisting British rule for many years, Burma finally became a British province.

While the Gurkhas were conquering Nepal in the latter half of the 18th century, Burma was engaged in capturing new territories. The Burmese brought Arakan, Pegu, Tenasserim and the entire Irrawady basin under its control. In 1766, Tenasserim was forcibly taken from Siam and was annexed in 1768. In the period from 1782-1819, King Bodawpaya conquered Arakan (1784), Manipur (1813) and Assam (1816). All these conquests made it necessary for the British to rethink its political polices and alliances with regard to Burma. In this respect, the British government at Calcutta sent three envoys to Burma which is mentioned with the years served in tenure.

(i) Captain Symes (1795 and 1802)

(ii) Captain Cox (1797)

(iii) Captain Banning (1803, 1809 and 1811)

These efforts proved futile as these residents were unable to establish any relation with the Burmese. In 1818, the British were occupied in exterminating the Pindaris; the Burmese pressured Lord Hastings to surrender Chittagong, Decca, Murshidabad and Cossimbazar. Lord Hastings chose to ignore the Burmese demand. However, the Burmese were successful in subjugating Assam in 1821-22 and confronted the British all along their north-east frontier.

9.3.1 First Anglo-Burmese War (1824-26)

Trivial success in their expeditions against British filled the Burmese with pride and confidence. They now considered Ava, the capital of Burma, to be the centre of the world. The Burmese were confident and were eager to start a war with the English. In September 1823, they attacked Shahpuri, a small island off Chittagong. In response to these Burmese hostilities along the Assam frontier, the British finally declared war on Burma. On 24 February 1824, Lord Amherst declared war which lasted two years. This war bought little credit to either side. The British planned to capture Rangoon by sea route and therefore advanced through the Irrawady River into Rangoon. Without any knowledge of the geography or climate, the British went on with their plan of annexing Rangoon. They had chosen an unsuitable time for their expedition since this expedition took place in May, during the monsoon season. Heavy downpours brought fever and dysentery with it. Later expeditions through Manipur and Arakan made little progress and therefore had to be withdrawn. An able general of the Burmese government Bandula cut up a British detachment at Ramu (Chittagong), in 1824. But he was defeated and killed in April 1825 by Sir Archibald Campbell who occupied Prome, the capital of Lower Burma. By 1824, Tenasserim had also been taken.

The first Anglo-Burmese War ended in a decisive victory for the British and on 24 February 1826, peace was concluded at Yandabo. The Burmese king ceded the provinces of Arakan and Tenasserim. The Burmese also agreed to withdraw from Assam, Cachar and Jaintia also recognizing the independence of Manipur. The Burmese were forced to pay a heavy war indemnity and sign a commercial treaty with the British. They finally agreed to appoint a British envoy in their court.

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9.3.2 Second Anglo-Burmese War (1852)

According to the Treaty of Yandabo which was signed after the First Anglo- Burmese War, John Crawford was appointed as an envoy to Burma in September 1826. However, within months of signing a commercial treaty in December 1826, he withdrew from Burma. The British then sent Major Henry Burney who stayed in Burma till 1837. In 1840, King Tharrawaddy came to power and repudiated all British policies and adopted an unfriendly attitude towards the British. In 1851, a group of merchants who were trading in Burma complained of oppression by Burmese officials at Rangoon and asked for reparation. Lord Dalhousie sent some troops by sea route to Pagan, under the leadership of Commodore Lambert. Commodore Lambert was supposed to meet the new King of Burma to demand compensation for the British merchants. It was later found out that negotiations took place between subordinate officials from both sides,.who exacerbated the already tense situation by their hasty decisions.

Lord Dalhousie finally sent an ultimatum to the Burmese King demanding compensation and heavy indemnity. After receiving no replay for a long time, Lord Dalhousie declared war in April 1852. Under the leadership of Commander-in-Chief General Godwin, the British forces reached Rangoon. They were able to conquer Martaban easily and the great Pagoda of Yangon was stormed on 14 April 1852. In September, Dalhousie himself went to Rangoon to oversee the war. By October, the British were able to conquer Prome. In a proclamation issued on 20 December 1852, Dalhousie annexed Lower Burma or Pegu. After the conquest of Lower Burma, Lord Dalhousie refused to advance further into Burma. The second Anglo-Burmese War came to an end in February 1853 with the accession of King Mindon to the throne. He displaced his brother Pagan Min. With the conquest of Lower Burma, the British controlled the entire coast of the Bay of Bengal from Chittagong to Singapore. After the war, Sir Arthur Phayre was appointed the commissioner of Pegu and he, with the help of General Fytche, introduced various administrative reforms.

9.3.3 Third Anglo-Burmese War

The Third Anglo-Burmese War was the last of the three wars that were fought between the British and the Burmese. Burma during this period was under the Konbaung Dynasty. Their rule was restricted to Upper Burma as Lower Burma was under British jurisdiction since 1853, resulting from the Second Anglo-Burmese War. After the war, Burma came under the British control and became a province of the British India. After 1937, the British ruled Burma as a separate colony which only gained independence in 1948. The British rule in Burma lasted from 1824 to 1948. During this phase, Burma witnessed three wars with the British, saw the creation of Burma as a British province to an independent colony and finally independence in 1948.

Various portions of Burmese territories, including Arakan and Tenasserim were annexed by the British after their victory in the first Anglo-Burmese War; Lower Burma was annexed in 1852 after the second Anglo-Burmese War. The annexed territories were designated the minor province (a chief commissionership of British Burma) of British India in 1862. After the third Anglo-Burmese War in 1885, Upper Burma was annexed, and the following year, the province of Burma in British India was created, becoming a major province (a lieutenant-governorship) in 1897. This arrangement lasted until 1937, when Burma began to be administered

Check Your Progress

5. Which dynasty ruled Burma during the third Anglo-Burmese War?
6. When did Burma achieve independence from the British?
7. When was the Treaty of Yandabo signed?
8. Why did Dalhousie declare war on Burma?

separately by the Burma Office and the secretary of state for India and Burma. Burma achieved independence from British rule on 4 January 1948.

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9.4 RELATIONS WITH NEPAL

The first governor general of Bengal was Warren Hastings who was appointed in 1813 and remained in office for the next 10 years. After him, Lord Wellesley took over and continued the good work. When he had come to India, he had believed that it would be better to follow the policy of non-intervention in terms of the affairs of India. However, as time passed, he realized that the state of the country was such that it would be impossible to rule without intervention at many levels. Since India was surrounded by dangerous neighbours, it had to be protected and only an interventionist policy would make that possible. In fact, it was the first task that Hastings had to accomplish—coming to peace with Nepal.

Hastings had to deal with Nepal, a country run by Gorkhas, who were traditionally hardy warriors. Their strength had grown slowly and gradually and they were well-established in their position in their country. The controlled the entire hilly territory from the edge of Bhutan in the east to the Sutlej on the west. Gorkhas were ambitious and aspired to expand their reign to the plains as well, which was possibly only by impinging on the region controlled by the English East India Company.

A lot of governor-generals of Bengal had tried to follow the non-intervention policy and as a result, Gorkhas had been encouraged to proceed with their attacks for expansion. They had managed to occupy a number of villages close to the border on the British side. The turning point came when the Butwal and Sheoraj districts were occupied by the Gorkhas. When the British tried to negotiate peacefully the return of these villages to British control, Gorkhas refused and war was declared in 1814.

It is common knowledge that Nepal is difficult to attack for any military because of its hilly terrain. While the British did go in with adequate planning, they failed to execute those plans in the end. Further, Gorkhas are accomplished fighters and infinitely more familiar and adept at negotiating the hilly terrain than the British or Indian soldiers. Even General Gillespie, who was a well-known soldier and had earned accolades in Java, was killed in the war with Nepal. Three other generals were defeated as well. Ultimately, Amar Singh, the Gorkha leader, lost the battle and surrendered. After his surrender, the Treaty of Sagauli was finalized in March 1816.

As per the treaty, the Gorkhas had to give up the majority of their claims in the Tarai on the southern border. They also had to surrender the provinces of Garhwal and Kumaon while the English side gained control of Simla also. The north-western boundary of the English company now extended up to the mountains. A British official was also placed in the Gorkha capital.

It would not be wrong to say that the Treaty of Sagauli was extremely significant with regard to the relationship between India and Nepal, even now. A large number of soldiers are a part of the Indian army and also take up many other jobs within India. The treaty of 1816 therefore helped to establish a long-lasting friendship among India and Nepal.

Check Your Progress

9. When was the Treaty of Sagauli signed?
10. What was Hastings first task after being appointed the Governor-General of Bengal?

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DID YOU KNOW

The Gorkhas were military units in the British and now a part of the Indian Army. Gorkha units are closely associated with the khukuri, a forward-curving Nepalese knife. Former Chief of Staff of the Indian Army, Field Marshal Sam Manekshaw, once famously said about the Gorkhas: 'If a man says he is not afraid of dying, he is either lying or is a Gorkha.'

ACTIVITY

Compare the Libyan rebellion of 2011 to the Anglo-Burmese conflict and try to figure out similarities regarding the causes of these conflicts.

9.5 SUMMARY

In this unit, you have learnt that:

- After closely scrutinizing the Russian influence and expansion in Afghanistan, the British decided to have complete control over Afghanistan's foreign affairs.
- The policy of non-interference took an about turn under Lyttons' government. It was in these circumstances that the British attacked Afghanistan in 1878 and were able to conquer some regions.
- After Lord Lytton finished his tenure, his office was taken over by Lord Ripon who followed a policy of peaceful co-existence.
- Until the 1830s, Afghanistan was of little interest to the British Empire. However, with the Russians gradually closing towards India, Britain feared that the Russians wanted to capture all Central Asia and saw destabilizing British India as the best way to achieve it.
- The First Anglo-Afghan War took place from 1839 to 1842 and was fought between Afghanistan and British India.
- The Great Game is a period of 19th Century history which is marked by the tactical rivalry between Britain and Russia for control in Central Asia.
- The period of First Anglo-Afghan war is also known for the major setbacks suffered by the British powers in this region and is compared to Britain's ill fate during the Second World War in terms of Japan's invasion of Malaya and Singapore.
- Following the conquest of sindh and sikh kingdoms, the British achieved a decisive victory over Dost Mohammad and his troops. It was during this time that William Hay Macnaghten allowed British troops to bring their families to Afghanistan in order to boost their morale.
- Elphinstone who then took over the Afghan cause had already lost his authority and command of his troops. In the three decades after the First Anglo- Afghan War, the Russians were steadily advancing towards Afghanistan and by 1842 the Russian border was on the other side of the Aral Sea.

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- The Second Anglo-Afghan War took place from 1878 to 1880 and was fought between the British and the Afghans. During this phase, Afghans were ruled by Sher Ali Khan of the Barakzai Dynasty, who was also the son of the former Emir Dost Mohammad Khan.
- With the June 1878 Congress session, the tension between Russia and Britain in Europe came to end.
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- The British army withdrew as they were content that their goals in Afghanistan had been met.
- The Treaty of Gandamak also gave the British autonomous control over Afghanistan's foreign policy.
- The Third Anglo-Afghan War proved to be a strategic victory for the British as it reaffirmed the political boundaries of British India and Afghanistan.
- After the Second Anglo-Afghan War in 1880, there was a period of peace marked by the good relations between Britain and Afghanistan. In these years of peace, Afghanistan was under the leadership of Abdur Rahman Khan and Habibullah Khan.
- By 1916, the Turco-German mission had left Kabul and during their stay successfully convinced Habibullah that Afghanistan was a free nation and that it should not be under the jurisdiction of anyone.
- The Third Anglo-Afghan War ended in a tactical victory for the British who were easily able to drive the Afghans out of Indian territory.
- In order to check French and Russian influence in the Indian subcontinent, the British followed an imperialistic policy towards Afghanistan and Burma to establish control. In 1824-26, the British seized Burma.
- While the Gorkhas were conquering Nepal in the latter half of the 18th Century, Burma was engaged in capturing new territories.
- The Burmese were confident and were eager to start a war with the English. In September 1823, they attacked Shahpuri, a small island off Chittagong.
- The first Anglo-Burmese War ended in a decisive victory for the British and on 24 February 1826, peace was concluded at Yandabo.
- The Second Anglo Burmese War took place in 1852. In September, Dalhousie himself went to Rangoon to oversee the war. By October, the British were able to conquer Prome.
- The Third Anglo-Burmese War was the last of the three wars that were fought between the British and Burmese. Burma during this period was under the Konbaung Dynasty.
- After the three wars with the British, Burma became an independent province of India. It finally got independence in 1948.
- Lord Hastings was appointed the Governor-general of Bengal in 1813 and he occupied that exalted office for a decade.
- Lord Hastings came to India with a determination to follow a policy of non-intervention into the affairs of Nepal. But later on felt that the situation of the country was such that it was not possible to follow that policy.

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- All military strategists agree on the point that Nepal is a very difficult country from the military point of view.
- The English were able to occupy Almora. Amar Singh, the Gorkha leader, was defeated and surrendered. Thereafter the Treaty of Sagauli was signed in March 1816.
- By the treaty, the Gorkhas gave up most of their claims in the Tarai along their southern 'border.

9.6 KEY TERMS

- **Khyber Pass:** It is a mountain pass connecting Afghanistan and Pakistan, cutting through the northeastern part of the Spin Ghar mountains.
- **Frontier:** A line that separates two countries, etc; the land near this line.
- **Durand Line:** It represents a long porous border between Pakistan and Afghanistan. It was established after an 1893 agreement between Mortimer Durand of British India and Afghan Amir Abdur Rahman Khan for fixing the limit of their respective spheres of influence.

9.7 ANSWERS TO 'CHECK YOUR PROGRESS'

1. The Great Game is a period of 19th century history which is marked by the tactical rivalry between Britain and Russia for control in Central Asia.
2. Treaty of Gandamak was signed between Mohammad Yaqub Khan and the British in May 1879.
3. Since Yaqub Khan was considered a prime suspect in the murders of Cavagnari and his men, he was forced to renounce his throne. The Company initially thought of putting Yaqub's brother Ayub Khan on the throne, but finally decided on Yaqub's cousin Abdur Rahman Khan.
4. The Durand Line was used to demarcate the political boundary between British India and Afghanistan.
5. During the third Anglo-Burmese War, Burma was being ruled by the Konbaung Dynasty.
6. Burma achieved independence from British rule on 4 January 1948.
7. The Treaty of Yandabo was signed after the first Anglo-Burmese War.
8. Lord Dalhousie had sent an ultimatum to the Burmese King demanding compensation and heavy indemnity for obstacling trade and opressing Burmese traders. After receiving no replay for a long time, Dalhousie declared war.
9. The Treaty of Sagauli was signed in March 1816.
10. After being appointed the governor general of Bengal, Hastings first job was to deal with Nepal.

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9.8 QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Short-Answer Questions

1. The second Anglo-Afghan war was a direct consequence of the British rivalry with Russia in Europe. Discuss.
2. Why was Burma's subjugation important for the British?
3. Briefly discuss the role of Dost Muhammad Khan in the first Afghan War.

Long-Answer Questions

1. What led to the first Anglo-Afghan war?
2. The third Anglo-Afghan War ended in a tactical victory for the British who were easily able to drive the Afghans out of Indian territory. Discuss.
3. The British fought three wars to bring Burma under its control. Discuss.
4. Explain the British East India Company's relationship with Nepal.

9.9 FURTHER READING

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NOTES

UNIT 10 REVOLT OF 1857

Structure

10.0 Introduction
10.1 Unit Objectives
10.2 Uprising of 1857
10.3 Causes of the 1857 Revolt
10.4 Spread of the Revolt
10.5 Causes of Failure of the Revolt
  10.5.1 Impact and Significance of the Revolt
10.6 Reorganization of the Raj (1858 and After)
  10.6.1 Government of India Act, 1858
10.7 Historiography of the 1857 Revolt
10.8 Summary
10.9 Key Terms
10.10 Answers to 'Check Your Progress'
10.11 Questions and Exercises
10.12 Further Reading

10.0 INTRODUCTION

In the previous unit, you learnt about frontier policy of the British, and their relation with the frontier provinces of Afghanistan, Burma and Nepal.

Over a period of 100 years, starting from 1750s to 1850s, the English East India Company adopted various measures to transform India into a colony. Different policies followed by the British in India during this period were primarily in the interest of the British. A number of land revenue experiments were made which caused hardships to cultivators. Local administration failed to provide relief and natural justice to the rural poor. In this unit, you will study the causes, nature and consequences of the Revolt of 1857. The Revolt of 1857 has a major significance because, for the first time, it brought together people having different ethnic, religious and class background in a unified movement against the British rule.

In this unit, you will learn about the causes of the Revolt of 1857, its nature and effect, and the debate regarding it.

10.1 UNIT OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to:

- Discuss the uprising of 1857
- Identify the issues that led to the Revolt of 1857
- Discuss how the revolt spread across various parts of the country
- Analyse the causes of the failure of the revolt
- Explain the impact and significance of the uprising
- State the reasons behind the new Act of 1858
- Assess the debate regarding the charecteristic of the revolt

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10.2 UPRISING OF 1857

The year 1857 saw the completion of the first hundred years of British rule in India after the battle of Plassey. It was a period of mounting distress and unhappiness for India. During this century, the British conquests and colonialism marched apace and with that grew the discontent of former ruling chiefs who felt that the zest had gone out of their life. The ruling classes had been dispossessed of their power; the Indian peasantry had been deprived of its land rights and reduced to serfdom. The artisans had lost their traditional skills and livelihood, and trade, commerce and industries, which were in the hands of the colonial masters, were used for their benefit and for draining of India's wealth.

Throughout this period, profit motive had been an important factor in the conflict with the European powers and the wars with 'the feckless and thrift-less Indian princes'. The aggressive wars waged by Hastings, Ellenborough and Dalhousie, the annexations made on the plea of mismanagement by the Indian rulers and the appropriation of territories by a refusal to recognize the adoption of heirs, were prompted by the desire for dominion. Dalhousie's regime marked the high water-mark of the expansion of the British dominion in India and deprivation of the sovereign rights of the native states. The policies of Dalhousie had prepared the ground for the ignition of popular discontent against the British rule in India. Canning, who succeeded him shortly before the revolt, could read the writing on the wall and said grimly, 'We must not forget that in the sky of India, serene as it is, a small cloud may arise, at first no bigger than a man's hand, but which, growing larger and larger, may at last threaten to burst and overwhelm us with ruin'. Caning's apprehensions were proved right. The cloud did burst in the form of the Revolt of 1857 and overwhelmed the British, but ruined them only partially.

10.3 CAUSES OF THE 1857 REVOLT

The uprising of 1857 had many reasons; some of them were as follows:

- **Political causes:** An important political reason for the outbreak of the Revolt of 1857 was the controversial and unjustified policy of 'Doctrine of Lapse' imposed by Lord Dalhousie on Satara (1848), Jaitpur, Sambhalpur (1849), Baghat (1850), Udaipur (1852) Jhansi (1853) and Nagpur (1854). The adopted sons of these states were not recognized and the states were annexed. But the most controversial annexation was the annexation of Awadh in 1856. The Nawab of Awadh Wajid Ali Shah was accused of misgovernance although its ruler had always been faithful to the British government. A large number of company's soldiers were from Awadh, who had sympathy for their Nawab. Annexation of Awadh meant that the relatives of these soldiers had to pay more taxes, since the new land revenue policy was introduced in Awadh. Large number of taluqdars or zamindars also opposed British rule as their estates were confiscated. The company also stopped the annual pension of Nana Sahib, the adopted son of last Maratha Peshwa Baji Rao II. He proved to be a deadly enemy of the British.

Check Your Progress

1. Who succeeded Dalhousie?
2. Lord Wellesley's regime marked the high water-mark of the expansion of the British dominion in India and deprivation of the sovereign rights of the native states. (True/False)

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The annexation of native states meant that many Indians lost important administrative posts. Ever since English became the official language (1835), the Persian–Urdu elite, known as '*ashraf*' suffered most as they were holding important assignment in judicial and revenue department. When the revolt broke they participated in the revolt with a hope to regain lost position and glory.

- **Military causes:** Another important cause of the revolt of 1857 was the discontent of the sepoys. When a rumour spread that the cover of the cartridges was made of cow and pig fat, revolt broke out. Most of the soldiers in Bengal army were Hindus or Muslims, especially of upper Hindu castes. The soldiers had many more grievances. Some upper caste Hindu sepoys had earlier revolted on religious issue. In 1852, the 38th native infantry refused to go to Burma, as crossing the sea meant losing caste for upper caste Hindus. The discontentment among the soldiers was also because of discriminatory pay package. The highest paid Indian soldier was the *subedar*, who got less than a rookie English recruit. The sepoy in the infantry got seven rupees a month whereas a *sawar* got 27 rupees. Chances of getting promotion was almost nil for them. Many of them joined the army as *risaldar* and retired as *risaldar*. They were regularly humiliated by their officers. The rumours about conversion of sepoys into Christianity worsened the situation. The Christian missionaries were actively preaching in the cantonment and openly ridiculing the other religions. Large numbers of soldiers in the Bengal army were upper caste Hindu. When the rumour of mixing bone dust in *atta* (flour) and cartridge greased with fats made by tallow derived from beef spread, they were convinced that the company is involved in the conspiracy against their religion and caste.
- **Religious causes:** One of the causes of revolt was the fear among the natives that their religion was endangered by Christianity. The activities of Christian missionaries were extended by the Englishmen in all parts of the country. These missionaries under the British government tried to convert people and made violent and vulgar public attacks on Hinduism and Islam. In 1850, the government enacted a law which enabled a convert to Christianity to inherit his ancestral property, which was not so before the Act.

  The conservative religious and social sentiments of many people were also hurt by some of the humanitarian measures which the government had implemented on the advice of Indian reformers. They believed that an alien Christian government had no right to interfere in their religion and customs.
- **Administrative and economic causes:** The most important cause of the popular discontent was the economic exploitation of the country by the British and the complete destruction of its traditional economic fabric. Apart from British revenue policy, their policy of discouraging the traditional industries was also related with the outbreak of revolt. Once, Indian states were annexed, virtually there was no one to patronize the Indian industries as they were the largest consumers of Indian manufactured goods. The East India Company government only encouraged British goods. The downfall of Indian industries led to large-scale unemployment and when the revolt broke, the uprooted workers joined the rebellion.

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The efforts of some reformist were also seen as conspiracy against Hindu religion and interference in the internal matters of Hindus. The Religious Disabilities Act, 1850, permitted a converted person to inherit property, contrary to Hindu social laws. There is no reason to believe that the company intended to give equal rights in property to all the members of the family. In fact, the company wanted to encourage conversion. A Christian, as they believed, is more likely to accept British rule and products in India than Hindus or Muslims. The Widow Re-marriage Act of 1856 was also opposed by the orthodox Hindus. Even Bal Gangadhar Tilak, later, opposed the Act.

The Muslim orthodox led by Mohammad Wahab wanted to make India, especially Punjab, *Dar-ul-Islam* (land of peace) from *Dar-ul-Harb* (land of infidels). After annexation of Punjab (1849) their struggle was directed against the British. When revolt broke the Wahabis of Bihar especially of Sadiqpur, Patna, played a pivotal role. They were better organized and armed than the rebels themselves. They declared the revolt as *jihad* (holy war), which made it more energetic. The clash between Islamic and Christian world was not new.

- **The immediate cause:** The greased cartridges did not create a new cause of discontent in the army, but supplied the occasion when the underground discontent came out in the open. The government introduced a new Enfield rifle in the army. Its cartridges had a greased paper cover which had to be bitten off before the cartridge was loaded into the rifle. It was believed that the grease was composed of beef and pig fat. The Hindu as well as Muslim sepoys were enraged because they thought that the use of greased cartridges was against their religion and they feared that the government was deliberately trying to destroy their religion and convert them to Christianity.

Check Your Progress

3. Why did the annexation of Awadh have an adverse impact on the sepoys from that region?
4. Name the adopted son of Peshwa Baji Rao II?
5. What was the role of the grease cartridges in the 1857 revolt?
6. What did the Act of 1850 say?
7. In 1850, the government enacted a law which enabled a convert to Christianity to _____ his ancestral property.
8. The Indian sepoys were not concerned about disparity in the pay package. (True/False)
9. Bal Gangadhar Tilak had opposed the Widow Re-marriage Act of 1856. (True/False)

10.4 SPREAD OF THE REVOLT

After firing on their senior officers, the soldiers of Meerut marched towards Delhi. After crossing the Yamuna, they burnt the toll house and knocked the southern gate of Red Fort. The last Mughal king, Bahadur Shah Zafar, an old and sick man, was reluctant to open the gate but his wife Zeenat Mahal with the help of the cook opened the gate. The sepoys declared Bahadur Shah as 'Shahenshah' of India who was in reality only Shahenshah of Red Fort, not even the Yamuna, flowing behind the fort, or Chandni Chowk, situated opposite the fort. Then they attacked Daryaganj, where large number of Europeans lived. Within days, Delhi became a battle ground. Hundreds of people, firstly the English, later the Indians, were killed. Mirza Moghal, the Mughal commander-in-chief failed to lead properly. Mohammad Bakhtawar Khan, a havaldar of the Barielly force became the actual commander. But only chaos prevailed in the city and criminals started dominating. It became difficult to find out who were guilty and who were innocent. Mirza Ghalib, a great Urdu-Persian poet and eyewitness of the revolt at Delhi wrote to his friend '*Ab ki baar itne yaar mare ki ab jo mai marunga to koi rone wala na hoga*' (This time I lost so many friends that when I would die, no one would be left to cry for me.)

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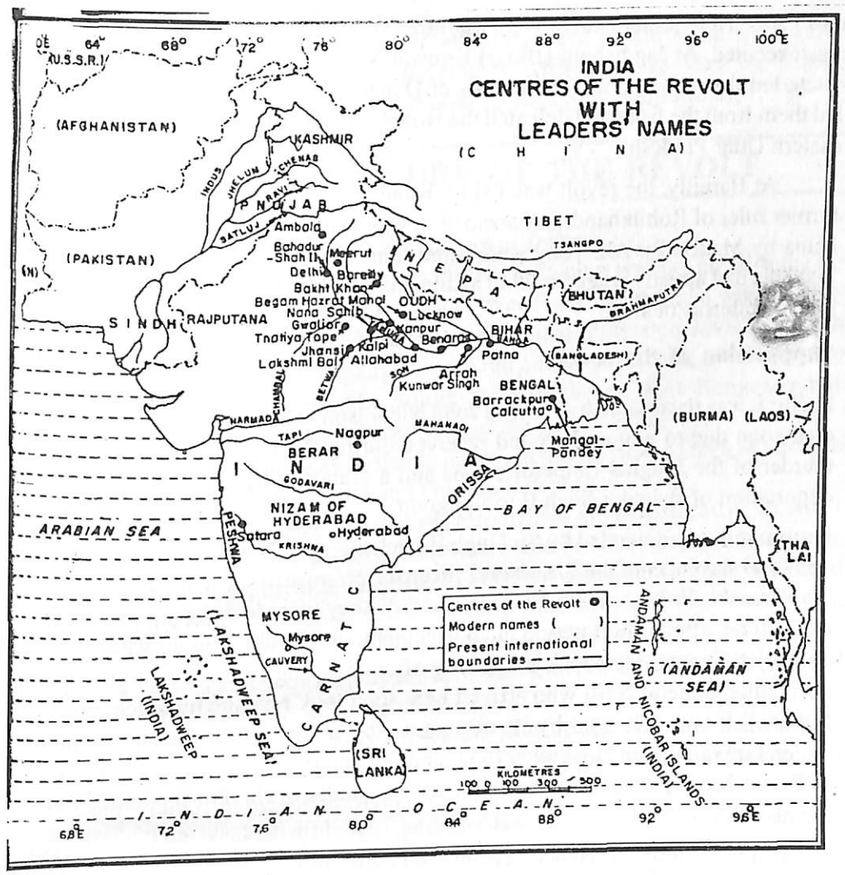


Figure 10.1 Centres of the Revolt of 1857

Once Delhi was captured, the revolt spread to different parts of the country. Awadh became the real battle zone, as most of the sepoys were from this region. Lucknow, Kanpur, Bareilly, Allahabad, Banaras, Faizabad, Jhansi, Jagdishpur (Arrah), Danapur and Patna were engulfed in fire. At Lucknow, the revolt started on 4th June, which was led by Begum Hazrat Mahal who declared Birjis Qadar, her son, as the Nawab of Awadh. The British Resident Henry Lawrence was killed. Havelock and Outram too fell. Sir Colin Campbell was pressed into service. He, with the help of Gorkha regiment, could save the Europeans.

Nana Sahib led the movement from Kanpur. He was supported by Tantya Tope. Sir Hugh Wheeler, the commander of garrison surrendered on 27 June 1857. Some Europeans, including their children, were killed. Later, in December, Sir Campbell captured Kanpur. Tantya Tope escaped and joined Rani Laxmibai.

Rani Laxmibai tried to reverse the decision of Lord Dalhousie when Jhansi was annexed after the death of her husband and the adopted son was not recognized. When her effort failed she finally revolted. The soldiers declared the widow of Raja Gangadhar Rao, Rani Laxmibai, as the ruler of Jhansi. Tantya Tope too joined her when Sir Hugh Rose captured Jhansi in April 1858, Rani and Tantya Tope attacked Gwalior. The Indian soldiers welcomed them but the Scindia decided to be loyal to the British. He escaped to Agra. Gwalior fell in June 1858. Rani died fighting bravely

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on 17 June 1858. Later Tantya Tope was arrested with the help of Scindia's men and was executed. At Jagdishpur (Bihar) Kunwar Singh who had been deprived of his estate led the revolt. When the sepoys of Danapur (near Patna) reached Arrah, he led them from the front and defeated the British forces near Arrah. He also fought in eastern Uttar Pradesh.

At Bareilly, the revolt was led by Khan Bahadur Khan, a descendent of the former ruler of Rohilkhand. In Faizabad, it was led by Maulvi Ahmad Ullah and at Patna by Maulvi Pir Ali. They were important leaders of Wahabi movement. The Wahabis had already waged a *jihad* against the British. Once the revolt broke, they joined enthusiastically

Suppression of the revolt

Delhi: It was recaptured by General John Nicholson in September, 1857 (Nicholson died soon due to a mortal wound received during the fighting). It resulted in the murder of the Mughal Emperor's sons and a grandson by Lt. Hodson; arrest and deportation of Bahadur Shah II to Rangoon.

Kanpur: It was defended by Sir Hugh Wheeler against Nana's forces till 26th June 1857 and surrender of the British on 27th on the promise of safe conduct to Allahabad by Nana. All Englishmen were murder while they were leaving the place in boats on 27 June, after a short period of confinement, on 15 July. Kanpur was recaptured by Major General Havelock on 17 July after defeating Nana in a series of battles (Brigadier General Neill who arrived here soon took revenge by butchering many Indians). It was followed by its occupation by the mutinous Gwalior contingent under Tantya Tope in November 1857; and its final recovery by Sir Colin Campbell in December, 1857 (he became the new commander in chief of the Indian Army in August 1857).

Lucknow: Death of Sir Henry Lawrence on 2 July 1857; arrival of Havelock, Qutram and Neill with reinforcements (25 September) and death of Neill; relief of the besieged British by Sir Colin Campbell on 17 November, death of Havelock in December 1857, and its occupation by Tantya Tope; its final reoccupation by Campbell on 21 March 1858.

Jhansi and Gwalior: Jhansi was recaptured by Sir Hugh Rose on 4 April 1858 and the escape of Rani Laxmibai; capture of Gwalior (whose soldiers revolted and drove out their ruler, Sindhia) by Rani, death of Rani on 17 June 1858 and recapture of Gwalior by Rose on 20 June.

Bareilly: It was recapture by Campbell on 5 May 1858.

Arrah: Suppression of the Bihar movement under Kunwar Singh by William Taylor and Vincent Eyre temporarily in August, 1857; escape of Kunwar to Awadh and his return to Bihar in April, 1858, to fight his last battle (he died on 9 May).

Banaras and Allahabad: Recapture by Neill in June 1857.

Central India: The whole of central India and Bundelkhand was brought under British control by Sir Hugh Rose in the first half of 1858. But Tantya Tope, after losing Gwalior, escaped to Central India and carried on guerrilla war for ten months. Finally he was betrayed by Man Singh (a feudatory of Sindhia) and was executed by the British on 18 April 1859. Nana Sahib, Began of Awadh and Khan Bahadur

Check Your Progress

10. Who was the last Mughal king, and what did the sepoys do to him?
11. Who led the rebellious sepoys?
12. Who led the movement from Kanpur?

NOTES

escaped to Nepal in December 1858 and died there. Bakht Khan went to Awadh after the fall of Delhi, and died fighting the British on 13 May 1859. Maulavi Ahmadullah was treacherously murdered by Raja of Puwain in June1858.

10.5 CAUSES OF FAILURE OF THE REVOLT

The main causes of failure of the revolt are as follows:

- An important reason for its failure was that it was not an all-India revolt, though the British army was all over India. South India was not affected by this revolt. The Madras army remained completely loyal to the British. In fact, half of company's troops did not join the revolt and fought against the Indians. Punjab, Sindh, Rajputana and east Bengal remained undisturbed. Gorakhas too helped the British cause.
- The Company was fortunate in having the services of men of exceptional ability like Nicholson and Outram Edwards.
- Most of the rajas and nawabs also helped the British cause. In fact, only those rulers participated in the revolt who lost their states or whose pension was stopped. Sir Dinkar Rao of Gwalior and Salar Jung of Hyderabad did everything to suppress the rebellion. It is no wonder that the British, for long, paid gratitude to the Nizams.
- It was an unequal fight between the rich resources of the British and the poor resources of the rebels.
- The revolt was poorly organized. Poor leadership, lack of coordination among them and lack of common plan were important reasons for the failure of the revolt. With few exceptions, most of them did not do enough. The weakest link was perhaps Bahadur Shah Zafar who was more concerned for his own safety along with his wife Zeenat Mahal's. They had no faith in the sepoys neither the sepoys had great respect for him. They chose him as leader because there was no other unifying platform.
- The rebels had no vision or forward-looking programme. The revolt was led by old feudal lords not the enlightened educated middle class. These people had already been defeated many times. They hardly had anything new to challenge the mighty British rule.
- The moneylenders and zamindars were pro-British as their existence was based on British rule. They helped the British in the time of crisis. The merchant class also supported the British as their economic interest was linked with the English traders and foreign trade.
- The educated middle-class also did not participate in the revolt. Firstly, they were in small number. Secondly, they saw British rule as an instrument of removing social orthodoxy and bringing modernization in India. Perhaps, they were also not sure about the outcome of the revolt. The revolt was not planned but spontaneous.

10.5.1 Impact and Significance of the Revolt

The East India Company's rule came to an end after the revolt. Through Queen's Proclamation, later through Government of India Act, 1858, the crown's rule was established. A new post 'Secretary of State for India' was created with India council

NOTES

which had fifteen members. But this change was more 'formal' and 'real' as the British government had already started regulating the company's rule ever since the regulating Act of 1773 and Pitt's India Act of 1784 were passed.

The policy towards Indian states also changed. Queen Victoria announced in 1858 that the British government would not annex any new Indian state. The loyalty of the Nizam, Rajput, Maratha and Sikh chiefs was appreciated and they were duly rewarded through *sanads* and certificates. Many of them had personal relations with the monarch.

The army was reorganized as the revolt was started by the army. It was reorganized on the policy of division and counterpoise. The number of European soldiers was increased to 65,000 from that of 40,000 and the number of Indian soldiers were reduced to 1,40,000 from that of 2,38,000. In the Bengal army, the ratio between European and Indian army was brought to 1:2 whereas in Madras and Bombay Presidency this ratio was 1:3. To discourage nationalist feeling caste and regional identities were encouraged in the army. The Gurkhas, Sikhs, Jats, Rajputs, and Pathan battalions were strengthened. The artillery and important weapons were kept for Europeans only.

The Hindu–Muslim unity during the revolt had threatened the British rule. After the revolt they did everything to divide them. The Muslims were accused for the revolt so they started discouraging them from government jobs. Person like Sir Sayed Ahmad Khan tried their level best to prove that the Muslims are not anti-British. In fact, the revolt had affected Muslims both materially and culturally. The important literary centers like Delhi, Lucknow and Patna were almost ruined in the revolt. The Muslims and Urdu language had to face the catastrophe of the revolt.

But the Revolt of 1857 had one positive impact too. The feeling of nationalism grew more rapidly after its failure, especially among middle educated class. Formation of various political parties, like East India Association (1866), Poona Sarvajanik Sabha (1867), Indian League (1875), Indian Association (1876), Madras Mahajan Sabha (1884) and Bombay Presidency Association (1885) and finally formation of the Indian National Congress (1885) was the result of growing national consciousness.

Significance

The revolt was a glorious landmark in our history as Hindus and Muslims fought shoulder to shoulder against a common enemy. It left an indelible impression on the minds of the Indian people and, thus, paved the way for the rise of a strong movement. After the revolt, British rule underwent a major transformation in its policy. It started protecting and fostering the princes as its puppets. Reactionary social and religious practices were jealously guarded and preserved against the demands of progressive Indian opinion for their reform. After the initial harsh treatment of Muslims, rulers began having a more favourable attitude towards Muslim subjects.

The direct result of the revolt was the end of the East India Company's rule and the passing of the responsibility of Indian administration into the hands of the British Queen.

Check Your Progress

13. South India was most affected by the revolt. (True/ False)
14. How did the leadership of the rebels affect the Revolt?
15. What is the Queen's Proclamation?
16. The Muslims and _____ language had to face the catastrophe of the revolt.

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10.6 REORGANIZATION OF THE RAJ (1858 AND AFTER)

The British Administration in India can broadly be divided into two phase: The first phase from 1772 to 1858, when the East India Company ruled and the second phase from 1858 to 1947, when the British Crown ruled.

The Charter Act of 1853 allowed the East India Company to rule India till further order. Many in England and in India opposed the rule of the East India Company, and they wanted to establish the British Crown's rule. The Revolt of 1857 provided an opportunity to the British government to end the company's rule and establish her direct rule. The East India Company was blamed for the outbreak of the Revolt. Though, the company tried to defend itself, John Stuart Mill, a well-known scholar, argued in favour of the company and reminded the British government about the 'great service' the company had rendered both to India and to the Crown. Ross Mangles, the chairman of the company asserted that an intermediate non-political and perfectly independent body like the company was an indispensable necessity for good government in India.

But, the British government had already made up its mind to end the Company's rule. Lord Palmerston, the British Prime minister, introduced the 'Bill for Better Government of India', in February 1858. Addressing the House of Commons, he pointed out: 'The principle of our political system is that all administrative functions should be accompanied by ministerial responsibility to parliament but in this case the chief functions in the government of India are committed to a body not responsible to parliament, not appointed by the crown, but elected by persons who have no more connection with India than consists in the simple possession of so much India Stock'. Palmerston highlighted several defects of the Company's rule, like it was irresponsible, cumbrous, and complex and based on the system of dual government. After a long debate in the British Parliament the Bill for the Better Government of India was passed and it received the royal assent on August 1858.

10.6.1 Government of India Act, 1858

Till the Revolt of 1857, the Charter Act of 1853 allowed the East India Company to rule India. After the Revolt of 1857, the British empire ended the company's rule and proclaimed India to be under the British crown.

Provisions

- **Establishment of British crown's rule through parliament:** By the Act of 1858 the rule of East India Company was brought to an end and the rule of the British Crown in Parliament was established. The governor general was elevated as viceroy and became representative of British Crown in India. All the army and land occupied by the company were transferred to the British Crown.
- **Secretary of state and Indian council:** The powers of the court director and the board of control were transferred to the secretary of state for India, assisted by a council of 15 members. The Secretary of State was empowered to inspect, conduct and control the work of government of India He was also allowed to sit in the parliament.

NOTES

Of the fifteen members of the council of the secretary of state, eight were to be appointed by the crown and seven by the court of directors. The Act also provided that at least nine of these members must have served in India for not less than three years and they must not have been away from the country (India) for more than ten years at the time of their appointment. The members got £1200 per annum from India's exchequer.

- **Power of secretary of state:** In some matters the secretary of state was authorized to take decision. He had the power to veto the decision of council. He had also the power of casting vote. He had to honour the decision of council in the matters of revenue, appointments, purchase, mortgage and sale of properties of the Government of India. He was allowed to send secret letters to the viceroy without the knowledge of the council. He was also allowed to make new rules for Indian Civil Services. Indians were permitted to appear in the competitive examination of civil services.
- **Appointments:** The power to appoint viceroy and governor general and governors of Presidencies (Bombay, Madras) was given to the British crown. The power to appoint Lieutenant Governor was given to Viceroy after getting approval from the British Government.
- **Parliamentary control over secretary of state:** The secretary of state had to present report on revenue, railways, law and construction before the House of Commons, the lower house of British Parliament. Without the permission of Parliament, except in emergency case, Indian revenue could not be utilized in military expedition/mission outside the Indian territory. The members of British Parliament could ask questions from the secretary of state in governance and revenue. The parliament was empowered to criticize him and remove him.

On 1 November 1858, Lord Canning published Queen Victoria's proclamation at Allahabad. The term Viceroy was used first time in the queen's proclamation. It was announced that no state would be annexed; no forceful conversion would take place and all the appointments in the public service would be made on merit and qualification. The Queen's proclamation also assured that Indian traditions would be respected framing the law. Full protection would be given in the ownership of properties and succession. The peasant will have their rights on land as long as they were paying revenue.

Did You Know

The Government of India celebrated the year 2007 as the 150th anniversary of 'India's First War of Independence'. Several books written by Indian authors were released in the anniversary year including Amresh Misra's *War of Civilizations*, a controversial history of the rebellion of 1857, and *Recalcitrance* by Anurag Kumar, one of the few novels written in English by an Indian based on the events of 1857.

Check Your Progress

17. What was the significance of the Charter Act of 1853?
18. Who introduced the Bill of Better Governance of India?

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10.7 HISTORIOGRAPHY OF THE 1857 REVOLT

Historians have different views about the nature of the outbreak of 1857. When Mangal Pandey, a sepoy of 34th native infantry of Bengal Army, fired at a major at Barrackpore on 29 March 1857, he did not realize that he was creating history. Though he was executed and his regiment was disbanded, a few weeks later on 10 May, the soldiers of Meerut defied and killed English officers and marched towards Delhi. The Revolt of 1857 had begun.

For long, the colonial historians called it 'mutiny' firstly used by Earl Stanley. The fashion was originally set by the government of the day. Earl Stanley the then secretary of state for India, while reporting the events of 1857 to Parliament, used the term 'mutiny' and most of the English writers on the subject followed his lead and writers like Charles Ball, G.W. Forrest, T.R. Holmes, M. Innes, J.W. Kaye, G.F. Macmunn, G.B. Malleson, C.T. Metcalfe, Earl Roberts and others used the term 'mutiny' in this connection. Sir John Lawrence was of the opinion that the mutiny had its origin in the army and its cause was the greased cartridges and nothing else. It was not attributable to any antecedent conspiracy what-soever, although it was taken advantage of by the mutineers to increase their number.

The view of Sir John Seeley was that the mutiny was a 'wholly unpatriotic and selfish sepoy mutiny with no native leadership and no popular support.' The British officers conducting the trial of Bahadur Shah II held him responsible for organizing the mutiny in conspiracy with the Shah of Iran and other Muslim rulers of the Middle East. Sir Theophilius Metcalfe deposed in the trial of Bahadur Shah that six weeks before the outbreak, a seditious poster was found pasted on the walls of Jama Masjid proclaiming that the Shah of Iran would invade India and all the Muslims should be ready to join the *jihad*. British historians are of the view that Nana Sahib organised the revolution long before its outbreak at Meerut. To quote Kaye, 'For months, for years, indeed ever since the failure of the mission to England had been apparent, they had been quietly, spreading their network of intrigue all over the country. From one native court to another, from one extremity to another of the great continent of India, the agents of Nana Sahib had passed with overtures and invitations, discretely perhaps mysteriously worded, to prin-ces and chiefs of different races and religions, but most hopeful of all to the Marathas. Nana Sahib's two most important agents were Rungo Bapoji in the south and Azimullah in the North.'

There were also writers who considered the Revolt of 1857 the result of a Hindu conspiracy. The Hindus were said to have a genius for conspiracy. 'They possess a power of patience of foreseeing results, of carefully weighing chances, of choosing time and weapon, of profiting by circumstances, never losing sight of the object desired, taking advantage of every turn of fortune—all qualities invaluable for success in intrigue.' It was contended that the circulation of the *chapatis* was originated by the Hindus and the rebellion was successfully engineered by the emissaries of the Peshwa under the guidance of Nana Sahib.

The view of Alexander Duff was that the revolt was neither Hindu nor Muslim in character. It was the spontaneous outcome of the fraternizing sepoys of all castes and creeds.

NOTES

The view of Lord Canning, the then governor general of India, was that 'The struggle which we have had has been more like a national war than a local insurrection. In its magnitude, duration, scale of expenditure and in some of its moral features, it partakes largely of the former character.'

The view of Thompson and Garratt is that for four months during the summer of 1857, it seemed that the mutiny might develop into a real War of Independence, but by September 1857, it was clear that the Indians who were in revolt were incapable of working to any settled plan or of subordinating themselves to a national leader. Their prestige was waning and their commanders had proved themselves incompetent except in guerrilla warfare. They conclude by observing that the mutiny may be considered either as a military revolt, or as a bid for the recovery of their property and privileges by dispossessed princes and landlords or as an attempt to restore the Mughal Empire or as a peasants' war.

P.E. Roberts accepts the view of John Lawrence and Seeley and observes that the mutiny was mainly military in origin but it occurred at a time when for various reasons there was social and political discontent in the country and the mutineers took advantage of the same.

The first Indian who wrote a book on 1857 was Sir Sayyed Ahmed Khan. In his book *Asbab-I-Baghawat-I-Hind* (causes of the revolt of India) he tried to find out the real cause as lack of political organization to represent the Indians. There was no political party which could have worked as a link between government and the common people.

V.D. Savarkar called it as India's first national war of independence in his book *War of Indian Independence*. Here he tried to show how the mutiny was really a war of Indian independence. Asoka Mehta has pointed out to the national character of mutiny in his book entitled *1857: The Great Rebellion*. He admits the sepoys were the mainstay of the rebellion and they bore the brunt of the struggle to break the chains that imprisoned India. They gave backbone to the resistance and became its shield and spear. However, besides the sepoys millions of Indians took part in the rebellion. The number of the civilians killed was as large as that of the sepoys. They joined the struggle to free their country and to redress their grievances. The rapidity with which the revolt spread shows that in some areas at least, the rebellion enjoyed strong mass support. At many stations, the sepoy were egged on to action by the citizens. Those who sided with the British had to face social ostracism. Those who could not join, openly, non-co-operated with the British. General Havelock could not get boats and boatmen to ferry his soldiers across the river. Although labourers at Kanpur were pressed into service by the British, they managed to escape at night. At many places, the natives of all classes tried to keep aloof from the British.

The decisive evidence showing the national character of the rebellion is the note of common harmony it struck in both the Hildas and Muslims. Even the British government found it difficult to separate the two communities. The Mughal emperor prohibited the cow slaughter throughout the country to conciliate the Hindus. In a letter to rajas of Rajputana, the Mughal emperor wrote, 'It is my ardent wish to see that the *feringi* is driven out of Hindustan by all means and at any cost. It is any ardent wish that the whole of Hindustan should be free, but the revolutionary war that is being waged for the purpose will not be crowned with success unless a man

NOTES

capable of sustaining the whole burden of the movement, who can organize and concentrate the different forces of the nation and unify the people in himself, comes forward to guide the rising. I have no desire left of ruling over India alter the expulsion of the English for my own aggrandizement. If all of your native rajas are ready to un-sheath your sword to drive away the enemy, then I am willing to resign imperial powers and authority in the hands of any confederacy of native princes who are chosen to exercise it.'

The Hindus responded to the offer of the Muslims. Nana Saheb declared his allegiance to the Mughal emperor. It was only after the fall of Delhi that the Sikhs joined the British army in large numbers. All this shows that the Mutiny was a national rising, although on a limited scale. In his book entitled *Eighteen Fifty Seven*, S. N. Sen says that the story of the *Chapatis* lends some colour to the theory of prior prepara-tion, propaganda and conspiracy. The view of Wilson was that a date and time had been fixed for a simultaneous rising at all the military stations of India, but he did not give any evidence in support of his view. His view is contradicted by the known facts. The rising at Meerut was not premeditated and the same was the case at other places. The sepoys and their leaders were not in league with any foreign power. The 'only foreign power which was approached by the rebels was that of Nepal and that was done after the collapse' of the mutiny and not during it.

The remarkable thing about the mutiny was that it had its recruits from many sources. The movement began as a military mutiny, but it was not confined to the army. Moreover, the army as a whole did not join the revolt and a considerable section of the army actively fought on the side of the government. Every disarmed regiment was not necessarily disloyal and every deserter was not a mutineer. The rebels came from every section of the population. At all stages, both Hindus and Muslims were well represented in the rebel army. Nana had his Azimullah Khan, Bahadur Khan his Sobha Ram and the Rani of Jhansi her trusted Afghan guards. Outside Awadh and Shahabad, there was no evidence of that general sympathy which would invest the mutiny with the dignity of a national war. At the same time, it is wrong to dismiss it as a military rising. The mutiny became a revolt and assumed a political character when the mutineers of Meerut placed themselves under the king of Delhi and a section of the landed aristocracy and civil population declared in his favour. What began as a fight for religion, ended as a war of independence; for there was not the slightest doubt that the rebels wanted to get rid of the alien government, and restore the old order of which the King of Delhi was the rightful representative. The revolt assumed national dimensions in Awadh although in a limited sense. The mutiny was not a war between the white and the black. No normal issue was involved. Truth was the first casualty and both sides were guilty of false propaganda.

According to Sen, the struggle may be described as 'a war of fanatic religionists against Christians.' The mutiny was not a conflict between barbarism and civilization. It was an inhuman fight between the people driven mad by hatred and fear. Burning and hanging expeditions were an important routine and no distinction was made between the innocent and the guilty. The mutiny was inevitable because no dependent nation could have ever reconciled itself to foreign domination. A despotic government must ultimately rule by the sword and in India word was in the custody of the sepoy army.

NOTES

In *History of the Freedom Movement in India*, Tara Chand says it is misleading to use the term mutiny to describe the upheaval of 1857-8. Also it is not proper to call them the national war of independence. There was no doubt that the army was abundantly involved in the revolt. It was equally true that the drive was supplied by the Bengal Army, although there were signs of disaffection in some regiments in the other Presidencies also. However, the outbreak was not conjoined to the army. It was not a mutiny in the ordinary sense of the term. Its causes were deeper than those involved in usual breaches of military discipline. Tara Chand has referred to various authorities in support of his view.

It has to be admitted that the war against the British was not inspired by any sentiment of nationalism because in 1857 India was not yet politically a nation. It is true that the Hindus and Muslims cooperated, but the leaders and followers of the two communities were moved by personal loyalties rather than by loyalty to a common motherland. Nonetheless, the upheaval of 1857 was a war for the liberation of India from the yoke of the foreigner because the Britishers had given mortal offence to the dignity and self-respect of the esterwhile ruling class which exercised social influence and carried the burden of administration. The Britishers had also antagonized the masses by oppressive land revenue policy and economic measures which ruined their arts and crafts. On the whole, the rising of 1857 was an attempt to halt the process of dissolution of the medieval order. The uprising of 1857 was a general movement of the traditional elite of the Muslims and the Hindus—princes, landholders, soldiers, scholars and theologians (pandits and maulavis). The Emperor of Delhi, the King of Awadh, some nawabs and rajas, talukdars and zamindars and the soldiers, whether Pathan, Mughal, Rajput or brahmin of northern India, comprised the main body of the rebels. The class composition of the insurgents reflected the geographical disposition of the movement and sheds light upon the motives of the participants. There is no doubt that practically all those who belonged to this order were disaffected although some of them abstained from active participation on account of their peculiar circumstances. The chiefs and landlords constituted the leadership of this rebellious host, the regular and irregular troops of the English East India Company and of the princes, it's fighting arm and their dependents and peasants became followers. They had common traditions and common grievances. They sympathized with one another in their misfortune. The loss of territory and political power affected them all. If the higher section was deprived of the titles of authority, the others had lost avenues of employment and position of influence and profit. Scholars, theologians, poets, craftsmen and artists were left without patronage. Many of those whose, hereditary occupation was fighting, were rendered jobless and many were obliged to drift into the army of the English East India Company. Tara Chand refers to the charge sheets drawn by the leaders of the movement against the British government in support of his view.

Interestingly, R.C. Majumdar wrote that 'it was neither national nor the first war of independence'. The views of both colonial and nationalist historians lack historical evidences. There is no doubt that the revolt began as a military mutiny but it was not confined to the army. It spread very soon in almost every section of the society. But at the same time it is premature to call it a national war of independence as the feeling of nationalism itself was in embryonic stage. A careful study of historical records, the mutiny papers, the police record and the contemporary literature especially under literature of Delhi, Lucknow and Patna gives an insight of this revolt. He has given many facts and figures to show that its leaders had their own

NOTES

axes to grind. They were not inspired by any feelings of nationalism as such. There was no cordiality between the Hindus and the Muslims. Bahadur Shah did not heartily cooperate with the mutineers. Rani Jhansi also did not side with them at the beginning and actually did so when she was faced with a trial by the British government. The Muslim Nawabs did not treat their Hindu subjects properly even during the days of the mutiny. Majumdar points out that the Muslims as a community had their special grievances against the British who had deprived them of their former paramountcy. In spite of that Muslim swords were pointed against the Hindus rather than against the British and many Hindus prayed for the collapse of the mutiny. The mutineer sepoys of both the communities freely sacked Indian towns and murdered their fellow countrymen. Not one voice was heard to cry: 'Let me die so that India be free.' Once the British launched their campaign of ruthless suppression and reprisal, all 'rebels' were obliged to fight on to save their skin. The view of Majumdar is that the true significance of '1857' lies in the inspiration which its memory afforded to the later freedom movements and for such 'inspirational purpose, it matters nothing that the sordid and unhappy facts' have become shrouded in a 'fog of pious make-beliefs.

We may conclude with the following words of Asoka Mehta : 'The rebellion of 1857 was more than a mere sepoy mutiny and was an eruption of the social volcano wherein many pent-up forces found vent. After the eruption, the whole social topography had changed. The scars of the rebellion remained deep and shining.'

ACTIVITY

Find out how Rani Laxmibai of Jhansi dealt with the British.

10.8 SUMMARY

In this unit, you have learnt that:

- The year 1857 was the completion of the first hundred years of British rule in India after the battle of Plassey.
- During this century, the British conquests and colonialism marched apace and with that grew the discontent of former ruling chiefs who felt that zest had gone out of their life.
- The aggressive wars waged by Lord Hastings, Ellenborough and Dalhousie, the annexations made on the plea of mismanage-ment by the Indian rulers and the appropriation of territories by a refusal to recognize the adoption of heirs, were prompted by the desire for dominion.
- An important political reason for the outbreak of the revolt of 1857 was the controversial and unjustified policy of 'Doctrine of Lapse' imposed by Lord Dalhousie on Satara (1848), Jaitpur, Sambhalpur (1849), Baghat (1850), Udaipur (1852) Jhansi (1853) and Nagpur (1854).
- The adopted sons of these states were not recognized and they were annexed.
- The annexation of native states meant that many Indians lost important administrative post.
- Another important military causes for the revolt of 1857 was the discontent of the sepoys.

Check Your Progress

19. Why was Mangal Pandey executed?
20. Who was the first Indian historian to write on 1857?

NOTES

- When the news spread that the cover of the cartridges was made of cow and pig fat, revolt broke out.
- The discontentment among the soldiers was also because of discriminatory pay package.
- One of the causes of revolt was the fear among the natives that their religion was endangered by Christianity.
- The most important cause of the popular discontent was the economic exploitation of the country by the British and the complete destruction of its traditional economic fabric.
- The downfall of Indian industries led to large scale unemployment and when the revolt broke they joined the rebellion.
- After firing on their senior officers, the soldiers of Meerut marched towards Delhi.
- Once Delhi was captured, the revolt spread to different parts of the country.
- Awadh became the real battle zone, as most of the sepoys were from this region. Lucknow, Kanpur, Bareilly, Allahabad, Banaras, Faizabad, Jhansi, Jagdishpur (Arrah), Danapur and Patna were engulfed in fire.
- Rani Laxmibai tried to reverse the decision of Lord Dalhousie when Jhansi was annexed after the death of her husband and the adopted son was not recognized. When her effort failed she finally revolted.
- An important reason for its failure was that it was not all India revolt, though the British army was all over India.
- Most of the Rajas and Nawabs also helped the British cause. In fact, only those rulers participated in the revolt who lost their state or whose pension was stopped.
- The revolt was poorly organized.
- The educated middle-class also did not participate in the revolt.
- The East India Company's rule came to an end after the revolt. Through Queen's proclamation, later through Government of India Act, 1858, the crown's rule was established.
- The policy towards Indian states also changed. Queen Victoria announced in 1858 that the British government would not annex the Indian states.
- The Hindu–Muslim unity during the revolt had threatened the British rule.
- The revolt was a glorious landmark in our history in as Hindus and Muslims fought shoulder to shoulder against a common enemy.
- The British Administration in India can broadly be divided into two phase: The first phase from 1772 to 1858, when the East India Company ruled and the second phase from 1858 to 1947, when the British Crown ruled.
- The Charter Act of 1853 allowed the East India Company to rule India till further order.
- The British Empire was convinced that rule of the Company had to go and, hence, Lord Palmerston, the British Prime Minister, introduced the Bill for Better Government of India, in February 1858.
- By the Act of 1858 the rule of East India Company was brought to an end and the rule of the British crown through British Parliament was established.
- The power to appoint Viceroy and Governor-General and governors of Presidencies (Bombay, Madras) was given to the British crown.

NOTES

- Historians have different views about the nature of the outbreak of 1857.
- For long, the colonial historians called it 'mutiny' firstly used by Earl Stanley, later by T.R. Homes, G.W. Forrest, M. Innes, etc.
- The first Indian who wrote a book on 1857 was Sir Sayyed Ahmed Khan.
- V.D. Savarkar called it as India's first national war of independence in his book 'War of Indian Independence'.

10.9 KEY TERMS

- **Taluqdars:** The term was used for land holders in Mughal and British times, responsible for collecting taxes from a district.
- **Zamindars:** Was an aristocrat, typically hereditary, who held enormous tracts of land and held control over his peasants, from whom the zamindars reserved the right to collect tax (often for military purposes).
- **Jihad:** A spiritual struggle
- **Ashraf:** The Persian–Urdu elite in the court of the Mughal emperors.

10.10 ANSWERS TO 'CHECK YOUR PROGRESS'

1. Canning succeeded Dalhousie
2. False
3. A large number of company's soldiers were from Awadh, who had sympathy for their nawab. Annexation of Awadh meant the relative of these soldiers had to pay more taxes, since the new land revenue policy was introduced in Awadh.
4. Nana Sahib was the adopted son of Peshwa Baji Rao II.
5. When the news spread that the cover of the cartridges was made of cow and pig fat, revolt broke out.
6. The British government passed the Religious Disabilities Act in 1850 which permitted a converted person to inherit property, contrary to Hindu social laws.
7. Inherit
8. False
9. True
10. The last Mughal king was Bahadur Shah Zafar. The sepoys proclaimed him as the Shahenshah of India.
11. Mohammad Bakhtawar Khan, a havaldar of the Barielly force became the actual commander.
12. Nana Sahib led the movement from Kanpur, and was supported by Tantya Tope.
13. False
14. The revolt was poorly organized, lacked coordination and a common plan, and even the leadership was poor.

NOTES

15. The Queen's Proclamation and later the Act of 1858 established the rule of the crown on India.
16. Urdu
17. The Charter Act of 1853 allowed the East India Company to rule India till further order.
18. Lord Palmerston, the British Prime Minister, introduced the Bill for Better Government of India, in February 1858.
19. Mangal Pandey, a sepoy of 34th native infantry of Bengal Army, had fired at a British major at Barrackpore on March 29, 1857, for which he was executed and his army disbanded.
20. The first Indian to write a book on 1857 was Sir Sayyed Ahmed Khan. His book was Asbab-I-Baghawat-I-Hind.

10.11 QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Short-Answer Questions

1. Discuss how the revolt was suppressed.
2. What was the significance of the revolt?
3. How did the British East India Company's rule come to an end?
4. What were the causes of the failure of the revolt?

Long-Answer Questions

1. Explain the causes of the 1857 Revolt.
2. Describe how the revolt spread?
3. Discuss the impact of the revolt.
4. Discuss the provisions of the Government of India Act, 1858.
5. Historians have different views on the 1857 revolt. Discuss.

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About the University

Rajiv Gandhi University (formerly Arunachal University) is a premier institution for higher education in the state of Arunachal Pradesh and has completed twenty-five years of its existence. Late Smt. Indira Gandhi, the then Prime Minister of India, laid the foundation stone of the university on 4th February, 1984 at Rono Hills, where the present campus is located.

Ever since its inception, the university has been trying to achieve excellence and fulfill the objectives as envisaged in the University Act. The university received academic recognition under Section 2(f) from the University Grants Commission on 28th March, 1985 and started functioning from 1st April, 1985. It got financial recognition under section 12-B of the UGC on 25th March, 1994. Since then Rajiv Gandhi University, (then Arunachal University) has carved a niche for itself in the educational scenario of the country following its selection as a University with potential for excellence by a high-level expert committee of the University Grants Commission from among universities in India.

The University was converted into a Central University with effect from 9th April, 2007 as per notification of the Ministry of Human Resource Development, Government of India.

The University is located atop Rono Hills on a picturesque tableland of 302 acres overlooking the river Dikrong. It is 6.5 km from the National Highway 52-A and 25 km from Itanagar, the State capital. The campus is linked with the National Highway by the Dikrong bridge.

The teaching and research programmes of the University are designed with a view to play a positive role in the socio-economic and cultural development of the State. The University offers Undergraduate, Post-graduate, M.Phil and Ph.D. programmes. The Department of Education also offers the B.Ed. programme.

There are fifteen colleges affiliated to the University. The University has been extending educational facilities to students from the neighbouring states, particularly Assam. The strength of students in different departments of the University and in affiliated colleges has been steadily increasing.

The faculty members have been actively engaged in research activities with financial support from UGC and other funding agencies. Since inception, a number of proposals on research projects have been sanctioned by various funding agencies to the University. Various departments have organized numerous seminars, workshops and conferences. Many faculty members have participated in national and international conferences and seminars held within the country and abroad. Eminent scholars and distinguished personalities have visited the University and delivered lectures on various disciplines.

The academic year 2000-2001 was a year of consolidation for the University. The switch over from the annual to the semester system took off smoothly and the performance of the students registered a marked improvement. Various syllabi designed by Boards of Post-graduate Studies (BPGS) have been implemented. VSAT facility installed by the ERNET India, New Delhi under the UGC-Infonet program, provides Internet access.

In spite of infrastructural constraints, the University has been maintaining its academic excellence. The University has strictly adhered to the academic calendar, conducted the examinations and declared the results on time. The students from the University have found placements not only in State and Central Government Services, but also in various institutions, industries and organizations. Many students have emerged successful in the National Eligibility Test (NET).

Since inception, the University has made significant progress in teaching, research, innovations in curriculum development and developing infrastructure.

SYLLABI-BOOK MAPPING TABLE

History of India (1857-1947)

Syllabi	Mapping in Book
UNIT I: Emergence of Nationalism - I • Intellectual Movement • Emergence of Middle Class • Role of Literature and Press • Economic Nationalism	**Unit 1:** Emergence of Nationalism -I **(Pages 3-17)**
UNIT II: Emergence of Nationalism - II • Predecessors of Indian National Congress • Foundation of Indian National Congress • Programmes and Policies of the early Nationalists	**Unit 2:** Emergence of Nationalism - II **(Pages 19-35)**
UNIT III: Peasant's Revolt • Background–Santhal Movement • Indigo Revolts • Decan Riots and Mophila Uprising	**Unit 3:** Peasant Revolts **(Pages 37-52)**
UNIT IV: Rise of Militant Nationalism (a) Role of Extremists of Militant Nationalism (b) Nationalism, Swadashi Movement and Revolutionary Activities (c) Muslim Politics and the Foundation of Muslim League (d) Growth of Communalism	**Unit 4:** Rise of Militant Nationalism and Communalism **(Pages 53-83)**
UNIT V: Socio-Religious Reforms (a) Dayanand Saraswati and Arya Samaj (b) Aligarh Reform Movement–Sayyid Ahmed Khan (c) Jyotiba Phule (d) Veerrasalingam	**Unit 5:** Socio-Religious Reforms **(Pages 85-108)**
UNIT VI: Impact of World War - I (a) Outbreak of the World War I and its Effects on Indian Politics (b) Home Rule League (c) Lucknow Pact	**Unit 6:** Impact of World War - I **(Pages 109-122)**
UNIT VII: Emergence of Gandhi in Indian Politics - I (a) Khilafat Movement (b) Non-Cooperation Movement (c) Swarajist and Gandhi	**Unit 7:** Emergence of Gandhi in Indian Politics - I **(Pages 123-136)**
UNIT VIII: Emergence of Gandhi in Indian Politics - II (a) Civil Disobedience Movement (b) Quit India Movement	**Unit 8:** Emergence of Gandhi in Indian Politics - II **(Pages 137-155)**
UNIT IX: Radical Alternatives (a) Rise of Congress Left Wing (b) Left Parties	**Unit 9:** Radical Alternatives **(Pages 157-175)**
UNIT X: Freedom and Partition (a) World War II and its Impact (b) Towards Independence and Partition	**Unit 10:** Freedom and Partition **(Pages 177-191)**

CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION 1

UNIT 1 EMERGENCE OF NATIONALISM - I 3-17

1.0 Introduction
1.1 Unit Objectives
1.2 Intellectual Movement
1.3 Emergence of the Middle Class
1.4 Role of Literature and Press
1.5 Economic Nationalism
  1.5.1 Nationalism and Economic History
  1.5.2 Influence of Marx
  1.5.3 Indian Economy in the Mid-eighteenth Century
  1.5.4 Rural and Urban Economy — The Transition
1.6 Summary
1.7 Key Terms
1.8 Answers to 'Check Your Progress'
1.9 Questions and Exercises
1.10 Further Reading

UNIT 2 EMERGENCE OF NATIONALISM - II 19-35

2.0 Introduction
2.1 Unit Objectives
2.2 The Nationalistic Awareness
  2.2.1 Formation of Political Associations (upto 1885)
2.3 Formation of the Indian National Congress
  2.3.1 Early Nationalists and their Programmes
2.4 Summary
2.5 Key Terms
2.6 Answers to 'Check Your Progress'
2.7 Questions and Exercises
2.8 Further Reading

UNIT 3 PEASANT REVOLTS 37-52

3.0 Introduction
3.1 Unit Objectives
3.2 Background of the Santhal Movement
3.3 Indigo Revolts
  3.3.1 Causes of Peasant Revolts
  3.3.2 Role of Caste and Religion in the Peasant Movement
3.4 Deccan Riots and Moplah Uprising
3.5 Summary
3.6 Key Terms
3.7 Answers to 'Check Your Progress'
3.8 Questions and Exercises
3.9 Further Reading

UNIT 4 RISE OF MILITANT NATIONALISM AND COMMUNALISM 53-83

4.0 Introduction
4.1 Unit Objectives
4.2 Rise of Extremists or Militant Nationalism
  4.2.1 Factors that Led to the Rise of Extremism
  4.2.2 Objectives and Methods of Extremists
4.3 Nationalism and Swadeshi Movement
  4.3.1 Swadeshi Movement
  4.3.2 Role of Students, Women, Muslims and the Masses during Swadeshi Movement
4.4 Revolutionary Activities
4.5 Muslim Politics and the Foundation of Muslim League
  4.5.1 Formation of All India Muslim League
4.6 Growth of Communalism
  4.6.1 Anti-Muslim British Policy
  4.6.2 Role of Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan
  4.6.3 Morley-Minto Reforms of 1909 and Communalism
  4.6.4 Communalism: An Interpretation of Indian History
  4.6.5 Militant Nationalism with Communal Overtone
  4.6.6 Foundation of the Muslim League
  4.6.7 Jinnah's Two-Nation Theory
  4.6.8 Hindu Communalism
4.7 Summary
4.8 Key Terms
4.9 Answers to 'Check Your Progress'
4.10 Questions and Exercises
4.11 Further Reading

UNIT 5 SOCIO-RELIGIOUS REFORMS 85-108

5.0 Introduction
5.1 Unit Objectives
5.2 Social Reform Movements
  5.2.1 Nature of Social Reform Movements
  5.2.2 Social Composition of the Leadership of Reform Movements
  5.2.3 Social and Religious Reform Movements in India
  5.2.4 Bhakti Movement
5.3 Dayanand Saraswati and Arya Samaj
  5.3.1 Mission of Saraswati's Life
  5.3.2 Setting up of the Arya Samaj
5.4 Aligarh Reform Movement—Sayyid Ahmad Khan
5.5 Jyotiba Phule
  5.5.1 Early Life of Phule
  5.5.2 Religious Beliefs
  5.5.3 Phule's Concept of God and Religion
5.6 Veeresalingam
  5.6.1 Activity and Literary Work
5.7 Summary
5.8 Key Terms
5.9 Answers to 'Check Your Progress'
5.10 Questions and Exercises
5.11 Further Reading

UNIT 6 IMPACT OF WORLD WAR - I 109-122

6.0 Introduction
6.1 Unit Objectives
6.2 Outbreak of World War I and its Effects on Indian Politics
6.3 Home Rule League
6.4 Lucknow Pact
6.5 Summary
6.6 Key Terms
6.7 Answers to 'Check Your Progress'
6.8 Questions and Exercises
6.9 Further Reading

UNIT 7 EMERGENCE OF GANDHI IN INDIAN POLITICS - I 123-136

7.0 Introduction
7.1 Unit Objectives
7.2 India in the Early 20th Century
7.3 Emergence of Gandhi: Champaran and Kheda Movements
7.4 Non-Cooperation Movement (1920)
7.5 Khilafat Movement
  7.5.1 Revolutionary Fervor
  7.5.2 Struggle for Swaraj
7.6 Summary
7.7 Key Terms
7.8 Answers to 'Check Your Progress'
7.9 Questions and Exercises
7.10 Further Reading

UNIT 8 EMERGENCE OF GANDHI IN INDIAN POLITICS - II 137-155

8.0 Introduction
8.1 Unit Objectives
8.2 Acts of 1909 and 1919
  8.2.1 Morley-Minto Reforms (1909)
  8.2.2 Montague Chelmsford Reform (1919)
  8.2.3 Foreign Trade of India prior to Independence
  8.2.4 Concept of External Drain
8.3 Civil Disobedience Movement
8.4 Quit India Movement
  8.4.1 Opposition to Quit India
  8.4.2 Suppression of the Movement
8.5 Summary
8.6 Key Terms
8.7 Answers to 'Check Your Progress'
8.8 Questions and Exercises
8.9 Further Reading

UNIT 9 RADICAL ALTERNATIVES 157-175

9.0 Introduction
9.1 Unit Objectives
9.2 Marxist Ideology
9.3 Rise of Congress Left Wing
  9.3.1 Rise of the Communist in India
  9.3.2 Communist Party of India

9.3.3 Meerut Conspiracy Case
9.3.4 Telengana
9.4 Left Parties
9.4.1 PEPSU
9.4.2 Split in Communist Party
9.4.3 Congress Socialist Party
9.5 Summary
9.6 Key Terms
9.7 Answers to 'Check Your Progress'
9.8 Questions and Exercises
9.9 Further Reading

UNIT 10 FREEDOM AND PARTITION **177-191**

10.0 Introduction
10.1 Unit Objectives
10.2 World War II and its Impact
10.2.1 Congress and the War
10.2.2 Impact on British Policy in India
10.2.3 Political Effects
10.3 Towards Independence and Partition
10.3.1 August Offer, 1940
10.3.2 Cripps' Proposal
10.3.3 Quit India Movement
10.3.4 Demand for Pakistan
10.3.5 Role of Indian National Army (INA)
10.3.6 Wavell Plan and Simla Conference (1945)
10.3.7 Cabinet Mission Plan (1946)
10.3.8 Direct Action Day
10.3.9 Attlee's Announcement
10.3.10 Mountbatten Plan
10.4 Indian Independence Act, 1947
10.4.1 Independence and Partition
10.5 Summary
10.6 Key Terms
10.7 Answers to 'Check Your Progress'
10.8 Questions and Exercises
10.9 Further Reading

INTRODUCTION

The period between 1857 and 1947 is extremely crucial in the history of India. The advent of the Europeans for the purpose of trading later led to colonization by the British, the Dutch, the Portuguese and the French in India. Under the British rule, India was exploited for its economic resources to a great extent. However, their rule also led to various reforms in the social, educational, commercial and judicial spheres. The World War I and World War II played an important role in arousing the spirit of nationalism among the Indians. Various freedom fighters fought for the independence of the country in their own way. Finally, India became independent on 15th August 1947 and became a republic on 26th January 1950 when the Constitution of India was enforced.

This book, *History of India (1857-1947)*, contains topics such as the emergence of nationalism, the peasant revolts, social change and religious dissent, socio-religious reforms, impact of World War I, emergence of Gandhi in Indian politics, the Congress left wing, and Independence and Partition.

This book has been designed keeping in mind the self-instruction mode (SIM) format and follows a simple pattern, wherein each unit of the book begins with the **Introduction** followed by the **Unit Objectives** for the topic. The content is then presented in a simple and easy-to-understand manner, and is interspersed with **Check Your Progress** questions to reinforce the student's understanding of the topic. A list of **Questions and Exercises** is also provided at the end of each unit. The **Summary**, **Key Terms** and **Activity** further act as useful tools for students and are meant for effective recapitulation of the text.

This book is divided into ten units.

Unit 1: Describes the emergence of nationalism with regard to the intellectual movement, role of the middle class, and role of literature and press. It also discusses economic nationalism.

Unit 2: Discusses the predecessors of Indian National Congress, foundation of the Indian National Congress, and programmes and policies of the early nationalists.

Unit 3: Covers the peasant revolts broadly focusing on the background of the Santhal movement, Indigo revolts, Deccan riots and Moplah uprising.

Unit 4: Discusses social change and religious dissent in relation to militant nationalism and settled agriculture, nationalism, Swadeshi movement and revolutionary activities, muslim politics and foundation of the Muslim League.

Unit 5: Explains the socio-religious reforms introduced by Dayanand Saraswati, Sayyid Ahmad Khan, Jyotiba Phule, and Veerrasalingam.

Unit 6: Explores the impact of World War I on Indian politics, the Home Rule League and Lucknow Pact.

Unit 7: Familiarizes you with the Khilafat Movement, Non-cooperation Movement and Swarajist and Gandhi's philosophy.

Unit 8: Discusses the Civil Disobedience Movement and Quit India Movement.

Unit 9: Describes the rise of the Congress left wing and Left parties.

Unit 10: Covers the impact of World War II and India's Independence and Partition.

UNIT 1 EMERGENCE OF NATIONALISM - I

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Structure

1.0 Introduction
1.1 Unit Objectives
1.2 Intellectual Movement
1.3 Emergence of the Middle Class
1.4 Role of Literature and Press
1.5 Economic Nationalism
  1.5.1 Nationalism and Economic History
  1.5.2 Influence of Marx
  1.5.3 Indian Economy in the Mid-eighteenth Century
  1.5.4 Rural and Urban Economy — The Transition
1.6 Summary
1.7 Key Terms
1.8 Answers to 'Check Your Progress'
1.9 Questions and Exercises
1.10 Further Reading

1.0 INTRODUCTION

Renaissance is a form of rebirth and Renaissance in India was highlighted by the quest for knowledge and development of science and arts. Leading reformists of that time had eagerly and enthusiastically taken up this task. Rammohan Roy had founded the Brahmo Samaj. He had pioneered movements for socio-religious reforms among Hindus. His influence on politics, social life, education and religion alike, was very strong. The Arya Samaj was founded by Swami Dayananda Saraswati on almost the same lines as the Brahmo Samaj. The Ramakrishna Mission was set up by Swami Vivekananda on 1 May 1897. The motto of this mission was to assist in welfare services. He was a promoter of Yoga and the *Vedanta* philosophy in India as well as the West. The Prarthana Samaj (prayer society in Sanskrit) was a movement to bring about reforms among Hindus, in terms of religion and social beliefs, in Maharashtra.

The Theosophical Society is a global organization, with universal brotherhood as its main goal. The base of this organization was awareness of life and its many forms. It was set up for the betterment of humanity. In the latter part of 1882, this society shifted to Adyar in Chennai. The society has a commendable library of rare oriental manuscripts written on palm leaves and parchments. These manuscripts are very valuable in terms of ancestry and archaeology.

Reform movements for Indian Muslims began in the second half of the 19th century. Sir Syed Ahmed Khan was the most prominent intellectual among Muslims, who strived hard to develop and educate Muslims. If the forerunner of regeneration among the Hindus was Rammohan Roy, Sir Syed Ahmed Khan can be accredited with the same title among Muslims of India. He founded the Translation Society which translated Western knowledge into Urdu. This society was later renamed as the Scientific Society. However, his greatest accomplishment was the setting up of the Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental College, at Aligarh. This college grew into a global centre of study.

NOTES

The 19th and 20th centuries also witnessed well-known social reformers like Dr B.R. Ambedkar, Jyotiba Phule and others. Many struggles were spearheaded by these social reformers against the caste system, caste oppression and untouchability, in a number of ways.

1.1 UNIT OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to:

- Discuss the rise of intellectual movement in the 19th century
- Describe the emergence of the middle class
- Explain the role of literature and press
- Discuss economic nationalism

1.2 INTELLECTUAL MOVEMENT

In India, during the 18th century, there were clashes, crises, calamities and problems between various groups of people. Uncertainties in the political scenario created hindrances in the evolution of Indian culture. The British made use of this scenario to fulfill their vested interests and deeply influence the lifestyle and culture of India. The manner in which India responded to this strategy of the British is the highlight of the contemporary history of India of the 19th century.

There was evolution from the Medieval Age to the Modern Age. Indians were exposed to new thought and ideas, owing to their encounter with the western forces. Hence, it is not surprising that a significant social and cultural evolution swept throughout the country. Indians were awakened from their lethargic sleep by the Renaissance of the 19th century and were filled with a desire to break away from the bonds that enslaved them. Bipan Chandra quotes, 'Thoughtful Indians began to look for the strength and weakness of their society and for ways and means of removing the weaknesses. While a large number of Indians refused to come to terms with the West and still put their faith in traditional Indian ideas and institutions, others gradually came to hold the elements of modern western thought that had to be imbedded for the regeneration of their society. They were impressed in particular by modern science and doctrines of reason and humanism. While differing on the nature and extent of reforms, nearly all 19th century intellectuals shared the conviction that social and religious reforms were urgently needed.'

The impact of British rule on the economic conditions and society of India was a factor that primarily contributed to the socio-cultural evolution of the 19th century. The imperialism of the British united the people of India politically and administratively. A uniform legal system and methods of communication were launched by the British rulers. The structure of the traditional economy fell apart when the British took over the country. In terms of economy and lifestyle, many Indians were interconnected. The economic exploitation by the colonial power played a significant role in igniting the spirit of nationalism. The growth of nationalism was motivated by the centralization of British rule in India. A new middle class emerged as a result of the influence of the West and its policies. This middle class operated like a creative minority group and directed its efforts to destroy all traditions. Thus, it helped in the rise of an enlightened India, which was filled with patriotism and rationalism. This dominant middle class seriously examined the Indian

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society and tried their best to remove all ills from it. The revolution in India was also supported by the advent of Christian missionaries since the beginning of the 19th century. These Christian missionaries promoted literacy in many parts of India and a large amount of development work was taken up by them. Their faith was an attraction to some sections of the people of India.

The missionaries worked to condemn Hinduism through their functioning and satire. This ignited strong fundamental and rational responses. On one hand, those who were traditional and old-fashioned were stubborn in their opposition towards Christianity and on the other; the liberals carried on with their introspection and worked to remove the social ills from their own religion.

Social and cultural enlightenment was also stimulated by the popularity and growth of western education. K.M. Panikar emphasized that English, introduced as a language, promoted a feeling of unity throughout the country, in the absence of which India would have been divided into as many parts as there are languages in India. According to Naoroji, 'The introduction of English education with its great, noble, elevating and civilizing literature and advanced science will forever remain a monument of good work done in India.' A.R. Desai quotes, 'the study of the English language unfolded the treasures of the democratic and nationalistic thought crystallized in precious scientific works.'

Young men, who had received their education in English, were critical about every Hindu tradition and custom. They even resorted to the use of intoxicating drinks to exhibit a feeling of modernism. However, they were rational in their examination of every aspect of life. This was instrumental in ushering in modernization. The British government zealously established many types of reforms such as removal of caste inequalities and prejudice towards women in Indian society. It caused the forces of development within India to become active. Media, news tabloids and literary works also played important roles in the spread of nationalism. The vivacious culture of India also supported the emergence and progress of Renaissance. India responded positively to this historical crisis.

When the influence of the West impacted India, the people were happy to accept the positive aspects of the western culture and got used to the changing situation. Hence, it can be concluded that many forces together resulted in a new evolution that led to the Renaissance in Indian way of thinking. This spirit of the Renaissance that was based on logical thoughts, led to development of a desire to reform.

The socio-cultural revolution of the 19th century played an important role in the Renaissance, in the history and culture of India. It modernized the history of India by ushering a flood of new ideas in an era of revolution within society, politics, economy, religion and culture. Socio-cultural evolution also transformed the definition of religion. Religious beliefs were scrutinized rationally. This rationalism brought about reforms with in Hinduism and worked to eliminate vices from it. It strengthened religion and prepared it to face the challenges of time. The essence of reformed religious thought comprised tolerance, universal brotherhood, adjustment and introspection. Social lifestyle was also subjected to revolutionary changes. A large number of medieval customs were discarded by the society itself. There was absolutely no support for social superstitions. A campaign was led by socio-cultural reformers against caste system, child marriage, female infanticide and several other social ills. A foundation was laid which established a base to uplift the downtrodden, fought for the cause of equality and campaigned for the freedom of women from social slavery. The socio-cultural awakening caused revival of a profound liking for India's glorious past. The people were filled with pride and

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ceased to remain lethargic and inactive. The spread of western education worked as a stimulus to give rise to a creative way of thinking and stirred ideals to inspire works of literary and artistic nature.

The politics of 19th century India was also impacted by socio-cultural awakening. Strong patriotic feelings were invoked in the minds of the Indian youths by the philosophies of learned saints and intellectuals. This played a significant role in the growth of nationalism and struggle for freedom. N.S. Bose fittingly says, 'The growth of political consciousness leading to the beginning of the national movement for independence was one of the striking trends of the Indian awakening. The remarkable transformation in the life and thought of the people, a new era of social, religious and educational reforms ushered in by great men of the age naturally accelerated the growth of Indian nationhood.' It was indeed true that the socio-cultural awakening of 19th century ignited a revolution in India and was a significant landmark in the birth of modern age.

1.3 EMERGENCE OF THE MIDDLE CLASS

Before the advent of the process of colonization of India through both political and armed means, the question of capitalism did not really rise. Though there were traders in India, there was no 'bourgeoisie' or 'middle class', as a distinct unit of society. It has been argued by many historians that the empire and the conditions of colonial rule helped in the creation of a capitalist society and was the agent of change in society.

While studying this phenomenon, it must be understood that the concept of the middle class actually arose due to certain conditions in European history. There were many constituents of this so-called middle class which included:

- Artists and others engaged in the performing arts
- Intellectuals, novelists, writers and
- Industrial bourgeoisie (those engaged in trade and manufacture)

While this term was not used by many Europeans for the local population, Viceroy Dufferin saw them as, 'certain number of leading natives who were well-meaning, intelligent and patriotic.'

This was a tacit agreement that there were a number of people, perhaps a minority, who were present. However, many did not ascribe to this thought and as late as 1893, Aurobindo Ghosh, an Indian freedom fighter and philosopher, described this group as the 'new middle class' which comprised traders, graduates, officials, doctors, barristers and journalists. Aurobindo Ghosh was of the view that they were not representatives of India in totality. However, this term has since gained wide acceptance while referring to such a class of people based on professional academics and intellect. In India, the term 'middle class' is applied to various groups that have varying scope of social standing and experience. It is a class neither in just the economic nor Marxist sense of the term. It comes with gender, caste and religious dimensions. This class also has a stamp of education which is colonial and western. To top it all, this group aspires to take on the leadership of India. It has displayed a 'cultural entrepreneurship' that has enabled it to define a culture which others would like to emulate to become socially mobile in the upward direction. While this concept of the middle class can be seen in the light of the advancement caused by colonial rule, can one assume that such a group existed for hundreds of years prior to British rule in India? This question becomes important when we consider the recent historiographical

Check Your Progress

1. What primarily contributed to the socio-cultural evolution of the 19th century?
2. What promoted the growth of nationalism in India?

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developments that investigate India's potential indigenous modernity prior to the coming of colonialism.

Chris Bayly, a British historian, has said that:

> The group of people comprising Hindustani-writing literati, Indo-Islamic notables, religious leaders, and officers of the state participated in public debates about rights, duties and good kingship. This group of elect people, who were also joined by common people from time to time as participants in common public discussions, can be considered as constituting a public sphere in precolonial India. They also represented the 'opinion of the locality' to the authorities.

Now the question arises as to whether there was any continuity between the 'group of people described by Bayly' in India before the colonial period and the 'middle class' of the colonial period. Intuition tells us that any such continuity should not be present. During the colonial period, there was a huge disconnect between the logic of the Indian society and the logic of the ruling state. The patronage given to this class by the traditional ruling elite disintegrated. This included the disuse of the traditional Indian languages like Persian and Urdu which were slowly replaced by English. The education system was changed. There was a shift from the earlier perception of the so-called middle class and a realignment with the new thought processes.

The essays of Dipesh Chakrabarty, Tanika Sarkar and Partha Chatterjee more or less seem to display a commonality of perspective. Based on this perspective, the middle class appears to be formed of educated elite, a group between the colonial rulers and the semi-literate or illiterate rural majority.

According to this perspective:

- The social universe of the colonial India was or may be viewed as a split of a private/spiritual and a public/material domain.
- Indians had no participation or equality as far as the public domain was concerned.
- Indians moved to the private domain to stress the sovereignty of the rising concept of nation.
- Indians defied all interference by the colonial power in their private domain.
- Indians professed that the Indian culture was superior to the western culture. They used this validity and uniqueness as the foundation for Indian nationalism
- The women of India have the task of acting as custodians of Indian culture.

According to B.B Misra, an Indian historian, the term middle class mainly refers to civil servants, salaried executives, proprietors of modern trading firms and merchants and such where the criteria are income and income source.

Jawaharlal Nehru said that the middle class had no capacity to perform either manual or technical work. They had been uprooted from their original culture, remained conservative socially, and were modern only in outlook, that too superficially. As can be noted from above, it seems quite possible that in a loosely defined manner, there was a presence of components of the middle class in India and as such the semblance of or the roots of a capitalist society.

One feature of commercial capitalism which needs to be looked at is the effect of monetization affecting India. This was connected with commercialization of both agrarian

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and urban economy, and the development of markets through distortion caused by trade and increasing European intervention in Indian markets. This affected both trade and manufacture. This was impacted because of the colonial occupation creating political monopoly and control over the taxation system to systematically benefit first the East India Company and then the British government directly. This helped to destroy competition and drive prices downwards in an increasingly competitive world caused by the effects of the Industrial revolution. The corollary was that until the mid-nineteenth century, India's integration into a colonial empire was marked by a broad-based process of under development of which deindustrialization was merely a part, and included the process of relative demonetization.

1.4 ROLE OF LITERATURE AND PRESS

The Indian Press had an important role to play in developing nationalism among the citizens of the country. Indian nationalists used the press as a powerful media to spread the message of nationalism. They also used the press to diffuse the spirit of patriotism and political ideas. The press was highly successful in mobilizing public opinion and promoting nationalism. Vernacular came to the rescue and newspapers and dailies such as *Amrit Bazar Patrika, Samachar Darpan* was instrumental in stimulating the growth of nationalism. The dailies blatantly exposed the fallacies of the foreign rule. In the words of B.B. Majumdar, 'Western education and the Indian press were the two of the most important agencies destined to infuse into the people of India the spirit of national unity and to inspire them to achieve independence without bloodshed.' Indian literature produced during this time was highly nationalistic and was thus responsible for creating a sense of national consciousness. The works of prominent Indian writers such as Bankim Chandra Chattopadhyaya and Rabindranath Tagore in Bengali, Vishnu Shastri Chiplunkar in Marathi, Subramanyam Bharati in Tamil and others were instrumental in instilling a spirit of nationalism in the minds of the common people.

Check Your Progress

3. In the Indian context, what do you understand by the term 'middle class'?
4. India's integration into a colonial empire was marked by a broad-based process of development of which industrialization was merely a part. (True/False)
5. Name two daily newspapers that helped in promoting nationalism in India.
6. Name two writers whose writings contributed to nationalism in India.

1.5 ECONOMIC NATIONALISM

Economic history of India is a late discipline. It started with critiques of imperialism and colonialism in the second half of the 19th century. In the 1850s, Karl Marx wrote a series of articles on the economic impact of colonialism. He further developed his critiques in *Capital* in the 1860s. Among the Indian writers, Mahadev Govind Ranade published his essays on economy less as a critique of colonialism than as a blueprint for development of the Indian economy. The most scathing attack on colonialism was Dadabhai Naoroji's *Poverty and Un-British Rule in India* in which he argues that India's poverty was mainly due to the drain of wealth by the British government through tribute and home charges. R. C. Dutt, the first Indian ICS, published his *Economic History of British India*. Other economists like GB Joshi and Prithwis Chandra Ray, more or less on these lines, wrote the history of Indian economy in the British period.

A new dimension to the study of Indian economy opened up at the international level in the Comintern. M. N. Ray as the sole Indian representative in the Comintern contributed to the economic policy discussion in the organization, the value of which was recognized even by Lenin. A number of Soviet scholars joined a discussion on the impact of colonialism on India and the prospect of economic growth of India. A great debate

NOTES

raged on the role of the Indian bourgeoisie. These discussions governed the Communist movement in India even after the dissolution of the Comintern in 1945. After Independence, a professional discipline of economic history developed.

One of the earliest western writers Morris D Morris centered his argument of underdevelopment of independent India on her social structure. He was criticized by BR Tomlinson who accused Morris of a kind of circular logic and over simplification as if 'Indian industrial growth was retarded because she faces the distressing paradox, the high cost of being poor; while the most easily identifiable factor that restricted industry was shortage of capital. Irfan Habib questioned Morris's failure to address issues like de-industrialization in the 19th century or 'deleterious effects of currency manipulation by British interests'.

Indian scholars, thereafter, started working on industrial history, labour history, agrarian history, capital market and class contradiction. Habib is the foremost historian writing extensively on agrarian India. A K Bagchi worked on Private Investment in India. Deindustrialization under British rule was a major focus of economic historians. Morris D Morris, Dipesh Chakrabatry and Ranajit Dasgupta contributed immensely to labour history. The stage of economic development encompassing agriculture and industry are the major point of contention among Indian economists.

In the 1970s, Ranajit Guha set up a new school of historiography with his study of East India Company's role in India, namely the subaltern school. Gradually economists started probing tribal economy, environment and women's questions suggesting that the colonial period displayed a disjuncture from the pre-colonial period. Researches in the 1990s made a shift from looking at the colonial policies, such as, revenue to agro-ecological conditions, market conditions and socio-cultural factors to determine the agrarian relations and divisions within the peasantry. Though studies on the larger administrative policies continued, focus was shifted towards select problematic areas like irrigation (M. Mufakharul), jute economy of Bengal (Omkar Goswami), rural credit market (Shahi Amin) and agrarian relations in Bengal (Sugata Bose). Some historians, however, took a revisionist position in respect to the question of de-industrialization. A leading voice in this category is that of Tirthankar Roy.

1.5.1 Nationalism and Economic History

M. G. Ranade is considered the pioneer of Indian nationalist economics. A teacher of economics, Ranade wrote mostly on poverty. He considered it a legacy of the pre-colonial India and said the heightened awareness towards this endemic was a product of the British rule. Poverty, he said, was a byproduct of India's overdependence on agriculture. He, however, made no extravagant claim for the past nor did he put the blame for all ills entirely on foreign rule. He pointed out that traditionally the economy of the country did not represent a balanced growth. Agriculture was not supported by industries or the manufactures or distributors of the products, a collective interplay of all sections of the economy. Also, the fact that machine-made imported goods were cheaper than the domestic handicraft products was a cause of economic decline. Ranade was of the opinion that even if the Government of India had not helped the process in any way, British merchants and manufacturers would eventually have asserted their predominance in the Indian market. But what led to a rapid disintegration of the domestic economy was the government's support of the British interest. Ranade's approach has been termed as a balanced growth argument. Basing his argument on the lines of German economist Friedrich List, Ranade defines economic development as the full and all-round

NOTES

development of the productive powers of society. In his initial writings, he often highlighted the government's failure to correct the imbalances in the economy through its policies. He argued the government was more focused on exporting raw materials and improving channels of communication while ignoring its own industrial needs. 'This dependency has come to be regarded as a plantation, growing raw produce to be shipped by British agents in British ships, to be worked into fabrics by British skill and capital, and to be re-exported to the dependency by British merchants to their corresponding British firms in India and elsewhere.'

Again borrowing from List, Ranade talks of stages of growth, typically an economy should pass through. He applies these conditions to the Indian situation to gradually move from an agricultural and handicraft economy to agriculture along with manufacture and commerce. It was Ranade's understanding of economic development as a historical process that inspired his vision of India's industrialization. He wanted India to be industrialised but was aware that it would not be an easy task. Ranade was one among the modern historians who advocated the government's assistance with labour migration as a means of economics development. He believed migration would relieve the pressure of population on the land. However, due to the immense dependency on land, even a low rate of population growth would have an adverse impact on the economy. Hence, he advocated emigration as he believed it would not only lessen the pressure on land, but indirectly benefit the economy.

Interestingly, though Ranade wanted more government support in industrializing India, he did not favour tariff protection. He argued the state could only support the industrial moves, but the maximum effort should come from organized private support. From this we cannot conclude that Ranade was an enthusiast of laissez-faire or socialism. He was aware of the obstacle Indian would face in becoming an industrial country. Ranade's approach to economic policy was guided by an over-riding objective: the development of productive capacity.

Contemporary historians as well as others enthusiastically received Ranade's push for industrial development they did not support his idea of capitalist development in agriculture. GV Joshi, a follower of Ranade, favoured small peasant farming, which was to be maintained by vigorous tenancy legislation, cheap credit, and a low land tax. Such a policy required just the kind of continuing, long-run, legal and financial government intervention in agricultural activity which Ranade had criticised. He was highly critical of the investments in railways and wrote the same capital could have been used elsewhere. In fact, railway investment was seen as a substitute for investment in industry.

R. C. Dutt

A contemporary of Ranade, Dutt, too, was concerned with poverty. He held the British policies responsible for recurring famines, low productivity and decay of domestic industry in India. He admitted that shortage of rainfall led to famines but blamed the government for lack of resources to the peasants. He took a different route from that of Ranade and claimed the emergence of industry not only destroyed the domestic cottage industry but also led to a decline in agricultural productivity and increased the pressure on land. Oppressive taxation policies and insensitive administrative policies have aggravated the degradable situation of the peasants. According to him, the low standard of living of people was due to the high density of population, low agricultural prices, the land tenure system and the agrarian structure. Dutt wrote, 'While British political economists professed the principles of free trade from the latter end of the eighteenth century, the British

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nation declined to adopt them till they had crushed the manufacturing power of India. In India the manufacturing power of the people was stamped out by protection against her industries, and then free trade was forced on her so as to prevent a revival.' He said Indians paid 40 per cent more tax than the taxpayers of Great Britain and Ireland.

To check poverty, Dutt suggested two steps. The first was to revive the cottage industry to remove unemployment and underemployment outside cities. He also wanted the government to extend the irrigation facilities to decrease dependency on monsoon. Second, he wanted the government to be economical in its expenditure and lower the rate of interest on public debt. Dutt's aim was to curb the flow of wealth outside India.

Dutt's book, *Economic History of India*, is considered to be the most important historical work by a nationalist historian. It gives an authoritative and important account of socio-economic conditions of the masses under the colonial rulers. Like Ranade, he believed that political and economic policies were complementary to each other.

Bipan Chandra

Bipan Chandra has presented his view that the capitalist nature of the Indian economy was acquired by the British and their ways of the capitalist economy. Although there was distinction between the rich and the poor even before the coming of the British, money was not the most powerful commodity in the society. So, although there were numerous aspects that were of fascinating interest during the British rule of India, Bipan Chandra points out that the liberation movement, that was of course the most fascinating feature of the British period, and the change of the economic structure of the Indian society were the two most intriguing aspects during those times.

Bipan Chandra feels that the change of economic structure experienced by India during the British reign was a part of the change that was experienced worldwide under the European occupation of various colonies. He was of the opinion that the history of capitalism shows that it was not an independent move of any colony and that capitalism has always affected nations in a cluster. Bipan observed that although the Indian nation was deemed to be a democratic nation after independence, it was not a complete democratic structure as pure democracy is not possible under a capitalist environment. The methods of production and trade went through drastic changes after the British colonization.

Bipan Chandra also points out that the agrarianism and its rise was also something that happened during the British period. This was because of the fact that although the feudal structure still existed even during the times of the Mughals, the exploitation of the farmers was not so drastic. The British came to India with a frame of mind that was capitalistic to its core and they wanted to turn the traditional agricultural system in India into a capitalist agricultural system.

1.5.2 Influence of Marx

In the 1940s and 1050s, economists had lost interest in studying Indian economic history, and the focus had shifted to political history. But Marxists ideas gave a new spur to the research, and we see new interpretations after Independence. In the 1950s, N K Sinha wrote three volumes on economic history of Bengal. Sumit Sarkar interpreted this change in historical sensibilities as something that has emerged from the 'conjuncture of the 1950s and 1960s, marked by a strong and apparently growing Left presence in Indian political and intellectual life… It was not mainstream British or American historiography, not even writings on South Asian themes, but a journal like Past and Present, the 'transition

NOTES

debate', and the work of historians like Hill, Hobsbawm and Thompson . . . that appeared most stimulating to Indian scholars exploring new ways of looking at history.'

As said earlier, Marxists ideologies opened up a whole new dimension of history writing, including economic history. Historian and economists now dealt with those aspects which were never discussed earlier. Issues such as demography, domestic trade, banking and currency were researched. In fact, Marxists ideologies influenced study of ancient and medieval history. According to Sarkar, studies on economic history saw major advancement. Agriculture, industrialization, and de-industrialization were some of the topics of discussion under the Marxist purview. Amiya Bagchi's study of manufacturing employment in nineteenth-century Bihar may be the most important modern study of de-industrialization and sparked a renewed discussion and debate which drew participants from India as well as around the world. His main thesis of his work on Private Investment of India was that 'before the First World it was the governmental policy of free trade, and after the war it was the general depression in the capitalist system combined with the halting and piecemeal policy of tariff protection adopted by the Government of India, that limited the rate of investment in modern industry.' With this argument, Bagchi questioned all the thinkers who had debated that lack of development and slow growth of India was due to a shortage of capital and entrepreneurship.

Trithankar Roy

A professor at the London School of Economics, Roy based his arguments on continuity from colonial to post colonial period. According to him, focusing at colonialism as the driver of India's economic history fails to capture the strings of continuity arising from the economic structure and social conditions. To him, the production process arising out of imperial demands led to economic growth based on labour-intensive production and natural resources. He saw the drawback in the dearth of public and private investments, lack of literacy, social inequalities and high population growth. Roy believes Independence did not bring a departure to these conditions, which, in fact, continued till 1990s. India shut itself from participating in the global economy and missed the economic boom the world economies experienced. After liberalization when India opened its gates to the world activities, the manufacturers were the most to benefit, who were intensive in semi-skilled labour. This he terms was 'welcome reversion to the colonial pattern of growth'.

Giving statistical proof, Roy shows that agriculture remained the mainstay of India's economy even after 50 years of Independence and a major contributor to the GDP (gross domestic product). He further argued there was no significant change in the workforce today compared to that a century ago. He argues that 'India was more open economy in the colonial period relative both to the eighteenth century and to the first 40 years of its Independence. International flows of income and capital were also relatively larger in the colonial period than before or after'.

He further argued that 'money supply in colonial India was mainly influenced by the balance of payments. The primary objective of monetary policy was to stabilize the exchange rate. Stabilization of prices and outputs was meant to happen automatically. However, when Indian interests and Britain's interests came in conflict, stabilization in Britain's external account was usually in the minds of those who decided Indian affairs'.

For Roy, development and underdevelopment were not two sides of the same coin rather Britain and India in the 19th century were two different coins, influenced by

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global factors and by mutual interaction, but also by their differences. He argued that it would not be correct to think that the two countries would have taken the development path the same way, albeit for colonialism in India. He thought it was implausible.

In *The Cambridge Economic History of India*, Volume II, introduction, Sabyasachi Bhattacharya has raised doubts on whether Roy's theory of reordering of craft and production in the twentieth century and perhaps a revival can be extrapolated into the colonial period in general. Though Roy has given several cases studies of leather, brass carpet making and so on, Bhattacharya says the 'changing organization of production and increasing subordination of the craftsmen fail to get sufficient attention' in his essays.

1.5.3 Indian Economy in the Mid-eighteenth Century

The period between the 18th century and the middle of the 20th century saw the economy of India subjugated to the needs of the British empire and the various pockets of European influence scattered along the coastline of India. Along with agricultural resources, luxury trade became an important part of the economy. This was in close comparison with the Marxist statements of the capitalist elites using the poor, where the poor barely met there ends and the affluent class had much more than they needed.

The early 18th century (the period from 1707 onwards) saw a decline of the Mughal empire. The decline became rapid under the rule of Farrukhsiyar who ruled between 1713 and 1719. It was during his reign in 1717 that the British were allowed to trade in Bengal without any duties. This period saw the rise of the Maratha empire. Besides the Marathas, the large territories under various Nawabs were almost totally independent only giving titular homage to the Mughal emperor. Despite the decline of the Mughal empire, the tax administration was almost intact. It is said that in 1750, the Indian economy was almost as big as that of the Chinese economy which was by then the largest economy in the world. This happened after Robert Clive's victory over the Nawab of Bengal in the Battle of Plassey. The battle established the Company rule in Bengal which expanded over much of India for the next hundred years. This allowed the British East India Company the right to collect taxes or *diwani*. This was followed by the Battle of Buxar in 1764 which further strengthened the Company's influence over a larger area in Bihar, Bengal and Orissa. The growth steadily continued after the victories in the Anglo-Mysore wars between 1766 and 1799; and the Anglo-Maratha wars between 1772 and 1818. Victories in these wars gave the East India Company virtual control over most India south of the Sutlej. The British followed a two pronged policy of expansion. The first comprised outright annexation of Indian states. The second form of expansion was through the form of alliances with princely states. This enabled the British to extend their influence and increase their revenue without the burden of a direct cost of administering the areas or the political cost of subjugating entire local populations.

Under this policy the East India Company began tax administration over an empire spread over 250 million acres. It is reported that the annual revenue was of the order of £111 million by 1800. Most of this revenue was diverted to assist the British Crown during the Napoleonic wars.

Economic impact of British imperialism

Whether the British rule had a great impact on the Indian economy has been bitterly debated by historians and even civil servants and parliamentarians. British politician Edmund Burke was one of the first to claim that Warren Hastings of the East India Company was responsible for the 'ruination' of the Indian economy and society.

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Among the Indian historians this has been a common theme. The 18th century British rule laid the groundwork for the destruction of the traditional Indian economy. Such was the effect of inordinately high taxes that it depleted the food stocks of the peasants and resulted in the famine of 1770, which wiped out more than one third of the population of Bengal.

Dadabhai Naoroji was one of the first to propound the 'economic drain theory'. This theory essentially laid the ground for how the British rule and policies were structured in a manner so that there was a systematic drain of wealth from India to the coffers of the British.

P. J. Marshall, another British historian has taken a contrary view. His point of view is that the British generally continued with the same model of tax collection. His contention is that the British relied on the regional rulers and hence if there was a breakdown of the economy, it was more to do with the inherent inability of the local rulers to maintain prosperity.

1.5.4 Rural and Urban Economy — The Transition

It can be said that India in the 18th century saw two phases — one which was ending and the other that was about to begin in the mid-18th century. The East India Company was a trading entity which transformed into a power centre by the end of the century through wars and consolidating areas under its control. This transition brought in a change in the nature of the Indian economy. The Indian economy primarily catered to domestic demand and was more of a rural nature. The arrival of the European power changed this nature and production began on large-scale, mainly for export. It was still the cottage industry that fed to the domestic demand.

Modern industry (or large-scale industry) involved use of machinery, regulation and factories subject to some form of modern managerial practices. By contrast, in traditional industrial firms, machinery, size, regulation and hierarchical management played no significant role. Both traditional and modern industry shared one feature: intensive use of labour and/or locally available raw materials.

ACTIVITY

Search on the Internet and draw a comparative chart stating the difference in the economic conditions of India during the reign of Babur, Humayun and Akbar.

DID YOU KNOW

Akbar had a liberal attitude towards all religions. This liberal attitude also helped him a lot in the expansion of his territory. He laid the foundation of a new religion '*Din-e-Illahi*.' Although *Din-e-Illahi* was not a religion in the true sense of the term since it didn't have any holy-book or formal base. He founded this religion to create a unified social order which could transcend the difference based on religion. *Din-e-Illahi* was based on the basic principles of the major religions such as Hinduism, Islam and Parsi faith.

Check Your Progress

7. What was R. C. Dutt's view on checking poverty?
8. What was Trithankar Roy's main argument?
9. What is the significance of the Battle of Plassey?

1.6 SUMMARY

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In this unit, you have learnt that:

- In India, during the 18th century, there were clashes, crises, calamities and problems between various groups of people. Uncertainties in the political scenario created hindrances in the evolution of Indian culture. The British made use of this scenario to fulfill their vested interests and deeply influenced the lifestyle and culture of India.
- Bipan Chandra quotes, 'Thoughtful Indians began to look for the strength and weakness of their society and for ways and means of removing the weaknesses. While a large number of Indians refused to come to terms with the West and still put their faith in traditional Indian ideas and institutions, others gradually came to hold the elements of modern western thought that had to be imbedded for the regeneration of their society. They were impressed in particular by modern science and doctrines of reason and Humanism. While differing on the nature and extent of reforms, nearly all 19th century intellectuals shared the conviction that social and religious reforms were urgently needed.'
- The impact of British rule on the economic conditions and society of India was a factor that primarily contributed to the socio-cultural evolution of the 19th century. The imperialism of the British united the people of India politically and administratively. A uniform legal system and methods of communication were launched by the British rulers.
- When the influence of the West impacted India, the people were happy to accept the positive aspects of the western culture and got used to the changing situation. Hence, it can be concluded that many forces together resulted in a new evolution that led to the Renaissance in Indian way of thinking. This spirit of the Renaissance that was based on logical thoughts, led to development of a desire to reform.
- The Socio-cultural revolution of the 19th century played an important role in the Renaissance, in the history and culture of India. It modernized the history of India by ushering a flood of new ideas in an era of revolution within society, politics, economy, religion and culture. Socio-cultural evolution also transformed the definition of religion.
- The concept of the middle class actually arose due to certain conditions in European history. There were many constituents of this so-called middle class which included: (i) Artists and others engaged in the performing arts (ii) Intellectuals, novelists, writers and iii. Industrial bourgeoisie (those engaged in trade and manufacture).
- According to B.B Misra, an Indian historian, the term middle class mainly refers to civil servants, salaried executives, proprietors of modern trading firms and merchants and such, with the first two included where the criteria are income and income source.
- The Indian Press had an important role to play in developing nationalism among the citizens of the country. Indian nationalists used the press as a powerful media to spread the message of nationalism. They also used the press to diffuse the spirit of patriotism and political ideas.

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- The works of prominent Indian writers such as Bankim Chandra Chattopadhyaya and Rabindranath Tagore in Bengali, Vishnu Shastri Chiplunkar in Marathi, Subramanyam Bharati in Tamil and others were instrumental in instilling a spirit of nationalism in the minds of the common people.
- Marxists ideologies opened up a whole new dimension of history writing, including economic history. Historian and economists now dealt with issues such as demography, domestic trade, banking and currency.
- The period between the 18th century and the middle of the 20th century saw the economy of India subjugated to the needs of the British empire and the various pockets of European influence scattered along the coastline of India.

1.7 KEY TERMS

- **Agrarian:** Of or relating to cultivated land or the cultivation of land
- **Capitalism:** An economic and political system in which a country's trade and industry are controlled by private owners for profit
- **Monetization:** Establishing something (e.g. gold or silver) as the legal tender of a country
- **Nationalism:** Patriotic feeling, principles, or efforts
- **Renaissance:** Revival

1.8 ANSWERS TO 'CHECK YOUR PROGRESS'

1. The impact of British rule on the economic conditions and society of India was a factor that primarily contributed to the socio-cultural evolution of the 19th century.
2. The growth of nationalism was motivated by the centralization of British rule in India.
3. In India, the term 'middle class' is applied to various groups that have varying scope of social standing and experience.
4. False
5. *Amrit Bazar Patrika* and *Samachar Darpan*
6. Bankim Chandra Chattopadhyaya and Rabindranath Tagore
7. To check poverty, Dutt suggested two steps. The first was to revive the cottage industry to remove unemployment and underemployment outside cities. He also wanted the government to extend the irrigation facilities to decrease dependency on monsoon. Second, he wanted the government to be economical in its expenditure and lower the rate of interest on public debt. Dutt's aim was to curb the flow of wealth outside India.
8. A professor at the London School of Economics, Roy based his arguments on continuity from colonial to post colonial period.
9. The battle established the Company rule in Bengal which expanded over much of India for the next hundred years. This allowed the British East India Company the right to collect taxes or diwani.

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1.9 QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Short-Answer Questions

1. What triggered the intellectual movement in India?
2. List the main constituents of the middle class.
3. Who were the eminent personalities linked to the nationalist movement through their writings?
4. What was Bipan Chandra's view on economic nationalism?

Long-Answer Questions

1. Describe in detail the intellectual movement in India.
2. Write a short note on the emergence of the middle class in India.
3. Explain the role of literature and press in Indian nationalism.
4. What do you understand by economic nationalism? Discuss in detail.

1.10 FURTHER READING

Byres, T.J., Harbhans Mukhia. 1985. *Feudalism and Non-European Societies*. New Delhi: Routledge Publishers.

S. Cromwell, Crawford. 1987. *Ram Mohan Roy: Social, Political and Religious Reform in 19th Century India*. US: Paragon House.

Habib, Irfan. 2001. *Economic History of Medieval India: A Survey*. New Delhi: Manohar Publishers and Distributors.

UNIT 2 EMERGENCE OF NATIONALISM - II

Structure

2.0 Introduction
2.1 Unit Objectives
2.2 The Nationalistic Awareness
2.2.1 Formation of Political Associations (upto 1885)
2.3 Formation of the Indian National Congress
2.3.1 Early Nationalists and their Programmes
2.4 Summary
2.5 Key Terms
2.6 Answers to 'Check Your Progress'
2.7 Questions and Exercises
2.8 Further Reading

2.0 INTRODUCTION

The earlier reformers understood that colonization was the root cause to India's poverty and economic backwardness. The destruction of the rural and local self-sufficient economy and modern trade practices and setting up of factories on an all-India scale had increasingly made India's economic life a single whole and interlinked the economic fate of people living in different parts of the country. Furthermore, the introduction of the railways, telegraph and unified postal systems had brought the different parts of the country together and promoted mutual contact among the people, especially among the leaders. As a result of the spread of modern western education and thought during the 19th century, a large number of Indians imbibed a modern rational, secular, democratic and nationalist political outlook. The spread and popularity of the English language helped nationalist leaders of different linguistic regions to communicate with each other.

This unit continues discussion on the emergence of nationalism. It focuses on the predecessors of the Indian National Congress, the foundation of the Indian National Congress and the programmes and policies of early nationalists.

2.1 UNIT OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to:

- Discuss the early reformers of India
- Describe the foundation of Indian National Congress
- Explain the programmes and policies of the early nationalists

2.2 THE NATIONALISTIC AWARENESS

Although unique to the modern world, the growth of nationalism as a phenomenon can be traced to the Middle Ages. By the Middle Ages, nation states had begun to be formed with definite boundaries. These nation states had a definite political system and a uniform

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law for the people inhabiting the state. People lived under the same political, social and economic system and shared common aspirations. The middle class had a significant role to play in the formation of the nation-states. In European countries like Italy and Germany, nationalism as a political ideologue emerged only in the nineteenth century. The French Revolution of 1789 ingrained the idea of nationalism and nation state. Since the nineteenth century, whenever there has been a call for a new sovereign state, violence has made its appearance. Two forces were always at work—nationalism and democracy. India as a nation was no exception to this rule. The mid-nineteenth century saw the growth of nationalism in India. Colonial rule, destruction of the old social and political order, rise of a new social class—all contributed to the development of nationalism in India. The religious and social movements also contributed to the growth of nationalism.

During this period, reform movements were largely being swayed by two important intellectual principles — rationalism and religious universalism. A rational secular outlook was replacing blind faith that had crept into tradition and custom. Universalism was not purely philosophy. It affected political and social outlook till religious particularism took root in the latter half of the nineteenth century. The main objectives of this movement were liberal ideas, national unity, and progress. These could be achieved by removing the backward elements in traditional culture as well as the repressive elements in colonial culture and ideology. Jettisoning casteism and idolatry had to be done alongside an emphasis on reviving the vernacular languages. The plan included restoring the indigenous education system by restoring the ancient arts and medicine and reconstructing traditional Indian knowledge. The socio-religious movements were an essential part of the growing nationalist consciousness. At this point it was important to make Indians feel proud of being Indian i.e. proud of their culture and heritage. This movement succeeded in doing that. The colonial cultural hegemonization process was stopped in its tracks.

In 1857, the British completed hundred years of stay in India since the war of Plassey. During this time the Indian rulers were unhappy for the loss of former glory and the peasants were discontent at having been reduced to serfs. The traditional crafts men and artisans were robbed of their livelihoods. The colonial powers had full control over trade, commerce, and industries. This led to a steady outflow of India's wealth. This period saw a lot of aggressiveness from the British government in consolidating the princely states and strengthening the power of the colonial rulers. Dalhousie was responsible for the rising discontent among native states. Lord Canning, who succeeded him shortly before the revolt, could read the writing on the wall and said grimly, 'We must not forget that in the sky of India, serene as it is, a small cloud may arise, at first no bigger than a man's hand, but which, growing larger and larger, may at last threaten to burst and overwhelm us with ruin'.

Renaissance in India has been a great causal factor in the rise of modern Indian nationalism. It may also be regarded as an attempt on the part of scores of cultural factors to revive and reassert them: a sort of defensive mechanism against the impact of an alien political power in the country. A new humanist and cosmopolitan interpretation began to prevail upon the old belief. A radical trend emerged with representatives like Anantaranga Pillai, Abu Talib, Henry Vivian Derozio, and Raja Rammohan Roy.

There were a number of causes for the emergence of Indian nationalism. Some of these causes are as follows:

(i) **British imperialism:** It facilitated in uniting Indians as during the British rule, the whole country came under one sovereign power. Before the arrival of the British, South India was separated from the rest of the country except for short intervals.

(ii) **Role of transport and communication:** The advancement in the field of transportation and communication helped in accelerating the pace of the movement as leaders of the country were able to reach out to all Indians. The leaders were able to meet one another frequently and spread their ideas to parts of the country.

(iii) **Administrative unification of india:** During the British rule, the administrative system was highly centralized. The British used modern administrative system to unify the whole country administratively. After the chaotic condition in the 18th century, due to waging of wars by European companies, the British rulers made efforts to establish peace and unified the country through their administrative system.

(iv) **Influence of India's past:** Many European scholars such as Max Muller, Monier Williams, Roth, and Sassoon conducted historical researches on ancient Indian history. According to them, India had a glorious past and had a rich cultural heritage. These scholars appreciated the Vedas and Upanishads to a great extent. They also said that Indo-Aryans are from the same ethnic group to which Europeans belong. These studies and researches boosted the morale of Indians and instilled the spirit of nationalism and patriotism in them.

(v) **Modern western thought and education**: Sir Charles E. Trevelyan, T.B. Macaulay and Lord William Bentick introduced English as a medium of instruction in the education system of the country. The introduction of English language was aimed at filling some clerical posts at the administrative level. However, it exposed the Indians to liberal and radical European thought. The outlook of European writers aroused the spirit of nationalism in Indians. Indians also learnt the ideals of secularism and democracy from these writers. Thus, English language became an important cause of Indian nationalism.

(vi) **Impact of socio-religious reform movements**: Some of the prominent social and religious reformers of this period were Raja Ram Mohan Roy, Keshab Chandra Sen, Debendra Nath Tagore, Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar, Swami Dayanand Saraswati, and Vivekanand. These reformers influenced common people to a great extent.

When reformers learnt about western philosophy, ideals and science, they started examining the social practices, customs and beliefs of India in the light of western knowledge. These ideas gave rise to various social and religious reform movements like the Brahmo Samaj, the Arya Samaj, the Prarthana Samaj, the Theosophical Society, Ramakrishna Mission and many other movements for the reformation of Muslim, Sikh and Parsi societies.

These movements were aimed at reformation and re-organization of society. Therefore, these movements promoted the ideas of equality, liberalism and enlightenment, and attacked idol worship, superstitions, caste system, untouchability and hereditary priesthood. In this way, reform movements also helped in developing the spirit of nationalism and patriotism.

(vii) **Influence of contemporary European movements:** Contemporary strong currents of nationalist ideas, which pervaded the whole of Europe and South America also stimulated Indian nationalism. The American Revolution of 1776

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infused strong aspirations for liberation and nationalism. In Europe, the national liberation movements of Greece and Italy in general and of Ireland in particular encouraged Indians to fight for their independence. Indians were also greatly inspired by the French Revolution, We find Surendranath Banerji delivering lectures on Joseph Mazzini and the 'Young Italy' Movement organized by him. Lajpat Rai often referred to the campaigns of Garibaldi and the activities of Carbonaris in his speeches and writings.

(viii) **Racialism:** Indians were discriminated and were considered inferior. They were not allowed to share train compartment with the British. They were humiliated by the British. The law and police system of the British was partial towards Englishmen. Whenever, an English person was involved in a dispute with an Indian, the court used to favour the White. Indians were not allowed to enter a number of public places. Thus, the contempt of the British towards Indians made them come together to fight against the British.

(ix) **Economic exploitation**: The British distroyed the local self-sufficient economy of India and introduced modern trade and industry. Indians realized that they have been exploited by the British. Under British rule, the economic system of India was made in such a way that it befitted the Englishmen.

The interest and welfare of Indians was not kept in mind. The value of Indian rupee in terms of English pound was kept less to promote import from England and discourage export from India. Indian agriculture was encouraged to produce raw materials for the industries of England. This factor made Indians dependent on England for finished goods. Later free trade policy was introduced to help the British industrialists in exporting goods to India without any hassles. All these factors led to increase in public debt.

The extravagant civil and military administration, the denial of high posts to Indians, the ever-mounting 'Home Charges', and the continuous drain of wealth from India resulted in stagnation of Indian economy. Periodical famines became a common feature of Indian economic life. During the second half of the 19th century, 24 famines occurred in various parts of India taking an estimated toll of 28 million lives. What is worse is that even during the famine times, export of food grains from India continued. The acknowledged high priest of the 'Drain theory' was Dadabhai Naoroji. Indian nationalists like Romesh Chandra Dutt, G.K. Gokhale, Justice Ranade, K.T. Telang etc., developed the 'theory of increasing poverty in India' and attributed it to Britain's anti-India economic policies. This developed a hatred for foreign rule and love for Swadeshi goods and Swadeshi rule. The spirit of nationalism received a powerful stimulus in the process.

(x) **Ilbert Bill controversy**: Lord Ripon made an attempt to address the problems of Indians but Illert Bill controversy enraged the Europeans. The objective of this Bill was to bring Indian judges on the same level as that of the European judges in Bengal Presidency. According to this Bill, Europeans could be tried by Indian judges. This Bill enraged all the Europeans and all of them stood against this Bill. Later, the Bill was modified which defeated its original objective. Though this Bill could not favour Indians, yet it made them realize that organized agitation can help them.

(xi) **Lord Lytton's policies:** The following short-sighted acts and policies of Lord Lytton acted like catalyst and accelerated the nationalist movement:

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(a) To ensure that Indians are not able to share their opinion on a mass scale, Lytton passed Vernacular Press Act in 1878. This Act put a lot of restrictions on the Press. All Indians condemned this Act.

(b) Lord Lytton organized the grand Delhi Darbar in 1877. At this time, South India was facing a severe famine. Many people condemned this indifference of Lord Lytton. To show this contempt, one of the journalists of Calcutta remarked 'Nero was fiddling while Rome was burning.'

(c) Indians criticized Lytton a lot for the money he spent on the second Afghan War. This money was taken from the Indian treasury.

(d) Before the rule of Lytton, the maximum age limit for Indian Civil Service (ICS) Examination was 21 years. He lowered this age limit to 19 years with the help of a regulation that was passed in 1876. This age limit made it almost impossible for Indians to sit for this examination.

(e) Lytton passed one more Act in 1878 named the Arms Act. According to this Act, Europeans were given permission to keep arms, however, Indians could not keep arms without a licence. This Act clearly showed his policy of racial discrimination and his contempt towards Indians.

(f) In order to help the British manufacturers, Lytton removed the import duty on cotton manufactures.

2.2.1 Formation of Political Associations (upto 1885)

The British domination gave rise to some forces, which ultimately challenged the British imperialism. For instance, the British forced English as medium of instruction in the education system of India, this went against the British as Indians came across the ideas of nationalism, political rights and democracy. These ideas resulted in a number of political associations, which were not known to Indians like then.

Many political associations were formed after 1836. In 1866, Dadabhai Naoroji organized the East-India Association in London. The objective of this association was to influence British 'to promote Indian welfare'. After some time, he opened its branches in various cities of India.

Political associations in Bengal

Raja Rammohan Roy was the first Indian leader to start socio-political reform movements in India. He was greatly influenced by Western ideas. He supported a number of popular movements all over the world. In 1821, when constitutional government was established in Spain, Rammohan Roy celebrated the event in Calcutta.

Rammohan Roy demanded liberty of the Press, appointment of Indians in civil courts and other higher posts, codification of law etc. The task of organizing political associations was left to the associates of Rammohan Roy.

(i) **Bangabhasha Prakasika Sabha:** The first such association called 'Bangabhasha Prakasika Sabha' was formed in 1836. The association discussed various topics related to the policy and administration of the Government. It also sought redressal by sending petitions to the Government.

(ii) **Zamindary Association**: Formed in July 1837, it was more popularly known as the Landholders' Society. It was founded with an objective to safeguard the interests of the landlords in Bihar, Bengal and Orissa. Although limited in its objectives, the Landholders' Society marks the beginning of an

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organized political activity. It used the methods of constitutional agitation for the redressal of grievances. The Landholders' Society of Calcutta cooperated with the British India Society, which was founded by Mr. Adams in London in the year 1839. The assocaition functioned till 1844.

(iii) **Bengal British India Society**: This society was formed in April 1843. The objective of this society was the 'collection and dissemination of information relating to the actual condition of the people of British India...and to employ such other means of peaceful and lawful character as may appear calculated to secure the welfare, extend the just rights, and advance the interests of all classes of our fellow subjects.' This organization merged with Zamindary Association in 1851 and formed the British Indian Association.

(iv) **British Indian Association**: Due to the failure of the Landholder's Society and the Bengal British India Society, the two associations were merged on 29 October 1851 to form a new British Indian Association. This association was dominated by members of the landed aristocracy and the primary objective of this association was to safeguard the interests of this class. However, the association followed a liberal approach and when the time came for the renewal of the Charter of the East India Company, it sent a petition to the Parliament in 1852. In this petition, it appealed for the establishment of a separate legislature of a popular character, separation of judicial from executive functions, reduction in the salaries of higher officers, abolition of salt duty, abkari and stamp duties. The appeals of the association were partially met and the Charter Act of 1853 provided for the addition of six members to the Governor-General's Council for legislative purposes. The British Indian Association continued its existence as a political body till 20th century even though it was over-shadowed by Indian National Congress.

(v) **India League**: Babu Sisir Kumar Ghose founded this association in September 1875. The objective of this association was 'stimulating the sense of nationalism amongst the people'. This association also aimed at promoting political education.

(vi) **Indian Association**: Within a year, the India League was superseded by the Indian Association. It was founded by Ananda Mohan Bose and Surendranath Banerjee on 26 July 1876. The Indian Association hoped to attract not only 'the middle classes' but also the masses, and therefore, it kept its annual subscription at ₹5 as opposed to the subscription of ₹50 p.a. fixed by the British Indian Association. Soon, the Indian Association became 'the centre of the leading representatives of the educated community of Bengal.' The Indian Association merged with the National Congress in December 1886.

Lytton's unpopular measures whipped up political activity in India. A regulation of 1876 reduced the maximum age for appearing in the ICS Examination from 21 to 19 years. Since the examination was held only in London, young Indians had to face innumerable difficulties. The Indian Association took up this problem and organized an all-India agitation against it, which was popularly known as the Indian Civil Service Agitation.

Check Your Progress

1. Fill in the blanks with appropriate words:
   (a) The objective of introducing English language in the education system was to fill some _____ at the administrative level.
   (b) _____ of 1776 infused ideas of liberation and nationalism in educated Indians.
2. State whether the following statements are true or false.
   (a) The national liberation movements of Greece, Italy and Ireland encouraged Indians to fight for their independence.
   (b) Free trade policy was made to favour Indian manufacturers.

Political associations in Bombay

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(i) **Bombay Association:** Bombay Association was founded on the lines of the British India Association of Calcutta on 26 August 1852. The Bombay Association sent a petition to the British Parliament urging the formation of new legislative councils which should have Indian representative as well. The Association condemned the policy of exclusion of Indians from higher services, and lavish expenditure on sinecure posts given to Europeans. This association did not survive for long.

(ii) **Bombay Presidency Association:** Policies of Lytton and Ilbert Bill controversy caused political turmoil in Bombay. This led to the formation of Bombay Presidency Association in the year 1885. It was formed by the popularly called brothers-in-law: Mehta, Telang and Tyabji, representing the three chief communities of Bombay town.

(iii) **Poona Sarvajanik Sabha:** This was established at Poona by Justice Ranade and others in the 1870s, with the objective to serve as a bridge between the Government and the people. The Bombay Presidency Association and the Poona Sarvajanik Sabha worked in close collaboration.

Political associations in Madras

(i) **Madras Native Association**: This was set up as a branch of British Indian Association, Calcutta on 26 February 1852. The Madras Native Association also sent petition to the Parliament on the eve of the passing of the Charter Act of 1853. It made demands similar to that of the British Indian Association and the Bombay Association. However, the Madras Native Association was not popular.

(ii) **Madras Mahajana Sabha:** This was formed by M. Vijayraghavachari, G. Subramanya Iyer, Ananda Charlu, Rangayya Naidu and others on 16 May 1884. It was aimed at coordinating the activities of local associations and providing a focus for the non-official intelligence spreading through the Presidency. It held two popular conferences: one was from 29th December to 31st December 1884, and second on 1st and 2nd January 1885. It demanded expansion of legislative councils, representation of Indians in legislative councils, separation of judicial from revenue functions, etc.

From the 1920s onwards till the last stages of the freedom struggle, Congress adopted Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi's policy of non-violence and civil resistance. The period was also marked by Muhammad Ali Jinnah's constitutional struggle for the rights of minorities in India. Somehow left out of the mainstream freedom struggle, legendary figures like Subhas Chandra Bose later found it feasible to adopt a militant approach to attain freedom. Others like Swami Sahajanand Saraswati wanted both political and economic freedom for India's peasants and toiling masses. Poets like Rabindranath Tagore used literature, poetry and speech as mechanisms for political awareness. During the Second World War, campaigns such as the Quit India movement (led by 'Mahatma' Gandhi) and the Indian National Army (INA) movement (led by Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose) immensely jolted the roots of the colonial tree in India and eventually resulted in the withdrawal of the British. Ultimately, these movements culminated in the Indian Independence Act 1947, which created the independent dominions of India and Pakistan. India remained a Dominion of the

Check Your Progress

3. Fill in the blanks with appropriate words.
   (a) The objective of the East India Association in London was to promote _____ welfare.
   (b) Bengal British India Society was formed in April _____.
4. State whether the following statements are true or false.
   (a) Babu Sisir Kumar Ghose was the founder of India League.
   (b) Policies of Lytton and Ilbert Bill controversy caused political turmoil in Madras.

Crown till 26 January 1950, when the Constitution of India came into force, establishing the Republic of India. On the other hand, Pakistan remained a dominion till 1956.

2.3 FORMATION OF THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

The Indian National Congress was formed due to the efforts of a number of people. Presence of number of political associations across the country, and spread of the ideals of patriotism and nationalism prepared the foundation of the Indian National Congress. It was formed in the year 1885 but its origin is not known. According to Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya, its origin is 'shrouded in mystery'. However, many people believe that A.O. Hume laid its foundation under Lord Dufferin. He formed the Indian National Congress to 'provide a 'safety-valve' to the anticipated or actual discontentment of the Indian intelligentsia and to form a quasi-constitutional party similar to Her Majesty's Opposition in England.' According to W.C. Banerjee, the First Congress President, the Indian National Congress was formed by Lord Dufferin, Viceroy of India. He also believed that Lord Dufferin formed it because he wanted a political organization which can understand the 'real wishes' of the people so that the British government could prevent political outbursts in the country.

On 1 March 1883, in an open letter, Hume had appealed to the students of Calcutta University to set up an organization in India. He officially clarified that his objective was 'to form a constitutional method to prevent the spread of dissatisfaction caused by western ideas, education, inventions, and machines and it was essential to take measures for the security and continuity of the British Government'. Some scholars believe that Ripon advised Hume to form an organization of educated Indians. Recently, some scholars analysed Dufferin's correspondence to Hume as well as the activities of the early nationalists, they concluded that the theory of 'safety valve' is a myth.

The Indian National Congress was founded on 28 December 1885 at Sir Tej Pal Sanskrit Vidyalaya, Bombay. It will not be correct to say that it was a sudden event rather it was as Bipan Chandra states, 'the culmination of a process of political awakening that had its beginnings in the 1860s and 1870s and took a major leap forward in the late 1870s and early 1880s'. Also, a lot of attempts were made by Indian Nationalists for the formation of a political organization on all-India scale. For instance, two National Conferences were organized by Indian Association.

A.O. Hume succeeded in forming an All India Party, which was attended by 72 delegates. Most of the Indian leaders could not attend this session as a National Conference was going on in Calcutta at the same time. The objectives of both these organizations were same. The Indian National Conference was later merged into the National Congress. It would be wrong to believe that he laid the foundation of the Indian National Congress single-handedly as many people were involved in its formation. Most of the leaders were able to accept Hume because they felt that he would not be biased towards any region or caste. It is because he did not belong to any of these groups and he had a sincere love for India.

Some of the members of the Indian National Congress were Pherozeshah Mehta, W.C. Banerji, Anandamohan Bose, Badruddin Tyabji, Surendranath Banerji, and Romesh Chandra Dutt. This association was different from others as none of the earlier associations had complete independence as their agenda. The Congress made

some demands, which can be divided into three categories: political, administrative and economic.

(i) **Political demands**

- Greater power to the Supreme Council and local Legislative Council
- Discussion on budget to be held by the council
- Representation of the council through local bodies like Universities and Chambers of Commerce
- Creation of Legislative Assembly in Punjab, Awadh (NWP) and North-West Frontier Province (NWFP)

(ii) **Economic demands**

The Congress sessions, between 1855 and 1905, regularly passed resolutions for:

- Reduction in land revenue
- Establishment of agricultural banks
- Reduction in home charge and military expenditure
- Ending unfair tariffs and excise duties
- Enquiring the causes behind India's poverty and famines
- Providing more funds for technical education
- Development of Indian industries
- Better treatment for Indian coolies in foreign countries
- Change in forest laws so that tribal can use forest

(iii) **Administrative demands**

- ICS examination in India as well as England
- Increas Indian volunteer force
- Understanding of Indian needs on the part of administration
- Separation of Judiciary from Executive power and extension of trial by jury
- Higher posts in the army for Indians

Objectives of the Congress

The primary objective of the Congress was to make people feel that they belong to a single nation—India. The diversity in India in terms of caste, creed, religion, tradition, language made this a difficult task. However, it was not impossible. Many important people like Pherozshah Mehta, Dadabhai Naoroji, K.T. Telang and Dinshaw Wacha, attended the first session of the Indian National Congress. The objectives of the Congress laid down by W.C. Banerjee, the President of the first session of the Indian National Congress, are as follows:

- Promoting personal intimacy and friendship among people who are working for the cause of the country
- Eradicating prejudices related to race, creed and provinces through friendly interaction
- Consolidating the sentiments of national unity
- Maintaining authoritative record of the educated Indians' views on the prominent issues of the day
- Determining methods by which native politicians can work towards public interest during the next twelve months

NOTES

- Training and organizing public opinion
- Formulating and presenting popular demands before the government through petitions

The Congress was supported by people of all religions. W.C. Banerjee, the first President of the Indian National Congress, was an Indian Christian. The second President was Dadabhai Naoroji, who was a Parsee. The third President was Badruddin Tayabji who was a Muslim. The fourth and fifth Presidents were George Yule and William Baderburn who were Britishers.

2.3.1 Early Nationalists and their Programmes

We have already seen that some of the educated Indians were playing major roles in cultivating a sense of nationalism. Some of the early nationalist, also known as the moderates, were the ones who set up tye Indian national Congress. Here are some of the prominent names:

1. **Allan Octavian Hume (1829-1912):** He was of Scottish descent. He joined the Bengal Civil Service in 1849 and made a lot of efforts to remove the social maladies of the country. His superiors did not favour him, thus, he had to retire in 1882. He took initiative to form the Indian National Congress in 1885. In 1889, he helped in setting up the British Committee of the Congress in London as well. This committee started its journal named 'India'.
2. **Dadabhai Naoroji (1825-1917)**: He was known as 'the Grand Old Man of India'. He was associated with the Indian National Congress right from its inception and became its president thrice: in 1886, 1893 and 1906. He was the first Indian to become a Member of the House of Commons on the Liberal Party's ticket. During his stay in England, from 1855 to 1869, he educated British public on Indian affairs through the London Indian Association and the East India Association. A book by Naoroji 'Poverty and Un-British Rule in India' was published in 1901. This book had statistics to prove that the drain of wealth from India to Great Britain was the cause of growing poverty in India.
3. **Pherozeshah Mehta (1845-1915):** He was born in a middle class Parsi family of Bombay. He was one of the founders of the Bombay Presidency Association and the Indian National Congress. He was also a pioneer of the Swadeshi and founded the famous Bombay Chronicle in 1913.
4. **Surendranath Banerjea (1848-1925):** He was an eminent leader who passed the ICS examination in 1871 and started his career as an Assistant Magistrate at Sylhet. A controversy with the Government led him to leave the job. He was the founder of the Indian Association in 1876. In 1883, he convened a National Conference which was the precursor of the Indian National Congress. He presided over the Congress sessions twice. He was elected the first President of the Indian National Liberal Federation in 1918 and in 1921, he became a minister in Bengal.
5. **Badruddin Tyabji (1844-1906)**: He was the first Indian barrister at Bombay High Court and was nominated to Bombay Legislative Council in 1882. He was one of the founders of the Bombay Presidency Association and the Indian National Congress. He was the President at the third Congress session in Madras in 1887. He helped Muslims in the causes of educational advancement and social reforms as the Secretary and then as the President of the Anjuman-i-Islam of Bombay. He strongly pleaded for the education of women.
6. **Womesh Chander Banerjee (1844-1906):** He represented the Calcutta University in the Bengal Legislative Council. He was the first Congress President at Bombay in 1885. He left India in 1902 to settle in England to practise before the Privy Council. He financed the British Committee of the Congress in London and its journal 'India'.
7. **Madan Mohan Malaviya (1861-1946):** He was born and educated at Allahabad. He started his career as a lawyer and as an able Parliamentarian. He was a member of the Provincial and Central Legislatures for several terms. He promoted the use of indigenous products and helped in organizing the Indian Industrial Conference and the UP Industrial Association at Allahabad in 1907. In 1926, he organized his own Nationalist Party. He also established the Banaras Hindu University and for several years served as its Vice-Chancellor.
8. **Tej Bahadur Sapru (1872-1949):** He was a conscientious and successful lawyer who specialized in constitutional law. He helped Mrs Besant to build up the Central Hindu College at Banaras and to establish the Banaras Hindu University in collaboration with Malaviya. He entered politics during the Home Rule movement and associated in drafting Nehru Committee Report of 1928. He participated in the Round Table conferences as well.
9. **Gopal Krishna Gokhale (1866-1915)**: He was a follower of Mahadev Govind Ranade who was popularly known as the Socrates of Maharashtra. He joined the Deccan Educational Society founded by Ranade. He edited the quarterly journal of the Poona Sarvajanik Sabha. He played a great part, officially and unofficially, in the formulation of the Minto-Morley Reforms of 1909. His principles attracted Gandhiji, who became Gokhale's pupil. In 1905, he laid the foundation of the 'Servants of India Society' for the training of national missionaries and to promote, by constitutional means, the true interests of the Indian people.
10. **Kashinath Trimbak Telang (1850-1893):** He was a co-founder of the Bombay Presidency Association. He was one of the leading men who founded the Congress and became its first 'hardworking secretary'. He was active in the sphere of social reforms and was the President of the National Social Conference. He rose to the position of a High Court Judge.
11. **Rashbehari Ghose (1845-1921):** After obtaining the Law degree, he enrolled himself as an advocate at the Calcutta High Court. He became a member of the Bengal Legislative Council in 1889. He was the Chairman, Reception Committee of the Congress, in its Calcutta session in 1906. He was also the President-elect for the Surat session of the Congress in 1907. He was deputed by the Congress to proceed with its delegation to England and forward its point of view before the British Government.

Since its inception in 1885 till the time India won its Independence in 1947, the Congress was the largest and most prominent Indian political organization. In its initial stages, the Indian National Congress was a political unit, however, in due course of time it supported the cause of social reform and human development. The Indian National Congress is said to have also provided impetus to the spirit of nationalism. In its early stages, there was unity in the Indian National Congress and it was marked by the learning of democratic methods and techniques. The leaders of the INC believed that the British

NOTES

government was responsive to their needs and were willing to make changes accordingly. However, over a period of time, the Indian masses became disillusioned with the concept of nationalism. They suddenly became aware that their petitions not as fruitful as expected and that the British subtly avoided taking any action. Even in the phase of dissatisfaction, there were some Congress leaders who believed in the methods of the British government and came to be known as moderates. Since these moderate leaders failed to produce desired results, a new stream of leaders came up who were known as the extremists. These extremists disagreed with the traditional methods of moderates that were limited to writing petitions and conducting agitations to get themselves heard. The extremists were not satisfied with a dominion status and demanded complete independence from the British government.

Moderate

Due to the low-level of political awareness, the achievements of moderate nationalists were not immense. However, by 1907, the moderates were pushed to the background with the emergence of an extremist class in the Congress. The failure to produce any results for the welfare of the people resulted in the creation of an extremist group and the division of Congress into two factions. Leaders of moderate phase mainly came from Bombay, Bengal and Madras. For example, Badruddin Tayabji, Dada Bhai Naoroji, Pherozshah Mehta, Gopal Krishna Gokhale, K.T. Telang and Govind Ranade were from Bombay. Wumesh Chander Banerji, Anand Mohan Bose. Surendra Nath Banerji and Ramesh Chandra Dutta were from Bengal. Similarly, Subamanya Ayer, Anand Charlu, and Raghavacharya were from Madras. Very few leaders like Madan Mohan Malaviya and Pundit D. P. Dhar came from north India. These moderate leaders treated British rule as a blessing. They sincerely believed that the British rule would make India a developed democratic and liberal country. They had the illusion that the British would introduce modern institutions and remove superstitious belief. They saw England as a source of inspiration and treated English as their political, guru. Many of these nationalist leaders had anglicized life style. All they wanted and expected from the British was a 'reform package' for Indians.

The moderates believed in peaceful methods to get their demands across. They believed in writing petitions and peaceful protests. Though the Moderates failed to make the same impact as the extremists, they petitioned a number of reforms during this time.

1. **Constitutional reforms:** The Moderates demanded the expansion and reform of the existing Legislative Councils from 1885 to 1892. They demanded the introduction of the system of direct elections and an increase in the number of members and powers of the Legislative Councils. It is true that their agitation forced the Government to pass the Indian Councils Act of 1892 but the moderates were not satisfied with what was given to the people of India. No wonder, they declared the Act of 1892 as a 'hoax.' They demanded a large share for the Indians in the Legislative Councils. By the beginning of the 20th century, the Moderates put forward the claim for Swarajya or self government within the British Empire on the model of the other self-governing colonies like Australia and Canada. This demand was made from the Congress platform by Gokhale in 1905 and by Dadabhai Naoroji in 1906.
2. **Demand for economic reforms:** The Congress opposed the British attempt to develop in India the basic characteristics of a colonial economy, namely, the transformation of India into a supplier of raw materials, a market for British manufactures and a field of investment for foreign capital. Moderates took

NOTES

note of all the three forms of contemporary colonial economic exploitation, namely through trade, industry and finance. They organized a powerful all-India agitation against the abandonment of tariff-duties on imports and against the imposition of cotton excise duties. The moderates carried on agitation for the reduction of heavy land revenue payments. They urged the Government to provide cheap credit to the peasantry through agricultural banks and to make available irrigation facilities on a large scale. They asked for improvement in the conditions of work of the plantation labourers. They demanded a radical change in the existing pattern of taxation and expenditure which put a heavy burden on the poor while leaving the rich, especially the foreigners, with a very light load. They demanded the abolition of salt tax which hit the poor and lower middle classes hard. The moderates complained of India's growing poverty and economic backwardness and put the blame on the politics of the British Government. They blamed the Government for the destruction of the indigenous industries like the traditional handicrafts industries in the country. They demanded the rapid development of the modern industries which would help in the removal of India's poverty. They wanted the Government to give tariff protection to the Indian industries. They advocated the use of Swadeshi goods and the boycott of British goods. They demanded that the economic drain of India by England must stop. Most of them opposed the large scale investment of foreign capital in the Indian railways, plantations and industries on the ground that it would lead to the suppression of Indian capitalists and the further strengthening of the British hold on India's economy and polity.

3. **Administrative and miscellaneous reforms:** Moderates criticized the individual administrative measures and worked hard to reform the administrative system which was ridden with corruption, inefficiency and oppression. They demanded the Indianization of the higher grades of the administrative services; the demand was put forward on economic, political and moral grounds. Economically, the high salaries paid to the European put a heavy burden on Indian finance, and contributed to the economic drain. Indians of similar qualifications could be employed on lower salaries. Europeans sent a large part of their salaries back to England and also got their pensions in England. That added to the drain of wealth from India. Politically, the European civil servant ignored the needs of the Indians and favoured the European capitalists at the cost of their Indian counterparts. It was hoped that the Indianization of the services would make the administration more responsive to Indian needs. Morally, the existing system dwarfed the Indian character reducing the tallest Indian to permanent inferiority in his own country. Moderates demanded the separation of the judiciary from the executive so that the people might get some protection from the arbitrary acts of police and bureaucracy. They were opposed to the policy of disarming the people of India by the Government. They opposed the aggressive foreign policy against India's neighbours and protested against the policy of the annexation of Burma, the attack upon Afghanistan and the suppression of the tribal people in North-Western India. They wanted the Government to spend more money on the spread of education in the country. They also took up the cause of the Indians who had been compelled by poverty to migrate to the British colonies in search of employment. In many of these foreign lands they were subjected to severe oppression and racial discrimination.

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4. **Defense of Civil Rights:** They opposed the restrictions imposed by the government on the modern civil rights, namely the freedom of speech and the press. Almost from the beginning of the 19th century, politically conscious Indians had been attracted to modern civil rights especially the freedom of the press. As early as 1824, Raja Ram Mohan Roy had protested against a regulation restricting the freedom of the press. In the period from 1870 to 1918, the main political task was that of politicization of nationalist ideology. The press was the chief instrument for carrying out this task. Indian newspapers began to find their feet in 1870's.The Vernacular Press Act of 1878, directed only against Indian language newspapers, was conceived in great secrecy and passed at a single sitting of the Imperial Legislative Council. The act provided for the confiscation of the printing press, paper and other materials of a newspaper if the government believed that it was publishing seditious material and had flouted an official warning. Indian nationalist opinion firmly opposed the Act. Various public bodies and the press also campaigned against the Act. Consequently, it was repealed in 1881 by Lord Ripon. Surendranath Banerjee was the first Indian to go to jail in performance of his duty as a journalist. But, the man who is most frequently associated with the struggle for the freedom of press during the nationalist movement was Bal Gangadhar Tilak. In 1897, B. G. Tilak and many other leaders were arrested and sentenced to long terms of imprisonment for condemning the government through their speeches and writings. The Natu brothers of Poona were deported without trial. The entire country protested against this attack on the liberties of the people. The arrest of Tilak marked the beginning of new phase of the nationalist movement.

Failure of the Moderates

The basic weakness of the moderates lay their narrow social base. Their movement did not have wide appeal. In fact; the leaders lacked political faith in the masses. The area of their influence was limited to the urban immunity. As they did not have the support of the masses, they declared that the time was not ripe for throwing out a challenge to the foreign rulers. That was likely to invite mature repression. However, it must not be presumed that moderate leaders fought for their narrow interests. Their programmes and policies championed the cause of all sections of the Indian people and represented nation-wide interests against colonial exploitation.

Critically evaluating the work of the Moderates, it appears that they did not achieve much success. Very few of the reforms advocated by them were carried out. The foreign rulers treated them with contempt. The moderates failed to acquire any roots among the common people and even those who joined the Congress with high hopes were feeling more and more disillusioned. The politics of the moderates was described as 'halting and half-hearted.' Their methods were described as those of mendicancy or beggary through prayers and petitions.

Moderates failed to keep pace with the yearnings and aspirations of the people. They did not realize that the political and economic interests of the Indians and the British clashed and consequently the British people could not be expected to give up their rights and privileges in India without a fight. Moreover, it was during this period that a movement started among the Muslims to keep away from the Congress and that ultimately resulted in the establishment of Pakistan. In spite of their best efforts, the moderates were not able to win over the Muslims.

Check Your Progress

5. When and where was the Indian National Congress founded?
6. Who was the first president of the Indian National Congress?

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The social composition of Congress remained, by and large the same till 1905. A. O. Hume tried his best to bring Muslims and peasants into the Congress fold, but with little success. The Muslim elite, especially from Aligarh, felt that they would lose from the elected councils and that the Hindus would dominate (Hindus were in majority in most places). The Muslim elite also opposed competitive examinations for the recruitment into civil services, as it was based on modern English education and the Muslims were far behind the Hindus in this field. They feared Hindu domination in the civil services too. All these factors kept Muslims away from the Congress; neither did the Congress give a serious look into inducting Muslims. This was a big mistake, as they realized in later years.

Thus, it is clear that the Congress was not only concerned with the issues of zamindars, capitalist and English educated professionals, but it also showed concern for almost all the sections of the society. The objectives of the Congress were never the reason for calling it 'moderate', rather its methods and style of functioning. The early Congress leaders believed in the constitutional method of struggle, i.e., through petitions, speeches and articles. One important reason for this was the social composition of early Congress leaders. They came from successful professional background (most of them were lawyers, journalists and academicians) and their personal life-style was anglicised. Perhaps, the first lesson they learned from the British was how to write applications and give petitions. Moreover, politics, for most of them, remained a part-time affair.

ACTIVITY

Evaluate any present day scenario where people are united for a common cause, although differ in their ideologies to achieve it.

DID YOU KNOW

The Vernacular Press Act stated that any magistrate or commissioner of police had the authority to call upon any printer or publisher of a newspaper to enter into a bond or undertaking not to print a certain material and could confiscate any printed material it deemed objectivable. The affected party could not seek redress in a court of law.

2.4 SUMMARY

In this unit, you have learnt that:

- Reformist thinkers have played a significant role in making India a more progressive and forward-looking country. These reformers have fought against several social evils such as Sati, widow remarriage, child marriage, casteism, etc. Raja Ram Mohan Roy, Dayananda Saraswati and Swami Vivekananda were a few of the reformists of those times.
- A radical trend thus emerged with representatives like Anantaranga Pillai, Abu Talib, Henry Vivian Derozio, Raja Ram Mohan Roy, etc.

Check Your Progress

7. Generally, the period between 1885 and 1905 is known as the _____ phase of the Indian National Congress.
8. The early Congress leaders believed in _____ of struggle, i.e., through petitions, speeches and articles. One important reason for this was the social composition of early Congress leaders.

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- The Theosophical Society was founded in the United States by Madam H.P. Blavastsky and Col. H.S. Olcott, who later came to India and established the headquarters of the society at Adiyar, near Madras, in 1886. The Theosophical Movement soon grew in India under the leadership of Annie Besant, who had come to India in 1893.
- The national awakening among the Indian Muslims took place at a slower rate than the Hindus. There were historical and religious reasons for this. A number of Hindu kingdoms had emerged during the period of dissolution of the Mughal Empire, after Aurangzeb. Muslims were alienated. They were particularly hostile in their resistance to the British rule. As a result, they were debarred from any contact with the new culture and education, which the British introduced in India.
- From the 1920s onwards till the last stages of the freedom struggle, Congress adopted Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi's policy of nonviolence and civil resistance. The period was also marked by Muhammad Ali Jinnah's constitutional struggle for the rights of minorities in India.
- During the Second World War, campaigns such as the Quit India movement (led by 'Mahatma' Gandhi) and the Indian National Army (INA) movement (led by Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose) immensely jolted the roots of the colonial tree in India and eventually resulted in the withdrawal of the British.
- The primary objective of the Congress was to make people feel that they belong to a single nation- India. The diversity in India in terms caste, creed, religion, tradition, language make this a difficult task.
- The Congress was supported by people of all the religions. W.C. Banerjee, the first President of the Indian National Congress, was an Indian Christian. The second President was Dadabhai Naoroji, who was a Parsee. The third President was Badruddin Tayabji who was a Muslim. The fourth and fifth Presidents were George Yule and William Baderburn who were Britishers.
- The Congress made some demands, which can be divided into three categories: political, administrative and economic.
- The Dufferin Committee in (1888) had the following recommendations: (i) Extension of the Presidency council and multiplying their functions (ii) Providing representation to important ideas (iii) Representation of Muslim candidates (iv) Few seats to be reserved for nominated candidates.

2.5 KEY TERMS

- **Bureaucratic:** Of or relating to or resembling a bureaucrat or bureaucracy
- **Despotism:** The exercise of absolute power, especially in a cruel and oppressive way
- **Radicalism:** The political orientation of those who favour revolutionary change in government and society

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2.6 ANSWERS TO 'CHECK YOUR PROGRESS'

1. (a) Clerical posts; (b) The American Revolution
2. (a) False; (b) True
3. (a) Indian; (b) 1843
4. (a) True; (b) False
5. The Indian National Congress was founded on 28 December 1885 at Sir Tej Pal Sanskrit Vidyalaya, Bombay.
6. W.C. Banerjee was the first president of the Indian National Congress.
7. Moderate
8. Constitutional method

2.7 QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Short-Answer Questions

1. Write a short note on Henry Vivian Derozio.
2. Enlist the political demands of the Congress.
3. What were the economic demands of the Congress?
4. Mention the recommendations of the Dufferin Committee.

Long-Answer Questions

1. Write a short note on the early reformers of India.
2. Discuss the foundation of Indian National Congress.
3. What were the programmes and policies of early nationalists?
4. What were the objectives of the Congress?

2.8 FURTHER READING

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UNIT 3 PEASANT REVOLTS

Structure

3.0 Introduction
3.1 Unit Objectives
3.2 Background of the Santhal Movement
3.3 Indigo Revolts
  3.3.1 Causes of Peasant Revolts
  3.3.2 Role of Caste and Religion in the Peasant Movement
3.4 Deccan Riots and Moplah Uprising
3.5 Summary
3.6 Key Terms
3.7 Answers to 'Check Your Progress'
3.8 Questions and Exercises
3.9 Further Reading

3.0 INTRODUCTION

Peasant movements are integral to the study of social movements and pertain mainly to the realm of struggle with the agricultural policies of the state. The history of the peasant movements is long and is mostly traced to the many uprisings across the world. The earliest peasant uprisings took place in the feudal and semi-feudal societies where people were burdened by taxes. The uprisings were a reaction to the violent exploitation. The recent such movements are safely categorized into the definitions of social movements, which usually include less violent uprisings where demands of the exploited revolve around revision of prices for agricultural produce, improved wages and working conditions of labourers and farm workers as well as at increasing agricultural production.

The Indian peasantry is not a homogenous category and is understood mainly in terms of its relationship with the land. They can be broadly categorized as supervisory agriculturists, owner-cultivators, share-croppers, tenants and landless labourers. The relationship with the land is thus important even when discussing a peasantry movement. Locally, peasants in India are referred to as *kisans* or *kheduts*.

In India, peasant agitation was first reported during the British rule. The colonial policies with regard to land and its economics caused severe losses to the traditional handicraft industry. It also led to change in the ownership pattern of land and caused overcrowding of land. Peasants were forced into massive debts and impoverishment. This led to peasantry agitation during colonization and peasant movements in the post-colonial period were influenced by these uprisings. In 1929, for instance, the Kisan Sabha movement was launched in Bihar by Swami Sahajanand Saraswati. He had formed the Bihar Provincial Kisan Sabha (BPKS) in order to mobilize peasants and urge them to agitate against zamindars who had uprooted their occupancy rights. The movement picked up momentum and soon spread to the entire country. Such radical developments led to the formation of the All India Kisan Sabha (AIKS) at the Lucknow Session of the Indian National Congress (INC) in 1936. Its first president was Swami Sahajanand Saraswati.

Independent India witnessed two more important peasant movements. These were the Shetkari Sangathan and the Bharatiya Kisan Union (BKU) movement. The former was led by Sharad Joshi, while Mahendar Singh Tikait was the chief of the BKU

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movement. Both the movements are important for they were futuristic and tried to influence the political leadership and their policies around pricing, taxation and even their approaches to economic planning and development vis-à-vis agriculture. The present unit deals with the peasant uprisings that took place simultaneously with the freedom struggle in the country. Special reference is made to the Santhal Movement, Indigo Revolts and Deccan Riots and Moplah Uprising.

The present movements are quite in contrast to their former counterparts. Yet, many peasant uprisings have occurred in the last decades, and peasants from all over the country have joined these movements to fight the structures of hierarchy and exploitation. One movement has led to many others. For instance, after the Santhals began agitation on June 30, 1855 in Bagnadihi, it was followed by the Indigo Strike in Pabna in 1860 and Bogra Uprising in 1872, the Maratha Peasant rising in Poona and Ahmednagar in 1875-76. All this culminated in the massive demands all over the country by the peasantry to fight the exploitation at the hands of the zamindars and moneylenders.

3.1 UNIT OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to:

- Discuss the background of the Santhal Movement
- Describe the indigo revolts
- Discuss the Deccan riots and Moplah uprising

3.2 BACKGROUND OF THE SANTHAL MOVEMENT

The Santhals were unassuming people who worked under primitive agricultural conditions. Sir George Campbell paid tribute to them as being 'most industrious and even skilful clearers of the jungle and reclaimers of the soil.' With the establishment of the Permanent Zamindari Settlement (1793), the lands which they had cultivated for centuries were overnight turned over to the zamindars. This was followed by pressing demands for increased rents. The Santhals found these new arrangements disturbing. Being peace-loving by nature, they started retreating from the districts of Cuttack, Dhalbhum, Manbhum, Barabhum, Chhotanagpur, Palamau, Hazaribagh, Midnapur, Bankura and Birbhum. Hounded from their homelands, 'with great industry they cleared the forests in the plains skirting the Rajmahal Hills and, bringing large tracts of land under cultivation, started life anew.' At that time this area was called Daman-e-Koh.

The Santhals' belief was that the land belongs to the one who first tilled it. If pressed beyond that, they would rather retreat further into the woods and make new reclamations in places where they would not be molested. Unfortunately, however, they reached extreme limits of retreat, and found themselves on the borders of the plains of the Ganges at the very place where the competition for land was keenest and where rack-rents were too high. Their peaceful existence in the new settlements was not to remain undisturbed for long. The same class of zamindars who had hounded them out of their lands in their former districts was to harass them again soon. As long as the forest lands were not cleared, the zamindars kept themselves away. However, once the land was made suitable for cultivation, they were not slow in coming up to claim proprietorship of the soil and demand rents. 'Greedy Zamindars', reported the Calcutta Review of 1856, 'living near the borders of the Daman had begun for some time to cast a wistful eye on their lands.' The Rajas of Maheshpur and Pakur were hated by the Santhals

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because they granted leases of Santhal villages to non-Santhal Bengali zamindars and moneylenders. The zamindars, the police, the revenue and court exercised a combined system of extortions, oppressive exactions, forcible dispossession of property, abuse and personal violence and a variety of petty tyrannies upon the timid and yielding Santhals. A usurious interest on loans of money ranging from 50 to 500 per cent; false measures at the haut (weekly market) and the market; willful and uncharitable trespass by the rich by means of their untethered cattle, *tattoos* (small ponies), ponies and even elephants, on the growing crops of the poorer race; and such like illegalities have been prevalent. There have even been instances of the Santhals paying security for the good conduct of their oppressors; embarrassing pledges for debt also formed another mode of oppression. Besides the zamindars, there were the moneylenders too harassed the santhals.

The rates of interest as described above were incredibly high. The Santhal saw his crops, his cattle, even himself and family appropriated for debt which though ten times paid, remained an incubus upon them still.

Seeing the opportunity of good trade and profitable money-lending, many *moira* and *bania* families from the districts of Burdwan and Birbhum, and Bhojpuri and Bhatia families from Shahabad, Chaprah, Betiah and Arrah, had migrated to the Santhal areas. Barahait, the capital town of the hills, was reported in 1851 to be a substantial village with a large population and about fifty families of Bengali traders. Two markets were held there every week. The Santhals brought their produce to Barahait where the traders bought it at a price far below its true value. Large quantities of rice, bora, mustard and several other oil seeds were carried on bullock carts by the merchants to Jangipur on the Bhagirathi. From there on, they were sent to Murshidabad and Calcutta. Much of the mustard was exported to England. On top of this, there was also oppression from Europeans employed in railroad construction. The Calcutta Review of 1856 cites cases of forced abduction of two Santhal women, and even murder and some unjust acts of oppression such as taking kids, fowls, etc., without payment on the part of the Europeans employed on the line of the railroad. The oppression by the zamindars, moneylenders, traders and Europeans and the government officers had inflicted great sufferings on the Santhal peasantry. The peacefulness of the Santhals was taken for timidity. The extent of oppression was intensified as time went by. All this was causing great discontent. The Pakur Record of the Calcutta Review of 1856 indicated that in 1854, some time before the actual start of the movement, the village committees of the Santhals seem to have begun in right earnest to cogitate what might be the proper course for them to pursue. When finally they took the road to open insurrection, it was forced on them by a long course of oppression silently and patiently submitted to by those unsophisticated people. As far as the government was concerned, it had learned nothing from earlier Santhal uprisings in 1811, 1820 and 1831. The warnings of the seething discontent were given by the events in 1854. After consultation among themselves, the leading Santhals began robbing the mahajans and the zamindars of their ill-earned wealth. These were well-merited reprisals for their unprovoked cruelties. The feelings of the Santhal peasantry were forcefully expressed by Santhal Gocho when he was unjustly harassed by police. This was the warning of the coming storm. However, the apparent calm prevailing towards the end of 1854 was taken to have been caused by cowardice on the part of the Santhals.

The repressive measures instituted by police only added fuel to the fire. Early in 1855, nearly six to seven thousand Santhals from Birbhum, Bankura, Chhotanagpur and Hazaribagh assembled for the purpose of avenging the punishment inflicted on their comrades in the last year. They complained that their comrades had been punished

NOTES

while nothing had been done to the *mahajans* whose exactions had compelled them to take the law into their own hands.

The decisions of this meeting were circulated to all the other Santhals by the symbol of a sal tree, which is still used as a sign of unity and for the purpose of passing the word around. As a result, a large gathering of over 10,000 Santhals representing 400 villages met at Bhagnadihi on the night of 30 June 1855. It was decided that the time had come for the Santhals to rise as one and get rid of the control exercised by their oppressors. On the instructions of the meeting, 'letters were then written by Kirta, Bhadoo, Sunno and Sidhu, addressed to the government, to the commissioner, collector and magistrate of Birbhum, to the Darogas of Thanahs Dighee and Rajmahal and to several zamindars among others'. In their letters, the Santhal leaders declared their solid determination to get rid of the oppression by the zamindars and the mahajans and to take possession of the country and set up a government of their own. Although the government remained deaf to the Santhals' warnings, other non-Santhals resident in the area threw their support behind the Santhal peasantry. The Santhal peasants raised the flag of open armed insurrection against the unholy trinity of their oppressors—the zamindars, the mahajans and the government. Seeing the strong demonstration of the outraged Santhals, the zamindar's agents, moneylenders and traders took to their heels. The insurgents were not slow to consolidate their early gains. Establishing full control over the area between Borio and Colgong, they started moving towards Bhagalpur and Rajmahal.

The government, still officially expressing innocent surprise at the insurrection, was making large-scale preparations to suppress it. All available police and military forces were being alerted for immediate action. Orders were also issued to the zamindars and *darogas* of the neighbouring *paraganas* to aid in suppressing the insurrection. The insurrection was spreading rapidly. Like all popular insurrections, the technique of guerilla fighting and assembled battalions was combined by the insurgents. The appearance of the Santhal insurgents on the Indian arena was a novel experience. Here were the first people's armies, composed of rebellious peasants marching against their oppressors. It was a supreme tribute to their organization and voluntary discipline that, without any previous military training, such large numbers of persons, exceeding 10,000, assembled and disassembled at a very short notice. The postal and railway communications between Bhagalpur and Rajmahal were completely severed. The insurgents were in control of the area lying between the two cities. The high road between Pirpainti and Sakriguli was in the hands of the insurgents. The government's panic was 'intense'. The situation was entirely out of control. The military was empowered 'to take all the measures considered necessary for the extirpation of the rebels'. With this began the most brutal suppression of the rebellion. In spite of the brutality, the insurrection was spreading to Godda, Pakur, Maheshpur, Murshidabad and Birbhum. Isree Bhakt, Tilak Bhakt and Thootha Bhakht of Litiparu were notorious even amongst the Bhakts for devising and exercising inhuman cruelties on the debtors and making them pay for their crimes with their lives. Now the Santhal forces were being helped by a large number of low-caste dikus (non-Santhals). With their ranks reinforced by a brotherly bond which cut across all lines of castes and religions, they marched to Sangrampur and from there on, under the combined leadership of Sidbu, Kanhu, Chand and Bhairab, laid siege to Pakur. They were successful in capturing it in three days. The government was now counter-attacking with full force. The zamindars and the indigo-planters also threw their resources on the side of the government. Many of the zamindars in the Bhagalpur and neighbouring districts lent their elephants for service with the different detachments operating over the battlefront.

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With all the forces thus assembled, the government moved with ruthlessness to suppress the insurrection. In all, thirty-six Santhal villages were destroyed. The Rajmahal Hills were drenched with the blood of the fighters. Despite the murderous repression, the Santhal insurgents, even by the middle of August, were still estimated to exceed 30,000 men in arms. Many of them were proceeding towards Monghyr into the village of Mulheapur. No repressive measures were regarded too drastic to be tried against the Santhals.

Finally, in August, 1855 A.C. Bidwell, commissioner of the Nadia Division, was appointed as the Special Commissioner to carry out the measures necessary for the entire suppression of the insurrection.

Despite their unflinching heroism, the Santhals were facing a hopeless task. The rest of India was quiet and the entire army of a mighty empire was moving against them. The number of troops engaged against them ran into tens of thousands. The apologists of this criminal suppression by the government loudly proclaimed the 'inhuman cruelty' displayed by the Santhals and justified the harsh punitive measures employed against them. In order to gauge the cruelty of the government towards the Santhals, one only has to compare the pent-up vengeance of the Santhals against the moneylenders, erupting with volcanic fury from the anger repressed for decades, with what the government did. Out of a total of thirty to fifty thousand insurgents, fifteen to twenty-five thousand were murdered before the insurrection was finally suppressed. Kanhu and other leaders of the insurrection were captured by the third week of February 1856 near Operbandhoh, north-east of Jamatra and were executed.

A large number of the Santhal peasants were taken hostages and prisoners. Others were sentenced to long-term imprisonments varying from seven to fourteen years. Witnesses against the prisoners were hard to obtain, indicating the kind of support they had among the population.

The Great Santhal Insurrection was cruelly suppressed. This was not the end of the oppressions against the Santhals, or in fact, against peasant in other parts of India. On the contrary, the oppression was intensified. And yet, the Santhal insurrection was successful in one important aspect. The Santhal area, which had up to then been administratively broken up and merged into the neighbouring districts, was now reorganized into a separate entity known as the Santhal Paraganas. The Santhals had succeeded in forcing recognition of their special status as a national minority. The din of the actual battles of the insurrection has died down. But its echoes have kept on vibrating through the years, growing louder as more peasants from various places joined the fight against zamindari oppression. The clarion call that summoned the Santhals to battle on that fateful night of 30 June 1855 at Bagnadihi was to be heard in other parts of the country at the time of the Indigo Strike of 1860, the Pabna and Bogra Uprising of 1872, the Maratha Peasant rising in Poona and Ahmednagar in 1875-76. It was finally to merge with the massive demand of the peasantry all over the country for an end to the oppression of the zamindars and moneylenders.

Check Your Progress

1. What was the Santhals' belief about land?
2. With the establishment of the Permanent Zamindari Settlement (1793), the lands which Santhals had cultivated for centuries were overnight turned over to the _____.

3.3 INDIGO REVOLTS

The Indigo Revolts are considered a milestone in the history of India's freedom struggle.

Peasant Uprising in Bengal and Bihar

During 1859-60 one of the most popular of the peasant uprisings in the country occurred in the form of the conflict of Indigo cultivators in Bengal. The uprising was the result of

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the British forcing peasants to cultivate indigo and sell them at cheaper rates to the colonizers despite knowledge that the same would leave the peasants' lands infertile. When the peasants refused, the British tortured, beat them and forced them to cultivate indigo. The peasants found support in the Bengal intelligentsia and thus revolted. The movement began in Bengal's Nadia district and soon spread across districts of Burdwan, Birbhum and Bangladesh (Khulna and Pabna). Such widespread support to the movement forced the government to appoint a panel to investigate and mitigate the system.

Despite efforts, the standoff could not be resolved and the exploitation of the peasants as well as the resistance from their side continued. Soon, the movement spread to Bihar and indigo cultivators from Darbhanga and Champaran joined the uprising in 1866-68. In 1870s in East Bengal, now Bangladesh, unrest broke out among the peasants. However, the exploiters, i.e. the zamindars reacted with force and harassment; the land of the peasants was taken away, their properties illegally seized, including their crops and chattels. The zamindars also used force to raise rents and prevent peasants from acquiring occupancy rights.

Resistance is a long tradition among the Bengal peasants. It was in 1782 when the peasants of North Bengal rebelled against the East India Company. Between 1872 and 1876, the peasants collaborated and formed a union to impose a 'No Rent Policy' and fought against the oppressive zamindars and their agents. This led the government to suppress the peasants and put a violent end to the revolt. It only led to create more uneasiness and unrest among the peasants, forcing the government to promise to look into the oppression by the zamindars.

Peasant Movement in Maharashtra

In 1875, the districts of Pune and Ahmednagar shook with major agrarian unrest. Until then, the British government directly settled its revenue with the peasants in Maharashtra. However, it raised the revenue fivefold, leaving the peasants with no choice but to seek loans from moneylenders who charged high interest rates in turn. This forced the peasants to mortgage their lands or sold them to the moneylender who kept on acquiring land illegally. Having lost patience, the peasants revolted towards the end of 1875 and launched large-scale agrarian riots. The police failed to curb the rioting and the peasants' resistance and military had to be called in Pune to stop them. The peasants were supported by the Maharashtrian intelligentsia and thus continued to agitate against high revenue rates and the failure of the government to provide them with cheaper loan rates.

Uprisings in Kerala and Assam

The states of Kerala and Assam also witnessed peasant unrest at the same time. High land revenue assessment worsened the situation in Assam and peasants refused to pay the increased revenue to their landlords. They also launched strike against those revenue collectors who tried to seize their lands. As the situation worsened, the police used force to suppress the peasants. Many protestors lost their lives at the hands of the policemen. Even though these movements did not directly challenged the British rule, they mobilized peasants in large numbers to every situation of oppression and exploitation. Peasants challenged the British as they tried to dominate their lives and took control in the garb of law and order. As they were non-literate and ignorant to the manipulation of the British, the exploitation of the peasants only served the interests of the British colonizers. Yet, such movements and rebellions in the 19th century consolidated the force of the colonized and were among the first source of resistance against imperialism that was yet to find its

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voice and stronghold. After some economic and political developments towards the beginning of 1930s, the condition of the peasants too started to undergo change.

3.3.1 Causes of Peasant Revolts

Peasant uprisings in India were the result of several factors. Some of the important ones are discussed below:

1. Deteriorating economic conditions

Scholars have argued that the peasants revolted against their oppression and exploitation after their economic situation plunged due to continuing price rise and famine. Such changes to the economic structure only led to increased manipulation of the peasants, further deteriorating their condition. Studies which were carried out on the peasants' condition during the pre and post independence period have argued that at the time when the uprisings took place, they were under severe economic constraints. The unrest in North India between 1918 and 1922, for instance, was the result of the rise in the prices of inferior food-grains which were consumed by tenants and agricultural labourers.

Rise in the prices of essential commodities, especially during the time of the First World War, was another important factor that led to the spread of unrest in the rural society of Oudh. Their depressed conditions after the War, forced the peasants of Kheda in Gujarat to join the Satyagraha in 1918. Similarly, their poor economic conditions were also the important factors that influenced the beginning of peasants' movements in Telangana (1946-51) and Tebhaga (1946-47) in Andhra and West Bengal respectively. Even in the late 1960s and 1970s, the peasants' revolts started given the steep rise in prices of essential commodities. On the other hand, a section of scholars has argued that there is no correlation between the peasants' struggle and the rise in prices of commodities.

2. Famine and other epidemics

A regular feature of the Indian subcontinent during the 18th and the 19 centuries was famine. It continued to wreck havoc on the Indian people and its economy even after independence though it was addressed a drought and not famine. A section of scholars has argued that since the Indian peasantry was dependent on the authority for its survival, it did not revolt against its oppression. N.G. Ranga and Swami Sahajanand Saraswati have observed: "It is a sad commentary on the political capacity of our people that despite such terrible sufferings of the masses and the mass-deaths of workers and peasants and the outbreaks of cholera and other epidemics, in the wake of starvation and consumption of horrible things (ending in cannibalism also), no real and effective mass protest was organized by anyone or any organization against such inhuman state of things."

Paul Greenough, in his analysis of the Bengal famine, has argued that the peasant proprietors and labourers shared a relationship based on the principle of 'reciprocity' wherein the former felt a moral responsibility towards the later in times of distress and hardship. While such a relationship breaks during the times of crises like famine, Greenough argued that because the starving peasants have 'docile' character, they do not revolt. However, these arguments have been challenged by several scholars. Nonetheless, numerous studies on peasants' revolt have indicated that famine were a contributory factor in causing rural unrest and disturbances. Famines, this section of scholars have said, caused a deep divide between the rayiats and labourers and such a division was a reflection of their differing class interests. During famine, agricultural

NOTES

labourers and other subaltern groups, including women, jointly led protests, which often turned into riots. While social scientists and historians have referred to famine as a cause, they are yet to explore its role in causing peasants' uprising in a greater detail.

3. Forced labour (*begar*)

During the 18th and the 19th century, the practice of *begar, veth* or *vethi* (i.e. forced labour) was widely prevalent. While it continues to persist in different forms, during that time it was performed mainly performed by peasants, including those who belonged to the upper castes. However, he services performed by the agricultural labourers and members of the lower castes differed. They had to perform jobs like supplying water to the zamindars, their rulers and families; constructing buildings, roads, dams and carrying dead and wounded soldiers to their destination during and after war. Begars were severely exploited; they were also beaten and starved by their masters. Women who worked as begars were exploited and molested. No matter the weather or the time, there were no considerations for the begars. They demanded carts or animals to be able to carry their load but it was rejected. The authorities subjected them to several other cruelties, leading to the death of several begars.

Under such situation in 1922-23, peasant uprising in Andhra Pradesh was launched. Its immediate cause was forcing the tribal people of the Andhra Agency for free labour to construct highway between the thick jungles and low hills from Narsipatnam to Chitapalli. During the peasant movement in Oudh from 1919-22, the peasants pledged to not sell their labour without pay; those who violated the pledge were socially boycotted. The poor peasants and labourers of Telangana also revolted against the begar system. In Gujarat, the poor Rajputs of Banaskantha initiated an uprising against this system in the early 1950s. In eastern parts of the country, the system continued to persist till the late 1960s, but the peasant revolted in what is popularly known as the Naxalite movement.

4. Excessive taxation

To meet the expenses of their royal families, the landlords or the rulers imposed various kinds of harsh taxes on the peasants. These were customary taxes and new taxes were invented and imposed as and when the rulers thought it prudent. Not all the reasons under which the taxes were imposed were real concerns of the rulers. For instance, in a district of Uttar Pradesh, a landlord imposed what was called 'gramophoning' tax, after his son desired to buy a gramophone. When the wife of another landlord suffered a septic on her leg, he imposed what was called 'Pakwan cess' to collect money from the peasants for her treatment. A contributory factor to the Oudh revolt and also to various peasant uprisings between 1897 and 1915 was the imposition of such indiscriminate taxes. The Telangana movement was also started after the Nizam imposed excessive taxation.

5. Increase in the land rent

In Rajasthan and Uttar Pradesh, and also in parts of Andhra Pradesh in the early nineteenth century, the increase in land rent by zamindars was an important contributory factor to peasants' uprisings besides the rising taxes. The tenants as cultivators were evicted by moneylenders, landlords or government officers and this caused widespread disturbances in the 19th century. In Bihar and Bengal in the 1870s, the East India Company auctioned land for the collection of land revenue making government officers and traders owners of land. The new owners pushed forward steep rent and also evicted the cultivators to get more rent from them. The rebellion of 1857 was in many ways the result of the

NOTES

collusion between the British and Indian moneylenders, which allowed urban traders and the latter to usurp land.

This public sale of land not only divested common people of their small holdings but also from the aristocracy of their lands. Both the classes were thus discontent and collaborated their efforts to rise against the British. Such was the discontent that the revolt of 1857 provided a necessary outlet and the exploited saw it as an opportunity to get their land back. While the revolt is often studied vis-à-vis religion, the questions of peasants' rights and hereditary holdings were also important factors.

The Rent Act, also called the Imperial Act XIX of 1868 in Oudh, for instance, gave those tenants an inheritable right of occupancy who were able to prove their former ownership of land, with thirty years preceding the annexation. However, the control of the landlords was so strong that the tenants failed to prove their ownership while the landlords successfully evicted the tenants from their land. These factors led to unrest in Oudh and eventually uprisings in the 1920s and 1930s. The Moplah uprising in Malabar in the 1880s and 1920s, the peasant movements in Rajasthan in the early twentieth century and the Telangana struggle from 1946-51 were also the result of similar circumstances. Tenants, sharecroppers and agricultural labourers asserted for their rights on the land they cultivated even in the post-independent India. In the Telangana movement in Andhra Pradesh, Tebhaga movement in Bengal in the late 1940s, the Pardi Satyagraha during 1950s in Gujarat, the land grab movement and the Naxalite movement that developed during the late 1960s, the Bhoomi Sena and Shramik Sangathana movements in the 1970s in Maharashtra, distribution of equal land to cultivators was one of the central issues.

Launched by Vinoba Bhave in the early 1950s, the Bhoodan Movement also centred around distribution of land to cultivators. The movement sought to counter leftist movements and followed a peaceful and non-violent path to acquire land from those who held more than what was required and to distribute it among the poor cultivators and landless labourers.

6. Changes in the mode of production

Peasant unrest was fuelled by changes in the modes of production in agriculture that disturbed the traditional agrarian settings and relationships. Land became a marketable commodity under the British rule and agriculture was commercialized during the late 19th century. Banington Moore has argued: "Where a large-scale commercial agriculture has resulted in proletarianization of peasantry, and consequently in snapping of the old traditional bonds of caste etc., the possibilities of insurrection are much greater". On the other hand, Majid Siddiqi has observed that with increased commercialization of agriculture between 1860 and 1920, landlords who earlier collected rent in cash started preferring exchange of rent in grain, the price of which was high.

Despite promises, commercializing agriculture did not lead to any large-scale modernisation of agriculture. Also, commercializing did not lead to any changes in the feudal agrarian relationships. This meant that middlemen, whether money-lenders, traders or local businessmen (many of them were landowners themselves), and also rich peasants, made money illegally and manipulated the interests of the peasants openly. The burden on the peasants grew enormously due to commercialization of agriculture in regions such as Malabar, Bengal and Telangana. This caused peasants' uprisings. There was a significant gap between marketization and the capitalist mode of production and the interest of the farmers, which led to mobilizations among the latter.

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7. Low wages

A central issue in the struggles of peasants in both the pre and post colonial period was the demand for higher wages. It remains one of major issues in such struggles post independence. As early as 1907, agricultural labourers in Travancore and Kerala launched strikes to seek increase in wages. These strikes continued for a long period of time. It was also a central issue in the Telangana uprising as well. In 1944, the Warlis of Urribergaon taluka in Maharashtra also launched a strike seeking higher wages for agricultural operations and forest work. Demand for respectable wages mobilized agricultural labourers even during the 1960s and 70s leading to the formation of the Naxalite movement in West Bengal, Bihar and Andhra Pradesh. Agricultural labourers in Gujarat, Maharashtra, Tamil Nadu, Kerala, Andhra Pradesh, Bihar and other states too have launched several struggles during the 1960s and later seeking implementation of the Minimum Wages Act, timely wages, lunch break, etc. Women labourers have also launched revolts against sexual discrimination, humiliation and sexual violations perpetrated on them by officials of upper castes and classes.

3.3.2 Role of Caste and Religion in the Peasant Movement

Different scholars have put forward different arguments pertaining to the role of religion and caste in peasant movements. Barrington Moore, for instance, has argued that the caste system and the Hindu religion only served to obstruct the development of peasant movements in the country. K.K. Sarkar, in his study on the Kakdwip Tebhaga movements, has observed a lack of unity among peasants belonging to different caste and classes due to observation of the rigid caste structure. In his study on the land grab movement in Uttar Pradesh, Rajendra Singh has argued that the factors of caste and communalism served big blows to the movement as a whole.

Other studies have shown that caste and religion served as important factors in organizing and mobilizing peasants towards a common interest. For instance, in the satyagrahas of Kheda and Bardoli, caste organizations were used to invoke unity within and among various castes. Shah has observed: 'In a nutshell, the language of both the direct and indirect communication media during this (Bardoli Satyagraha) political movement was highly indigenous and full of familiar referents. Political issues were conveyed to the people through social and religious symbols which appealed to the tradition-bound masses.'

Even the Ramayana, the sacred text of the Hindus, was used by peasant leaders as a religious symbol to mobilize the masses. Scholars have argued that the existence of caste groups helped the peasant uprisings in the sense of building greater cohesion among them. In fact, some have argued that the irreconcilability between class and caste did not exist in the rural society of Oudh and the peasants united as a group of exploited people whether they were tenants or poor peasants or agricultural labourers and irrespective of their caste and religion.

For instance, during the strike of indigo cultivators in Bihar in 1860, Hindu and Muslim tenants stood together to fight for their rights. Caste differences ceased to exist when the movement was launched in Oudh during the 1920s. In West Bengal during the late 1860s, tenants and jotedars of the same caste fought against each other on economic issues. This was also a peasant movement. It is important to locate a movement in its context. Numerous studies have also suggested that while in some movements, factors such as caste and religion brought peasants together, in others they hindered the process of mobilization. In one movement, caste took the form of class and united the peasantry while in the other it blocked the movement.

Check Your Progress

3. Where did the indigo revolts begin?
4. From 1872 to 1876, the peasants united and formed a union to impose a _____ and fought against the oppressive zamindars and their agents.

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3.4 DECCAN RIOTS AND MOPLAH UPRISING

The peasants were exploited by both the colonial government and the zamindars. This was the main reason that the peasants revolted against the colonial rule. Let us study the two popular peasant movements in detail.

The Deccan Riots

The Deccan Riots of 1875 highlight the social transformations brought about in rural Maharashtra in western India during the first five decades of British rule. The riots lay bare the relations between two important and well-defined rural social groups, namely, the cultivators and the moneylenders.

After the East India Company was dissolved, the administration of India passed directly into the hands of the Crown. If we closely consider the agrarian unrest, it has a long history.

There was always enough cause for Indian peasants to revolt against the colonial rule. Some of the reasons that heightened the revolt were the difficult conditions under which the peasants worked – uncertain weather, the mendacity of moneylenders, oppressive taxation or revenue assessments, fluctuating prices of crops, poor or negligible government subsidies, the support of large families, among many others.

Owing to such disturbances in most parts of western India, in the year 1875, a committee was appointed by the Government of Bombay. This committee reported on the 'riots in Poona and Ahmednagar.' The same year witnessed some more riots including one in the village of Supa, in Bhimthari takula of Poona including some damage to property and another one in a nearby village where the outbreak took the form of murderous assault upon moneylenders.

This committee further came to be known as The Deccan Riots Commission. The Commission noted that such outbreaks were very common at that time. Just a little loophole anywhere would ignite the peasants. The riots of 1875 in Poona and Ahmednagar were, in short, rooted in acute agrarian distress.

Let us examine the history and the root cause of such riots. Between 1819 and 1821 the area fell into the possession of the British. The British formed a wrong estimate of the financial capabilities of the peasants. They would burden them with an over-assessment for twenty years with consequences that were disastrous.

This over-assessment drained the country of its agricultural capital and thus resulted in the impoverished condition of the peasants. The introduction of the Revenue Survey and Assessment in 1832 improved the condition of the peasants to some extent but the problem of indebtedness remained unsolved. The peasants were placed in a position of shame, discomfort and bondage in relation to the moneylender. The assessment was enhanced by the government in the year 1875. This served as a catalyst for the cultivators to revolt further. During the Santhal Rebellion of 1855, the peasants were influenced by a rumour that the government would release the cultivators from their debts to the moneylenders. When the promises remained unfulfilled, it further fuelled the peasants.

Some modern scholars argue that indebtedness could not have caused the riots. For the Kunbis who were the main agricultural sects of Poona and Ahmednagar, borrowing was a habit of life, and indebtedness not a novel situation into which they had been precipitously thrown; also the revolt-stricken villages suffered comparatively smaller increases in taxation so the re-assessment could not have instilled the villagers to revolt.

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Along with this, the moneylenders were not receptive to the idea of the repossession of debtor's lands as they gained from this tight-knit web of commerce.

The upper-caste moneylenders, particularly the Brahmins indigenous to the area were spared to an extent. The immigrants like the Marwari and the Gujars were the ones who were victimized. This foreignness of the Marwari money-lenders was also one of the causes of the revolt.

Charlesworth in his essay, The Myth of the Deccan Riots asserts that, 'the central problem of the Deccan Riots is really not what caused them but why so momentous a non-event has been considered so important. Could the appointment of a committee conceivably have led to the purportedly exaggerated prominence ascribed to the riots?'

Florence Nightingale while writing on the demoralization of the moneylenders and the borrowers in a major English periodical just a few years after the riots, lamented, 'No one in England took any interest in the affairs of India. No one in Britain seemed much aware of the Deccan Riots Commission and the laborious report produced by its members. No one Englishman in Parliament or press has asked the result. There is not a single Member of Parliament who has called for it. We do not care for the people of India.'

Despite the committee's apparent interest in the riots, politics may have had a greater role to play in its deliberations. One of the committee's four members was an official from the United Provinces (U.P.). He was expected to support reforms which acknowledged the shortcomings of the principles by which western India had been governed. The inadequacies of the Bombay administration was also highlighted. The U.P. and Bombay governments were engaged in serious disagreements over the respective merits of their revenue and administrative systems.

The Deccan Riots Commission was generally appointed to investigate agrarian distress, the condition of the peasants, land tenures and to take substantial steps to improve these conditions. From the riots, the interest of the commissioners shifted to the agrarian conditions which had given rise to turbulence. They had no clue that these riots would take a political form and take shape of a nationalist moment.

A violent campaign against the British rule was launched in the year 1879 by Vasudeo Balwant Phadke. He aimed to establish an Indian republic by driving the Britisher's out. However, his insurrection met with limited success. Someone betrayed Phadke to claim a bounty offered by the British. He was later arrested and deported to Aden, where he died of a hunger strike in 1883.

The Moplah Rebellion

In 1921 in the Malabar region occurred the Moplah Rebellion. It was a conflict triggered by religious revivalism among the Muslim Moplahs. The Muslim Moplahs were deeply disillusioned with the rule of the British and at the same time carried a deep resentment against the land-owning Hindu Nair community which also supported the British. With its strong fundamental Islamic undercurrents, the movement called for 'freedom from the foreigners'.

Many political events preceded the Moplah rebellion. A rumor that British rule had concluded with the successor of Mohammed having conquered Delhi led to the first incident of rebellion on August 20, 1921, at Tirurangadi where the protesters focused on ousting the limited British presence from the area. Arsonists destroyed and set government properties on fire. With the help of the police, the British District Magistrate of Calicut

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attempted to arrest armed Moplah leaders. The clashes produced first casualty of the rebellion but succeeded in driving out the British officials, planters and merchants from the area. Members of the other religion were made to undergo forcible conversions; their places of worship were also desecrated. This forced the British to call in the Army to take control of the situation.

The hilly terrains of the Malabar region proved to be difficult for the Army to launch a crackdown on the Moplah rebels. Besides, the weather was also not on the side of the state. Moreover, the commander of the Madras Military District, General Burnett-Stuart, had under his command a British cavalry regiment, a brigade of Field Artillery, two British battalions, including 2nd Dorsets and seven Indian battalions (including a battalion of Pioneers), and a company of the Madras Sappers and Miners. But only few members of these units were available as the Army was undergoing reorganization post the Great War. Since the Moplah rebels were only insufficiently armed as compared to the British, it was felt that the latter would be enough to take control of the situation.

When summoned for support, General Burnett-Stuart ordered two Army units to be deployed from Bangalore to Malabar. Shortly, a whole force was moved to the region to control the Moplahs. The Army asked the Moplahs to surrender but they refused and took shelter in a mosque. In the meantime, the British troops burnt the town of Tirungadi in response to the murder of its officers and a policeman by the Moplahs. The same night, the Moplahs clashed with the Army; around 40 of them surrendered which included notorious ringleader, Ali Musliar. While the operation proved useful, it also cost the Dorsets its personnel and 4 of its men were killed.

The Moplahs broke into small groups after this operation and spread throughout the country 'looting, plundering and committing outrages, but carefully avoiding contact with the troops'. Moplahs were systematically searched and arrested by the troops later. It was reported by Colonel Herbert who was leading a column for five days from September 2 that:

> "The weather had been miserably wet and the Moplahs most elusive, while the transport animals suffered severely from lack of a shoeing smith and proper supply of veterinary medicines. For political reasons the Government of India refused to proclaim martial law and refused to send re-enforcements."

The Dorsets' Headquarters (HQ) was then shifted to Malapuram, with the battalion being deployed across the Malabar. Companies and even single platoons controlled villages in their surrounding area. Their aim was to limit the Moplahs' freedom of movement, thereby helped the Battalion's 'raiding columns'. Several columns were formed by the Dorsets, one of which was involved in a battle on September 24 near Nilambur. The Moplahs put up a strong resistance and the army lost three of its personnel. The Moplahs also lost many of its members. In one of the battles, the army killed 24 insurgents but lost two of its members and one was severely wounded. In another ambush, however, Colonel Herbert and a private guard were wounded while Lt Harvey was mortally wounded.

By October, it was clear to the Indian government that would be no solution to the operation even after two months. In some parts of the district, the Moplahs were still not under control and the local population was under terror of the insurgents. The government then deployed a large number of Ghurkha battalions to the area and organized a huge drive to get hold of the terrorists. The command of the battalion had been taken by Major Saunders, who was commanding the depot at Bangalore. The drive with Ghurkhas, armoured cars and D Company Dorsets moving forward swept through the country driving the Moplahs to the edge. The operation was successful and thirty rebels were

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killed without any British casualties. A few days later, A and D Companies launched another successful operation and drove out the insurgents in large numbers. It was reported that:

> 'This was the most serious blow the insurgents had so far received, nearly 250 Moplahs being accounted for, without any British casualties, while four days later the Malapuram and Perintalmanna garrisons co-operated most successfully against another large party and inflicted nearly 50 casualties on it, without suffering any losses themselves.'

Such operations had the desired effect and by November, surrenders became a regular feature. The more active leaders remained in hiding but they were only a few in number and thus their activities curtailed.

Return to Barracks

Beginning November 20, the Dorsets started leaving Malapuram by train for Bangalore, having been relieved by the Suffolks. Its final number of casualties comprised an officer and nine men and 15 wounded persons.

> 'Fitness and discipline had been severely tested, the troops had had to endure considerable hardships and the Moplahs were not enemies to be lightly regarded.'

Even though they were operating in small sub-units, the officers and junior personnel had shown great courage and shown 'initiative and skill'. While some argued that the operations were insufficiently important to deserve a battle-honour, the Indian General Service Medal 1908, which was issued with a bar 'Malabar 1921', had been fully earned.

ACTIVITY

Conduct a research to draw a comparative analysis between Hyder Ali and Tipu Sultan.

DID YOU KNOW

During the peasant revolts in Bengal and Bihar, a large number of sannyasis and fakirs who were being fleeced by the British rulers through various forms of exactions, played an important role in organizing the peasants. This was called the Sannyasi Rebellion. Along with the peasants and the sannyasis and fakir, there were also village artisans — the famous silk weavers of Bengal, who had been made to slave for the British merchants — and the thousands of unemployed soldiers from the disbanded Mughal army. Led by Majnu Shah, Bhabani Pathak, Debi Chaudhurani and a host of heroic figures, the rebellion continued till the beginning of the 19th century and was marked by daring attacks on the East India Company's offices in different parts of Bihar and Bengal, killing of notorious Indian landlords and money-lenders as well as of oppressive British traders and army officers, and both guerilla and positional warfare against the British army.

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3.5 SUMMARY

In this unit, you have learnt that:

- The Santhals were unassuming people who worked under primitive agricultural conditions. Sir George Campbell paid tribute to them as being 'most industrious and even skilful clearers of the jungle and reclaimers of the soil'. With the establishment of the Permanent Zamindari Settlement (1793), the lands which they had cultivated for centuries were overnight turned over to the zamindars.
- The Rajas of Maheshpur and Pakur were hated by the Santhals because they granted leases of Santhal villages to non-Santhal Bengali zamindars and moneylenders. The zamindars, the police, the revenue and court exercised a combined system of extortions, oppressive exactions, forcible dispossession of property, abuse and personal violence and a variety of petty tyrannies upon the timid and yielding Santhals.
- The Santhal area, which had up to then been administratively broken up and merged into the neighbouring districts, was now reorganized into a separate entity known as the Santhal Paraganas.
- One of the most popular events of peasant revolt was the conflict with Indigo cultivators in Bengal during 1859–60. The peasants were forced to cultivate indigo and sell them at cheaper rates to the British. The cultivation of indigo would make their lands infertile and fallow forever. Upon refusal, the peasants were tortured and beaten, ruthlessly and brutally and were forced to cultivate indigo.
- The indigo cultivators of Bihar revolted in a large scale in Darbhanga and Champaran in 1866–68. Unrest broke out amidst peasants in the 1870s in East Bengal (now Bangladesh).
- The Carnatic wars were fought in the middle of the eighteenth century. These wars consisted of many independent rulers and their kingdoms. They fought for succession as well as territory. These wars were described as a diplomatic or a military struggle amongst the French East India Company and the British East India Company for power. Due to these military wars, the British East India Company formed its dominance among the European trading companies in India. The French Company was shoved towards a corner and it was restricted mainly to Pondicherry.
- The Moplah Rebellion, which occurred in Malabar during 1921, was a conflict triggered by religious revivalism among the Muslim Moplahs. It was based on deep disaffection with British rule, and a strong sectarian resentment against the land-owning Hindu Nair community, who sided with the British. The rebellion had a strong fundamental Islamic and espoused *'freedom from the foreigners'*.

3.6 KEY TERMS

- **Moneylender:** A person whose business is lending money to others who pay interest
- **Rebellion:** An act of violent or open resistance to an established government or ruler
- **Zamindar:** A landowner, especially, one who leases his land to tenant farmers

Check Your Progress

5. The Moplah Rebellion occurred in _____ during 1921.
6. The _____ action had broken the Moplahs up into small bands scattered about the country.

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3.7 ANSWERS TO 'CHECK YOUR PROGRESS'

1. The Santhals' belief was that the land belongs to the one who first tilled it.
2. Zamindars
3. The indigo revolt started in the Nadia district of Bengal and spread across Burdwan, Birbhum and Bangladesh (Khulna and Pabna).
4. 'No Rent Policy'
5. Malabar
6. Dorset

3.8 QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Short-Answer Questions

1. Who were the Santhals?
2. How was the Santhal Parganas formed?
3. What do you understand by indigo revolt?
4. What led to the Deccan riots?
5. What was the significance of the Moplah rebellion?

Long-Answer Questions

1. Write a short note on Santhal movement.
2. Discuss in detail the Indigo revolt.
3. Describe in detail the Deccan riots.
4. Write a descriptive note on Moplah uprising.

3.9 FURTHER READING

Chopra, P.N. 2003. *A Comprehensive History of Modern India*. New Delhi: Sterling Publishers.

Grover, B.L. 1997. *History of Modern India*. New Delhi: S. Chand & Company Limited.

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UNIT 4 RISE OF MILITANT NATIONALISM AND COMMUNALISM

Structure

4.0 Introduction
4.1 Unit Objectives
4.2 Rise of Extremists or Militant Nationalism
  4.2.1 Factors that Led to the Rise of Extremism
  4.2.2 Objectives and Methods of Extremists
4.3 Nationalism and Swadeshi Movement
  4.3.1 Swadeshi Movement
  4.3.2 Role of Students, Women, Muslims and the Masses during Swadeshi Movement
4.4 Revolutionary Activities
4.5 Muslim Politics and the Foundation of Muslim League
  4.5.1 Formation of All India Muslim League
4.6 Growth of Communalism
  4.6.1 Anti-Muslim British Policy
  4.6.2 Role of Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan
  4.6.3 Morley-Minto Reforms of 1909 and Communalism
  4.6.4 Communalism: An Interpretation of Indian History
  4.6.5 Militant Nationalism with Communal Overtone
  4.6.6 Foundation of the Muslim League
  4.6.7 Jinnah's Two-Nation Theory
  4.6.8 Hindu Communalism
4.7 Summary
4.8 Key Terms
4.9 Answers to 'Check Your Progress'
4.10 Questions and Exercises
4.11 Further Reading

4.0 INTRODUCTION

The freedom struggle of India was the result of the basic contradiction between the colonial rule and the Indian people. Except for some businessmen, big landlords and some princes directly benefiting from the colonial rule, almost all Indians were exploited by the colonial rulers. The colonial government in India, which was guided by the imperialist government in Britain and worked for the benefits of the merchants, capitalists and aristocrats of Britain, was a completely foreign government. It never worked in the interest of the Indian people. It was this exploitative and foreign character of the British colonial rule in India that led to revolts by the Indians against this government. This also resulted in establishment of Indian National Congress in 1885. The Indian intelligentsia, which had earlier believed in the benevolence of the British rule, later criticized it for exploiting the country and draining away its wealth.

Colonial rule, destruction of the old social and political order, rise of a new social class—all contributed to the development of nationalism in India. The religious and social movements also contributed to the growth of nationalism.

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This unit deals with social change and religious dissent in the context of nationalism in India.

4.1 UNIT OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to:

- Discuss the rise of militant nationalism
- Describe the factors that led to the Swadeshi Movement and revolutionary activities
- Explain the nature of Muslim politics and the foundation of the Muslim League
- Interpret how communal ideas grow in India

4.2 RISE OF EXTREMISTS OR MILITANT NATIONALISM

The closing decade of the nineteenth century and early years of the twentieth century witnessed the emergence of a new and younger group within the Indian National Congress, which was sharply critical of the ideology and methods of the old leadership. These 'angry young men' advocated the adoption of Swaraj as the goal of the Congress, which was to be achieved by more self-reliant and independent methods. The new group came to be called the extremists in contrast to the older one which began to be referred to as the moderates.

The militant form of nationalism was first found in the teachings and preaching of Bankim Chandra Chatterjee and Swami Dayananda Saraswati. Bankim Chandra Chatterjee was inspired by the *Bhagavad Gita* and visualized a united India. Swami Vivekananda, who was called the prophet of nationalism by Bipin Chandra Pal, added spiritual dimension to the idea of nationalism. He inspired the youth of his time, more than anyone else. The root of extremism lies in two important factors—the policies of colonial rule, and the failure of moderate leaders to attract younger generation and common people.

4.2.1 Factors that Led to the Rise of Extremism

Following are the factors led to the rise of extremists:

- Enlightenment of the true nature of British rule
- Civil Services examinations was disallowed
- Partition of Bengal
- The Indian Council Act, 1892, failed to introduce an elective element in India and provided for selection of some members
- Adoption of the Tariff and Cotton Duties Act of 1894 and 1896 by the Indians
- Curbing freedom of press (1904) and controlling universities through Indian University Act (1904)
- Defeat of Russia (1904-05) by Japan inspired the educated youth
- Circulation of Vernacular newspaper went up from 2,99,000 in 1885 to 8,17,000 in 1905. Some of the popular journals like *Kesari* (Marathi) and *Bangabhasi* (Bengali) opposed the moderate Congress
- The famine of Maharashtra in 1896

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4.2.2 Objectives and Methods of Extremists

The new turn in Indian politics found expression in two forms—the formation of the extremist group within the Congress and the growth of terrorism or revolutionary movement in the country at large. Four prominent Congress leaders—Lokamanya Tilak, Bipin Chandra Pal, Aurobindo Ghosh and Lala Lajpat Rai, defined the creed of the new group, gave articulate form to its aspirations and guided its operations. One of the earliest leaders who criticized the moderate politics systematically, in a series of articles titled 'New Lamps for Old' was Aurobindo Ghose. He did not like the constitutional method of struggle based on English model and attacked the soft attitude of the Congress. He told them not to take inspiration from England but to take inspiration from French Revolution (1789-99). He also suggested bringing the proletariat (working) class in the national movement. The emerging leaders in the Congress, like Bipin Chandra Pal, Ashwini Kumar Dutta, Lala Lajpat Rai and Bal Gangadhar Tilak, were not happy with the 'prayers' and 'petitions' methods. They were in favour of self-reliance, constructive work, mass contact through *melas*, public meetings, use of mother tongue in education and political works. They argued that 'good government is no substitute for self-government'. The issue of Swadeshi Movement widened the gap between the moderates and the extremists. The extremists wanted to spread the movement in the entire country and complete non-cooperation with the government. Lajpat Rai and Tilak were more aggressive in their ideas and plans.

Lajpat Rai thundered 'no national is worthy of any political status if it cannot distinguish between begging rights and claiming them'. He further argued that 'sovereignty rests with the people; the state exists for them and rules in their name'. But the true founder of militant nationalism was Bal Gangadhar Tilak. He criticized the moderates in his unique style– 'we will not achieve any success in our labours if we croak once a year like a frog'. He was quick to set the political goal of India, i.e., 'Swaraj' or self-government instead of reform in administration. He showed greater confidence and ability when he declared 'Swaraj is my birth right and I shall have it'. He was a pioneer in many ways. He used religious symbols and festivals, like Ganesh festival since 1894, to mobilize people and he made patriotic-cum-historical cult through Shivaji festival since 1896 to inspire the youth. He even carried out the no-revenue campaign in 1896–97, during severe famine in Maharashtra. He called upon the government to take those measures of relief, which were provided under law in the Famine Relief Code. Through his paper, *Kesari*, he made an appeal to the people to refuse to pay taxes. He wrote angrily, 'Can you not be bold even in the grip of death'. He also started Boycott Movement on the issue of countervailing Cotton Excise Duty Act of 1896. It should be clearly understood that the extremists' demand for Swaraj was a demand for 'complete freedom from foreign control and full independence to manage national affairs without any foreign restraints'. The Swaraj of the moderate leaders was merely a demand for colonial self-government within the Empire. The methods employed by the two groups (moderates and extremists) were different in their tempo and approach. The extremists had no faith in the benevolence of the British public or parliament, nor were they convinced of the efficacy of merely holding conferences. The extremists also affirmed their faith in passive resistance, mass agitation and strong will to suffer or make self-sacrifices. The new leadership sought to create a passionate love for liberty, accompanied by a spirit of sacrifice and a readiness to suffer for the cause of the country. They strove to root out from the people's mind the omnipotence of the ruler, and instead give them self-reliance and confidence in their own strength. They had deep faith in the strength of the masses and they planned to achieve Swaraj

Check Your Progress

1. The militant form of nationalism was first found in the teachings and preaching of _____ and _____.
2. State one factor that led to the rise of extremism.
3. What does 'Swaraj' mean?

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through mass action. They, therefore, pressed for political work among the masses and for direct political action by the masses. The extremists advocated boycott of the foreign goods, use of *swadeshi* goods, national education and passive resistance.

4.3 NATIONALISM AND SWADESHI MOVEMENT

The growth of nationalism during the second half of the nineteenth century was one of the most significant features of Indian history. Various factors contributed to the growth of nationalism. Though pre-colonial India had a self-sufficient economy based largely on agriculture, Indians as such were not integrated, neither economically nor socially. Colonization helped in unifying a country as diverse as India. The British conquest of India was followed by the establishment of a centralized government, which brought about political and administrative unification. Introduction of common laws and institutions gradually began to unite India. Gradually the sense of nationalism seeped in among Indians and by the year 1885, Indian National Congress was formed. In the words of Edwyn Bevan, 'the British Raj was like a steel-frame which held the injured body of India together till the gradual process of internal growth had joined the dislocated bones, knit up the torn fibres and enabled the patient to regain inner coherence and unity'. Thus, establishment of political unity, uniform system of administration, law and currency generated the idea of India as a nation. We have already discussed in unit 2, the various factors that were responsible for the growth of nationalism.

4.3.1 Swadeshi Movement

The Swadeshi movement was born as a unified reaction against the partition of Bengal in 1905 and continued up to 1908. In fact, it was the most successful of all the pre-Gandhian movements. Primarily, the scheme of partition was opposed through a comprehensive use of conventional 'moderate' means of press campaigns, petitions and several meetings, massive conferences at the Calcutta town hall, etc. When such measures and techniques bailed, it led to a search for new means like boycott of British goods, Rakhi Bandhan and Arandhan.

At the theoretical level, two significant trends can be specified in the Swadeshi movement—(i) constructive Swadeshi and (ii) political 'extremism'. The weapon of 'boycott' was used to make Swadeshi movement successful. Constructive Swadeshi comprised self-help through the means of Swadeshi industries, national schools and attempts at village improvement. It found expression through the business ventures of people such as Prafulla Chandra Roy or Nilratan Sarkar; national education movement started by Satishchandra Mukherjee; and development work in villages by reviving the traditional Hindu Samaj outlined by Rabindranath Tagore. Aswini Kumar Datta's Swadesh Bandhav Samity also played a key role in the effort for reconstruction. Rabindranath termed this perspective of development *atmashakti* (self-strengthening).

However, it appealed little to the excited educated youth of Bengal. They were more drawn to the doctrine of political 'extremism'. Their basic difference with the proponents of constructive Swadeshi was regarding methods. In April 1907, the classic statements were given by Sri Aurobindo Ghosh in this regard in a series of articles. These were later reprinted as the 'Doctrine of Passive Resistance'. He envisioned a programme of 'organized and relentless boycott of British goods, official education, justice and executive administration'. All this was to be backed up by the positive

development of Swadeshi industries, schools and arbitration courts. Moreover, he looked forward to civil disobedience, 'social boycott' of loyalists and the option of waging armed struggle if the British repression crossed the limits of endurance.

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There was another controversy over cultural ideas between the modern nationalists and the proponents of Hindu revivalism. In general, the Swadeshi mood was strongly linked to the efforts to associate religious revivalism with politics. The method of Swadeshi vows in temples was first used by Surendranath Banerjee. Usually, the national education plans possessed a very strong revivalist content. Further, 'boycott' was planned to be enforced through traditional caste sanctions. Such aggressive brand of Hinduism usually got inextricably reflected in the pages of *Bande Mataram*, *Sandhya* or *Yugantar*. Nonetheless, Brahmo journals such as *Sanjibani* and *Prabasi* were very critical of this view.

The Hindu revivalist tendency, along with the British propaganda that the new province would fetch more jobs for the Muslims, achieved significant success in turning the upper and middle classes of Muslims against the Swadeshi movement. In spite of powerful pleas for communal unity given by an active group of Swadeshi Muslim agitators such as Ghaznavi, Rasul, Din Mahomed, Didar, Liakat Hussain, etc., East Bengal witnessed communal riots. For maintaining Hindu images, a few Hindu *zamindars* and *mahajans* started to levy an *Ishvar brtti*. As such a huge section of the Muslim community in Bengal remained detached from the Swadeshi movement. Hindu *bhadralok*, whether believing in moderate or extremist politics, took an active part in the movement.

Rabindranath Tagore and other men of letters realized this limitation of the spontaneity of the movement. Rabindranath, though substantially influenced by revivalism for some time, driven by all the communal strife, in a series of outstandingly perceptive articles in mid 1907 pointed out that just blaming the British for the riots was an oversimplification of the situation.

Along with such cultural limitations, the history of boycott and Swadeshi movement clearly illustrates the limitations of a movement launched by the intelligentsia in the sense that it possessed broadly bourgeois aspirations but had little real bourgeois support. During the initial stages, boycott attained some success. Hence, in September 1906, the Calcutta collector of customs observed a decline in the sales of Manchester cloth. Nonetheless, the decline was more born of a quarrel over trade terms between Calcutta *marwari* dealers and the British manufacturers. Significantly, the biggest decline was for items such as shoes and cigarettes where the demand was basically from the middle-class Indian gentry.

Despite such limitations, the Swadeshi mood brought about considerable revival in handloom, silk weaving and some other traditional arts and crafts. Further, several attempts were undertaken to promote modern industries. Hence, in August 1906, Banga Lakshmi Cotton Mills was started and there were some reasonably successful ventures in the fields of soap, matches, porcelain, chrome and cigarettes.

A significant diversity is noticeable within the national education efforts in Swadeshi Bengal. It ranges from the schemes for vernacular technical teaching to *Santiniketan* founded by Rabindranath and the Dawn Society of Satish Mukherjee. These comprised the attempts to combine the traditional and the modern in a plan for 'higher culture' for selected youths. In March 1906, the National Society of Education was set up as a parallel university. National education possessed negligible job prospects and hence failed in attracting the bulk of students, still a few institutions like Bengal National College or Bengal Technical Institute continued their operations.

The appearance of *Samitis* was an achievement of the Swadeshi times. Most of these *Samitis* were quite open bodies by 1908 and performed various activities like physical and moral training, social work during religious festivals, propagating the Swadeshi message in various forms, and organizing schools, crafts arbitration courts and village societies, apart from implementing the techniques of passive resistance.

Unfortunately, the Swadeshi movement indirectly alienated the common Muslim public from the mainstream of national politics. They followed a different course which culminated in the formation of the Muslim League (1906) in Dacca. However, it also helped in providing a new dimension to the Indian nationalist movement through giving the Gandhian conception of mass *satyagraha* without taking a recourse to violence.

Significance of Swadeshi movement

Although the Swadeshi movement was not immediately successful in unifying the partitioned Bengal, still its significance cannot be underestimated. It is because of the following factors:

- The Swadeshi movement was fairly different from the earlier movements conducted by the national leaders. In this movement, a programme of direct political action was undertaken which was opposed to the policy of 'prayer and petition'.
- During the initial stages, the Swadeshi movement tried to bring about the annulment of the partition of Bengal. However, finally its efforts assumed a bigger dimension to incorporate the objective of attaining complete freedom from the foreign domination itself.
- The 'boycott' aspect of the Swadeshi movement comprised the aim of pressurizing the mill-owners of Manchester economically so that they could bring pressure upon the British government, for the annulment of Partition. However, with the passage of time the 'boycott' did not keep limited to the British goods alone. It was applied on a broader scale to incorporate everything that was foreign, specifically British.
- The cultural aspect of the Swadeshi movement was also very significant. Bengali literature flourished during the Swadeshi days. The patriotic compositions and creations of Rabindranath Tagore and Rajanikanto Sen magically touched the patriotic sense of the masses.

4.3.2 Role of Students, Women, Muslims and the Masses during Swadeshi Movement

The students of Bengal played a prominent part in the Swadeshi agitation. They propagated and practised Swadeshi and took the lead in organizing picketing of shops selling foreign items. The government on its part tried its best to suppress the students. It issued orders to penalize such schools and colleges whose students were actively involved in the Swadeshi agitation. Their grants-in-aid and other privileges were withdrawn. Further, they were disaffiliated and their students were not allowed to compete for scholarships and were restricted from all governmental services.

Penalizing action was taken against students found guilty of participating in the nationalist agitation. A good number of them were fined, expelled from schools and colleges, arrested and at times beaten by the police. However, the students refused to be cowed down.

An amazing aspect of the Swadeshi agitation comprised the active participation of women. Many women belonging to traditionally home-centred urban middle classes took part in processions and picketing. Afterwards, they participated in the nationalist movement at a very active level.

Moreover, many prominent Muslims participated in the Swadeshi movement. These included Abdul Rasul (the famous barrister), Liaquat Hussain (the popular agitator) and Guznavi (the businessman). Maulana Abul Kalam Azad joined one of the revolutionary terrorist groups. However, majority of the middle and upper class Muslims remained neutral. Many others, following the Nawab of Dhaka (who got a loan of ₹14 lakh from the government), even supported partition under the belief that East Bengal would come to have a Muslim majority.

This kind of communal attitude, as was nurtured by the Nawab of Dhaka and others, was greatly encouraged by the government officials. In a speech made at Dhaka, Lord Curzon stated that one of the reasons for the partition was 'to invest the Mohammedans in Eastern Bengal with a unity which they have not enjoyed since the days of the old Mussalman Viceroys and Kings.'

Swadeshi Movement began as an anti-partition agitation in Bengal and boycott was first suggested by Krishna Kumar Mitra in *Sanjivani*. The boycott of British products was followed by the advocacy of Swadeshi and to buy indigenously produced goods as a patriotic duty. The leaders of Bengal felt that mere demonstrations, public meetings and resolutions were not enough and something more concrete was needed and the answer was Swadeshi and boycott. Mass meetings were held all over Bengal and big crowds took the oath of Swadeshi. Patients refused to take foreign medicines and were willing to face the consequences. People burnt foreign clothes and foreign cigarettes. The Swadeshi Movement was an immense success.

Self-reliance meant assertion of national dignity, honour and self-confidence. In the economic field, it meant indigenization of the industry. Many textile mills, soap and match factories, national banks and insurance companies were started. A prominent part was played by the students of Bengal in the Swadeshi agitation. They picketed the shops selling foreign cloth and other foreign goods. Women also joined processions and picketed the shops dealing in foreign goods. The programmes of Swadeshi and boycott went hand in hand. As a consequence of the Swadeshi movement, there was a flowering of nationalist poetry, prose and journalism. The leader of Bengal took up the work of national education in right earnest. National educational institutions were opened by them and literary, technical and physical education was given there. On 15 August 1906, a National Council of Education was set up and Aurobindo Ghose was appointed the first Principal of the National College.

4.4 REVOLUTIONARY ACTIVITIES

Even the reactionary activities of the extremists school of leaders could not satisfy the Indian youth. They opposed the British with the use of violena through pistol and bomb. The revolutionary terrorist movement in India strongly affected the Congress and the British government. Revolutionary terrorist groups restricted their strengths only to remain more agile and effective. The movement, however low the number it attracted, had an impact on India: its people, the Congress and the British rulers.

Check Your Progress

4. Name any two socio-religious reformers.
5. Where did the Swadeshi Movement originate?
6. _____ meant assertion of national dignity, honour and self-confidence.

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Revolutionary activities in Maharashtra

The Chapaker brothers (Deodar and Balkrishana Chapeau) shot dead Lt. Ayerst in 1897 at Poona, although Rand, the president of the Plague Committee was the real target. They were arrested, convicted and hanged. Similarly, Bal Gangadhar Tilak was sentenced to jail for provoking terrorism through his writings.

Revolutionary activities in Bengal

Bengal became the hotbed of terrorist activities. In 1908, Prafulla Chaki and Khudiram Bose threw a bomb at Kennedy's carriage assuming it to be that of Kingsford, the judge of Muzaffarpur. Previously, the concerned judge had awarded capital punishment to many youths. Two ladies died in the incidence and Prafulla shot himself dead before he could be captured by the police. On the other hand, Khudiram was tried and hanged.

In Calcutta, Aurobindo Ghosh organized the revolutionaries. He tried to strike terror in the minds of the British officials by killing some British officers. In Alipore conspiracy case, Aurobindo, his brother, Barinas and others were captured and tried. Namenda Gosling, the approver in the case, was shot dead. A similar fate awaited the Public Prosecutor and the Deputy Superintendent of police. Although Aurobindo was acquitted but his brother and the others were deported to Andaman. Sateen Bose and Kanai Dutta, who had killed the approver, were sentenced to death. Another revolutionary named Baghdad Jain was killed in an encounter with police in 1915. He was involved in the Dacca conspiracy case.

Revolutionary activities in Punjab

Punjab also became a centre of revolutionary activities under the leadership of Lala Hardayal, Avado Bihar, Amir Chandra, J.M. Chatterjee, etc. The revolutionary associations like 'Kitty Kinas Party' and 'Naujawan Sabha' were also set up.

Chandra Shekhar Azad founded 'Hindustan Republic Association'. It was later rechristened as 'Hindustan Socialist Republic Association'. Its leading members like Bhagat Singh, Raj Guru and Sukh Dev were sentenced to death for their involvement in the Kakori train robbery, bombing the Assembly hall and other terrorist activities. In fact, Punjab became a smouldering volcano for the British government.

The Europeans were attacked at Lahore. Several riots occurred at Rawalpindi under the leadership of Ajit Singh.

Revolutionary activities in Madras

The youths of Madras were inspired by the visit of Bipin Chandra Pal to Madras and his inflammatory speech. Chidambaram Pillai demanded total independence for India for which he was arrested. As a protest the crowd turned violent in Tuticorin and Tirunelveli. The police opened fire to disperse the crowd. The officer who had ordered firing was killed by Vanchi Ayer.

Revolutionary activities in the rest of India

At various places in western India as well the revolutionary terrorism made its presence felt. In 1909 Jackson, the Magistrate of Nasik was shot dead. He was very unpopular among the general public. The Ahmedabad bomb case and the Satara conspiracy cases were other noteworthy terrorist activities in the region.

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At Dehra Dun, a bomb was thrown at Viceroy Lord Harding by Rasbehari Bose. Some of the Viceroy's attendants were killed. In an encounter with British police in 1931, Chandra Shekhar Azad was shot dead at Alfred Park in Allahabad.

Revolutionary activities abroad

Even abroad the revolutionary activities continued in full swing. After the murder of District Magistrate Rand, Shyamji Krishna Verma of Kathiawar went to London and started Home Rule Society in due course of time.

In 1906, V.D. Savarkar went to London and joined 'Indian Society'. It promoted revolutionary terrorism. Madan Lal Dhingra, one of the members of this society, killed Sir William Curzon Willy, the ADC to the Secretary of State of India.

Among the revolutionary activities abroad, the role of Gadar Party can never be denied. Lala Hardayal, a revolutionary young man from Punjab, established Gadar Party and also published a weekly paper *The Gadar*. It aimed at bringing about a revolution in India to set the country free from the British. Lala Hardayal was ordered by the USA government to leave the country due to his engagement in the anti-British propaganda.

During the World War I, the Indian revolutionaries abroad approached the German government for help. They further sought help from the Muslims of Iran, Iraq and Afghanistan to overthrow the British empire in India. Sardar Ajit Singh and Sufi Amba Prasad went to the Middle East to unite the defeated Indian soldiers and garner their support.

Raja Mahendra Pratap led an Indo-German mission to Afghanistan and set up a free government there. The Komagata Maru case fanned the fire of revolutionary terrorism. This Japanese ship which took revolutionary Sikhs to Canada was denied anchoring in the port in Canada and returned to Calcutta. The passengers revolted not to board train for Punjab arranged by the British government. Some of them died due to the government's strict action. All these happenings inspired the terrorist movement in Punjab.

The revolutionary terrorists carried out political dacoities at Amritsar, Jullundur and Ludhiana in Punjab. These revolutionary activities lasted abroad till 1945 when Subhas Chandra Bose met a mysterious death. The revolutionary activities, both inside the country and abroad, could not succeed because these were confined just to the educated middle class people of India.

There were specific causes which were responsible for the failure of revolutionary activities. Some of them are: lack of sympathy from the upper class Indians; various types of organizational and financial problems coming across the revolutionaries; indifference of Indian National Congress towards the militant nationalist thought; tough and repressive measures taken by the government; and last but not the least, the appearance of Gandhiji on the scene.

Bhagat Singh, representative of the dissatisfied Indian youth who disapproved of Gandhian policies, offered revolutionary alternatives. He emerged as an extraordinary revolutionary and martyr of the Indian anti-colonial movement. He studied the European revolutionary movement and was particularly attracted to anarchism and communism. Being an out and out atheist, socialist and communist, it was not long before it dawned on him that just overthrowing the British was not enough. He realized that the socialist reconstruction of Indian society was essential, for which the workers needed to seize political power. In the words of Bhagat Singh and B.K. Dutt:

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> By Revolution we mean that the present order of things, which is based on manifest injustice must change. Producers or labourers, in spite of being the most necessary element of society, are robbed by their exploiters of their labour and deprived of their elementary rights. The peasant who grows corn for all, starves with his family; the weaver who supplies the world market with textile fabrics, has not enough to cover his own and his children's bodies; masons, smiths and carpenters who raise magnificent palaces, live like pariahs in the slums. The capitalists and exploiters, the parasites of society, squander millions on their whims.

This was their understanding of revolution which they expressed following the (assembly bomb case) on 6th June, 1929.

Their argument was that a 'radical change' was required and that it could only be brought about by those who realized that it was necessary to reorganize society on socialist. For this purpose, it was felt necessary to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat.

It is clear from the actions and slogans associated with the Lahore Conspiracy Case that Bhagat Singh and his comrades were followers of Communism. On January 21, 1930, they appeared in court with red scarves. The moment the magistrate was seated they raised the following slogans: 'Long Live Socialist Revolution', 'Long Live the Communist International', 'Long live the people', 'Lenin's name will never die', and 'Down with Imperialism.' The text of the following telegram was read by Bhagat Singh in court:

> On Lenin Day we send hearty greetings to all who are doing something for carrying forward the ideas of the great Lenin, we wish success to the great experiment Russia is carrying out. We join our voice to that of the International working class movement. The proletariat will win. Capitalism will be defeated. Death to Imperialism.

Bhagat Singh criticized the individual terrorism that existed among the revolutionary youth of his time. He realized that there was a need for the Communist Party to work towards mass mobilization. Bhagat strongly believed that the party had to organize the workers and the peasantry. The fight for the small economic demands through the labour unions, according to him, was the best means of educating the common masses for a final struggle to achieve political power. He also felt that the Communist Party should shoulder the additional responsibility of organizing a military department.

In his own words: 'I am not a terrorist and I never was, except perhaps in the beginning of my revolutionary career. And I am convinced that we cannot gain anything through these methods. One can easily judge it from the history of the Hindustan Socialist Republican Association. All our activities were directed towards an aim, i.e., identifying ourselves with the great movement as its military wing. If anybody has misunderstood me, let him amend his ideas. I do not mean that bombs and pistols are useless, rather the contrary. But I mean to say that mere bomb throwing is not only useless but sometimes harmful. The military department of the party should always keep ready all the war-material it can command for any emergency. It should back the political work of the party. It cannot and should not work independently.'

Bhagat Singh: Biographical profile

Bhagat Singh was born on 26 September 1907, in a middle class family of Sandhu Jats settled in Jullundhar, Punjab. He belonged to a generation caught between two decisive phases of the Indian national movement — the extremist phase of Lal-Bal-Pal and the Gandhian phase of non-violent mass action.

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Two leaders who worked in Punjab in the first decade of the 20th century were Sardar Ajit Singh, Bhagat Singh's paternal uncle and Sardar Kishen Singh, Bhagat Singh's father. Both opposed the mainstream leadership of the Indian National Congress, Lala Lajpat Rai in particular. Both brothers were radical in trying to attempt to mobilize the masses against the British at every available opportunity.

In 1887, the Chenab Colony was formed by the Punjab government through the diversion of the Chenab river into a system of canals. This transformed central Punjab, which was otherwise lying barren and waste, into fertile agricultural land. This colony was supposed to serve as a model for the rest of Punjab. A paternalistic form of administration and supervision was planned for it. The intention was to establish healthy and strong agricultural communities capable of demonstrating to other Punjabis the benefits of proper sanitation, careful economic planning and co-operation with the government in the form of a higher standard of living.

The Punjab Colonization of Land Bill was introduced in October 1906, in the local Legislative Council. The Bill established retroactive conditions pertaining to sanitation, tree planting and construction in the Chenab colony. Any breach of conditions would invite fines collected just like revenue. Section 31 ruled that courts would have no jurisdiction in the colony. In November, the government increased the occupier rate (charge on canal water) drastically.

In the Bari Doab canal area, the government had been lenient and exacted lower rates hoping that this leniency would ensure the loyalty of the Sikh Jats in the districts of Amritsar, Gurdaspur and Lahore. These Sikh Jats formed the majority of the recruits for the Indian Army.

The farmers of the colony were not happy with the administration in the colony. They were against the extra legal fees that the Bill aimed at legitimizing. Graft and corruption had galvanized the whole colony into opposing the entire system of interference and paternalism. In1903, a retired postal office, Sifaj-ud Din Ahmed, started the *Zamindar*, a newspaper, that publicized the plight of the colonists. This discontent soon turned into political opposition.

Bhagat Singh's grandfather Sardar Arjan Singh eloquently explained why the British were against the Bill and the problems they were creating for the Indians. Sardar Arjan Singh had settled in Banga, Lyallpur, after migrating from the canal area and was aware of the difficulties that plagued the residents of the area.

On March 22 and 23, 1907, public meetings were organized to raise protest against the Bill. While the meetings represented the interests of the rich only, Sardar Arjan Singh dispatched representatives from the 'Bharat Mata Society' to launch a protest against the colonizer at the meeting venue. The newspaper authorities had asked Lala Lajpat Rai to give a speech on the issue. It was Bhagat Singh who later explained the differences of opinion between Sardar Arjan Singh and Lala Lajpat Rai while writing on the national movement in Punjab. He wrote: 'Before leaving (for Lyallpur) Lalaji sent a message to Sardar Ajit Singh saying that the government should be thanked for (a previous) amendment and then asked to repeat the law.' Sardar Arjan Singh was against 'thanking the government' and replied to Lala Lajpat Rai saying: 'We shall prepare the masses for a no revenue campaign'.

Bhagat Singh explained the details of the meeting as follows: 'Lalaji was received by a large rally and consequently reached the pandal two hours late. In the meanwhile, Sardar Ajit Singh gave a speech. He was an impressive speaker. His tireless style of

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speech made the audience enthusiastic and by the end, he had a large following of people. By the time Lalaji reached the pandal, the masses were with the Bharat Mata Society; Lalaji was Punjab's finest orator but the style, the fearlessness and determination with which he spoke was something else. He received an ovation after every line. After the meeting many people dedicated their lives to the motherland.'

The account of this meeting has been mentioned by scholar N. Gerald Barrier too, who wrote stating: 'Lajpat Rai attempted to be moderate, but as happened frequently with his speech making, the crowds' frenzy drove him to use phrases and ideas verging on what the British termed 'sedition'. After the meeting, Lajpat Rai went on a lecture tour in the United Provinces, while Ajit Singh began to organize the farmers of Amritsar and Lahore. Under Ajit Singh's leadership, the colonists passed a resolution supporting a boycott of British goods and started a campaign to ensure that nobody paid the new water rate. The price of disobedience was social ostracism by the offender's caste or a fine of ₹ 500. The Lieutenant Governor of the Punjab, Denzil Ibbetson, believed sedition in the province to be taking two directions. First, Ajit Singh was trying to spread disaffection among the troops and the students and secondly, the 'fomenters of unrest' were corrupting the yeomanry. He asked the Government of India for permission to deport Ajit Singh and Lajpat Rai so as to be able to 'strike terror in the minds of those concerned'. Ajit Singh was deported to Mandalay. Sardar Kishen Singh, though less prominent than his brother was also part of this agitation and was put into jail.'

Ajit Singh and Kishen Singh were released from the jail soon after the Bill was repealed in 1907. Bhagat Singh was born in the same year, in the month of September. He was originally christened as Bhaganwala, which means the child of god, by his grandmother.

It was in the District Board Primary School in Banga that Bhagat Singh received his primary education. After a severe earthquake that shook Kangra in 1916–17, Bhagat Singh's father shifted base to Lahore in order to organize relief work for the victims. Bhagat Singh was simultaneously admitted to D.A.V. High School in Lahore. He later admitted in his writings that his father inspired him to devote his life to the cause of the nation and its freedom.

Bhagat Singh's first letter was to his grandfather. At the age of 12, he wrote to Sardar Ajit Singh to inform that he had effortlessly passed his school exam. Two years later, he wrote to him again, this time to apprise him of the plan of the railway staff to go on a strike. This letter was dated November 12, 1921, and revealed his knowledge of the Mahatma Gandhi's Non-Cooperation Movement against the British.

In 1923, Bhagat Singh joined the National College, Lahore, which was affiliated to the Punjab Quami Vidya Pith and was founded and managed by Lala Lajpat Rai and Bhai Parmanand. The college was set up as an alternative to the institutions run by the Government, introducing the concept of 'Swadeshi' to the field of education. The college was established with the philosophy of producing 'self-reliant and aggressive men and women that were required by India for progress.

Bhagat Singh's academic record was rather impressive. He was a member of the college dramatics society and seemed to have been popular with not just the teachers and students of his own college but also of other colleges. His energy, youthfulness, commanding voice and strong physique impressed everyone.

Bhagat Singh was fluent in Urdu, Hindi, Gurmukhi, English and Sanskrit. In one of his writings, he says that he was liked by some professors and disliked by others but

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was never an industrious or studious boy. He says that he was a shy boy who was pessimistic about his future and career. He did not get a chance to indulge in feelings of vanity.

By the time he was 16, Bhagat Singh was totally dedicated to the cause of national liberation. In 1924, his family pressurized him to get married. Finding it impossible to convince his parents of his determination to remain single, he left his house in Lahore. He travelled to Kanpur with an introduction by Jai Chandra Vidyalankar for Ganesh Shankar Vidyarthi.

He left a note addressed to his father where he asked for forgiveness and reminded his parents that he was meant to serve his country as was stated by his grandfather during his thread ceremony. Bhagat Singh told his classmate and friend, Jaidev Gupta, that the path he had decided to tread was full of possibilities. Before him, his two uncles who had chosen a similar path had left their wives widowed. Therefore, he did not want to add another widow to the clan. In fact, he even insisted that Chhabil Das, his professor should not get married. When Chhabil Das asked him why he should not tie the knot with someone who would be an encouraging companion and would also support his cause, Bhagat Singh could not reply.

Bhagat Singh worked with Ganesh Shankar Vidyarthi for a year bringing out a weekly nationalist newspaper called *Pratap*. Here, Bhagat Singh worked under the alias Balwant. He met people like B.K. Dutt, Shiv Venna and B.K. Sinha who became his good friends. With Ganesh Shankar Vidyarthi's efforts, Bhagat Singh, eventually accepted the post of headmaster of a National school near Aligarh.

In 1924, Bhagat Singh became a member of the Hindustan Republican Association, a year old organization started by Sachindranath Sanyal. Chandra Shekhar Azad was the main organizer of the association, and he later became a very good friend of Bhagat Singh. As a member of the HRA, Bhagat Singh began consider the philosophy of the bomb seriously. He realized that British imperialism could be fought only with an armed revolution. He travelled from one village to another recruiting people and activating the villages in the United Provinces.

In 1925, Bhagat Singh returned to Lahore and within the next year, he and his colleagues launched a militant youth organization called the Naujawan Bharat Sabha. In April 1926, Bhagat Singh contacted Sohan Singh Josh and through him the 'Workers and Peasants Party' responsible for bringing out the monthly magazine *Kirti* in Punjabi. Bhagat Singh joined the editorial board of the magazine and worked with Josh for the next year. In 1927, he was first arrested for his association with the Kakori case accused for an article written under the pseudonym Vidrohi (Rebel). He was also charged with the responsibility of a bomb explosion at Lahore during the Dussehra festival. However, he was let off owing to his good behaviour against a heavy security of ₹ 60,000.

In 1928, Bhagat Singh and Chandra Shekhar Azad were only ones associated with the Kakori case who were absconding. With all the other leaders in prison, they were the only ones left to lead the Hindustan Republican Association.

Many, including Ajoy Ghosh swear by the passion and power with which Bhagat Singh spoke. According to him, 'All those who met Bhagat Singh then and afterwards have testified to his remarkable intelligence and to the powerful impression he made when talking. Not that he was a brilliant speaker. But he spoke with such force, passion and earnestness that one could not help being impressed. We talked the whole night and as we went out for a stroll... it seemed to me that a new era was dawning for our party. We knew what we wanted and we knew how to reach our goal'.

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Even the reactionary activities of the extremist school of leaders could not satisfy the Indian youths. They opposed the British with the use of violence through pistol and bomb. They maintained that the tyranny and oppression of the government was to be handled with one-point programme, i.e., by murdering the British officers involved in atrocities.

Revolutionary terrorist tradition

From 1927 to 1928, Bhagat Singh studied the history of the revolutionary movement in India. His articles, mostly written for *Kirti,* dealt with the Babbar Akali Movement, the Kakori case, the Delhi bomb case, individual revolutionaries, the necessity for the youth to join the revolutionary movement and the need to evolve an alternative to the mainstream leadership of the Congress and particularly, Lala Lajpat Rai.

The first article Bhagat Singh wrote for the *Pratap* in 1926 was about the Babbar Akali movement, which was an attempt by Sikhs to liberate the country from the British and also to liberate their Gurudwaras from the corrupt Mahants. This outfit comprised of members from the rural areas of Bist Doab. The movement was led by soldiers who had left the army to join the Non Co-operation movement. It was decided to murder Sunder Singh Majitha, Bedi Kartar Singh, Mahant Devdas of Nankana, C.M. Bowring, the Superintendent of Police and C.M. King, Commissioner, Jullunder. This was a way of retaliating against the massacre of 140 Sikhs that Mahant Narayandas organized in Nankana Sahib on the February 21. The Babbar Akali group, however, was unable to kill anybody but the attempt at Bowring's assassination had landed them in jail. This is known as the Akali conspiracy case of 1921.

The movement impressed Bhagat Singh so much that he began to learn Gurmukhi after the Nankana Sahib massacre. He was most impressed by the fearlessness with which these men were willing to embrace death (six of the leaders were sentenced to death and executed on the 27 February, 1926). Bhagat Singh in his writings urges readers to visualize how these men must have taken the pledge to forsake their families and sacrifice their life for the country, 'What a beautiful, bewitching and pure vision it must have been. What are the heights of self-sacrifice? Where are the limits of courage and fearlessness?'

The members of the Hindustan Republican Association stopped the train carrying the government treasury at Kakori, near Lucknow and looted the train. The leaders, Ramprasad Bismil and Ashfaqullah were sentenced to death in April 1927.

Bhagat Singh was impressed by the camaraderie that existed between the accused and the willingness and happiness with which they accepted their death sentence. The article ends with a comment on those who do not sympathize with the accused, 'We sigh and think we have done our duty. We do not have that fire, we do not suffer, for we have become corpses. Today they are sitting on a hunger-strike and suffering and we are silently watching the show. May God grant them the strength and courage they need in their last few days.'

Bhagat Singh saw Kartar Singh Sarabha as his 'mentor, friend and brother'. Sarabha was born in 1896 in Ludhiana. After completing college, he went to America in 1912, where he encountered racial discrimination and realized what Indians were subjected to abroad. He organized Indian workers in San Francisco who were willing to sacrifice their life and wealth for the cause of India's liberation. In 1913 the *Ghadar* newspaper was launched by Sarabha. Sarabha came back to India in 1914 and got in touch with the leaders of the revolution. In February 1915, Sarabha and Rash Behari Bose decided to

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infiltrate the army and tried to trigger off a revolt. They did not succeed because a member of their group betrayed them and Sarabha was arrested and sentenced to death.

In May 1928, *Kirti* reprinted an article published in the Bombay newspaper *Shradhanand* on 'terrorism' and its true meaning. Being a member of the editorial board, Bhagat Singh and his comrades actively participated in the debate on the contemporary ideology of terrorism. The article was an attempt at defending terrorism by going against the definition of terrorism as an unjust, coercive and destructive force. The article highlighted the fact that while in the West '..every country is attempting to increase the arms at its disposal. On the other hand, here in India, it is considered a sin to take up arms.' It appeals to the readers to not equate violence with crime, for 'when patriots take up arms for the sake of their country and its safety, when they eliminate exploitation and oppression or when they avenge the injustice done to the oppressed and go to the gallows, they use violence but they do not spread terror'. Bhagat Singh and his comrades sought to distinguish between crime and terrorism, saying that even though they were both associated with violence, the intention behind them is different.

Bhagat Singh, despite being aware of the revolutionary terrorist tradition that had existed in the country as a mode of protest against the British, especially in the Punjab, stayed away from his predecessors because:

(i) The revolutionary leaders had failed to accept the logic of atheism and could not proclaim it publicly.

(ii) There was no concept of a post-independence society. Though the immediate goal was to destroy the British Empire, no political alternative had been worked out.

For Bhagat Singh, the turning point came when the leadership of the Hindustan Republican Association fell on his shoulders. Without delay he articulated the necessity of having a political ideology, and that was to be Marxism.

From 1926, Bhagat Singh began to study so that he was well equipped to counter criticism from opponents, present strong arguments and defend them. The most important need was to clearly state the ideals for which they were fighting. There was sufficient time for studying as there had been no real agitation in 1926.

Marxism and Bhagat Singh

Bhagat Singh became a revolutionary once he arrived in Kanpur. Kanpur, being an industrial city had a sizeable population consisting of urban proletariat. From the year 1926 onwards, Bhagat Singh had even come in contact with Sohan Singh Josh as well as the Workers and Peasants Party. This marked the turning phase in his life.

From 1926, as Bhagat Singh began studying the history of the revolutionary movement in India and the world, he was able to appreciate the need to fight imperialism through a broad-based people's movement. He quoted extensively from Lenin and Trotsky while writing notes in prison. He read the *Communist Manifesto* and realized that a bourgeois revolution was not the solution for a country oppressed by capitalism.

He also realized that without violence it would not be possible to bring about a change in the social structure. The perception of the existence of class cleavages in society also led to the understanding that violence would be imperative to bring about a change in the social structure.

The Communist Party of India was formed in 1925-26 and went underground almost immediately after its inception. Before six years were up, Bhagat Singh was executed.

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Organization and Strategy

The first organization that Bhagat Singh became an active part of was the Hindustan Republican Association (HRA) in 1924. His association with HRA taught him two things that were mandatory for a political organization:

(i) To seek the company of like-minded individuals so that despite the size of the organization being small, the party could continue to function and operate smoothly.

(ii) The need to launch a newspaper, along with notices and pamphlets, to convey revolutionary ideas to the people and evoke their interest in revolutionary activities

As part of the editorial team of *Kirti*, Bhagat Singh got to work with Sohan Singh Josh and the 'Workers and Peasants Party'. This association made him realize the significance of forming a revolutionary party in Punjab and recruiting new people for the cause of the revolution. Bhagat Singh was active in Punjab and together with his comrades he formed the Naujawan Bharat Sabha. However, nobody knows clearly as to who were his comrades or what role he played in founding the group. This Sabha was described by many as a revolt of the middle class against the leadership of the Congress; as a party of the middle class who wished to be free from the imperialist yoke. The first conference of the Sabha was held from the 12th to the 14th of April 1928.

The same year, Bhagat Singh also shouldered the responsibility of the Hindustan Republican Association with Chandrashekhar Azad. Bhagat Singh first changed the name of the organization to the Hindustan Socialist Republican Association. There was a central committee, with provincial committees as well as committees at the district level under it. These committees were responsible for taking all major decisions, which in turn were binding to all. The HSRA collapsed when Azad was shot in 1930. There were personal issues, conflicts and charges due to which the atmosphere was corrupted. However, as the Workers and Peasants Party worked in collaboration with the Naujawan Bharat Sabha, the latter was able to withstand the collapse of the HSRA and even managed to take its place in Punjab.

The Naujawan Bharat Sabha welcomed any man or woman between 18 and 35 years of age who approved of and agreed to its aims and objects of establishing a completely independent Republic of labourers and peasants throughout the country. The organization was divided into the following:

- The Naujawan Bharat Sabha Conference
- The Naujawan Bharat Sabha, Punjab
- The Naujawan Bharat Sabha according to districts
- The Naujawan Bharat Sabha according to tehsils
- The Naujawan Bharat Sabha accordingto police stations
- The reception committee of the Naujawan Bharat Sabha

A central body was created in 1928. Within a year, branches were opened in different parts of Punjab and even in Peshawar. The party was no doubt organized very well because it managed to deal with paucity of funds, arms as well as manpower. It built a close-knit unit that facilitated decision-making and helped prevent espionage and infiltration. The prominent leaders were Bhagat Singh, Sukhdev, Rajguru, Bhagwaticharan Vobra, Kedarnath Sehgal and Chandra Shekhar Azad.

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In October, 1928, the British government of India appointed the Simon Commission to look into the possibility of granting India the chance to rule itself. The fact that this Commission did not have any Indian representative made it the focus of popular attack in Lahore. Lajpat Rai led a demonstration that asked the Simon Commission to return to England. In retaliation, the police resorted to lathi charge. Lala Lajpat Rai who was already old and weak, died subsequently.

The revolutionary terrorists, although critical of Lajpat Rai's politics, vowed to avenge his death. Bhagat Singh, with Sukhdev, Rajguru and Azad, assassinated the Assistant Superintendent of Police, J.P. Saunders, who was believed to have hit Lala Lajpat Rai directly. The quartet then went underground.

At a time when there was no television, the radio and newspapers were the only available means of spreading information. Polemical pamphlets were published. However, not everybody read these pamphlets. Therefore, groups garnered support by courting arrest and then carrying on propaganda challenging the trial. Within the prison, they tried to foment an agitation amongst the native policemen. Most of us know Bhagat Singh as that immortal freedom fighter whose most common photograph shows him smiling, seated on a cot, with crossed feet, handcuffs and tilted head. This image was taken when he was the first arrested in the Dussehra bomb case.

The nature of colonial oppression was such that the rights of prisoners, political prisoners in particular, were infringed upon. This posed an opportunity of confrontation with the British regime. The press developed enough to ensure that any confrontation would be reported to the public.

The government introduced the Public Safety Bill in March 1928, in the Legislative Assembly. The bill was rejected by the Indian members in 1929. The Viceroy tried to pass it as an ordinance. The Naujawan Bharat Sabha passed resolutions that opposed this and the Trade Dispute Bill and it finally decided to intervene directly. On 8 April 1929, Bhagat Singh and B.K. Dutt threw a small explosive in the Assembly and waited to be arrested. Bhagat Singh's trial began in May and on 6th June, Bhagat Singh and B.K. Dutt, as representatives of the HSRA, declared that they had dropped the bomb on the floor of the Assembly Chamber to register their protest 'on behalf of those who had no other means left to give expression to their heart-rending agony.' They said that their aim was to 'make the deaf hear'.

On 12 June, Bhagat Singh was sentenced to transportation in the Assembly Bomb case. On the 15 June he launched a hunger strike to bring about jail reforms. On 10 July 1929, the trial of the Lahore Conspiracy Case began and ended on the 7 October 1930, with a death sentence. Bhagat Singh, Sukhdev and Rajguru were hanged on the 23 March 1931.

4.5 MUSLIM POLITICS AND THE FOUNDATION OF MUSLIM LEAGUE

The anti-partition movement of Bengal was entirely the handiwork of the national leadership of Bengal and not just of a particular section of the movement. At the initial stage, its prominent leaders belonged to the moderate faction, e.g., Surendranath Banerjee and Krishna Kumar Mitra. However, during the later stages militant and revolutionary nationalists took over the movement. Actually, both the moderate and militant nationalists functioned in unity during the course of the movement. The anti-partition movement

Check Your Progress

7. Name two journals for which Bhagat Singh wrote.
8. Who inspire Bhagat Singh the most?

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began on 7 August 1905. On this day, in the Town Hall of Calcutta a massive demonstration against partition was organized. Starting from this meeting, the delegates spread the movement to the various parts of the province.

The Partition came into effect on 16 October 1905. Throughout Bengal, it was declared as a day of national mourning by the leaders of the protest movement. It was observed as a day of fasting. There were *hartals* in Calcutta. In the early morning hours, people walked barefooted and took bath in the Ganga. The national song, '*Amar Sonar Bangla*,' was composed by Rabindranath Tagore for the occasion. It was sung by massive crowds peacefully doing the rounds in the streets. The song was in fact adopted as its national anthem by Bangladesh in 1971 after liberation.

The streets in Calcutta buzzed with the slogans of '*Bande Mataram*' which overnight became the national song of Bengal and very soon became the theme song of the national movement as well. The Raksha Bandhan ceremony was used in a new manner. Hindus and Muslims tied the *rakhi* on one another's wrists to mark the unbreakable unity and harmony among the Bengalis and between the two halves of Bengal. A great demonstration took place in the afternoon when the veteran leader Ananda Mohan Bose laid the foundation of a Federation Hall to symbolize the unity of Bengal.

Purification of their religion was the main aim of the Islamic socio-religious movements in India. Some of the important socio-religious movements in Islam in the country have been the Ahmadiyya movement, the Faraizi movement, the Tariqah-i-Muhammadiyah movement and the Aligarh movement, among others. To motivate the Muslims to join these socio-religious movements, their initiators drew upon the dynamics of the society. However, not all these movements wanted to achieve the same end; their aims and objectives differed and so their strategies. Thus, while some of them wanted to "purify the religion", others tried to form and propagate the idea of an Islamic state that would follow "a sanctified form of Islam and also re-establish the religion to its proper position".

The Ahmadiyya Movement

The Ahmadiyya Muslim Jama'at (community) movement was launched by Mirza Ghulam Ahmad on 23 March, 1889. The movement was envisioned as a contribution to the revitalization of Islam. The movement was introduced by the Ahmadis, who considered themselves to be a part of the Muslim community. They were also among the earliest of the Muslim communities to settle across many Western countries, including Britain.

Ahmadis or Ahmadi Muslims are the names given to the followers of the Ahmadiyya movement. They also claimed to observe the Islamic religion and practices in their pristine form. However, their opinions on some of the beliefs of Islam brought them at loggerheads with the orthodox Muslims since the movement was launched. The orthodox Muslims argued that the Ahmadiyyas were not a part of the Muslim community. To support their argument, the orthodox Muslims cited the Ahmadiyyas' belief on the death and return of Jesus Christ, their concept of jihad in its peaceful format and their view of the finality of prophethood with particular reference to the interpretation of Quran 33:40.

Mirza Ghulam Ahmad (1835-1908), however, claimed himself to be a Mujaddid, a divine reformer of the fourteenth Islamic century, the promised Messiah and Mahdi awaited by the Muslims. The Ahmadis emphasized that humanity's final dispensation lay in the Islamic religion, as was revealed by the Mohammad, and thus it needed to be

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restored in its pristine form and true essence which had been lost for many centuries. However, the Ahmadiyyas share many of their beliefs with the Islamic religion, including the prophethood of Muhammad, reverence for historical prophets, and belief in the oneness of God (tawhid). Ahmadiyyas also accept Quran as their holy text, face the Kaaba during prayer, accept the authority of Hadiths (reported sayings of and stories about Muhammad) and practice the Sunnah. The only difference is that to their belief, the central is the faith upon Mirza Ghulam Ahmad as the promised *messiah* and *mahdi*. The Ahmadis considered themselves to be the revivalists of the Islamic religion and also its peaceful propagators. They emphasized on the implementation of the Kalima (the fundamental creed of Islam), believing it to be linked to the Islamic principles of the rights of God and the rights of His creation (mankind).

As per the belief of the Ahmadis, Mirza Ghulam Ahmad was commissioned by the supreme god as true reflection of Muhammad's prophethood and gave him the duty to remind the mankind of their duties towards god and his creation. The Ahmadiyya perspective argues that the Christians erred vis-à-vis the rights of god and gave a mortal human being the status of god. It is on this account, the Ahmadiyya further argued, that in Islamic eschatology Mahdi was the name given to the promised reformed. Mahdi refers to the 'Guided One'— a title referring to the One who is naturally guided and is an heir to all truths and in whom the attribute of 'guide' of the Almighty is fully represented. Furthermore, the Ahmadis argued that even the Muslims erred vis-à-vis the rights of creation. They pointed to the belief of jihad and said the Muslims raised their swords unjustly in the name of jihad, without understanding the real meaning of the concept and its purpose in Islam. Thus, the Ahmadis called the prophet Isa Messih ('Jesus the Messiah') — which refers to his function towards the re-establishment of the rights of people and reformation of their "distorted, violent notion of jihad". The view is similar to the argument that Jesus Christ came to Earth essentially to reform the hearts and attitudes of the Jewish nation. Ahmadiyyas also give preference to their faith over the pursuit of material things. This is a fundamental principle of Ahmadiyya teachings, which emphasizes on the present times which are synonymous with materialistic pursuits.

In present times, the Ahmadiyyas have been reduced to a minority and are marginalized across several Islamic countries. Separate rules for the Ahmadiyyas in these countries entail severe prosecution and their systematic oppression and exclusion over the years has led Ahmadiyyas to migrate and settle in better places.

Distinct Ahmadiyya Beliefs

The Muslims and the Ahmadis share some of the central values of Islam (like following prayers, charity, fasting) as well as the six articles of belief, some of the distinct Ahmadiyya beliefs include the following:

(i) The prophecies that Jesus Christ had a second coming were only metaphorical and not literal. It was Mirza Ghulam Ahmad who fulfilled all such prophecies and also the second coming of Jesus. They believe he was the promised Mahdi and Messiah.

(ii) Divine revelation continues. While Quran's message is final for the entire mankind, God continues to communicate with the mankind through His chosen individuals in the same way that He did in the past. Thus, all of god's attributes are eternal.

(iii) Contrary to the mainstream Islamic belief, Jesus was crucified. He also survived the Rise of Militant Nationalism four hours on the Cross. He was later revived from a swoon in the tomb. As per the Ahmadis and beliefs of communalism,

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Jesus died in Kashmir of old age whilst seeking the Lost Tribes of Israel. His remains are believed to be entombed in Kashmir under the name Yuz Asaf. Ahmadis argue that Jesus foretold the coming of Muhammad after him and the Christians have misinterpreted it.

(iv) No new religion or law was brought about by Jesus Christ. That is, Jesus was not a law-bearing prophet and was the last in the line of Israelite prophets who appeared within the dispensation of Moses, akin to that of David, Solomon, Jeremiah and Isaiah.

(v) That 'Messiah' and 'Imam Mahdi' are same person. It is through his teachings, his prayers and influence and those of his followers that the religion of Islam will be able to defeat the anti-Christ or Dajjal in a period similar to the time it took Christianity, which was then in its early stages, to rise. They further argue that the Dajjal's power will slowly fade away, ushering in the final victory of Islam and the age of peace.

(vi) That every seven millennia, the history of religion which is cyclic, is renewed. Since the time of the Biblical Adam, the cycle of time is split into seven epochs or ages. It is parallel to the seven days of the week, with periods for light and darkness. They argue that Mirza Ghulam Ahmad appeared during the sixth epoch as the promised Messiah before the initiation of the seventh and final age of mankind. This is so because a day spent in the estimation of God is like a thousand years of man's reckoning. Ghulam Ahmad argued that just as the sixth day of the week was reserved for Jumu'ah (congregational prayers), similarly in his age the world would unite under one religion, which is Islam.

(vii) There exist two Ahmadiyya groups which hold different beliefs regarding the finality of the Prophethood of Muhammad. One of these is the Ahmadiyya Muslim community. It believes that perfection was brought upon prophethood by Muhammad and that he was the last law-bearing prophet and the apex of humankind's spiritual evolution. They argue that while new prophets will come, they will only be subordinates to Muhammad and will not be able to supersede his excellence nor alter his teachings or introduce any new law or religion. On the other hand, the Lahore Ahmadiyya movement argued that Muhammad was the last of prophet and no prophet, new or old, will come after him.

Faraizi Movement

Faraizi movement was a significant socio-religious reform movement, formed by Haji Shariatullah during the nineteenth century. Its main objective was to put into practice and impose 'mandatory religious duties ordained by Allah'. Hazi Shariatullah contended that the responsibility of the Faraizis was to follow every religious duty that had been propagated by the Holy Quran and the Sunnah of the Prophet.

Improper beliefs and behaviour of Indian Muslims made Shariatullah uncomfortable and he called upon them to purify their religion and duly follow its practices. He impressed upon them to return to faraiz (the obligatory duties of Islam), specifically the profession of faith (kalimah). Moreover, he urged them to attend daily prayers (salat or namaz), fast during Ramadan (sawm or rozah), pay the poor tax (zakat) and also go to pilgrimage to Mecca (Haj). They also criticized practices of worship held at the shrines of various Islamic saints, rituals connected with the birth of a child or with circumcision and also the intense wailing at ceremonies to honour the Shiah heroes, al-Hasan and al-Husain.

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Dudu Miyan and Naya Miyan are two important leaders of the Faraizi movement, besides Hazi Shariatullah.

Tariqah-i-Muhammadiyah Movement

A significant movement of the Islamic community was the Tariqah-i-Muhammadiyah movement. It was founded by Sayyid Ahmad Barelwi. He was born on 29 November, 1786, in Rai Bareilly. In 1806, his initiation into the Islamic religion, also called as *baiat,* came from Shah Abdul Aziz at Delhi. Sayyid Ahmad Barelwi became one of his religious disciples. He was also introduced to the three sufi orders at the same time. Sayyid Ahmad Barelwi aspired to create an Islamic state where a purified form of Islam would be followed and where religion will be established in its original position of political and cultural supremacy. He thus propagated his own vision of a purified and restored Islam. However, this was an armed movement and the struggle was started in April 1824 where the followers of the movement called for removal of erroneous innovations, all elements of polytheism and idolatry and rejection of customs and rituals from the Indian, Roman and Persian civilisations.

The followers of the movement collected funds and recruited people for the spread of the movement. In Peshwar in November 1826, the followers started their fight with the Sikhs from Yusufzai which was dominated by the tribal population. However, the war did not last for long and despite success in the form of capture of the city of Peshwar in 1830, the followers of the movement had to abandon the city the same year. In 1831, Sayyid Ahmad Barelwi and many of his followers were killed during the battle of Balakot, giving the movement a severe blow. While his followers have attempted to revive the movement many times after his death, these were not successful.

Aligarh movement

Another prominent socio-religious Islamic movement was the Aligarh movement. Its leader was Sayyid Ahmad Khan, who was born in a well-to-do family. His childhood was spent in and out of the Mughal court. He was well-versed with the work of Shah Wali Ullah and also studied Arabic and Persian according to the older pattern. His personality closely resembled that of a courtier or government official than an ulama. This was despite the fact that he received no religious education. Sayyid Ahmad Khan was of the belief that it was with the fortunes of the Muslims, especially those who resided in northern India, where the future of Islam rested. His writings attracted large number of followers and he formed many public forums to spread his ideas. Soon after, he became a prominent leader of the Muslim community.

4.5.1 Formation of All India Muslim League

On 1 October 1906, under the leadership of Aga Khan, a 35-member delegation assembled at Simla to present a proposal to Lord Minto. The proposal appealed for a proportionate representation of the Muslims in government jobs, appointment of Muslim candidates in the administrative services, judiciary and others. This assembly of the Muslims came to be known as the Simla Deputation. However, the Simla Deputation did not yield positive results; it worked as a catalyst for the formation of the All India Muslim League (AIML).

Under the strong leadership of the Aligharians, the movement for a separate Muslim created a political awakening among the Muslims. The ideology of exclusivism sowed the seeds of communalism, which gradually led to the formation of the AIML. It was established in 1906 in Dhaka under the leadership of Nawab Sallimullah, Chairman

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of the reception committee and convener of the political meeting. A 56-member provisional committee was constituted. Prominent Muslim leaders from different parts of the country joined the Muslim league. Few Congress leaders like Ali Imam, Hasan Imam, Mazharul Haque (barristers from Bihar) and Hami Ali Khan (barrister from Lucknow) were included in the committee. Mohsin-ul-Mulk and Viqar-ul-Mulk were jointly made the secretaries. After Mohsin-ul-Mulk's death in 1907, Viqarul-Mulk took charge of the league. The Muslim League held its first session in Lahore in December 1907 with Adamjee Peerbhoy as its President.

Mohammad Ali Jinnah, a prominent Congress leader, though in favour of the Muslim League, did not join it until 1913. He even successfully contested against the League candidate for election of the Viceroy's Legislative Council. However, within the Congress, he tried to bargain for one-third reservation for his community. The formation of AIML (All-India Muslim League) was a major landmark in the history of modern India. The first ever political party exclusively for Muslims had the following objectives:

(i) To promote feelings of loyalty among the Muslims for the British government and remove any misconceptions.

(ii) To increase the political rights and interests of the Muslims in India and to respectfully represent their needs and aspirations to the government.

(iii) To prevent the rise among the Muslims of India of any feeling of hostility towards other communities without prejudice to the afore-mentioned objects of the League.

Initially, the AIML was an organization of urbanized elite Muslims that went on to become the sole representative body of Indian Muslims with the support of the British government. In order to face the challenges of the modern political system, the league successfully achieved a separate electorate within three years of its establishment. The electorate was a considerable achievement for the party and the Lucknow Pact of 1916 gave a separate identity to the Muslims; another landmark in the separatist movement launched by the AIML.

4.6 GROWTH OF COMMUNALISM

Communalism is basically an ideology. It is the belief that in India Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs and Christians are from different and distinct communities. Inherent in communalism is the second notion that the social, cultural, economic and political interests of the followers of one religion are dissimilar and divergent from the interests of the followers of another religion. When religious 'communities' are seen to be mutually incompatible, antagonistic and hostile communalism is said to be at its apex. Thus, at this stage, the communalists assert that Hindus and Muslims cannot have common secular interests, and that their secular interests are bound to be opposed to each other.

To look upon the communal problem in India merely as the Hindu-Muslim question or of religious antagonism between the Hindus and the Muslims is misleading. Apart from the Hindus and the Muslims, there was third party in the Communal triangle—the British rulers who interposed themselves between the Hindus and the Muslims and thus, created a communal triangle of which they remained the base.

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4.6.1 Anti-Muslim British Policy

The strongest arm of the communal triangle was the British rulers. They were neither the true friends of the Muslims, nor the foes of the Hindus; they were the true friends of British imperialism and acted on the tested and tried maxim divide and rule.

Until the seventies of 19th century, it suited the imperial interest to support the Hindus and they did it. The early British economic and educational policies benefited the Hindus more than the Muslims. The result of these policies was the catastrophe of 1857. Even before the Mutiny of 1857, the Muslims had revolted against the British Government under the Wahabi leaders.

The British Government ruthlessly suppressed the movement; but it manifested itself in the form of the mutiny. The prime movers in the mutiny of 1857 were the Muslim Wahabis. As the British considered the Muslims to be responsible for the Mutiny, they were treated very severely after 1858.

However, a change in British policy is perceptible towards the 1870s. The Hindus, politically more advanced than the Muslims, demanded more share for Indians in higher services, agitated for grant of political rights, introduction of representative government, etc. The Hindu posed a serious menace to the stability of British rule in India than the politically, economically and educationally backward Muslims. This marked the beginning of a change in British policy towards the two communities. W. W. Hunter's book, *The Indian Mussalmans* (published in 1871) described 'the Muslims too weak for Rebellion', pleaded for a change of official attitude towards the Muslims community. Theodore Beck, the first British principal of the newly started Mohammedan Anglo-Oriental College at Aligarh, played a notable role in mobilizing Muslim opinion and influencing British policy towards the Muslims. He urged the Muslims to support the British for their safety.

4.6.2 Role of Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan

Sayyid Ahmad Khan (Figure 4.1) became a staunch opponent of the Indian National Congress and he fell into line with the British imperialists.

Principal Beck was able to convince Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan that 'while an Anglo-Muslim alliance would ameliorate the condition of the Muslim community, the nationalist alignment would lead them once again to sweat, toil and tears.'



Fig. 4.1 Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan

Sayyid Ahmad Khan started his political career as an advocate of Hindu-Muslim unity. He had described the Hindus and Muslims as 'two eyes of the beautiful bride that

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was India.' He had declared in 1884 at Gurdaspur that the Hindus and Muslims should try to become of one heart and soul and act in unison. 'If united, we can support each other. If not, the effect of one against the other would tend to the destruction and downfall of both,' he said. Contrast with this, Sir Sayyid's speech at Meerut on 16 March 1888, where he maintained that the Hindus and Muslims were not only two nations, but as two warring nations who could never lead a common political life, should ever the British quit India. The Muslim demand for separate electorates almost synchronized with the introduction of the system of election in the constitution of local bodies. Speaking in the Central Legislature in January 1883 on Ripon's Bill for establishment of local self-government in the Central Provinces, Khan referred to the vital difference between different races and religions and the unequal or disproportionate progress of education among different sections of the population. He said that the fear that any system of election, pure and simple, would result in the larger community overriding the interest of the smaller community. A true devotee of the Muslim cause, Sayyid Ahmad Khan was fully aware of Muslim backwardness in the fields of education and politics and came to the conclusion that India was not fit for the introduction of Western political institutions like representative or responsible government, for his community could not get its due share in it. His policy was based on fear of permanent domination of Muslims by Hindus educationally, economically and politically.

The Anglo-Indian administrators were quick to work on Muslim apprehensions and strove to drive a wedge between the Hindus and the Muslims. The three English principals of the Mohammedan Anglo-Oriental College, Beck, Morrison and Archbold, gave the pro-British and anti-Hindu bias to the Aligarh Movement. The Aligarh Movement worked to instil into the minds of the Muslims a spirit of loyalty towards the British Crown and worked consciously and deliberately to keep them away from the mainstream of Indian political life. In August 1888, Sayyid Ahmad Khan set up the United Indian Patriotic Association with the avowed object of countering the Congress propaganda and policy in England and in India. This was followed a few years later (1893) by the exclusively sectarian Muhammadan Anglo Oriental Defence Association of Upper India to keep the Muslims aloof from political agitation and to strengthen British rule in India.

4.6.3 Morley-Minto Reforms of 1909 and Communalism

The Morley-Minto Reforms introduced the system of separate electorate under which all Muslims were grouped in separate constituencies from which Muslims alone could be elected. This was done in the name of protecting the Muslim minority. But in reality, this was a part of the policy of dividing Hindus and Muslims and maintaining British supremacy in India. The system of separate electorates was based on the notion that the political and economic interests of Hindus and Muslims were separate. This 'notion was unscientific because religions cannot be the basis of political and economic interest or of political groupings. What is even more important, this system proved extremely harmful in practice. It checked the progress of India's unification, which had been a continuous historical process. It became a potent factor in the growth of communalism in the country. Instead of removing the educational and economic backwardness among the middle class Muslims and integrating them into the mainstream of Indian nationalism, the system of separate electorates tended to perpetuate their isolation from the eloping nationalist movement. It encouraged separatist agencies. It prevented people from concentrating on economic political problems, which were common to all Indians—Hindu or Muslim.

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4.6.4 Communalism: An Interpretation of Indian History

British writers on Indian history also served the imperial cause by initiating, developing and emphasizing the Hindu-Muslim approach in their study of Indian history and development of Indian culture. This communal approach to history also imitated by Indian scholars and fostered the communal way of thinking. For example, the ancient period of a history was described as Hindu Period and the medieval period labelled as Muslim Period of Indian history, implying thereby that religion was the guiding force behind politics throughout the course of Indian history. True, both the rulers and the ruled, not often used religious slogans to suit their material and political ambitions, but it was certainly a distortion of history to infer-as was done by these writers-that all Muslims were the rulers and all Hindus were the ruled. In fact, the Muslim masses as poor, if not more, as the Hindu masses and were thoroughly oppressed and exploited by the Muslim rulers and their Hindu collaborators. All the same, this communal approach Indian history did foster divisive communal tendencies in Indian politics in the last quarter of the 19th century and first of the 20th century.

4.6.5 Militant Nationalism with Communal Overtone

Unfortunately, while militant nationalism was a great step forward in every other respect, it was to some extent responsible for the growth of communalism. The speeches and writings of some of the militant nationalists had a strong religious and Hindu tinge. In their search for national heroes and hero myths, the militant nationalists referred to Maharana Pratap, Shivaji and Guru Gobind Singh as national heroes and the Muslim rulers like Akbar, Shahjahan and Aurangzeb as 'foreigners'. The straight logic was that Pratap, Shivaji and Gobind Singh were nationalists because they were Hindus, and Mughal emperors were foreigners because they were Muslims. In reality, struggle between Pratap and Akbar or Shivaji and Aurangzeb to be viewed as a political struggle in its particular historical sitting. Besides, it was too much to assume that nationalism of the 20th century existed in the medieval period of Indian history. They emphasised ancient Indian culture to the exclusion of medieval Indian culture. They tried to abandon elements of composite culture. For example, Tilak's propagation of the Shivaji and Ganapati festivals, Aurobindo Ghosh's semi-mystical concept of India as mother and nationalism as religion, the terrorists' oath before goddess Kali and the initiation of the anti-partition agitation with the dips in Ganga could hardly be attached to the Muslims.

This does not mean that militant nationalists were anti-Muslim or even wholly communal. Most of them including Tilak, Lajpat Rai, Aurobindo and later Gandhiji were strong believers in Hindu-Muslim unity. True, the references to Hindu theology were intended to involve the politically inert masses into the nationalist struggle by explaining to them nationalism couched in a language within their comprehension, i.e., religious phraseology, but it did have the undesired effect of rousing Muslim communal susceptibilities-feelings cleverly exploited by the British rulers.

Economic backwardness: In the absence of any avenues of gainful employment in trade and industry, the British Indian Government remained the biggest employer to which the educated youth, hopefully, looked for their means of livelihood. The rulers to promote rivalry and discord among different sections of society cleverly used this enormous patronage in higher and subordinate service. This led to demoralization and conflict and the government could play one group against the other. Our nationalist leaders were fully aware of the mischievous character of this bait, but the hunger, rather compulsion, for loaves and fishes blinded them to its dangerous potentialities.

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4.6.6 Foundation of the Muslim League

The separatist and loyalist tendencies among a section of the Muslim intelligentsia and the big Muslim nawabs and landlords reached a climax on 30 December 1906, when the All India Muslim League was founded under the leadership of the Aga Khan, the Nawab of Dhaka and Nawab Mohsin-ul-Mulk. Founded as a loyalist, communal and conservative political organization, the League made no critique of colonialism, supported the partition of Bengal, raised the slogan of separate Muslim interests, demanded separate electorates and safeguards for Muslims in government services, and reiterated all the major themes of communal politics and ideology enunciated earlier by Sir Ahmad and his followers. The aims of the League were as follows:

From its very inception, the Muslim League was a communal body established to look after the political rights and interests of the Muslim community alone. Its political activities were directed not against the foreign rulers but against the Hindus and the National Congress. It, played into the hands of the British who announced that they would protect 'special interests' of the Muslims.

To increase its usefulness, the British also encouraged the Muslim League to approach the Muslim masses and to assume their leadership. It is true that the nationalist movement was as also dominated at this time by the educated town-dwellers but in its anti-imperialism, it was representing the interests of all Indians-rich or poor, Hindu or Muslim. On the other hand, the Muslim League and its upper class leaders had little in common with the interests of the Muslim masses, who were suffering as much as the Hindu masses at the hands of foreign imperialism.

This basic weakness of the League came to be increasingly recognized by the patriotic Muslims. The educated Muslim young men were, in particular, attracted by radical nationalist ideas. The militantly nationalist 'Ahrar Movement' was founded at this time under the leadership of Maulana Mohammed Ali, Hakim Ajmal Khan, Hasan Imam, Maulana Zafar Ali Khan and Mazhar-ul-Haq. These young men disliked the loyalist politics of the Aligarh School and the big nawabs and zamindars.

Similar nationalist sentiments were arising among a section of the traditional Muslim scholars led by the Deoband School. The young Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, who propagated his rationalist and nationalist ideas in his newspaper *Al Hilal*, which he brought out in 1912 at the age of 24, was also a prominent Muslim scholar.

In 1911, war broke out between the Ottoman Empire (Turkey) and Italy and during 1912 and 1913, Turkey had to fight the Balkan powers. The Turkish ruler claimed to be the Caliph or religious head of all Muslims; moreover, nearly all of the Muslim holy places were situated within the Turkish Empire. A wave of sympathy for Turkey swept India. A medical mission, headed by Dr. M. A. Ansari, was sent to help Turkey. Since Britain's policy during the Balkan War and after was not sympathetic to Turkey, the pro-Turkey and pro-Caliph or Khilafat sentiments tended to become anti-imperialist. In fact, for several years (from 1912 to 1924), the loyalists among the Muslims Leaguers were completely overshadowed by nationalist young men.

Unfortunately, with the exception of a few persons like Azad who were rationalists in their thinking, most of the militant nationalists among Muslim young men did not fully accept the secular approach to politics. The result was that instead of understanding and opposing the economic and political consequences of imperialism, they fought imperialism on the ground that it threatened the Caliph and the holy places. Even their sympathy for Turkey was on religious grounds. Moreover, the heroes and myths and cultural traditions

NOTES

they appealed, belonged not to ancient or medieval Indian history but to West Asian history. It is true that this approach did not immediately clash with Indian nationalism. Rather, it made its adherents and supporters anti-imperialist and encouraged the nationalist trend among urban Muslims. But in the long run, this approach too proved harmful, as it encouraged the habit of looking at political questions from a religious point of view. In any case, such political activity did not promote among the Muslim masses a modem, secular approach towards political and economic questions.

The elections results were a great disappointment to the Muslim League and Jinnah. It could not gain a majority even in the Muslim-majority provinces of the Punjab and Bengal. Jinnah who had parted company with the Congress in 1928, settled down in London in 1932 to practice law.

He returned to India in 1935 and led the Muslim League to the polls. The poor election results convinced Jinnah that the only way to counteract the Congress was to inflame communal feelings among the Muslims.

In Uttar Pradesh, the Congress rejected a demand for a coalition with the Muslim League, which fanned the fires of Muslim frustration. Some of the Congress leaders in Uttar Pradesh feared that if the Muslim League was brought into the ministry the Congress agrarian programme would suffer. The Uttar Pradesh legislature during the years 1937–46 justified the apprehensions of the Congress leaders. The Congress stood for democracy, socialism and a common Indian nationality, the League tried to promote the interests of only the Muslims in India.

Jinnah proclaimed that Muslims could not expect any justice or fair play at the hands of the Congress. Throughout the twenty-seven months of the Congress rule in the provinces, the League kept up intense propaganda climaxed by the Pirpur Report in the late 1938, the Shareef Report on Bihar in March 1939 and Fazul Haq's Muslim Sufferings under Congress Rule in December 1939. The charges included failure to prevent encouragement of Hindi at the cost of Urdu and the Wardha Scheme of Basic Education, which was ironically enough devised largely by two eminent Muslim educationists, Zakir Husain and K. G. Saiyidin. The Congress suggested an enquiry by Sir Maurice Gwyer, the Chief Justice of the Federal Court, but the Muslim League turned down the proposal. Jinnah asserted that India was not one nation, and that the Muslims of India constituted a separate nation, and therefore, entitled to a separate homeland of their own.

The Muslim League propaganda gained by the existence of such communal bodies among, the Hindus as Hindu Mahasabha, who, too accepted the two-nation theory. They actively opposed the policy of giving adequate safeguards to the minorities so as to renovate their fears of domination by the minorities. Interestingly enough, the communal groups-Hindu as well as Muslims-did not hesitate to join hands against the Congress.

Another characteristic feature the various communal groups shared was their tendency to adopt pro-government political attitudes. It is to be noted that none of the communal groups and parties, which talked of Hindu and Muslim nationalism, took active part in the struggle against foreign rule. They saw the people belonging to other religions and the nationalist leaders as the real enemies.

The communal groups and parties also shied away from social and economic demands of the common people, which as we have seen above, were being increasingly taken up by the nationalist movement. In this respect, they increasingly came to represent the upper class vested interests.

Communalism also became, after 1937, the only political recourse of colonial authorities and their policy of 'divide and rule'. This was because, by this time, nearly all the other divisions, antagonism and divisive devices promoted and fostered earlier by the colonial authorities had been overcome by the national movement, and had become politically non-viable from the colonial point of view, The Non-Brahmin challenge in Maharashtra and South India had fizzled out. The Scheduled Castes and other backward classes could no longer be mobilized against the Congress except in stray pockets. The Right and Left wings of the Congress also refused to split. Inter-provincial and inter-lingual rivalries had exhausted themselves much earlier, after the Congress accepted the validity of linguistic states and the cultural diversity of the Indian people. The effort to pit the zamindars and landlords against the national movement had also completely failed. The elections of 1937 showed that nearly all the major social and political props of colonialism lay shattered. The communal card alone was available for playing against the national movement and the rulers decided to use it to the limit, to stake all on it. They threw all the weight of the colonial state behind Muslim communalism, even though it was headed by a man, M. A. Jinnah, whom they disliked and feared for his sturdy independence and outspoken anti-colonialism.

The outbreak of World War II in September 1939 further strengthened the reliance on the communal card.

4.6.7 Jinnah's Two-Nation Theory

The British Government harped on 'the issue of minorities' and some talked of the unbridgeable gulf between the Congress and the Muslim League. Mahatma Gandhi held that it was a domestic problem, which would disappear if the British withdrew from India. At the Ramgarh session of the Congress, held in March 1940, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, the President, emphasized the heritage of a common nationality between the Hindus and the Muslims in India and significantly remarked, 'Whether we like it or not, we have now become an Indian nation, united and indivisible'. Various factors fanned communal bitterness and at its annual session, held at Lahore in March 1940, the Muslim League enunciated the theory that the Muslims are not a minority but a 'nation' and they must have their separate homeland. It was of the view that 'the areas in which the Muslims were 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 would be autonomous and sovereign'. Indeed, the influence of the Muslim League over the Muslims had increased much by that time. Gandhi's reaction to the Lahore resolution was prophetic, 'I can never be a willing party to the vivisection. I would employ every non-violent means to prevent it. For it means the undoing of centuries of work done by numberless Hindus and Muslims to live together as one nation. Partition means a patent untruth.'

4.6.8 Hindu Communalism

Simultaneously, Hindu communalism was also being born and Hindu communal ideas were arising. Many Hindu writers and political workers enjoyed the ideas and programmes of Muslim communalism and the Muslim League. From the 1870s, a section of Hindu zamindars, moneylenders and middle-class professionals began to arouse anti-Muslim sentiments. Fully accepting the colonial view of Indian history, they talked and wrote about the 'tyrannical' Muslim rule in the medieval period and the 'liberating' role of the British in 'saving' Hindus from 'Muslim oppression'. In UP and Bihar, they took up, correctly, the question of Hindi, but gave it a communal twist, declaring totally unhistorical, that Urdu was the language of Muslims and Hindi of Hindus. All over India, anti-cow slaughter propaganda was undertaken in the early 1890s. The campaign was, however, primarily directed not against the British but against Muslims; the British cantonments, for example, were left free to carryon cow slaughter on a large scale.

ACTIVITY

List the points of conflict between the moderates and extremists in the Indian National congress during the initial stages of the national movement.

DID YOU KNOW

Bhagat Singh, in an article, 'Emergence of Punjab in the Freedom Movement', mentions the he and his brother were inspired by Bal Gangadhar Tilak's extremism:

Having seen their enthusiasm at the 1906 Congress Convention in Calcutta, Lokmaniya was pleased and in bidding them adieu, gave them the responsibility of strengthening the movement in the Punjab.' On returning to Lahore, both brothers 'started a monthly newspaper called Bharat Mata to propagate their ideas'. Since they had no money and no influence among the rich, says Bhagat Singh, they had to collect everything necessary for propaganda work themselves. This they did by attracting a crowd in the market by ringing a bell and giving a lecture 'on how foreigners had destroyed India's industry and commerce'. This was followed by an announcement that an important meeting would be held within the week at the Bharat Mata office. After the first two meetings held on two consecutive Sundays, a decision was taken to hold a meeting every Sunday. Many people joined the group including Lala Lalchand 'Phalak', the 'national poet' of the Punjab, Lala Pindidas, Dr. Ishwari Prasad and Sufi Amba Prasad. Sardar Ajit Singh and Mahant Nandkishore were elected the President and Secretary of the group now organised as the 'Bharat Mata Society.'

4.7 SUMMARY

In this unit, you have learnt that:

- The closing decade of the nineteenth century and early years of the twentieth century witnessed the emergence of a new and younger group within the Indian National Congress, which was sharply critical of the ideology and methods of the old leadership. These 'angry young men' advocated the adoption of Swaraj as the goal of the Congress, which was to be achieved by more self-reliant and independent methods.
- The militant form of nationalism was first found in the teachings and preaching of Bankim Chandra Chatterjee and Swami Dayananda Saraswati.
- The root of extremism lies in two important factors—the policies of colonial rule, and the failure of moderate leaders to attract younger generation and common people.

Check Your Progress

9. Hindus and Muslims tied the _____ on one another's wrists to mark the unbreakable unity and harmony among the Bengalis and between the two halves of Bengal.
10. State one objective of the All-India Muslim League.

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- The new turn in Indian politics found expression in two forms—the formation of the extremist group within the Congress and the growth of terrorism or revolutionary movement in the country at large. Four prominent Congress leaders, including Lokamanya Tilak, Bipin Chandra Pal, Aurobindo Ghosh and Lala Lajpat Rai, defined the creed of the new group, gave articulate form to its aspirations and guided its operations.
- The issue of Swadeshi Movement widened the gap between the moderates and the extremists. The extremists wanted to spread the movement in the entire country and complete non-cooperation with the government.
- The growth of nationalism during the second half of the nineteenth century was one of the most significant features of Indian history. Various factors contributed to the growth of nationalism. Though pre-colonial India had a self-sufficient economy based largely on agriculture, Indians as such were not integrated, neither economically nor socially. Colonization helped in unifying a country as diverse as India.
- Swadeshi Movement began as an anti-partition agitation in Bengal and boycott was first suggested by Krishna Kumar Mitra in *Sanjivani* in 1905. The boycott of British products was followed by the advocacy of Swadeshi and to buy indigenously produced goods as a patriotic duty.
- The Anti-Partition movement was entirely the handiwork of the national leadership of Bengal and not just of a particular section of the movement. At the initial stage, its prominent leaders belonged to the moderate faction, e.g., Surendranath Banerjea and Krishna Kumar Mitra. However, during the later stages militant and revolutionary nationalists took over the movement.
- The students of Bengal played a prominent part in the Swadeshi agitation. They propagated and practised Swadeshi and took the lead in organizing picketing of shops selling foreign items.
- The movement for a separate Muslim created a political awakening among the Muslims. The ideology of exclusivism sowed the seeds of communalism, which gradually led to the formation of the AIML. It was established in 1906 in Dhaka under the leadership of Nawab Sallimullah, Chairman of the reception committee and convener of the political meeting.

4.8 KEY TERMS

- **Colonization:** The establishment of colonies
- **Extremist:** One who resorts to or advocates extreme action
- **Revolutionary:** People engaged in or promoting political revolution

4.9 ANSWERS TO 'CHECK YOUR PROGRESS'

1. Bankim Chandra Chatterjee, Swami Dayananda Saraswati
2. Partition of Bengal
3. Self-government
4. Ram Mohan Roy, Vidyasagar
5. Bengal
6. Self-reliance
7. Bhagat Singh wrote for *Pratap* and *Kirti.*
8. Lala Lajpat Rai and his speeches inspired Bhagat Singh most.
9. *Rakhi*
10. To promote feelings of loyalty among the Muslims for the British government and remove any misconceptions.

4.10 QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Short-Answer Questions

1. What were the two roots from which extremism stemmed?
2. State two factors leading to extremism.
3. Define 'swaraj'.
4. How did the Swadeshi movement begin?
5. What was the 'Simla Deputation'?

Long-Answer Questions

1. Discuss the rise of militant nationalism in India.
2. Write a short note on the objectives of extremists.
3. Describe nationalism in relation to the Swadeshi Movement.
4. How was the All India Muslim League (AIML) formed?

4.11 FURTHER READING

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UNIT 5 SOCIO-RELIGIOUS REFORMS

Structure

5.0 Introduction
5.1 Unit Objectives
5.2 Social Reform Movements
  5.2.1 Nature of Social Reform Movements
  5.2.2 Social Composition of the Leadership of Reform Movements
  5.2.3 Social and Religious Reform Movements in India
  5.2.4 Bhakti Movement
5.3 Dayanand Saraswati and Arya Samaj
  5.3.1 Mission of Saraswati's Life
  5.3.2 Setting up of the Arya Samaj
5.4 Aligarh Reform Movement—Sayyid Ahmad Khan
5.5 Jyotiba Phule
  5.5.1 Early Life of Phule
  5.5.2 Religious Beliefs
  5.5.3 Phule's Concept of God and Religion
5.6 Veeresalingam
  5.6.1 Activity and Literary Work
5.7 Summary
5.8 Key Terms
5.9 Answers to 'Check Your Progress'
5.10 Questions and Exercises
5.11 Further Reading

5.0 INTRODUCTION

Religious and social welfare led to the introduction of many reform movements within the Hindu society in medieval India. Through these reform movements, their initiators sought to oppose many social and religious practices as well as political situation in the country. They took monumental steps to achieve their ends. It is important to remember that the India of the eighteenth and twentieth century differed culturally and politically. While on one hand in the eighteenth century, India had a traditional cultural society, it was also on the verge of emerging as a new nation. With the nineteenth century, came the transition in the country's religious, social, economic, political, and cultural spheres. The colonizers and their rule transformed the administration, legislation, trade, network of communications, industrialization and urbanization in the country affecting the traditional pattern of the Indian life and the society as a whole. The cultural field was influenced by British scholars, educators and missionaries even though Indian traditionalists and reformers were unsure of the transformation and called for slow and deliberate changes in the social and religious attitudes and customs.

This unit discusses socio-religious reforms with regards to the contributions made by Dayanand Saraswati, Sayyid Ahmed Khan, Jyotiba Phule and Veerrasalingam.

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5.1 UNIT OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to:

- Describe the need for Dayanand Saraswati to establish the Arya Samaj
- Discuss the Aligarh Reform Movement
- Discuss the contribution of Jyotiba Phule
- Discuss Veerrasalingam's contribution as a socio-religious reformer

5.2 SOCIAL REFORM MOVEMENTS

India saw various reform movements, including the Brahmo Samaj movement, the Prarthana Samaj movement, the Arya Samaj movement, the Aligarh movement and the Ahmadiya movement, which closely influenced the national movement and deliberately sought to influence the political, administration and legislation authority. Therefore, even the political movements eventually became all-India nationalist movements. We find that the earlier social reform movements were closely tied with religious motivation and improvement, but those introduced in the nineteenth century the relationship of the two concept theories fluctuated and many a times their fate were decided by secular and rationalistic motives.

We shall now discuss some of the important concepts related to social reform movements.

5.2.1 Nature of Social Reform Movements

The nature of social reform movements can be best understood by comparing them with revolts. A condition of dissatisfaction with the existing conditions of society precedes both social reform movements and revolts. Similarly, a group of persons directs its concerted action towards the attainment of its clearly defined objectives. Both social reform movements and revolutionary movements make an appeal to the non-active members of the society to reject the legitimacy of the present order and to seek legitimacy for their ideology.

Reformists are more or less satisfied with the basic values of governing society, but are dissatisfied with some of its norms and institutions and want to change them. Revolutionaries, on the other hand, are dissatisfied not with any one particular aspect of society but with the basic values themselves. Again, the reformists look to the existing political authority for legitimacy as also for implementation of the reforms, while the revolutionaries are out to destroy the existing political authority. However, violence is not a necessary accompaniment of revolt. It is possible to bring about a revolution without bloodshed. On the other hand, a social reform movement may involve violence.

A social reform may invite the ire of many conservative and orthodox groups of the society. We may cite the cases of the Nadars and the Mahars in this context. The Mahars were a community in Maharashtra. They were considered to be untouchables. Under the leadership of Dr B.R. Ambedkar, they were able to free themselves from the shackles of caste bias. In 1956, about eighty per cent of the Mahar community converted to Buddhism to get rid of the stigma that was attached to their community. Their efforts

NOTES

paid off and today they do not face any social or cultural biases. Similarly, the Nadar community of Tamil Nadu was another community that faced social discrimination. They were considered to be belonging to the lower caste and were not allowed to associate themselves with the higher castes. This led to confrontations in the society and there was a social reform movement in which the Nadars fought for their rights and privileges.

Conditions under which reformist claims are made

When a certain section of the society is dissatisfied with some of the social, political or economic norms and institutions, they seek ways for articulating their dissatisfaction. Such an articulation of reformist demands has a meaning only in societies in which the authority structure not only permits such articulation, but is also willing to act upon it if it found them to be rational and desirable. The political climate which allows this has existed in the US, UK, and also during the British rule in India. However, societies in which even a reformist sentiment is not permitted, open expression and association are prevented and shared dissent either fails to emerge as a collective action demanding change or is forced into secret and illegal activity. For example, prior to Independence of India, there had been several revolutionary attempts in the country. However, these revolutions failed to gain popular support because a section of the Indian society was already engaged in making reformist demands, and the British government was not only prepared to listen to these demands but was also ready to act upon them as exemplified by the abolition of *sati*, the education of women, etc.

5.2.2 Social Composition of the Leadership of Reform Movements

A point of view was prevalent for a considerable period of time that the leadership of reform movements comes from the 'displaced elites', for example, the abolitionist movement in the US and the social reform movement led by Raja Rammohan Roy in India. In both these movements, members of the erstwhile elite groups had provided leadership. The rationale for the 'displaced elite' theory is that if there is a loss of status in one dimension of social hierarchy, it is sought to be compensated for by acquiring a higher status in another dimension.

However, the 'displaced elite' theory can explain the leadership composition of only some reform movements and not all. For example, the leadership of the movements for the upliftment of the Harijans in India was not provided by the elite class but by the leaders belonging to the lower strata of caste hierarchy. The leaders such as Dr Ambedkar and Jyotirao Phule did not belong to the upper echelons of the society. However, it is to be noted that the Harijan leaders who led the reform movement occupied a high status in their own groups.

Why did most of the leaders of reform movements belong to the high status group? The reference group theory explains it. This theory points out that when an individual is dissatisfied with his present conditions or status, he tends to emulate another individual or group of higher status as his model to improve his condition. All reform movements are characterized by dissatisfaction with the present conditions and a desire to improve them. This desire can be translated into behaviour relatively easily if the leadership comes from a person or a group which has a high status.

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5.2.3 Social and Religious Reform Movements in India

The major effect of national awakening in the nineteenth century was seen in the field of social reform. The newly educated gentry increasingly revolted against rigid social conventions and outdated customs. They could no longer tolerate irrational and dehumanizing social practices. They were inspired by the humanistic ideals of social equality and egalitarianism.

Nearly all the religious reformers contributed to the social reform movement. This was because the backward features of Indian society, such as the caste system and inequality of sexes, had religious sanctions in the past. In addition, certain other organizations, such as the Social Conference, the Servants of India Society and the Christian Missionaries, worked actively for social reforms. In the twentieth century, especially after 1919, the national movement became the main agency of social reform.

Objectives of social reforms movements

The social reform movements tried to maintain two objectives:

- Emancipation of women and extension of equal rights to them
- Removal of caste rigidities and in particular abolition of untouchability

Women as the focus of social reforms

India has an ancient tradition of giving women a status equal to that of men. But over centuries social values got distorted and women came to be more and more repressed. They became victims of social vices, such as enforced widowhood, child marriage and *sati*. The condition of upper class women was worse than that of peasant women since the latter worked actively in the fields and enjoyed relatively greater freedom of movement.

The right of women to inherit property was generally inequitable – Hindu women had no right to property. However, in Islam, a daughter could inherit half the amount of property that the son inherited. The Indian women were entirely financially dependent on men. They were denied even the benefits of education.

The nineteenth century witnessed the first strings for change in the status of women. The socio-religious reformers were influenced by the status the Indian women enjoyed in the Vedic society as well as by the impact of liberal Western philosophy. They were also convinced that national upliftment and progress were not possible without women's emancipation. Ultimately, the nationalist movement and the efforts of Mahatma Gandhi created the climate conducive to bring about, to some extent, the desired change in the status of women.

In the nineteenth century, the efforts of the social reformers were mainly directed towards spreading education among women, encouraging widow remarriage, preventing child marriage, decrying *purdah*, campaigning against polygamy and encouraging middle class women to take up employment. As a result of concerted efforts of enlightened reformers, social legislation was initiated for the abolition of *sati*, legalization of widow remarriage and the banning of female infanticide.

The Civil Marriage Act of 1872 made marriage secular; raised the age of marriage of girls to fourteen years and accepted widow remarriage as well as inter-caste marriage. It also banned polygamy. The Property Act of 1874 widened the concept of *streedhan* to include earnings by women.

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A major effort was made to promote education among women in the nineteenth century. The efforts of several voluntary Indian organizations, Christian missionaries and the government (after the Woods Despatch of 1854) encouraged women education. Another important development was the birth of several independent women movements. Enlightened men had worked for the upliftment of women till the early twentieth century. Many women leaders, such as Sister Nivedita, Annie Besant and Margaret Cousin, fought for the rights of women. In 1923, the Women's Indian Association was formed. The All India Women Conference (1927) is even today an important organization for actively safeguarding the rights of women.

With the spreading of education among women, efforts were made to train nurses to serve the poor, sick and the distressed. The Pune Seva Sadan started by Ramabai Ranade opened branches in different parts of the country to train nurses and midwives. Similar work was done by the Sewa Sadan Society started by Behramjee Malbari.

Elimination of untouchability through social reforms

The caste system was not only humiliating and inhuman but was also a cause of social disintegration. The castes were carefully graded into a hierarchy of status. The untouchables suffered from discrimination and restrictions. Even their touch was considered impure and their very shadow was avoided by those who considered themselves to be upper-caste. There were severe restrictions on their dress, food and place of residence. They could drink and use water only from wells and tanks that were specifically reserved for them. They were not allowed to enter temples. Their children could not attend a school with children of upper caste Hindus; they were considered suitable only for menial jobs.

The caste system proved a major obstacle in the growth of unity, national feeling and the spread of democracy. Even Muslims, Christians and Sikhs have practised untouchability, though in a less virulent form. A number of forces diluted the rigorous caste system during the British rule. The spreading of English education, introduction of modern industries, greater mobility due to the railways and buses and growing urbanization made it difficult to prevent contact among persons of different castes, especially in the cities. Restrictions regarding eating and drinking water during travel were relaxed. The modern commerce and industry opened new fields of activity for all. A Brahmin or an upper caste merchant would hardly miss the opportunity of trading in skins or shoes. In rural India, free sale of land unsettled the caste balance. Close connections between caste and vocation could hardly continue in a modern industrial society.

The growth of modern democracy and rationalist ideas in the nineteenth century also undermined the caste system. Many social and religious reformers raised their voice against it. The Brahmo Samaj, Prarthana Samaj, Arya Samaj, Ramkrishna Mission and Theosophical Society condemned the inhuman practice of untouchability.

Yet another factor which weakened the caste system was the growth of the national movement. People's participation, public demonstrations and meetings and *satyagraha* struggles softened caste consciousness. As caste system was antithetical to liberty and equality, the Indian National Congress opposed it and fought for equal civic rights and freedom for all individuals without any discrimination.

Gandhi, throughout his life, emphasized the need for abolition of untouchability through his public activities. In 1932, he founded the All India Harijan Sangh. He

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firmly believed that even if his campaign against untouchability might not succeed fully, yet it would certainly bring about a greater awareness about the inhumanity involved in the practice of untouchability and a change of heart among the caste Hindus.

The growth of consciousness among the lower castes with the spread of education and awakening also contributed to the weakening of the caste system. The lower castes became conscious of their basic human rights and began to assert themselves. They gradually built up a powerful movement against their customary exploitation by the higher castes. Dr B.R. Ambedkar was in the forefront of this struggle. He launched a movement to improve the socio-economic conditions of the lower castes. Numerous *satyagraha* movements were launched all over India by the depressed classes against the ban on their entry into temples and such other restrictions.

The British government was afraid of rousing the hostility of the orthodox sections of the Indian society and was not interested in the political or social progress of India. Thus, no appreciable improvement in the social status of the depressed castes was possible. The struggle against untouchability gathered momentum only after India became independent.

Raja Ram Mohan Roy, the pioneer of religious reform, was the first advocate of social reconstruction and introduction of western education in modern India. He was the father of constitutional agitation in India. Raja Ram Mohan Roy headed the intellectual movement generally known as the Indian Renaissance or the re-establishment of the glory of the ancient Indian culture. When he came onto the stage of Indian history, ancient Indian values had slowly given way to formalism in the religious and social life of the people. Religion had assumed the shape of either extreme asceticism or excessive ritualism. It was perhaps the darkest age in modern Indian history, an age in which an old society and polity had crumbled and no new one had yet been built in its place. India then essentially required a religion with a wholesome basis and practicability.

In the last quarter of the nineteenth century, India saw another religious movement known as the Theosophical Movement. It was in the United States of America that Madama H.P. Balvatsky and Colonel H.S. Olcott laid the foundation of the Theosophical society in 1875. Its object was to promote the study of esoteric religious philosophies of the East. In 1879, Balvatsky and Olcott came to India and established a society at Adyar, near Madras in 1886. But the success of the Theosophical Movement in India was due to Annie Besant who joined the society in 1889. The Theosophical Movement aimed at the quest of the Hindu spiritual wisdom. The society also promoted education among all sections of the society. It established a central Hindu school at Benaras in 1898 which later developed into a college and ultimately into the Banaras Hindu University in 1915.

5.2.4 Bhakti Movement

The Bhakti movement includes many schools of thought. This movement refers to the revolutionary revivalist ideas propagated by Sankara in the 9th century. Born in Kaladi, Kerala, Sankara sought to give a new orientation to Hinduism. However, the concept of *advaita* or monism was very abstract to attract the common man.

There was also a strong reaction against the advaita concept of *Nirgunabrahman*, which refers to God without attributes as the idea of *Sagunabrahman* emerged, which referred to God with attributes. Born in the 12th century in Sriperumbudur near present Chennai, Ramanuja preached the concept of Visishtadvaita. He argued that God was *sagunabrahman*, i.e. the process of creation and all the objects of creation were real

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and not illusionary as was contended by Sankaracharya. Thus, he said, god, soul and the matter were all for real. God, on the other hand, was also the inner substance and the remaining souls were his attributes.

Ramanuja also advocated the concept of *prabattimarga* or path of self-surrender to achieve god. At the same time, he invited the downtrodden castes to join the path to Vaishnavism.

In the beginning of the thirteenth century, Madhava, from Kannada region, propagated the ideologies of *Dvaita* or dualism of *jivatma* and *paramatma*. According to his philosophy, the world was not an illusion but a reality. He argued that god, soul, and matter were unique in nature. Significant preachers of Vaishnavite bhakti in the Telangana region Nimbarka and Vallabhacharya.

An important disciple of Vallabhacharya was Surdas who popularized the Krishna cult in north India. A great devotee of Krishna was Mirabai, who was also a famous female saint-poet. She became popular in the state of Rajasthan for her *bhajans*. At the same time, Tulsidas, a worshipper of Lord Ram composed the famous Ramcharitmanas, which is the Hindi version of Ramayana.

The great apostles of the Bhakti cult in the 14th and the 15th centuries were Ramananda, Kabir and Nanak. Even though they drew inspiration from their old masters, they gave the people a new path to follow. They influenced people to shun old superstitions and start on the path of salvation through Bhakti or pure devotion. However, as compared to the early reformers of the Bhakti movement, they were not associated with any particular religion and also negated the ideas of rituals and ceremonies. They promoted the idea of one god, and condemned polytheism. Moreover, they were against any form of idolatry and contended that Bhakti was the only means of salvation. All of them also promoted and emphasized the fundamental unity of all religions.

Ramananda

Born in Allahabad, Ramananda was originally a follower of Ramanuja. However, he broke apart soon and founded his own sect and preached his disciples at Varanasi and Agra in Hindi. A devotee of Lord Ram, Ramananda was the first among many Bhakti propagators to use the vernacular language to promote his ideas. Some of the principles of Ramananda sect were simplification of worship and freedom of people from the traditional ideas of caste. These were the two of Ramananda's most important contributions to the Bhakti movement. The most important was his opposition of the caste system; Ramananda in fact chose his disciples from all sections of the society, disregarding caste. Some of the famous disciples of Ramananda were:

- Kabir, a Muslim weaver
- Raidasa, a cobbler
- Sena, a barber
- Sadhana, a butcher
- Dhanna, a Jat farmer
- Naraharai, a goldsmith
- Pipa, a Rajput prince

All together, the Bhakti movement was very significant in the history of Indian reform movements. A number of its preachers spoke and wrote in vernacular languages and thus had a wide reach. Indirectly, the movement contributed towards the development

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of many regional languages such as Hindi, Marathi, Bengali and Kannada. People felt connected with the movement through these languages and thus, their propagators were successful in appealing to the masses. Since most preachers of the Bhakti movement condemned the caste system, a large number of people of the lower castes joined the movement and were raised in the position of the traditional caste hierarchies. Women also found a central place in the movement and with that, their respect increased in the society. Most importantly, the movement broke away from the complexities of rituals in bhakti or devotion and gave people a simple religion, based only on pure thoughts and sincere devotion to god. Thus the movement helped to develop new ideas of life of charity and service to fellowmen.

Bhakti Movement in south India

The *Salva Nayanar* and *Vaishnava Alvar* saints of south India were the first to propagate and broaden the bhakti movement among various sections of the society without regard for caste and sex between the seventh and the tenth centuries. Some of these saints belonged to the lower castes and some were also women. These saints preached bhakti in an intensely emotional and poetic manner and promoted religious equality. They criticized meaningless rituals and travelled through the country singing, dancing and advocating bhakti. Both Alvar and Nayanar saints used Tamil, and not Sanskrit, as a medium to preach and compose devotional songs. This made it a popular movement.

Both the Alvar and Nayanar saints were critical of Buddhists and Jains who held positions of privilege at the royal courts of South Indian kings of that time. With their style of religion and preaching, they won over many followers of Buddhism and Jainism, both of which had become by then intolerant, rigid and formal religions.

The Alvar and Nayanar saints also made the bhakti movement accessible to all people irrespective of caste and gender and tried to break away the authority of the orthodox brahmins. But this movement had its limitations as well. These are listed as follows:

- The movement did not attempt to consciously oppose Brahmanism, the varna system and caste system at the social level.
- The movement was assimilated with the caste system and the lower castes continued to suffer from various social disabilities.
- The movement did not do away with idol worship, mantra recitation, religious pilgrimage and other brahminical rituals.
- The movement targeted mostly the Buddhists and Jains

Since these bhakti saints did not question the ideological and social foundation of caste system, this movement ended up in enforcing the existing system rather than weakening it. Ultimately, when the movement climaxed in the tenth century, it was little by little incorporated into the standard brahminical establishment. But despite these failures, the bhakti movement in south Indian was successful in standing up for religious equality. As a result, the Brahmins accepted the right of the lower caste to do the following:

- Preach
- Gain access to bhakti as a mode of worship
- Gain access to the Vedas

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Bhakti and the south Indian *acharyas*

When the popularity of the *bhakti* movement in south India was declining, the doctrine of bhakti was being defended at a philosophical level by some Vaishnava Brahmin scholars, also known as acharyas. Some of them are as follows:

- **Ramanuja:** He was the first of the acharyas to justify the bhakti movement at a philosophical level. He tried to strike a delicate and a careful balance between orthodox brahminism and bhakti, which was accessible to all. Though he did not support the prospect of lower castes gaining access to the Vedas, he advocated bhakti as an egalitarian mode of worship to encompass all, including Shudras and outcastes. He did not believe in caste distinctions and made efforts to get the society rid of untouchability.
- **Nimbarka:** He was a Telugu Brahmin who is believed to be a younger contemporary of Ramanuja. He spent most of his time in Vrindavan and Mathura, in north India and was devoted to Krishna and Rama.
- **Madhava:** He was also a south Indian bhakti philosopher who belonged to the 13th century. He did not disagree with the orthodox brahminical opinion of preventing Shudras from studying the Vedas and believed that the movement provided alternative ways of worship to the Shudras.
- **Ramananda and Vallabha:** They were prominent Vaishnava acharyas who lived mostly in North India during the Sultanate period and gave new direction to Vaishnava bhakti.

Sufism

The liberal reform movement within Islam is referred to as Sufism. The movement traces its origin in Persia and it spread into India in the eleventh century. **Shaikh Ismail** of Lahore was the first Sufi saint who started to preach his ideas. From India, the most famous Sufi saint was **KhwajaMoinuddin Chishti** who made Ajmer in Rajasthan the centre of all his activities. The disciples of Khwaja Moinuddin Chishti are referred to as Sufis of the Chishti order. **Bahauddin Zakariya** was another well-known Sufi saint who was influenced by a famous mystic called **Shahabuddin Suhrawardi.** His disciples are called sufis of the Suhrawardi Order.

A famous Sufi saint of India also was **Nizamuddin Auliya.** He belonged to the Chishti order and is considered by his disciples to be a mighty spiritual force. The Sufi movement had a great reach and most of these saints are revered till today, not only by Muslims but by people of all religions, especially Hindus. The tombs of most of these saints are places of pilgrimage for devotees of both communities.

The Sufis stressed on the elements of love and devotion as the means of reaching and realizing god. The Sufis believed that to love god was to love humanity and thus, service to humanity was tantamount to the service of god. In the doctrine of Sufism, self-discipline was considered an essential condition to gain knowledge of god by sense of perception. The Sufis laid great stress on inner purity, even though orthodox Muslims emphasized on the external conduct of a person. As mentioned above, the Sufis considered love and devotion as the only means of attaining salvation, breaking away from orthodox Muslims who believed in blind observance of rituals.

For Sufis, it was paramount to have the guidance of a *pir* or a guru on the path of salvation. They believed that without his guidance, spiritual development was impossible.

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Among its followers, Sufism also inculcated the spirit of tolerance. Other ideas emphasized upon by the Sufis were meditation, good actions, repentance for sins, performance of prayers and pilgrimages, fasting, charity and suppression of passions by ascetic practices.

These were the liberal and unorthodox ideas of Sufism which has a profound influence on the medieval Bhakti saints. Mughal emperor Akbar was also greatly influenced by the Sufi saints and this helped shape his ideas of religion and also his religious practices and policies. At the time when the Sufi movement was gaining popularity in India, the Bhakti cult was also forming roots within the Hindu community. However, these were the two parallel movements which were based on the doctrines of love and selfless devotion. These movements also contributed greatly in bringing the two communities closer. Yet, the trend did not hold strong for long.

Popular Monotheistic Movement and Vaishnava Bhakti Movement

Both the monotheistic movement and the Vaishnava bhakti movements started in northern India around the same time – following the establishment of the Delhi Sultanate and advent of Islam. Owing to this reason, common causes are cited for the rise and spread of both the movements, and the biggest cause includes the influence of Islam on Hinduism. However, the popular monotheistic movement arose and peaked in the Sultanate period, while the Vaishnava movement began in the Sultanate period but climaxed during the Mughal period.

Popular Monotheistic Movement

Kabir was the earliest and without doubt the most influential personality in the monotheistic movements that was initiated in the fifteenth century. He hailed from a family of weavers, who had indigenously converted to 1slam, and spent a substantial part of his life in Varanasi (Kashi).

The monotheistic saints who followed him either claimed to be his disciples or mention him with reverence. Many of his verses were included in the Adi Granth, the Sikh scriptures. These are an indication of his All position among his contemporary and succeeding monotheists.

Ravidas was the next generation of monotheists. He was a tanner by caste, who also lived in Varanasi and was influenced by Kabir's ideas. Dhanna was a Jat peasant from Rajasthan. Other prominent saints of the same period were Sen (a barber) and Pipa.

The preachings of Guru Nanak and his ideas were quite similar to those of Kabir and other monotheists, but later veered in another direction to give rise to the emergence of Sikhism. The basic similarities, in terms of ideology, of the teachings of Nanak, Kabir and other saints are what make them an integral part of the monotheistic movement.

Nanak belonged to a caste of traders called khatri and was born in Nankana Sahib, Punjab. In his later life, he travelled far and wide to preach his ideas. Eventually he settled in a place in Punjab now known as Dera Baba Nanak, where he attracted large numbers of disciples. He composed hymns which were incorporated in the Adi Granth by Guru Arjan, the fifth Sikh Guru, in 1604.

Vaishnava Bhakti Movement

Ramananda was an extremely well-known scholar saint of the Vaishnava bhakti movement in northern India. Initially, he lived in South India but later settled in Varanasi. He is

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thought to have bridged the gap between south and north India bhakti traditions. However, he deviated from the ideology and practice of the south Indian acharyas in three important respects:

(i) He considered Rama, and not Vishnu, as the object of worship and devotion. According to him, Rama was the symbol of a supreme God, and he was hailed as the founder of the Ram cult in north India within the framework of Vaishnava Bhakti tradition.

(ii) He preached in the language of the common people, and not in Sanskrit.

(iii) He made the movement accessible to all, irrespective of caste and gender.

Vallabhacharya, a Telugu Brahmin, was also a well-known Vaishnava preacher of the Sultanate period. He was born in Varanasi and was the founder of *Pushtimarga* (way of grace) – also known as *Vallabha sampradaya* (Va!labha sect). He advocated Krishna bhakti.

Surdas was a famous Krishna bhakti saint-poet, who along with seven other Krishna bhakti poets belonging to the *ashtachhap,* were thought to have been the disciples of Vallabha. Tulsidas championed the cause of Rama bhakti while Surdas, Mira Bai and many others popularized Krishna bhakti.

The philosophy of the Bhakti movement helped to give a boost to the then society in many ways. Bhojpuri, Magadhi and Maithili; Avadhi and Braj; Rajasthani, Punjabi, Kashmiri, Sindhi and Gujarati; and other Indo-Aryan dialects also took on new shapes and dimensions through Bhakti poetry.

Remarkable advancement was seen in literature of famous Bhakti saints of Tamil Nadu and Maharashtra during the medieval times. For instance, Sri Chaitanya's hymns, ballads, legends and dramas based on the interpretation of Krishna enriched Bengali literature.

Apart from literature, the social and religious scenario in medieval India was also affected by the Bhakti movement. Although the Bhakti movement was primarily local in nature, it got a tremendous fillip from Islam and its practitioners. The movement created a fertile meeting ground for the religiously devout. It spoke at length about social equality and denounced rituals and the caste system. This movement was a departure from the traditional and rigid to radical and new. It created the idea of a society that had its foundation securely anchored in justice and equality and in this people irrespective of caste and creed were given the opportunity to fully develop their moral and spiritual stature. Appendix I discusses at length the next wave of reform movement in the religious and social sphere in India.

The Bhakti movement created far-reaching effects on the outlook of the people. The challenge of the alien faith put Hindu thinkers on their guard. They tried to simplify their religion by simplifying their creed and worship and by condemning the caste system the rigours of which were driving many into the Muslim fold. To the depressed and downtrodden, they preached the consoling doctrine of Bhakti as the panacea for all their ills. The chief effects of the Bhakti movement are as follows:

- **Removal of bitterness between Muslims and Hindus:** The Bhakti movement increased the scope of tolerance between Hindus and Muslims and helped to eliminate religious acrimony between them. It helped them see each other's perspective and drove home the twin principles of equality and peaceful coexistence. Owing to the contribution of the various Bhakti saints, thinkers and

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reformers, much of the resentment between the two communities was greatly reduced. Both the Hindus and Muslims started to worship saints, gods and goddesses of the other community.

- **Progress of Islam was checked:** Low-caste people who were detested and socially shunned were turning in large numbers to convert to Islam. The Bhakti movement presented the masses with the idea of unity of godhead and brotherhood of man. This appealed to them and prevented large-scale conversion to Islam. In order to bring in reformation in Hinduism, the bhakti saints and philosophers warned the Hindus to eliminate their traditional practices of caste distinction, idol worship and religious rituals. Their warnings and teachings had the preferred impact and the religion underwent rapid transformation in order to develop a liberal attitude.
- **Wholesome effect on Indian rulers:** The kings who ruled India at that time were positively influenced and, subsequently, started to treat their subjects in a generous and impartial manner. It created statesmen including Sher Shah Suri and Akbar.
- **Rise of vernacular literature:** The Bhakti movement gave way to the growth of vernacular literature. Poets, saints and reformers preached their message in the language of the masses in order to make it easily understandable and easy to implement. Thus, vernacular literature in Punjabi, Bengali, Marathi, Tamil and Telugu became the means to express.
- **Setback to Brahmin ascendancy:** Bhakti reformers stressed upon laying the foundation for an egalitarian society. They severely criticized caste distinctions, unnecessary religious rites and rituals, and animal sacrifices. This movement posed a severe setback to the Brahmins and the priestly class.

5.3 DAYANAND SARASWATI AND ARYA SAMAJ

Dayanand Saraswati was born in a well-to-do Saryupareen Brahmin family of Kathiwar, Gujarat, on 12 February 1824. Since India's Independence in 1947, Kathiawar has been renamed Rajkot. His father's name was Karshanji Lalji Tiwari and his mother's name was Yashodabai. His parents named him Mulshankar because as per Hindu astrology, he was born under *mul nakshatra*. His childhood was fairly comfortable. He was educated in Sanskrit, the Vedas and other religious texts, because his father wanted him to be a priest, following the family tradition. However, Dayanand had a questioning mind and some key incidents that happened in his childhood led him to question Hindu beliefs and the existence of God. As a young boy, on the night of *mahashivratri*, he stayed up all night to wait for Lord Shiva to visit and accept the offerings the family had made, while his entire family slept. Instead, Dayanand was shocked when he found that a mouse ate all the sweets and Lord Shiva did not do anything to stop the mouse. He started to question the belief in a god who could not protect his own offerings. Dayanand felt that he could not expect such a god to protect him and the rest of the humanity. He told his father that they should not worship such a helpless god. Some other key incidents which led him to question the existence of god were the deaths of his uncle and younger sister from cholera. Dayanand asked such profound questions of his father that his father got worried for him.

Check Your Progress

1. Who were the first to propagate and broaden the bhakti movement in south India?
2. Name some famous Sufi saints.
3. Who was the most influential personality in the monotheistic movements?

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As per the tradition of the times, his parents wanted to get him married when he was 12, but he refused and left home in 1846 to show the seriousness of his decision. After he left home, he became a mendicant and felt lost because of his disillusionment with Hinduism. He started to study the old Sanskrit texts in his quest for God. For over two decades, he looked for a God to believe in and eventually met Swami Virajananda in Mathura, Uttar Pradesh. Swami Virajananda became Dayanand's guru. His guru persuaded him to shed all old beliefs and texts and start afresh. Swami Virajananda wanted Dayanand to study the Vedas as he believed them to be most foundational writings of Hinduism. Dayananda remained Swami Virjananda's pupil for two and a half years and after he finished his lessons, his guru asked him to spread the awareness of the Vedas to all the people of India, as his *guru dakshina*, or fees for the knowledge he had acquired from his teacher.

5.3.1 Mission of Saraswati's Life

The mission of Dayananda's life was to spread the idea of 'universal brotherhood through nobility' as it was given in the Vedas. But first, he had to work out a way to reform Hinduism by eliminating from it the needless and corrupt practices of elaborate and exaggerated ceremony. Many individuals who were afraid of this enlightenment tried to threaten him with death and many attempts were made to assassinate him. The only way to spread his message effectively was to travel and Dayanand was fully dedicated to his mission. He argued fervently with priests and religious scholars on his travels and mostly won the debates because of his knowledge of the Vedas and strong arguments rooted in logic.

In 19th century India, Hindu priests did not want laymen to read the Vedas and so it was widely discouraged. Instead, elaborate rituals like taking a dip in the Ganges River and feeding large numbers of priests on special occasions was encouraged. For Dayanand, this was a self-serving and superstitious practice which he wanted to put an end to. He wanted the nation's people to go back to the original teachings of the Vedas and at the same time reject these needless practices. He was also strongly against other abhorrent practices like sati, dowry, early marriage and untouchability prevalent falsely under the guise of Hinduism and religion. He exhorted Indian citizens to educate its women, use swadeshi products, and to understand the importance of cows for national prosperity and to adopt Hindi as the national language.

Swami Dayananda critically, logically and scientifically analysed all religions, including Christianity, Islam, Sikhism, Buddhism and Jainism. Besides this, he was strongly against idol worship which was prevalent in Hinduism. He penned his thoughts in the treatise, Satyartha Prakash. Swami Dayanand Saraswati was the founder of the Arya Samaj sect within Hinduism. Within this sect, there is no idol worship even though it is a variation of Hinduism. The teachings of Arya Samaj were not restricted to a specific class of individuals like other reform movements within Hinduism, but rather, it was addressed to the world as a whole. The principles of Arya Samaj professed universalism for every living being and did not discriminate among sects, faiths, communities or nations.

Arya Samaj promotes conversion to Hinduism. Dayananda's idea of dharma is defined in the 'beliefs and disbeliefs' portion of the book, *Satyartha Prakash*. He said, 'I accept as *dharma* whatever is in full conformity with impartial justice, truthfulness and the like; that which is not opposed to the teachings of God as embodied in the Vedas. Whatever is not free from partiality and is unjust, partaking of untruth and the like, and opposed to the teachings of God as embodied in the Vedas—that I hold as *adharma*.'

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He also said, 'He, who after careful thinking, is ever ready to accept truth and reject falsehood; who counts the happiness of others as he does that of his own self, him I call just.'

The core message of Dayananda's teachings was essentially respect and reverence for fellow beings, in keeping with the Vedic notion of the divinity inherent in every individual. The Vedas profess that the body is the temple within which the divine soul or 'atma' resides. The soul is considered divine because it is connected directly to the Creator or Parmatma.

The ten principles of the Arya Samaj contained the philosophy of 'All actions should be performed with the prime objective of benefiting mankind'. This philosophy was widely different from the generally observed dogmatic rituals and idol worship. During his own lifetime, he considered *moksha* to be a merely selfish cause which benefited only a single individual and did not help others. Dayanand's idea of 'back to the Vedas' became widely popular and thinkers outside India too were influenced by it. In fact, Sri Aurobindo also decided to find answers to his own psychological queries in the Vedas.

Dayananda Saraswati wrote over sixty texts, which included a fourteen volume rationalization of the six Vedangas, an incomplete commentary on the Ashtadhyayi (Panini's grammar), a number of small treatises on morality and ethics, Vedic rituals and sacraments and on criticism of other faiths like Advaita Vedanta, Islam and Christianity. His main writings are *Satyarth Prakash, Sanskarvidhi, Rigvedadi Bhashya Bhumika, Rigved Bhashyam* (upto 7/61/2) and *Yajurved Bhashyam*. He also founded the Paropakarini Sabhain Ajmer in order to publish and preach his ideas and Vedic texts.

In 1883, the Maharaja of Jodhpur invited Dayananda to stay at his palace and become his guru. The Maharaja was keen to learn from Dayanand. One day, when Dayananda was visiting the Maharaja's, he found the Maharaja with a dancing girl, Nanhi Jan. Dayananda tried to persuade the Maharaja to give up such unethical activities and abide by dharma. This reprimand did not go down well with the young girl who decided to take revenge. She gave Dayananda's cook a bribe, who agreed to poison Dayanand. The cook mixed poison and powdered glass in Dayanand's milk which he would drink before going to bed. Immediately after drinking the milk nothing happened and Dayananda fell asleep. However, he woke up a little while later with a burning pain in his stomach. He understood immediately that someone had poisoned him. He immediately tried to empty out his stomach but it was already too late as the poison had gone into his bloodstream. Dayananda's pain increased to excruciating levels, so much so that he never left the bed again. A number of doctors tried to cure him but they all failed. Slowly, his body was beset by bleeding sores. When the cook saw the kind sage suffering, he felt overwhelming guilt and confessed to Dayanand. However, just before he died, Dayanand forgave him and gave him money to flee the country or he would be caught and punished. The news of his untimely death caused a wave of shock all over the country and many prominent individuals expressed their sadness:

> 'A man of spirit has passed away. Pandit Dayananda Saraswati is gone, the irrepressible, energetic reformer, whose mighty voice and passionate eloquence for the last few years raised thousands of people in India from lethargic, indifference and stupor into active patriotism is no more.' — *Col Henry Steel Olcott*
>
> Swami Dayananda Saraswati is certainly one of the most powerful personalities who has shaped modern India and is responsible for its moral regeneration and religious revival.
>
> — *Subhash Chandra Bose*

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Vedic Schools

In the second part of the 19th century, Swami Dayanand attempted to reform the customs prevalent in native India. To formalize the reform, he established 'Vedic Schools'. The curricula of these schools centered around Vedic values, culture and religion. First such school was at Farrukhabad in 1869. The first batch had 50 students.

Owing to the success and popularity of this school, four more schools were established—Mirzapur (1870), Kasganj (1870), Chhalesar (1870) and Varanasi (1873). These Schools served as the practical and formalized application of Swami Dayanand's dream of religious and social reform. However, the schools did not enjoy the initial success everywhere because of their radical practices—pupils were not allowed to indulge in idol worship, and instead *havan* and meditative prayer was performed every evening. The prayer included mantras from the Vedas. Severe and swift disciplinary action was taken against students who broke the rules. At the same time, all meals, lodging, clothing and books were free for the students. Even non-Brahmins were encouraged to study Sanskrit and the Vedas. The schools were unique because they included only those texts which considered Vedic teachings to be foremost and universally correct. This practice followed in schools was essential for the social revival of Vedic culture in India. Some o the challenges faced by these schools were:

- There was a scarcity of qualified teachers who agreed as wholeheartedly with the Vedas as Swami Dayanand did.
- There were very few textbooks which Swami Dayanand approved for being used for instruction. There was a lack of funding because very few prominent, rich people of the times agreed with Swami Dayanand's ideas.
- Most students shied away from the strict discipline followed at the school and there was low attendance.
- Very few students achieved good grades that would have justified their studying in the Vedic Schools.

As a result of all these challenges, a few of the schools had to close down very soon after they opened. By 1874, Swami Dayanand had realized that unless he managed to garner considerable public support, his dream of spreading Vedic education would fail. After this realization, he decided to put in a large part of his resources for the propagation of his beliefs about reform. Once Swami Dyanand withdrew his attention from the schools, they collapsed quickly and the last one shut down in 1876.

5.3.2 Setting up of the Arya Samaj

During his travels, Swami Dayanand found out about many of the pro-Western Indian thinkers and reformers of the time, such as Nobin Chandra Roy, Rajnarayan Basu, Debendra Nath Tagore and Hemendranath Tagore. All of them were active members of the Brahmo Samaj, which had been instituted in 1828. Their views were strikingly similar to those of Swami Dayanand, as far as religious beliefs and practices, and social systems were concerned. A book call *Brohmo Dharma* was written by Debendranath Tagore, which was meant to be taken as the manual for living an ethical and spiritual life for the members of the Brahmo Samaj. Swami Dayanand read it when he stayed in Calcutta.

In June 1874, Dayanand started dictating lectures to his scribe, Pundit Bhimsen Sharma. The lecture covered his ideas and beliefs related to Dharma, Vedas, the soul,

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childrearing, education, God, the government and his vision for the future of India and other major nations of the world. He continued dictating these lectures till September 1874. The collection of lectures was published in the form of *Satyarth Prakash* or 'the light of meaning of truth' at Varanasi in 1875. This collection turned out to be the cornerstone for the establishment and ideals behind the organization which evolved into Arya Samaj.

Swami Dayanand was invited by Hargovind Das Dvarkadas, who was the secretary of the local Prarthana Samaj, to Rajkot in 1874, to lecture devotees. He decided to allow attendees to select the topics they wanted the discourse to be on, rather than delivering prepared lectures as usual. The attendees selected eight different topics and Swami Dayanand easily delivered impromptu lectures on each of them. Not just that, all present were impressed at the level of insight and the depth of knowledge Swamiji possessed. The members of the Prarthna Samaj were so impressed with the discourses that they bestowed many gifts on Swamiji and decided that the Samaja as it was would be dissolved and instead would be reorganized under Swamiji's leadership. It is for this Samaj that Swamiji chose the name 'Arya Samaj' or the Society of Nobles. Initially, Swami Dayanand formulated a list of 28 guidelines for the Arya Samaj in Rajkot. He printed these guidelines for distribution as well.

Swami Dayanand's next trip was to Bombay and immediately upon his arrival there in January 1875, he was greeted with the appeal to establish an Arya Samaj there. Swamiji wanted to avoid needless debating and discussions and so started a voluntary membership drive. Almost immediately, more than a hundred people joined up. During the time when the membership drive was going on, Swamiji held a similar discourse as he had done at Rajkot. An attendee asked the Swami, 'Should we set up a new Samaj?' Dayanand answered: 'If you are able to achieve something for the good of mankind by a Samaj, then establish a Samaj; I will not stand in your way. But if you do not organize it properly, there will be a lot of trouble in the future. As for me, I will only instruct you in the same way as I teach others, and this much you should keep clearly in mind: my beliefs are not unique, and I am not omniscient. Therefore, if in the future any error of mine should be discovered after rational examination, then set it right. If you do not act in this way, then this Samaj too will later on become just a sect. That is the way by which so many sectarian divisions have become prevalent in India: by making the guru's word the touchstone of truth and thus fostering deep-seated prejudices which make the people religion-blind, cause quarrels and destroy all right knowledge. That is the way India arrived at her sorry contemporary state, and that is the way this Samaj too would grow to be just another sect. This is my firm opinion: even if there be many different sectarian beliefs prevalent in India, if only they all acknowledge the Vedas, then all those small rivers will reunite in the ocean of Vedic wisdom, and the unity of dharma will come about. From that unity of dharma there will result social and economic reform, arts and crafts and other human endeavours will improve as desired, and man's life will find fulfilment: because, by the power of that dharma all values will become accessible to him, economic values as well as psychological ones, and also the supreme value of moksha.'

As a result of this discourse and the membership drive, the Arya Samaj in Bombay was set up on 10 April, 1875. At first, there were 100 members, including Swami Dayanand. While members wanted and requested Swami Dayanand to be the Guru or the president of the Samaj, he declined and requested to be regular member instead.

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Principles of Arya Samaj

The Arya Samaj considered 'aum' to be the only proper and highest name of God. The second big Arya Samaj was established at Lahore on 24 June 1877. At the time of the establishment of the Lahore Arya Samaj, it was decided that the 28 guidelines Swami Dayanand had previously drafted were too voluminous and should be made more concise and simpler. Also, the bylaws were to be put in a separate document. All those present were in favour of this move, including Swamiji and the ten principles of the Arya Samaj, as we know them today, were formulated.

These principles are the following:

1. God is the efficient cause of all true knowledge and all that is known through knowledge.
2. God is existent, intelligent and blissful. He is formless, omniscient, just, merciful, unborn, endless, unchangeable, beginning-less, unequalled, the support of all, the master of all, omnipresent, immanent, un-aging, immortal, fearless, eternal and holy, and the maker of all. He alone is worthy of being worshiped.
3. The Vedas are the scriptures of all true knowledge. It is the paramount duty of all Arya Samaj is to read them, teach them, recite them and to hear them being read.
4. One should always be ready to accept truth and to renounce untruth.
5. All acts should be performed in accordance with Dharma, that is, after deliberating what is right and wrong.
6. The prime object of the Arya Samaj is to do good to the world, that is, to promote physical, spiritual and social good of everyone.
7. Our conduct towards all should be guided by love, righteousness and justice.
8. We should dispel Avidya (ignorance) and promote Vidya (knowledge).
9. No one should be content with promoting his/her good only; on the contrary, one should look for his/her good in promoting the good of all.
10. One should regard oneself under restriction to follow the rules of society calculated to promote the well being of all, while in following the rules of individual welfare all should be free.

Then onwards, all the branches of the Arya Samaj that were set up, were founded on these 10 principles. At the same time, each branch has a certain degree of freedom to determine the bylaws they will follow. All members must uphold the 10 main principles entirely, without exception. At the same time, besides these principles, there is nothing else there is no binding force on any member. Due to this lack of rigidity, initially, Arya Samaj was an attractive proposition for people from many different religions; a large number of Muslims, Sikhs and Christians converted to Arya Samaj.

Socially, Arya Samaj believed in simple weddings that appealed to lower income classes and poor people. The Samaj also promoted inter-caste marriages in order to root out casteism.

On the basis of its own guidelines, Arya Samaj was against social evils like polytheism, iconolatry, animal sacrifice, ancestor worship, pilgrimage, priest craft, the belief in *avatars* or incarnations of God, the hereditary caste system, untouchability and child marriage because all these lack Vedic endorsement.

Check Your Progress

4. Why did Dayanand leave home?
5. What was the core message of Dayanand's teachings?
6. What is the principle of marriage among the Arya Samajis?

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5.4 ALIGARH REFORM MOVEMENT—SAYYID AHMAD KHAN

One of the prominent socio-religious movements within Islam in India has been the Aligarh movement, led by Sayyid Ahmad Khan.

Sayyid Ahmad Khan was of the belief that the future of Islam was in hands of the Muslims, especially those who were residents of northern parts of India. Through the myriad of his writings, he made followers and formed variety of public forums to spread his ideas. Sayyid Ahmad Khan argued that the dilemma of Muslims in the country was due to the education that also disseminated elements of English knowledge within the Islamic context. To counter such an education, he advocated the idea of opening those educational institutions which would impart 'proper' education to the Muslims. Thus, in June 1875, he established the Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental College of Aligarh. The district contributed significantly to the education of the Muslim elite, and soon, its significance grew. At the same time, Sayyid Ahmad Khan became a prominent leader of the Muslim community.

One of the main objectives of founding the college was to prepare Muslims to serve the Qu'an and also give the society educated, honest, public-spirited leaders who can confidently work with the British government and also protect the interests of the Muslim community. With an educational perspective, the Aligarh movement also sought to purify Islam. It made a significant break from similar movements in the past which sought to purify the religion and bring it to its past glory. The Aligarh movement also sought to create an 'administrative elite class' which could govern people along with the colonizers than focusing its attention on the ulama.

Sir Sayyid started to propagate education through the 1850s among the Muslims. He pursued studies of different subjects, including European jurisprudence and realized along the way the advantages of education of Western style which colleges across the country had started offering by that time. Even though he was a devout Muslim, Sir Sayyid was critical of the influence of traditional dogma and religious orthodoxy, which made Indian Muslims wary and suspicious of British influences. He was deeply worried for the welfare of the Muslim community and, as scion of Mughal nobility who had been reared in the finest traditions of Muslim élite culture, Sir Sayyid could anticipate the decline of Muslim political power across the country.

He was aware that the British and Muslims shared historical animosity, which had been heightened after the uprising of 1857. It, thus threatened to further deteriorate their relationship and marginalize the Muslims for many generations to come. Thus, Sir Sayyid sought to promote cooperation with the British authorities and promoted loyalty amongst Indian Muslims to the empire. He was also committed to uplift of downtrodden Muslims and thus founded a modern madrassa in Muradabad in 1859 which became one of the first religious schools to impart scientific education.

Check Your Progress

7. Who led the Aligarh Movement?
8. The Aligarh movement was actually an educational movement with a view to purify _____.

5.5 JYOTIBA PHULE

Mahatma Jyotiba Govindrao Phule (11 April 1827–28 November 1890), also known as Mahatma Phule, was an activist, thinker, social reformer, writer, philosopher, theologist, scholar, editor and revolutionary. Jyotiba Phule and his wife Savitribai were the pioneers of women's education in India. The influence of Phule's thoughts and actions can be seen inthe fields of education, agriculture, caste system, women and widow upliftment and elimination of untouchability. He is most known, however, for his efforts to educate women, mostly those from the lower castes. In September 1873, Jyotiba, along with his followers, formed the Satya Shodhak Samaj (Society of Seekers of Truth) with the objective of liberating the lower-most castes of India—the Bahujans, Shudras and Ati-Shudras—and preventing the exploitation and atrocities inflicted on them. His fight to win equal rights for peasants and the lower castes have earned him a place among the leading social reformers of Maharashtra.

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5.5.1 Early Life of Phule

Jyotiba Govindrao Phule was born in the Satara district of Maharashtra, in a family belonging to the Mali caste—a caste perceived to be inferior by certain sections of the society. His father Govindrao was a vegetable vendor; his mother had died when he was nine months old. Jyotiba had to leave school after his primary education to help his father on the family's farm. However, his intelligence was recognized by a Muslim and a Christian neighbour, who persuaded his father to allow him to attend the local Scottish Mission school, from where he completed his schooling in 1847.

The turning point in Jyotiba's life came in the year 1848. His friend, a Brahmin, invited him to his marriage. When Jyotiba joined the wedding procession, the bridegroom's family members insulted Jyotiba since he belonged to a 'low' caste. This was Jyotiba's first direct encounter with the highly divisive caste system. Influenced by Thomas Paine's book *Rights of Man* (1791), Phule developed a keen sense of social justice, becoming passionately critical of the Indian caste system. He argued that education of women and the lower castes was a priority in addressing social inequalities.

5.5.2 Religious Beliefs

Though a Hindu, Jyotiba Phule was committed to the idea of the Bhakti tradition and his idol was Chhatrapati Shivaji. Phule referred to Shivaji as the 'destroyer of the Muslims', a community that Phule believed was as degenerative a force as the Brahmins.

Attack on the sanctity of Vedas

Phule began his critique of the caste system with an attack on the Vedas, a very important religious text of the Hindus. Phule referred to the Vedas as constituting of 'idle fantasies', 'palpably absurd legends' and a 'form of false consciousness'. Phule argued that social problems were the result of the belief that it was god who had inspired or created all religious books. He said it was a ploy of the established religious and priestly classes to maintain their supremacy through the texts and therefore they supported the texts. 'If there is only one God who created the whole mankind, why did He write the Vedas only in Sanskrit language, despite His anxiety for the welfare of the whole of mankind? What about the welfare of those who do not understand this language?' asked Phule. He also contended that it was not wise or teneable to believe that the Vedas, or any other religious texts, were the words of the god or were created by Him. To believe in the sanctity of the texts, was equivalent to ignorance and prejudice, he added.

Phule argued that all religions and their texts were made by men who had selfish interests and thus, the texts were representative of the interest of those classes which were trying to protect their own ends by exploiting the others. For his time, Phule's ideas were bold and revolutionary. He held that each religious text was a product of its time

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and therefore comprised 'truths' that had no permanent or universal validity. Thus the texts were not free of biases or prejudices and only highlighted the self interest of the authors of the texts.

Fight against blind faith, ritualism and superstitions

Phule also put forth the ideas of a new social system, which he argued would be based on the ideas of freedom, equality, brotherhood, human dignity, economic justice and where society will free of exploitation. Such a society, Phule said, could be created only when the existing unequal and exploitative social and religious systems would be overthrown and the values on which they were based were replaced. Phule also challenged and transformed many misleading myths held by women and members of the lower castes. Phule called ideas such as belief in fate, astrology, rituals, and godmen as irrational and absurd.

5.5.3 Phule's Concept of God and Religion

Phule was a monotheist (belief in one god). To him, god was the creator of this entire universe and, therefore, all humans were his children. Phule did not believe that a man/woman needed an intermediary, i.e. a priest, to reach god. He also did not believe that man needed to practise elaborate rituals or asceticism to reach god. Phule was particularly critical of mythology and religious books. According to him, Hinduism had been based on the exploitation of the Shudras and domination of the Brahmins. The entire caste system had been devised to this end by the upper castes. Phule's idea of the perfect religion was the one based on the principles of liberty and equality. He called it Sarvajanik Satya Dharma in which a true devotee sought the truth but without the aid of a Guru or a text. Phule also did not support the belief that the members of a family must practise the same religion, thus, becoming one of the earliest advocates of the concept of religious freedom. Phule believed that there was some truth in all the religious texts and scriptures though none of them could claim to reveal the ultimate and whole truth.

Phule, along with his wife Savitribai, played an important role in fighting for social reform and women's rights in India during the British Rule. The two worked towards tackling some of the major social problems of the times, including women's liberation, widow remarriages and removal of untouchability.

On 24 September 1873, Jyotiba formed the Satya Shodhak Samaj (Society of Seekers of Truth) with himself as its first president and treasurer. The main objectives of the organization were to liberate the lower caster, especially the Shudras and Ati Shudras, and to prevent their exploitation by the upper-castes. The Satya Shodhak Samaj refused to regard the Vedas as sacrosanct. It opposed idolatry and denounced the *Chaturvarnya* (four-tiered caste) system. The Samaj propounded the spread of rational thinking and rejected the need for a Brahmin priestly class as the educational and religious leader.

Check Your Progress

9. Jyotiba, along with his followers, formed the _____ with the objective of liberating the lower-most castes of India.
10. Phule's idea of the perfect religion was the one based on the principles of _____ and _____.

5.6 VEERESALINGAM

A social reformer from Andhra Pradesh, Rao Bahadur Kandukuri Veeresalingam (16 April 1848–27 May 1919) was also known as Kandukuri Veeresalingham Pantulu. He is popularly considered as the man who brought about a renaissance in the Telugu community and Telugu literature, despite his birth in an orthodox Niyogi Telugu Brahmin family. The ideas of the Brahmo Samaj deeply influenced him, particularly those propagated by Keshab Chander Sen.

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As he involved himself with social reforms, Veeresalingam first started a Telugu journal and the first prose he wrote was for women and their welfare. He encouraged women's education and founded a school in Dowlaiswaram in 1874. He also started a social organization called *Hitakarini* (Benefactor). 'The denigration of women has ruined our society,' wrote Veeresalingam and thus dedicated his entire life to the welfare of the women in the Indian society. Another magazine he started was *Vivekavardhini* (Knowledge Improver) at Davaleswaram, in which too he spread the ideas of improving the position of women in society. He was also critical of popularity of superstitious beliefs among people and rampant corruption among government officials.

Veeresalingam set up a press in Rajahmundry after his magazine became popular. The magazine was earlier printed in Chennai. Later, he launched *Satihitabobhini*, a special magazine for women. With this, he sought to enlightened women about their rights and also formed the Rajahmundry Social Reform Association in 1878. Initially, the activities of the organization centered on supporting the anti-nautch movement to discourage the hiring of nautch girls for celebration. Later, it also supported the cause of widow remarriage. Veeresalingam organized the first widow remarriage on 11 December, 1881 between Gogulapati Sreeramulu and Gowramma, who was the bride. Many police officials of the British attended the marriage. Pyda Ramakrishnayya of Kakinada financially supported the marriage. Despite such a support at the time when widow remarriage was a taboo, this marriage too came under severe opposition from the society. Yet, it did not deter his determination and Veeresalingam slowly succeeded in bringing about a change in the mindset of people. Gradually, widow remarriage became acceptable.

After he had organized a third widow marriage, Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar sent a message congratulating Veeresalingam. Encouraged by the response, Veeresalingam also established a widow orphanage. But his progressive and revolutionary thoughts attracted severe criticism and opposition. However, he continued to fight and sought to abolish the practice of child marriage and *Kanyasulkam* (a kind of dowry given by the groom to the bride's parents). His efforts had a wide-reach and in 1881, his contemporary social and religious reformer from Kolkata, Sivanath Sastri, met him at Rajahmundry during one of his missionary visits.

Sastri later wrote about the meeting: 'The next day I went by boat to Rajahmundry and I shall gratefully remember the love and affection of Veeresalingam and the hospitality of his wife. Veeresalingam's wife is a remarkable person. On one hand, she is strong willed, powerful and dutiful, on the other, she is soft-hearted and dedicated to the well being of others. It is because Veeresalingam got a wife like her that he was able to carry on with his work in spite of social oppression.'

5.6.1 Activity and Literary Work

Brahmo Samaj leader Atmuri Lakshmi Narasimha deeply influenced the life of Veeresalingam. His participation in reforms and his literary works have been written in detail by Sivanath Sastri.

'In the history of the Brahmo Samaj, he established the first Brahmo Mandir in Andhra, at Rajahmundry in 1887. He constructed a widows' home, which was a two-storeyed building and a similar one for the Social Reform Association at Madras. He started the first theistic high school, the Hithakarini School at Rajahmundry in 1908. During the same year, he willed away all his property for the benefit of Rajahmundry widows' home and the school and placed them under the management of an association, the Hithakarini Samaj. The movement spread from Rajahmundry to Coconada (presently

Kakinada), Parlakimedi, Palakole, Narsapur, Vijaywada and Tenali. He is also credited with the setting up of Brahmo Samaj at Bangalore.'

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ACTIVITY

Write an essay on the influence of English education in colonial India. How did it contribute to the social reforms that took place in India?

Did You Know

- Women were held in high esteem in ancient Indian society, and were often considered superior to men. Literature of that period was rife with evidences to suggest that women had the power to destroy kingdoms and mighty rulers. Veda Vyasa's Mahabharata tells the story of the fall of Kauravas because they humiliated queen Draupadi. Valmiki's Ramayana tells about the fall of Ravana where he forcibly abducts and tries to marry Sita. Polyandry was also prevalent.
- Widow remarriage and women leaving their husbands were socially permissible. In the Vedic age, women actively participated in religious ceremonies and assemblies. Although they were dependent on their male relatives, they were not secluded from various domestic and social affairs.
- Polygamy was common, it was not practised much in ancient India. Child marriages were not known. Women could choose their husbands, as mentioned in the Ramayana and the Mahabharata.

5.7 SUMMARY

In this unit, you have learnt that:

- Dayanand Saraswati was born on 12 February in 1824, in the town of Tankara, near Morvi (Morbi) in the Kathiawar region (since India's independence in 1947 Rajkot district) of the princely state of Gujarat, into an affluent and devout Saryupareen Brahmin family. His parents were Karshanji Lalji Tiwari and his wife Yashodabai.
- Dayanand's mission was to teach humankind about universal brotherhood through nobility as spelt out in the Vedas. His first step was to take up the difficult task of reforming Hinduism with dedication despite repeated attempts on his life.
- While Dayanand wanted the people to follow the Vedic life, he also exhorted the nation to accept social reforms like the abolition of untouchability, *sati*, and dowry, education of women, *swadeshi* and importance of cows for national prosperity as well as the adoption of Hindi as the national language.
- From June to September 1874, Swami Dayanand dictated a comprehensive series of lectures to his scribe, Pundit Bhimsen Sharma, which dealt with his views and beliefs regarding a wide range of subjects including God, the Vedas, Dharma, the soul, science, philosophy, childrearing, education, government and the possible future of both India and the world.

Check Your Progress

11. _____ is widely considered as the man who first brought about a renaissance in Telugu people and Telugu literature.
12. What was the magazine *Vivekavardhini* about?

- Swami Dayanand drafted a list of twenty-eight rules and regulations for the Rajkot Arya Samaj, which he later had printed for distribution. Swami Dayanand reached Bombay on 29 January 1875, and immediately the appeal to establish an Arya Samaj there was renewed.
- The Aligarh movement was another prominent Muslim socio-religious movement in India and was led by Sayyid Ahmad Khan.
- Sayyid Ahmad Khan was born into a prestigious family of Delhi and spent his childhood in and out of the Mughal court. He studied Arabic and Persian according to the older pattern and also studied the work of Shah Wali Ullah. Though he did not receive a religious education, he demonstrated a personality more akin to a courtier or government official than to an Ulama.
- The animosity between the British and Muslims before and after the rebellion (Independence War) of 1857 threatened to marginalize Muslim communities across India for many generations Sir Syed intensified his work to promote co-operation with British authorities, promoting loyalty to the Empire amongst Indian Muslims.
- Mahatma Jyotiba Govindrao Phule (11 April 1827–28 November 1890), also known as Mahatma Phule, was an activist, thinker, social reformer, writer, philosopher, theologist, scholar, editor and revolutionary. Jyotiba Phule and his wife Savitribai were the pioneers of women's education in India.
- Jyotiba Phule was a Hindu who believed in and followed the Bhakti tradition. His idol was Chhatrapati Shivaji. He called Shivaji 'destroyer of the Muslims', a community Phule believed was as degenerative a force as the Brahmins.
- Rao Bahadur Kandukuri Veeresalingam (16 April 1848–27 May 1919), also known as Kandukuri Veeresalingham Pantulu, was a social reformer of Andhra Pradesh. He was born in an orthodox Niyogi Telugu Brahmin family. He is widely considered as the man who first brought about a renaissance in Telugu people and Telugu literature. He was influenced by the ideals of Brahmo Samaj, particularly those of Keshub Chunder Sen.

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5.8 KEY TERMS

- **Sacrosanct:** (esp. of a principle, place, or routine) Regarded as too important or valuable to be interfered with
- **Theosophist:** One who is involved in Religious philosophy or speculation about the nature of the soul based on mystical insight into the nature of God
- **Tutelage:** Protection of or authority over someone or something; guardianship

5.9 ANSWERS TO 'CHECK YOUR PROGRESS'

1. The Salva Nayanar and Vaishnava Alvar saints of south India were the first to propagate and broaden the bhakti movement.
2. Some famous sufi saints were— Khwaja Moinuddin Chisti, Bahauddin Zakariya, Sahabuddin Suhrawardi and Nizamuddin Auliya.
3. Kabir was the most influential personality in the monotheistic movements.
4. Dayanand left home at the age of 12 as he refused to marry young and went on the quest for God.

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5. The core message of Dayananda's teachings was essentially respect and reverence for fellow beings, in keeping with the Vedic notion of the divinity inherent in every individual.
6. Arya Samajis believed in simple weddings that appealed to lower income classes and poor people. The Samaj also promoted inter-caste marriages in order to root out casteism.
7. Sayyid Ahmad Khan
8. Islam
9. Satya Shodhak Samaj
10. Liberty, equality
11. Veerrasalingam
12. The magazine Vivekavardhini talks about improving the position of women.

5.10 QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Short-Answer Questions

1. Name some of the major works by Dayanand Saraswati.
2. State three principles of Arya Samaj.
3. What did the Aligarh Reform Movement focus on?
4. What was Jyotiba Phule's concept of God and religion?
5. What was Veeresalingam's literary contribution?

Long-Answer Questions

1. Discuss the philosophies of Arya Samaj in detail.
2. What was Sayyid Ahmad Khan's contribution in the Aligarh Reform Movement?
3. Write a short note on Jyotiba Phule as a socio-religious reformer.
4. Describe Veeresalingam's contribution to society.

5.11 FURTHER READING

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UNIT 6 IMPACT OF WORLD WAR - I

Structure

6.0 Introduction
6.1 Unit Objectives
6.2 Outbreak of World War I and its Effects on Indian Politics
6.3 Home Rule League
6.4 Lucknow Pact
6.5 Summary
6.6 Key Terms
6.7 Answers to 'Check Your Progress'
6.8 Questions and Exercises
6.9 Further Reading

6.0 INTRODUCTION

At the beginning of the 20th century, Indians raised their voice for self-rule, a movement that came to be known as the struggle for Swaraj. The Indian National Congress demanded more powers for bodies with Indian representatives, such as the legislative council. There was also a clamour for recruiting to higher posts. The Congress proposed that the civil services examinations should be held in India rather than in England. They also demanded that steps should be taken to promote Indian industry and enterprise. In 1906, the Congress in a session presided by Dadabhai Naoroji, called for *swaraj* (a type of self-government elected by the people within the British Dominion) as it prevailed in the white colonies of the British Empire like Australia and Canada. Nationalist movements were gaining greater support, led by leaders like Bal Gangadhar Tilak, Lala Lajpat Rai and Bipin Chandra Pal, who were arrested, while Tilak was deported to Burma for six years.

In order to control the volatile situation, the British made an attempt to placate the educated and moderate nationalist leaders, a move designed to isolate the militant movements. They announced some reforms in the structure of the government through the Indian Council Act of 1909, known as the Morley-Minto Reforms. Under these reforms, the number of additional members in the central Legislative Council was increased from 16 to 60, of which 27 were to be elected not only by a restricted number of people but also by the organizations of landlords and industrialists. Apart from this, representation was given to the Muslims separately. However, these measures did not satisfy the Indians, who only intensified their struggle for Swaraj.

During World War I (1914–1918), Indians supported and cooperated with the British and their Allies against the Central powers, and a large number of Indians lost their lives. They had hoped that in return, the British would agree to their demand for granting a dominion status to India after the war. After the end of the War, in response to the demand for swaraj and dominion status, the British introduced another set of reforms – the Government of India Act of 1919, also known as the Montague-Chelmsford Reforms. The reforms did little to meet the aspirations of Indians, who felt short-changed after fighting alongside the British in the War. They were not ready to settle for anything less than self-rule, or swaraj.

People's anger, disgust and discontent with the British spilled over in the form of violence and demonstrations all over the country. To suppress the volatile situation, the

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British passed the Rowlatt Act in 1919, giving the government power to arrest and detain people in jail without trial. The situation culminated in the Jallianwala Bagh tragedy of 13 April 1919, in which General Dyer ordered indiscriminate firing on unarmed protestors in an enclosed ground near the Golden Temple, Amritsar. The victims had gathered to protest peacefully against the British government's excesses against Indians. In one of the most heinous acts by the British in India, hundreds were killed, including men, women and children.

Meanwhile, the international situation came to play in Indian politics. Indian Muslims were outraged by the humiliation of their Caliph, the Turkish sultan and the Khilafat movement started in India. Gandhi was able to unite this Khilafat movement with his Non-Cooperation movement. Both Non-Cooperation and Khilafat movements aimed at large-scale mobilization and participation by the Hindus and the Muslims. They tried to influence people to spin their own cloth, picket liquor shops, and uphold their honour and integrity in the face of British imperialism.

This unit discusses the impact of World War I on Indian politics, the Home Rule League and the Lucknow Pact.

6.1 UNIT OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to:

- Discuss the outbreak of World War I and its effects on Indian politics
- Describe the Home Rule League
- Explain the Lucknow Pact

6.2 OUTBREAK OF WORLD WAR I AND ITS EFFECTS ON INDIAN POLITICS

The World War I started in June 1914. France, Great Britain, Russia and Japan were on one side and Germany, Austria, Hungary and Turkey comprised the opposing side. Later, Italy also joined the former group. In the third world countries, this war awakened the spirit of nationalism among the masses.

When the war started, the Congress was dominated by the moderate faction led by Gokhale. The Congress took a decision to help the British considering it a duty. It decided to support the British thinking that after getting help from India, the British would feel grateful and would allow self-government in India. However, the Indian leaders at that time could not realize that the war between these groups was basically to safeguard their colonies. Nonetheless, the Congress did not support the British when Bal Gangadhar Tilak came back from jail. Tilak stated that pleading before the British for their rights did not serve any purpose. He maintained that freedom was the birthright of the Indians. Hence, he laid the foundation of the anti-government movement that was later led and guided by Gandhi.

Majority of the Indian leaders ultimately felt that the British government would not allow self-government in India if they were not pressurized for the same. Hence, they realized the requirement to start a mass movement. There were several other reasons behind the people's decision to start a mass movement. During the war period, heavy taxes were imposed on the people and the prices of essential goods also increased. Consequently, this period witnessed intense agitations against the policies of the British government.

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When the First World War broke out in the year 1914, India was also going through a state of growing political turbulence. The Indian National Congress was no longer a group that met and discussed issues in political conferences. Slowly, it was demanding self-governance from the British. The Germans, before the breakout of the War, had made efforts to stir up an anti-British sentiment in India. The Germans believed that if the British faced heat in India, their chances of victory in the War would be significantly reduced. William Archer wrote of the moment: 'The moment Britain gets into trouble elsewhere, India, in her present temper, would burst into a blaze of rebellion.'

These fears were, however, unfounded. When the War was declared on August 4, 1914, India rallied behind the cause of the British and supported it in the War. The influential section of the country believed that the independence of India was in the hands of the British and thus, the country should support the colonizers in whatever capacity it could. Financial and military help was offered to the British from all over the country. Wealthy states offered huge sums of money. States outside of the British control too pitched in to help – Nepal, for instance, sent 100,000 of its Gurkha soldiers while the Dalai Lama in Tibet provided 1000 of his troops in support of the British. Despite its initial fears of unrest, at the time of the War the British Army was able to handle large groups of troops and take out most of its military equipment from India as people supported the British and brought down the fear of unrest within the country. The Indian troops, in fact, were battle-ready much before the War and before the troops of other dominions.

By the winter of 1914, Indian troops were placed in the Western Front and participated in the first Battle of Ypres. The troops suffered many casualties by the end of 1915. During this time, it was decided to withdraw the Indian Corps from the frontline duty due to large-scale casualties from battles and sickness.

While one and a half million Indian volunteered to fight for the British, nearly 800,000 Indian troops participated in all battles held in the War. Indian troops bravely fought across many countries, including Gallipoli and North and East Africa. By the end of the War, a total of 47,746 Indian troops were registered as killed or missing and 65,000 were wounded. For its valour, the Indian Corps was given 13,000 medals for gallantry, including 12 Victoria Crosses. The Corps' first Victoria Cross was won by Khudadad Khan.

As with all wars, the cost of this war too took a toll on the Indian economy and it was pushed to the brink of bankruptcy. Yet, the British establishment was surprised with the support it received from the Indians. The Times noted at the time: 'The Indian empire has overwhelmed the British nation by the completeness and unanimity of its enthusiastic aid.'

As mentioned above, the Indians had provided support believing that it would be rewarded by the British in return with a significant move towards independence or at the least self-governance. It was soon apparent that the British held no such intentions. With this, the mood among the Indian political class and the masses soon turned antagonistic and even revolutionary towards the British. At the time when the War was in its final stages, Mahatma Gandhi retorted: 'Seek ye first the recruiting office, and everything will be added unto you'. Thus, the British government's post-war lack of support to the cause of the Indian independence alienated leaders like Gandhi and gave a great stimulus to the national movement. The Government of India Act was finally introduced in the year 1919.

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Its main features were:

- It introduced a national parliament for India having two houses.
- Around 5 million of the wealthiest upper class Indians were provided the right to vote (a very small percentage of the total population).
- In the provincial governments, the Indian national were entitled to become the ministers of education, health and public works.
- The act had the provisions for a commission to be held in 1929, to find out if India was ready for more concessions/reforms.

Nonetheless, the British still controlled all the central government portfolios and even within the provincial governments they controlled the key positions of tax and law and order. Many Indians felt that they had been severely let down by the British government for their support provided during World War I. But despite such feelings of being let down, India still played a major part in World War II as well.

The Government of India Act, 1919, was passed to increase the participation of Indians in the Government of India. The Act included the reforms which were suggested in the report of the Secretary of State for India, Edwin Montagu, and the Viceroy, Lord Chelmsford.

Some of the features of the Act are as follows:

(i) **Preamble:** The preamble of the Government of India Act includes the principles and policies which laid the foundation of this Act. The Preamble suggested a decentralized unitary form of government.

The policy of the British Parliament was:

(a) To provide for the increasing association of Indians in every branch of Indian administration

(b) To develop self governing institutions with a view to the progressive realization of responsible government in British India as an integral part of the empire

(c) The time and manner of gradual advance towards this goal to be decided by the British Parliament

(ii) **Distribution of functions of government:** The functions of the government were divided into two categories: central functions and provincial functions. The provincial subjects were subdivided into 'transferred' and 'reserved'. It was decided that the ministers who were accountable to the legislature would assist the Governors in the transferred subjects. On the other hand, the Councillors who were not accountable to the legislature, were to advise the Governors in the reserved subjects. Thus, the dual set of governments were introduced in the provinces namely accountable and non-accountable.

(iii) **Powers of Governor-General:** The Central Legislature was given the authority to consider, pass or reject legislation on any subject which was mentioned in the Central List. However, the authority of the final decision on any Bill passed by the Legislature was in the hands of the Governor-General. He had the authority to stop consideration of any Bill or a part of a Bill, if he believed that it might be dangerous for the peace of the country. He also had the power not to allow debate or adjournment motion on some issues, in the legislature.

The Governor-General also had the authority to hold back his agreement on any Bill. No Bill could become an Act without his agreement. Moreover, he also had a power to enact a law which he believed was important for the peace and safety of the country, even if the Legislature did not pass it.

(iv) **Division of members:** In this Act, the members were divided into three categories: elected, nominated officials and nominated non-officials and they had 70 per cent, 10 per cent and 20 per cent members respectively.

(v) **The voting qualifications:** According to this Act, the voting qualification varied in different provinces. Moreover, within the same province, the voting qualifications were different based on whether the area was rural or urban. There were two categories of constituencies namely general and special. The general constituency included Hindus, Muslims, Christians, Anglo-Indians and Sikhs, etc. Special constituencies represented land holders, universities, chambers of commerce etc.

(vi) **Two types of legislature:** According to this Act, legislature was categorized into two types namely the Council of States and the Central Legislative Assembly. The Council of States had 60 members, out of which 33 were elected and 27 were nominated. The Central Legislature Assembly had 145 members, out of which 104 were elected and 41 were nominated.

(vii) **Provincial legislatures and its powers:** The number of seats of provincial legislatures varied from province to province. The provincial legislative councils had the authority to legislate on the topics which were listed under provincial subjects. The Governor had the authority not to consider a Bill. If he considered the Bill dangerous for the peace and safety of the province, he had the authority to send the Bill back to the House for reconsideration. In some cases, he could keep the Bill to send to the Governor-General for his opinion. The Governor-General was empowered to reserve the Bill to take the opinion of the Crown.

(viii) **Executive Council of the Governor-General:** This Council was not accountable to the Central Legislature rather it was accountable to the Secretary of State. There was no limit on the membership of the Executive Council of the Governor-General. Three members out of the six members of the Executive Council of the Governor-General were to be Indians. A pleader who pleaded in the Indian High Court was also eligible to become a law member.

(ix) **Powers of the Secretary of State for India:** Earlier the Secretary of the State for India had a lot of authority over the central and provincial administration. However, with the enactment of this, his powers were reduced.

Importance of the Act

Many prominent leaders of the time observed that the Act of 1919 was important as it was more comprehensive than any other Act enacted before. This Act introduced direct election and increased the franchise. After the enactment of this Act, Indian ministers for the first time, could handle some of the departments of provincial administration not merely as official nominees but as the leaders of the elected majorities. These ministers were responsible to the people. It gave an opportunity to the people to take first-hand experience in politics.

However, even though the Act had some commendable features, it was defective in many ways. Dr. A K. Heith said 'the executive remained wholly free from direct authority of the legislature'.

The subjects which the Indian leaders were given to handle were not important from the point of view of politics. The system that came into being after this Act did not improve the efficiency of administration.

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The ministers felt that they did not have enough authority to carry out their responsibility. Sir K. V. Reddy said, 'I was minister for Development without the Forest. I was the minister for Agriculture minus irrigation.' The Moderates accepted the Act as they took this Act as a first step towards self-government. The Nationalist party did not accept the Act as they considered inadequate, disappointing and unsatisfactory.

With the outbreak of World War I, there was great enthusiasm in the country. The people of India were willing to serve the government in every possible way. After Marne, there was an increasing demand for Indian troops outside India. When Turkey joined the Central Powers in October 1914, Indian troops garrisoned the Suez Canal and repulsed a Turkish attack. Indian troops fought through the long campaigns of Macedonia and German East Africa. They played an important part in the Iraq campaign leading to the capture of Baghdad in 1917. In this way, they helped to found the present State of Iraq. They were in the Allied army which took Jerusalem in 1917. All this involved a great effort in India itself. Eight lakhs of men were recruited for the fighting forces, together with four lakhs of non-combatants. This resulted in great expansion in the military machine, a great mixture of classes and a stronger feeling of self-confidence all around. Indian self-confidence grew when the magnitude of their effort and the extent to which it depended upon Indians themselves, were realized.

In the administrative sphere, the British government made a mistake in allowing the British civilian officers to serve the forces during the war. Many of them never returned and those who returned found themselves in a strange new mental world to which it was difficult to adapt themselves. When times grew difficult towards the end of the war, the Government had only an ageing and tired cadre of officers to rely upon.

In the economic sphere, the first effect of the war was one of stimulus. The industrial development of modern India owes a good deal to the demands of World War I. However, increasing demands and expenditure led to rise in prices and ultimately enthusiasm was turned into discontent. Englishmen could be expected to put up with inconveniences because they felt that they were fighting for their very existence and their victory was likely to add to their glory. The same could not be said about the Indians for whom the war was merely an external affliction. No doubt, they became not only exhausted and war-weary but also sour, discontented and resentful.

The attitude of India towards Europeans and its people was altered radically and permanently. The Indians gave up the feeling that the Europeans were superior to them morally and technically. They were regarded merely as more powerful. The first war casualty in India was the image of Western superiority.

The Russian Revolution of 1917 also had a profound influence on the mind of the Indians. They felt that if the people of Russia could overthrow an imperialist regime, the same could be done by the Indians in their own country. The Fourteen points of President Wilson had great influence on the Indians. They also demanded the rights of national freedom and self-determination of people. No wonder, the Indians demanded self-government in the name of the fundamental principles accepted by the Allied Powers.

As regards the effect of war on Muslims, they were very unhappy. They did not approve of the dismemberment of Turkey, which was regarded as the sword of Islam. They also did not like the treatment given to the Arabs who were considered to be rebels against the Turkish Khalifa. Their princes were regarded as stooges of the infidel.

When the war started, the Congress was still a middle-class body of westernized professionals with some commercial and industrial backing. It was firmly under the control of Gokhale and the Moderates. However, all this was changed during the war. Tilak came back from jail and became the all important leader of all-India. Tilak was opposed to the old policy of making prayers to the British Government. His contention was that every Indian had the birthright to be free. He laid the foundations for the great anti-government movement led by Gandhiji in the next few years.

6.3 HOME RULE LEAGUE

The All India Home Rule League was formed in 1916. It was a national political organization which aimed at leading the national demand for self-government. Self-government was termed as Home Rule. Indians wanted to obtain the status of a Dominion within the British empire as enjoyed by Canada, Australia, Newfoundland, South Africa, and New Zealand at that time.

From 1916 to 1918, when the World War I was in its last phase, many prominent Indians decided to organize a national alliance of leagues across India. The aim of these leagues was to demand Home Rule, or self-government within the British Empire throughout India. Some of the prominent Indians, who were a part of this alliance, were Joseph Baptista, Mohammad Ali Jinnah, G. S. Khaparde, Bal Gangadhar Tilak, Sir S. Subramania Iyer and Annie Besant.

In one of the sessions of the Congress, Tilak proposed the formation of a working committee which could look after day to day affairs of the organization and take steps for the implementations of resolutions passed in its annual sessions. This proposal by Tilak was rejected by a number of members of the Congress. After some time, Tilak decided the formation of the Home Rule League. The first league was founded by Tilak in Pune, Maharashtra.

Besant proposed that Home Rule League in the country could be modeled on the Irish Home Rule movement in order to spread awareness among the people. During this movement, Tilak said, 'Do not ask for crumbs. Ask for the whole bread' and 'Swaraj is my birth right and I shall have it'. He also demanded education in vernacular language.

The league organized discussions, conducted lecture tours and circulated pamphlets to spread awareness among the people. After the formation of the league, Mohammad Ali Jinnah became the head of Bombay branch of the league.

The main areas of league's activity were Bombay, Calcutta and Madras. The league became popular and a number of members of the Indian National Congress and the All India Muslim League joined hands with the league.

The leaders of the league delivered speeches at various parts of the country. They took signatures of Indians on various petitions and submitted the petitions to the British government. During the movement, Annie Besant was arrested by the police. After her arrest, the movement spread to many other places of India such as Sindh, Punjab, Gujarat, United Provinces, Bihar, Orissa and Madras.

By the end of 1917, Tilak got involved in a libel suit against Valentine Chirol and had to go to England for this case. In the absence of Tilak, Besant was not able to lead the league alone.

Check Your Progress

1. What led to the rise in prices during the outbreak of World War I?
2. The _____ Revolution of 1917 had a profound influence on the minds of the Indians.

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The movement of the league strengthened during Mahatma Gandhi's civil disobedience movement. His efforts to lead the farmers of Champaran, Bihar and Kheda, Gujarat against the British authorities during tax revolts made him really popular among the masses. Initially, many leaders, such as Bal Gangadhar Tilak, Mohammad Ali Jinnah, Annie Besant, Bipin Chandra Pal and Lala Lajpat Rai, did not agree with the ideas of Gandhi. Later on, the transformation of Indian politics due to Gandhi's efforts made him popular among these leaders as well.

Before the participation of Gandhi, the Indian National Congress was a body of educated Indians and people from cities. Gandhi's participation made the Congress strong as 15 million people across provinces, towns and villages joined the organization. In 1920, Mahatma Gandhi was elected as the President of All India Home Rule League. Within a year, the league merged with the Congress and formed a united Indian political front.

With the rise of revolutionary movements and extremism, the British government followed a two-edged policy: (i) adopting the policies of repression and dividing the Indians, specifically the Hindus and the Muslims; and (ii) bringing about gradual reforms which resulted in passing of the Act of 1909. The formation of the Muslim League in 1906 and the clause of the communal electorate system in the Act of 1909 discredited the British in the eyes of most of the Indians. Still a lull remained in Indian politics for some time because the moderates grudgingly decided to cooperate with the government for some more time. The outbreak of World War I provided a new impetus to the national movement. As we have already seen, when World War I started the Indian National Congress supported the government in its war efforts with the presumption that the British government will bring about some administrative reforms for the benefit of the Indians after the war. However, the extremists viewed it as a God-sent opportunity and took a decision to advance their own cause. They thought that it was the fitting time to force Britain to agree to the Indian demands for extracting political concessions during their time of difficulties. The extremists were basically influenced by the emergence of the Irish Home Rule Movement under the leadership of Issac Butt. B.G. Tilak returned to active politics in 1914 after completing his term of imprisonment. He tried to join hands with the Congress on the issue of demanding 'Home Rule' for India. However, when he did not succeed in this, he founded the Home Rule League on 28 April 1916 with its headquarters at Poona. Due to the British indigestibility for the word 'swaraj', Tilak opted for the term 'Home Rule' in place of 'swaraj' as the main objective of the movement. The main aim of the Home Rule League was to 'attain Home-Rule or self government within the British Empire by all constitutional means and to educate and organize public opinion in the country towards the attainment of the same'.

Annie Besant, an Irish lady, had arrived in India as a member of the Theosophical Society. She later joined the Congress. Further, she had set up a Home Rule League in London in 1914 and ultimately founded a Home Rule League on 15 September 1916. The latter had its headquarters at Adyar near Madras. Both these leagues supported each other and hence, divided their areas of activities among themselves. Tilak's Home Rule League confined its activities to Maharashtra, Karnataka, Madhya Pradesh and Berar, while Besant's League functioned in the rest of the country. Tilak and Besant toured all over India and propagated the message of the Home Rule among the masses. They used the means of newspapers, mass meetings and distribution of leaflets to spread their message. Tilak used *Young India* to stir the popular sentiments. Besant, on her part, used *New India* and *Common Weal* to educate the masses about the League's objectives. The movement attracted liberal leaders such as Motilal Nehru and Tej Bahadur Sapru who became its members. The Home Rule movement turned a powerful phenomenon during the phase of World War I. The movement strived for the grant of self-government to India within the British dominions. However, it always remained within constitutional limits.

The government put strenuous efforts to suppress the movement through force. Mrs Besant was forced to stop the publication of *New India* and was sentenced to home imprisonment. When action was taken against Mrs Besant and Tilak on their refusal to provide securities and personal bonds, the movement acquired an all-India character. The movement infused the spirit of patriotism, fearlessness, self-respect and sacrifice among the people. Ultimately, the government relented and in 1917 by Montague's declaration was receptive to the idea of self-government for India through a gradual process. Mrs Annie Besant was elected as the Congress President in 1917 and the objective of 'Home Rule' was accepted by the Congress. It was the biggest success of this movement.

However, the movement got weakened after some time. Some of the reasons for this were: the passing of the Government of India Act, 1919; factionalism in the Congress on the issue of the Act; departure of Tilak to London for a legal case; and Besant's consent to the new scheme of reforms of 1919. Although the Home Rule Movement could not achieve its objectives, it kept the fire of nationalism burning among the Indians during the course of the war. It was crucial because during this period the congress had failed to provide any direction to the people. On the issue of the significance of the Home Rule Movement, S.R. Mehrotra states 'The Home Rule League created a significant impact on the national movement in India. For the first time an agitation had been aroused on a nation-wide scale and a network of political committees covered much of India.'

6.4 LUCKNOW PACT

The nationalists realized that disunity among them was harming their cause and that they should put up a united front against the government. The fast emerging nationalist feeling in the country and the urge for national unity resulted in historical developments during the Lucknow session of the Indian National Congress in 1916. Most importantly, the two factions of the Congress were reunited. The old controversies were no longer relevant because most of the leaders realized that the split in the Congress had borne political inactivity. Tilak, after his release from jail in 1914, instantly felt the change in the situation and strived to unify the two streams of Congressmen. To pacify the moderate nationalists, he stated:

> I may state once for all that we are trying in India, as the Irish Homerulers have been all along doing in Ireland, for a reform of the system of administration and not for the overthrow of government; and I have no hesitation in saying that the acts of violence which have been committed in the different parts of India are not only repugnant to me, but have, in my opinion, only unfortunately retarded to a great extent, the pace of our political progress.

Further, the emerging tide of nationalism forced the old leaders to welcome Lokamanya Tilak and other militant nationalists back into the Congress. The Lucknow

Check Your Progress

3. The formation of the _____ in 1906 and the clause of the communal electorate system in the Act of 1909 discredited the British in the eyes of most of the Indians.
4. Annie Besant used _____ to educate the masses about the League's objectives.

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Congress was the first united Congress since 1907. It asked for further constitutional reforms as a step towards self-government. At Lucknow, the Congress and the All India Muslim League buried their old differences and forwarded united political demands before the government. The War and the two Home Rule Leagues were generating a new sentiment in the country which changed the character of the Congress. Similarly, the Muslim League had also been undergoing gradual changes. We have already observed earlier that the younger section of the educated Muslims was taking to bolder form of nationalist politics. The War period witnessed further developments in that direction. As a result, in 1914 the government took punitive measures against the publication of *Al Hilal* of Abul Kalam Azad and the *Comrade* of Maulana Mohamed Ali. The government also interned the Ali Brothers (Mohamed Ali and Shaukat Ali), Hasrat Mohani and Abul Kalam Azad. Even though partially, the League at least reflected the political militancy of its younger members. It steadily began to outgrow the limited political outlook of the Aligarh school of thought and shifted nearer to the general Congress policies.

This growing unity in the objectives of the Congress and the League culminated in the signing of the Congress–League Pact, popularly called the Lucknow Pact. Lokamanya Tilak and Mohammad Ali Jinnah played an important role in bringing the two together. They believed that India can win self-government only through Hindu-Muslim unity. Tilak stated at the time:

> It has been said, gentlemen, by some that we Hindus have yielded too much to our Mohammedan brethren. I am sure I represent the sense of the Hindu community all over India when I say that we could not have yielded too much. I would not care if the rights of self-government are granted to the Mohammedan community only. I would not care if they are granted to the lower and the lowest classes of the Hindu population. When we have to fight against a third party, it is a very important thing that we stand on this platform united, united in race, united in religion, as regard all different shades of political creed. The two organizations passed similar resolutions at their sessions. They also put forward a joint scheme of political reforms on the basis of separate electorates and demanded that the British government should make a declaration to the effect that it will confer self-government to India at the earliest.

In the field of Hindu-Muslim unity, the Lucknow Pact marked an important step forward. Regrettably, it did not involve the Hindu and Muslim masses and accepted the harmful principle of separate electorates. It was meant to bring together the educated Hindus and Muslims as distinct political entities. But it lacked on the critical issue of secularizing their political outlook, which would have made them understand that in politics they possessed no distinct interests as Hindus or Muslims. Therefore, the Lucknow Pact left scope for the future resurgence of communalism in Indian politics. Nonetheless, the immediate effect of the developments at Lucknow was wonderful. The unity between the moderate and militant nationalists as well as between the Indian National Congress and the Muslim League created immense political enthusiasm in the country. Even the British government found it essential to appease the nationalists. Till then it had heavily depended upon repression to control the nationalist agitation.

Earlier, scores of radical nationalists and revolutionaries had been jailed or interned under the provisions of nefarious Defense of India Act and other similar regulations. The government now realized the requirement to appease nationalist opinion and on 20 August 1917 declared that its policy in India was 'the gradual development of self-

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governing institutions with a view to the progressive realization of responsible Government of India as an integral part of the British empire'.

In July 1918, the Montague-Chelmsford reforms were declared. However, the Indian nationalis could not be appeased. Actually, the Indian national movement was soon to enter its third and last phase, i.e., the phase of mass struggle or the Gandhian Era. When Bal Gangadhar Tilak came back from jail with the thought that it was no use pleading in front of the British Government, he tried to reunite with other members of the Congress. Pherozshah Mehta, however, did not support Tilak.

In 1914, the rise of Annie Besant in the political domain helped in the reunification of the Congress. Annie Besant was a Theosophical leader who started her career as a politician in England. She was a proponent of free thought, Radicalism, and Theosophy. She decided to come to India in 1893 and set up the Theosophical Society. Many educated Indians became her followers. She was 66 years of age in 1914. She joined the Congress to promote nationalist political activity.

In 1915, after the death of Pherozshah Mehta, the Tilak group was allowed to re-enter the Congress. The Congress as well as the Muslim League met in Bombay. In 1916, Lucknow pact was made. Muhammed Ali Jinnah was a member of the Muslim League. In 1916, the Indian National Congress and the Muslim League negotiated to reach an agreement. As per this agreement, the two organizations decided to pressurize the British government to give Indians more authority.

Earlier, the objective of the Muslim League was to safeguard the interests of Muslims in India. Thus, the Lucknow Pact brought a significant change in the policy of the league. Jinnah was the mastermind and architect of this pact. This pact also brought the Moderates and the Extremist groups of the Congress together.

After a few months of the Bombay meetings, 19 elected members of the Imperial Legislative Council, Hindus as well as Muslims, addressed a memorandum to the Viceroy. The memorandum had the suggestions for reforms. Their suggestions were discussed, amended and accepted at the next meeting of the Congress and Muslim League leaders. The meeting took place at Calcutta in November 1916. After this, the Congress had its annual session on December 29 1916. Similarly, the annual session of the Muslim League was on December 31, 1916. The agreement made in the meeting at Calcutta were confirmed in the annual sessions of the organizations in Lucknow.

Some of the important features of this Pact were:

1. There shall be self-government in India.
2. One-third representation should be given to the Muslims in the central government.
3. Until a community specifically demands joint electorates, separate electorates should be held for all communities.
4. Adoption of a system of weightage to minority political representation. This meant giving minorities more representation in the government then was proportional to their share of the population.
5. Increase in the number of members of the Central Legislative Council to 150.
6. At the provincial level, election of four-fifth members of the Legislative Councils and nomination of one-fifth members.
7. In the major provinces, the size of provincial legislatures to not be less than 125 and from 50 to 75 in the minor provinces.

NOTES

8. Except those who are nominated, all members should be elected directly on the basis of adult franchise.
9. No Bill concerning a community should be passed if the same is opposed by three-fourth of members of that community in the Legislative Council.
10. The term of the Legislative Council should be five years.
11. The president of the Legislative Council should be elected by members themselves.
12. Half of the members of the Executive Council should be Indians.
13. For the Executive Councils of Governors, the same method should be adopted.
14. Abolishment of the India Council.
15. The British government should pay the salaries of the Secretary of State for Indian Affairs and not use the Indian funds for the same.
16. One of the two under secretaries should be Indian.
17. The Executive and the judiciary should be separated from each other.
18. In the Provincial Legislatures, the number of Muslims would be laid down province by province.

Significantly, it was this pact which brought about a change in the approach of the Muslims towards the Congress, which was considered predominantly Hindu till then.

ACTIVITY

From suitable sources read as much as you can on the Home Rule Movement in India. Read with the objective of gathering facts only. Prepare a note of the important happenings related to the movement. Now working like a historian, build up your own version of the reasons that were responsible for it not succeeding as much as it should have.

Did You Know

In 2007, the Government of India released a coin to commemorate the 150th birth anniversary of Bal Gangadhar Tilak.

6.5 SUMMARY

In this unit, you have learnt that:

- In the economic sphere, the first effect of the war was one of stimulus. The industrial development of modern India owes a good deal to the demands of World War I. However, increasing demands and expenditure led to rise in prices and ultimately enthusiasm was turned into discontent.
- The Russian Revolution of 1917 also had a profound influence on the minds of the Indians. They felt that if the people of Russia could overthrow an imperialist regime, the same could be done by the Indians in their own country.

Check Your Progress

5. The _____ was the first united Congress since 1907.
6. The Lucknow Pact left scope for the future resurgence of _____ in Indian politics.

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- As regards the effect of war on Muslims, they were very unhappy. They did not approve of the dismemberment of Turkey, which was regarded as the sword of Islam. They also did not like the treatment given to the Arabs who were considered to be rebels against the Turkish Khalifa. Their princes were regarded as stooges of the infidel.
- With the rise of revolutionary movements and extremism, the British government followed a two-edged policy: (i) adopting the policies of repression and dividing the Indians, specifically the Hindus and the Muslims; and (ii) bringing about gradual reforms which resulted in passing of the Act of 1909.
- The main aim of the Home Rule League was to 'attain Home-Rule or self-government within the British Empire by all constitutional means and to educate and organize public opinion in the country towards the attainment of the same'.
- The fast emerging nationalist feeling in the country and the urge for national unity resulted in historical developments during the Lucknow session of the Indian National Congress in 1916. Most importantly, the two factions of the Congress were reunited.
- In the field of Hindu-Muslim unity, the Lucknow Pact marked an important step forward.
- In July 1918, the Montague-Chelmsford reforms were declared.

6.6 KEY TERMS

- **Communalism:** A principle of political organization based on federated communes
- **Pact:** A formal agreement between individuals or parties
- **Reform:** The action or process of reforming an institution or practice

6.7 ANSWERS TO 'CHECK YOUR PROGRESS'

1. Increasing demands and expenditure
2. Russian
3. Muslim League
4. *New India* and *Common Weal*
5. Lucknow Congress
6. Communalism

6.8 QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Short-Answer Questions

1. What was the two-edged policy followed by the British government?
2. What did the Home Rule Movement strive for?
3. What was the essence of the Lucknow Pact?

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Long-Answer Questions

1. Discuss in detail the effects of World War I on India.
2. Write a short note on Home Rule League.
3. Describe the Lucknow Pact.

6.9 FURTHER READING

Chandra, Bipin. 2009. *History of Modern India*. New Delhi: Orient Longman.

Chandra, Bipin. 1972. *Freedom Struggle*. New Delhi: National Book Trust.

Chopra, P. N. 2003. *A Comprehensive History of Modern India*, New Delhi: Sterling Publishers.

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UNIT 7 EMERGENCE OF GANDHI IN INDIAN POLITICS - I

Structure

7.0 Introduction
7.1 Unit Objectives
7.2 India in the Early 20th Century
7.3 Emergence of Gandhi: Champaran and Kheda Movements
7.4 Non-Cooperation Movement (1920)
7.5 Khilafat Movement
  7.5.1 Revolutionary Fervor
  7.5.2 Struggle for Swaraj
7.6 Summary
7.7 Key Terms
7.8 Answers to 'Check Your Progress'
7.9 Questions and Exercises
7.10 Further Reading

7.0 INTRODUCTION

Indians were slowly becoming aware of their rights under the British rule. They had started demanding a share in governing their own country. Although they supported the British during World War I, they sought the right to govern India. The Indian National Congress during this time was under the moderates who still wanted to remain loyal to the British but insisted on self-government. The growth of an extremist faction within the Indian National Congress was attributed to the failure of the moderates to achieve something substantial for the Indian people. The extremists on the other hand wanted to oust the British out of the country and take full control of the government. With the moderates fading away in the background, the extremists gained confidence with the advent of Mahatma Gandhi in the freedom struggle.

This unit deals with the emergence of Gandhian philosophy in Indian politics.

7.1 UNIT OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to:

- Discuss the Khilafat Movement
- Describe the Non-Cooperative Movement
- Explain the ideology of Swarajist and Gandhi

7.2 INDIA IN THE EARLY 20TH CENTURY

The nationalist movement in India progressed as a result of the British colonial exploitation. It achieved momentum through various stages. The British entered India as a trading entity. Their economic interest collided with the political pattern of the contemporary Indian history. Non-violent resistance is a peaceful way of resistance against a perceived social injustice or an unjust treatment. It is carried on using symbolic protests, civil

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disobedience, economic or political non-cooperation, and other methods, which do not involve violence. It is largely synonymous with civil resistance. The nationalist movement of India is the best set example of the modern form of non-violent resistance movement to gain independence from the British.

Throughout Asia and Africa, nationalist ideas fuelled the campaigns to replace the old European empires with homegrown rulers in the twentieth century. The concept of nationalism which is the latent force of nationalist movements is not a belief, but rather a force supposed to move people to action and belief. Nationalism is better treated as a complex of ideas and sentiments which responded flexibly decade by decade to new situations, usually situations of grievances in which people may find themselves. In the nineteenth century, the idea became dominant that the natural goal of every national movement is the creation, maintenance and increase in power of a nation state through non-violent resistance.

Nationalism and national movement appear as a continuation of the democratic movement which, after achieving the elimination of all privileges associated with aristocracy, sets up its own nation. Nationalism of this sort assumes an emotional character which easily becomes aggressive and thrives on the negation of other alien people and ethnic groups and rises to extreme forms of passionate hostility to all foreign manifestations. Nationalism exhorts to the spiritual and intellectual needs of men. Even his emotional and instinctive powers are manifested through it. Since the emotional and instinctive powers of men are more decisive for nationalism and find expression in collective action, the individual should be reached when his critical powers are either undeveloped or in abeyance. For this reason, the nationalist propaganda concentrates upon the youth and the masses.

The nationalist movements have their genesis in the intellectual class. To quote Bipin Chandra, 'The pre-nationalist resistance to colonial rule failed to understand the twin phenomena of colonialism and the nation-in-the-making. In fact, these phenomena were not visible, or available to be grasped, on the surface. They had to be grasped through hard analysis. This analysis and political consciousness based on it were then taken to the people by intellectuals who played a significant role in arousing the inherent, instinctive, nascent, anti-colonial consciousness of the masses.'

Building up of resistance movements

The historical sketch of the nationalist movement divides it into two broad phases: one before 1857, when political and economic interest of the British collided with that of the local and regional heads and the other pointing at the aftermath of the struggle; and another after 1857. Very often the masses supported the struggle against the British. But these rebellions were localized, sporadic and isolated events - their mass base being the rack-rented peasants, ruined artisans and demobilized soldiers. Such resistance movements nearer home were the uprising of 1803-04, the Paik Rebellion of Khurda of 1817. The century-old exploitation of the British resulted in various types of discontentment in the society, and this suddenly fermented in 1857.

The reaction of the tribes towards the British was no less important. The tribal people, spread over a large part of India, organized hundreds of militant outbreaks and insurrections during the nineteenth century. These uprisings were marked by immense courage and sacrifice on their part and brutal suppression and veritable butchery on the part of the rulers. The colonial administration disturbed the daily lives of the tribals and made them miserable. The socio-economic transformation projected by the colonial

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pattern introduced a large number of moneylenders, traders and revenue farmers as middlemen among the tribals. The tribals got ensnared in the web of debt. They lost their independent livelihood and their status got reduced to that of agricultural labourers, share-croppers and rack-rented tenants. The colonial government deprived them of such an age old anchorage as the forest which they perceived to be like their mother and depended on for their survival. The socio-economic condition deteriorated due to the exploitation of the colonial instruments like that of the policemen and petty officials. Bipin Chandra writes: 'Oppression and extortion by policemen and other petty officials further aggravated distress among the tribals. The revenue farmers and government agents also intensified and expanded the system of beggary- making the tribals perform unpaid labour.'

Such type of oppression led to various regional resistance movements in different parts of India, which were broad-based and often involved the entire population of the region. The remarkable tribal uprisings occurred in Bhagalpur and Rajmahal around 1855 and were known as Santhal hool or Santhal rebellion. The Kols of Chhotnagpur rebelled from 1820-1837. The hill tribesmen of Rampa in coastal Andhra revolted in March 1879 against forest regulations. Birsa led the Munda rebellion against the British in the hilly tracts of Bihar. The tribal rebellions often originated out of exploitation of the 'son of the soils' and it got nourished on myths encompassing in its fold the commoners from below throughout the nineteenth century.

The revolt of 1857 came as the first major challenge to British colonialism. Though it started from the barracks of sepoys, yet it attracted people from different walks of life, who were somewhat dissatisfied with their foreign masters for subjective reasons. The sole interest of the East India Company was to realize maximum revenue with minimum effort. The peasantry became indebted and impoverished. Emphasis was given on the collection of revenue even in most adverse circumstances. The decline and destruction of traditional art and craft also brought sufferings to a major part of Indian population. As a result, peasants reacted against the colonial exploitation. The Indigo Revolt of 1859-60 had its origin in the exploitation of indigo planters. But a significant feature of this revolt was the role played by the intelligentsia of Bengal. They had, in fact, organized powerful campaigns in support of the rebellious peasantry. They carried on newspaper campaigns, organized mass meetings, prepared memoranda on peasants' grievances and supported the victims in their legal battles.

Peasant insurrections

The exploited and oppressed peasants of India revolted against the alien rule and created a base for the nationalist struggle. The consciousness of the main bulk of the society was transformed, creating a scope for reform and revolution. The peasant movements of nineteenth and twentieth century were mostly guided on the ideals of nationalism. Their cadres and leaders mainly carried on the mission of organizing the peasantry on class lines. This enabled them to play a supportive role in the nationalist movement.

Resistance by the working class

The next important group of the Indian society who played a vital role in the nationalist struggle was the workers. The workers, whose area of operation was restricted to the factories and organized sectors, represented the have-nots and unprivileged section and they often acted and got organized through the agency of the philanthropists during the last part of the nineteenth century. In the beginning years of the twentieth century, the nationalist leaders got associated with the workers and inspired and instigated them to

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react for exclusively economic causes. During the Swadeshi days, the workers got involved in the mainstream political issues. During the anti-partition and Swadeshi days, nascent trade-unions functioned to inspire the workers on political lines. Home Rule leagues of Tilak and Annie Besant also stimulated the workers to be attracted towards the fold of nationalist struggle. The workers were up in arms against the foreign, profit-seeking British.

The working class came closer to the nationalist struggle during the war years. The *hartal* and general strike against the Rowlatt Act and the wave of indignation that swept the country after the Jallianwalla Bagh massacre made the working class more reactive. During the Civil Disobedience days, the slogan of the Congress slogan was: 'the workers and peasants are the hands and feet of the Congress'. The workers participated in the Civil Disobedience Movement all over the country. There grew an opinion that the Congress was the only organization, which was carrying on the fight against imperialism and, therefore, the workers began to follow the lead of the Congress.

The workers also actively participated in the nationalist struggle during the days of provincial autonomy. When the Second World War started on 3 September 1939, the working class of Bombay reacted immediately. The meaningful role played by the workers during the 'Quit India' days is of great importance. Till independence the workers actively participated in the nationalist struggle in response to the call of the leaders. The nationalist movement enriched itself, when the workers supported it in its metamorphosis.

Tagore: The preacher of self-reliance

Earlier the social reformers had preached the idea of human equality, indirectly fostering the concept of the unity of India and Indians. Though the nationalist struggle was engineered by the elite in the early stages, the militant nationalists acted on a more practical programme to take up the political struggle to the masses. Rabindranath Tagore preached the importance of self-reliance i.e. *'aatmashakti'*. The extremists tried vociferously to bring the peasants and workers into the movement. The youth of the country associated themselves in the nationalist struggle right from the Swadeshi days. The students, teachers, clerks, etc. formed volunteer groups and joined the struggle. The remarkable aspect of it was the approach from the grassroots, right from the extremist days.

7.3 EMERGENCE OF GANDHI: CHAMPARAN AND KHEDA MOVEMENTS

Mahatma Gandhi was born in Porbander, Gujarat, on 2 October 1869. He finished his schooling in Rajkot, where his father served as the adviser to the local ruler of Rajkot. Though India was under British rule, over 500 kingdoms, principalities, and states were allowed autonomy, however, they were bound to the British government by subsidiaries. These states are called native states or princely states and Rajkot was also a native state. In 1888, Gandhi went to England, where he pursued a degree in law. After completing his law degree, Gandhi decided to accept an offer from an Indian businessman in South Africa, Dada Abdulla, to join him as a legal adviser. Gandhi was to stay in South Africa for over twenty years. It was here that Gandhi first got a taste of European racism when he was thrown out of first class railway compartment despite

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having a first class ticket. This incident gave birth to a strong political awakening which forced him to come back to India and join in India's freedom for struggle.

In early 1915, Mahatma Gandhi returned to India. After his return to India, he is known to have left the country only once in 1931 to participate in the Second Round Table Conference. On the advice of G.K. Gokhale, he travelled extensively throughout India to familiarize himself with India and Indian conditions. He considered Gokhale to be his political mentor and often turned to him for advice. For the next few years Gandhi became involved in various local struggles such as the ones in Kheda, Gujarat and Champaran, Bihar. These local struggles were also a landmark in the history of Indian freedom struggle as they were the first Satyagraha protests initiated by Gandhi. It would be important to point out that though the Champaran Satyagraha was the first revolution, the term Satyagraha was first used during the Rowlatt Agitation of 1919.

Gradually, he led several local struggles such as the one at Champaran in Bihar and the dispute at Ahmedabad textile mills. These local struggles were also a landmark in the history of Indian freedom struggle as they were the first Satyagraha protests initiated by Gandhi based on the principle of *ahimsa* or non-violence against the British. His leadership earned him widespread respect and loyal support of the people, and he rapidly rose to the helm of nationalist politics as a charismatic leader of the nationalist movement.

Rabindranath Tagore, India's most well-known poet and author, gave him the title of Mahatma, or 'Great Soul'.

Though many leaders fought for the cause of Indian independence, Mahatma Gandhi's role stands out among them. His arrival galvanized the nationalist movement and made it a mass movement.

Champaran satyagraha

The satyagraha at Champaran took place in 1917. It was the first major incident in Gandhi's movement against the British. Though it came to be known as satyagraha, the term was first used during the Rowlatt Agitation of 1919. The Champaran satyagraha was in support of the poor farmers of Champaran district in Bihar, who were forced to grow cash crops, such as indigo. The crop was bought at very low price fixed by the European planters. In addition, the British also started levying a tax on the farmers, which pushed them to the brink. The farmers had heard about Gandhi and they invited him to their district to help them against the British. Gandhi came to Champaran accompanied by young leaders like Rajendra Prasad, J.B. Kripalini, Mahadev Desai and Mazhar-ul-Haq. He demanded an inquiry into the condition of the poor indigo farmers. Gandhi was ordered to leave Champaran, but he refused. The government had to consider his demands and appointed a committee to find out the conditions of the farmers and their problems. Gandhi was also made a member of the committee. According to the committee report, the peasants were free from the clutches of the European planters. Gandhi emerged as a leader with mass appeal.

Kheda

Similarly, in Kheda, Gujarat, the farmers were slightly better off than their counterparts in Champaran. However, with the famine, the agrarian economy was destroyed. In a situation where the people did not have enough to feed themselves, the British government levied a 23 per cent tax increase which was to take affect the same year. Gandhi's efforts in Kheda and Champaran earned him a distinguished position in nationalist politics.

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Ahmedabad Mill Strike

There were many textile mills in Ahmedabad, where Gandhi was looking for a suitable place for his ashram. In 1918, there was a dispute between the workers and mill-owners of Ahmedabad. This was because of increase in prices, and the mill workers wanted higher wages. The mill owners did not agree. Gandhi supported the workers and started a struggle in which he used peaceful resistance. Gandhi suggested the workers to go on strike and to demand a 35 per cent increase in wages. However, he cautioned them against resorting to violence against the employers. He himself went on a fast unto death to keep up workers' resolve to continue the strike. His fast-undo-death succeeded in putting pressure on the mill-owners who gave in to the workers' demands on the fourth day and agreed to give the workers a 35 per cent increase in wages.

Gandhi's position as a leader of the nationalist movement was further strengthened by his actions against the Rowlatt Act. This act was passed to control public unrest and check conspiracy against the British. This act authorized the British government to imprison any person without trial who was suspected of terrorist activity for a minimum period of two years. As a mark of protest, Gandhi organized a strike where Indians would close their business. Although, the strike was successful in Delhi, the rioting in other parts of India was high. Gandhi suspended the resistance because of these riots. He realized that Indians were not ready to protest peacefully, without the use of non-violence which was an integral part of Satyagraha.

After the Jallianwalla Bagh massacre, Gandhi drafted the report of the Punjab Congress Inquiry Committee. During the next two years, Mahatma Gandhi initiated the Non-Cooperation Movement, where he requested all Indians to withdraw from British institutions and return degrees conferred by the British. He also emphasized on self-reliance. The contribution of many leaders in the cause of Indian Freedom is immense, but Mahatma Gandhi's role is commendable. It has been observed that the progress of the nationalist movement was not worth mentioning. However, with the arrival of Gandhi, the nationalist movement gained momentum. The pre-Gandhi nationalists were considered to be too democratic and their activities were effortless to the cause of freedom. It was only under Gandhi's leadership that the nationalist movement gained mass appeal.

Under Gandhi's leadership the nature of the nationalist movement changed drastically. He adopted principles of non-violence in his method of protests. Mahatma Gandhi gained confidence of the Indian masses and gradually emerged as the leader who controlled the movement against the British government. It was only through the developments initiated by Gandhi and the complete involvement of the Indian masses that the British finally quit India in 1947. The methods used by Mahatma Gandhi in his fight against British imperialism can be divided into the following four categories:

(i) **Non-cooperation and satyagraha:** This was the most common method initiated by Gandhi where he led peaceful protests through non-cooperation with the British authority. Another ideology of his was Satyagraha, which Gandhi explains as fearless agitation based on non-cooperation, fearlessness and truthfulness. Gandhi used Satyagraha to bend the British government in accepting the valid demands of the Indian people.

(ii) **Non-violence:** Mahatma Gandhi was aware that the poor Indians could not compete against the British government and that any violent protest would only result in more Indian casualties. Therefore, he adopted the policy of non-violence during all his movement.

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(iii) **Truthfulness:** Similar to non-violence, truthfulness was a symbol of Gandhi's ideologies and methods. It is known that he not only preached but practiced absolute truthfulness that gave him inner strength to fight the British government. Apart from inner strength, it convinced the Indian masses of his intentions towards the British.

(iv) **Involvement of masses:** The involving of common man in his cause of freedom was an important step in uniting the entire nation against the British. Previously, the nationalist movement was run by a small group of intellectuals and the masses were neither involved nor informed about the developments taking place in the national movement. This trend was reversed under the leadership of Gandhi.

7.4 NON-COOPERATION MOVEMENT (1920)

When the British government decided to partition Bengal, it led to intense agitation against the government, and the most significant pan-India agitation against the British was the Non-Cooperation Movement that lasted from 1919 to 1922. This movement was started by Mahatma Gandhi to further the cause of Indian nationalism. Under his guidance and leadership, the Indian National Congress adapted the policy of passive resistance against British rule. The launch of the Non-Cooperation Movement was set against the backdrop of the Rowlatt Act, the Jalliwanwala Bagh massacre, which increased the bitter resentment people had towards the British rule, the imposition of martial law in Punjab and the Montage Chelmsford Report (1919) with its ill-considered scheme of diarchy. The British government passed the report with the intension to gradually introduce self-governing institutions in India. However, not only did these reforms frustrate the Indian hope of self-governance, the British were also very critical of the policies of this reform.

Discontent against the British increased with the appointment of the Hunter Commission to report the Jallianwala Bagh tragedy. The Hunter Commission did not take any disciplinary action against General Dyer and rather favoured this act of violence as an attempt to subdue a protest. This report infuriated the Indian leaders and made present conditions ripe for another protest.

At this point, a large number of educated Muslim leaders emerged, who had their own issues with the British government. The Muslims were discontent with the British regarding the insensitive treatment of Turkey in World War I as they regarded the Caliph of Turkey as their spiritual leader. The Muslims had been assured that the Caliph would be treaty leniently after the defeat of Turkey and its allies in World War I. However, the post-war treaty ruthlessly curtailed the powers of the Caliph, and the Indian Muslims started the Khilafat movement. Gandhi found the time was ripe to align with this movement and bring the Hindus and Muslims together. His skill at the political game ensured he won over the Muslims.

On the initiatives taken by the Ali brothers Mohammad and Shaukat, the first call for non-cooperation came from the All India Khilafat Conference in Delhi on 22-23 November 1919. At a Khilafat Conference held in Allahabad, a four stage non-cooperation programme was announced. This non-cooperation programme included the boycott of the following:

(i) Titles

(ii) Civil services

Check Your Progress

1. Who gave the Gandhi the title of mahatma?
2. The Non-Cooperation Movement lasted from _____ to _____.
3. The _____ _____ was an orthodox Islamic movement launched by Muhammad Ali and Shawkat Ali.
4. The most successful resolution of the Non-Cooperation Movement was the boycott of _____.
5. The _____ spelled out the provisions for the division of Turkey and its territories after the First World War.
6. The Champaran satyagraha was in support of the poor farmers of Champaran district in Bihar, who cultivated cotton. (True/False)
7. After the Champaran satyagraha, the government appointed a committee to study the condition of the peasants, and Gandhi was also a member of that committee. (True/False)

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(iii) Police and Army

(iv) Payment of taxes

The Non-Cooperation Movement was officially launched on 1 August 1920, after the notice given by Gandhi to the Viceroy expired. In this notice, Gandhi had demanded the right recognized 'from time immemorial of the subject to refuse to assist a ruler who misrules'. At its session held in Kolkata in 1920, the India National Congress decided the aims and charter of the movement, which were similar to those of the Khilafat Conference of Allahabad. These resolutions were endorsed at the session of the Congress held at Nagpur in December 1920. In addition, other resolutions for the betterment of the party organization were also drawn up. Membership to the party was opened to all adult men and women based on the payment of 4 annas as subscription fees.

The movement enjoyed massive popular appeal, and in the first month scores of students left government schools and colleges and joined national institutions that had started all over the country. This boycott was particularly successful in Bengal under the leadership of Chitta Ranjan Das and Subhas Chandra Bose. Punjab also supported this educational boycott and Lala Lajpat Rai played a monumental role there. Other states where educational boycott were seen include Bombay, United Provinces, Bihar, Orissa and Assam. Legal boycott was not as successful as educational boycott. However, many leading lawyers including C.R. Das, Motilal Nehru, M.R. Jayakar, Asif Ali, C Rajagopalachari and S Kitchlu left their flourishing legal practice and joined the cause importance as it was an indigenous handspun product and charkas were also distributed. This led to the boycott of foreign goods. Advertisements in nationalist newspapers were given, inviting people to participate in burning of foreign goods. These nationalist efforts led to the decline in cloth exports to a great extent. This was the first time that picketing of liquor shops took place.

The Muslim support to the nationalist cause was also one of the main features of the Nationalist Movement. In the July of 1921, Muhammad Ali appealed to all Muslims in the British army that they should consider it morally wrong to be a part of the British army and, therefore, should discontinue their services. Due to this propaganda against the British, Muhammad Ali was arrested. After he was arrested, this call was taken up by Gandhi and the Congress who issued a manifesto to all Indians to sever all ties with the British Indian army.

Another dramatic event to unfold was the visit of the Prince of Wales in November 1921. The day of the Prince's visit was observed as a day of a pan-India *hartal*. He was greeted with empty streets and downed shutters wherever he went. However, due to the strong anti-British feelings, a riot occurred between the people dispersing from Gandhi's meeting and the people who had joined the procession of welcoming the Prince. In order to reduce this tension, Gandhi had to go on a four day fast.

These measures made the volunteers of the Non-Cooperation Movement bold and urged by the successful defiance of the government, they became increasingly aggressive.

There were some indirect effects of the Non-Cooperation Movement as well.

- In the United Provinces, one could not differentiate between a Non-Cooperation Movement meeting and a peasant meeting.
- In Kerala, the movement helped to provoke Muslim tenants against their landlords.
- In Assam, tea plantation laborers went on strike.
- In Punjab, the Akali movement became a part of the Non-Cooperation Movement.

The Non-Cooperation Movement also ensured that the women nationalists organized their efforts under the Mahila Karma Samaj. The movement was so popular that the government put into action Sections 108 and 144 of the Code of Criminal Procedure. Various volunteers' groups were declared illegal and scores of people were arrested from all over the country. Only Gandhi was spared. Various attempts were made to negotiate with these volunteers, but the conditions offered were so rigorous that it would lead to sacrifice of the Khilafat leaders. Gandhi was under tremendous pressure from the rank and file of the Congress to start the mass civil disobedience.

The Chauri Chaura incident, in which a mob burned alive twenty-five policemen and one inspector, made Gandhi suspend the Non-Cooperation Movement. But the movement still managed to achieve several positives, including the following:

- Provide a platform for the unification of all religious communities so that a joint force could fight against the foreign rule
- Provide the required impetus and mass support for future agitations and movements
- Provide a sense of courage, direction and confidence to masses and fill them with self-respect and esteem.
- Provide a sense of representation to the Muslim community in the nationalist movement

The limitations of the Non-Cooperation Movement were that the movement failed to secure the objective of Khilafat and rectify the wrongs suffered by the masses in Punjab. Also, *swaraj* was not achieved within the year as was promised.

7.5 KHILAFAT MOVEMENT

The Khilafat Movement that lasted from 1919 to 1924 was an Islamic movement that derived its inspiration from Indian nationalists. The basis of this movement lies in a pan-Islamic movement launched by Abdul Hamid II (1876–1909), the Ottoman emperor, to utilize his role as the Sultan-Khalifa of the Muslim community the world over to protect his rapidly falling apart empire from attacks by foreign powers and destroy the nationalistic democratic movement brewing within the country. Jamaluddin Afghani's, his emissary, visit to India in the late nineteenth century to spread his Islamic ideas received a favourable response from the Muslim leaders in India. The twentieth century saw the intensification of these sentiments during the following times:

- The 1905 partition of Bengal being revoked in 1911
- The Italian (1911) and Balkan (1911–1912) attacks on Turkey
- The participation of Great Britain in the First World War (1914–1918)

Turkey suffered defeat in the First World War and its territories were divided according to the provisions of the Treaty of Sevres between the European countries. This led to widespread apprehension in India over the custodianship of the Khalifa.

This was the backdrop against which the Khilafat Movement was initiated in September 1919. It was an orthodox Islamic movement that was started by the following Muslim stalwarts:

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- Muhammad Ali
- Shawkat Ali
- Maulana Abul Kalam Azad
- Dr Ansari
- Hasrat Mohani

Conferences for this movement were organized in cities across northern India. The Central Khilafat Committee, with provincial branches, was set up in Bombay. The president of the central office was Seth Chotani and its secretary was Shawkat Ali. This committee also started a fund to finance the nationalist movement in Turkey and to start the Khilafat Movement here in India. In 1920, Muhammad Ali and Shawkat Ali also drafted the Khilafat Manifesto.

7.5.1 Revolutionary Fervor

The spontaneous beginning and spread of the non-cooperation movement ushered in a great patriotic fervor among the Indian youth who were determined to fight for the country's freedom. As Gandhi called for freedom from British rule, the youth responded eagerly and participated in the Non-Cooperation Movement in great numbers. However, as the movement was suddenly withdrawn, the youth were dejected and their aspirations suffered a blow. Various secret panels were organized in the states of Punjab and Bengal as part of the revival of the first phase of this revolutionary movement. Subhas Chandra Bose led the Anushilan Samiti in Bengal and the J. M. Sengupta group founded the Yugantar Samiti. The two groups, however, had deep political rivalry.

At the same time, smaller revolutionary groups started being formed. One such group was formed by Surya Sen of Chittagong, which was radical in nature. A striking revolutionary action of that time was the murder of an Englishman called Day in January 1924 by Gopinath Saha. As per his original plan, Saha had plotted the murder of Tegarb, the police commissioner of Kolkata but killed Day by mistake. A slew of nationalists were arrested post this murder.

Northern India was too abuzz with the revolutionary fervor. Here, Sachin Sanyal, Jogesh Chatterji and others founded the Hindustan Republican Association in the United Provinces. For their activities, they raised funds through criminal activities like dacoities. The most popular of such dacoities was the Kakori train robbery in August 1925. This led to the arrest of several members of the organization. Under dynamic and brilliant student leader Bhagat Singh, the members of this organization spread and established their links in Punjab where young men were joining the movement. However, the men in Punjab were deeply influenced by socialist ideology and hence, the organization was re-christened as Hindustan Socialist Republican Association (HSRA). The main aim of this body, led by revolutionaries, was to fight for complete independence and they had also envisioned the formation and functioning of the independent state of India. They sought to achieve their ends through mass struggle and for this purpose, mobilized students, workers and peasants from all over.

7.5.2 Struggle for Swaraj

In the beginning of the 20th century, Indians raised their voice for self-rule, a movement that came to be known as the struggle for Swaraj. The Indian National Congress demanded more powers for bodies with Indian representatives, such as the legislative council. There was also a clamour for recruiting to higher posts. The Congress proposed that the civil services examinations should be held in India rather than in England. They also demanded that steps should be taken to promote Indian industry and enterprise. In 1906, the Congress in a session presided by Dadabhai Naoroji called for Swaraj (a type of self-government elected by the people within the British Dominion) as it prevailed in other parts of the British Empire like Australia and Canada. Nationalist movements were gaining greater support, led by revolutionary leaders like Bal Gangadhar Tilak, Lala Lajpat Rai and Bipin Chandra Pal, who were arrested, while Tilak was deposed to Burma for six years. Indians became increasingly conscious of their rights and became vocal in their demand for self-rule. Towards the end of the First World War, they were demanding a share in governing their own country. They had supported the British during the First World War, in the hope that the British would grant them the right to govern their own country.

Their demands and concerns were articulated by the Indian National Congress, which was led by moderates who remained loyal to the British despite the demand for self-government. The Montague-Chelmsford Reforms and the widespread disillusionment with their provisions gave rise to an extremist faction within the Indian National Congress, which saw the moderates as ineffective in achieving any demands on behalf of the Indians. The extremists wanted to drive out the British and take full control of the government rather than plead with the British for some limited self-rule. As the moderates failed to win any concessions from the British, the extremists gained more support. With the Indian leadership split between the moderate and extremist factions, another leader emerged who came to dominate the freedom struggle with his principle of non-violent opposition to British rule. This leader was Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi, a person with mass appeal who enjoyed the support of both the moderates and the extremists.

Gandhiji, or Mahatma Gandhi, as he came to be known, turned the national movement into a mass movement of the people. He had returned to India from South Africa in early 1915. Gandhi had been a moderate to begin with and had supported the British government during the war. However, a number of events, like the conduct of the British government in Champaran and Kheda, passing of the Rowlatt Act, and Jallianwala Bagh tragedy, turned him from a loyalist to rebel. He went around the country for a year, travelling in third class in trains, and getting acquainted with the people and their problems at the grass-root level. Gradually, he led several local struggles such as the one at Champaran in Bihar and the dispute at Ahmedabad textile mills. He used the principle of ahimsa, or non-violence, in his struggle against the British. His leadership earned him widespread respect and loyal support of the people, and he rapidly rose to the helm of nationalist politics as a charismatic leader of the nationalist movement. Rabindranath Tagore, India's most well-known poet and author gave him the title of Mahatma, or 'Great Soul'. Mahatma Gandhi relied on the following principles in his fight against the British rule:

- Non-cooperation and Satyagraha
- Non-violence
- Truthfulness
- Involvement of masses

Though many leaders fought for the cause of Indian independence, Mahatma Gandhi's role stands out among them. His arrival galvanized the nationalist movement and made it a mass movement.

Check Your Progress

8. Gandhi undertook a fast to support the strike for increased wages for mill workers in Calcutta. (True/False)
9. The Chauri-Chaura incident made Mahatma Gandhi suspend the Non-Cooperation Movement. (True/False)
10. The failure of the Non-Cooperation Movement was that Swaraj was not achieved within a year. (True/False)
11. Name two Swarajist leaders.
12. Who did the Swarajists defeat in the elections?

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ACTIVITY

Make a PowerPoint survey on Mahatma Gandhi chronologically linking his arrival to the Nationalist Movement till India achieved independence.

DID YOU KNOW

Some little known facts about Mahatma Gandhi which most of us don't know:

- He had a set of false teeth, which he carried in a fold of his loin cloth. He put them in his mouth only when he wanted to eat. After his meal, he took them out, washed them and put them back in his loin cloth again.
- Mahatma Gandhi spoke English with an Irish accent, for one of his first teachers was an Irishman.
- He was educated at London University and became an attorney. But the first time he attempted to make a speech in court, his knees trembled, and he was so frightened that he had to sit down in confusion and defeat.
- Mahatma Gandhi experimented with diets to see how cheaply he could live and remain healthy. He started living principally on fruit and goats' milk and olive oil.

7.6 SUMMARY

In this unit, you have learnt that:

- The Khilafat Movement that lasted from 1919 to 1924 was an Islamic movement that derived its inspiration from Indian nationalists. The basis of this movement lies in a pan-Islamic movement launched by Abdul Hamid II (1876–1909), the Ottoman emperor, to utilize his role as the Sultan-Khalifa of the Muslim community the world over to protect his rapidly falling apart empire from attacks by foreign powers and destroy the nationalistic democratic movement brewing within the country.
- Turkey suffered defeat in the First World War and its territories were divided according to the provisions of the Treaty of Sevres between the European countries. This led to widespread apprehension in India over the custodianship of the Khalifa. This was the backdrop against which the Khilafat Movement was initiated in September 1919.
- When the British government decided to partition Bengal, it led to intense agitation against the government, and the most significant pan-India agitation against the British was the Non-Cooperation Movement that lasted from 1919 to 1922. This movement was started by Mahatma Gandhi to further the cause of Indian nationalism.
- The Non-Cooperation Movement also ensured that the women nationalists organized their efforts under the Mahila Karma Samaj.

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- In the beginning of the 20th century, Indians raised their voice for self-rule, a movement that came to be known as the struggle for Swaraj.
- In 1906, the Congress in a session presided by Dadabhai Naoroji called for Swaraj (a type of self-government elected by the people within the British Dominion) as it prevailed in other parts of the British Empire like Australia and Canada. Nationalist movements were gaining greater support, led by revolutionary leaders like Bal Gangadhar Tilak, Lala Lajpat Rai and Bipin Chandra Pal, who were arrested, while Tilak was deposed to Burma for six years.
- Mahatma Gandhi relied on the following principles in his fight against the British rule: (i) Non-cooperation and Satyagraha (ii) Non-violence (iii) Truthfulness (iv) Involvement of masses

7.7 KEY TERMS

- **Massacre:** An indiscriminate and brutal slaughter of people
- **Non-cooperation:** A large class of methods of non-violent action that involve deliberate restriction or discontinuance from the social, economic and political perspective.

7.8 ANSWERS TO 'CHECK YOUR PROGRESS'

1. Rabindranath Tagore gave the Gandhi the title of mahatma.
2. 1919-1922
3. Khilafat movement
4. Foreign cloth
5. Treaty of Sevres
6. False
7. True
8. False
9. True
10. True
11. C. R. Das and Motilal Nehru were two distinguished Swarajist leaders.
12. The Swarajists defetated the Liberal in the election.

7.9 QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Short-Answer Questions

1. At the first All-India Khilafat Conference held in November 1919, Delhi, what resolutions were passed?
2. What was the central idea of the Non-Cooperation Movement?

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3. State the four principles of Mahatma Gandhi in relation to his fight against British rule.
4. What do you understand by swaraj?

Long-Answer Questions

1. Discuss the Khilafat Movement.
2. What was the significance of the Non-Cooperation Movement?
3. Describe the concept of swaraj and Mahatma Gandhi's influence on Indian politics.

7.10 FURTHER READING

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Chopra, P. N. 2003. *A Comprehensive History of Modern India*. New Delhi: Sterling Publishers.

UNIT 8 EMERGENCE OF GANDHI IN INDIAN POLITICS - II

Structure

8.0 Introduction
8.1 Unit Objectives
8.2 Acts of 1909 and 1919
  8.2.1 Morley-Minto Reforms (1909)
  8.2.2 Montague Chelmsford Reform (1919)
  8.2.3 Foreign Trade of India prior to Independence
  8.2.4 Concept of External Drain
8.3 Civil Disobedience Movement
8.4 Quit India Movement
  8.4.1 Opposition to Quit India
  8.4.2 Suppression of the Movement
8.5 Summary
8.6 Key Terms
8.7 Answers to 'Check Your Progress'
8.8 Questions and Exercises
8.9 Further Reading

8.0 INTRODUCTION

With the arrival of Mahatma Gandhi, the extremist movement found the impetus it needed. Under him, the movement was resurrected and its ideologies against the British were re-defined. One of the significant developments in the Congress was the adoption of the objective of Purna Swaraj or complete independence. This meant total severance from the British influence in governance or any other matters of the state. Great expectations arose in the country with the adoption of the pledge of Purna Swaraj. Unrest against the British was brewing across the country; one of its finest examples is the railway strike led by the Communists based in the Bombay-Nagpur region. With this, the Civil Disobedience movement was launched by the Congress, which included the principle of non-payment of taxes. Despite the circumstances, Gandhi issued an ultimatum to Viceroy Irwin, without any mention of Purna Swaraj or complete independence. The ultimatum comprised Eleven Points, which were a set of specific demands that were made to the colonial government. Abolition of salt tax and the government monopoly over manufacture of salt were part of these demands. Besides, these included 50 per cent reduction in land revenue, protection of textiles, 50 per cent cuts in army expenses and civil service salaries, among others. As the British government failed to respond to the Eleven Point ultimatum, the civil disobedience was launched based on the issue of salt.

In this unit, we shall discuss the role of Mahatma Gandhi in the struggle for freedom vis-à-vis incidents such as Civil Disobedience Movement and Quit India Movement.

8.1 UNIT OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to:

- Explain the features of the Morley-Minto Reforms
- Assess the Montague Chelmsford Reform of 1919
- Discuss the Civil Disobedience Movement
- Describe the Quit India Movement

8.2 ACTS OF 1909 AND 1919

The Revolt of 1857 proved to be a huge blow to the East India Company in India and eventually led to its downfall. It was only after the Queen's proclamation and later through Government of India Act, 1858, that the Crown's rule was established in India. Under the Crown rule, a new post 'Secretary of State for India' was created which was assisted by a newly-appointed Indian council comprising of 15 members. The shift to a Crown rule was considered to be more formal and real as the British were already regulating the company's rule since the enactment of the Regulating Act of 1773 and Pitt's India Act of 1784.

The British Parliament passed the Regulating Act of 1773 to overhaul the management of East India Company in India. However, this act did not prove to be constructive in providing long-term solutions to the Company's affairs. The Regulating Act of 1773 was followed by the Pitt's India Act in 1784. This act intended to address the shortcomings of the Regulating Act of 1773. According to this act, the British Government took over the right to rule India from the East India Company.

Through the Charter Act of 1853, the East India Company was permitted to rule India till further order. The East India Company's stronghold on the Indian subcontinent was disliked and opposed by many in England as well as in India.

Many people who were hostile to the East India Company's rule in India wanted to establish a British Crown's rule in its place. A perfect opportunity came in the guise of the Revolt of 1857, where the British government could end East India Company's rule and establish its direct rule. The British government entirely blamed the East India Company for the outbreak of the revolt and therefore, validating their right to control the Indian subcontinent.

The British domination gave rise to some forces, which ultimately challenged the British imperialism. For instance, the British forced English as medium of instruction in the education system of India, this went against the British as Indians came across the ideas of nationalism, political rights and democracy. These ideas resulted in a number of political associations, which were not known to Indians until then.

Many political associations were formed after 1836. In 1866, Dadabhai Naoroji organized the East India Association in London. The objective of this association was to influence British 'to promote Indian welfare'. After some time, he opened its branches in various cities of India.

Discontentment among the people gave rise to a lot of agitation in the country during the reign of Lord Curzon. During this time, Bal Gangadhar Tilak was the leader of the Congress and extremism rose during this period. Gopal Krishna Gokhle went to meet Lord Morley in England. Minto also felt the need for reforms. After some time, India Councils Act of 1909 was passed in the British Parliament. These reforms are also known as Minto-Morley reforms. Let us study these reforms in detail:

8.2.1 Morley-Minto Reforms (1909)

John Morley was the Liberal Secretary of State for India and Lord Minto was the Governor-General of India. Morley-Minto Reforms increased the involvement of Indians in the governance of British India.

Features of Morley-Minto Reforms

- Earlier the number of the members of the Legislative Council at the Center was 16 and after this reform, the number was increased to 60.
- The reform also led to the increase in the number of the Provincial Legislatives' members. In the provinces of Bengal, Madras and Bombay, the number was 50 and for the rest of the provinces, the number was 30.
- The members of the Legislative Councils, at the Center as well as in the provinces, were divided into four categories. These were ex-officio members, nominated official members, nominated non-official members and elected members. The 'ex-officio members' included Governor General and the members of their Executive Councils; 'nominated official members' were nominated by the Governor General and government officials; 'nominated non-official members' were nominated only by the Governor General; and 'elected members' were elected by different categories of Indians.
- The number of elected members was fixed 27. Out of these 27 members, 13 were elected from the provincial Legislative Assembly, 6 were from the Hindu zamindars, 5 from Muslim community, and 1 each from the Muslim Zamindars, the Chamber of Commerce of Bombay and the Chamber of Commerce of Bengal.

  Muslims were given the right as separate electorate. This meant that only Muslims could vote for candidates for the Muslim seats.
- The Official members had to form the majority. However, it was decided that in provinces non-official members had to form majority.
- The members of the Legislative Councils were given the right to take part in the discussion of budgets, suggest amendments in the Acts and take part in the voting procedure for bringing amendments in the Acts. However, they were not allowed to take part in the voting of those items which were categorized under 'non-vote items'.
- The number of the Executive Councils of Madras and Bombay were two. The Secretary of State for India had the right to increase this number to four.
- Two Indians were nominated to the Council of the Secretary of State in order to discuss issues related to India. These were K.C. Gupta and Sayyid Husain Bilgrami.
- The Governor General had the right to nominate one Indian member to his Executive Council. Satyendra Sinha was the first Indian to become a member of the Governor-General's Executive Council.

NOTES

- People were given the right to caste vote. However, only those people were eligible to caste vote who earned ₹15,000 a year or more. Those who paid revenue to the Government could caste vote if their income was ₹10,000 a year or more. In Bengal, only people with the titles of Raja or Nawab were allowed to vote. The income criteria for the Muslim voters was kept lower than that of Hindus.

Importance of Morley-Minto Reforms for Indians

- After the Act of 1909, the Indians could take part in legislative councils for the first time. Earlier few Indians were appointed in legislative councils.
- The electoral principle of these reforms laid the groundwork for a parliamentary system in India.
- The number of reserved seats for Muslims was in excess of their relative population, i.e., 25 per cent of the Indian population, as demanded by Muslim leaders. Also, Muslims were allotted reserved seats in the Municipal and District Boards, in the Provincial Councils and in the Imperial Legislature.

Shortcomings of these reforms

- The number of nominated members was more than those of elected members. Therefore, the majority of the people in the legislative council were those who were loyal to the British.
- The Indians did not have enough legislative powers and they merely acted as advisory body.
- The Act led to rift between Hindus and Muslims.
- This reform was not able to change the undemocratic nature of the British rule.
- This reform could not stop the economic exploitation of the country.

Therefore, most of the people were not happy with this Act. After this Act, the Congress held Lahore Session in 1909. In this session, members of the Congress expressed that they did not approve the formation of separate electorates for Muslims.

The objective behind these reforms was to keep a check on the unity of the Indians. The Moderates did not support these reforms but they kept supporting the Government to bring amendments in the Act. Due to this, people stopped supporting the Moderates and they became a small political group.

8.2.2 Montague Chelmsford Reform (1919)

The Government of India Act 1919 was passed to increase the participation of Indians in the Government of India. The Act included the reforms which were suggested in the report of the Secretary of State for India, Edwin Montagu, and the Viceroy, Lord Chelmsford.

Some of the features of the Act are as follows:

(i) **Preamble:** The preamble of the Government of India Act includes the principles and policies which laid the foundation of this Act. The Preamble suggested a decentralized unitary form of government.

The policy of the British Parliament was: (a) to provide for the increasing association of Indians in every branch of Indian administration (b) to develop self-governing institutions with a view to the progressive realization of responsible government in British India as an integral part of the empire (c) the time and manner of gradual advance towards this goal to be decided by the British Parliament.

(ii) **Distribution of functions of government:** The functions of the government were divided into two categories: central functions and provincial functions. The provincial subjects were subdivided into 'transferred' and 'reserved'. It was decided that the ministers who were accountable to the legislature would assist the Governors in the transferred subjects. On the other hand, the Councillors who were not accountable to the legislature, were to advise the Governors in the reserved subjects. Thus, the dual set of governments were introduced in the provinces namely accountable and non-accountable.

(iii) **Powers of Governor-General:** The Central Legislature was given the authority to consider, pass or reject legislation on any subject which was mentioned in the Central List. However, the authority of the final decision on any Bill passed by the Legislature was in the hands of the Governor- General. He had the authority to stop consideration of any Bill or a part of a Bill, if he believed that it might be dangerous for the peace of the country.

He also had the power not to allow debate or adjournment motion on some issues, in the legislature.

The Governor-General also had the authority to hold back his agreement on any Bill. No Bill could become an Act without his agreement.

Moreover, he also had a power to enact a law which he believed was important for the peace and safety of the country, even if the Legislature did not pass it.

(iv) **Division of members:** In this Act, the members were divided into three categories: elected, nominated officials and nominated non-officials and they had 70 per cent, 10 per cent and 20 per cent members respectively.

(v) **Voting qualifications:** According to this Act, the voting qualification varied in different provinces. Moreover, within the same province, the voting qualifications were different based on whether the area was rural or urban.

There were two categories of constituencies namely general and special.

The general constituency included Hindus, Muslims, Christians, Anglo-Indians and Sikhs etc. Special constituencies represented land holders, universities, chambers of commerce, etc.

(vi) **Two types of Legislature:** According to this Act, legislature was categorized into two types namely, the Council of States and the Central Legislative Assembly. The Council of States had 60 members, out of which 33 were elected and 27 were nominated. The Central Legislature Assembly 145 members, out of which 104 were elected and 41 were nominated.

(vii) **Provincial Legislatures and its powers:** The number of seats of provincial legislatures varied from province to province. The provincial legislative councils had the authority to legislate on the topics which were listed under provincial subjects. The Governor had the authority not to consider a Bill. If he considered the Bill dangerous for the peace and safety of the province, he had the authority to send the Bill back to the House for reconsideration. In some cases, he could keep the Bill to send to the Governor-General for his opinion. The Governor-General was empowered to reserve the Bill to take the opinion of the Crown.

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(viii) **The Executive Council of the Governor-General:** This Council was not accountable to the Central Legislature rather it was accountable to the Secretary of State. There was no limit on the membership of the Executive Council of the Governor-General. Three members out of the six members of the Executive Council of the Governor-General were to be Indians. A pleader who pleaded in the Indian High Court was also eligible to become a law member.

(ix) **Powers of the Secretary of State for India:** Earlier the Secretary of the State for India had a lot of authority over the central and provincial administration. However, with the enactment of this, his powers were reduced.

Importance of the Act

Many prominent leaders of the time observed that the Act of 1919 was important as it was more comprehensive than any other Act enacted before. This Act introduced direct election and increased the franchise. After the enactment of this Act, Indian ministers for the first time, could handle some of the departments of provincial administration not merely as official nominees but as the leaders of the elected majorities. These ministers were responsible to the people. It gave an opportunity to the people to take first-hand experience in politics.

However, even though the Act had some commendable features, it was defective in many ways. A.K. Heith said 'the executive remained wholly free from direct authority of the legislature'.

The subjects which the Indian leaders were given to handle were not important from the point of view of politics. The system that came into being after this Act did not improve the efficiency of administration.

The Nationalist party did not accept the Act as they considered inadequate, disappointing and unsatisfactory.

As India has had a commercial character, in its economic approach it showed tolerance and cosmopolitanism for the universal humanity. Be it the Sakas or the Yavanas, the Persians or the Egyptians, Christians or Muslims, India was the first country to receive them all with an open heart. The contact was made through trade. However, the country remained isolated from world politics.

The actual practice of politics in the Indian economy started with the advent of British rule in India. The British rule and its economic policies expanded the horizon of trade and commerce in India. Several sea routes were open for trade in India. Not only this, the introduction and expansion of railways in India also led to the expansion of external and internal trade in the country. Initially, the country was only the exporter of finished goods (mostly handicrafts) but with the advent of British rule, India became the largest exporter of raw materials to the European countries and importer of finished goods from the same. The British policy of trade brought tremendous changes in the tax policy of India and also introduced a new monetary system and credit system in the Indian economy.

The principal motive of implementation of such economic policies was to drain as much wealth as possible from India as well as to strengthen its power in Indian economy.

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8.2.3 Foreign Trade of India prior to Independence

India has been participating in foreign trade since ancient times. There are many references in ancient South Indian Classical Literature about India's foreign trade with countries like Java, Ceylon, Indonesia and also Greece. During the 17th and 18th centuries, the foreign trade of India was of a very high order. India's handicrafts were exported. Products like pepper, opium, indigo, and cinnamon were popularized in the countries of Europe. Artistic goods of India like the muslin from Dacca, were renowned all over the world. But, foreign trade in the modern sense of the term had its beginning only towards the last quarter of the 19th century. The advent of the Industrial Revolution in England and the opening of the Suez Canal, reduced the distance by sea considerably between the East and the West. The rapid development of ship building industries in England and also in many other European countries, the expansion of Indian railways, the establishment of peace and order and unity in administration in India after the chaos that had followed the breakdown of the Mughal Empire and also their system of administration, gave an impetus to India's foreign trade.

Between 1860 and 1900 the value of India's foreign trade went up nearly threefold. Between 1900 and 1940 there was a further doubling of the value of trade.

Thus, soon after India was free of the Mughal rule, it came totally in the hands of the British and followed the policies and orders for economic growth and development. Because of this fact, the foreign trade and its pattern was mainly based on the traditional, agricultural, colonial type. Foreign trade was mainly restricted to the whole of Britain and the colonies that came under British rule. The most common commodities that formed the exports from India were food grains and raw materials. As far as import commodities were concerned, they were also very limited and mainly comprised of finished goods from Britain. Hence, England was the principal market for importing raw materials from India and also was the principal supplier of the manufactured goods to India. Trade was more or less bilateral between the mother country and the colonial country. Till the time India did not develop any industrial base, the British exploited this situation to the maximum. There was no change in India's foreign trade before the Second World War.

The exports always exceeded imports and this was to facilitate the British in meeting unilateral transfer of payments to Britain on account of salaries and pension of British civil and military officers. This was also to meet the interest on sterling debts and dividends for the capital that the British invested in India.

There were changes in the foreign trade structure during and after the Second World War. During the war, India exported a variety of goods to Britain but could not get anything in the shape of imports because of British involvement in the war. There was a steep decline in imports due to the following reasons:

- Shortage of shipping
- Non-availability of goods in foreign countries due to war
- Discontinuation of trade with enemies and the territories occupied by the enemies

The above mentioned factors were also responsible for the decline in the export from India.

In order to understand the actual situation of foreign trade of India, let's discuss it with the following points:

Balance of trade: Prior to Independence, India's foreign trade used to be a surplus trade. The country's exports always exceeded imports. In the year 1939, the balance of trade was favourable to the extent of ₹ 17 crore and in 1946-47, it was favourable to the mark of ₹ 31 crore. However, this trade balance was reduced to ₹ 14 crore in the year 1947–48.

History of external trade of India

Over the centuries, the perception about the importance of external trade in economic development has gone through a number of changes. The period 1813 to 1858 had witnessed two major changes. First, the East India Company lost its monopoly of trade between India and Europe in 1813 and 1834, respectively. The internal transit and town duties in most parts of India were abolished in 1836. These measures ushered in the era of formal free trade in India. This has been called a system of 'one-way free trade', for this did not involve any reciprocal concessions either by Britain or by other countries trading with India. The position of the East India Company was in many respects taken over by a small group of European business firms, which controlled practically all the external trade and much of the wholesale internal trade, especially in exportable commodities. Secondly, India ceased to be a leading manufacturing country of the pre-capitalist era and was reduced to the position of a supplier of agricultural goods and raw materials to the industrialising economies of the west, particularly Britain.

An act was passed in the year 1813 which directed a separation of the East India Company's territorial account from commercial accounts. It was found that the territorial revenue should be applied to military expenditure, to civil and commercial establishments and to the payment of interest on Indian debt.

Commercial profits were to be applied to the payment of bills of exchange and the current payment of other debts, to the payment of dividends and to the reduction of the Indian debt or home bond debt.

Monetary system under British rule

In the 18th century, with the advent of British rule in India, a new monetary system was launched. In India, the early British settlements shows three large groupings i.e., those found in the eastern province of Bengal i.e. Kolkata, those found in western India i.e., Surat and Mumbai and those found in southern India i.e. Chennai. The coins of the early British settlements in India were based on three different and broad strands for the trade purpose. For instance, in the eastern province of Bengal, Mughal pattern was found in coins. On the other hand, in the southern region i.e. in Chennai, almost the same pattern of coins were found which were present in Bengal at that time (Mughal pattern). And at last, the coins of western India had the glimpse of both Mughal pattern and English pattern.

It was in 1717 CE, that the British attained the authorization from the royal leaders to allow coining of the Mughal currency at the mint of Mumbai. In the Mumbai mint, the British pattern of coin was struck. The tin coin was named as 'Tinny', the copper coin were named as 'Cupperoon', the silver coins were named as 'Anglina', and the most precious coin- the gold coin was named as 'Carolina'.

It was in the early stage of 1830 that the British became the most powerful rulers on the soil of India. The rise of this powerful government led to the enactment of the Coinage Act of 1835. According to this Act, uniform coins were supposed to be issued in India. As a result of this Act, a new coin with an image of William IV on one face of the coin and the value on the other face of the coin was issued. Soon after this, whatever coin that was issued after 1840 had the image of Queen Victoria on one face and the value on the other. The time when Queen Victoria was succeeded by Edward VII, the image of Edward VII was depicted on one face of the coin and value on the other.

In 1906, in order to look after the establishment of the coin and the mints an act was passed known as Indian Coinage Act, 1906. Besides, looking at the issues of coin and the establishment of the mint, the act also supervised and maintained the standard of the currency that was issued. This includes the standard of the silver.

The British rule extended for a period of more than 200 years. Effectively, the rule started from the victory at the battle of Plassey in 1757. The first period of rule was by the British East India Company, a trading company whose sole purpose of presence in India was to earn money. After the first war of Independence in 1857, the rule was transferred from the company to the British Crown. This continued till India gained Independence.

The British would like to portray that there was no specific drain of wealth and the mission of colonization was one of The white Man's Burden, an act of immense sacrifice to bring enlightenment to suffering natives. The facts are, however, specifically against the same. There were some of the benefits which accrued from British rule such as:

- Expansion of railway network
- Expansion of roads, bridges and ports
- Establishment of a communication network
- Establishment of some modern seats of learning Yet, it must be realized that the establishment of such infrastructure was essentially to integrate the economy of India to that of mainland Britain by providing sources of raw materials for the industrial complexes in Britain and for enabling the distribution of finished goods to the markets of India. Over all it formed part of a well thought strategy to drain wealth from India. In fact Dadabhai Naoroji has propounded and elaborated on this Drain of wealth Theory.

8.2.4 Concept of External Drain

Dadabhai Naoroji and many of his contemporaries were of the opinion that the British rule and its administration was aimed to 'drain' India's wealth to Britain. This was no whimsical statement as even an Englishman, John Sullivan, President of the Board of Revenue for Madras is said to have quoted: 'Our system acts very much like a sponge, drawing up all the good things from the banks of the Ganges, and squeezing them down on to the banks of the Thames.'

According to, Dadabhai Naoroji this drainage was facilitated by:

- The excessive taxes on land which were so heavy that to meet the demands, many landlords converted their agriculture growth to cash crops, away from the traditional crops, which not only ruined the economy but left peasants vulnerable in times of crisis, such that there were millions of deaths in the many famines which occurred.

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- Export taxes to restrict the growth of exports to the British markets to make Indian made goods uncompetitive in European markets and no or very little import duties to encourage sale of factory made products in India. No self-governing government would allow such a trade mechanism.
- All top positions in all services were dominated by Europeans which caused a huge burden on the Indian revenues. This led to huge payouts in the form of remittances which helped the British Economy.

India was a strategic base for operations and was responsible not only for building the empire within India but also across the borders.

Earlier, administration and profit making went hand in hand and were interlinked. This was so because it is not possible for a trading company to function without profits. A surplus was a must on both the trade and administration set of activities. Not only was it necessary to mop up the surplus but it was equally important to transfer it to England. The resulting economic drain was inevitable, sometimes in ways, which drew the righteous indignation of some of the early British administrators. The reverse movement of treasure after Plassey was an unprecedented phenomenon that set a new pattern which had attracted the attention of Dadabhai's predecessors whom he quoted in defence of the drain theory. It was a period trend that lasted long and displayed features of the British reign till the Second World War broke out. It stopped taking the form of transfer of specie.

Money and treasures that were taken from India were done so in the form of transfer of commodities in the guise of export surplus. It was in the form of gold and silver exports from India that this surplus was usually liquidified. However, this form of transfer soon became complex and created unfavourable balance of England's trade with the East, particularly India, due to the unilateral transfer of funds.

Large annual investment in Europe

The British adopted varying strategies to remit their own private fortunes in India for many years. The impact of this was severely felt, especially in the form of specie for transactions and also the consequent depression in India's agriculture and internal trade. Some of the concepts that the British used were:

- Trade with no equivalent returns
- Drain of wealth
- Remittance of surplus
- Annual tribute

These were the concepts that were at the core of the theory of mechanism of external economic drain. It was eventually formulated by Dadabhai Naroji, who used elaborate statistics in order to indicate the order of magnitude of the various factors involved.

The writers that this unit discusses were those who were working in the 18th century and trying to deal with the complexities of trade between a mother-country and its colony and also of trade between unequal partners which was characterized by inequality of advantage, disparity of bargaining power and an economic relationship resting on the exploitation of a dependent colony by a strong metropolitan power. Dadabhai's strength lay in his capacity for statistical estimation. He focused as a researcher

on the drain of wealth from India to England from the beginning of the British Rule till the years 1865-66.

Indians were slowly becoming aware of their rights under the British rule. They had started demanding a share in governing their own country. Although they supported the British during World War I, they sought the right to govern India.

The Indian National Congress during this time was under the moderates who still wanted to remain loyal to the British but insisted on self-government. The growth of an extremist faction within the Indian National Congress was attributed to the failure of the moderates to achieve something substantial for the Indian people. The extremists on the other hand wanted to oust the British out of the country and take full control of the government. With the moderates fading away in the background, the extremists gained confidence with the advent of Mahatma Gandhi in the freedom struggle.

8.3 CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE MOVEMENT

Soon after he was given the responsibility of the Civil Disobedience Movement, Gandhi wrote a letter to Viceroy Irwin seeking the abolishment of salt tax, reduction of military expenditure and the release of political prisoners. However, Lord Irwin chose to not respond to this letter. This formed the crux for the outbreak of the Civil Disobedience Movement against the British by Gandhi. On 12 March, 1930, Gandhi started a march from Sabarmati ashram to the sea at Dandi accompanied by 72 followers. People cheered the marchers and joined them along the way. As Gandhi walked past them, villagers spun yarn on charkhas as a mark of their solidarity to the movement. On April 6, after Gandhi reached the sea at Dandi, he picked up some salt from the seaside as a mark of breaking the Salt Law. Gandhi had decided to break the law as he believed that salt was a basic necessity of people and salt tax was against the interest of the poor. Inspired by Gandhi, people began manufacturing salt all over the country.

From Madras to Maharashtra, from Bengal and Assam to Karachi, volunteers were recruited on a large-scale for the movement through careful planning and it soon spread like fire. Supporters launched a massive demonstration at Peshawar in the farthest north. This area had been in news due to activism by leaders like Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan and the Khudai Khidmatgars. The British were wary of the movement and arrested leaders, including Jawaharlal Nehru on April 14. Madras, Calcutta and Karachi erupted in protest against the arrest of Nehru. The colonial government was taken by surprise with the reaction of the masses as it had not anticipated such widespread support to the movement. Insecure, it decided to arrest Gandhi in May 1930 but the decision only added much fuel to the fire that the movement had stirred. The most important feature of the Civil Disobedience Movement was the support it received from the youth of the country, especially students and women. Women led groups attacked liquor shops as well as those that sold foreign goods. The government went all out to stop the people and issued orders curbing the civil liberties of citizens. It also decided to ban civil disobedience organizations in the provinces.

In June 1930, the Congress Working Committee was banned and its president, Motilal Nehru, was arrested. By August, even the local Congress committees were banned. All these issues became part of the Civil Disobedience Movement. It was then that the Simon Commission published its report, a time when the government had become a symbol of repression and the national movement was at its peak.

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Check Your Progress

1. What was the main objective of the 1909 Act?
2. What was the purpose of the 1919 Act?

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As against expectations, the Simon Report made no mention of giving dominion status to India. With this, many nationalist leaders turned outright against the British. It was followed by the Viceroy's invitation to the leaders to a Round Table Conference to discuss the issue of dominion status. Motilal Nehru and Jawaharlal Nehru were taken to Gandhi to discuss the offer made by the British. But no breakthrough could be made between the government and the Congress leaders. It was in London in November 1930 that the First Round Table Conference was held between the Indian leaders and the British. However, leaders of the Congress abstained from the meeting. The absence of the leaders of the Congress meant that there would be no negotiations between the Indians and the British. The next conference was scheduled a year later. On 25 January, 1931, the government released Gandhi. Without imposing any conditions, all other members of the Congress Working Committee were also released. However, the Congress leaders were asked to discuss the Viceroy's offer to participate in the next Round Table Conference. After several rounds of discussions, Gandhi was given the responsibility of negotiating with the Viceroy. Discussions between Gandhi and Lord Irwin went on for a fortnight. On March 5, 1931, the Gandhi-Irwin Pact was finally signed. The terms of this Pact were as follows:

- Immediate release of all people arrested for non-violent protests.
- Fines not collected from people to be remitted
- Confiscated land not yet sold off to be returned to peasants
- Government employees who had resigned were to be treated leniently
- Right to make salt to villages along the coast
- Grant of right to peaceful and non-aggressive picketing

The Congress decided to withdraw the Civil Disobedience Movement after the pact was signed. It also confirmed its participation in the next Round Table Conference. However, as per the judgment of many nationalist leaders, this pact was only a temporary truce, even though another section of leaders believed this settlement unnecessary. Due to this difference of opinion, activists launched numerous radical activities in the form of revolutionary secret societies.

In its Karachi session in March 1931, the Congress once again gave the call for purna swaraj. However, the party also supported the pact between Irwin and Gandhi. At Karachi, the Congress started preparing the framework of India's Constitution even though the Pact made no mention of giving independence to India. Resolutions related to the Fundamental Rights and National Economic policy were approved at the session. These resolutions were landmark in the history of the nationalist movement for it was for the first time that issues of civil liberties such as free speech, free press and freedom of association were spoken about for the Indian masses. Other provisions included in this resolution pertained to neutrality in religious matters, equality before law, universal adult franchise, free and compulsory primary education and many others.

For the Second Round Table Conference in August 1931, Gandhi travelled to London. Willington, meanwhile, replaced Lord Irwin. However, the discussions at this Round Table did not go in the favour of India. The new viceroy refused to meet Gandhi after he returned from London in December 1931. The British government refused to recognize the Congress as representatives of the people of India. Moreover, the government went back to its repressive ways by arresting Jawaharlal Nehru and also

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Abdul Ghaffar Khan who was leading the Khudai Khidmatgars' Movement in the North-West Frontier Province.

Circumstances were thus raised where the Congress had to re-launch the Civil Disobedience Movement, especially after the new viceroy refused to meet Gandhi for any further negotiation. In January 1932, Gandhi was arrested and the government once again curtailed people's civil liberties. The government followed this by giving itself the right to appropriate properties and detain people. With such powers, the government put all prominent leaders of the Congress behind bars. With this, the masses broke out in mass demonstrations to protest against the government's actions; liquor shops were picketed as well as foreign goods' shops. However, the government only reacted with more force. Large number of people was jailed, Congress was banned and the police occupied Gandhian ashrams. Demonstrators were beaten up, those who refused to pay taxes were jailed and their properties seized. Yet, the movement continued for two years. The movement was withdrawn by Gandhi in April 1934 and his call was obeyed by the people of the country.

8.4 QUIT INDIA MOVEMENT

For the cause of immediate independence, the Quit India Movement was launched by Gandhi. It was another form of the civil disobedience movement. With the launch of this movement, Gandhi hoped that the British government would call upon the Indian leaders and negotiate for independence. The Quit India Movement was thus started in August 1942.

- There was anger and hostility towards meaningless war especially when thousands of wounded soldiers returned from Burmese war.
- Prices of food grains were rising up. There was a 60-point rise in prices of food grains in eastern UP between April and August 1942. There was also shortage of rice and salt.
- The majority of British, American and Australian soldiers stationed in India ill-treated Indians; many of them even raped Indian women.
- The boats of common men, in Bengal and Assam, were seized and destroyed due to the fear of Japanese attack in Bengal and Assam. Gandhi said in Harijan of 3 May 1942, 'To deprive people in East Bengal of boats is like cutting off vital limbs.'
- During the crisis of food grains, the Indian market was left in the hands of black marketers, and profiteers which affected the poor most, especially in eastern India.

  The war made some traders and capitalist rich but a large section of Banias and Marwaris suffered losses in Malaya and Burma from mid-1942 onwards. The capitalist element in the Congress Working Committee took notice of it.
- The success story of Japanese in South-East Asian countries demystified the superiority of Europeans especially English.

The mid 1942 was a period marked with utter chaos. The Indians were losing their patience with the British attitude. Gandhi urged the British, 'This orderly disciplined anarchy should go, and if as a result there is complete lawlessness I would risk it.'

Check Your Progress

3. Mention one of the terms of the Gandhi-Irwin pact.
4. Who was the leader of the Khudai Khidmatgars' Movement?

During mid-July that year, the Congress leaders met at Wardha to discuss the next course of action. Finally, on 8 August 1942, Quit India Resolution was passed by the Bombay session of the AICC. The leaders then decided to have a peaceful protest on a large scale involving all parts of the country. During his famous Do or Die speech, Gandhi declared, 'Let every Indian consider himself to be a free man. Mere jail going would not do.' Interestingly, Jawaharlal Nehru, Bhulabhai Desai and Rajagopalachari opposed Quit India Resolution. Though, Nehru, as always, fell in line and moved the Quit India Resolution, which had the following conditions:

- Immediate end to British rule in India. The British were told clearly to 'Quit India.'
- India's commitment to defend itself against all types of Fascism and Imperialism.

Apart from formal resolutions, Gandhi, in an informal way at Gowalia Tank Ground addressed the various sections of society:

- To the students—If ready for sacrifice and confident, leave studies.
- To the peasants—If zamindars are pro-government, do not pay rent.
- To the soldiers—Do not open fire on fellow countrymen.
- To the Government servants—Do not resign but oppose the Government from within.
- To the Princes—Support the masses and accept sovereignty of your people.
- To the people of Princely states—Support the ruler only if he is anti-government and declare your state to be a part of the Indian nation.

In response to the Quit India movement, the British Government wasted no time and arrested most of the Congress leaders, including Gandhi. The British were only asked to Quit India and no other demands were made as such.

These sudden arrests of Gandhi and other prominent leaders produced a spontaneous reaction among the people. This angered the people who tried to attack the British government in every way possible. In the absence of their leaders, people became their own leaders and took their own decisions which were usually limited to looting and destroying government property. The government responded by firing at these protestors and was only able to suppress the movement through large scale killings and arrests. As per official figures the number of people arrested was well over 91,000. Though the British were able to suppress this movement, it was only a matter of time that they had to actually 'quit' India. The British were beginning to realize that they could not hold on to India for long.

Till now, the British had ruled India with the help of a unique support system which they had built in India over a period of time. The national movement was successful in eroding this support system through a series of protests and struggles. It can be said that without the support of various different classes such as the peasants, workers, middle class, police, and army the British rule could not survive in India. The British finally understood their situation and began to make preparations for a gradual and peaceful withdrawal from India. During 1944-45, the British released all the Congress leaders and initiated a process of negotiation in order to transfer power to Indian Congress. India finally became free in August 1947. Achieving an independent status was a matter of pride and joy for the Indians as they had won the war against British Imperialism. However this could not be considered a complete victory because with independence came the partition of India which was accompanied by communal violence. Therefore,

the year 1947 is marked as an important phase in Indian history as Indian achieved independence but at the cost of Partition.

After the fall of Cripps' Mission, the Indian National Congress became stringent in its condition and passed a resolution in July 1942 demanding complete independence from British government; failing which the resolution proposed a massive civil disobedience against the government. However, Chakravarti Rajagopalachari, a prominent Congress leader, along with several local and regional level leaders, organized the Quit India Movement. Jawaharlal Nehru and Maulana Azad reluctantly joined Gandhi's decision to back the proposal. On the other hand several outstanding leaders like Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, Dr Rajendra Prasad and Dr Anugrah Narayan Sinha along with socialists like Asoka Mehta and Jayaprakash Narayan openly supported the Civil Disobedience Movement.

Allama Mashriqi (head of Khaksar Tehrik) was also invited to join the Quit India Movement, but he was critical about the outcome of the movement and creation of Pakistan; and therefore, did not agree with the resolution. On 28 July, 1942 Mashriqi wrote to Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, Mahatma Gandhi, Rajagopalachari, Jawaharlal Nehru, Rajendra Prasad, Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramiyya and Sambamurty (former Speaker of the Madras Assembly) stating his reasons for not joining the Quit India Movement. In a telegram, which was later published in press, Mashriqi said, 'My honest opinion is that Civil Disobedience Movement is a little premature. The Congress should first concede open-heartedly and with handshake to Muslim League the theoretical Pakistan, and thereafter all parties unitedly make demand of Quit India. If the British refuse, start total disobedience...' Despite several leaders opposing the resolution, on 8 August 1942, Quit India resolution was passed at the Bombay session of All India Congress Committee (AICC). At the session held at Gowalia Tank, Bombay, Gandhi urged the Indians to participate in the Quit India Movement through non-violent civil disobedience and act as an independent nation. His call found massive support amongst Indians.

8.4.1 Opposition to Quit India

Where the Quit India Movement had the support of the masses, the movement was opposed by several political parties. Parties like Hindu Mahasabha and Communist Party of India opposed the movement and did not rally with the Congress. The Communist Party of India though against the movement, was in alliance with the Soviet Union and in support of the war, despite industrial workers and unions supporting the movement. This led to a ban on the party by the British government. The movement also found opposition from various princely states who feared the loss of their estates in an independent India; and therefore, they funded the opposition. Several Muslim leaders were also opposed to Quit India Movement and Muhammad Ali Jinnah's plea found an audience among large number of Muslims who responded by enlisting in British army. The league gained support in provincial legislatures and as the Congress resigned, it took control of Sindh, Bengal and Northwest Frontier. The nationalists, however, had little international support. Though United States was supporting the Indian freedom movement theoretically, it was also an ally of Britain. When Churchill threatened to resign if forced, U.S. slyly supported him but continued its pretense to strengthen public support for war. This move annoyed both Indians and British.

Local activism

Where on one hand the Quit India Movement was facing opposition at the national level, at the same time the movement was successful at the regional level where at several places locals rebelled against the British. In Satara, Talcher, Tamluk and Contai subdivisions of Midnapore local people were establishing their own parallel governments which, however, were discontinued on the personal request of Gandhi in 1944. In Ballia, the easternmost district of Uttar Pradesh, local populace broke a jail and released the arrested Congress leaders and established their independent rule. It was weeks before Britishers could re-establish themselves in the district. In western Gujarat, Saurashtra the tradition of 'baharvatiya' (i.e., going outside the law), supported the activities of the Quit India Movement in the region.

8.4.2 Suppression of the Movement

The Quit India Movement was primarily designed to keep the Congress party united. This further alarmed the British, who were already wary of Japanese army advancing on India-Burma border. In order to control the agitations, the British imprisoned Gandhi along with prominent members of Party's Working Committee (national leadership). Due to the arrest of major leaders of Congress, Aruna Asaf Ali, young and relatively unknown till then, presided at the AICC session on August 9 and hoisted the flag. Later the Congress party was banned, which only strengthened mass sympathy for the cause and despite the lack of leadership, demonstrations and protests of large scale were carried out all over the country.

However, not all of these demonstrations were peaceful, at various places bombs exploded, government buildings were set on fire, electricity and communication lines were severed. To these demonstrations, Britishers responded by making mass arrests.

Over 100,000 people were arrested and were fined. Soldiers were also ordered to flog the demonstrators and shoot if required. Several hundred people were killed in the shootings. This forced many leaders to go underground but they continued their struggle by broadcasting over radio and distributing pamphlets.

Looking at the situation, British even set-aside a ship to take Gandhi and other eminent leaders of South Africa or Yemen, but decided against it as they were wary about revolt getting further intensified. The Congress was cut-off from the rest of the world for over three years.

Gandhi lost his wife Kasturba Gandhi and his personal secretary Mahadev Desai within a very short span. Despite such personal losses and an indisposed health, Gandhi went on a 21-day fast and maintained his resolve to continuous resistance.

Although the British released Gandhi on account of his health in 1944, Gandhi kept up the resistance, demanding the release of the Congress leadership.

By early 1944, India was mostly peaceful again, while the Congress leadership was still incarcerated. A sense that the movement had failed depressed many nationalists, while Jinnah and the Muslim League, as well as Congress opponents like the Communists sought to gain political mileage, criticizing Gandhi and the Congress Party.

Check Your Progress

5. After the fall of_____, the Indian National Congress became stringent in its condition and passed a resolution in July 1942 demanding complete independence from British government
6. The Quit India movement was primarily designed to keep the _____ party united.

ACTIVITY

Compare negotiations held between two countries in present day with the negotiations between Britain and pre-independent India.

DID YOU KNOW

- "Do or die" call in the historic session on 7th August 1942: The historic session of Indian National Congress was held from 7th August 1942 at Gowalia Tank Maidan, Mumbai (now known as August Kranti Maidan). In the midnight of 8th/9th August 1942, the Congress passed the famous 'Quit India resolution', which electrified the country. This has become the popular 'Quit India Movement' and mass civil disobedience movement was launched with Mahatma Gandhi's "Do or die" call.
- Quit India movement turning violent: Within few hours of the resolution and call, all the national leaders were arrested. Since there were no leaders outside, the movement became violent. The people burnt the Government offices and violence could not be controlled by the Congress. British Government moved the army and more than one lakh people were arrested. During this period, the contact of the leaders with the masses were cut off. During this period, Mahatma Gandhi lost his wife Kasturba Gandhi and his trusted secretary Mahadev Desai, who were also in the jail. Mahatma also was losing health.

Source: http://www.action2020.in/2011/08/quit-india-movement-1942-interesting.html

8.5 SUMMARY

In this unit, you have learnt that:

- When the Congress gave responsibility of the Civil Disobedience Movement to Gandhiji, he wrote a letter to Viceroy Irwin to abolish salt tax, reduce military expenditure, release political prisoners, etc. Lord Irwin did not respond to this letter. Thus, Gandhi started the Civil Disobedience Movement against the British. On 12 March 1930, he, along with 72 followers, began a march from the Sabarmati ashram to the sea at Dandi.
- On 6th April, Gandhi reached the sea at Dandi and picked up a handful of salt from the seaside to break the Salt Law. He broke this law because he believed that salt was a basic necessity, thus, salt tax would affect the poor. After this March, people began manufacturing salt all the country. Through careful planning and large-scale recruitment of volunteers, the Movement spread from one part of the country to another, from Madras to Maharashtra and from Bengal and Assam to Karachi. In the farthest north, there was a massive demonstration at Peshawar. Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan and the Khudai Khidmatgars had been active in this area for a number of years.

- The Viceroy invited the leaders to a Round Table Conference in order to discuss the issue of dominion status. Motilal Nehru and Jawaharlal Nehru were taken to Gandhiji to discuss the offer. However, no headway could be made between the Congress and the government. The First Round Table Conference was held in London in November 1930 between the Indian leaders and the British but the Congress did not attend this Conference.
- In March 1931, the Congress in its Karachi session talked about the goal of Poorna Swaraj once again. However, they also endorsed the Delhi Pact between Gandhi and Irwin. Although the pact had no mention of independence, the Congress at Karachi had started preparing the framework of India's Constitution. It approved resolutions on Fundamental Rights and National Economic policy.
- After the fall of Cripps' Mission, the Indian National Congress became stringent in its condition and passed a resolution in July 1942 demanding complete independence from British government; failing which the resolution proposed a massive civil disobedience against the government. However, Chakravarti Rajagopalachari, a prominent Congress leader, along with several local and regional level leaders, organized the Quit India Movement.
- Where the Quit India Movement had the support of the masses, the movement was opposed by several political parties. Parties like Hindu Mahasabha and Communist Party of India opposed the movement and did not rally with the Congress. The Communist Party of India though against the movement, was in alliance with the Soviet Union and in support of the war, despite industrial workers and unions supporting the movement.
- The Quit India movement was primarily designed to keep the Congress party united.

8.6 KEY TERMS

- **Drain of wealth theory:** It is a theory advocated by Dadabhai Naoroji who stated that the British policies in India were draining its wealth out of the country.
- **Civil Disobedience Movement:** Civil Disobedience Movement was called by Gandhi by undertaking a march to Dandi, where he broke the Salt Laws imposed by the British government.

8.7 ANSWERS TO 'CHECK YOUR PROGRESS'

1. The 1909 Act, also known as the Morley-Minto Reforms, increased the involvement of Indians in the governance of British India.
2. The Government of India Act of 1919, also known as the Montague Chelmsford Reform, advocated a decentralized unitary form of government and placed power in the hands of the Governor-General.
3. All people arrested for non-violent protest were to be released immediately.
4. Abdul Ghaffar Khan
5. Cripps' Mission
6. Congress

8.8 QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Short-Answer Questions

1. What was 'salt satyagraha'?
2. What were the terms of the Gandhi-Irwin Pact?
3. Explain the concept of 'local activism' in relation to the Quit India Movement.
4. Mention two outcomes of the Quit India Movement.
5. Write a note on Morley-Minto Reform and Montague Chelmsford Reform.

Long-Answer Questions

1. Discuss the Civil Disobedience Movement.
2. What was the Quit India Movement?
3. Write a short note on opposition to quit India.
4. Discuss the suppression of the Quit India Movement.
5. Discuss India's trade situation before independence.

8.9 FURTHER READING

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NOTES

UNIT 9 RADICAL ALTERNATIVES

Structure

9.0 Introduction
9.1 Unit Objectives
9.2 Marxist Ideology
9.3 Rise of Congress Left Wing
  9.3.1 Rise of the Communist in India
  9.3.2 Communist Party of India
  9.3.3 Meerut Conspiracy Case
  9.3.4 Telengana
9.4 Left Parties
  9.4.1 PEPSU
  9.4.2 Split in Communist Party
  9.4.3 Congress Socialist Party
9.5 Summary
9.6 Key Terms
9.7 Answers to 'Check Your Progress'
9.8 Questions and Exercises
9.9 Further Reading

9.0 INTRODUCTION

The worldview of Marxism was brought into picture by Karl Marx, a German philosopher. Born in the year 1818, Karl Marx had expertise in the fields of sociology, philosophy, political economy, and history. He was a staunch revolutionary. The ideology of Marxism centers around a worldview on how to improve the structure of the society through the implementation of socialism. The theory of Marxism states that the society needs social change from time-to-time to eradicate the social evils of capitalism where the superior classes exploit the poor for their own greed. Marxism states that the required change cannot be brought about without a conflict and thus, a conflict or a struggle between the superior and inferior classes was eminent to bring about the necessary changes. In the words of Karl Marx, 'Anyone who knows anything of history knows that great social changes are impossible without feminine upheaval. Social progress can be measured exactly by the social position of the fair sex, the ugly ones included.'

The terms 'left' and 'right' are used in a particular sense. Those who stand for revolutionary changes come within the compass of the left movements and those who stand for *status quo* are said to belong to the right. While dealing with the left movements, we are mainly concerned with the Communist Party of India.

The unit deals with the emergence of leflist movements in India.

9.1 UNIT OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to:

- Discuss the rise of the left wing in the Congress
- Describe Left Parties in India

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9.2 MARXIST IDEOLOGY

Marxism proposes that the proletariat or the lower class citizens form the majority of the population in the world, and the rise of capitalism has only worsened their position in the world. The lower classes work all day long in misery and starvation, to meet their ends while the actual benefit of their labour is enjoyed by the privileged classes, who exploit them without a care in the world. Thus, a correction in social structure is always required through acts of revolution. This struggle happens between the majority, who are poor, and the minority, who are the wealthy lot.

The revolution, which Karl Marx proposes, is with a view of overthrowing the government, which is inefficient as it cannot control the exploitation or eradicate the social evils within the society. The revolutionaries would then take control of the government and they can implement the necessary reforms and measures required. The aim of the revolutionaries is to ensure that the commoners get their due and benefits from the government rather than looking for private profit of any kind. Marx had a dream of developing a purely classless society, as he proposed 'In a higher phase of communist society... only then can the narrow horizon of bourgeois right be fully left behind and society inscribe on its banners: from each according to his ability, to each according to his needs.'

The vision of Karl Marx and his dream of a classless society is still unrealized after so many years as the difference between the rich and the poor is still pretty vast.

Marxism and Indian Society

Although the ideologies of the Marxist theory and what the Brahmins in India taught regarding classes, social structure and politics were mostly different. History tells us that they were the ones who initiated and implemented the Marxist ideologies. Although when you enquire a little more on this subject, the Brahmins becoming the flag bearers of the Marxist ideology may not seem to be such a strange phenomenon.

The Brahmins were the most educated class of the society throughout history and this remained the case even during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. During the 1900s, a new class of Brahmins arose, which was not burdened with the old ideologies. Of course there were still some who were pretty attached to their orthodox customs and rituals, and such a lot exists even today. The new age Brahmin youths were learned and many of them believed in the revolutionary thinking prevalent in those times because of the struggle for independence against the British rule. These learned men became the flag bearers as the poor and underprivileged could have never known by themselves the ideologies and views that Marxism proposed.

The landless peasants comprised the lowest class in the Indian society during the British period. Thomas Moore (author of *Care of the Soul*) proposed- 'Your Shape that were wont to be make and tame and so small eaters, now, as I hear say, become so great devourers and so wiled that they eat up, and swallow own, the very men themselves.'

He must have said these words upon seeing the disastrous condition of men in the society. The class difference was so huge that Maharajas and royal classes enjoyed privileges of every kind, while the lower class peasants died of starvation. This situation is not something that the present day people are unaware of. The society that we live in today has similar problems of social and economic inequality.

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The lower class peasants would not have been able to understand the Marxist perception as they were illiterate people who had no idea of the revolutions that were going on in different parts of the world. The rage that Karl Marx had lent on the ruling class, 'The bourgeoisie' as he called it, could only be understood by people who could read and write. In the words of Karl Marx:

> 'We see then: the means of production and of exchange, on whose foundation the bourgeoisie built itself up, were generated in feudal society. At a certain stage in the development of these means of production and of exchange, the conditions under which feudal society produced and exchanged ... the feudal relations of property became no longer compatible with the already developed productive forces; they became so many fetters. They had to be burst asunder; they were burst asunder. Into their place stepped free competition, accompanied by a social and political constitution adapted in it, and the economic and political sway of the bourgeois class. A similar movement is going on before our own eyes ... The productive forces at the disposal of society no longer tend to further the development of the conditions of bourgeois property; on the contrary, they have become too powerful for these conditions, by which they are fettered, and so soon as they overcome these fetters, they bring order into the whole of bourgeois society, endanger the existence of bourgeois property.'

The Marxist view is that the ruling class was ruling the poor people as their slaves and that their royal lives and privileges were dependent upon the labour of the poor classes.

There is no exact time and date when the economic structure of the Indian society was moulded in a way where the peasants were suppressed in a way that they became puppets in the hands of the ruling class but it could be understood through common sense that with the coming of currency, money lending activities would have come into being.

Although the ruling class comprised the warrior class, the brahmins were considered holy and even the ruling class was not considered superior to them. The Brahmins were considered to be the descendents of the Aryan *devtas* and the Rig Veda was the proof of this fact. So, the class difference was eminent and because of which the classes of untouchables and sudras were created. The Brahmins did not have to work, as working in the fields or doing labour was considered as activities that were below their dignity. They enjoyed free food, shelter and other privileges without having to do any labour for it.

Although the constitution of our country does not provide for any orthodox system of class difference, it is interesting to know that more than 47 per cent of chief justices that have been appointed between the years 1950 and 2000 have been brahmins. During the same period, 40 per cent of the associate judges appointed have been brahmins. This could be a mere coincidence but the majority of the brahmins in the bureaucracy is a fact that cannot be denied. During the British rule these affluent brahmins went to foreign countries for higher studies where they were exposed to the Marxist principles.

Rise of communism

The rise of communism was with a view to overthrow the privileged class by the lower classes of people. It mainly targeted the brahmins and ironically the Communist Party, which was formed in the year 1920, was headed by a brahmin himself; M.N. Roy whose real name was Narendra Nath Bhattacharya. M.N. Roy was the general secretary of this party. Following were the other members:

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- Mrs Alvina Roy
- Mr Abani Mukherjee
- Mrs Rose F. Mukherjee
- Mr Boyankar N. Pativadi Acharya
- Mohd Ali Ahmed Hussain
- Mohd Shafiq Siddiqi

Roy was born in the year 1887. This famous Bengali revolutionary was among the new age brahmins who introduced the Marxist perception through his political theories and movements.

9.3 RISE OF CONGRESS LEFT WING

There were many circumstances which favoured the growth of the left movements in India. The result of the World War I was that the prices of necessities of life rose. There were famine conditions in many parts of the country. There were crippling financial burdens on the people. The success of the Russian Revolution in 1917 fired the imagination of the Indian intellectuals, political leaders, the terrorists and even the workers and made them aware of a new ideology. The slogans of Swaraj and Swadesi by Mahatma Gandhi and his efforts to carry the message to the people gave a new orientation to the nationalist movement in the country. Even the workers and peasants were drawn into the national mainstream life. Those developments helped the growth of the socialist movement. The growing unemployment among the educated people made them lose faith in liberalism of the 19th century and they were attracted towards terrorism and revolutionary ideology. Many radicals were not satisfied with the weak policy of Mahatma Gandhi. They felt that policy of non-violence stood in the way of the development of a revolutionary mass struggle against the British government.

Lala Lajpat Rai was possibly the first Indian writer to write about socialism and Bolshevism, but his attitude towards the latter was not sympathetic. He presided over the first Indian Trade Union Congress held in 1920. In 1920-23, M. N. Roy wrote two books in which he criticized the bourgeois domination of the Indian National Congress. Roy and Virendra Chattopadhyaya were the two Indian leaders who were deeply interested in Communism in the early twenties. In 1926, Moti Lal and Jawaharlal Nehru visited the Soviet Union. In 1918, a Kisan Sabha was organized at Allahabad but it was not influenced by socialist ideology. In 1924, the Central Kisan Sangh was established at Allahabad. In April 1986, the All India Kisan Sabha was established.

9.3.1 Rise of the Communist in India

World War II came as a shock to Indias as elsewhere too many people who began to find out some solution to the social and economic ills were responsible for the World War. When this was going on, the Russian Revolution led by Lenin and Trotsky broke out. The leaders of the Russian Revolution promised to the people of the world a better future on peace, equality and social justice. It was on this wave of idealism that communism came to India. India at that time was preparing to launch its mass struggle against the British rule under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi. In this atmosphere, the Russian Revolution was received favourably in India and was considered as a great liberating force. The intellectual and emotional climate in India in the early twenties was receptive to the ideas of communism.

Check Your Progress

1. When was the Communist Party of India formed and who was the founder?
2. The Marxist view is that the _____ class was ruling the _____ people as their slaves.

The Soviet leaders tried to establish a section of Communist International in the heart of India itself. Organizationally, M. N. Roy was perhaps the first link between the Communist International and the newly born communism in India which was throughout the greater part of the twenties still at the level of ideas. M. N. Roy made his first appearance in Russia in 1920. Roundabout 1921-22, he began to publish from various places in Europe an English periodical first entitled '*Vanguard*' and later '*The Masses of India*'. A large number of copies of this journal were sent to individual nationalists, trade unionists and intellectuals in India. In 1923, S. A. Dange started the publication of an English weekly entitled '*Socialist*'. At about the same time, *Janavani*, a Bengali Weekly, was started from Calcutta. In July 1924, the Comintern decided to accept the advice of M. N. Roy that the Communist Party of India should be established as a branch of the Communist International.

Organized communism came to India when the followers of Roy came to this country. Nalini Gupta returned to India in 1921 on behalf of M. N. Roy. Abani Mukherji came to India in 1923 on behalf of Virendranath Chattopadhyaya. Both of them had been members of terrorist organizations in Bengal before they went abroad. Their activities resulted in the Kanpur conspiracy case in 1924. The charge against the communist leaders was that they were organizing a conspiracy to overthrow the Government of India by violent means. The accused, in that case were S. A. Dange, Muzaffar Ahmad, Shank at Usmani and Nalini Gupta.

Roundabout 1924, the Communist International developed some doubt about the ability of M.N. Roy to deliver the goods. It was decided to adopt new tactics to strengthen communist movement in India. It was agreed to adopt a scheme of direct contact between the Comintern and the communist organization and groups in British India. However, the Communist organizations in India were directed through the Communist Party of Great Britain and R. Palme Dutt became an important figure in this connection. He was throughout in close touch with Moscow than most of his colleagues in the Communist Party of Great Britain.

A series of British communists were sent to India to help the communists in this country. Percy E. Glading was the first to come to India. He was followed by George Allison who arrived in Bombay in April 1926. He was sent to India to develop the left-wing inside the Trade Union Congress but to keep out of party politics except in an advisory capacity. However, he took a prominent part in labour troubles in Bombay and Bengal as a result of which he was apprehended in 1926, prosecuted and convicted on a charge of using forged documents and having counterfeited the seal and stamp of the British Foreign Office on his passport. He was sentenced to 18 months' rigorous imprisonment and was deported on the expiry of his sentence.

The place of George Allison was taken by Phillip Spratt who arrived in India in December 1926 to open in India a Labour Research Organization through which Soviet money could be received and distributed in India. When Spratt came to India, the Communist Party of India had barely a dozen nominal members and not much activity. Spratt devoted all his energy to the development of Communist Party in India. He was joined in September 1927 by Benjamia Francis Bradley who also took an active part in the organization of the Workers and Peasants Party and of the employees of cotton mills and railways. H. L. Hutchison came to Bombay in September 1928 but his mission was not a success.

It is worthy of notice that during those early days, the hand of Spratt was everywhere. He sowed the seeds of revolt in Punjab. He set up a Workers and Peasants

Party in the United Provinces which held its inaugural conference at Meerut in October 1928. Within a month, branches were set up in Delhi, Allahabad, Meerut, Gorakhpur and Jhansi. During this time, Spratt was carrying on correspondence with his counterparts on the European Continent and in England informing them of the progress achieved, the difficulties experienced and the necessary instructions in that connection. There was a steady and expensive stream of communist literature into India and different methods were employed to smuggle communist literature.

Soon after the Comintern Resolution of September 1928 was passed, the Communist Party met at Calcutta in December 1928. It was at this meeting that the swing to the left was applied to India. A new central executive was first elected. The main decisions were to make the party active and to propagandize in the name of the Communist Party of India, to affiliate to the Communist International and send Muzaffar Ahmed to Moscow as a delegate to the executive committee of the Communist International.

Perhaps the greatest success of the communists during this period was the influence they managed to acquire in trade unions in India and their success in disrupting and splitting them to their advantage. As a result of industrialization of India, a sizeable labour force had been created. Rising prices and the consequent unrest encouraged the birth of trade unions. The Madras Union was established by B. P. Wadia in 1918. In 1920, the All India Trade Union Congress was established for purposes of coordination. The All India Railwaymen's Federation was formed in 1925. By 1925-26, labour organizations acquired a certain measure of strength and stability and their spokesman in the legislatures succeeded in giving expression to some of the needs of the workers. The Communists appeared on the scene and their sole objective was to capture the key trade unions with a view to utilize them for the political ends of their party. From 1926 to 1928, the influence of the communists increased immensely. They started several weekly journals like *Kranti* in Marathi.

9.3.2 Communist Party of India

Upto August 1939, the Communists in India were praising the Soviet Union under Stalin and condemning Hitler. However, they found themselves in an awkward position after Stalin entered into a non-aggression pact with Hitler. Overnight, Hitler became a friend of peace and England and France became the imperialist war-mongers. The Communists condemned England for dragging India into an imperialist war against her will. Mahatma Gandhi and Nehru were denounced as saboteurs of Indian independence and agents of imperialism. The Congress Socialists were described as henchmen of Mahatma Gandhi. A virulent attack was started against the leaders of the Congress and the Socialist Party. The Communists did not succeed entirely because the rank and file of both the parties were loyal to their leaders. However, the Communists did succeed in causing a split in the All-India Students' Federation and the All-India Kisan Sabha which had been built by the Socialists. The All-India Trade Union Congress gradually became the preserve of the Communists. The Congress Socialist Party which had been working very hard for a united front saw the futility and danger of trying to work with the Communists and decided to break the alliance. The result was that all the Communists were expelled from the Congress Socialist Party. It is pointed out that this decision was taken in the nick of time and a little delay would have broken the Congress Socialist Party entirely. However, while parting ways, the Communists carried with them almost intact three of the best organized state branches of the Congress Socialist Party in Andhra, Tamil Nadu and Kerala.

The Communists induced the workers to go on strike to impair war production. On 2 October 1939, the Communists organized a strike in Bombay in which 90,000 workers were stated to have participated. The Government of India took action against the Communists by arresting their leaders. The Communists continued to be arrested in 1940.

However, everything changed for the Communist Party of India after Hitler attacked Russia on 22 June 1941. The imperialist war became a 'people's war'. The Communists in India decided to support the Government of India in every way in their war-effort as England and Russia were to fight together against Hitler. The Government of India released the Communist leaders from detention. The ban on the Communist Party was lifted and it could now work as a legal party. The Communist Party recommended that the Cripps proposals be accepted and it attacked the Congress for rejecting them. After the Quit India Resolution was passed by the Congress on 8 August 1942 and the arrest of its leaders, the Communist Party fought on the side of the British government. The Communists considered it as their duty to spy on the Indian patriots and get them arrested wherever possible. They became police informers. There was complete cooperation between the officials of the Government of India and the members of the Communist Party. The Communist Party placed its services at the disposal of the Government of India against all those who took part in the Quit India Movement and the Azad Hind Fauj of Subhas Chandra Bose. They struggled hard to get them arrested. On the industrial front, the Communists did their utmost to keep the workers out of the national unrest. There were to be no strikes but more and more work for the government. The workers were asked to forget the class struggle to work for increased production and rather than going on strikes. The peasants were asked to forget their grievances and grow more food and surrender it to the government to feed the armies.

The Communists did their utmost to sabotage the national movement for India's freedom. They also tried to sabotage the efforts aimed at bringing about a compromise between the Indian National Congress and the Muslim League. They whole-heartedly supported the demand for Pakistan. They went a step further by saying that every linguistic group in India had a distinct nationality and was, therefore, entitled to the right to secede. That would have resulted in the dismemberment of the country and its Balkanization into a large number of independent states.

For practically three years from 1942 to 1945, every active Indian patriot and political worker was either in jail or underground. This gave an opportunity to the Communists to capture the labour, students, peasants and women organizations in the country. The All India Trade Union Congress became a purely Communist front. The Communists infiltrated into the All India Women's Conference.

In spite of all this, the Communists were isolated and discredited by 1945. Their efforts to destroy the influence of Mahatma Gandhi and the Congress leaders failed completely. Their efforts to approach Jinnah and the Muslim League also failed. They lost support both among the peasants and the industrial workers. Their only influence was among the upper class intellectuals with whom it was fashionable to be Communists. When Mahatma Gandhi was released in 1944, the Communists tried to approach him but he refused to have anything to do with them. When the members of the Congress Working Committee were released in June 1945, the Congress resumed normal functioning and the Communists were expelled from the Congress.

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9.3.3 Meerut Conspiracy Case

Communist activity was abruptly cut short by the arrest of 31 of its most important leaders from different parts of India on 20 March 1929, including Spratt, Bradley, Muzaffar Ahmed, Shaukat Usmani and S. A. Dange. Hutchison was arrested a few weeks later. There were comprehensive searches throughout the country and a large amount of information was collected about the working of the communists in the country. The lower court made a preliminary enquiry into the case and finalised its hearing of the case on 14 January 1930. The Court found that it had been definitely proved that Communist International was founded in 1919 with its headquarters at Moscow and its chief aim was to establish workers' republics in every country. For that purpose, it excited violent revolutions in all countries. It was determined to bring about a revolution in India with the object of overthrowing the sovereignty of the King Emperor in British India. With that object, it formed a conspiracy with persons and bodies in Europe and India and elsewhere to excite the Indian workers and peasants to revolution. The conspirators laid down a general plan of campaign under the direction of the Communist International. That plan included the formation of such bodies as a Communist Party of India and Workers and Peasants Party. The immediate work of those parties was to gain control of the working classes by organizing them in unions, teaching them the principles of communism, inciting them to strikes in order to educate them and teach them solidarity and to use every possible method of propaganda and instruction. The workers were taught mass organization with a view to the declaration of a general strike followed by revolution. The peasants were also organized to form an effective reserve force for the proletarian masses and to effect an agrarian revolution. In pursuance of these aims, a Communist Party in India and four Workers and Peasants Party in Mumbai, Bengal, the Punjab and the United Provinces were formed. These bodies were given financial aid from Moscow and their policy was dictated from Moscow, directly and via England and the Continent, through communications conducted in a secret and conspiratorial manner. In addition to this, Allison, Spratt and Bradley were sent to India for the purpose of organizing the work and fomenting revolution. In pursuance of those directions and with financial help thus obtained, those bodies organized unions, conducted demonstrations, edited papers, instituted youth movements, initiated and conducted strikes and used all possible methods of propaganda. In all those activities, the accused had taken part with full knowledge and approval of their aims and objects and directly or indirectly in league with the conspirators outside India.

The additional sessions judge who took up the actual trial of the case, pronounced judgment on 16 January 1933, sentencing four of the 31 accused persons to varying terms of imprisonment. Muzaffar Ahmed was sentenced to life imprisonment. S. A. Dange, S. V. Ghate, K. N. Jogkelar, R. S. Nimbkar and Spratt were given 12 years. Bradley, Mirajkar and Usmani were given 10 years' transportation. The lightest sentence was 3 years' imprisonment. The Allahabad High Court confirmed all the findings but reduced the sentences of imprisonment of the various accused. Some of them were immediately released in September 1934 and the rest in the autumn of 1935.

It is worthy of notice that there was widespread nationalist sympathy for the accused at Meerut. The communists were able to enlist for their legal advice and defence the services of younger nationalist spokesmen. Among them were Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Farid-ul-Huq Ansaii and Dr. Kailash Nath Katju. The trial lasted for many years and the accused took full advantage of it to make propaganda in favour of communism. However, the removal of the leading communists in March 1929 dealt a heavy blow to

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the Communist Party of India. The industrial situation improved considerably. There, was a cessation of strikes in general. Rivalries and petty squabbles grew within the Communist Party.

The period from 1930 to 1935 was one of wilderness for the Communist Party in India. The Communists not only stayed away from the freedom struggle led by the Indian National Congress during this period but also did everything they could to weaken and sabotage it. While the patriotic Indians were boycotting foreign cloth, the Communists advocated the use of foreign cloth as a gesture of solidarity with the British workers in Lancashire. While Mahatma Gandhi advocated the methods of non-violent resistance, the Communists asserted the right to use violence. The Indian Communists insulted the national flag of India in Mumbai. To the Communists in India, the struggle for national independence was not so much a struggle for national liberation as one for strengthening a sector of world capitalism and imperialism. A new constitution was adopted by the Communist Party of India in 1934. The Communists gave a call for a country-wide strike of all textile workers with effect from 23 April 1934, which was heeded. The Government took immediate action and arrested the Communist leaders. The Communist Party was declared illegal in July 1934 along with some dozen trade unions under Communist control and the Young Workers League. The workers of the Communist Party completely went underground.

R. Palme Dutt and Bradley published their thesis entitled 'The Anti-Imperialist People's Front' in India in March 1936. They described the Indian National Congress as merely the united front of the Indian people in the nationalist struggle. They advised the Communists to join the Indian National Congress and utilize the Congress organization to strengthen the left-wing within the Congress called the Congress Socialist Party and oust the reactionary right-wing elements in the Congress. The Communists, the Congress Socialist Party and the Trade Unionists planned to organize a popular front on the basis of a common minimum programme. However, the Communists did not meet with much success as they did not work with the Congress in the spirit of cooperation. Their object was merely to isolate the Congress leadership from the rank and file and capture the larger organization for its party. Everything was done to belittle the role and inspiration of the nationalist movement led by the Congress. In order to implement the 'Trojan horse' strategy, a minimum programme was decided upon and instructions were issued to individual Communists to push it through. The Politbureau declared that 'individual enrollment is not a substitute for collective affiliation but only one of the means to intensify the agitation and strengthen the demands for collective affiliation, from inside the Indian National Congress platform in alliance with the Indian National Congress rank and file and by mobilizing them under our leadership on this and other allied immediate issues.' The agitation was not to be carried on from inside alone but was to be supported by agitation from outside. After infiltrating into the Congress, a programme of appeal to the rank and file of the Congress was started. The Communists complained that the failures of Mahatma Gandhi in the Congress watered down the anti-imperialist content in the Lahore Resolution of 1929 on complete independence. The Communists failed in their objective. They could neither capture the Congress leadership nor make it accept their programme nor—adopt their slogans. It was clear that so long as Mahatma Gandhi's personality dominated the national scene, the Communists could not succeed so far as the Congress was concerned. Efforts were made to influence the Congress through Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Subhas Chandra Bose and the Congress Socialist Party under the leadership of Jayaprakash Narayan. The Congress Socialist Party opened its doors

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to the Communists and through that party the Communists came to occupy important positions in the Indian National Congress.

Karl Marx on Indian Revolutionary Movements

Even before the popular Marxist movements took shape in the Indian freedom movements, Karl Marx had given his views on the struggle between the British rule and the revolution that was going against them. These works were published in the *New York Tribune* and were transcribed by Tony Brown. Some of the points of these transcriptions are as follows:

- Those who wanted to make personal complaints to the collector had to travel long distances
- People were scared of *tahsildars*
- The means to punish the criminals were not efficient
- The court cases carried on for longer duration like if a police or revenue officer was charged with extorting money then he was first charged by the assistant collector and then by the collector. He could, if he found the judgement unsatisfactory, even appeal to the Revenue Board.

The exploitative thesis

The economic exploitation of India has a long history, but before you indulge in that, you need to have a clear understanding of the exploitative thesis.

Economic exploitation

Economic exploitation in general terms refers to a situation where a person is using the labour of another person and not giving him adequate reimbursement for the same. Economic exploitation has the following viewpoints:

- **Organizational exploitation:** This denotes the exploitation at a micro level.
- **Structural exploitation:** This denotes the exploitation at the macro level and is in close resemblance to the Marxist theory where the whole capitalist class was seen as one exploitative entity.

The Marxist theory

The theory of economic exploitation in Marxist terms starts with the domination of private property by the capitalists. Karl Marx was of the opinion that the capitalist class has made commodities valuable and hard to get for the lower classes of people. Thus, material things, including money, were getting much more importance than it deserved. He could foresee the future where money would be equivalent to God in many people's lives.

Marx argued that in a capitalistic economy the position of a human being was actually dependent upon their wealth. Hence, it was the means of production that determined the affluence of a human being. The actual labour which was done by poor workers in the accumulation of the surplus wealth went unnoticed. Marx believed that this kind of a system was extremely dangerous for the society.

Karl Marx was right in saying that material things were given far more importance than they deserved.

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In his words, 'The commodity is first of all, an external object; a thing which through its qualities satisfies human needs of whatever kind. The nature of these needs, whether they arise, for example, from the stomach, or the imagination, makes no difference. Nor does it matter here how the thing satisfies man's need, whether directly as a means of subsistence, i.e. an object of consumption, or indirectly as a means of production.'

There is a class of labourers, who live only so long as they find work, and who find work only so long as their labour increase capital. These labourers, who must sell themselves piecemeal, are a comodity, like every other article of commerce, and are consequently exposed to all the vicissitudes of competition, to all the fluctuations of the market. He becomes an appendage of the machine, and it is only the most simple, most monotonous, and most easily acquired knack, that is required of him. Hence, the cost of production of a workman is restricted, almost entirely, to the means of subsistence that he requires for his maintenance.

Marx believed that in an ideal society there should always be a competitive market where the prices of commodities are always regulated.

Karl Marx took his theory of economic exploitation even further when he stated that the richer nations were exploiting the poorer or the so called third world countries for their own good. Money which was essentially a mere mean of exchange for commodities had become the capital requirement for all human beings and capitalism was to be blamed for it.

Economic exploitation during 1757–1947

Agriculture was the main source of income for the general mass in those times. Apart from the ruling class who dominated every aspect of the economy in those times, various sections of the society were also looking to take control of the agricultural land.

This case was applicable to all parts of the country. Apart from the agricultural resources that formed the major component of trade and income, luxury trade became an important part of system more so in the capital cities as the royal classes had different tastes and spent their fortunes in a lavish manner. This was in close comparison with the Marxist statements of the capitalist elites using the poor, where the poor barely met their ends and the affluent class had much more than they needed.

Even though there were great inequalities between people prior to British rule, there was a huge resource of wealth in India. Of course the surplus wealth was the cause; the British were attracted towards India. As the British set their foot in India, the period of drainage of wealth started. It was not as if that foreign trade started only after the coming of the British in India. Historical accounts give us an overview that various varieties were exported even during the fifteenth and sixteenth century. Textile was the main source of export during those times.

Historical records show that silk was in great demand among the affluent classes of people in the countries of Indonesia, Philippines and Malaysia. Bengal was among the major silk producing regions in India, similarly Kerala was famous for its cloth printing. Each region had specialization in various fields of work. The engravings that one sees in the palaces today show the kind of artistic talent that existed among people of those times. These artisans and labours however never got their due as they were paid less in comparison to the work they did.

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The poor and the underprivileged faced an even bitter time when the British Raj was introduced in India. The British were busy exploiting the country and resources for their own good. Wealth was being drained in huge amounts from the country and being taken to Britain while the royal class who were just the nominal rulers of the country as they became puppets in the hands of the British lived a laid back life and hardly cared about the worsening situation of the general mass. The royals still continued to live a lavish life spending the fortunes which were left behind as the British took huge sums out of every kingdom, in the form of taxes and other provisions, which they had imposed.

The problems of poverty and a low level of national income, which India had to face after the Independence was a result of the exploitation of resources done by the British regime during their rule.

It is a notable fact that agriculture grew under the British regime, as the British gave great attention towards increasing the agricultural productivity. But they did nothing to improve the conditions of the peasants. Increasing the agricultural productivity was necessary for the British regime as agriculture was the chief source of raising the land revenue. The taxes that were imposed by the zamindars on the poor peasants during the British rule broke their backs completely. Besides, the British kept experimenting with different measures to increase the productivity without showing any concern of health and the other aspects of poor peasants.

Another reason for the British regime to pay greater attention to the agricultural productivity was that the agricultural products also provided the raw materials that were needed for the British industry in England. These cheap raw materials, like cotton, and food grains were exported to the European countries at a very cheap cost. Thus, the scope of the economic exploitation broadened with such acts as not only the peasants, but the whole country was now being economically exploited.

9.3.4 Telengana

When India became independent in August 1947, the Communist Party decided to give support to the Nehru government. Their underlying motive was to support Prime Minister Nehru against Sardar Patel. The idea was to create a schism or split in the Congress ranks. The Communist support to Nehru, did not last long on account of a change in the Russian policy and world alignments. Communist agitation was very strong in the rural districts of Telengana in Hyderabad. The Communists had entrenched themselves in that area before the police action against Hyderabad in 1948. It was found that there was no law and order in that area and the Communists practically ruled that area. The Government of India decided to take strong action against the Communists. Between October and December 1950, there were no less than 344 serious incidents, including 96 murders, 151 attacks on the police and military and 82 attacks on the home guards and village officials. During this period, the police killed 223 Communists and arrested 143 of them. They recovered from them guns and rifles along with ammunition and explosives. Towards the end of 1951, there was a decrease in terrorism.

Attempts were made by the Communists to persuade the police and the troops to desert their offices, murder their officers and join the Communist Party. On 17 September 1951, the Communist Party issued a statement from Bombay in which they challenged the Government of India to withdraw the Preventive Detention Act and stop the policy of repression against the Communists. In return, the Communist Party promised to give up terrorism and act in a legal manner through constitutional means.

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When the General Elections were held in India in 1952, the Communists were able to capture as many as 23 seats in Parliament and the Communist Party came second only to the Congress Party. In many State Assemblies also, the Communist Party emerged as the second largest party and was leading the Opposition group. Critics point out that the Communists were able to achieve this success by concentrating on certain selected constituencies. Although the Socialist Party got 10.50 per cent votes and the Communist 5.81 per cent votes, the Communists were able to show better results. The General Elections gave an excellent opportunity to the Communist Party to enlist sympathisers, restore mass contact and revitalise the Communist Party. On 4 September 1953, P. Sundarayya, the Communist leader in Rajya Sabha, declared that the members of his party were in Parliament to see that the Indian Constitution was wrecked and replaced by a new Constitution.

9.4 LEFT PARTIES

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9.4.1 PEPSU

In the beginning of 1952, efforts at reorganizing the peasant front by the Communists became noticeable and reports of peasant discontent fostered by the Communists began to appear from various corners of India, including Assam and Nepal. However, the situation was the worst in the states of PEPSU (Patiala and East Punjab States Union) where the Communists were able to set up zones of parallel government. Self-constituted panchayats started dispossessing the farmers of their lands and distributing them among the landless labourers. Neither the farmers nor the police were able to counter the mass intimidation practised by the Communist Panchayats. By March 1953, there was complete chaos in the states of PEPSU. Ultimately, the Constitution was suspended in the State of PEPSU and the Government of India was able to crush the Communist agitation. At that time the Communists revived their old front of All-India Kisan Federation. They also decided to hold in New Delhi by the end of 1953 an Asian Peasant Convention in order to help cement fraternal bonds of mutual understanding between peasants of all Asiatic countries and strengthen the forces of peace and dissipate the clouds of imperialist war from our fair Continent.

9.4.2 Split in Communist Party

There was a split in the Communist Party of India after the Vijayawada Congress of 1961 and another Communist Party of India called CPI (Marxist) came into existence.

Check Your Progress

3. State one reason for the rise of Left movements in India.
4. The intellectual and emotional climate in India in the early twenties was receptive to the ideas of _____.
5. The leaders of the _____ promised to the people of the world a better future on peace, equality and social justice.

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The old Communist Party continued under the leadership of S. A. Dange. The claim of the CPI-M is that it is the only party which stands firmly consistently for socialism and rejects the 'parlimentary road to socialism'. It also aims at socialization of means of production. The Communist Party of India supported Prime Minister Indira Gandhi during the Emergency (1975-77) but it was opposed by CPI-M. At present, the Communist Party of India is weaker than CPI-M.

9.4.3 Congress Socialist Party

The foundation of the Congress Socialist Party in May 1934 was an important step in the development of socialism in India. The Bihar Socialist Party was founded in 1931 and the Bombay Socialist group was organised in 1934. 'The Congress Socialist Party was founded by those younger Congressmen who during their long terms of imprisonment in the Civil Disobedience Movement came in contact with Marxist ideas. They were not satisfied with the conservative leadership of the Congress Party after 1933. They had their reservations about Mahatma Gandhi's constructive programme. They felt that it was necessary to organize the workers and peasants on the lines of class and bring them into the freedom movement. Those who thought alike met together at Patna and Bombay in 1934 and thus the Congress Socialist Party was launched with Jayaprakash Narayan as its General Secretary. Acharya Narendra Deva, Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia, Kamala Devi Chattopadhyaya, Yusuf Meherally, Minoo Masani, S. M. Joshi and other comrades were his colleagues. There were also young people like E.M.S. Namboodiripad, P. Ramamurthy, Sundarayya and others. They later on left the Congress Socialist Party and joined the Communist Party. However, Jayaprakash Narayan continued to have excellent relations with them.

At its first Conference in Bombay in 1934, the Congress Socialist Party adopted a 15-Point Programme which included the repudiation of the public debt of India, transfer of all power to producing masses, planned development of the economic life of the country by the state, socialization of the key industries, state monopoly of foreign trade, cooperative and collective farming, organization of cooperatives for production, distribution and credit and elimination of princes and landlords without compensation. The members of the Congress Socialist Party criticized the leadership of the Congress but professed loyalty to the organization. In the words of Acharya Narendra Deva, their object was 'to resuscitate and reinvigorate the Congress' and to draw into it the mass of workers and peasants in order to widen the base of the anti-imperialist front. They criticized Mahatma Gandhi and his non-violence, his ethical approach to politics and his theory of trusteeship.

There was bound to be a clash between the members of the Congress Socialist Party and the old members of the Congress. They differed on the question of the Government of India Act, 1935, the formation of ministries in 1937, the organization of Kisan Sabhas and agitation for agrarian reforms, the release of political detenus and agitation in the Indian States. There were bitter controversies in which the Congress leadership was severely, criticized. Jayaprakash Narayan went to the extent of saying that 'Gandhism has played its part. It cannot carry us further and hence we must march and be guided by the ideology of socialism.' The leaders of the Congress Socialist Party did not realize the difficulties of the Congress Party which had to fight both against the British Government and the Muslim League and that could not be done without discipline in the Congress Party itself.

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It is true that Jawaharlal Nehru was ideologically the closest to the Congress Socialist Party. He was in jail when the new party was formed and when he became the Congress President, he included Jayaprakash Narayan, Narendra Deva and Achyut Patwardhan in the Congress Working Committee. Mahatma Gandhi was against the Congress Socialist Party and he made it clear that if the Congress Socialist Party gained ascendancy in the Congress, he would not remain in the Congress. He did not approve of class war, expropriation and violence. Subhas Chandra Bose asked Nehru to be firm with the Congress establishment but Nehru was not prepared to defy Gandhi or break away from the Congress. Mahatma Gandhi offered again and again to step down if his ideas were not acceptable to the Working Committee or the All India Congress Committee. In October 1939, Mahatma Gandhi wrote to Nehru, 'I must not lead if I cannot carry all with me. There should be no divided counsels among the members of the Working Committee. I feel you should take full charge and lead the country leaving me free to voice my opinion.' Nehru was not prepared to allow Mahatma Gandhi to give up the leadership of the Congress. He was not unaware of his own limitations. He could rouse the masses and inspire the intelligentsia but he was not an expert in party management.

Whatever the differences between the Congress Socialist Party and the leadership of the Indian National Congress, there was no intention to carry the opposition to the breaking point. The Congress Socialists knew well that they could not realize their programme unless the British were ousted from India and that could be done only by the Indian National Congress. The Congress Socialist Party got a lot of support from the youth, the industrial labour and the peasantry, but it was still a minority. It was not a homogeneous group. It consisted of Marxists like J.P. Narayan and Narendra Deva, Socialist Democrats like Asoka Merita and M. R. Masani, Gandhians like Patwardhan and populists like Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia. It is true that the Congress Socialist Party was not able to have its own way on many important issues but it certainly succeeded in giving radical orientation to the Congress policies in certain respects. The Second World War and the breach with the Government brought the Congress Socialists nearer to Mahatma Gandhi and the Congress leadership. Both the Congress leadership and the Congress Socialists worked against the Government during the Quit India Movement. During that movement, J. P. Narayan who was already in jail since 1940, made a daring escape from Hazaribagh jail with colleagues like Ram Nandan Misra and joined the ranks of the freedom fighters. Achyut Patwardhan, Aruna Asaf Ali, Dr. Lohia, Sucheta Kriplani and others were operating under the name of the underground All India Congress Committee and trying to widen the scope of the mass struggle. When J. P. Narayan came out of jail, he declared that only armed resistance could achieve the objectives. He organized squads which operated in Bihar. Nepal was used as a base of operations. Ultimately, J.P. Narain and Dr. Lohia were arrested.

The Congress Socialists were always keen to consolidate all leftist forces in the country. The Congress Socialist Party opened its doors to the Communists in 1936. The Communist Party was an illegal party at that time and its leaders were happy to get a chance of functioning openly through the Congress Socialist Party and the Indian National Congress. The Communists created trouble for the leaders of the Congress Socialist Party and hence were expelled from it in 1940. However, they took away with them the Southern branches of the Congress Socialist Party. If the Communists had not been expelled in 1940, they would have created more trouble.

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About the Congress Socialist Party, Shri P. L. Lakhanpal wrote the following in 1946, 'The role played by the C.S P. within the Congress as well as without it was magnificent indeed. Within it, it served as a rallying point for all the radical elements; without it, it organized peasant movements, brought about a union between the various T. U. Congress and Federations, won the sympathy and support of the other radical organizations and put socialism till then a subject for academic discussion on the political map of India'. (p. 46, History of the Congress Socialist Party, Lahore, 1946) In March 1918, at the Nasik Convention, the Socialists decided to leave the Congress because the leadership of the Congress forbade all inner groupings within that organization. The Socialists left the Congress in 1948 and formed a separate party known as the Socialist Party of India. After the General Elections of 1952, the Socialist Party and Krishak Mazdoor Praja Party led by J. B. Kriplani decided to merge. The decision for merger was taken on 25 August 1952 at Lucknow and the merger actually took place at a meeting in Bombay on 26 and 27 September 1952.

The National Executive of the Praja Socialist Party at its meeting in Bombay on 16 October 1959 outlined a 12-point programme for India. It stood for intensification of agricultural and industrial production, equitable distribution and democratic decentralization. Its basic political and economic philosophy was to bring about a reconciliation and synthesis of nationalism, secularism and democratic decentralization.

The Socialist Party was merged in the Janata Party in 1977 and also joined the Janata Government. After the fall of the Janata Government in 1979, some of the Socialist members remained in the Janata Party and some joined the Lok Dal.

Other Left Parties

A reference may be made to some other minor leftist parties in India. The Forward Bloc was formed by Subhas Chandra Bose after his quarrel with Mahatma Gandhi. The Forward Bloc accepted the creed, policy and programme of the Congress but was not bound to have confidence in the Congress high command. When India became free in 1947, the Forward Bloc described the transfer of power as a bogus one. Its view was that the bourgeois leadership of the Congress had entered into a partnership with British imperialism to defeat the mass struggle.

The Revolutionary Socialist Party was started in 1940. In the tussle between Mahatma Gandhi and Subhas Chandra Bose, it supported Subhas Chandra Bose. It did not support the Government of India even after the Soviet Union joined World War II. The Bolshevik Party of India was started in 1939 by N. Dutt Mazumdar. The Revolutionary Communist Party was started in 1942. The Bolshevik-Leninist Party was started in 1941. Shri M. N. Roy started the Radical Democratic Party in 1940.

Check Your Progress

6. There was a split in the Communist Party of India after the Vijayawada Congress of 1961 and another _____ came into existence.
7. Why was there bound to be a clash between the members of the Congress Socialist Party and the old members of the Congress?
8. The _____ was formed by Subhas Chandra Bose after his quarrel with Mahatma Gandhi.

ACTIVITY

Research on the Internet and make a report on the topic 'Impact of Marxism in India'.

NOTES

DID YOU KNOW

- When Marx was in university his father had to bail him out because he had racked up enormous debt.

  Marx's first public writings on the plight of the poor was an article in which he described the hardships and poverty of Germany's vineyard workers.

  Marx wrote the *Communist Manifesto* in six weeks and the draft was written by his friend and colleague, Freidrich Engels.
- Marx and Engels started a newspaper called *The New Reinish Gazette* that published radical articles condemning the inequalities in German (and European) society and promoted revolutionary ideas and activities. The government shut the paper down in May, 1849 and expelled its publishers. The last issue was printed in red ink.
- Marx lived in terrible poverty for most of his adult life. His friend, Engels sent him 5 pounds a month on which to live. For most of this time in England, Marx wrote constantly with his teenage daughter, Eleanor, helping with the editing and discussion of ideas.

9.5 SUMMARY

In this unit, you have learnt that:

- There were many circumstances which favoured the growth of the left movements in India. The result of the World War I was that the prices of necessities of life rose. There were famine conditions in many parts of the country. There were crippling financial burdens on the people.
- The success of the Russian Revolution in 1917 fired the imagination of the Indian intellectuals, political leaders, the terrorists and even the workers and made them aware of a new ideology. The slogans of Swaraj and Swadesi by Mahatma Gandhi and his efforts to carry the message to the people gave a new orientation to the nationalist movement in the country.
- The World War II came as a shock in India as elsewhere to many people who began to find out some solution of the social and economic ills which were responsible for the World War. When this was going on, the Russian Revolution led by Lenin and Trotsky broke out. The leaders of the Russian Revolution promised to the people of the world a better future on peace, equality and social justice. It was on this wave of idealism that communism came to India.
- Up to August 1939, the Communists in India were praising the Soviet Union under Stalin and condemning Hitler. However, they found themselves in an awkward position after Stalin entered into a Non-Aggression Pact with Hitler. Overnight, Hitler became a friend of peace and England and France became the imperialist war-mongers.

NOTES

- The Communist Party placed its services at the disposal of the Government of India against all those who took part in the Quit India Movement and the Azad Hind Fauj of Subhas Chandra Bose.
- In the beginning of 1952, efforts at reorganizing the peasant front by the Communists became noticeable and reports of peasant discontent fostered by the Communists began to appear from various corners of India, including Assam and Nepal. However, the situation was the worst in the State of PEPSU where the Communists were able to set up zones of parallel Government.

9.6 KEY TERMS

- **Communism:** A political theory derived from Karl Marx, advocating class war and leading to a society in which all property is publicly owned
- **Radicals:** People who advocate thorough or complete political or social reform

9.7 ANSWERS TO 'CHECK YOUR PROGRESS'

1. The Communist Party of India was formed in 1920 by M. N. Roy.
2. Ruling, poor
3. One reason for the rise of left movements in India was that there were famine conditions in many parts of the country.
4. Communism
5. Russian Revolution
6. Communist Party of India called CPI (Marxist)
7. There was bound to be a clash between the members of the Congress Socialist Party and the old members of the Congress, because they differed on the question of the Government of India Act, 1935, the formation of ministries in 1937, the organization of Kisan Sabhas and agitation for agrarian reforms, the release of political detenus and agitation in the Indian States.
8. Forward Bloc

9.8 QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Short-Answer Questions

1. How did Hitler's attack on Russia affect the Communist Party of India?
2. Briefly state the Communist agitation in Telengana.
3. Write a note on the split in the Communist Part of India
4. Write a short note on the Forward Bloc.

Long-Answer Questions

1. Discuss the rise of Congress Left Wing.
2. Write a short note on the Meerut Conspiracy case.

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3. What was the Telengana Struggle about. Discuss
4. Write a short note on the Congress Socialist Party.

9.9 FURTHER READING

Biswas, S.K. 2008. *Nine Decades of Marxism in the Land of Brahminism.* Other Books, Calicut.

UNIT 10 FREEDOM AND PARTITION

NOTES

Structure

10.0 Introduction
10.1 Unit Objectives
10.2 World War II and its Impact
  10.2.1 Congress and the War
  10.2.2 Impact on British Policy in India
  10.2.3 Political Effects
10.3 Towards Independence and Partition
  10.3.1 August Offer, 1940
  10.3.2 Cripps' Proposal
  10.3.3 Quit India Movement
  10.3.4 Demand for Pakistan
  10.3.5 Role of Indian National Army (INA)
  10.3.6 Wavell Plan and Simla Conference (1945)
  10.3.7 Cabinet Mission Plan (1946)
  10.3.8 Direct Action Day
  10.3.9 Attlee's Announcement
  10.3.10 Mountbatten Plan
10.4 Indian Independence Act, 1947
  10.4.1 Independence and Partition
10.5 Summary
10.6 Key Terms
10.7 Answers to 'Check Your Progress'
10.8 Questions and Exercises
10.9 Further Reading

10.0 INTRODUCTION

The highlights of the two final years of the British occupation of India were the discussions that took place between the British Congress and the Muslim League statesmen. Simultaneously, there was a rise in communal violence, which finally resulted in the freedom of India along with its partition. The CR Formula (1944), Gandhi-Jinnah talks (1944), Simla Conference (1945) and Direct Action Day were few of the crucial happenings that led to Partition. The Partition of India is regarded as a significant chapter in the history of India and Pakistan.

In this unit, you will study about the events that led to the Partition of India and establishment of the Indian republic.

10.1 UNIT OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to:

- Discuss World War II and its impact
- Describe the incidents that led to Independence and Partition

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10.2 WORLD WAR II AND ITS IMPACT

In 1939, the Viceroy, Lord Linlithgow, made an announcement that India was at war. This was done without consulting the Indian assembly. The Government Act of India calls for the Viceroy to consult the Executive Committee prior to any decision-making, related to defence or external affairs. However, this move caused deterioration in the relations between the Congress and the Muslim League.

The war on Germany had complete support from the League. This move by Jinnah was in the interest of Muslims. In 1940, Jinnah's speech referred to an independent Muslim state for the first time, this was an important historical event which was later named the Lahore Declaration. The name 'Pakistan' was used during this speech. At the time of the war, the power of the League increased with its number of members crossing 2 million.

10.2.1 Congress and the War

Gandhi exerted pressure on the British government for negotiating with Hitler. This policy was, however, not supported by a large number of Congress members. More importantly, Nehru, who had at that time come back from Europe, was of the belief that India should support Britain in its stand against fascists. However, the idea that India should independently decide on this issue was also supported by him. Nehru was fully supported by the Congress and the announcement that India was at war with Germany was rejected. As a mark of protest, resignations were given by all Congress state governments. In 1940, a condition was put forward by the Congress, according to which India would only support the war if a national government was established. This demand was rejected by the Viceroy. This led to the start of a campaign of civil disobedience, which was led by the Congress. During this campaign, 1700 members of the Congress were arrested. Since many members of the Congress were arrested between 1940 and 1945, its position became very weak. At the same time, the British government began to support the Muslim League, which had become more powerful and influential.

10.2.2 Impact on British Policy in India

More than 30,000 British soldiers were sent to India, for restoring law and order. Thousands of people died as a result of this. A large number of prominent members of the Congress were also placed under arrest and in prisons by the British. Gandhi was imprisoned till 1944. The British released Nehru, then arrested him again and kept him in prison till 1945. The Congress was declared as illegal by the British government and all its finances were seized. There was no effective existence of the Congress between 1942 and 1944.

At the time of the Second World War, Subhash Chandra Bose opposed the British. He was a former member of the Congress who was also against Gandhi's strategy of non-violence. He established the 'Forward Bloc', which believed in the practice of militancy to achieve independence. As war began in 1939, Bose affirmed support to the Axis powers (Germany, Italy and Japan).

The British arrested him but he escaped from prison and went to Nazi Germany. From there he was sent to Singapore by the Germans. In Singapore, he began recruiting Indian prisoners of war as members of the Indian National Army. Later, the membership

NOTES

increased to 20, 000 volunteers. This went at war with Japan, to prevent it from invading India from Burma. Bose later established the Provisional Government of free India in 1943. In 1945, Bose died in a plane crash. After his death, support for the Indian National Army in India declined. When the war ended, its leaders were arrested and put on trial for subversive activities. They were then sent to a penal colony. When protests came from the Congress, the British government changed their sentence and dismissed them from the army. Nevertheless, a large number of the Indians who had fought the war against the Japanese returned with new ideas for an independent nation.

These ideas served the nationalist movements that began in parts of South East (Asia).

10.2.3 Political Effects

The existence of the Congress almost ended at the time of the war because it rejected British proposals in the form of Cripps' Mission. On the other hand, the number of members of the Muslim League increased and reached the 2 million mark, since the late 1930s. It was forced to adopt a policy to support the British Government at the time of the war. Its popularity grew in the provincial elections of 1945, when it won 90 per cent of Muslim seats against its 5 per cent win in the 1937 elections. The Congress could not afford to ignore the League any more. After consolidating its position, the League was on the same level as that of the Congress in any negotiation with the British. The League and other Indian groups expected that the British would leave India after the war. However, as this did not happen, the middle class Indian and the army declined to support the British.

10.3 TOWARDS INDEPENDENCE AND PARTITION

The result of so many political events was that many great political leaders jointly tried to pave a final way for the attainment of India's independence.

10.3.1 August Offer, 1940

Meanwhile, a change of government took place in Britain in May 1940 and Winston Churchill became the Prime Minister (1940–1945). The fall of France temporarily softened the attitude of the Congress. Britain was in immediate danger of Nazi occupation. On 1 June 1940, Gandhi wrote, 'We do not seek our independence out of British ruin'. As the war was taking a menacing turn from the allies' point of view, the Congress offered to cooperate in the war effort, if at least a provisional National Government was constituted at the Centre and the right of India to complete independence was acknowledged by Great Britain. The government's response came as a statement from the Viceroy, on 8 August 1940. This was known as the August Offer. It referred to the need to consult representatives of 'several communities' and it was made clear that the British would not transfer responsibilities 'to any system of government' whose authority is directly denied by large and powerful elements in India's national life. This in effect was an approval of one of Jinnah's central demands, since the outbreak of the war. Jinnah was not only the League sole spokesman for India's Muslims, but he also had the League's power to veto any constitutional changes that the League considered detrimental.

Meanwhile, the British government stated that it would welcome the efforts of representative Indians themselves to reach a basis of friendly agreement. They hoped

Check Your Progress

1. Who established the 'Forward Bloc'?
2. The existence of the Congress almost ended at the time of the war because it rejected British proposals in the form of _____.

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that immediate effect would be given to the enlargement of the Central Executive Council by nominating additional Indian members and to the establishment of a War Advisory Council. The War Advisory Council was believed to comprise representatives of British India and the Indian states. The August Offer shocked nationalists and Gandhi at last, sanctioned Civil Disobedience, but of a peculiarly limited and deliberately ineffective kind. The Congress started its individual Satayagraha. The first man to court arrest was Vinobha Bhave, the Bhoodan leader. He was followed by Jawaharlal Nehru, who in November, was sentenced to four years of rigorous imprisonment. Others, such as Vallabhbhai Patel and Maulana Azad also participated in this Satyagraha.

Nearly 20,000 Congressmen courted arrest during the 1940–1941. However, the movement petered out by the autumn of 1941. It was decided that if the government did not arrest a Satyagrahi, he or she would not only repeat the performance but would also move into the villages and start a trek towards Delhi. This marked the beginning of a movement that came to be known as the Delhi Chalo movement. The aims clearly were not to cause any serious embarrassment to the British, but merely to register the presence of the Congress and hostility to a war being waged without consulting Indians. This was also meant to give Linlithgow no opportunity for a major crackdown. At the same time, this movement was also intended to give the British Government further opportunity to peacefully accept the Indian demands.

In February, Chiang Kai-Shek, during his visit to India, publicly expressed sympathy for India's aspirations for freedom. All this provided an opening for relatively pro-India groups, particularly Labour members of War Cabinet like Cripps and Attlee in Britain. These groups persuade the War Cabinet in the first week of March 1942 to agree to a draft declaration that promised post-war dominion status with the right of secession. A constitution-making body was elected by provincial legislatures, with individual provinces being given the right not to join it and with the states being invited to appoint representatives. Cripps proposal also had a clause that invited immediate and effective participation of the leaders of the principal sections of Indians in the national council on urgent issues. However, this clause also insisted that the British, during the war, would have to retain the control and direction of the defence to India. The declaration was not published immediately, but Cripps went to India on March 23 to negotiate on its basis with Indian leaders. Negotiations between Cripps and the Congress leaders broke down. The Congress objected to the provision for Dominion status instead of complete independence, the representation of the princely states in the constituent assembly not by the people of the states but by the nominees of the rulers and above all, by the provision for the partition of India.

The British government also refused to accept the demand for immediate transfer of effective power to Indians and a real share in the responsibility for India's defence of India. Gandhi urged the Working Committee to reject the postdated proposal. The reason for the failure was that Cripps was asked not to go beyond the draft declaration. Moreover, Churchill, the Secretary of State (Amery), the Viceroy (Linlithgow) and the Commander-in-Chief (Wavell), did not want Cripps to succeed and constantly sabotaged his efforts to accommodate Indian opinion. Cripps left behind frustrated and embittered Indian people.

10.3.2 Cripps' Proposal

After Japan attacked Pearl Harbour in December 1941, it was evident that India would be the next target of the Japanese forces. In April 1942, Britain sent Sir Stafford Cripps to India. He came with an offer for all provinces, for complete dominion status with the right to leave the Empire and Commonwealth, after the war. It was also recommended by Cripps that any province that did not wish to join India could turn into an independent state. As the war approached India (Singapore fell on 15 February 1942, Rangoon on 8 March and the Andaman islands on 23 March), the British at last felt obliged to make some gestures to win over India's public opinion. Roosevelt raised the topic of Indian political reforms in his talks with Churchill in Washington, in December 1941. On 2 January, Indian liberal leaders like Sapru and Jayakar appealed for an immediate dominion status and expansion of the Viceroy's executive into a national government.

10.3.3 Quit India Movement

Cripps' proposal was rejected by Nehru and the Congress, who instead demanded a complete cabinet government in which Indians had complete power of decision-making in India. The concept of independence of provinces was against the aim of the Congress to create a strong and united India with central governance. These demands were rejected by the British government. This followed the Congress's decision to support Gandhi's non-violent 'Quit India' campaign. This campaign was declared in August 1942. Independence with immediate effect was Gandhi's demand and this demand was supported by a threat of a movement of mass non-violence (satyagraha). His demand was that the British move out of India, with the exception of the troops that were fighting against Japan. Indian cities began to witness peaceful demonstrations. Later, these demonstrations mostly turned violent. This movement also blocked supplies for the British forces. In these circumstances and a constantly declining support base for the British, Mahatma Gandhi decided to launch a final offensive against the British rule. Thus, the famous Quit India movement began in August 1942. Following were the reasons for the outbreak of the movement:

- There was anger and hostility towards meaningless war, especially when thousands of wounded soldiers returned from the Burmese war.
- Prices of food grains were rising; almost 60-point rise in eastern UP between April and August 1942. There was also shortage of rice and salt.
- The majority of British, American and Australian soldiers stationed in India ill-treated Indians; many of them even raped Indian women.
- The boats of common men, in Bengal and Assam were seized and destroyed, due to the fear of Japanese attack in Bengal and Assam. Gandhi wrote in *Harijan*, 'To deprive people in East Bengal of boats is like cutting off vital limbs' (3 May 1942).
- During the crisis of food grains, Indian markets were controlled by black marketeers and profiteers. This affected the poor most, especially in eastern India.
- The war made some traders and capitalist wealthy, but a large section of *Banias* and *Marwaris* started suffering losses in Malaya and Burma, from mid-1942 onwards. The capitalist element in the Congress Working Committee took notice of it.
- The success story of Japanese in South-East Asian countries demystified the superiority of Europeans, especially the British.

Thus, in mid-1942, the condition in India was that of chaos. Even Gandhi, who was generally patient, was becoming impatient and in a different and militant mood. He urged the British, 'This orderly disciplined anarchy should go and if as a result there is complete lawlessness, I would risk it.' Congress leaders met at Wardha in mid-July to

NOTES

NOTES

discuss the course of action and on 8 August 1942, the Quit India resolution was passed by the Bombay session of the AICC (All India Congress Committee). The leaders made an enthusiastic call for mass struggle on non-violent lines, on the widest possible scale. In his famous 'do or die' speech, Gandhi declared, 'let every Indian consider himself to be a free man. Mere jail going would not do.' Interestingly, Jawaharlal Nehru, Bhulabhai Desai and Rajgopalachari opposed the Quit India resolution. Though Nehru, as always, fell in line and moved the Quit India resolution, which had the following conditions:

- Immediate end to British rule in India. The British were clearly told, 'Quit India'.
- India is committed to defend itself against all types of Fascism and Imperialism.
- A provisional government of India after British withdrawal. Apart from formal resolutions, Gandhi, in an informal way at Gowalia Tank Ground (Bombay), addressed various sections of society:
  - o To the students: Be ready for sacrifice and be confident and leave studies
  - o To the peasants: If zamindars are pro-government, do not pay rent
  - o To the soldiers: Do not open fire on fellow countrymen
  - o To government servants: Do not resign but oppose the government from within
  - o To princes: Support the masses and accept sovereignty of your people
  - o To the people of princely states: Support the ruler only if he is anti-government and declare your state to be a part of the Indian nation

The government took no time in taking decision and arrested most of the leaders on 9 August 1942, including Gandhi. The sudden crackdown of the British gave rise to spontaneous reaction among the people. In this movement, there were no other demands made to the British.

The nationalist leaders simply asked the British to quit India. However, the colonial government retaliated to Gandhi's call of quit India by arresting not only him but all other active members of the Congress Working Committee. People were angry at the arrest of their leaders; masses came out openly on the streets and launched attacks on the colonial government in whatever way they could. With no leaders to show them the way, people resorted to violent methods, attacked, looted and destroyed government property. The government reacted with equal severe measures and blindly killed people in open firing. With the help of large-scale killings and arrests, the British government was finally able to suppress the movement.

By the end of 1943, the number of people arrested was well over 91,000 as per the official figures. While they were successful in suppressing the people, it was becoming increasingly apparent to the British government that it would no longer be possible to hold onto India for very long. Till then, the colonial government had ruled the country with the help of the support system they had established in the country since the 19th century. This system was eroding in the face of the call for freedom and series of struggles launched by nationalist leaders.

It was apparent that without the support of people of different sections, including the peasants, workers, middle classes, rich people, police and army, it would not be possible to keep control over the country. Upon this realization, the British started preparing for a gradual and peaceful withdrawal from India. Beginning 1944, all leaders of the Congress were gradually released from jail. The process to transfer power from the

NOTES

British to Indian hands was also initiated. Finally, India gained independence from the mighty British imperialists in August 1947.

However, this was not an absolute victory. The country suffered a massive blow in the face of partition into two states, India and Pakistan, solely on the religious lines. The partition and independence was accompanied by communal violence at a very large scale. Thus, while the year 1947 is one of triumphs in the form of successful end to the long-drawn struggle for independence, it was also one of a great tragedy for the unity of India as the country.

10.3.4 Demand for Pakistan

Communal politics took a new turn in India, which was marked by propagation of the 'two-nation theory'. This theory stated that India consisted of two separate nations, on the basis of religion: Hindus and Muslims. The 'two-national theory' was considered false in the history of India. During medieval times, a common culture was shared by both, Hindus and Muslims. Both of them had fought for freedom together during and after the Revolt of 1857. Hindus and Muslims together were equally repressed during the national struggle for independence. In 1940, Pakistan was demanded as an independent state at the Lahore session by the Muslim League. The basis of this demand was the two-nation theory. Many Muslims in India did not support this demand.

10.3.5 Role of Indian National Army (INA)

The Indian National Army (INA) was founded by Subhash Chandra Bose in 1942. They sided with the Axis Powers during the Second World War (1939– 1945) with a motive to overthrow the colonial powers from the Indian soil. The INA was also termed as the 'Azad Hind Fauz'. Japanese forces defeated the British in 1941 at Malaya. This incident inspired the Indian populace residing in Southeast Asia. The Indians came together and organized a number of associations based out of South East Asia. Pritam Singh was a leader of such an organization. He, along with Japanese officer, Major Fujihara, requested Mohan Singh to constitute an Indian Army comprising the captured Indian soldiers. Though initially reluctant, Mohan Singh yielded and Fujihara handed over around 40,000 Indian soldiers who had surrendered to him. This paved the way towards the formation of the INA. Singapore, surrendered to the Japanese in February 1942. Revolutionary activist Rash Behari Bose, then residing in Japan arranged an association named Free Indians living in Japan. A conference was held in Bangkok on 15 June 1942, where it was decided upon that a National Indian Army would be constituted. A five member working committee was formed and Rash Behari Bose was made its president. The formation of the INA was formally declared.

In the meantime, Subhash Bose left Calcutta on 17 January 1941 and arrived in Germany after travelling through Afghanistan. In Berlin, he organized an India government in exile and extended support to Germany. He began to broadcast his aims and objectives over Radio Berlin and made contact with Japan. Bose also came in touch with Adolf Hitler, who extended his help to the former. This aroused tremendous enthusiasm in India. Indians in Germany gave him the title of 'Netaji' and the slogan of 'Jai-Hind' was initiated here during this time. Bose arrived in Tokyo in June 1943, and was cordially received by the Hideki Tojo, the Japanese Prime Minister (1941–44). Japan extended their help to India. A huge crowd gathered at Singapore to receive Bose when he arrived there on 2 July 1943. On 4 July Rash Behari Bose resigned and Bose was appointed the president of the Indian Independence Movement in East Asia.

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the leadership of the INA; on 21 October 1943, declared the formation of the Provisional Government of Azad Hind and on the 23rd declared war on Britain and America.

With the INA headquarters now shifted to Rangoon, Bose and his brigade arrived in Rangoon in 1944.

It was decided to keep the Indian detachment as big as a battalion; that it would be commanded by an Indian and the war would continue as per the Joint plan of Action. Meanwhile, the Indians were to fight as a separate unit on selected spots. The battles were to be held at the Kaladan valley of Arakan and Kalam and Haka centre of China hills to the east of Lusai hills. For this purpose, the Subhash Brigade was divided into three battalions. The first contingent captured Paletoa and Doletmai as it advanced across both the banks of Kaladan. Maudak, a British border out-post at a distance of 64 kilometres from Doletmai, was also captured by the battalion a few days later.

Soon after, the army ran short of arms and ammunition. Due to this, many soldiers left the battalion and those who were left were commanded by Surajmal.

Two other battalion, in the meantime, took charge of the Haka-Kalan borderline. It was later decided that INA would take position at Kohima, Nagaland, after the fall of Imphal at Manipur. This was done so as to allow it to enter Bengal after crossing Brahmaputra. Meanwhile, the Gandhi and Azad Brigades also advanced towards Imphal. On March 21, the Prime Minister of Japan announced that those Indian territories which had been freed from the British would be administered under the provisional independent government to be formed by Netaji.

Despite various hazards, including the short supply of food and ammunitions, the INA made advance of 241 kms inside India. A few days after the Japanese PM had made the declaration, the Americans and the British took joint steps to invade into Japan. Thus, the latter was forced to withdraw its support to India. Consequently, the INA also had to make a retreat and when the allied powers recaptured Burma, it was forced to surrender. It was then that a proposal was forwarded by Chakravarthi Rajagopalachari to provide a solution to the political impasse between All India Muslim League and Indian National Congress. This proposal is also known as the C. Rajagopalachari's formula (or C.R. formula or Rajaji formula) and was given on the eve of the Indian independence from the British. However, Gandhi argued that the formula conceded to the core demand of the Muslim League. Gandhi wanted the League to renounce its Lahore Resolution, which he argued was based on the two-nation theory. On the other hand, Mohammad Ali Jinnah opined that Gandhi must accept the demand of the League and accept that Hindus and Muslims were two independent nations.

10.3.6 Wavell Plan and Simla Conference (1945)

After the talks between Gandhi-Jinnah failed, the new viceroy of India called Wavell, who had Lord Linlithglow, was of the opinion that any new initiative should be forwarded by the government. On June 14, 1945, new proposals were put forward in order to make fresh constitutional changes in India within the framework of the 1935 Government of India Act. On June 25, 1945, a conference was organized in Shimla in order to bring the representatives of both the parties on the same table. While the proposals that were put forward were conciliatory, they also proved unsatisfactory and provocative for some others. As per the Viceroy, the Executive Council was to be completely comprised of Indian except for the Viceroy himself and the British Commander-in-Chief.

It was decided that while the special powers of the Viceroy would not lapse officially but they would not be used 'unreasonably'. Such characteristics of the proposals,

NOTES

which were divisive in nature to some extent, were also put on the table at the conference. It was hence decided that both the communities, i.e. the Hindus and the Muslims, would be equally represented in the Council. In other words, the demand of the Muslim League for parity on a communal basis had been officiated through an official declaration of the British policy for the first time. The summoning of the Simla Conference was the concrete outcome to the Wavell Plan.

The Simla Conference started on a note of optimism. Gandhi believed in the sincerity of the Wavell Plan and that it would lead to freedom of the nation. However, Jinnah 'flatly refused to cooperate', as was later reported by Wavell. He felt that the leader of the Muslim League undermined the conference and will continue to do so until it conceded to its terms. One of these demands was that those Muslims who do not belong to the League not be appointed to the Executive Council. However, Abul Kalam Azad, who was the then Congress president, firmly opposed such a demand. He felt that the party would be deceiving its Muslim members if it were to accept the demands of the Muslim League.

However, Wavell refused to go ahead without the approval of Jinnah. When Jinnah refused to cooperate, the viceroy announced that the conference had failed. For many months to come, the Muslim League refused to concede to the common demands of the proposal. Therefore, the struggle of freedom came to be dominated with communal colours. While it was now clear that the British were ready to free India of its clutches, the conflict arose between those who wished to see India as a united and secular state and those who wanted a division on religious lines.

10.3.7 Cabinet Mission Plan (1946)

The aim of the British Cabinet Mission of 1946 to India was to discuss and plan for the transfer of power from the British Raj to Indian leadership. The objective was to provide India with independence under Dominion status in the Commonwealth of Nations. The Mission was formulated at the initiative of Clement Richard Attiee, the Prime Minister of the UK. It comprised of Lord Pethick-Lawrence, the Secretary of State for India; Sir Stafford Cripps, President of the Board of Trade; and A.V. Alexander, the First Lord of the Admiralty. However, Lord Wavell, the Viceroy of India, did not participate.

Background

During the general elections of England, held in 1945, the Labour Party, under the authority of Attlee, routed the Conservatives, under British Conservative politician and statesman, Winston Churchill. Later on, Lord Wavell was summoned to London who informed that Britain had decided to quit India.

Soon after, general elections were also held in India in 1945-46 for provincial assemblies and the legislative assembly at the Centre. In these elections, the Congress won fifty-seven seats in the central legislative assembly, while the Muslim League took over all the thirty seats reserved for the Muslims. In 1937, the Congress had 714 seats in the provinces, while it won 923 seats in 1946.

On the other hand, in 1937, the Muslim League was able to occupy only 109 seats out of the Muslim quota of 492; however, in 1946, it won 425 seats. The British Cabinet Mission, a special mission of cabinet ministers, came to India on 24 March 1946 to enable the nation to gain independence as fast as possible. The Mission was in India for almost five weeks to discuss important issues with significant representatives of Indian states and those of British India.

NOTES

A conference was held on 5 May 1946 at Simla, wherein leaders of the Congress and the Muslim League participated to discuss about:

- Grouping of provinces
- Character of the federal union
- Setting up of a constitution-making machinery

However, the conference was closed due to incompatibility between the Congress and the League. On 16 May 1946, the Mission published a statement, popularly known as the Cabinet Mission Plan, with their recommendations. The important provisions of the Plan are as follows:

1. A federation comprising of both the princely states and British India was to be formed, which should deal with defence, foreign affairs and communications.
2. The federation should comprise of an executive and a legislature.
3. The provinces of British India should be vested with all residuary powers and all subjects, except for the Union subjects.
4. All subjects would be under the princely states except for those surrendered to the Union.
5. Provinces should have the liberty to form groups (sub-federal).
6. A provision should be made in the constitution of the Union, which would allow any province, by a majority vote of its legislative assembly, to necessitate a reconsideration of the terms of the Constitution after an initial period of ten years.
7. A constituent assembly should be formed on the basis of the recently elected provincial legislatures. The assembly should be formed by allotting to each province a total number of seats proportional to its population. Elections should be held by a method of proportional representation with single transferable vote.
8. The administration of the country should be carried out while the Constitution of India was being formulated. An interim government should also be set up which should have the support of major political parties.

10.3.8 Direct Action Day

The League decided that 16 August 1946 would be observed as 'Direct Action Day' throughout the country for the purpose of winning the separate Muslim state. In this tense situation, the viceroy's decision to invite the Congress to form the interim government at the Centre added fuel to the fire. In Calcutta, on 16 August 1946, the League organized public demonstrations and strikes, resulting in clashes and rioting all over the city. The mob fury continued for four consecutive days, after which normalcy was gradually restored. The Bengal government led by the League leader, H.S. Suhrawardy, had declared 16 August a public holiday, which made things worse. Nor did it call the army until the situation became completely out of control.

10.3.9 Attlee's Announcement

It was obvious that something drastic had to be done to break the deadlock. The initiative was taken by Attlee, who on 20 February 1947, announced in Parliament that the government's 'definite intention was to transfer power' into responsible Indian hands by a date not later than June 1948. This historic declaration caught everyone by surprise. It was declared that the British would be pulling out of the country little more than a year

NOTES

hence. The Indian people would have to settle their differences before then. Attlee, on 20 February 1947, announced that the British would withdraw from India by 30 June 1948, and that Lord Mountbatten would replace Wavell.

British powers and obligations vis-à-vis the princely states would lapse with transfer of power but these would not be transferred to any successor government in British India. Partition of the country was implicit in the provision that if the constituent assembly were not fully representative then power would be transferred to more than one Central government. It was hoped that fixing a deadline would shock both parties to come to an agreement. The Muslim League launched civil disobedience in Punjab, which led to the fall of Punjab Chief Minister, Malik Khizar Hayat Khan's ministry.

Jinnah saw victory in sight and made a desperate attempt to secure control over the provinces with Muslim majority. Riots broke out in wild frenzy in Calcutta, Assam, Punjab and North-West Frontier Province. The new Viceroy reached India on 22 March 1947. He had come with instructions to work for a united India; but meetings with leaders of different parties and communities soon convinced him that partition was inevitable. Few people desired the country's dismemberment. Gandhi declared that India would be divided 'over my dead body'. Abul Kalam Azad was vehemently opposed to the creation of Pakistan. But Jinnah was adamant: Muslims must have their own state.

10.3.10 Mountbatten Plan

Mountbatten now set about convincing Congress leaders of the necessity of partition. He made use of two opposite lines of reasoning. On the one hand, he declared that 'the truncated Pakistan, if conceded now, was bound to come back later'; on the other hand, he promised that if India's two unwilling wings were lopped off, a strong and united Centre would be the result. This second argument appealed to Home Minister Sardar Patel, who was already taking into consideration the internal security of the country. Mountbatten overcame Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's objection by an appeal to his democratic instinct. No community, the Viceroy said, should be forced to join a nation against its will. Now, it was time to speak with Gandhi. In a last desperate effort, Gandhi suggested making Jinnah the head of the government of an undivided India. The Muslim leader could select the entire ministry himself. But after their sad experiences in the interim government, Patel and Nehru were unwilling to expose themselves to Jinnah's caprices. Finally, even Gandhi relented. Attlee announced the plan in the House of Commons on 3 June 1947, which came to be known as the 'June 3rd Plan.' The Government's Plan or the Mountbatten Plan dealt with the method by which power will be transferred from British to Indian hands, in particular the methods by which Muslim-majority provinces would choose whether they would remain in India or opt for the 'new entity' that is Pakistan. In Sind and Baluchistan, a straightforward decision would be made by the provincial legislatures. The legislatures of Bengal and Punjab would have to make two choices; first, whether the majority was for joining Pakistan, and, if so, whether the provinces should be partitioned into Muslim and non-Muslim areas. Special arrangements were made to determine the popular will in the North-West Frontier Provinces and in the Muslim majority district of Sylhet in Assam. Boundary commissions would be set up if partition was desired.

The Indian constituent assembly would continue to function but a separate assembly would be convened for areas that chose to become parts of Pakistan. The provincial choices went as expected. Baluchistan, Sind and the North-West Frontier opted for Pakistan. Punjab and Bengal decided for double partition— the provinces would leave

NOTES

India, but their Muslim-minority areas would remain parts of the mother country. Sylhet would join the eastern wing of Pakistan.

Boundary commissions were set up to delineate frontier between Muslim and non-Muslim areas of Punjab and Bengal. The English Chairman of the two tribunals, Sir Cyril Radcliffe, was ultimately requested to make his own award. Not only the land, but also the financial and material assets of India had to be divided. Each of the new nations had to have its own civil services and armed forces. Lord Mountbatten showed considerable 'expedition and dispatch' in bringing about a solution to these and other problems before the deadline expired.

The Indian Independence Act of 1947 gave a legal effect to the June 3rd Plan. The Bill was introduced in the British Parliament on 4 July 1947. It was passed quickly and without amendment, and on 18 July 1947, it received the Royal assent. India had won her freedom but the price had been partition. The Dominion of Pakistan was inaugurated in Karachi on 14 August 1947. At midnight of 15 August 1947, as the clock struck 12, India became free. Nehru proclaimed it to be the nation with his famous 'Tryst with Destiny' speech. On the morning of 15 August 1947, Lord Mountbatten was sworn in as Governor-General and he in turn swore in Jawaharlal Nehru as the first Prime Minister of a free India. The 15 August 1947 dawned, revealing the dual reality of independence and partition. Lakhs of refugees, forced to leave the lands of their forefathers, were pouring into the two new states. The symbol of this tragedy at the moment of national triumph was the forlorn figure of Gandhiji—the man who had given the message of non-violence, truth, love and courage, and manliness to the Indian people. In the midst of national rejoicing, he was touring the hate-torn land of Bengal, trying to bring comfort to people who were even then paying the price of freedom through senseless communal slaughter.

10.4 INDIAN INDEPENDENCE ACT, 1947

The Indian Independence Act declared that the British power over the Indian states would lapse on 15 August 1947. The states were allowed to join either India or Pakistan. Before that date, most of the states had signed the Instrument of Accession by which they agreed to accede to India. But there were some states which thought that in the changed situation, they were entitled to declare their independence.

10.4.1 Independence and Partition

The last two years of British rule were marked by tortuous negotiations between British, Congress and League statesmen. These were increasingly accompanied by communal violence, culminating in freedom accompanied by partition and sporadic, localized but often extremely militant and united mass action—the INA release movement and the RIN mutiny in 1945–1946, the Tebhaga upsurge in Bengal, Punnapra vayalar in Travancore and the Telengana peasant armed revolt in Hyderabad.

In addition, there were numerous agitations, strikes and demonstrations all over the country. The mass pressure, thus generated, helped in bringing about the decisive shift in the British policy. Another important development was the change in the total objective situation worldwide as well as in India. Germany had been destroyed and Japan had surrendered after Hiroshima bombing in August 1945. Socially radical regimes with communist leadership or participation were emerging throughout Eastern Europe

Check Your Progress

3. State one reason for the Quit India Movement.
4. The aim of the _____ was to discuss and plan for the transfer of power from the British Raj to the Indian leadership.
5. The Indian National Army (INA), also known as the _____, was an armed force formed in 1942 by Indian nationalists in South East Asia during World War II.

NOTES

and seemed on the point of doing so even in France and Italy. The Chinese revolution was forging ahead, and a tremendous anti-imperialist wave was sweeping through South-East Asia with Vietnam and Indonesia resisting efforts to restore French and Dutch colonial rule. With a war weary army and people and a ravaged economy, Britain would have had to retreat; the labour victory further quickened the process somewhat.

The partition was to be effected in the following manner. If the members of legislative assemblies of Bengal and Punjab were to decide in favour of partition by a simple majority, a boundary commission, set up by the viceroy, would demarcate the appropriate boundaries. Sind and Baluchistan would decide which constituent assembly to join. In the NWFP, there was to be a referendum to ascertain whether it would join Pakistan or not. The Muslim-majority district of Sylhet was also to decide by referendum whether it would join East Bengal or would remain in Assam. The British Parliament would undertake legislation to transfer power before the end of 1947 to one or two successor authorities on a dominion status basis. This was to be done without any prejudice to the final decision of the constituent assembly on whether to stay in the Commonwealth or not.

The Muslim League accepted the plan within a week and so did the Congress. The Congress had no alternative, according to Abul Kalam Azad, but to accept the plan. It was important to arrest the drift towards anarchy and chaos.

The lesser evil had to be chosen. Partition was better than murder of the hapless citizens. Gandhi, who had till now steadfastly opposed the division of India, also supported the resolution. The task was enormous but time was running out. Punjab and Bengal were divided by two boundary commissions with Sir Cyril Radcliffe as the chairman of both. East Bengal, West Punjab, Sind and Baluchistan opted for Pakistan while West Bengal and East Punjab opted for India. Sylhet threw its lot with Pakistan. In the NWFP, Abdul Gaffar Khan and the Red Shirts demanded an independent Pakhtoonistan. This was found to be unacceptable. The Red Shirts did not participate in the plebiscite, which went in favour of joining Pakistan.

ACTIVITY

Independent India has also been a victim of communalism. Analyse the Godhra Riots in this light.

DID YOU KNOW

The Government of India celebrated the year 2007 as the 150th anniversary of 'India's First War of Independence'. Several books written by Indian authors were released in the anniversary year including Amresh Mishra's '*War of Civilizations*' a controversial history of the Rebellion of 1857, and '*Recalcitrance*' by Anurag Kumar, one of the few novels written in English by an Indian based on the events of 1857.

NOTES

10.5 SUMMARY

In this unit, you have learnt that:

- In 1939, the Viceroy, Lord Linlithgow, made an announcement that India was at war. This was done without consulting the Indian assembly. The Government Act of India calls for the Viceroy to consult the Executive Committee prior to any decision-making, related to defence or external affairs. However, this move caused deterioration in the relations between the Congress and the Muslim League.
- At the time of the Second World War, Subhash Chandra Bose opposed the British. He was a former member of the Congress who was also against Gandhi's strategy of non-violence. He established the 'Forward Bloc', which believed in the practice of militancy to achieve independence. As war began in 1939, Bose affirmed support to the Axis powers (Germany, Italy and Japan).
- After Japan attacked Pearl Harbour in December 1941, it was evident that India would be the next target of the Japanese forces. In April 1942, Britain sent Sir Stafford Cripps to India. He came with an offer for all provinces, for complete Dominion status with the right to leave the Empire and Commonwealth, after the war. It was also recommended by Cripps that any province that did not wish to join India could turn into an independent state.
- Cripps proposal was rejected by Nehru and the Congress, who instead demanded a complete cabinet government in which Indians had complete power of decision-making in India. The concept of independence of provinces was against the aim of the Congress to create a strong and united India with central governance. These demands were rejected by the British Government. This followed the Congress's decision to support Gandhi's non-violent 'Quit India' campaign.
- Communal politics took a new turn in India, which was marked by propagation of the 'two-nation theory'. This theory stated that India consisted of two separate nations, on the basis of religion: Hindus and Muslims.
- The Indian National Army (INA), also known as the Azad Hind Fauj, was an armed force formed in 1942 by Indian nationalists in South East Asia during World War II.
- The Gandhi-Jinnah talks are very important with regard to the political issues of India and the Pakistan Movement. The talks between the two great leaders started in response to the appeal of the general public for a settlement of Hindu-Muslim differences.

10.6 KEY TERMS

- **Imperialism:** A policy of extending a country's power and influence through diplomacy or military force
- **Partition:** The action or state of dividing or being divided into parts
- **Proposal:** A plan or suggestion put forward for consideration or discussion by others

NOTES

10.7 ANSWERS TO 'CHECK YOUR PROGRESS'

1. Subhash Chandra Bose
2. Cripps Mission
3. Prices of food grains were rising up; almost 60-point rise in eastern UP between April and August 1942. There was also shortage of rice and salt.
4. Cabinet Mission Plan
5. Azad Hind Fauj

10.8 QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Short-Answer Questions

1. What was the Cabinet Mission Plan?
2. Briefly state the Mountbatten Plan.
3. What was Atlee's Announcement?
4. What was the significance of Gandhi-Jinnah talks (1944)?

Long-Answer Questions

1. How did World War II impact on the Congress?
2. Discuss the political effects of World War II.
3. Write a short note on Cripps' proposal.
4. What do you understand by Quit India Movement?
5. Explain the role of the Indian National Army.

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M.A. (History)

SECOND YEAR

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HISTORY OF ARUNACHAL PRADESH (EARLY TIMES-1972 AD)

HISTORY OF ARUNACHAL PRADESH (EARLY TIMES-1972 AD)

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About the University

Rajiv Gandhi University (formerly Arunachal University) is a premier institution for higher education in the state of Arunachal Pradesh and has completed twenty-five years of its existence. Late Smt. Indira Gandhi, the then Prime Minister of India, laid the foundation stone of the university on 4th February, 1984 at Rono Hills, where the present campus is located.

Ever since its inception, the university has been trying to achieve excellence and fulfill the objectives as envisaged in the University Act. The university received academic recognition under Section 2(f) from the University Grants Commission on 28th March, 1985 and started functioning from 1st April, 1985. It got financial recognition under section 12-B of the UGC on 25th March, 1994. Since then Rajiv Gandhi University, (then Arunachal University) has carved a niche for itself in the educational scenario of the country following its selection as a University with potential for excellence by a high-level expert committee of the University Grants Commission from among universities in India.

The University was converted into a Central University with effect from 9th April, 2007 as per notification of the Ministry of Human Resource Development, Government of India.

The University is located atop Rono Hills on a picturesque tableland of 302 acres overlooking the river Dikrong. It is 6.5 km from the National Highway 52-A and 25 km from Itanagar, the State capital. The campus is linked with the National Highway by the Dikrong bridge.

The teaching and research programmes of the University are designed with a view to play a positive role in the socio-economic and cultural development of the State. The University offers Undergraduate, Post-graduate, M.Phil and Ph.D. programmes. The Department of Education also offers the B.Ed. programme.

There are fifteen colleges affiliated to the University. The University has been extending educational facilities to students from the neighbouring states, particularly Assam. The strength of students in different departments of the University and in affiliated colleges has been steadily increasing.

The faculty members have been actively engaged in research activities with financial support from UGC and other funding agencies. Since inception, a number of proposals on research projects have been sanctioned by various funding agencies to the University. Various departments have organized numerous seminars, workshops and conferences. Many faculty members have participated in national and international conferences and seminars held within the country and abroad. Eminent scholars and distinguished personalities have visited the University and delivered lectures on various disciplines.

The academic year 2000-2001 was a year of consolidation for the University. The switch over from the annual to the semester system took off smoothly and the performance of the students registered a marked improvement. Various syllabi designed by Boards of Post-graduate Studies (BPGS) have been implemented. VSAT facility installed by the ERNET India, New Delhi under the UGC-Infonet program, provides Internet access.

In spite of infrastructural constraints, the University has been maintaining its academic excellence. The University has strictly adhered to the academic calendar, conducted the examinations and declared the results on time. The students from the University have found placements not only in State and Central Government Services, but also in various institutions, industries and organizations. Many students have emerged successful in the National Eligibility Test (NET).

Since inception, the University has made significant progress in teaching, research, innovations in curriculum development and developing infrastructure.

About IDE

The formal system of higher education in our country is facing the problems of access, limitation of seats, lack of facilities and infrastructure. Academicians from various disciplines opine that it is learning which is more important and not the channel of education. The education through distance mode is an alternative mode of imparting instruction to overcome the problems of access, infrastructure and socio-economic barriers. This will meet the demand for qualitative higher education of millions of people who cannot get admission in the regular system and wish to pursue their education. It also helps interested employed and unemployed men and women to continue with their higher education. Distance education is a distinct approach to impart education to learners who remained away in the space and/or time from the teachers and teaching institutions on account of economic, social and other considerations. Our main aim is to provide higher education opportunities to those who are unable to join regular academic and vocational education programmes in the affiliated colleges of the University and make higher education reach to the doorsteps in rural and geographically remote areas of Arunachal Pradesh in particular and North-eastern part of India in general. In 2008, the Centre for Distance Education has been renamed as "Institute of Distance Education (IDE)."

Continuing the endeavor to expand the learning opportunities for distant learners, IDE has introduced Post Graduate Courses in 5 subjects (Education, English, Hindi, History and Political Science) from the Academic Session 2013-14.

The Institute of Distance Education is housed in the Physical Sciences Faculty Building (first floor) next to the University Library. The University campus is 6 kms from NERIST point on National Highway 52A. The University buses ply to NERIST point regularly.

Outstanding Features of Institute of Distance Education:

(i) At Par with Regular Mode

Eligibility requirements, curricular content, mode of examination and the award of degrees are on par with the colleges affiliated to the Rajiv Gandhi University and the Department(s) of the University.

(ii) Self-Instructional Study Material (SISM)

The students are provided SISM prepared by the Institute and approved by Distance Education Council (DEC), New Delhi. This will be provided at the time of admission at the IDE or its Study Centres. SISM is provided only in English except Hindi subject.

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The course curriculum of every programme involves counselling in the form of personal contact programme of duration of approximately 7-15 days. The CCP shall not be compulsory for BA. However for professional courses and MA the attendance in CCP will be mandatory.

(iv) Field Training and Project

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(v) Medium of Instruction and Examination

The medium of instruction and examination will be English for all the subjects except for those subjects where the learners will need to write in the respective languages.

(vi) Subject/Counselling Coordinators

For developing study material, the IDE appoints subject coordinators from within and outside the University. In order to run the PCCP effectively Counselling Coordinators are engaged from the Departments of the University, The Counselling-Coordinators do necessary coordination for involving resource persons in contact and counselling programme and assignment evaluation. The learners can also contact them for clarifying their difficulties in then respective subjects.

SYLLABI-BOOK MAPPING TABLE

History of Arunachal Pradesh (Early Times-1972 AD)

	Syllabi	Mapping in Book
Unit: I	**Sources** (a) Literary (b) Archaeological (c) Oral Tradition	**Unit 1:** Background to the History of Arunachal Pradesh **(Pages 3-23)**
Unit: II	(a) Geographical setting (b) Pattern of settlement	**Unit 2:** Geographical Setting and Pattern of Settlement **(Pages 25-42)**
Unit: III	**Ahom-Relation with the Tribes of Arunachal Pradesh**	**Unit 3:** Ahom Relations with the Tribes of Arunachal Pradesh **(Pages 43-65)**
Unit: IV	**British Policy** (a) *Posa* (b) Show of force (c) Kotokies (d) Markets (e) Inner Line	**Unit 4:** British Policy **(Pages 67-83)**
Unit: V	**Resistance Movement** (a) Adi (b) Nyishi (c) Aka (d) Khampti (e) Singpho	**Unit 5:** Resistance Movement **(Pages 85-102)**
Unit: VI	**McMahon Line** (a) Factors–Shimla Conference (b) Border Controversy (c) Problems after 1947	**Unit 6:** McMahon Line **(Pages 103-120)**
Unit: VII	**Administrative Growth Colonial Period** (a) Demarcation of NEFT (b) Govt. of India Act 1919 (c) Govt. of India Act 1935 (d) Regulations of 1945	**Unit 7:** Administrative Growth: Colonial Period **(Pages 121-137)**
Unit: VIII	**Administrative Growth: After India's Independence** (a) Birth of NEFA (b) Nehru–Elwin Policy (c) Panchayati Raj (d) Attainment of Union Territory	**Unit 8:** Administrative Growth: After India's Independence **(Pages 139-157)**

Unit: IX **Traditional Economy**
(a) Agriculture and Supplementary Activities
(b) Exchange-Forms and Routes
(c) Production of Utilitarian Items
(d) Pattern of Land Ownership
(e) Impact of the British Rule

Unit 9: Traditional Economy **(Pages 159-178)**

Unit: X **Traditional Religion and Society**
(a) Indigenous Faiths
(b) Buddhism
a) Mahayana
b) Theravada
(c) Social Change: Factors

Unit 10: Traditional Religion and Society **(Pages 179-196)**

CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION **1**

UNIT 1 BACKGROUND TO THE HISTORY OF ARUNACHAL PRADESH **3-23**

1.0 Introduction
1.1 Unit Objectives
1.2 Literary Sources
1.3 Archaeological Sources
1.3.1 Myth and Charm Associated with the Neoliths
1.3.2 Inscriptions
1.4 Oral Traditions
1.5 Summary
1.6 Key Terms
1.7 Answers to 'Check Your Progress'
1.8 Questions and Exercises
1.9 Further Reading

UNIT 2 GEOGRAPHICAL SETTING AND PATTERN OF SETTLEMENT **25-42**

2.0 Introduction
2.1 Unit Objectives
2.2 Geographical Setting of the Tribes
2.3 Pattern of Settlement
2.4 Summary
2.5 Key Terms
2.6 Answers to 'Check Your Progress'
2.7 Questions and Exercises
2.8 Further Reading

UNIT 3 AHOM RELATIONS WITH THE TRIBES OF ARUNACHAL PRADESH **43-65**

3.0 Introduction
3.1 Unit Objectives
3.2 Tribes of Arunachal Pradesh: Nyishi, Adi, Mishimi, Bhutia, Khampti and Akas
3.2.1 Policy of Subjugation (Use of Force)
3.3 Tribe in Arunachal Pradesh
3.3.1 The Akas-Ahom Relations
3.3.2 The Nyishis
3.3.3 The Abors (Adis) and Miris (Mishings)
3.3.4 Mishimis
3.3.5 The Khamptis
3.3.6 The Singphos
3.3.7 Khasis
3.3.8 Jaintias
3.3.9 Kacharis
3.4 Summary
3.5 Key Terms
3.6 Answers to 'Check Your Progress'
3.7 Questions and Exercises
3.8 Further Reading

UNIT 4 BRITISH POLICY 67-83

4.0 Introduction
4.1 Unit Objectives
4.2 *Posa* System
4.3 Show of Force
4.4 Katokies
4.5 Markets
4.6 Inner Line
4.7 Summary
4.8 Key Terms
4.9 Answers to 'Check Your Progress'
4.10 Questions and Exercises
4.11 Further Reading

UNIT 5 RESISTANCE MOVEMENT 85-102

5.0 Introduction
5.1 Unit Objectives
5.2 Historiography of Colonial Expansion in Arunachal Pradesh
5.3 Adi/Abors: Expeditions of 1894 and 1911
5.4 Nyishis: Relations with Adis and the British
5.5 Akas and the British
5.6 Khampti Relations with the British
5.7 Singpho–British Relations
5.8 Summary
5.9 Key Terms
5.10 Answers to 'Check Your Progress'
5.11 Questions and Exercises
5.12 Further Reading

UNIT 6 McMAHON LINE 103-120

6.0 Introduction
6.1 Unit Objectives
6.2 Factors and Events Leading to Recognition of the McMahon Line
  6.2.1 The Inner Line Regulation of 1873
  6.2.2 The Outer Line
  6.2.3 The Simla Conference (1913)
6.3 Border Controversy
6.4 Problems After 1947
6.5 Summary
6.6 Key Terms
6.7 Answers to 'Check Your Progress'
6.8 Questions and Exercises
6.9 Further Reading

UNIT 7 ADMINISTRATIVE GROWTH: COLONIAL PERIOD 121-137

7.0 Introduction
7.1 Unit Objectives
7.2 Demarcation of North-East Frontier Tract (NEFT)
  7.2.1 Hopkinson's Proposals
  7.2.2 Division of Frontier in Three Tracts
7.3 Government of India Act, 1919
7.4 Government of India Act, 1935
7.5 Regulation Act of 1945
7.6 Summary
7.7 Key Terms
7.8 Answers to 'Check Your Progress'
7.9 Questions and Exercises
7.10 Further Reading

UNIT 8 ADMINISTRATIVE GROWTH: AFTER INDIA'S INDEPENDENCE 139-157

8.0 Introduction
8.1 Unit Objectives
8.2 Birth of NEFA
  8.2.1 Bardoloi Committee
  8.2.2 Nehru–Elwin Policy
8.3 Panchayati Raj
  8.3.1 Estimate of Dying Ering Commission
  8.3.2 Panchayati Raj Regulation
  8.3.3 Critique of the Panchayati Raj
8.4 Formation of Union Territory
8.5 Summary
8.6 Key Terms
8.7 Answers to 'Check Your Progress'
8.8 Questions and Exercises
8.9 Further Reading

UNIT 9 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY 159-178

9.0 Introduction
9.1 Unit Objectives
9.2 Agriculture and Supplementary Economy
  9.2.1 Sedentary Cultivation
  9.2.2 Mixed Agriculture
  9.2.3 Hunting, Fishing and Trapping
9.3 Exchange – Forms and Routes
9.4 Production of Utilitarian Items
  9.4.1 Weaving
  9.4.2 Cane and Bamboo Work
  9.4.3 Smithy
  9.4.4 Pottery
  9.4.5 Wood Carving and Carpentry
  9.4.6 Miscellaneous Handicrafts
9.5 Pattern of Land Ownership
9.6 Impact of the British Rule
  9.6.1 Post-colonial Economic Conditions
9.7 Summary
9.8 Key Terms
9.9 Answers to 'Check Your Progress'
9.10 Questions and Exercises
9.11 Further Reading

UNIT 10 TRADITIONAL RELIGION AND SOCIETY 179-196

10.0 Introduction
10.1 Unit Objectives
10.2 Indigenous Faiths
10.3 Buddhism
  10.3.1 Mahayana
  10.3.2 Theravada
10.4 Factors of Social Change
10.5 Summary
10.6 Key Terms
10.7 Answers to 'Check Your Progress'
10.8 Questions and Exercises
10.9 Further Reading

INTRODUCTION

NOTES

On 15th August, 1947, when India became an independent nation, North East Frontier Agency commonly known as NEFA became an integral part of the Union of India. It was administrated by the Ministry of External Affairs with the Governor of Assam acting as agent to the President of India. The administrative head was the advisor to the governor.

In 1972, the NEFA became a Union Territory when Indira Gandhi was the prime minister and acquired the name of Arunachal Pradesh. After three years, in 1975, it acquired a legislature. And finally, on 20th February 1987 statehood was conferred on Arunachal Pradesh when Rajiv Gandhi was the prime minister and it became the 25th state of the Union of India.

Area-wise, Arunachal Pradesh is the largest state of the North-East region of India. It forms a complex hill system of Shivalik and Himalayan origin and is criss-crossed by numerous rivers and streams. The state shares a total of 1630 kms of international boundary with neighbouring countries; 1030 kms with China, 160 kms with Bhutan and 440 kms with Burma (Myammar). The McMahon line defines the international boundary between India and China. Administratively, the state is divided into fifteen districts. The capital is Itanagar in Papum Pare district. Itanagar is named after Ita Fort meaning fort of bricks, built in 14th century AD.

This book is divided into ten units:

Unit 1: Describes different sources dealing with the history of Arunachal Pradesh.

Unit 2: Describes the geographical setting of Arunachal Pradesh.

Unit 3: Discusses the relationship of the Ahom relations with the tribes of Arunachal Pradesh.

Unit 4: Covers British Policy as implemented in Arunachal Pradesh.

Unit 5: Introduces you to resistance movements that took place in Arunachal Pradesh.

Unit 6: Describes the significance of the McMahon Line.

Unit 7: Discusses the administrative growth that took place during the colonial period.

Unit 8: Discusses administrative growth that took place in Arunachal Pradesh after independence.

Unit 9: Familiarizes you with their traditional economy.

Unit 10: Covers traditional religion and society.

This book – *History of Arunachal Pradesh (Early Times-1972 AD)*—has been designed keeping in mind the self-instruction mode (SIM) format and follows a simple pattern, wherein each unit of the book begins with the **Introduction** followed by the **Unit Objectives** for the topic. The content is then presented in a simple and easy-to-understand manner, and is interspersed with **'Check Your Progress'** questions to reinforce the student's understanding of the topic. A list of **Questions and Exercises** is also provided at the end of each unit. The **Summary**, **Key Terms** and Activity further act as useful tools for students and are meant for effective recapitulation of the text.

UNIT 1 BACKGROUND TO THE HISTORY OF ARUNACHAL PRADESH

Structure

1.0 Introduction
1.1 Unit Objectives
1.2 Literary Sources
1.3 Archaeological Sources
  1.3.1 Myth and Charm Associated with the Neoliths
  1.3.2 Inscriptions
1.4 Oral Traditions
1.5 Summary
1.6 Key Terms
1.7 Answers to 'Check Your Progress'
1.8 Questions and Exercises
1.9 Further Reading

1.0 INTRODUCTION

Arthur Marwick in his book *The New Nature of History* (Palgrave, Hampshire, 2001, p. xiii) explains history as the 'production of bodies of knowledge about the past' and 'a collective enterprise'. He further explains that the exercise of writing history should be based on 'evidence'. Sources can be the evidence. These are generally classified into two types, primary sources and secondary sources. 'Primary sources are the sources which came into existence within the period being investigated'. This can be tested from the earliest period of history. For studying the beginning of the civilization and culture, one has to start with the Stone Age and subsequently proceed towards the Metal Age (finally Iron Age). Secondary sources include modern literature in the form of books and articles based on primary sources.

For the historical reconstruction of Arunachal Pradesh, the following broad types of sources have to be consulted and utilized:

- Literary sources (primary and secondary)
- Archaeological sources
- Oral traditions
- Oral history

One obviously cannot give a final judgement regarding the relative relevance of these sources. To reconstruct the historical account of Arunachal Pradesh, all of them are relatively important and, in fact, should be treated as complementary and supplementary to one another. Facts collected from one source should be corroborated by the evidence of other sources. Such an approach of handling sources in reconstructing history will help one to differentiate between history and 'fiction'. Imaginary, motivated and biased views, if tested by evidence and analysed on scientific and secular lines, will not hold as 'reliable historical truths'. Author of *Slavery in Arunachal Pradesh*, Amrendra Kumar Thakur suggests, 'Studies made

on such [secular and scientific] model(s) could alone present a comprehensive and balanced picture of the historical past of Arunachal Pradesh.'

1.1 UNIT OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to:

- Discuss the literary sources related to the history of Arunachal Pradesh
- Describe the archaeological sources concerning the history of Arunachal Pradesh
- Explain the oral tradition associated with the history of Arunachal Pradesh

1.2 LITERARY SOURCES

Before the discussion on the availability of literary sources for the reconstruction of the historical past of Arunachal Pradesh, it is important to mention in brief the two important works dealing with the sources of the history of Northeast India and Arunachal Pradesh. The book *North-East India Interpreting the Sources of its History* (*op.cit.*), edited by R. Bezbaruah, P. Goswami and D. Banerjee, is a collection of twenty-eight articles, out of which two articles (S. Dutta's and Amrendra Kr Thakur's) deal exclusively with Arunachal Pradesh. The other book *Sources of the History of Arunachal Pradesh* (Gyan, New Delhi, 2008), edited by S. Dutta and B. Tripathy, is a collection of twenty-four articles and all these articles cover the gamut of variety of sources and cover almost entire Arunachal Pradesh. Besides these, the *District Gazetteers of Arunachal Pradesh* and *History of Arunachal Pradesh* (Bani Mandir Publication, Pasighat, fifth ed. 2012), by Dr. D. Pandey, also provides a discussion, however brief, on sources of Arunachal Pradesh, including the literary sources. The article by Amrendra Kr Thakur, 'Reassessing Researches into History of North East India', in T. Mibang and M. C. Behera (eds.), *Tribal Studies Emerging Frontiers of Knowledge* (New Delhi, Mittal Publications, 2007, pp. 93-120) provides a detailed critique of the researches on the history of the region including Arunachal Pradesh. In addition to these works, the articles published in the *Proceedings of the North East India History Association* are also another very important source of the history of Arunachal Pradesh. The subsequent discussion on literary sources is largely based upon these works.

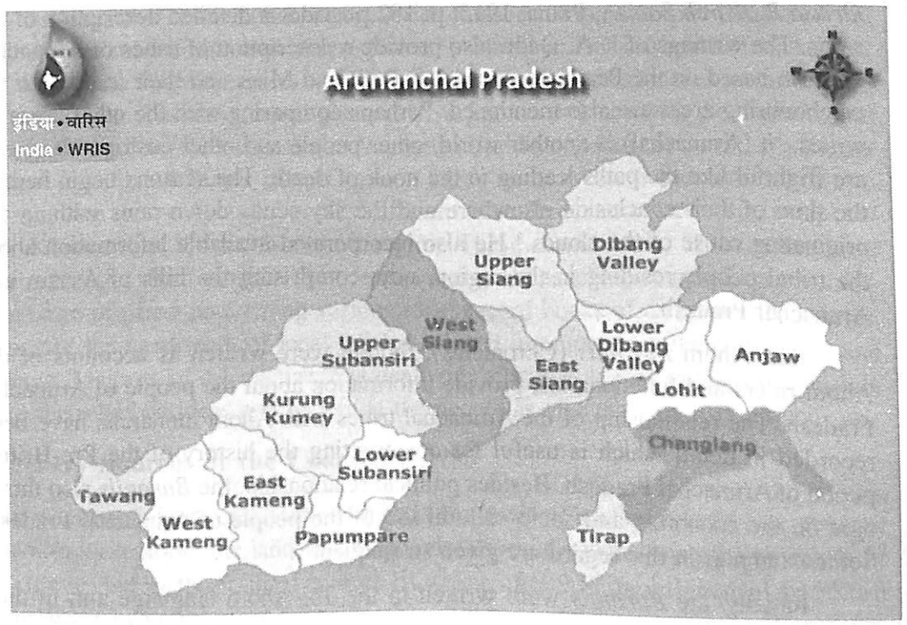
Literary sources, for the convenience of our study, may broadly be divided into: (a) ancient and medieval periods; (b) colonial period; and (c) post-Independence, post-Chinese aggression period.

Origin of Arunachal Pradesh

According to the Indian mythology, the region of modern Arunachal Pradesh was known as ancient Vidarbha. The existence of this area was mentioned in the Puranas. The historical records are available from 16th century onwards, when Ahom kings started ruling over Assam. The historical evidence indicates that not only was the area well-known, but also the people living here had close relations with the rest of the country. From the extensive ruins it can be presumed that the whole of the north bank of river Brahmaputra, upto the foothills, was inhabited by the people who were advanced politically, culturally and in various other aspects. Modern History, in Arunachal Pradesh, begins with the inception of British rule in Assam after the treaty of Yandaboo concluded on the 24th February 1826. British, who made their way into the region and by 1838 had established a semblance of their rule here. Then this place was known as North East Frontier Agency (NEFA). In 1914 there was a treaty, called Shimla treaty, between China, Tibet and British rulers, under which the Tibetans and Chinese recognized the boundary between Tibet and NEFA. Before 1962, Arunachal Pradesh was constitutionally a part of Assam. Because of its strategic importance, however, it was administered by the Ministry of External Affairs and subsequently by the Ministry of Home Affairs through the Governor of Assam. Gradually, the region was separated from the Governor of Assam's control and placed under a Chief Commissioner, later a Lt. Governor, was created into a Union Territory. On February 20th 1987, Arunachal Pradesh became a full-fledged state of India as the policy of giving the tribal regions their separate identity, as parts of India, had by then become national policy.

Literary Sources of Ancient and Medieval Periods

Starting from the earliest phase of Indian literary history, there are implied references to the non-Aryan autochtones like the Nishadas and Kiratas, and their settlements. Many of these accounts from the nature of their hints and description may well be construed as related to the areas and people currently representing Arunachal Pradesh and its inhabitants. The early and later Vedic literature, because of distance and lesser contact of the Aryans with this area, only vaguely mentioned this region. In course of time, however, because of eastward migration of the Aryans, greater knowledge about this area and people have been reflected in the *Mahabharata,* the *Ramayana,* the *Puranas* and the *Tantras* in the *Vishnu Purana,* the *Kalika Purana* and the *Yogini Tantra.* The 'Sabhaparva' of the *Mahabharata* refers to Bhagadatta, the king of Pragjyotisa in ancient Assam, with his Cina and Kirata soldiers, who supported the Kauravas in the battle of Mahabharata. Suniti Kumar Chatterji believes that the north-Assam tribes including the Adis of Arunachal Pradesh may be identified with the Kiratas.



The *Kalika Purana* and the *Yogini Tantra* also refer to the Kiratas. The mention of Parasuram Kund in the *Kalika Purana* as a sacred place is very important. The reference of the Kund in the *Yogini Tantra* is also very important. It says that a bath in the Kund washes away all sins. These two texts of medieval Assam also mention the Tameshwari temple in the Sadiya area of Arunachal Pradesh's foot hills. Thus, we can say that designated as the Kiratas, the people of Arunachal Pradesh are known in Brahmanical literature as the Kiratas.

Other works of both indigenous and foreign origin occasionally reveal awareness about this region. Early foreign accounts of the Indian subcontinent like those contained in the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* and Ptolemy's *Geography* (2nd century AD) are often found to incorporate references to the land of the Kiratas and the trade that was carried on with China. From Pliny's *Natural History* (1st century AD) we can easily make out that the people of Tibeto-Burman stock occupied this side of the Himalayas. The mention of the people such as the Syrites, Mandai, the Ornulae, Coribae and the Abali is important for the historical reconstruction of the region. Among them the Omulae and the Abali are identified as the Akas and Adis of Arunachal Pradesh, respectively. In Ptolemy's *Geography*, the list of tribes mentions the Aminakhai, which is identified as the Apatanis. River Sobanas is also mentioned which is identified as Subansire and Dihong as the Brahmaputra. Some of the hills mentioned by Ptolemy have been identified by Taylor as various hills of the present Arunachal Pradesh. In Hiuen Tsang's account (7th century AD) an idea is given of the hilly region east of Bhaskarvarman's kingdom (Assam). It was full of folks living amidst forests infested with venomous snakes, and herbs and extended till the border of China.

Muhammad Kasim, a Muslim historian, in his account states that in the days of Aurangzeb, the Nyishis (Dafalas) were entirely independent of the Assam Raja and plundered the country contiguous to their mountains whenever they found an opportunity. Shihabuddin Talish, who accompanied Mirjumla during his expedition to Assam (1662 – 63), left a detailed narrative on Assam. The portion translated by J. N. Sarkar of *Fathiyya-I-Ibbriyya,* and published in the *Journal of Bihar and Orissa Research Society,* Patna, 1915, p. 182 provides a detailed description of the same. The writings of F. A. Qadri also provide a description of tribes of Arunachal Pradesh based on the Persian sources. Mishmis and Miris and their trade with the neighbouring areas are also mentioned. Perhaps comparing with the other areas he writes, 'it (Arunachal) is another world, other people and other customs. Its roads are frightful like the paths leading to the nook of death. The seasons begin here at the time of their conclusion elsewhere and the sky sends down rains without the originating cause of the clouds.' He also incorporated available information about the tribal people residing in the region, now comprising the hills of Assam and Arunachal Pradesh.

The Ahom *Buranjis* (Chronicles), though were written as accounts of the Ahom rulers and functionaries, provide information about the people of Arunachal Pradesh. The relationship of the Arunachal tribes with Ahom monarchs have been recorded in detail which is useful for constructing the history of the Pre-British period of Arunachal Pradesh. Besides political relationship, the *Buranjis* also throw light on the economic and socio-cultural life of the people of Arunachal Pradesh. Some examples in this regard are given subsequently.

Initially, the *Buranjis* were written in the Tai-Ahom language and in their own script. However, from the seventeenth century onwards, the *Buranjis* were

also written in Assamese language in the *Bengali script*. They are full of information of various happenings that took place from the early thirteenth century to the early nineteenth century. J. N. Phukan, an authority on Ahom history, in his article 'Ahom Documents and their importance as Source of History of Arunachal Pradesh' (S. Dutt & B. Tripathy, *op.cit.*) rightly writes that the information about Arunachal Pradesh or its people appears in the Ahom documents only in connection with the activities of the people of Arunachal Pradesh having bearing on the Ahom kingdom. Therefore, such information or accounts of Arunachal Pradesh are by no means systematic and complete. Nonetheless, being the first hand accounts and in absence of any other written account the *Buranjis* are an important source for the history of Arunachal Pradesh. Some important *Buranji*s are *Ahom Buranji, Deodhai Assam Buranji, Satsari Assam Buranji,* and *Purani Assam Buranji, Assam Buranji* found in Srijeet Sukumar Mahanta's family. *Harkant Barua's Assam Buranji* and *Naobaich Phukan's Assam Buranji inform* us about the relations of Ahom rulers with that of tribes of Arunachal Pradesh. The reign of Pratap Singha can be mentioned here when the Adis like the Akas, Nyishis and the Miris were given some villages in the plains whose inhabitants had to cultivate paddy for their masters. The *Buranji*s also mention the right to collect posa given by the Ahom rulers to the tribes of Arunachal Pradesh. D. Pandey also provides us some examples of the references of the *Buranji*s containing information about the people of Arunachal Pradesh. He writes that the *Jayantia Buranji* gives an account of the participation of the Nyishis in the Jayantia expedition. The Ahom-Mishmis relations can be studied from various *Buranji*s.

The Vaisnava literature of medieval Assam contains references about the people of Arunachal Pradesh. The *Katha Gurucharita,* a biographical work of the medieval Vaisnava Saint of Assam (later part of the 18th century), gives an exhaustive list of communities of Assam and the neighbouring areas. The list includes the Akas, Sherdukpens, Miris, Nyishis and other tribes of Arunachal Pradesh. *Sri Sri Aniruddhadevar Charita aru Mayamara Gosain Sakalar Vamsawali* (1933) discusses the participation of Nyishi and Nyishi-Bahatias alongwith the Mataks against the Ahom rule in the Moamaria Rebellion.

Arunachal Pradesh has, again, a rich treasure of manuscripts. Illustrated and illuminated manuscripts containing painted portraits of Buddha and different forms of the popular Buddhist goddess Tara demonstrate artistic zeal as well as the sources of inspiration. The themes and portrayals vary in accordance with the difference of origin. Thus, the Tibetan version of Vajrayana Buddhist manuscripts, viz., the Kanjur (*Bkah hgyur*) and Tanjur (*Bstan hgyur*), found in the western and northern fringes of the state shows art-motifs totally different from the Kammavacha manuscripts of the Khamptis of the south-eastern region. These manuscripts, in the main, have been brought from outside. But certain texts, almanacs, accounts, books for the guidance of priest performing various rites, record books of different monasteries, etc., are the handiwork of local inhabitants and immigrants in their new land and refuge. Majority of the manuscripts deal with religious themes giving us an insight into the religious ideas and beliefs of the people as also the world of religious art.

Literary Sources of the Colonial Period

The commercial interests of the British in the areas of northeast India had attracted them to write about the land and its people, especially concerning the prospects of trade even before the political control. However, after the establishment of the British supremacy in Assam in the first part of the 19th century a large number of Europeans

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started writing. The accounts and reports of civil and military officers, Christian, Brahmo and other missionaries, anthropologists and indigenous as well as outsider scholars started writing about the people of the region including Arunachal Pradesh. By the beginning of the seventies of the 19th century, the economy of Assam had become promising and trade and industry had made a good start. Tea, petroleum, coal, rubber and timber became flourishing industries and items of business. As all the districts of Assam bordered on some hills inhabited by the tribes, further growth and consequent profit of the industries greatly depended upon the administration's capacity to maintain law and order in the foothill areas. The tribes on the other hand, driven or restricted into the hills by British commercial interest in the foothills, sometimes had to fall upon the plains to draw their supplies, which they did traditionally. So, there was a need for the British to regulate a hill-plain relationship. For this they needed intimate knowledge of the tribes and their land.

Amalendu Guha in his 'Presidential Address' to the *Proceedings of the North East India History Association*, 2nd Session, Dibrugarh, 1981, rightly mentions that the British administrators, travellers and explorers left behind systematic accounts of the tribes they studied. Their studies, however, were the results of politico-economic needs of the colonial state which reflected the 19th century outlook of these ethnographers with an unchanging attitude for the oriental societies in general and the societies of this region in particular 'with a view to projecting the British rule as the legitimate agency of progress.' Actually, the term 'isolation' was used to create a hill–plain dichotomy and to negate the symbiosis that existed between the habitats of the hills and plains for centuries during the pre-colonial period. The resultant monographs and studies followed a set standard pattern in which the tribes were depicted as 'isolates', 'ignorant', 'savages', 'uncivilized', 'culturally backward' and 'belligerents'. Similarly, by using the term 'savage' the tribes were depicted as the fossilized segments of humanity around whom the colonial construct of 'wanton aggression and impulsive behaviour' could be foisted. Works like Edward Gait's *A History of Assam* and P. R. T. Gurdon's *The Khasis* started the trend of writing about life and condition of people in the historical perspective. The people of Arunachal Pradesh, through colonial writings, have been the 'victims of negative writing' and subjected to 'dangerous generalisation'. Amrendra Kr Thakur has extensively analysed the nature and value of the sources of the British period in his articles.

Despite these limitations, the writings of the British period are an important source of history. Some of them may be mentioned here:

- Bucanon Hamilton (Francis): *An Account of Assam* (1807 – 1814)
- R.B. Pemberton, *Report on the Eastern Frontier of British India* (1835)
- Montgomery Martin, *The History, Antiquities, Topography and Statistics of Eastern India* (1836)
- John M'Cosh, *Topography of Assam* (1837)
- L.A. Waddell, *Tribes of the Brahmaputra Valley* (1837)
- William Robinson, *A Descriptive Account of Assam* (1837)
- E.T. Dalton, *Description Ethnology of Bengal* (1979), now printed with title *Tribal History of Eastern India*
- H.H. Rishly, *The Tribes and Castes of Bengal* (1872)

- W.W. Hunter, *A Statistical Account of Assam* (1979)
- J.F. Michell, *Report on the North East Frontier of India* (1883)
- Alexander Mackenzie, *The North East Frontier of India* (1884)
- E.A. Gait, *A History of Assam* (1905)
- L.W. Shakespeare, *History of Upper Assam, Upper Burma and the North East Frontier* (1914)
- R.S. Kennedy, *Ethnographical Report on the Akas, Kwowas and the Mijis and the Mambas of Tawang*
- B.C. Allen and E.A. Gait, *Gazetteers of Bengal and North East India*
- Dorothy Woodman, *Himalayan Frontier*
- C.U. Aitchison, *A Collection of Treaties, Engagements and Sanads*
- G.A. Grierson, *Linguistic Survey of India*
- R. Reid, *History of the Frontier Areas Bordering on Assam from 1883 – 1941; Reports on the Administration of North East India* (1912 – 22), etc.

Apart from these works, various unpublished works like Political Proceedings, Secret Proceedings, Judicial and Revenue Proceedings, Official Correspondences, Census Reports, Military Reports concerning this area of the British period serve as primary sources for the study of the territory of Arunachal Pradesh. These unpublished documents can be studied in the National Archives, New Delhi; India Office Library and Records, London; West Bengal Government Archives, Kolkata; the Library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal and the National Library, Kolkata; Assam Secretariat Record Office, Itanagar Archive, etc.

Literary Sources of the Post-colonial Era

Even after Independence, Indian scholars inherited not only the method of writing history from the British but also the topics and subjects of writings. The dominant trends of colonial historiography in relation to the tribes living in this frontier region or elsewhere in India took time for a perceptible change. Even till the 1970s, such an attitude was clearly manifested in the historiography of this region.

The post-colonial writings on the area require some reference here. Dr. Verrier Elwin's *A Philosophy of NEFA* (1957), the foreword of which was written by none other than Jawaharlal Nehru, is still considered as a classic on Arunachal Pradesh. His other important works on the state are: *Myths of the North East Frontier of India* (1998); *Democracy in NEFA* (1965) and *The Art of the North East Frontier* (1959). H.K. Barpujari's *Problems of the Hill Tribes of North East Frontier*, is of immense importance to understand the history of Arunachal Pradesh. S.K. Bhuyan's *Anglo-Assamese Relations* (1949, Second Edition, 1974) and Laxmi Devi's *Ahom Tribal Relations* (1968) have made considerable contributions in the understanding of the relationship of the different tribes of Arunachal Pradesh with the Ahom rulers and the people of Assam.

Other works on the state are: Christoph von Fürer-Haimendorf, *Ethnographic Notes on the Tribes of the Subansiri Region* (1947); *Himalayan Barbery* (1955); *The Apa Tanis and their Neighbours* (1962); G. Graham Bower's, *Hidden Land* (1953); N.K. Rustomji's, *Tribal Administration in the North East Frontier Agency* (1955); B.K. Roy Burman's, *Demographic and Socio-Economic Profiles of the Hills Areas of NEFA* (1961); B.C. Chakravarti's, *British Relations with the Hill Tribes of*

Assam since 1858 (1964); J.N. Choudhury's, *Arunachal Panorama* (1973); S.M. Dubey's, *Modernization and Elites in Arunachal Pradesh* (1975); D.P. Choudhury's, *The North East Frontier of India 1865* – 1914 (1978); L.N. Chakaravarti's, *Glimpses of Early History of Arunachal Pradesh* (1979); M.L. Bose's, *British Policy in the North East Frontier-Agency* (1979); and *History of Arunachal Pradesh* (1997); Y.A. Raikar and S. Chatterjee's, *Archaeology in Arunachal Pradesh;* Subid Chatterjee's, *Comprehensive History of Arunachal Pradesh* (1991); Sachin Roy's, *Aspects of Padam-Minyong Culture;* S. Dutta's, *Students Movements in Arunachal Pradesh* (1998).

The recent books from scholars from among the tribes of Arunachal Pradesh have thrown light on the history and culture of the region, which may be considered as insiders' scientific views on different aspects of the history and culture of Arunachal Pradesh. Noted among them are T. Nyori's, *The History and Culture of the Adis* (New Delhi, 1993); T. Mibang's, *The Social Changes among the Tribes of Arunachal Pradesh* (New Delhi, 1995); N.N. Osik's, *The Anglo-Adi Relations* (1995).

The Directorate of Research of the Government of Arunachal Pradesh has taken a lead in bringing out various books, booklets and pamphlets on different tribes of the state and their culture, religion and language. This was the result of efforts of a group of dedicated Research Officers and Directors of the Department. In this regard, the ethnographic works on various tribes along with the research papers published in the last thirty six volumes of the *Resarun*, the journal of the Research Department of Government of Arunachal Pradesh is very important. Besides, the other publications of the Government of Arunachal Pradesh containing historically important articles in *NEFA Information, Arunachal News* and *Arunachal Review* are also very useful for the study of the history of Arunachal Pradesh.

1.3 ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOURCES

To find out the archaeological remains of Arunachal Pradesh some individuals as well as the Department of Research of the Government of Arunachal Pradesh have been making very sincere efforts. Now after the publication of the book by Tage Tada, J. C. Dutta and Nabajit Deori, *Archaeological Heritage of Arunachal Pradesh: Discoveries from 1991-2011* (Directorate of Research, Government of Arunachal Pradesh, Itanagar, 2012) a significant progress can be witnessed in this field of knowledge of Arunachal Pradesh. Prior to this, the books by Y. A. Raikar and S. Chatterjee, *Archaeology of Arunachal Pradesh* (Shillong, 1980) and L. N. Chakravarty, *Glimpses of Early History of Arunachal* (Shillong, 1989) besides a number of minor publications have highlighted this field. The artefacts along with the Neoliths have been recorded by B.P. Bopardikar in his report of first ever scientific exploration in the Daphabhum area of Lohit district in 1969–70. SN Rao of Dibrugarh University detected some objects which seem to be Palaeolithic in the Kamlang Valley of Lohit district in 1971. Y.A. Raikar of the Research Department of the Govt. of Arunachal Pradesh discovered chips of semi-precious stones from Vijayanagar of Tirap district in 1971, which he considered to be relics of Microlithic culture. These reports appear to be significant in the background of discoveries of Stone Age relics from the adjoining regions of Assam, Meghalaya and other parts of north-east India.

Check Your Progress

1. Name three *buranjis*.
2. The _____, a biographical work of a medieval Vaisnava Saint of Assam (later part of the 18th century), gives an exhaustive list of communities of Assam and the neighbouring areas.
3. Name two literary sources of the post-colonial era in relation to the history of Arunachal Pradesh.

The exploration in the different parts of the Kurung and Kamla valleys between 1982 and 1984, under the leadership of A.A. Ashraf led to the discovery of a number of prehistoric artefacts, of which some are quite rare and unique in the Indian pre-history. The whole area covers about 200 sq km from Palin towards north-west up to Damin in the Nyishi area. The first stone tool – a chipped cum polished Neolithic axe has been picked up from an eroded land-mass near the Sangram Inspection Bungalow. It may be mentioned that the tool was quite fresh without having any rolling affect. All these confirm that the tool might have found its way into this locality through a Neolithic folk who had stamped their presence even if they had not settled over it. It may be fairly said that the exploration at Sangram brought into light the missing thread of Nyishi pottery whose origin could be traced into the Neolithic past. It is in the Tamch village near Sangram where the traditional art of making pottery still continues and is found striking akin to the Neolithic potsherds encountered during excavation at Parsi-Parlo.

Some features of 'non-movable' evidences of human activities were found during the Parsi-Parlo excavation. These are the fireplace, soil colour difference, stratigraphic irregularities and other evidences of cultural origin. The nature of the deposition was similar in both the items, which consists of burnt-soil (pinkish), ash and charcoals. The thickness of the deposition was around 8 cm. No stone structure in or around the fire-circle has been found to designate it as hearth. From the character it appears that these were used as open fireplace, presumably, to get relief from severe cold and directly roast food. The pottery from Parsin-Parlo in lower Subansiri district from stratified deposits reveal its affinity with Chinese and South-East Asian pottery. We have no direct proof of an Iron or Copper Age culture in Arunachal. The technology behind the manufacture of certain Neolithic tools, however, is thought to be involved in the use of metal implements and thus A.H. Dani believes that the Neoliths themselves were perhaps products of the *Chalcolithic Age.*

The systematic archaeological exploration in and around Itanagar commenced in the Sampu-Pachin and Papom-Poma areas of the south western flank of Itanagar and continued to the Doimukh. No stone artefacts could be recognized except for a hand axe from a rivulet which runs north-south, about 30m beneath the south-western gate of Itafort. However, from the right bank of the river Simpu, a beautiful stone artefact, typo-technologically belonging to the Middle Palaeolithic Industry has been discovered during exploration. The tool had been lying exposed over a bog. This tool is a definite clue to spell the existence of early man into the locality. This region might have played a vital role in fixing the chronology of the Stone Age culture of the prehistoric man as it promises to yield fossilized fauna in the context of prehistoric culture. During exploration of the Papom-Poma area only a Neolithic Celt and a chopper were discovered. Two small but very interesting natural rock-shelters have been found along the left bank of Poma.

A large number of neoliths have so far been collected almost from all parts of Arunachal Pradesh. The details of the same are discussed as follows:

1. In 1870, E.H. Steel noticed a few neoliths made of jade in the villages of the 'Namsang Nagas' i.e. Noctes of Tirap district.
2. By the end of the 19th century, Capt. Gregony found one curvilinear rounded butt axe from Mishmi Hills. It is now in the Pitt Rivers Museum, Oxford.

NOTES

3. By 1917, Healy of Geological Survey of India collected one curvilinear facetted tool made of streaked and mottled jadeite. Though the actual find spot has not been recorded, typologically it appears to have come from the Sadiya Frontier Zone. It is now in the Pitt Rivers Museum.
4. About 1925-26, R.D. Banerji noticed in Padam Abar (Adi) Village.
5. In 1933, J.P. Mills found one curvilinear facetted tool and three rounded butt axe from Ningry, north of Nao Dihing river in Tirap district. These are now in Pitt Rivers Museum, Oxford.
6. In 1935, J.H. Crace collected from Sadiya Frontier Zone three facetted tools, three rounded butt axe and two miscellaneous long implements, one made of gneiss and another of jadeite. The last one found from Ningry, north of Noa Dihing river. These are now in Pitt Rivers Museum, Oxford.
7. In 1937, J.P. Mills found a rounded butt axe from Tigra (Minyong) Abar (Adi) hills. It is now in Pitt Rivers Museum, Oxford.
8. One more curvilinear facetted tool made of dolerite and a rounded butt axe made of gneiss found from Sadiya Frontier Zone have been preserved in Pitt Rivers Museum, Oxford.
9. Between 1962-64, N. Sarkar noticed two triangular and two shouldered axes in possession of villagers in Singpho and Aka areas. Apart from these, he collected three chisels, ten complete axes and four broken pieces of axes from different parts of Arunachal Pradesh.
10. One polished chisel found from Bokar area in Siang by 1960 was in District Museum, Along. It was later transferred to the Central Museum, Shillong.
11. In 1968, M.C. Goswami of Guahati University collected three Neolithic Celts from Rupa in Kameng district. (Now in the collection of Anthropology Department, Gauhati University).
12. In 1969-70, in the excavation at Bhishmaknagar, Y.A. Raikar found four neoliths but without stratigraphic context. Three were triangular ground axes and one was a bar type polished broken celt. These are now in the Central Museum, Shillong.
13. In 1969-70, B.P. Bopardikar found, in course of an expedition in Daphabum area of Lohit district, the following artefacts: one unificial and one bifacial choppers from Alubari near Chowkham; a broad rectangular flake with one side serrated near Chamba; a few cleavers, ovates and one neolith (chisel) from Kale; a proto-hand axe, a few cores, flakes and points from around Teehum; one ovate, cleaver, scraper, flakes and neoliths (a shouldered and a triangular splayed axes) near Glow; stone age tools including a side scraper near Chakhro; one unificial chopper and a flake from Tawling near Hayuliang.
14. In 1971, Y.A. Raikar collected chips of semi-precious stones like chalcedony, jasper, etc. from Vijaynagar. (This indicates the possibility of getting more microliths in the valley of the Dyun, i.e. Noa Dihing river).

15. In 1979, D.K. Duarah reported three Neolithic Celts found from Damin circle of Subansiri district. Two of these are ground axes and one is a working part of an axe.

NOTES

1.3.1 Myth and Charm Associated with the Neoliths

By and large, though the archaeological monuments have been neglected by the people, the Neolithic Celts apart from antiquarian values have generated varied interest in the local populace. The details of the myths have been highlighted by A.A. Ashraf ('Archaeological Remains and Further Prospects in Arunachal Pradesh', *Puratattva*, 28, 1997-98, pp. 64-76), Prabasu Sahu ('Neolithic Celt: Object of Charm for the Nishis of Arunachal Pradesh,' *Puratattva,* 31, 2000-2001, pp. 153-154) and Amrendra Kr Thakur ('Pre-Historic Archaeological Remains of Arunachal Pradesh and Peoples' Perception: An Overview', *Proceedings of Indian History* Congress, 65th session, Delhi, 2005, pp. 1185-96). The Nyishis consider themselves as descendants of a common ancestor Abo-Tani and believe in malevolent and benevolent spirits, the former exceeding the latter numerically. Hence, we find a number of beliefs woven around many objects and beings. The Celts are among them.

It is not only the neolithic discoveries that are important in the history of Arunachal Pradesh but the megaliths are also important. Earlier, only one megalith was found in the Jamiri village of West Kameng district; now from the book of *Tage* Tada and others (op. cit.) it is clear that new finds have been there from the Sherdukpen and Nocte areas.

Naksaparvat

Naksaparvat is situated on the left bank of the river Borgong. The occupations cover an area of about 3 hectares of land, respectively. It comes under the Sijusha Circle of the East Kameng District of Arunachal Pradesh. The Narsaparvat area comprises two main features – the foothills of the Himalayas and the plains of the Brahmaputra in north-west and south-east, respectively. The details of the same have been published in the form of a book by D. K. Bora, A. A. Ashraf and J. C. Dutta (Medieval Life of Naksaparvat, Itanagar, 1997). The upper settlements are distinguished by the presence of fortifications and elaborate structure. The lower settlement exhibits no distinct planning and could be traced back only by the presence of ordinary earthen plinth. An area covers about ten square metres in which heavy concentration of charcoal and iron slugs were found. It undoubtedly indicates the activities of blacksmiths. A huge quantity of objects in the form of nails, pegs, clamps, etc. found to have been used in building construction at Naksaparvat indicates that it is undoubtedly from these workshops that materials were supplied.

Forts

The two Bhismaknagar and Rukmininagar forts usually represent the first Aryan kingdom of the extreme east of India, which extended to the plains between the Dibang and the Lohit rivers, as early as tenth century A.D. In the thirteenth century, it came under the Sootiyas and passed on to the Ahoms in the sixteenth century. The excavated evidence has shown that apart from classical fort architecture they knew wheel–turned pottery, terracotta art, and advanced metallurgy.

Rukmininagar

The fort exists at the foot of Mishmi hills in the Lower Dibang Valley of the Lohit district. Very little is known of Rukmininagar (Rukmini Nati). But a hill fort extended over the two present Idu villages Chidu and Chimri north of Roing. The remains at Chidu have been completely washed away after the earthquake of 1950. Those at Chimri were excavated during 1973–74 and ruins of two brick rooms (10 m × 20.25 m and 12 m × 10.25 m) were brought to light. Brick ruins were located at different places in this hilly area. They are locally known by the Idus as Rukmini Nati – meaning bricks of Rukmini (others call Rukmininagar). The bricks and pottery at these sites are identical with those found at Bhismaknagar. The evidence confirms that a large fort of the same period existed in the hills.

Bhismaknagar

The fortress of Bhismaknagar, 24 km east of Roing, is built on a flat piece of land, jutted out towards the south, from the northern hills. It appears like a table land but is actually a gradual slope that silently merges into the plains below. In the north, the mountain wall provides natural defenses from three other sides, an earthen rampant (average height 4.5 m and width 6 m) runs for about 5 km in length, though broken in between. The fortress has an elongated semi–circular shape, extending over an area of about 10 sq. km.

The Glory of Bhismaknagar

Bhismaknagar is a sacred heritage of the Idu Mishmis who inhabit the Dibang Valley. A faith very fundamental to the tribe is that Rukmini, the consort of Lord Krishna, belongs to their community and Bhismaknagar was the home of her father. Thus, for generations they have venerated the monument as a mark of their union with the Lord. These forts have a special place in the oral traditions of the people. Copper plate grants of Indrapala, ruler of Pragjyotisha, state that a kingdom existed towards Parasuramkund. This kingdom could be no other than that of Bhismaknagar. If the dynasty was ruling in the second quarter of the eleventh century, obviously it must have existed much before that, which archaeological evidence supports.

The Mud Fort near Tezu

This fort falls on the Sadiya–Tezu road, 6 km before Tezu. On both its inner and outer sides run two ditches about 6 m wide, which are protected by smaller bunds (1.22 m high) on their either sides. On the whole, there is a high degree of technical accuracy in the construction of the fort. At the very first sight, the mound appears to be manmade. Pot shreds could be noticed on it, and that was the evidence of the site being historical.

The Ita Fort is one of the five historical forts known in Arunachal Pradesh. Starting from west to east the other historical forts are: Bhalukpung (West Kameng district), Ita Fort (Papum Pare district or in the capital town), Rukmininagar, Bhismaknagar and Mud Fort (Lohit district). All these need to be appreciated from the right historical perspective and geographic contexts. They are strategic spots, thoughtfully selected and intelligently fortified for defense, according to the needs of these times. The defense devices are partly natural and partly man-made. They were best suited for the nature of the terrain and warfare in those days. Essentially, they were hideouts concealed from the enemy's sight. Obviously, they were no

grand structures. The local geographical setting, proper position of vantage, adequate water supply, sufficient cultivable land to support the small population inside, secret routes for escape, the expected direction of enemy's attack, and the line of communication with the Brahmaputra valley have been major considerations in building these forts. They were vulnerable before a large-scale aggression. But no major invasion, as such, was expected in this remote hilly and forested terrain, and therefore, the forts were best suited for the purpose of their builders.

Bhalukpong

In relation to the study of Bhalukpong fort, a very pathetic scene emerges on account of the non-existence of remains today. It is shocking to see that a road (connecting three districts of Arunachal Pradesh with Assam) passes through the fort complex and its bricks are used for other construction purposes. And, the entire area was levelled mainly for the construction of the government buildings and also for the private purposes. As reported, the fort was situated on a hillock 300 ft. high at the debouch point of the Kameng or Bhareli river. It was certainly on the trade route connecting Tibet and Bengal. Three sides were surrounded by a brick wall and on the fourth side the fortifications carried across to an adjoining hillock that sloped gradually to the plain. Hewn stone remains of plinths within the ramparts and a steep paved with stones leading to the eastern face of the hills also existed.

Malinithan

Situated on a 60-metre-high hillock overlooking the plains of Brahmaputra, Malinathan is one of the important archaeological centres of north east India. It is situated on the Along-Sillapathar road. Malinithan was a cultural cynosure of India in the north-east in the remote past. More than 100 interesting discoveries mostly of stone were located. These included images of gods and goddesses, different animals, iron pins and clamps used in place of cement and mortar and few pieces of potteries. Yaksas in dancing postures, figurines, sculptured panels, animal motifs of bull, lion, elephant, etc. were the important finds at Malinithan. The most impressive find, however, was a life – size bull (Nandi bull) found seated on a platform near a smaller temple; it is indeed a rare work of art. There were figures of bearded sages, bearded gatekeeper (Dwarapala) and decorative lions. The interesting point to note with regard to the ruins found in this place is that these are entirely made of stone whereas at other sites in Arunachal Pradesh so far excavated all the ruins are of brick and there is practically no trace of the use of stone except at Naksaparvat discussed earlier.

Like a number of sacred places in Arunachal Pradesh and Assam, Malinithan is also associated with the Krishnan legend. Traditionally it is believed that Krishna and Rukmini, daughter of King Bhismaka, rested here on their way to Dwaraka from Bhismaknagar. They were received by Siva and his consort Durga (Parvati) as guests and offered garlands of choicest flowers by the latter. At this, Krishna, in praise, addressed her as Malini (Mistress of the Garden) and from then the place came to be known as Malinithan or Malinisthan – the abode of Malini. The Goddess is popularly called 'Pupane' – the Adi version of Divine Mother. A striking feature of the remains at Malinithan is the frequent occurrences of Maithuna figures in various postures. These erotic sculptures are no doubt the survivals through Tantricism of the fertility cult of the primitive tribal society upholding the mother principal as the procreative power of nature.

Tamreswari

Unlike an elaborate and magnificent temple complex at Malinithan, we have another centre of temple in Arunachal Pradesh about which very little is known. It is the Tamreswari temple and the Sivalinga in the plains of the Lohit district. Before archaeologists could study much about the former, it got hidden under an inaccessible marshy land full of *akra.* It so happened because of the deposit of silt in the river especially after 1959. The Sivalinga site, being on a mound, somehow survives. Hence, for the reconstruction of the Tamreswari temple we have to fully depend upon the literature available on it. The inscription found from the site is very useful in this regard. The roof of the Tamreswari temple was originally sheeted with copper, from which the name is derived. In 1848, when Dalton visited the site, he found the stone structure but the copper roof was already removed. According to the inscription at the site, the compound wall was constructed in 1441 AD. It certainly indicates that the temple was built long ago to it. Here we have definite epigraphic evidence, the only of its kind, in Arunachal Pradesh. The other epigraphic evidences from the area of Buddhist influence are yet to be deciphered for historical reconstruction.

Brahma Kunda and Parasuram Kunda

From the *Kalika Puran* we learn that Rishi Jamadagni sent his wife Renuka to fetch water from the Ganges for his bath, but she made some delay in coming back. As a result, Jamadagni became very angry and asked his eldest son to kill Renuka. He refused to do it and so did the other three sons. Then the fifth son Parasuram, being asked by his father severed the head of his mother but as a result of the crime the handle of the axe got stuck to his hand. However, his father was pleased with him for carrying out his order and asked him to pray for a boon. Parasuram first prayed for bringing his mother back to life and then enquired how to get rid of the crime for killing his mother. The Rishi told him to visit the holy place. Parasuram acted accordingly and ultimately came to the 'Brahma Kunda' in present Lohit district. There he made a passage for the water of the Kunda to come out by digging the bank of the Brahma Kunda. Then he bathed there and the axe dropped out of his hand and came to be known as the 'Parasuram Kunda'. This 'Kunda' disappeared as a result of the earthquake of 1950 but the Government has revived it and every year a mela is held there when people from various parts of the country go there to take their bath in the Kundas.

Buddhist Cultures

The discussion on the archaeological sources in relation to the history of Arunachal Pradesh will remain incomplete without a discussion on the archaeological remains influenced by Buddhism. Such types of monuments are mainly centred in the western and eastern parts of Arunachal Pradesh. However, the two bear some differences in features, style, etc. It is so because the Western part – Tawang and West Kameng districts (the Monpas and the Sherdukpens) has the influence of Mahayana (in fact Vajrayana) features and on the other hand the eastern part of Lohit and Changlang districts (the Khamptis and the Singphos) is influenced by Hinayana. Apart from this, the establishment of the political control of the Deo Abott over Tawang and subsequently to the other areas significantly contributed to the rise and growth of Buddhism in this area which has bearing upon the archaeological remains of the area.

Tawang Monastery

The celestial paradise of the side chosen by a horse (*ta* means horse and *wang* means chosen or blessings), popularly known as the Tawang Monastery, was founded by Lodre Gyatso nicknamed as Mera Lama. He was a contemporary of the Fifth Dalai Lama (Nagwang Lobjang Gyatso), who gave him the mandate to establish the Monastery. It was constructed in 1680 – 81. In its life the building of *Dukhang (Du* means to assemble and *khang* means building) the main assembly hall or the main building housing the temple of the complex, has already been renovated five times. These renovations were necessitated mainly due to the decay of the wooden structure. Besides this reconstruction, the worn-out paintings, idols and mandalas have also been renovated. Thus, design was developed as a synthesis of the modern structural system and constructional technology with the features of traditional Buddhist art and architecture. All these were efficiently executed with trained artists of Buddhist art and architecture.

This Monastery is the largest of its kind in the country. It has a capacity for housing five to seven hundred Lamas. This Monastery provides spiritual leadership to the followers of the Gelungpa sect of Mahayana School of Buddhism and controls 17 Gonpas in this region. The sacred books are kept on pigeon-holed racks on the altar as well as on the northern sides of the hall. The library contains two printed sets of *Tanjur,* three sets of *Kanjur* and five volumes of *Changia Sungbum.* Each set of *Tanjur* contains 225 volumes. Among the three sets of *Kanjur*, two sets are hand written.

At Gorcham in the Zimithang Circle stands one of the largest Buddhist chortens in Asia. Built in stone and mud plaster, it has a base of 120 ft. square and a height of about hundred feet. It took twelve years to build and is said to be earlier than the Tawang Gompa. The monument is yet to be studied from the architectural point of view. A number of other gonpas, chortens, etc. exist in this area but a survey of the monuments more than a hundred years old is still awaited. Apart from the chortens, the Dzong constructions at Dirang and other places are important for the historical reconstruction of Arunachal Pradesh. The Maneis around the Monpa villages are also important historical sources.

Vijayanagar Stupa or Khamong

The Buddhist monuments with the influence of the Hinayana School can be seen in the Khampti and Singpho areas of the Lohit and Changlang districts of Arunachal Pradesh, where the influence of Burma and Thailand is visible. The most important and probably the only one surviving site under the category is Vijayanagar in the easternmost corner of India, surrounded by the Burmese territory on three of its sides. A *stupa* was excavated there in 1971. It had an octagonal platform (2.44 meters each side) with relief designs, and the central tumulus being a campaniform super – structure, almost destroyed. Originally, it could be about eight metres in height. The area is full of burial mounds. Archaelogists have confirmed that the valley was inhabited by advanced Buddhist people like the Khamptis and Singphos at least since the middle of the 18th century and that it was called Khomong.

1.3.2 Inscriptions

The inscriptions in Arunachal Pradesh are very short and fragmentary. Hence, these cannot be treated as independent source materials for history. Nevertheless, the

intrinsic merit of epigraphic records compels the students of history of the region to fall back on them for verification and corroboration of information gathered from other sources. Viewed in this light, the few short inscriptions found so far from within the boundaries of Arunachal Pradesh also are of some importance. The earliest inscription discovered here till now is the *Paya Tamresvari (Dikkaravasini) Temple Inscription of Muktadharmanara yana* dated Saka 1364 (i.e. 1442 A.D.) published by Dr. D.C. Sircar. It was found inside the temple situated in the Lohit district. The inscriptions are written in Sanskrit and Bengali–Assamese script of the 15th century A.D. It records the construction of a boundary wall of bricks around the temple of Dekkaravasini by Muktadharmanarayana, son of Vrddharaja.

1.4 ORAL TRADITIONS

In the book *Slavery in Arunachal Pradesh* (Mittal Publications, New Delhi, 2003, pp. 10-21) Amrendra Kr Thakur provides an 'Analysis of Sources'. He shows the importance of various sources in the historical reconstruction of Arunachal Pradesh. He is of the view that though the use of oral data was discouraged by traditional historians, initially, in serious historical studies, in the context of Arunachal Pradesh they can be utilized for proper contextual setting. The critics of oral sources in historical writings have doubted the authenticity of the same on many counts. They are of the view that oral source is mainly concerned with 'tangential issues', 'it looked into the irrelevance of the small scale', 'memory is notoriously unreliable and untrustworthy', and 'the form (of oral history) is not fixed, the chronology is frequently imprecise, the communication may frequently be unsupported' etc. Notwithstanding these shortcomings, oral sources are quite useful for the historical reconstruction of Arunachal Pradesh because in Arunachal there is practically no native writing. In this regard, myths of genesis, family histories, proverbs etc. can provide significant insider's view of the continuity and change in various social, economic, political and cultural institutions of Arunachal Pradesh. The other dimension of the oral source is very bright. It is said that the oral data have given voice in a humble way to those who are voiceless in the documentary records. Here oral source is to correct and comprehend other sources and perspective just as much as literary sources correct and comprehend it. The following writings are considered to be the pioneers in this regard. P. Thompson's *The Voice of the Past: Oral History* (Oxford, 1978); J. Vansina's *Oral Tradition as History* (Madison, 1985); D. Henige's *The Chronology of Oral Tradition: Quest for a Chimera* (Oxford, 1974). When we try to differentiate the oral tradition and the oral history, it is clear that the oral traditions take us 'back far beyond the living memory' where as the oral history is largely the 'oral testimony' or 'personal recollections'. Arthur Marwick (op.cit., p. 24) also discusses the same and is of the view that Traces of past exist too in the memories, traditions and ceremonies that are relayed from generation to generation. Much, of course, of what is preserved, celebrated, and passed on across ages may have only a tenuous relationship to the past as it really happened; much of it may well be 'myth' or 'fable'. Thus, the myths prevalent in societies become the part of traditions and shape the course of history.

Myths and legends represent quite an interesting and important source for the preparation of the history of Arunachal Pradesh. Paucity of written literature, documents and other material-remains invest them with additional significance for having direct access into tribal mind and tradition. Every village and community of

Check Your Progress

4. Name an important archaeological centre in north east India.
5. Tawang and West Kameng districts (the Monpas and the Sherdukpens) have the influence of _____ school.
6. The Tawang monastery is the largest of its kind in India. (True/False)

the state has a rich heritage of such legends regarding its ancestors, origin, migration, etc. which exist mainly in the form of oral tradition. British administrators and anthropologists have collected many of these. Folktales of Assam occasionally furnish helpful corroborative and supplementary material. It would, therefore, not be an exaggeration to state that the history of Arunachal Pradesh is mixed with legends, folklore, folk songs and traditional accounts.

Oral traditions nowadays are universally accepted as one of the necessary complementary sources for recreating or reconstructing the past. T. Tomba Singh, in his article 'Folk History and Historiography,' (*North East India History Association* (NEIHA), Proceeding Volume, 11th Imphal Session, 1990, p 28) writes that 'If history is the mother of truth, folklore happens to be the mother of emancipation and reconstruction.' T. Mibang, in a well-written paper 'Interpreting History through Ponung,' (S. Dutta (ed.), *History, Culture and Economy of Arunachal Pradesh,* New Delhi, 1998, pp. 31-34), has echoed a similar view in these words, 'Oral information becomes the only reliable source in areas where the documentary evidences are inadequate and especially for a society like Arunachal whose history is yet to be written. Ponung (folk dance accompanied with songs of the Adi tribe) reflects the simple sun, the moon and the creation of the universe…' There may be certain fictitious plots in the tale of amuse and entertain the listeners. But then here certainly the genesis of Adi cultural life is referred to. It remains an account of the past connecting the missing link in our history. Verrier Elwin's book *Myth of the North East Frontier of India* (Shillong, 1958) and B. B. Pandey's (ed.) *Oral Literature of Arunachal Pradesh: Creation of Universe*, (Itanagar, 1999) acquaints us with various myths of the tribal which are of great importance for the study of social history of the area.

The Adis, Galos, Mishmis, Nyishis and other tribes have strong belief in the Sun, Moon and heavenly bodies. The Mikirs regard the Sun and Moon as divine, but do not specially propitiate them. In the case of Arunachal Pradesh we find comparatively little attention paid to these as deities. In the eastern areas or Buddhist areas, there is a strong cult of the great luminaries right through the central mountains, in the Lohit, Siang and Subansiri regions and in Eastern Kameng. The Adis of the Siang Valley, for example, visualize their life on earth as surrounded by a great company of good and evil spirits, above whom rises the majestic figure of the Sun-Moon, Donyi-Polo. Donyi-Polo is not indeed the Creator or the Prime Mover of creation. That dignity belongs to the enigmatic Kayum, the Great Mother, whose character and activity are shrouded in the mists of antiquity, who is not worshipped, who does not intervene in human life and who is rarely remembered except in the great genealogical songs of the Miris. From Kayum descended a line of beings down to Peddong-Nane, the living rock from whom Wiyus, men and animals were born. Donyi-Polo emerged rather late in the scheme of things. The Sun-Moon was created after the Wiyus and, according to some tradition, later even than mankind. However, in the contemporary period, the Donyi-Polo is the nearest approximation to a Supreme Deity known to the northern Adis and to some extent to the Abo-Tani groups as a whole. He reigns unchallenged in the heavens; he is the 'eye of the world'; he is as important to man as the eye is to the body. He watches everything; he is the witness; he shows men the way to go; he protects them; he shows them mercy. Above all, he is the lord of truth, and an oath taken on his name is the most binding of all.

Verrier Elwin in his book *Myth of the North East Frontier of India* (*op.cit. pp.* 103-107) also provides us with various popular myths about the origin of the first man. In the initial phase of the origin of man–woman or nature as a whole there does not seem to have been any real distinction between men, animal and spirit. A woman gives birth to twins, of whom one is human and the other is a tiger; animals talk and also often behave like men; of two brothers, one is the father of mankind and the other the father of the spirits. However, it is possible to sort out certain main traditions. In one, man is described as born of the union of Earth and Sky; in another, men come directly down from the heavens; in a third, men and women are made by a divine being as an artist would model clay. In a fourth tradition, human beings emerge out of the ground or, more commonly from a gourd or even the tusk of an elephant.' Among some tribes there is a tradition that the original race of men was destroyed by fire and flood, and the world was repopulated, either from a surviving human couple or by the direct creation of a new race.

Oral sources, however, have their limitations like subjectivity, personal biases and exaggeration. While using these sources, one should be careful to check and verify the facts in corroboration with other sources before arriving at any conclusion. In spite of its limitations, oral sources are a valuable supplementary source for an imaginative reconstruction of the past, especially for filling the gaps in our information. Though an initiative in this respect has been taken by scholars like Sachin Roy, T. Nyori, T. Mibang and others, much more is yet to be done in this field to set right some distortions even made by some current scholars.

ACTIVITY

Make a collage depicting the political scenario of Arunachal Pradesh over the last 10 years.

1.5 SUMMARY

In this unit, you have learnt that:

- The book *North-East India, Interpreting the Sources of its History* (*op.cit.*), edited by R. Bezbaruah, P. Goswami and D. Banerjee, is a collection of twenty-eight articles out of which two articles (S. Dutta's and Amrendra Kr Thakur's) deal exclusively with Arunachal Pradesh. The other book *Sources of the History of Arunachal Pradesh* (Gyan, New Delhi, 2008), edited by S. Dutta and B. Tripathy, is a collection of twenty-four articles and all these articles cover the whole gamut of variety of sources and cover almost whole Arunachal Pradesh.
- Starting from the earliest phase of Indian literary history, there are implied references to the non-Aryan autochthons like the Nishadas, Kiratas, etc. and their settlements. Many of these accounts from the nature of their hints and description may well be construed as related to the areas and people currently representing the region called Arunachal Pradesh and its inhabitants.
- The Ahom *Buranjis* (Chronicles), though were written as accounts of the Ahom rulers and functionaries, provide information about the people of Arunachal Pradesh. The relationship of the Arunachal tribes with Ahom monarchs have been recorded in detail which is useful for constructing the history of the Pre-British period of Arunachal Pradesh.
- The Vaisnava literature of medieval Assam contains references about the people of Arunachal Pradesh. The *Katha Gurucharita,* a biographical work of a medieval Vaisnava Saint of Assam (later part of the 18th century), gives an exhaustive list of the communities of Assam and the neighbouring areas.
- Even after Independence, Indian scholars inherited not only the method of writing history from the British but also the topic and subjects of writing. The dominant trends of colonial historiography mentioned above about the tribes living in this frontier region or elsewhere in India took time for a perceptible change. Even till the 1970s, such an attitude was clearly manifested in the historiography of this region.
- The details of the myths have been highlighted by A.A. Ashraf ('Archaeological Remains and Further Prospects in Arunachal Pradesh', *Puratattva*, 28, 1997-98, pp. 64-76), Prabasu Sahu ('Neolithic Celt: Object of Charm for the Nishis of Arunachal Pradesh,' *Puratattva,* 31, 2000-2001, pp. 153-154) and Amrendra Kr Thakur ('Pre-Historic Archaeological Remains of Arunachal Pradesh and Peoples' Perception: An Overview', *Proceedings of Indian History* Congress, 65th session, Delhi, 2005, pp. 1185-96).
- The discussion on the archaeological sources of the history of Arunachal Pradesh will remain incomplete without a discussion on the archaeological remains influenced with Buddhism. Such types of monuments are mainly centred in the western and eastern parts of Arunachal Pradesh. However, the two bear some differences in features, style, etc. It is so because the Western part – Tawang and West Kameng districts (the Monpas and the Sherdukpens)— has the influence of Mahayana (in fact Vajrayana) features and on the other hand the eastern part of Lohit and Changlang districts (the Khamptis and the Singphos) has influences of Hinayana.
- The celestial paradise of the side chosen by horse (*ta* means horse and *wang* means chosen or blessings), popularly known as the Tawang Monastery, was founded by Lodre Gyatso nicknamed as Mera Lama. He was a contemporary of the Fifth Dalai Lama (Nagwang Lobjang Gyatso), who gave him the mandate to establish the Monastery. It was constructed in 1680 – 81.
- In the book *Slavery in Arunachal Pradesh* (Mittal Publications, New Delhi, 2003, pp. 10-21) Amrendra Kr Thakur provides an 'Analysis of Sources'. He shows the importance of various sources in the historical reconstruction of Arunachal Pradesh. He is of the view that though the use of oral data was discouraged by traditional historians, initially, in serious historical studies, in the context of Arunachal Pradesh they can be utilized for a proper contextual setting.
- Myths and legends represent quite an interesting and important source for the preparation of the history of Arunachal Pradesh. Paucity of written literature, documents and other material-remains invest them with additional significance for having direct access into tribal minds and tradition. Every village and community of the state has a rich heritage of such legends regarding its ancestors, origin, and migration which exist mainly in the form of oral tradition.

Check Your Progress

7. Myths and legends represent important sources for the preparation of the history of Arunachal Pradesh. (True/False)
8. Verrier Elwin's book _____ acquaints us with various myths of the tribals which are of great importance for the study of the social history of the area.
9. What are the limitations of oral sources?

1.6 KEY TERMS

- **Archaeological:** Related to, dealing with or devoted to archaeology that implies the study of human history and prehistory through the excavation of sites and the analysis of artefacts.
- **Microlith:** A tiny stone tool, often of geometric shape, made from a bladelet and mounted singly or in series as the working part of a composite tool or weapon, especially during late Upper Paleolithic and Mesolithic times.
- **Oral tradition:** A community's cultural and historical traditions passed down by word of mouth or example from one generation to another without written instruction.
- **Vedic Literature:** Any of the most ancient sacred writings of Hinduism written in early Sanskrit; traditionally believed to comprise the Samhitas, the Brahmanas, the Aranyakas, and the Upanishads.
- **Autochthon:** They are the earliest known inhabitants of a place, aborigines

1.7 ANSWERS TO 'CHECK YOUR PROGRESS'

1. Three *Buranjis* are as follows:
   (i) Ahom Buranji
   (ii) Deodhai Assam Buranji
   (iii) Satsari Assam Buranji
2. Katha Gurucharita
3. *Myths of the North East Frontier of India* (1998) and *The Art of the North East Frontier* (1959) are two literary sources of the post-colonial era..
4. Malinathan is one of the important archacological centres of North East India
5. Mahayana
6. True
7. True
8. *Myths of the North East Frontier of India*
9. Oral sources have their limitations such as subjectivity, personal biases and exaggeration.

1.8 QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Short-Answer Questions

1. What are the Ahom *Buranjis*?
2. The Narsaparvat area comprises two main features—what are they?
3. State the importance of Malinithan.
4. Briefly talk about the Tawang monastery.

5. Why can the inscriptions in Arunachal Pradesh not be used as independent source materials for history?

Long-Answer Questions

1. Discuss the literary sources of ancient and medieval periods related to the history of Arunachal Pradesh.
2. With reference to the history of Arunachal Pradesh, what were the literary sources of the colonial period?
3. What are the archaeological sources of the history of Arunachal Pradesh?
4. Write a short note on the Bhismaknagar and Rukmininagar forts.
5. Discuss the oral tradition as a source of information of the history of Arunachal Pradesh.

1.9 FURTHER READING

Bose, Manilal. 1997. *History of Arunachal Pradesh*. Concept Publishing Company. Delhi.

UNIT 2 GEOGRAPHICAL SETTING AND PATTERN OF SETTLEMENT

Structure

2.0 Introduction
2.1 Unit Objectives
2.2 Geographical Setting of the Tribes
2.3 Pattern of Settlement
2.4 Summary
2.5 Key Terms
2.6 Answers to 'Check Your Progress'
2.7 Questions and Exercises
2.8 Further Reading

2.0 INTRODUCTION

The necessity of colonial administration made the bureaucrats undertake intensive study of the life and culture of the people of Arunachal Pradesh. However, to the colonial rulers, the alien subject population appeared only as savage and nothing but queer and exotic. Lacking the experiences of the heterogeneous realities, the approach to the study of the 'alien' tribes became an exercise in dealing with cultural isolates. Even after Independence, researchers inherited not only concepts, techniques, theories and methods of study but also topics of study from the early ethnographers. As far as the history of Arunachal Pradesh is concerned, the progress of historical researches was very slow till the 1970s; and it started gaining momentum due to the developments in the fields of higher education and researches at the university level much later. However, the formulation of tribes as cultural isolates continued in Arunachal Pradesh. The mention by M. L. Bose in his book (*History of Arunachal Pradesh*, Concept Publishing, New Delhi, 1997, p.15) is important. He is of the view that the tribes had restricted mingling; the tribes were separate from one another and 'The tribes living in this region had very little contact with the outside world and even today they are living in extremely primitive conditions.' He further writes (p.17) that the tribal people 'had no contact with the plains'. It is not only M. L. Bose but also a host of other scholars who write on similar lines. The uncritical citations in the article of S. Dutta are also important to be cited. (S. Dutta, '*Sources of History of Arunachal Pradesh: A Critical Survey*', in R. Bezbaruah, P. Goswami and D. Banerjee (eds.), *North-East India Interpreting the Sources of its History*, I C H R and Aryan Books, New Delhi, 2008, pp. 11-23). Waddell's view, as cited by S. Dutta, clearly shows the bias. To quote, 'Driven into these wild glens by the advance of civilization up the plains and lower valleys these people have become hemmed-in among the mountains, where pressing on each other in their struggle for existence they have developed into innumerable isolated tribes.' The influence of such writings was such that even the first Lt Governor of Arunachal Pradesh, K. A. A. Raja echoes a similar view. Here comes the problem—these writers based their writings on the literary sources of the British period and after, and took them as objective and true representation of the tribes of Arunachal Pradesh, as far as their early life and condition was concerned.

The uncritical acceptance of the sources created the lacuna in the study of the history of Arunachal Pradesh. As discussed in the previous unit, the other sources, especially the oral sources (tradition and history) to be gathered from the field studies and consultation with the peoples were never an approach of the earlier generation of historians writing on the history of Arunachal Pradesh. The importance of this source and the method of using the same have been highlighted by Bernard S. Cohn in the first three articles of the book, *An Anthropologist among the Historians and Other Essays*, with an introduction by Ranjit Guha, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 1987, pp. 1–77.

To understand the land and its people, the *Gazetteers* of the British period and after are very important. The problem with the *Gazetteers* of the British period is the lack of information on the interiors of Arunachal Pradesh, as the areas were not known to them. A fairly true picture of the land and its people is provided by the *Gazetteers* prepared by the Government of Arunachal Pradesh after Independence. The earlier five were *Arunachal Pradesh District Gazetteers, Lohit District*, 1978; *Arunachal Pradesh District Gazetteers, Tirap District*, 1980; *Arunachal Pradesh District Gazetteers, Subansiri District*, 1981; *Arunachal Pradesh District Gazetteers, Siang District*, 1994 and *Arunachal Pradesh District Gazetteers, East Kameng, West Kameng and Tawang Districts*, 1996.

In this unit, you will study the geographical setting and pattern of settlement of the inhabitants of Arunachal Pradesh.

2.1 UNIT OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to:

- Discuss the geographical setting of various tribes of Arunachal Pradesh
- Describe the pattern of settlement of the tribes in Arunachal Pradesh

2.2 GEOGRAPHICAL SETTING OF THE TRIBES

Arunachal Pradesh lies between –28°26 and –30°29 north latitude and –30°91 east and –30°97 east longitude along the north-east frontier of the Indian Union. Comprising an area of 83,743 sq kilometres in the region of the eastern Himalayas, the state is full of dense forests, high mountain ridges and deep valleys with torrential rivers and streams separating the inhabitants from one another. The population is 13, 82,611 according to the Census of India 2011, the density being 16 or 17 persons per square kilometre. Though on paper it seems that the state is very sparsely populated, in reality it is not so. The mountains and forests make large areas of Arunachal inhabitable for the people. Hence, the settlements have been sufficiently populated even during the pre-colonial period.

A series of ridges and spurs rise from the plains of the Brahmaputra valley in the south through the outer Siwalik type hills to join the Himalayan ranges forming the boundary in the north while the Patkai hills represent the dividing line with Burma in the south-east. The entire territory thus represents an undulating terrain with the highest peaks in the west and north having an elevation of about seven thousand metres, whereas the maximum altitude in the south-western side of the Tirap district is about two thousand metres. Arunachal Pradesh is the home to 110 tribes and sub-tribes, and there are twenty-five major tribes recognized by the State. The tribes of

Arunachal Pradesh are affiliated to the Tibeto-Burmese group of languages, and with regard to their racial affiliations, they have been described as Indo-Mongoloid, Proto-Mongoloid, Paleo-Mongoloid and so on. The state is contoured by Bhutan in the west, Tibet/China in the north and north-east, Burma in the east and south-east and the Brahmaputra valley of Assam in the south. It has a total length of 1628 km of international boundaries separating it from Bhutan, Tibet/China and Burma. Its topography, flora and fauna offer a wide variety. We come across damp rain-forests at the foothills, belonging to the tropical and sub-tropical zone up to about 2134 metres with luxuriant vegetation and various orchids. Arunachal Pradesh is situated in a high seismic zone of India and tremors of moderate nature to violent upheavals are experienced by the residents from time to time. Twelve major earthquakes have occurred in north east India from 1869 to 1952 (Table 2.1).

***Table 2.1** Earthquakes during the period between 1869–1952*

Date and year	Magnitude on the Richter scale	Date and year	Magnitude on the Richter scale
10th June 1869	7.5	12th June 1897	8.7
31st August 1906	7.0	28th August 1916	7.5
8th July 1918	7.6	9th September 1923	7.1
2nd July 1930	7.1	14th August 1932	7.0
16th October 1943	7.2	15th August 1950	8.6
17 August 1952	7.5		

Monpa: The Monpas of the West Kameng and Tawang districts generally regard themselves as migrants from Tibet and Bhutan. The major sub-tribes of the Monpas are located at Tawang, Dirang and Kalaktang. The Mahayana form of Buddhism is the religion of the Monpas, and they are one of the two tribes of the state having a written script (Bhoti) of their own. It seems that in the course of the trans-Himalayan trade which was traditionally current in the region in the pre-colonial period, they developed cultural and ethnic relations with their northern neighbours as well and were strongly influenced by Tibetan Buddhism.

There are legends, vague and often dubious, of Monpas migrating from the west, the north and also from the south. It is, however, certain that various sections of the Monpas did not migrate to West Kameng and Tawang all at a time in a single wave. The migration must have taken place over centuries, involving many groups who were on the move under unknown historical predicaments. A legend states that the Monpas migrated from the plains of Assam along the Udalgiri-Kalaktang route, frequented by traders. Another legend indicates that the Monpas of Tawang came from Sikkim and Phari. In all probability, a large body of the Monpas migrated from the west through Bhutan. It is also suggested that the Monpas of the Dirang area came down from north following the Mago route. According to some recent accounts, there was a population of the Monpas living in the Kameng region probably from the early days of the Christian era. With the passage of time, later groups of the Monpas entered this region in successive waves through different routes of migration. With the inception and spread of Buddhism in this region, or more particularly from the days of the second Dalai Lama (AD 1475 – 1542), the people from across the Himalayas trickled into the Tawang area.

Sherdukpen: The Sherdukpens (Shertukpens) also regard themselves to be migrants from Tibet. However, the British writers have written them from Bhutan.

NOTES

Generally, they too are the followers of the Mahayana form of Buddhism. One important aspect of the Sherdukpens is that their entire society is divided into two classes, namely, the Thongs and the Chhaos. The Sherdukpens are mainly concentrated in a few villages of the West Kameng District, Bomdila. Rupa (formerly Roopai Goan), Shergaon and Jigaon are their important settlements. The Sherdukpens relate a story that a Tibetan prince married an Assamese princess and had two sons by her. The first son ruled in Bhutan and the second son named Japtang became the king of the area now occupied by the Sherdukpens. The present–day Sherdukpens are said to be the descendants of Japtang Bura and his followers. The descendants of Japtang Bura are even to this day known as raja or king to the neighbouring tribes. The people of Dirang call them Bapu, and the Akas and Mijis called them *Thongli-thongcheng* meaning raja. The Sherdukpens are also referred to as the Sat Raja, i.e., the seven rajas. Five of them were from Rupa and two from Shergaon, each representing one of the major clan. Amrendra Kr Thakur in his article 'Sat Rajas of Arunachal Pradesh: A Study' in J. B. Bhattacharjee and D. R. Syiemlieh (eds.), *Early States in North East India* (Regency, New Delhi, 2013, pp. 190-211).

Aka: The Akas called themselves as Hrusso. There are two main divisions of the Akas, namely the Kustum (Hazarikhowa) and Kovatsun (Kapahchors). They have a patrilineal clan organization and particularly, clans own villages. The term 'Aka' literally means painted. It is obviously an Assamese work that might have been originally applied to the tribal group, calling themselves Hrusso, because of their custom of smearing their faces with black resin. Their concentration in the West Kameng District is in the hilly area of Nafra-Buragaon Sub-division watered mainly by the Bichom (*Humschu*), Tengapani (*Hudju*) and Kheyang (*Khuwa*) rivers. The Kameng (Bhareli) river forms its eastern boundary. The legends seem to convey unambiguously the historical truth that the Akas were once settled in the plains of Assam and they migrated from there to the northern hills. Similar migration theory is also reported by R.S. Kennedy. He mentions that the Akas first settled near Bhalukpong, where, on the right bank of the Bhareli River their two chiefs, Natapura and Bayu, built their respective capitals. Bayu demanded Natapura's beautiful wife as a sort of tribute and, after number of adventures, the girl with a new-born child arrived at Bayu's court. The child Arima grew up to be a great warrior and finally killed his own father by mistake. Overcome with remorse he migrated to the present country of the Akas; it is from his children that the present-day Akas have descended. It is interesting to note in this context that, as stated earlier, the Akas also have a belief that legendary king Bhaluka, who had his capital at Bhalukpung named after him, was their progenitor.

Mijis: The Mijis of the West Kameng District called themselves Dammai (or Dhammai). According to their tradition, they were originally inhabitants of the plains and had connections with the Ahom kings of Assam. It is, however, not known to them at present as to how they came to settle in the Bichom Valley crossing the hills.

The Miji country lies to the adjacent north of the Akas. The two tribes have a long tradition of close neighbourly relations. The Mijis have many traits in common with the Akas, and are known to intermarry with them.

Baguns: The Baguns – popularly known as Khowas earlier – are mainly scattered over Thrizino, Tenga Valley and Jamiri Circle and some villages in the Nafra Circle of West Kameng district. In a note, C.R. Stonor suggests that the Sulungs (now Purioks) of East Kameng district and the Beguns came to their present country from the north-eastern part of the East Kameng district. According to the Buguns, they once lived together in a place named Moffi, which they say was in heaven and

NOTES

from Moffi they came down to earth and began to settle in a place called *Zamkham* which might be somewhere to the north of the present Chayangtajo administrative circle of East Kameng district. In course of time, they dispersed to and eventually arrived in their present habitat. A Sulung (Puroik) legend tells that the tribe originated from *Khorngkhiys*, their ancestor in heaven, and from heaven they directly came down to earth to begin to settle in a place where the wild sagoplams (*Bey-muwang*) grew in plenty and from there gradually dispersed in course of time to other parts of the country. In a legend of the Akas, the Buguns have been described to have descended through bamboo ladder, while the Akas are believed to have ascended from the golden ladder. They were under the supremacy of their neighbouring Akas and Sherdukpens for whom they had to work, of course on the basis of exchange of material for labour, but now the supremacy of the Akas and Sherdukpens no longer prevail. B. B. Pandey in his book *The Buguns: A Tribe in Transition*, Itanagar, 1998 provides the details of the tribe.

Nyishi: The Nyishis also referred to as Nishi or Nishing or Bangnis or Daflas are the most populous tribe of Arunachal Pradesh and are the inhabitants of East Kameng, Papum Pare, Karum Kume, and Lower Subansiri districts. They occupy vast stretches of hills and forests extending from the eastern parts of the Kameng district to the territory of the Hill Miris in the Siang district. The Nyishis trace their descent from a mythical ancestor called Abo Teni (Abo Tani). Generally, the Nyishis believe that they descended from Abo Teni, a mythical ancestor, and lived at a place called Supung which, they say, exists somewhere in the far eastern Himalayas. Later they come to Narba and drifting from village to village through Begi, Bolo, and Yalang successively crossed the Shinit or Subansiri river, and then the Kumme or Kamla river. Here they appear all over the hills lying between the Kamla and Khru, and later made their way to the Palin and the Panior hills. While coming to these hills they brought with them animals like mithuns (bos frontalis) and pigs, and such articles of value as *majis* (Tibetan tongue less bells) and *talus* (metal plates) and beads. They wore their hair in a bun called *podum* and know even at this early stage weaving and agriculture. The two recent books Tob Tarin Tara's *Nyishi World* (Itanagar, 2005) and Tana Showren's *The Nyishi of Arunachal Pradesh* (New Delhi, 2009) provide Nyishis a comprehensive picture of the Nyishis of Arunachal Pradesh.

Tagin: The Tagins are an important tribe of the Upper Subansiri district of Arunachal Pradesh. The identity of the Tagins fluctuated between the Nyishis and the Adis. It is believed that the ancestors of the Tagins came from Pui-Pudu believed to be located in Tibet. From there, they came to Pumte and then to Dibeh. Abotani was the first to come and died at Nide-Lankin. The Tagin from Dibeh to Nari and Nagi to Nalo. In the course of movement, their ancestors had crossed Subansiri and Khru rivers. As per the oral tradition, Abo-Tani was the common ancestor of Nyishis, Adis, Apatanis, Hill Miris, Tagins and Mishings. Therefore, as per this version all the Tani groups of tribes must have migrated together to Nide-Lankin. Ashan Riddi in his book *The Tagins of Arunachal Pradesh* (New Delhi, 2006) provides us the details of the tribe.

Apatani: The Apatanis are an enterprising and industrious tribal community and are unique in the whole of Arunachal Pradesh. They stand apart from other communities in having a highly developed system of agriculture. The Apatanis have developed a community of their own in the small area of around 35 sq. kms., to which they are confined mainly to the Lower Subansiri district. A tradition current among the Apatanis tells that their ancestors came from a country to the north of north east situated near the two rivers known as Supunad-Pudpumi. These names may refer to

two tributaries of the Subansiri, but neither the Apatanis nor anyone else is likely to identify this legendary country of origin. All Apatanis agree, however, that at one state in their migrations they crossed the Subansiri river from north to south and came to a place in the Sipi valley called Karr, which lies beyond the Pij Cholo, a peak of 8,417 feet rising from the north bank of the Kamla river and visible from the hills surrounding the Apatani country.

Galo: In the post-independence records and writings, the Galos have been mentioned as the Gallongs and till the last decade of the 20th century, they were clubbed together with the Adis. Generally, they reside in the West Siang district. The prevalent oral traditions suggest that long ago the Galos lived on the fringes of the Indo-Tibetan frontier. Streams of migrating families came down from time to time from upper areas and, in the absence of adequate geographical knowledge, they followed the easiest track. Gradually, the lower areas gave them shelter and they slowly established permanent settlements. Marauding raiders from beyond the frontier raided their settlements very often, and, as they were, at the time, not very powerful in their military prowess, in comparison with the raiders, they had to emigrate. There are no written records available, and we have, therefore, to depend on the people's own traditions. The Karka Galo, for example, had their original settlements at pa-Pigru, near Tadadege just at the Indo-Tibetan frontier. Having migrated from this place they came down via the Bori area, through Pero, Kambang, Karbak, Boje, and Bole to Yomsha. Yomsha became their next permanent settlement for decades. But with increase in population, the village could not accommodate all, and consequently, from here also different migrations took place in different directions. Lombi came to Jirigi and finally settled in Lomti. Tirbin came direct to Tirbin. Gamlin came to Kadai and then to Gamlin. Esi came by the bank of the Rimi river.

Ramos and Bokars: From the legends available, it appears that the ancestors of the Ramos and the Bokars were brothers. The Ramos descended in a direct line from Dungram, the elder brother of Dumgumi, the ancestor of the Bokars. The ancestors of the Ramos left their original settlement, moved from place to place and finally came to Tadadege area and settled there. Their last migration from Tadadege to Rapum, which they still inhabit, took place long ago. The ancestors of the Bokars due to pressure of population started migrating and settled near about Tadadege, in a place which is at present known as Pui. Another version claims that their ancestors came down from north and settled near the Simang River, presumable near the source of the Sike River, a tributary of the Siyom. They were a trade link between the communities of the area.

Tribes of Arunachal Pradesh at a Glance

- **Adis:** The Adis have two main divisions, (the Bogum and Bomis) and under each there are a number of sub-tribes. The Minyongs, Karkos, Shimongs, Bomdo, Janbos, Paggis, Pailibos, Bogum, Padams, Milangs and so on from one group ; while the Gallong and seven other groups constitute another group of Adis. The Adis by nature are democratic and have organised village council called Kebang. Their traditional dance called Ponung is famous in the whole of Arunachal Pradesh. Dances are very popular among them. Adi villages are situated generally on the spurs of hills. Polyandry is unknown but polyandry is practised. Adi women are very good weavers and weave cloth with highly artistic designs.
- **Apatanis:** The Apatanis are settled agriculturists inhabiting the valley around Ziro-the headquarters of Lower Subansiri district. The older men-folk tie the hair in top-knots and tattoo the faces. Wearing of circular nose plugs and tattooing of faces is the most characteristic aspect of ornamentation of older Apatani women. However, new generation of Apatani men and women have stopped this practice of tying hair knot, nose plugs and face tattooing since early 1970s. The Apatanis are good cultivators and practice both wet and terrace cultivation. Paddy cum fish culture is very popular among them. Unlike other tribes of Arunachal their economy is stable.
- **Buguns:** The Buguns or Khowas are gentle, hospitable and affectionate people. They are agriculturist and perform a number of rites and ceremonies for their welfare.
- **Hrusso:** The Hrusso or Akas have a custom of painting their face with black marks. They figured frequently in old historical records. Their popular belief is that they were related with the Ahom Kings.They are keen traders and trade mainly in cloth, blankets, swords etc. They have come to some extent under both Hindu and Buddhist influence.
- **Singphos:** The Singphos represent a section of the Kachin tribe of Burma. They live on the banks of Tengapani and Noa Dehang rivers. They are agriculturists and expert blacksmiths. The ladies are good weavers too. They follow Buddhism but at the same time believe in a host of spirits.
- **Khambas and Membas:** Khambas and Membas inhabiting northern part of West Siang are Buddhist by religion. Polyandry is prevalent among them. But it is more in vogue among the Membas. Agricultural activities are popular among them. Millet and Maize are their staple food. They grow cotton and barley also.
- **Mishmis:** Mishmis form the bulk of the population of Lohit, Upper Dibang Valley and Lower Dibang Valley districts. There are also the Khamtis, the Singphos and a few Adi settlement. The Mishmis are divided into three main groups namely- Idus or Chulikatas, Digarus or Taroan and Mijus or Kaman. A section of the Idu Mishmi are also called Bebejia Mishmi. Their women are expert weavers and make excellent coats and blouses. Agriculture is the main occupation of the people. By nature they are traders. Since very early days the Mishmis had relations with the plains of Assam. The chief items of trade are deer –musk, wild medicinal plants, animal skins , Mishimi – tita, etc.
- **Monpas:** The Monpas are simple, gentle and courteous people. They are friendly and possess a rich heritage of culture. They dress well in artistically designed clothes. Their communal life is rich and happy. They follow Buddhism and profess Mahayana Buddhism which centre round the Tawang Monastery. Each house has a small chapel attached to it.
- **Nyishi:** The Nyishis are the largest groups of people inhabiting the major part of Lower Subansiri district. Their menfolk wear their hair long and tie it in a knot just above the forehead. They wear cane bands around the waist. They believe that after death the spirit of a dead travels to the 'village of the ancestors'. The Sulungs or Puroik are considered to be one of the oldest of the tribes in the area. Their dress and constumes are simple, and the religion is a form of the primitive ' spirit culture'.
- **Sherdukpens:** The Sherdukpens are a small tribe. They are good agriculturist but their main interest is trade. Their religion is an interesting blend of Mahayana Buddhism and tribal magico-religious beliefs.

- **Tagins:** The Tagins are the main inhabitants of Upper Sunansiri district. Their main occupation is agriculture. Polygamy is customary among them. Their dress is very simple consisting of only one piece of cloth.
- **Khamtis:** The Khamtis are believed to have migrated from the Shan states of Burma. They are the only tribe in Arunachal who have a script of their own. They are Buddhist (Hinayana cult) by religion, and bury the dead in a coffin. They include Khamyang tribe.
- **Wanchos:** The Wanchos inhabit the western part of Tirap district, bordering Nagaland. They are a carefree, cheerful and hard-working people. Head hunting was one of the customary social activity. It was connected with many of the social activities of the tribe. Their society is divided into four classes – the Wanghams (chiefs) , the Wangpana , the Wangaue and Wangaas . They have a strict sense of discipline and the law and order of the society is maintained by a village council. The entire tribe is divided into forty confederacies of villages. Tattooing is a social custom among them. They believe in the existence of two powerful deities, Rang and Baurang. The women are good weavers but the art is restricted to the members of the chief's families only. They are expert in wood carving also.
- **Noctes:** The Noctes inhabit the central part of Tirap to the east of the Wanchos. They are organized under powerful chief–those of Namsang and Borduria. They profess Vaishnavism and are disciples of the Bareghar Satra of Nazira, Assam. Naga Narottam who was a close friend of Shri Ram Dev Ata, the founder- satradhikar of the Brehar satra, become his first disciple. Noctes are famous as salt producers which is their chief item of trade and barter. They are agriculturists. They also cultivate betel leaves on a commercial scale.
- **Yobin:** The Yobin, also called Lisus, are a small group of people inhabiting the remote easternmost corner of the Tirap district. They are simple and gentle people having their own culture , religion, faith and beliefs and dialect.

Simongs: The Simongs seem to have migrated very late. From their original home somewhere on the other side of the great snow ranges of the Himalayas, they came down to the Nigong valley. They could not move further south beyond the present Simong village, as the Minyongs, the Padams and the Pangis were already in occupation of that area. Thus, in course of time, they had to turn back northwards as far as Jedo.

Adi: The Siang districts (East, West and Upper) are practically populated by the Adis. During the Ahom and colonial periods, the Adis were called Abors but this term has now been discarded. The word Adi comprises a large number of tribal groups, united by a language that in spite of dialectical variations, is fundamentally everywhere the same. Adis include the following communities: (i)Pallibo, Milang and Tagin of north-west Siang; (ii) Ashings, Minyongs and Shimongs of central Siang; (iii) Karbo and Bori of western and central Siang; (iv) Adi-Bori of central Siang; (v) Minyongs, Pasi and Pangi of eastern Siang; and (vi) the Padams of southern Siang. These communities are broadly divided into two sections. The Minyongs, Padams, Shimongs, Milangs, Pasis, Karkos, Ashings, Pangis, Tangams and Boris may be grouped into one section and the Ramos, Pallibos and the Bokars into the other section.

It is said that the Padams came from the north and were originally the inhabitants of Bomi, a place near Ramsing. The ancestors of the Minyongs used to live on some snow ranges near about Telilidung. In their southward migration, they did not follow

the course of the Siang. Instead, they came down the Angong valley to Mini-Pere and crossed the Takek-Adi near Dibok and finally settled at Riga past Pangkang. Later, they managed to cross the Siang near Tayek – Puigo near Riu and spread over the areas from Kebang, Yemsing and Pangin as far as Ledukm.

A study of the legends relating to their original home would suggest that the Adis came from the north across the Himalayan barrier. The real cause of their immigration cannot be ascertained at present. It may have been occasioned by some great natural upheaval in their homeland or by large scale racial movements set in motion by political happenings in those regions. Nor can it be said whether they came in a single mass or gradually in small batches in successive waves through centuries. In the former case, it is just possible, they might have come in a sweeping mass down to the plains of Assam and been driven back afterwards into highland, they occupy now, by a superior power. Anything definite cannot be said upon this point; but it is comparatively easy to picture their later dispersion. Once they had settled in the mountainous regions below the Himalayas, growing communities would be forced to send out colonies in search of lands. These colonists would establish settlements which, in turn, would find others. It may be taken for granted that, in the initial stages, the expansion was from east to west, particularly, in the Siang area. The southward expansion occurred later, when this area was fully occupied and could not accommodate any further settlement. Sachin Roy in his book *Aspects of Padam Minyong Culture* (Shillong, 1966) and T.K. Bhattacharjee in his article 'The Adis-Their Origin and Migration' in *Resarun*, 1975 provide us some details in this regard.

Membas and Khambas: The two tribal groups, the Memba and the Khamba, are perhaps ethnically allied to the Monpas of the Tawang and West Kameng districts, and are similarly Buddhist by religion. They live along the northern borders of the Upper Siang district and have experienced a profound socio-cultural impact of Tibetan Buddhism on themselves. They are markedly different both ethnically and culturally from the Adis to their south. The Khambas are inhabitants of the Yang Sang Chu valley and are famous for their colourful dances. The Membas are found across Gelling where, as mentioned, the Dihang or the Siang river cuts across the Himalayan range and enters the frontier of our country. They too retain their dances. The Membas living in the Mechukha sub-division of East Siang district are believed to have entered in the valley from different parts of Tibet, Bhutan and Tawang. D.K. Dutta viewed that the Ramos, Membas and many other tribes of Tibet believed in animism. The Lamas of Tibet guided them to accept Buddhism.

Mishings: The Mishing, also known as Miri, live along the foothills of the East Siang district. The Mishing have close ethnic affinities with the Adis, and they usually practise settled cultivation in the level areas inhabited by them. In the past, like the Hill Miris, the Mishings mostly acted as go-betweens the Adis and the people of the plains of Assam.

Mishmi: Like the Adis of the Siang districts, 'Mishmi' is the name given to a cluster of small communities sharing a more or less common culture but having different dialects. The communities included in the Mishmi group are the Idu, Taraon and Kaman, also called Miju. The Taraons are also sometimes called Digarus and Idus as Chulikatas. These Mishmis are spread all over the Sino-Burma and Indo-Tibetan border area of the Lohit district and probably represent different waves of migrations from beyond the eastern borders of India. The term 'Mishmi' has originated from the plains people 'Akam' (Assam). The Akam (Assam) people were called *Misha-Meeshi*, later foreign explorers termed them *Misha-mee* and finally it settled

NOTES

to Mishmi. The first British explorer Lt. Burlton, in 1825, mentioned '*Misha-mah*'. And Rowlat in 1844 mentioned *Mishmee*. The Mishmi traders in olden days were known to the plains people for the wrong reason, as these hill tribesmen would often deviate from their words agreed upon in barter business. So, as an expression of anguish upon these hill tribes, the plains people often used the word '*Misha-Meeshi*', meaning liar. This abusive word might have finally settled down to Mishmi in due course of time. Dimso Manyu has given the details of the same in *Arunachal Review*, July, 2009.

Khampti: The Lohit district is the home of the Mishmis, the Khamptis and the Singphos. From the point of view of language which has affinities with Shan, Kachins and Chin, the Khamptis and Singphos had plough cultivation and advance knowledge of metallurgy. They were successful traders too. Some scholars have pointed out that the original home of the Khamptis was Bor-Khamti near the sources of river Irrawady. They are the followers of the Hinayana school of Buddhism and are one of the two tribes in the state who have a script of their own, originally derived from the Tai language. By all accounts, they first settled on the banks of Tengapani river. The Khamptis and the Singphos came in the successive waves and settled in areas of Arunachal Pradesh. With regard to the Khamptis, Dalton noted in 1792 that they immigrated to Assam from a country known as Bor-Khampti near the sources of the Irrawady. They crossed over to Assam from their original home as a result of a tribal feud between different clans. The Khamptis were on the move from north Burma (now Myanmar) towards India probably from the forties of the eighteenth century. Alexander Mackenzie referred to the Bor-Khamti area as the mountainous region which interposes between the eastern extremity of Assam and the valley of the Irrawady. They first entered Assam and in due course of time settled in Tengapani (in present Lohit district) and had a friendly relation with the Ahoms.

Singpho: The Singphos migrated to Arunachal Pradesh from Upper Burma. The Burmese call them Kakhyens, and they are from a branch of Kachins of Upper Burma. Like the Khamptis, the Singphos are also the followers of Hinayana school of Buddhism, but side-by-side, the elements of primitive religion are also present. These two tribes had developed iron technology and settled agriculture. On their arrival through the Patkai Pass, the Singphos first came across the Khamptis whom they ousted from their settlement in the Tengapani area, east of Sadiya. Gradually they spread out and occupied the whole level tract of the country watered by the Burhi-Dihing and the Tengapani rivers. E. R. Leach in his book *The Political System of Highland Burma: A Study of Kachin Social Structure* (London, 1970) provides us the details of the two tribes.

In addition to these tribes, some Padams belonging to the Adi group are also settled in the Roing and Dambuk areas in the foothills. Some groups of the Miris, Deories and Kacharis also lived in the district. The Deories inhabit the Namsai area in the southern parts of Lohit district adjoining Assam and the Miris are settled along the foothill areas.

Tangsa: The Tangsa occupy the eastern Himalayan hills. Their main concentration, north-east of the Nocte area is the Tirap and Namchik river basins, extending from the Patkai ranges in the south to the borders of Assam in the north. Their racial tradition points the source of migration to beyond the frontiers of Patkoi. The word 'Tangsa' means hill people ('tang' for hill and 'sa' for people). The Tangsa story of migration eludes the fact that search of cultivable land and inter-tribal feuds impelled them to migrate from their abode across the Patkai and settle in the present

NOTES

place a few centuries ago. The memories of migrations lived for generations and they are still fresh in their minds. Though the Tangsas for generations have been settled in their present home, there are, however, indications that they actually migrated from Burma some hundred years ago. Their habit of dress such as wearing the lungi indicates a definite affinity with the Burmese. Moreover, some of the Tangsa tribes have memories of their friends and relatives left behind in the villages of Burma, whom they called Ajanti (people from a land not well known). As per legend, all the sub-tribes of the Tangsas have their own tale to tell. The Ron-Rangs believe that they originated in the hill called Masoi Sinrapum. They are said to have migrated in the quest of better land for cultivation and need to evade the frequent attacks and raid by Loomtos, Garans and others. The Mosangs, on the other hand, are said to have migrated from Masoi Sinrapum to a hill called Wantokpum first. Before settling down permanently in the different villages they are now occupying, they kept moving from one place to another. Narayan Singh Rao has written extensively on the Tangsas.

Lisu: The Lisus have migrated into Arunachal Pradesh in very recent times. Their ways of living seem to have undergone a remarkable change during the decades following their migration. They have settled along the Nao-Dihing River in the Vijoynagar area. They are believed to have originally migrated towards the south from the borderlands of China and Tibet. They are called 'Yowin' or 'Yobins' by the Burmese and the Singphos. The Lisus, a small ethnic group inhabiting the remote easternmost corner of Changlang district popularly in Gandhigram. Earlier, the Lisus were scattered in smaller habitats such as, Daodi (Vijoynagar), Gwamidi, Chidudi, etc. Before Gandhigram was formed, the whole area was popularly known as Shidi (Shi – thatch, di – plain area). Their religion is part animist and ancestor worship. The Lisus believing in traditional religion called themselves Maha-Lisus. However, the Lisus who were believed to have migrated from the Patkai Hills are generally Christians and are called Ha-Lisus.

Nocte: The Noctes inhabit the south-western and central parts of the Tirap district. The Nocte area is roughly bounded by the Tirap River in the east and the Tisa river in the west, the Patkor ranges in the south and the plains of Assam in the north. The most important aspect of the Noctes was their production of salt from the salt wells. The availability of salt wells and the technology to produce salt provided the Noctes an upper hand in the social formation and this was one of the reasons for the struggle between the Nocte chiefs and the Ahom rulers. The latter always wanted to control the wells, since salt was in great demand in the neighbouring areas. The name 'Nocte' means village people (Noc – village, te – people). The Noctes trace their descent from a remote ancestor named Khunbao, the chief. Khunbao had two sons – Khunlung and Khunlai. They were succeeded by Tangthok and Tankam. The claim of the Nocte chiefs to royal descent is based on this genealogy. The Ahom chronicles bear evidence to the fact of Nocte settlements in the district of Tirap as early as the beginning of the 13th century. In the Ahom period and the early British period, the Noctes were referred to as various groups of people known as Bordourias, Paniduarias, Namsangias and Jaipurias, etc. The legends of migration of the Noctes as recorded by Parul Dutta in his book *The Noctes* (Itanagar, 1978) opines that each village relates its own story of migration by traversing the Patkai through different routes. Some villages say that they came from Hakhi Haja in Burma (Myanmar), others say that they were from Hukong and Mankong and others from Ngaimung, Rangkhon, Sansik, Phanyu, Tangnu or Sansit.

Wancho: The Wanchos live in the Longding area, in the south-western corners within the Tisa River in the east, Burma in the south, and east, Nagaland in the west

and south and Assam in the north-west. They are spread over 36 villages, grouped into 11 confederacies called *Jan*. Previously, they were known to be fierce head-hunters. The Wanchos, like many tribes of Arunachal Pradesh, have their own traditions about migration. According to one tradition, original place from where they came in Nyannu Ofan. Another tradition traces the courses of their migration to their present abode through Tangnu and Tsangnu both in the Tuensang area of the present Nagaland. It is not known when they actually migrated. The Ahom *Buranji*s and the early British records, however, suggest that they came and settled in the south-west part of Tirap some hundred years ago. A detailed description of the life and condition of the Wanchos is provided by Parul Dutta in his book *The Wanchos*, (Itanagar, 1990).

2.3 PATTERN OF SETTLEMENT

M. L. Bose in his book *History of Arunachal Pradesh* (op.cit. pp.6-8) provides us the settlement pattern in brief. He is correctly of the view that at least three major climatic zones can be recognized on the basis of temperature although temperature, pressure, precipitation and winds vary with altitude. The foothill area is hot and humid and has a sub-tropical climate, the lesser Himalayas enjoy cooler or micro-thermal climate, and finally in the higher region a Himadri type (alpine) climate is found. The flora and fauna of the province vary with the climate and soil. The forest types range from tropical evergreen in the foothills, through temperate evergreen in the middle ranges, to the coniferous in the higher elevations and the high Himalayas in the extreme north.

The altitude of these hills is comparatively lower except in the north than the other hills of this region of the Himalayas. The hills in the lower region on the plains are steep and inaccessible. The pass leading to Tawang along the Kameng valley and then through Bomdila and Sela lead through higher altitude. At Sela the elevation is 4680 metres but the Tawang region is relatively lower and the altitude of the Tawang itself is 3000 metres above sea level. The climate of these hills is humid upto 1200 metres, temperate upto 2100 metres and cold with heavy snowfall beyond that. Rich with evergreen deciduous forest, the hills in the upper region are dressed in pine, oak and fur. Carpeted with wild strawberries and a display of rhododendrons and a score of other multicolour flowers, these hills are the most picturesque of all the Arunachal hills. Much of the land in the northern region of the greater Himalayas has remained virtually empty, the middle zone is moderately populated, but the foothills and valleys are relatively closely populated and are characterized by the scattering of population clusters.

Geography has influenced the cultural development of the province to a great extent. The northern region had little contact with the lower region, particularly the valley of the Brahmaputra, and has been greatly influenced by the Indo-Tibetan culture. For many centuries, the Tibetan traders crossed the borders and traded in the region, many of them settled down in the valleys of the greater Himalayas. This accounts for the large Buddhist settlements in the Siang districts and the Buddhists impact is visible in the way of life in the higher regions. The southern belt of the foothills has had similar contact with the plains of Assam. The results are manifested in the religion, language, clothing, food habits, and the mode of agriculture. But the middle zone has remained comparatively backward and both Tibetan and Assamese influences are visible in their ways of life. The tribes living in this region had very little contact with the outside world and even today they are living in extremely primitive conditions.

As groups, even though partially, settled at a place to practise agriculture, a system of complex socio-economic relationships appeared which was remarkably

Check Your Progress

1. The tribes of Arunachal Pradesh are affiliated to the _____ group of languages.
2. The Monpas of the West Kameng and Tawang districts generally regard themselves as migrants from Tibet and Burma. (True/False)
3. Sherdukpens (Shertukpens) are the followers of the Mahayana form of Buddhism. (True/False)
4. What are the two main divisions of the Akas?
5. The Mishings have close ethnic affinities with the _____.
6. The _____ occupy the eastern Himalayan hills.

different from those in primitive economies. In these agricultural settlements, food stockpiling played a decisive role. This role led to an increase in the density of the group whose base was not limited to the small family. This represents the permanent aggregation of a family as its base gets wider. Some members thus, though only partially, are able to work on things which are not directly linked with the search for food. This ensures a wider division of labour as the number of members in the functional group increases. These members apply techniques that make them share the burden of the 'specialist' in techniques whose economic utility is not immediately obvious. Obviously, this does not happen drastically and suddenly as the specialist was not freed abruptly.

Other factors also played an important role such as the change in the pattern of settlement and periods of food production. The new economic equations such as the invention centres upon methods of defense of the agrarian equipment (fortification and metallurgy), storage (basket weaving and storage pits), and the preparation of grain (grinding mills and pottery) determined the 'creative urge'.

Thus, this creates a network of needs and possibilities in the functional group that constitutes the village practising agriculture and other techniques. This group is not limited to a single village but includes geographical areas that aggregate in size with the passage of time and lead to the interaction of a number of similar villages. Antithetical to the primitive economy, this network of relationships is dynamic in nature. In this network, the volume of the resources has a direct impact on the increase in population. Technology thus evolves rapidly as the number of extra-alimentary relationships increases in relation to the number of human beings and the 'humanized' area. Thus, a direct relationship exists between the formation of a dwelling place in which the population survives the increase in the density of the population, new techniques, and the social configuration. All these elements must be examined simultaneously in order to understand the settlement pattern and technological evolution of a population. Amrendra Kr. Thakur provides the overview of this approach in his project report 'Technology of the Tribes of Northeast India with Special Reference to Arunachal Pradesh', Indian National Science Academy, New Delhi, 2012.

The stages outlined above are applicable to the people of Arunachal Pradesh. During the pre-colonial period in Arunachal Pradesh, there was the growth in surplus production. Consequently, we have the evidence of pre-modern centre formations. This is also reflected through the presence of a structured society, formation of state (regulations of social, economic and political conditions), internal as well as external (long distance) trade and technology which play a crucial role in the life of the people.

In the reconstruction of the past R. A. Buchanan's view is important enough to be cited. He opines that – Together with local history, architectural history, archaeology, historical, geographical and several other types of study, the history of technology cannot avoid emphasis on fieldwork. What all of these spokesmen for physical history agree is that the physical evidence available through fieldwork to the senses of sight and touch has a vital contribution for historical scholarship. Where written evidence is lacking or inadequate – and these conditions pertain for our knowledge of all periods except for the most recent – physical evidence, properly recorded and judiciously interpreted, can provide supplementation, while in such areas as the archaeology of prehistoric societies it becomes paramount. … physical evidence can supply a missing dimension. Most particularly, it can give the student a sense of identity with the past that no amount of book-learning can inculcate ('History of Technology in the Teaching of History', *History of Technology*, Vol. III, 1978, pp.13-27). Thus, without the field

NOTES

studies the comprehensive picture of the life and condition of people of Arunachal Pradesh, free of any bias, will not emerge.

Amrendra Kr Thakur in one of his papers 'Ecology, Technology and Societies of Arunachal Pradesh' in the *Proceedings of North East India History Association,* Tura Session, 2010 (published Shillong, 2011, pp.103-114) dealing with broadly the pattern of settlements and the geographical condition etc. has discussed the relationship in details.

Historians in India have used the Marxist tool of analysis for understanding our past and applied it meaningfully to uncover the linkages between society and technology (mode of production). For the scholars social institutions were closely bound up with the contemporary techno-economic apparatus. They realized that the moral problems do not change rapidly, but the behaviour of the society is fashioned in accordance with the instruments that the material world offers. In other words, the available technology decisively shapes the society, lends its form to emerging institutions and normally breaks the traditional normative of the group. Technology, therefore, directly interacts with the society, shapes it and provides it with a sustenance base, a point aptly made out by Leroi-Gourhan: - With man, the relationship between the individual and society varies as a direct function of the evolution of techno-economic structures, and in order to understand certain characteristics of the social body in the various stages of evolution, these techno-economic structures must be defined. The most direct impact of the level of technology on the social group is related to the very density of this group. From the moment that intellectual evolution created values characteristic of *homo sapiens*, the relationship between technical level and social density became the principal factor of progress. Thus, the nature of technological know-how and the level of social development constitute the two variables of a society and even a civilization and it is this interaction that has to be laid bare in any study pertaining to the role of technology in social formation.

Three Cultural Groups in Arunachal Pradesh

Broadly the people may be divided into three cultural groups on the basis of their socio-religious affinities. The Monpas and Sherdukpens of Tawang and West Kameng districts follow the lamaistic tradition of Mahayana Buddhism. Noted for their religious fervour, the villages of these communities have richly decorated Buddhist temples, locally called 'Gompas'. Though largely agriculturists practising terrace cultivation, many of these people are also pastoral and breed herds of yak and mountain sheep. Culturally similar to them are Membas and Khambas who live in the high mountains along the northern borders. Khamptis and Singphos inhabiting the eastern part of the State are Buddhists of Hinayana sect. They are said to have migrated from Thailand and Burma long ago and still using ancient scripts derived from their original homeland.

The second group of the people are Adis, Akas, Apatanis, Bangnis, Nishis, Mishmis, Mijis, Thongsas etc., who worship Sun and Moon God namely, Donyi-Polo and Abo-Tani, the original ancestors for most of these tribes. Their religious rituals, largely coincide with phases of agricultural cycles. They invoke nature deities and make animal scarifices. They traditionally practice jhumming or shifting cultivation. Adis and Apatanis extensively practice wet rice cultivation and have a considerable agricultural economy. Apatanis are also famous for their paddy-cum-pisciculture. They are specialised over centuries in harvesting two crops of fish along with each crop of the paddy.

NOTES

The third group comprises Noctes and Wanchos, adjoining Nagaland in the Tirap District. They are known for their strictly structured village society in which hereditary village chief still plays a vital role. The Noctes also practise elementary form of Vaishnavism.

Besides the mode of production, the mode of resource utilization is also important for understanding the social life of Arunachal Pradesh, because, the social formations of the past in various ecological settings and technological niches were also the result of resource utilization than solely of the mode of production (slave or feudal or capital, etc.). Whatever resources were available to the people, they utilized them accordingly-developed/adopted/adapted the technology and all these contributed to the social formations (the base and superstructure). As an impact of the Marxist framework of analysis the interest in the processes of production and therefore in the history of scientific and technological development began. Usually, this is in the form of the economic 'infrastructure' – the so-called relations of production and productive forces – without investigating the ecological context, i.e. the altitude from the sea level, surface communication network, soil, water, animal, mineral and vegetative bases of society in which the infrastructure is embedded. The most major lacuna in existing scholarship is inadequate appreciation of the ecological infrastructure of human society. We therefore propose to complement the concept of modes of production with the concept of modes of resource to look into the social formations in Arunachal Pradesh.

Among several important criticisms made of the mode of production scheme, we single out three. The first, made by Marxists themselves, related to the relative lack of emphasis in this scheme on political structures and struggles. In his widely noticed interventions in the 'transition' debate, Robert Brenner argued that the form and intensity of political conflict, rather than changes in production technology or expansion in trade, better explain the nature of the transition from feudalism to capitalism in different parts of Europe. Second, the European model of feudalism does not, for example, fit the Indian experience. Finally, there are the criticisms of non-Marxists (and non-economists). These lead to the view that, irrespective of the merits of the mode of production concept while explaining differences in economic structure, this concept is of little use when interpreting differences in the religious, cultural and ideological attributes of different societies. Further, the mode of resource use concept, like the mode of production concept, is at the bottom of an 'ideal type'. Hence, the identification of distinct modes does not preclude the existence of more than one mode in any given social (or, more accurately, socio-ecological) formation. Still it is usually possible to identify the dominant mode within a socio-ecological formation. Second, our treatment is largely restricted to human uses of living resources – i.e., flora and fauna –both husbanded and in their natural state. This is the framework in which the paper has been developed.

Besides, the above discussed two views related to the relationship between ecology, technology and society some other views are also important enough to be discussed. Some scholars believe 'technologies as an environment rather than as a collection of tools' whereas, some see 'technological development as an essential indicator of human progress.' Technology is seen as the material expression of man's ambition to dominate Nature, with the subjugated natural environment as the victim of its detrimental impacts. Ecology is the body of knowledge concerning the economy of nature – the investigation of the total relations of the animal both to its organic and to its inorganic environment: including, above all, its friendly and inimical relations with those animals and plants with which it comes directly or indirectly into contact – in brief, ecology is the study of all those complex interrelations referred to by Darwin as the conditions of the struggle for existence.

NOTES

Our use of technology has changed and continues to change the natural environment. While technology – medicine, transportation technologies and information technology and so on – can help us to prosper, there is also no doubt that the production and use of technology can have a negative impact on the environment and therefore on us. The pollution of rivers, oceans and the air poses an immediate threat to the health of humans: and the build-up of greenhouse gases, depletion of the ozone layer, and deforestation may each pose a threat, not only to the health of humans, but also to the survival of the human species. On the other hand, innovation within technology can also be used to remove or mitigate some of these man-made threats, and to minimize the impact of some non-man-made threats such as huge meteors, volcanoes, earthquakes, tsunamis and diseases. The scholars working on the themes related to technology and ecology also look from gender and feminist perspectives. This opens up a vast arena and rightly needs a separate detailed discussion on the lines the works are going on in other parts of the world and India.

ACTIVITY

Make a poster containing different pictures of people belonging to different tribes in Arunachal Pradesh.

Check Your Progress

7. Geography has influenced the cultural development of the province. (True/False)
8. Besides the mode of production, the mode of _____ is also important for understanding the social life of Arunachal Pradesh.
9. _____ is the study of all those complex interrelations referred to by Darwin as the conditions of the struggle for existence.
10. _____ is seen as the material expression of man's ambition to dominate Nature, with the subjugated natural environment as the victim of its detrimental impacts.

2.4 SUMMARY

In this unit, you have learnt that:

- Arunachal Pradesh lies between –28°26 and –30°29 north latitude and –30°91 east and –30°97 east longitude along the north-east frontier of the Indian Union. Comprising an area of 83,743 sq. kilometres in the region of the eastern Himalayas, the state is full of dense forests, high mountain ridges and deep valleys with torrential rivers and streams separating the inhabitants from one another.
- Arunachal Pradesh is the home to 110 tribes and sub-tribes, and there are twenty-five major tribes recognized by the State. The tribes of Arunachal Pradesh are affiliated to the Tibeto-Burmese group of languages, and with regard to their racial affiliations, they have been described as Indo-Mongoloid, Proto-Mongoloid, Paleo-Mongoloid and so on.
- The Monpas of the West Kameng and Tawang districts generally regard themselves as migrants from Tibet and Bhutan. The major sub-tribes of the Monpas are located at Tawang, Dirang and Kalaktang.
- The Sherdukpens (Shertukpens) regard themselves to be migrants from Tibet. However, the British writers have written them from Bhutan. Generally, they are the followers of the Mahayana form of Buddhism. One important aspect of the Sherdukpens is that their entire society is divided into two classes, namely, the Thongs and the Chhaos.
- The Akas called themselves as Hrusso. There are two main divisions of the Akas, namely the Kustum (Hazarikhowa) and Kovatsun (Kapahchors). They have a patrilineal clan organization and particularly, clans own villages. The term 'Aka' literally means painted.
- The Mijis of the West Kameng District called themselves Dammai (or Dhammai). According to their tradition, they were originally inhabitants of the plains and had connections with the Ahom kings of Assam. It is, however, not known to them at present as to how they came to settle in the Bichom Valley crossing the hills.

NOTES

- The Mijis of the West Kameng District called themselves Dammai (or Dhammai). According to their tradition, they were originally inhabitants of the plains and had connections with the Ahom kings of Assam. It is, however, not known to them at present as to how they came to settle in the Bichom Valley crossing the hills.
- The Buguns – popularly known as Khowas earlier – are mainly scattered over Thrizino, Tenga Valley and Jamiri Circle and some villages in the Nafra Circle of West Kameng district.
- The Nyishis also referred to as Nishi or Nishing or Bangnis or Daflas are the most populous tribe of Arunachal Pradesh and are the inhabitants of the East Kameng, Papum Pare, Karum Kume, and Lower Subansiri districts.
- The Tagins are an important tribe of the Upper Subansiri district of Arunachal Pradesh. The identity of the Tagins fluctuated between the Nishis and the Adis. It is believed that the ancestors of the Tagin came from Pui-Pudu believed to be located in Tibet.
- The Apatanis are an enterprising and industrious tribal community and are unique in the whole of Arunachal Pradesh. They stand apart from other communities in having a highly developed system of agriculture.
- The Hill Miris occupy the lower Kamala valley and their settlement extends to the bank of Subansiri River adjacent to the plains of Assam. The tribe is divided into broad groups often distinguished by separate nomenclatures, such as the Ghyghasi, Sarak, Panibotia and Tarbotia Miris.
- In the post-independence records and writings, the Galos have been mentioned as the Gallongs and till the last decade of the 20th century, they were clubbed together with the Adis. Generally, they reside in the West Siang district. The prevalent oral traditions suggest that long ago the Galos lived on the fringes of the Indo-Tibetan frontier.
- From the legends available, it appears that the ancestors of the Ramos and the Bokars were brothers. The Ramos descended in a direct line from Dungram, the elder brother of Dumgumi, the ancestor of the Bokars.
- The Simongs seem to have migrated very late. From their original home somewhere on the other side of the great snow ranges of the Himalayas, they came down to the Nigong valley. They could not move further south beyond the present Simong village, as the Minyongs, the Padams and the Pangis were already in occupation of that area.

2.5 KEY TERMS

- **Ethnic:** Of, relating to, or characteristic of a sizable group of people sharing a common and distinctive racial, national, religious, linguistic, or cultural heritage
- **Migration:** It is the movement from one place to another
- **Undulating:** Wavy in appearance

2.6 ANSWERS TO 'CHECK YOUR PROGRESS'

1. Tibeto-Burmese
2. False
3. True
4. Kustum (Hazarikhowa) and Kovatsun (Kapahchors) are the two main divisions of the Akas.
5. Adis
6. Tangsa
7. True
8. Resource utilization
9. Ecology
10. Technology

2.7 QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Short-Answer Questions

1. Who are Mijis?
2. Who are Baguns?
3. Where do the Nyishis stay? Name the popular sources of information on the Nyishis.
4. How is the mode of resource utilization important for understanding the social life of Arunachal Pradesh?
5. State the difference between technology and ecology.
6. State two criticisms of the mode of production scheme.

Long-Answer Questions

1. Briefly discuss the geographical features of Arunachal Pradesh.
2. Write a short note on the Monpas, Sherdukpen and Akas.
3. How are the Nyishis the most populous tribe of Arunachal Pradesh?
4. Write a short note on the Galos.
5. Write a short note on the Mishings.
6. Discuss the pattern of settlement of the tribes in Arunachal Pradesh.

2.8 FURTHER READING

Amrendra Kr Thakur. 2008. '*Historical Studies of Arunachal Pradesh: An Overview*', in R. Bezbaruah, P. Goswami and D. Banerjee (eds.), *North-East India Interpreting the Sources of its History*. New Delhi: I C H R and Aryan Books.

Bose, M. L. 1997. *History of Arunachal Pradesh*. New Delhi: Concept Publishing.

UNIT 3 AHOM RELATIONS WITH THE TRIBES OF ARUNACHAL PRADESH

Structure

3.0 Introduction
3.1 Unit Objectives
3.2 Tribes of Arunachal Pradesh: Nyishi, Adi, Mishimi, Bhutia, Khampti and Akas
  3.2.1 Policy of Subjugation (Use of Force)
3.3 Tribe in Arunachal Pradesh
  3.3.1 The Akas-Ahom Relations
  3.3.2 The Nyishis
  3.3.3 The Abors (Adis) and Miris (Mishings)
  3.3.4 Mishimis
  3.3.5 The Khamptis
  3.3.6 The Singphos
  3.3.7 Khasis
  3.3.8 Jaintias
  3.3.9 Kacharis
3.4 Summary
3.5 Key Terms
3.6 Answers to 'Check Your Progress'
3.7 Questions and Exercises
3.8 Further Reading

3.0 INTRODUCTION

The Ahom people had come to the region of Assam and had begun their rule. It was not an easy task as they had to subjugate and keep under control those, who had been residing around those areas prior to their emergence in the region. They mostly had cordial relations with every tribe of the region, except with the Jaintias who kept defying them and locking horns with them. Even though the Kacharis were defiant, they were not much of a trouble for the Ahoms.

Let us look at the kind of relations the Ahoms managed to keep with various tribes of the region.

In the hill-plain relationship during the pre-modern period, 'trade and raid' had been a universal phenomenon. The people living in the hills always needed a formal or informal market/ *haat*/ place to exchange their goods with the people of the valleys/ foothills or the plains. The two always depended on each other for products. This was a mutually accepted practice. In this system, mainly to minimize the language barrier and facilitate trade, some institutions of middlemen and frontier officers were formed. This section of people (Kotokis and others), besides playing an economic role, also played the role of middlemen in the political relations between people living in the hills and those living in the plains. Till technological progress of the two areas reached similar levels, there was, it can be said, a peaceful co-existence. However, with development at the social and higher levels of polity

formations (in case of Assam the emergence of Ahom kingdom) among the people of the valleys, people living in the hills were suppressed or restricted into the confines of hills. On the other hand, the people living in the hills were always making efforts to retain their previous rights and privileges in the foothills or the plains. The gamut of relationships between Ahoms and tribals, in general, and between the Ahoms and other tribes of Arunachal Pradesh, centres around the same as you will learn in this unit. However, it was not always the principle of war or conflict; there are also evidences of policies of conciliation and respect for the rights of the people living in hills by rulers of the valleys. The overall Ahom policy towards their neighbours was based on four well-known principles of the Indian political philosophy, viz., *Sama-dana-danda-bheda*, i.e., establishment of relations of equal status, establishment of subservient suzerainty, by awarding punishments and driving wedges between neighbours.

For a comprehensive view of the topic, a brief overview of literature is important. It will help readers understand the historiography of the same. E. A. Gait's *A History of Assam* (reprint Gauhati, 1997 and first published 1905), though mainly a book on medieval Assam, could devote only a few paragraphs on the relation of the Ahom rulers with the tribes of Arunachal Pradesh. A detailed study appeared much later; Lakshmi Devi wrote *Ahom-Tribal Relations (A Political Study)*, (Gauhati, 1968). In addition to these two pioneer works, the *Gazetteers* of the British period and after, have also dealt with the subject. Some modern and contemporary historians too have written on the same, however, not in the form of books. These have mostly been written in the form of articles on certain themes. Amalendu Guha's book *Medieval and Early Colonial Assam: Society, Polity, Economy* (A collection of his papers published earlier in Calcutta, in 1991) is an important book to comprehensively understand the developments of Assam in the period. The textbooks written by D. Pandey, C. M. Nayak and some other authors provide easy reading of the topic. All these provide a comprehensive picture of the relation of tribes with Ahom rulers. At the outset, it is important to mention that sometimes we witness the bias, either in favour of the people of the hills or the plains or sometimes, the continuance of traditional colonial historiographical approach in these works. This unit is based on these writings.

In the process of foundation and extension of the Ahom kingdom and especially after extending its control to the northern bank of Brahmaputra, they came in direct contact and consequently in conflict with the tribes of Arunachal Pradesh. The Noctes were the only exception. While coming to Assam, the Ahoms had already crossed the hills where the Noctes lived and had encountered them in the early years of the 13th century. The tribes such as, the Noctes, Nyishis, Adis, Miris (Mishings), Mishimis, Khamptis, Singhphos, Sherdukpens and others developed relationship with the Ahom rulers.

3.1 UNIT OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to:

- Interpret the policy of the Ahom rulers towards the tribes of Arunachal Pradesh
- Discuss the policy of peace, conciliation and mutual co-existence
- Describe the policy of force used by the Ahoms against the tribes
- Explain the relations of the Ahoms with the Nyishi, Adi, Mishimi, Bhutia, Khampti and Akas tribes of Arunachal Pradesh
- Compare the relations of the Ahoms with the Nagas, Khasis, Jaintias and Kacharis

3.2 TRIBES OF ARUNACHAL PRADESH: NYISHI, ADI, MISHIMI, BHUTIA, KHAMPTI AND AKAS

3.2.1 Policy of Subjugation (Use of Force)

Apart from their conciliatory approaches, the Ahoms did not desist from displaying their power over the tribes. Regarding Sukapha, it is said that he adopted policies both of peace and terror. He first went with peace proposals towards local tribes. When it failed he used the most brutal methods to suppress them. But before the actual application of force, the Ahom government banned the commercial facilities given to the tribes of the hills. Sometimes only this method worked to bring them to terms.

It has now been well established that the Ahoms were a section of the Tai race. Historically, these people are known for their valley-dwelling and wet-rice-growing character. The particular branch to which the Ahoms belong is known as the Tai-mao, or the Mao section of the Tai but widely known through the Burmans as the Shan. Ahom chronicles, or *buranji,* make specific mention that the Ahoms were led by Prince (Chao-lung) Sukapha who left Mong Mao-lung in 1215 AD. Sukapha's followers included several nobles (thao-mong), a number of officers of various ranks, nine thousand men, woman and children. After a westward march for thirteen years and staying at several places for periods ranging from one to three years, they arrived at the Patkai in 1228 AD. Posting a governor at the Khamjang valley, their first territorial unit, situated on the shore of the Nongjang lake, Sukapha and the rest of his party at first followed the Namrup, then the Buri Dihing (Namjin), thereafter the Brahmaputra, and the Dikhow before finally arriving at Charaideo, which became his permanent capital. On the way, he also organized several other *territorial* units along the bank of these rivers. In this way a small kingdom bounded by Patkai, the Buri Dihing, the Brahmaputra, the Dikhow and the Naga hills was founded in Upper Assam over which Sukapha ruled till his death in 1268 AD. This territory was peopled chiefly by the Morans and the Borahis, and a few villages of the Chutiyas and the Kacharis evidently of Bodo origin; Nagas were also included in the hilly region of the Patkai. Sukapha won over the chiefs of Morans and the Borahis, and even encouraged intermarriage with them, and appointed some of them in various capacities in the royal household.

Commercial Facility

The Ahom rulers by allowing free commercial activities further facilitated the trade relations with the tribes of Arunachal Pradesh. There were the frontier wardens known as *Datiyalia Bisayas* and *Duarias*, who looked after the interest of traders. The Ahom government established several *haat*s (small markets) near the foothills and the *duars* (mountain passes), where the tribes of the hills could come and

exchange their commodities with those of the plains. The Sherdukpens could bring silver, woollen cloth, Chinese silk, ponies, gold dust and rock salt to Udalguri and Doimara. They exchanged them with items such as iron, lac, rice, Assam silk, dried fish and buffalo horns. The Noctes brought salt, cotton, and elephant teeth to the markets in and around Sibsagar. The Mishimis brought to the Sadiya market the Lama swords, spears and Mismi *tita* (a medicinal herb). The Adis and the Hill Miris exchanged copper, wax, madder (dye), and jim cloth (cotton blanket) for the products of the plains. The Singphos brought ivory, copper and silver. The mutual benefits emerging out of this transaction helped in creating good feelings between the people of the hills and plains. The participation of the tribes of Arunachal Pradesh in trade activities has been studied by A. K. Thakur in this article 'Pre-colonial Trade in Arunachal Pradesh: A Reconstruction of Economic History', *Resarun* Vol. XXVII, 2001, pp. 17-27, Journal of the Directorate of Research, Govt. of Arunachal Pradesh, special issue on Golden Jubilee of the Department of Research, Itanagar, 2002.

Payment of *Posa*

Braj Narain Jha in his article 'Politics of *Posa*: A Case Study of Pre and Post Independence Scenario in Arunachal Pradesh and Assam' (*Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, 57th session, Madras, 1996, pp. 446-58) analyses the background of the origin of the *Posa*, its nature and provides the gamut of historiography related to its nomenclature. The bias in the writings of the British period and even after (especially from the Assam centric history writing) and equating the *posa* with 'blackmail' etc. have also been critically analysed by Jha. This article situates the problem of *Posa* comprehensively. The term 'Posa' literally means a collection of subscription for a common purpose. When this term is used to explain the payments made to the tribes of the hills, it represents the subscription which was collected by the villagers in order to meet the customary demands of the hill people. In the official glossary of terms of the British period the term is explained as the 'allowances paid to certain tribes of the hills inhabiting the hills on the northern frontier of Assam bordering Darrang and Lakhimpur, on account to commuted 'black mail', or in consideration of the abandonment by them of their claims with regards to certain duars.' In general, the term '*posa*' came to be applied to all payments made to the tribes of the hills by the Governments; whether it was in commutation of blackmail or compensation for customary demands of the tribal chiefs of the bordering hills of Arunachal Pradesh. It can neither be compared with 'blackmail' nor 'the *chauth* of Marathas', nor a 'barbarian cupidity'. It was the outcome of a well negotiated policy initiated by the Ahom rulers between the subjects of the plains of Assam (*paiks*), hill chiefs of Arunachal Pradesh and the Ahom rulers. A triangular relation existed among the Ahom State, the Paiks and the tribal chiefs receiving *posa*. The recipients of *posa* paid tribute to the Ahom king and in lieu of that they were granted the right to collect a fixed annual amount of *posa* from the paiks of the adjoining foothills of Assam and also provided their services, sometimes to particular chiefs. For fulfilling these obligations, certain remissions in the state demand were given to those paiks. All the payments were made in kind.

Jha rightly concludes '... the nature of *posa* (was) based on the socio-political realities of the contemporary period of Assam and Arunachal Pradesh .... it has often been wrongly interpreted as blackmail.' Knowingly or unknowingly most of the writers of the history of Arunachal Pradesh and Assam regard the *posa* system as blackmail, to meet the need of the hills. Contrary to these approaches, S. Dutta in his article 'The *Posa* System: A Historical Analysis' (S. Dutta and B. Tripathy (eds.), *Sources of the History of Arunachal Pradesh*, Gyan Publishing, New Delhi, 2008, pp. 161-82) and Amrendra Kr Thakur in his article 'Sat Rajas of Arunachal Pradesh: A Study' (in J. B. Bhattacharjee and D. R. Syiemlieh (eds.), *Early States in North East India*, Regency Publications, New Delhi, 2013, pp. 190-211) also provide some other details of the *posa* system.

The observation of A. Mackenzie (*The North East Frontier of India*, reproduced 1999, Mittal, New Delhi, p.21) is relevant to be mentioned about the nature and system of *Posa*. He writes, 'It is a mistake to suppose that the *posa*, which, as we shall see, was paid to most of the tribes of the hills bordering on the plains, was an uncertain, ill-defined exaction, depending in amount upon the rapacity of the different hordes who might descend to levy it. It was really a well ascertained revenue payment, on account of which a corresponding remission was made in the state demand upon the ryot satisfying it. It may have had its origin in encroachment, or it may have been based upon customary and primeval rights asserted by the hill men, but it was a distinct feature in the revenue system of the country when the British annexed Assam.'

In this way the *posa* system originated due to certain exigencies of the time. The Ahom king pratap Singha, gave to it a formal shape. The *posa* was granted to the Bhutias, the Akas, and Daflas, and the Miris. The Ahom king Gadadhar Singha conciliated the Daflas 'by assigning to them a number of paiks in the *duars*. They were called Dafla Bahatias, or the serfs of the Daflas. Every ten houses of the Dafla Bahatias used to pay to the Daflas per year on double cloth, one napkin, one *dao*, ten heads of cattle, and four seer of salt. Similarly, each family of Bahatias assigned to the *Hazari khowa,* the Akas used to pay a portion of female dress, one bundle of cotton thread, and one napkin. They also serviced as labourers under Akas.

Consequential to the commutation of *posa* to cash by the British, the annual receipts of the various beneficiaries were estimated as follows:

Nyishis (Daflas)	₹ 1020/-
Bhooteahs (Sherdukpents of Rupa and Shergaon)	₹ 2526-7/-
Tagee Akas Raja and Kuppachor Akas	₹ 580/-
Hazaree Khoa Akas	₹ 88/-
Thebengia Bhooteahs (Bapus of Thembang)	₹ 145-13.6/-
Tawang Raja	₹ 5000/-

Grant of Land and the Origin of the Kotokis

The policy of friendly relation of Ahom rulers with the tribes of Arunachal Pradesh is also reflected through the measure of the grant of fertile land (*Khat*s) in the foothills to the tribes of Arunachal Pradesh especially to the Noctes (generally mentioned in the contemporary literature as the Nagas) for cultivation. The Ahom rulers also considered the tribes inhabiting the area south of Sibsagar district of Assam, such as Namchangias (Namsangias), Bardurias, Banferas, Chagnois, Tablungias, Panidurias, etc., as their subjects, and claimed its right to share with the Nagas the produce of the salt manufactured in the Lower hills. In the *Buranji*s it is mentioned that Naga chiefs used to pay tributes to the Ahoms and received grants of Khats and of *bheels* or fishing waters in the plains in lieu of the same. The Naga chiefs were also allotted paiks like the other tribes of Arunachal Pradesh and the Ahom nobility.

The Ahom king, Pratap Singha (1603-41), started the institution of Katakis in order to regulate his relation with the tribes of Arunachal Pradesh and other neighbours. The British found this mechanism useful and continued the same. The Ahom king Pratap Singha (1603-41) highlighted the importance of the Kotokis in these words: 'Kotokis should be like shieldmen. Your words alone constitute your rice and cloth.' The Kotokis who were employed to deal with the tribals were familiar with the customs and dialects of the tribals. The Kotokis were the agents of the Ahom government who conducted political and diplomatic relations with the neighbouring powers. The role of the Kotokis in the Ahom-tribal relation as 'go-between' or of the 'intermediaries' between the Ahom and other powers is a well-known fact. It was possible mainly because they were very intelligent and educated persons and in most of the cases, their capacity to argue and present facts was the decisive factors. The services of the Kotokis were also utilized 'to carry and to explain the letters, orders, request, etc. of the Ahom monarchs to the neighbouring powers'. We have, however, enough evidence to suggest that they also played an important role in determining the terms of agreement between the tribes of Arunachal and Ahom. The Ahom government appointed a number of *Katakis (or Kotokis)* to look after and manage the Khats. The katakis were appointed mainly to maintain a 'channel of communication between the government and the tribes.' 'They also kept a watch over the movement of the hill people' and 'were paid by a remission of the poll tax.' One important feature of the tribal-Ahom relations was the role played by the Kotokis in promoting and maintaining these relations. Gait clearly writes (p.113), 'In order to stop the acts of oppression committed by the Miris and Daflas, *Katakis* were appointed to watch them and keep the authorities informed of their movements. In this connection, however, it should be mentioned that in 1615, when reprisals were attempted after a raid perpetrated by these hill men, the Ahom forces were obliged to beat a retreat.' He further writes (p.114), 'Hindus were often appointed as envoys (bairagis and katakis) in preference to Ahoms....'

Pratap Singha, through the mediation of the Kotokis, was able to normalize relation with the Miris and the *posa* was given to them. Again in 1665 A.D., one Kalia Kotoki was sent to negotiate with the Miris. The Miris also utilized the services of the kotokis and sent their message through them to the Ahom officials. Likewise in the struggle between the Nishis and the Ahoms, the Katakis played an important role. The *Posa* with the Nishis was settled with the help of these officials and they again negotiated with the Nishis during the reign of King Sutyinpha in 1648 and again in 1678 during the rule of Udayaditya Singha (1669-73). The services of the Katakis were also used in the Ahom-Mishimi confrontation 1675. Chaodang, a Kataki, was entrusted the duty by the Ahoms to negotiate with the Mishimis. Though the Adis never came in direct confrontation with the Ahom and as such the Kotokis did not approach them directly, we must remember that the Miris who acted as the agents of the Adis were in constant contact with Kotokis and as such were a key factor in establishing the Adi-Ahom relations.

The socio-cultural developments of the tribes of Arunachal Pradesh too made the institution of Katakis important in the dealings with the Ahom rulers. The tribes of Arunachal, except for the Khamptis and the Monpas, did not have any written language and often communicated through dialects that varied from tribe to tribe. Assamese was the *lingua franca*. The sole responsibility of representing the case of these tribal to the Ahoms and vice versa, therefore, rested with these Kotokis and it was here that their ability to persuade the tribal was tested. On the occasions when these Kotokis failed to persuade the people of Arunachal Pradesh, they were punished by the Ahoms, as was done by King Rudra Singha, when the Kotokis were charged with a traitorous neglect of their duties. These two Kotokis who had been sent to negotiate with the Nyishis in 1713-14, could not bring satisfactory results, were put to death by the Phukan on orders from the king. The Kotokis, therefore, certainly played a key role in determining the relation of the tribal with Ahoms.

The Ahom rulers had advanced war weapons (matchlocks and guns), large surplus production and the *paiks* to aggressively pursue their imperial policy. Though the tribes of Arunachal Pradesh had mostly the traditional tribal war weapons (daos, spears, bows and arrows, etc.), the Ahoms avoided straight military fight against them mainly due to the geographical reasons. The reason behind the same was also the indigenous system of defence mechanism of the villages and the guerrilla and ambuscade mode of warfare of the people of Arunachal Pradesh. On the other hand, a hill campaign was always difficult due to bad communication to the hills, narrow paths or tracks over precipices, were the only means to reach the hills. In such inhospitable conditions the policy of conciliation was the best choice. The Ahom rulers generally avoided complete subjugation of the tribes. It was very difficult for them to rule over the hill. So they were always cautious in shaping policy towards tribes of the hills. The Ahom policy can be summarized like this: 'Conciliate these tribes by promising to furnish them their necessaries as far as possible. If they indulge in wanton pillages; pursue and capture the miscreants, but never overstep the limits'. Under this policy the Ahom rulers initiated many measures which are described in the following section, in short.

3.3 TRIBE IN ARUNACHAL PRADESH

In the 13th century, with the rise of the Kingdom of the Ahoms, a contact between the Ahoms and the Nagas was established. Originally from Burma, the Ahoms entered north-eastern Assam, via, the North Eastern Frontier and the Patkai range. Slowly, they established themselves in the plains of the Brahmputra valley. Sukapha was the first Ahom ruler of Assam and he succeeded in establishing the Ahom paramountcy over the tribes of the hills though he could not introduce Ahom rule amongst them.

It has been opined that the Ahoms were looking for food when they first attacked the Naga villages. Undoubtedly, the Nagas who despised interference in their affairs resisted the Ahom advance, but were not powerful enough to face repeated efforts of the Ahoms. This led to the subjugation of some tribes but whatever rule was established, did not last for long.

The retaliating Nagas even raided territories which were under the control of the Ahom kings. The tribes that the Ahoms subjugated lived near Assam's plains and were: Ao, Lotha, Konyak and Nocte. Despite defeating these tribes, no rule was established by the Ahoms over the Nagas, instead, they were pushed into showing their allegiance through payment of a tribute. A treaty between the Nagas and the Ahoms gave the Nagas an exemption from paying rent for the region meant for the purpose of fishing. The right to *posha*, a kind of tax, was granted to the Naga chief. According to J F Michael, 'Present inhabitants are the remains of the hill regions

enlisted by the rajas of Assam and had been given the present lands as their reward of good service.'

The Nagas are of the opinion that though the Ahom rulers entered some Naga territories and compelled the Nagas to pay tribute, they were never under the Ahom rule. The forceful relations were always of a temporary nature. According to Butler, the supremacy of the Ahoms had been accepted by the Nagas, but they had been granted the exercise of freedom as far as their internal affairs were concerned.

However, it does seem that compulsion and force was used to keep the Nagas in a relationship with the Ahoms. Lakshmi Devi is of the view that when in the 17th century, Lotha Nagas rebelled against the Ahoms, T C Phukan had severely dealt with them. This led to the Lothas agreeing to be under the Ahom rule.

In the beginning of the 18th century, due to various reasons, the Ahom Kingdom had weakened. Taking advantage of this, the subjugated Nagas freed themselves. Following this, they began to raid the Ahom subjects.

The warlike tribes in the interiors never came in contact with the Ahom rulers. The Ahom rulers changed the policy they would follow with frontier tribes based on political exigencies, but more so on the ability of the tribe or the tribal chief. It is known that at the beginning of their rule, the Ahom rulers followed a policy of slow but steady penetration, occasionally attended with revolting cruelties. With a view to terrorizing the tribal people, the Ahoms followed the policy of terrorism and committed atrocities compelling the relatives of the Nagas to eat the flesh of their roasted brethren. This was the reason they did not get the support, faith and cooperation of the Nagas, instead got their enmity. When Nagas were raided by the Ahoms, their houses were burnt down, following which, they submitted and were pardoned and given compensation for the losses inflicted on them. The tribal chiefs were captured and beheaded.

These instances make it clear that there never were peaceful and friendly relations between the Ahoms and the Nagas. In times of declining power, the Ahoms followed a policy of appeasing the tribes of the frontier region. Post Pratap Singha's death, those who succeeded, failed at keeping the tribes subjugated. With decline of the kingdom, the tribes, along with the Nagas rose to take revenge for the excesses committed on them by the Ahoms, when they became powerful.

3.3.1 The Akas-Ahom Relations

The Akas are comparatively small in number, and call themselves Hrusso. They inhabit the area between the Bharali river and the Buddhist tribes of the West Kameng and Tawang districts. The Akas, who lived in the hills north of Charduar, comprised mainly two clans - the *Hazari-khowas* (means 'eaters at a thousand hearths') and the *Kapachors* (meaning 'thieves who lurk amid the cotton plants). The Ahom government had granted right of *posa* to the *Hazari Khowas* to prevent their aggression of the plains. But the Kapachors were more troublesome. According to the records of 1825, the Akas were entitled to receive from each house of their allotted Paiks, 'one portion of a female dress, one bundle of cotton thread and one handkerchief.'

It is worth mentioning here that only the Hazarikhowa clan of the Akas was entitled to receive *Posa* and no such right was given to the *Kopachors*. It is suggested that the name Hazarikhowa came into use because a thousand *gots* or paiks or individual groups of revenue payers were set aside for the collection of *Posa* by the

Akas. The Kopachors, on the other hand, simply extorted some articles from the cultivators in the plains. It is also suggested that the Kopachors were not considered separate from the Hazarikhowas and the latter were supposed to share a part of their *Posa* with the former. This goes on to suggest, therefore, that though originally the Kopachors were not entitled to receive *Posa*, they began to assert their right to collect the same and compelled the Hazarikhowas to share it with them. In addition to the *Posa* given to the Akas, there cannot be any doubt that like many other tribes, they also collected paddy from the paiks assigned to them. One important thing about the Aka-Ahom relation is that throughout the entire period of Ahom rule over Assam no conflict ever took place between the Akas and the Ahoms.



Fig. 3.1 *The Ahom King Sukapha*

3.3.2 The Nyishis

The Ahom –Nyishi relations has also been studied in detail by Lakshmi Devi (op.cit., pp. 217-234). The Nyishis are mentioned as the Daflas in the contemporary Ahom documents and consequently the British documents as well as the historians of the post-Independence period used the same term for the Nyishi. This terminology is, however, not used nowadays. The Nyishis of Arunachal Pradesh are settled mostly in the hills north of Nao Duar (the nine passes) in Darrang and Che-Duar (the six passes) in Lakhimpur. Those who resided on the border of Darrang were known as '*Paschima* or *Western Daflas*', and those on the border of North Lakhimpur were called as the '*Tagin* or *Eastern Daflas*'. On the west, the Akas were their neighbours and on the east lived the Galo, Adis and the Hill Miris. They occupied the territory situated between the Bhorali river on the west and the upper courses of Subansiri river on the east. The Nishis were divided into two broad categories. The eastern members of the tribe living on the borders of Lakhimpur, called themselves Ni-Sing or Nyising and were called Tagin Daflas by the Assamese. In the western branches, settled near the plains and foothills of Darrang, they were called Bag-ni or Bang-ni and the Assamese called them Paschima Daflas.

One important feature of these Nyishi tribes was that they were not organized in one or two single groups, but were rather a collection of small clans which were independent of each other, and as such rarely resorted to any combined actions. The number of chiefs who were recognized by the British government for the grant of *Posa* clearly shows this. The total number of such chiefs was 238. The form of government of the Nyishis was oligarchical and there were 30 to 40 chiefs in a single clan. The Ahoms came into contact with the Nyishis only after the annexation of the Sutiya territories (1522-23).

We get the first reference of any contact between the Nyishis and the Ahoms in the year 1614 during the reign of Pratap Singha in Assam. Provoked by the attack of the Nyishis in the plains, the king ordered Lako Borpatra and Bharali Gohain to proceed against the Nyishis on the frontier of Darrang. However, this expedition resulted in heavy losses for the Ahoms and a number of soldiers were killed by the Nishis, and the two Ahom officers were compelled to return back. Thus in the very first contact between the Nishis and the Ahoms, the latter realized the ferocious nature of the former. It was, therefore, thought proper to follow a policy of give and take by the Ahoms and in order to put some check to the raids of the Nishis, Pratap Singha constructed a Dafla-garh (fortification) in the eastern parts of the Tezpur sub-division of Darrang division which was also known as 'Rajgarh'. The Nyishis were also granted *Posa* by the Ahoms. A number of Paiks were assigned to the Nishis in the duar areas who became known as Dafla-bahatias or the serfs of the Daflas and an officer known as Dafalaparia Phukan was appointed to look after these men. In the relations with the Ahoms the Nyishis proved to be the most formidable. The Ahom Prime Minister, Atan Burhagohain's, acceptance that 'it was impossible to capture the Daflas' and 'The Dafla miscreants can be captured only if an elephant can enter into a rat-hole' clearly indicates the strengths of the Nyishis. In 1562, the Nyishis (along with the Koches) invaded the plains. The Ahom king Sukhampha, the Khora Raja (1552-1603) adopted defensive measures by constructing forts and appointing a new officer called Salal Gohain to keep the Daflas and Akas in check. King Pratap Singha had also got constructed a fort called the *Dafla Garh* in Darrang. This step was taken after an utter failure of the Ahom expedition against the Western Daflas in 1614. Pratap Singha even granted '*posa*' to the Nyishis in order to conciliate them. From an account of 13th May, 1825, we know that every year from every ten houses of Dafala-bahatias, the Nyishis were entitled to receive one double cloth, one single cloth, one handkerchief, one *dao*, ten heads of horned cattle and four seers of salt. In addition, the Nyishis must have received some paddy which is stated by Padmeswar Singh Naobakha Pukan and also by Col. White. Because of this, the paiks were given corresponding concessions in the tax which they paid to Ahoms.

These measures could not stop the Nyishi raids into the Ahom territory. Sutyinpha's (1644-1648) expedition of 1646, and King Sunyatpha's (or Udayaditya Singha, 1670-1672) expedition, (1672) against them could not bring success to the Ahoms. The Nyishis were supported by the Hill Miris in their fight against the Ahoms. King Gadadhar Singha (1681-1696) pacified with the Daflas by placing at their disposal a number of people (known as the Dafla-Bahatia). King Rudra Singha (1696-1714) was also successful in invoking the Nyishis to send their troops in his proposed invasion of Bengal. The Western Daflas, numbering six hundred, came down from the hills north of Darrang to join the Ahom army. But after Rudra Singha's

death in 1714, their relationship again turned hostile. King Siva Singha (1714-1744) subdued the Daflas in 1717.

King Rajendra Singha (1751-1769) also tried to prevent the Dafla raids. He erected forts and put restrictions on Daflas entrance to markets. The Daflas suffered badly due to the ban. At last, their delegation came for agreement. But the Ahom king was not satisfied. He got the members of the delegation arrested. The Daflas retaliated by capturing a number of people from the plain. After the event both parties reached an agreement and released the captives. The Daflas were allowed to levy *posa* on condition of their refraining from the act of aggression.

On the basis of the above discussion we can say that the Nyishis always resisted the Ahom moves of expansion or restricting the Nyishis into the hills. During the initial contacts with the Nyishis, the Ahoms realized the ferocious and independent nature of the former and in order to avoid any further complications, *Posa* was granted to them. Despite this, whenever the Nishis were in need of labourers and other necessaries of life, they simply came down to the plains and collected the dues from the villages. The Assam centric history portrays the Nyishi claim as the loot or plunder. The observation of Muhammad Kasim, a historian during the days of Aurangzeb, about the Nyishis needs to be mentioned here: 'The Daflas are extremely independent of the Assam Raja and whenever they find an opportunity, plunder the country contiguous to their mountains.' The introduction of the *posa* system, however, was an important measure taken by the Ahom kings to regulate the Ahom-Nyishi relations.

3.3.3 The Abors (Adis) and Miris (Mishings)

The Adis were known as the Abors in the Ahom and British documents (however, now-a-days Adi is popularly used in place of Abor). Now the Galos have separate identity, however, earlier known as the Gallongs, they were part and parcel of the Adi society, culture and identity. The Adis came into contact with the Ahoms when the Sutiya Kingdom was annexed to the Ahom territory in the year 1523 during the reign of Suhungmung, or Dihingia Raja. With this annexation the Ahom territories were extended up to river Subansiri, which was the homeland of the Adis, then called Abors. The Adis as whole lived in the East and West Siang, eastern border of the Upper Subansiri and the south western part of the Dibang Valley of present Arunachal Pradesh. Both belonged to the same origin, but in the process of migration the latter came down to the plains and settled along the north bank of Brahmaputra (Lakhimpur district of Assam). There had been close relationship between Adis and Miris. In fact, the Miris of the plains were claimed by the Adis as 'their dependents and runaway slaves.' The term 'Miri' in Assamese means go-between and true to this meaning, the Miris acted as such between the Adis and the traders of Assam. The Adis also claimed that all the fish and gold found in the rivers that flowed through their territory belonged to them.

Under the Ahom government the Miris played the role of intermediaries between the Abors and the traders of Assam. There were other branches of Miris who were called the Hill Miris, and settled in the hills to the north of Sisi and Dhemaji (Lakhimpur District). The Ahom government had granted them right to *posa* similar to the Nyishis, Akas, Monpas and Sherdukpens. But still the Miris raided on the plains in 1655 and again in 1665. Their raid on Sadiya (1683) during the rule of Gadadhar Singha was very violent one. They set fire to the house of the

Sadiya Khowa Gohain, destroyed the villages, and killed about two hundred people. However, due to the pressure of the Ahom king they had to submit. In the later period, too, the Miris created problem for the Ahom government especially during the Moamaria rebellion.

The Ahom government did not grant right to *posa* to the Adis, as it was granted to other tribes. The Adis had a different type of right, that is, they claimed 'absolute sovereignty over the Miris of the plains, and an inalienable right to all the fish and gold found in the Dihong river. The Ahom government had tacitly accepted such claims of the Adis. It had relieved the Miris of all revenue charges for performing services to the Abors. In this way the Ahoms had acknowledged the subjugation of Miris to the Abors.

The Adis had a peaceful relation with the Ahoms, and they were 'never known to commit an act of unprovoked ravage or outrage on the villages of the plains'. Rather, on one occasion the Abors (Padam Clan) rejected the Khampti proposal of combined attack on the Ahoms. The Padams got assistance from the Ahom government. Some of the Abors even came for help of the Ahoms during the Moamaria rebellion.

In recognition of this privilege that was given to them by the Ahoms, the Adis were supposed to pay an annual tribute to the Ahom government. Some historians have maintained that through such agreements, 'Posa' was granted to the Adis but this does not seem to be true. The concessions which were granted to the Adis by the Ahoms were not actually concessions but a mere recognition of the claims of the latter over the Miris. No direct relation worth mention ever existed between the Ahoms and the Adis and the Adis continued to trade with the outside world through the Miris. Likewise the Ahom Buranjis do not give us any clue of Adi-Ahom conflict.

3.3.4 Mishimis

The Mishimis were the immediate neighbours of the Sutiyas and so after the annexation of the Sutiya kingdom, the Ahoms came into contact with the Mishimis. To the east of the Adis across the Dibang river lived various branches of the tribes who were collectively called the Mishimis. The clan, also known as Digaru Mishimis, lived to the west of Digaru river, near the famous Brahmakunda and were constantly in touch with the plains. They also acted as guides to the Hindu pilgrims visiting Brahmakunda. The Mezho lived to the north-east of Du river and traded with Tibet; the Maros lived south of Brahmaputra and their settlements were scattered and mixed up with Khamptis and Singphos. Various groups of Mishimis (such as, the Idus or Chulikata, the Taraon or Digaru and the Kamanor Miju) lived in the hills to the east of the Adis. At present they mostly inhabit in the Lohit, Anjaw and Dibang Valley districts of Arunachal Pradesh. The Ahoms had peaceful relations with the Mishimis. They had not been granted right to *posa*, but they enjoyed trade facilities. In fact, the Mishimis were keen traders and their contact with the neighbouring countries and the markets in Assam proved to be a catalyst in facilitating the same. They used to come to Sadiya market with the hill produces. They traded mainly in musk, skins of animals, 'Mishmitita', some ivory and few other articles. The policy of non-intervention and better trade opportunities offered by the Ahoms led to the better relations between the Mishimis and the Ahoms.

There are not many references to the Mishimis in the *Buranjis* (the Ahom chronicle). King Sutyinpha (1644-48) constructed a *Mishimi-garh*' (Rampart) to

resist the Mishimi raiders. The only conflict that took place between the Mishimis and the Ahoms was during the reign of Ramdhraj Singha (1673-75), when, in the month of June in 1675, the Mishimis killed four Ahom priests in the Deoghar (temple) in Sadiya. When the Sadiyakhowa Gohain (he was an Ahom officer, who was appointed to guard the Sadiya frontier against the inroads of the tribes) informed the Ahom King of the incident and requested for assistance, the Mishimis, with the help of the Doanias, who are said to be the half-breeds of the Singphos, erected a stockade near a deep sheet of water. The combined strength of the Mishimis and Doaris compelled the Ahom forces to retreat and some Assamese villages were also burnt by the tribal near river Ziri.

The Ahom king then sent fresh reinforcements and also ordered Baraphukan to proceed against the Mishimis. A fort was erected at Tishing and the Ahom forces put up there. A few days later one Chaodang Kataki was sent to ask the Mishimis the reasons for their inroads. Chaodang brought back two hundred Mishimi men with him. Upon inquiry, it was revealed that four Mishimis who had committed the murders were Pude, Mirishang, Bajing and Phakushi. The Baraphukan and Sadiyakhowa Gohain were determined to capture and punish the offenders and the Ahom forces rather frightened the Mishimis who agreed to hand over the guilty. The culprits were subsequently handed over to the Baraphukan by the Mishimis along with some tributes. These culprits were put to death, and thereafter no major raid worth mention was carried out by the Mishimis over the Ahom territory. We have some evidence to show that the Ahoms recognized the possessions of the hills adjacent to the Dibang river by the Mishimis and the Mishimis paid four baskets of poison to the Ahoms as tribute. This fact is reflected in a stone pillar of octagonal shape found on the banks of Deopani river about 7 miles north of Sadiya. The agreement to this effect was signed in 1687 between the Mishimis and the Dihingia Phukan also known as 'Bargohain of Sadiya.' Thus the Ahoms followed a policy of equity and persuasion towards the Mishimis.

The *Sadiya Stone Pillar Inscription (*probably inscribed in about 1687) issued by the Dihingia Bargohain (the Ahom overlord of the Sadiya region) confirms a settlement between the Ahoms and the Mishimis. The Mishimis were asked to pay tribute to the Sadiyakhowa Gohain.

3.3.5 The Khamptis

The Khamptis were probably the nearest kinsmen of the Ahom ruler of Assam and migrated to India from the ancient kingdom of Mung-Mau or Pong in Burma. The Khamptis entered in big numbers the borders of Sadiya in Assam in the middle of the 18th century due to constant wars and confusion in the Mogoung area. Being the close kinsmen of the Ahoms, the Khamptis were allowed to settle on the banks of Tengapani river in 1751 A.D. But the other migrants, particularly the Singhphos (of Burmese stock) ousted the Khamptis from their settlements, so they moved to the Sadiya region. South of Manbhum ranges on the bank of Buri Dihing there were four important Khamti villages. The Noa Dihing forms the west side of this rough square and on this river, were located the other nine Khamti villages. The banks of these rivers were very fertile and known for the settled rice cultivation. The Khamtis were rice cultivators, traders, warriors and good artisans. They used to come to the Sadiya market to buy and sell various articles. They had their small principality. E. R. Leach in his book *The Political System of the Highland Burma* (London, 1959)

provides a detailed description of the origin, migration and settlement of the Khamptis in the areas of Arunachal Pradesh.

Things went on peacefully and no confrontation took place between the Khamptis and the Ahoms in the beginning. This peaceful co-existence did not continue for long. The opportunity to fulfill the political ambition of the Khamptis to expand their area of influence in the territories of Assam came only when the Ahom rulers were in trouble due to the Moamaria rebellion (1779-onwards). The Khamptis crossed the river Brahmaputra in 1794, ousted the Sadiyakhowa Gohain, the Ahom Governor of Sadiya, and established their rule over Sadiya with two chiefs namely Burha Raja and Deka Raja. The Ahom king was rather compelled to accept this agreement because of the overall adverse political condition. The Khamptis, however, were not contended with that and during the reign of Kamaleshwar Singha (1795-1811), came further down the plains in 1799 A.D. We have some evidence to suggest that the Khamptis were helped by some other Shan tribes such as Pan, Naras and Phakials and also by the Miris, Mishimis, the Muluks and the Adis. This time, however, the Khamptis were badly defeated by the Ahom army sent by the Prime Minister, Purnananda Burhagohain. The Burha Raja of the Khamptis was captured but was pardoned and re-established by the king. The Khamptis remained quiet for some time but certainly caused trouble to the Ahoms during the Burmese invasion of Assam (1816-1824), because the British found that the entire Sadiya tract was under the control of the Khamptis. Thus we see that the Khamptis took full advantage of their kinship relations when it suited them and forgot it at other times when the Ahoms became weak.

The Ahom Rule was on decline at that time. It seems that the Khamptis, at the time of the Burmese invasions of Assam, regained their hold over Sadiya.

3.3.6 The Singphos

The Singphos, like the Khamptis migrated from the Upper Burma and settled in this part of Arunachal Pradesh. In the south of Manbhum ranges on the bank of Buri Dihing there were six Singpho villages. The Noa Dihing forms the west side of this rough square; and on this river, were located the other eighteen Singpho villages. The banks of these rivers were very fertile and known for the settled rice cultivation. The Singphos were loosely organized under two significant chiefs of Bisa Gam and Duffa Gam across the Patkai ranges in Burma. Besides the fertile rice valley and the rich forestland, this area was rich in mineral resources such as coal, lime, iron, silver and petroleum. The indigenous tea-bushes and elephant-catching and trade in ivory tusk and elephants were other attractions of the area. The nearby forest also abounded in the natural rubber trees, which were tapped and the juice was processed for producing rubber. The Singphos like the Khamptis were keen traders in slaves; mostly captured from the territories of Assam and traded up to Bhamo or Yunnan province of China.

The engagement of Singphos with the Ahom rulers came during the reign of Kamaleswar Singha (1795-1811) when the Moamaria rebellion was in full swing. The Singphos entered into some understanding with the Moamaria rebels who had been defeated by the Ahoms, and attacked a number of villages in the eastern parts of Assam. They also imported some Burmese troops. When the Ahom king got this news, he sent troops under Deka Phukan. The Singphos, initially, were successful in checking the Ahom advances and also inflicted losses to them; but in a renewed attempt, the Ahoms were able to break the fort of the Singphos. An agreement was arrived at and the Ahom Prime Minister Purnananda Buragohain presented an Ahom girl named Rangili to the Singhphos chief Bichanong. Bichanong presented Rangili to the Burmese king in order to strengthen ties with him. The agreement of the Singphos with the Ahoms did not last long and during the time of the Burmese invasion of Assam, Singhphos like the Khamptis, made a number of attacks on the villages in the plains, carried away a number of slaves, and reduced the population of the village in the eastern parts considerably. About 3000 of the Assamese subjects were recovered from the captivity of the Singphos by Capt Neufville, the first Political Agent of Upper Assam. The problem of slavery abolition and occupation of Singpho land for tea cultivation were the areas of concern between the Singpho-British relation which will be discussed in the following units. The Singphos, thus, took full advantage of the troubled times of the Ahoms, and refused to be ever loyal to them after their appearance in Assam.

Highlights of the Tribal-Ahom Relations

When the Ahom rule was established in Assam, the tribal of Arunachal continued to follow their policy of trade and raids (extortion and plunder) on the plains of Assam. This policy of the tribal was the result of difficult geographical conditions of the hills, the want of the necessities of life in their areas and the traditional rights of the tribes of the hills upon the plain people of foothills of Assam to collect dues. The Ahom rulers of Assam when could cross the northern bank of the Brahamputra, assumed the responsibility of protecting their subjects from the raids of these tribes. Here it would be worth mentioning that any political or socio-economic relation between the tribal and the Ahoms was, in almost all the cases, initiated by the Ahom government and not by the tribal. Most of the tribes of Arunachal were very independent in nature and never desired any outside interference in their lives unless compelled by their existence at stake.

So far as the Ahoms were concerned, their policy towards the tribals of Arunachal was based on the policy of reconciliation and persuasion; for the occupation of the hill areas of Arunachal was out of question, and the Ahoms never had any desire to interfere with the polity of the tribal. The tribal were hardly influenced by the formative changes taking place in the plains of Assam, and continued to live during the Ahom period as they used to do thousands of years ago.

In order to protect their subjects from the raids of these tribals and also to maintain peace and tranquility in the area, the Ahoms granted the right of *Posa* to some of the tribes of Arunachal, and certain other concessions were given to the tribes, like the Adis, who were not granted *Posa*. The Ahom policy towards these tribes of the hills was of conciliation followed by the display of force whenever possible. However, in spite of the *Posa* and other concessions granted to them, most of the tribes often violated the friendly agreements and raided the villages in the plains. This rather compelled the Ahom government to send some punitive expedition against these tribes resulting in the loss of lives and properties. But, generally speaking, the Ahoms were able to maintain comparative peace and harmony with the tribes of Arunachal and in most of the cases these tribes accepted the Ahom sovereignty in the plains and paid tribute to them in return of the various concessions given by Ahoms.

Check Your Progress

1. How can we summarize the Ahom policy?
2. How was the term, *posa* generally applied?
3. What kind of weapons did the Ahom rulers have?

The Noctes

'Naga' is a generic term applied to a large number of tribes and sub-tribes living in the Tirap and Changlang districts of Arunachal Pradesh. Historically, their place of habitation had been in the valley of the Dhansiri in the west to the hills of the Patkai in the east, and from the border of Nowgong, Sibsagar and Lakhimpur districts of Assam in the north to the North of Cachar and Manipur in the south. They were organized in many groups, such as the Banferas, Noctes and Wanchos. In Assam they were known by their place of abode, such as the Namsangias, Bordurias and Panidurias. Lakshmi Devi (op.cit. pp. 19-56) provides a comprehensive picture of the Ahom-Naga relations.

The Ahom–Naga relation in the context of the tribes of Arunachal Pradesh is mainly concerned with the noctes. Noctes means village people (*noc* means village and *te* means people) and were settled in the Tirap district of Arunachal from as early as the 12th or 13th century. These noctes came into contact with the Ahoms when the latter were wandering for permanent settlement. The Nagas did not welcome the early invaders and gave tough resistance to them. The Ahom king Sukapha terrorized them by adopting the brutal method of suppression. Later on, the Ahoms conciliated with them (as has been discussed already). Conflict between the Ahoms and the nagas continued throughout the period of the Ahom rule. The main causes of the conflict were the right to use the Naga products and control over the salt wells. The nagas of Jaypur, Namsang, Paniduria and Barduria lived mainly by manufacturing salt, which they traded in Assam. There were as many as eighty-five salt wells in the lower hills. The Ahom government imposed a nominal tax on the salt brought for sale by the Nagas. Later Ahom rulers (for example Purandar Singha) employed their own men to extract salt from the wells.The basic source of conflict between the noctes and the Ahom were the salt-springs and wells and according to the Buranjis, the Ahom seized a salt-well in Mohang in 1536, and in due course of time enjoyed either exclusive rights on several such wells or share in the salt produced in them. There are also evidences to suggest that some of the groups of noctes entered into friendly alliances with the Ahoms. One Bonfera chief named Karangpha entered in close friendly relations with the Ahoms. King Pratap Singha (1603-1641) tried to check the naga attacks by constructing a rampart called the Naga-garh. But the naga raids could not be prevented permanently. During the rule of King Gadadhar Singha (1681-1696) the Namsangia Nagas attacked an Ahom salt mine in 1692. They again attacked on a salt mine at Barhat in 1701. King Rudra Singha (1696-1714) subdued them. But there is one instance of 1576 when the Nagas obtained a remarkable victory over the Ahoms, and it was decided that the Nagas would use the salt springs of Longpong during the daytime and the Ahoms at night. Amrendra Kr Thakur in his article 'Salt: Sources and Struggle in Arunachal Pradesh', (*Proceedings of North East India History Association*, 30th session, Nagaon, pp. 124-136) provides a detailed account of the struggle between the Noctes and the Ahoms for the same.

The Ahoms considered the Nagas as a whole of their subjects and they were asked to pay tribute in the form of slaves, elephant teeth, spear shafts, goat's hair and above all these salt. In return, the Ahom government granted lands (*khats*) to the Nagas. The Ahoms had good relations with some of the Nagas. Sometimes the Ahom kings acted against one Naga group on the request of the other Naga group. Thus, in 1665 on the request of the Banfer or Banpara Nagas, the Ahom King Chakradhvaj Singha (1663-1670) attacked on the Banchang Nagas, and defeated them. Their houses were destroyed. In fact, the Ahoms had special relationship with the Banferas. In fact, the enmity among the Nagas themselves prevented a united resistance of theirs against the Ahoms. In spite of this, the Nagas could not be subdued permanently and their insurrections occurred throughout the Ahom rule. It may be mentioned here that the Nocte-Ahom relationships were not always based on friction and enmity, but friendship, commercial and cultural intercourse also existed between them. Evidences show that the Namsangia, Borduaria and Paniduaria Noctes traded with the Ahoms for the supply of salt to the plains of Assam. A nominal tax was imposed by the Ahoms on the salt brought from the hills. By the way of trade, the Noctes also developed cultural contacts with the plains of Assam. A section of them came under the influence of Vaishnavism and adopted a very elementary form of Vaishnavism which was rather a compromise between some tenets of this sect and the tribal ways. Ajay Kr Mishra in his article 'Religious Practices of the Noctes of Arunachal: Exposure and Response' (*Proceedings of North East India History Association*, 25th (Silver Jubilee) session, Shillong, 2004, pp. 265-273) provides detailed accounts of impact of the Neo-Vaishnavism and the title given to the Nocte chief as 'Narrottam'.

(There is a story that one of the Ahom King Supimpha's wives happened to see a Banfera Naga chief who had come to pay tribute. She praised the beauty of the Naga chief. The king, being unhappy with this, gave away his wife to the Naga chief. She was pregnant at that time and subsequently gave birth to a son in the Naga village. King Suhungmung, the Dihingia Raja (1497-1539) became very much impressed to see the boy, named Senglung, who used to come to pay tribute. He also came to know that his mother was already pregnant before Supimha sent her away. Suhungmung patronised Senglung by creating a new post of Barpatra Gohain for him. This post was made equal to those of the Bar Gohain and Burha Gohain).

3.3.7 Khasis

According to the legends, the Khasis were said to be the earliest immigrants who made their way across northern Myanmar to the present location where they established new centre. Linguistically the Khasis represent a unique case of being the isolated austere group, speaking the dialects from the Mon Khmer family of languages which is spoken in the other South-East Asian region.

The tribes in Meghalaya can mainly be classified into three groups Garos, Khasis and Pnars or Jaintias. Garos are believed to be the descendants of Tibeto Burman race who came down all the way from Tibet to the North-Eastern States while the Khasis and Pnars or Jaintias are the descendants of Proto Austroloid Monkhmer race. While Garos can be located in the Garo hills of Meghalaya, the Khasis are scattered all across the State and are known by different names.

Mainly, the pure Khasis can be sited at the Khasi hills, the Pnars or Jaintias can be located on Jaintia hills. Apart from these, there are many other tribes in Meghalaya. They are Bhois in the north of Meghalaya, Khynriams in the central and Wars in the southern region. They are all a sub-tribes of Khasis and live a lifestyle similar to that of the Khasis.

The term—Khasi is applied to the group of matrilineal and Mon Khmer speaking people who presently inhabit the East and the West Khasi Hills and the

Jaintia Hills district of Meghalaya. The term includes Amwis and the Lyngams. Garo is a term used by others to refer to a particular group of people who are mainly concentrated in the Garo hills. The Garos prefer to be called by *Mande* or *Achik*. The term—Jaintia is a generic term which includes the Pnars/Synteng and other sub groups.

Anglo Khasi War (1829–1833)

U Tirot Sing as a king of the Khasi people in the early 19th century, ruled in Nongkhlaw, which was part of the Khasi Hills convened a Durbar, where he passed orders for the British to evacuate Nongkhlaw. The British, under David Scott who was the agent to the British Governor General for the Northern Territory did not pay any heed to the order. That is how the Khasis attacked the British garrison in Guwahati on 2nd April 1829 and killed two British officers. The British retaliated with a fury and started military operations against U Tirot Sing and other Khasi chiefs. Thus began the Anglo-Khasi war during 1829–1833.

Although the Khasis lacked firearms and had only swords, shields, bows and arrows they resorted to guerrilla activity, when they found that it was impossible to engage in open battle against an enemy who could kill from a distance since they were untrained in the British type of warfare. The Anglo Khasi war continued for the next 4 years from 1829.

The might of the British colonial rulers overpowered the Khasi's as U Tirot Sing was finally captured by the British and in 1832, the Khasi king was deported to Dhaka, where he died on 17 July 1835. His death anniversary is commemorated every year in Meghalaya.

After the Khasi king surrendered, the British increased their influence over the Jaintia Kingdom, which was finally annexed on 15 March, 1835. The king of Jaintiapur handed over his property in Sylhet and was given a monthly salary of ₹ 500.

The British administered the plain areas directly and the hill region indirectly via a system of 15 dolois and 4 sardars, as an agent of the British administrators. The 15 administrators were free to adjudicate on all but the most heinous crimes. Eventually, the British incorporated Meghalaya into Assam in 1835. Later, the British occupied the Garo Hills in 1872.

When Bengal was partitioned on 16 October 1905 by Lord Curzon, Meghalaya became a part of the new province of East Bengal, along with Assam. However, when the partition was reversed in 1912, Meghalaya became a part of the province of Assam.

3.3.8 Jaintias

It was in the beginning of the 17th century that the Ahoms and the Jaintias first came into contact with each other. At that time, Pratap Singha (1603-1641) was the Ahom king. The Jaintia king, Jasa Manik formed a bond of friendship with King Pratap Singha by offering him two Jaintia princesses in marriage. The friendship was short-lived. With new rulers taking over the thrones of both the Ahoms and the Jaintias, hostility became the common factor. It ended only after AD 1662, when the Ahoms defeated the Mughals and drove them out of Gauhati. Yet, some skirmishes did take place between the Jaintias and the Ahoms even after 1662.

3.3.9 Kacharis

According to the Ahom-Buranji records, 'In ancient times, the heavenly King Sukhapa conquered the Sutiyas, the Kacharis, the Mataks, the Barahis, the Nagas and the Kamateswars. They were allowed to remain as they were on the condition that they offer tributes.'

Even the Purani Assam Buranji carries a similar statement. Chronicles also record that when Sui-Ka-Pha reached the valley of the Brahmaputra, these territories gave him their tributes. To quote, 'After this, the king Sukapha arrived in this country. He got homage and tributes from all.'

From what has been discussed, it would seem that Sukapha kept getting tributes from the Kacharis. The territory of the Kacharis was on River Dikhow's left bank.

The fact that the Kacharis paid tributes to Sukapha is further confirmed through the warning that was given to them by Suteupha (Sukapha's son) to pay tribute or move out of their territory right till Namdang River. The warning could have come, because seeing a new king, the Kacharis deliberately stopped payment of tribute.

The Ahoms were not averse to foul play, when it came to pushing the Kacharis out of the region they occupied. Here is an example to quote from I S Mumtaza Khatun's (Associate Professor, Department of History, University of Gauhati): *The nature of the Ahom-Kachari relations*:

'On learning that the Kacharis were highly superstitious and could easily be duped, the Ahoms proposed that this should be decided by a test in which both parties dig separate canals. Whoever could link the canal with the river Dikhow, before daybreak would be considered the owner of the tract. The Kacharis, having agreed to the proposal, the two sides started digging the canals. In their attempt, the Kacharis almost surpassed the Ahoms, who, on learning this, brought some fowls and made the birds to crow as they would do before dawn. The night being a full-moon one, the Kacharis heard the fowls crowing and thought that it was already dawn. Thus, they left the canal incomplete while the Ahoms continued to dig and succeeded in finishing the task before dawn. The Kacharis, admitting defeat, surrendered the territory (till Namdang), to the Ahoms'.

It took the Kacharis nearly 200 years to get back at the Ahoms and make them subordinates. They defeated the Ahom King Siu-hen-pha (AD 1488-1493) and forced them to offer a girl to the Kachari king.

Siu-hum-mong, was the ruler of the Ahoms from 1497 to 1539. He was not averse to using any means to establish the old territorial status with the Kacharis. Headed by Kan Seng, an army was sent, which used dexterous means to take hold of region till the Dhansiri valley. This success made the Ahoms bold and they set on a path to crush the Kacharis. A battle ensued in 1531, in which, Khunkhara was defeated and the Ahoms put Detchungpha on the Kachari throne. He claimed to be descendent of the original Kacharis. Then, the Kacharis became subordinate to the Ahoms and in every Ahom correspondence, the term thapita was used for them, meaning established.

Some years later, the new Kachari king tried to assert independence and an Ahom army was sent against him that killed his mother and him. Prince Madan was taken to the capital of the Ahoms. Later, when the Kachari nobles made a solicitation to the Ahom king, Madan was put on the Kachari throne. He was renamed Nirbhaya Narayan. He was also given a girl by the Ahoms. Nirdhaya Narayan consented to

pay annual tribute to the Ahoms. The Kachari king came to be known as thapita-sanchita which means established and preserved.

The Kachari kings wanted to shake off this title and used the smallest opportunity to free themselves of Ahom authority. Their first opportunity came when after having defeated the Ahoms, the army of the Koch led by Chilarai brought the Kachari kingdom under it. The Kacharis regarded this as the suzerainty of the Ahoms, leaving them forever. Therefore, when some years had gone by, during the reign of Pratap Singha, Sundar Gohain was killed by the Kacharis and they openly declared that they would stop all tribute paying to the Ahom overlords. At the same time, the Kacharis renamed their capital to Kirtipur and their king changed his name from Yasa Narayan to Pratap Narayan.

To quote from I S Mumtaza Khatun's *The Nature of the Ahom-Kachari Relations*, 'Just after the accession of Sui-ram-pha in 1641, to the Ahom throne, after the death of Sui-sen-pha, the Kachari king, Indrabalnarayan, the successor of Bhimbalnarayan, deputed envoys with letters to the new Ahom king. These were sealed with *Singha-sab*, or the seal of independence, instead of the *Phukan sab*, or the seal of subordination, which he was supposed to use.

While one envoy was sent to get the communication again with the Phukan sab, the other was held by the Ahoms.

Another instance, in which the Kacharis tried to gain their independence, was when the Ahoms were under Mughal attack during 1615 to 1619. Bhimbala Narayana, the then Kachari king, in an attempt to assert his position, attacked a village which was part of the kingdom of the Ahoms. He was well aware that at such a time he would face no resistance from the Ahom forces.

Another time, following the invasion of Mir Jumla, envoys were dispatched by Chakradhvaj Singha to the Kachari Kingdom for gathering information regarding Barchetiya, an Ahom officer, who had run off to the kingdom of the Kacharis. To begin with, Barchetiya was not returned by Bidarpa Narayan and he insulted the Ahoms by sending his reply through an envoy. This was not the existing etiquette. The letter was returned to the Kachari King, unaccepted by the Ahom ruler.

There are various such repeated incidents which show that while the Ahoms wanted the Kacharis under their subordination, the Kacharis incessantly strived to remain independent. The Ahoms expected the Kacharis to carry five letters in all diplomatic exchanges, for the king and the ministers. After having broken relations, if the Kacharis wanted to revive them with the Ahoms, they needed to provide five letters for the resumption of good relations. This was resented by the Kacharis. Yet this process was repeated time and again. Whenever the Kacharis did provide the five letters, the Ahoms promptly began to refer to them as thapita-sanchita. This was disliked by the Kacharis and they promptly made a demand for an Ahom girl, which would prove that they were really established, when in fact they knew that providing a girl would show the subordination of the Ahoms.

Though the Kacharis did not like to be called thapita-sanchita, they were only too happy to be in such a situation where the Ahom king was powerful. Also, the Kacharis rejoiced and declared their independence each time that a foreign invasion, like that of the Mughals took place on the Ahoms and they were pushed against the wall. Promptly, when the Ahoms were victorious, the Kacharis would rush to revive good relations.

According to I S Mumtaza Khatun's *The Nature of the Ahom-Kachari Relations*:

'Another point, which comes to our notice, is that the Ahom king himself never took any initiative to establish friendly relations or to revive such relations. In case of extreme necessity, the Ahom monarch sent envoys on behalf of his ministers as in the case of Pratap Singha, who, anticipating the Mughal invasion, sent five people on behalf of his ministers and the governor, to the Kachari court in AD 1615.'

ACTIVITY

Talk to some people from the North East living in your locality or working with you. Find out how different their lifestyle, is as compared to yours.

DID YOU KNOW

North East possesses more than 550 varieties of orchids, which is said to be almost 70% of the total species of orchids identified so far.

3.4 SUMMARY

In this unit, you have learnt that:

- The Ahom government adopted a policy of conciliation, as well as a policy of force towards various tribes of the north east.
- The Ahoms did not interfere too much in the affairs of the hills. Rather, they conciliated with the tribes by providing them many types of facilities and privileges.
- The Ahoms led very few expeditions towards the hills, because of many types of problems.
- The Ahoms were more or less successful in their dealings with the tribes of the hills and were able to control the tribes in the confines of the hills of Arunachal Pradesh, except the trade missions, in which they could enter beyond the foothills.
- The Ahoms also applied force against the tribes, whenever the situation demanded.
- The tribes of the hills also utilized the troubled times of the Ahoms, due to foreign invasions or the internal problems and chaos due to the rebellion of the Moamarias.

3.5 KEY TERMS

- ***Haat:*** It is a place to exchange goods.
- ***Sama-dana-danda-bheda:*** The political methodologies prescribed by the scriptures
- **Ambuscade:** Attack from an ambush

Check Your Progress

4. How did the Ahoms come to India?
5. When did the Ahoms and the Jaintias first come in contact with each other?
6. How long did it take for the Kacharis to get back at the Ahoms and make them subordinates?

- **Duars:** The floodplains and foothills of the eastern Himalayas in North-East India around Bhutan
- **Paik system:** A type of corvee labour system on which the Ahom kingdom of medieval Assam was based
- **Posa:** It is a system that allows you to pay for only what you sell
- **Ryot:** A general economic term used throughout India for peasant cultivators but with variations in different provinces
- **Khats:** Fertile land at foothills
- **Lingua franca:** A medium of communication between peoples of different languages
- **Overlord:** A ruler, esp. a feudal lord
- **Paramountcy:** The state of being paramount; the highest rank or authority
- **Warlike:** Suggesting war or military life

3.6 ANSWERS TO 'CHECK YOUR PROGRESS'

1. The Ahom policy was to conciliate the tribes in the north-east region by promising to furnish them their necessaries as far as possible. If they indulged in wanton pillages the miscreants were to be pursued and captured. However, the limits were not to be overlapped.
2. In general, the term *posa* came to be applied to all payments made to the tribes of the hills by the Governments; whether it was in commutation of blackmail or compensation for customary demands of the tribal chiefs of the bordering hills of Arunachal Pradesh.
3. The Ahom rulers had advanced war weapons (matchlocks and guns), large surplus production and the *paiks* to aggressively pursue their imperial policy.
4. Originally from Burma, the Ahoms entered north-eastern Assam, via, the North Eastern Frontier and the Patkai range.
5. It was in the beginning of the 17th century that the Ahoms and the Jaiantias first came into contact with each other.
6. It took the Kacharis nearly 200 years to get back at the Ahoms and make them subordinates.

3.7 QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Short-Answer Questions

1. List the tribes of Arunachal Pradesh.
2. What do you understand by *posa*?
3. What acts reflect the policy of friendly relation of Ahom rulers with the tribes of Arunachal Pradesh?
4. How were the relations between the Ahoms and the Nyishis?
5. What measures were used to stop the Nyishi raids into the Ahom territory?

Long-Answer Questions

1. Explain the policy of conciliation of the Ahom rulers.
2. Write a note on the relations between the Akas and the Ahoms.
3. Discuss the policy of subjugation.
4. Summarize the highlights of the relations between the Ahoms and the tribals.

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UNIT 4 BRITISH POLICY

NOTES

Structure

4.0 Introduction
4.1 Unit Objectives
4.2 *Posa* System
4.3 Show of Force
4.4 Katokies
4.5 Markets
4.6 Inner Line
4.7 Summary
4.8 Key Terms
4.9 Answers to 'Check Your Progress'
4.10 Questions and Exercises
4.11 Further Reading

4.0 INTRODUCTION

The establishment of British rule in Assam, as a consequence of the treaty of Yandaboo in 1826, brought the colonial forces closer to the tribes of Arunachal Pradesh. The colonial masters adopted the policy of peace and cooperation as well as the policy of armed intervention and other coercive means whenever and wherever required. And finally they drew the line 'Inner Line' between Assam and Arunachal Pradesh to monitor or regulate the movement of people between the hills of Arunachal Pradesh and the plains of Assam. The British policy in the hills of Arunachal Pradesh has been the subject of study by many scholars as a part of the whole of Northeast India or Assam.

Although Amalendu Guha in his book *Planter- Raj to Swaraj: Freedom Struggle and Electoral Politics in Assam 1826-1947* [New Delhi, 1988 (reprint)] does not discuss the areas of Arunachal Pradesh, the book otherwise provides a comprehensive account of the British policy. The accounts, reports and other such publications of Robert Reid, J. F. Michell, W. W. Hunter, L. W. Shakespeare, R. S. Kennedy and host of others are important to comprehend the various dimensions of the relation between the British and the tribes of this region including that of Arunachal Pradesh. The contemporary writers of Assam and Arunachal Pradesh have also written several books and articles (some are published in the *Proceedings of North East India History Association*) dealing with the British on one hand and the tribals on the other.

British colonial interests (political, economic, commercial and strategic keeping in view also the areas beyond Arunachal Pradesh) shaped the British policy in Arunachal Pradesh. The growing colonial economy in the Brahmaputra valley in the form of tea, petroleum, coal, rubber and increased revenue from improved agriculture on the foothills of the border area greatly depended upon the capacity of the colonial administration to maintain law and order in the border areas. The need to keep the foothills peaceful made the British initiate various policies which are discussed in this unit.

NOTES

4.1 UNIT OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to:

- Discuss the *posa* system
- Describe the relationship of the British with the Khamtis and Singphos
- Recognize the role of the Katokies
- Discuss the market scenario in Arunachal Pradesh
- Describe the Inner Circle

4.2 *Posa* SYSTEM

The article by Braj Narain Jha, 'Politics of *Posa*: A Case Study of Pre and Post Independence Scenario in Arunachal Pradesh and Assam,' in *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress* (57th Session, December, 1996, pp. 446–458) is important in this context because it discusses the *posa* system comprehensively. Jha also provides thorough discussion on the *posa* system in his Ph.D. Thesis 'British Colonial Intervention and Tribal Responses in the North East Frontier of Assam (1825–1947),' unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, Department of History, Arunachal University, Itanagar, 2002. Though Mackenzie's views are very clear and true to the nature of the *posa* rights of the tribal chiefs, the official writings of the British period distorted the facts in this regard. In general, the term *posa* came to be applied to all payments made to the hill tribes by the governments; whether these were in commutation of black-mail, compensation for customary demands of the tribal chiefs of the bordering hills of Arunachal Pradesh, it was often confused with 'blackmail' in the official jargon of the British period.

The British administrators neither had the intention to understand the true nature of *posa* nor could they make their doubt clear as to what it was. They cared little to ascertain 'whether these claims had their basis in primeval rights or whether they were merely the definite expression of barbarian cupidity.' Till the third quarter of the nineteenth century they often expressed their grudge that, '… we are met to this day by difficulties arising from the indefinite nature of the connection subsisting between the Assam sovereigns and their savage neighbours.' It is because of this apathetic attitude towards ascertaining the true nature of *posa* that we see the conflicting visions of the British administrators on *posa*. Sometimes it was called 'blackmail', and at other times it was understood as 'a well-ascertained revenue payment, on account of which a corresponding remission was made in the state demand upon the *ryot* and was compared even with 'the chouth of the Marattas and blackmail of the ancient highlanders.' The situation becomes gloomier when one finds the same comparison of *posa* with 'blackmail' in recent publications.

Thus, we see that proper and objective analysis of the nature of *posa* based on the socio-political realities of the contemporary period of Assam and Arunachal Pradesh has hardly been made in any serious studies or in the administrative historiography. That is why it has often been wrongly interpreted as blackmail. Actually, the blackmail had originated in Bengal in a different context. The system of payment of blackmail was, in fact, a British polity stated to buy the raids of the aborigines of the Rajmahal hills in Bengal presidency.

NOTES

The British continued the *posa* system even after the occupation of Assam as it was under the Ahoms. It was the initial policy of the local British officers especially under David Scott 'to maintain intact the arrangements of their native predecessors, and to avoid the appearance of anything like radical or unexpected change.' However, demands within the British establishment were to either change the system or altogether abolish the system as the direct collection of *posa* was viewed as inconvenient and as the rights of the tribal over the ryots of Assam who considered the British as their subjects. Robertson directed Captain White in early 1834 to carry on negotiations with the chiefs of the hills under which either a certain sum of money should be annually paid to them in lieu of all demands or a certain quantity of various articles be collected for them at fixed localities. Under no circumstance were they allowed to proceed beyond a defined line to collect their contributions personally. In this connection, the Government of India held the view that stopping of *posa* might lead to troubles and since it did not affect its interests immediately, the conciliatory policy regarding the *posa* collection should continue. Accordingly, Captain White recommended payment of *posa* in cash than that in kind directly from the ryots. It was thought by the local officers that a humane policy displayed towards the tribes would effectually secure the peace of the outlying areas and lead to beneficial results.

Commutation to cash payments from the treasury proved useful for the British and by 1852 the *posa* of the Akas, the Sherdukpens, the Thembang Monpas, the Dzongpens of Talungdzong and the Nyishis were commuted to cash. In the case of the Adis all dues in kind were commuted to money payments in 1877. Subsequently, various unsuccessful moves were made towards bringing changes to the system or altogether stopping it.

During the British period though the payment of *posa* continued, we also witness that the payment was stopped to some as a punitive measure against the tribe. The payment of *posa* to the Adis was stopped after the Abor expedition of 1894 and consequent blockade of the Ahor hill and it was never resumed thereafter. Commenting upon the violations of the terms by the Adis, Lancelet Hare had earlier argued, 'By their exaction from the Miris, their obstruction of the survey and their assertion of territorial rights the Abors have undoubtedly forfeited all claims to such a subsidy.'

Accordingly, *posa* began to be paid from the respective treasuries of the Darrang and Lakhimpur districts. In 1860, the right of collection of *posa* extended to some of the Adi chiefs under treaty obligations, but the *posa* to the Adis was stopped once and forever in AD 1900. However, the *posa* of the first kind continued. The debate over 'continuance vs abolition' of *posa* continued from the beginning of British rule in Assam to the end and surprisingly enough during the post-Independence period, but the system of *posa* still continues. It is also to be observed that no change has been made regarding the existing practice of the British period.

Cash payment in lieu of all *posa* claims were given with a view to popularizing British products in the hills and for revamping the trans-border trade. *Posa* payment made to the different tribal chiefs in the annual fairs was spent by them then and there and the gifts given to them on the occasion gradually induced them to use cheaper factory-made British goods. These measures also served the process of emergence of differentiation within the tribal societies and the power of state was indirectly used to strengthen an economic nexus between the imperial state and the chiefs monopolizing the payment of *posa*. Kingship and kinship combined into the institution of traditional chiefs was gradually made to serve the interest of the State. However, the amount of

NOTES

payments remained the same throughout the British period which has scope for further investigation.

After the immense growth of plantation economy and other economically lucrative ventures, the debate of 'abolition vs continuance' gained momentum since the closing years of the 19th century, but to serve the strategic interests and because of lack of sufficient knowledge of the socio-political and cultural affiliations of the tribes of western Arunachal Pradesh and incomplete consolidation of administration in the hills of Arunachal Pradesh the system of *posa*, except for the Adis, was kept intact.

B. N. Jha in his Ph. D. Thesis (op.cit.) and S. Dutta in his article 'The *Posa* System: A Historical Analysis' in S. Dutta and B. Tripathy (eds.), *Sources of the History of Arunachal Pradesh,* (Gyan Publishing House, New Delhi, 2008, pp. 161 – 181) provides the details of the *posa* paid to various tribes of Arunachal Pradesh during the British period. The details given below are from the two sources.

Posa to the Hrusso (Aka) chiefs

David Scott succeeded in concluding an agreement with the Hrussos (Akas) by which they agreed to forego their right of direct collection of *posa* from individual *ryots* for an annual payment of ₹ 175 by the British government. An agreement was made with Taghi *Raja* wherein he agreed not to attack the *ryots* in the plains for a monthly pension of ₹ 20. Suitable stipends amounting ₹ 360/- per annum were also granted to other chiefs of the Akas with further extension of six more pensions in 1848 to another six chiefs. Capt. J.T. Gordon concluded agreements with Hrussos (Akas) chiefs in February 1844 for commutation of their *posa* to cash on prevailing market prices of goods. Monetary payments to the Aka chiefs were finally fixed at ₹ 668 in aggregate in 1848. The relations of the British with the tribe began to improve after the grant of *posa* in cash to the chiefs. Though later on the chiefs tried for an increase in the amount and troubled the British, the latter as a punitive measure withdrew and stopped the *posa*, the chiefs finally surrendered in 1888 and their *posa* was restored from 1890.

Posa to the Nyishi chiefs

On 17th of April 1836, after much persuasion, eight Nyishi chiefs of *Charduar* area agreed to receive the *posa* articles in future from the *Malgoozari* (local revenue officer) who would collect the articles from the *ryots* of their respective villages as per revised rates. In accordance with the direction from the Governor General-in-Council, that appreciated Capt. Methie's agreement with the eight Nyishi chiefs, his successor Lt. Vetch, carried on negotiations with the remaining five Nyishi chiefs of *Charduar* who made similar agreements on April 5, 1837. The Nyishis of *Naoduar* also agreed to receive the *posa* through the village revenue officer by 1838–39. Finally, ₹ 2494-0-1 was annually paid to the Nyishi chiefs of *Charduar* and *Naoduar* commuting their rights to raise *posa* in the *Duars*.

The presence of petty clans, independent of each other, suggests that inter-tribal sub-divisions existed in Nyishi society. There were 30 to 40 chiefs in the same clan or village representing an oligarchic form of government. The chiefs were called *Gams*. Dalton, therefore, noted that 238 Nyishi *gams* of chiefs were in receipt of ₹ 2543 as *posa*. In 1853, the total amount of *posa* to the Nyishi chiefs was ₹ 4129-15-0 with 24 *maunds* of salt to the Nyishis of Bankotta in lieu of certain *hat* (weekly market) dues. It is evident from the official records that it was only by 1852 that the *posa* paid to the Nyishis along with other tribes like the Sherdukpens and Akas were finally commuted for money payments. After about a year of the commutation of *posa* into money payments, Gordon mentioned, 'No adverse effects on peace has been felt due to commutation of *posa* to money payments 'as stipends to the chiefs.' Great numbers of these clans have left the hills and settled in the plains since the commutation was effected.'

Posa to the Sherdukpen chiefs

On 28 February, 1836 Captain Mathie entered into an agreement with the *Sat Rajas* of the Sherdukpens commuting the *posa* to an amount of ₹ 2526-7-0 annually. The *Sat Rajas* received this amount regularly up to 1839, when their payment was stopped in consequence of their having allegedly murdered Madhu Saikia, the revenue officer of Orung in Panbari village. In 1884, however, the Sherdukpens came to terms and on recommendation of Capt. J.T. Gordon the payment of *posa* was resumed. The amount of *posa*, however, was reduced to ₹ 1740 annually. Since then, the Sherdukpens seemed to be reconciled to the change and behaved peacefully in general.

Posa to the Monpa chiefs

In early 1844, Capt. Gordon entered into an agreement with the *Sat Rajas* of the Kuriapara *Duars* along with the *Gelong* of Talung *Dzong Gompa* and *Nyetsang* as the representative of the *Tawang Deo,* binding the chiefs formally to relinquish all their claims to the lands of the Kuriapara *Duar* in consideration of an annual payment of ₹ 5000. The relation of the British with these *Sat Rajas* remained peaceful till 1852 when a misunderstanding developed because of interception of the amount of *posa* by one of the *Gelongs* who had supervisory authority over the chiefs. But peace was restored through a treaty signed on 28th January 1853 at Kuriapara by three representatives of the *Tawang Deo* ratifying the earlier agreements of commutation of *posa* to cash amounting to ₹ 5000.

Posa to the Monpa chiefs of Thembang

The Monpa chiefs of Thembang collected *posa* from the Mazbat area in *Charduar*. In 1844, they were allowed an annual sum of ₹ 145-13-6 as commutation of their *posa* to cash.

Posa to the Hill Miris

From the *Report on the Province of Assame* of Mills in 1853 it is known that Hill Miris were also allowed by the British to draw *posa* in cash and kind annually. The Hill Miris got ₹ 851-3-9 and 12 *maunds* of salt annually. From a resolution of the chief commissioner of Assam of 1884 it seems that the different clans of the Hill Miris were in receipt of annual *posa* of ₹ 281-7-5, ₹ 930-4-9 and ₹ 25 in lieu of their rights of collection in the Sisi, Dhemaji and Bordoloni *Mouzas* of the present Dhemaji district of Assam.

Posa to the Adis

While discussing about the *posa* in the case of the Adis Mackenzie writes, 'So far as can be gathered, the Abors, though much more powerful than any of these tribes, had no such rights. This was, owing no doubt to their comparatively remote situation, cut off as they were by the great river Dihang from the cultivated country along the Brahmaputra valley.' But some *Buranjjis* written in the 19th and 20th centuries mention that *posa* to the Adis had been granted along the *paiks* of some villages. These *paiks* cultivated paddy for their lords and fishermen of their allotted *khels* supplied them with fish. These

NOTES

cultivators and fishermen allotted to the Adis were exempted from paying revenue to the Ahom government.

Initially the different sections of the Adis were paid *posa* in kind such as, iron hoes, salt, rum, *abkaree* opium and tobacco. But the *posa* payment was commuted to annual payment of allowances in cash and also in terms of salt and rum as early as 1854. In the case of Padam-Miniyong section of the Adis, the *posa* payments in kind were commuted to cash payment in 1877 and began to be paid from 1878. It is noteworthy to mention here that the right to *posa* as police payments to maintain law and order in the border had been extended to the Padam-Miniyong Adis through different agreements between the years 1862 and 1866. After that, we see that annual monetary payment to different tribal chiefs and *gams* continued till the end of the British rule in India except for the Padam-Miniyong section of the Adis, whose payments were stopped in 1894 and was never resumed. The amount granted to the different clans/villages of the Adis was ₹ 3312 per annum and was distributed as follows:

Bor Adis (Padams)	– ₹	1096-0-0
Adis of Mebo	– ₹	562-0-0
Adis of Padu	– ₹	264-0-0
Adis of Duku and Silli	– ₹	425-0-0
Pasi-Miniyong Adis	– ₹	465-0-0
Adis of Kebang	– ₹	393-0-0
Adis of Mankong	– ₹	55-8-0
Adis of Retung	– ₹	51-8-0

Posa to the Noctes

Even after the occupation of Assam by the British, the Nocte chiefs continued to retain their *khat* managed by their respective *katokies*. The British decided to continue the system and in 1841–42. Captain Brodie entered into agreement with these chiefs by which they were allowed to use those *khats* in lieu of payment of a trifling tribute. In addition, he abolished tools and cesses collected from the Noctes on brine spring held in their possessions. In 1873–74, the government resumed some of the *khats* of the Namsangia and Borduria Nocte chiefs, which had already been connected into tea gardens, for annual payments in cash. By 1920–21, however, all their *khats* were resumed by the government and annual payments in cash were allowed to the concerned chiefs.

During the Ahom period, the relationship among the state (Ahom state), *posa* holders (tribal chiefs and people) and the allotted *paiks* (*Bahatias*) were interwoven in a system. But after the annexation of Assam by the British the *paik* factor was eliminated from the *posa* system. Now it became an agreement between two contracting parties, i.e. the colonial state and the *posa* holders in which the state took the responsibility initially in kind and subsequently in cash to pay them. Also, no remission was made in the revenue to be taken from the erstwhile *paiks*.

Check Your Progress

1. What was the agreement between the British and Taghi Raja?
2. The term _____ came to be applied to all payments made to the hill tribes by the governments.
3. The Monpa chiefs of Thembang collected *posa* from the Mazbat area in _____.
4. After the annexation of Assam by the British the _____ factor was eliminated from the *posa* system.

4.3 SHOW OF FORCE

The British power did not adopt the policy of annexation in the areas of Arunachal Pradesh. Neither did they have a uniform policy towards the tribes of Arunachal Pradesh.

NOTES

Force was used as and when required, otherwise the policy of peace and non-intervention was followed.

The British government had the first encounter with Taghi *raja* (Aka chief). He continued collecting dues from the Duar forcefully and also murdered an official posted at *Charduar*. For this reason, they had been declared as outlawed. In 1829, Taghi *raja* fought with the Hazari Khowas, and then fled to Assam, where he was captured by the British and sent to the Gauhati jail. In 1832, he was released. He again mustered his people and started outrages in the Duar. In 1835, he burnt the Assam Light Infantry outpost at Balipara and killed seventeen people. Taghi *raja* committed several raids in the foothills. The British Government stopped the annual payment to the Hazari Khowas. It was unable to capture the culprits. The British decided to send a punitive expedition to the Aka Hills, but in 1842 Taghi *raja* surrendered. He was released on an oath of good behaviour, and was given a small stipend of ₹ 20. Following him, many other Aka chiefs also accepted stipends in 1844 and in 1848. However, the Aka chiefs always demanded an increase in the amount of *posa* and to maintain control over forest and forest produce they too pressurized the government. Consequently, the relation was not always peaceful with the British.

A controversy appeared on the question of rights in the forest. In 1900, the Akas demanded a sum of ₹ 3000 from a merchant of Balipara for tapping rubber in their hills. The deputy commissioner of Darrang interfered in this matter. It was decided that in future all agreements regarding rubber tapping and the payment between the merchants and the hill men would be done in the presence of the deputy commissioner.

The change in the mode of collection of *posa* during the British period was unacceptable to the Nyishis as a whole and remained a matter of dispute between the two forces. Their policy of raid was also a point of constant dispute between them. The Nyishis wanted to collect the *posa* directly from the people of Assam. In 1835, the Nyishis committed a raid on the plains. They carried off several British subjects. The British government sent a small military force into the hills and rescued the captives. After this event, several Nyishi clans of the north of Che Duar submitted. They left their right of collecting *posa* from the *paiks*, and agreed to receive the articles of *posa* from the revenue officer of the villages. They also undertook a policy not to assist the enemies of the British. Their new *posa* was fixed at one coarse *arkut* sheet, one long cotton handkerchief, two seers of salt, one dao, and one goat for every ten houses. Many other Nyishi clans also accepted it. The British government always took seriously any raid by the Nyishis on the plains of Assam. To stop the same economic blockade, withholding of the payment of *posa* and finally the armed intervention was followed. We see all these measures in the British intervention in the incidents of the raid of the village Amtolla (in Darrang in 1872-73). The beginning of the twentieth century marked a change in the British policy towards the Nyishis. To establish direct contact with them in 1911, a survey party (known as the Miri Mission) visited many villages of the Nyishi hills and collected important information. This resulted in the inclusion of the Nyishi hills in the Western section of the North East frontier.

The British occupation of Assam brought about a change in the *posa* rights of the Adis. The gold washers and fishermen, who had now become the British subjects, refused to pay to the Adis. The Adis in revenge carried off many of them to their hills. In this way, the British–Adi conflict began. So far, the Adis were not so hostile to the British even they helped the British in various ways in the rebellion of the Singphos and Khamptis. The British government tried to conciliate with the Adis on the matter of

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gold washers and fishermen. In 1847, captain Vetch, the political agent, met Pashi, Mebo, and other Padams (Adis) and got the captives released. But the Adis were not ready to renounce their claims over the gold washers and fishermen. The Deba Adis of the Dihang carried off some gold washers in 1847. Captain Vetch got them released in 1848, but not without a small struggle which was the first one between the British and the Adis. While some of the Adis were going to settle in the plains, the others started attacking the gold washers. The British government then took the responsibility of the protection of the gold washers. This step only aggravated the relation between the British and the Adis. This problem continued between the various Adi groups and the British. The problem in their relationship continued in the coming years over the issue of Beheeas, Sonowals and the slaves under the Adi masters. The British moves in the Adi hills were also the result of the geo-political situation of the Adis and the moves of China from the other side of the border. Of various missions in the Adi hills by the British government, the murder of Neol Williamson proved a turning point in the history of the relation of the British and the Adis and the Anglo-Adi war look place in 1911–12.

During the initial years of British rule in Assam, the relation of the British with Khamptis was peaceful. However, over land dispute with the Mataks the British intervention was not acceptable to the Khamptis and the latter occupied the land. Taking it as an offence the British removed the chief from Sadiya and his post was abolished. Although the other privileges of the Khamptis were retained, they were very angry at the loss of their right to rule as the Sadiya Khowa Gohain. The result was that on 19th January 1839, about five hundred Khamptis attacked the British at Sadiya. In this event, Colonel White, the Political Agent, and a large number of British soldiers were killed. The British government took it very seriously and immediately sent a punitive force. The Khampti insurgents fled to the Mishmi hills. The British vigorously pursued them, but they could not be submitted before December 1843. After this event, Sadiya and Matak were directly brought under British rule. This development proved decisive in the history of British–tribal relation and an evidence of the use of force by the British. The Khampti unity was broken by the British and the former remained peaceful in the relationship. The superiority of arms of the British played an important role in the same.

During the period of the Burmese occupation of Assam the relationship between the Singhphos and Khamptis became an open confrontation and the Khamptis lost. The Singphos carried off a large number of people from Assam as slaves and kept them as their slaves to work on their lands and others were sold as slaves as far as to the Yunnan province of China. The Khamptis asked for British help in this situation. In the beginning, the Singphos were not ready for any agreement, but later on the British compelled them to come to terms and to release all the captives. While the British wanted to utilize the Singphos against the Burmese, the Singphos were in need of British protection against the same. But the Singphos made a common cause with the Burmese when they appeared on the Patkai in June 1825. The British expelled the Burmese from the Singphos villages of Bisa and Duffa Gams. The Singphos chiefs also surrendered. About 6000 captives were released and measures were being initiated for the release of the rest. The Singpho land was also useful for the tea plantation of the region. And the British were eyeing upon the same. The Singphos, in fact, did not like interference by the British in their old privileges. The British also used to protect the loyal Singpho chiefs (Bisa Gam) against other chiefs (Duffa Gam). Consequently, Singphos revolted against the British. The British took prompt action and suppressed the revolt. In the end all the chiefs surrendered.

Check Your Progress

5. The British occupation of Assam brought about a change in the *posa* rights of the Adis. (True/False)
6. How did the British–Adi conflict begin?
7. In 1914, the _____ tract was included in the Eastern section of the North East Frontier.

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This was the last Singpho uprising, after which they remained peaceful throughout the British rule. The Singphos assisted the British officers when they visited their country. In 1914, the Singpho tract was included in the Eastern section of the North East Frontier. The British collected poll tax from them. The policy of acquiring land for plantation and other colonial use and liberating the slaves of the masters of Arunachal Pradesh and encouraging them to settle in the British territory of Assam and use the same for colonial use were the cause of confrontation between the tribes of Arunachal Pradesh and the British Government of Assam.

4.4 KATOKIES

As described earlier, the *katokies* played an important role in promoting and maintaining relations between the Ahom and tribal chiefs and leaders of the tribes of Arunachal Pradesh. The institution and its importance was also appreciated by the British and they, therefore, continued the offices of the *katokies*. The *katokies* were appointed to deal with the Akas, Nyishis, Adis and Hill Miris of the bordering hills. The services of these *katokies* were also utilized for trade regulations between the Monpas and Sherdukpens.

The British issued them a letter of appointment known as *parwana* and a register was maintained in the headquarters in which details regarding the *katokies* were mentioned. The main duties of these *katokies* were to go into the hills as and when required and to provide information about the tribal affairs to the authorities. These *katokies* also accompanied the deputy commissioners when the latter went into the hills on tours. They were in close contact with various tribes and accompanied the tribal when they came down to the plains during fairs and other occasions. *Katokies* were given revenue-free lands and a nominal salary was also paid to them sometimes. On certain occasions, they were also rewarded by the tribals whom they assisted. Generally speaking, no formal education was required for appointment as Katokies, the only requirement being the knowledge of the tribal dialect and capacity of carrying transactions with the tribal. The importance of these 'go-betweens' gradually declined after the creation of the post of assistant political officer at Sadiya in 1882.

4.5 MARKETS

The markets on the borders of Assam and Arunachal Pradesh underwent tremendous change during the British period from that of the Ahom period. The Ahom rulers were promoting free exchange of goods; and trade was a popular economic exercise. However, with the development of colonial economy and administration the system changed subsequently. In this part of this unit we will be discussing the same. The aspects of trade and markets have been studied in the past by some scholars working on the history and culture of Arunachal Pradesh. For this part of the unit, the following researches have been used Sudatta Sikdar's 'The Eastern Himalaya Trade of Assam in the Nineteenth Century: A Study of British Policy' (unpublished Ph. D. Thesis), Dept. of History, N.E.H.U., Shillong, 1982; *S. Dutta & B.N. Jha's* 'British Colonial Design Behind the Udalguri and Doimara Fairs and its Impact over the Monpas and Shertukpens of Arunachal Pradesh', *Proceedings of the North East India History Association*, 20th session, Dibrugarh, 1999, pp. 305–316 and the articles by Amrendra Kr Thakur 'Colonial and Pre-colonial Trade in Arunachal Pradesh: The Monpas in Perspective', *Journal of Historical Research*, vol. XII, 2002, Department of History, Dibrugarh

Check Your Progress

8. What was the main duty of the *katokies*?
9. Formal education was required for appointment as *katokies*. (True/False)

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University, Dibrugarh, Assam, pp. 51–59; 'Pre- colonial Trade in Arunachal Pradesh: A Reconstruction of Economic History', *Resarun* Vol. XXVII, 2001, pp. 17–27, Journal of the Directorate of Research, Govt. of Arunachal Pradesh, special issue on Golden Jubilee of the Department of Research, Itanagar, 2002 and 'Pattern of Pre-Colonial Trade and Polity Formations in Arunachal Pradesh: A Study of their Relationship' in the *Proceedings of the North East India History Association*, (hereafter *PNEIHA),* Imphal Session, 2000 pp. 299–318.

During the pre-colonial period, the cold weather annual fairs were held at Udalguri and Doimara in the foothills of Assam which practically lasted from November to March. Udalguri fair was mainly attended by the Monpas of Tawang and Kalaktang and in less number by the Thembang Monpas. The Doimara fair was visited principally by the Shertukpens and also by the Thembang Monpas. At the Udalguri fair main items of import from the Monpa areas were horse and ponies, gold, blankets, salt, musk, wax, spices, yak-tails and rubber. On the other hand, the main items of export to the hills were cotton pieces, silk manufactures, brass and copper manufactures, iron, cotton twist and yarn, woollen goods, tobacco and betelnut. Common items of import from Shertukpen and Thembang Monpa areas at the Doimara fair were spices, wax, musk, chilli, salt, sheep, and blankets. However, export items of this fair were almost the same as those at Udalguri. The Sadiya fair, held in the Lakhimpur District of Assam catered to the needs of Adis, Mishmis, Duariah, Singphos and Khamptis. These tribes used a number of passes from the hill territories to the Assam plains.

Restoration of administration (after the Burmese intrusions) had created a political environment, which boosted trade within and outside Assam. Restoring the frontier *haat*s, the centres of trade, revived frontier trade with the neighbouring hill tribes became the priorities of the British administration. These *haat*s in course of time became centres for collection of raw materials for export of primarily forest products, and also distribution centres for British machine-made goods. Revenue was extracted from these foothill markets. These *haat*s – which the tribes frequented to exchange their produce for salt – came to be used as an instrument to exert political power. This measure of economic blockade helped in keeping the tribes under control and maintaining British paramountcy. Frontier trade in the Province of Assam under changed political conditions became an exclusive domain of the Marwaris, Bengalis and settlers from outside. They came in as a class seeking avenues for trade, and in the absence of a local trading class, soon gained foothold over the entire gamut of trading activities.

Revival of the trade fairs was in line with the broad framework of the mercantile motive of the East India Company reflected in its Report of 1797 which gave emphasis on 'creating a demand for articles, the products of Europe and Bengal' and supplying with a valuable return in bullion. The motive is also evident from the *Notes by David Scott on Welsh's Report on Assam:* 'The quality of goods of European manufacture has of late increased, and it is probable that there may hereafter be a considerable outset for woollens at a sort of annual fair held on the confines of Durrung, to which merchants from Tibet and the intermediate country resort.'

The nature of import and export proves beyond doubt that the policy of the British colonial government was to popularize European goods. This conclusion is further strengthened from the trade statistics that the export of British cotton piece had been valued at ₹ 76 only in 1877 while it increased manifold in a single year and touched the figure of ₹ 11,751 in 1878. To add further, the Report on Trade between Assam and Adjoining Foreign Countries and Tribes for the year 1889–90 clearly mentioned that the

NOTES

tendency in trade indicated a steady increase in the demand for European cotton piece – goods, cotton twist and yarn, brass and copper, salt and silk manufactures.

Till 1853, the annual trade at Udalguri was in a flourishing condition which gradually showed a downward trend. This was mainly due to the reduction in the market price of salt owing to the introduction of cheap manufacture salt, and increase in the rice. With the beginning of tea plantation in the Brahmaputra valley, local markets established themselves at all centres where the villagers were encouraged to being their produce for sale. As the gardens increased in number, Marwari and Dacca traders increased and the demand for local produced grains increased. The development in railways, coal mines, the strengthening of staff in district offices, the introduction of troops increased the consumer of local produce more than the producers. Consequently, the prices of all articles in particular food grains sprang up.

In fact, taste for finished goods was already there to a limited extent, since the customary dues to the hillmen of the Darrang frontier were paid in terms of *gamocha* (handkerchief), *khania kapor, cheleng, mekhela-chaddar,* cotton twist and yarn, *dao,* etc. from the Ahom period. When the British commuted these customary dues to cash, they began commerce like Tezpur (in the case of the Shertukpen, Thembang Monpa and Aka chiefs) or at fairs (as in the case of the Sat Rajas of Karipara durar, who were paid at the Udalguri fair). Evidently, this mode of payment was directed at diverting the taste from finished Assamese goods towards cheaper European finished goods. This intention is corroborated further by the fact that along with the payment of the amount of *posa* the British used to present these chiefs articles of British manufacture like broad cloths, bottles of rum and knives. Once the people became used to these articles, they began to purchase them either from Tezpur or from the Udalguri and Doimara fairs. This colonial culture of exchanges culminated in making the chiefs addicted to those goods. The following official assertion about the importance of fairs gives a fair indication of the politico-economic motives behind the organization of fairs:

> '.....the fairs served some purposes of commercial and political utility.' To take the discussion on the Udalguri and Doimara fair further, we find that statistics regarding the volume of trade in Doimara fair have not been shown separately after 1885 and the Udalguri fair also lost importance from the closing years of the nineteenth century. In 1902, the import and export figures at Udalguri fairs stood at a low level of ₹ 8220 and ₹ 8598, respectively. However, the Udalguri and Doimara fairs contributed throughout the British period. While assigning the reasons for decline in brisk trade of these fairs, the following factors draw our attention:
>
> (i) The Darranga fair which began to be organized in 1883 onwards gained importance at the cost of these fairs.
>
> (ii) These cold weather fairs failed to serve the increasing and regular demand of the rising population in the Darrang district due to enormous expansion of the tea industry and the consequent increase of population. Hence, alternative sources of commerce in the form of weekly markets and permanent centres situated at Orang, Amratola, Mazbat, Lahabari, Balipara and Tezpur became the regular channel of commercial transactions.
>
> (iii) Lastly, we also notice a firm determination on the part of the British colonial government for direct entry into foreign trade with Tibet which is evident from the Anglo-Chinese Convention of 1894, Anglo-Tibetan Convention of 1904 and the commercial treaty concluded with Tibet in 1914.

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(iv) Enactment of the Inner Line Regulation of 1873 on the Darrang frontier in 1875 and its consequent amendment in 1892 and 1898 along with the Forest Regulation of 1878 further amended in 1891 need special mention in this regard.

With the gradual consolidation of British rule in Upper Assam, the Marwari traders who by this period had monopolized the internal trade of Assam as an agent of the British trading houses of Calcutta were encouraged to open their trading agencies at the frontier areas and trade with the hill people. These Marwari traders had their headquarters at Goalpara and Guwahati in Assam. As early as 1833, the Governor-General in council decided that the tract between the rivers Buridihing and Dibang, part of which was occupied by Khampti and Singphos, should be placed under an officer at Sadiya and in defining the powers and functions of the officer, the agent to the Governor-General, North East Frontier categorically stated,

> Another great object will be the advancement of the commerce in the frontier and any obstruction to a free trade that the agent of the Marwaris may bring to your notice either on our side or on the side of the Ava you will endeavour to remove and report to me as you deem necessary.

In 1834, Lieutenant Charlton was appointed in charge of Sadiya. In a letter written to David Scott, Agent to the North-East Frontier, Captain Neufville expressed the urgency of encouraging the rising spirit of commercial extension and enterprise amongst the border tribes and give them a good market at the frontier supplied with such articles of English and Indian produce as were most in demand at a reasonable price receiving in exchange for the native products. The former should, Neufville suggested, consist of coarse med broadcloth, med bailze, chintze, white cotton cloth, black muslin, cotton coloured handkerchief, velvet, salt, opium and med blanket of Bhutan and eri cloth of Assam and the latter would be chiefly ivory, gold, amber, musk, munjee, mishmiteeta and Khampti *dao* and spear. David Scott also entertained the idea that the trade with the hill tribes to the northward as well as the Singphos would naturally increase and proposed to establish a mart at Sadiya. This he hoped would also appease the Singphos who were suffering from loss of their slaves. An attempt in this line was already undertaken by Scott in 1827, when silk goods of the value of 800 rupees were despatched from Calcutta together with the present for the chiefs. Unfortunately, on their way the whole of the consignment was plundered. Though Scott once applied for a fresh investment of goods, the smallness of sum guaranteed, mere two thousand rupees and the want of any officer to supervise the business led to venture falling through. Neufville recommended that the merchant adventurer Charles Alexander Bruce who was in charge of the gun boats at Sadiya should be vested with the charge of the whole business at a salary of one hundred rupees for a month with a share in profit. Neufville hoped that eventually this trade would extend through the Hukong valley to Mogaung on the Upper Irrawady. Moreover, it would gain some profitable occupation to the Singphos in return of their faithful abandonment of their predatory habits and prevent their falling into distress from the loss of slaves and disinclination to agricultural labour. In 1834, first four Marwari traders opened their ships at Sadiya. Jenkins was confident that Sadiya which had been a place of considerable trade during the Ahom period, the condition of things would be slowly restored and hastened by the judicious measures adopted by the British for encouragement of trade.

By mid-nineteenth century, different *haats* and shops grew in and beyond the frontier areas. The Nyishis, Miris, Adis, and Mishmis all gradually started settling down

NOTES

peacefully and traded all along the frontier. The Mishmis came as far as Dibrugarh for trading purpose. Several of the Singphos were employed as blacksmith at Dimapur by the European entrepreneurs and all were taken greatly to the cultivation of their fields.

The rapid expansion of the tea industry in Upper Assam necessitated a greater market for its consumption. Serious thoughts were given to official circles to popularize British Indian tea among the hill tribes of the Eastern Himalaya and capture the markets of Central Asia, particularly Tibet through them. In 1868, Lieutenant Johnson, Superintendent of Keddha Department reported to the officiating secretary to the Government of Bengal, that an inconsiderable trade was carried on with Tibet through the medium of Digaru Mishmis and Adis and with northern Burma through Singphos and under proper management this trade might be greatly developed. There had always been demand for the produce of Tibet and northern Burma but the distance from Sadiya often prevented men from taking their goods to the best market and since sufficient encouragement was not given to the traders, few Marwaris at Sadiya did not find it profitable to lay in a large stock of things for which they had no sale on the spot. It was pointed out that whatever money was needed by the hill tribes was immediately reinvested so that increase of trade in one side would cause a corresponding increase in others and one means of increasing this trade was to establish an annual fair at Sadiya. That the British Government was more interested in opening up Tibetan trade through the intermediary hill tribes rather than establishing direct intercourse with Tibet is evident from C.U. Aitchinson; Secretary to the Government of India's instruction to C. Bernard, Officiating Secretary to the Government of Bengal,

> ...the appointment of a special officer for Tibet is neither necessary nor expedient. It will be quite sufficient in Colonel Haughton continue to collect all the interpretation in his power as to the goods most in demand, the restrictions placed on trade and to encourage trade by the establishment of fairs in our territories on the border. Our frontier officers may be told generally that any opening for friendly relations should be most of and at once reported to Government whenever it appears available.

Hence, to accelerate the process official patronage was given not only to the already existing trade fairs but attempts were also made to increase the number of fairs as an auxiliary to regular trade.

Marwari traders and Assamese from the plain attended the fair in large numbers. The European planters attended Sadiya and Udalguri fairs and the latter was also the resort of the Cacharese, the inhabitants of *duar*. There were several roads connecting the fairs with the other places of Assam such as the Orang-Udalguri, a fourteen-and-half-mile road which carried much of the traffic during the days when the fair was held. Sadiya was connected by Assam Trunk Road linking Brahmaputra at Saikhowaghat. Ferries were mostly used to cross the Brahmaputra at Saikhowaghat. The Sadiya fair was attended by the European traders from Tezpur and Mongoldoi and traders from Dibrugarh and Lakhimpur. The construction of Dibrugarh-Sadiya Railway between 1885 and 1903 which linked Saikhowa further added convenience to traders of plains. A daily service of passenger steamers and a fine fleet of cargo boats owned and managed by the Indian General steam and Navigation Company plied on the Brahmaputra between Goalundo and Dibrugarh.

The hill people were accommodated in long sheds constructed by the British Government, providing shelter for about 100 at a time. To each family on arrival was allotted a small space in the shed which members again partitioned and formed residence while in plains. In the same cases such accommodation was also provided to

NOTES

the merchants of plains. The importance of Sadiya fair to the hill tribes also diminished to some extent because of the establishment of numerous shops by the Marwaris at the outskirts of Lakhimpur district. The tendency since the late 19th century for the hill tribes was to visit permanent shops and markets that grew both in and beyond the Inner Line and the inevitable result was the falling off of trade in the fairs.

Sadiya developed into a market town with as many as 25 permanent shops. It was a market of wax, ivory, rubber, timber, Mishmeteeta and limestone brought by the Adis, Mishmis, Singphos and Khamptis. Besides the Marwaris' shops there were general stores under European management and a number of shops owned by the Muslim traders both at Dibrugarh and North Lakhimpur. At Margherita the Khamptis brought down amber from Hukong valley.

The markets frequented by the hill tribes were located in Brahmaputra Valley. Though it was comparatively easy for the hill people to come down to the plains, it was not easy for the people of the plain to have access to the mountainous terrain of hill territory. Notwithstanding these difficulties, enterprising Marwari merchants established permanent shops beyond the Inner Line too.

Rubber and opium were the main articles of exchange. In 1886, there were three licensed shops beyond the Inner Line in Lakhimpur district and their number gradually increased. The import of opium of the hill people was discouraged by the British Government, but encouraged the sale of high-priced government opium to them, to maximize their profit.

4.6 INNER LINE

After the occupation of Assam in 1826 the British followed almost the same policy towards the tribes of Arunachal. The Ahoms followed the policy of reconciliation towards the tribes and at no time considered the extension of their rule into the hills. David Scott, who is considered to be the architect of the British administration in the North East, favoured status quo in their relations with the tribes of Arunachal as well as others. Gradually for administrative convenience and needs of the expanding colonial economy the need for boundary demarcation (in any form) between Assam and Arunachal Pradesh was realized. Hence, the whole exercise of demarcation started.

Regulation I of 1873, called 'Regulation for the Peace and Good Government of Certain Districts on the Eastern Frontier' came into operation on 1 November, 1873. This became popular as the Inner Line Regulations because of the name given to the line of control by the author of the Act, Sir Arthur Hobhouse, a member of the Viceroy's Council. This regulation is also called 'The Bengal Eastern Frontier Regulation I of 1873.' According to this Act, which was to be applicable to the districts of Kamrup, Darrang, Nowgong, Sibsagar, Lakhimpur, Garo Hills, Khasi and Jayantiya Hills, Naga Hills, Cachar and Chittagong Hills, a restriction line was laid down to regulate intercourse between the tribesmen and the British subjects in the plains; bordering the hills. This line was called the Inner Line and beyond this no British subject was allowed to enter without a formal pass from the concerned authority. The Regulation laid down that 'any British subject or other person ... who goes beyond the Inner Line ....without a pass, shall be liable on conviction before a magistrate to a fine not exceeding ₹ 100 for the first offence and to a fine of not exceeding ₹ 500 or to simple or rigorous imprisonment for a term not exceeding three months, or to both for each subsequent offences.'

Check Your Progress

10. During the pre-colonial period the cold weather annual fairs were held at _____ and _____ in the foothills of Assam.
11. Sadiya had been a place of considerable trade during the Ahom period. (True/False)

NOTES

The Regulation further laid down that, 'any wood, wax, ivory, rubber or any other jungle products found in the possession of any person without permit, may be confiscated to the government.' The Act also prohibited the killing or catching of the wild elephants without a license, and laid restrictions on the possession of land beyond this line, by saying that, 'it shall not be lawful for any British subject, not being native of the district, to acquire any interest in the land or the product of land beyond the Inner Line without sanction of the local government.' The local government, however, was empowered to suspend or alter these restrictions from time to time. It was also made clear that the Government of India was not to be held responsible for the loss of life or property beyond the Inner Line, of those persons who went there without a permit.

The Inner Line was notified for Lakhimpur District on 3 September, 1875, in accordance with the Regulation of 1873. This Line was initially proposed by Major W. S. Clarke, Commissioner of Lakhimpur district, on 22nd May, 1875. Later on, some changes were made on the suggestions of the Chief Commissioner of Assam. The Government of India, while passing the Regulation of 1873, had suggested to the Government of Bengal that while prescribing the Inner Line, they should see that the line corresponded to the natural features of the country and if there were no such features, it was to coincide with the obligatory points like crossing of a road. The place where a road crossed the line was to be clearly shown on the map and if the area through which it ran had not been mapped, arrangements were to be made for topographical survey as well. If any tea garden was there in the frontier, it was to be brought within the Inner Line if it was possible to avoid any complications.

In accordance with these suggestions, the Inner Line which was finally drawn up in Lakhimpur was to take the course of the Buri Dihing in the South Eastern Sector, as it was a good natural boundary though it kept outside the Inner Line, the coal fields of Tirap and Nandang. The tea gardens of Namsang, Hukanjuri and Taurack, however, were brought within the Inner Line after an agreement with the Namsangia chief. The tea gardens of Joyhing and Harmoti were also brought within the Inner Line. This Inner Line starting from Desang was to go along Desang River, Namsang river, Boori Dihing, Kherampani, Noa Dihing and up to river Brahmaputra. From the north of Brahmaputra, starting from the boundary of Darrang, it was to go along the Rajgarh Ali, Dihing, Rangnadi, Joyhing tea garden, the Sisi river upto the Dimu guard. From there it was to go to the Puba guard, Lalimukh, Debongmukh upto Debong and Dikrang guard. It terminated on Noa Dihing Mukh in the east.

ACTIVITY

Draw a map depicting the Inner Line.

DID YOU KNOW

The city of Shillong acted as the capital of the Assam province created during the British Rule. It remained the capital of undivided Assam until the formation of the state of Meghalaya in 1972. The capital of Assam was then shifted to Dispur, a part of Guwahati, and Shillong became the capital of Meghalaya.

Check Your Progress

12. What was Regulation I of 1873 called?
13. The tea gardens of Namsang, Hukanjuri and Taurack were brought within the Inner Line after an agreement with the _____ chief.

NOTES

4.7 SUMMARY

In this unit, you have learnt that:

- The occupation of Assam by the British has impacted on the lives and conditions of the people of Arunachal Pradesh.
- Though initially the British continued the policy towards the chiefs and other powerful sections of the societies of Arunachal Pradesh and the institutions and privileges of the Ahom days to continue with certain changes, later with expansion of the colonial economy and the administration a number of changes took place.
- The crystallization of the structural tendencies, combined with the specific cultural orientations prevalent herein (the various areas of Arunachal Pradesh) culminated in the rise of autonomous centres of social and structural creativity and identity formation. These centres, with sufficient material base would certainly have given birth to the urbanization and stronger polities and states in Arunachal Pradesh.
- The establishment of British rule in this part of India completely reversed the process of centre formation, resource use, defence mechanism, traditional technology-based production and above all urbanization in Arunachal Pradesh.

4.8 KEY TERMS

- **Gamocha:** A kind of towel.
- **Malgoozari:** The local revenue officer
- **Oligarchic:** A small group of people having control of a country, organization, or institution

4.9 ANSWERS TO 'CHECK YOUR PROGRESS'

1. An agreement was made with Taghi Raja wherein he agreed not to attack the *ryots* in the plains for a monthly pension of ₹ 20.
2. *Posa*
3. Charduar
4. Paik
5. True
6. The gold washers and fishermen, who had now become British subjects, refused to pay to the Adis. The Adis in revenge carried off many of them to their hills. In this way the British–Adi conflict began.
7. Singpho
8. The main duty of these Katokies was to go into the hills as and when required and to provide information about the tribal affairs to the authorities.
9. False
10. Udalguri, Doimara

NOTES

11. True
12. 'Regulation for the Peace and Good Government of Certain Districts on the Eastern Frontier'.
13. Namsangia

4.10 QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Short-Answer Questions

1. Write a short note on the agreement of Capt. Gordon with the Sat Rajas.
2. How did the British occupation of Assam bring about a change in the *posa* rights of the Adis?
3. Who did the *katokies* deal with? How were they appointed?
4. What was the significance of Udalgiri?
5. What did Regulation I of 1873 concern?

Long-Answer Questions

1. Write a short note on the *posa* system.
2. How did the British impose force on Arunachal Pradesh?
3. Discuss the *katokies*.
4. What was the impact on the markets of Assam and Arunachal Pradesh?
5. Write a short note on the Inner Line.

4.11 FURTHER READING

Amrendra Kr Thakur. 2008. '*Historical Studies of Arunachal Pradesh: An Overview*', in R. Bezbaruah, P. Goswami and D. Banerjee (eds.), *North-East India Interpreting the Sources of its History*. New Delhi: I C H R and Aryan Books.

UNIT 5 RESISTANCE MOVEMENT

NOTES

Structure

5.0 Introduction
5.1 Unit Objectives
5.2 Historiography of Colonial Expansion in Arunachal Pradesh
5.3 Adi/Abors: Expeditions of 1894 and 1911
5.4 Nyishis: Relations with Adis and the British
5.5 Akas and the British
5.6 Khampti Relations with the British
5.7 Singpho–British Relations
5.8 Summary
5.9 Key Terms
5.10 Answers to 'Check Your Progress'
5.11 Questions and Exercises
5.12 Further Reading

5.0 INTRODUCTION

The British in course of their Colonial penetration in Arunachal Pradesh faced persistent resistance from the tribals, such as the Adi, the Nyishi, the Aka, the Khampti and the Singpho. The British always felt the scarcity of free labour and land. They delegitimized the institution of slavery and consequently made vigorous attempts to liberate the slave population, under the control of the pre-colonial masters. The liberated slaves were extensively recruited as free labourers in the colonial enterprises. Subsequently, slaves were liberated and any raid to capture new slaves was also prohibited. It was certainly aimed at destroying the power and position of the pre-colonial chiefs, as slave labour in agriculture and income from slave trade was their main economic support base and the use of slave as militia was another source of their power. These practices were detrimental to colonial rule and hence, were resisted by the people of Arunachal Pradesh. Determined efforts were made towards the abolition of slavery and other socio-economic evils. It has very less to do with the 'freedom principles' arising in the so-called consciousness of the 'whites', 'Christians' and others.

5.1 UNIT OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to:

- Discuss the historiography of colonial expansion in Arunachal Pradesh
- Describe the Adi/Abors expeditions of 1894 and 1911
- Describe the relation of Nyishis with the Adis and the British
- Discuss the Akas of Arunachal Pradesh
- Describe the Khamptis of Arunachal Pradesh
- Describe the Singphos of Arunachal Pradesh

NOTES

5.2 HISTORIOGRAPHY OF COLONIAL EXPANSION IN ARUNACHAL PRADESH

Sabyasachi Bhattacharya in the General President's Address, *The Colonial State: Theory and Practice* (The Indian History Congress, 65th session, 2004, p.14), has rightly opined that 'The legitimation of colonial state's authority was accompanied by the delegitimation of pre-colonial authority at levels ranging from the pre-colonial claimants to sovereignty to lower levels such as the "native princes", chiefs and the like.' Also in Northeast India, the colonial state intervention was able to 'delegitimize' not only the Ahoms of Assam but also other neighbouring hill polities including that of Arunachal Pradesh. However, the colonial administrators and writers presented colonial intervention in this area, as the saviour of society and means of service to humanity. The earlier generation of historians, which relied greatly upon the colonial sources, subscribed to the colonial views in their writings.

The historiography of colonial expansion and the tribal resistances in opposition to the same has another problematic area. It is the 'anthropolization' of the tribes of the area. They were described as 'primitive', 'cultural isolates', 'barbarous', 'head-hunters', 'criminals', and 'opium eaters'. The pre-colonial socio-economic and polity formations were fully neglected and they were analysed as a category of 'undeveloped', 'uncivilized' or 'semi-civilized'. Consequently, the reactions of tribes against the colonial power, the British, were never treated in their true spirit of the terms, neither by the colonial masters nor by the early generation of historians. To them they were 'personal' or 'local' in character. It was never assessed as a phenomenon of indigenous reaction protesting against the colonial penetration. It can clearly be observed that the British were forcefully penetrating into the hills, occupying the land and controlling the people. And we have evidence of resistance, protest or rebellion from almost all parts of Northeast India during the 19th and the 20th centuries. Amrendra Kr Thakur has tried to study the same in two of his papers 'Labour, Land and Laws: Aspects of Tribal Resistance in 19th Century Arunachal Pradesh', and 'Colonial Penetration versus Indigenous Reaction: Slavery Abolition in Northeast India'.

Another problem found in the historiography of Arunachal Pradesh is that its history is largely a victim of Assam-centric historiography. Historians also heavily depended upon the records and writings of the colonial masters; resulting in creation of myths and distortions in the history of Arunachal Pradesh. The article 'Some Aspects of Socio-economic and Political Formations in Pre-colonial Arunachal Pradesh: Myth and Reality' in *The Indian Historical Review* – Amrendra Kumar Thakur also analyses the problem mentioned above. It also caused the lopsided growth of the historical research of the area. The author without any analysis and explanation to the fact has kept the areas of present Arunachal Pradesh and Manipur outside the scope of his study. The author has negated the economic and political dimensions of historic relationship between the people of Arunachal Pradesh and Assam. Even during the 'Planter Raj' the impacts of the legislations, administrative orders and military campaigns are quite evident on the land and people of Arunachal Pradesh, besides some socio-cultural influences. The casual and unhistorical approach of the author towards the tribes of the area is also clear from the description about the Singpho revolt.

The difference in the approaches, objectivity in research and reconstruction of the past, free of bias and distortions would be clear from the observations cited below.

NOTES

While the issue of how these tribes were held responsible for the British actions against them is the main thrust of the official writings of the British period, contemporary literature is almost silent on this issue. H. K. Barpujari (*op.cit.* vol. I, p. 28) describes the details. The magnitudes of the raids (committed by the Khamptis and the Singphos) were frightening before the British rule in this area. Both banks of the river were swept by their depredations, and the number of captives carried off amounted to many thousands. Of these, the greater parts were sold to the hill Singphos, Khamptis, Shans and others. The anarchical condition caused by the depredation of the Singphos inevitably demanded continued operation of the British forces even after the Burmese evacuation of Rangpur. The terror inspired by the Singphos was gradually removed and confidence was restored in the minds of the people, to return to their villages.

The same historical development has been cited by S. K. Bhuyan, of course in a very different way. To quote, 'The Singphos in concert with the Moran rebels had imported troops from Burma and ravaged a number of villages in the eastern part of Assam. To placate the Singpho leader Bichanong, Purnananda Buragohain had presented to him Rangili, together with numerous slaves and attendants. Bichanong in his turn palmed off Rangili to King Bodawpaya with the object of strengthening his friendship with the Burmese monarch.' Unlike the records of the British period and consequent lacunae in the historiography of the tribal resistances of Arunachal Pradesh created by the Indian scholars, the *Tungkhungia Buranji* does not indicate the atrocities and deserved harsh punitive measures against the Singphos and other tribes. The details of the same can be seen in S. K. Bhuyan (ed.) *Tungbhungia Buranji (A History of Assam 1681–1826 A.D.)*

5.3 ADI/ABORS: EXPEDITIONS OF 1894 AND 1911

The Adis (earlier known as the Abors) live in the east and west Siang districts and in the Dibang valley of Arunachal Pradesh. In all the earlier writings, the Galos were included in the Adis. The Ahom government had granted some villages in the plains to the Adis for the cultivation of paddy. Besides this, the Adis always asserted their sovereignty over the Mishings (the Miris) who had settled on the plains. They also claimed right to all the fish and gold found in the streams that flowed from their hills, and had share arrangement with the gold washers and fishermen (the Sonowals and the Beheeahs/ Bihias, respectively). The British initiated moves to change the system of the Ahom period. Alexander Mackenzie in *The North East Frontier of India* provides us the official version of the development of relations. Till the middle of the nineteenth century, the Adis claimed and received levies. A policy of non-interference and maintenance of the status quo was followed by the British even after the establishment of British control in Assam and the Adis had a friendly relation with them till the year 1847. But around the middle of the nineteenth century the gold washers, fishermen and the Mishings, encouraged by the attitude of the new authorities, the British, and feeling a sense of security and protection, began to defy the Adis; some even moved down to remote places beyond the easy access of the Adis. This led to a change in attitude on the part of the Adis; rather, the Adis had to coerce the refractory subjects whom they regarded as their hereditary slaves, and, thus, violated the law of the British, which they did not know and considered unnecessary to observe. Thus, began the strife between the Adis and the British.

It is seen throughout the Ahom reign that the Bihia–Sonwal Kacharis remained loyal to the Adis. But soon after entire Assam was taken over by the British imperialist,

Check Your Progress

1. The historiography of Arunachal Pradesh is highly Assam-Centric. (True/False)
2. The anarchial condition caused by the depredation of the _____ demanded continued British operation even after the Burmese evacuation of Rangpur.

NOTES

these Kacharis, encouraged by the attitude of the new government, became their own masters, and many of them moved down the valley to avoid the subjection of the Adis. The few, who remained, began to repudiate the claims of the Adis. This vicissitude led to a changed attitude on the part of the Adis. They now had to coerce the refractory Bihia–Sonwal Cacharis whom they regarded as their hereditary subjects. Capt. Vetch had gone to the hills with a small party of troops to demand the restoration of a body of Cachari gold washers carried off by the Adis. The captives were restored but his camp was attacked at night and the Adis could be defeated only after hard fighting in 1848.

In the meantime, the government had framed out the right of gold washing to the Beheeahs at the rate of ₹ 80 per year. Thus, it had become the moral and bounded duty of the government to protect the gold washers from the depredations of the Adis. A policy of coercion and conciliation continued but the prospects of a friendly relation did not seem to last long. So long the British claimed sovereignty over lands up to the foothills and the Adis were denied the right of collecting their dues directly from those whom they considered as their vassals. On the next occasion too, due to the same reason, the Galos were the first to strike followed by the Padams in Dibang Valley (Bomjir-Dambuk). More serious was the raid of the Kebang Minyongs over a Bihia village Sengajan, only six miles from Dibrugarh wherein twenty-one persons were killed and six were wounded in January 1858. These punitive Adi raids upon the Bihias caused great concern to the British authorities at Dibrugarh. The British government now had to deal with the Adis to secure protection of the British subjects, administrative office and officers and the planters in Upper Assam. This brought in a series of arm actions between the Adis and British. The resultant development was the second expedition of 1859. This was the first serious outrage of the Adis. Despite the odds of the English in India due to the Revolt of 1857, the government had to sanction a punitive expedition against the raiders to protect the people who paid taxes to them. Hurriedly, therefore, an expedition was sent under the command of Capt. Lowther, the Deputy Commissioner of Lakhimpur, Capt. Biver, also went along with the expedition. The expedition ended in a fiasco due to various reasons such as paucity of troops, difficult terrain and the failure of the supply line. It was given up within miles of the Kebang village, the ultimate target of the expedition. On the retreat it was also harassed and suffered great casualties.

Emboldened by their success, the Minyong Adis, allying with the neighbouring clans, had advanced and took up a threatening position at Pasighat towards the plains. The government now was required to prove that it was capable of giving necessary protection to its subjects and chastise those who threatened their security. Accordingly, another expedition was sanctioned on a much larger scale to retrieve the lost prestige under Col. Hanney, in 1859. The expedition left Sadiya by boats for Pobamukh on the 21st February 1859. It succeeded in destroying Kabang and its allies. But Minyongs were still posing threat to the British. As a precautionary measure, the government posted military guards on the Adi frontier, stockades were built and communication improved. In this way, their movements were restricted. Many Adi chiefs were now ready for some sort of settlement. Thus, eight Khels of Minyong Adis concluded an agreement with the Deputy Commissioner of Lakhimpur in November 1862. The Adis accepted British sovereignty up to the foothills and promised not to violate it and disturb the British subjects. The British would provide them the necessary articles on condition of maintaining peace along the border. Following the Minyong, the Kabang and the Padam Adis also made such agreements with the British.

NOTES

Those agreements, however, could not satisfy the Adis, and the relationship between the Adis and the British remained strained subsequently too. The Adis did not like the close watch on them by the British and the several moves of the British which were detrimental to their survival and traditional privileges. After these agreements were concluded, the Adis seemed to be conciliatory, but their discontent remained. In 1863, the Mebo Adis refused to accept the present as the Deputy Commissioner refused to join hands with them; in 1865, the Minyongs abstained from coming to accept the presents on the plea of the outbreak of small-pox and cholera epidemic; in 1866 again, they insisted on the removal of the Pobamukh guard post. In 1876–1877, hostility was shown upon the advance of the trigonometrical survey party in the hills. The Padams took up an aggressive attitude towards the Chulikata Mishmis compelling the government to take up advance position in 1881. The British thought that once the Adis were allowed to cross the Dibang, they would establish themselves in the plains and would threaten Sadiya, and therefore, the Bomjur and Nizamghat posts were occupied.

Jack Francis Needham of the Bengal Police was appointed Political Officer in 1882 and posted at Sadiya. When Needham visited Adi villages, in 1884, they complained of the paucity of the *posa* and British authorities giving shelter to their run-away slaves. They also pointed out that the government had been favouring the Mishings and had built a Namghar for them. However, there was none for the Adis. Moreover, there was no rest house for the Adis at Sadiya. The details of the Adi–British relationship have been provided by R. Reid, *History of the Frontier Areas Bordering on Assam,* Shillong 1942; *Report on the Operation against the Bor-Abors, 1893-94*; H. K. Barpujari, *Problem of the Hill Tribes North East Frontier 1873-1962*, Vol III, Gauhati, 1981, pp. 125–38 and M. L. Bose, *History of Arunachal Pradesh* (*op.cit.*, pp. 72–82). The Adis complained to return their slaves, as they cost them a lot of money and they could not do without them; but he (Needham) refused to do so, and 'lately he has insulted us (the Adis) by offering us about one-fourth of what they actually cost us as ransom money.'

In 1882, the chief of Padam, in a raid murdered a sepoy of the guard house and killed two Miris. In 1887, four girls along with some articles of domestic use were carried off from within the British territory. When the payment of *Posa* was stopped, the girls and the articles were returned but the guilty persons declined to come down. Four Miris were enticed across the frontier and murdered in 1889. A blockade forced the offenders to pay a fine of twenty Mithuns. Incidents of attack on the police patrolling parties had also increased in the meanwhile and it was evident that the whole tribe was in a disaffected state. On 27 November, 1893, three sepoys of Bomjur outpost were waylaid and murdered by the men of Bomjur, assisted by the men of Pobamukh Siluk.

The problem continued even after the limited complaint and it created bitterness between the British and the Adis. On 18 November, 1893 they told Needham at Bomjur (while on visit of the area) that they had no wish to be friendly with the Maharani any longer. They categorically stated 'Our runaway slaves are detained, and we are insulted by being offered half what they cost us.' Finally they declared, 'All right! Now we shall see who kills whom.' The Adis were the first to strike. On 27 November they cut up three military sepoys near a patrol party killing one and wounding two on duty. This hostility resulted in the expedition of 1893–94 of the Adi area by the British. The expedition was sanctioned under the command of Capt. R M. Maxwell and Political Officer, Needham. The Adis began to retreat and Bomjur was taken without any resistance. Dambuk was taken after a small fight. Then the party

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advanced to Damroh, as Needham was convinced that the Padam village of Damroh was the main source of power behind the hostilities of the Adis. But the attempt to storm Damroh proved to be futile. With supplies being cut, ration in short supply, and incessant rains adding to the misery, it was decided to retreat. The Adis intercepted the retreat and harassed the force. Thus, the expedition failed to achieve its main objectives. In the meanwhile, the camp at Bodak had been attacked, everyone was massacred and ration was destroyed. Therefore, on the return march Needham destroyed Padu and Mebo villages who were thought to be responsible for burning the Bodak camp. Bomjur was also evacuated and burnt.

After the return of the expedition, Needham claimed that it was a partial success because the villages of Bomjur, Dambuk and Silluk had been punished. The Chief Commissioner also tried to justify the expedition in the following words: 'One important result of the expedition is that we now know the way to Damroh, and the nature of opposition we may expect in any future expedition is undertaken against that village'. The statement of the Chief Commissioner clearly reveals that the expedition was a failure and did not succeed in suppressing the Damroh village.

The relations with the Adis did not improve after the apparent discomfiture of the expedition in 1894. The Pasi Minyongs repeatedly troubled the British. Therefore, the payment of *Posa* was stopped and in 1900, a general blockade was resorted to. This could only stall the raids of the Adis temporarily. They continued to disturb peace. Under these circumstances, Neol Williamson succeeded Needham in 1905, as Assistant Political Officer of Sadiya. From the beginning of the twentieth century the British Government became more concerned about the independent status of the frontier hills. The main reason for British concern was the increasing activities of the Chinese in Tibet and in some of the hills of the frontier region. The disturbance in the region would have also affected the tea cultivation wherein British planters have invested lots of money. So, the British Government adopted forward policy and sent several missions to the hills. Thus, the Lhasa Mission was sent to Tibet in 1904. In this series, Noel Williamson visited the Mishmi and Adi hills. He became the Assistant Political officer in 1905 and was posted at Sadiya. He was keeping a close watch on the Chinese activities in the region. With this view he made contact with the hill people and visited Mishmi and Adi hills many times. Thus, in 1907 he went upto Rima (in Lohit Valley) and Kebang in the Adi hills. In 1908, Williamson visited the Pasi, Minyong and some Galo villages around Pasighat. In 1911, he again went to the Mishmi hills up to Walong. He noticed Chinese activities in Rima. Seeing this, he became concerned about the Adi hills, and in March 1911, he decided again to visit the hills. He was accompanied by Dr. J.D. Gregorson and more than forty other people. On 18 March, Willamson and his party reached Rotung, from where they went up to Pangi. On 30 March, he left the Pangi camp, leaving Dr. Gregorson there. On the same day the Adis of Kebang and Babuk came to Pangi and killed Dr. Gregorson. Then they followed Williamson and he was also killed at Komsing on 31 March 1911. The murder of Williamson might have been a result of a long period of British-Adi conflicts over various issues and regular British intervention in the hills, but the result of the murder was significant.

The direct result of murder of Williamson was the Adi (Abor) expedition of 1911 and subsequent Adi war. The murder of Williamson and his party was a serious challenge to the British government. The expedition was led by Major General H. Bower. It had to establish British Military superiority in the hills; to punish the culprits of massacre to get indemnity for the massacre; to explore and survey the hills and also to find the possibility of demarcating a boundary line between India and Tibet.

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The British force was much more powerful than that of the Adis. Almost all the Adi clans rose against the British, but the Adis could not resist the enemy due to their well-organized military system and advanced weapons. The British captured and destroyed many Adi villages, such as, Korang, Rotung, Kebang. The murderers of Williamson and his party were captured, tried and given punishment. In this way, British supremacy was established in the region. After a successful military campaign the British government started a survey of the areas in order to establish a boundary line between the Adi country and Tibet. But no immediate success could be achieved.

The Adi war government divided the whole frontier tract into three sections, i.e., eastern, central and western. The Adi areas were included in the eastern section, with the headquarters at Sadiya. An Assistant Political Officer was posted at Pasighat. Several trading posts were opened at Pasighat and Rotung. Trade relations with the plains were thus re-established. After the war, the British Government started extensive explorations of the Adi areas. They continued for almost three decades. In the meantime, the British relations with the Adis remained peaceful. The British tried to check internal feuds of the Adis, trade routes were opened and the whole area was on the way of progress.

Outcome of the expedition

After the peace treaty was signed between the British and the Adis in 1912, the following terms were imposed on the main offending villages of the Minyongs.

The villagers of Sissin were to pay a fine of 2 Mithuns and 6 pigs and were to assist the government in collecting any further information. The villagers of Panggi, who were found to be guilty of the murder, were asked by the government to dismantle all the stockades and to deliver 500 iron-barbed arrows with quivers, 6 Tibetan swords, 20 mithuns, 50 pigs and 50 mounds of rice. They were also required to return any property which belonged to Williamson or Dr. Gregerson. The Kebang village was required to obey all the orders of the Government in future and not to prevent people from trading in the plains. They were to return five rifles that were stolen by them from the party of Williamson, and also the telephone cables that they had stolen during the Abor war. In addition, they were required to surrender 2000 war arrows and complete war kit of 50 soldiers. They were also held responsible for maintaining the road from Yambung to Puak and to surrender 25 mithuns. In return, they were allowed to rebuild their village one mile further upstream. The village of Yamsing was issued a strict warning against any further indulgence in any conspiracy against the British and was to bring 10 bows, 20 war-arrows, 1 sword and 1 helmet. The villagers of Ringging were ordered not to interfere with the people who wanted to go down to the plains for trade, and were also to maintain the road between Sirpe and Sirki. The village of Babuk was fined 5 Mithuns, since they had participated in the murder. They were allowed to re-build their village on the condition that in future they would not prevent anyone from going to trade in the plains, and they were also to maintain the road between Sirpe and Retung.

It is important to remember that unlike any other expeditions and survey missions that were sent by the British into the hills after 1826, the aim of the expedition in 1911 was to establish a boundary line between Tibet and Assam, and for this purpose, it was necessary to make a survey of the area. This was directly in response to the growing Chinese imperial interests in the areas of Arunachal Pradesh.

NOTES

Whatever may be the outcome of the expedition, the Adi resistance clearly shows that the aggression of the Adis against the British was mainly the outcome of their grievances against colonial administration and when all peaceful appeal and meetings could not safeguard the interests of the Adis they resorted to violence and murder. This resistance from the middle of the 19th century to the first decade of the 20th century can be compared with any nationalist movement because the native population was trying to protect their economic and political interests.

5.4 NYISHIS: RELATIONS WITH ADIS AND THE BRITISH

Before we proceed to discuss the Nyishi–Adi relations, it is important to mention an article on this problem. A. Ramchandran in his article 'A Survey of Nishi-British Relations (1825-1947)' in *Proceedings of North East India History Association* provides a general picture of the developments related to the same. Though this article is based on the secondary sources, the other works which have dealt with the problem are H. K. Barpujari (*op.cit*), M. L. Bose (*op.cit.*) B. C. Chakravorty, *British Relations with the Hill Tribes of Assam since 1858* (Calcutta, 1964).

The habitat of the Nyishis extends eastwards of Bharali River, occupying the hills in Darrang north of Naoduar (the nine passes), and Cheduar (the six passes) in Lakhimpur, as far east as the upper courses of Sundri. According to Dalton, there were about 238 chiefs of the Nyishis. Sometimes they were thirty to forty chiefs in the same village or area. The Nyishis were assigned by the Ahoms certain Paiks called Dafla-Bohotias, to enable them to get supply of rice and other necessities. When Assam was taken over by the British, they continued with the same practice in the beginning. But later on they wanted to stop the practice and tried to check the Nyishis from collecting the *Posa* directly. The Commissioner of Assam had also instructed the Political Agent of Upper Assam, Capt. White that the blackmail collected by the hill tribes should not be stopped but the negotiations for the commutation of their rights in the Duars should be carried on.

In the case of the Nyishis, like the case of the Adis as discussed above, labour, land and the new laws were always the reasons of friction between the Nyishis and the British. It included giving shelter to the runaway coolies from the neighbouring tea gardens. In August 1896, some garden labourers ('coolies') of Dikrai Tea Estate of the Bishnath Tea Company ran away. Some Nyishis captured them. Only a woman among the captured coolies, named Parona, succeeded in going back to Dikrai. According to her account, the total number of captured coolies was thirteen: six men, four women and three children. The Deputy Commissioner of Darrang, M.A. Gray finally sent a Dafla gam, Kandura who had been long settled in the plains near the Dikrai Tea Estate with a formal sealed *parwana*, three Kotokis (emissaries) and two other Assamese to carry their effects. As a result of the peace talks, the Nyishis were ready to release the coolies in exchange of two slaves of Hukai Gam.

The Deputy Commissioner of Darrang referred the cases to Cotton, the Chief Commissioner of Assam, for final decision. Therefore, the Commissioner of the Assam Valley District, P. Maxwell, disfavoured the exchange with the Nyishis. According to the British laws the slaves of the Nyishis of Arunachal Pradesh became free as soon as they entered British territory. The Deputy Commissioner of Darrang, under the instruction of Cotton, established a blockade of the Nyishi areas and the payment of *posa* was

Check Your Progress

3. The _____ live in the east and west Siang districts and in the Dibang valley of Arunachal Pradesh.
4. Name three Adi villages.

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stopped to the Nyishi chiefs until the captives were freed. Therefore, the coolies were finally freed through peaceful negotiation in February 1900 and the payment of *posa* was restored. The crux of the problem lies in the refusal of exchange, which gives an insight into the considerations of the local British economy in the interest of the colonial economy and to legitimize and disguise the refusal through constitutional safeguard. The paradox of the situation may be judged from the fact that on the one hand they declared that the runaway slaves of the Nyishis became a free citizen as soon as they entered British territory and desired to settle there, but on the other hand the coolies voluntarily fled to the Nyishi area to escape worse treatment than that of blacks in the American plantation. The problem of runaway slaves or coolies continued in the relationship. It is not important to discuss every individual case but it is more important to understand the same as the economic and political needs of the hill people because the Jhum cultivation was labour intensive and directly proportional to the labour engaged and the yield. On the basis of several instances we see a general policy of the British that in the disputes of the two Nyishis generally the British administration used to be neutral.

The Nyishi–British encounter took place in the year 1835. Some Nyishis of Charduar area sided with the Aka chief Thagi Raja in the raid. Consequently, as a punishment the Nyishis of that area along with the Akas were prevented from collecting the *posa*. In December of the same year, the Nyishis retaliated by raiding on the Charduar plains and carrying off several persons. A punitive expedition was sent to the hills and nine captives were rescued and two Nishi chiefs were captured. Capt. Mathie then opened negotiations to stop direct collection of the *Posa*, eight out of the thirteen of the Dafla clans came to terms. They refused to accept money instead of the articles but agreed to surrender their right to collect their dues from the riots directly. In the case of any dispute, they, however, agreed to refer the matter to the magistrate. They also agreed not to aid the enemies of the British and help in the capture of the offenders. The *Posa* was fixed at, 'one coarse arkut sheet, one long cotton handkerchief, two seers of salt, one dao and one goat for every ten houses.' After this, five more clans came to agreement on similar terms. For sometime peace prevailed in the Charduar area.

The British, however, found it more difficult to tackle the Nyishis of Naoduar. They claimed a share of two-thirds of all revenue paid by the *paiks*. In 1838–39, in retaliation they carried away some British subjects as captives. Capt. Vetch immediately stopped the payment of *posa* and threatened that the entire *posa* would be collected and used for strengthening the stockades and the outposts. This pressure technique of the British brought results in their favour. The Nyishis of the upper areas pressurized the chiefs who had been committing offences to make their submission. Thus, agreements were executed wherein it was decided that the Nyishis would be paid their *posa* through the village Revenue Officer. Subsequently, a list of the riots that paid dues in these duars to the Nyishis was prepared in 1841. In 1852, Col. Dalton and Lt. Biver modified the list excluding those who did not claim their *posa*. The revised list had 238 Gams or chiefs who received a total of ₹ 2543. The total amount of *posa* had reached ₹ 4129. Besides, 234 mounds of salt in lieu of hat dues (weekly market dues and rights of fishing and gold mining) were also paid, including 26 bottles of rum and a diet allowance of ₹ 5.

Some Nyishis settled down in the plain areas of Darrang and Lakhimpur. Col. Woodthrope made a survey on some parts of the Nishi land in 1883, and got enthusiastic support from them. From 1888 to 1891, there were some local disputes between the

NOTES

hill Nyishis and the plains Nyishis, but the British Government was not interested to interfere in the political affairs beyond the Inner Line, and in most cases it declined to take upon itself the burden of punishing the offenders.

The policy of pacification and non-intervention were not always successful. The Nyishi outrage had increased considerably during the years 1904 and 1908. Ultimately, therefore, an expedition was sent in 1908 which achieved its purpose and met no opposition in the hills. But Captain Nevill was attacked at Riang by the Nyishis during the course of the Aka promenade. Nevill had fined them 20 pigs and 10 swords and also had recorded that the Nyishis were yet to recognize the British authority. In 1918, Miri Pathar Nyishis raided the Nyishi village of Gaigaon and Boranipathar in the plains and carried off 59 captives. Fourteen made their escape and twenty were released by the Political Officer proceeding to the offending village, Pigerong. In 1919, it was decided that no settlement was to be allowed within five miles of the Inner Line and a special magistrate was appointed to try the cases involving the Nyishis.

Instances of petty aggression, inter-clan feuds and raids on the borderlands continued by the Nyishis. In 1931–32, the Political Officer, N L. Bor had to lead three expeditions: (i) to punish Chemgung for imprisoning a British subject (ii) to Sengmara, in order to burn it for being set up within the Inner Line against the government orders and (iii) to punish Midpu for raiding a plain village of Laluk. The following years witnessed the widespread clan feuds between different clans causing loss of lives in great numbers. In spite of intervention of the British government from time to time, the situation did not improve and peace in the hills continued to be disturbed. With a view to bring larger areas under control, in 1946, the Balipara Frontier Tract was divided into two separate administrative units namely, the Sela Sub-Agency and the Subansiri area. The western Nyishis fell under the Sela Sub-Agency and the eastern Nyishis came mostly under the Subansiri area. The British relations with the Nyishis were, therefore, full of events and the government had to keep a watchful eye on the Nyishis throughout their rule in India. The overall survey of the Nishi–British relations points out that their relationship was strained during the whole period and occasionally temporary friendship was maintained.

5.5 AKAS AND THE BRITISH

To the west of the hills of the Sherdukpens and north of Charduar lived the Akas who now call themselves Hrusso. The tribe had two major clans, namely – Kutsun (Hazarikhowas or the eater of a thousand hearts) and Kubatsun (Kapachors or Kapachor or the cotton thieves). The Akas were also accorded by the Ahoms, the right to collect *posa* from the people of the bordering Charduar plains. As was the case with other tribes, the Governor General's Agent, David Scott, continued the practices. But the British soon found this practice of allowing hill men to descend on the plains for collecting their *posa* and other petty dues as difficult and troublesome too. It very often created administrative problems for the government. So, David Scott advocated the commutation of *posa* claims of the hill-tribes to cash payment; he succeeded in making an agreement with the Hazarikhowas by which they agreed to forgo their right to direct collection in consideration of an annual payment of ₹ 175 by the British government. But as a result of the Balipara massacre of 1835, perpetrated by the Kapachor chief, Thagi Raja, the payment of *posa* to the Hazarikhowas was stopped because they were suspected to be involved in the plunder. The *posa* to them was restored only after nine years when a settlement was made in 1844.

Check Your Progress

5. The habitat of the Nyishis extends westwards of Bharali river. (True/False)
6. What led to conflict between the Nyishis and the British?

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As regards the British relations with Thagi Raja, shortly before the advent of the British in Assam, he had murdered the native official in charge of Charduar, along with twenty of his followers. David Scott, the first Commissioner of Assam, had declared them outlaw and forbade them to enter into the British territory of Assam. But they continued to do so evading the British vigilance. In 1829, having been under pressure from the Hazarikhowa Akas, Thagi Raja fled into Assam where he was apprehended by the British and put in Guwahati jail. On his release in 1832, mainly due to the influence of his Hindu Spiritual master, he returned to the hills, and in the words of Mackenzie 'rallied his broken clan, murdered all who had been in any way concerned in his capture' in Assam. Thereafter, the daring act of his career came in the beginning of 1835. He set fire to the house of a Patgiri, Madhu Saikia at Orung and before that he set fire to the Assam Light Infantry outpost at Balipara in which seventeen persons were killed. Such acts of violence and the repeated attacks on Charduar areas caused by Thagi Raja continued unabated. In December, 1837 he carried off several persons as captives to the hills. In 1838–39 and yet again in March 1841, he raided the plains of Charduar. All the efforts on the part of the British to capture him proved abortive. His energies and daring acts had made him at this time virtual chief of both clans of Akas, and were able to influence the neighbouring Nyishis. Captain Mathie was, however, doubtful of the success of a punitive expedition into the hills. So the British resorted to blockade and strengthening of the outposts with more guards. However, due to the continued outrage, when the government was seriously thinking to send an expedition against Thagi Raja, there arrived the surprising news of the surrender of Thagi Raja. The Kotokis (interpreters) played an important role in bringing about the surrender. It was quite possible that the Raja might have been at last weary of a hunted life. A monthly pension of ₹ 20 was granted to him and three of his chiefs: Seemkolee, Sooma and Nisul. An agreement was executed to this effect in 1842. Subsequently, other chiefs came down and accepted pensions from the government. Captain Gordon, the Deputy Commissioner of Darrang, granted annual pension to four Aka chiefs in 1844 and five others in 1848. The total amount of stipends amounted to ₹ 360 per year.

The relation between the British and the Akas began to improve after the grant of these pensions to the chiefs. The amount of *posa* and pensions were also gradually increased and raised to ₹ 668 per annum. The Hazarikhowas had further received 18 *puras* of land for their temple in Darrang district. But in 1857, the Aka chiefs wanted a further rise in their *posa* and this issued remained an irritant in the relationship of the two.

The British–Aka relations started deteriorating subsequently from the 1870s due to a higher demand for rise in *Posa*, the differences in the demarcation of boundary line and the British encroachment upon their plain land and forests. In 1872–73, Lt. Col. Graham, the Commissioner, demarcated the boundary line between the Akas and the tribes living to the west of them. According to the new line, the lands in the foothills were brought within the boundary of the Darrang district. The Akas refused to accept the new line as it meant less of forests to them. The Hazarikhowas petitioned a further grant of revenue-free land and the Kapachors demanded nearly 200 *pura* of land. On the recommendation of the Deputy Commissioner, Darrang district, 36 *puras* of land were granted to each clan and perhaps on this both of them were satisfied with the new boundary which was demarcated in 1874–75. Medhi, who had succeeded Thagi Raja as

NOTES

chief even agreed to send two of his relations to schools in the British territory and the British agreed to bear all the expenses. But this proved to be a temporary patch-up. The real cause of the grumbling was not settled; the hill men were not prepared to surrender their lands (forest and plains). All these grievances of the Akas culminated into the raid of the Akas to the Balipara Forest Range Office in 1883–84 and carried off the Ranger and his clerk together with a compass, some money and two guns. The leader of this raid was no other than Chandi, the brother of Medhi Raja. This was the first Aka raid after the grant of *posa* to them in 1842.

When the surrender of the captives was demanded, the Akas sent very insolvent letters reviving their claims to the land and forests in the plains. Hence, the British government sanctioned an expedition into the hills to punish the offenders. The expedition left for the Aka hills under the command of the Political Officer, Capt. Maxwell with 290 Frontier Police under W B. Savi and Lt. E H. Molesworth, 571 officers and men drawn from the 43rd Native Infantry, 210 men of the 12th Khelati Chizais from Cachar, 2 mountain guns, and a party of Sappers under the command of Brig. Gen. Sale Hill. When the force advanced, the Akas evacuated some villages and attacked the vanguard, but were easily overpowered and dispersed. The expeditionary force reached the village of Medhi and found that the village was already deserted. The houses of Medhi's brother, Chandi, Naloo and Kota, who were considered the chief culprits of Balipara incident, were burnt. The stocks of grain were destroyed and the livestock were carried away. The Aka chiefs then sent back the captives together with the property they had carried away earlier. A fine of 10 Mithuns (valued between ₹ 700–1000) was also obtained. Maxwell stayed for some time in the hills but owing to the outbreak of fever in the camp, returned considering the result of the expedition as satisfactory. But the Chief Commissioner of Assam was not happy with the return of the expedition as it failed to hound the culprits and make the Medhi surrender.

Therefore, as further punishment to the Akas, a blockade of the Aka country was instituted immediately. It was not lifted until January 1888, when Medhi and Chandi appeared in person and made their submission to Col. Campbell, the Deputy Commissioner of Darrang. An agreement of good behaviour was executed with them, whereby, the foothill was accepted as the boundary between the Akas and the British. It was also stated that the *posa* would be restored again after two years if they behaved well.

The Akas were in dire need of the restoration of *posa* and the lifting of the blockade against them as they used to purchase their essential items with that money. In 1890, the *posa* was restored to them after a lapse of seven years. In 1896, again, a small expedition was sent to the Aka hills to rescue the captives, whom the Akas had carried away from inside the Inner Line. A group of hill men had done it due to personal animosity. However, the captives were rescued and the guilty were punished by releasing six of their slaves.

Again in the year 1900, the question of rights in the forests brought the Akas into conflict with the British. They demanded and took away ₹ 3000 from a merchant of Balipara market for tapping rubber in their territory. When they were on their way back with the money, the Deputy Commissioner of Darrang appeared and fined them ₹ 3000 for their conduct. To avoid any further complications, it was decided that all agreements for rubber tapping between the merchants and the hill men, would henceforth be made in the presence of the Deputy Commissioner and all payments would be made in his presence.

After this, there was no rift in the relations between the British and the Akas. In 1913, Capt. Nevill, the Political Officer of the Western Section led a Promenade to the Aka hills with a view to explore and survey the area. The Aka hills were brought under control from 1914, and there was no opposition from the people.

5.6 KHAMPTI RELATIONS WITH THE BRITISH

The Khamptis occupied the area to the north of Sadiya and to the southeast of the Mishmis. When the British came to power in Assam in 1824, the Khamptis rendered good service to them. Therefore, David Scott, the Governor General's Agent, recognized the Khampti chief 'chonsalan Sadiya Khowa Gohain, as the local officer and permitted him to collect the poll-tax from the Assamese subjects of the British and exempted the 'Khowa Gohain' from paying any tax himself. He was required to maintain a contingent of 200 men to be armed by the British. He was also to obey the orders of the political officer of Upper Assam.

The friendly relations between the British and the Khamptis continued. It was only disturbed openly in 1839, which was known as Khampti Uprising of 1839. The main reasons for the uprising were as follows:

The Khampti Chief, Sadiya Khowa Gohain, whom the British had earlier confirmed in his post, died and his son Chowrangfat showed dissatisfaction. His loyalty to the British was thus questioned. When the situation was increasingly uneasy, a dispute arose between the Khampti Chief of Sadiya and the Bor Senapati of Muttak, the Moamaria Chief, with regard to a tract of land on the south bank of Brahmaputra. The political officer at Sadiya, in order to avoid any collision, asked both the parties to appear before him. The new Khampti Chief, Chowrangfat, openly flouted the orders and forcibly took possession of the disputed land. So the disputed land was attached by the Governor General's Agent. At first the Khampti Chief was suspended and subsequently removed from his post. He was shifted to Guwahati with a pension of ₹ 50 per month. His territories were brought under the British administration and taxes were collected. But the Khamptis of other territories were left under their respective chiefs and no tax was collected from them. The deposed and ex-Sadiya Khowa Gohain was later allowed to return to Sadiya in private capacity in recognition of the Khampti services against the Singphos in 1838.

The Khamptis could hardly tolerate the loss of the post of Sadiya Khowa Gohain, a post they had been looking at as the it rightfully place to them. They also suspected the government of a design to subject them to the taxation and to lower their status to that of the Assamese. Indeed, they used to consider themselves as superior and the Assamese riot no more than their servants. So they enjoyed their superior position by not paying any poll-tax. Also, they had been traditionally dependent on the slaves for cultivation of their land. The British action in releasing the slaves was resented and considered as the most high-handed act of all.

All this resulted in a pre-mediated outbreak of 19 January, 1839, when 500 armed Khamptis attacked the Sadiya post. They killed Col. White and his men, burnt the communication lines and inflicted other losses. The Khamptis of the south bank also revolted but were quickly put down by the British. The successful Khamptis on the north bank, however, retreated with their adherents and took refuge amongst the Dibang Mishmis. Lt. Marshall, who pursued the fleeing enemy, succeeded in killing Raima Gohain,

Check Your Progress

7. To the west of the hills of the Sherdukpens and north of Charduar lived the Akas who now call themselves _____.
8. In 1913, _____, the political officer of the Western Section led a Promenade to the Aka hills with a view to explore and survey the area.

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the principal investigator and another 125 men on the spot. Capt. Henney, who took over the command, burnt down all Khampti villages near Sadiya and Derek.

Compelled by the distress in their jungle refuge, one chief, Chouking Gohain, surrendered and then led a British force to compel others to follow him. In 1839–40, two more expeditions were sent to disperse the Khamptis from the hills and finally in 1843, all the Khamptis surrendered to the British under agreement of good behaviour. To break their resistance forever, and to prevent them from giving any further complication, the Khampti colonies were dispersed over a very wide stretch of the country. Those who settled at Sadiya, Dereck, Nidopani, Tengapani, Dehing, Morowapani and Kopaahtoli were exempted from paying any revenue while the rest at Bhodia and Dhemaji paid regular taxes. The weakened Khamptis could not resist further and the relation between the two remained cordial.

5.7 SINGPHO–BRITISH RELATIONS

Let us begin our discussion on the Singpho–British relations with observation of R. M. Lahiri: Lahiri writes, 'The British seemed to step in as saviours rather than as conquerors. … Assam was a liability rather than an asset. The Singpho territory had been overrun and pacified no doubt, but an influential number of the Singpho chiefs were still evading the protecting hands of the British government. The Singphos were a predatory horde.'

As discussed in the introduction of this unit, the Singphos were held responsible for acts which were never committed by them. It was the colonial need and greed that formed the background of the relationship. The British reports of the Singpho–Khampti raids into Assam and their outcome were designed to legitimize the British aggression in this part of Arunachal Pradesh. Amrendra Kr Thakur's *Slavery in Arunachal Pradesh*, especially the chapter on abolition of slavery, also provides a critique of the same development.

The Singphos were the immigrants from a tract of land on the eastern banks of the river Irrawady. They gradually crossed the Patkai ranges of mountains and settled on the banks of Tengapani river, east of Sadiya and on the upper Buridihing in Namrup. They were split into many groups and each group was under the control of a separate chief called Gam. The two important Gams, to which most of the Singpho groups acknowledge loyalty, were Bisa Gam and Dafla Gam, and even these two groups were hostile to each other.

The whole of Eastern Assam was laid waste and deserted due to the Burmese invasions. The Burmese were beaten back by the British and to check further Burmese invasion into Assam, engagement were conducted with the Bor Senapati of Mattak and Khampti Chief of Sadiya. At this state the British had to think of two counts: first, out of moral responsibility they were required to get the release of the Assamese people carried away by the Singpho, and second, from the strategic point of view, they were required to have a buffer zone between the territories of the Khamptis and Burma. They wanted this tract to be inhabited by some friendly tribes, which were then inhabited by the Singphos.

Due to the earlier conciliatory attitude of the British, the Singpho chief felt encouraged to solicit British protection against the Burmese. Captain Neufville informed four Singpho chiefs that they would be allowed to hold their lands if they surrendered the Assamese slaves, recognized the British supremacy and agreed to inform them of the Burmese activities on the border. Shortly afterwards, when the

Check Your Progress

9. The Khamptis could hardly tolerate the loss of the post of _____.
10. Chouking Gohain _____ and then led a British force to compel others to follow him.

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Burmese forces under three Maganng chiefs took position at a place twenty five miles south of Noa Dihingmukh, the Singphos quickly surrendered the stockade to them. But at the same time, they sent secret messages to the British at Sadiya expressing their fervent appeal that they should be saved from the Burmese attack. In June Capt. Neufville advanced up the Noa Dihing and, by a series of attacks, expelled the Burmese from Assam. Many Singpho chiefs who had taken sides with the Burmese were also attacked. The chiefs fled into the hills and many slaves more than 6000 in number were set free.

After these raids, in June 1826, the Governor General's Agent David Scott, made a trip to Sadiya where sixteen out of twenty eight Singpho chiefs entered into treaty agreements with the British Government. They set free the Assamese slaves, promised to help the British in case of future needs and refer all disputes of inter-tribal nature and heinous crimes to the attribution of the British officer at Sadiya. The main provisions of the treaty agreements were as follows:

(i) If we abide by the terms of this agreement, no tribute shall be paid by us: but if any Assam paik of their own accord resides in our village, the tax on such Paik shall be paid to the British Government.

(ii) We shall govern and protect the Singphos under us here to face and adjust their differences; and if any boundary disputes occur among us, we will take up arms without the knowledge of the British Government.

One of the effects of these agreements was that the Dafla Gam, the rival chief of Bisa Gam continued to remain hostile and kept himself aloof from the British as they had recognized the Bisa Gam as the permanent chief of the Singphos. He also continued to raid Bisa Gam and his allying villages. On the other hand, the loss of slave labour had impoverished the Singphos. The British attempts to open up trade in their tract proved to be futile too.

Thus, several Singpho chiefs remained hostile towards the British, the Dafla Gam being prominent among them. In 1830, the hostile Khamptis and Singphos attacked the villages of Luttora Gam on the Tengapani River. They were also about to advance upon Sadiya on rafts. But they were driven back by Capt. Neufville with the aid of the friendly Singphos. After this incident, in 1834, a European Officer was posted at Sadiya to conduct relations with these chiefs. On the other hand, the Singphos also took to elephant catching.

Despite these, in 1835, came a sudden attack from across the border with the leadership of the Dafla Gam. They took away many prisoners including women and succeeded in enticing to their side many chiefs who had earlier vowed their allegiance to Bisa Gam. Immediately, an English force was dispatched which not only broke the combination of the hostile chiefs, but also succeeded in dispersing the Singphos who came from Burma. All the chiefs except for Lattora Gam reaffirmed their allegiance to the British. The Lattora Gam, the powerful chief next only to the Dafla Gam, also submitted in 1837. The Singphos were active again in 1838 when Peeshee Gam and Lat Gam were locked in inter-tribal feud. The next year in 1839, some Singpho chiefs even joined the Khampti rebellion against the British.

Now the British government wanted to restrain the raids from the side of Burma by pressing the Burmese government to check their subjects. However, the negotiations failed as the Burmese delegation put forward extravagant and ridiculous territorial claims practically over the entire tract of Upper Assam upto Joypore. These claims were rejected and a military post was established on the Burihihing for the protection of the Singpho borders. The next few years until 1843 were uneventful. Capt. Vetch who visited the

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Frontier in 1841–42 noticed that there was apparent peace everywhere. After the visit of Capt. Vetch, the management of the Singphos was transferred from the Political Department to the Revenue and Judicial Department of the Bengal Government. But peace did not last long. In 1843, the Singphos attacked simultaneously the British post at Nigaroo and the guard post at Bisa. A large number of Singphos and Khamptis threatened the British post at Sadiya and a combined attack was reported to be imminent. All the Singphos rebelled against the British. The Tippum Raja of Hookoom (Hukong) was said to be the main spirit behind this movement. All the Singphos settled on the Noa Dihing and Buridihing pledged support to the uprising. To the surprise of the British, the Bisa Gam and Ningroola were reported to be involved in the conspiracy. The British forces were quickly sent there before it assumed a threatening proportion. Ningroola and Bisa Gam at once surrendered and many chiefs came back to the British side. The Singphos on the other side of the frontier were organized under Seroola Sain and the Lat Gam. The Lat Gam made his submission after a complete rout. This Singpho uprising was one of the biggest and lasted for a relatively long time.

The government wanted to investigate the causes of the revolt and appointed Lt. Llyon and Stainforth to conduct a thorough probe into the Singpho affairs. It enumerated the following causes: (i) encroachment on the lands and privileges of the Singphos, (ii) the seizure and punishment by local officers of some members of their tribe (iii) the orders and influence of Tippum Raja, then chief of the Hookoom province under Burma. The government reviewed the report and brushed aside the last two causes as being of no great importance and fixed upon the first the prime cause of the Singpho unrest. However, in the final report, it was held that the main reason behind the Singpho rebellion was the loss of their Assamese slaves not the land for the tea plantation and other colonial purposes. They not only became peaceful and obedient but also assisted the British exploration parties which were sent to the frontier hills.

5.8 SUMMARY

In this unit, you have learnt that:

- The Adis (earlier known as the Abors) live in the East and West Siang districts and in the Dibang valley of Arunachal Pradesh.
- The habitat of the Nyishis extends eastwards of Bharali River, occupying the hills in Darrang north of Naoduar (the nine passes), and Cheduar (the six passes) in Lakhimpur, as far east as the upper courses of Sundri.
- The Nyishi–British encounter took place in the year 1835. Some Nyishis of Charduar area sided with the Aka chief Thagi Raja in the raid.
- The Khamptis occupied the area to the north of Sadiya and to the southeast of the Mishmis. When the British came to power in Assam in 1824, the Khamptis rendered good service to them. Therefore, David Scott, the Governor General's Agent, recognized the Khampti Chief 'Chonsalan Sadiya Khowa Gohain' as the local officer and permitted him to collect the poll-tax from the Assamese subjects of the British and exempted the 'Khowa Gohain' from paying any tax himself.
- The Singphos were the immigrants from a tract of land on the eastern banks of the river Irrawady. They gradually crossed the Patkai ranges of mountains and settled on the banks of Tengapani river, east of Sadiya and on the upper Buridihing in Namrup. They were split into many groups and each group was under the control of a separate chief called Gam.

Check Your Progress

11. The Singphos were the immigrants from a tract of land on the eastern banks of the river _____.
12. The two important groups, to which most of the Singpho groups acknowledge loyalty, were _____ and _____.

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- The two important groups, to which most of the Singpho groups acknowledge loyalty, were Bisa Gam and Dafla Gam, and even these two groups were also hostile to each other.
- The historiography of resistance by the tribes of Arunachal Pradesh against the British penetrations into the hills is full of distortions and biases.
- The pressure on the labour force and land of the tribes were always exerted by the British and for the same the British laws and other coercive measures were always used. Being unsuccessful of all these, the British never hesitated to use the forces. In the relationship the influences of the neighbouring foreign powers also played a significant role.

5.9 KEY TERMS

- **Coolies:** Garden labourers
- **Kotokis:** Interpreters
- **Massacre:** Destruction
- **Mithun:** A domesticated animal of the north east belt of India resembling a buffalo
- **Historiography:** Body of historical work on a specific subject or topic

5.10 ANSWERS TO 'CHECK YOUR PROGRESS'

1. True
2. Singphos
3. Adis
4. Korang, Rotung, Kebang are three Adi villages.
5. False
6. The question of labour, land and the new laws were always the reasons of friction between the Nyishis and the British.
7. Hrusso
8. Capt. Nevill
9. Sadiya Khowa Gohain
10. Surrendered
11. Irrawady
12. Bisa Gam, Dafla Gam

5.11 QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Short-Answer Questions

1. What were the three expeditions led by N.L Bor?
2. What were the main reasons for the Khampti Uprising of 1839?
3. What were the main provisions of the treaty that Singpho chiefs entered into with the British government?

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4. Enumerate the causes of the Singhpo uprising.
5. Who were the Gams? Name the important ones.

Long-Answer Questions

1. After the peace treaty was signed between the British and the Adis in 1912, what terms were imposed on the main offending villages of the Minyongs?
2. Discuss the relation between the Nyishis and the British.
3. Write a short note on the Akas.
4. Write a short note on the Khamptis.
5. Write a short note on the Singhpo–British relation.

5.12 FURTHER READING

Amrendra Kr Thakur. 2008. '*Historical Studies of Arunachal Pradesh: An Overview*', in R. Bezbaruah, P. Goswami and D. Banerjee (eds.), *North-East India Interpreting the Sources of its History*. New Delhi: I C H R and Aryan Books.

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UNIT 6 McMAHON LINE

Structure

6.0 Introduction
6.1 Unit Objectives
6.2 Factors and Events Leading to recognition of the McMahon Line
  6.2.1 The Inner Line Regulation of 1873
  6.2.2 The Outer Line
  6.2.3 The Simla Conference (1913)
6.3 Border Controversy
6.4 Problems After 1947
6.5 Summary
6.6 Key Terms
6.7 Answers to 'Check Your Progress'
6.8 Questions and Exercises
6.9 Further Reading

6.0 INTRODUCTION

The British authorities exploited the opportunity to settle the Indo-Tibetan boundary on the north. Enough work had already been done after the Abor Expedition of 1911 and the various surveys and explorations, which had been summarized in a 'confidential note' by the Chief of General Staff in June, 1912. The military authorities had suggested that the proposed boundary line should follow some prominent geographical features, preferably the main watershed of the mountain system; and the border thus demarcated should be easily approachable. The frontier, as suggested in the notes, was divided according to the tribes and river basin into Khamti Long, Mishmi, Abor and Miri or Subansiri sections.

The Tibetans expected that the British would help them defend their territory and secure their rightful place. The Chinese government, however, was not at all satisfied with the boundary agreement and disapproved the action taken by her representatives. She completely disapproved the action of these representatives. China wanted the whole of Tibet as an integral part of it. Sir Henry McMahon, foreign secretary of the British-run Government of India, informed the Peking government on 23 June, 1914, that if by the end of June, China refused to rectify the agreement, the British government would begin agreement with the Tibetan government and China would lose all the benefits of the Simla Conference.

China was willing to sign the agreement without the boundary issue being mentioned but the British government could not allow it since, as mentioned earlier, the settlement of the boundary issue was one of her main motives in the Simla Conference. China thus being adamant, India and Tibet signed the Convention with minor modifications on 3 July, 1914. Commenting on the boundary line along the whole of the North-East Frontier, that became famous as the McMahon Line, McMahon pointed out: 'The frontier work of the past three years and the negotiations of Tibet Conference at Simla have served to make clear the mutual rights and responsibilities of Great Britain, China and Tibet and it may be hoped that the North East Frontier will now be removed from the anxiety which beset the Indian government during the last few years.'

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The McMahon Line runs over a distance of 820 miles or 1320 kms of which 640 miles (998 kms) is between India and Tibet from the tri-junction of Bhutan, Tibet and Kameng district of present day Arunachal Pradesh, through the crest of the Himalayas to the Diphuk Pass to northwest Burma where India, Burma and Tibet meet. Commencing from a point to the east of Bhutan at 92°40" E, 27° 48" N, it crosses the Namjang River and follows the eastern range of the Great Himalayas, then proceeds east and northeast and crosses the Subansiri River and then the Tsari River just south of Migyitun. From this point, it takes a northeastern direction, crossing the Tunga Pass, continues eastward again, crosses the Siang River and ascends the watershed between Rangta Chu in Tibet and Dihang (Siang) and its tributaries in India. Thereafter, it runs south to a point, just below latitude 28° 30" and just west of longitude 96°30", crosses Lohit a few miles to the north of Kahas and joins the tri-junction of Indian, Burmese and Tibetan boundaries near the Diphuk or Talik Pass.

6.1 UNIT OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to:

- Discuss the incidents that led to the recognition of the McMahon line
- Describe the border controversy emphasizing on the Inner Line, Outer Line and the McMahon Line
- Explain the Chinese interests in the hills of Arunachal Pradesh thus leading to problems after 1947

6.2 FACTORS AND EVENTS LEADING TO RECOGNITION OF THE McMAHON LINE

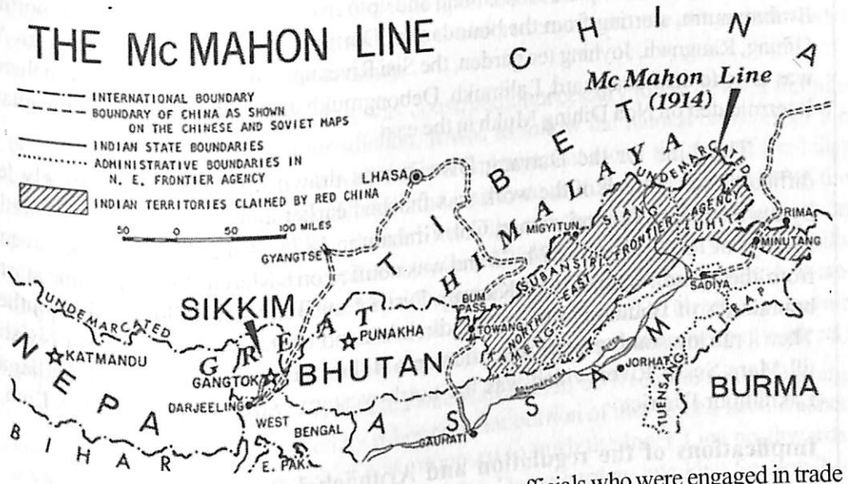
Colonialism, as we are aware, was not just a narrative of military conquest but manifests itself in a variety of ways, which according to Bernard Cohn lay in the 'production of the forms of knowledge'. Mapping has been one of the key exercises in the 'production of knowledge' in colonial India. In the 1780s, James Renell, the Surveyor-General of Bengal, produced maps using geographical information compiled during military incursions and was later instrumental in the cartographic 'framing' of India as a sub-continental territory. What is notable is that just like different parts of India came under British rule through various instruments of either direct control or indirect control, marking territoriality immediately followed it. In the mountainous and hilly regions of Northeast India we find that the modalities of mapping took different trajectories.

The main aim of the British government in Assam, as in other parts of India and the world, was promotion of their imperialistic designs and profit maximization out of the rule. In order to achieve this, certain rules and regulations were made operational. In the case of Arunachal Pradesh some of these rules and regulations left a deep mark on the history of the state in the politico-administrative as well as economic, social and cultural fields.

The new rulers of Assam, the British, however, faced a unique problem in this area due to the absence of a political boundary between the tribes of Arunachal Pradesh and Assam on the one hand and the boundaries among the tribes of Arunachal Pradesh on the other. It was so because the Ahom kings neither possessed any documentary records describing frontiers nor were the boundaries fixed and mutually accepted. After

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the establishment of British rule in Assam and, especially with the capital investments in the plantation economy and other areas, these boundaries needed to be settled permanently. Lt. Col. Graham had made a boundary line in some areas but the question of 'effective jurisdiction' of the British government could not be decided. This problem of 'jurisdiction' did not pose any serious problem for some time but the discovery of the tea-plant in Assam and the discovery of coal, oil and other precious minerals changed the entire picture and Assam began to attract British capital investment. Rubber, wood and ivory from the hills also brought prosperity. To promote the economic interests of the Empire, it was necessary for peace to be maintained. To achieve the same strict administrative control over the province as well as on the borders was to be established. Most of the troubles on the borders of Assam were caused due to the unrestricted and undefined intercourse between the tribesmen and the people of the plains who frequently visited each other's area mostly for commerce. Hill people also had some other political rights and they visited plains to collect the same (*posa*). Many times, the disputes arising out of the intercourse took very serious dimensions often leading to violence.



It was not only the Company and the Company officials who were engaged in trade in Assam and neighbouring areas but many private European traders also came to this region and started private trade. The economic profitability of Assam and the policies of the British Government certainly attracted them. These private traders did not spare the hills and began exploiting them. The independent nature of most of the hill tribes and the frequent visits of these European traders led to suspicion in the minds of the tribal and on many occasions the Europeans were murdered in the hills. This was true not only in the case of Arunachal but also with all the hill states bordering Assam.

The establishment and development of the tea industry in Assam added fresh dimensions to the British relations with the tribal. In some cases the tea gardens were intended to be established on the hills. This required the occupation of the traditional tribal areas. The extension of the tea gardens and the cutting down of trees for tea-chests and construction of houses and sheds were resisted by the tribal. The aspects of land and labour (abolition of slavery) have been discussed in detail in the previous unit. The direct participation of tribes in the foothill markets with the resources of the hills also adversely affected the British interests. Thus, it was required to regulate the commercial relations of the tribal with the outsiders – both officials and non-officials – on the boundary of Assam valley and bring the same under the ambit of the Colonial control. All these factors compelled the British to pass firstly the Inner Line Regulation.

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6.2.1 The Inner Line Regulation of 1873

Regulation I of 1873, called 'Regulation for the Peace and Good Government of Certain Districts on the Eastern Frontier' came into operation on 1 November, 1873. This became popular as the Inner Line Regulation because of the name given to the line of control by the author of the Act, Sir Arthur Hobhouse, a member of the Viceroy's Council. This regulation is also called 'The Bengal Eastern Frontier Regulation I of 1873.' The promulgation and basic provisions of the Inner Line will be discussed in the next unit. It is important, however, to mention that the Inner Line which was finally drawn up in Lakhimpur was to take the course of the Buri Dihing in the South eastern sector, as it was a good natural boundary though it kept the coal fields of Tirap and Nandang outside the Inner Line. The tea gardens of Namsang, Hukanjuri and Taurack, however, were brought within the Inner Line after an agreement with the Namsangia chief. The tea gardens of Joyhing and Harmoti were also brought within the Inner Line. This Inner Line starting from Desang was to go along Desang River, Namsang River, Boori Dihing, Kherampani, Noa Dihing and upto river Brahmaputra. From the north of Brahmaputra, starting from the boundary of Darrang, it was to go along Rajgarh Ali, Dihing, Rangnadi, Joyhing tea garden, the Sisi River upto the Dimu guard. From there it was to go to the Puba guard, Lalimukh, Debongmukh upto Debong and Dikrang guard. It terminated on Noa Dihing Mukh in the east.

The Line for the Darrang District was drawn up with comparatively less difficulty, since much of the work was finished earlier and the boundary was settled by the Boundary Commissioner, Col. Graham in 1873. It was based on the revenue surveys of 1872–73 and 1874–75 and was notified on 8 March, 1876. The line started from the eastern boundary of Kamrup District on Bor Nadi, followed the southern boundaries of Bhutan in the eastern direction and of the hills of Akas and Nyishis. Then it ran in a south-easterly direction upto Bolum River and from there to Daflagarh till Mare Sessa River which was the north-western extremity of the Inner Line of Lakhimpur District.

Implications of the regulation and Arunachal Pradesh

In spatial terms the demarcation of this southern Inner Line was to be in accordance with the plan of Colonel Graham and Colonel Macdonald formulated on the Bhutan frontier in the early nineteenth century. Interestingly, this demarcation was not to be a 'boundary line' but marked the end of civil jurisdiction beyond which the British subjects were excluded. The natural contours of the landscape or in its absence the remnant of a road, path or river was to be followed. Wherever the survey operations had been completed the Line was to be drawn according to the map. Areas lying outside a mapped region were to be surveyed immediately.

It was here that William Lambton's new mode of mapping of triangulation, or trigonometrical survey introduced in the 1820s, and expanded by his successor George Everest into the 'Great Trigonometrical Survey' in the 1840s, was brought into play. This survey sought to connect the southern tip of the peninsula to the foothills of the Himalayas. The production of a map was not just for political and military purposes but 'also a way of constructing India as a domain of British cultural and political sovereignty'. As concrete factual information was gathered, it helped to do away with the 'uncertainties' of both cultural and physical difference making India more comprehensible. Colonial cartography therefore not only created new landscapes, but continuously denied the early spatial configurations.

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A natural corollary of insistence in the document of the mapping exercise is a part of this great project to be taken up in Arunachal Pradesh. In the regulation there is a vague reference to the existence of an 'outer line' within which their loose jurisdiction exists. The Trigonometrical Survey was sent in as an imperative of having a defined knowledge of the territory between the Inner and Outer Line. Resistance from the communities in the northern frontier of Assam led to an incomplete mapping of the area, rendering truncated knowledge of the space. Attempts of missionaries to seek alternate access into China through Tibet were abandoned following the murder of a French Missionary. In 1854, Father M. Krick and his associate were murdered as they entered Mishmi hills.

This nuanced form of political control over the northern and eastern frontier of Assam in terms of 'loose political control' was marked by an absence of direct annexation. Though in the Naga Hills and the Lushai Hills where the demarcation of the Inner Line too occurred, the policy of 'indirect control' of the early nineteenth century was replaced by a 'forward policy' in the 1880s and 1890s, respectively. The exercise of mapping did crucially impinge upon the levels of definition of the territory and the policies thereupon. The Inner Line therefore remained more of a jurisdictional definition rather than a fixed boundary.

In the case of Lakhimpur, it was construed unnecessary to lay down a definite boundary of the British civil jurisdiction. It was to follow the natural contours of the landform where Rajgarh Ali (a well-defined embankment along the foot of the hills) formed an important landmark. Despite the insistence on following the pattern of the Bhutan boundary which clearly defined the hills and the plains, the Inner Line in Lakhimpur within British territory did not follow a well-defined boundary between hills and plains. Here it was to be defined by references to 'geographical features and habitats of particular tribes'. Towards Sibsagar, however, it was decided to clearly lay down a line between civil and political jurisdiction as soon as the regulation was put in place.

In 1895, a proposal was mooted that Rajgarh Ali between the rivers Dikrang and Subansiri were uninhabited by tribes and that portion of the Ali had been washed away by the Ranganadi; hence, it was proposed to push the Inner Line northwards. This was to accommodate the extension of the Dejoo garden invoking Section 2 of Regulation V of 1873 under which the powers of the Lt. Governor to alter the line from time to time was delegated to the Chief Commissioner. The proposal was notified to alter the jurisdiction in 1898. Along another section of the Inner Line in Lakhimpur district a precise mapping led to the proposal for adopting a line further north of the river Tirap and Dirak. These modifications were made to accommodate the demands of the planters in the neighbourhood and also enable the Assam railways and Trading Company to secure its timber, mining and petroleum leases outside the line.

The fluidity of the demarcations as permitted in the regulation allowed the 'government to prescribe, and from time to time alter by notification, a line to be called the Inner Line and to prohibit any subject living outside the area from living or moving'. This fluidity of the demarcation along various sectors in the northern and eastern frontier of present day Arunachal Pradesh helped to extend control over resources, particularly forests in the schema of colonial forestry. A conspicuous projection of the tours taken up by the first political officer Needham from 1881 and by Noel Williamson were 'not just to cultivate friendly relationship with the tribes in the tract within the Inner and Outer Lines'. In fact they were accompanied by a Surveyor for mapping the territory travelled as well as a Forest Officer to 'inspect the forest where timber is now being cut and advise us upon them'.

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The flexible frontier got transformed into a fixed boundary only in 1914 when the Northeast Frontier Tracts (henceforth as NEFT) got demarcated into two sections. The sections were initially named as Central and Eastern, and Western Sections by two distinct notifications. In 1919, the Western Section was renamed into the 'Balipara Frontier Tract' and the Central and Eastern Sections into 'Sadiya Frontier Tract'. The mapping exercise which followed the Miri Mission, Mishmi Mission and Aka Promenade did create a sense of certainty about the territory between the 'Inner Line' and the 'Outer Line'.

In the aftermath of Government of India Act correspondences of the colonial government reveal the necessity of demarcating a well-defined boundary between the Balipara Frontier and North Lakhimpur Subdivision was envisaged including transfer of 32 square miles of a section of the frontier to the plains section. It is interesting to note that in the early years of colonial contact the jurisdiction was largely defined by Rajgarh Ali. This was based on the report's that there were no 'hill villages within a day's march of the plains' and hence the pushing back of Rajgarh Ali would not result in raids of the hill tribes. In the fringes of the Inner Line a number of 'forest reserves' had been created and the earlier ill-defined boundary was construed as problematic and hence the southern limits of the reserves would define 'new boundary'. As fixed territoriality grew after 1935 the contours of the boundary were decided by the extent of the state-controlled forests that infringed on to large chunks of the foothills. The southern limit of the Balipara Frontier tract was marked by Kalingduar Reserve, Rowta Reserve, Behali Reserve and Gohpur Reserve.

Analysis of the Inner Line Regulation

The Inner Line Regulation was the outcome of lengthy correspondence between the Government of India and the Government of Bengal on the subject of Frontier policy. Alexander Mackenzie in his book *The North East Frontier of India* provides some details of the same. The motives behind the extension of the Regulation into Darrang and Lakhimpur frontier were not so much political as economic and commercial and they can be summed up as follows:

(a) To regulate the trade in Indian rubber between the hills and the British traders;

(b) To regulate the transfer of lands in these areas; and

(c) To control the extension as well as to protect the tea plantations in the foothills.

The implicit policy of noninterference into the affairs of the hill tribes was thus made official and the act sought to keep outside the British boundary all tracts over which 'semi-savage tribes wandered or in which they lived.'

The British government thus specified the area upto which it would exercise its authority and uphold law and order. It would decline any responsibility beyond that and the tribes living there would be left to themselves. The Inner Line further imposes restrictions on the movement of the people from outside and ascertained that their isolation maintained for it suited the economic and commercial interests of the Empire.

It may be pointed out here that the Inner Line Regulation did not impose any restriction on the movement of the tribal into the plains, they were allowed to fish, hunt and trade on both sides of the Line. The British rather organized fairs on the border villages of the administered areas and encouraged the hill men to come to these fairs with their forest products for exchange. This Inner Line was not a static line for all times and purpose. It was rather a flexible and elastic demarcation that could be altered so as to include any area when it suited the British purpose.

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As far as the positive aspects of the Inner Line are concerned, there cannot be any doubt that this Regulation was a well-thought-of measure and was not objected to by either the tribal or the plains' people. Its efficiency and effectiveness can be judged from the very fact that it has remained in existence for the last 140 years without any alternations worth mentioning. From the ethnic point of view, this Inner Line greatly helped in the preservation of tribal culture. The policy of Verrier Elwin also helped in the continuance of their traditional institutions.

However, the Inner Line Regulation saw to it that the economic relations between the outside world and the tribal would remain only one-sided. That is to say, whereas the goods of the tribal could be sold in the outside markets and they could also purchase goods from the plains, the real profit was earned by the British people. No doubt some surplus money was generated in the tribal economy, but the British always induced the tribal to spend it on useless and sometimes even harmful products like opium. There were no new openings for the investment of this surplus money for economic growth. V Elwin has pointed out that in one year at the trade fair at Sadiya, the value of the opium sold to the tribal of the hills amounted to as much as Rs. 30,300. The Marwari people regularly traded opium for local products of hill men. Further, this Inner Line Regulation accelerated the process of economic drain from the hills. The natural growth of commerce was checked and the hill economy became tributary to the imperial economy. The grand British designs of developing trade with Tibet and China through Arunachal Pradesh could never materialize and the pre-colonial economy began to disintegrate.

Economic aspect aside, the Inner Line saw to it that the tribal remained in primitive conditions and did not allow any social, economic or administrative developments in the region. It served as the hinterland to the colonial economy. The process of modernization was postpbned, with the result that till very recently, except for the district headquarters, the people of the state lived as they had been doing for centuries. The process of bringing modern institutions and elements of civilization was thus deliberately delayed by the imposition of this Inner Line. Since no outsider was allowed to cross the Inner Line and settle in the hills and as no effort was undertaken by the government, education could not be spread to the hills which proved to be a great obstacle in the path of progress. As early as 1886, Col. Hopkinson had clearly stated to the government that the British Government had undertaken an obligation to administer and civilize the tribes of Arunachal Pradesh after the annexation of Assam, but the issue was scrupulously avoided as it was to prove very expensive without any economic profit.

6.2.2 The Outer Line

There seems to be a lot of confusion and misunderstanding with regard to the meaning of the Outer Line. Unlike the Inner Line Regulation, we do not get any Regulation that would precisely define the Outer Line, nor do we know with certainty the origin of this term. The detailed discussion on 'Resistance Movement' of the tribes of Arunachal Pradesh against colonial penetration in the previous unit clearly demonstrates that the British were unable to occupy the hills. Geographically difficult, economically unprofitable, futility of the military expeditions in the scattered settlement pattern of the tribes of Arunachal Pradesh and strong and unique defence mechanism of the village and the houses of the chiefs necessitated the British to search for an alternative policy in the areas of Arunachal Pradesh. It was also difficult because of the fact that in the event of direct possession of these lands the British would carry their international

NOTES

both in Simla and in Delhi, and finally on 27 April, 1914 a Convention was signed under which Tibet was divided into two zones viz., 'Outer Tibet' and 'Inner Tibet'. Chinese suzerainty over the whole of Tibet was recognized; Outer Tibet was declared as autonomous and the Chinese agreed to abstain from any interference in its administration; in place of the earlier Trade Regulations the Convention agreed to a fresh treaty to govern commercial relations between India and Outer Tibet.

Great Britain gained the most from the Simla Conference and the agreement signed with Tibet. Her policy of making Tibet a 'buffer' between India and China was immensely successful. For the first time a proper frontier was defined and all the confusion prevailing due to the ill-defined 'Outer Line' was over. However, the demarcation of the frontier did not, in any case, change the position of the British vis-a-vis the tribal to any remarkable degree. McMahon himself commented that the acceptance of a clearly defined frontier by Tibet would enable the Assam government to leave the tribes to themselves, intervening as little as possible in their internal affairs.

Further, the outbreak of the First World War in 1914, and the departure of Henry McMahon to Egypt made the whole issue of northeast India a remote concern to the authorities. The government was also not in a mood to publish the text of Simla Conference as long as there remained any hope of the final settlement of the Tibetan issue by negotiations with the Chinese. It was only in 1924 that a summary of the Simla Conference and the Boundary Agreement was published by Charles Bell in his book *Tibet, Past and Present* (Clarendon Press, Londong, 1928). Robert Reid also informs about the same in his book *History of the Frontier Areas Bordering on Assam, 18831941* (New Delhi, 1983, reproduced). P. K. Nayak in his article 'British Strategy and McMahon Line: Arunachal A Means' (*The Proceedings of Indian History Congress* provides us with the details of the problem. M. L. Bose's *History of Arunachal Pradesh* (Concept, New Delhi, 1997) based mainly on the primary sources and D. Pandey's *History of Arunachal Pradesh (Earliest Times to 1972 A.D.)*, a textbook, also is very useful to study the problem of drawing of lines and the involvement of other neighbouring powers.

The overall concern of the British government was to secure the frontier with China and to keep the tribal area of Arunachal as a buffer. Syed Ali Imran, the only Indian member of the Viceroys' Council was not very happy with this policy and pointed out: 'Is it (McMahon Line) intended to keep the wild tribes as buffer between the expansion of China and ourselves? If that be so, it entails our keeping them neither down in their present unhappy and barbarous condition for all time to come – for we will not govern them nor will we allow others to do so'. The McMahon Line remained only on the files of the government of India for many years to come. In 1935, Olaf Coroe, Deputy Secretary in New Delhi, insisted that the boundary dispute in the northeast should be settled and, therefore, in 1937, the Survey of India authenticated the McMahon Line as the Northeast boundary of India.

As we have seen earlier, after the British annexation of Assam in 1826 till very late, the extent of the territories of Assam and the hills was not known definitely. We have also noticed that some sort of agreement had been arrived at between the hill tribes and the British wherein the latter had agreed to pay Posa to the former, but again the question of British jurisdiction was never settled. The Inner Line Regulation also did not specify the exact relations of the British with the tribal and nor did it solve the issue regarding jurisdiction. Broadly speaking, British relations with the hill tribes were based on the fulfillment of the economic interests of the Empire, which had

NOTES

resulted in an undefined and flexible frontier policy. It had been suggested by some officials that after the annexation of Assam the government had undertaken a moral obligation to administer and civilize the hill tribes but the government always avoided this responsibility.

The British not only avoided any direct administration over the hills, they also did not bother to specify the 'external boundary' of their rule in this part of India. In the form of the Outer Lines the external limit of their rule was defined very vaguely. However, the issue of the demarcation of the northern boundary to the extent of the British Empire would not be kept pending after the increasing Chinese influence in the hills, either on the other side of the Outer Line or in NEFA.

6.3 BORDER CONTROVERSY

The 'Inner Line,' which finds its echo to be the day-to-day transactions with the outside world in three states of Northeast India, in simple terms is understood as a 'boundary' set up during the colonial period. It is perceived to be for safeguarding the interests of the indigenous people against onslaught of the people from the plains. This is an example of how the space within the 'inner line' and outside it in addition to the political imperatives has been socially constructed on either direction of the mountains and plains. In the essence of Henry Lefebvre's contention, 'social relations, which are concrete abstractions, have no real existence save in and through space'. What is important is that this spatial practice which had been initiated by the colonial state in this post-colonial era becomes a tool for defining and redefining the 'Inner space' of the federated territorial units within the larger nation state. This in turn is construed as a tool for enabling the sustenance of the 'unique' spatial entity reiterating Lefebvre's contention that 'every society produces a space, which can be seen and understood as its own space'.

This Regulation declared to be 'for political security' defined an 'Inner Line' that was to be applied in the five districts of Kamrup, Darrang ,Nowgong, Sibsagar, Lakhimpur, Garo Hills, Khasi and Jaintia Hills, Naga Hills, Cachar and Chittagong Hills. In the correspondences between the Government of Bengal and Government of India the object of Inner line was stated to be:

> . . . to keep outside the Inner Line all tracts over which the semi-savage tribes wander, or where they live, and in which political complications may arise. If any tea gardens fall outside the line the Commissioner should consider how they should be treated; but the Lieutenant Governor would wish to stretch a point in favour of any old-established frontier gardens and bring them inside the line if we can.

The second stated objective was the desire to 'exert over the dealings between the traders and others from our settled districts and the people in the wild tracts beyond'. A crucial dimension in this trade transaction was to define the jurisdictional control over 'trade in rubber collected within and that collected without, the limit of British jurisdiction'. The right to collect and export India rubber within the forests of Cachar and Assam had been till then leased out by the government put up for auction annually. While certain leased areas fell under the jurisdiction of the directly annexed territory, rubber was categorized as 'foreign' from areas outside the ordinary jurisdiction of the British civil and revenue jurisdiction. The concern for the revenue accrued from these transactions to the British coffer was crucial in defining the jurisdiction. The regulation sought to render it 'unlawful for any British subject to

Check Your Progress

1. The Inner Line Regulation was the outcome of lengthy correspondence between the Government of India and the Government of Bengal on the subject of _____.
2. The Inner Line Regulation did not impose any restriction on the movement of the tribal into the plains. (True/False)
3. The _____ was the originally accepted boundary of Assam.
4. The Simla Conference was held in the year _____.

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acquire land or in the produce of the lands or in any produce beyond any line defined under Section 2 of the regulation'. Entry into these domains beyond the 'line' was to be with written permission from officers authorized by the government. The Inner Line was extended to all the hills except for the Khasi-Jaintia Hills, Garo Hills and Mikir Hills.

The Boundary

The major issue in demarcating the boundary between Tibet and India was regarding the Tawang Monastery. Charles Bell pointed out that Tawang Monastery was clearly Tibetan, but due to strategic reasons 'we should insist in getting the Tawang area south of the red line and the adjoining Bhutan though this seems undoubtedly Tibetan territory, as otherwise Tibet and Assam will adjoin each other and, if Tibet should again under Chinese control, it would be a dangerous position for us.' The Tibetan minister raised objections to the inclusion of Tawang in the British territory and advocated that in some places the Abors, Miris and Mishmis (Lopas or Lobas) paid taxes to the Tibetan government. However, force of circumstances compelled the Tibetan government to surrender Tawang and the private rights and privileges which the monastery had enjoyed in the past.

The hopes and aspiration from which the Simla Conference was organized could not bring the fruitful and long-lasting results. China never accepted this boundary. In their opinion, the Simla Conference was an invalid conference. They held the view that the Simla Conference only discussed the boundary between India and Tibet and not between India and China. The Chinese government even asserted that the Tibetan government had no right to conclude the agreement without the formal approval of Peking. Though these objections of China were overruled by the Indian government, in the years to come China never accepted the boundary drawn there. Secondly, though the Indo-Tibetan boundary was delimited, it could not be demarcated because the terrain through which it ran was mostly covered with snow.

In order to understand the border controversy even after drawing the McMahon Line, the position of Tibet and Bhutan is important to be discussed here in brief. Since the 18th century, Tibet was under the suzerainty of the Chinese Manchu Empire. The Chinese grip over Tibet was further tightened when the Chinese army helped Tibet in repelling the Gorkha invaders in 1791. Thereafter, the entire administrations of Tibet including Dalai Lama were to act according to the dictates of the Chinese agent at Lhasa. Due to the weakening of the Manchu Empire in China the Chinese control over Tibet was, however, becoming weak and by 1905, there was almost vacuum in the north. It was suspected that the Chinese had surrendered their rights to Russia and that the Russian army had reached Lhasa. Lord Curzon, the then Viceroy of India, fully realized that the Russian presence in Tibet would definitely harm the British imperial interests. As was pointed out that, 'we have had, and still have, quite enough trouble owing to Russia being so near as on the North-west Frontier of India... but we can and ought to prevent her getting a position which would inevitably cause unrest along the North-east Frontier.'

To counteract the Russian influence in Tibet, the Younghusband Mission was sent to Tibet in 1904. On 7th Sept, 1904, the Lhasa Convention was signed which laid down that no Tibetan territory was to be given to any foreign power for occupation and no power was to be allowed to interfere in the affairs of Tibet. The impact of Younghusband Mission was not long lasting and in 1906, after the Peking Convention, China got as much right over Tibet as Great Britain. In the Anglo-Russian Convention

NOTES

that was signed on 31 August, 1907, Britain and Russia agreed to respect the territorial integrity of Tibet and to carry out 'no political negotiations with Tibet except through the intermediary of China.' By the trade agreements of 1908, the activities of the British agents were further restricted in Tibet. The British troops withdrew from the Chumbi Valley in 1908 and the Chinese began to reassert their over lordship over Tibet. By the end of 1909, under the leadership of Chao-Erh-Feng, the Chinese troops entered Tibet. The Chinese at this stage aimed not merely to strengthen their control over Tibet but also to check the British influence along the Indo-Tibetan frontier. By the end of the year 1910, the Chinese were advancing towards Upper Burma and there was every possibility that they would try to control the intervening tract between Tibet and plains of Assam. It was suggested by the Chinese High Commissioner for Tibet that the five colours, i.e. China, Tibet, Nepal, Sikkim and Bhutan, should be blended together. Thus, the Chinese imperial motives were clear from the beginning though they always participated in the dialogue to end the border controversy.

Whereas it was not very easy for the Chinese to influence Nepal and Sikkim, things were rather easier in Bhutan. Blessed with a temperate climate and fertile soil, Bhutan encouraged the Chinese to extend influence there. In fact, in one of the letters written by the Chinese agents at Lhasa, it was as pointed out that the Bhutanese were the subjects of the Emperor of China who was the Lord of Heaven. Bhutan had always maintained its independence and the Deb or King of Bhutan had always repudiated the authority of China over Bhutan. On the other hand, after 1905, a Bhutanese Vakil (lawyer) was stationed at Darjeeling as the channel of communication with the British Indian government. Charles Bell, the Political Officer in charge of the affairs of Sikkim, suggested to the government in 1908 that a new treaty should be concluded with Bhutan and her foreign relations should be controlled by the Government of India. As he suggested, 'This will enable us (British) to keep the Chinese agents, Chinese troops and the Chinese influence generally out of the country.' Lord Minto the Viceroy was also convinced that the Chinese influence in Bhutan would raise complications and, therefore, accepted the proposal of Charles Bell.

Subsequently, a treaty was signed with the Raja of Bhutan on 8 January, 1910, whereby the Bhutan government agreed to be guided by the British advice in foreign relations and the British undertook not to interfere in the internal affairs of Bhutan. Thus, through this treaty the British were able to put a check to the Chinese danger for the time being but the events in Tibet and Bhutan definitely compelled the British to give a serious thought to the issue of the boundary.

The Chinese appearance in Arunachal Pradesh

We have seen in detail British relations with the tribes of Arunachal Pradesh and also the loose control that the British applied in this area. However, the Chinese were not willing to accept the sovereignty of the British over the tribes of the area, which was considered to be a 'term *incognito*' or 'no-man's land'. In a telegram in May, 1910 the authorities in Calcutta were informed that one thousand Chinese soldiers had arrived at Rima, demanding taxes from Tibetan Governor. It was again reported in July, 1910, that the Chinese had established their firm control over Rima and erected a post at three miles off Walong as the southern extremity of their empire. Once again, Charles Bell highlighted the necessity of keeping the Chinese or any other power out of the narrow strip of territory between Tibet and Assam. He suggested the extension of political control over the affairs of the tribal of this area. It was also reported that the Chinese were influencing the Mishmis and were also active in the Adi area.

Various officers who kept a close watch over the situation in this area were of the opinion that in near future China might become a strong military power with the help of Western allies and would try to recover Burma, which she considered as a Chinese province. The Army General Staff also recommended that the first concern of the government should be to obtain such a frontier that would make the Chinese intrusion into very difficult. The memorandum, also suggested the extension of the Government's control over the tribes of these areas and an effective occupation of the valley of Zyul-chu as far as the Chinese outpost near Rima. The memorandum also recommended that the Chinese government should be informed about the Indian frontier which lay across the natural lines of Himalayas, and also suggested that intelligence posts should be established all along the frontier.

The situation in the Northeast caused further alarm when Dalai Lama escaped to India on 25 Nov, 1910 and conveyed that the Chinese would not rest contended with Tibet only and would certainly try to spread their influence across the Himalayas. At about the same time intelligence reports arrived that all trade between the Tibetans and Miju Mishmis had been stopped by the Chinese, thus confirming the fear of Dalai Lama. Sir Lancelot Hare, the Lt. Governor, suggested to the Viceroy, Lord Hardinge, that the Mishmis should be immediately taken under the control of the government and that a forward policy should be pursued in the region. No immediate action was, however, taken on these proposals of Hare because the Government of India thought: 'We see no necessity at present for incurring the risk and responsibilities by a forward movement into the tribal territory beyond our control.... we would not permit any general increase of activity in this direction nor can we recommend that any sort of promise be given to the tribes that they rely on our support or protection in the event of Chinese or Tibetan aggression.'

In the meanwhile, certain other developments rather compelled the British government to give serious consideration to the boundary problem. The most important was the murder of Noel Williamson who had crossed the Outer Line and had penetrated into the interior of the Adi Hills. This murder raised a storm regarding the hostility of the tribal towards the British and Chinese influence could be sensed behind this. The Abor Expedition was sent to the hills in 1911 to punish the culprits and also to study the situation in the area. Simultaneously, another mission, the Miri Mission was sent to Subansiri area to explore the country between the Dibang River and Bhutan. The results of the surveys and explorations carried out by the Abor Expeditions, the Miri Mission and the Mishmi Mission formed the basis of the recommendations put forward by the Political Officer of the Western Section and the Central and Eastern Sections, G.A. Nevill and W.C.M. Dundas, respectively. All of them were unanimous in their suggestion that the boundary between the two countries should be the water parting of the Brahmaputra and the Subansiri and their tributaries, which were co-terminus with the traditional, customary and geographical boundaries between India and Tibet.

Developments in China and Tibet

In Tibet, in the meantime, there was a strong opposition to the Chinese and in Lhasa the people resisted the Chinese in every way they could. The attitude of the Tibetan National Assembly towards the Chinese was also very hostile. The Dalai Lama, who was in exile in India, tried to seek British and even Russian help against the Chinese; however, this did not happen. In the meantime, revolution broke out in China in 1911 and the Manchu Dynasty was overthrown. The revolution had its immediate effect in Tibet where the Chinese garrison at Lhasa mutinied. The Dalai Lama returned to reassert his authority and declared his independence of China.

On the other hand, the Anglo-Tibetan Treaty of 1904, which was concluded after the Younghusband Mission, had become ineffective due to the signing of the Anglo-Chinese Agreement in 1906 and the Anglo-Russian Convention of 1907. The disorganized state of affairs in Tibet was beginning to pose a threat to the Indian affairs and the commercial interests of the Empire. The Japanese subjects were in intimate relations with the high authorities in Lhasa and the Russian students were receiving training in the Kumbum monastery on the Tibetan frontier. The collapse of Chinese power could lead to an increased activity on the part of Russia and even Japan whose imperialistic designs were not hidden.

The British were in a dilemma at this stage. They were not in a position to convert Tibet into a British protectorate, as it would mean extending their boundary by some 2000 miles or so, enclosing 50000 square miles of area, in which there were no means of communication and which would also bring her face to face with China and Russia. It would also give Russia a chance to press for the revision of the Anglo-Russian convention of 1907 which might not suit the imperial interests. On the other hand, Tibet was not in a position to survive as an independent country and was bound to seek the help of some foreign power. There was every fear that Tibet would throw herself into the arms of Russia, and that the British could never tolerate. The third alternative was to allow China to re-establish her control over Tibet but that would lead to intrigues and infiltrations into the British territories and Burma. Therefore, neither China's policy of considering Tibet as a province of China or the proposal of Dalai Lama to extend British control suited the British.

On 17 August, 1912, the British proposed to the new Republican Government of China that some discussions should be held to settle the status of Tibet for all times to come on the basis of the situation which had existed before the Younghusband Mission. The Chinese were also becoming alarmed over the success of the Russians in Mongolia and their ever-increasing greed. They were equally aware of the weakness of their own government and could see no better alternative than a conference to solve the issue of Tibet. They also realized that if they declined, the British would enter into negotiations with Tibet directly and, therefore, agreed that in the proposed negotiations there would also be a representative of Tibet.

6.4 PROBLEMS AFTER 1947

The issue of the occupation of Tawang remained in confusion despite the expedition of Captain Lightfoot in 1938, to study the situation there. It was not till 1947 that the Indian government became firm over the boundary line. This was reflected in a statement by Jawaharlal Nehru in the Lok Sabha in 1950: 'Our maps show that McMahon Line is our boundary, and that is our boundary, map or no map. The fact remains and we stand by that boundary, and we will not let anybody come across that boundary.'

Though it is beyond the scope of our work, it may be pointed out that the McMahon Line had taken into consideration the military requirements of the area and as such was in reality the root of India's troubles in 1962. The strategic limitations of the McMahon Line were never taken into account. It was pointed out by the Intelligence Chief in the 1960s that, 'the physical difficulties will remain on our side so long as the watershed of the Himalayas remained our boundary'. As we have pointed out earlier, the McMahon Line was designed to serve only the interest of the empire and was not aimed at solving the problems of the frontier for a long term.

Check Your Progress

5. The space within the _____ and outside it in addition to the political imperatives has been socially constructed on either direction of the mountains and plains.
6. The Inner Line was extended to all the hills except for the _____, _____, and _____.
7. The major issue in demarcating the boundary between Tibet and India was regarding the _____.
8. The Chinese grip over Tibet was further tightened when the Chinese army helped Tibet in repelling the _____ invaders in 1791.

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ACTIVITY

Research on the Internet and write a report on the current issues concerning the Indo-Tibetan border. You may mention your personal views.

Did You Know

Two of the major factors leading up to China's eventual conflicts with Indian troops were India's stance on the disputed borders and perceived Indian subversion in Tibet. There was 'a perceived need to punish and end perceived Indian efforts to undermine Chinese control of Tibet, Indian efforts which were perceived as having the objective of restoring the pre-1949 status quo ante of Tibet.' The other was 'a perceived need to punish and end perceived Indian aggression against Chinese territory along the border.' John W. Garver argues that the first perception was incorrect based on the state of the Indian military and polity in the 1960s. It was, nevertheless a major reason for China's going to war. However, he argues the Chinese perception of Indian aggression to be 'substantially accurate.'

The CIA's recently declassified POLO documents reveal contemporary American analysis of Chinese motives during the war. According to this document, 'Chinese apparently were motivated to attack by one primary consideration — their determination to retain the ground on which PLA forces stood in 1962 and to punish the Indians for trying to take that ground.' In general terms, they tried to show the Indians once and for all that China would not acquiesce in a military 'reoccupation' policy. The secondary reasons for the attack, which had made it desirable but not necessary, included a desire:

- To damage Nehru's prestige by exposing Indian weakness
- To expose as traitorous Khrushchev's policy of supporting Nehru against a Communist country.

Another factor which might have affected China's decision for war with India was a perceived need to stop a Soviet-U.S.-India encirclement and isolation of China.

Check Your Progress

9. The Indian government became firm over the boundary line before 1947. (True/False)
10. The McMahon Line was the root of India's troubles in 1962. (True/False).

6.5 SUMMARY

In this unit, you have learnt that:

- Regulation I of 1873, called 'Regulation for the Peace and Good Government of Certain Districts on the Eastern Frontier' came into operation on 1 November, 1873. This became popular as the Inner Line Regulation because of the name given to the line of control by the author of the Act, Sir Arthur Hobhouse, a member of the Viceroy's Council. This regulation is also called 'The Bengal Eastern Frontier Regulation I of 1873.'
- Various Lines were drawn and several missions and moves were made by the British to safeguard their colonial interests in the areas of Arunachal Pradesh.
- The Inner Line Regulation was the outcome of lengthy correspondence between the Government of India and the Government of Bengal on the subject of Frontier policy.
- The British though used armed interventions, more or less maintained a peaceful relation with the tribes. The growing Chinese influence and consequently their interest in this area complicated the issue further and made it truly international.
- The Outer Line, to some extent like the Inner Line, was a clever administrative tool that could absolve the British of any responsibility while at the same time granting them all the rights and privileges. In the absence of any well-defined international border, this line served as the exterior extent of the British Indian Empire. This Outer Line was not a fixed line and was deliberately undefined.
- The Tripartite Conference, better known as the Simla Conference, was formally opened on 6 October, 1913 at the summer capital of British India, under the chairmanship of Sir Arthur Henry McMahon, Foreign Secretary, Government of India. McMahon had been the spirit in the formation of the North East Frontier policy since he was made Foreign Secretary in 1911.
- The British authorities also exploited the opportunity to settle the Indo-Tibetan boundary on the north. Enough work had already been done after the Abor Expedition of 1911 and the various surveys and explorations, which had been summarized in a 'Confidential Note' by the Chief of General Staff in June, 1912.
- Though through the McMahon Line efforts were made to solve the border controversy forever, the Chinese authority according to their own convenience never accepted it in full letter and spirit. Their interests in the areas of Arunachal Pradesh continued even after the British rule. The Chinese intrusion in the areas of Arunachal Pradesh in 1962 and even later is the forward policy of the Chinese.
- The major issue in demarcating the boundary between Tibet and India was regarding the Tawang Monastery. Charles Bell pointed out that Tawang Monastery was clearly Tibetan, but due to strategic reasons 'we should insist in getting the Tawang area south of the red line and the adjoining Bhutan though this seems undoubtedly Tibetan territory, as otherwise Tibet and Assam will adjoin each other and, if Tibet should again under Chinese control, it would be a dangerous position for us.'
- It was not till 1947 that the Indian government became firm over the boundary line. This was reflected in a statement by Jawaharlal Nehru in the Lok Sabha in 1950: 'Our maps show that McMahon Line is our boundary, and that is our boundary, map or no map. The fact remains and we stand by that boundary, and we will not let anybody come across that boundary.'
- The strategic limitations of the McMahon Line were never taken into account. It was pointed out by the Intelligence Chief in the 1960s that, 'the physical difficulties will remain on our side so long as the watershed of the Himalayas remained our boundary'.

6.6 KEY TERMS

- **Frontier:** A line or border separating two countries
- **Incursion:** An invasion or attack, especially a sudden or brief one
- **Memorandum:** A note or record made for future use

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6.7 ANSWERS TO 'CHECK YOUR PROGRESS'

1. Frontier policy
2. True
3. Outer Line
4. 1913
5. 'Inner Line'
6. Khasi-Jaintia Hills, Garo Hills and Mikir Hills
7. Tawang Monastry
8. Gorkha
9. False
10. True

6.8 QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Short-Answer Questions

1. What did the Outer Line signify?
2. Why was the Outer Line deliberately undefined?
3. What was the Simla Conference concerned with?
4. What did the Inner Line signify?
5. What path does the McMahon Line follow?

Long-Answer Questions

1. Discuss the significance of the Inner Line in detail.
2. What were the implications of the Inner Line Regulations of 1873 on Arunachal Pradesh?
3. Write a short note on the Simla Conference.
4. Describe the significance of the Indo-Tibetan boundary.
5. What were the problems that arose after 1947?
6. What led to the recognition of the McMahon line? Discuss.

6.9 FURTHER READING

Amrendra Kr Thakur, 2008. '*Historical Studies of Arunachal Pradesh: An Overview*', in R. Bezbaruah, P. Goswami and D. Banerjee (eds.), *North-East India Interpreting the Sources of its History*. New Delhi: I C H R and Aryan Books.

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UNIT 7 ADMINISTRATIVE GROWTH: COLONIAL PERIOD

Structure

7.0 Introduction
7.1 Unit Objectives
7.2 Demarcation of North-East Frontier Tract (NEFT)
  7.2.1 Hopkinson's Proposals
  7.2.2 Division of Frontier in Three Tracts
7.3 Government of India Act, 1919
7.4 Government of India Act, 1935
7.5 Regulation Act of 1945
7.6 Summary
7.7 Key Terms
7.8 Answers to 'Check Your Progress'
7.9 Questions and Exercises
7.10 Further Reading

7.0 INTRODUCTION

A new era started in the history of Northeast India with the signing of the Treaty of Yandaboo in 1826, which saw the expansion of the British rule over this part of the country. With the establishment and gradual expansion of the 'Raj', the era of modern politics also began in this region. After the assumption of political power, the task before the British was to consolidate their position, politically as well as economically, in this area. In this imperial desire they faced the problem of the hill tribes of Assam and the neighbouring hills, including the areas of modern Arunachal Pradesh. We have earlier seen that the British government aptly realized the political necessity and the economic potentiality of these frontier areas, especially the hilly tract inhabited by the tribal of present-day Arunachal Pradesh and initiated a number of measures to safeguard colonial interest. Direct military action was not feasible and, therefore, the British came forward to enter into peace agreements with various tribes of these frontiers. At the same time, taking advantage of the basic weakness of these tribes – the divided house of the tribes as a whole – the colonial rulers called upon these tribes to forego their rights over the foothills and the adjoining plain lands, for imperial interests. On the whole, however, the British followed a policy of watch and ward, limited or no direct interference and military intervention only when unavoidable.

Hence, as the beginning of the administrative measures, the Frontier Tracts Regulation was passed in 1880. It was mainly due to the unique geo-political conditions as well as the nature of the relationship between tribes and the British. These areas, by the time, were not under direct British administration and the terrains were also not suitable for the same. The provisions were made applicable not only to the areas of Arunachal Pradesh but also to the other areas of the region. The new Regulation provided that the operation of all unsuitable laws might be barred in the hill districts, in the north Cachar sub-division, the Mikir Hills tract in Nowgong and the Dibrugarh frontier tract in Lakhimpur. By orders issued under this Regulation, the tracts in question were excluded from the operation of the enactments relating to criminal procedure, (the

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Civil Procedure Code was never in force in any of the hill districts), stamps, court-fees, registration and transfer of property. A simpler system of administering justice in civil and criminal matters was prescribed by rules framed under the Scheduled Districts Act. In these tracts, the head of the local government was to be the chief appellate authority in civil and criminal matters, and the high court would have no jurisdiction except in criminal cases against European British subjects. The deputy commissioner would exercise the combined powers of judge and district magistrate, and the assistant and the extra-assistant commissioners, the powers of magistrates and *munsifs*. Petty cases, both civil and criminal, were to be dealt with by village tribunals, presided over by village headmen elected by the people themselves, whose procedure was to be free from all legal technicalities. The Eastern Dwars in Goalpara were to be administered in civil matters in accordance with the rules under the Scheduled Districts Act, in lieu of the Civil Procedure Code which had not been in force there.

The Government of India Act, 1919, was an Act of the Parliament of the United Kingdom. It was passed to expand participation of Indians in the government of India. The Act embodied the reforms recommended in the report of the Secretary of State for India, Edwin Montagu, and the Viceroy, Lord Chelmsford. The Act covered ten years, from 1919 to 1929.

The Act provided a dual form of government (a 'dyarchy') for the major provinces.

The Government of India Act 1935 was originally passed in August 1935 (25 & 26 Geo. 5 c. 42), and is said to have been the longest (British) Act of Parliament ever enacted by that time. The act of 1935 in provided for the federal structure, distribution of powers, provincial autonomy, responsible form of government, bicameral legislature, emergency power of Governor General.

We shall study these in detail later in this unit.

The North-East Frontier Agency (NEFA) (formerly the North-East Frontier Tracts) was one of the political divisions in British India and later the Republic of India till 1972, when it became the Union Territory of Arunachal Pradesh. Its administrative headquarters was Shillong (till 1974, when it was transferred to Itanagar).

In 1914, some tribal-majority areas were separated from the erstwhile Darrang and Lakhimpur districts of Assam Province of British India to form the North-East Frontier Tracts (NEFT). The NEFT was initially divided into two sections: the Central & Eastern Section (comprising the erstwhile Dibrugarh Frontier Tract, created in 1882, and some more areas in south) and the Western Section. Each section was placed under a political officer. After the independence of India in 1947, NEFT became a part of Assam state.

NEFA is discussed in detail in the next unit.

7.1 UNIT OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to:

- Discuss the demarcation of NEFT
- Describe the provisions of the government of India Act, 1919
- Discuss the provisions of the government of India Act, 1935
- Explain the Regulation Act of 1945

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7.2 DEMARCATION OF NORTH-EAST FRONTIER TRACT (NEFT)

We have seen that the British government followed a few basic policies towards the North-East Frontier Tract. The first and foremost policy of the British was to contain the frontier tribes by continuing with Ahom period's provisions with certain changes in the right to collect '*posa*'. Cash payment, instead of kind, was started. Second, the East India Company government tried entering into friendly relations with these tribes through political negotiations and treaties. However, any violation of these treaties was viewed very seriously by the government and force was often applied against such acts.

Third, the government resorted to the 'blockade system', by which the tribes were debarred from coming down to the plains to buy their necessary commodities from the markets of adjoining areas. In the case of a serious offence like murder or the kidnapping of British subjects, a demand of surrender of the culprits to the British authority was imposed through the native political agent for the trial of the offender. Sometimes, expeditions were dispatched to arrest the offenders, or in the case of kidnapping, to secure the release of the captives. Evidences are not lacking in which the whole tribe or the village of the offender, as a whole, was punished severely, probably to impress upon the whole tribe or the village dire consequences of the acts of a few guilty persons. Though various frontier tribes tried to challenge the authority off and on, the British Government over-shadowed them with their superior force.

Fourth, the British government established a few markets and organized fairs in the foothill areas, such as Sadiya, Udalguri, and Doimara. However, the main motive behind these trade fairs was the promotion and popularization of European goods. Though the British wanted to open stores to provide the necessities to the tribal, this was not successful.

Fifth, the British followed a trade policy that led to the destruction of the tribal cottage industry and crafts. The import of salt, influx of the mill-made goods and yam, and other machine-made goods destroyed the local productions and slowly a tendency developed to purchase manufactured goods and tools from the plains.

Sixth, the British stressed on consolidation but no extension of their rule to the hills. They tried to consolidate the portion of the frontier territory already under their possession and to secure its good administration. For this purpose, the government appointed the '*kotokis*' mainly to deal with the Nyishis, Adis, Akas, and other hill-tribes in the frontiers. In fact, these *kotokis* were like political officers and at the same time worked like ambassadors. The duties of the *kotokis*, as told by H. S. Bivar, were to proceed to the hills on any occasion when required to do so in connection with the tribes and to render aid in furnishing information on the tribes and in interpreting any matter as also to attend upon the deputy commissioner when he proceeded to the country bordering the hills of the tribes to which they were attached.

In addition, the British government established a network of the intelligence service, just after the Anglo-Burmese War of 1824–26, to keep strict vigilance on the movement and communication of the tribes beyond the frontier, particularly those situated near the Burmese frontier and gaining through them information of all movements in Upper Burma. As per the British records, by the middle of the 19th century there was one Jamadar, a Shan interpreter and seven Harkars in Sadiya Agency. Sadiya Agency continued to function under the district officer of Dibrugarh. However,

NOTES

after the information of the combined Mishmi and Singpho rebellion proved to be a rumour in 1866, the intelligence service was subordinated to the police establishment of Sadiya. It is also known that after the Bhutia's raid of 1849, one Jamadar and ten Chowkidars were appointed to watch the Darrang frontier. Thus, at certain points, which were crossroads of the tribal movement, some intelligence was set up.

7.2.1 Hopkinson's Proposals

In 1862, Col. Henry Hopkinson, the Commissioner of Assam, had proposed to the Government of Bengal the ways and means to be adopted for the administration of the North-East Frontier Tract as he believed that the policy of conciliation with the hill people had failed. He wrote that, 'in restraining the savage tribes, which infest our frontier, reliance cannot be placed in one course of policy, but there must be a ready adaptation of expedients to suit every varying circumstances; sometimes we must apply coercion, pure and simple, sometimes blockade; very often a judicious system of subsidizing will keep the tribes quiet for long while, but still the surest foundation on which to build our control over them will be their fear of us.' He further argued that the payment of subsidies alone was not sufficient unless it was backed by military power. Hence, he urged upon the government the need for military preparedness to meet any tribal outrage. He seems to have been more in favour of coercion than of conciliation. He held, 'I believe that in our ability to coerce them (i.e., the hillmen) where conciliation fails, and in their absolute conviction that we can coerce them if they go too far... lies the most durable guarantee for their good behavior.' He also wanted that the British 'must cease to regard them (i.e., the hillmen) as aliens, or even as enemies, but acknowledge them as subjects, seek to establish ourselves among them, to extent our influence over them, and bring them under our control and within the pale of civilization.' In other words, he wanted that the tribal area should be brought under British occupation.

Col. Hopkinson was the first British officer who had the foresight to see that by the annexation of Assam, the British Government accepted the obligation to undertake the administration of the Northeast Frontier tribes, and he criticized the government for creating a wall of separation between the hills and the plains of the province. In a nutshell, Hopkinson urged the British to undertake various developmental projects for proper administration of the area. There would be no rest for the British, he held, in Assam till arrangements for administration of the hills were provided for. Col. Hopkinson wrote in his Report to the Government of Bengal: 'In taking possession of the country (Assam), we incurred a very distinct and positive obligation to administer it to the best of our ability, and at any expense to secure the most absolute protection to life and property by every means available to a civilized government; and it seems inconsistent with this view of our duty that we should have separated the people of the plains from the people of the hills and have made the former our subjects while we renounced the latter, and left them to prey upon those whom we had professed to take under our protection.' He further recommended the construction of roads in this inaccessible land, which he held 'would afford facilities for intercourse between the external world and the world of the tribes', and urged the government to help and aid the missionaries in their work among these hill tribes. This was not accepted by the British Government. He also recommended the re-organization of the police force of Assam and the withdrawal of the military and paramilitary forces from the border, which was, however, accepted by the authorities. At the same time, he urged the government to raise a local force under the orders of the chief civil authority for the

NOTES

defense of Assam Frontier, because the management of the frontier tribes was a responsibility of that authority. This view seems to have been accepted by the Government of Bengal which requested the Supreme Government's sanction of the proposal to raise a force like that of Punjab.

In fact, the Government of India was convinced of the necessity of re-organization of the military force as suggested by Hopkinson, and accordingly, two battalions of military police were recruited, who were posted along the Inner Line. At the same time, heavy concentration was made at the district headquarters for immediate march of the army in any emergency.

It has been suggested by some historians, and with some justification, that the beginning of the political evolution of Arunachal Pradesh can be traced to the Inner Line Regulation of 1873, which was formulated to bring 'under more stringent control the commercial relations of the British subjects with the Frontier Tribes.' It is also worth mentioning that the experience of the Colonial rulers with the tribal in India had not been a pleasant one and they had faced trouble in different parts of the country while dealing with them. This was evident through the Mutiny of Singbhum in 1831, Khond Uprising in 1846 and Santhal Rebellion in 1885. Generally, therefore, the British declared these areas as Non-Regulation Tracts to be administered by the Deputy Commissioner according to needs of the time.

Declaration of Scheduled Districts

The constitutional and administrative growth of Arunachal Pradesh had its genesis in the Act No. XTV of 1874, also known as The Scheduled Districts Act of 1874, by which the districts of Kamrup, Darrang, Nowgong, Sibsagar, Lakhimpur, Garo, Khasi and Jayantia Hills, Naga Hills and Cachar were declared 'scheduled districts' on 1st January, 1875. Goalpara and Sylhet were also made almost as scheduled districts. This arrangement had a basic aim behind it – to provide a simpler form of administration in the province of Assam. Special rules for the administration injustice, in civil as well as criminal matters, were provided by this Act.

The problem of tribal administration caught the attention of the British Government of India after their occupation of Assam. Therefore, the government wanted to provide a simple form of administration in those areas where the local tribal customs and conventions could be accommodated for settling various tribal disputes; thus, the idea of the scheduled districts came into being. By this Act, the Chief Commissioner of Assam was authorized to extend the Act to the Frontier Tracts for peace and governance, with the previous sanction of the Governor General in Council. He could also extend to these areas any Act, or part thereof, passed by the legislators of any provincial or of the Central Government by a notification in the local Gazette. Under Section 2 of the mentioned Act, the Chief Commissioner had the power to propose to the Governor General in Council, the draft of any Regulation for peace and the good government of the Frontier Tracts, which when approved by the Governor General in Council, had the force of law after notification in the local Gazette. The same Act authorized the Chief Commissioner, under Section 6, Clause C, to define by what authority and jurisdiction, powers and duties incidental to the operation of any enactment, for the time being in force in the Frontier, would be exercised and performed.

Meanwhile, the Inner Line Regulation had been passed in 1873, and the Deputy Commissioners were asked by the Chief Secretary to propose the Inner Line of their

NOTES

respective districts. The Deputy Commissioner of Lakhimpur, Col. Clarke, while submitting his proposal with respect to his district, stated that the frontier of his district was inhabited by tribesmen whom it would be inadvisable to administer as people in other parts of the district. Therefore, the Chief Commissioner of Assam wrote to the Government of India for drafting a set of rules for the administration of justice in the Frontier areas, which was approved by the authorities. This provided the basis of administration of justice in this area, the aim of which was to provide an outline pattern of rules, applicable ordinarily to all tracts of the frontier districts, allowing exemption to semi-barbarous or barbarous people over whom British control had been extended.

The passing of two Acts – the Scheduled District Act, XIV of 1874, and the Laws Local Extent Act XV of 1874 – made it clear how and in what parts of British India different laws passed by the Government were to operate. The Laws Local Extent Act XV specified the laws which were in force in India generally, except in certain backward tracts, described as 'Scheduled Districts'. The Scheduled Districts Act, XIV of 1874 authorized the Government to declare by notification in the Gazette what laws were in force in such districts, and to extend to them any enactments in force elsewhere which might seem desirable to bring into operation.

Direct administration

The next stage of administrative growth can be noticed in the Assam Frontier Tract Regulation (Regulation 2), 1880. The Act provided for the removal of certain frontier tracts in Assam inhabited or frequented by 'barbarous or semi-civilized' tribal from the operation of enactments in force therein. As a result, the first Frontier Tract called Dibrugarh Frontier Tract came into being in November 1882, under the authority of the Deputy Commissioner of Lakhimpur. In the same year, the government realized the need of a local official to function among the frontier tribes. By the advice of Sir Charles Elliot, a separate office of Assistant Political Officer was established at Sadiya in 1882, and J F. Needham, a British official, originally belonging to the Bengal police, was appointed as the first political officer, to regulate the political relation of the British with the Adis, Mishmi and the Singpho-Khampti tribes of the frontier tract. Till 1882, as we know, the conduct of relations with the frontier tribes was left with Kotokis, on whom the British officials in general put little reliance and to whom they used to pay scanty attention. But now onwards, the British officials started touring various parts of the frontier area and prepared notes and reports, which were given due weightage by the British Government.

Needham was succeeded by Noel Williamson, in 1906, who acted with indefatigable energy, courage and enthusiasm in putting the frontier service on a sound basis, till his murder in Abor hills in 1911. Williamson toured various parts of the Adi and Mishmi hills and tried to cultivate good and personal relations with the people of different tribes. Like Williamson, the Lieutenant Governor of the new province of Eastern Bengal and Assam, Sir Lancelot Hare was also a practical man and supported the ideas of Williamson with regard to the frontier policy. He had his own idea of adopting a policy of direct and immediate British administration of these frontier tracts, which, however, was turned down by the Government of India. Though the Government agreed that the British territory should be protected at any cost, it forbade any expeditions to be sent beyond the Inner Line.

As early as the beginning of the 20th century, i.e. in 1908–11, the Chinese movement across the boundary, particularly in the Aka Hills, the Abor Hills and the

NOTES

Mishmi Hills became a matter of concern which forced the government to propose to the Secretary of State for India, to secure, as soon as possible, a sound strategic boundary between India and Tibet. At that time, the local government proposed that in future their (British) policy towards the frontier tribes should be one of loose political control, having minimum interference and at the same time the government should assure the security and protection of tribes from unprovoked aggression from outside, so that they would be prevented from violating either the administrative border or the Chinese territory. Though, as a rule, the Government of India accepted the recommendations of the local government in the real sense of the term it did not permit the extension of the administrative boundary beyond the existing line. The Government of India also sanctioned various expeditions to tour the Mishmis, Miri, Adi and Nyishi Hills to know more about the land and the people for effective administrative control. It also addressed a dispatch to the Secretary of State for India, on the frontier issue, recommending the lines of action proposed by the Governor of East Bengal and Assam, C A. Bell, and the General Staff of Army. The Secretary of State, however, did not take any interest for pushing the British territory into the hills. The Government of India protested as they contemplated the idea to exercise loose political control over the tribes, which could not be done beyond the Inner Line boundary. The Secretary of State now agreed to the proposals and thus the hill tracts of North-Eastern Frontier areas were subsequently brought under direct administration.

The direct administration of this area, however, remained on paper and practically no arrangement was made for proper and direct administration. The political officer, responsible for direct administration, who continued to be under the local administration, was instructed to exercise 'loose political control' over the tribes. It seems that the Government of India was influenced by the 'buffer' concept of Sir Henry McMahon and his advice, not to offend the Tibetan vested interests in the tribal tracts south to the McMahon Line.

7.2.2 Division of frontier in three tracts

In 1912, the administrative divisions were recognized in Assam and a new system of administration on the frontier was introduced. Two new charges, afterwards known as the Sadiya and Balipara frontier tracts, were created and placed under the control of political officers. These charges consisted partly of the settled plains of the Lakhimpur and Darrang districts, in which the administration was practically the same as that existing in those districts, and partly of areas beyond the Inner Line inhabited by the border tribes, over whom only loose political control was exercised. The Sadiya Frontier tract extended in the Northeast to the confines of Tibet and touched Burma on the south-east and south, whereas Balipara tract included the important trade route from Udalguri into Tibet, which is the shortest way from India to Lhasa. As a result of this territorial reorganization, the relations between the hillmen and the people inhabiting the plains were considered to have greatly improved.

The Naga Hills, the Lushai Hills, the Garo Hills, the Khasi and Jaintia Hills, and the North Cachar and Mikir Hills formed five ordinary hill districts of the state, of which the northeastern border areas of Assam were put directly under the Government of India to be administered by the Governor of Assam. This north eastern frontier land, known as the North Eastern Frontier Agency or NEFA in an abbreviated form, came to be divided into six zones: the Kameng Frontier Agency, Subansiri Frontier Agency, Siang Frontier Agency, Lohit Frontier Agency, Tirap Frontier Agency and Tuensang Frontier Agency.

NOTES

The Kameng Agency included the Akas, the Subansiri Agency the Nyishis and Hill Miris, the Siang Agency the Adis, the Lohit Agency the Mishmis and Khamptis, the Tirap Agency the Singphos, and the Tuensang Agency some of the Naga clans.

The Anglo-Abor War of 1911–12, was a turning point in the administrative history of Arunachal Pradesh. After the war, Major General Bower, who was incharge of the famous Abor Expedition, in his letter on 16 January, 1912, recommended that the frontier should be divided into three sections viz.:

(i) The Central section would comprise all the Abors and extend westward to the eastern watershed of the Subansiri but exclusive of that watershed under two political officers. It has to be kept in mind that the Abors have always been the most troublesome tribe on this frontier, and past experience has proved the impossibility of exercising effective control over them from a post in the plains.

(ii) The Eastern section would include all the Mishmis and Khamptis, and should be in charge of an assistant political officer with headquarters at Sadiya.

(iii) The Western section would include the eastern watershed of the Subansiri and extend westward to the borders of Bhutan. This section should be under the control of an assistant political officer with headquarters at some convenient centre to be selected later.

His proposal was accepted by the higher authorities with certain modifications. The Government of India, Foreign and Political Department Notification of 1914, promulgated that the Assam Frontier Tracts Regulation would extend to the hills inhabited or frequented by the Adis, Miris, Mishmis, Singphos, Nagas, Khamptis, Bhutias, Akas and Nyishis, and these hill areas were separated from the then Darrang and Lakhimpur districts of Assam.

Later it was decided that both geographically and ethnically the main channel of the Subansiri was a better dividing line between the Central and Western Sections than the Subansiri–Siyom divide. But, in spite of this decision, some confusion seems to have remained even afterwards regarding the boundary between the Central and Western sections, since as late as 1921 the Indian General Staff referred to the Subansiri–Siyom divide as the boundary. While supporting the proposals of Bower, the Local Government recommended that the political officer on this frontier should work directly under the Chief Commissioner of Assam; it should be inadvisable that they should be controlled either by the Deputy Commissioner, Lakhimpur, or by the Commissioner of the Assam Valley Districts.

In July 1912, the Chief Commissioner of Assam proposed that the entire tribal area east of the Subansiri–Siyom divide should be in the charge of Dundas, who should have the status of a Deputy Commissioner and work immediately under the Chief Commissioner. Dundas would require four assistants to begin with: one for the Lohit Valley; the second for the Bebejiya and Chulikatta Mishmis; the third for the Abor hills; and the fourth for assisting the Political Officer at the headquarters in the administration of the plains below the foothills. It was believed that these proposals were within moderate limits and that before long the political officer would require further assistance. For the area west of the Subansiri–Siyom divide, the Chief Commissioner recommended Captain G.A. Nevill as the political officer who would work directly under the Chief Commissioner.

NOTES

In September 1914, the southern boundaries of the Eastern, Central and Western sections were notified to separate them clearly from the adjoining plains districts of Darrang and Lakhimpur. In 1919, the Eastern and Central sections were officially renamed as the Sadiya Frontier Trace, and the Western section as the Balipara Frontier Tract.

Thus, the North-East Frontier Tract came into existence, composed of the following three administrative units, as recommended by Bower: (i) The Central and Eastern Section; (ii) the Lakhimpur Frontier Tract; and (iii) The Western Section. The boundary of the Central and Eastern section ran along the then existing Dibrugarh Frontier Tract, stretching a little further south of it and included lands inhabited entirely by the Miris including five small villages inhabited by the Assamese people. The boundary of the Lakhimpur Frontier Tract was so defined as to leave it within the regular jurisdiction of the Deputy Commissioner of Lakhimpur. The boundary of the Western Section of the North East Frontier Tract ran from the Subansiri River, which was the boundary between the Central and Eastern and Western sections.

To extend British authority over the three Frontier Tracts, a political officer was appointed in each of these. W C M. Dundas of Bengal Police was appointed as political officer of the Central and Eastern Section, and G A. Neville of Bengal Police was appointed as the political officer of the Western Section, while the Lakhimpur Frontier Section was left in the charge of the Deputy Commissioner of Lakhimpur. With the appointment of three political officers in these tracts, loose political control was gradually established over these areas. The political officers yielded a lot of influence regarding the administrative problems of the hill tracts. They had the powers to expel anybody from their respective jurisdiction, if the presence of such a person was prejudicial for the security and peace of the area. These political officers were assisted in their work by the political Jamadars, Harkars and Kotokis. The political officers were to hold an 'Annual Durbar' where they would present *Posa* to the tribes, listen to their grievances and explain to them the policy of the government.

The policy of non-interference introduced by the British in the 19th century lasted till 1911. But thereafter British tribal policy on this frontier underwent a fundamental change to cope with the Chinese threat from the north. The old policy was replaced by a policy of loose political control, and a very timely opportunity to introduce the new policy was provided by the murder of Williamson.

7.3 GOVERNMENT OF INDIA ACT, 1919

With the passing of the Government of India Act of 1919, there were some changes in the nomenclature of the sections of the North-East Frontier Tract. The Act of 1919 authorized the Governor General in Council under Section 52(A) of the Act to declare any territory in British India to be a 'Backward Area.' Accordingly, in 1921, all the tribal areas in Assam were declared as backward areas. This was followed by an Instrument of Instructions to the Governors of these provinces which laid down that he was responsible for carrying out measures for the social welfare of the tribal areas under his exclusive charge. In actual practice, this Instrument of Instructions implied that the rules framed by the Government of India as well as by the Government of Assam were not applicable to the tribal areas. Thus, while in theory the North-East Frontier Tract was a part of the Province of Assam, it was denied actual participation in the political process.

Check Your Progress

1. What was the underlying motive of the British for organizing trade fairs?
2. What was the first frontier tract in Assam called?
3. What were the three administrative units of the North-East Frontier Tract as recommended by Bower?
4. What is the full form of NEFA?

NOTES

Now onwards, the Central and Eastern sections were to be known as the Sadiya Frontier Tract, and the Western Section as the Balipara Frontier Tract. However, there was no change in the name of Lakhimpur Frontier Tract. This position continued upto 1937, during which certain areas were either included or excluded in the so-called North-East Frontier Tract. By the Government of India Act 1919, the North-East Frontier Tract was politically made a part of the province of Assam, but the Government of Assam denied direct participation in the administration of the area. In the real sense, the tracts continued to be governed according to the Assam Frontier Tracts Regulation of 1880 and 1884 up to 31 March, 1937.

Moreover, after the First World War, a spirit of humanism spread far and wide in the world. People began to talk of human rights and protest against exploitation. The concept of 'Mandate' was developed for protecting the interest of the underdeveloped peoples under the supervision of the League of Nations. As a part of this worldwide change of outlook, the protection of tribal rights now caught the attention of the philanthropic people. In India, British administrators like J.P. Mill and J.H. Hutton who served in the hills in the northeast were struck by the exploitation of the simple tribal people by adventurers and businessmen which, if not actively patronized, was at least tolerated by the government. Essays appeared in the journals to enlist popular support for stopping such practices towards the tribal people. The government now adopted a more or less benevolent attitude towards the tribal people. But in an atmosphere of political tension between the rulers and the politically conscious sections of the Indian nation, the government solicitude for tribal welfare was utilized more for segregation of the tribal folk from the rest of the Indian community than for actual amelioration of their condition.

This policy of segregation was given shape for the first time in the Reform of 1919 although its beginnings may be traced back to the late 19th century. It has already been observed that the Scheduled Districts Act was passed in 1874 to provide for the administration of the tribal areas in a rough and ready manner and the Inner Line Regulation of 1873 began to be applied to segregate tribal areas of the North-East Frontier from 1875 onwards. When Edwin Montagu, in concert with Lord Chelmsford, under the direction of the House of Commons, prepared their report on constitutional reforms in India, they recommended measures to be taken for reconstruction of the Indian Government, but the tribal issue was not given any new complexion. While recommending the increasing association of Indians in every branch of administration and 'the gradual development of self-governing institutions with a view to progressive realization of responsible government in India as an integral part of the British Empire', they did not deem it proper to either encourage the tribal people to participate in their own administration or to associate the Indian minister and legislators with the administration of the tribal hills of the frontiers.

The Mont-Ford scheme, which involved the division of functions of the Provincial Government between elected Indian Ministers and appointed Executive Councilors, proposed to keep the tribal areas separate from the regularly administered territory, on grounds that in those areas 'there was no material on which to found political institutions.' It was held that the tracts mentioned in the schedules and appendices to the Scheduled Districts Act, 1874, with 'certain exceptions and possibly certain additions, should be reserved for further consideration'. But the typically backward tracts (frontiers) should be excluded from the jurisdiction of the reformed provincial governments and administered by the head of the province. In these areas, therefore, the old system was to continue, and the tribes were to be kept apart – ostensibly for their own welfare – from the people of the plains.

NOTES

The reaction of the Government of India to the recommendations of the Joint Report was embodied in the Ninth Dispatch on the Constitutional Reforms. The Government of India was anxious to limit exclusion as much as possible both in its local extent and in its degree. With this end in view, it estimated the degree of backwardness of each of the tracts and recommended varying degrees of exclusion to conform to such estimates. The recommendation that the backward tracts should be directly administered by the Governors was not finally carried out, except in the Shan States of Burma. For Assam, the reserved half of the government was given full discretion to administer the tracts as per enactments under the Government of India Act, 1919.

With the passing of the Government of India Act of 1919, there were some changes in the nomenclature of the sections of the North-East Frontier Tracts. The Government of India Act, 1915, as amended by the Government of India Act, 1919, carried into effect the recommendations of the Mont-Ford Report. The Act of 1919 authorized the Governor General in Council under Section 52(A) to declare any territory in British India to be a 'Backward Tract' and may, by notification, with such sanction, direct that this Act shall apply to that territory subject to such exceptions and modifications as may be prescribed in the modifications. When the Reforms were introduced in Assam in 1920, the frontier affairs were placed under the reserved half of the government and the elected half of the government did not have any jurisdiction over them. Accordingly, in 1921, all the tribal areas in Assam were declared as backward areas. This was followed by an Instrument of Instructions to the Governors of these provinces which lay down that he was responsible for carrying out measures for the social welfare of the tribal areas under his exclusive charge. In actual practice, this Instrument of Instructions implied that the rules framed by the Government of India as well as by the Government of Assam were not applicable to the tribal areas. Thus, while in theory the North-Eastern Frontier Tract was a part of the province of Assam, it was denied actual participation in the political process.

Check Your Progress

5. The Act of 1919 authorized the Governor General in Council under Section 52(A) of the Act to declare any territory in British India to be a 'Developed Area.' (True/False)
6. The North-Eastern Frontier Tract was a part of the province of Assam, but it was denied actual participation in the political process. (True/False)
7. The reaction of the Government of India to the recommendations of the Joint Report was embodied in the _____.
8. The Government of India Act, 1915, as amended by the Government of India Act, 1919, carried into effect the recommendations of the_____.

7.4 GOVERNMENT OF INDIA ACT, 1935

Meanwhile the government has pursued a policy of bringing the frontier territory under its political influence. The tour reports of the political officers showed the popularity of the government in the tribal hills. By the time of the coming of the Statutory Commission, the officers serving in the frontiers and adjacent tribal hills, like the Lushai and Naga hills, had arrived at the conclusion that the British would withdraw some day from India and Burma, but if they could create a separate tribal belt along the North-East Frontier they might continue to possess a foothold on Indian territory.

In view of this trend of opinion in official circles, the Simon Commission, which was appointed to report on further progress on constitutional reforms in India, did not find it possible to recommend the incorporation of the hill tracts of the North-East Frontier for administrative purposes in the Province of Assam. It contains that the Backward Tracts of Assam are of great importance and extent, that nowhere in India is the contrast between the life and outlook of these hillmen and the total distinct civilization of the plains manifest more. The Commission recommended that the British Parliament should avow its special obligation for the tribal folk, educate them to stand on their own

NOTES

feet, give them protection against exploitation, and prevent their raids on the plains. The Simon Commission appointed in 1928 made another recommendation regarding the administration of the tribal areas or the hill areas under tribal settlement. It suggested that the tribal areas should be designated as 'excluded' and 'partially excluded' areas in consonance with respective stage of development in the stage of literacy and political consciousness. For administration of the tribal area, excluded from the regular administered districts of the province, the Governor-General in Council should use the agency of the Governor.

The Commission expected that for developing the tribal areas and for educating the tribal people, huge money would be required. The money would not be forthcoming from the revenue of a poor state like Assam. Further, the Commission apprehended that the representatives of the provincial legislature would not vote for the appropriation of money for development purposes in the hill tracts since that would not immediately benefit the constituencies of the members who would vote. Though in the prevailing atmosphere of distrust and animosity, the British statesmen and administrators alike wanted to sympathize with the tribal folk and alienate them from the Indian people, the tribal people were a part of the myriad Indian population.

But in spite of the recommendations of the Simon Commission, the British Prime Minister disavowed any intention of the British Parliament to control any territory of British India. The hopes of the British officers in the tribal areas were thus destroyed. The Government of India now asked for reconsideration of the issue of Frontier administration by the Government of Assam since the previous scheme of retention of tribal territory under the British Parliament could not be worked upon after declaration of the British Prime Minister. The Government of Assam, nevertheless, proposed the perpetuation of the separation of the tribal tracts of the frontiers from the regularly administered areas in the province of Assam. It wrote, 'Its (tribal tracts) progressive absorption into the province of Assam in the past was forced upon the government by the unavoidable necessity of securing from the marauding and revengeful raids of its denizens, the safety of the plain districts for which the government had made itself responsible…what was needed for the future is a policy of development and unification on lines suited to the genius of the hill people, an object in itself of formidable magnitude.'

The formulation of such a policy could no longer be divorced from political factors. The Government of Assam pointed out that there had already developed in the hills an anti-Indian feeling, probably due to a fear of economic exploitation. It was even apprehensive that a change in policy with regard to the frontiers might provoke rebellion. Therefore, it recommended that in developing a scheme of administration for the hill tribes 'the essence of the system in the administration of the definitely excluded areas would be the personal rule of the Governor exercised through selected officers'. In course of time, it suggested that an indigenous staff of officers of all ranks might be provided for the hill districts and frontiers.

The Government of India Act of 1935, which was passed after taking into consideration Simon Commission's recommendations as well as the points of view of the provincial governments concerned with tribal areas, provided in sections 91 and 92 that his Majesty by an order in Council might declare some territory in India as 'Excluded Areas' or 'Partially Excluded Areas' and empower the Governor of a province to administer that area under the authority of the Governor-General. As such,

NOTES

the Government of Assam was vested with wide discretion and authority in matters of administration in these areas. The Governor was given discretion to extend Acts or parts thereof passed by any provincial legislature or the federal legislature to the excluded areas which otherwise would not apply there. Moreover, the Governor was given the power to prepare and approve drafts of Regulations for the peace and good government of the excluded areas with the previous sanction of the Governor-General in Council. No Act of the Federal and Provincial Legislatures would be applicable to these areas without the prior sanction of the Governor of Assam. However, in 1937, a new development took place when J.P. Mills was appointed as the Secretary for Tribal Affairs to the Government of Assam. According to the Constitution Act of 1935 it was decided without any difficulty that Balipara Frontier Tract should be an 'Excluded Area'. It accordingly was entered as such in the Government of India (Excluded and Partially Excluded Areas) Order, 1936, and came under the direct administration of the Governor from 1 April, 1937.

In 1938, the formation of a 'Control Area' to the north of Pasighat was sanctioned by the Government of India. The purpose of this was to take measures for the abolition of slavery in unadministered areas (this Control Area was subsequently extended in 1941). In the same year, Godfrey, the political officer, reported about the annual incursion by Tibetan officials into the Memba and Abor villages south of the McMahon Line and realization of taxes from the tribesmen who were claimed to be Tibetan subjects. As a result, Mr. Godfrey, the political officer of Sadiya, along with Mr. Williams, the Assistant Political Officer at Pasighat, with an escort of 45 Assam Rifles led an expedition into the south of the McMahon Line in February – March 1939, with a view to ascertaining the position as regards Tibetan infiltration south of the McMahon Line. It revealed from this expedition that Tibetan influence extended some 70 miles south of the McMahon Line and that the villages of Shimong and Karko had recently been paying tribute to Tibet. Accordingly, recommendations were made to the establishment of outposts at Karko and Riga in March 1941. In 1940, Godfrey made an extensive tour up the Siyom Valley through the unadministered Galong country for setting a serious land dispute between the Minyong and Galong Abors. A boundary was fixed and peace assured. The Government of India extended the control area of the political officer, Sadiya Frontier Tract, up to the McMahon Line in the Siang Valley on May 20, 1941, in order to check the Tibetan influence. They also agreed that if these incursions from the north of the McMahon Line did not cease it might be necessary at some further date to establish one or more additional outposts further up the valley.

Also, the Government of India sanctioned the extension of the control area of the political officer, Sadiya Frontier Tract, upto the McMahon Line in the Siang valley, in the year 1941, May. In 1943, a new administrative tract, called the Tirap Frontier Tract was created by taking certain portions of Lakhimpur Frontier Tract and Sadiya Frontier Tract. The new administrative division was placed under a separate political officer with its headquarters at Margherita. In 1943, N K. Rustomji was appointed as an Advisor to the Governor of Assam to look after the administration of the North-East Frontier Tracts including the Naga Hills, the Lushai Hill districts and the North Hill Subdivision of the Cachar district. The appointment of the Advisor is said to have set the pattern for the administration of the North-East Frontier Agency area later on.

Check Your Progress

9. According to the Constitution Act of 1935 it was decided without any difficulty that Balipara Frontier Tract should be an _____.
10. What was the purpose of a 'Control Area'?
11. The _____ was created by taking certain portions of Lakhimpur Frontier Tract and Sadiya Frontier Tract.

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7.5 REGULATION ACT OF 1945

The year 1945 saw an important administrative development in the North-East Frontier Tract. A regulation, known as Assam Frontier (Administration of Justice) Regulation, 1945 (Regulation I of 1945) was introduced and its main objective was to ensure that a vast majority of disputes, both civil and criminal, were decided in accordance with the prevailing traditional codes of the tribal. It was recognized that modern laws as prevailed elsewhere in the country were unsuitable for the tribal areas. Thus, the Act of 1945 recognized the authority of the age-old village councils and also the authority of the village headmen. The village authorities were also given the duty of maintaining peace and law and order in their respective areas.

In 1946, the administrative divisions of the Frontier Tract were divided to make their working more viable and efficient. As a result, the Balipara Frontier Tract was divided into the Sela Sub-Agency and the Subansiri Area. Similarly, in July, 1948, Sadiya Frontier Tract was divided into two separate units, namely, the Abor Hill District and the Mishmi Hill District, each with its own political officers at Pasighat and Tezu respectively. However, the Sela Sub-Agency and the Subansiri area, with their headquarters at Chardwar and North Lakhimpur, respectively, remained under the jurisdiction of the political officer at Balipara.

When India became independent in 1947, the North-East Frontier Tract consisted of Balipara Frontier Tract, Sadiya Frontier Tract, Tirap Frontier Tract and the Naga Tribal Area, which lay beyond the regular administrative jurisdiction of the Assam Government. Immediately after the transfer of power, the Governor of Assam was divested of his discretionary powers with respect to the North-East Frontier Tract. The Constituent Assembly of India appointed a Sub-Committee headed by Gopinath Bardoloi to recommend the future pattern of administration of the hill areas of Assam and the Frontier Tracts. The Committee provided for the management of tribal and intra-tribal matters by the people themselves, but general administration, law and order were kept under the Government of Assam. It was also recommended that the tribes of the frontier should continue to be kept under their respective political officers, until they (tribal) were developed enough to control their own affairs. As per the recommendations of the Bardoloi Committee, the administration was to be carried out by the Assam Government.

Check Your Progress

12. What were the two separate units of Sadiya Frontier Tract? Where were their political officers based?
13. When India became independent in 1947, how was the North East Frontier Tract divided?
14. What was the purpose of the sub-committee appointed by the Constituent Assembly of India?

ACTIVITY

Interview a person from Northeast India and report his or her viewpoint concerning the North-East Frontier Tract. How does the person relate to it? Is there an identity crisis?

DID YOU KNOW

Racial affiliation of Arunachal Pradesh has been described as mongoloid, indo-mongoloid, kiratas, protomongoloid and so on. There are 25 major tribes and 100 sub-tribal speaking over 50 main dialects. Principle tribes of the State are Monpa, Miji, Aka, Adi, Nishing, Apatani, Tagin, Sherdukpen, Hill Miri, Digaru Mishmi, Idu Mishmi, Khamti, Nocte, Tangsa and Wancho. Most of these tribes are ethnically similar, having derived from an original common stock. But due to geographical isolation certain distinctive characteristics in each tribe in language, dress and customs can be noticed. The Monpas and Sherdukpens follow Buddhism. The second group of people are Adis, Akas, Nishing, Apatanis, Mishmis, Tangsas worship sun and moon as their God, Donyi-Polo. The Noctes practice elementary form of Vaishnavism.

The people of Arunachal Pradesh are rapidly changing socially, culturally, politically and economically and they are no longer what they were 50 years ago. The physiological integration is the greatest achievement to the credit of the Government's policy cultivated in tis region. The amount of development that could take place during the planned era should be considered as joint efforts of the Governments, people, elected representatives and dedicated officials. A holistic approach, with the active participation of the people, will make this state a paradise.

NOTES

7.6 SUMMARY

In this unit, you have learnt that:

- There was not much political development in the state of Arunachal Pradesh due to different reasons. The British wanted to leave this area undisturbed and did not implement any effective system of administration. Their interest in this area, as we have seen on many occasions, was aroused whenever they became suspicious of the Chinese designs; therefore, their prime concern was to keep this area as a 'buffer zone' between China and the Indian Empire.
- The British wanted to protect the colonial interest especially in tea and for this purpose they gave official recognition to the *Posa* system as a means of recognition of the rights of the tribes of Arunachal Pradesh in the foothills of Assam. The tribal, on the other hand, were never willing to give up their traditional ways of living and did not want to sacrifice their independence and freedom under the British yoke. Therefore, they never seriously accepted any innovation introduced by the British and refused to be a party to the modem administration.
- The first and foremost policy of the British was to contain the frontier tribes by continuing with Ahom period's provisions with certain changes in the right to collect '*Posa*'. Cash payment, instead of kind, was started.
- The British government established a few markets and organized fairs in the foothill areas, such as Sadiya, Udalguri, and Doimara. However, the main motive behind these trade fairs was the promotion and popularization of European goods. Though the British wanted to open stores to provide the necessities to the tribal, this was not successful.
- Things were further complicated due to the inhospitable geographical factors that discouraged the outsiders from going into the hill areas. Whatever changes were introduced by the British remained confined to a few tribes on the border of the state and the general populace remained unaffected by the administrative measures adopted in this area prior to 1947.
- J. N. Choudhry in his book *Arunachal Panorama* (Directorate of Research, Government of Arunachal Pradesh, 1996) especially in the chapter 'Epilogue: The March of Time' has elaborated upon the details of administrative developments

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in the areas of Arunachal Pradesh. P. N. Luthra's book *The Constitutional and Administrative Growth in NEFA* another government publication is important to gather information on the administrative developments in the areas of Arunachal Pradesh.

- Much of the administrative structure started by the British for the North-East Frontier Tract was retained even after independence. However, the approach and nature of administration underwent radical change and the Nehru–Elwin policy is significant in this regard.
- The North-East Frontier Tract came into existence, composed of the following three administrative units, as recommended by Bower: (i) The Central and Eastern Section; (ii) the Lakhimpur Frontier Tract; and (iii) The Western Section.
- In 1912, the administrative divisions were recognized in Assam and a new system of administration on the frontier was introduced. Two new charges, afterwards known as the Sadiya and Balipara frontier tracts, were created and placed under the control of political officers.
- The year 1945 saw an important administrative development in the North-East Frontier Tracts. A Regulation, known as Assam Frontier (Administration of Justice) Regulation, 1945 (Regulation I of 1945) was introduced and its main objective was to ensure that a vast majority of disputes, both civil and criminal, were decided in accordance with the prevailing traditional codes of the tribal.

7.7 KEY TERMS

- **Administration:** Management of a large government or institution
- **Regulation:** A rule or directive made and maintained by an authority
- **Scheduled:** Included in or planned according to a schedule
- **Tract:** An area of indefinite extent, typically a large one

7.8 ANSWERS TO 'CHECK YOUR PROGRESS'

1. The main motive behind trade fairs was the promotion and popularization of European goods.
2. Dibrugarh Frontier Tract
3. (i) The Central and Eastern Section; (ii) the Lakhimpur Frontier Tract; and (iii) The Western Section.
4. North Eastern Frontier Agency
5. False
6. True
7. Ninth Dispatch on the Constitutional Reforms
8. Mont-Ford Report
9. 'Excluded Area'
10. The purpose of a 'Control Area' was to take measures for the abolition of slavery in unadministered areas.

NOTES

11. Tirap Frontier Tract
12. The two separate units of the Sadiya Frontier Tarct were: Abor Hill District and Mishmi Hill District, each with its own political officers at Pasighat and Tezu respectively.
13. When India became independent in 1947, the North East Frontier Tract consisted of Balipara Frontier Tract, Sadiya Frontier Tract, Tirap Frontier Tract and the Naga Tribal Area, which lay beyond the regular administrative jurisdiction of the Assam Government.
14. The Constituent Assembly of India appointed a Sub-Committee headed by Gopinath Bardoloi to recommend the future pattern of administration of the hill areas of Assam and the Frontier Tracts.

7.9 QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Short-Answer Questions

1. What led to the destruction of the tribal cottage industry and crafts?
2. Who were the 'kotokis'?
3. In 1912 how were the administrative divisions recognized in Assam?
4. What did the 'Instrument of Instruction' imply?
5. What was the Simon Commission's recommendation regarding the administration of tribal areas?
6. What were the six zones into which NEFA was divided?
7. The year 1945 saw an important administrative development in the North-East Frontier Tract. What was it?

Long-Answer Questions

1. Discuss the demarcation of NEFT.
2. Write a short note on Hopkinson's proposals.
3. How were administrative divisions recognized in Assam?
4. Write a short note on Government of India Act 1919.
5. Discuss the Government of India Act 1935.
6. What were the provisions of the Regulations Act 1945?

7.10 FURTHER READING

Amrendra Kr Thakur. 2008. '*Historical Studies of Arunachal Pradesh: An Overview*', in R. Bezbaruah, P. Goswami and D. Banerjee (eds.), *North-East India Interpreting the Sources of its History*. New Delhi: I C H R and Aryan Books.

UNIT 8 ADMINISTRATIVE GROWTH INDEPENDENCE

Structure

8.0 Introduction
8.1 Unit Objectives
8.2 Birth of NEFA
  8.2.1 Bardoloi Committee
  8.2.2 Nehru–Elwin Policy
8.3 Panchayati Raj
  8.3.1 Estimate of Dying Ering Commission
  8.3.2 Panchayati Raj Regulation
  8.3.3 Critique of the Panchayati Raj
8.4 Formation of Union Territory
8.5 Summary
8.6 Key Terms
8.7 Answers to 'Check Your Progress'
8.8 Questions and Exercises
8.9 Further Reading

8.0 INTRODUCTION

As discussed in detail in earlier units, the development of modern administrative institutions or the growth of the overall process of political evolution after the British occupation of Assam and the gradual expansion of the colonial rule to this area were very slow and could not impact on society. In a nutshell, the British policy towards the area was to keep people in isolation and detached from the mainstream of the country. The Inner Line Regulation of 1873 is the best example of the British political policy and sums up the entire colonial attitude in this regard. As has been rightly pointed out by J. N. Chowdhury, 'The British were solely guided by pragmatic consideration of securing their own empire in the plains of Assam from periodic incursions by unruly tribes who considered the borderland of Assam as their natural preserve' (*Arunachal Panorama*, Government of Arunachal Pradesh, Directorate of Research, Itanagar, 1996). This British policy of separation and segregation was not inspired by any idea of the welfare of the tribal people; rather it was followed to protect the colonial, political and commercial interests. They did not try to evolve any political system for the administration of this area as the geographical conditions of the land rendered it economically unprofitable for them.

Briefly speaking, a formal pattern of political administration by the British in Arunachal Pradesh began with the promulgation of a notification in 1914 by the Foreign and Political Department of the then Government of India. The notification provided that the Assam Frontier Tracts Regulation of 1880 would be extended to the hills inhabited or frequented by Abors, Miris, Mishmis, Singphos, Bhutias, Khamptis, Akas and Dallas. These hilly areas of the then North East Frontier of Bengal were separated from Darang and Lakhimpur districts of Assam and were grouped into separate units termed as 'North East Frontier Tract'. The creation of this tract may be considered as the beginning of the process of political evolution of the present state of Arunachal Pradesh. The tract had three administrative units namely:

NOTES

- Central and Eastern Section
- Western Section
- Lakhimpur Frontier Tract

The first and the second units were placed under the administrative control of a political officer and the third unit was to be administered by the deputy commissioner of Lakhimpur District. Sadiya and Chardwar became the headquarters of the first and the second sections, respectively. In 1919, the first and the third sections were renamed as the Sadiya Frontier Tract and Balipara Frontier Tract, respectively. This arrangement continued till 1937; some areas were included and others were excluded in and from the North-East Frontier Tract. Through the Government of India Act 1935, the North-Eastern Frontier Tract was classified as 'excluded area' of the Province of Assam under the provision of Section 91(1) of the Act of 1935.

The area came under the direct administration of the Governor who would administer the area through the political officer and the deputy commissioner of north Lakhimpur. In 1943, a new administrative unit named Trip Frontier Tract was created taking certain areas from Lakhimpur Frontier Tract and the Sadiya Frontier Tract. The Balipara Frontier Tract was divided into two parts, viz., the Sela Sub-Agency and the Subansiri area in 1946. The Sadiya Frontier Tract was divided into two districts of Abor Hills and Mishmi Hills in 1948.

When India got freedom in 1947, attention of the Government of India was drawn towards this area and there was a search for a definite political policy. What followed was a period of experiments, debates and innovations that kept the evolution process rather slow. The story of the political development of this area is, therefore, a story of an evolution of a common administrative system for a number of heterogeneous tribes. This background of administrative growth during the British period clearly indicates the desires of the administrators to introduce certain elements of administration in the area. However, the moves were never for the welfare of the people; on the contrary, it was for the administration.

After 1950, the administration of NEFA was influenced deeply by the policy laid down by Jawaharlal Nehru and Verrier Elwin towards this tribal area. There has been a misconception in the minds of many that both Nehru and Elwin were responsible in deciding the policy towards NEFA in the Indian Constitution. This is not true at all. In fact, they were rather guided by the Constitution to formulate their plans. Verrier Elwin got associated with the Government of India only in the year 1953, when he was appointed as a member of the Committee to select members for the Indian Frontier Services. In the same year, he was appointed honorary Advisor for Tribal Affairs for NEFA. An important development of the political evolution of Arunachal Pradesh was the introduction of the Panchayati Raj system in NEFA.

On 20 January, 1972, the Union Territory of Arunachal Pradesh was formally inaugurated; the year also saw the introduction of adult franchise in the area and all the Panchayat bodies were made fully elective.

8.1 UNIT OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to:

- Discuss the emergence of NEFA
- Describe the Nehru-Elwin Policy

NOTES

- Discuss the Panchayati Raj
- Describe the formation of Union Territory

8.2 BIRTH OF NEFA

In this section, you will learn about the developments that led to the birth of NEFA.

8.2.1 Bardoloi Committee

Arunachal Pradesh in the year 1947 was an area of small population comprising various tribes, which was devoid of any developed means of communication and without the means of modern development. As mentioned above, the British considered and kept the area not only as backward and underdeveloped but also a buffer zone between the growing Chinese power and the British Empire of India. Thus, this area remained uninfluenced by any modernizing influence and traditional socio-political administrative institutions continued.

The Constituent Assembly that met for the purpose of drafting the Constitution of India was deeply influenced by the British legacy in so far as the administration of the tribal areas, was concerned. The Tribal Sub-Committee, popularly called the Bardoloi Committee, influenced by the British legacy, discussed in detail the issue of the tribal areas especially of North East India. It is interesting to note that the concepts of 'excluded' and 'partially excluded areas' that evolved during the debate on the recommendations of the Simon Commission of 1928 were incorporated in the Government of India Act of 1935, and the Governor (of Assam) was given additional powers to make regulations for these areas.

It is interesting to study the debate that ensued among the members of the Bardoloi Committee over the administration of the tribal areas. Brajeswar Prasad from Bihar opposed to handing over the administration of the tribal areas to the provincial governors. As he pointed out, '. . . Is it politically advisable that the administration of such a vast tract of land should be left in the hands of provincial government, especially in a province (Assam) where there is no element of political stability?' The members of the committee coming from Assam were in favour of integration of the tribal areas with the rest of India, and Rohini Kumar Choudhary pointed out: 'Do you want an assimilation of the tribal and non-tribal people or do you want to keep them separate? If you want to keep them separate, they will join with Tibet, they will join with Burma.' It was pointed out that the 'hill people have not yet been assimilated with the people of the plains of Assam and the future of these hills new seem to lie in absorption; rather the evolution should come as far as possible, from the tribe itself.'

On the other hand, some members of the committee expressed the opinion that the provisions of 'excluded' and 'partially excluded areas' should be maintained, and that ways and means should be evolved to bring the tribal into the mainstream gradually. Jaipal Singh presented two obvious solutions that he called 'power solution' and 'knowledge solution'. Gopinath Bardoloi tried to distinguish between respective material and social progress of different categories of tribes. On the one hand, there were the tribes of the plains which were comparatively more advanced, and on the other hand were the tribes of the North-Eastern hills, generally on the northern banks of river Brahmaputra. He proposed that these hill tribes should be brought under the

NOTES

Sixth Schedule of the Constitution, to be administered as autonomous groups. As he pointed out:

'I am convinced of the fact that the policy pursued by the British Government was a very sound one. I am not at all keen whether Biharis, Bengalis, Oriyas and Assamese are allowed to go into those territories. It is a matter which concerns the defence of the country as a whole. It is an area which is of international importance. Therefore, all the tribal areas should be centrally administered areas. The administration of the tribal areas of Assam shall be carried on by the President through the Governor of Assam as his agent and the provisions of Part VIII of this Constitution shall apply thereto as if such area were a territory specified in Part IV of the First Schedule.'

Briefly speaking, the recommendations of the Bardoloi Committee yielded the following results:

(i) The acceptance of the principle of 'excluded' and 'partially excluded areas' though the names were changed. The 'partially excluded areas' were to be called Plain Tribal Areas whereas the 'excluded' areas were to be called Hill Tribal Area.

(ii) The appointment of the External Affairs Ministry as the administrative agency for the President of India.

(iii) The appointment of an Advisor to the Governor of Assam who was entrusted with direct responsibility of administering the Tribal Areas.

(iv) Autonomous District Councils were created for hill states of Assam and the Governor was given the powers to create new autonomous districts or to increase or decrease the areas of already existing ones.

(v) The consent of the Governor was made mandatory to pass any regulation passed by autonomous councils.

The plain areas of the Balipara Frontier Tract, Tirap Frontier Tract, Abor Hill District and Mishmi Hill Districts were transferred to the administrative jurisdiction of the Government of Assam. The Committee also recommended the protection of tribal rights on land and forest and also tribal customs and traditions. It sought economic and administrative integration of the area allowing the scope for cultural plurality to co-exist with them. While remaining silent over the issue of 'Inner Line' the Committee emphasized the importance of controlling the importance of controlling the immigration of non-tribal into the hills.

We see, therefore, that the Bardoloi Committee brought into effect the British policy of administration in this area. No attempt was made to bring the area into the mainstream of the country and no effort was made to introduce any serious political reform in the area. The dawn of independence in 1947 and the adoption of the Constitution in 1950, therefore, did not bring any major change in the political history of Arunachal Pradesh and the British legacy continued. Assam still remained the dominant power and enjoyed the benefits of development at the cost of the hills of Arunachal Pradesh.

Check Your Progress

1. The plain areas of the Balipara Frontier Tract, Tirap Frontier Tract, Abor Hill District and Mishmi Hill Districts were transferred to the administrative jurisdiction of the Government of _____.
2. Autonomous District Councils were created for hill states of Assam and the _____ was given the powers to create new autonomous district or to increase or decrease the areas of already existing ones.

8.2.2 Nehru–Elwin Policy

The year 1954 was important in the history of Arunachal Pradesh. This area was reconstituted and renamed as North Eastern Frontier Agency (NEFA). The units of administration were re-grouped and named Kameng, Subansiri, Siang, Lohit, Tirap and Tuensang. The Tuensang Division was merged with Nagaland in 1957. The NEFA was only an administrative unit and not the proper name of the State of Arunachal Pradesh.

It should also be pointed out that both Nehru and Elwin were to work within the framework provided by the Constitution of India and, therefore, did not make any new policy decision towards this state. Rather, they laid down certain guidelines for the implementation of the policy framework already framed in 1950. As has been pointed out by Dr. Elwin himself:

Many of the matters... have been put completely out of date as a result of one major circumstance – that the whole of India, including tribal India, will be covered by Community Development Blocks by 1963. ...it is, therefore, meaningless to discuss whether it is desirable to bring the tribes into the stream of modern civilization or whether it is good or bad to open up their country. Whether they like it or not, they are going to be civilized, their country will be opened up.

It deserves to be mentioned that Elwin and to a great extent Nehru were not the kind of planners, who thought only in terms of current or/and short-term politics; both of them were unique in their own ways and one thing in common was that they were great visionaries. The former was a philanthropist, an intellectual, a Gandhian, and the latter was a socialist; combined together, they represented a policy of growth and development with humane touch at its best at the ideological level. In the 'Foreword to the Second Edition' of the book by Verrier Elwin, *The Philosophy for NEFA* (Government of Arunachal Pradesh, Directorate of Research, Itanagar, 1959 (reprint, 1988), Jawaharlal Nehru writes that the question of our policy in the tribal areas has often come up before us. The policy should be on the general lines indicated in the book. We cannot allow matters to drift in the tribal areas or just not take interest in them. At the same time we should avoid over-administering these areas and, in particular, sending too many outsiders into tribal territory. We should rather work through, and not in rivalry to, their own social and cultural institutions. It is between these two extremes positions that we have to function. Development has to take place in various dimensions, such as communications, medical facilities, education and better agriculture. We should try to encourage in every way their own traditional arts and culture. Tribal rights in land and forests should be respected. At the end Nehru writes, 'We should judge results, not by statistics or the amount of money spent, but by the quality of human character that is evolved.'

It needs reemphasis that the process of assimilation and integration, economic, political and cultural relationship between the hills of Arunachal Pradesh and Assam of the pre-colonial period was disrupted during the British period and especially after the imposition of the Inner Line Regulation. In addition to the Regulation, the British policies also led to isolation and retarded contact and reduced the feelings of integration with the mainstream. As Nehru rightly pointed out: 'Apart from our lack of initiative, we were not allowed to go there by British authorities then in power. That is why our freedom movement reached this people in the shape of occasional rumours.'

And further:

> '...the people of North-East Frontier had been conditioned differently during the past generation and even in more recent years. The fault lay partly with us and partly with circumstances.'

When India became independent and a new constitution was adopted in 1950, the major issues before the government were to evolve guidelines and policies that

would not hurt the tribal emotions; and at the same time it would bring gradual peace and integration of these people with the rest of the country. The policy-makers realized fully well that the process was going to be a slow one and it will take some time to bring perceptive and synchronization between the tribal and the rest of the country.

The Report of the Scheduled Areas and Scheduled Tribes Commission under the chairmanship of Dr. Elwin was submitted during the year 1960-61. It was pointed out in the Report that:

> 'We stand on the threshold of a new era. The tribal people prepared to make an entry into the era with other members of the family. The only thing they expect is that the changes should not destroy the harmony of their life, and the contact should not result in suppressing their distinctive identity.'

There were three different views with regard to bringing about modern developments:

(i) According to the first school of thought, the tribal should be kept in a state of isolation, maintain their separate and unique identity. This school advocated that tribal should not come in contact with the rest of Indian population.

(ii) The second opinion was that there should be an immediate and complete assimilation of the tribal population with the rest of the country and that there should not be any special status or reservation for them.

(iii) The third opinion was a compromise between the first and second approach. It was assumed that national integration was possible without forceful assimilation of tribal people. It was possible to bring them into the mainstream while at the same time allowing them to maintain separate cultural identity. Behind the same the historical element of pluralism of Indian culture was pointed out , that is, peaceful co-existence of many cultures and races since the beginning of Indian civilization without the use of any force.

It was under these circumstances that the Nehru–Elwin policy towards the North Eastern Frontier Provinces was formulated. This policy is perhaps most fully articulated in the monograph, *A Philosophy for NEFA* (*op.cit.*) by Verrier Elwin, an anthropologist who was influential as the Advisor on Tribal Affairs for NEFA. The keystone of this philosophy is the idea that development should not be imposed from outside, but should emerge out of the culture, priorities, self-confidence and decision-making traditions of indigenous communities.

The Philosophy of NEFA emerged out of Gandhian notions of village-based development that emphasized the integration of traditional crafts into a modernizing economy and the integration of material and spiritual development. It also embodied the most idealistic period of social democratic thinking under Nehru. Nehru's words should 'develop along the lines of their own genius'. G. Das in his book *Tribes of Arunachal Pradesh in Transition* (Delhi, 1995) provides an assessment of the policy.

Critique of the Policy

Keeping in view the condition of the then Arunachal Pradesh, there was some justification in the Nehru–Elwin policy. The area was still backward with hardly any modern means of communication; literacy was rather low and there was no administrative machinery. It was wise, therefore, to reactivate or to give sanction to the traditional system of administration through village councils. Similarly, the post of Kotoki was given administrative sanction and for some time to come these Kotokis acted as intermediaries between the administration and the local people. A simple form of administration called 'Single Line Administration' was adopted for this area. All this was happily received by the people and the new form of administration was accepted without any opposition.

The policy framed by Nehru and Elwin for the NEFA was appreciated by all and things went on smoothly for a couple of years. All this, however, changed after the Chinese Aggression of 1962. Both Elwin and Nehru came under attack for this policy and were accused of wanting to keep the tribal as museum specimen. The critics failed to realize that before independence there was hardly any development in NEFA and the area was kept backwards due to the British policies. Nehru and Elwin did not want to take a sudden leap and wanted that there should be gradual but steady development in this area. Therefore, if the Chinese were successful in the area in 1962, it had nothing to do with the policy laid down by Nehru and Elwin. There was no development of social welfare schemes and technical services prior to 1950, and time was required to achieve all this.

Keeping in view the then prevailing circumstances in NEFA, the policy adopted by Nehru and Elwin cannot be outrightly rejected. In fact, that was the best possible policy that could be adopted at that time. What rendered the policy a failure was the Chinese aggression of 1962, and, it would not be wrong to suggest that Nehru could not recover from the shock.

Impact of the Chinese Aggression and After

The Chinese aggression of 1962 proved to be a landmark in the history of NEFA. For the first time the area acclaimed international recognition and people from the mainstream became concerned about it. The march of administration was quickened and serious thinking began regarding the reorganization of the administrative set-up of the area. As a first step, NEFA, which was administered under the Ministry of External Affairs, was transferred to the Ministry of Home Affairs of the Government of India from 1 August, 1965. Likewise, from 1 September of the same year, the five Frontier Divisions were reconstituted into five districts, namely, Kameng, Subansiri, Siang, Lohit and Tirap. The administrative set-up was also enlarged and streamlined. Posts of Political Officers, Assistant Political Officers-I and Assistant Political Officer-II were created. Officers at the headquarters were named as Deputy Commissioners, Additional Deputy Commissioners, Extra Assistant Commissioners and Circle Officers. One or more administrative units were carved out of the five districts and the new administrative set-up was as follows:

1. Kameng District
   (a) Bomdila under Deputy Commissioner.
   (b) Tawang under Additional Deputy Commissioner.
   (c) Seppa under Additional Deputy Commissioner.
2. Subansiri District
   (a) Ziro under Deputy Commissioner.
   (b) Daporijo under Additional Deputy Commissioner.
3. Siang District
   (a) Along under Deputy Commissioner.
   (b) Pasighat under Additional Deputy Commissioner.

NOTES

4. Lohit District
   (a) Tezu under Deputy Commissioner.
   (b) Anini under Additional Deputy Commissioner.
5. Trip District
   (a) Khonsa under Deputy Commissioner.

It may be pointed put that the Additional Deputy Commissioners, who were drawn from the I.F.A.S (Indian Frontier Administrative Services), enjoyed almost equal powers as that of the Political Officers in their respective jurisdictions. These officers were virtually independent and communicated directly with the Secretary at Shillong.

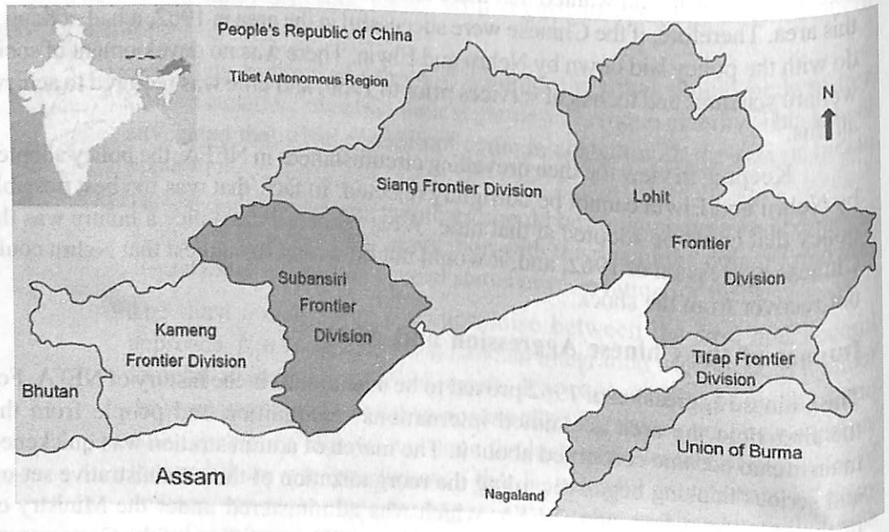


Fig. 8.1 Divisions of NEFA in 1963

It is interesting to note that after the Chinese aggression in 1962, the public opinion in Assam demanded that NEFA should be integrated with Assam, as provided for in the Constitution. The Chief Minister of Assam, B. P. Chaliah called for greater co-ordination between the two states and called for the exchange of administrative cadres. Hem Baruah, Member of Parliament from Assam, started a press campaign for the integration of the two. The introduction of Assamese as a medium of instruction and one of the subjects of study were demanded. These and some others are published in the book *The Outlook on N.E.F.A.* (compiled by Parag Chaliha, Asam Sahitya Sabha, Jorhat, 1958). Finally, the matter was put to rest with the intervention of Jawaharlal Nehru, who pointed out that any sudden change in the policy would be unrealistic and inadvisable. He also rejected the plea for the withdrawal of the Inner Line Regulation on grounds that it would not be in the interest of the security arrangements in this area and that it would unnecessarily disturb the tribal population. It may be mentioned here that prior to 1972, there was no civil policy in the area and the duties were discharged by the Assam Riffle personnel who basically served as frontier guards. It was entrusted with the additional duties of protecting the newly established administrative units as well as maintaining peace between the tribes. The Chinese aggression also led to hastening of the process of road construction, beginning of educational and other developmental institutions in the areas of Arunachal Pradesh.

Check Your Progress

3. When India became independent and a new constitution was adopted in 1950, what were the major issues before the government?
4. NEFA, which was administered under the Ministry of External Affairs, was transferred to the Ministry of Home Affairs of the Government of India. (True/False)
5. What was the administrative set-up of the Kameng district?

NOTES

8.3 PANCHAYATI RAJ

Realizing the importance of people's participation in the administration, the Ering Commission was constituted on 11 April, 1964, and the announcement to this effect was made by Lal Bahadur Shastri in Parliament. The Committee was chaired by Shri Dying Ering, the then Parliament Secretary. Other members of the Committee were Shri B. D. Pandey, Brig. D. M. Sen and Shri L. Thanga. The circumstances under which the Commission was constituted can best be summed up in the words of Prof. V. Venkata Rao:

'There was no legislative assembly to make laws for the good government of NEFA. NEFA was represented by one member in the Lok Sabha, nominated by the President. Laws made by the Assam Legislative Assembly were not applicable to NEFA. Laws made by Parliament were automatically applicable to NEFA unless there were specific orders against the application. Thus, except village council which existed from time immemorial, there was no representative institution in Arunachal.'

The major task before the Commission was to examine the scope and pattern of authority of the indigenous institutions. The relevance of these institutions and the scope for improvement were also to be considered so that they could be associated with judiciary, administration and local development. Briefly speaking, the committee was required to submit recommendations over the following issues:

- The type of democratic bodies suitable at the village level and above.
- The extent and nature of the jurisdiction of these bodies.
- The phase in which the recommendations of the Committee might be put into force having regard to varying stages of development of the different tribal group.

The Commission started its work in May 1964 and the report was submitted on 4th January 1965. The first meeting of the Commission, after the members had made an extensive tour of NEFA and interviewed people and officials at various levels, was held in Shillong and was attended by the Governor of Assam too.

The Report of the Ering Commission has never been in public scrutiny. It is, however, believed that the Commission had suggested major changes both at the administrative level and traditional local government. The changes suggested at the administrative level were not very drastic and were accepted without much debate or amendments. However, the changes suggested in the local government visualized a departure from traditional norms in many ways; in other words, new concepts of democratic decentralization unknown to the people were to be introduced. The major recommendations of the Commission in this regard can be summed up as follows:

- At the village level, there should be a village council. For this purpose, it was suggested that the existing village councils should be recognized. In the matter of election to these councils, preference was to be given to customary laws.
- On the next level, above the village councils, there should be Anchal Samitis in each circle. The Sub-Divisional Officer should be the ex-officio Chairman of these Samitis in their respective jurisdiction. The Anchal Samitis should be entrusted with developmental functions.

NOTES

- Over the Anchal Samitis, on the next higher level, should be Zilla Parishads that should replace the then existing District Development Committees. These Parishads, it was suggested, should consist of 24 to 30 members. The Deputy Commissioner was to be the Chairman of these bodies.
- The Commission finally suggested that Agency Council should be established at the highest level. The Agency was to consist of 20 members– each district to be represented by 4 members.

Besides the above major recommendations, various other counsels were put forward by the Commission. It was suggested that the village headman should be a representative in his respective regional council (Anchal Samiti) or else he should have the right to nominate the same. The Anchal Samiti should meet at least four times a year. Each Anchal Samiti would send three elected members to the Zilla Parishad. It was felt that the tribal had the feeling that their loyalties and responsibilities were limited only to their own tribes; the Commission, therefore, suggested the development of multi-tribe institutions to change the concept of ethnic loyalty. It was also recommended that a language policy for NEFA should be formulated. There should be a recognized medium of instruction and up-to middle or primary level, three-language formula should be adopted. It also suggested removing the office of Political Interpreters since they had no function in the new set-up. It was proposed to merge the IFAS services into IAS cadre and a special pool for services in these areas should be created. From the above account it is clear that the Ering Commission addressed the problem of participation of the tribal people in the process of state making and bringing them into the mainstream of national politics. This was, however, not a simple task since naturally or deliberately – as was clear from the British policies in the region prior to 1947 – the tribals were compelled to maintain their loyalties towards the clan and family and their political vision was confined to the clan. It is important to note that the word 'Panchayati Raj' was never used in the Ering Commission Report; however, the pattern suggested by the Commission and its structural framework were in line with that of Panchayati Raj in other parts of the country.

8.3.1 Estimate of Dying Ering Commission

The Dying Ering Commission was the first serious attempt by the Government of India to address the problems of NEFA. Earlier attempts by Nehru, Elwin and some others were more on the intellectual and philosophical level than at the practical one. Ering and his teammates, for the first time, tried to review the tribal problems in NEFA in realistic terms, and for the purpose did extensive homework before finalizing their reports. Son of the soil as he was, Ering had an in-depth knowledge of the working of tribal mind and could understand their problems in the correct perspective.

The recommendation of the Commission for the creation of Agency Council to be imbibed in Panchayati Raj was of deep significance since in the years to come this Agency was to work as some sort of legislature for NEFA. Further, the Commission proposed democratic decentralization on a national pattern; at the same time, care was taken to integrate all indigenous tribes with a uniform system. The practice of the traditional system of election/nomination at the level of village councils was maintained whereas at the higher level modern election method was introduced. As mentioned earlier, the administration of NEFA was transferred from the charge of the External Affairs Ministry to the Home Ministry on 1 August, 1965, on the recommendation of the Dying Ering Commission.

NOTES

The Ering Commission, therefore, was a milestone in the history of Arunachal Pradesh. For the first time on the spot social as well as political survey was carried out and it was the first official attempt to think through the aspirations of tribes of NEFA. It gave effect to modernization and attempted at promoting trans-tribal and intra-tribal culture. Whereas, on the one hand the Commission tried to maintain the traditional institutions and customs of the native, on the other hand it tried to evolve methods that would bring the area into the national mainstream; it was a subtle blend of ideological, philosophical and realistic thinking. As Dr. Dubey has pointed out:

'The Ering Commission Report, till date, is the most authentic knowledge about Arunachal Pradesh. It may sound a bit uneasy, but it is the fact that till today this report serves as a guidebook to the administrators of Arunachal Pradesh. Such is the significance of the Report that when one talks or even thinks about any new policy for the tribal people of Arunachal Pradesh, he is forced to consult this report'.

8.3.2 Panchayati Raj Regulation

The most important outcome of the Ering Commission Report was the introduction of Panchayati Raj in NEFA. On the recommendations of the Commission, the President of India promulgated the North East Frontier Agency Panchayati Raj Regulation (Regulation- III of 1967) that came into force from 2 October, 1968. Until the introduction of the Panchayati Raj, there were no mediating political bodies between externally appointed administrative officers and the customary tribal leadership. The District Administration had the right to appoint *gaon buras*, or village headmen, to settle certain disputes. The introduction of Panchayati Raj aimed at creating power distribution at the local level, between different tribal or ethnic groups, between different economic interests and between the genders. It also aimed at bringing about integration among the various ethnic groups of the region. It was pointed out that:

'The Panchayat in NEFA' will be the prime agency for rural development. It will provide a sound basis for economic and political growth. Secondly, it will provide a workable medium through which the rural people would be able to express themselves on various problems of the area and also to evolve an integrated community approach for solution of problems that concern the entire agency. The Panchayat will therefore not only be a decentralized form of government; it would be much more than that'.

Under the provisions of the Regulation, the traditional village councils of NEFA were accorded the status of Gram Panchayat. Above these Panahayats, there were to be Anchal Samiti, Zilla Parishad and the Agency Council. The Regulation aimed at establishing the Panchayat system of local-self government and investing the various bodies constituted under the Regulation with such powers and authority as might be necessary to enable them to function as units of self-government. A brief account of the different bodies is as follows:

Gram Panchayat

The Gram Panchayats were the lowest level of Anchal Samiti and served only as an electoral college. It had hardly any function except for helping the executive from time to time in developmental activities and mobilizing public support for the same. Since these Panchayats were covered under the Assam Frontier (Administration of Justice) Regulation, Regulation I of 1945, they were separated from village authorities and traditional governing institutions. Gram Panchayats were constituted for a village

NOTES

or a group of villages with population of not less than 300. Election system in these bodies was introduced and every adult person who was normally a resident of the area was allowed to vote for the election of the member of Panchayat.

Very often, the institution of 'Gaon Bura ' (Village Headman) and the Panchayat are intermixed with each other and the former is considered as part and parcel of the latter. However, the institution of Gaon Bura was created under the provisions of Regulation - I of 1945. The Deputy Commissioner was authorized to appoint these village headmen, and as a symbol of appointment, they were given a 'Red Coat' that denoted authority. They were also empowered to take up petty cases of criminal nature. They enjoyed great powers in regard to civil suits. The village Panchayats, on the other hand, came into being, as mentioned, through the Regulation of 1967. Thus, these Panchayats and indigenous institutions like 'Kebang' of the Adis or 'Buliang' of the Apa Tanis are two separate institutions and are guided by two different regulations. As stated above, the Gram Panchayats were formed to serve as the 'electoral college'. At the time of the introduction of Panchayat Raj, there were 938 Gram Panchayats in NEFA.

Anchal Samiti

Above the village Panchayats were the Anchal Samitis constituted by notification vide Section - IV of the Regulation - III of 1967. Contiguous areas in a district, as deemed fit by the Governor, were declared to be a block. It was to be a unit of self-government at the block level and was to have the following members:

- One representative elected by the members of each Gram Panchayat within the jurisdiction of a block.
- One representative from cooperative societies situated within the block as *ex officio* member.
- Five persons nominated by the Deputy Commissioner from among the members of unrepresented tribal communities.
- The Sub-Divisional Officer of the sub-division as *ex officio* member.

The members of the Samiti were to hold office for a period of three years but the deputy Commissioner had the powers to extend this tenure. A member was allowed to seek re-election to the body. The Governor reserved the right to remove any member and his behaviour was not in public interest. The Sub-Division acted as the President of the Anchal Samiti. The Vice President was elected by the members from amongst themselves in the first meeting. He could be removed from office by a no-confidence motion passed by not less than two-third majority.

The Anchal Samiti held its meetings, as far as practicable, quarterly for discussions about the development and forwarded the resolution to the Governor for necessary action. Any member of the Samiti was competent to move resolutions and put questions on matters concerned with administration. The heads of various departments or their representatives also participated in the meetings for preparation or suggestions pertaining to their respective departments. The President of the Anchal Samiti was empowered to convene a general meeting of all the members of Gram Panchayat falling within his jurisdiction to review the action taken by the Samiti during the preceding year and to present proposals for the following year.

These Anchal Samitis were an important unit of planning and development, and it was through this unit that various developmental works for the block were

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canalized. They were empowered with certain executive and financial powers for taking up schemes for the improvement of health and hygiene, roads and communication, education and culture of the people. In 1968, the total number of Anchal Samitis was 38 that increased to 44 in 1972.

Zilla Parishad

The Zilla Parishad was the highest unit of local-self government at the district level and was to be constituted by the notification of the Governor. It consisted of the following members:

- The vice-Presidents of all the Anchal Samitis in the district as *ex officio* members.
- One representative of every Anchal Samiti in the district who was to be elected by the members from among themselves.
- Not more than six persons to be nominated by the Governor on the recommendation of the Deputy Commissioner from out of the tribe that had not got any representation in the Zilla Parishad.
- The Deputy Commissioner of the district was the *ex officio* President of the body.

As mentioned, the Zilla Parishad was the supreme body in finalizing the plans and programmes of the district, and with this consideration in mind, all the heads of the developmental departments were *ex officio* members of the body. This was an advisory as well as coordinating body; its main function was to advise the Governor on all matters concerning the activities of the Gram Panchayats and Anchal Samitis within the district. It also reviewed the work of the Anchal Samitis from time to time and advised them on certain matters as deemed proper.

Agency Council

At the apex of the new political setup, there was to be the Agency Council that was constituted in accordance with Chapter - IV, Section - 57 of the NEFA Panchayat Raj Regulation of 1967. This body was to be an advisory body for the entire NEFA area to be constituted through notification by the Governor. It consisted of the following members: i) The Governor; ii) The Member Parliament representing NEFA; iii) The Vice Presidents of the Zilla Parishads; iv) Three representatives from each of the Zilla Parishad to be elected by its members; and, v) The advisor to the Governor as *ex officio* member.

The main functions of the Agency Council were:

- Matters of administration involving general issues of policy related to NEFA.
- The Five Year Plans and the annual plan approach for the development of NEFA.
- Proposals for undertaking legislations for NEFA with respect to any of the matters enumerated in the State List in the Seventh Schedule of the Constitution of India.
- Any other matter deemed proper by the Governor.

The Governor was to preside over the meetings of the Agency Council that was to meet at least once a year. The members had the right to ask questions pertaining to matters of public interest in NEFA. If the Governor so deemed, he could call the meeting of the Council at any time.

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8.3.3 Critique of the Panchayati Raj

The Panchayati Raj was thus introduced in the then NEFA on 2 October 1968 incorporating the recommendations of the Ering Commission with some modifications. The Agency Council functioned very efficiently and the deliberations were conducted in a mature and constructive manner. Administration was closely associated with the elected representatives of the people. The 1st session of the Agency Council was inaugurated by B K Nehru, Governor of Assam, Nagaland and Meghalaya on 3rd December 1969 at Raj Bhawan, Shillong. The second session was held on 10th and 11th August 1970, the third on 6th and 7th February 1971 and the fourth on 12th and 13th August 1971.

It may be pointed out that the Panchayati Raj Regulation was an administrative arrangement and did not signify any major political change in NEFA. It was regarded as a 'foreign concept' by many, and, as such, it had to face criticism. It was looked upon as yet another step towards constitutional separation of NEFA from Assam, though the declared aim of the Constitution itself was complete integration of NEFA with Assam in due course of time. Dr. Verrier Elwin, who had always supported the maintaining of tribal identity and tribal ways, pointed out that the introduction of the Panchayats was a threat to the traditional system of village councils.

The main objective of the introduction of Panchayati Raj in Arunachal Pradesh was to modernize the political system of the area and to remold it on national lines. It also aimed at involving the local people in the developmental process of the area and the combined effect of the two was supposed to bring about modernization of socio-political philosophy in NEFA. The primitive and almost static society of the region needed some instrument for change and for this social engineering; Panchayati Raj was thought to be the best instrument.

To a considerable extent, the measure was successful in achieving its objective. As Dr. Talukdar has pointed out:

'In the villages, the Panchayats have set in motion a number of changes in the political operatives of *kebang*.'

It is suggested that prior to the introduction of the Bill, the political loyalties were confined to the clan or village level and age was respected in political decisions. The Panchayati Raj acted as an agency of social transformation to change the value system of society and to activate national objective. Introduction of adult suffrage through this Bill significantly affected the hierarchically organized tribal society. Earlier, the individual was subordinate to the clan or the village, but after the introduction of suffrage, individualism began to gain importance. Dr. S Dubey points out that after the introduction of Panchayati Raj, 'There is an overall trend in social change towards freeing the individual from traditional restrains and restricting human relations in place of hereditary and traditional authority. In consequence of such social changes, the backward tribal groups have started imitating their higher tribesmen style of life.'

On the other hand, it has been pointed out that the Panchayati Raj has failed to fulfil the aspirations of the people and, instead, has led to inequalities in the society. Mr. Tanya Dabi, an influential public leader of the Siang District points out that: 'Despite the high ideals, the functioning of Panchayat in Arunachal Pradesh is not satisfactory, for, some undefined attitude prevails till today (1986) on the part of the authorities. There is too much of official domination. The powers and functions of the Panchayats are in total grip of *Ex-officio* President, Executive Officer and the representative of the administration.'

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He further adds: 'In summary, the function of Panchayati Raj in Arunachal Pradesh is ridiculous, confusing and fails to serve the purpose of the system for which it was created. It is observed that approval of resolutions or plans and programmes resolved by the meetings of Anchal or Zilla Parishad is *(sic)* at the mercy of the representatives of the administration.'

It may be said in conclusion that the introduction of Panchayati Raj in NEFA was done with sincere intentions and the authors were truly concerned with the welfare of the ordinary masses. They had the sincere desire to bring this area into the national mainstream, and to foster nationalistic feelings into the minds of the people. And the fact cannot be denied that the Panchayati Raj has definitely brought rapid transformation in society. Old values have gradually given way to new and the outlook has widened. The myopic vision has given way to permissive outlook in matters of regional and national importance. Through the Panchayati Raj, people have been able to step into modern political civilization gradually and without being totally uprooted from their traditional culture and customary way of life.

On the other hand, there is some truth in the utterances of Mr. Dabi and the like, for the Panchayati Raj has created some problems in the area. First of all, the *Raj* has led to the destruction of the traditional institutions and customary laws, whereas the newly imposed system has partially failed to do justice to the people. In many cases, the local village councils have ceased to function, but the new institution is also demanding. The common man is thus deprived of justice. Moreover, the new judicial procedure is too complicated for the common man to understand. There is also a slackening in the tribal ethos of corporate and communal life that is being replaced by individualism. Dr. Dubey has pointed out: 'There is an emergence of the new elite classes like Gram Panchayat Members, Anchal Samiti Members, Zilla Parishad Members, who have virtually led an invasion upon traditional village councils. There are crafty attempts to politicize every decision delivered and every issue taken for deliberation by the Council.'

8.4 FORMATION OF UNION TERRITORY

As pointed out earlier, the Panchayati Raj regulation did not bring any change in the political status of NEFA, and it continued to be governed by the Governor of Assam. Also, the Panchayati Raj was not intended to bring any major change in the political organization of this state, and it continued to be controlled by the Governor of Assam. The opportunity for constituting the North Eastern Frontier Tracts into a separate political unit came with the reorganization of the northeastern states in 1971. Already, the Agency Council had proposed that the name of NEFA should be changed; and, as suggested by B D Shastri, the Director of Research Department, 'Arunachal Pradesh' was proposed to be the new name. In the same year, Indian Parliament passed a number of regulations and enactments that propelled the area towards political integration. The North-East Area (Reorganization Act), the 27th Constitutional Amendment Act, the Indian Union Territories Act, and the like were passed by Parliament with a view to change the political set-up of North East India.

As a result of all these measures, Manipur, Mizoram, Meghalaya and Arunachal Pradesh were separated from the province of Assam. Arunachal Pradesh now became a union territory with a Chief Commissioner. The post of the Advisor to the Governor of Assam was elevated to the status of Chief Commissioner and K.A.A Raja became

Check Your Progress

6. The _____ addressed the problem of participation of the tribal people in the process of state making and bringing them into the mainstream of national politics.
7. What was the most important outcome of the Ering Commission Report?
8. Above the village Panchayats were the _____ constituted by notification vide Section - IV of the Regulation - III of 1967.
9. The _____ was the highest unit of local-self government at the district level.

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the 1st Chief Commissioner of Arunachal by an order of the President of India dated 21 January, 1971. The Act also provided the state with one seat in Lok Sabha and one seat in Rajya Sabha, and both these seats were to be filled by nomination by the President on the recommendation of the Chief Commissioner. The representation to the Lok Sabha from Arunachal Pradesh was also increased to two members and both these members were to be elected like other parts of India.

Appointment of Councilors from the five districts of Arunachal Pradesh with a view to help the administration was another important step towards the political evolution of the state. Regulation-IV of 1971 Act laid down that five councilors from among the members of the Pradesh Council would be appointed by the Chief Commissioner with a view to give equal representation to all the five districts. Accordingly, P K Thungon from Kameng, Tomo Riba from Siang, Tadar Tang from Subansiri, Sobeng Tayeng from Lohit and Wangpha Lowang from Tirap districts were appointed as Councilors on 6 October, 1972. It is significant to note that these councilors had no individual or joint responsibility because the government of Arunachal Pradesh at that time was not a parliamentary form of government in the true sense. The recommendations made by these Councillors were advisory in nature and the Chief Commissioner was not bound to accept any of them.

The whole idea behind the creation of the posts of Councillors was to provide an opportunity to the local people to get trained in the art of the modern political system. It may not be wrong to suggest that these Councillors served as probationers in responsible government. It is significant to observe that the relations between the Chief Commissioner and the Councillors were always cordial and the former normally listened to their advice. There was not a single occasion when the councilors and the Chief Commissioner parted company in disagreement. In fact, the Councillors were *de facto* ministers of the union territory.

The Third session of the Pradesh Council, held at Khonsa from 7th to 10th June 1973 was significant for the political developments in Arunachal Pradesh. In the session, the council resolved that a full-fledged Legislative Assembly be constituted in the union territory of Arunachal Pradesh. Acting on the recommendations of the Council, a committee, known as the 'Bhanot Committee' was constituted by the Government of India to look into the matter. On 26 January 1974, the Chief Commissioner, K.A.A Raja informed that the Committee had recommended the constitution of a Legislative Assembly in the union territory. Subsequently, in 1975, the Pradesh Council was converted into a Provincial Legislature. It was provided that the Legislature would have 30 members to begin with. The post of the Chief Commissioner was converted to that of Lt. Governor. Elections to the Legislative Assembly were held in February 1978 along with the rest of the country. On 14 March, 1978, the first ever elected council of ministers headed by Prem Khandu Thungon took the oath of secrecy. It is significant to note that, on popular demand, the union territory acquired the status of a full-fledged state on 20 February, 1987 and the number of the members of Legislative Assembly was raised to 40. In September 1988, the strength was further increased to 60.

Check Your Progress

10. What were Acts passed by Parliament with a view to change the political set-up of North East India?
11. In 1975, the Pradesh Council was converted into a _____.

ACTIVITY

Write a report on how the administrative growth of Arunachal Pradesh has affected its social circumstances. Has there been real improvement? You may conduct a survey by interacting with inhabitants of Arunachal Pradesh.

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DID YOU KNOW

PT. NEHRU's PHILOSOPHY

It was Pt. Nehru who gave his philosophy for the development of NEFA to bridge the hiatus between the mainstream India and isolated people of Arunachal Pradesh. This state has been most peaceful state in the North Eastern region of the country. Pt. Nehru gave five fundamental principles for the administration of tribal areas. The principles are:

1. People should develop along the line of their genius and we should avoid imposing anything on them. We should try to encourage, in every way, their own tribal rights and culture.
2. Tribal rights on land and forests should be respected.
3. We should try to train and build up a team of their own people to do the work of administration and development. Some technical personnel from outside the state will no doubt be needed especially in the beginning but we should avoid introducing too many outsiders into the tribal territory.
4. We should not over-administer these areas or overwhelm them with multiplicity of schemes; we should rather work through and not as rivals to their own social and cultural institutions.
5. We should judge not by statistics or the amount of money spent but by the quality of human character that is evolved.

8.5 SUMMARY

In this unit, you have learnt that:

- The process of political development in Arunachal Pradesh has been a rapid process and the entire development has taken place within a short span of 35 years or so (i.e. from 1952 to 1987).
- Arunachal Pradesh has traversed many centuries with the span of three and a half decades. It remains for the social scientists to analyse the merits or demerits of these political developments and their impacts upon the development of the poor and weaker sections of the society. It is also to be analysed that the areas closer to the administrative headquarters and the societies having education in early days have monopolized the fruits of the political and economic developments.
- The plain areas of the Balipara Frontier Tract, Tirap Frontier Tract, Abor Hill District and Mishmi Hill Districts were transferred to the administrative jurisdiction of the Government of Assam.
- The Dying Ering Commission was the first serious attempt by the Government of India to address the problems of NEFA. Earlier attempts by Nehru, Elwin and some others were more on the intellectual and philosophical level than at the practical one.
- The most important outcome of the Ering Commission Report was the introduction of Panchayat Raj in NEFA. On the recommendations of the

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Commission, the President of India promulgated the North East Frontier Agency Panchayat Raj Regulation (Regulation- III of 1967) that came into force from 2 October, 1968.

- The Gram Panchayats were the lowest level of Anchal Samiti and served only as an electoral college. It had hardly any function except for helping the executive from time to time in developmental activities and mobilizing public support for the same. Since these Panchayats were covered under the Assam Frontier (Administration of Justice) Regulation, Regulation I of 1945, they were separated from village authorities and traditional governing institutions.
- Above the village Panchayats were the Anchal Samitis constituted by notification vide Section - IV of the Regulation - III of 1967. Contiguous areas in a district, as deemed fit by the Governor, were declared to be a block.
- At the apex of the new political set-up, there was to be the Agency Council that was constituted in accordance with Chapter - IV, Section - 57 of the NEFA Panchayati Raj Regulation of 1967. This body was to be an advisory body for the entire NEFA area to be constituted through notification by the Governor. It consisted of the following members: i) The Governor; ii) The Member Parliament representing NEFA; iii) The Vice Presidents of the Zilla Parishads; iv) Three representatives from each of the Zilla Parishad to be elected by its members; and, v) The advisor to the Governor as ex officio member.
- The party system and the ideological commitments of the politics are yet to gain solid footings in Arunachal Pradesh. Yet the political development of the state is remarkable and credit must be given to the people who have adapted themselves so quickly to the new set-up and the contribution of Nehru–Elwin policy to shape the growth and development.

8.6 KEY TERMS

- **Autonomous:** Not controlled by others or by outside forces; independent
- **Ethos:** The characteristic spirit of a culture, era, or community as seen in its beliefs and aspirations
- **Ex officio:** By virtue of one's position or status

8.7 ANSWERS TO 'CHECK YOUR PROGRESS'

1. Assam
2. Governor
3. When India became independent and a new constitution was adopted in 1950, the major issues before the government were to evolve guidelines and policies that would not hurt the tribal emotions.
4. True
5. The administrative set-up of the Kameng district was as follows:
   (a) Bomdila under Deputy Commissioner.
   (b) Tawang under Additional Deputy Commissioner.
   (c) Seppa under Additional Deputy Commissioner.

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6. Ering Commission
7. The most important outcome of the Ering Commission Report was the introduction of Panchayat Raj in NEFA.
8. Anchal Samitis
9. Zilla Parishad
10. The North-East Area (Reorganization Act), the 27th Constitutional Amendment Act, the Indian Union Territories Act, and the like were passed by Parliament with a view to change the political set-up of North East India.
11. Provincial Legislature

8.8 QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Short-Answer Questions

1. Give two examples of results that the recommendations of the Bardoloi Committee yielded.
2. What were the three different views with regard to bringing about modern developments in the Northeast?
3. State two impacts of the Chinese aggression.
4. What were the main functions of the agency council?
5. How has the panchayati raj brought about rapid transformation in society?

Long-Answer Questions

1. Write a short note on the birth of the NEFA.
2. Discuss the Nehru–Elwin Policy.
3. What was the scenario of the panchayati raj in Arunachal Pradesh?
4. Write a short note on the attainment of the union territory of Arunachal Pradesh.

8.9 FURTHER READING

Amrendra Kr Thakur. 2008. '*Historical Studies of Arunachal Pradesh: An Overview*', in R. Bezbaruah, P. Goswami and D. Banerjee (eds.), *North-East India Interpreting the Sources of its History*. New Delhi: I C H R and Aryan Books.

Elwin, Verrier. 1957. *A Philosophy for NEFA*. Gyan Publishing House, Arunachal Pradesh.

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UNIT 9 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY

Structure

9.0 Introduction
9.1 Unit Objectives
9.2 Agriculture and Supplementary Economy
  9.2.1 Sedentary Cultivation
  9.2.2 Mixed Agriculture
  9.2.3 Hunting, Fishing and Trapping
9.3 Exchange – Forms and Routes
9.4 Production of Utilitarian Items
  9.4.1 Weaving
  9.4.2 Cane and Bamboo Work
  9.4.3 Smithy
  9.4.4 Pottery
  9.4.5 Wood Carving and Carpentry
  9.4.6 Miscellaneous Handicrafts
9.5 Pattern of Land Ownership
9.6 Impact of the British Rule
  9.6.1 Post-colonial Economic Conditions
9.7 Summary
9.8 Key Terms
9.9 Answers to 'Check Your Progress'
9.10 Questions and Exercises
9.11 Further Reading

9.0 INTRODUCTION

Arunachal Pradesh has undergone constitutional changes in its evolution to attain statehood. The then North East Frontier Agency (NEFA) came into being as a Union Territory on 20th January 1972. The state acquired an independent political status and ceased to be a tribal area within the state of Assam.

The state plan is largely dependent on central assistance as the scope of internal mobilization of resources is limited in view of low tax base. However, central assistance to the state plan has been declining in real terms due to cost escalation and burden of non-plan expenditure. As a result, planned development activities of the State Government have been affected adversely and remained almost stagnant for the last few years. These trends need to be reviewed and reversed. The expenditure of the state has been rising sharply compared to its growth of revenue.

The state has not been able to contain non-plan expenditure in spite of best efforts. The State has been penalized by not granting adequate non-plan revenue gap grant as the state has not been able to transfer the committed liabilities/maintenance of assets from the Seventh Plan onwards. Major chunk of plan outlays is engulfed by salaries, maintenance of assets and committed liabilities. This leads to the state's limitation to take up new schemes and also to continue financing of ongoing/spill over schemes. As a result, a large number of assets created in the last plan periods have deteriorated resulting in declining productivity. Such projects are not found remunerative and self-sustaining. The assumption that the completed schemes will give enough return for their maintenance has not been realized in the state. If such a

NOTES

trend continues, the expenditure on committed liabilities/maintenance of assets during Tenth Plan will have to be borne under the Eleventh Plan, unless it is transferred to non-plan.

9.1 UNIT OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to:

- Describe the agriculture and supplementary economy of Arunachal Pradesh
- Recognize the various forms and routes of exchange
- Interpret the production of utilitarian items
- Explain the pattern of land ownership
- Paraphrase the impact of the British rule on traditional economy of Arunachal Pradesh

9.2 AGRICULTURE AND SUPPLEMENTARY ECONOMY

The tribes of Arunachal Pradesh practised agriculture and crafts of various descriptions for which they had indigenously developed tools and equipment. The tools and the methods of Jhum cultivation (slash and burn) had technology of an incipient type, the use of plough on the other hand was an improvement, which was a revolution in agrarian technology and agricultural production. They used knives (*daos*) and hoes made of bamboo or iron. The use of iron became popular only after the British rule in Northeast India, in the principal tools for agricultural operations. Though the *dao* and the hoe had some variations and differences in shape and size but the basics of these are almost similar among the tribes of Arunachal Pradesh. Sachchidananda in his book *Shifting Cultivation in India* (Concept, New Delhi, 1989) provides us the details of the practices in various parts of India. The book is important for our purpose because in it he talks about various areas of Arunachal Pradesh. Sumi Krishna in her book *Genderscapes: Revisioning Natural Resource Management* (Kali, New Delhi, 2008) observes not only the Jhum but also the problem of women participation in the economic life of tribal societies. She has also studied some of the societies of Arunachal Pradesh.

Ever since the information has been available, we learn that the people were engaged in agriculture and not much is known about the earlier stages of economic life. We do not have any literary or epigraphic evidence to suggest the economic pursuits of the tribal people before the art of cultivation became known to them. One explanation to this can be that, as we have seen in the chapter dealing with the origin and migration of the tribes, almost all the tribes are believed to have migrated to this area in search of agricultural land, which suggests that the art of cultivation was already known to the people when they settled here. It is important to note, however, that hunting was partially prevalent among most of the tribes in Arunachal Pradesh until very recent times, and even today there are traces of it among some of them.

Most of the tribes of this area, with the exception of the Apatani, and to some extent the Monpas and the Sherdukpens, followed the cyclic method of shifting cultivation called Jhum cultivation. This mode of Jhum cultivation was not something peculiar to the tribes of Arunachal Pradesh, for the history of shifting cultivation is as

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old as the history of agriculture itself. It has been established by archaeological evidences that this type of cultivation was prevalent in the Neolithic period, some 9000 years back. In this form of cultivation, the farmer grows food only for his family and the small surplus are exchanged or bartered. The population is thus self-sufficient and self-reliant with a high degree of economic independence; however, the economy is almost static with little chance of rapid improvement.

Another important feature of the Jhum cultivation practised by the tribal people was that instead of rotation of the crops, the fields were rotated. Primitive type of implements, such as dibble stick or hoe, were used, and short periods of occupancy were followed by long fallow periods. The fields were generally abandoned after three years and the people shifted to another clearing, leaving the old site for natural recuperation. It, however, did not imply that the houses of the tribal were also shifted to the new site.

Though the Jhum cultivation has often been termed as a primitive and outdated form of agriculture, it represented a delicate relationship between ecology, economy and the tribal society. The Jhum fields, the forest area surrounding the village and the natural area provided two alternative sources of subsistence to them. Should the crops fail, due to one reason or another, the forests were trapped by the people for getting food items. The rearing of pigs was an important feature of Jhum cultivation, for the pigs not only cleared the waste, but also functioned as a buffer stock, which were used during the period of scarcity.

Jhum cultivation rather compelled the tribals to build their social organization around the concept of community ownership, community participation and communal responsibility. The basic guiding principle of the community life of the tribe was: 'From each according to his capacity and to each according to his need.' In society, therefore, the old, the infirm, and the widows, had an equal share, and each member of society played his or her role according to their respective abilities.

Generally speaking, the agricultural operations in Jhum cultivation, with minor local variations were marked by the following stages:

1. Selection of the forest land for cultivation
2. Clearing the forest by cutting it down
3. Burning the dried forest wood
4. Worship and sacrifice
5. Sowing of the seeds
6. Weeding and crop protection
7. Harvesting and thrashing
8. Merry–making and feasts
9. Fallowing

Sowing of seeds was generally done during the months of March or April, before the advent of the rains. Evil spirits were worshipped and sacrifices were made before the sowing for a good crop and prosperity of the family. The day of sowing was ceremonial for the entire village. The seeds were generally sown by the digging method which was generally performed by women. One important feature of Jhum cultivation was that the soil was never ploughed and no artificial irrigation was done. The crop was protected from stray cattle and wild animals by fencing the field with bamboos and in many parts; a hut was made in the fields to look after the crop.

NOTES

Various tribes usually followed the system of mixed cropping. The mixture of these crops varied across tribes within the state; normally, the farmer tried to grow everything that he needed for his family consumption in his Jhum land. Among the food grains, the coarse varieties of rice, followed by millet, maize and small millets were the main crops. Ginger, lime-seed, rapeseeds, pineapples, and jute, were some other crops grown by the tribal people. Among vegetables, potatoes, pumpkins, yams, tapioca chilies, beans, onions and arum were cultivated. Tobacco and indigo were also grown in some areas of the state. The Singphos (one of the powerful tribes living in plains and hills of Assam has the glorious story to tell about their deep-rooted eco-social and cultural aspects in greater Assamese national life) also cultivated tea. The Jhum cycle, as it is generally called, was influenced by various factors such as the pressure of population, texture of soil and the average annual rainfall in Arunachal Pradesh.

9.2.1 Sedentary Cultivation

Broadly speaking, agriculture, as practised in one place by a settled farmer in which fields are not rotated is called sedentary agriculture. As mentioned earlier, the only tribe in entire Arunachal Pradesh which pursues this method of agriculture is the Apatani tribe. The tribes occupy an area of about 32 sq kms stretch of the narrow valley which is drained by a small river Kele. This area, occupied by the Apatani (tribal group of people living in the Ziro valley in the Lower Subansiri district of Arunachal Pradesh), was possibly a lake in the remote past, which is confirmed by the traditions of their community. The agriculture practised by the Apatani provides a fine example of an elaborate and most efficient system of the utilization of the soil.

The principal crops grown by the Apatani are rice, millet, maize, pumpkin, tobacco, pepper, bottle-gourd, beans, potatoes and ginger. Except for rice, all these crops are cultivated on the dry land and the kitchen gardens. Rice is cultivated on the wet terrace land where artificial and natural water is available. There are varieties of rice which are cultivated and are classified according to early or late harvesting varieties. The system of irrigation developed by the Apatani with the help of the primitive tools, such as small iron hoes, sharpened wood and bamboo hoes, animal bones and horns, is really remarkable. Water from Kele River and other streams is diverted by a network of channels to the rice fields. Commenting on the system of irrigation of the Apatani, Christoph von Fürer-Haimendorf (an Austrian ethnologist) has pointed out, 'The cornerstone of Apatani agriculture is the cultivation of rice on irrigated terraces.' He further adds: 'Every one of the larger streams rising on the wooded heights that ring the Apatani country is tapped soon after it emerges from the forests and reaches a gully wide enough to accommodate a series of narrow terraces.'

Like all other tribes of the state, agricultural operations of the Apatani are fully dependent on human labour. It is rather paradoxical that the method of the tillage of the tribe remained primitive in that no plough was used by them till recently and that they depended exclusively on human labour. During winter, the Apatani built and rebuilt the dams, channels of irrigation, fences of grooves and gardens and artificial manure was spread from the pits. Rice crops were seeded in the nursery during February and March, and in the month of April, May all types of crops were transplanted. The fields were weeded out at least three times, and from the last part of July harvesting started and continued till November.

NOTES

9.2.2 Mixed Agriculture

In the context of Arunachal Pradesh, by the term 'mixed agriculture', we mean the system of agriculture in which both the Jhum cultivation and the sedentary cultivation are practised by some of the tribes. It should not be confused with the type of agriculture which involves crops as well as livestock. The mixed type of agriculture is practised mainly by the Monpas and the Sherdukpens of the Kameng district. In this area, therefore, the pattern of ownership of land also presents two-fold aspects. Land under permanent cultivation is owned privately while that under shifting cultivation is communal land. The agricultural operations in these areas are not easy. The labour put forth in agriculture is great as the soil is hard and rocky. Private lands are tended with great care both by the Monpas and by the Sherdukpens. Manuring is resorted to in all earnestness in order to preserve the fertility of the land.

One important aspect of the agricultural operations of these two tribes is the use of wooden ploughs drawn by cattle. In Arunachal Pradesh, traditionally, plough was used only by four tribes, namely, the Monpas, Sherdukpens, Singphos, and the Khamptis. Terracing of the private land on the mountain slopes is done with great care to prevent soil erosion and to get level patches as far as the lie of the ground permits. The leaves of oak trees are extensively used for making manure. The land is hardly left fallow and the main crops are wheat and barley in winter and maize in summer. Millet is grown by the Monpas as Jhum crop.

9.2.3 Hunting, Fishing and Trapping

Similar to the entire human race, hunting was the earliest occupation of the tribal of Arunachal Pradesh before they took up agriculture as a permanent means of livelihood; although, as pointed out earlier, it appears that when the various tribal groups migrated to this area, they had already learnt the art of cultivation and did not depend exclusively on hunting. It provided an alternative and supplementary means to the food supply. During recent times, hunting, despite losing much of its economic importance, had a greater social significance. As Dr Elwin has pointed out, '...hunting and fishing is something more than a search for food: it is a religious activity involving strict taboos; on the success or failure of a ceremonial hunt will depend the success or failure of the harvest; the horns of an animal, the bones of a big fish, are hung up in the hunter's house, and it is a taboo to desecrate them.'

Hunting in the society of Arunachal Pradesh is organized in two forms: one collectively/community and the other individually. Collective hunting and fishing are part of the tribal life. The time and place of such expedition were usually fixed by the village councils, since they were the concern of the village community as a whole. This tribal community hunting is a remnant of the remote past. Hunting in every tribe is supported by traditions and social sanctions. The hunting expeditions were generally undertaken during the months of November and December when the harvesting was over and the people were rather free from agricultural pursuits. Whenever the people succeeded in killing an animal, it was equally distributed amongst themselves. The organization of group hunting was informal and was done with the help of the dogs. Poisoned arrows were used for the hunting. Divination was generally undertaken before any such hunting expedition which was carried out only if the outcome of the divination was favourable. Trapping was another way of catching wild animals, big or small, by the tribal. Various tribes collected good catches from the hidden traps which were laid by the individuals. A number of these traps were in common use and

NOTES

worked on the principle of lever-release. Birds, rats and squirrels were caught and killed in smaller traps. No individual was allowed to disturb the traps laid down in the forests by others. This prerogative was so strictly adhered to that the offender had to pay the traditional fine of a pig. One type of trap for big game was fixing of a big log of wood above the path of wild animals. When an animal passed under it, the mechanism by which the log was fixed gave away and the log fell on the animal. Small traps, like a bow-shaped nose trap or a falling stone trap were employed for catching porcupines, hares, squirrels and other animals.

Fishing also plays an important role in the economic lives of the people of Arunachal Pradesh even today. Fishing is done either by the community or by the individuals. Normally speaking, most of the tribes make dams over the rivers for collecting the fish. These dams are made of wood and bamboo and are tied with cane. Conical baskets are used for trapping the fish. Poison, too, is used by most of the tribes for catching fish in shallow water. It may be noted here that unlike hunting, both men and women participate in fishing in one way or the other.

It may be noted that most of the tribes smoke and dry the surplus catch of the fish, which is then consumed in the lean period. In fact, fish is such an important item of food that in past it often led to dispute between the tribes of the hill and the plains people. The Adis, for instance, claimed an absolute right over all the fish found in the rivers flowing through their areas; this claim of theirs was even recognized by the Ahom Government.

9.3 EXCHANGE – FORMS AND ROUTES

We have discussed some of the aspects of trade, trade routes, participation of the people of Arunachal Pradesh in the trade activities and changes in this practice during the British period. More important are the modern researches which are mentioned and when consulted will give a comprehensive idea of the same. All these writings clearly prove the notions of 'isolation of the tribes', and 'primitive economy', inappropriate for the tribes of Arunachal Pradesh. To avoid repetition, we are not discussing the same in this unit. We begin out discussion here citing Dr Verrier Elwin. In his book *A Philosophy for NEFA* (Itanagar, 1959, pp. 9-10), he has also rightly pointed out that, 'The Sherdukpens and the Akas have, for generations, traded with the foothills, and the plains. There is much inter-tribal commerce in northern Siang. The Monpas, Khambas and the Membas trade with Tibet, the Tangsas with Burma. The Mishmis bring down musk and a febrifuge, the *coptis teta* (which contains valuable alkaloid berberins) as well as skins, textiles and baskets to barter in the plains.' Amrendra Kumar Thakur in his book *Slavery in Arunachal Pradesh* (New Delhi, 2003) provides in detail slave trade among the tribes of Arunachal Pradesh and the neighbouring areas.

Pliny, giving an account of India in the 1st century AD, refers to the river Brahmaputra and export of silk products from China to Greece through the mountains of present Arunachal Pradesh and Brahmaputra valley. Chinese writers Chang Kien (200 BC) and Kai Tan (8th century AD) described the ancient routes coming through the eastern parts of Arunachal and connecting China with the plains of Assam. At a subsequent time, numerous other routes were opened into China through Burma, Bhutan and Tibet, and not only the people from the plains but also the hill tribes—the Adis, the Nishis and the Mishmis in particular—were responsible for the early commercial contacts for the trade carried out through their areas. Alberuni, in his book

Check Your Progress

1. When did the use of iron become popular in Northeast India?
2. Which tribes followed the cyclic method of shifting cultivation?
3. Give one important feature of the Jhum.
4. What is sedentary agriculture and which tribe pursues it?
5. What, according to Christoph von Fürer-Haimendorf, is the cornerstone of Apatani agriculture?

NOTES

Kitab-ul-Hind written in the early part of the 11th century, also refers to the trade routes between Assam, Tibet and China. *Tabaqat-i-Nasir* by Minhajul-Siraj (13th century AD) gives us an account of the trade contacts of Assam with Tibet through various passes in northern Assam. Most of these passes were bound to pass through Arunachal Pradesh. Similarly, *Fathfya-I-Ibriyah* by Shibabuddin Talish refers to the musk-deer and the elephants in the hills inhabited by the Miri and Mishmi tribes. Xinru Liu in her book *Ancient India and Ancient China: Trade and Religious Exchanges AD 1-600* (OUP, New Delhi, 1988) also provides information regarding trade items and trade routes.

The tribes used various passes in the Patkai ranges to have access to Burma and the Choukam Pass was an important pass between Assam and Burma. From Sadiya, as many as five passes served as outlets to China and Burma from upper Assam, among them the Dipung Pass, Mishmi route and the Phungan Pass were frequented by traders between China and the present-day Arunachal Pradesh. The passes of Arunachal Pradesh were also used by the traders of Assam for the purpose of trade. The existence of these various trade routes, passing through the land of the tribal, inevitably contributed to the economy. The people of Arunachal Pradesh became the partner in the trans-Himalayan trade carried out between Assam on the one hand and Tibet, China and Bhutan on the other.

The Adis carried out trade with their neighbours, the people of Assam in the south and the Tibetans in the north. Most of this trade was carried out by barter. The Ramos, the Bokars, the Shimongs and other Adi clans of the North traded with Tibet in articles like, swords, brass bowls, woolen clothes, rock-salt, and beads. These were imported in return of chilies, rice, and colour dyes. Dr T. Nyori has given a detailed account of the system of trade that was carried out between the Adis and the Tibetans in his work *History and Culture of the Adis*. The Adis of the eastern part of Siang had trade relations with Assam from where they imported salt, utensils, clothes, *daos*, beads, cows, goats, woolen yam and exported chilies, ginger, animal skins, elephant tusks, musk, wax, rubber and other articles.

Trade with Tibet was carried out through Gestreng, Paying, Kaustheng, Niging, Mangu, Dele, Tungkur Lego Pass and Elling, reaching a place called Nayi Lube in Tibet where a regular trade market was held. There were other trade routes, which ran from Gelling via Yortong to Pomed. Another route came through the Mishmi Hills and after crossing the Abroka pass, reached Karka and Riga villages. In the lower region, there were a number of trade routes and a number of trading centres were there at places like Sadiya, Sissi, Dhemaji, and Majorbari. The Adis of Siang followed the trade route from Pangin to Pasighat along the right bank of the River Siang and the Adis on the left bank of this river came through the route from Damroh and Adi Passi area passing through Padu, Silli, Bodak and then crossing the Siang river to Pasighat. In addition to the trade with Tibet and Assam, trade was also carried out between the Miris and the Adis.

The Akas traded with Bhutan to the north-west and in the south, their trade was carried out with Assam. Clothing, warm blankets, *daos*, swords, and silver ornaments were imported from Bhutan and the payment was made in cash. The money was received from the plains of Assam which was obtained from selling rubber and fowls. Iron, salt, cotton and silk goods were bought from the plains of Assam. The common trade route of the Akas was the tribal track which went from village Jamiri to Bhalukpung situated at the border of Assam. Large number of Akas visited the plains of Assam through this route.

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Both the Nishis and the Apatani had trade relations with the people of Assam and Tibet in addition to the inter-tribal trade relation amongst themselves, from very early times. The entire trade was based on barter system and money was not used. The Nishis went to Tibet for trade and the articles which they exported were hides, skins, musk, rice, salt etc. From Tibet, they bought wool, blankets, bronze or brass vessels, bells, beads, ponies, wax, etc. The Apatani bartered Tibetan rock-salt, swords and other articles of Tibetan manufacture. The Tagins regularly went to Migytum, a regular trade market in Tibet, for the barter of their goods. Cane was also exported to Tibet which the Tibetans required for making baskets. One of most important articles of trade was musk obtained from the naval of musk-deer.

Tibetan *daos* were very much valued by the Apatani and were used on ceremonial occasions. Most important item imported from Tibet was the woolen clothes. Tibetan coats, hats and sometimes fur-caps were purchased by the people. The Tagins, for instance, both men and women used to wear red coats of wool imported from Tibet.

Trade relations existed between the tribes Mishmis and the Khamptis with Tibet as well as with Assam from very early times. Trade was also carried out with Burma. The Taraon Mishmis inhabited the Hills from Brahma Kund to the borders of Tibet and they regularly traded with that country. The articles they carried with them included muskpods, hides, skins, furs and various kinds of barks and roots and Mishmi teeta. They bought from Tibet, cattle, brass pipes, gongs, woolen goods, copper vessels and beads etc. Likewise, the Ramans carried on trade with Zayul district in Tibet. Both the Taraons and the Ramans went in groups across the border to Tibet from time to time. Likewise, large groups of Idu Mishmis also traded regularly with Tibet. The Mishmis exchanged their bih (poison), galtewan (an odoriferous root), manjeet (madder), and teetah (a bitter root), for Lama cattle, brass pipes, gongs and copper vessels.

Money was used by the tribals as a means of exchange many a times. Coins from Tibet were brought and used for further trade or for making ornaments.

In addition to the trade with Tibet, regular trade was carried out by the Mishmis and the Khamptis as well as Singphos with the plains of Assam. The Mishmis bartered musk-pods, musk-deer skins, honey, mishmi-teeta, etc., for salt, yam, tools, utensils, etc. The Mishmis of even remote area visited the markets at Sadiya and Saikhowa regularly during the winter season.

A limited amount of trade was carried out by the Khamptis and Singphos with Burma. They traded in ivory, elephants and opium. The Kaman Mishmis also carried on trade with the people of Khampti-Long in Burma and visited the place. Inter-tribal trade was carried out on a limited scale. The Mishmis exchanged their goods with the Singphos and Khamptis. The Mishmis also traded with the Adis to whom they supplied textile-fabrics of various kinds. Mithuns were supplied to the Mishmis by the Adis in exchange for coats, helmets, bags, etc. Almost entire inter-tribal trade was carried out through barter. The people had developed an elaborate system of barter in which animal heads were used as currency.

The Noctes and the Wanchos of the Tirap district had trade relations with Upper Burma from very early times. Bhamo, a very big trade centre on the banks of river Irrawady, attracted a large number of the Nocte and the Wancho traders, who carried their merchandise for exchange or sale through the passes across the Patkai ranges of mountains. In exchange for handloom products, tea-leaves, salt, beads, etc., the tribal imported *daos*, iron implements, fishing nets, spears, and in some cases, Burmese garments. One of the main items of trade was opium, which was traded mainly amongst the Singphos and the Kachins of Burma.

Check Your Progress

6. In which book does Amrendra Kumar Thakur provide the details of slave trade among the tribes of Arunachal Pradesh and the neighbouring areas?
7. Name the Chinese writers who described the ancient routes coming through the eastern parts of Arunachal and connecting China with the plains of Assam.
8. What items did the Adis of the eastern part of Siang import to and export from Assam?

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9.4 PRODUCTION OF UTILITARIAN ITEMS

In Arunachal Pradesh, the main handicraft items are made up of bamboo as a raw material. It is an important raw material for tribal artisans. Wool is also an important raw material. Carpet making and weaving are the other important occupations of the people there.

9.4.1 Weaving

Nothing can be said with certainty about how and when the art of weaving started among the tribes of Arunachal Pradesh. In this regard, the myth prevalent among some of them is important; to begin with the discussion on weaving. It is believed that the 'Donyi-Polo' (Sun-Moon God) taught the art of weaving to a female deity. The deity was prayed by Abotani, the ancestor of the tribe by offering a rich sacrifice. Being pleased with the sacrifice, the deity appeared in a dream to Abotani's wife and showed her how to weave. Thus, weaving started among a number of tribes of the central Arunachal Pradesh. The looms which are used by most of the tribes of Arunachal Pradesh are very simple in their construction and are smaller compared to the looms used in the other parts of the country. The two little upright sticks of any sort driven into the ground, and one loosely tied across the offside, to which the woof was wound, another similar one being in front and looped to a band, against which the weaver leaned back to pull it tight. A huge flat paper/bamboo-knife seemed to complete the arrangement; being some four inches wide, it when placed on edge, open out the strings enough to allow a little ball of thread to pass through.

The Adi women are good weavers and have the colour choice and designs of their own. There are designs of red and black stripes on white background and white or yellow stripes on a black background. The traditional Galong cloth is white with broad rectangular design across the centre. The Padam-Minyong skirt is usually yellow or crimson with a number of coloured bands. Different shades are achieved by mixing threads of black with other colours. Dr Elwin has commented that 'The cross, is so popular among the Adis as a tattoo mark and as a decorative design on coats imported from Tibet that Father Krick (who visited them in 1851) supposed that they had once been converted to Christianity and had relapsed.'

The Monpa and Sherdukpen women are also very skillful weavers. The Sherdukpens mainly weave attractive coloured bags with beautiful designs which are called *bogre*. Influenced by Buddhism, this *bogre* invariably has a Swastika figure in the centre around which are woven different patterns such as the eyes of a yak, pigeons, face of a sheep or, in some cases, the Tibetan flag. The Monpa shawls and coats have a variety of stylized animals, cleverly suggested with a minimum of lines. The Monpas and the Sherdukpens are perhaps the only two tribes who have been influenced by the outside world in their weaving. The influence of Tibet and Bhutan is clearly evident in many of the items produced by these two in their looms. Tibetan style of dress can easily be detected in the entire Kameng district. Carpet weaving has been one of the most important activity of the Monpas for a long time. Amrendra Kumar Thakur has studied some of their features in 'Ecology, Technology and Societies of Arunachal Pradesh' in *Proceedings of North East India History Association*, 31st session, Tura, 2010, pp.103-114.

The Apatani are also very advanced in the art of weaving and make beautiful multi-coloured shawls with borders, skirts and loin cloths. They use indigenous dyes to

NOTES

colour the thread for weaving in yellow, black and red. Certain taboos are associated with Apatani weaving. For instance, women must not weave for sometime after an important sacrifice, after death or after the community rites in order to avoid the displeasure of the spirits. The Nyishis are also expert in weaving; it may be mentioned here that quite a large amount of cotton is grown by them. The fabrics used by the Nyishis are of two types, namely cotton fibre and the indigenous fibre made of vegetation etc. A spindle is used, made of bamboo, for the preparation of yam from cotton. Like the Apatani, dyes are prepared from creepers and local plants.

The looms used by the Khamptis are slightly larger in size compared to those used by other tribes of Arunachal Pradesh, but the basic design is the same. The Mishmis are also expert weavers and produce beautiful clothes with rich designs. They make textiles which are of remarkable artistic and cultural value and display workmanship of a very higher order. The Mishmis mostly produce loin and waist cloths, jackets, aprons, coats, shawls, skirts, bands, belts, etc. Natural dyes are used for colouring the fibre. The Singpho women are also very expert in the art of weaving and their skirts are often woven in large broad horizontal bands of red and blue. Most valuable specimens of the weaving of the Singphos are turbans and handbags, besides other clothes of daily use.

The Tangsas are very skillful in the art of weaving and their women produce hand-bags of diamond cut designs, bags of mixed colours and skirts woven in red, white, black and blue colours. They also use geometrical patterns in making ceremonial dresses, which show their artistry and skill in weaving. Amongst the Wanchos, weaving is confined only to the families of the chief, who display a keen sense of colour combinations and designs. In addition to the dresses of daily use, the Wancho women produce cotton blankets and sashes. Contrary to most of the tribes of Arunachal Pradesh, regarding the practice of weaving, the Noctes did not develop the same. The art of weaving was not popular among them in the past. The clothes of various types from Assam and other neighbouring areas were easily exchanged from salt produced by the Noctes. Salt was the most sought after commodity. This aspect has been explained by Amrendra Kumar Thakur in his article 'Salt: Source and Struggle in Arunachal Pradesh', *Proceedings of North East India History Association*, 30th session, Nagaon, 2009, pp.124–136 in detail. Thus, weaving was practiced by almost all the tribes of Arunachal Pradesh with exceptions. Generally it was the exclusive domain of the women of the societies.

9.4.2 Cane and Bamboo Work

The cane and bamboo work is practiced throughout Arunachal Pradesh by every single tribe of the state. Initially, the cane and bamboo were natural forest products, subsequently grown for increasing personal and commercial usages. Being natural in product the cane and bamboo have been common materials to be used for the construction of dwelling, furniture, utensils, bridges and other necessities of daily life.

The Adis like most of the tribes of Arunachal Pradesh have been making their bows and arrows, variety of baskets, haversacks, bamboo jugs, and cane hats of different sizes and shapes. They also made shields of cane to be used in the warfare. The Apatani made fine mats of cane as well as bamboo. A wide variety of cane-belts are also made by them. Cane and bamboo are to be found in plenty in the Nyishi area and as such, are widely used by them. Bamboos of different kinds are used for making vessels for bringing water, mugs for carrying and keeping beer, spoons and plates. They also make tongs and pipes for smoking from bamboo. These two items are also used for making weapons for war and chase. For the Nyishis as well as the Apatani, a bag of cane for carrying food and other articles are also made of cane. The Nishi women use various ornaments made of cane such as tight-ankle bands and rings.

In the Lohit district, cane and bamboo work is an important household industry. Baskets of different sizes are made of bamboo for the purposes of agriculture, fishing, hunting and domestic use. Most of the utensils and containers are made of cane or bamboo. The basket commonly used by women is hexagonal in shape, round at the mouth and nearly rectangular at the bottom. Another finely woven basket of twilled pattern is used as food-grain container. Winnowing fans for husking rice and baskets for storing grains are strongly made with bamboo splits. Smoking pipes, bows and arrows are also made of cane and bamboo.

The Noctes, Wanchos and the Singphos are expert in cane and bamboo work. They mainly produce bamboo hats, jugs, trays, tea-cups, containers, mats, baskets and a number of other items. Utensils and other articles such as raincoats, leggings, armlets etc., are also made of cane and bamboo. The Noctes make bamboo rain-shields, sticks and spears fringed with dyed goat's hair and helmets and hats of fine cane strips. The Tangsas make baskets of open hexagonal form called *salai*. The mats made by the Wanchos were greatly demanded by the people of Assam in the past. The neck-laces made out of grass by the Wancho women depict their fine craftsmanship. In the Tirap district, all the tribes make morhas or cane stools as furniture item for their house.

As a matter of fact, the art and industry of the tribal people find a vivid expression through their fine work in cane and bamboo, which is of high artistic and utilitarian value. *Daos* and swords are fitted with beautifully woven bamboo and cane handles by all the tribes. In agriculture, bamboo is used for fencing and for making handles of spades, axes and dibbles. Poisonous bamboo is used for making traps for large animals. Cane and bamboo is also used for tying, making of strings and ropes and for decoration. The cane and bamboo work was practiced in such a large scale by the tribes of Arunachal that even the Akas, the Mijis and the Buguns, who developed no other craft, practiced it extensively. Though metals and plastic utensil have made inroads into the societies cane and bamboo products are still popular and most of the time they are not the items of daily use but also part and parcel of rites and rituals and the cultural life of the people of Arunachal Pradesh.

9.4.3 Smithy

Smithy, either in iron or silver, was popular among the tribes of Arunachal Pradesh. Though the use of iron in plough was not popular, its use in other agricultural implements and weapons was common. Most of the iron which was required for the purpose was brought from the plains of Assam and also from Tibet, except the Singhpho-Khampti area where iron ore was not only available but also the tribes had the technology to covert the ore into pig iron and refashioning it into weapons especially *daos*. The tools used by the blacksmith were crude and primitive, but they served the purpose very well. The Adis were expert in this craft and produced small knives, *daos*, swords, spears, arrowheads, etc. Air was pushed to the hearth through a bamboo piston placed in these two tubes. The Nyishis had amongst them skilled craftsmen. They made *daos*, knives, etc., and had earned a good reputation for their work. Their professional skill gave these workers a special recognition and people went to their houses to get their articles of their requirement. The Apatani smiths, in addition to the iron implement, produced iron bracelets as ornaments.

NOTES

NOTES

The Mishmis had their own blacksmiths who forged a great number of *daos* and knives annually. However, they depended on other tribes and nearby plains for their silver ornaments and articles. The silver tobacco-pipes were generally made by the Galos. The slaves of the Khampti masters were expert and renowned for extraction of minerals and smelting iron. However, the masters worked in silver. The society forged their weapons and ornaments. The Singphos understood the smelting of iron and produced excellent *daos* famous for their temper and durability. It may be interesting to note that some of the tribes, such as the Singphos and the Mishmis were expert in making the muzzle-loading gun. Amongst the Akas, the weapons required by them were produced locally but the silver ornaments which the women used were made in the plains of Assam. Various *Gazetteers* published so far and the writings of Verrier Elwin provide us valuable information on this aspect of tribes of Arunachal Pradesh. Amrendra Kumar Thakur in his works 'Technological Progress in Pre-Colonial Arunachal Pradesh: An Overview' in *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress,* 66th Session, Delhi, 2006, pp. 797-808, 'Technology of the Tribes of Northeast India with Special Reference to Arunachal Pradesh' (*op.cit.*) and 'Metal Culture in Pre-Colonial Arunachal Pradesh', in *Proceedings of North East India History Association*, 29th session, Dibrugarh, 2008, pp. 260-68 has discussed the developments in metal works and metallurgy also provides detailed discussion on the same.

9.4.4 Pottery

Due to clay type, durability and climatic conditions the potteries were not very popular among the tribes of Arunachal Pradesh. If the wheel turn ones were popular in the very limited areas of the foothills (Nakshaparvat and Bhishmaknagar) the other type beating and heating was prevalent in most of the tribes of Arunachal Pradesh. B. Tripathy in his article 'Ancient Potteries and Traditional Potters Craft in Arunachal Pradesh', *Proceedings of North East India History Association*, 22nd session, Tezpur, 2001, pp. 83–92 has given the details of the developments in the field of potteries in arcas of Arunachal Pradesh. The Adis used earthen pots called *kamya pichi* which were made from a particular type: of clay called takam. The Nyishis had a device of making earthen pots through a crude process of drying and baking lumps of clay. These pots made by the Nyishis were used only for cooking and were bartered for cereals or fowls. The Apatani have a tradition of making attractive clay models of animals which were used as toys. Significantly, pottery amongst the Apatani was confined to the village of Michi Bamin, and there also only to certain clan. In the Nocte area, earthen ware vessels were made on a small scale in the villages of Laju, Dadam and Kheti and had a good demand in the neighbouring villages. The manufacturing process was; labouring and the progress was slow, but the pots made by them were quite remarkable. The Monpas, Khambas and the Membas used to make images of Lord Buddha out of clay in addition to vessel. It must be noted here that like the craft of weaving, the craft of pottery was exclusively pursued by the women.

9.4.5 Wood Carving and Carpentry

Despite rich forests having a variety of woods, the use of wood in the household articles and the art of carpentry is rather rare in Arunachal Pradesh; may be because the tribal found it more easy to work in cane and bamboo and also because the tools for carpentry were not very easily available to them. A few tribal societies had carpenters who worked mainly to meet their household requirements. A few of the Buddhist tribes like the Monpas and Sherdukpens practiced carpentry and used wood for making doors, boxes, tables,

NOTES

benches, saddles etc., for their use. The Wanchos, Noctes and the Tangsas also had some carpenters amongst them who made fairly good doors, shelves and windows for their houses. The other tribes had very little interest in wood and it was rarely used by them.

Some of the tribes of the area, though not very outstanding in carpentry, developed the art of wood-carving which was of a remarkable quality. This art was popular and was used as a part of their culture by a number of tribes, in particular, the tribes influenced by Buddhism. The Monpas and the Sherdukpens carved different kinds of masks and painted them differently with colours which they obtained either from the plains of Assam or from Tibet. The Khambas, Membas and the Buguns also carved wooden masks. The Khamptis made embossed shields and were fond of masks illustrating the temptations of Lord Buddha and other themes. Their finest work, however, was their carving of images of Lord Buddha. The Singphos also practiced the art of wood-carving and their priests were their leading craftsmen. They carved twisted snakes, dragons and other monsters on wood.

The finest and most outstanding work in wood-carving is done by the Wanchos, and the Nocte tribes. Amongst these tribes, wood-carving had been associated with their custom of Head-Hunting and the human head dominates almost everything that is made in wood by them. They made tobacco pipes with the bowl shaped and carved in the shape of a head; drinking mugs were made having warriors carved on them, and so on. These tribes of Tirap mostly used the wood of a local tree called Pangmou. The tools which they used were the dao, axe, chisel, saw and hammer. The Wanchos also carved the main pillars of the roof and the horizontal beam running across the front of their morungs with a fantastic rarity of designs representing animals and birds. Dancing couples, monkeys, tigers or frogs eating the moon, elephant etc. were commonly carved out. Many carvings were concerned with some sort of embrace, and the dancing couples were shown with their hands on each other's thighs. The art of wood- carving was also associated with mortuary rituals amongst these tribes, and this form was generally crude.

9.4.6 Miscellaneous Handicrafts

The paper-making craft, known to the Monpas, was a very significant technological progress in Arunachal Pradesh. The details of the same is provided by Amrendra Kumar Thakur in his article 'Indigenous Paper in Pre-Colonial Arunachal: A Study on Manufacturing, Trade and other Usage' in *Proceedings of North East India History Association*, Silver Jubilee Session, Shillong, 2005, pp. 255–64. The Khamptis and Singphos did some carving on ivory, horns and bones. Amongst the Singphos this carving work was done by the religious priests. The Wanchos made splendid ornaments of ivory, bone, horns, etc. and all these were often carved. The Singphos, and on a limited scale, the Wanchos, produced tea from the wild tea plants that grew in their area.

The Noctes are the only tribe in Arunachal which produce salt from the brine wells and springs found in the region. This salt was even supplied to the plains of Assam and at times, the plain's people depended entirely on the salt produced by the Noctes. In various *Proceedings of North East India*, *Gazetteers of Tirap District*, writings of S. K. Bhuyan, Narayan Singh Rao, Khetoan Khete and Amrendra Kr Thakur the manufacturing, trade and struggle for the control of salt have been highlighted. Some other details on this aspect have been discussed by Amrendra Kr Thakur in his article

NOTES

'Technology Aided Trade in Pre-Colonial Arunachal Pradesh', *Resarun*, Vol. 36 (60th Year Special Issue, Directorate of Research, Government of Arunachal Pradesh), Itanagar, 2011-12, pp. 7–14.

9.5 PATTERN OF LAND OWNERSHIP

In accordance with the environmental conditions, the tribals evolved their own methods of agriculture, which can be divided into three categories namely: shifting or Jhum, permanent or sedentary and mixed type of agriculture. Accordingly, the ownership of land varied from tribe to tribe depending upon the type of agriculture followed by them. Those tribes which practiced Jhum cultivation and those which had taken to regular settled cultivation, would, naturally have rather different systems of the ownership of land.

In the case of Arunachal Pradesh, we can consider the ownership of land under three broad categories, i.e., the land owned by the village, the land owned by the clan and the land owned by the individual. In the areas where the shifting method of agriculture was followed, all the land as a principle belonged to the clan or the village. In these cases, there was, first the area established by the old traditions and agreements with the neighbouring village, which was regarded as belonging to the village as a whole. It should be mentioned here that in the past, villages used to be co-existent with single clan in Arunachal. All the members of the village were concerned to preserve the boundaries of the land belonging to them which were clearly marked by streams, hills or big trees. The tribal did not generally erect artificial boundaries for everyone knew exactly where they should be.

Almost every village was originally settled by the members of a single clan, who cleared the forests and endured all the hardships. Therefore, the members of this particular clan became the owners of land cleared by them and the title of which passed on to their male descendants. As per the tradition, the subsequent settlers, especially those belonging to other clans, were regarded as tenants on the land, though in actual practice they lived as the full members of the village community. However, the new settler, especially when he was not of the founder clan, was entitled only to use the land as long as he resided on the spot; he could not transfer his holdings to his own descendants without the permission of the village council, and should he go elsewhere, his land would return to the village as a whole. In this manner, a sort of individual ownership of land was established within a communal framework of ownership. Each family acquired the rights over the plot of land which it had cleared initially, and in course of time, each had a number of plots in different parts of the general village area.

It is important to mention here that no land revenue or tax of any kind was paid for the extension of cultivation into the land held in common by the village, nor the new settler was required to pay anything. In other words, land was almost free of cost; but, in fact, there was a considerable investment of time and human labour in every foot of the forest cleared. The rights of the tribal people over the Jhum land were recognized by the Government of India through three Jhum Land Regulations, passed during 1947-48. These regulations gave the tribal population absolute right over their Jhum land, which was defined as all lands 'which any member or members of a village or community have a customary right to cultivate by means of shifting cultivation, or to utilize by clearing jungle or grazing life- stock, provided that such a village or community is in a permanent location.' A village or community was considered to be in permanent location

Check Your Progress

9. What are the main handicraft items of Arunachal Pradesh made of?
10. What does the traditional Galong cloth look like?
11. What are *bogres*?
12. What is an important household industry in the Lohit district?
13. Which tribes specialize in cane and bamboo work?

NOTES

if it always remained in a specific location, although the whole or a part of it might migrate from time to time in different locations within the specified areas.

The only example of settled regular cultivation of land in Arunachal Pradesh is perhaps the Apatani community, which confined in a comparatively small area, evolved a very strong sense of private ownership of land. Cultivable agricultural land in the Apatani community was and even is, completely privately owned. Dr C. Von Haimendorf, writing in 1944 has pointed out that the Apatani influence and social status depended largely on his property in land. 'Land is the source of wealth and all other and less permanent possessions are mainly valued as a means of acquiring more land.' The Apatani are very meticulous in caring for their land compared to the rest of the tribes of the state, may be because they have a very limited area under them. They do not leave even an inch of land unused. If it is barren for one purpose, it may be used for another purpose. Cultivable land is acquired by an individual mainly by inheritance from his ancestors or by purchase or by developing the forests. In addition to the private land, there is common village or clan land meant for burial, grazing, religious ceremonies etc. The territories of the village are well demarcated by natural features. N. C. Roy and P. K. Kuri in the book *Land Reforms in Arunachal Pradesh*, (Classical, New Delhi, 2001) also provide us information regarding the land ownership pattern in Arunachal Pradesh.

9.6 IMPACT OF THE BRITISH RULE

British rule had very little impact on the isolated, self-sufficient, in terms of economy and militarily uncontrollable tribal people.

9.6.1 Post-colonial Economic Conditions

The establishment of the British rule in northeast India changed the economic life of the people of this region and cracks began to appear in the conventional economic system. The impacts over trade practices and posa system have already been discussed in other units. The discovery of tea plant in Assam proved to be a turning point in the economic history of the entire region. Added to the tea-plant were the discoveries of coal and the presence of minerals of oil as well as other minerals which added to the economic viability of the region. The spread of the tea gardens to the foothills of Assam borders, however, demanded that the inroads of the tribal on the plains checked and the manner of the collection of Posa should be regularized.

In certain cases, this money was saved and used for production activities by the tribes of Arunachal Pradesh. The Mishmis used to purchase cattle from the money that they saved. In most of the cases, however, after the establishment of the British rule the surplus money was used to purchase 'luxury items' and was not at all invested for economic advancement. The tribal spent this money on English yam, English pottery, beads, etc., and the biggest source of drain was opium. It has been pointed out that opium constituted an important item of purchase by the tribal from the plains. Dr Elwin has mentioned that in one year at the trade fair at Sadiya, the volume of the opium sold out to the tribal amounted to ₹30,300.00. Many tribesmen of this area became addicted to opium during the colonial period.

During the early years of their rule over Assam, the British often gave opium to the tribals as present *so as to make them addicted to it*. S E. Peal, for instance, mentions

Check Your Progress

14. Name the three methods of agriculture used by the tribes of Arunachal Pradesh.
15. What are the three broad categories of ownership of land in Arunachal Pradesh?
16. Which community in Arunachal Pradesh is the only example of settled regular cultivation of land?

NOTES

that while on a visit to Tirap district, one lady, 'complained to me.... that the *Nats*, or evil spirits, tormented her with pains, so I gave her a little present of opium and departed.' The Adis were also given two seers of Akbaree opium as political gift by an agreement dated 5th Nov. 1862. Capt. Dalton reported in 1852 that: 'Of late they (Adis) have added opium to their crops, and the use of the drug is rapidly spreading amongst them.' The Khamptis got so much used to taking opium that J. Errol had to admit in 1893 that only, 'a small proportion of the Khamptis are abstainers from this drug.' The use of opium gradually became widespread and to some extent the tribes of Arunachal Pradesh became partners in the 'Pagoda Trade' carried out by the colonial rulers. While the major portion of Indian opium was sent to China, a portion of it was sold in the north-eastern states. NEFA being new of them, this opium trade introduced and encouraged by the British, became new of the major sources of the economic drain from this area and prevented any economic development as such.

In the year 1884, the value of the opium sold to the tribal amounted to ₹30,300. This opium trade, as mentioned earlier, had many negative impacts on the economy as well as the social life of this area. Economically, it became the biggest source of drain of wealth from this region. Further, mostly through these trade fairs, the tribal economy became linked up with the economy of the outside world. The valuable tribal resources such as rubber, madder, Mishmi Tita, timber, etc., were largely sought after by the outsiders in these fairs and the tribal lost their natural resources rapidly without having been adequately paid for them. In no case, the money earned from the sale of these items was used for further economic investment. There can be no denial of the fact that the overall impact of the colonial contact on the tribal economy was definitely injurious to the lives of the tribal people. Low scale consumerism began to make its presence felt in the society; individual interests became more important than the group interest or the community interest; acquiring more wealth became an individual passion. All this led to the creation of inequalities in the society and the surplus wealth generated through the trade with the outside world got concentrated in a few hands. There was no marked improvement in the standard of living of the people.

The Inner Line Regulation of 1873 must be mentioned here, which also affected the economy of this area. The details of the Inner Line System and its impact have been studied in the unit concerned. Here, however, it is important to mention that the main motive behind the Inner Line was the protection of the British trade and the Imperial interests. Another economic aspect of this Regulation, which was to become evident much later, was that the outside investment was totally discouraged in Arunachal Pradesh and the state was deprived of the technological advances that generally follow the outside investment. The colonial government, as already said, was never interested in introducing any reform in this area. The overall result was that not only did the economy of Arunachal Pradesh remain backward during the colonial period, much of the natural resources of the state were exploited in addition to the loss of egalitarian social ethos. It is largely due to the impact of colonial rule that the economic considerations which played a restricted part among the tribal, became more important gradually, and it can now be seen and felt almost everywhere in Arunachal Pradesh.

Check Your Progress

17. What basic impact did the establishment of the British rule in northeast India have on the people of the region?
18. Which activity proved to be a turning point in the economic history of the entire region?
19. What was the most disastrous item purchased by the tribals?

ACTIVITY

Make a collage of Arunachal Pradesh, showing the people, dress, culture, occupations, food, etc.

NOTES

DID YOU KNOW

Arunachal Pradesh, meaning 'Land of the Rising Sun,' long has been a recognized region of the Indian subcontinent, receiving mention in such ancient Hindu literature as the *Kalika-purana* and the epic poems *Mahabharata* and *Ramayana*. Formerly known as the North East Frontier Agency (from the British colonial era), the area became the Indian union territory of Arunachal Pradesh in 1972, and in 1987 it became an Indian state. The region, however, has been the subject of an ongoing sovereignty dispute between India and China.

9.7 SUMMARY

In this unit, you have learnt that:

- Agriculture is the main occupation of the people of Arunachal Pradesh. Most of the state land is covered with dense and rich forests. So forest products and industries, based on forest products are the lifeline in the state and provide income and employment to a large number of people.
- Most of the industries in the state are centered round forest products such as timber, veneer and plywood. In addition to forest-based industries, there are tea, cement and petrochemical industries.
- Shifting cultivation known as Jhum, which means collective farming, occupies the central position in Arunachal Pradesh, in the field of agriculture. This is the type of cultivation that is still popular with majority of the people in the area since earlier days.
- Land ownership pattern in Arunachal Pradesh is by and large communal but there is private ownership as well. However, there are no records of rights in the state. No survey and settlement has ever taken place in Arunachal Pradesh.
- The present role of land records is limited, in the sense that there are no land records in the state. Nor is there any law dealing with the land matters.
- The existing land record administration at various levels is rather weak. There is lack of trained revenue officers who could carry out land management and revenue administration.
- The present role of the revenue functionaries is extremely limited. Extremely meager revenue duties are performed by the Deputy Commissioners and by officers like Assistant Commissioner and Circle Officer posted under their control.
- Only a handful of technical personnel like surveyors, supervisors, Kanungos; Mandals and chainman are posted in the district headquarter who cannot cope with either rural or urban survey.
- On the basis of this discussion, we can conclude that the traditional economic life of people of Arunachal Pradesh was developed and developed further during the pre-colonial period.
- However, during the colonial period the British policy adversely affected the people of Arunachal Pradesh.

NOTES

9.8 KEY TERMS

- **NEFA:** The North-East Frontier Agency (NEFA) (formerly the North-East Frontier Tracts) was one of the political divisions in British India and later the Republic of India till 1972, when it became the Union Territory of Arunachal Pradesh.
- **Non plan expenditure:** Consists of Revenue and Capital Expenditure on interest payments, defence expenditure, subsidies, postal deficit, police, pensions, economic services, loans to public sector enterprises and loans as well as grants to State governments, Union territories and foreign governments.
- **Remunerative:** Financially rewarding; lucrative
- **Hoe:** A long-handled gardening tool with a thin metal blade, used mainly for weeding and breaking up soil
- **Jhum cultivation:** A local name for 'Slash and Burn' agriculture practiced by the tribal groups in the north-eastern states of India like Arunachal Pradesh
- **Neolithic:** Of, relating to, or denoting the later part of the Stone Age, when ground or polished stone weapons and implements prevailed
- **Dibble:** A pointed hand tool for making holes in the ground for seeds or young plants
- **Fallow:** Cultivated land that is not seeded for one or more growing seasons
- **Singhpho:** One of the powerful tribes living in plains and hills of Assam has the glorious story to tell about their deep-rooted eco-social and cultural aspects in greater Assamese national life.
- **Apatani:** Tribal group of people living in the Ziro valley in the Lower Subansiri district of Arunachal Pradesh.
- **Sherdukpen:** An ethnic group related to both the Aka and Monpa
- **Khampti:** A sub-group of the Shan people found in the Sagaing Division, Hkamti District in northwestern Burma as well as Lohit district of Arunachal Pradesh.

9.9 ANSWERS TO 'CHECK YOUR PROGRESS'

1. The use of iron became popular only after the British rule in the Northeast India, in the principal tools for agricultural operations.
2. Most of the tribes of this area, with the exception of the Apatani and to some extent the Monpas and the Sherdukpens, followed the cyclic method of shifting cultivation, called Jhum cultivation.
3. An important feature of the Jhum, practiced by the tribal people was that instead of rotation of the crops, the fields were rotated.
4. Sedentary agriculture is practiced in one place by a settled farmer in which fields are not rotated. The only tribe in entire Arunachal Pradesh which pursues this method of agriculture is the Apatani tribe.
5. According to Christoph von Fürer-Haimendorf, the cornerstone of Apatani agriculture is the cultivation of rice on irrigated terraces.

NOTES

6. Amrendra Kumar Thakur in his book *Slavery in Arunachal Pradesh* (New Delhi, 2003), provides in details the slave trade among the tribes of Arunachal Pradesh and the neighbouring areas.
7. Chinese writers Chang Kien (200 BC) and Kai Tan (8th Century AD) described the ancient routes coming through the eastern parts of Arunachal and connecting China with the plains of Assam.
8. The Adis of the eastern part of Siang had trade relations with Assam from where they imported salt, utensils, clothes, *daos*, beads, cows, goats, woolen yam, etc., and exported chilies, ginger, animal skins, elephant tusks, musk, wax, rubber, etc.
9. In Arunachal Pradesh, the main handicraft items are made up of bamboo as a raw material. It is an important raw material for tribal artisans. Wool is also an important raw material.
10. The traditional Galong cloth is white with broad rectangular design across the centre.
11. The Sherdukpens mainly weave attractive coloured bags with beautiful designs which are called *bogres*.
12. In the Lohit district, cane and bamboo work is an important household industry.
13. The Noctes, Wanchos and the Singphos are expert in cane and bamboo work.
14. In accordance with the environmental conditions, the tribal evolved their own methods of agriculture, which can be divided into three categories namely: shifting or Jhum, permanent or sedentary and mixed type of agriculture.
15. In the case of Arunachal Pradesh, we can consider the ownership of land under three broad categories, i.e., the land owned by the village, the land owned by the clan and the land owned by the individual.
16. The only example of settled regular cultivation of land in Arunachal Pradesh is perhaps the Apatani community, which confined in a comparatively small area, evolved a very strong sense of private ownership of land.
17. The establishment of the British rule in northeast India changed the economic life of the people of this region and cracks began to appear in the conventional economic system.
18. The discovery of tea plant in Assam proved to be a turning point in the economic history of the entire region.
19. Opium was the most disastrous item purchased by the tribals.

9.10 QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Short-Answer Questions

1. What do you understand by non-plan expenditure?
2. What is Jhum cultivation?
3. What are the stages that mark the agricultural operations in Jhum cultivation?
4. Name the principal crops grown by the Aptani.
5. Define the term mixed agriculture.

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Long-Answer Questions

1. Write a note on the agriculture and supplementary economy of Arunachal Pradesh.
2. Elaborate on the various forms and routes of exchange.
3. Explain the processes involved in the production of utilitarian items in Arunachal Pradesh.
4. Describe the pattern of land ownership in Arunachal Pradesh.
5. What was the impact of the British rule on the traditional economy of Arunachal Pradesh?

9.11 FURTHER READING

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UNIT 10 TRADITIONAL RELIGION AND SOCIETY

Structure

10.0 Introduction
10.1 Unit Objectives
10.2 Indigenous Faiths
10.3 Buddhism
  10.3.1 Mahayana
  10.3.2 Theravada
10.4 Factors of Social Change
10.5 Summary
10.6 Key Terms
10.7 Answers to 'Check Your Progress'
10.8 Questions and Exercises
10.9 Further Reading

10.0 INTRODUCTION

To understand the traditional and religious aspects of Arunachal Pradesh, it is important to understand their religion. The concept of religion has been enriched by scholars working on the aspects of societies all over the world as well as religion across ages. The *Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary* provides us different meanings of the term religion, such as: 1. Belief in the existence of a god or gods, who has or have created the universe and given man a spiritual nature which continues to exist after the death of the body; 2. Particular system of faith and worship based on such a belief 3. Controlling influence on one's life; something one is devoted or committed to. To the German philosopher, Karl Marx, 'Religion is the sigh of the oppressed creature, the heart of heartless world, just as it is the spirit of a spiritless situation. It is the opium of the people.' American novelist and naturalist, Theodore Dreiser, said: 'If I were personally to define religion, I would say that it is a bondage that man has invented to protect a soul made bloody by circumstances.'

The *Encyclopedia of Social and Cultural Anthropology* (Routledge, London, 2002) provides a comprehensive development in the studies of religion and the conceptual development of the same. The nineteenth century anthropologists considered religion as often opposed to science, and placed in an earlier position as a universal model of human evolution. The development in the study of religion is seen among the 20th century anthropologists. They freed themselves from the evolutionist assumption of the earlier scholars and studied religion from the perspective of the so-called 'primitive religion'. French sociologist, David Emile Durkheim emphasized upon 'ritual as a kind of collective action in which society celebrates its own transcendent power over its individual members'. The view of Durkheim is known as the 'functionalism'; from the middle of the twentieth century, the attention of the scholars shifted from functionalism to Max Weber's approach of comparative sociology of religion. American anthropologist, Clifford Geertz, is also important to be quoted here: 'A religion is a system of symbols which acts to establish powerful, pervasive and long-lasting moods and motivations in men by formulating conceptions of a general order of existence

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and clothing these conceptions with such an aura of factuality that the moods and motivations seem uniquely realistic.' Geertz emphasizes upon the roles of 'symbol' and 'ritual' in the religion in shaping the ethos of a society and making the worldview seem real, respectively. Maurice Bloch explains this by arguing that the ritual refers to the other-worldly, which is removed from historical events, and that its form of discourse (singing, dancing, use of material objects – activities that have no ordinary referential meaning) also distances it. The rituals provide an ideology in which this world is denied, or hidden, while the other higher world (of the ancestors) is shown to be more real.

These approaches to the study of religion seem to hold good when we try to study the indigenous faith of the people of Arunachal Pradesh. Verrier Elwin, in his book, *A Philosophy for NEFA* (Itanagar, 1959) has pointed out five outstanding qualities of indigenous faiths of NEFA. Firstly, there is a very general belief in a Supreme God who is just, benevolent and good; secondly, in the tribal religion there is genuine emphasis on the spiritual realities behind the events of everyday life; thirdly, the tribal religion is built up from an elaborate mythology; fourthly, the tribal religion is associated with a social ethic that unites the tribe in its discipline; and finally, the tribal religion gives the people the power to reconcile themselves in the eternal emergencies of life. The indigenous religion of the people of Arunachal Pradesh is a part of their everyday life, much beyond the shrines or temples; statues and images. It has elaborate social ethical codes that unite the people and foster the tribal qualities of hospitality, truthfulness and integrity.

Besides, the book by Verrier Elwin, the articles and the introduction in the book *Religion in Indian History* (edited with an introduction by Irfan Habib, Tulika, New Delhi, 2007) situate the subject of religion from the ancient period to the contemporary period and the book as a whole is important to understand the horizons of religions in the changing times. The books edited by B. Tripathy and S. Dutta, *Religious History of Arunachal Pradesh* (Gyan Publishing House, New Delhi, 2008) and N. Nagaraju and B. Tripathy, *Cultural Heritage of Arunachal Pradesh* (Indus Publishing Company, New Delhi, 2006) contain articles which also deal with religions of Arunachal Pradesh. A recently edited book by Lalrinnunga Hmar, *Religion, Beliefs and Practices in Northeast India* (Mittal, New Delhi, 2013) is a collection of nineteen articles on the indigenous religions of the people of northeast India, including that of Arunachal Pradesh. This is the first such collection where the indigenous religions of the region is being studied and understood. The discussion on the Nyishi and Aka societies in the book is comprehensive. The articles published in the *Proceedings of North East India History* Association also provide valuable information and insight into the study of the indigenous religions. In the textbook D. Pandey also writes about the religions of Arunachal Pradesh.

This unit will look at the indigenous faiths of Arunachal Pradesh and the factors of social change.

10.1 UNIT OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to:

- Discuss the indigenous faiths of the people of Arunachal Pradesh
- Describe the forms of Buddhism popular in Arunachal Pradesh
- Explain the factors responsible for social change

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10.2 INDIGENOUS FAITHS

The indigenous faiths of the people of Arunachal Pradesh are more or less recorded now. Initially they were extensively expressed in the form of oral traditions, poems, myths, legends, folklore, folktales and performing arts that are transmitted across generations by word of mouth by priests. The cult of sacrifice was also a dominant feature of indigenous religious practices of the tribes of Arunachal Pradesh. From the point of view of religion or faith, the entire state of Arunachal Pradesh can be roughly divided into three main groups. In the first place we have tribes like the Nyishis, the Hill Miris, the Apatanis, the Adis and the Mishmis who fall into the category of what has been termed as hereditary — Shamanism. The tribes included in this category have many cultural traits and beliefs including their pantheon of Gods and spirits in common. The second group consists of tribes like die Monpas, the Sherdukpens, the Singphos, the Khamptis, the Membas and the Khambas who came under the influence of Buddhism and their religious life is deeply influenced by this religion. The third group comprises tribes like the Noctes, the Wanchos and the Tangsas of the Tirap region who are related to the Naga tribes to their southwest and had a very strong tradition of headhunting in the past. The religion of the tribes falling into this category can be broadly termed as animism. The book edited by B. B. Pandey and D. K. Duarah, *Myths and Beliefs on Creation of Universe among the Tribes of Arunachal Pradesh* (Directorate of Research, Government of Arunachal Pradesh, Itanagar, 1999) is also an important source to understand the traditional religions of Arunachal Pradesh.

The Hereditary Shamanism Group

The most popular indigenous faith among the people of Arunachal Pradesh is the faith in Donyi-Polo. The people believe that it was at the beginning of this age, some uncountable centuries ago, that *Aane Donyi,* the Cosmic Supreme Authority, spoke to *Aabhu Thanyi* and Her devotees. Her teachings and discourse are one of the greatest philosophical and religious knowledge known to humankind that took place just after the creation of the Universe. *Aane Donyi* grants *Aabhu Thanyi* the divine vision and reveals His spectacular unlimited form as the Cosmic Universe. Thus, *Aabhu Thanyi* conclusively establishes His divinity. *Aane Donyi* explains to *Aabhu Thanyi* that His won all-beautiful humanlike form is the original form of the Supreme Progenitor of human generations; one can perceive this form only by pure devotional service to *Aane Donyi.* These spirits are known as *Uyu.*

The indigenous religious institutions like the *Nyedar Namlo* of the Nyishi, the *Medar Nelo* of the Apatani, the *Kargu Gamgi* of the Galo, the *Donyi Polo Dere* of the Adi, the *Rangfraa* of the Tangsa, and the *Rang O* of the Nocte are believed to be drawn out of this religious philosophical thought and considered as the highest end of spiritual existence ever known to humankind. God is worshipped in the form of a symbolic image of the *Aane Donyi* (the sun and other symbolic objects), which is kept on the raised small platform in a *Namlo* or *Dere* (temples). The worshipper comes to the worshipping place either alone or in a family group, makes his/her offering and then departs. It would be seen that the underlying philosophy of the *Aane Donyi* and the *Aathu Polo* is to emphasize on conjoint action to preserve the *Aabhu Thanyi* religion and culture with pristine ethos within the indigenous community of Arunachal Pradesh. The community also believes that all embodied souls are under the control of the Three Truths or Observances. They are *Aane Donyi* (The Creator), *Aabhu*

NOTES

Thanyi (Inheritor and Preserver) and the *Swchne* (Mother Earth), the Supreme Abode of all human beings after death. *Swchne* is a dwelling place for living creatures including humans, animal and all living organisms. One or the other day all decadent living organisms are bound to enter into the lap of the *Swchne.* No one can escape from this Truth, whether it is animate or inanimate. This is the Absolute Truth of all souls which is realized in the Three Truths of philosophical understanding by the believer of the *Aane Donyi* and the *Aathu Polo,* and all souls are identical.

Humans have long recognized the Sun's role in supporting life on the Earth, and as a result many societies throughout history have paid homage or worshipped the Sun by giving it a prominent role in their religion and mythologies. According to religious belief and mythological traditions current amongst the indigenous communities the Sun is seen together with the other celestial bodies which move across the *nyedone* (sky). The bodies are called *dokar thamar* (planets). The religious significance of the Sun has its roots in the earliest recorded oral tribal history. The tribal myths personify the Sun as a Mother named *Aane Donyi* who wore a shinning crown and have a golden walking stick across the sky, causing day and night. Moon is personified as the Father named *Aathu Polo* or *Aabhu Polo* who drew its cosmic energy from *Aane Donyi.*

The worship of the Sun amongst the tribal of Arunachal Pradesh has its cultural and philosophical origin since migration and settlement of the people in the areas of Arunachal Pradesh. The tribal identified the Sun and the Moon with the Supreme Authority of the powerful life giver and source of energy. God in their religion and the visible Sun of the present day are symbolic replica and representative of the supreme deity of the *Aane Donyi.* The tribal practices of indigenous religion have long been cultivated in their customs, and a traditional practice of ritual on a faith line revolves around the Three Truths. The tribe believes in the creation of Universe and worships the *Aane Donyi* as the Creator. She created the *Donyi* (Sun) and the *Polo* (the existing Moon) along with other planetary bodies including the Earth. The centre of philosophy of the *Donyi Polo* religion is called *Hibh Donyi*. The *Gyobh Donyi* means the Creator is far beyond the existing physical Sun and Moon, which had been created to give light and energy to the Universe and other living organisms. Hence, the bodily existence of the Sun and the Moon is merely a symbolic representative of the Creator and objective replica of it. To know the *Chength* or *Swchwngne* (Earth) and the *doth* (space) with innumerable *domar thakar* (stars), the Sun and the Moon are nothing but the creation of the *Aane Donyi* to perform the physical action on Her behalf as Her Agents to give life and energy to humankind. The permanence of these objects is testimony to lively creation and expression of its omniscient, omnipotent and omnipresence. The physical action of the *Aane Donyi* is characterized as *wjwng paanam* (the creation) of air, energy, light, water and life. Here entire act of creation phenomenon is known as *wjwng paanam* or *pabuq naam.*

Spiritual knowledge and wisdom, according to indigenous religious practitioners, may be gained from *nyubu* (priests), religious leaders, sacred knowledge and personal supernatural revelation. Tribal religions view such knowledge as unlimited in scope and sufficient to answer any question; others see religious knowledge as playing a more restricted role, often as a complement to knowledge gained through physical observation. Some *nyubu* maintain that religious knowledge obtained in this way is absolute and infallible (religious cosmology).

A complex system of beliefs in the spiritual qualities of nature and, at the same time, the conception of a Supreme Being are the two important traits which characterize

NOTES

the religion of this group. The spiritual world of the tribes is dominated by a number of spirits either good or bad. It is normally believed that various diseases, miseries and misfortune are caused by the evil spirits. These spirits have such great powers that they may exert influence on man in his earthly life and after-life too. Also, almost every tribe believed in a Supreme God, who is regarded as just, benevolent and good. *Doyni Polo* or the Sun and the Moon are regarded often as one high God symbolizing eternal truth.

In the Adi religion, there are a number of benevolent and malevolent spirits and deities. These spirits are generally called *Uyu* or *Wiyu*. The main benevolent deities of the Padam-Minyong group of the Adis are Doying-Bote, etc., whereas the malevolent deities are *Robo, Taro, Banji-Bote, Lesi-Letang, Biri-Bote, Medeng-Mone* etc. The benevolent deities are believed to be nearer the creator whom they call as *Sedi*; whereas the malevolent deities are considered to be closer to the physical world. The Galo group of the Adis believed that there are different deities commanding different spheres of this world. They also hold that the same deity may act as benevolent or malevolent as per the need of the situation. Many of the spirits, according to the Galos, are the descendants of Taki. The Ramo group of the Adis also believes that the malevolent spirits are the descendants of Taki or Riki. They call these deities as Kibo-Rambo.

The Adis also believe that the universe and all the living beings have been created by a supreme natural power or a creator, which is called *Sedi* or *Jimi* by the Padam-Minyongs and the Galos, respectively. It is believed that this Supreme God has created a number of gods and goddesses who in turn have given birth to so many invisible spirits who control the various spheres of human life. It is believed that the entire universe is the physical embodiment of *Sedi* or *Jimi*. The Adi abangs (ballads), narrate that the Sun and the Moon — the Donyi and the Polo — are the two eyes of the Creator with which he keeps a vigil on the universe and humanity. The name of the *Donyi-Polo* comes next to *Sedi* or *Jimi* in the *abangs*. As per their myth, the creator becomes obscure and silent after the creation. The *Donyi-Polo*, thereafter, becomes the protector or saviour. It is interesting to note that no sacrifice is offered by the Adis in the name of *Sedi* or *Jimi*, the Creator. Since it is believed by the Adis that the Donyi and Polo are the two eyes of the Creator, forever watching them, they conduct themselves in the name of *Donyi-Polo* to realise the highest order of truth. The Galos believe that *Donyi* is the controller of the fate of men and they worship him for several reasons. There are different opinions regarding the sex of *Donyi-Polo* amongst the various branches of the Adis. Some hold that it is a single deity with a double personality having the functions of the sun and the moon, while some believe that they are two entities, *Donyi* being the husband of *Polo*.

Like the Adis, the Nyishis also believe in the existence of a number of spirits which are called *Wiyus*. They believe that there are *Wiyus* in the jungles, on the lofty hills, on the top of tall trees, in rivers, and inside and outside the houses and these spirits often hurt men. Unlike the Adi belief, most of the Nyishi *Wiyus* are malevolent in character and cause harm to human beings. The most dreaded *Wiyus* are the *Dojing* and Yapom who reside in the jungles and take a toll of the human lives as they please by making people fall ill. Similarly, *Jengee* and *Pamte*, *Nyori* and *Pamsi* are known for causing various kinds of fever. A number of these spirits live in the forests that make people miserable by causing fevers and aches, swellings, dysentery and sores. *Parte-Rinte Wiyus* are believed to be responsible for agriculture and, therefore, if a man is to have good crop, these spirits should be pleased. Then there are domestic *Wiyus* like Rintum Purtum, Chirr Yorr, Erki, etc., who look after the welfare of the

NOTES

family and are given offerings of chicken and fowl. It is very difficult to mention the name of all the *Wiyus* here since their number is very big.

The Nyishis believe in *Ane Duini* (the Sun mother) who is regarded as the Supreme Mother, kind and benevolent. She showers her kindness on society and nothing can be achieved without her will. She gives crops and keeps the granaries filled; she gives children and keeps them well; without her mercy none could get or keep slaves. Generally, no special prayers are offered to *Ane Duini* on ordinary occasions, but on special occasions like marriage, she is given the highest offerings and her name is sung in the songs on all important occasions. Life would have been very difficult, so the Nyishis believe, without the existence of *Ane Duini*.

The Apatanis have a deep-rooted faith in their religion. Like other tribes they too have their own myths regarding creation and the Creator. There is a general belief in one Supreme God who is considered as just, benevolent and good. Donyi-Polo is often regarded as one high God representing eternal truth. The Apatani idea of soul, called *Yalo*, is that a separation of the soul and body takes place at the time of death. *Nelli* is the name given to the village where, as per their belief, all the dead persons go. It is held that an Apatani would live in the *Nelli* as he lived on the earth. Every woman is united in the *Nelli* with her first husband. *Nelli* is also the abode of many gods and spirits. They also believe that all those who die an inauspicious or violent death, go to a different world called *talimiko*, which is situated somewhere in the sky. Two important deities worshipped by the Apatanis are Kiru and Kilo and they are worshipped during the festival of Molko. Chandum and Didim are believed to be responsible for the creation of the earth and the sky. Ui-kascmg and Nia-kasang are the two gods of war. It is important to note that most of their deities are conceived as pairs by the Apatanis and they never invoke them single. Another Apatani myth tells us that in the beginning there was only water. The earth was then created by three female deities called *Ui-Tango, Ui-Ngurre and Tguntre*, along with their male counterparts known as *Ei-Karte, Rup- Karte and Ain-Karte*. These six deities are considered to be responsible for the creation of all the trees, plants, birds, animals and even the sun, the moon and the stars. The origin of man is ascribed to Hilo, who is believed to be the maker of Abo Tani, the first ancestor of the Apatanis.

The Akas believe in a number of gods and spirits who rule over mankind. There is a deity who is believed to be responsible for a particular phase of human life. Some of these deities are benevolent while others are malevolent in nature. The higher gods are identified with four major forces of nature, namely, the Sky, the Mountains, the Earth, and the Water. The most important deity of the Akas is *Tcharo* who is the ruler of the human as well as the animal kingdom. He looks after the welfare of human beings and protects their cattle. To keep him happy, he is appeased by ways of sacrifices from time to time. Another important deity of the Akas is *Aphinchi*, responsible for the birth of a child. The deity looking after the cattle of the people is called *Jinte-Plnte Murje*. The deity of the wild life is *Pamle-gri*; agriculture is controlled by *Wee-Oesche*; and so on.

The higher Gods, according to the Akas, not only reign over mankind but control the deities as well as natural phenomena. These gods command great respect and reverence. There are four gods, namely *Netz Au* or the God of Sky, *Phu Au* or the God of Mountains, *No Ain* or the God of Earth, and *Hu Ain* or the God of River. These higher Gods are believed to be capable of both the benignant as well as malignant powers. Sacrifice is offered to these Gods so that they remain satisfied and do not cause any harm to the people. In addition to these four Gods, there is another God of the Akas, known as *Sikchi* whose kingdom is under the earth. All human habitation and

NOTES

vegetation are above him and he must be kept pleased since the slightest disturbance on his part may result in unforeseen calamities (earthquake).

The Tagins, like many other tribes, believe in the Sun-Moon God whom they call *Daini-Pol. Daini* (Sun) is believed to be the female and *Pol* (Moon) as male. They are at the apex and have unlimited powers at their command. Sacrifice is offered to *Daini-Pol* only on special occasions such as marriage. The Tagins also believe in a number of spirits or *Wiyus*, who are considered as capable of exercising a direct and strong influence on the daily lives of the human beings. Some of these spirits, such as Bago, Yabu and Pakya are the benevolent spirits and they look after the welfare of human beings in many ways. If, however, these spirits are offended, they may cause harm and even take away the soul or *Yalo*. The Tagins believe that different spirits or *Wiyus* are responsible for causing different diseases. The Daini or the Sun, according to the Tagins, decides the destiny of a child and writes it in the heart of every new born.

The Mishmis believe in a Supreme God whom they regard as the Creator embodying the highest ethical principle of justice. The different branches of the Mishmis have different names for this Supreme God: the Idus call him Inni, the Taraons call him Jab Main, and the Ramans call him Matai. Since this Supreme God is believed to be above all human considerations, no sacrifice is offered to him; but his name is invariably involved on all religious occasions. In addition to the Supreme God, the Mishmis, too, believe in a number of spirits who influence the lives of the human beings. These spirits are believed to reside in trees, sky, water, and air and sacrifice is offered to them so that they remain pleased. Some of the spirits in which the Mishmis believe, are the *Cupe* of the Taraons and the Kamans, which is an evil spirit; Slong of the Ramans and Achva of the Taraons, who cause pain in the stomach of the children; *Kachel* of the *Ramans* and *Maiei* of the *Taraons*, who bring epidemics; the *Hambram* of the *Kamans* and the Bra of the Taraons, who cause serious illness. Amongst the Idus, there are spirits such as *Abruli-Ali*, the spirit who guards the household; *Asa*, an evil spirit living under the earth; *Beika*, a snake spirit living under water; *Asu*, a noble spirit who gives wealth; *Ithri*, a spirit who makes people vomit blood.

Priesthood

The priests or the shamans play a very important role in the religious life of all the tribes who fall in the category of 'Hereditary- Shamanism'. They are to play a very responsible role in society and their advice is sought on almost every important occasion such as building of a house, marriage, sowing in the field, before undertaking a long journey, before a hunting expedition, and so on. It is generally believed that only the priests have knowledge of divination and, therefore, they are summoned in case of sickness and temporal distress. They are the representative of the people to communicate their sufferings and grievances to the spirits and to seek redress. In other words, they are the intermediary between the spiritual world and this mortal world. Amongst the Adis, these priests are called Nyibos and one who shows special talent to foretell things and fall into trances in childhood becomes a Nyibo. The profession is not hereditary. As Dr T. Nyori has pointed out: 'Thus, Nyibos are born and not made as the poets are born and not made.'

Among the Galos there are two types of *Nyibos*, namely the *mumin nyibos* and the *nyigre nyibos*. It is believed that the *nyibos* are guided by spiritual attendants called *doyi-lulu* or *talo-tanya* when they perform the religious rites. Some of the Adi *nyibos* have special costumes which include strings of beads, sword, and feathers of cock or hornbill. Except while performing religious rites, the priests are regarded as ordinary citizens of the community, and, like all other members of Adi society, they lead

NOTES

a common life. Dr Nyori has defined the position of the Adi priests in these words: 'His is an art just like any other and thus his position is like any other profession in modem society. For his work, he collects fees.'

In Nyishi society, the priests hold a distinguished position because of their ability to cure various diseases caused by the various spirits known to the Nyishis. Here again, there are two types of priests, namely the *nijik nube* who treat only ordinary sufferings and observe omens in egg or chicken, and *nube* who are greatly skilled in their profession and are known over wide areas. A third category of the priests is also there in Nyishi society, serving as the intermediaries between men and the spirits or *Wiyus*. These priests are called *nyoki nube*. The priest performs an important role in Nyishi society and his presence is a must on almost every important occasion like birth, death, marriage, sickness or sacrifice. For his services, he is given the traditional presents of special parts of the sacrificed animal, beer, beads, majis (imported bells), and duos. The *nyoki nubes* lead a comfortable life and are given rich presents. Their houses are decorated with heads of animals and fans made out of the feathers of rare birds.

Animism

The Noctes and the Wanchos, who inhabit the Tirap district of Arunachal Pradesh, are related to the Naga tribes to their southwest and, therefore, their religious faiths and beliefs have close association with the Naga religion that has been termed as 'animism'. Both these tribes, in the past had a strong tradition of 'headhunting'. There is a strong belief among both the tribes in the existence of a number of good or bad spirits, who are subordinate to a Supreme deity. Commenting on the Naga religion which forms the basis of the religion of the Noctes and the Wanchos, W Robinson wrote in 1841: 'Thus among the Nagas, we discern apprehensions of some invisible and powerful beings. These apprehensions, however, seem at first to be suggested to mind rather by the dread of impending evils, then to flow from the gratitude for the blessings received. Hence probably originated the worship of evil spirits... They seem to have a perception that there must be some universal cause to whom all things are indebted for their being. They appear also to acknowledge a Divine Power to be the Maker of the world and the Disposer of all events: Him they denominate the Great Spirit.'

The Noctes believe in the existence of a higher supernatural being, which dwells on earth and everything in the life of human beings is guided by Him. He is called *Jauban or Tesong* and is believed to have a dual personality – one good and one bad. The first form brings prosperity and happiness and the other brings sorrows and miseries in their lives. These two moods of the Supreme Being are called *Kat Jauban and Wang Jauban.* Parul Dutta in his book *The Noctes* has propounded that originally the *Jauban* might have been a malevolent deity and with the passage of time, it acquired the benevolent form. The Noctes also believe in a number of spirits and deities. These deities are again both benevolent and malevolent. There is, however, no uniformity in the names of these spirits and each village has its own name for the various spirits. The benevolent spirits dwell in house and protect human beings from sorrow and miseries. They are propitiated regularly with offerings of food and other things in order to get their continued support and protection from malevolent spirits. One main feature of the Nocte religion is that all the supernatural beings recognized by them are male in sex and female in spirit.

In addition to the traditional religious beliefs, the Noctes have adopted Vaishnavism in its rudimentary form around 250 years back. They are affiliated to Shree *Chaliah Bareghar Satra* of Nazira. The converts to Vaishnavism were the Namsangia and Borduaria Noctes. In accordance with the Vaishnavite tenets, the Noctes do not take

NOTES

beef, and their hair is cut round the head in what is called *Satriya* fashion. The Wanchos also belief in the existence of a Supreme God of Heavens, whom they call Rang, who is benevolent personality and is considered as creator. Rang or the Sky God, so the Wanchos believe, is always opposed to *Bau-rang* the God of Earth and a malevolent Destroyer. Incidentally, both Rang and Bau- rang are brothers, as per their tradition. At times, conflicts take place between these two and result in an earthquake. Sacrifices are offered to Bau-rang to save the human race from evil and destruction.

Besides these two gods, Wanchos also believed in a number of deities. There are a number of magical belief and practices in the everyday lives of Wanchos that have become a part of their religion. They also propitiate a number of spirits by offering sacrifices on different occasions. Some of the spirits propitiated by the Wanchos are *Baua, the benevolent spirit of jungle, Lamlong kang,* the spirit of Rainbow, *Joka,* a malevolent spirit: *Nam* is the spirit of water who is malevolent. The Wanchos hardly perform any ceremony that can be strictly called religious. But there are a number of rituals observed in connection with sickness, disease and calamity.

The Tangsas whose religion can also be termed as 'Animism' also believe in a Supreme Being who lives in heaven and is called *Sikia Pra or Rang Kau Hawa.* Though he is considered to be benevolent and a fountain of blessings for mankind, he is not at all worshipped nor is any sacrifice offered in his name since he is believed to be above all such things. They believe in a number of spirits, both benevolent and malevolent, called *Thangs, Sangs* or *Jubedis.* Sacrifices are offered to these spirits. Like the Wanchos, a number of Magico-religious rituals are performed by the Tangsas. Most of these rituals are connected with the disease and its cure. Pigs and fowls are sacrificed in almost all rituals performed for the appeasement of deities and spirits. In the past, the Ron-Rangs, a branch of the Tangsas, performed human sacrifice on the occasion of *Dowan,* but this was banned by the government later on.

Tradition of Headhunting

As we have mentioned earlier, both the Noctes and the Wanchos had a strong tradition of headhunting in the past. In contrast to the views of some Western writers it was neither a sign of lawlessness in the societies nor the whims or fancies of the persons involved. Though the practice of headhunting was not purely religious, it carried behind it the religious sanctions and was undertaken only after divination. Belief in the magical powers of human heads, particularly in connection with the fertility cult, was one of the main reasons behind this practice. Omens were taken by the village priests to foresee the outcome, and the expedition started only if they were favourable. After returning from a successful raid, the headhunters indulged in dancing and singing. The heads were collected in one place and the priest mixed powdered rice and egg and sprinkled the mixture over the heads to calm down the spirits of the dead person. These heads were then hung from a tree. The headhunters got themselves tattooed. Khotang festival was then celebrated in which the heads were boiled, cleaned and put together in one place. The headhunters danced around the heads and a share of the community feast was offered to these heads. After the Khotang festival was over, the heads were put to rest in the *morung.*

The Wanchos also undertook headhunting raids in the past and human head formed the central motif of their traditional wood carving; in addition to the expression of their manliness and powers, the encroachment on other's territory and refusal to pay compensation by the poachers when detected were the causes of attack for headhunting. There was then, of course, the belief in the magical efficacy of human head because it

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was believed to increase the yield of cultivated land. Here again, it was customary to take augury in order to tell the result, and the expedition was undertaken when the prediction was favourable. During the expedition, heads were taken indiscriminately, but under no circumstances could a commoner take the head of a chief. The exception to this rule was punished heavily. After the heads were brought to the village, the flesh was allowed to decompose, after which the heads or skulls were cleaned with boiling water and preserved in the *morungs* or a house specially constructed for the purpose near the house of the chief, which was called *ponu*. A ceremony was held after five days of bringing the heads to the village in which the headhunters were tattooed on different parts of the body. The festival which was celebrated after harvesting was called *gantang* in which, just like the Noctes, the heads were offered rice beer and pieces of ginger.

10.3 BUDDHISM

Buddhism is practised by the Monpas and Sherdukpens of West Kameng and Tawang, and the Singphos and the Khamptis of the Lohit districts of Arunachal Pradesh. In addition, there are small tribes like the Membas and the Khambas of Siang who follow the doctrine of Buddhism. These tribes following Buddhism can again be divided into two categories, namely, the Monpas, Sherdukpens, Membas Khambas follow the Mahayana school of Buddhism; and the Singphos and the Khamptis follow the Hinayana school of Buddhism. Before we discuss these two schools of Buddhism, it is worthwhile mentioning here that Buddhism, though its origin was in India, reached this part of the country from outside India. If the Mahayana school of Buddhism reached in this part from Tibet/Bhutan, the Hinayana School reached from Burma.

Check Your Progress

1. The most popular indigenous faith among the people of Arunachal Pradesh is the faith in _____.
2. _____ is a dwelling place for living creatures including humans, animal and all living organisms.
3. The centre of philosophy of the Donyi Polo religion is called _____.
4. The Nyishis believe in the existence of a number of spirits which are called Wiyus. (True/False)
5. The Noctes and the Wanchos, who inhabit the Tirap district of Arunachal Pradesh, are related to the _____ tribes to their southwest.

10.3.1 Mahayana

According to the legends, Padamsambhava, who is called Lopom Rimpoche, visited the Monpa as well as the Sherdukpen areas and planted Buddhism there. The period of his visit is, as per the legend, somewhere in the 8th century. There are some places in the Monpa area which are even today believed to be visited by Lopom Rimpoche. In the Pangchen area, the Master (Rimpoche) is believed to have visited Taktsang and passed some time in meditation. The walls of the cave of his retreat are adorned with stone images which are believed to have been divinely created and not made by man. The Sherdukpens have nine such places in their area. For example, in the Flujima area, there is a rock with pug-marks of a dog and imprints of a shod foot of it, which is believed to be visited by the master with a dog.

It is also believed that Padamsambhava predicted the construction of three oldest temples in this region. Accordingly, one Nyingmapa Lama named Sherbum came from Bhutan to Tsosum (Tawang) and built three Nyingmapa temples of Urcyeling, Sangeling and Tsorgeling. Collectively, these three temples are called Lingsum of Three Stones and it is held that they were constructed earlier than the Kamakhya temple in Assam, somewhere towards the end of the 11th century or the early part of the 12th century.

The Great Tawang Monastery, that is the centre of the religious lives of the Monpas and the Sherdukpens, was constructed sometime between 1641 and 1647 A.D., and it is held that Mera Lama was responsible, under directives from Dalai Lama himself, for undertaking the construction of this monastery. It is said that the horse of Mera Lama guided him to the site of the monastery and, therefore, in the honour of the horse,

NOTES

the place was named as Tawang — Ta meaning horse and Wang meaning chosen or the place chosen by the horse.

The Monpas are devotedly attached to their religion. In the words of Dr Verrier Elwin, 'Quiet, gentle, friendly, courteous, industrious, good to animals, good to children, you see in Monpas the influence of the compassionate Lord Buddha on the ordinary man. They have little theology; they have a great deal of religion.' The villages of the Monpas are dotted with stone shrines called *mane* and *chorten*: The *mane* is made in the shape of a stone wall and is ten to twenty feet long and two to three feet high. The *chorten* is a stupa-shaped structure, where prayers are conducted. The Lama is responsible for conducting the prayers, and after the prayers are over, the devotees walk around *chortens* three times. Then there is the gompa which is the place to house the images of Lord Buddha and the religious books. Every gompa is under the supervision of one or more Lama and several flags are raised around this so that it can be noticed from quite a distance. The Tawang Gompa, as mentioned earlier, is the heart of Monpa life and culture. To quote Dr Elwin again: 'The Monpa Lamas are not perhaps very learned, but they have an infinite reverence for literature. There are some 700 books in the (Tawang Gompa) library and their great treasure is the Getompa, three volumes of which are lettered in gold... There used to be a printing press here, and there are still hundreds of oblong wooden blocks carved with Tibetan characters.'

In the Sherdukpen areas of Rupa and Shergaon, there are a number of gompas, which are generally three-storeyed and have wall-painting by artists from Tawang. The Rupa Gompa, the largest and the oldest monastery in the Sherdukpen area is said to have been built over 170 years ago. It was once used as a fort where people took refuge when the village was raided by the Akas. The Shergaon Gompa was built around 40 years ago. The Lamas from Tawang were invited after the construction of this gompa and the scenes of that occasion are portrayed in the paintings kept here. These Sherdukpen gompas, like those of the Monpas, are looked after by the Lamas, some of whom are trained in Tawang.

The duties of a Lama include looking after the gompa, making offerings to the images of Lord Buddha, caring of the holy books and presiding over the religious functions. Then, there are manes and *chortens* in every Sherdukpen village, similar to those of the Monpas. Both amongst the Monpas and the Sherdukpens, even the laymen have some understanding of the basic principles of their religion. This worldly existence, according to them, is full of suffering as it is followed by repeated births, old age, diseases and death. The 'Wheel of Life' depicts six planes of existence at different levels of being, namely, the realms of hell, hungry ghosts, animals, men, titans, and gods. The human beings are at the fourth realm from the bottom. The belief is that it is one's actions and deeds in this present life that determine one's rebirth after death in one of the six realms of existence. The ultimate aim of their religion, therefore, is mainly other-worldly, i.e. to attain perfect bliss. They hold that every morally good action helps to build up the store of merit essential for their spiritual progress. It is this motivation to secure a better rebirth that has made their thought and action completely dominated by their religion. The social fame and standing of an individual primarily depends on his pursuits in the religious plane.

In addition to Buddhism, both the Monpas and the Sherdukpens have some ritual practices which aim at securing their material prosperity and physical welfare in this world. There are various sacrificial rites and rites of exorcism held in the temples and in

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the private houses and directed at the appeasement of various spirits and deities. A detailed account of the religious customs and ceremonies of the Monpas and the Sherdukpens has been given by *Niranjan Sarkar* in his book *Buddhism amongst the Monpas and the Sherdukpens* (Itanagar, 1987).

It has been suggested by various writers that before the advent of Buddhism, the Monpas and the Sherdukpens believed in the existence of numerous gods and demons all around them; in other words they followed a Shamanistic faith. The fundamental principles of that religion were the same as those of the Bon religion of Tibet. When Buddhism had cast its spell over these areas, the sacrificial rites associated with the earlier religion were given up but the indigenous supernatural spirits and deities were included in its pantheon as the local defenders of faith and continued to be worshipped according to the modified manners of Buddhist rituals. A few of these supernatural beings are even today worshipped according to old rituals.

10.3.2 Theravada

The Hinayana form of Buddhism was brought to Arunachal Pradesh initially by the Khamptis and the Singphos who came from Burma. The Khamptis, following the Hinayana or Theravada School of Buddhism, believe that attainment of salvation or nirvana can only be achieved by following the Noble Eightfold Path, i.e. Right Thought, Right Views, Right Speech, Right Action, Right Livelihood, Right Effort, Right Mindfulness, and Right Meditation. This path, according to Buddhism, was taught by Lord Buddha as the only means of getting rid of the sufferings of this life. Like the Monpas and the Sherdukpens of the Mahayana School, the life of the Khamptis is deeply influenced by religion. To them, Lord Buddha is a great moral preacher, representing the virtues of love and pity, truth and honesty, and they seek his blessings in their daily prayers called *paiphara* for the welfare of the family as well as entire society. The religious preacher, who is devoted to the propagation of the teachings of Lord Buddha, is called *Phra-taka* or the disciple of God.

It is significant to note that the Khamptis are one of the few tribes of Arunachal having their own Tai-Khampti script and also having their written religious texts. The five principles or the Sin-Ha are an important part of the Khampti religion and in every religious prayer, the Sin-Ha are chanted by the devotees. Briefly speaking, these five principles say: I should abstain from killing the living beings; I should abstain from receiving unwilling donations; I should abstain from indulging in sexual pleasures and falsehood; I should abstain from telling lies; and I should abstain from taking intoxicating things and wine. In addition to these, there are the '*Ashta Shila*', and *'Dasa Shila'*, called Sin-Pet and Sin-Sip. The Sin-Pet is generally followed by the aged people since it is stricter and the followers abstain from taking food after twelve noon, from participating in dances and other amusements and also from sleeping on comfortable beds. In the Sin-Sip, the followers take a vow to abstain from receiving money and wealth from others. It is held by the Khamptis that Gautam Buddha occupies the fourth position in the line of Buddhas, and after five thousand years from his death, he will be succeeded by Ari Mitya or the Fifth Buddha.

Besides their faith in Buddhism, the Khamptis also conceive of a Supreme God or Creator called *Chau-Khun Shang* and also a lesser god called *Chau-ci-giya*, who looks after the welfare of the human beings. There are other gods too in the Khampti pantheon, who are invoked in a prayer known as *waiakyu*. The religious priests or Monks are men of great importance in the Khampti society and are well versed with the

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religious texts. The monastery where these monks or priests live is called *chong* or *kyong* and the chief monk is responsible for the maintenance of the monastery; he is assisted by other monks. This monastery is the centre of religion, cultural and learning, and in earlier days it also had political influence on society. The office of the monk is not hereditary and anyone who prefers to lead a life of celibacy and austerity can become a monk.

The Singphos are also the followers of Buddhism but have not given up their old shamanistic beliefs and practices. It is held that Buddhism was introduced amongst the Singphos by a monk called *Dingla Chrato* about a century back. Dingla Chrato, who is said to have come from the Hukawang Valley of Burma, built a monastery at Phakial village near Margherita in Assam. This monastery is named as Samuksing and the Singphos go there for pilgrimage.

According to their old beliefs, the Singphos believe in a number of spirits called *nats*, some of which are benevolent while others are malevolent. These spirits control their daily activities. The beneficent spirits are *Rukju-nat*, residing in trees; *kha-nat*, residing in water*; bum-nat,* residing in the hills; *inlung-nat*, also residing in the hills; and *smathi-nat*, residing in the houses. The maleficent spirits are *philu-nat, phinin-nat and lummun-nat*. These spirits are worshipped on a number of occasions and are regularly propitiated with sacrifices of bulls, cows and chickens. The Singphos believe that the soul exists forever and it is an imperishable commodity. But they conceive the soul as of two kinds—good and evil. The good souls are destined to go to heaven and the evil souls to hell. The evil souls may also turn into evil *nat* and harm the human beings. There is no regular priesthood amongst the Singphos, but there are local village priests called *dum sawa*. Great respect is however, paid to the Buddhist monks called *Phunggis* by them. Apart from their respective religious practices, both the Khamptis and the Singphos observe seven different Buddhist festivals, namely *Nawasang Sitang*, in the beginning of the rainy season; *Sare Sitang*, on a full moon day of September or October; *Mebi Sitang* on a moonless day of September or October; *Wa-ok* Sitang on a full moon day of November; *Chowmoon Kanda Pri*, in November or December; *Kathin Poi*, on the full moon day in November or December; and *Wan Lu Poi* in April.

Another important fact that may be mentioned here is that the Khampti monks have acted as the custodian and promoter of art and crafts as they are very good in carving figures on snakes, dragons, and other monsters forming into a unity of graceful designs, in wood, ivory, and bone. They also work in gold, silver and iron and also make embossed shields of buffalo or rhinoceros hides. In the past, education was also the responsibility of the monks or the priests in Khampti society.

Brahmanical Religion

The people of Arunachal Pradesh were also influenced by the religion of the plains of Assam. The influence of what is called the 'Brahmanical Religion' can be marked in the foothills of Arunachal Pradesh, as attested by the literary as well as archaeological evidences. Of this Brahmanical religion, traces of Shaktism, Shaivism and Vaishnavism are particularly noticed in some parts of the state. Here it may be pointed out that during period from the 10th to the 17th century, the cultural and religious activities of Brahmaputra valley had occasional expansion into the hills of Arunachal Pradesh. Gradually it became the part and parcel of the belief system of the tribes of Arunachal Pradesh. Bhismaknagar is a sacred heritage of the Idu Mishmis who inhabit the Dibang Valley. A faith very

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fundamental to the tribe is that Rukmini, the consort of Lord Krishna, belonged to their community and Bhismaknagar was the home of her father. Thus, for generations they have venerated the monument as a mark of their union with the Lord.

Religions of Arunachal Pradesh

According to the 2001 Indian Census, the religions of Arunachal Pradesh break down as follows:

- Hindu: 379,935 (34.6%)
- Others (mostly Donyi-Polo): 337,399 (30.7%)
- Christian: 205,548 (18.7%)
- Buddhist: 143,028 (13.0%)
- Muslim: 20,675 (1.9%)
- Sikh: 1,865 (0.1%)
- Jain: 216 (<0.1%)

The Idu are known to have played an important role in the great Vaishnava movement of Assam. When Saint Vamshi Gopala (1548: 1668) lay in trace during meditation, it is the Mishmi Brahmins who looked after him by giving food and drinks. Heroes of Mahabharata, such as Bhismak, Rukma and Shishupala, have found local habitation in this area. Bhismaknagar represents the link between the eastern-most corner of the country and the main stream of ancient Indian culture. The Idus have formed a committee of their own to build one Inyi Masyelo Rukmini Kumu (i.e. place of worship of the great mother Rukmini), at Bhismaknagar. This speaks for the intensity of their belief, even today.

What we find in the Rukmini legend around Bhismaknagar, is complete transplantation of the Vidarbha setting in the northeastern corner of India. The region between Sadiya and Parasuramkund had come to be known as Vidarbha, with a number of allied ancient names localized in the new soil. Thus, we see Krishna, Rukmini, Shishupal and Kundil having acquired local habitation in Arunachal Pradesh.

Various myths and legends associated with Lord Vishnu or Krishna are also to be found in the areas of Arunachal Pradesh. It may be mentioned that Neo-Vaishnavism of Shankardeva greatly influenced the day-to-day life of the Noctes and the Wanchos. Even today, a great number of Nocte pilgrims visit the *satra* in Sibsagar. In conclusion, we would say that in the foregoing account, we have discussed the various religious trends that were and even today are prevalent among the various tribes of Arunachal Pradesh. It is beyond the scope of the present work to discuss in detail the religious rites and practices of each and every tribe of the area — the task would require a separate volume. However, the tribal religion, as we have seen, is concerned more with the day-to-day life and the social values and ethics than with metaphysics or spiritualism. As Dr Verrier Elwin has put it: 'In their religion, the tribesman have created a realsitic of life seen *sub specie eternitatis;* they face it in all its dismal trappings with courage; yet it is not the fear of things as they are, but a heroic appreciation of them which has brought it into being. The tribesmen are realistic; till recently they lived of constant anxiety and they projected this onto the wider canvas of their theology.'

Check Your Progress

6. Singphos and the Khamptis follow the _____ school of Buddhism.
7. The _____ depicts six planes of existence at different levels of being, namely, the realms of hell, hungry ghosts, animals, men, titans, and gods.
8. Buddhism was introduced amongst the Singphos by a monk called _____ about a century back.
9. Bhismaknagar is a sacred heritage of the Idu Mishmis who inhabit the Dibang Valley. (True/False)

10.4 FACTORS OF SOCIAL CHANGE

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To get an idea about the factors that led to social changes in Arunachal Pradesh, a detailed study of *Social Change in Arunachal Pradesh* 1947–81 by Tamo Mibang is essential. T. Mibang rightly locates the following as the agents of change: 1. The planned growth according to the plans and policies of the Planning Commission; 2. Beginning and development of education; 3. Participation of the people of Arunachal Pradesh in the democratic process; 4. Cultural contacts highlighting the aspects of exposure and response syndrome; 5. Science and technology analysing the roles of radio, road, railways and other modes of transport. These factors always bring changes.

Gurudas Das in his book *Transition of Tribes of Arunachal Pradesh* (New Delhi, 1998) has highlighted a number of issues relating to social change including the critique of Nehru-Elwin policy of development with regard to Arunachal Pradesh. Some of the articles in Manish Sharma's edited book, *Economy of Arunachal Pradesh: Problems, Performance and Prospect* (Guwahati, DVS Publishers, 2008) also discuss the aspects of socio-economic changes in Arunachal Pradesh. A number of articles in the edited work of T. Mibang and M. C. Behera, *The Tribal Villages in Arunachal Pradesh: Changing Human Interface* (Abhijeet Publications, New Delhi, 2004) also provide materials to understand the dynamics of social change in Arunachal Pradesh.

In addition to the views and approaches of social changes in Arunachal Pradesh we can see some other perspectives and agents of changes in societies of Arunachal Pradesh. Amrendra Kumar Thakur highlights the aspects of institution of slavery as an important institution which brought about changes during the pre-modern period due to its use value and the exchange value and the post-Independence period too in his book *Slavery in Arunachal Pradesh* (Mittal Publications, New Delhi, 2003). In the later period, masters got compensation amount in lieu of the liberation of slaves. Hence, due to abolition of slavery direct capital flow in cash started to the masters. The article of Thakur, 'Social Transition in Pre-Colonial Arunachal Pradesh: Servitude as a Prime Mover' (*Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, 60th Session, Calicut, 1999, pp. 391-403) also provides insights to the problem.

The changes are also witnessed in the socio-cultural life of the people of Arunachal Pradesh. Amrendra Kumar Thakur has highlighted the issue in one of his articles, 'Pre-modern Accommodation of Differences and Modern Innovations: Religious Religion and Society of Arunachal Pradesh' (B. Tripathy and S. Dutta (eds.), *History of Arunachal Pradesh*, New Delhi, Gyan Publishing House, 2008, pp. 336-358). He is of the view that during the modern and more especially the contemporary period, identity issues are emerging in a big way in Arunachal Pradesh and this is an active agent of change.

Another important feature of social change in Arunachal Pradesh can be witnessed from the perspective of religion especially Buddhism. The Buddhism popular in the western part of Arunachal Pradesh not only brought about a change in the religious lives of people of Arunachal Pradesh but also in various other ways.

ACTIVITY

Make a collage of the various deities worshipped by tribes in Arunachal Pradesh.

Check Your Progress

10. Participation of the people of Arunachal Pradesh in the _____ process has been a factor influencing social change.
11. Beginning and development of education has not added to social change in any way in Arunachal Pradesh. (True/False)

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DID YOU KNOW

The hairstyles of the Nyishi tribe are fascinating. They plait their hair and tie it neatly at the forehead using a Tibetan thread. Skewer made up of brass is passed horizontally through the tied hair. Rings made up of cane are worn around the waist, arms and legs. Additional decorations vary from person to person.

10.5 SUMMARY

In this unit, you have learnt that:

- In the social and religious life of the people of Arunachal Pradesh the plurality of beliefs and always the tendency of assimilation existed. The finest blend of traditional beliefs and the influence from the neighbouring areas are witnessed.
- Unlike the other areas of northeast India the influence of Christianity is very late in the areas of Arunachal Pradesh. It was only from the late 1990s that various Christian missionaries started their educational and evangelist missions in Arunachal Pradesh.
- Not only Christianity but also some other factors have fastened the process of socio-cultural change in Arunachal Pradesh.
- The indigenous faiths of the people of Arunachal Pradesh are more or less recorded now. Initially they were extensively expressed in the form of oral traditions, poems, myths, legends, folklore, folktales and performing arts that are transmitted across generations by word of mouth by priests.
- From the point of view of religion or faith, the entire state of Arunachal Pradesh can be roughly divided into three main groups. In the first place we have tribes like the Nyishis, the Hill Miris, the Apatanis, the Adis and the Mishmis who fall into the category of what has been termed as hereditary — Shamanism. The tribes included in this category have many cultural traits and beliefs including their pantheon of Gods and spirits in common.
- The second group consists of tribes like the Monpas, the Sherdukpens, the Singphos, the Khamptis, the Membas and the Khambas who came under the influence of Buddhism and their religious life is deeply influenced by this religion.
- The third group comprises tribes like the Noctes, the Wanchos and the Tangsas of the Tirap region who are related to the Naga tribes to their southwest and had a very strong tradition of headhunting in the past.
- The most popular indigenous faith among the people of Arunachal Pradesh is the faith in Donyi-Polo. The people believe that it was at the beginning of this age, some uncountable centuries ago, that *Aane Donyi,* the Cosmic Supreme Authority, spoke to *Aabhu Thanyi* and Her devotees.
- The worship of the Sun amongst the tribal of Arunachal Pradesh has its cultural and philosophical origin since migration and settlement of the people in the areas of Arunachal Pradesh. The tribal identified the Sun and the Moon with the Supreme Authority of the powerful life giver and source of energy.

NOTES

- The Mishmis believe in a Supreme God whom they regard as the Creator embodying the highest ethical principle of justice. The different branches of the Mishmis have different names for this Supreme God: the Idus call him Inni, the Taraons call him Jab Main, and the Ramans call him Matai.
- The Adi abangs (ballads), narrate that the Sun and the Moon — the Donyi and the Polo — are the two eyes of the Creator with which he keeps a vigil on the universe and humanity.
- Buddhism is practised by the Monpas and Sherdukpens of West Kameng and Tawang, and the Singphos and the Khamptis of the Lohit districts of Arunachal Pradesh. In addition, there are the small tribes like the Membas and the Khambas of Siang who follow the doctrine of Buddhism. These tribes following Buddhism can again be divided into two categories, namely, the Monpas, Sherdukpens, Membas Khambas follow the Mahayana school of Buddhism; and the Singphos and the Khamptis follow the Hinayana school of Buddhism.
- The people of Arunachal Pradesh were also influenced by the religion of the plains of Assam. The influence of what is called the 'Brahmanical Religion' can be marked in the foothills of Arunachal Pradesh, as attested by the literary as well as archaeological evidences. Of this Brahmanical religion, traces of Shaktism, Shaivism and Vaishnavism are particularly noticed in some parts of the state.

10.6 KEY TERMS

- **Anthropologist:** A social scientist who specializes in anthropology
- **Deity:** A god or goddess (in a polytheistic religion)
- **Hereditary:** Conferred by or based on inheritance
- **Indigenous:** Originating or occurring naturally in a particular place; native
- **Malevolent:** Having or showing a wish to do evil to others

10.7 ANSWERS TO 'CHECK YOUR PROGRESS'

1. Donyi-Polo
2. *Swchne*
3. *Hibh Donyi*
4. True
5. Naga
6. Hinayana
7. 'Wheel of Life'
8. *Dingla Chrato*
9. True
10. Democratic
11. False

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About the University

Rajiv Gandhi University (formerly Arunachal University) is a premier institution for higher education in the state of Arunachal Pradesh and has completed twenty-five years of its existence. Late Smt. Indira Gandhi, the then Prime Minister of India, laid the foundation stone of the university on 4th February, 1984 at Rono Hills, where the present campus is located.

Ever since its inception, the university has been trying to achieve excellence and fulfill the objectives as envisaged in the University Act. The university received academic recognition under Section 2(f) from the University Grants Commission on 28th March, 1985 and started functioning from 1st April, 1985. It got financial recognition under section 12-B of the UGC on 25th March, 1994. Since then Rajiv Gandhi University, (then Arunachal University) has carved a niche for itself in the educational scenario of the country following its selection as a University with potential for excellence by a high-level expert committee of the University Grants Commission from among universities in India.

The University was converted into a Central University with effect from 9th April, 2007 as per notification of the Ministry of Human Resource Development, Government of India.

The University is located atop Rono Hills on a picturesque tableland of 302 acres overlooking the river Dikrong. It is 6.5 km from the National Highway 52-A and 25 km from Itanagar, the State capital. The campus is linked with the National Highway by the Dikrong bridge.

The teaching and research programmes of the University are designed with a view to play a positive role in the socio-economic and cultural development of the State. The University offers Undergraduate, Post-graduate, M.Phil and Ph.D. programmes. The Department of Education also offers the B.Ed. programme.

There are fifteen colleges affiliated to the University. The University has been extending educational facilities to students from the neighbouring states, particularly Assam. The strength of students in different departments of the University and in affiliated colleges has been steadily increasing.

The faculty members have been actively engaged in research activities with financial support from UGC and other funding agencies. Since inception, a number of proposals on research projects have been sanctioned by various funding agencies to the University. Various departments have organized numerous seminars, workshops and conferences. Many faculty members have participated in national and international conferences and seminars held within the country and abroad. Eminent scholars and distinguished personalities have visited the University and delivered lectures on various disciplines.

The academic year 2000-2001 was a year of consolidation for the University. The switch over from the annual to the semester system took off smoothly and the performance of the students registered a marked improvement. Various syllabi designed by Boards of Post-graduate Studies (BPGS) have been implemented. VSAT facility installed by the ERNET India, New Delhi under the UGC-Infonet program, provides Internet access.

In spite of infrastructural constraints, the University has been maintaining its academic excellence. The University has strictly adhered to the academic calendar, conducted the examinations and declared the results on time. The students from the University have found placements not only in State and Central Government Services, but also in various institutions, industries and organizations. Many students have emerged successful in the National Eligibility Test (NET).

Since inception, the University has made significant progress in teaching, research, innovations in curriculum development and developing infrastructure.

About IDE

The formal system of higher education in our country is facing the problems of access, limitation of seats, lack of facilities and infrastructure. Academicians from various disciplines opine that it is learning which is more important and not the channel of education. The education through distance mode is an alternative mode of imparting instruction to overcome the problems of access, infrastructure and socio-economic barriers. This will meet the demand for qualitative higher education of millions of people who cannot get admission in the regular system and wish to pursue their education. It also helps interested employed and unemployed men and women to continue with their higher education. Distance education is a distinct approach to impart education to learners who remained away in the space and/or time from the teachers and teaching institutions on account of economic, social and other considerations. Our main aim is to provide higher education opportunities to those who are unable to join regular academic and vocational education programmes in the affiliated colleges of the University and make higher education reach to the doorsteps in rural and geographically remote areas of Arunachal Pradesh in particular and North-eastern part of India in general. In 2008, the Centre for Distance Education has been renamed as "Institute of Distance Education (IDE)."

Continuing the endeavor to expand the learning opportunities for distant learners, IDE has introduced Post Graduate Courses in 5 subjects (Education, English, Hindi, History and Political Science) from the Academic Session 2013-14.

The Institute of Distance Education is housed in the Physical Sciences Faculty Building (first floor) next to the University Library. The University campus is 6 kms from NERIST point on National Highway 52A. The University buses ply to NERIST point regularly.

Outstanding Features of Institute of Distance Education:

(i) At Par with Regular Mode

Eligibility requirements, curricular content, mode of examination and the award of degrees are on par with the colleges affiliated to the Rajiv Gandhi University and the Department(s) of the University.

(ii) Self-Instructional Study Material (SISM)

The students are provided SISM prepared by the Institute and approved by Distance Education Council (DEC), New Delhi. This will be provided at the time of admission at the IDE or its Study Centres. SISM is provided only in English except Hindi subject.

(iii) Contact and Counselling Programme (CCP)

The course curriculum of every programme involves counselling in the form of personal contact programme of duration of approximately 7-15 days. The CCP shall not be compulsory for BA. However for professional courses and MA the attendance in CCP will be mandatory.

(iv) Field Training and Project

For professional course(s) there shall be provision of field training and project writing in the concerned subject.

(v) Medium of Instruction and Examination

The medium of instruction and examination will be English for all the subjects except for those subjects where the learners will need to write in the respective languages.

(vi) Subject/Counselling Coordinators

For developing study material, the IDE appoints subject coordinators from within and outside the University. In order to run the PCCP effectively Counselling Coordinators are engaged from the Departments of the University, The Counselling-Coordinators do necessary coordination for involving resource persons in contact and counselling programme and assignment evaluation. The learners can also contact them for clarifying their difficulties in then respective subjects.

SYLLABI-BOOK MAPPING TABLE

History of the World (1815–1945)

Syllabi	Mapping in Book
Unit 1 Concert of Europe and the Metternich System (a) Concert of Europe (b) Mattrenich System	**Unit 1:** Concert of Europe and the Metternich System **(Pages 3–16)**
Unit 2 Revolutions of 1830 and 1848 (a) 1830 Revolution (b) 1848 Revolution	**Unit 2:** Revolutions of 1830 and 1848 **(Pages 17–38)**
Unit 3 Napoleon III (a) Internal Policy (b) Foreign Policy	**Unit 3:** Napoleon III **(Pages 39–49)**
Unit 4 Unification Movements (a) Italy (b) Germany	**Unit 4:** Unification of Italy and Germany **(Pages 51–71)**
Unit 5 Eastern Question (a) Crimean War (b) Berlin Congress (c) Balkan War	**Unit 5:** The Eastern Question: Crimean War, Berlin Congress and Balkan War **(Pages 73–85)**
Unit 6 First World War (a) Alliances (b) Treaty of Versailles	**Unit 6:** First World War **(Pages 87–112)**
Unit 7 Russian Revolution (a) Causes (b) Impact	**Unit 7:** Russian Revolution **(Pages 113–142)**
Unit 8 The League of Nations (a) Background (b) Functions (c) Assessment	**Unit 8:** The League of Nations **(Pages 143–157)**
Unit 9 Rise of Fascism and Nazism (a) Rise of Fascism (b) Rise of Nazism	**Unit 9:** Rise of Fascism and Nazism **(Pages 159–185)**
Unit 10 Second World War and UNO (a) Second World War (b) UNO–Objectives and Structure and Assessment	**Unit 10:** Second World War and UNO **(Pages 187–215)**

CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION 1

UNIT 1 CONCERT OF EUROPE AND THE METTERNICH SYSTEM 3-16

1.0 Introduction
1.1 Unit Objectives
1.2 Concert of Europe
  1.2.1 Alexander I and Metternich
  1.2.2 Congress of Vienna and the Principle of Legitimacy
  1.2.3 The Holy Alliance
1.3 The Metternich System
  1.3.1 Reaction in Europe after 1815
1.4 Summary
1.5 Key Terms
1.6 Answers to 'Check Your Progress'
1.7 Questions and Exercises
1.8 Further Reading

UNIT 2 REVOLUTIONS OF 1830 AND 1848 17-38

2.0 Introduction
2.1 Unit Objectives
2.2 The July Revolution of 1830
  2.2.1 Objectives of the Revolution
  2.2.2 Influence on Europe
2.3 The French Revolution of 1848
  2.3.1 Opposition to Louis Philippe
  2.3.2 Napoleon's Regime
  2.3.3 Beginning of the Counter-Revolution in France
  2.3.4 England: The French Revolution to the Treaty of Amiens
  2.3.5 The Bourgeois Empire
  2.3.6 Napoleon's Invasion of Russia
  2.3.7 Fall of Napoleonic Empire
  2.3.8 The Second Republic
  2.3.9 End of the French Revolution
2.4 Summary
2.5 Key Terms
2.6 Answers to 'Check Your Progress'
2.7 Questions and Exercises
2.8 Further Reading

UNIT 3 NAPOLEOON III 39-49

3.0 Introduction
3.1 Unit Objectives
3.2 Political Inclinations of Napoleon
3.3 Internal Policy
3.4 Foreign Policy
3.5 Summary
3.6 Key Terms
3.7 Answers to 'Check Your Progress'
3.8 Questions and Exercises
3.9 Further Reading

UNIT 4 UNIFICATION OF ITALY AND GERMANY 51-71

4.0 Introduction
4.1 Unit Objectives
4.2 Background to Italian Unity
  4.2.1 The Napoleonic Era
  4.2.2 Revolutions of 1820, 1830 and 1848
  4.2.3 Cavour's Rise
4.3 Italian War of Independence
  4.3.1 Unification of Northern and Central Italy
  4.3.2 Garibaldi and Movement in South Italy
  4.3.3 Venetia and Rome
4.4 Historical Background of the German Unification
4.5 Bismarck's Rise to Power
  4.5.1 Bismarck's Realpolitik
  4.5.2 Relations with Austria
  4.5.3 Austro-Prussian War
4.6 Completion of the German Unification
4.7 A Comparison between German and Italian Unification
4.8 Summary
4.9 Key Terms
4.10 Answers to 'Check Your Progress'
4.11 Questions and Exercises
4.12 Further Reading

UNIT 5 THE EASTERN QUESTION: CRIMEAN WAR, BERLIN CONGRESS AND BALKAN WAR 73-85

5.0 Introduction
5.1 Unit Objectives
5.2 Ottoman Empire in the Nineteenth Century
5.3 Greek War of Independence and British Ascendancy over the Turkish Sultan
  5.3.1 Greek War of Independence
  5.3.2 British Ascendancy over the Turkish Sultan
5.4 Relations between Russia and the Ottoman Empire
  5.4.1 The Crimean War
  5.4.2 Russo-Turkish War of 1877–1878 and the Treaty of San Stefano
5.5 Treaty of Berlin and the Berlin Congress
5.6 The Balkan War
5.7 Summary
5.8 Key Terms
5.9 Answers to 'Check Your Progress'
5.10 Questions and Exercises
5.11 Further Reading

UNIT 6 FIRST WORLD WAR 87-112

6.0 Introduction
6.1 Unit Objectives
6.2 Outbreak of the First World War
  6.2.1 Causes
  6.2.2 Course of the War
6.3 Impact of the War
  6.3.1 Political Impact
  6.3.2 Economic Impact
  6.3.3 Social Impact
6.4 The Peace Settlement of Paris
  6.4.1 Treaty of Versailles
  6.4.2 Other Peace Treaties
6.5 Summary
6.6 Key Terms
6.7 Answers to 'Check Your Progress'
6.8 Questions and Exercises
6.9 Further Reading

UNIT 7 RUSSIAN REVOLUTION 113-142

7.0 Introduction
7.1 Unit Objectives
7.2 Russian Revolution: Causes and Course
  7.2.1 Causes for the Outbreak of the Revolution
  7.2.2 Course of the Russian Revolution
  7.2.3 Lenin's Leadership
7.3 Economic and Social Reconstruction in Soviet Union under Lenin and Stalin
  7.3.1 The Communist Party and its Socio-Economic Policies
  7.3.2 Framing of the Constitution
  7.3.3 Impact of the Russian Revolution
  7.3.4 Russia under Stalin
  7.3.5 Socio-Economic Reconstruction of Soviet Union under Stalin
  7.3.6 Socio-Political Changes under Stalin
  7.3.7 Changes in Soviet Society under the Communists
7.4 Summary
7.5 Key Terms
7.6 Answers to 'Check Your Progress'
7.7 Questions and Exercises
7.8 Further Reading

UNIT 8 THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS 143-157

8.0 Introduction
8.1 Unit Objectives
8.2 Origins of the League of Nations
8.3 Objectives of the League of Nations
8.4 Organizations of the League of Nations
8.5 Important Incidences Related to the League of Nations
8.6 Achievements of the League of Nations
  8.6.1 Successes of the League in the Social Sphere
  8.6.2 Failures of the League to Preserve Peace
8.7 End of the League of Nations
8.8 Summary
8.9 Key Terms
8.10 Answers to 'Check Your Progress'
8.11 Questions and Exercises
8.12 Further Reading

UNIT 9 RISE OF FASCISM AND NAZISM 159-185

9.0 Introduction
9.1 Unit Objectives
9.2 Causes for the Rise of Dictatorship or Totalitarianism in Europe

9.3 Rise of Fascism in Italy
9.4 Rise of Nazism in Germany
9.5 Civil War and the Rise of Dictatorship in Spain
9.6 Military Dictatorship in Turkey
9.7 Summary
9.8 Key Terms
9.9 Answers to 'Check Your Progress'
9.10 Questions and Exercises
9.11 Further Reading

UNIT 10 SECOND WORLD WAR AND UNO **187-215**

10.0 Introduction
10.1 Unit Objectives
10.2 From Munich Conference to the Second World War
10.3 Causes of Second World War
10.4 UNO: Birth and Objectives
10.4.1 Birth of UNO
10.4.2 Commencement of UNO
10.4.3 Objectives of UNO
10.5 Organization of the United Nations
10.5.1 Emergence of Independent Nations
10.6 Summary
10.7 Key Terms
10.8 Answers to 'Check You Progress'
10.9 Questions and Exercises
10.10 Further Reading

INTRODUCTION

NOTES

For many historians, history of the world begins when ideas of the enlightenment began to germinate culminating in the collapse of monarchies throughout the European continent. From 1789–1917, Europe was to witness many revolutions, both social and political; these revolutions formed the foundation of the modern world as we know it and changed the lives of workers, peasants, aristocrats, the middle class, women and minorities living in European countries.

However, modern European history was also witness many tragedies. Wars were fought that killed more people than at any other point in history. The idealism embodied in the French Revolution and later the Russian Revolution and the power of the Industrial Revolution culminated into the two most horrifying events in the history of humanity—the two world wars. How could such horrors have been allowed to occur? What part did nationalism and imperialism play in the perversion of enlightenment ideas? This book, *History of the World (1815–1945)*, will try to address such questions.

Moreover, one needs to learn the consequences of the most destructive wars—First World War and Second World War—and also focus on the objectives of the League of Nations and the United Nations Organization formed after these wars respectively.

The book *History of the World (1815–1945)* has been designed keeping in mind the self-instruction mode format and follows the simple pattern, wherein each unit begins with an **Introduction** followed by **Unit Objectives**. The detailed content is followed by **Summary** i.e., the concise review. **Check Your Progress** (questions and answers), Questions and Exercises (both short- and long-type questions), **Key Terms**, **Activity**, and **Did You Know**; all act as useful tools for students and are meant for effective recapitulation of the text.

The book comprises 10 units.

Unit 1: Concert of Europe and the Metternich System

Unit 2: Revolutions of 1830 and 1848

Unit 3: Napoleon III

Unit 4: Unification of Italy and Germany

Unit 5: The Eastern Question: Crimean War, Berlin Congress and Balkan War

Unit 6: First World War

Unit 7: Russian Revolution

Unit 8: The League of Nations

Unit 9: Rise of Fascism and Nazism

Unit 10: Second World War and UNO

UNIT 1 CONCERT OF EUROPE AND THE METTERNICH SYSTEM

Structure

1.0 Introduction
1.1 Unit Objectives
1.2 Concert of Europe
  1.2.1 Alexander I and Metternich
  1.2.2 Congress of Vienna and the Principle of Legitimacy
  1.2.3 The Holy Alliance
1.3 The Metternich System
  1.3.1 Reaction in Europe after 1815
1.4 Summary
1.5 Key Terms
1.6 Answers to 'Check Your Progress'
1.7 Questions and Exercises
1.8 Further Reading

1.0 INTRODUCTION

The Concert of Europe, also known as Vienna System of International Relations, was the balance of power that existed in Europe after the downfall of Napoleon. The defeat of Napoleon brought with it one of the most complicated and difficult problems ever presented to statesmen and diplomatists. As all the nations of Europe had been profoundly affected by Napoleon's enterprises, they were affected by his fall as well. The destruction of the Napoleonic regime was to be followed by the reconstruction of Europe.

This work of reconstruction was undertaken by the Congress of Vienna, one of the most important diplomatic gatherings in the history of Europe (September 1814 to June 1815). Never before had there been seen such an assemblage of celebrities. There were the emperors of Austria and Russia; the kings of Prussia, Bavaria, Wurttemberg, Denmark; a multitude of lesser princes; and all diplomats of Europe, the most noticeable ones included Metternich and Talleyrand. All the powers were represented in the Congress of Vienna, except Turkey.

1.1 UNIT OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to:

- Explain the balance of power in the Concert of Europe at the end of the Napoleonic regime
- Describe the dominant roles played by Alexander I and Klemens von Metternich at the Congress of Vienna
- Discuss the Principle of Legitimacy as followed by the Congress of Vienna
- Paraphrase the Metternich system and its reaction in Europe after 1815

NOTES

1.2 CONCERT OF EUROPE

The European powers that met at the Congress of Vienna in 1814, to draw up a permanent peace settlement for Europe, laboured to produce an agreement that would, as nearly as possible, guarantee international tranquility. At the same time, however, they were by no means unwilling to advance the claims of their own countries to new territories. Although the principal decisions of the Congress of Vienna were made by representatives of the major powers, it was attended by an array of dignitaries from almost all the principalities of Europe. No fewer than six monarchs attended the Congress—the Tsar of Russia, the emperor of Austria, and the kings of Prussia, Denmark, Bavaria and Wurttemberg. Great Britain was represented by Lord Castlereagh and the Duke of Wellington. From France came the subtle intriguer Talleyrand, who had served as a bishop under Louis XVI and also as the foreign minister at the court of Napoleon, and who now stood ready to espouse the cause of reaction.

The main work of the Congress was the distribution of territories that France had been forced to relinquish. Certain arrangements had been agreed upon by the allies before going to Vienna, in the First Treaty of Paris, 30 May 1814; and now it was need of the hour to carry out these arrangements. For instance, the King of Piedmont, a refugee in his island of Sardinia during Napoleon's reign, was restored to his throne. Moreover, Genoa was handed over to King of Piedmont; so that the state which bordered France on the southeast may turn stronger to resist the French aggression. Belgium, previously an Austrian possession, was annexed to Holland and to the House of Orange, now restored, that this state might be a barrier in the north. It was understood that, in general, the doctrine of legitimacy should be followed in determining the rearrangement of Europe, that is, the principle that princes deprived of their thrones and driven from their states by Napoleon should get them back at the hands of collective Europe. Still, this principle was ignored whenever it suited the interests of the Great Powers.

1.2.1 Alexander I and Metternich

The dominant roles at the Congress of Vienna were played by Russia's Tsar Alexander I (1801–1825) and by the Austrian diplomat Klemens von Metternich (1773–1859). The dynamic Tsar of Russia is one of the most baffling figures in the history of Europe during that time. Reared at the court of Catherine the Great, the Tsar imbibed the doctrines of Rousseau from a French Jacobin tutor. In 1801, Alexander succeeded to the throne after his father was murdered, and ruled Russia during the chaotic period of the Napoleonic Wars. For the next two decades of his rule, Alexander disturbed the dreams of his fellow sovereigns by becoming the most liberal monarch in Europe. After the defeat of Napoleon in the Russian campaign, Alexander's mind turned more and more to mystical channels. He conceived of a mission to convert the rulers of all countries to the Christian ideals of justice and peace. But the chief effect of Alexander's voluble expressions of devotion to 'liberty' and 'enlightenment' was to frighten conservatives into suspecting a plot to extend his power all over Europe. He was accused of causing intrigue with Jacobins everywhere to substitute an all-powerful Russia for an all-powerful France.

The most commanding figure at the Congress of Vienna was Klemens von Metternich, born at Coblenz in the Rhine Valley, where his father was Austrian ambassador at the courts of three small German states. As a student at the University of Strassburg, the young Metternich witnessed mob violence connected with the outbreak of the French Revolution, and to this he attributed his lifelong hatred of political innovation. Metternich had been active in fomenting discord between Napoleon and Tsar Alexander, after the two became allies in 1807. He had played some part in arranging the marriage of Napoleon to the Austrian archduchess, Marie Louise.

Metternich had once declared himself an admirer of the spider, 'always busy arranging their houses with the greatest of neatness in the world'. At the Congress of Vienna, he attempted at every turn to arrange international affairs with equal neatness, to suit his own diplomatic designs. Metternich two great obsessions were hatred of political and social change, and fear of Russia. Above all, he feared, revolutions inspired by the Tsar for the sake of establishing Russian supremacy in Europe. For this reason, Metternich favoured moderate terms for France in its hour of defeat, and wasted no time to sponsor the restoration of Napoleon as emperor of the French under the protection and overlordship of Habsburg Monarchy.

1.2.2 Congress of Vienna and the Principle of Legitimacy

The basic idea that guided the work of the Congress of Vienna was the principle of legitimacy. This principle was invented by the Russian Tsar as an instrument for preventing France's future aggression, but it was ultimately adopted by Metternich as an inconvenient expression of the general policy of reaction. The policy was that the dynasties of Europe, which had reigned in previous regimes, should be restored to their thrones, and that each country should withdraw to their same respective territories it had held during 1789. Accordingly under this principle, Louis XVIII was recognized as the 'legitimate' emperor. For the same reason, the German left the bank of the Rhine was ceded to Prussia, and Austria was established as a major power in the Vienna Settlement.

However, the principle of legitimacy was not extended to the German principalities. There, despite pleas from rulers of the sovereign bits and pieces that had existed before 1789, the great powers agreed to the German settlement to retain the boundaries as redrawn by Napoleon. The fear of an aggressive Russia led the other European nations to support the maintenance as an anti-Russian bulwark of the Napoleonic kingdoms of Bavaria, Wurttemberg and Saxony. At the same time, however, Tsar Alexander was demanding that Poland, partitioned into virtual extinction by Russia, Austria and Prussia in the 1795, be reconstituted as a kingdom with himself as its constitutional monarch. Prussia was prepared to agree with this scheme, provided that she was allowed to swallow Saxony.

National avarice for territorial expansion rapidly eclipsed legitimacy as a guiding principle in these negotiations. Metternich, horrified at the double threat presented to Austria by Prussia and Russia, allied himself with France's Talleyrand and Britain's Castlereagh, both of whom secretly agreed to go to war against Russia and Prussia, if necessary, in order to prevent them from consummating their Polish–Saxon deal. A compromise was eventually reached, allowing Russia the major part of Poland and Prussia, a part of Saxony. Britain, no less anxious than the other victorious powers to gain compensation for its long years at war, received territories principally under French dominion in South Africa and South America and the island of Ceylon, thus adding further to its commercial empire.

NOTES

Legitimacy, as expressed in the treaties that concluded the Congress of Vienna, emerged as the latter-day expression of the principles of balance and stability that had shaped diplomacy during the eighteenth century triumph of the state. The age of absolutism had witnessed the emergence of an international state system dedicated to those principles. By enshrining them in the settlement, the diplomats at Vienna ensured that such a state system would be part of the legacy passed to their nineteenth century successors.

1.2.3 The Holy Alliance

In addition to the Treaties of Vienna, the allies signed two other documents in 1815; which proved to be of great significance in the history of Europe, for establishing the so-called Holy Alliance. The Holy Alliance further led to the establishing of the Quadruple Alliance that included Great Britain and France with the aim of upholding the European peace settlement and balance of power in the Concert of Europe concluded at the Congress of Vienna.

The Holy Alliance was formed at the behest of Alexander I of Russia, and it was signed in Paris on 26 September 1815. Alexander submitted a document to his immediate allies, Prussia and Austria. This document gave the popular name to the 'system of repression' which was for many years followed by the powers that had conquered in the late campaign. The document stated that it was the intention of the powers henceforth to be guided, in both their domestic and foreign policies, solely by the precepts of the Christian religion. The rulers announced that they would regard each other as brothers and their subjects as their children; and they promised to aid each other on all occasions and in all places.

The other powers, asked by the Emperor of Russia to express their approval of Christian principles, did so, preserving what dignity they could in playing what most of them considered a farce of questionable taste. For, knowing the principles that had actually governed the Tsar and other rulers at the Congress of Vienna, the rulers did not consider them particularly biblical or as likely to inaugurate a new and idyllic diplomacy in Europe.

As a matter of fact, no state ever made any attempt to act in accordance with the principles so highly approved. The only important thing about the Holy Alliance was its name, which was, in the opinion of all Liberals too good to be lost. Ironically it did contrast with what was known of the characters and policies of the rulers of Russia, Prussia and Austria—the Holy Allies.

The other document, signed on 20 November 1815, by Russia, Prussia, Austria and England established a Quadruple Alliance. The Alliance provided that these powers should hold congresses from time to time for the purpose of considering their common interests and the needs of Europe. The congresses that were held during the next few years in accordance with this agreement were converted into engines of oppression everywhere largely through the adroitness of Prince Metternich, Chancellor of the Austrian Empire, whose influence upon their deliberations was decisive.

Check Your Progress

1. Name some the dignitaries who attended the Congress of Vienna.
2. What was the main purpose of organizing the Congress of Vienna (September 1814 to June 1815)?
3. Who were the two dominant faces at the Congress of Vienna?

1.3 THE METTERNICH SYSTEM

Prince Metternich (1773–1859) appeared to the generation that lived between 1815 and 1848 as the most commanding personality of Europe, whose importance is shown

NOTES

in the phrases, 'Era of Metternich' and 'System of Metternich'. Metternich was the central figure not only in Austrian and German politics, but also in European diplomacy. He was the most famous statesman Austria produced in the nineteenth century. A man of high rank, wealthy, polished, blending social accomplishments with literary and scientific pretensions; Metternich's foible was omniscience. He was the prince of diplomats, thoroughly at ease amid all the intrigues of European politics'.

Metternich's egotism was Olympian. He spoke of himself as being born 'to prop up the decaying structure' of the European society; and felt the world resting on his shoulders. 'My position has this peculiarity' he says, 'that all eyes, all expectations are directed to precisely that point where I happen to be'. He asks the question: 'Why, among so many million men, must I be the one to think when others do not think, to act when others do not act, and to write because others know not how?' Metternich himself admitted at the end of a long career that he had 'never strayed from the path of eternal law', that his mind had 'never entertained error'. Metternich felt and remarked that he would leave a void when he disappeared.

On analysis, however, his thinking appears singularly negative. It consisted of his criticism of the French Revolution. Metternich's lifelong role had been to oppose every major event that took place. Metternich believed in absolute monarchy, and considered himself as 'God's lieutenant in supporting it'. He hated parliaments and representative systems of government. All this talk of liberty, equality, constitutions; he regarded as pestilential, the hateful chatter of revolutionary French minds. Metternich defied himself as a man of the *status quo.* Keep things just as they are, all innovation is madness; such was the constant burden of his song. He was the convinced and resourceful opponent of all struggles for national independence, of all aspirations for self-government. Democracy could only 'change daylight into darkest night'. Such was the man who succeeded Napoleon in the centre of the European stage.

1.3.1 Reaction in Europe after 1815

Post-1815, the reaction in Europe—Austria, Germany, Spain and Italy—have been discussed in this section.

1. *The Austrian Empire*

Austria was not a single nation, like France, but was composed of many races. To the west were the Austrian duchies, chiefly German, the ancient possessions of the House of Hapsburg; to the north was Bohemia, an ancient kingdom acquired by the Hapsburgs in 1526; to the east, the Kingdom of Hungary, occupying the immense plain of mid-Danube; and to the south, beyond the Alps, the Kingdom of Lombardy–Venetia, were purely Italian. The two leading races in this Austrian Empire were Germans—forming, the body of the population in the Duchies - and Magyars - originally an Asiatic folk, encamped in the Danube Valley since the ninth century and forming the dominant population of Hungary. There were many branches of the Slavic race in both Austria and Hungary. There were also Romanians, a different people still, in eastern Hungary.

Austria—a land of the old regime

To rule so vast a realm of 28 or 29 million people was a difficult task. This was the first problem of Francis I (1792–1835) and Metternich. Their policy was to resist all demands for reform, and to keep things as they were, to make the world stand still. The people were sharply divided into classes, each resting on a different basis. Of

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these the nobles occupied a highly privileged position. They enjoyed freedom from compulsory military service, large exemptions from taxation, a monopoly of the best offices in the state. They possessed a large part of the land, from which in many cases they drew enormous revenues. On the other hand, the condition of the peasants, who formed the immense mass of the people, was deplorable in the extreme. They were even refused the right to purchase relief from the heaviest burdens. Absolutism in government, feudalism in society, special privileges for the favoured few, oppression and misery for the masses, such was the condition of Austria in 1815.

The police system

It was the fixed purpose of the government to maintain things as they were, and it succeeded largely for 33 years, during the reign of Francis I, till 1835, and of his successor Ferdinand I (1835–1848). During this period, Metternich was the chief minister. His system, at war with human nature and at war with the modern spirit, rested upon a meddlesome police, upon elaborate espionage, and upon a vigilant censorship of ideas.

Censorship was applied to theatres, newspapers and books. The frontiers were guarded so that foreign books of a liberal character might not slip in to corrupt people's mind. Political science and history practically disappeared as serious studies. Spies were everywhere, in government offices, in places of amusement, in educational institutions, and so on. Professors and students were subjected to humiliating regulations. Spies attended lectures.

The government insisted on having a complete list of books that each professor took out of the university library. Textbooks were prescribed. Students could not study abroad, or have societies of their own. Austrians could not travel to foreign countries without the permission of the government, which was rarely given. Austria was sealed as nearly hermetically as possible against the liberal thought of Europe. Intellectual stagnation was the price paid. A system like this needed careful bolstering at every moment and at every point. The best protection for the Austrian system was to extend it to other countries. Having firmly established it at home, Metternich laboured with great skill and temporary success to apply it in surrounding countries, particularly in Germany and in Italy.

We shall now trace the application of this conception of government in other countries. This will serve among other things to show the dominant position of the Austrian Empire in Europe from 1815 to 1848. Vienna, the seat of rigid conservatism, was now the centre of European affairs, as Paris, the home of revolution, had been for so long.

2. *The German Confederation*

One of the important problems presented to the Congress of Vienna concerned the future organization of Germany. The Holy Roman Empire had disappeared in 1806 at the hands of Napoleon. The Confederation of the Rhine, which Napoleon had created to take its place, had disappeared with its creator. Something must evidently be put in its place. The outcome of the deliberations was the establishment of the German Confederation, which was the government of Germany from 1815–1866. The Confederation consisted of 38 states. The central organ of the government was to be a Diet, meeting at Frankfort. This was to consist, not of representatives chosen by the people, but of delegates appointed by different sovereigns serving at their convenience.

NOTES

They were to be, not deputies empowered to decide questions, but simply diplomatic representatives, voting as their princes might direct. Austria was always to have the presidency of this body. The method of procedure within the Diet was complicated and exceedingly cumbrous, making action difficult, delay and obstruction easy. The Confederation did not constitute a real nation, but only a loose league of independent states. The states agreed not to go to war against each other, and that was about the only serious obligation they assumed.

The Confederation was a union of princes and not of people. It was created because each prince was jealous of every other prince, and was far more concerned with the preservation of his own power than with the prosperity of Germany. Now the spirit of nationality had been aroused by the struggles with Napoleon. It was felt that the first need of Germany was unity and a strong national government. But German unity was, according to Metternich, an 'infamous object', and Metternich was supported by the selfishness of the German rulers; not one of whom was willing to surrender any authority. Intense was the indignation of all Liberals at what they called this 'great deception' of Vienna.

Disappointment of the Liberals

The Liberals experienced another disappointment as well. Supporting the cause of liberty, they had wished a constitution for each one of the 38 states; they wished a parliament in each; they wished to have the reign of absolutism brought to a close. Metternich, opposed even more to free political institutions than to a strong central government and succeeded in thwarting the reformers at this point. The Liberals were put off with only vague and doubtful promises, which, moreover, were never realized, except in the case of a few smaller states.

Metternich's programme was to secure the prevalence in Germany of the same principles that prevailed in Austria; and in this he largely succeeded. On favourable occasions, Metternich could apply the system of repression which in his opinion was the only sure cure for the ills of this world. One of these was a patriotic festival held in 1817 at the Wartburg, a castle famous in connection with the career of Martin Luther. This was a celebration organized by the students of German universities and it expressed the vigorous liberalism of students, their detestation of reaction and reactionaries. Somewhat later a student killed a journalist and playwright, Kotzebue, who was hated in university circles for being considered a Russian spy. These and other occurrences played perfectly into the hands of Metternich, who was seeking the a way establishing reaction in Germany as it had been established in Austria.

He secured the passage by the frightened princes of the infamous Carlsbad Decrees (1819), through whose provisions Metternich became the conqueror of the Confederation. These decrees were the work of Austria, seconded by Prussia. These signified in German history the suppression of liberty for a generation. These decrees determined the political system of Germany until 1848. These provided for a vigorous censorship of the Press, and subjected professors and students of universities to close government supervision. All teachers who should propagate 'harmful doctrines', that is, who should in any way criticize Metternich's ideas of government, should be removed from their positions; and once removed, could not be appointed to any other position in Germany. The student societies were suppressed. Any student expelled from one university was not to be admitted into another. By these provisions, it was expected that the entire academic community, professors and students, would be

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reduced to silence. Another provision was directed against the establishment of any further constitutions of a popular character. Thus free parliaments, freedom of the press, freedom of teaching, and free speech were outlawed.

Reaction in Germany

The Carlsbad Decrees represent an important turning point in the history of Central Europe. They signalled the dominance of Metternich in both Germany and Austria. Prussia now docilely followed Austrian leadership, abandoning all liberal policies. The King, Frederick William III, had, in his hour of need, promised a constitution to Prussia—which he never kept. On the other hand, he inaugurated a peculiar persecution of all Liberals, which was criticized by many as cruel. Prussia entered upon a dull, drab period of oppression.

Let us now see how the same ideas were applied in other countries.

3. *Restoration in Spain*

In 1808 Napoleon had, as we have seen, seized the crown of Spain; and until 1814 had kept the Spanish King, Ferdinand VII, virtually a prisoner in France, placing his own henchman Joseph as king to the throne. The Spaniards rose against the usurper and for years and carried on a vigorous guerrilla warfare, aided by the English that ended in success. As their King was in the hands of enemy, they proceeded in his name to frame a government.

Being liberal-minded they drew up a constitution, the famous Constitution of 1812, which was closely modelled on the French Constitution of 1791. It asserted the sovereignty of people, thus discarding the rival theory of monarchy by divine right which had hitherto been the accepted as the basis of the Spanish state. This democratic document, however, did not have long to live, as Ferdinand, on his return to Spain after the defeat of Napoleon, immediately suppressed it and embarked upon a policy of angry reaction. The Press was gagged. Books of a liberal character were destroyed wherever found, and particularly all copies of the constitution. Thousands of political prisoners were severely punished.

Vigorous and efficient in suppressing all liberal ideas, the government of Ferdinand was indolent and incompetent in other matters. Spain, a country of about 11 million people, was wretchedly poor and ignorant. The government, however, made no attempt to improve conditions. Moreover, it failed to discharge the most fundamental duty of any government, that is, to preserve the integrity of the empire. The Spanish colonies in America had been for several years in revolt against the mother country, and the government had made no serious efforts to put down rebellion.

Revolution in Spain (1820)

Such conditions, of course, aroused great discontent. The army particularly was angry at the treatment it had received, and became a breeding place of conspiracies. A military uprising occurred in 1820 which swept everything and forced the King to restore the Constitution of 1812 and to promise henceforth, to govern in accordance with its provisions. The text of the Constitution was posted in every city, and parish priests were ordered to expound it to their congregations.

Revolution had once again triumphed and only five years after the Battle of Waterloo (1815). An absolute monarchy, based on divine right, had been changed into a constitutional monarchy based on the sovereignty of people. Would the example

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be followed elsewhere? Would the Holy Alliance look on in silence? Had the revolutionary spirit been so carefully smothered in Austria, Germany and France, only to blaze forth in outlying sections of Europe? Answers to these questions were quickly forthcoming.

4. *Italy—A Geographical Expression*

After the fall of Napoleon, the Congress of Vienna restored most of the old states which had existed before he first came to Italy. There were ten of them—Piedmont, Lombardy–Venetia, Parma, Modena, Lucca, Tuscany, the Papal States, Naples, Monaco and San Marino. Genoa and Venice, until recently independent republics, were not restored, as republics were not 'fashionable'; they were handed over to Piedmont and Austria.

These states were too small to be self-sufficient, and as a result Italy was for nearly 50 years, the sport of foreign powers, dependent, on Austria. Austria was given outright the richest part of the Po Valley as a Lombardo–Venetian kingdom. Austrian princes or princesses ruled over the duchies of Modena, Parma and Tuscany, and were easily brought into the Austrian system. This was how Austria became the rural of both northern and southern Italy for Ferdinand, the King of Naples. He made an offensive and defensive treaty with Austria, pledging himself to make no separate alliances and to grant no liberties to his subjects beyond those which were obtained in Lombardy and Venetia. Naples was a satellite in the great Austrian system. The King of Piedmont and the Pope were the only Italian princes at all likely to be intractable. And Austria's strength in comparison with theirs was that of a giant compared with pygmies.

Reactionary policies of the Italian princes

Italy became again a collection of small states, largely under the dominance of Austria. Each of the restored princes was an absolute monarch. None of the states had a parliament. Italy had neither unity nor constitutional forms, nor any semblance of popular participation in the government. The use which the restored princes made of their unfettered liberty of action was significant.

Hating the French, Italians undertook to extinguish all reminders of them. They abolished all constitutions and many laws and institutions of the French origin. Vaccination and gas illumination were forbidden for the simple reason that the French had introduced them. In Piedmont French plants in the Botanic Gardens of Turin were torn up, French furniture in the royal palace was destroyed in response to this vigorous and infantile emotion. In every state, there was distinct retrogression and the Italians lost ground—politically, industrially and socially. In most, the inquisition was restored. Education was handed over to the clergy. The course of studies was carefully purged of everything that might be dangerous. The police paid particular attention to 'the class called thinkers'.

Thus, Italy was ruled by petty despots and in a petty spirit. Moreover most of the princes took their cue from Austria, the nature of whose policies we have already examined. The natural result of such conditions was deep and widespread discontent. The discontented joined the Carbonari, a secret society, and bided their time.

In Naples, a military insurrection broke out. The revolutionists demanded the Spanish Constitution of 1812, not because they knew it well, but because it was very democratic and possessed the advantage of being readymade. The King immediately yielded, and the constitution was proclaimed.

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ACTIVITY

1. Prepare a note of the important happenings related to the Quadruple Alliance of 1815. You may refer to some historical books and articles.
2. Research the Internet and make a chronological chart of the major events related to the Revolution in Spain (1820).

DID YOU KNOW?

The population of the German Confederation (excluding Austria) grew 60 per cent from 1815 to 1865. The era witnessed the demographic transition in Germany. After 1815, increased agricultural productivity met a larger food supply, and a decline in the incidences of famines, epidemics and malnutrition. This allowed the German couples to marry at an early age and have more children.

1.4 SUMMARY

In this unit, you have learnt that:

- The Concert of Europe, also known as Vienna System of International Relations, was the balance of power that existed in Europe after the downfall of Napoleon.
- The European powers that met at the Congress of Vienna in 1814, to draw a permanent peace settlement for Europe, laboured to produce an agreement that would as nearly as possible guarantee international tranquility.
- Although the principal decisions of the Congress of Vienna were made by representatives of the major powers, it was attended by an array of dignitaries from almost all the principalities of Europe. No fewer than six monarchs attended the Congress—the Tsar of Russia, the emperor of Austria, and the kings of Prussia, Denmark, Bavaria and Wurttemberg. Great Britain was represented by Lord Castlereagh and the Duke of Wellington.
- The main work of the Congress was the distribution of the territories that France had been forced to relinquish. Certain arrangements had been agreed upon by the allies before going to Vienna, in the First Treaty of Paris, 30 May 1814; and now it was need of the hour to carry out these arrangements.
- The dominant roles at the Congress of Vienna were played by Tsar Alexander I (1801–1825) and by the Austrian diplomat Klemens von Metternich (1773–1859).
- Metternich had been active in fomenting discord between Napoleon and Tsar Alexander, after the two became allies in 1807. He had played some part in arranging the marriage of Napoleon to the Austrian archduchess, Marie Louise.
- At the Congress of Vienna, Metternich attempted at every turn to arrange international affairs with equal neatness, to suit his own diplomatic designs.
- Metternich's two great obsessions were hatred of political and social change, and fear of Russia.

Check Your Progress

4. 'Metternich had two great obsessions that formulated his system'. What were those obsessions?
5. What do you understand by the 'principle of legitimacy'?
6. How was the 'Holy Alliance' formed?
7. What was the role played by the Carlsbad Decrees in the history of Central Europe?

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- The basic idea that guided the work of the Congress of Vienna was the principle of legitimacy. This principle was invented by the Russian Tsar as an instrument for protecting France against future aggression, but it was ultimately adopted by Metternich as inconvenient expression of the general policy of reaction.
- The policy under the principle of legitimacy was that the dynasties of Europe, which had reigned in previous regimes, should be restored to their thrones, and that each country should withdraw to their respective territories it had during 1789.
- Tsar Alexander was demanding that Poland, partitioned into virtual extinction by Russia, Austria and Prussia in 1795, be reconstituted as a kingdom with himself as its constitutional monarch. Prussia was prepared to agree with this scheme, provided that the state was allowed to swallow Saxony.
- National avarice for territorial expansion rapidly eclipsed legitimacy as a guiding principle in these negotiations. Metternich, horrified at the double threat presented to Austria by Prussia and Russia, allied himself with France's Talleyrand and Britain's Castlereagh, both of whom secretly agreed to go to war against Russia and Prussia, if necessary, in order to prevent them from consummating their Polish–Saxon deal.
- In addition to the Treaties of Vienna, the allies signed two other documents in 1815; which proved to be of great significance in the history of Europe, for establishing the so-called Holy Alliance. The Holy Alliance was formed at the behest of Alexander I of Russia, and it was signed in Paris on 26 September 1815. The other document, signed on 20 November 1815, by Russia, Prussia, Austria and England established a Quadruple Alliance.
- Metternich was the central figure not only in Austrian and German politics, but also in European diplomacy. He was the most famous statesman Austria produced in the nineteenth century.
- Metternich's programme was to secure the prevalence in Germany of the same principles that prevailed in Austria; and in this he largely succeeded. On favourable occasions, Metternich could apply the system of repression which in his opinion was the only sure cure for the ills toward world.
- Carlsbad Decrees determined the political system of Germany until 1848. These provided for a vigorous censorship of the Press, and subjected professors and students of universities to close government supervision.
- The Carlsbad Decrees represent an important turning point in the history of Central Europe. They signalized the dominance of Metternich in both Germany and Austria. Prussia now followed Austrian leadership, abandoning all liberal policies. King, Frederick William III, had, in his hour of need, promised a constitution to Prussia—which he never kept.
- The Constitution of 1812 asserted the sovereignty of people, thus discarding the rival theory of monarchy by divine right which had hitherto been the accepted basis of the Spanish state.
- The revolutionists demanded the Spanish Constitution of 1812, not because they knew it well, but because it was democratic and possessed the advantage of being readymade.

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1.5 KEY TERMS

- **Carbonari:** Members of a secret political society, formed in 1811, with liberal republican objectives, and engaged in the struggle for Italian unification
- **Carlsbad Decrees:** A set of reactionary restrictions introduced in the states of the German Confederation, and lasted till 1848; and provided for a vigorous censorship of the press, and subjected the professors and students of the universities to close government supervision
- **Divine right:** The doctrine that a monarch derives his power to reign directly from God
- **Holy Alliance:** A coalition created by Russia, Austria and Prussia; after the fall of the Napoleonic regime
- **Principle of legitimacy:** For Metternich, legitimacy meant that only monarchs of the Congress of Vienna were the legitimate rulers, and the illegitimacy of the French Revolution was not be tolerated
- **Quadruple Alliance:** The treaty signed, in 1815, by the Great Britain, Russia, Prussia and Russia; with the aim of upholding the European peace settlement and balance of power in the Concert of Europe
- **Sovereignty:** Supremacy of authority or rule as exercised by a sovereign or sovereign state

1.6 ANSWERS TO 'CHECK YOUR PROGRESS'

1. The Congress of Vienna was attended by an array of dignitaries from almost all the principalities of Europe. No fewer than six monarchs attended the Congress—the Tsar of Russia, the emperor of Austria, and the kings of Prussia, Denmark, Bavaria and Wurttemberg. Great Britain was represented by Lord Castlereagh and the Duke of Wellington.
2. The main work of the Congress was the distribution of the territories that France had been forced to relinquish. Certain arrangements had been agreed upon by the allies before going to Vienna, in the First Treaty of Paris, 30 May 1814; and now it was need of the hour to carry out these arrangements.
3. The dominant roles at the Congress of Vienna were played by Tsar Alexander I (1801–1825) and by the Austrian diplomat Klemens von Metternich (1773–1859).
4. Metternich's two great obsessions were hatred of political and social change, and fear of Russia.
5. The policy under the principle of legitimacy was that the dynasties of Europe, which had reigned in previous regimes, should be restored to their thrones, and that each country should withdraw to their respective territories it had held during 1789. The basic idea that guided the work of the Congress of Vienna was the principle of legitimacy. This principle was invented by the Russian Tsar as an instrument for protecting France future aggression, but it was ultimately adopted by Metternich as in convenient expression of the general policy of reaction.
6. In addition to the Treaties of Vienna, the allies signed two other documents in 1815; which proved to be of great significance in the history of Europe, for establishing the so-called 'Holy Alliance'. The Holy Alliance was formed at the behest of Alexander I of Russia, and it was signed in Paris on 26 September 1815. The other document, signed on 20 November 1815, by Russia, Prussia, Austria and England established a Quadruple Alliance.
7. The Carlsbad Decrees represent an important turning point in the history of Central Europe. They signalized the dominance of Metternich in both Germany and Austria. Carlsbad Decrees determined the political system of Germany until 1848. These provided for a vigorous censorship of the Press, and subjected the professors and students of the universities to close government supervision.

1.7 QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Short-Answer Questions

1. What were the demands of Russia and Prussia in the Congress of Vienna?
2. What were the shortcomings of the Congress of Vienna?
3. What was the Holy Alliance?
4. What was the Quadruple Alliance?
5. What were the personal characteristics and the political opinions of Metternich?
6. What were the causes of the Spanish Revolution of 1820?

Long-Answer Questions

1. Describe the ways in which conservative political and social views shaped the peace settlement of the Congress of Vienna.
2. Explain the consequences of the peace of settlement for the period 1815–1848 in Europe.
3. What is Metternich's historical significance?
4. Describe the government of Austria after 1815. What was the German Confederation?
5. Why were the Liberals of Germany disappointed with the work of the Congress of Vienna?
6. What was the course of events in Germany after 1815? What role did the Carlsbad Decrees play?
7. What is meant by the phrase 'Italy—a geographical expression'? What were some of the features of the reaction in Italy after 1815?
8. Why were several international congresses held from 1820–1822? How did the policies of the Holy Allies clash with those of America? What was the outcome of that clash?

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1.8 FURTHER READING

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UNIT 2 REVOLUTIONS OF 1830 AND 1848

Structure

2.0 Introduction
2.1 Unit Objectives
2.2 The July Revolution of 1830
  2.2.1 Objectives of the Revolution
  2.2.2 Influence on Europe
2.3 The French Revolution of 1848
  2.3.1 Opposition to Louis Philippe
  2.3.2 Napoleon's Regime
  2.3.3 Beginning of the Counter-Revolution in France
  2.3.4 England: The French Revolution to the Treaty of Amiens
  2.3.5 The Bourgeois Empire
  2.3.6 Napoleon's Invasion of Russia
  2.3.7 Fall of Napoleonic Empire
  2.3.8 The Second Republic
  2.3.9 End of the French Revolution
2.4 Summary
2.5 Key Terms
2.6 Answers to 'Check Your Progress'
2.7 Questions and Exercises
2.8 Further Reading

2.0 INTRODUCTION

From 1789 to 1870, history of France stood witness to a number of revolutions. Essentially, three main revolutions broke out in France during this phase. The first two revolutions included the Revolution of 1789 and the July Revolution of 1830. These two revolutions erupted against the autocratic rule of the Bourbons. The third major revolution took place against the failures of Louis Philippe, the Duke of Orleans, in the year 1848. All such revolutions of France had a great impact on the socio-economic and political set-up of Europe.

The July Revolution of 1830 broke out against the absolute monarchy of Charles X. Similarly, the Revolution of 1848 erupted to root out the monarchical government of Louis Philippe. The political condition of almost all countries of the continent was greatly affected by these revolutions. Though the July Revolution of 1830 was not a huge success, with the aid of the Great Britain, the revolutionists were successful in establishing constitutional monarchy in Belgium. Other than Great Britain, some other nations, including France, gave recognition to the newly formed government of Belgium. Similarly, the revolutionists achieved success in Prussia and Sardinia where liberal constitutions were framed and constitutional monarchy was established.

It is to be noted that the major objective of the revolutionists in 1830 was to re-establish political and social systems in France, which were being destroyed by reactionary powers. On the other hand, the outbreak of the Revolution in 1848 took place primarily because of economic unrest. Due to the Industrial Revolution, the circumstances had considerably changed in France and other European countries.

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Though the Industrial Revolution raised the prosperity of the state, the socio-economic disparity in the state widened. The declining economic status of the working class, where labourers were forced to work under subhuman conditions, increased discontent against the existing ruling power. This rising economic discontent was the chief cause for the outbreak of the Revolution of 1848.

We will elaborate on the causes and the course of these two revolutions—Revolutions of 1830 and 1848—in this unit. A point to be noted is that the principle of social equality was established in France as an outcome of the July Revolution of 1830. On the other hand, the Revolution of 1848 established political equality in France. Also, due to the Revolution of 1848, the socialistic principles that included 'the nationalization of the industries' and 'the right to work' came into practice for the first time.

2.1 UNIT OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to:

- Describe the causes that led to the Revolution of 1830
- Explain the objectives of the July Revolution of 1830
- Elaborate on the influence and significance of the July Revolution upon Europe
- Learn the causes and the after-effects of the French Revolution of 1848

2.2 THE JULY REVOLUTION OF 1830

The significance of July Revolution of 1830, or the Second French Revolution as it is widely known, is that it gave way to the political voice of the masses. That was the period when the secret societies were formed, and then the same were turned into clubs where dissent voices would come up against the wrong policies of the government. The appointment of the Polignac ministry and its audacious and alarming announcement precipitated a crisis situation that shortly exploded in a revolution.

The Chamber of Deputies practically demanded the dismissal of the unpopular Ministry. The King refused and declared that 'his decisions were unchangeable'. Further, by dissolving the Chamber itself and conducting new elections, he wanted to secure a chamber subservient to his will. But the voters thought otherwise. The elections resulted in a crushing defeat for the King and his ministry. Charles would not yield. His own brother, Louis XVI, had come to a tragic end, he said, because he had made concessions.

Having failed at other methods, Charles was now determined upon coercion. On 26 July 1830, he issued several ordinances, suspending the liberty of the Press, dissolving the Chamber of Deputies, changing the electoral system, reducing the number of voters from 100,000 to 25,000, and ordering new elections. In other words, the King was the supreme lawgiver, not at all affected by the Charter. If those ordinances were to stand, the people would have had no liberty, and the autocratic rule of the monarch would have prevailed. Not to have opposed them would have been to acquiesce quietly in the transformation of the government into the absolute monarchy of Louis XIV.

2.2.1 Objectives of the Revolution

NOTES

As the significance of the ordinances became apparent, popular anger began to manifest itself. Crowds assembled in the streets shouting, 'Down with the Ministry'; 'Long live the Charter'. On Wednesday, 28 July 1830, civil war broke out. The insurgents were mainly old soldiers and a group of republicans and workmen—men who hated the Bourbons, who followed the tricolour flag as the true national emblem, rather than the white flag of the royal house.

The civil war lasted three days. It was the July Revolution—the Glorious Three Days. It was a street war that was limited to Paris. The insurgents were not very numerous, probably not more than 10,000. But the government had itself probably not more than 14,000 troops in Paris. The insurrection was not difficult to organize. The streets of Paris were narrow and crooked. Through such tortuous lanes it was impossible for the government to send artillery, a weapon which it alone possessed. The streets were paved with large stones, which could be torn up and piled in such a way so as to make fortresses for the insurgents.

On the night of July 27–28, the streets were cut by hundreds of barricades made in the manner of paving stones, of overturned wagons, of barrels and boxes, of furniture, of trees and objects of every description. Against such obstacles, soldiers could make but little progress. If they overcome a barricade and carried on, it was immediately rebuilt. This was more threatening than before as it would cut their line of reinforcements and lead to possible retreat. The war continued in the ferocious heat of July. On 31 July, on the verge of losing all, Charles abdicated in favour of his nine-year-old grandson, the Duke of Bordeaux, son of the murdered Duke of Berry, and fled to England with his family. For next two years, Charles lived in Great Britain, keeping a melancholy court in Holyrood Palace, Edinburgh, of somber memory during the life of Mary, Queen of Scots. Later Charles moved to Austria, where he died of Cholera in 1836.

After the demise of the monarch, people who had done the actual fighting undoubtedly were in favour of a republic. However, a certain group of journalists and deputies and the majority of Parisians were in favour of Louis Philippe d'Orléans, who represented a younger panel of the Royal family. It was in general believed that Louis had sympathy for liberal opinions and cause. With such an open-minded person as the leader, it was said, there would be no more attempts to re-enthrone the nobility and the clergy. When the government turns liberal, resting on the middle class, the voice of the people could not be suppressed. But it was the real leader of the Republicans—Lafayette—who was to take a final call of selecting between a monarchy and republic. Lafayette finally threw his influence in favour of Louis Philippe, arguing that a monarchy under so liberal and democratic a prince would after all be 'the best of republics'.

On August 7, the Chamber of Deputies called Louis Philippe to the throne, ignoring the claims of the minor legitimate ruler, the Duke of Bordeaux. The Charter had been slightly modified; and the parliamentary form of government was restored. The tricolour flag superseded the white flag of the Bourbons. The reign of Louis Philippe now began.

2.2.2 Influence on Europe

The influence of the Revolution of 1830 was felt all over Europe—in Poland, Germany, Italy, Switzerland, England, and Netherlands. It was the signal and encouragement

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for widespread popular movements which for a short time seemed to threaten the whole structure erected in 1815 at Vienna. It created an immediate problem for the rulers of Europe. Now that revolution had again broken out in France would they 'intervene' as they had done in Spain and Italy? At first they were disposed to do so. Metternich's immediate impulse was to organize a coalition against Louis Philippe—'King of the Barricades'.

But for various reasons, this was impracticable. All the powers, therefore, recognized Louis Philippe, though with varying indications of annoyance. The settlement of 1815 was undone forever. The elder branch of the House of Bourbon, put upon the throne of France by the Allies of 1815, was pushed from it by the revolution.

1. Kingdom of Netherlands

Another part of the diplomatic structure of 1815 was overthrown. The Congress of Vienna had created an essentially artificial state to the north of France, the kingdom of Netherlands. It had done this explicitly for the purpose of creating a barrier against France. The Belgian provinces, hitherto Austrian, were in 1815 annexed to Holland, to strengthen the state so that it might be in a position to resist attack until the other powers could come to its rescue.

It was easier to declare Belgium and the Netherlands as formally united under one ruler than to make them in any real sense a single nation. Though by a glance at the map, it might seem that the people of this little corner of Europe must be essentially homogeneous; such was not the case. There were many more points of difference than of similarity between them. People in these European states spoke different languages. They even had different faiths to follow—the Dutch were Protestants and the Belgians were Catholics. They differed in their economic life and principles—the Dutch were an agricultural and commercial people and inclined toward free trade, whereas Belgians were manufacturing people and inclined toward protective trade.

For Belgians, the union with the Dutch was from the start an unhappy one. They saw themselves added to and subjected to another people inferior in number to themselves, whereas the feeling of nationality had been aroused in them as in other people by the spirit and example of the French Revolution. Moreover, Belgians had hoped for a larger and more independent life than they had ever had before.

Friction between people of these states was a regular feature. The Belgians resented the fact that the officials in the state and the army were mostly Dutch. They objected to the King's attempts to force the Dutch language into a position of undue privilege; though this initiative aimed at fusing the two. As the years went by, Belgians became more and more disillusioned by the social, economic and political system.

2. Kingdom of Belgium

The July Revolution came as a spark in the midst of all this. There was street fighting in Brussels as there had been in Paris. The revolution spread rapidly. The royal troops were driven out and on 4 October 1830, and Belgium declared itself independent. A congress was called to determine the future form of government. It decided in favour of a monarchy, adopted a liberal constitution, and elected its first king—King Leopold of Coburg, whose coronation took place in July 1831.

Would the Great Powers which in 1815 had added Belgium to Holland consent to the undoing of their work? Would they recognize the new kingdom? They had

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suppressed revolution in Spain and Italy, as we have seen. Would they do it again in the interest of their handiwork, the treaties of Vienna? Now, however, they were divided; and in this division lay the salvation of the new state. They, therefore, made the best of the situation. At a conference in London, Russia, Austria France and England formally promised to respect the neutrality forever.

This part of the work of the Congress of Vienna had consequently been undone. A new state had arisen in Europe, as a result of revolution.

3. Kingdom of Poland

The Poles had hoped that the French Revolution and, later, that Napoleon might restore their nation, so wantonly destroyed, as we have seen. In this, they were disappointed. But in 1815, at the Congress of Vienna, they found unexpected aid; though in the end it proved to be illusory. Alexander I, Tsar of Russia, was at that time aglow with generous and romantic sentiments. Under such influence, the Tsar conceived the plan of restoring the old kingdom of Poland. For him, Poland should be a kingdom entirely separate from the Empire of Russia. And that the Tsar would be Emperor of Russia and King of Poland. Furthermore, the union of the two states would be personal.

Alexander had desired to restore Poland to the full extent of its possessions in the eighteenth century. This could have been possible if Prussia and Austria relinquish the provinces they had acquired in the three partitions. However, this was not accomplished at the Congress of Vienna. Although Prussia and Austria did give back some of their Polish possessions, they retained most of it. The Polish kingdom erected in 1815, did not even include all Polish territories that had been acquired by Russia.

Of this new state, Alexander was to be king. To it he granted a constitution and established a parliament of two chambers with considerable powers. Roman Catholicism was recognized as the state religion; but a generous measure of tolerance was extended to other sects as well. Freedom of the Press was guaranteed and Polish was made the official language. All positions in the government were to be filled by Poles, not by Russians. Poland had established several liberal institutions and was considered to be a prosperous career for the Poles as a constitutional monarchy came to power. The Poles had never enjoyed such civil freedom. To this, Poland was also receiving a considerable measure of home-rule.

But this regime, optimistic as it was encountered obstacles from the very beginning. The Russians were opposed to the idea of a restored Poland and particularly to a constitutional Poland, when they themselves had no constitution. Why should their old enemy be so greatly favoured when they, the real supporters of the Tsar, were not? The hatred of Russians and Poles, in fact centuries old, continued undiminished. Moreover, what the dominant class of Poles desired, far more than liberal government, was independence. They could never forget the days of their prosperity. Independence is what Alexander would never grant to the Russians. His purposes and aspirations of the Poles were irreconcilable. After a few years, friction developed between the ruler and the ruled. The latter became more and more convinced that they must fight for their liberty, waiting only for a favourable moment. That moment seemed to have come in 1830. The Poles, inflamed by the reports of the successful revolution in France, rose in insurrection against the new Tsar, Nicholas I, toward the end of 1830, declared that the House of Romanoff had ceased to rule in Poland, and prepared for a life and death struggle.

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The Polish insurrection

Russia's military resources were so great that Poland could not hope alone to achieve national independence. The Poles expected foreign intervention, but no intervention came. Enthusiasm for the Poles was widespread among people in France, England and Germany. But the governments, none of which was controlled by public opinion, refused to move. Thus Poland was left to fight alone with Russia, and of the outcome there could be no doubt. The Poles fought with great bravery, but without good leadership, without careful organization, without a spirit of subordination to military authorities.

The war went on from January 1831, until September of that year, when Warsaw fell before the Russians. The results of this ill-advised and ill-executed insurrection were deplorable in the extreme. Poland ceased to exist as a separate kingdom and became merely a province of the Russian Empire. The state constitution was abolished and it was henceforth ruled with great severity and arbitrariness. The insurgents were savagely punished. Many were executed, many sent to Siberia. Thousands of Polish officers and soldiers escaped to the countries of western Europe and became a revolutionary clement in Paris, Berlin, and Vienna, always ready to fight for liberty. They were the sworn foes of tyranny everywhere as they were its most conspicuous victims. Even the Polish language seemed doomed, such was Russia's repressive policy.

2.3 THE FRENCH REVOLUTION OF 1848

In 1848, Europe saw a series of revolutions erupting across the continent. The Orleans monarchy ended after the February revolution and it led to the creation of the French Second Republic. The June revolution was a bloody but unsuccessful uprising by the workers of Paris against a conservative turn in the course of the republic.

The new monarch of France was already 57 years old. He was the son of the notorious Philippe Egalite, who had conspired during the Revolution for the throne occupied by his cousin, Louis XVI, who had, as a member of the Convention, voted for the latter's execution, and had himself later perished miserably on the scaffold. In 1789, Louis Philippe was only sixteen year old; too young to take part in politics, although he became a member of the Jacobin Club. Later, Louis joined the army and fought valiantly for the Republic at Valmy and Jemappes. Becoming suspected in Revolution, he fled from France in 1793 and entered a life of exile that was to last for 21 years. Louis went to Switzerland, where he lived for a while, teaching geography and mathematics in a school at Reichenau.

While leaving Switzerland, his disguise was discovered. Louis travelled as far north as the North Cape, and as far west as the United States. He finally settled in England and lived on a pension granted by the British government.

After the fall of Napolean, Louis returned to France to recover a large part of his family property, which was confiscated during the Revolution, but had not been sold off. During the Restoration, he lived in the renowned Palais Royal, located in central Paris. This helped Louis in cultivating better public relations, in particular appealing to the solid, rich bourgeoisie by a display of liberal sentiments and by leading a good-humoured and unconventional mode of life. He walked the streets of Paris alone, spoke and drank with workmen with engaging informality and sent his

Check Your Progress

1. What kinds of ordinances were issued by King Charles in July 1830?
2. Name a few European states that were affected by the Revolution of 1830 in France.
3. What kind of constitutional provisions were granted to the state of Poland by Alexander I in 1830s?

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sons to the public schools to associate with the sons of the middle class—a delicate compliment fully appreciated by the latter. But beneath this exterior of republican simplicity, there lay a strong ambition for personal power—a nature essentially autocratic.

2.3.1 Opposition to Louis Philippe

The first part of the reign of Louis Philippe was troubled and it was doubtful whether it could endure for long. It had many enemies: Legitimists, Bonapartists and Republicans. The Legitimists defended the rights of Charles X and his descendants. They regarded Louis Philippe as a usurper, a thief who had treacherously and shamelessly stolen the crown of the young Duke of Bordeaux. This party was numerically small, so thoroughly had the reign of Charles X offended and alienated the nation.

Louis Philippe's struggle with the Republicans was far more severe. The latter had acquiesced at first in his rule on the assurance of Lafayette, in whom they reposed great confidence, that the rule would really constitute the best of republics; of which the King was essentially democratic, and that the popular throne would be surrounded by republican institutions. But both, Lafayette and Louis, were shortly undeceived.

They were under the impression that the new government would adopt a broad and liberal national policy, taking into consideration the common interests of various sections of the population, and that they would stand in favour of a democratic set-up (evolution) in the state. In its place, Lafayette and Louis witnessed a hastily established narrow class system. This class system opposed democracy just as it had opposed aristocracy. The July Monarchy early asserted that its policy would be that of the 'golden mean' neither conservative nor radical, but moderate. In the initial stage, the suffrage was broadened by reducing the age and property qualifications. Because of this, the electorate was doubled—from 100,000 to 200,000. But very soon the government made it clear that there would be no further expansion of the electorate. This signified that the great mass of people were to have no electoral franchise vote.

Republicans, bitterly disappointed at the turn things were taking, soon became sworn enemies of the July Monarchy. They attempted insurrections which were of a serious nature, but only to be put down. The government adopted vigorous measures for the suppression of this party, breaking up their societies, restricting the right of association, prosecuting their editors, crushing their newspapers under heavy fines, finally declaring illegal any argument for, or defence of, any other form of government than that of the existing monarchy, and forbidding any one from self-proclamation of being an adherent to any fallen royal house.

These laws greatly weakened the moral position of the July Monarchy, as individual liberty was little more than an empty word. But they were successful in their immediate aim. They drove all rival parties to cover, and France was governed for 18 years by the propertied classes, by an aristocracy of wealth. The Republicans were effectually silenced for many long years. Their enmity, however, was a factor in the ultimate overthrow of this system.

The parliamentary history of France in that decade (1830–1840) was marked by instability. Ten ministries came to power in a span of 10 years. It was only in 1840 that the Ministry of Guizot, of about seven years time span i.e., from 1840 to 1848, came into power. For several years after his accession to the throne, Louis Philippe was careful to guard himself from the appearance of assuming personal power. But

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now that his enemies were crushed, Louis declared his real intentions as a monarch. He no more was interested in following the English theory—'the king reigns, but he does not govern'. In Guizot, Louis had found a man who sympathized with his views of kingship, and who did not believe that the monarch should be simply an ornamental head of the state.

Guizot was an eminent professor, a historian and an orator, who held certain political principles. He refused to recognize that France should get any alteration in her political institutions. Guizot believed in the Charter of 1814, as revised in 1830. According to him, any further reform would be unnecessary and dangerous. His policy was one of stiff and unyielding conservatism. Guizot opposed any extension of the suffrage, opposed any legislation for the labour class. All discontent appeared to him frivolous, fictitious and merely the devious work those who wanted to act selfishly.

2.3.2 Napoleon's Regime

Louis Napoleon became the President of the Second Republic with the majority of support coming from the peasants on 2 December 1848. In 1851, he dissolved the elected assembly and established the second French empire, which was in power till 1871. A feeling of 'right to work' among the masses was an outcome of the February revolution. The unemployed were taken care of by 'national workshops'.

Simultaneously, a kind of industrial parliament was constituted at the Luxembourg Palace with Louis Blanc as its President. The main objective of this parliament was to prepare a scheme to organize labour. The June Day uprising was the result of ill feeling among the liberal Orleanist and radical republicans and socialists. After the death of Louis XVIII, who was the head of a constitutional monarchy, his brother the Count of Artois Charles X ascended the throne in 1824.

Charles X, unlike his brother, was an extremely unpopular reactionary monarch. He had grand aspirations and did not want to remain a mere constitutional monarch. He tried ways and means to consolidate his own authority and to weaken the authority of the lower house. He issued four ordinances of St. Cloude which abolished freedom of the Press, reduced the electorate by 75 per cent and dissolved the lower house.

This action was presumably prompted by one of his chief advisors Jules, prince de Polignac. There was an immediate reaction from the citizens and the revolution of Three Glorious Days took place in July 1830. Charles had no other course than to abdicate his throne and escaped to England from Paris. The throne was occupied by Louis Philippe of the Orleanist branch, and he replaced the old Charter by the Charter of 1830. His rule was known as the July Monarchy. Louis was also nicknamed the 'Bourgeois Monarch' as he was the head of a moderately liberal state controlled specifically by educated elites. His opposition comprised of Legitimists (former Ultra-Royalists) on his right, and on his left the Republicans and the Socialists.

Louis favoured the privileged groups and this led to the middle and working classes losing their right to vote. About one per cent of the population held the franchise by 1848. In spite France having a free press and trial by jury only, the landowners were permitted to exercise their franchise and this isolated the petty bourgeoisie from the high bourgeoisie. Louis Philippe was unpopular as he was indifferent to the needs of a society which comprised middle class people and he excluded them from politics. Disappointed by Louis Phillipe's opposition to parliamentarism; early in 1848 some Orleanist liberals, like Adolphe Thiers, turned against him.

Check Your Progress

4. Name the groups that did not extend their support to Louis Philippe's regime.
5. Why was Louis Philippe nicknamed as 'Bourgeois Monarch'?

2.3.3 Beginning of the Counter-Revolution in France

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The Ninth of Thermidor (28 July 1794) was the start of the Bourgeois counter-revolution. After Robes Pierre was assassinated, the Deputies of the Convention continued to falsely assert their loyalty to the cause of the revolution; but soon abandoned their hypo-natural attitude and related their true colours.

'*Jeunesse Doree*' or 'Golden Youth' was a band of wandering and wealthy youth who now took over the streets. The Thermidoreans controlled the representatives of a new section of the bourgeoisie, which thriving on speculation had grown during the revolution, in the Convention and the Government organs. The fixed prices were abolished and commerce was given complete freedom resulting in escalation of prices and speculation reaching new heights. The poor sections of society starved while tremendous profits were accumulated by traders and speculators.

With the destruction of the Jacobin Club by the Golden Youth in November 1794, the onset of the counter-revolution began. The Girondins and Feuillants and other counter-revolutionary groups settled their scores with the Jacobins.

The major social and democratic achievements of the autocratic Jacobins were done away with. A new constitution which abolished universal voting rights and reinstated electoral qualifications based on property was drafted in 1795.

The directory

In accordance with the new constitution, the end of 1795 saw the transfer of power to the Directory (an executive of five 'directors') and two legislative chambers—the council of the ancients and the council of the 500. It was the new avaricious and speculative bourgeoisie who controlled the Directory and the two chambers. This ruling group looked upon the urban poor which it feared greatly. This formed the basis of the anti-popular reactionary policy it followed. Having captured the wealth of the former land owning nobles, the new Bourgeoisie could not allow the reinstatement of the old regime. The attempts of the royalists to recapture power were annihilated by the anti-monarchist government and it showed that the Directory did not have any semblance of a coordinated policy. In its attempt to compromise between the right and the left, this vacillating policy was nick named '*bascule*' or 'political sea-saw'.

Gracchus Babeuf carefully planned a conspiracy known as the 'conspiracy of equals', and it was exposed by the Directory in 1796. Babeuf was the first communist revolutionary and hoped to eradicate private property using the dictatorship of the minority. He propagated a primitive egalitarian regime and failed to understand and appreciate the role of the proletariat.

The conspiracy petered out with the execution of Babeuf. Now the right threatened the Directory, and in 1797 a monarchist coup loomed large and the Directory had to resort to force to defend itself. Because of this political sea-saw, the Directory soon found itself losing most of its erstwhile authority and the confidence of the people in general. It had to try hard to keep itself in power.

The 18th Brumaire Coup d'Etat

Napoleon was appointed as commander of the armed forces by the council of ancients on the excuse that there was a threat of a new Jacobin conspiracy. It was on the morning of 18th Brumaire i.e., 9 November 1799 that Napoleon vowed to defend the republic founded on liberty, equality and the sacred principles of popular representation.

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This was the opening of a political coup, and by the next day evening the Directory and all its organs was swept away in a highly and demonstratively legal fashion and a new order of the consulate was established.

Napoleon's real motive behind the latest coup was to get rid of all the sacred principles and set up his own unlimited dictatorship.

The Consulate

Coup d'Etat, known as the 'Constitution of the Year VIII', was drawn up naturally according to Napoleon's instructions. It was short and the terms were not clear. It stated that France was to remain a republic as before and the slogan liberty, equality and fraternity was retained along with the revolutionary calendar introduced by the Convention. The power of execution was passed from the Directory to the three councils; and the two legislative chambers were replaced by the senate, the state council, the tribunate and the legislative body. The government appointed deputies for these choosing from proposed candidates. But these were ineffective as power was more apparent than real. The First Consul General Bonaparte held real power in his hands; and until he carried out his Coup d'Etat in 1799, he was just known as the finest generals among the others such as Moreau, Jourdan and Massena.

Aware of his own credibility among his people, Napolean gave an emotional speech before the coup, and quietly and inconspicuously removed the republic and the principles of the revolution. He eradicated the parliamentary system and the local self-government and replaced it with a strong centralized administration covering the whole country. The Ministry of the Interior and police domains: social, political, spiritual as well as private.

Joseph Fouche, an erstwhile priest and an extreme Jacobin, was the head of the police network. He was cunning, mendacious, treacherous, and a master of intrigue. Fouche with a desire for reprisals against Jacobins and royalists, blamed the Jacobins for any upheaval in the country. He suppressed the freedom of the Press and managed to get a dozen newspapers closed down. The 13 newspapers which survived were all turned into government bodies.

The campaign of 1800 and the end of the second coalition

Realizing that police measures were inadequate to strengthen his power, Napoleon led the French Army into Northern Italy where the main Austrian forces were deployed. Choosing the most difficult route across the Alps, by way of the high Grand St. Bernard Pass, they appeared in the enemies' territory; and on June 14 Napoleon succeeded in defeating the Austrian Army at Morengo. At the same time, at Hohenlinden, General Moreau defeated the Austrian Army. The Austrians gave up and signed the Treaty of Luneville on 9 February 1801. The terms were dictated by the victor and France annexed Belgium, and all German territory on the left bank of the river Rhine. Austria had to recognize the 'daughter republics' Helvetian (Switzerland), Batavian (Holland), Ligurian (Genoa area) and cisalpine (Lombardia) though they were entirely dependent on France with Piedmont having French occupation.

2.3.4 England: The French Revolution to the Treaty of Amiens

France became the leading power in Western Europe after the Treaty of Luneville. Now France eyed England its traditional enemy which had been competing with France in Europe and in the colonies. England with the introduction of the latest

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mechanical innovations had many improvements. The state's naval fleet had grown greatly and a large amount of profits were being accrued by the big bourgeoisie from the wars. Yet the enormous military expenditure made the country's economy shaky. Prices soared, in particular the price of bread, and the living conditions of the masses were unbearable. Riots broke out in various English towns in the year 1795 and the slogan 'Bread and Peace for the People or off with the King's Head' was splashed all over the walls of the poor districts. There was mutiny in the English warships, in the English Channel and the North Sea in 1797.

In 1798, a revolt broke out in Ireland. William Pitt, the younger head of the English Government, managed to suppress these outbreaks by means of concessions and repressions. He wanted to win France. But Suvorov's victory in Italy on the Adda, and in the battle of Trebbia, and the subsequent reconciliation between Russia and France, and with Austria finally retiring from the war; William Pitt realized that there was no hope of victory over France. Pitt resigned as people demanded peace, and a peace treaty on mutual concessions was signed between England and France at Amiens. Finally, France was at peace after a decade of pricey wars and loss of life. The country defeated some of the states, and signed peace treaties with some others, and was recognized as the strongest military power in Europe.

Napoleon becomes Emperor

Napoleon, on the strength of all these victories, was now the glorious 1st Consul. He was made Consul for life in 1802, and in 1804 he was hailed Emperor of France. Napoleon no longer felt that he should continue to devote himself to the republican cause. He wished to be crowned by the Pope and made him come to Paris, and during the coronation ceremony grabbed the Imperial Crown from the Pope's hands and set it on his head himself.

2.3.5 The Bourgeois Empire

France was no more a Republic. It had become an Empire. The Tuileries Palace was Napolean's court, and he wanted the magnificence and splendour of his palace outshine to the rest. New imperial nobility consisting of former clerks, stable boys and petty traders were made dukes, princes and earls overnight. The emperor's new emblem was 'golden bees sewn on black velvet'.

So a new bourgeois monarchy was established under the one-man dictatorship of Napoleon. It was powerful, rich, lavish and brilliant, but not feudal in its character. Bonaparte abolished many of the democratic freedoms and persecuted the democrats ruthlessly. He went out of his way to protect and strengthen the bourgeois gains. All his social and civil legislation promoted only the interests of the bourgeoisie and land owning peasants.

There was also the question of dynastic succession and the emperor began to make plans for military successes. The French bourgeoisie wanted to dominate Western Europe but neither England nor the old feudal monarchies of Europe were prepared to accept the ascendancy of this new bourgeois empire. Notwithstanding the peace treaties of 1801 and 1802, both sides were preparing seriously for war.

The Third Coalition

A large-scale war was fought in Europe in the autumn of 1805. A powerful French coalition was set up on the promptings of English diplomats and was duly joined by

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2.3.6 Napoleon's Invasion of Russia

Napoleon did not declare war on Russia. But on the night of 24th June 1812, his troops marched treacherously and crossed Niemen. Napoleon advanced swiftly capturing town after town, and was confronted by the Russian First Army near Smolensk. The Russian Army was commanded by Barclay de Tolly and he was supported by the Second Army led by Bagration. After a fierce battle, the Russian Army retreated with a bulk of its garrison intact.

Russian resistance was stoic and sustaining. They felt it was their sacred duty to drive away the foreign conquerors from their lands. Ukrainians, Byelorussians, Bashkirs and others heroically struggled against the French Army supported by the people of these states. The peasants in the occupied territories of Russia refused to make any business with the enemy or provide them with food supplies. They abandoned their villages before the enemy approached, burnt their huts and took refuge in the woods taking their cattle with them. The peasants also formed partisan detachment to find the enemy.

In Smolensk, Alexander appointed Mikhail Kutuzov to the post of commander-in-chief of all armed forces and it greatly increased the soldier's morale.

At that time, the French Army was advancing towards Moscow rapidly. Kutuzov decided to give battle near the village of Borodino and Barclay de Tolly took up positions on the high hill overlooking river Kolocha on the right; and on the left Bagration deployed his garrison on the open plain near the village of Semyonovskaya with artillery emplacements.

On 7 September 1812, a French army consisting of 130,000 men faced 120,000 men of the Russian Army. Napoleon sent his men to attack the left flank commanded by Bagration. He did so as this was the weak link in the deployment. Even after fierce fighting, the artillery guns were seized by the French and Bagration was fatally wounded. But the Russian troops did not surrender. Napoleon struck the centre of the Russian line and captured the mound held by Raevsky's Battery. The Russian lines would not allow any breakthrough, and by evening the battle drew to a close with a loss of 58,000 men and 47 of their finest generals. Kutuzov had to retreat due to lack of ammunition. The Military Council met in the village of Fili, and it decided to surrender Moscow to the French without a fight.

At the dawn of 14th September, the Russian detachments left Moscow and motivated the people to leave the city rather than remain there when the enemy took over. The French Army marched into Moscow; but as fire broke out in different parts of the city, it spread to the French Army camps and destroyed its vital food supplies.

The Russian turn counter-offensive

Kutozov, feeling bad about abandoning Moscow, set about to work out a new plan of action to drive the enemy out of the country. The Russians had to take in new reinforcements and train them.

Kutuzov was a shrewd man and could foresee Napoleon's resultant plans of action. It took an unexpected route and kept his army intact. Napoleon lost track of the Russian Army and did not know where they were.

The Partisan detachments as instructed by Kutuzov made surprise attacks against the French. They were able to take prisoners and were able to recover much of the looted material. On October 1812, the Battle of Tarutino was fought and Russia won the battle. The Battle of Maloyaroslavets made Napoleon realize to what extent the Russians had been reinforced. In mid-November, an exhausted French Army approached the River Berezina and a fierce battle ensued during the crossing and the French suffered a loss of thousands of soldiers.

Napoleon facing defeat abandoned his army and fled to safety secretly in the beginning of December. He travelled in a simple carriage to Paris, hiding his face under a thick fur collar, with the intention of mustering a new army. The patriotic war of 1812 saved Russia from the invasion of the foreign conqueror. It also shattered Napolean's ambition of enslaving the Russians.

2.3.7 Fall of Napoleonic Empire

Napoleon returned to France and gathered all those capable of bearing arms and set out to meet the Russian troop with his new army. Meanwhile, the Russian Army had made their way to Germany. Europe after hearing the defeat of the Grande Armée, rose up to battle. Prussia, Austria, Saxony and other states formed the anti-French coalition and marched westwards. At the Battle of Leipzig, which lasted from 16–19 October 1813, the allies defeated Napoleon conclusively and forced him to retreat. This battle was called the 'battle of the nations'. But Napoleon displayed amazing energy and tough leadership in the battle of 1814. He had many small victories which were negligible to reverse the course of war.

The allied forces under the command of Alexander of Russia marched victoriously into Paris on 31 March 1814. Napoleon signed an act of abdication at Fontainebleau. He was exiled to Elba for life.

The Bourbons were restored to their throne by the allied monarchs and brother of Louis XVI count of province was brought to Paris with an escort of allied armies. He had been living in exile for 25 years, and was now proclaimed Louis XVIII of France.

French Middle Class and Britain

When the French knew that the Reform Act of 1832 in Britain gave voting rights to anybody paying ten pounds or more per year, the French's free Press took note of it. The working class of France was negligibly better off than Britain's working class. But unemployment made all skilled workers come to the level of the proletariat. Prohibition of child labour was the only law passed by the monarchy in 1841. But the law was not practised.

Economic depression was found due to financial crisis and bad harvests in 1847. People could not have political gatherings and demonstrations in France. So a series of fund-raising banquets were held by the activists. It was a means to circumvent the law or the ban and give a legal outlet for criticism of the regime. The Campaign des Banquets began in July 1847 and continued till 1848. Louis Philippe forbade these banquets and the people rebelled. The efforts of the popular republicans and liberal Orleanists were united to act against the government. Barricades were erected, and there was arson and looting when fights broke out between the citizens and municipal guards. Angry citizens began marching towards the royal palace.

2.3.8 The Second Republic

A provisional government was organized when the liberal opposition met on 26 February 1848. Universal Suffrage and unemployment relief were the two major

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goals of this republic. On 2nd March, Universal Suffrage was implemented and France got nine million new voters.

The unemployed got relief through national workshops, which promised the citizens the right to work. These workshops employed 100,000 workers and paid daily wages of 70,000 lires; and 479 newspapers were founded in 1848. Since most of the wealthy classes had left, there was a 54 per cent decline in businesses in Paris. As a result, there was a co-incidental decline in luxury trade and credit was unobtainable.

Rise of conservatism within the Second Republic

The Second Republic was extremely disordered. The conservatives began to oppose the new government hardly after a month of its establishment; and by the April elections, it was obvious that there was a popular uncertainty about the liberal foundations of the provisional government. The voters elected a chiefly moderate and conservative Constituent Assembly. Jacques-Charles Dupont de L'Eure stepped down and the executive commission a body of state acting as head of State with 5 co-presidents took over. They set out to construct a stronger economy and to provide social services.

The landed class peasants and small farmers were to pay new taxes which was intended to give relief to the unemployed in the cities. The new government lost the support of the rural France and the taxes were ignored nearly totally. To do justice, the hardworking rural farmers were not inclined to pay for the unemployed city people and besides the number of people looking for jobs was far more than the number of jobs that were available. The right to work policy was not very successful. Jobs like building roads and replanting trees were provided and it was obvious that the demands of the government were far more pressing than what the revolutionaries had expected.

2.3.9 End of the French Revolution

The 1848 revolution was mainly participated by the petite bourgeoisies who were owners of small properties, merchants and shopkeepers. The petite bourgeoisie outnumbered the working classes. So the provisional government which was created to tackle the concerns of the liberal bourgeoisie could not be successful because the working classes were not great in number. In the countryside, where the population of farmers was high, problems such as shortage of food, bad harvest and other issues made them less consumed with the problems of the bourgeoisie. The thermidorian reaction and the ascent of Napoleon III to throne showed that people preferred an efficient and able dictatorship compared to the uncertainty of a revolution.

The age of revolution in France came to an end with politics preferring the right. Louis Napoleon won the election and returned the old order removing the republicans and returning the masses to their former place. He dissolved the National Assembly though he had no constitutional right to do so and became the unopposed ruler of France by 2 December 1851. This was a successful Coup. Even though resistance erupted it was suppressed and the second republic was over for all practical purposes. He brought back universal voting right which was feared by the republicans because they expected the countryside to vote against the republic. Louis Napoleon adopted the title Emperor Napoleon III and the second empire began.

The Beginning of Socialism

Year after year, the negative policy—the policy of inertia—was pursued, arousing more and more disgust. Not only was Guizot's policy of rigid conservatism strongly opposed by the Liberals; but the whole theory upon which it rested—the entire existing economic system, was subjected at this time to a far more radical attack. The condition of the masses provoked discussion, and many writers began to preach new doctrines concerning the organization of industry and the crucial question of the relations of capital and labour, doctrines henceforth called socialistic, and appealing with increasing force to millions of labourers who believed that society weighed with unjustifiable severity upon them, that their labour did not by any means receive its proportionate reward.

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Saint-Simon was the first to announce a socialistic scheme for the revolution of society in the interest of the 'most numerous' classes. He believed that the state should own the means of production and should organize industry on the principle of 'Labour according to capacity and reward according to services'. Saint-Simon's doctrine gained direct importance when it was adopted by a man who was a politician, able to recruit and lead a party and to formulate a programme that would appeal to the masses. Such a man was Louis Blanc, who was destined to play a part in the overthrow of the July Monarchy and in the Republic that succeeded.

In his writings, Louis Blanc tried to convince the labourers of France of the evils of the prevailing economic conditions, a task which was not difficult. He denounced in vehement terms the government of the bourgeoisie as government—of the rich, by the rich, and for the rich. It must be swept away and the state must be organized on a thoroughly democratic basis.

Louis Blanc proclaimed the *right* of every man to employment and the duty of the state to provide it. According to him, the state could do it if it would organize the industry. He was of the opinion that let the state establish, with its own capital, national workshops; and let the workmen manage these and share the profits. The class of employers would thus disappear and the labourers would get the full result of their labour. Louis Blanc's theories, propounded in a style at once clear and vivid, were largely adopted by workingmen. A socialist party was thus created. It believed in a republic; but it differed from the other republicans in that, while they desired simply a change in the form of government, this socialist party desired a greater sweeping change in society.

ACTIVITY

1. Research on the Internet and make a chronological chart on the achievements of the Napoleon's regime.
2. Visit a public library and list a few famous titles on history of French revolutions. Evaluate the coverage of one such title.

Did you Know?

According to the law of succession established by Napoleon I, the claim passed first to his son. Known by Bonapartists as Napoleon II, he was living under virtual imprisonment at the court of Vienna under the name Duke of Reichstadt. Next in line was Napoleon I's eldest brother Joseph Bonaparte, followed by Louis Bonaparte and his sons. Since Joseph had no male children, and because Louis-Napoléon's own elder brother had died in 1831, the death of the Duke of Reichstadt in 1832 made Louis-Napoléon (Napoleon III) the Bonaparte heir in the next generation. Napoleon III was the last monarch to rule France.

Check Your Progress

6. Was Jacobin conspiracy a context for appointing Napoleon as the commander of the French armed forces? Give reasons in support of your answer.
7. List a few victories of Napoleon Bonaparte.
8. How did France benefit from the Treaty of Luneville?
9. Name the states that formed the Fourth Coalition in the year 1806.
10. What were the terms laid in the Franco–Russian alliance of 1807?
11. What were the major changes marked in the French Empire of 1809?

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2.4 SUMMARY

In this unit, you have learnt that:

- The significance of July Revolution of 1830, or the Second French Revolution as it is widely known, it gave way to the political voice of the masses. The appointment of the Polignac ministry and its audacious and alarming announcement precipitated a crisis situation that shortly exploded in a revolution.
- On 31 July 1830, on the verge of losing all, King Charles abdicated in favour of his nine-year-old grandson, the Duke of Bordeaux, son of the murdered Duke of Berry, and fled to England with his family.
- On August 7 1830, the Chamber of Deputies called Louis Philippe to the throne, ignoring the claims of the minor legitimate ruler, the Duke of Bordeaux. The Charter had been slightly modified; and the parliamentary form of government was restored. The tricolour flag superseded the white flag of the Bourbons.
- The Belgian provinces, hitherto Austrian, were in 1815 annexed to Holland, to strengthen the state so that it might be in a position to resist attack until the other powers could come to its rescue.
- A congress was called to determine the future form of government in Belgium. It decided in favour of a monarchy, adopted a liberal constitution, and elected its first king—King Leopold of Coburg, whose coronation took place in July 1831.
- Alexander I, Tsar of Russia, had desired to restore Poland to the full extent of its possessions in the eighteenth century. That was possible when Prussia and Austria did relinquish the provinces they had acquired in the three partitions. This, however, was not accomplished at the Congress of Vienna.
- The new Polish Kingdom, erected in 1815, did not even include all of the Polish territories that Russia had acquired.
- The Russians were opposed to the idea of a restored Poland, and particularly to a constitutional Poland, when they themselves had no constitution.
- During the Polish Insurrection of 1831, Poles fought with great bravery, but without good leadership, without careful organization, without a spirit of subordination to the Russian military authorities.
- The Legitimists defended the rights of Charles X and his descendants. They regarded Louis Philippe as a usurper, a thief who had treacherously and shamelessly stolen the crown of the young Duke of Bordeaux.
- Louis Philippe's struggle with the Republicans was far more severe. The latter had acquiesced at first in his rule on the assurance of Lafayette, in whom they reposed great confidence, that the rule would really constitute the best of republics; of which the King was essentially democratic, and that the popular throne would be surrounded by republican institutions. But both, Lafayette and Louis, were shortly undeceived.
- The parliamentary history of France in that decade (1830 to 1840) was marked by instability. Ten ministries came to power in a span of 10 years. It was only in 1840 that the Ministry of Guizot, of about seven years time span i.e., from 1840 to 1848, came into power. For several years after his accession to the throne, Louis Philippe was careful to guard himself from the appearance of assuming personal power.
- Louis Napoleon became the President of the Second Republic majorly elected by the support of the peasants on 2 December 1848. In 1851, he dissolved the elected assembly and established the second French empire which was in power till 1871.
- The Ninth of Thermidor (28 July 1794) was the start of the Bourgeois counter-revolution. After Robes Pierre was assassinated, the Deputies of the Convention continued to falsely assert their loyalty to the cause of the revolution; but soon abandoned their hyponatural attitude and show their true colours.
- With the destruction of the Jacobin Club by the Golden Youth in November 1794, the onset of the counter-revolution began. The Girondins and Feuillants and other counter-revolutionary groups settled their scores with the Jacobins.
- Napoleon was appointed as commander of the armed forces by the council of ancients on the excuse that there was a threat of a new Jacobin conspiracy. It was on the morning of 18th Brumaire i.e., 9 November 1799 Napoleon vowed to defend the republic founded on liberty, equality and the sacred principles of popular representation.
- Coup d'Etat, known as the 'Constitution of the Year VIII', was drawn up according to Napoleon's instructions. It was extremely short and the terms were not very clear. It stated that France was to remain a republic as before and the slogan liberty, equality and fraternity was retained along with the revolutionary calendar introduced by the Convention. The power of execution was passed from the Directory to the three councils; and the two legislative chambers were replaced by the senate, the state council, the tribunate and the legislative body.
- Napoleon had far-reaching ambitions to expand his empire and his policies had less and less of progressive elements. He focused more on annexation of countries.
- In Spain, the Spanish people rose against the foreign conquerors and guerrilla activities began. A 20,000 strong French Army commanded by General Dupont surrendered to the guerrilla forces at Baylen in July 1808.
- At the dawn of 14 September 1812, the Russian detachments left Moscow and motivated the people to leave the city rather than remain there when the enemy took over. The French Army marched into Moscow; but as fire broke out in different parts of the city, it spread to the French Army camps and destroyed its vital food supplies.
- A provisional government was organized in France when the liberal opposition met on 26 February 1848. Universal Suffrage and unemployment relief were the two major goals of this republic. On 2nd March, Universal Suffrage was implemented and France got nine million new voters.
- The Campaign des Banquets began in July 1847 and continued till 1848.
- Saint-Simon was the first to announce a socialistic scheme for the revolution of society in the interest of the 'most numerous' classes. He believed that the state should own the means of production and should organize industry on the principle of 'Labour according to capacity and reward according to services'.

NOTES

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- Louis Blanc tried to convince the labourers of France of the evils of the prevailing economic conditions, a task which was not difficult. He denounced in vehement terms the government of the bourgeoisie as government—of the rich, by the rich, and for the rich. It must be swept away and the state must be organized on a thoroughly democratic basis. He was of the opinion that let the state establish, with its own capital, national workshops; and let the workmen manage these and share the profits. The class of employers would thus disappear and the labourers would get the full result of their labour. Louis Blanc's theories, propounded in a style at once clear and vivid, were largely adopted by workingmen. A socialist party was thus created.
- The major objective of the revolutionists in 1830 was to reestablish the political and social systems in France, which were being destroyed by the reactionary powers. On the other hand, the outbreak of the Revolution in 1848 took place primarily because of economic unrest. Due to the Industrial Revolution, the circumstances had considerably changed in France and other European countries.

2.5 KEY TERMS

- **Absolute monarchy:** Form of administration where the monarch exercises ultimate governing authority as head of both the state and the government
- **Autocrat:** A ruler with unlimited power
- **Battle of Tarutino:** Was a part of Napoleon's invasion of Russia, which took place in October 1812; was the first battle won by the Russian Army after the Battle of Borodino
- **Bourbons:** French royal family descended from Louis I, Duke of Bourbon (1270–1342); whose members have ruled in France, Spain, Naples and Sicily.
- **Conservatism:** A political and social philosophy that promotes retaining traditional social institutions
- **July Monarchy:** Liberal and constitutional monarchy in France under Louis Philippe I that started with the July Revolution of 1830 and ended with the Revolution of 1848 in France
- **Treaty of Luneville:** Peace treaty signed on 9 February 1801 between the French Republic and the Holy Roman Emperor Francis II
- **Universal suffrage:** The right to vote granted to every adult citizen

2.6 ANSWERS TO 'CHECK YOUR PROGRESS'

1. On 26 July 1830, King Charles issued several ordinances, suspending the liberty of the Press, dissolving the Chamber of Deputies, changing the electoral system, reducing the number of voters from 100,000 to 25,000, and ordering new elections.
2. The influence of the Revolution of 1830 was felt all over Europe—in Poland, Germany, Italy, Switzerland, England, and the Netherlands.
3. To Poland, Alexander I granted a constitution and established a parliament of two chambers with considerable powers. Roman Catholicism was recognized as the state religion; but a generous measure of toleration was given to other sects. Freedom of the Press was guaranteed. Polish was made the official language. All positions in the government were to be filled by Poles, not by Russians.
4. The first part of the reign of Louis Philippe was troubled. It was doubtful whether it could long endure. It had many enemies, Legitimists, Bonapartists and Republicans.
5. Louis was also nicknamed the 'Bourgeois Monarch' as he was the head of a moderately liberal state controlled specifically by educated elites. His opposition comprised of Legitimists (former Ultra-Royalists) on his right, and on his left the Republicans and the Socialists.
6. Napoleon was appointed as commander of the armed forces by the council of ancients on the excuse that there was a threat of a new Jacobin conspiracy. It was on the morning of 18th Brumaire i.e., 9 November 1799 Napoleon vowed to defend the republic founded on liberty, equality and the sacred principles of popular representation. Napoleon's real motive behind the latest coup was to get rid of all the sacred principles and set up his own unlimited dictatorship.
7. On June 14 Napoleon succeeded in defeating the Austrian Army at Morengo. At the same time, at Hohenlinden, General Moreau defeated the Austrian Army. The Austrians gave up and signed the Treaty of Luneville on 9 February 1801. The terms were dictated by the victor and France annexed Belgium, and all German territory on the left bank of the river Rhine. Austria had to recognize the 'daughter republics' Helvetian (Switzerland), Batavian (Holland), Ligurian (Genoa area) and cisalpine (Lombardia) though they were totally dependent on France with Piedmont having French occupation.
8. France became the leading power in Western Europe after the Treaty of Luneville. It had annexed Belgium and the German territory on the left bank of the river Rhine.
9. In 1806, Russia and England were joined by Prussia, Saxony and Sweden in the Fourth Coalition against France.
10. Napoleon and Alexander hoping to end hostilities met at Tilsit, signed a peace treaty for a Franco–Russian alliance on the 7 July 1807, on the promises of Napoleon to give his firm support for the Russian claims in the Middle East. Russia recognized the conquests and reforms of Napoleon in Western Europe. Thus Russia and France became allies against England and joined the Continental System. This resulted in the blockade of British Isles in 1806 and 1807.
11. The French Empire in the year 1809 included Belgium, Holland, Northern and Central Italy, Illyria and Dalmatia. An Italian kingdom was set up in Northern and central Italy and Napoleon's stepson Eugene de Beauharnais was the regent. The vassal states of the French empire were the remainder of Western and Central Europe. The Spanish throne was adorned by Napoleon's brother Joseph and his brother-in-law became the King of Naples. Napoleon was the head of the Confederation of the Rhine which covered the bulk of the Western German states. Napoleon's younger brother Jerome ruled the Kingdom of Westphalia, which was the part of the former Prussian territory. Prussia and Saxony were now the allies of France, while Russia maintained friendly terms with Napoleon; and by 1809, he had achieved complete hegemony over Europe.

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2.7 QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Short-Answer Questions

1. How was the restoration of the Bourbons brought about? What form of government was set up by the Constitutional Charter of 1814?
2. What civil rights were guaranteed by the Charter of 1814?
3. What were the general causes that led to the Revolution of 1830?
4. What was the July Monarchy, and why was it called so?
5. Discuss the 18th Brumaire Coup d'Etat of 1799.

Long-Answer Questions

1. What were the July Ordinances? Describe the Revolution of 1830. How did Louis Philippe become King?
2. What influence did the Revolution of 1830 exercise upon the rest of Europe?
3. What were the sources of friction within the Kingdom of the Netherlands after 1815? How did the Kingdom of Belgium come into existence?
4. Was the Kingdom of Poland created in 1815 as a restoration of the former kingdom? Why did Alexander I create that kingdom in 1815 and with what institutions did he endow it?
5. Was Alexander's Polish policy a success or a failure? Give reasons for your answer.
6. What was the nature of the opposition the July Monarchy encountered? What were Guizot's political principles?
7. Describe the theories of Louis Blanc. Did the reign of Louis Philippe represent any advance over that of Charles X? How was Louis Philippe overthrown?

2.8 FURTHER READING

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UNIT 3 NAPOLEON III

NOTES

Structure

3.0 Introduction
3.1 Unit Objectives
3.2 Political Inclinations of Napoleon
3.3 Internal Policy
3.4 Foreign Policy
3.5 Summary
3.6 Key Terms
3.7 Answers to 'Check Your Progress'
3.8 Questions and Exercises
3.9 Further Reading

3.0 INTRODUCTION

Louis Napoleon Bonaparte (Neopion III) had become chief of the house of Bonaparte in 1832 at the age of 24. He was the son of Louis, the former King of Holland. He regarded his position with utmost seriousness. He believed that he had a right to rule over France. He clung to this belief for 16 years, even though those years brought him hardly any practical encouragement.

Gathering about him a few adventurers, Napoleon in 1836 tried to win over the Strasbourg for a coup detat and in 1840, at Boulogne, he tried to seize power once again. Both attempts were puerile in their conception, and were executed shabbily. Both ended in fiasco. He had gained the name of being ridiculous, a thing exceedingly difficult for Frenchmen to forgive or forget. As a result of this he had been exiled to the United States, from where he shortly returned. As a result of the latter, he was imprisoned in the fortress of Ham in northern France, from which he escaped in 1846, disguised as a mason. He then went to England and in 1848, at the time of the Chartist risings, he was a special constable stationed in Trafalgar Square. The Revolution of 1848 created an opportunity for him.

Like his great prototype, whom he constantly sought to imitate, he offered his services to the Republic. He was elected as a member of the Constituent Assembly, where the impression he created was that of mediocrity, with few ideas of his own, who could probably be controlled by oners. His name, however, was a name to reckon with. This was his only capital, but it was sufficient. He was popular with the peasants and secured their support.

When the presidential election was held in December 1848, Louis Napoleon was overwhelmingly chosen with over five million votes to Cavaignac's million and a half. The new President entered upon his duties on 20 December 1848. On that day before the Assembly he swore 'to remain faithful to the democratic republic,' and said: 'My duty is clear. I will fulfill it as a man of honour. I shall regard as enemies of the country all those who endeavour to change by illegal means that which France has established.' He kept his oath for nearly three years and then broke it, because he wished to remain in power, having no desire to retire to private life; yet the Constitution forbade the re-election of a president at the end of the four-year term. Louis Napoleon took a leaf out of the biography of Napoleon I, and climbed to power by carrying

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through a *coup d'etat,* far more skillfully than his uncle had engineered, —that of the 19th of Brumaire.

3.1 UNIT OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to:

- Explain the political inclinations of Napoleon III
- Describe the internal (domestic) policies of Napoleon III
- Explain the foreign policies of Napoleon III

3.2 POLITICAL INCLINATIONS OF NAPOLEON

In this section, we will discuss some of the major political happenings in the Napoleonic era.

1. The Coup d'état of December, 1851

On 2 December 1851, anniversary of the coronation of Napoleon I and of the battle of Austerlitz, the Prince President struck, and struck hard. During the early morning hours many of the military and civil leaders of France, republican and monarchist, were arrested and taken to prison. A battalion of infantry was sent to occupy the Legislative Chamber. Posters were posted on all the walls of Paris, pretending to explain the President's purposes, which included a re-modeling of the constitution in the direction of the system established by Napoleon I at the time of the Consulate. 'This system, created by the First Consul at the beginning of the century, has already given to France repose and prosperity; it will guarantee them to her again.' The people were called upon to approve or disapprove these suggestions.

2. The Massacre of the Boulevards

The President had not neglected to make preparations for the uprising. His police controlled all the printing establishments, as in the period of crisis emerged flaming appeals to revolt, also all the bell towers, which were accustomed to ring out the appeal to insurrection. Nevertheless the third barricades were raised. On 17 October 1961 occurred 'the famous massacre of the Boulevards.' Over 150 were killed and a large numbers were wounded. Paris was cowed. Thousands of arbitrary arrests were made and martial law was implemented. Probably a hundred thousand arrests were made throughout France.

All who appeared dangerous to Louis Napoleon were either transported out of country or imprisoned. This vigorous policy was aimed particularly at the republicans, who were for years completely silent. Having thus, abolished all opposing leadership, Louis Napoleon appealed to the people for their opinion, as to entrusting him with power to remodel the Constitution along the lines indicated in his proclamation. On 20 December, 7,439,216 voted in favour of so doing, and only 640,737 voted in the negative. While the election was in no sense fair, the issue presented was neither clear nor simple, while force and intimidation were resorted, to, yet it was evident that a large majority of Frenchmen were willing to try again the experiment of a Napoleon.

3. The Second Empire Established

NOTES

The Republic, though officially continuing another year, was now dead. Louis Napoleon, though still nominally President, was in fact an absolute sovereign. It was a mere formality when a year later (21 November 1852) the people of France were permitted to vote on the question of reestablishing the imperial dignity, and of proclaiming Louis Napoleon Bonaparte the emperor.

Hence, Napoleon III was proclaimed Emperor of France, and the Second Empire was established.

3.3 INTERNAL POLICY

The President, who, by a profitable absence of scruples, and by favourable circumstances, had known how to become an emperor, was destined to be the ruler of France and a leading figure in European politics for eighteen years. He announced at the outset that what France needed, after so turbulent a history, was a government by an enlightened and benevolent autocrat. Then when the necessary work of reorganization had been carried through and the national life was once more in a healthy state, the autocrat would give way to a liberal form of government which the country would then be in a condition to manage and enjoy. Hence, although he promised 'reasonable freedom', he considered necessary to bring in effect the measures of a police state.

As a matter of fact the history of the Second Empire falls into two divisions—autocracy unlimited from 1852 to 1860, and a growing liberalism from 1860 to 1870, when the Empire collapsed, its programme woefully unrealized. The political institutions of the empire were largely based on those of the Consulate. The machinery was elaborate, but was mainly designed to deceive the French people into thinking that they enjoyed self-government.

The principle of universal suffrage was preserved but was ingeniously rendered quite harmless to the autocrat. There was a legislative body and there was a Senate, but their powers were very slight. The important fact was not the activity of these bodies but of the one man. France was no longer a land of freedom. The new ruler was particularly ruthless in his policy of crushing the Republicans, as he had a very clear instinct that they would never forgive him for having overthrown by violence the Republic, which had honored him with its highest office and which he had solemnly sworn to protect from all enemies.

The Empire—Both Repressive and Progressive

In politics a despot stamps out every possible spark of independence. Napoleon was, however, in many other ways progressive. Particularly, he sought to develop the wealth of the country, and his reign was one of increasing economic prosperity; manufactures, commerce, banking, all were greatly encouraged. It was a period of great business enterprises and fortunes were made quickly, and of a size hitherto unknown in France. Paris was modernized and beautified on a most elaborate scale and became the most attractive and comfortable capital in Europe.

For the prosperity and 'greatness of France', he promoted public works, encouraged construction of railroads, establishment of credit institutions and other

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means to further agriculture and industry. He showed special interest towards the needy. He assured their lower price for bread, hygienic dwellings for workers and established boards of arbitration.

In 1853, Napoleon III married a young Spanish lady of remarkable beauty and of noble birth, Eugenie de Montego, 'a marriage of love' as the Emperor told the French people. The Tuileries immediately became the centre of a court life the most brilliant and luxurious of the nineteenth century.

Concessions to the Liberals

Feeling that his popularity was waning, Napoleon decided to win over the Liberals, who had hitherto been his enemies, by granting in 1868 certain reforms which, they had constantly demanded—larger power to the Legislative Chamber and greater freedom of the press. The Empire thus, entered upon a frankly liberal path. The result was not to strengthen, but greatly to weaken it. Many new journals started which were assailed with amazing bitterness. A remarkable freedom of speech characterized the last two years of Napoleon's reign.

The elections of 1869, fought with virulence, brought more than 3 million votes for opposition deputies. The results induced Napoleon III to appoint the former Republican Émile Ollivier to form a responsible ministry. After further turbulence following a Bonaparte scandal, the Emperor resorted to plebiscite, and on May 8, 1870, more than 7,300,000 Frenchmen voted to accept all liberal reforms introduced by Napoleon III since 1860.

3.4 FOREIGN POLICY

Louis-Philippe wanted to make France a great power again by breaking up the European system created by the Congress of Vienna of 1815, which, incidentally, had imposed great humiliations on France. The Crimean War provided the opportunity to achieve one of his biggest dreams—to form an alliance with Great Britain to stop the Russian march. In 1859 he became aware of his desire 'to do something for Italy'. And together with Piedmont-Sardinia, he went to war against Austria in order to expel it from Italy. He was convinced with his victory in the Battle of Solferino in June 1859 that he could win this war as well. But due to fear of a possible intervention from the German Confederation he made peace again. His activities in Italy were, however, arousing suspicion among the British. Napoleon, however, knew he had to prove himself through conquests in order to secure legitimacy. But his military adventurisms were unsuccessful. In Mexico he wanted to establish a satellite government for French export. Despite his military defeat, glory came to France in other areas. Napoleon obtained permission from Egypt to build the Suez Canal. Ferdinand de Lesseps and the creation of the eighth wonder of the world gave France huge glory. It created an expanse of trade, increased revenue and market income for the French. This pleased the British and the two countries kept a friendly relation.

Check Your Progress

1. State any one purpose of the December 1851 coup.
2. Who established the Second Empire?
3. What was the administrative approach of the emperor initially?

1. The Congress of Paris (1856)

In 1856, Napoleon III was at the zenith of his power. The Empire had been recognized by all the other states of Europe. The Emperor had, with England and Piedmoni as allies, waged a successful war against Russia in the Crimea. He was supposed to have the best army in Europe, and was honoured in the face of the entire world by having Paris chosen as the seat of the congress which drew up the treaties at the end of that war. And now an heir was born to him, the Prince Imperial, as interesting in his day and as ill-fated as the King of Rome had been in his. Fortune seemed to have emptied her full horn of plenty upon the author of the *coup d'etat.*

2. Napoleon's Mexican Expedition

Another serious mistake of Napoleon was culminating at this very time, his Mexican policy, a most unnecessary, reckless and disastrous enterprise.

Mexico was a republic but there was a faction among the Mexicans which wished to overthrow it. This faction, under French inspiration and direction, held an assembly which decreed that Mexico should henceforth be an Empire and that the imperial crowns should be offered to Archduke Maximilian of Austria, brother of Francis Joseph, the Emperor of Austria. This assembly represented, perhaps, 350,000 people out of about 7,000,000. It offered a fatal gift. This young prince of 31 was of attractive and popular manners, and of liberal ideas.

Young, handsome, versatile, half poet, half scientist, he was living in a superb palace, Miramar, overlooking the Adriatic, amid his collections, his objects of art, and with the sea which was his passion always before him. From out of this enchanting retreat he now emerged to become the central figure of a short and frightful tragedy. Mexico lured him to his doom. Influenced by his own ambition and that of his spirited wife, Carlotta, daughter of Leopold I, King of Belgium, and receiving definite promises of French military support until 1867, he accepted the imperial crown and arrived in Mexico in May 1864.

3. Disastrous Outcome of the Mexican Adventure

This entire project, born in the brain of Napoleon III, was to prove hopeless from the start, disastrous to all who participated in it, to the new Emperor and Empress, and to Napoleon. The difficulties confronting the new monarch were insuperable. A guerilla warfare was carried on successfully by Juarez, using up the French soldiers and putting them on the defensive. A greater danger threatened the new empire when General Lee surrendered at Appomattox. The United States had looked from the first with disapprobation upon Napoleon's project. Now that the Civil War was over, she threatened intervention.

Napoleon was unwilling to risk a conflict with this country, and consequently promised to withdraw his troops speedily from Mexico. Maximilian could not remain long an Emperor without Napoleon's support. His wife, Carlotta, returning to Europe to persuade Napoleon in frantic personal interviews not to desert them, received no promise of support from the man who had planned the whole adventure, and in the fearful agony of her contemplation" of the impending doom of her husband became insane. Maximilian was taken by the Mexicans and shot on 19 June 1867. The phantom Empire vanished. From out of this enchanting retreat he now emerged to become the central figure of a short and frightful tragedy. Mexico lured him to his doom. Influenced by his own ambition and that of his spirited wife, Carlotta, daughter of Leopold I, King of Belgium, and receiving definite promises of French military support until 1867, he accepted the imperial crown and arrived in Mexico in May 1864.

4. Napoleonic Wars in Europe

The Mexcian expedition was the most expensive enterprise for the French emperor. It has dried the financial resources of his country, which was already disorganized.

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It had prevented his playing a part in decisive events occurring in central Europe in 1864–1866, in the Danish war, and the Austro-Prussian war, the outcome of which was to alter so seriously the importance of France in Europe by the exaltation of an ambitious, aggressive, and powerful military state, Prussia. It had damaged him morally before Europe by the desertion of his protégés to an appalling fate before the threats of the United States. It had lessened his prestige at home.

The Menace of War

Thus clouds were gathering, thicker and ever darker, around the throne of Napoleon the Third. There were domestic troubles, but, in the main, it was the foreign relations that inspired alarm. The astonishing success of Prussia, which Napoleon might have prevented, that was the sore point. A re-organization so sweeping in central Europe as the overthrow of Austria, her expulsion from Germany, and the consolidation and aggrandizement of Prussia, a powerful military state, upset the balance of power. A feeling of alarm spread through France. 'Revenge for Sadowa,' was 'a cry often heard henceforth. Its meaning was that if one state like Prussia should be increased in area and power, France also, for consenting to it, had a right to a proportionate increase that the reciprocal relations might remain the same.

'Revenge for Sadowa,' was a cry commonly heard hereafter. It meant that if a state, such as Prussia expanded in terms of area and became more powerful, France, which had agreed to it, also was entitled to a fair increase in the same proportion.

In the time period between 1866 and 1870, people started accepting the idea that war would eventually break out between Prussia and France. The governments on both sides also came to believe in this eventuality. Several French citizens wished for 'revenge for Sadowa.'

Bismarck desired war as a technique of ensuring the unification of Germany, because it was clear that Napoleon would not be keen to give his nod to extend the Confederation so as to embrace states in south Germany.

The Hohenzollern Candidacy

Given the displeasure amongst the conscientious statesmen, conflict was inevitable. Yet, the battle between France and Prussia began suddenly, and took Europe by storm. What was unimagined till the 1st of July, 1870, just broke out on July 15. It all happened in a roundabout way. Due to a revolution in Spain, Queen Isabella had been forced to flee the country. Therefore, there was no Spanish monarch. On July 2, Paris was informed that Leopold of Hohenzollern, who was related to the King of Prussia, had agreed to be the King of Span. Bismarck had a hand in this, and supported this move even though he was aware of Napoleon's hostile stand. France did not approve, as was clear from the reports in the papers and the reaction of the French Parliament. A crisis began to brew. There was intervention from other powers, who were all in favour of peace. Eventually, on July 12, Hohenzollern withdrew his candidature.

France Declares War against Prussia

With the withdrawal of Prince Leopold's candidature, the tension was at once relieved. The fear of war that was looming large, soon vanished. However, there were two people who did not approve—Bismarck and Gramont, the French minister of Foreign Affairs. The former felt so humiliated that he thought he should put in his resignation and give up his public life altogether. The latter, who was known to be an irresponsible

NOTES

and thoughtless politician, was not happy with his diplomatic triumph, and wanted yet another victory, which would further add to Prussia's discomfort. The Ministry of France demanded that the Prussian King should promise to never ever renew Hohenzollern's candidacy. The King, however, refused to give in to this demand and gave Bismarck the authority to publish a report on the occurrence. Bismarck, who was waiting for a chance like this, used it to incite the French into declaring war. In his own words, the report was aimed as 'a red flag for the Gallic bull.'

The impact of the report was evident almost instantly. It made both the countries furious. The Prussians took it as an insult to their King, while the French felt their ambassador had been insulted. In addition, the newspapers were full provocative and false reports in both the countries. Those who were promoting peace were ignored in the ensuing chaos and furore. France declared war on July 15.

This war went on to be one of the most devastating and catastrophic in French history. Though the French had declared war on the Prussians, the manner in which they did so drove the states of south Germany to join Bismarck's side. France had banked upon the support of these south German states. They felt that the French had insulted them by demanding that the King of Prussia should vow never to accept the candidature of the Prince of Hohenzollern. Prussia was joined by Bavaria, Baden and Wurttemberg. The French military failed to estimate the level of difficulty of the work confronting them. They were ill-prepared and ill-equipped. Their numbers were small and their commanders lacked prowess as compared to their Prussian counterparts. Other than a handful of success stories, the war was more a reflection of their failures. The Germans managed to cross the Rhine and successfully entered Alsace and Lorraine.

The French army met with failure at Sedan, and was forced the very next day to surrender to the Germans. Napoleon himself was captured as prisoner of war. On these two days, almost 1,20,000 French soldiers were either killed, injured or taken prisoners.

Such horrendous tragedies resonated throughout the world. France's army ceased to exist. While one had surrendered at Sedan, the other was locked up in Metz. The following mail was received from the Emperor on 3 September: 'The army has been defeated and is captive; I myself am a prisoner.'

Being a prisoner Napoleon could not head the government of France. Therefore, in Thiers words, there was a 'vacancy of power'. The very next day, on 4 September, Sunday, the legislative body was summoned. However, even before they could begin discussing, they were mobbed. Slogans of 'Down with the Empire! Long live the Republic!' resounded. Gambetta, Jules Favre, and Jules Ferry, followed by the crowd, continued on to the Hotel de Ville where they declared the Republic. The Empress was forced to flee. A Government of National Defence was put together, headed by General Trochu, which remained the actual government of France through the remaining part of the war.

The war between France and Germany spanned approximately six months, from 1 August, 1870 to 1 February, 1871. This war fits into two periods, the Imperial and the Republican. During the Imperial period, that is, in August, the regular armies were, either destroyed or bottled up. Then the Empire fell and the Emperor was imprisoned in Germany. The second period was five-month long. Under the Government of National Defense, France courageously defended itself with full spirit despite the discouraging conditions.

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5. The Siege of Paris

The Germans proceeded to Paris, leaving just enough of the army to continue the siege of Metz. Then, on 19 September, one of the most famous sieges in history began, which spanned four months, and amazed Europe. Huge stores were gathered in the city, the citizens were given arms, and the defence was full of power and energy. The people of Paris were confident of being able to hold on till the time new armies could be collected and the diplomacy could intervene. To be able to organize new armies, a delegation led by Gambetta, from the Government of National Defense, escaped from Paris by balloon. They went on to set up a seat of government, first at Tours, then at Bordeaux. Gambetta, who was energetic, articulate and highly patriotic, was easily able to impress and succeeded in raising new armies. The Germans were amazed by the power of resistance of these armies, but since they could not be trained due to paucity of time, they could not succeed. They failed to break into the strong iron barricade that protected Paris.

Once the Empire was overthrown, all that was left in the name of war was the siege of Paris, and the armies' endeavoured to break that siege. These efforts did not bear any fruit because Metz fell on 27 October 1870. Starvation led to the 6000 officers and 173,000 men surrendering with hundreds of cannons and war supplies. This was probably the greatest of surrenders recorded in history. After a month, Strasbourg had surrendered and 19,000 soldiers became prisoners of war.

The surrender of Metz was catastrophic, especially as it made it possible to send more German armies for the reinforcement of the siege of Paris, and to assault the forces being gathered by Gambetta in the rest of France. These armies were unable to relieve Paris. The troops in Paris could not break through them either. The siege was reduced to a mere exercise in endurance.

Capitulation of Paris

The Germans started bombarding the city in the beginning of January. Some parts suffered immense losses and were destroyed by fires. The people of Paris were on the brink of a famine. There was no beef or lamb available after the second week of November. After the second week of December, people had access to only thirty grams of horse meat daily, per person, which cost approximately two dollars and half a pound; By the second week of January, even bread, of the worst quality, was rationed to three hundred grams. People consumed anything they could lay their hands on, even cats and rats. Rats were available in the market for two francs per piece. By the end of January there was no food available, in any form. As if that was not enough, the winter during that period was one of the worst. The supply of coal and firewood could not meet the demand. Trees in the Champs Elysees (shonza-le-za) and the Bois de Boulogne (bua de bo-Ion) were felled and fires were lit in public squares where the poor could warm themselves. Even the wine stored in casks froze. On January 28, Paris surrendered following a gallant struggle.

The Treaty of Frankfurt

Bismarck's terms of peace were unusually harsh. These terms were stated in the Treaty of Frankfurt, which was signed on 10 May, 1871. France was forced to give up Alsace and a big segment of Lorraine, which included the fortress of Metz. France was to pay an absolutely exceptional war compensation of five thousand million francs (a billion dollars) within three years. France was also expected to support a German army of occupation, which was to be slowly withdrawn as the instalments of the indemnity were paid.

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Completion of Italian Unification

In the meantime, other events had taken place as an outcome of the war. Italy seized Rome and thus accomplished her unification. The Pope's rule was therefore terminated. The French battalion which lent its support to the Pope was withdrawn. This happened as a result of the battle of Sedan. The troops of Victor Emmanuel invaded the Pope's own troops, overcame them, and gained entry into Rome on 20 September, 1870. This completed the unity of Italy and Rome was made its capital.

Completion of German Unification

Germany's unification was a more important outcome of the war as also the formation of the Empire. Bismarck had felt it was necessary to engage in a war with France to unify Germany. During the war, Prussia and the South German states negotiated and drew up treaties. The confederation was expanded to cover all the German states. King William I was announced to be the King of the German Empire on 18 January, 1871. As a result of the war of 1866, Austria was expelled from Germany and Italy. With the war of 1870 the unification of both countries was accomplished. While Berlin became the capital of a federal empire, Rome became capital of a unified Kingdom.

ACTIVITY

Research on the Internet and make a note on some of the major domestic policies of Napoleon III (except the ones discussed in this unit).

DID YOU KNOW?

Napoleon Bonaparte instituted lasting reforms, including higher education, a tax code, road and sewer systems, and established the Banque de France (central bank).

3.5 SUMMARY

In this unit, you have learnt that:

- On 2 December 1851, anniversary of the coronation of Napoleon I and of the battle of Austerlitz, the Prince President struck, and struck hard.
- On 17 October 1961, 'the famous massacre of the Boulevards took place.' Over 150 were killed and a large numbers were wounded. Paris was cowed.
- The Republic, though officially continuing another year, was now dead. Louis Napoleon, though still nominally President, was in fact an absolute sovereign.
- It was a mere formality when a year later (21 November 1852) the people of France were permitted to vote on the question of reestablishing the imperial dignity, and of proclaiming Louis Napoleon Bonaparte the emperor.

Check Your Progress

4. Louis-Philippe wanted to make France a great power again by breaking up the European system created by the _____ of 1815.
5. What was Napoleon's intention behind the Mexican expedition?
6. Bismarck desired war as a technique of ensuring the _____ of Germany.
7. When was the Treaty of Frankfurt signed.

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- Napoleon III was proclaimed Emperor of France and the Second Empire was established.
- Napoleon was in many other ways progressive. Particularly he sought to develop the wealth of the country, and his reign was one of increasing economic prosperity; manufactures, commerce, banking, all were greatly encouraged.
- Feeling that his popularity was waning, Napoleon decided to win over the Liberals, who had hitherto been his enemies, by granting in 1868 certain reforms which, they had constantly demanded, larger power to the Legislative Chamber and greater freedom of the press.
- Another serious mistake of Napoleon was culminating at this very time, his Mexican policy, a most unnecessary, reckless and disastrous enterprise.
- Napoleon was unwilling to risk a conflict with this country, and consequently promised to withdraw his troops speedily from Mexico.
- The war between France and Germany spanned approximately six months, from 1 August, 1870 to 1 February, 1871.
- The Germans proceeded to Paris, leaving just enough of the army to continue the siege of Metz. Then, on 19 September, one of the most famous sieges in history began, which spanned four months, and amazed Europe.

3.6 KEY TERMS

- **Carbonari:** Also known as the charcoal burners, they were groups of secret revolutionary societies in Italy influenced by liberal ideas; played an important role in the 1820 Revolution, as well as subsequent events of Italian unification
- **Carlsbad Decrees:** A set of reactionary restrictions introduced in the states of the German Confederation by resolution of the Bundesversammlung in 1819
- **Duchies:** Territories rules by dukes or duchesses

3.7 ANSWERS TO 'CHECK YOUR PROGRESS'

1. One of the aims of the 1851 coup was to remodel the constitution in the direction of the system established by Napoleon I.
2. Louise Napoleon Bonapart (also known as Napoleon III) established the Second Empire in November 1852 after proclaiming himself the emperor of France.
3. The emperor, although was socialistic in approach, considered it necessary to put in place a police state as he considered that after such a turbulent history, France needed a government under an enlightened and benevolent autocrat.
4. Congress of Vienna
5. Napoleon wanted to establish Mexico as a satellite government for French export.
6. Unification
7. The Treaty of Frankfurt was signed on 10 May 1871.

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3.8 QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Short-Answer Questions

1. How long did the Second Republic endure?
2. Was Napoleon III successful in his domestic policies?
3. How far were Louis Napoleon's foreign policies successful?
4. Write a note on the siege of Paris.
5. What did the slogan 'Revenge for Sadowa' mean?
6. What were the causes of the Franco-German War of 1870?

Long-Answer Questions

1. Describe the constitution of the Second Republic.
2. Give an account of the career of Louis Napoleon down to the year 1848. How did he become the emperor? What were his policies during the early part of his reign?
3. Give an account of the Mexican expedition of Napoleon III.
4. What were the effects of that Mexican expedition upon the position of Napoleon III?
5. Describe the main events of the Franco-German War. What were the terms of peace?
6. What relation does the Franco-German War have with the problem of the unifications of Germany and Italy?

3.9 FURTHER READING

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UNIT 4 UNIFICATION OF ITALY AND GERMANY

Structure

4.0 Introduction
4.1 Unit Objectives
4.2 Background to Italian Unity
  4.2.1 The Napoleonic Era
  4.2.2 Revolutions of 1820, 1830 and 1848
  4.2.3 Cavour's Rise
4.3 Italian War of Independence
  4.3.1 Unification of Northern and Central Italy
  4.3.2 Garibaldi and Movement in South Italy
  4.3.3 Venetia and Rome
4.4 Historical Background of the German Unification
4.5 Bismarck's Rise to Power
  4.5.1 Bismarck's Realpolitik
  4.5.2 Relations with Austria
  4.5.3 Austro-Prussian War
4.6 Completion of the German Unification
4.7 A Comparison between German and Italian Unification
4.8 Summary
4.9 Key Terms
4.10 Answers to 'Check Your Progress'
4.11 Questions and Exercises
4.12 Further Reading

4.0 INTRODUCTION

The socialist and labour movements in Britain, France and Germany were linked to the French Revolution. Napoleon Bonaparte, the 'child of revolution', had promoted the concepts of nationalism and liberalism across Europe. These factors were mainly responsible for the unification of Italy and later Germany.

Before the unification of Italy and Germany, these countries were divided into small principalities, which were often at war with each other. Their disintegration had exhausted the national resources of these countries. In addition, powerful European countries, such as Russia, France and Great Britain, by exploiting the state of chaos, were constant threats for these disintegrated regions. Thus, the unification was an 'event in waiting'.

In this unit, we will be discussing the background and causes for the unification of Italy and Germany in detail.

4.1 UNIT OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to:

- Discuss the background to Italian unity
- Summarize the Italian War of Independence

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- Explain the historical background of German unification
- Describe the role of Otto Von Bismarck in German unification
- List the similarities and differences between the movements of Italian and German unification

4.2 BACKGROUND TO ITALIAN UNITY

The roots of Italian unity can be traced back to ancient times—to the time of the Roman Empire. However, after the decline of Rome, Italy had become a geographical entity characterized by regional diversity. The commercially important towns of the Italian region in the middle ages were Milan, Venice, Genoa and Florence. These towns managed to become autonomous so that, by 1500, they became like the Greek city states of the past. Moreover, Italy had only a vague link with the Holy Roman Empire; and in spite of the aspirations of a few Italian patriots and the development of a common language and literature, political unity under a monarchy had not been built.

This lack of political unity was due to the following reasons:

1. The medieval German Emperor, who had unsuccessfully tried to dominate Italy, had left behind two conflicting groups, the Ghibellines who supported the maintenance of a tradition connected with Germany and the Guelphs, who rejected that doctrine.
2. The Pope, who had both religious and temporal power over Rome and its neighbouring districts.
3. The early commercial development of Italian towns had led to trade rivalries.
4. The wealth of Italy was immense. The most famous banking family was Medicis of Florence, who patronized art, learning and financed geographical expeditions. As a result of this, the Italian peninsula became a counter in the power struggle of the Great powers of Europe from the days of the Renaissance. Italy first passed into Spanish and then to the Austrian sphere of influence. The Bourbons of France had their influence over the Kingdom of Naples and Sicily, known as the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies, which was situated in the southern tip of Italy.

4.2.1 The Napoleonic Era

Napoleon Bonaparte's Kingdom of Italy, which was under his direct rule, with his stepson serving as the Viceroy, brought together the city states in Northern and Central Italy. At the same time, the southern part of the peninsula was placed under Napoleon's brother-in-law Joachim Murat. Napoleon gave Italy a modern administration and Italians became aware of concepts of liberalism and freedom. The territorial re-arrangement showed how delicate the existing structure in Italy was. Due to the seepage of Napoleonic ideas, the revolutionary secret society of Carbonari (the Charcoal Burners) was set up. Its aim was the liberation of Italy from foreign control and the obtaining of constitutional government.

The defeat of Napoleon was followed by the Peace Settlement of Vienna in 1815. Through this settlement Austria was given a commanding position in Italy. This meant the overwhelming influence of Count Metternich, the conservative chancellor

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of Austria, on Italy. He wanted a return to the old order and the status-quo of pre-revolutionary Europe and was the personification of reactionary aristocracy. In Northern Italy, the regions of Venetia and Lombardy were administered as part of the Austrian/ Hapsburg Empire. Austrian princes ruled in the Duchies of Tuscany, Parma and Moderna. These together with the Papal States formed central Italy, while the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies was in southern Italy.

Metternich, the Chancellor of Austria, was friendly both with the Pope and with Ferdinand I, the Bourbon king of the Two Sicilies. The system of government of the Metternich era was one which the Italian people found burdensome, especially after they had been exposed to the revolutionary ideas of freedom and liberty. The only ruler in the peninsula with Italian interests at heart was the King of Sardinia, Victor Emmanuel I. He too was however soon forced to toe the Austrian line.

Beneath this surface of Metternich conservatism, liberal ideas were gaining acceptance among the middle class, professionals and business men. This liberal agitation had twin emphasis on constitutional reform and national unity. However, due to severe government controls, Italian liberals had to operate underground. Thus, the Carbonari and the Free Masons conducted their activities through secret societies. The Carbonari had widespread support in Naples and Sicily.

4.2.2 Revolutions of 1820, 1830 and 1848

In this section, we will discuss the revolutions of 1820, 1830 and 1848 (the Revolutions of 1830 and 1848 have been discussed in detail in Unit 2).

1. Revolution of 1820

In 1820, there was revolution in the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies against the autocratic rule of King Ferdinand I. As a result of the revolutions, liberals were able to extract a constitution from him. Metternich acted swiftly and secured the support for the principle of intervention from the King of Prussia and the Czar of Russia. An Austrian army was invited to restore order. The opposition collapsed and the constitution was abrogated. In 1821, soldiers revolted in Piedmont and King Victor Emmanuel I abdicated in favour of his brother, Charles Albert, who was sympathetic to the liberal's cause. Charles Albert proclaimed a constitution but, Austrian troops intervened and absolute monarchy was re-established.

2. Revolution of 1830

The revolutionary disturbances in France in 1830 had the effect of spreading to Central Italy, where liberal rebels were looking for support from Louis Philippe, the new French King who had come to the throne after the 1830 Revolution. In the Papal state, the Italian tri-colour of red, white and green was raised as a symbol of democracy and nationalism. There were also outbreaks in Parma and Modena against the Hapsburg rulers. These revolutions were once more crushed by Austrian troops.

Joseph Mazzini

Italian nationalists advocated a variety of solutions to achieve their goal of a united Italy. In the context of that time, the most radical solution was the republican solution, associated with the name of the great Italian patriot, Joseph Mazzini (1805–1872). Mazzini, whose nickname was the Beating Heart of Italy, was the son of a University professor, from Genoa. As a young carbonari, Mazzini had been driven into exile by

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events of 1821. He conducted a persistent campaign of agitation and directed many unsuccessful raids and plots. However, these failures did not dampen his zeal and enthusiasm.

Mazzini believed in the free association of people, his slogan being 'God and the people'. Though his outlook was religious, Mazzini had little respect for the Papacy. He founded the political movement Young Italy (*La Giovine Italia)* in 1831, which successfully mobilized the Italian youth to the republican and nationalist cause. Mazzini once stated, 'the tree of liberty does not fructify unless it is planted by the hands of citizens and rendered fertile by the blood of citizens and guarded by the swords of citizens'. His banner had the slogan unity and independence on one side and liberty equality and humanity on other side.

3. Revolution of 1848

In 1848, disturbances in Italy began even before the February uprising in Paris. The first signs in Italy appeared in the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies, where King Ferdinand II was forced to accept a liberal constitution. After the revolution in France, Charles Albert granted a constitution in March 1848, providing for a Parliament elected by tax payers, ministerial responsibilities, the suppression of feudal privileges and granting of individual liberties.

When the news of Metternich's fall in Vienna was received, revolutions broke out in Austrian held territories, Austrian troops led by General Radetzky were driven out of Milan and the people demanded the transfer of Lombardy to Sardinia–Piedmont. In Venice, a republic was proclaimed under Daniel Manin (1804–1857). Following the expulsion of Austria from Lombardy, Charles Albert declared war on Austria to drive them out of the territory remaining in their hands in Northern Italy. His forces were joined by detachments from the Two Sicilies, the Papal State, Tuscany and Lombardy. But this enthusiasm was short-lived and in May 1848, the Pope declared that he could not fight Catholic Austria. The troops of the Two Sicilies were also withdrawn, King Ferdinand II having crushed the revolution there.

Consequently, in July 1848, Charles Albert was defeated by Radetzky at Custoza and Austria re-occupied Lombardy. The Italian extremists were not deterred and staged an uprising in the Papal States in the beginning of 1849. The Pope fled to Naples and a Roman Republic was proclaimed under Joseph Mazzini's leadership. The republicans also gained in the Two Sicilies and in Tuscany. Charles Albert also tried to revive the struggle but was again defeated at Novarra. Disappointed, he abdicated in favour of his son, Victor Emmanuel II. Louis Napoleon, the nephew of Napoleon Bonaparte, who had proclaimed the Second Republic in France, intervened in Rome.

Ignoring the constitutional provision not to act against a fellow republic, Napoleon III sent an expedition to Rome. The French forces were gallantly resisted by Mazzini's followers, led by Giuseppe Garibaldi, but were defeated in July 1849. Pope Pius IX was restored as ruler and now turned hostile to liberals and nationalists. The rulers of Tuscany were restored with Austrian aid while Sicily was brought under Ferdinand's control. In Venice, the republic collapsed as well. Thus, the Revolution of 1848 failed in Italy, except for in Sardinia-Piedmont, which remained only state to retain its constitution. This would be extremely significant for future events.

Nationalist sentiments in Italy did not lessen despite the failures of 1848–49. A few revolutionaries remained republicans, while most nationalists were converted to a movement directed against the provincial governments and the influence of the clergy. One such nationalist was Daniele Manin. Manin led a new organization called the Italian National Society (*Società Nazionale Italiana*) which put forward the idea of a united Italy under Victor Emmanuel II. This programme was so broad based that it attracted all shades of nationalist opinion.

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4.2.3 Cavour's Rise

The Kingdom of Sardinia–Piedmont emerged as the only modern liberal state in Italy. The man responsible for this achievement was Count Camillo di Cavour. Born in 1810, Cavour belonged to a noble Piedmontese family. As a teenager, he served in the Sardinian Army. His extensive reading of English writings and his subsequent visit to Britain made him a typical mid-nineteenth century liberal. Being of a practical bent of mind, Cavour understood the importance of the scientific and technological changes of his time.

In 1847, when censorship was relaxed, Cavour founded a newspaper in which he proposed moderate reforms and Italian unity. He was elected to the Chamber of Deputies where he made an immediate impact. In 1850, he was made Minister of Agriculture and Commerce, and two years later, became Prime Minister. He modeled his welfare state on the English liberal models. Sardinia–Piedmont already had a parliamentary system of government.

Under Cavour's directions, a flourishing commerce and industry was established. Tariffs were reduced, factories were built and the use of machinery encouraged. An improvement in communications was brought about through expansion of roads and railways. Not only did Cavour believe in individual liberty in economic, political and social matters, but he also believed in equality. Thus, in Sardinia taxes were equitably distributed.

Cavour was a pragmatist and therefore, was willing to seek the support of different political elements—right, centre and left—for the realization of his aim of Italian unity. He seized whatever opportunity that presented itself, taking decisions based on sound judgments. Cavour had no patience for the revolutionary ideologies of republicans. He reduced the influence of the Church, for he believed that reactionary conservatives were as dangerous as radicals. Thus, Jesuits were expelled and monastic establishments suppressed. Cavour maintained that Italian unification should be brought about under Sardinia's leadership, Sardinia being most suitable as it was a modern liberal state.

Check Your Progress

1. Fill in the blanks using appropriate words.
   (a) The defeat of Napoleon Bonaparte was followed by the Peace Settlement of Vienna in 1815. Through this settlement, _____ was given a commanding position in Italy.
   (b) In 1820, there was revolution in the _____ against the autocratic rule of King Ferdinand I.
   (c) The Kingdom of _____ emerged as the only modern liberal state in Italy.
   (d) _____ maintained that Italian unification should be brought about under Sardinia's leadership, Sardinia being most suitable as it was a modern liberal state.

4.3 ITALIAN WAR OF INDEPENDENCE

In this section, we would discuss the causes and the outcome of the Italian War of Independence in detail.

4.3.1 Unification of Northern and Central Italy

Cavour knew that the slogan, *Italia fara da se* (Italy will manage alone) was impractical. The cause of Italian unity would require much more to take on Austria. To promote the cause of Italian unity, Sardinia participated in the Crimean War in 1854, on the side of France and Britain, against Russia. Cavour hoped that because of Sardinia's participation, Britain and France would agree to help the cause of Italian unification.

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Cavour also expected Austria to join Russia in the Crimean War, however, Austria remained neutral. Sardinia did gain something by her participation in the Crimean War. Cavour attended the Peace Congress at Paris in 1856, and here he brought up the question of Austrian domination over Italy. He sought the support of the French Emperor, Napoleon III, in expelling Austria from the Italian peninsula and thus creating an Italian state.

Napoleon III, who was convinced that his uncle had fallen when he had opposed the national will in Italy and Germany, was responsive. Napoleon III thought that a war with Austria would get him the support of French liberals. He also hoped to get some concessions from Sardinia. He saw himself redrawing the map of Europe. Yet, Napoleon III hesitated in helping Sardinia because of the following reasons:

- An Austrian war could be risky because Austria was strong
- A united Italy could be a rival to France in the Mediterranean
- Many French Catholics were opposed to any attempts at Italian unity, which might decrease power of the papacy

An attempt on his life, in January 1858, by Felice Orsini made Napoleon III realize that he would have to act on the cause of Italian unity. At a secret meeting held at Plombieres in July 1858, Napoleon proposed that France would help Sardinia drive Austrian troops out of Lombardy and Venetia, which would be incorporated into Sardinia, while the smaller central states and some Papal territories would constitute another state, which Napoleon III secretly thought could be ruled by a Bonaparte. The southern part of Italy would remain unchanged and the Pope would still be sovereign in Rome. In return for this assistance, France would receive Nice (Mediterranean Port) and Savoy (an alpine Province).

Napoleon III went on to obtain a promise of Russian neutrality, playing on the Russian resentment of Austrian neutrality during the Crimean War. The marriage of Napoleon III's cousin Prince Victor Napoleon with the Sardinian King Victor Emmanuel II's daughter Clotilde sealed the bargain, which came to be known as the Pact of Plombieres. To win public opinion, Austria was made to appear as the aggressor. War broke out in 1859 between Piedmont and Austria. The plan was carried out and forces of Piedmont and France defeated Austria at Magenta and Solferino.

The success caused peaceful revolutions to break out in Tuscany, Modena and Parma. Nationalists assumed control in these provinces and the rulers were driven into exile. They demanded incorporation of these central Italian states, including the Papal States, into a united Italy under the King of Sardinia. Napoleon III was not prepared for this. The French Catholics blamed their Emperor's intervention for the national movement in the Papal States. Prussia mobilized along the River Rhine. The Austrian troops in Venetia were receiving reinforcements. Not wanting to go to war with Prussia, Napoleon III suddenly concluded peace with Austria at Villafranca in 1859, without consulting Sardinia. This was a huge setback for Sardinia.

As a result of the Conference in Villafranca, it was agreed that:

- Lombardy would be given to Sardinia
- Venetia would remain with Austria
- The princes in Central Italy would be restored to their thrones, and
- The Pope would become President of an Italian federation

Check Your Progress

2. How did the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies come into existence?
3. When was Young Italy (La Giovine Italia) formed?

NOTES

After the conference Italian nationalists and French liberals denounced Napoleon III as a traitor. Cavour resigned as Prime Minister of Sardinia, convinced that the cause had been lost. The Sardinian King now played his role in Italian unification. The King of Sardinia decided to accept the terms made at the conference of Villafranca and consolidate whatever few gains had been made. The terms of the settlement were formalized in the Treaty of Zurich. The addition of Lombardy to the Kingdom of Sardinia-Piedmont marked the completion of the first stage in the Italian unification.

Villafranca had made the nationalists in central Italy even more determined not to accept their old rulers. They took up the slogan 'Italy will take care of itself'. The people of the central Italian states and of a part of the Papal States held plebiscites and voted to join Sardinia. At first, Napoleon III refused to recognize this. Subsequently, Cavour returned to office and bargained with Napoleon III.

Disregarding the Conference of Villafranca, Napoleon III and Victor Emmanuel II consequently signed the Treaty of Turin in 1860. Through this treaty, Sardinia gave to France, Nice and Savoy and in return France recognized not only the union of Lombardy with Sardinia but also of Parma, Modena and Tuscany and of the papal province of Romagna. Nice and Savoy had belonged to the first French Republic and the first Napoleonic Empire and had been given to Sardinia-Piedmont by the Vienna Settlement of 1815. The Union of the central Italian States including Papal territory with Sardinia Piedmont marked the second stage of the Italian unification movement.

4.3.2 Garibaldi and Movement in South Italy

Following the unification of northern and central Italy, there was also a similar movement in the south of Italy. The man largely responsible for the growth of nationalism in the south was Joseph Garibaldi (1807–1882).

Garibaldi was a native of Nice and had been a sailor in the Sardinian Navy. Inspired by the nationalist and republican ideals promoted by Young Italy, he took part in a mutiny on his warship and was consequently condemned to death. Garibaldi escaped and fled to South America, where as a member of the Italian legend, he fought in revolutionary wars for fourteen years.

Garibaldi returned to Italy and led a volunteer army in the Sardinian War of 1848 against Austria and defended the Roman republic. After the defeat of 1849, Garibaldi went to New York where he made a good deal of money. In 1854, he returned to Italy and waited for an opportunity to fight for the freedom of his beloved land.

Southern Italy continued to be ruled in a dictatorial manner under Francis II, the successor of Ferdinand II. In 1860, the people of the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies rose in revolt, inspired by the events in Northern and Central Italy. Garibaldi had played his role by mobilizing the masses in support of Victor Emmanuel II, putting his loyalty to Italian unity before his republican sympathies.

On receiving the news of the outbreak in Sicily, Garibaldi assembled a volunteer army of 1,000 red shirts, as they were called, to assist the rebels. However, the Governments of Sardinia and the Two Sicilies were at peace. With all this diplomatic skill, Cavour openly threatened Garibaldi and his Red Shirts with arrest, but secretly indicated to Garibaldi that he could proceed. The English fleet, patrolling the Mediterranean, helped Garibaldi to land in Sicily. The defending army in Sicily gave in and within three months, Garibaldi and his Red Shirts controlled the island. Garibaldi then crossed over to the mainland, taking possession of Pales. King Francis II fled and took refuge in the fortress of Gaeta.

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Check Your Progress

4. Fill in the blanks using appropriate words.
   (a) To promote the cause of Italian unity, Sardinia participated in the _____ in 1854 on the side of France and Britain, against Russia.
   (b) An attempt on his life in January 1858 by Felice Orsini made _____ realize that he would have to act on the cause of Italian unity.
   (c) Not wanting to go to war with Prussia, Napoleon III suddenly concluded peace with Austria at _____ in 1859, without consulting Sardinia.
   (d) Garibaldi put aside his personal preference and handed over the Two Sicilies to _____.
   (e) The _____ in 1871 completed both German and Italian unifications.
5. At the Peace Congress at Paris in 1856, why did Napoleon III hesitate in helping Sardinia?
6. What were the major decisions taken in the Conference of Villafranca, 1859?

Garibaldi was so popular at this juncture that he could have become a republican dictator. However, he announced that he would march to Rome and hand over Southern Italy to Victor Emmanuel II. This was however dangerous because Napoleon III's French troops were stationed there since 1849 and loyal Catholics opposed an attack on Rome, the seat of the Pope. Cavour and Victor Emmanuel II decided to intervene and Sardinian troops were sent into the Papal State. They then passed on into Naples, where they joined the Red Shirts. Cavour announced the incorporation of Papal territory, except for Rome and its neighboring districts, into Sardinia, despite the protests of the Pope.

Garibaldi put aside his personal preference and handed over the Two Sicilies to King Victor Emmanuel II. King Frances II surrendered and went into exile. Plebiscites were held in the papal states of Marches and Umbria, confirming their annexation to Sardinia-Piedmont. This completed the third stage in the Italian unifications. There were no obstacles, as Austria was in no position to play any role in Italy. British public opinion was also in favour of the Italian cause. From the French point of view, the result far exceeded the wishes of Napoleon III. Consequently, Napoleon III could only strengthen the garrison at Rome and warn Sardinia not to move into what remained of Papal territory.

The first parliament, representing the united Italian nation, excluding Rome and Venetia, met in 1861. Victor Emmanuel II took the title of King of Italy instead of the King of Sardinia–Piedmont. Cavour died six months later, having seen most of his objectives completed.

4.3.3 Venetia and Rome

The new Italian Government entered into an alliance with Prussia against Austria in 1866. When the Austria–Prussian War broke out that year, Italian troops invaded Venetia. However, Italian troops were repulsed by Austrian troops, as was the Italian squadron by the fleet in the Adriatic Sea. However, by the Treaty of Prague in 1866, Austria had to cede Venetia to Italy.

In 1864, a Franco Italian convention had been entered into, whereby French troops were to leave Rome in two years and after the Austria–Prussian War in 1866, the French quit. However, Garibaldi's reappearance on the Roman scene brought the French back.

The Franco–Prussian War in 1871 completed both German and Italian unifications. On the eve of the war, Napoleon III withdrew the French garrison from Rome. Pope Pius IX was left with only his personal guards. When it became clear that Napoleon III could not send his troops back, the Italian Government sent its troops to invade and occupy the Papal state. The Pope tried to put up resistance, but a plebiscite vote in favour of the union of the Papal state with the Italian Kingdom decided the issue. Rome became the national capital in 1871 and the unification of Italy was completed.

4.4 HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF THE GERMAN UNIFICATION

There is a list of events which led to the German unification. In this section, we would elaborate on those events.

Holy Roman Empire

Like Italy, Germany also had been characterized by a lack of unity. By the early 16th century, the Holy Roman Empire was restricted to German speaking people, although theoretically it claimed political predominance over all Christian rulers and people of Central and Western Europe. By this period, the German had become conscious of a common language, a common tradition and a common nationality. They recognized that their political institutions were outdated and needed reform. However, there were conflicts between various groups concerning the methods and goals of reform. There were princes, free cities and knights quarreling with one another. Moreover, religions dissensions had left half of the German population Protestant while the other half was Catholic. The former were further subdivided into Lutherans and Calvinists. Each German state was devoted to its own form of Christianity rather than to German nationalism.

While there was growth of capitalism in German cities at the beginning of the sixteenth century as well as the growth of a middle class profiting from Spanish and Portuguese overseas explorations, civil wars had weakened the Holy Roman Empire economically and politically.

After the Thirty Years War (1618–1648) the strength of independent German princes grew, having become enriched by the confiscation of property owned by religious organizations. German princes got rid of local assemblies and established their autocratic rule. Some princes increased their power by conquest or matrimonial alliances. As these independent German states became stronger, the Holy Roman Emperor grew weaker. By the eighteenth century, Austria was the most famous and influential German state, the Holy Roman Emperor being chosen from the ruling dynasty of Austria, the Hapsburgs. However, Austria included widely different dominions like Bohemia and Hungary. Brandenburg–Prussia, ruled by the Hohenzollerns, was a great power, having a strong army. Bavaria, Saxony and Hanover were the other important states.

Napoleonic Era

During the Napoleonic Era, the number of German states was reduced from three hundred to less than a hundred, through the confiscation of a number of ecclesiastical lands and free cities. Some of these cities to the east of the Rhine river became part of France. After the Holy Roman Empire came to an end, a new Confederation of the Rhine under the protection of the French Emperor was formed by some of the German states. In Northern and Western Germany, a kingdom was carved out of German states, including, Prussia and was governed by Napoleon's brother, Jerome. The most important effect of the Napoleonic conquest of Germany was the abolition of feudalism and serfdom, the recognition of equality of all citizens before law and the application of principles and precepts of the Napoleon Code.

Peace Settlement of Vienna

The Peace Settlement of Vienna, signed after the defeat of Napoleon Bonaparte, made no effort to restore the ecclesiastical states and petty principalities or to resurrect the Holy Roman Empire. Instead, a German confederation of thirty eight states, with a legislature known as the Diet was set up. The German Confederation was presided

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Check Your Progress

7. Fill in the blanks using appropriate words.
   (a) After the _____ the strength of independent German princes grew, having become enriched by the confiscation of property owned by religious organizations.
   (b) The Peace Settlement of Vienna resulted in the setting up of a German Confederation presided over by the _____.
   (c) The _____ introduced in the German Confederation in 1819 made detailed provisions for the supervision of university students and professors, restricted the press and forbade the grant of any constitution that was inconsistent with the principle of monarchy.
   (d) Otto Von Bismarck concluded that the great questions of the day were not to be resolved by speeches and resolutions but through a policy of _____.

NOTES

over by the Austrian emperor. Austrian dominance was apparent from the outset even though the confederation was placed nominally under the guarantee of all the powers, all of whom were signatories to the Vienna settlement.

At this time, Austria was under control of its conservative chancellor, Prince Clemens Metternich. Metternich was a believer in the old order and a defender of the status-quo. He knew that he could count on the support of smaller German states, all of whom were jealous of Prussia. Thus, any attempt to achieve the promise in the Constitution of the Confederation that a representative form of government would be adopted in the feudal system was curbed by Austria. Though some south German states retained the Napoleonic code of laws and granted charters, the princes placed restrictions on the Press and Parliament while police activities kept liberals under check.

In Northern and Central Germany, conservative rule was rigorously imposed. Prussia abolished provincial tariffs and established free trade within the Kingdom in 1818. The liberal spirit was kept alive in the universities where students formed secret societies. The middle classes wanted participation in government while the lower classes wanted social reform. The Carlsbad Decrees introduced in the German Confederation in 1819 made detailed provisions for the supervision of university students and professors, restricted the press and forbade the grant of any constitution that was inconsistent with the principle of monarchy. Thus, the forces of reaction remained firmly in control in the German Federation.

The Revolution of 1830

The 1830 Revolution in France had mild repercussions in Germany. In Saxony, Hanover and Hesse rioting by liberals led to their rulers granting constitutional concessions, all of which were short lived. One important effect of the 1830s Revolution in France on Germany was the completion of the *Zollverein* or German Customs Union under Prussian leadership. In the 1840s the ideas of Socialism inspired by Saint Simon, Fourier and Cabet began to appear in German publications. A paper advocating the principles of national tariffs was brought out. In German and Austrian universities, liberals looked to university professors for leadership. They espoused the cause of national unity and greater freedom, but they were a small group.

Frankfurt Parliament

When the Revolution of 1848 broke out in France, and Metternich fell from power in Austria, crowds of agitators mainly comprising students and workers, demanded a constitution from King Frederick William IV of Prussia. They took to rioting and put up barricades. The King gave in and appointed a liberal ministry and a constituent assembly, issued a proclamation in favour of unification and even paraded in the streets of his capital Berlin wearing the revolutionary colour of red, black and gold.

This success of the revolutionaries led to the demand for constitutions in the smaller states, where constitutions were subsequently granted. The Diet of the German Confederation at Frankfurt also kept pace trying to change itself into a liberal parliament by modernizing its organization, annulling repressive laws and adopting the flag of red, black and gold. Elections to a German National Assembly were held and liberals obtained a majority. The liberals were mainly lawyers, judges and businessmen. The assembly, known as the Frankfurt Parliament, met with no opposition from existing governments. Even the rival Diet of the Confederation sent greetings to it.

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The Frankfurt Parliament proclaimed a national German Empire and selected a liberal Austrian prince named Archduke John of Austria as temporary head because it was assumed that the new German Empire would include the German parts of the Austrian Empire. The Assembly also assumed that the new Germany would be a federation and a constitutional monarchy, with a bicameral parliament and ministerial responsibility. One chamber in the parliament would represent the states and the other the people. A declaration of the Fundamental Rights of the German Nation was adopted. This declaration has been regarded as a classic expression of mid nineteenth century European liberalism.

The parliament next commissioned Prussia to act on its behalf against Denmark. The ruler of Denmark, King Frederick VII had tried to integrate the duchies of Schleswig and Holstein on the peninsula, between Denmark and Germany, more closely with the rest of his Danish domains. Thus, Prussia went to war against Denmark. The war ended with a compromise in 1852 called the London Protocol that satisfied neither side.

Counter-Revolution

In the meanwhile, the tide had turned against the Revolution in the Hapsburg Empire in Germany, Austria, Bohemia, Italy and Hungary. Conservatives in Prussia, who were mainly landlords and clergymen, were exerting pressure to halt the work of the Prussian liberals in the Constituent Assembly. The Prussian liberals wanted to abolish the nobility, make the King a mere figurehead and send an army to aid the revolutionaries at Vienna. King Frederick William IV acted, replacing his liberal ministers with conservatives and used his troops to frighten both the Constituent Assembly and the population of Berlin. He then exiled and dissolved the Constituent Assembly, drafted a constitution, whereby power would be with the king and his ministers, though he would consult with a parliament, representing the upper classes and the richer sections of the middle class.

The liberals at Frankfurt had provided in the constitution adopted in 1849 that the King of Prussia would be head of united Germany. Frederick William IV was hesitant. While he was attracted to nationality, whereby the prestige of Prussia and the Hohenzollerns dynasty would be increased, he disapproved of the source of the offer, that is, the popular elected representatives. He declared that he could not accept the crown from the 'gutter'. He knew that the other German princes might become jealous, not to mention the Hapsburg emperor of Austria. This marked the end of the Frankfurt Assembly, which led to an extremist reaction. Efforts were made to dethrone princes and establish republics. But these were short lived and were suppressed by Prussian troops. German republicans were jailed or exiled.

Yet Frederick William IV was not opposed to the idea of German union. He invited the other German states, without Austria, to form a new union under his presidency but only the lesser states responded and the Erfurt Parliament met in 1850. Austria challenged the proposed Union and was supported by South German states and Hanover. A showdown between Prussia and Austria seemed imminent. However, rather than face war against Austria, Prussia gave in. Subsequently, a treaty called the Treaty of Olmutz was signed in 1850 by Frederick William IV and Schwarzenberg, Metternich's successor. According to the treaty, Prussia would abandon the Erfurt Union and accept the revival of the German Confederation under Austrian leadership.

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The treaty was seen as a complete humiliation for Prussia, with the treaty being called the 'humiliation of Olmutz'. Sometime later, the Diet of the Confederation at Frankfurt repealed the declaration of the Fundamental Rights of the German Nation.

Watching the proceedings at Frankfurt was a young Prussian named Otto Von Bismarck. He concluded that the great questions of the day were not to be resolved by speeches and resolutions but through a policy of 'blood and iron'. This observation was to be of great significance for German unification.

4.5 BISMARCK'S RISE TO POWER

The Italian example and Cavour's war with Austria in 1859 provided inspiration for a revival of the national movement in the German regions. Plans for unity varied, some wanted a strong central state, others a federation. While some looked to Austria for leadership, others looked to Prussia; however, no one was sure how to solve the Austro-Prussian relationship. New societies were formed and the liberals spoke in favour of institutions in several German states.

The weakness of Austria had been apparent in 1859 and led to doubts whether she could lead Germany to unity at all. Opinions were now increasingly expressed in favour of Prussian leadership, especially by Prussian conservatives who were dominant in Prussia. They recalled how Frederick William IV had to give in to Austria in 1850 and abandon his plans of a German union.

In 1858, Frederick William IV became mentally unstable and Prussian affairs passed into the hands of his brother, William I. William I was conservative and religions-minded, believed in divine right of kings and had a great deal of interest in military matters. William I initiated army reforms. He appointed General Helmuth von Moltke as chief of the army and Albrecht von Roon as minister of war. Under William I's reign the number of men conscripted annually into the army increased and the modernization of the army's equipment was carried out.

In 1859, the fear that Napoleon III might invade Austria following Austria's defeat by Franco–Italian forces and Napoleon's subsequent annexation of Nice and Savoy made Prussia think about keeping watch on the River Rhine. Napoleon III's slogan of 'national boundaries' also made the reform of the Prussian army more urgent. William I had plans for expansion but the lower house of the Prussian Diet opposed them. The liberals wanted to make Prussia a constitutional monarchy and thought that by blocking finance for military reform they could make the king give in. Consequently, the king dissolved the lower house and ordered new elections; but the result was a majority for the progressives who wanted to make the King promote liberal policies. Thus, a deadlock followed. To break up the stalemate, King William I summoned Otto von Bismarck.

Bismarck belonged to a Prussian Junker family. The Junkers were the landed country gentry who enjoyed influence in Prussian society. Bismarck was brought up to combine the traditions of the aristocracy with patriotism. He did not do well as a student and was considered to lack regularity and discipline, which led to his dismissal from the civil service. Bismarck was a staunch monarchist and in 1848, had been in a minority of two in voting against the vote of thanks to King Frederick William IV, when the king promised to grant a constitution.

Check Your Progress

8. Why did the Frankfurt Parliament proclaimed a national German Empire and select a liberal Austrian prince?
9. What led to the 'humiliation of Olmutz'?

4.5.1 Bismarck's Realpolitik

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Bismarck believed in Realpolitik and defended the existing Prussian set up against the liberals. He approved of the constitution of 1850 with the Parliament, but he was active in promoting a conservative party, which opposed the liberals. In 1851, he entered the Prussian diplomatic service and from 1851–1859 served as Prussian representative to the Diet of the Confederation at Frankfurt. This gave him valuable insights into German politics and heightened his dislike of Austria. As ambassador of Prussia at Petersburg from 1859–1862, Bismarck learned Russian and won the regard of the Czar. He also served as Ambassador to Paris for a few months where he correctly gauged the character of Napoleon III. In 1862, he was summoned to Berlin by King William I, on the advice of von Room, to break the impasse with the Prussian Parliament.

Thereafter, Bismarck was to be in charge of Prussian affairs. At the outset, Bismarck tried to negotiate with the progressives in the Prussian Parliament, but this did not achieve any results. In 1863, the progressives refused to vote for the Budget, unless Bismarck was dismissed. Consequently, Bismarck bypassed the legislators, collected taxes without Parliament's vote and went ahead with army reforms, applying the budget of the preceding year for the current year.

4.5.2 Relations with Austria

After becoming in charge of Prussian affairs, Bismarck was determined to make a definite settlement of the Austro–Prussian issue. He knew that this could involve war, since Austria would not easily give up her prime position in Germany. Bismarck felt that even if war occurred, the reformed army could be used to create a unified Germany, in which Prussia would occupy the chief position and Austria would be excluded by force.

Throughout the 1860s, Bismarck directed the course of events towards the realization of this aim. To Bismarck, war was a tool to achieve ends; however, diplomacy was still preferable. Like a good craftsman, Bismarck used the appropriate tool at the right time and for proper purpose. Thus, when the Revolution of 1863 broke out in Poland, Bismarck used this event to gain the support of the Czar of Russia. He offered the Czar his assistance and signed the Alvensleben convention in 1863, while other powers provided Russia with interfering advice. In the same year, Austria proposed a reform of the German Confederation, but Prussia refused to participate.

4.5.3 Austro–Prussian War

Bismarck knew that the answer to opposition by Liberals at home was accomplishment abroad. The occasion presented itself when the King of Denmark tried to capture the provinces of Schleswig–Holstein into a centralized German state in opposition to the will of the German Confederation. Prussia joined Austria in a concise successful war against Denmark. Bismarck, however, was sure that Prussia needed to completely subsume the northern German confederation, which would require the expelling of Austria from German matters.

Bismarck's first task was to ensure that there was no coalition against him. He had no problems gaining support from Alexander II of Russia because of the

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Alvensleben convention in 1863. Bismarck was also able to charm Napoleon III with blurred promises of territorial gains along the river Rhine, which he did not intend to keep. Bismarck, actually, had very little for Napoleon III, once referring to Napoleon III as the 'sphinx without a riddle'. When Austria declined to renounce its role in German affairs, Bismarck was prepared.

In 1866, debates between Austria and Prussia over the management of the Schleswig-Holstein duchies resulted in war. This war lasted for seven weeks and resulted in a Prussian victory over the Austrians. In defeating Austrians on the battlefield, the Prussians assumed the position of the senior Germanic state. This resulted in a clear partition between Austrian and German interests and forced the smaller states to line up themselves alongside the Prussians, with whom they shared economic ties because of the Zollverein customs agreement.

After Austria's defeat at the hands of Prussia at the Battle of Sadowa, Bismarck showed his mastery of 'realpolitik'. He provided Austria with liberal terms, as he knew well that he might need the neutrality, if not the collaboration, of Austria in the future. Austria paid no compensation and lost no land to Prussia. However, Austria was forced to cede Venice to Italy. After the war, the German Confederation was disbanded and Austria decided to withdraw from German affairs. The territories north of the Main River were joined into a new North German Confederation led by Prussia. The Catholic states of the south remained autonomous, although they formed coalitions with Prussia.

Bismarck next turned to the parliament. He understood that nationalism was his main weapon to force the parliament to accept his terms and conditions. During the attack on Austria in 1866, he had progressively tied Prussia's destiny to the 'national development of Germany'. He established a new federal constitution for the North German Confederation. In this constitution, each state held its own local government, but the Prussian King became the president of the confederation and the chancellor – Bismarck - was answerable only to the president.

The federal government (literally comprising of King William I and Bismarck) managed the army and foreign matters. The legislature had two houses; one appointed by the states, the other elected by the universal male suffrage. He then secured his border in Prussia by asking the Prussian Parliament to issue a special indemnity bill to endorse (after the fact) all the government's expenditure between 1862 and 1866. Here, Bismarck's success in uniting the northern German states and establishing a legislature where all could take part was paid off. The liberals saw achievement beyond their wildest dreams and agreed to cooperate.

4.6 COMPLETION OF THE GERMAN UNIFICATION

The Franco–Prussian war broke out in July 1870. The Second Empire of France found that it had no sympathizers. Napoleon III thought that Austria might join him but Austria wanted to first observe the likely outcome of hostilities between the two sides and this was not favourable to France. As for Italy, Napoleon's willingness to withdraw the French garrison from Rome deprived him of the bargaining power with Victor Emmanuel II. The South German states joined Prussia. The French forces were no match for Moltke's efficient and more numerous military machines.

Check Your Progress

10. Fill in the blanks using appropriate words.
    (a) In 1858, Frederick William IV became mentally unstable and Prussian affairs passed into the hands of his brother, _____.
    (b) Bismarck believed in Realpolitik and defended the existing Prussian set up against the _____.
    (c) After the Revolution of 1863 broke out in Poland, Bismarck offered the Czar his assistance, and signed the _____ in 1863.
    (d) In 1866, debates between Austria and Prussia over the management of the _____ duchies resulted in war.
    (e) During the attack on Austria in 1866, Bismarck had progressively tied Prussia's destiny to the _____.

The French defeat at Sedan in September 1870 marked the first phase of the struggle and led to the collapse of the French Second Empire. Bismarck let it be known that he would not make peace with France unless Germany should be safeguarded against future French intervention. This was to be secured by taking the French provinces of Alsace and Lorraine. However, the new republican government of France declared that it would not give up any territory. Thus war between the two sides continued until January 1871, when the German army marched into Paris.

The subsequent surrender by the French led to an armistice so that elections could take place to elect a French National Assembly, which could have the authority to conclude peace. By the Treaty of Frankfurt in 1871, France ceded to Germany Alsace and Lorraine and agreed to pay an indemnity of 1 billion dollars (5 milliard francs). The German occupation army remained in Northern France until the indemnity was paid in 1873.

The most important result of the Franco–Prussian war was the completion of German unity. The South German states by separate agreement consented to Bismarck's proposal that they enter the North German Confederation. The enlarged German state was called the German Empire with the King of Prussia proclaiming himself the German Emperor.

4.7 A COMPARISON BETWEEN GERMAN AND ITALIAN UNIFICATION

The similarities and differences between German and Italian unification are enumerated as:

Similarities

The similarities between the German and Italian unification are as follows:

- In both Italy and Germany, unification was achieved through war.
- In both countries the obstacle to unification was Austria but in Germany, Austria was not a hated foreign power but the leader of the German states.
- Both unification movements used the same methods of risk taking, provocation and diplomacy.

Differences

The differences between the German and the Italian unification are as follows:

- Unlike the House of Savoy, the Hohenzollerns of Prussia were new challengers for control in their respective countries.
- Prussia, unlike Sardinia-Piedmont, was a great power and tackled her problems with her own resources and did not have to depend upon foreign aid.
- Prussia counted more on her economic leadership in the Zollverein, than on liberalism. Moreover, the strength of her armed forces was another factor while public opinion counted only in the last stage of the unification movement.
- It has been stated that Prussia did not lead the German states to unity as Sardinia–Piedmont had in Italy, but imposed unity.

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Check Your Progress

11. State whether the following sentences are true or false.
    (a) The French defeat at Sedan in September 1870 marked the first phase of the struggle and led to the collapse of the French Third Empire.
    (b) By the Treaty of Frankfurt in 1871, France ceded to Germany Alsace and Lorraine and agreed to pay an indemnity of 1 billion dollars (5 milliard francs).
    (c) In both Italy and Germany, unification was achieved through non violent peaceful struggles.
    (d) Sardinia–Piedmont, unlike Prussia, was a great power and tackled her problems with her own resources and did not have to depend upon foreign aid to unify the country.
12. What was the most important outcome of the Franco–Prussian war of 1870?

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ACTIVITY

1. Using the Internet as your resource, find out the relationship between Vatican City, the sovereign city state ruled by the Pope, and the Government of Italy.
2. After Napoleon III's defeat at the hands of Prussia, the French Third Republic was proclaimed. Using the Internet as your resource, find out the history of the French Third Republic and how it ended.

DID YOU KNOW?

Bismarck as a typical Prussian Junker—an image which he encouraged by wearing military uniforms. He was well educated and cosmopolitan, and was fluent in English, French, Polish, Italian and Russian.

4.8 SUMMARY

In this unit, you have learnt that:

- The roots of Italian unity can be traced back to ancient times—to the time of the Roman Empire. However, after the decline of Rome, Italy had become a geographical entity characterized by regional diversity.
- Napoleon Bonaparte's Kingdom of Italy, which was under his direct rule, with his stepson serving as the Viceroy, brought together the city states in Northern and Central Italy. At the same time, the southern part of the peninsula was placed under Napoleon's brother-in-law Joachim Murat. Napoleon gave Italy a modern administration and Italians became aware of concepts of liberalism and freedom.
- The defeat of Napoleon was followed by the peace settlement of Vienna in 1815. Through this settlement, Austria was given a commanding position in Italy. This meant the overwhelming influence of Count Metternich, the conservative chancellor of Austria, on Italy. He wanted a return to the old order and the status-quo of pre-revolutionary Europe and was the personification of reactionary aristocracy.
- Italian nationalists advocated a variety of solutions to achieve their goal of a united Italy. In the context of that time, the most radical solution was the republican solution, associated with the name of the great Italian patriot, Joseph Mazzini.
- In 1848, disturbances in Italy began even before the February uprising in Paris. The first signs in Italy appeared in the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies, where King Ferdinand II was forced to accept a liberal constitution. After the revolution in France, Charles Albert granted a constitution in March 1848, providing for a Parliament elected by taxpayers, ministerial responsibilities, the suppression of feudal privileges and granting of individual liberties.

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- When the news of Metternich's fall in Vienna (1848) was received, revolutions broke out in Austrian held territories, Austrian troops led by General Radetzky were driven out of Milan and the people demanded the transfer of Lombardy to Sardinia-Piedmont.
- The Revolution of 1848 failed in Italy, except for in Sardinia–Piedmont, which remained only state to retain its constitution. This would be extremely significant for future events.
- The Kingdom of Sardinia–Piedmont emerged as the only modern liberal state in Italy. The man responsible for this achievement was Count Camillo di Cavour.
- Cavour maintained that Italian unification should be brought about under Sardinia's leadership, Sardinia being most suitable as it was a modern liberal state.
- To promote the cause of Italian unity, Sardinia participated in the Crimean War 1854, on the side of France and Britain, against Russia. Cavour hoped that because of Sardinia's participation, Britain and France would agree to help the cause of Italian unification. Cavour also expected Austria to join Russia in the Crimean War, however, Austria remained neutral.
- Sardinia did gain something by her participation in the Crimean War. Cavour attended the Peace Congress at Paris in 1856, and here he brought up the question of Austrian domination over Italy. He sought the support of the French Emperor, Napoleon III, in expelling Austria from the Italian peninsula and thus creating an Italian state.
- At a secret meeting held at Plombieres in July 1858, Napoleon proposed that France would help Sardinia drive Austrian troops out of Lombardy and Venetia, which would be incorporated into Sardinia, while the smaller central states and some Papal territories would constitute another state, which Napoleon III secretly thought could be ruled by a Bonaparte.
- War broke out in 1859 between Piedmont and Austria. The plan was carried out and forces of Piedmont and France defeated Austria at Magenta and Solferino.
- However, not wanting to go to war with Prussia, Napoleon III suddenly concluded peace with Austria at Villafranca in 1859, without consulting Sardinia. This was a huge setback for Sardinia.
- Nationalists in central Italy became even more determined not to accept their old rulers. They took up the slogan 'Italy will take care of itself'. The people of the central Italian states and of a part of the Papal States held plebiscites and voted to join Sardinia.
- Following the unification of Northern and central Italy there was also a similar movement in the south of Italy. The man largely responsible for the growth of nationalism in the south was Joseph Garibaldi (1807–1882).
- In 1860, the people of the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies rose in revolt, inspired by the events in Northern and Central Italy. Garibaldi had played his role by mobilizing the masses in support of Victor Emmanuel II, putting his loyalty to Italian unity before his republican sympathies. On receiving the new of the outbreak in Sicily, Garibaldi assembled a volunteer army of 1,000 red shirts, as they were called, to assist the rebels.

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- The English fleet, patrolling the Mediterranean, helped Garibaldi to land in Sicily. The defending army in Sicily gave in and within three months, Garibaldi and his Red Shirts controlled the island. Garibaldi then crossed over to the mainland, taking possession of Pales.
- Garibaldi was so popular at this juncture that he could have become a republican dictator. However, he announced that he would march to Rome and hand over Southern Italy to Victor Emmanuel II.
- The first parliament, representing the united Italian nation, excluding Rome and Venetia, met in 1861. Victor Emmanuel II took the title of King of Italy instead of the King of Sardinia-Piedmont.
- Like Italy, Germany also had been characterized by a lack of unity. By the early 16th century, the Holy Roman Empire was restricted to the German speaking peoples, although theoretically it claimed political predominance over all Christian rulers and peoples of Central and Western Europe.
- During the Napoleonic Era, the number of German states was reduced from three hundred to less than a hundred, through the confiscation of a number of ecclesiastical lands and free cities.
- The Peace Settlement of Vienna, signed after the defeat of Napoleon Bonaparte, resulted in the creation of a German confederation of thirty eight states, with a legislature known as the Diet was set up. The German Confederation was presided over by the Austrian emperor.
- When the Revolution of 1848 broke out in France and Metternich fell from power in Austria, crowds of agitators mainly comprising of students and workers, demanded a constitution from King Frederick William IV of Prussia. They took to rioting and put up barricades. The King gave in and appointed a liberal ministry and a constituent assembly.
- Conservatives in Prussia, who were mainly landlords and clergymen, were exerting pressure to halt the work of the Prussian liberals in the Constituent Assembly.
- King Frederick William IV acted, replacing his liberal ministers with conservatives and used his troops to frighten both the Constituent Assembly and the population of Berlin. He then exiled and dissolved the Constituent Assembly, drafted a constitution, whereby power would be with the king and his ministers, though he would consult with a parliament, representing the upper classes and the richer sections of the middle classes.
- In 1858, Frederick William IV became mentally unstable and Prussian affairs passed into the hands of his brother, William I.
- In 1862, Otto Von Bismarck was summoned to Berlin by King William I, on the advice of von Room, to break the impasse with the Prussian Parliament.
- After becoming in charge of Prussian affairs, Bismarck was determined to make a definite settlement of the Austro-Prussian issue. He knew that this could involve war, since Austria would not easily give up her prime position in Germany. Bismarck felt that even if war occurred, the reformed army could be used to create a unified Germany, in which Prussia would occupy the chief position and Austria would be excluded by force.

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- In 1866, debates between Austria and Prussia over the management of the Schleswig-Holstein duchies resulted in war. This war lasted for seven weeks and resulted in a Prussian victory over the Austrians. In defeating the Austrians on the battlefield, the Prussians assumed the position of the senior Germanic state.
- The Franco-Prussian war broke out in July 1870. The French forces were no match for Moltke's efficient and more numerous military machines.
- The most important result of the war was the completion of German unity. The South German states by separate agreement consented to Bismarck's proposal that they enter the North German Confederation. The enlarged German state was called the German Empire with the King of Prussia proclaiming himself the German Emperor.

4.9 KEY TERMS

- **Carbonari:** Also known as the charcoal burners, they were groups of secret revolutionary societies in Italy influenced by liberal ideas; played an important role in the 1820 Revolution, as well as subsequent events of Italian unification
- **Carlsbad Decrees:** A set of reactionary restrictions introduced in the states of the German Confederation by resolution of the Bundesversammlung in 1819
- **Duchies:** Territories rules by dukes or duchesses
- **Kingdom of the Two Sicilies:** United kingdom of Naples and Sicily during the Bourbons' era, situated in the southern tip of Italy
- **Realpolitik:** Usually signifies politics or diplomacy based primarily on power and on practical and material factors and considerations
- **Thirty Year War:** Fought from 1618 to 1648, the War began as a war between the Protestants and the Catholics in the Holy Roman Empire; gradually, the war came to involve the great powers of the time and ended through the Peace of Westphalia (series of peace treaties signed between May and October 1648)
- **Treaty of Olmutz:** signed in 1850 by Frederick William IV and Schwarzenberg; according to it, Prussia was to abandon the Erfurt Union and accept the revival of the German Confederation under Austrian leadership

4.10 ANSWERS TO 'CHECK YOUR PROGRESS'

1. (a) Austria; (b) Kingdom of the Two Sicilies; (c) Sardinia–Piedmont; (d) Count Camillo di Cavour.
2. The Bourbons of France had their influence over the Kingdom of Naples and Sicily, known as the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies, which was situated in the southern tip of Italy.
3. Joseph Mazzini founded the political movement Young Italy (*La Giovine Italia)* in 1831, which successfully mobilized the Italian youth to the republican and nationalist cause.
4. (a) Crimean War; (b) Napoleon III; (c) Villafranca; (d) King Victor Emmanuel II; (e) Franco–Prussian War.

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5. At the Peace Congress at Paris in 1856, Napoleon III hesitated in helping Sardinia because of the following reasons:
   - An Austrian war could be risky because Austria was strong
   - A united Italy could be a rival to France in the Mediterranean
   - Many French Catholics were opposed to any attempts at Italian unity, which might decrease power of the papacy
6. As a result of the Conference in Villafranca in 1859, it was agreed that:
   - Lombardy would be given to Sardinia
   - Venetia would remain with Austria
   - The princes in Central Italy would be restored to their thrones
   - The Pope would become President of an Italian federation
7. (a) Thirty Year War; (b) Austrian Emperor; (c) Carlsbad Decrees; (d) Blood and iron.
8. The Frankfurt Parliament proclaimed a national German Empire and selected a liberal Austrian prince named Archduke John of Austria as temporary head because it was assumed that the new German Empire would include the German parts of the Austrian Empire.
9. Treaty of Olmutz was signed in 1850 by Frederick William IV and Schwarzenberg, Metternich's successor. According to the treaty, Prussia would abandon the Erfurt Union and accept the revival of the German Confederation under Austrian leadership. The treaty was seen as a complete humiliation for Prussia, with the treaty being called the 'humiliation of Olmutz'.
10. (a) William I; (b) Liberals; (c) Alvensleben convention; (d) Schleswig-Holstein; (e) National development of Germany.
11. (a) False; (b) True; (c) False; (d) False.
12. The most important result of the Franco–Prussian war was the completion of German unity. The South German states by separate agreement consented to Bismarck's proposal that they enter the North German Confederation. The enlarged German state was called the German Empire with the King of Prussia proclaiming himself the German Emperor.

4.11 QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Short-Answer Questions

1. Write a short note on the Peace Settlement of Vienna in 1815.
2. 'In 1840s, the Kingdom of Sardinia–Piedmont emerged as the only modern liberal state in Italy.' What was the role played by Count Camillo di Cavour in it?
3. What were the terms presented at the Conference of Villafranca in 1859?
4. When and under what circumstances the Frankfurt Parliament of 1848 come into existence?
5. Write a short note on the Austro-Prussian relationship in 1859. Also, explain the concept of Bismarck's Realpolitik.

6. In brief, list the important events that marked the completion of the German Unification.

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Long-Answer Questions

1. Discuss the Revolutions of 1820, 1830 and 1848 in the context of Italian unification.
2. Discuss the role that Count Camillo di Cavour played in the unification of Central and Northern Italy.
3. Describe Garibaldi's role in unifying the southern regions of Italy in the Italian War of Independence.
4. Summarize the background of German unification before the arrival of Otto Von Bismarck.
5. What role did Otto von Bismarck play in unifying Germany?
6. Discuss the similarities and differences between the movements of Italian and German unification.

4.12 FURTHER READING

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UNIT 5 THE EASTERN QUESTION: CRIMEAN WAR, BERLIN CONGRESS AND BALKAN WAR

Structure

5.0 Introduction
5.1 Unit Objectives
5.2 Ottoman Empire in the Nineteenth Century
5.3 Greek War of Independence and British Ascendancy over the Turkish Sultan
  5.3.1 Greek War of Independence
  5.3.2 British Ascendancy over the Turkish Sultan
5.4 Relations between Russia and the Ottoman Empire
  5.4.1 The Crimean War
  5.4.2 Russo-Turkish War of 1877–1878 and the Treaty of San Stefano
5.5 Treaty of Berlin and the Berlin Congress
5.6 The Balkan War
5.7 Summary
5.8 Key Terms
5.9 Answers to 'Check Your Progress'
5.10 Questions and Exercises
5.11 Further Reading

5.0 INTRODUCTION

In the previous unit, you studied about the unification of two of the most important European nations—Italy and Germany. In this unit, you will study about the relationship that European nations had with one of the most important empires that transcended Europe and Asia—the Ottoman Empire.

In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, due to its proximity to the European continent, the Ottoman Empire could not remain unaffected. In addition, the events and political instability within the empire itself rendered it in the middle of the complex affairs. These causes prepared a fertile ground for the clashes between the Ottoman Empire and the European powers.

In this unit, you will read about the status of the Ottoman Empire at the beginning of the nineteenth century, the Greek War of Independence, British ascendancy over Turkish Sultan, Russian suggestion for dismemberment of Turkey, Crimean War, Russo-Turkish War, the Treaty of Berlin, and Balkan War.

5.1 UNIT OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to:

- Assess the status of the Ottoman Empire at the beginning of the nineteenth century

- Discuss events such as the Greek War of Independence
- Explain the reasons for British ascendancy over the Turkish Sultan
- List the causes and consequences of the Crimean and Russo-Turkish wars
- Discuss the highlights of the Treaty of Berlin
- List the causes that led to the Balkan War

5.2 OTTOMAN EMPIRE IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

The modernization of the Ottoman Empire started during the worst days of European imperialism. In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, all across the world, Europeans were capturing and colonizing the lands of other nations. The British, the French, the Germans, the Austrians and the Russians employed modern techniques of warfare to build great empires. Only a few lands in Asia or Africa could not be captured; these included Japan, Liberia, Thailand, Turkey and a few regions too remote for European powers to reach. However, Turkey's success in remaining its own master is not often cherished. The nation remained independent because it fought with and survived the pressure put forward by the European powers.

The Ottoman Empire was known as the 'Sick Man of Europe', because it gradually lost the majority of its territory. In contrast to Britain, France or Russia, the Ottomans were militarily inferior. The European Imperialist powers sensed a great opportunity to take away lands occupied by the Ottomans and making them their own colonies, and thus constantly plotted the downfall of the Ottoman Empire.

Against the powerful Western European imperialist armies, the Ottomans were at a great disadvantage since they lacked European education, European industry or powerful European armies. They were forced to struggle and lose wars while defending their empire. Even when they tried to imitate Europe and reform their system, the Ottomans were pushed back due to attacks from powerful neighbours, particularly Russia. As and when they tried to bring new changes in their social system, their resources and finances were directed towards the wars being fought and in the defence of the country, instead of modernization.

Russian armies took away Rumania and Bulgaria from the Ottomans; Britain captured Cyprus and Egypt; Austria got hold of Bosnia. Eventually Britain and France divided the lands of the Ottoman Arab lands between them. The worst calamity that occurred was the exodus of millions of Turks and other Muslims from the conquered lands into what remained the Ottoman Empire.

The Ottoman losses demanded massive expenses. Just as the Ottoman reform had started to rejuvenate their lands in Europe, those lands were captured by others. Great amount of money was spent in modernizing areas, and then more money was spent to protect them; however, all regions were lost. Millions of expatriates had to be housed which caused a massive strain on the Ottoman economy. The Ottomans were thus forced to take loans at ruinous rates both to modernize and to defend themselves, until even the interest could not be paid.

The Ottomans may have been sick, but they were not permitted to cure themselves. In its place, those around them did what they could to make sure that the illness led to death. Like other nations, the Ottoman Turks eventually could not stand

against the forces of European Imperialism. This is in no way surprising. The extraordinary fact is not that the Ottomans lost land to European imperialists (there were numerous non-European countries that lost land to these powers), but that the Ottomans held on for so long. Their losses to more dominant Europeans started at the end of the seventeenth century and went on for more than 200 years. In spite of their military weakness, the Ottomans survived European imperialism for more years than the United States has existed up to now. The Ottoman Empire finally did yield during the First World War. Yet even at its end, the empire held on astonishingly well. Combating against the English, the French and the Russians, the Ottomans lasted through almost four years of war. And at the end of those four years, the Turks regrouped to keep hold of their independence.

The astonishing fact of modern Turkey is that the Turks managed to forge a nation for themselves when numerous others were falling under the grasp of European Imperialism. In the history of the world, it was extremely unusual that the Turks could endure militarily against all odds. It is also extraordinary that the Turks could modernize their society and economy, under the able leadership of Mustafa Kemal Ataturk, along European lines and were able to maintain their independence from the European powers. Despite the attempts of his neighbours, the 'Sick Man' of Europe recovered and lives on.

5.3 GREEK WAR OF INDEPENDENCE AND BRITISH ASCENDANCY OVER THE TURKISH SULTAN

The events of the Greek War of Independence and the influence of the British on the Turkish sultan are one of the most significant events to have occurred in the Ottoman Empire in the nineteenth century. Let us discuss them one by one.

5.3.1 Greek War of Independence

In the previous section, you read that Cyprus was captured by Britain. This links our discussion to the brief history of Greece; especially, the Greek War of Independence. The land of Greece has been famous the world over for Alexander the Great. In ancient times, Greece was one of the most advanced civilizations in the world. Their influence was such that the ideas of Greek philosophers like Socrates, Aristotle and Plato shaped the enlightenment movement of the European Renaissance more than a millennium later. In fact, most Western intellectuals trace the history of 'Western Civilization' back to the days of Greek city states. In the middle ages, however, Greece came under the rule of the Ottoman Empire. In the early nineteenth century, the war fought for the establishment of the free Greece republic is known as the Greek War of Independence.

The Greek War of Independence, also known as the Greek Revolution, was a victorious war of independence waged by Greek revolutionaries between 1821 and 1832 against the Ottoman Empire. In this war, they took the help of several European powers such as Russia, United Kingdom and France. They fought against the Ottoman Empire, which was assisted by its vassals, the Eyalet of Egypt and partly the Vilayet of Tunisia.

After the fall of the Byzantine Empire to the Ottoman Empire, a huge portion of Greece came under Ottoman rule. During that time, there were recurrent rebellions

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by Greeks attempting to gain independence. In 1814, a secret society called the *Filiki Eteria* was established with the objective of fighting for the freedom of Greece. The *Filiki Eteria* planned to start revolutions in the Peloponnese, the Danubian Principalities and Constantinople. The first of these revolts started on 6 March 1821 in the Danubian Principalities; however, it was soon subdued by the Ottomans.

Due to these events in the north, the Greeks in the Peloponnese sprung into action and on 17 March 1821, the Maniots declared war on the Ottomans. As the month ended, the Peloponnese was in open rebellion against the Ottomans and by October 1821, the Greeks, led by General Theodoros Kolokotronis, had captured Tripolitsa. The Peloponnesian revolt was rapidly followed by revolts in Crete, Macedonia and Central Greece, which was eventually curbed. In the meantime, the temporary Greek navy was attaining successes against the Ottoman navy in the Aegean Sea which helped them thwart the Ottomans from sending reinforcements by the sea.

Soon, different Greek factions developed tensions that led to two consecutive civil wars. Meanwhile, the Ottoman Sultan negotiated with Mehmet Ali of Egypt. The latter decided to send his son Ibrahim Pasha to Greece with an army to suppress the rebellion in return for territorial gains. In February 1825, Ibrahim landed in the Peloponnese and had instant success; by the end of 1825, most of Peloponnese had fallen to Egyptian forces. The city of Missolonghi, which was put under siege by the Ottomans since April 1825, fell in April 1826. Although Ibrahim was beaten in Mani, he succeeded in repressing most of the rebellion in Peloponnese and retaking Athens.

After long-lasting negotiation, three great European powers, i.e., Russia, the United Kingdom and France, agreed to interfere in the war and each nation sent a navy to Greece. The allied fleet intercepted the Ottoman–Egyptian fleet at Navarino once they came to know that the combined Ottoman–Egyptian fleet was going to attack the Greek island of Hydra. Following a standoff that lasted for a week, a battle started that resulted in the annihilation of the Ottoman–Egyptian fleet. With the aid of a French expeditionary force, the Greeks forced the Turks to leave the Peloponnese and proceeded to the captured part of Central Greece by 1828. After years of negotiation, Greece was at last recognized as an independent nation in May 1832.

Check Your Progress

1. Fill in the blanks using appropriate words.
   (a) The Ottoman Empire was known as the _____, because it gradually lost the majority of its territory.
   (b) Even when they tried to imitate Europe and reform their system, the Ottomans were pushed back due to attacks from powerful neighbours, particularly _____.

5.3.2 British Ascendancy over the Turkish Sultan

The year 1842 witnessed the ascendancy of the British over the young Turkish Sultan Abdülmecid I. Abdülmecid I ascended the throne in 1839 after the death of Sultan Mahmud II. British ascendancy in the Ottoman court was made possible because of the efforts of Stratford Canning, who was posted as Great Britain's ambassador to Constantinople, the Ottoman Empire's capital, in December 1841. A man of commanding personality, majestic bearing, and haughty address, Canning soon obtained a complete moral ascendency over the weak and well-meaning young Sultan.

Immediately after becoming ambassador, Canning sought to check the growth of Russian influence and prevented Czar Nicholas I from crowning his triumph in the Russian-Turkish war through the treaties of Adrianoplee and Hünkâr Ýskelesi by further oppressive treaties in 1848 and 1853.

In 1848, the revolution in France caused waves of revolutions in Lombardy, Hungary and Danubian principalities. Czar Nicholas I was determined to curb democratic revolutions on his own border. He had long cherished the role of being the 'policeman of Europe' maintaining the balance of power that had been established through the Treaty of Vienna in 1815 and suppressing all revolutionary uprisings in

Europe. Therefore, Nicholas I sent his army to Moldavia under the terms of Treaty of Adrianoplee and asked the Turks to repress the movement at Bukharest. He then proceeded to use Moldavia as a base for operations against the Hungarian rebels. When the Ottoman Empire protested, the Czar adopted a dictatorial attitude. Canning encouraged the Turkish sultan to resist the Czar's demand. Things assumed serious dimensions after certain Hungarian leaders took refuge on Turkish soil.

Austria and Russia demanded the extradition of leaders who were given asylum by the Ottomans at the instigation of Canning. Thereupon, Russia and Austria broke off its relations with Turkey. The Czar ordered his troops to proceed to Bersarbia, but was greatly surprised to find English and French fleets at the entrance of Hellespont. This convinced Nicholas I that the Ottomans were not alone and Russia would have to encounter resistance from the English and French fleets. Therefore, on 7 November 1849, he withdrew the demand for extradition. This was seen at the time as being a great rebuff for the Russian Empire.

Canning's term in Constantinople lasted from 1842 to 1852, and during this period, he emerged as one of the most important figures in Constantinople. Using his guile, Canning was able to use the Turkish Sultan to stop Russian designs. As British influence over the Ottoman Court increased, the Turks came to be seen increasingly as British clients. When Canning's old friend Edward Stanley, now Earl of Derby, formed the government in 1852, Canning hoped to accept position of Foreign Secretary, or at least the position of ambassador in the Paris embassy. However, Canning was raised to peerage as the Viscount Stratford de Redcliffe, in the County of Somerset. Canning came back home in 1852, but when Aberdeen's coalition government was established, he was sent back to Constantinople once again.

Canning came back to Constantinople in the midst of a disaster caused due to the dispute between Napoleon III and Nicholas I over the safety of the holy places. Nicholas I wanted to renew a Russo-Turkish Alliance on the pattern of the Treaty of Hünkâr Ýskelesi. With this object he had sent as ambassador to Constantinople, General Prince Menshikov with a proposal to support Turkey with an army of 400,000 men against any Western Power, in return for an extension of the Treaty of Kutchuk Kainadji, by the recognition of a further Russian Protectorate over the Orthodox Christians. Stratford cleverly undermined the position of the Russian ambassador by arguing that any Russian treaty would result in the Ottoman Empire becoming a protectorate under Czar Nicholas I. Canning thus successfully convinced the Sultan to reject the Russian offer. The result of the Sultan's rejection would lead to the Crimean War. After the Crimean War ended in 1856 with the Russian Empire being defeated, Canning left Constantinople for the last time in 1857 and resigned from his post early next year.

5.4 RELATIONS BETWEEN RUSSIA AND THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE

Throughout their existence, relations between the Russian Empire and the Ottoman Empire were extremely tense. In a space of about 300 years, they fought a total of 12 wars. As you have studied, in the middle of the nineteenth century, after the Turkish Sultan rejected Menshikov's proposal based on British advice, the Ottomans and the Russians were to fight another war in Crimea, but this time, the war would also involve other great European powers.

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Check Your Progress

2. Fill in the blanks using appropriate words.
   (a) Most western intellectuals trace the history of _____ back to the days of the Greek city states.
   (b) The Greek War of Independence, also known as the Greek Revolution, was a victorious war of independence waged by Greek revolutionaries between 1821 and 1832 against the _____.
   (c) The allied fleet consisting of Russia, France and Great Britain annihilated the Ottoman–Egyptian fleet at _____.
   (d) British ascendancy in the Ottoman court was made possible because of the efforts of _____, who was posted as Great Britain's ambassador to Constantinople in December 1841.
   (e) Czar Nicholas I cherished the role of being the 'policeman of Europe' maintaining the balance of power that had been established through the _____ in 1815.

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5.4.1 The Crimean War

In July 1853, Russia occupied territories in Crimea. These territories had formerly been under Ottoman control. Alarmed by the Russian expansion, Britain and France made efforts to achieve a negotiated withdrawal of Russian troops. They feared that the Russians were about to encroach upon the Balkan States as the Ottoman Empire was too weak to stop Russian advances. Britain and France also feared the possibility of Russia gaining access to the Mediterranean by occupying the port city of Istanbul. However, the attempts at a peaceful settlement failed as the Turkish Sultan was reluctant to grant concessions to the Czar. Turkey formally declared war on Russia on 23 October 1853. When the Russians annihilated the Turkish fleet at Sinope in the Black Sea in November 1853, Britain and France entered the war against Russia.

The major part of the Crimean War took place in the Crimean region. On 20 September 1854, the Allied army defeated the Russian Imperial Army at the Battle of the Alma; however, the Battle of Balaklava in October 1854 proved to be indecisive. Perhaps the most important battle of the war was the Siege of Sevastopol. Sevastopol was the home of the Czar's Black Sea fleet which threatened British and French interests in the Mediterranean. The siege of Sevastopol by allied troops lasted for over a year and resulted in the Russians being defeated. However, the siege proved costly for both sides with over 250,000 soldiers killed during the siege. The costs of the siege forced both sides to start peace negotiations which culminated in the Treaty of Paris. As a result of Treaty of Paris, Russia had to give up some territories on the Danube River. Moreover, the treaty made the Black Sea neutral territory which was a huge setback for Russian influence in the region.

The Crimean War was one of the bloodiest wars fought in the nineteenth century. Many of the dead in the war were not because of battle wounds, but because of diseases that broke out in filthy field hospitals. The war also shattered the idea of great powers working in a united manner. The Treaty of Vienna which had governed the balance of power in the region was broken. The war also was one of the major reasons for the formation of centralized states in Italy and Germany.

5.4.2 Russo-Turkish War of 1877–1878 and the Treaty of San Stefano

Despite the Treaty of Paris, tensions remained between the Ottoman Empire and the Russian Empire, primarily because of British influence in the Turkish Court. In 1877, the Russian Czar used the excuse of constant outrages against the Christians in Turkey, to declare war on the Ottoman Empire. Although the Turkish armies fought valiantly, the Russians advanced within few miles of the Turkish capital Constantinople. In January 1878, the Russians crossed the Balkans and occupied Sophia after some fierce fighting. On 20 January 1878, the Russians entered Adrinople. Alarmed by the Russian advances, the British in early 1878 moved its fleet to Besika Bay. However, by the time it reached the Dardanelles, the Russians had captured San Stefano. Facing disaster, the Turkish Sultan appealed to European powers for mediation in the conflict. Germany's refusal to take part in mediation between the two made the British apprehensive that Russia, supported by Germany, would try to force its own terms on Turkey. In early January, the British ambassador to Russia made it clear to the Russians that any treaty between Russia and Turkey affecting the treaties made in 1856 and 1871 must be a European treaty in order to be valid.

However, the Turkish Sultan wanted peace with Russia at any cost, and on 3 March 1878 agreed to sign the Treaty of San Stefano. According to this treaty, the Sultan agreed to recognize complete independence of Serbia, Montenegro and Romania; moreover, through the treaty, a new state, 'Greater Bulgaria,' consisting of Bulgaria, Rumelia and Macedonia, came into existence. Of all his European territories, the Sultan was allowed to keep Constantinople and its vicinity and Albania. Had the treaty been carried out, Turkish rule would practically have ceased in Europe. But great objections were raised to this settlement by the Greeks and Serbians, who opposed the creation of a 'Greater Bulgaria' because they wanted parts of Macedonia for themselves.

Far more serious was the opposition that came from Britain and Austria. The former did not wish to sit tamely and see Turkey dismembered to the advantage of Russia, who would, in all likelihood, dominate the new states. Austria, on her part, was ambitious to get a port on the Aegean, perhaps Saloniki, which the Treaty of San Stefano, if carried out, would put out of its reach. The Czar was clearly told that the Balkan situation was a matter for all of Europe to settle, and that war would be declared against Russia unless it submitted the whole matter to the judgment of an international conference.

5.5 TREATY OF BERLIN AND THE BERLIN CONGRESS

As you have read, the Treaty of San Stefano was not accepted by other European powers. Facing threats by Britain and Austria, Russia was forced to agree to another treaty. In 1878, the representatives of England, Russia, Germany, Austria, France, Italy and Turkey met in Berlin in what came to be known as the Congress of Berlin. The task of the Congress was to settle the Eastern Question that had led to numerous wars on the European continent.

The Congress of Berlin was attended by the most famous statesmen of the day including Otto von Bismarck, who was the President of the Congress, Benjamin Disraeli, who scored diplomatic triumphs as England's envoy, and Prince Alexander Gorchakov, who came as the champion of Russia. The Congress of Berlin disregarded the Treaty of San Stefano and proceeded to make another treaty, which came to be known as the Treaty of Berlin.

The main provisions of the Treaty of Berlin were as follows:

- Montenegro, Serbia and Romania were declared entirely independent of Turkey.
- Greater Bulgaria was split into three parts: Bulgaria proper was made an autonomous state with the Sultan as her suzerain; Eastern Rumelia was given 'administrative autonomy' under a Christian governor and Macedonia was allowed to remain a part of the Ottoman Empire.
- Austria-Hungary was given the right to occupy and to administer the provinces of Bosnia and Herzegovina, but with the understanding that they were legally to remain a part of the Ottoman Empire.
- Turkey also received special commercial and military privileges in the Sanjak, or County, of Novi Bazaar.

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Check Your Progress

3. Fill in the blanks using appropriate words.
   (a) In July 1853, Russia occupied territories in the _____. These territories had formerly been under Ottoman control.
   (b) When the Russians annihilated the Turkish fleet at _____ in the Black Sea in November 1853, Britain and France entered the war against Russia.
   (c) Perhaps the most important battle of the Crimean War was the Siege of _____.
   (d) As a result of Treaty of _____, Russia had to give up some territories on the Danube river. Moreover, the treaty made the Black Sea neutral territory which was a huge setback for Russian influence in the region.
   (e) The Turkish Sultan wanted peace with Russia at any cost, and on March 3, 1878 agreed to sign the Treaty of _____.

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- England was given the right to occupy the Island of Cyprus while Greece got the provinces of Thersalay and Epyms.
- The Russian Empire, who alone had defeated Turkey, got almost nothing. It was allowed to exchange with Rumania the Dobrudja district for the strip of Bessarabia on the northern bank of the Danube.
- Russia also received Batum, Ardahan and Kars in the Caucasus. After partitioning most of the dominions of the Sultan, the European powers again solemnly guaranteed the 'integrity' of Turkey.

According to Stanley Lane Poole, a British orientalist and archaeologist, 'rightly or wrongly, in supporting the Christian provinces against their sovereign, the powers at Berlin sounded the knell of Turkish domination in Europe.' Another expert on the matter, Allen, is highly critical of the Treaty of Berlin. He says, 'It was concluded in a spirit of shameless bargain with a sublime disregard of elementary ethics, and in open contempt of the rights of civilized people to determine their own future. It was essentially a temporary arrangement concluded between rival Imperialist States. And it sowed the seed of the crop of 'nationalist' wars and risings in which the Balkans were to be embroiled for the next half century.' Thus, it can be stated that the Treaty of Berlin led to the partial dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire with the consent of European Powers. It also proved to be a temporary settlement because disorder grew at a rapid speed in the Ottoman Empire and created an atmosphere of general unrest, which ultimately culminated in the disastrous events of 1912–18.

Check Your Progress

4. Fill in the blanks using appropriate words.
   (a) In 1878, the representatives of England, Russia, Germany, Austria, France, Italy and Turkish met in Berlin in what came to be known as the _____.
   (b) The Congress of Berlin was attended by the most famous statesmen of the day _____, who was also the President of the Congress.
   (c) The Congress of Berlin totally disregarded the Treaty of San Stefano and proceeded to make another treaty, which came to be known as the _____.
   (d) According to the treaty signed in Berlin in 1878, _____ was split into three parts.
   (e) The task of the meeting in Berlin was to settle the _____ that had led to numerous wars on the European continent.

5.6 THE BALKAN WAR

The new chancellor of the German Empire, Otto von Bismarck, undertook various foreign policy initiatives in the first 20 years of his service, and aimed at making France isolated and powerless. Bismarck entered into an alliance and understanding with Austria and Hungary which was fast becoming an eastern power itself and was trying to find an outlet in the Balkan Peninsula. For this purpose, Austria–Hungary needed German support against the Slavs races. Alongside this, Bismarck was also able to carve a better understanding with the Russian Empire. This assimilation of understanding led to an alliance between the three.

In 1872, the three emperors, i.e., William I of Germany, Francis Joseph of the Austria–Hungary, and Czar Alexander II of Russia, met at Berlin and entered into a political understanding that led to the formation of the League of The Three Emperors (*Dreikaiserbund*). These three emperors did not enter into any formal treaty, but decided upon an understanding of maintenance of the boundaries 'recently' laid down. Bismarck remarked upon the alliance, 'I have thrown a bridge across Vienna without breaking down that older one to St. Petersburg'. This understanding between the three collapsed in 1875 over territorial disputes in the Balkans as Austria–Hungary feared that Russian support for Serbia might ultimately ignite the Slav populations of Austria–Hungary. On the other hand, Russia likewise feared an insurrection in its empire, should a Pan-Slavism movement gain too much clout.

Austro–German Dual Alliance

Bismarck decided to enter into a more concrete alliance with Austria as part of a system of alliances to prevent war. This system first led to the formation of the Austro–German Dual Alliance in 1879. The terms of the alliance were as follows:

NOTES

- If any of the contracting parties were attacked by Russia, or by any other power supported by Russia, its ally will come to its assistance with all forces.
- If either party was to attack by a power other than Russia its ally was to observe benevolent neutrality.
- The treaty was to be effective for five years and renewable.

Bismarck kept these terms of the treaty secret up until 1887.

The Triple Alliance

Bismarck also decided to use the rivalry between Italy and France over the desirable Tunis region in northern Africa. He indirectly prompted France to seize Tunis and thus created another enemy for France. The French occupation of Tunis in 1888 alienated Italy and forced her to join the Austro–German Dual Alliance, which led to the formation of the triple alliance.

To make sure that France and Russia do not come closer to each other, Bismarck succeeded in concluding the *Reinsurance Treaty* between Germany and Russia which was to be renewed periodically. However, after Bismarck retired from the German Chancellery in 1890, the course of German foreign policy saw a dramatic change. The new German Emperor Kaiser William II refused to renew the Reinsurance Treaty with Russia on the grounds that henceforth Germany would not be a party to secret agreements. The first big event after the retirement of Bismarck was the establishment of the Franco-Russian Dual Alliance. By the terms of the alliance, either country would support the other with arms if it was attacked by Germany with or without the other members of the triple Alliance. Thus, Europe came to be divided into two armed camps.

Anglo–Japanese Alliance

The mutual rivalry against Russian schemes in the Far East brought about the Anglo-Japanese Alliance in 1902. Through this alliance, Great Britain and Japan undertook to come to each other's assistance if either was attacked by two European powers. This Anglo-Japanese alliance emboldened Japan to have a showdown with Russia resulting in the Russo-Japanese war in 1904–05. In the war, Russia faced a humiliating defeat. The Russo-Japanese War of 1904–1905 also gave a spurt to Asian nationalism and had long-standing impact on the future political scenario of the region.

The Anglo-French Entente

In April 1904, a series of conventions were signed between France and Great Britain to settle the problems of Anglo-French colonies. As per one of these conventions, in return for French recognition of the British position in Egypt, Great Britain recognized the French position in Morocco. Similar compromises were made in other parts of the world, for example, West Africa, Siam and Newfoundland. Altogether these conventions amounted to the *entente cordiale* or a friendly understanding, and not an alliance. Neither party was placed under definite obligation to do anything particular in any future contingency. However these conventions helped to strengthen the position of France in Europe.

The Triple Entente

Since France and Russia were allies, it became an unwritten code to have an entente with Russia following the Anglo–French Entente. Thus, a treaty similar to the French

treaty was signed in 1907 under the guidance of Sir Edward Grey. The agreement respected the independence of Afghanistan and of Tibet and they allocated spheres of British and Russian influence in Persia.

It was clear that by 1907, the great powers of Europe came to be divided into two rival armed camps; the Triple Alliance comprising Germany, Austro-Hungarian Empire and Italy; and the Triple Entente comprising Great Britain, France and Russia. The Triple Alliance countries came to be known as the Central Powers, and the Triple Entente countries came to be known as the Allied Powers. As the First World War took place, other nations also joined these alliances.

The Balkan Peninsula in southern Europe was also known as the 'powder keg of Europe' as everyone recognized that tensions in this region could ignite a major war. Indeed, it was the rivalry for control over the Balkan region that led to the eruption of the First World War. Serbia led a movement to unite the Slavs of the region with Russia, the most powerful Slavic country, supporting the Serbian venture. On the other hand, Austrian-Hungary feared Slavic nationalism as millions of its subjects were Slavs. In 1908, the Austria-Hungary Empire greatly angered Serbia by annexing the Balkan territories of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Serbia wanted control of those lands as many Serbs inhabited those territories.

The Morocco crisis of 1905, the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina by Austria in 1908, and the Agadir Crisis in 1911 added fuel to the suspicion that had taken over Europe by the beginning of the twentieth century. Perhaps the most serious international crisis before the outbreak of the First World War was the two Balkan Wars fought in 1912–13. During the Balkan Wars, the rulers of Germany, France, Russia, Austria–Hungary, and the United Kingdom attempted to keep the lid on the simmering cauldron of imperialist and nationalist tensions in the Balkans to prevent a general European war. They were successful in preventing the two Balkan Wars from becoming a wider war; however, the effects of the Balkan Wars precipitated the July Crisis of 1914 which eventually led to the First World War.

ACTIVITY

1. Using the Internet as your resource, read about the Russian-Turkish War of 1828–1829 that resulted in the Russian Empire defeating the Ottomans. Write a note on the significance of the Treaty of Adrianople.
2. Using the Internet or the local library as your resource, read the poem *The Charge of the Light Brigade* by Alfred Tennyson, which is about the Battle of Balaclava in the Crimean War. Find out other similar writings based on the Crimean War.

DID YOU KNOW?

Bulgaria was militarily the most powerful of the four Balkan states, with a large, well-trained and well-equipped army. The Bulgarian field army counted for nine infantry divisions, one cavalry division and 1,116 artillery units.

5.7 SUMMARY

In this unit, you have learnt that:

- The Ottoman Empire was known as the 'Sick Man of Europe', because it gradually lost the majority of its territory. In contrast to Britain, France or Russia, the Ottomans were militarily inferior.
- The Greek War of Independence, also known as the Greek Revolution, was a victorious war of independence waged by Greek revolutionaries between 1821 and 1832 against the Ottoman Empire. In this war, they took the help of several European powers such as Russia, United Kingdom and France.
- An allied fleet consisting of Britain, France and Russia annihilated the Ottoman–Egyptian fleet at Navarino. Moreover, with the aid of a French expeditionary force, the Greeks forced the Turks to leave the Peloponnese and proceeded to the captured part of Central Greece by 1828. After years of negotiation, Greece was at last recognized as an independent nation in May 1832.
- The year 1842 witnessed the ascendancy of the British over the young Turkish Sultan Abdülmecid I. Abdülmecid I ascended the throne in 1839 after the death of Sultan Mahmud II. British ascendancy in the Ottoman court was made possible because of the efforts of Stratford Canning, who was posted as Great Britain's ambassador to Constantinople, Ottoman Empire's capital, in December 1841.
- In July 1853, Russia occupied territories in the Crimea. These territories had formerly been under Ottoman control.
- Alarmed by the Russian expansion, Britain and France made efforts to achieve a negotiated withdrawal of Russian troops. They feared that the Russians were about to encroach upon the Balkan States as the Ottoman Empire was too weak to stop Russian advances. Britain and France also feared the possibility of Russia gaining access to the Mediterranean by occupying the port city of Istanbul. However, the attempts at a peaceful settlement failed as the Turkish Sultan was reluctant to grant concessions to the Czar.
- Turkey formally declared war on Russia on 23 October 1853. When the Russians annihilated the Turkish fleet at Sinope in the Black Sea in November 1853, Britain and France entered the war against Russia.
- The most important battle of the war was the Siege of Sevastopol. Sevastopol was the home of the Czar's Black Sea fleet which threatened British and French interests in the Mediterranean.
- The siege of Sevastopol by allied troops lasted for over a year and resulted in the Russians being defeated. However, the siege proved costly for both sides with over 250,000 soldiers killed during the siege. The costs of the siege forced both sides to start peace negotiations which culminated in the Treaty of Paris.
- Despite the Treaty of Paris, tensions remained between the Ottoman Empire and the Russian Empire, primarily because of British influence in the Turkish Court. In 1877, the Russian Czar used the excuse of constant outrages against the Christians in Turkey, to declare war on the Ottoman Empire.

- Although the Turkish armies fought valiantly, the Russians advanced within few miles of the Turkish capital Constantinople. In January 1878, the Russians crossed the Balkans and occupied Sophia after some fierce fighting. On 20 January 1878, the Russians entered Adrinople.
- Facing disaster, the Turkish Sultan wanted peace with Russia at any cost, and on 3 March 1878 agreed to sign the Treaty of San Stefano. According to this treaty, the Sultan agreed to recognize the complete independence of Serbia, Montenegro and Romania; moreover, through the treaty, a new state, 'Greater Bulgaria,' consisting of Bulgaria, Rumelia and Macedonia, came into existence. Of all his European territories, the Sultan was allowed to keep Constantinople and its vicinity and Albania. Had the treaty been carried out, Turkish rule would practically have ceased in Europe.
- The Treaty of San Stefano was not accepted by other European powers. Facing threats by Britain and Austria, Russia was forced to agree to another treaty. In 1878, the representatives of England, Russia, Germany, Austria, France, Italy and Turkish met in Berlin in what came to be known as the Congress of Berlin.
- The Congress of Berlin totally disregarded the Treaty of San Stefano and proceeded to make another treaty, which came to be known as the Treaty of Berlin.
- The Treaty of Berlin led to the partial dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire with the consent of European Powers. It also proved to be a temporary settlement because disorder grew at a very rapid speed in the Ottoman Empire and created an atmosphere of general unrest, which ultimately culminated in the disastrous events of 1912–18.
- The most serious international crisis before the outbreak of the First World War was the two Balkan Wars fought in 1912–13. During the Balkan Wars, the rulers of Germany, France, Russia, Austria–Hungary, and the United Kingdom attempted to keep the lid on the simmering cauldron of imperialist and nationalist tensions in the Balkans to prevent a general European war.

5.8 KEY TERMS

- **Triple entente:** It was the association between Great Britain, France and Russia during World War I.
- **Slaws:** They are members of the most numerous ethnic and linguistic group of people in Europe who live in the eastern and south-eastern Europe and also extend across northern Asia to the Pacific Ocean.
- **The Eastern Question:** In European History, it refers to the problems that occurred in Europe due to the decay of the Ottoman Empire in the nineteenth century

5.9 ANSWERS TO 'CHECK YOUR PROGRESS'

1. (a) Sick Man of Europe; (b) Russia
2. (a) Western civilization; (b) Ottoman Empire; (c) Navarino
   (d) Stratford Canning; (e) Treaty of Vienna
3. (a) Crimea; (b) Sinope; (c) Sevastopol; (d) Paris; (e) San Stefano
4. (a) Congress of Berlin; (b) Otto von Bismarck; (c) Treaty of Berlin
   (d) Greater Bulgaria; (e) Eastern Question

5.10 QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Short-Answer Questions

1. Why was the Ottoman Empire known as the 'sick man of Europe'?
2. Write a short note on the Greek War of Independence.
3. Explain the events that led to the British ascendancy over the Turkish Sultan.
4. Give a detailed account on the Crimean War of 1853.
5. What were the main provisions of the Treaty of Berlin (1878)?
6. What was the main cause that led to the Second Balkan War?

Long-Answer Questions

1. Describe the status of the Ottoman Empire in the beginning of the ninetieth century.
2. Discuss the causes and outcomes of the Greek War of Independence.
3. Explain how the British managed to hold 'influence' over the Turkish Sultan.
4. Discuss the Crimean War and Russo-Turkish War of 1877–78. How did these wars shape the history of the Ottoman Empire on one hand, and of the European powers on the other?
5. Why was the Treaty of San Stefano not accepted by other European powers?
6. Discuss the main features of the treaty of Berlin of 1878. Why did it fail to resolve the 'Eastern Question'?

5.11 FURTHER READING

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NOTES

UNIT 6 FIRST WORLD WAR

Structure

6.0 Introduction
6.1 Unit Objectives
6.2 Outbreak of the First World War
  6.2.1 Causes
  6.2.2 Course of the War
6.3 Impact of the War
  6.3.1 Political Impact
  6.3.2 Economic Impact
  6.3.3 Social Impapct
6.4 The Peace Settlement of Paris
  6.4.1 Treaty of Versailles
  6.4.2 Other Peace Treaties
6.5 Summary
6.6 Key Terms
6.7 Answers to 'Check Your Progress'
6.8 Questions and Exercises
6.9 Further Reading

6.0 INTRODUCTION

Most of you are probably aware of how appalling the First World War was and the toll it took, not just in terms of lives but politico-socio-economical equilibrium of the world nations. The immediate cause of the First World War, which triggered the secondary causes such as the alliances, imperialism, militarism and nationalism, was the assassination of Archduke Francis Ferdinand of Austria–Hungary.

In June 1914, a Serbian nationalist (member of the Black Hand—an underground terror society) assassinated Ferdinand in Sarajevo (Bosnia), which was part of Austria–Hungary. The assassination marked the protest to Austria–Hungary on taking control of this region. Serbia sought taking over Bosnia and Herzegovina. Ferdinand's assassination led to Austria–Hungary declaring war on Serbia. Later, when Russia began to mobilize due to its alliance with Serbia, Germany declared war on Russia. Thus, began the expansion of the war to include all those involved in the mutual defence alliances.

The turn of the twentieth century marked a new beginning in the annals of world history. It altered and redefined the history of the world in many ways and the transition was far from smooth. The developments of the nineteenth century had already prepared the ground for such an upheaval. The Industrial Revolution in Europe led to the following:

- Search for newer markets
- Search for better sources of raw material
- Rise of nationalism
- Fierce competition due to spread of trade and commerce

Europe was the epicenter of these happenings, and the major European powers started viewing each other as competitors for the same set of resources and markets. They

NOTES

adopted confrontationist policies to establish their supremacy and retain control over large parts of Asia and Africa. The competing nations soon started building alliances to serve their common interests and protect their territories from rival powers. What started as discrete events aimed at furthering economic interests soon extended to the raising of strong armies and massive military build-ups to safeguard the newly acquired territories and markets.

By the beginning of the twentieth century, the stage was set for a see-saw battle between the major Western powers, which were divided into two distinct blocs and a war looked imminent. As the ground was getting prepared for a large-scale confrontation between the major European nations, certain immediate events of provocation worked as the flashpoint and what ensued was a full-fledged war. The First World War, as it came to be called, turned out be one of the deadliest wars ever fought and on a scale never witnessed before.

6.1 UNIT OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to:

- Identify the reasons and causes for the outbreak of the First World War
- Explain the course of the war
- Assess the impact of the war
- Discuss the Peace Settlement of Paris

6.2 OUTBREAK OF THE FIRST WORLD WAR

The First World War, was a major war centerd in Europe. The War began in 1914 and lasted until 1918, for a period of four years and three months, and had its impact on all countries and regions of world. It was predominantly called the World War or the Great War till the Second World War started in 1939. Thereafter, it was known as the First World War or World War I.

The War involved all the great powers of the world, which were divided into two opposing alliances that were the Allies and the Central Powers. However, the First World War was not an instant development; rather it was the ultimate result of various developments in the economic and political sphere for almost a century in Europe. The nature of the War, both in terms of intensity and scale, was completely different from the known wars fought earlier in history. The world saw, for the first time, such a large number of countries taking part in a single act of war and the loss of life and property that it caused was unprecedented.

The War also saw for the first time the extensive use of modern technology in warfare and new methods of destruction and defence through the deployment of armies, navies and air force. Ultimately, more than 70 million military personnel, including 60 million Europeans, were mobilized in this War and more than 9 million combatants were killed.[1] This was largely due to the enormous increase in the lethality of weapons, without corresponding improvements in protection or mobility.

This deadliest of conflicts not only shifted the global balance of power but paved the way for various political changes such as domestic tension and revolutions in the nations involved. Professor David Thomson has observed, 'the greatest novelty

NOTES

of this war was, remarkable disparity between the ends sought, the prices paid and the results obtained'.

The uneasy relations between the major European powers escalated into a transnational conflict in 1914 on account of some instant acts of provocation. On the fateful night of 5 August 1914, five columns of German troops had converged in the town of Liege in Belgium expecting little resistance. To their surprise they were halted by determined fire from the Liege town's forts. This was a big setback for Germany because control of Liege was essential before they could proceed with their main operation against France. They were forced to resort to siege tactics using heavy military equipment. Finally, the German troupes fired from air and Belgian forces, though strong, were not equipped to withstand such heavy firing for long.

On 13 August, the first fort of the town of Liege surrendered and three days later the entire town came under German control. This surprising turn of events eventually escalated into a horrifying war of frightening proportions and marked the beginning of an era of prolonged conflict in the history of the world. Commenting on the German aggression, German historian, I. Geiss observed, 'the determination of German empire 'the most powerful conservative force in the world after the Tsarist Russia' to uphold the conservative and monarchic principles in any means against the rising fold of democracy, plus its *Weltpolitik*, made War inevitable'.[2]

6.2.1 Causes

Though the immediate cause of the First World War was the murder of Archduke Francis Ferdinand, the heir to the Austrian throne, by a Yugoslav nationalist in Sarajevo, the real causes of the War lay much deeper. The fundamental causes for the outbreak of the First World War were many like the imperialistic foreign policies of the great powers of Europe, including Germany, Austro-Hungary, Turkey, Russia, Great Britain, France and Italy.

The growth of narrow nationalism, militarism and economic imperialism were also responsible for creating an enabling atmosphere for the War. Finally, the system of secret military alliances, race for armaments, the international negotiations and the occurrence of a series of international crises made the World War inevitable. Professor S.B. Fay, author of *The Origins of the World War: Volume II : After Sarajevo,* commenting on this observes that, 'These developments so offered a fertile soil in which the seeds of real war might easily be germinated.'[3]

On the eve of the War, alliances formed in the previous decades were brought into play. Within no time, the main powers were engaged in War through their colonies. The conflict soon spread around the world. The main reasons behind the First World War were as follows:

1. Formation of secret alliances

Historians are of the opinion that the secret alliances, which developed following the Franco-Prussian War of 1870–71 were the biggest factors responsible for the First World War breaking out. On the eve of the War, the whole of Europe was divided into two armed camps—Triple Alliance and Triple Entente. The Triple Alliance comprised Germany, Austria—Hungary and Italy, whereas Turkey became part of the alliance immediately after. The latter consisted of Great Britain, France and Russia.

Additionally, Great Britain and Japan had entered into an alliance in 1902 and Japan joined the Triple Entente after that. The first step towards creating the Triple

NOTES

Alliance was Germany's entry into an alliance with Austria–Hungary. In 1882, Italy became part of this alliance. The Triple Entente started in 1894 when France ended an alliance with Russia. At the dawn of the twentieth century, Great Britain, following a policy of splendid isolation, also began looking for allies.

'Splendid isolation' was a policy Britain followed in the late nineteenth century, whose main feature was non-participation in European matters. Whether Britain followed the policy willingly or whether circumstances drove it to do so, is a matter of doubt. Britain signed a treaty with Japan in 1902 and with France in 1904.

The Triple Entente was born when Great Britain signed a treaty with Russia in 1907. Therefore, just before the War, entire Europe was divided into two camps associated with different secret alliances. The friction that occurred off and on between the two primary groups had driven Europe to the brink of war many times. The reasons behind the conflicts were many. They threatened to disturb the peace of Europe just like the naval rivalry between Great Britain and Germany. The French resented the loss of Alsace-Lorraine to Germany at the end of the Franco-Prussian War of 1871. The Germans feared that Germany would be contained by Great Britain, Russia and France. The Russians suspected Austria of getting too ambitious in the Balkans. They were suspicious of the Serbian nationalism too.

Serbia nurtured the ambition to unite the Serbs and Croats, most of whom resided within the Habsburg Empire in the southern Slav Kingdom (Yugoslavia). Therefore, it became essential to capture some areas from Austria–Hungary by threatening to make the Habsburg Empire collapse. This Empire comprised various nationalities and races including, Slovaks, Slovenes, Serbs, Croats, Italians, Germans,Czechs, Hungarians, Poles and Romanians. If the Serbs and Croats had left the fold, several others would have started demanding their independence, leading to the breaking up of the Habsburg Empire. As a result, several Austrians showed their interest in a 'preventive war', which would demolish Serbia before she gained the strength to demolish Austria–Hungary.

These resentments and tensions gave rise to a sequence of events, which ended in war in 1914. Historian, S. B. Fay believed there was no way the great European powers could have detached themselves from the war, if there was one as a result of the secret alliances. Each group was obliged to support the other to ensure group cohesiveness and solidarity.

2. Economic rivalries and imperialism

Yet another significant reason behind World War I was economic rivalry and imperialism. Towards the end of the nineteenth century, huge colonial empires had been set up by Great Britain, France and Russia. Germany's share in the wealth gained from these colonies was the smallest. Believing itself to be greatest of all nations, Germany was not ready to play second fiddle to anyone. Germany aimed to create a world empire, the only one of its kind. As a result, when Germany attempted to capture the market held by Great Britain, animosity began to brew between the two nations.

While Great Britain was unwilling to let go her colonies, markets and areas of influence, Germany, on the other hand, was determined to acquire them by hook or crook. In the meantime, the Industrial Revolution led to an increase in the rate of production across Europe. As a result, there was an increase in the demand for markets beyond Europe. The race to expand imperialistically became more intense after the

NOTES

1880s. This economic rivalry existed primarily between Great Britain and Germany. Britain was afraid that Germany may get ahead in the race for colonies. Therefore, resistance between these two competitors was inevitable.

Britain and Germany competed against each other to capture markets in Argentina. Similarly, Russia and England were competing for oil in Persia. These economic rivalries resulted in Africa getting partitioned. A major part of Africa was captured by the European states in the 'scramble for Africa', as it was commonly referred to. The objective was to gain control over new markets and their raw material sources. Thus, the European powers managed to dominate in the Far East and the Near East. There were also interventions in the downfall of the empire of China. The states of Europe, the United States of America as well as Japan, at different times, drove China to consent to trade concessions. By 1914, the parts of the world suited for inhabitation were divided among the European states, and nations such as Germany looked for a 'place in the sun'. Some scholars of history opine that in trying to gain economic control over the world, Germany's traders, merchants and capitalists ended up declaring war on Great Britain, the owner of almost fifty per cent of the trading ships in the world, in 1914. This theory is supported by a few Marxist historians as it holds the capitalist system responsible for the War. However, those who oppose this theory draw attention to the fact that Germany was making its way to economic victory.

In 1913, leading German industrialists stated that if they could be permitted three or four years of peaceful conditions, they would definitely make Germany, the economic superpower of Europe. The ambition for imperialistic power was one of the main reasons for conflicts and the international crisis that ensued.

3. Germany's desire to be a world power

What contributed to the disturbance in the world was Germany's ambitions to create a world empire. With a great leader in Herr Otto von Bismarck, Germany was undoubtedly powerful and keen to maintain its position as a European supreme power.

Conservative political leader Bismarck played a significant role in unifying Germany. Being devoted to Prussia, after German unification, he set up the German empire under a Prussian leader. On becoming the President of Prussia, Bismarck attempted to wage war with Austria and France in order to make Germany the supreme power in Europe. He went on to become the First Chancellor of the German Empire. Bismarck was interested in the unification of the German states to establish a German Empire with Prussia as the heart. He believed this could only happen if the military of Germany is made powerful.

Bismarck designed foreign policies, which led to Germany forming alliances with most countries. As a result, Germany could not wage war with several countries. These alliances made the continent insecure and later became a cause for the First World War. With Bismarck's fall, Germany became even more ambitious to gain power and dominate the world, as is clear from what German historian Preitschke's said, 'Just as the greatness of Germany is to be found in the governance of Germany by Prussia so the greatness and good of the world is to be found in the predominance of all German culture, of the German mind in a world, of the German character'.

4. France's aspiration to get back Alsace-Lorraine

Another reason for World War I was the fact that Germany had forcefully taken away Alsace and Lorraine from the French, and the latter was determined to get back what

NOTES

they had lost to the Germans. The government of the Third Republic in France did everything to maintain this spirit to take revenge and kept the hope of restoring Alsace and Lorraine alive. France was interested in getting back these provinces because they had rich mineral deposits, especially iron ore. The French believed that the Germans were industrially prosperous because of these mineral-rich provinces. Certain parts of France believed that if there had been no German intervention in Morocco, France would have been compensated for losing Alsace-Lorraine and given up the idea of avenging this loss. However, with Germany intervening constantly in Moroccan matters, the unpleasantness between France and Germany only increased.

5. Italian ambitions

Yet another reason for the War was the ambition of the Italians to recover Prentino and the land surrounding the port of Trieste, where Italians lived, but were still controlled by Austria–Hungary. Since all these areas were once components of the Roman Empire, the Italians shouted slogans of 'Italia Irredenta' or 'unredeemed Italy'. In addition, due to a very poor economic situation and increased growth in population, Italy was forced to search for more land and economic resources. As a result, Italy became close to Germany, which was also very interested in challenging the status quo in Europe and setting up a large empire overseas.

6. Contest over control of Balkan Peninsula

Tension had increased due to the Austria-Hungary and Russia competing with each other to gain control over the Balkan Peninsula. This was also a factor that led to World War I. When the Empire of Turkey fell, many small countries arose in the Balkan Peninsula, including Bulgaria, Greece and Serbia, which started warring against each other in their attempt to establish their rule over the fertile land of Macedonia. The Russians, who were keen observers of Balkan politics, supported the Serbians in their demand for a larger bigger Serbia. They realized it was a big chance to gain control over Constantinople, the warm water port in the South as well as the straits of Dardanelles and Bosporus. Using these, the Russians wished to reach the Mediterranean Sea, as was the aim of Russia's foreign policy. During the Bosnian crisis of 1908, Russia showed sympathy towards Serbia threatening to tackle the aggressive Austrians. However, Germany declared that she would support Austria and provide complete military aid, forcing the Russians to withdraw. This development made the Austrians, Serbians and Russians bitter than ever before. During 1912–13, another crisis confronted Balkan, and Austria tried her level best to prevent Serbia from fulfilling her ambitions. Austria drove Serbia to abandon the Adriatic towns that had been conquered by the Serbs. The Austrians also made Albania an autonomous state so that Serbia was could not obtain any passage into the sea. Austria also wished to go to war, but was prevented by Germany. The attitude of the Austrians was not approved by either Great Britain or Russia. The conflict between the Austria and Serbia slowly became intense and led to increased tension in Europe, leading to disturbance in the continent.

7. Militarism and naval race between European powers

A significant factor that caused the First World War was militarism. The continent of Europe was an armed camp on the eve of the First World War. The term 'militarism' implies that there exists a well equipped and strong army and navy, which stands prepared for war. The military and naval arms of the powerful nations began to expand

NOTES

and become stronger with each passing year. Each nation was busy strengthening military power and planning war strategies.

The naval race was the result of the disgust, lack of trust, dread and suspicion among countries like Great Britain and Germany. Initially, Great Britain was not shaken by the growing German fleets, starting with Admiral Tirpitz's Navy Law of 1897. This was because Great Britain itself boasted of a strong navy. When the British 'Dreadnought' battleship was launched in 1906, all other battleships became outdated. But soon Germany started building new warships, which were almost at par with the British ships. This did disturb the British as its powerful position on the high seas was challenged. The naval rivalry that resulted between Great Britain and Germany continued till the War began in 1914. Winston Churchill felt that by mid 1914, the naval race stopped being the reason for conflict because the British were very confident that they could not be overtaken or beaten when it came to capital ships.

As a result of this militarism and naval race, the powerful nations of Europe started investing and spending more on their army and navy. The Germans increased their military and naval expenditure by up to 335 per cent while the Russians and the British did so by 214 per cent for military and 185 per cent for navy, respectively.

8. Lack of a world body to regulate international relations

The absence of a global body, which could shoulder the responsibility of regulating the matters related to the states, was also another reason for the War. The states preferred to remain diplomatic and were rigidly confidential. Some states even kept secrets from the members of their ministry. Therefore, there was always a sense of mystery surrounding state-related matters. Even though, some principles of international law and morality had come into play by the end of the nineteenth century, through the Hague Conference, the states hardly paid any heed to them since these principles were not strictly enforced by any strong authority.

In addition, the states were aware of their power and independence. They had no intentions of giving in to any international body or organization. They were clearly not willing to be bound by any principles of international morality. With no powerful international authority, there was a lot of disorder and lawlessness in terms of international relations. The absence of a law-making institution capable of forcing all the nations to adhere to laws was strongly felt.

9. Series of international crises

The series of international crises that led to the First World War are as follows:

(i) ***The Moroccan crisis:*** Germany interfered in the affairs of Morocco in 1905–06 and demanded all powers to enjoy equal privileges in Morocco. This was one of the few remaining areas of the African Continent not controlled by a European power. The Germans believed that as per the Anglo-French Agreement *Entente Cordiale* signed in 1904; the French would recognize Great Britain's position in Egypt in return for British approval of a possible French takeover of Morocco. Fearing the possible French occupation of Morocco, the Germans announced that they would assist the Sultan of Morocco to maintain his country's independence, and insisted for an international conference to discuss its future. As per the demand of Germany, a conference was also held in 1906 at Algeciras in Spain.

NOTES

Meanwhile, the British believed that if the Germans had it their way, it would be an important step on the road to the German diplomatic domination. The Germans did not take the Anglo-French Agreement of 1904 seriously, because there was a long record of hostility between Great Britain and France. However, to the utter surprise of Germany, Great Britain, Russia, Italy and Spain supported the French demand to control the Moroccan Bank and police. This was a grave diplomatic failure for Germany, which realized that the new line-up of Britain and France was a strong force to be reckoned with, especially as the Moroccan crisis was soon followed by Anglo-French military exchanges. This crisis further reduced the trust factor between various European powers.

(ii) ***The Anglo-Russian Agreement:*** The Anglo-Russian Agreement of 1907 was seen by Germany as another hostile move. The logic given was that in 1894 Russia had signed an alliance with France, which was Britain's partner in the *Entente Cordiale* signed in 1904. For years, the British had viewed Russia as a major threat to their interests in the Far East and India, which were colonies of Great Britain at that time.

However, the changing situation in 1904–05 where Japan defeated Russia had weakened it considerably, and it no longer seemed so much of a threat. This development forced Great Britain to change its mindset. On the other hand, the Russians were keen to end the long-standing rivalry and anxious to attract British investment for their industrial modernization programme. The Agreement, therefore settled their remaining differences. This Agreement was not a military alliance and not necessarily an anti-German move, but the Germans saw it as confirmation of their fears that Britain, France and Russia were planning to encircle it. Undoubtedly, this development enhanced the tension in Europe.

(iii) ***The Bosnia crisis:*** The Austrians, taking advantage of a revolution in Turkey, annexed the Turkish province of Bosnia. This was a deliberate blow to the neighbouring state of Serbia, because Serbia had also been hoping to take Bosnia. The motive behind Serbian interest was that Bosnia contained approximately three million Serbs among its mixed population of Serbs, Croats and Muslims.

The Serbs appealed for help to their fellow Slavs and the Russians, who called for a European Conference, expecting French and British support. When it became clear that Germany would support Austria in the event of war, the French drew back, unwilling to become involved in a war in Balkans. The British, anxious to avoid a breach with Germany, did no more than to protest to Austria–Hungary.

The Russians, after their defeat from Japan dared not risk another war without the support of their allies. In this situation, Serbia did not get any help from outside and no conference took place. Austria kept Bosnia, and it was a victory for the Austro-German alliance. After this development, Serbia remained bitterly hostile to Austria, and it was this quarrel that heightened the tension in the European continent; and later this led to the outbreak of the First World War. On the other hand, to avoid further humiliation, Russians were determined to embark a massive military build-up.

(iv) ***The Agadir crisis:*** The Agadir crisis of 1911 was a further development in the Moroccan Crisis. French troops occupied the Moroccan capital Fez in 1911 to suppress a rebellion against the Sultan. It looked as if the French were about to annex Morocco. Hoping to pressurize the French and giving Germany compensation, Germans sent a gunboat, Panther, to the Moroccan port of Agadir.[4]

The French stood firm making no major concessions, and eventually the German gunboat was removed. On their part, the Germans agreed to recognize the French protectorate over Morocco in return for two strips of territory in the French Congo. It was seen as a victory for the French; but this development triggered a naval race between the European powers like Britain, France and Germany.

(v) ***Balkan Wars:*** The Balkan War of 1912 started when Greece, Bulgaria, Serbia and Montenegro, who were known as the Balkan League, attacked Turkey and captured most of its remaining territory in Europe. After the outbreak of the War, Germany and Great Britain intervened and arranged a peace conference in London. They were anxious to avoid a conflict between the Balkan League and Turkey, and simultaneously they had to demonstrate that Great Britain and Germany could still work together. The resulting settlement divided the former Turkey's lands among the Balkan states. However, the Serbs were not happy with the gains of the Balkan states; rather they wanted Albania which would give them an outlet to sea. In the meantime, the Austrians with British and German support insisted that Albania should become an independent state. This was a deliberate attempt made by Austria to prevent Serbia from becoming more powerful.

A year after this development, the Second Balkan War broke out in 1913 because the Bulgarians were dissatisfied with the peace settlement. They were hopeful of acquiring Macedonia, but most of Macedonia was conquered by Serbia. This led Bulgaria to attack Serbia but its plan backfired when Romania, Turkey and Greece supported Serbia. In that War, the Bulgarians were defeated and by the Treaty of Bucharest of 1913, the Bulgarians forfeited most of their gains from the First Balkan War of 1912.

The Anglo-German influence prevented a further escalation of tension by restraining the Austrians who were about to support Bulgaria and planning to attack Serbia. The repercussions of these two Balkan wars were grave. On the one hand, Serbia was strengthened and it was determined to intervene between the Serbs and Croats who were living inside Austria–Hungary, on the other hand the Austrians were equally determined to put an end to Serbia's ambitions.

10. Assassination of the Austrian Archduke Francis Ferdinand

The immediate cause of the First World War was the assassination of Archduke Francis Ferdinand, the heir to the Austrian throne, by a Serbian in Sarajevo on 28 June 1914. The Archduke was paying an official visit to the Bosnian capital of Sarajevo when he and his wife were shot dead. The assassin, Gavrilo Princip, was a member of the Black Hand, a secret society of the Serbian terrorists.[5] Austrians were outraged at this incident and held Serbia responsible for this by serving an ultimatum for this reprehensible act. Serbia refused to comply with the ultimatum served by Austria because of Russian backing. In the mean time, Austria wanted to crush Serbia and even managed to get the support of Germany. An effort of mediation was made by the powers but to no avail. Finally on 28 July 1914, Austria-Hungary declared war on Serbia, thus beginning the First Wold War. Initially, Great Britain and Germany tried to localize the War but soon it became evident that matters had gone out of their

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hands. The Russians who didn't want to let down the Serbs, ordered a general military mobilization against Austria on 29 July. Germany demanded that Russia should put an end to its military mobilization and withdraw troops. But when the Russians refused to comply, Germany declared war on Russia on 1 August 1914 and on France on 3 August. When German troupes entered Belgium on their way to invade France, Great Britain who had promised to defend Belgian interest demanded their withdrawal. When Germany ignored this demand of Britain, Great Britain entered into the War on 4 August. On 6 August, Austria-Hungary also declared war on Russia and other countries joined later.

In the War that followed, Serbia was supported by Russia, France, England and Japan, and in 1915, Italy which was not a member of the Triple Alliance, also joined them and declared war against Austria-Hungary and Germany. Turkey, however, fought on the side of the Central Powers, which included Austria-Hungary and Germany. While fixing the responsibility for the outbreak of First World War in *The Origins of the First World War*, Prof. Fay observes that, 'It was primarily Russian general mobilization when Germany was trying to bring Austria to a settlement, which precipitated the final catastrophe, causing Germany to mobilize and declare war'.[6]

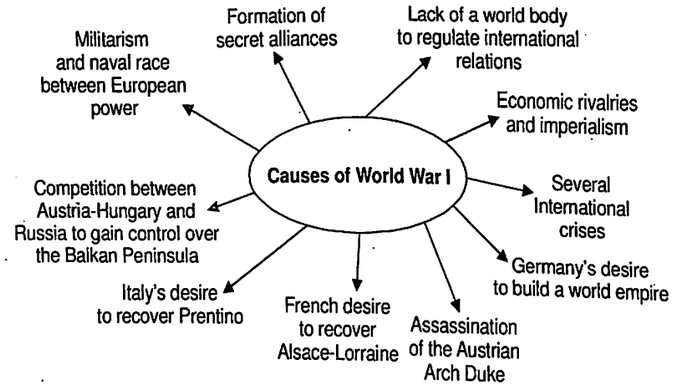


Fig. 6.1 Causes of the First World War

6.2.2 Course of the War

The War, which started with the attack of Serbia by Austria-Hungary, turned out to be quite different from what most people had anticipated. It was not confined only to the European continent, but soon saw the participation of many powerful countries of the world. Almost all the big countries of the world were automatically drawn into the War in various battles that were fought in different parts of the world.

Initially when Austria-Hungary attacked Serbia, Great Britain and Germany made efforts to localize the conflict. However, when Russia declared war against Austria-Hungary, Germany also declared war against Russia. Until this time, the war had not assumed the shape of a World War. It was only after Germany violated the neutrality of Belgium and Britain, and France declared war on it that the conflict assumed the shape of a World War. Although Great Britain joined the War on the plea that Germany has violated Belgium's neutrality, Belgium could not be saved and the German force was able to smash the resistance of Belgium. Germany then headed towards Paris and went beyond Marne. However, General Foch, aided by Great Britain compelled the German army to retreat from Marne to the northern side of river Aisne.

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The battle of Marne was a turning point of the War because it foiled all German plans of crossing France and extending a helping hand to its allies for concerted action against the enemies. This development dashed all hopes of a short war. Both sides dug themselves in and spent the next four years attacking and defending lines of trenches.

During the War in Eastern Europe there were many other developments on the sidelines which precipitated the crisis. The early Russian success against the Austrians, who constantly had to be helped out by the Germans, caused friction between the two allies. On the Eastern front Russia mobilized at quick speed and invaded East Prussia but it was defeated by Hindenburg at Tannenberg. Russia was, however, more successful against the Austrians and occupied the Carpethian passes from where it could prove a threat for Hungary. However, the Germans came to Austria's rescue and pushed back the Russians and captured Warsaw, the capital of Poland.

In 1915, Italy joined the Allies in spite of its alliance with Germany and Austria-Hungary because the Allies agreed to make territorial adjustment with regard to its frontiers. Further, Italy realized that this approach could help to recover some of the provinces which formerly belonged to it from Austria. Japan also joined the Allies as Germany had objected to Japan's taking of Liaotung from China in 1895 but was forced to surrender this. Turkey fought on the side of the Central Powers. At the initial stage of the War it inflicted heavy losses on the Allies, and prevented communication between Russia and the Allies. Great Britain was defeated at Gallipolli which was probably its greatest disappointment in the War. However, soon Great Britain recovered itself from the defeat and recaptured Kut and occupied Baghdad. It also made political concessions to the Arabs by recognizing their independence. Though in the first year of War Serbia resisted the Austrian attacks boldly, in 1915, it succumbed to double attack of the Bulgarians on the south and the combined Austro-German attack on the north.

As far as the War on the sea was concerned, the British navy maintained its dominance on others on the seas. On the sea front, Germans lost heavily in the operations of Doggerbank and the right of Helligoland. In the battle of Jutland, the losses on both sides were equally heavy though strategically the War went in favour of Great Britain. In spite of these setbacks, considerable German ships succeeded in doing damage to the allies' commerce. However, after the comprehensive defeat at Falkland Islands the German navy was rendered defensive.

After the defeat of Germany at Falkland Islands the Germans retaliated with mines and submarine attacks. This was their only alternative as their surface vessels were either destroyed or were blockaded in various ports. Initially, they showed respect to neutral shipping and passenger liners but it soon became clear that the German blockade was ineffective. Meanwhile Britain also tried to mislead the Germans by flying neutral flags and by using passenger liners to transport arms and ammunition. In 1915, the British liner Lusitania was sunk by a torpedo attack. Germans knew that Lusitania was armed and carrying vast quantities of arms and ammunition. So Germans claimed that the sinking of the boat was not an act of barbarism against the defenseless civilians. This act of Germany resulted in serious consequences as out of almost 2,000 dead, 128 were Americans. At this juncture the American President Woodrow Wilson recognised that the US would have to take part in the War to protect its trade. Whereas the British blockade did not interfere with the safety of passengers and crew, but the German tactics certainly did. This led to protests from America and the submarine campaign was toned down.

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In the mid-1916, the German Admiral Von Scheer tried to lure part of Britain's fleet to come out of its base so that the numerically superior Germans could destroy it. However, contrary to the expectations of Germans the number of British ships were more. After a fierce battle, the Germans used torpedoes and destroyed 14 British ships whereas the British had also destroyed 11 German ships in the battle, and this is famous as the Battle of Jutland. The real importance of the Battle lay in the fact that the Germans had failed to destroy Great Britain's sea power. Due to British blockade, the German fleet of high seas stayed in Kiel port for the rest of the War. Finally, in desperation at the food shortages the German fleet embarked on unrestrained submarine warfare.

After the Battle of Jutland, the Germans had been concentrating on the production of U-boats to sink all enemy warships and merchant ships in the Atlantic. Although they knew that this act was likely to bring the US into the War, the Germans hoped that before the Americans could make any vital contribution they would force Britain and France to surrender. The Germans got enormous success in this field in April 1917 by sinking 430 ships and Britain was reduced to about six weeks of corn supply. However, by introducing the convoy system, where a convoy of large number of merchant ships were protected by escorting warships, Lyoyd George saved the situation. This act of George drastically reduced losses by protecting the merchant ships and with it the German gamble had once again failed. The submarine campaign was important because it brought the US into the First World War.

The British Navy helped by the Americans played a pivotal role in the defeat of the Central Powers. During that time, after the revolt of 1917, Russia suffered a number of defeats and ultimately surrendered to Germany by the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk. The withdrawal of Russia from War enabled Germany to transfer a large section of its troops to the western front to give a big blow to the Allies. However, the Allies were saved by the entry of the US in the War. USA entered the War as a protest against the unrestrained submarine campaign carried out by Germany in violation of all legal and humanitarian considerations. At the end of 1917, only one American division had been in action but by mid-1918 over half a million men were involved. Most important was the psychological boost which the American potential in resources of men and material gave the allies and the corresponding blow it gave to German morale.

In 1917, a new European power, Greece, had also joined the War against the Central Powers and held the armies in Maccedonia. In September 1918, Bulgaria surrendered before the marching armies of Greece and sought a ceasefire. In October 1918, Austria sought an armistice and was out of War. Turkey was also defeated. Thus, Germany was left alone in the War. In the meantime, there was a mutiny in Germany and the emperor was forced to abdicate. The new head of the German Government, Max Von Baden, sought peace based on the Fourteen Points announced by President Wilson of the US. The Fourteen Points of Woodrow Wilson were:

(i) Eradication of secret diplomacy

(ii) Free navigation facilities at sea for all nations in war and peace

(iii) All round reduction of armaments

(iv) Elimination of economic barriers between states

(v) Evacuation of Russian territory

(vi) Re-establishment of Belgium

(vii) Liberation of France and restoration of Alsace-Lorraine

(viii) Readjustment of Italian frontiers along the lines of nationality

(ix) Impartial adjustment of colonial claims in the interest of the populations concerned

(x) Self-government for the people of Austria-Hungary

(xi) Evacuation from Romania, Serbia and Montenegro, and Serbia giving access to the sea

(xii) An independent Poland with secure access to the sea

(xiii) A general association of the nations to preserve peace

(xiv) Self-government for the non-Turkish people of the Turkish Empire and permanent opening of the Dardanelles

Germany thought by asking for peace, in 1918, it would save itself from invasion and preserve the army's discipline and reputation. Fighting continued for another five weeks while negotiations went on, but eventually an armistice was signed. On 18 November 1918, the terms of the armistice were conveyed to Germany. Though the terms were very hard, it had no other option but to surrender. Thus, in November 1918 the First World War ended. The War has been described as the worst disaster to humankind. Describing the enormity of the First World War, historian C.J.H. Hayes has rightly observed that, 'The war, thus closing, was indeed a World War. Never before had there been a struggle so gigantic, so deadly and costly'[7].

6.3 IMPACT OF THE WAR

The First World War left massive repercussions on contemporary society, polity and world economics.

6.3.1 Political Impact

The First World War had a serious consequence on the polity of the then contemporary world which was highly influenced by this event.

(i) In the first place, the War gave a shattering blow to some of the autocratic monarchies functioning in various countries of Europe of the time. It paved the way for the development of democratic system in Europe. As an upshot of the War three autocratic dynasties, namely, the Hollezollerian in Germany, the Hapsburg in Austria-Hungary, and the Romanov in Russia were destroyed. In a number of states, monarchical system was replaced by republican system. These countries were Poland, Estonia, Lithuania, Latvia, Czechoslovakia. The emergence of democratic system led to recognition of people's democratic rights.

(ii) The War encouraged the principles of nationalism and self-determination. After the War empires of people with different culture were dissociated and independent states with distinct cultures came up to the fore. Finland, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Czechoslovakia, Alsace-Lorraine among others, which had distinct cultures of their own made their appearance and were given to France. Similarly Schleswig-Holstein was restored to Denmark. China, Turkey, Egypt and Ireland were also influenced with the impact of nationalism.

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Check Your Progress

1. Fill in the blanks with appropriate words.
   (a) The First World War began in _____ and ended in _____.
   (b) When Great Britain concluded a treaty with Russia in 1907, the _____ came into existence.
2. State whether the following statements are true or false.
   (a) The First World War, which was fought on global scale, was a major war centered in Europe.
   (b) The immediate cause of the First World War was imperialistic foreign policies of the great powers of Europe, including Germany, Austro-Hungary, Turkey, Russia, Great Britain, France and Italy.

NOTES

(iii) The weakening position of the colonial powers in Europe provided an opportunity to freedom movements in Asia and Africa. Colonized countries like India began to feel that in view of the weakened position of the colonial powers they could hope to gain freedom. Therefore, they intensified the campaign of the freedom struggle. The prolonged freedom struggle in Asian and African countries led to a change in the policy of colonial powers towards their colonies. During the pre-war period, the colonial powers treated their colonial possessions as per their wish and without taking into account the wishes of the people. In contrast to their earlier practice, in the post World War period the colonized territories were granted certain rights and some restrictions were imposed on them under the mandate system. Overall, greater importance began to be attached to the interests of the colonial people after the War.

(iv) The First World War promoted the spirit of 'internationalism'. During the War various nations came in close contact with each other through various alliances, pacts and agreements. These relationships continued even after the War ended, which greatly contributed to the development of the spirit of internationalism.

(v) The most important contribution of the First World War was the creation of an international organization, The League of Nations, to monitor the international relations of various countries and to encourage peace, harmony and international cooperation. It was the horror of the War which convinced the world leaders of the need for an institution to prevent the recurrence of war and promote international understanding. This culminated in the establishment of the League of Nations. However, unfortunately various powers did not fully cooperate with the League of Nations and tried to promote their selfish national interests and thus contributed to the failure of the League. This has been discussed in detail in Unit 8.

6.3.2 Economic Impact

The First World War which was a terrible catastrophe caused massive loss of life, property and destroyed the economy of several courtiers who participated in the War. In this War, around 30 countries participated including all the major colonial powers of Europe and suffered huge losses in terms of men and material. Of the 65 million people who took part in the War more than 9 million people were killed, 29 million people were either wounded or reported missing. On this, Prof. C.J.E. Hayes has observed, 'Every family in Eastern and Central Europe, every family in Italy, France and the huge British empire and many families in America suffered loss of near relatives and close friends'.

(i) In terms of money the War was estimated to cost approximately 400 billion dollars.

(ii) As a result of the War, the prices of all commodities registered a steep rise, which caused greater hardship and suffering for the general public. It forced various governments to take concrete measures to regulate prices and control the distribution system. Thus, the post-war situation created an environment favourable for the rise of state socialism.

(iii) The War also led to the rise of trade-union activities. During the War, the demand for labour increased manifold. The industrialists and the industrialized states provided all sorts of facilities to the labourers to run their factories on full capacity. The labourers tried to make their conditions better by demanding much deserved concessions and benefits from the state and factory owners. To safeguard their interests they also established trade unions. Undoubtedly, the War enhanced the importance of workers and labourers and gave them a mechanism to protect their interests.

(iv) Scholars believe that the increasing use of paper currency was largely the outcome of the First World War. The shortage of metals after Word War I forced countries to print paper money for smaller denominations.

(v) The War also led to devaluation of currency and economic depression in the world. In order to meet the massive expenses of the War, different countries imposed heavy taxes on people, which in turn caused greater difficulty for the masses. However, these extra taxes proved to be insufficient to fulfill the enormous expenses. So, the government resorted to the printing of currency notes without taking into account the reserve bullion stocks. This later became the cause for economic depression and currency devaluation.

During the First World War for the maintenance of their armies, ships and for the procurement of arms and armaments, different countries raised loans from various possible quarters because the War expanses were beyond their expectation and paying capacity. As a result, in the wake of the War most of the great powers were forced to devalue their currency and were faced with great challenges of economic reconstruction. In the post-war scenario and particularly in the 1930s, the contemporary situation paved the way for the economic depression, which caused much hardship to the public throughout the world.

6.3.3 Social Impact

In the social sphere, the World War also had far-reaching consequences. The massive lose of life and material during the course of War caused inexplicable suffering to countless families in various countries. It compelled contemporary world leaders to think of some mechanism for avoiding reoccurrence of war of this magnitude in the future, and to maintain peace and tranquility in the globe. This led to the establishment of the League of Nations to resolve international disputes amicably on the basis of reason and justice. This was the biggest achievement of the post-World War period.

Secondly, the cut-throat competition between the rival powers to surpass one another during the War, gave a boost to the rapid scientific progress in various parts of the world. On the eve and during the course of War various European powers tried to improve their merchant ships, war ships, submarines, aeroplanes, and other war equipments, and developed other weapons of mass destruction. These modern techniques cut short the duration of the War. Further, the scientific inventions throughout the War period also contributed to industrialization and rapid agricultural progress.

The War promoted a feeling of goodwill and fraternity among the people. Before the War, Europeans and particularly the colonial powers regarded themselves, their culture, traditions, religion and literature superior and refused to even mix up with the black Asians and Africans. The Whites, denounced the literature written by the black Asians and Africans, their conventional knowledge system and denied the very basic democratic rights of these people. However, during the War the Europeans and the colonial powers in particular, were forced to shun this feeling of racial superiority and differences, and the European soldiers fought shoulder to shoulder with the Asian and African soldiers. The gallantry displayed by the Asian and African soldiers greatly

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impressed the Europeans and their hatred towards these races changed to some extent. As a result, the feeling of racism slowly subsided and it was taken over by a newfound goodwill among the people.

The First World War posed a serious threat to the educational system of that time. Education suffered a setback because during the War many educational institutions were forcibly closed down and students were encouraged to undergo military training to provide the necessary fighting force as per the requirement of the War. In most of the countries military training was made compulsory for students and conventional education was discouraged. All this greatly hampered the progress of education.

The War also contributed to the progress of women. Participating in the War millions of men lost their lives. Therefore, a scarcity of labourers was felt. Factory owners and the governments of industrialized states were, therefore, compelled to engage women as factory workers. Rising to the need of the hour, women workers entered the hitherto male bastions and helped in maintaining the production of their industries. Therefore, immediately after the post-war period they came to be recognized as regular labour force. All this greatly contributed to the elevation of their status and led to their empowerment.

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Check Your Progress

3. Fill in the blanks with appropriate words.
   (a) In a number of states the monarchical system was replaced by the republican system. These countries included _____, _____, _____, and _____.
   (b) The First World War led to _____ of currency and economic depression in the world.
4. State whether the following statements are true or false.
   (a) The most important contribution of the First World War was the creation of an international organization, The League of Nations, to monitor the international relations of various countries and to encourage peace, harmony and international cooperation.
   (b) The First World War posed a serious threat to the educational system of that time.

6.4 THE PEACE SETTLEMENT OF PARIS

The First World War which continued for four years and three months, i.e., 1,566 days, involved mobilization of 65 million men of whom 7 million died and 13 million were wounded and which cost approximately 400 billion dollars. This was brought to an end by the Treaty of Versailles in 1919 and four other treaties concluded at various places by the Allies. In this landmark treaty of the world, the terms of peace with Germany were embodied in the Treaty of Versailles, which is the longest document of its kind. This peace treaty was a dictated one because the German diplomats were not at all consulted before its preparation, and it was finally imposed on them. The path of conclusion of the peace treaties was not smooth. There were many difficulties encountered by the peace conference mainly owing to the uncompromising nature of the delegates. The 1,037 delegates who attended the Paris Peace Conference, and almost all of them, as Langsam has said, 'came to attend the Paris Peace Conference well equipped with records and memoranda'. The opinions and counter opinions of these experts further added to the difficulties of reaching an agreed decision.

The lack of well-defined principles regarding the solution of the post-war problems and the future reconstruction of the world also stood in the way of leaders in finding any formula and a definite plan. The four leading figures; Woodrow Wilson of the US, Lloyd George of UK, Clemenceau of France, and Orlando of Italy, entrusted with the responsibility of taking a decision had no similarity of interests. While Wilson wanted to establish long and durable peace based on justice and neutrality instead of taking revenge on the enemy country, Clemenceau and Orlando were more keen to protect the territorial interests of France and Italy, respectively. They were not much bothered about the problem of world peace. Lloyd George of UK was no doubt eager to establish international peace based on truth and justice, but he was willing to do all this only if the interests of the United Kingdom were protected. Hence, the proceedings of the Conference were hindered by the two conflicting approaches adopted by the leaders. Although Wilson was not in favour of secret diplomacy, in view of the eagerness

of the powers like Great Britain, France, Italy and Japan to observe the terms of these secret treaties, he was ultimately forced to compromise. Commenting on this, historians like Walter Consuelo Langsam in, *World Since 1919,* has said, 'Wilson's idealism came into sharp conflict with materialism at the conference and in most cases materialism triumphed'. All these difficulties were ultimately overcome before the Paris Peace Conference leading to the conclusion of five treaties:

(i) The Treaty of Versailles of 28 June 1919 concluded with Germany
(ii) The Treaty of St. Germain of 10 September 1919 with Austria
(iii) The Treaty of Neuilly of 27 November 1919 concluded with Bulgaria
(iv) The Treaty of Trianon of 4 July 1920 concluded with Hungary; and
(v) The Treaty of Sevres of 10 August 1920 concluded with Turkey (the Treaty of Sevres was revised in the Conference at Lausanne in 1923) and peace was formally established only on 6 August 1924 when the Treaty came into force.

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6.4.1 Treaty of Versailles

The Treaty of Versailles was signed between the Allies and Germany on 28 June 1919. The draft of the Treaty was presented to the German Foreign Minister on 7 May 1919 and Germany was given three weeks time to file written objections if any. On 29 May objections to the Treaty were received from Germany. After the stiff attitude of Clemenceau, a revised Treaty with five days time to accept the Treaty was issued. The Allies warned that if Germany failed to do so their country would be invaded. As Germany was under the grip of famine, the German Assembly decided to accept the terms of the Treaty, and they appended their signatures to the Treaty on June 28. Historians like Norman Lowe have commented that, 'The Treaty of Versailles in particular was one of the most controversial settlements ever signed, and it was criticized even in the Allied countries on the grounds that it was too hard on the Germans who were bound to object so violently that another war was inevitable, sooner or later'. In addition, many of the terms such as reparations and disarmament proved impossible to carry out.

Provisions of the Treaty

The provisions of the Treaty are as follows:

1. Territorial provisions

The Treaty affected substantial territorial changes. According to the Treaty:

(i) Germany lost Alsace and Lorraine to France, which it had taken from France in 1871. Belgium got back Eupen and Malmedy as well as Moresnet, which it got in partial compensation for the destruction of its forts by Germany.

(ii) Germany agreed to give Upper Silesia and the southern part of East Prussia to Poland if the people concerned were in favour of joining it. The wishes of the people were to be determined by a plebiscite. When the plebiscite was actually held the decision was in favour of a complete merger with Germany. However, Poland insisted that it must be given those areas, which had Polish majority. After the intervention of France, the League Council partitioned Silesia, leaving more than half of the area and population to Germany, but the industrialized areas of Silesia were given to Poland. Danzing, the main port city of West Prussia was taken away from Germany and was set up as a free city under the

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administration of the League of Nations, because its population was wholly German.

(iii) Mamel was given to Lithuania in 1924 and in the north Germany lost northern Schleswig to Denmark after a plebiscite.

(iv) The Saar Valley was to be administered by the League of Nations for 15 years, after which it was decided that the people would be allowed to vote on whether it should belong to France or Germany. In the meantime, France was given the exclusive rights of exploitation of coalmines of the Valley. Fifteen years after when the plebiscite was actually held, the people of Saar Valley voted for Germany.

(v) Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania which had been handed over to Germany by Russia at Brest-Litovsk, were taken away from it and set up as independent states. This was an example of self-determination being carried into practice.

(vi) Germany was also forced to renounce its rights over its overseas colonies. The Germany colonies were later distributed amongst the various powers including Great Britain, France, Belgium, Japan, the Union of South Africa, New Zealand and Australia as mandates of the League; this meant that various member States of the League 'looked after' these colonies. Japan got the lease of Kiaochow and the German portion of the island of Soma was left to the care of New Zealand. While Australia was entrusted the administration of German New Guiana, Togoland and Tanganyika were left to the administration of Great Britain. Certain portions of Tanganyika were left under the control of Belgium and Cameroons were given to France. The administrative rights over Germany and South-West Africa were given to the Union of South Africa.

(vii) Germany also lost her economic privileges in Morocco, Bulgaria and in Turkey. Due to the Treaty, Germany lost around 90 lakh square miles area. The loss was accompanied by a blow to the German Pride because the Allies tried to justify their rule over the colonies by asserting that the German treatment of the native population in her colonies had been cruel and arbitrary.

(viii) The treaty also provided that France pay war indemnity of five billion Francs to Germany. Till France had made the payment of the sum of five million Francs, the German army would continue to occupy parts of France.

2. Military provisions

The Treaty of Versailles considerably reduced the military might of Germany. It was compelled to abolish the German general staff and forced to reduce its army to 1 lakh with a small navy and merchant marine, without modern equipments, to be exclusively used only for police administration. The German navy was limited to 6 battleships, 6 light cruisers, 12 destroyers and 12 torpedo boats. As regards the air clauses, the Treaty absolutely forbade naval or military air forces for Germany. The Treaty also imposed restrictions on the manufacture of arms and ammunition. It was also forbidden to manufacture or purchase tanks, armoured cars, poisonous gases and submarines. The Rhineland was permanently demilitarized and Germany was not allowed to maintain or construct any fortifications either on the left bank of the Rhineland or on the right bank to the west of a line drawn 50 kilometres to the east of the Rhine. This meant German troupes were not allowed or maintained in the area and the existing fortifications had to be destroyed. The harbours of the Islands of Heligoland, Dune and Kiel Canal were also to be demilitarized and all fortifications demolished. It was even prevented from exporting and importing war materials. The military services were made voluntary and for 12 years for soldiers and 25 years for officers. The War Guilt clause fixed the blame for the outbreak of the War solely on Germany and its allies.

3. Economic provisions and reparations

The Treaty also aimed at keeping Germany economically weak. The League, therefore, held Germany responsible for the loss and damage caused during the War and asked to pay compensation to the Allied and Associated governments. The provisions of reparations were the final humiliation for the Germans. Though there could be little valid objections to the general principle of reparations, many historians now agree that the actual amount decided by the Reparation Commission was far too high. Germany was to pay reparations for the damage done to the allies and the actual amount was not decided at Versailles.

However, after much argument and haggling it was announced later in 1921. The problem of payment of reparation proved complicated as it was very difficult to arrive at an amount which Germany would pay to the Allies. For that a Reparation Commission was set up and the representatives of Great Britain, USA, Italy, France and Japan were to decide the compensation amount. On 28 April 1921, the Commission assessed the debt of Germany at 6,600 million pounds. This amount led the Germans to protest that it was impossible to pay and they soon began to default their annual installments. The international tension resurfaced when France tried to force the Germans to pay. Eventually, the Allies admitted their mistake and reduced the amount to 2,000 million pounds as per the Young Plan of 1929. But, not before reparations had proved disastrous both economically and politically. This amount was successively scaled down and finally abolished in 1932.

The Treaty also recognized the rights of the Allies to the replacement of all merchant ships and fishing boats lost or damaged in the War (ton for ton and class for class). As per the Reparation Commission, Germany had to deliver large quantities of coal for 10 years to France, Belgium and Italy. It was also to deliver a large number of horses, cattle, sheep, etc., to France and Belgium. All German properties in the former German colonies and in the Allied countries were to be confiscated and its pre-war trading concessions with the signatories like Morocco, Egypt and China were to be abolished. The Rivers Elbe and Oder of Germany were internationalized with a view to provide Switzerland and Czechoslovakia an access to the sea. The Kiel Canal was internationalized and thrown open for all ships of all nations. The Allies also demanded that Germany should allow free passage to merchant and war vessels of all countries.

4. Legal provisions

The Allies also demanded that King Kaiser William II, the emperor of Germany should be tried as a war criminal for committing 'the supreme offence against international morality and the sanctity of treaties'. He was to be tried for these offences by a special tribunal. These provisions however, could not be implemented because the Government of Netherlands refused to surrender the German king Kaiser William II, where he had taken shelter. However, as per the legal provisions within six months of the implementation of the Treaty Germany was to restore all the trophies, archives, historical souvenirs or works of art carried away by her forces from France during the Franco-German War and the World War. Germany was also to compensate the University of Louvain for the destruction of her manuscripts and documents and hand over two paintings to Belgium which were at that time in Germany.

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The Treaty of Versailles was one of the most controversial documents sighed by the nations in modern times. So, the Germans described it as a dictated peace, a Treaty forced upon by the vanquished. Throughout the Conference the representatives did not consult the Germans even once and their objections were completely overruled. Germany was forced to sign the treaty under threat of another invasion of their country. Lloyd George, who consistently advocated a lenient peace with Germany said, 'These terms are written in the blood of fallen heroes. We must carry out the edict of Providence and see that the people who inflicted this war shall never be in a position to do so again. The Germans say that they will not sign. Their newspapers say they will not sign. The politicians say the same thing. We say, Gentlemen, you must sign. If you do not do so in Versailles you shall do so in Berlin'.

Even historian E.H. Carr in *International Relations between two World Wars*, has said, 'Nearly every treaty which brings a war to an end, is in one sense a dictated peace, for a defeated power seldom accepts willingly the consequences of its defeat. But in the Treaty of Versailles the element of dictation was more apparent than in any previous peace treaty of modern times'.

It was, thus, evident that the element of dictation was very much present in the Treaty of Versailles. But this was not something peculiarly confined to this Treaty alone. The revengeful attitude of Germany as manifested in the Treaty of Brest Litovask and the Treaty of Bucharest concluded with Russia and Romania respectively. This further hardened the attitude of the Allies because 'the minds of the German rulers were too clearly revealed by these treaties to permit any illusion'.

Undoubtedly, the peace settlement did not exactly succeed in maintaining peace. The leaders of the Peace Conference wanted Germany to pay heavily so that an event of this magnitude was not repeated. Even Lloyd George, who stood for the lenient treatment of Germany, won the famous *Khaki* election with the slogan, 'We shall hang Kaiser and make Germany pay to the last penny'.

The element of reciprocity was also missing from the Treaty with regard to disarmament, transportation, colonies, abolition of capitulations, punishment of officers, etc. All these provisions were unilaterally applied to Germany alone and the Allies were completely exempted from them. If disarmament was reasonable for Germany, it was obviously reasonable for the Allies. However, except Great Britain, no other Allied power agreed to disarm. If the principles of reciprocity and natural justice had been followed, the Treaty of Versailles would have been a peace of justice. Without reciprocity, it was a Treaty of force and its terms could be executed only so long as the force continued to be applied to make them execute it.

It has been said by the critics of the Treaty that the seeds of the Second World War lay in the Treaty of Versailles. However, no great diplomatic instrument like the Treaty has been modified, revised and infringed in the same way as the Treaty of Versailles. In 1926, Part 1 of the Treaty was amended to enable Germany to get the membership of the League of Nations. Part V dealing with military, navy and air force was violated by Germany in 1935. Part VII dealing with the War criminals was allowed to go by default. Part VIII, dealing with reparation, was modified by the Reparation Commission and other committees in 1931 before it was given a decent burial by the World Economic Conference. Part II and III dealing with the western, northern, and eastern boundary of Germany were violated by Germany. The other steps which infringed the Treaty of Versailles again and again, including promulgation of new military laws by Germany, conclusion of Naval Treaty with Britain in 1935, occupation of Austria by Germany in 1938, and the occupation of Bohemia and Moravia by Germany in 1939. Thus, the Treaty of Versailles proved ineffective in its purpose due to the fact that the Treaty failed to satisfy neither the victors nor the vanquished. The Treaty failed to establish permanent peace, not because of its inherent faults in the Treaty, but it was mainly due to the subsequent policies pursued by the Allied Powers and Germany.

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6.4.2 Other Peace Treaties

Apart from the Treaty of Versailles, four other treaties were also signed with the Allied Power by Germany.

1. The Treaty of St. Germain

When Austria was on the verge of defeat in the War the Habsburg Empire disintegrated as various states declared themselves independent. Austria and Hungary separated and declared themselves republics. Therefore, many important decisions had already been taken before the Peace Conference. However, the situation was chaotic and the task of the Conference was to formalize and recognize what had taken place. The Treaty of St. Germain was signed with Austria on 10 September 1919 and was to a large extent modeled on the Treaty of Versailles. The Peace Conference by this Treaty recognized the independence of Hungary, Poland and Yugoslavia. By this Treaty Austria lost Bohemia and Moravia which were wealthy industrial provinces with a population of 10 million to the new state of Czechoslovakia.

Countries like Dalmatia, Bosnia, Herzegovina merged with Serbia. Serbia with Montenegro became known as Yugoslavia. Austria also lost Bukovina to Romania, Galicia to the reconstituted state of Poland and the South Tyrol, Trentino, Istria and Trieste to Italy. Thus, three-fourth of the territory and people got detached from Austria. The Treaty also forbade the Union between Austria and Germany and greatly curtailed the military and navy of Austria. Its army was reduced to 30,000 volunteers and navy was reduced to 3 police boats on the Danube. Austria assented to a blank reparation cheque and acknowledged the rights of the Allies Powers to try Austrian war criminals. Then it was accorded access to the Adriatic Sea across the territories that formerly formed part of the Habsburg domain.

2. The Treaty of Neuilly

This Treaty was signed on 27 November 1919 with Bulgaria. According to the terms of the Treaty of Neuilly, the western part of Bulgaria which was inhabited by a large majority of Bulgarians was ceded to Yugoslavia. Western Trace and the Aegean coasts were handed over to Greece though Bulgaria was guaranteed access to the Aegean Sea. As per the Treaty of Neuilly the army of Bulgaria was reduced to 33,000 men and its navy was practically abolished. It was, however, allowed for police and fishery duties 4 Torpedo boats and 6 motor boats but a condition was fixed that these boats were to be without Torpedo and its apparatus.

Bulgaria accepted reparation obligations and the reparations were finally fixed at 9 million dollar in 37 years commencing from 1 January 1921. The Treaty thus deprived Bulgaria of 2750 square miles of territory and 3 lakh people.

The historians believed that these peace settlements were not a conspicuous success and they actually divided Europe into the states which wanted a revised settlement, among whom Germany being the main one, and those which wanted to preserve it the way it was. On the whole, there was lukewarm support to the latter.

NOTES

However, the Unites States could not rectify the settlement and was unable to join the League of Nations. France was completely disillusioned with the whole thing as the Anglo-American guarantee of her frontiers mentioned in the Agreement could not be executed. Italy also felt cheated as it did not receive all the promised territory in 1915, and Russia was ignored because the powers did not want to negotiate with it. Because of this, Germany was only temporarily weakened and was soon strong enough to cause problems. All this tended to sabotage the settlement from the beginning and it became highly difficult to apply the terms fully.

3. The Treaty of Trianon

This Treaty was signed with the national government of Hungary at Trianon on 20 June 1920. By this Treaty, the ancient Magyar kingdom was dissolved into its ethnic components. This Treaty was not signed until 1920 because of the political uncertainties in the capital city of Budapest. The communists led by Belakun seized power and were then overthrown. According to the Treaty, Slovakia and Ruthenia were given to Czechoslovakia, Croatia and Slovenia to Yugoslavia, and Transylvania and the *Banat* of Temeswar to Romania.

Like Austria, the Treaty left Hungary with serious economic consequences. It was as badly affected like Germany and Austria. Its population reduced from 21 million to 7.5 million and some of its richest corn land was lost to Romania. Situation worsened when all the new states quickly introduced import and export duties. These hampered the flow of trade through the whole Danube area and made the industrial recovery difficult. Hungary's army was reduced to 35,000 men and its navy was curtailed to a few petrol boats. It was held responsible for war guilts and had to pay war reparations. This Treaty of Trianon also sowed the seeds of the acute racial disturbances and animosities which occurred later.

4. The Treaty of Sevres

This Treaty was signed with Turkey on 10 August 1920, although it actually came into force on 6 August 1924. This Treaty was also modelled on the Treaty of Versailles. According to the terms of the Treaty of Sevres, Asia Minor, Trace, Adrinople and Gallipole were given to Greece. Syria was delivered to France. Palestine and Mesopotamia were given to Great Britain. The king of Hejjaj was declared independent and the state of Turkey was restricted within the Asia Minor. As per the Agreement Turkey's army was reduced to 50,000 and it surrendered all its air force to the Allies.

The Turkish ports of Constantinople and Alexandria were placed under international control. Although Turkey was charged with war guilt the reparation claims were waived in its case. The huge loss of territory, especially Smyrna on the Turkish mainland, outraged the Turkish national feeling led by Mustafa Kemal. They rejected the Treaty and chased the Greeks out of Smyrna. The Italians and France withdrew their occupying forces from the Straits area leaving only British troupes at Chanak. Eventually a compromise was reached and the settlement was revised by the Treaty of Lausanne of 1923 by which Turkey regained Eastern Thrace including Constantinople and Smyrna. It was, therefore, the first state to challenge the Paris Peace Settlement successfully. The Treaty also uplifted the limitations imposed on the Turkish navy and military. Turkey also became independent in the economic sphere.

Check Your Progress

5. Fill in the blanks with appropriate words:
   (a) The First World War which continued for _____ years and three months, involved mobilization of 65 million men of whom 7 million died and 13 million were wounded.
   (b) The Treaty of _____ was signed between the Allies and Germany on 28 June 1919.
   (c) The Treaty of St. Germain was signed with _____ on 10 September 1919.
   (d) The Treaty of _____ was signed with Turkey.

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ACTIVITY

Prepare a detailed report on the First World War. Also, find out the achievements and failures of the League of Nations.

DID YOU KNOW?

In the First World War, more than 70 million military personnel, including 60 million Europeans, were mobilized—making it thus, one of the largest wars in history.

6.5 SUMMARY

In this unit, you have learnt that:

- The Industrial Revolution in Europe leading to the search for newer markets and sources of raw material, the growth of modern means of transport, new found consciousness of nationalism and spread of trade and commerce led to fierce competition among the countries.
- The competing nations soon started building alliances to serve their common interests and protect their territories from rival powers. The objective of improving economic situation expanded into the act of raising a strong army and huge military build-up to safeguard the newly acquired territories and markets.
- The First World War, which was fought on global scale, was a major war centered in Europe. This War began in 1914 and lasted until 1918, for a period of four years and three months, and had its impact practically on all the countries and regions of the world.
- The War involved all the great powers of the world, which were divided into two opposing alliances that were the Allies and the Central Powers.
- More than 70 million military personnel, including 60 million Europeans, were mobilized in this War and more than 9 million combatants were killed, largely because of enormous increase in lethality of weapons, without corresponding improvements in protection or mobility.
- Though the immediate cause of the First World War was the murder of Archduke Francis Ferdinand, the fundamental causes for the outbreak of the First World War were many like the imperialistic foreign policies of the great powers of Europe, including Germany, Austro-Hungary, Turkey, Russia, Great Britain, France and Italy; the growth of narrow nationalism, militarism and economic imperialism were also responsible for creating an enabling atmosphere for the War. Finally, the system of secret military alliances, race for armaments, international negotiations and the occurrence of a series of international crisis made the World War inevitable.
- The Fourteen Points of Woodrow Wilson were: (i) Eradication of secret diplomacy, (ii) Free navigation facilities at sea for all nations in war and peace,

NOTES

(iii) All round reduction of armaments, (iv) Elimination of economic barriers between states, (v) Evacuation of Russian territory, (vi) Re-establishment of Belgium, (vii) Liberation of France and restoration of Alsace-Lorraine, (viii) Readjustment of Italian frontiers along the lines of nationality, (ix) Impartial adjustment of colonial claims in the interest of the populations concerned, (x) Self-government for the people of Austria-Hungary, (xi) Evacuation from Romania, Serbia and Montenegro, and Serbia giving access to the sea, (xii) An independent Poland with secure access to the sea, (xiii) A general association of the nations to preserve peace, (xiv) Self-government for the non-Turkish people of the Turkish empire and permanent opening of the Dardanelles.

- The First World War posed a serious threat to the educational system of that time as many educational institutions were forcibly closed down and students were encouraged to undergo military training to provide the necessary fighting force for the War.
- The Treaty of Versailles was signed between the Allies and Germany on 28 June 1919. The draft of the Treaty was presented to the German Foreign Minister on 7 May 1919 and Germany was given three weeks time to file written objections if any. On 29 May, objections to the Treaty were received from Germany.
- The Treaty of St. Germain was signed with Austria on 10 September 1919 and was to a large extent modelled on the Treaty of Versailles. The Peace Conference by this Treaty recognized the independence of Hungary, Poland and Yugoslavia.
- The Treaty of Trianon was signed with the national government of Hungary at Trianon on 20 June 1920. By this Treaty, the ancient Magyar kingdom was dissolved into its ethnic components.
- The Treaty of Sevres was signed with Turkey on 10 August 1920, although it actually came into force on 6 August 1924. This Treaty was also modelled on the Treaty of Versailles.
- The Treaty of Neuilly was signed on 27 November 1919 with Bulgaria.

6.6 KEY TERMS

- **Balkan League:** During the Balkan War of 1912, Greece, Bulgaria, Serbia and Montenegro were known as the Balkan League; they attacked Turkey and captured most of its remaining territory in Europe
- **Balkan Peninsula:** This is the most easterly of the three large peninsulas which form the southern extremities of the European continent. Its area, 184,779 square metre, is about 35,000 square metre less than that of the Siberian Peninsula, but more than twice that of the Italian
- **Dreadnought:** The British battleship which was launched in 1906
- ***Entente Cordiale:*** This was an understanding reached by France and Britain in April 1904, which settled outstanding colonial disputes
- **Imperialism:** creation and/or maintenance of an unequal economic, cultural, and territorial relationship, usually between states and often in the form of an empire, based on domination and subordination

NOTES

- **Industrial Revolution:** It is the name given by historians to the period in history when there was significant and rapid change in the way things were made, produced or manufactured
- **Internationalism:** This is a policy or practice of cooperation among nations, especially in politics and economic matters
- ***Italia Irredenta:*** The term means unredeemed Italy and refers to an Italian patriotic and political party, which was of importance in the last quarter of the nineteenth century
- **League of Nations:** A world organization established in 1920 to promote international cooperation and peace
- **Militarism:** A strong military spirit or policy or the principle or policy of maintaining a large military establishment
- **Splendid isolation:** A policy followed by Britain through the late nineteenth century, characterizing a non-participation in European matters
- **Treaty:** A treaty is an express agreement under international law entered into by actors in international law, namely, sovereign states and international organizations
- **Triple Entente:** This was the name given to the alliance among France, Britain and Russia after the Anglo-Russian Entente was signed in 1907
- ***Weltpolitik:*** This term meant "world policy" and referred to the policy adopted by Kaiser Wilhelm II of Germany in 1897, and replaced the earlier "Realpolitik" approach

6.7 ANSWERS TO 'CHECK YOUR PROGRESS'

1. (a) 1914; 1918; (b) Triple Entente
2. (a) True; (b) False
3. (a) Poland, Estonia, Lithuania, Latvia and Czechoslovakia; (b) Devaluation
4. (a) True; (b) True
5. (a) Four; (b) Versailles; (c) Austria; (d) Sevres

6.8 QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Short-Answer Questions

1. Write a short note on the causes that led to the First World War.
2. What do you under by the Weltpolitik? How was it significant in the First World War?
3. Explain the provisions of Treaty of Sevres in detail.
4. What were the main provisions laid down in the Treaty of Versailles?
5. What was the economic impact of the First World War?
6. 'The Treaty of St. Germain was signed with Austria on 10 September 1919 and was to a large extent modeled on the Treaty of Versailles.' Elaborate.

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Long-Answer Questions

1. Give reasons and causes for the outbreak of the First World War.
2. Discuss the series of international crises that led to the First World War.
3. Explain the course of the First World War.
4. Discuss Fourteen Points announced by President Woodrow Wilson.
5. Discuss the impact of the First World War.
6. Write a short note on the following:
   (a) Treaty of Versailles
   (b) The Treaty of St. Germain
   (c) The Treaty of Trianon
   (d) The Treaty of Sevres
   (e) The Treaty of Neuilly

6.9 FURTHER READING

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UNIT 7 RUSSIAN REVOLUTION

Structure

7.0 Introduction
7.1 Unit Objectives
7.2 Russian Revolution: Causes and Course
  7.2.1 Causes for the Outbreak of the Revolution
  7.2.2 Course of the Russian Revolution
  7.2.3 Lenin's Leadership
7.3 Economic and Social Reconstruction in Soviet Union under Lenin and Stalin
  7.3.1 The Communist Party and its Socio-Economic Policies
  7.3.2 Framing of the Constitution
  7.3.3 Impact of the Russian Revolution
  7.3.4 Russia under Stalin
  7.3.5 Socio-Economic Reconstruction of Soviet Union under Stalin
  7.3.6 Socio-Political Changes under Stalin
  7.3.7 Changes in Soviet Society under the Communists
7.4 Summary
7.5 Key Terms
7.6 Answers to 'Check Your Progress'
7.7 Questions and Exercises
7.8 Further Reading

7.0 INTRODUCTION

One of the important causes of the February Revolution was the military setback suffered by the Russian Army during the First World War. The losses suffered by Russia in the First World War played a definite role in the mutinies and revolts that began to occur. Russian soldiers, with low morale, began to fraternize with the enemy. However, the Tsar Nicholas II, the last Emperor of Russia, insisted on ruling as an autocrat. He had comprehensively failed to deal adequately with the problems facing the country.

Social unrest and public discontent against the government reached a climax, leading to the Russian Revolution in 1917. The Revolution in February destroyed the Tsarist autocracy and resulted in the creation of the Soviet Union under a provisional government. Soon Russia witnesses a period of dual power. In the dual power system, the provisional government held state power; whereas the national network of Soviets, led by socialists, had the allegiance of the lower classes and the political left. During this disordered phase, mutinies, protests and strikes became the order of the day. Finally, in the October Revolution, the Bolshevik party, under the leadership of Vladimir Lenin, deposed the provisional government. Besides the developments during the First World War, there were many other causes of the Russian Revolution.

The Russian Revolution is considered as one of the most significant events in human history. As already mentioned, it led to the end of the Tsarist rule and the establishment of a Republic. It is credited with transforming a deprived Tsarist Russia into a super power, under Lenin, Stalin and other leaders. The Revolution challenged the values of Western culture such as democracy and capitalism. The Revolution had instilled a feeling of empowerment in the proletariat and created a fear of the proletariat power among the capitalists all over the world. It was being claimed that the proletariat

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had nothing to lose, but everything to gain. The influence of Marxism could be seen in people. Its impact was felt in the basic principles of trade and industry; the systems of governance; the methods of diplomacy; and the social, economic and political institutions. It had an irresistible appeal to the proletarians and hence struck terror in the capitalists' minds throughout the world. As far as the economic field is concerned, the Russian Revolution led to the emergence of concepts like economic planning or Five-Year Plans and the centralization of the national economy.

In this unit, you will learn about the various aspects of the Russian Revolution (February Revolution and the October or Bolshevik Revolution) of 1917.

7.1 UNIT OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to:

- Discuss the causes, course and impact of the Russian Revolution
- Discuss Lenin's and Stalin's policies
- Explain the various changes under the Communist

7.2 RUSSIAN REVOLUTION: CAUSES AND COURSE

The First World War placed an unbearable strain on Russia's weak government and economy, resulting in hunger mass shortages. In the meantime, the mismanagement and failures of the war turned people, and particularly soldiers, against the Tsar. The soldiers felt that Tsar's decision to take personal command of the army was responsible for their defeat. The revolution against the Tsars began in Petrograd by the workers in response to the shortage of bread. People believed that the government was hoarding bread in order to increase the prices. However, a revolt by the workers', by itself, was unlikely to result in the Tsars' abdication.

An important phase of the revolution was the mutiny of the Petrograd garrison and the loss of control over Petrograd by the Tsar. In March 1917, the Tsar first lost control of the streets, then of soldiers, and finally of the Duma, which resulted in his forced abdication. The Marxist historians have grossly exaggerated the extent of political involvement in the Revolution, and it would be fair to say that only at a very late stage of the Revolution did the socialist political parties became involved. When it became clear that the Duma was also ineffective, the unrest for bread shortages increased and culminated in two revolutions in 1917.

The first revolution in February overthrew the Tsar on 15 March 1917, and set up a moderate provisional government. Nicholas II, his wife Tsarina Aleksandra, and his children were killed by the Bolsheviks in July 1918. Meanwhile, when the provisional government also failed to live up to the expectations and proved no better than the rule of Tsars, it was overthrown by the Bolshevik Revolution in October 1917.

Ominous Beginning of Nicholas' Rule

Nicholas's rule began on ominous notes. As the future Tsarina Aleksandra first appeared officially in Russia during Alexander III's funeral, people said, 'She arrives behind a coffin, she will bring bad luck.'

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To mark the coronation of a new Tsar, it was the Russian tradition to offer food and drink to the masses. When Nicholas came to the throne, about 700,000 people were assembled in Khodynskoe field to celebrate it, but a stampede occurred and 2000 people were crushed to death.

The new Bolshevik government was fragile at first and its opponent—Whites tried to destroy it, causing a bitter civil war in 1918–20. But, due to the effective leadership of Lenin and Trotsky, the Bolsheviks or Reds won the civil war and called themselves the Communists. Later, they consolidated their power and Lenin was able to begin the task of leading Russia to recovery until his premature death in 1924.

The Russian Revolution of 1917, which is popularly known as the Bolshevik Revolution, is one of the most significant events in the history of the twentieth century. It is considered as significant as the French Revolution. In fact, some Marxian historians rank the Russian Revolution even higher than the French Revolution. They contend that while the French Revolution put an end to the autocratic rule and paved the way for the growth of democratic sentiments and ideals of political equality, the Russian Revolution apart from bringing about political equality also sought to bring about social and economic equality. It gave a new current to the thoughts of Communism and Socialism which sought to create a new society, culture and civilization. It asserted that the real power of society must rest in the workers because they alone produce national wealth. The Russian Revolution was also important because it was the first attempt to give practical shape to the doctrines and theories of Marx, and it was the most important effect of the First World War.

The Russian Revolution was the result of a series of events that occurred during 1917, which caused two separate revolutions in February and October, with a great deal of political wranglings in-between and which eventually plunged the country into civil war before leading to the formation of the Communist State.

7.2.1 Causes for the Outbreak of the Revolution

In February 1917, the Russian Revolution was an important event in the course of Russian history. It has complex causes, nature and effect and is critical to twentieth century international historical analysis. Even the major causes of this unrest of the common people towards Tsar Nicholas II and aristocratic landowners are numerous and complicated.

However, there were various factors and forces which were responsible for the Russian Revolution in 1917. The main factors were the series of bad judgements by the Tsar, the resentment at the cruel treatment of peasants by the landowners, experience of poor working conditions by labourers and workers in industries, and an increasing sense of political and social awareness of the people in general because of democratic ideas that reached Russia from the west. Proletarian dissatisfaction was further combined by some immediate events of the time like shortages of food and successive military failures.

I. Series of bad judgements by the Tsar

The Tsar system failed due to incorrect moves and judgments made by the Tsar. During World War I, the troops were busy battling Germany due to which it was not possible to send forces to war against the Russian revolutionaries. The Tsar did not estimate the magnitude of the revolts in Petrograd properly. His generals tried convincing him that

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the situation could only be tackled by the Duma. Strict censorship laws were imposed and all political dissidence was suppressed. These added to the reasons for the Revolution. These events resulted in the collapse of the autocratic system that had existed for centuries, and made the Russians miserable.

The Revolution began as a peaceful bread protest on International Women's Day. It was not the poor harvest that was responsible for the shortage of bread but the burden on the railways. Due to the war, the railways were overloaded and were not in a position to deliver grains to areas in the north. By the middle of February, Petrograd had just enough flour to last for ten days. The army recruited all the skilled labourers whereas the rail network was divided into segments under the control of the government and the military. This only added fuel to the public's belief that bread was being hoarded by the government in order to raise prices. The outcome was that the Tsarist rule invited a lot of public wrath and became highly unpopular because it was unable to supply, deliver and distribute food.

The suffering and discontented masses took the form of unruly mobs with support to their protest being lent by demonstrations by the factory workers of Petrograd, who were more militant in nature. In addition, the labourers of Putilov steel works and the textile workers went on strike. The crowd grew in number to more than 200,000 within a matter of three days. It looked more like a public revolt, an uprising, instead of a simple workers' protest or strike. Of course, the workers did play a significant role and were quite active in the demonstrations. In general, the protest transformed into a peasants' revolt with the disturbed crowd often getting violent.

Tsar Nicholas II himself believed in autocratic principles. His ministers like Pleve had dictatorial powers who continued the old policy of russification, persecution and reaction. The wife of Pleve and the Queen who was under the influence of Rasputin, a reactionary, interfered in the affairs of administration in 1902. A group of intellectuals who were influenced by the Western ideas published a paper called 'Liberation and in 1904'. These intellectuals also formed a party known as Union Liberator. In the same year, the autocratic minister Pleve was assassinated. For all these reasons, Tsar Nicholas II thought of changing his policy and appointed Mirski, a man of liberal ideas, as the Home Minister. The press was given greater freedom.

In November 1904, the representatives of Zemstvos or provincial assemblies met at St. Petersburg. They demanded freedom of conscience, speech, publication, public meeting and associations. They also demanded for a Parliament for the whole country empowered to pass all the laws and control the government. The Tsar did not concede the demands of common people and the discontentment continued to grow among the people. The students of the University of Moscow paraded the streets and shouted slogans — 'down with autocracy' and 'stop the war'. On 22 January, 1905, several workers led by Gapon headed in the direction of royal with a petition for the Tsar listing out their complaints and grievances. The royal troupes opened fire at them to stop them. While many died, there were strikes in different parts of the country. The event went down in history as the 'Slaughter of Bloody Sunday'. As a result, there was a revolt within the army and the general Duke Sergus, uncle to the Tsar, was murdered. At last, Tsar Nicholas II was forced to issue a Manifesto in October 1905.

International Women's Day's Connection with the Russian Revolution

International Women's Day (8 March) is celebrated by women's groups across the globe. The idea of a day like this germinated at the dawn of the century. As per a

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declaration by the Socialist Party of America, on 28 February, 1909, National Women's Day was celebrated for the very first time across the United States. Women continued the tradition, celebrating on the last Sunday of February. While the First World War was on, Russian women celebrated the first International Women's Day on the last Sunday of February 1913. Following the death of 2 million Russian in the War, Russian women once again decided to strike for 'bread and peace' on the last Sunday of February (23 February as per the Julian calendar being followed by the Russians, and 8 March according to the Gregorian calendar used elsewhere) 1917. Though politicians disapproved of the time of the strike, it did not stop the women from striking. Four days later, the Tsar was forced to step down, and the provisional government gave women the right to exercise their vote.

It was not protesting workers alone who transformed a mass-demonstration into a revolution. The government in Petrograd had also lost its power and authority when the forces from the garrison at Petrograd rose in mutiny in response to carnage at Znamenskii Square. A popular location for rallies and political gatherings, this Square was witness to a massacre when the forces of the Pavlovskii Guard Regiment opened fire at a crowd that refused to dissolve. Forty civilians lost their lives forcing the angry garrison of Petrograd to rise in mutiny. In the absence of a leader, despite transfer of power to the workers to some extent, a revolution was bound to happen. In fact, if the Tsar had acted appropriately and on time, the growth of a small rebellion into a major revolution could have been avoided.

The revolt required an organization's support and guidance to succeed. However, unfortunately, several leaders of political parties who had hoped to benefit from the revolt were in exile. A majority of the socialists did not see a revolution happening as foreseen by Lenin who had been doubtful of being witness to a revolution. As socialist revolutionary, Sergei Mstislavsky, had aptly stated, 'the revolution had surely come as a surprise, as if it had sprung on the members of the party when they were asleep'. When the February revolution was still in an immature stage, there was hardly any political involvement, especially from the socialists. Political parties kept themselves abreast of the goings on by getting information from each other over the telephone. The absence of organization was quite clear. The revolution of February 1917 cannot really be called a political revolution with total chaos and disarray of the socialist parties being its highlights.

Even the political parties could not really affirm that the protests were political. According to Alexander Gavrilovich Shliapnikov, who was a Russian communist revolutionary known for his memoirs of the October Revolution of 1917, the crowd seemed happy with their bread and were willing to dissolve and go away once they got that. Even the Tsar doubted whether these minor protests would take the form of a revolution. He hardly paid any heed to the reports that came from Petrograd dismissing them as nonsense. However, when he was informed of the worsening protests, which took on the form of a rebellion, he ordered that the Duma be dissolved, on 28 February 1917. He sent forces against the protestors. In response, the Duma created an executive committee while the soldiers and workers got together to form a Soviet, which acted as a rival to the Duma, in the left wing of the Tauride Palace.

The Soviet was powerful enough to control the streets but it was not legally authorized to rule. The Duma on the other hand, was legally authorized to rule but had no control over the streets. By his delayed response to the protests, the Tsar proved that a power base had come up in the Soviet, with which a collaboration of the autocratic system could not happen. There could be only two possibilities — either a full revolution

NOTES

or full military suppression by armies already stretched too much. Full control by the military seemed a little far-fetched because of the ongoing war with Germany. If forces were called back from the war front to contain the revolutionaries, they would have to definitely face defeat from the Germans. The Tsar ordered General Ivanov to send forces to Petrograd and help bring back law and order in the capital. Neither General Ivanov nor the Tsar could estimate the degree of revolutionary activities. Only after a consultation with General Khabalov did General Ivanov get the real picture. Khabalov informed Ivanov that the revolutionaries had taken over the city and arrested the ministers. This information led Ivanov to realize the futility of the offensive. However, the decision had been made, and Tsar hardly had any other option but to step down. As Rodzianko also confirmed, the rebels would not settle for anything less than the Tsar's resignation.

With no let up in the frequency of strikes and mutinies, supplies at the front were being cut. It was feared that the chaos and disturbance in the capital would impact the front, which was not very far away. If that happened, there was a possibility of mass desertion within the army. The Tsar's generals advised Nicholas to step down for the sake of saving Russia's war effort. They felt it would satiate those who had risen in mutiny in Petrograd. Nicholas consented to resign and at first declared Alexis, his son, as his successor.

Yet another factor that led to the fall of the Tsar was that fact that he relied too much on a psychic called Rasputin, who was also a mystic and healer. He has his own unusual methods of curing people of diseases and dealing with human sins. When Alexis was suffering from hemophilia, the Tsarina was suggested that Rasputin be consulted since the doctors were unsuccessful in treating her son. Rasputin managed to somehow provide some relief to Alexis, albeit temporarily. This allowed him entry into the Russian court as an advisor to the Tsars. Being a womanizer, he received a lot of flak at the hands of Russian journalists who criticized his debauchery. Soon, because of him, the subjects started losing confidence in the Tsar. His proximity to Alexandra, the German-born wife of Nicholas, especially when her husband was away, did not go down well with the subjects. They believed that Rasputin was given powers that he did not deserve. Despite Rasputin's assurance that Alexis would recover, Nicholas' son did not improve. As a result, Nicholas gave up hope and declared Mikhail, his brother as his successor. However, on discovering that the Soviet was dead against the Romanov dynasty's reign, Mikhail declined the position putting an end to autocracy and Tsarist regime in Russia.

The February revolution, which start as a minor rebellion grew into a general revolt, all because of the active and significant role played by the workers. The sympathy of the farmers and the soldiers, and the ensuing mutiny snatched the power from the Tsar and handed it to the Soviet and the Duma. The Tsar's inability to judge the situation, his underestimation of the intensity of the revolution and the impact of war proved that he was not capable of suppressing the revolution. When he also failed to restore normalcy in Petrograd, it was suggested that he should step down, which he did in March 1917. His abdication, brought the more than three centuries old Romanov reign in Russia to an end.

It is interesting to note that the city of Petrograd was first known as St. Petersburg. This name was dropped later after the war with Prussia because the term 'burg' was seen as too German. During 1918, the communists were keen on getting rid of any Tsarist legacies, and Petrograd became Leningrad in the honour of Vladimir Lenin. Later in 1991, the name of St. Petersburg was restored to the city.

II. Economic causes

NOTES

Economic factors like poverty, misery and exploitation of the masses by the nobility played a major role in the Revolution. In the industrial sphere, Russia was backward and depended only on foreign capital. Because of the industrialization, a number of factories were set up in Russia. A large number of peasants left their jobs to take up jobs at these factories. However, the conditions of work in these factories were quite miserable. They had to work far long hours at deplorable wages. They had to go without any medical relief in case of an accident while on duty. They did not even have a weekly holiday. The workers were not permitted to form trade unions to bargain for better service condition and better salaries, and it was considered a crime to form trade unions. As a result, their economic condition was weak. The concentration of a large number of a dissatisfied workers gave rise to the feeling of political consciousness and contributed to anti-Tsarist sentiments.

The condition of peasants was not better. Russia was mainly a backward agricultural country before the Revolution. The royal family, the nobility and the clergy owned most of the agricultural land. The peasants had a very small land holding. Many of them had to earn their livelihood from that small piece of land. In addition to this, they had to make use of primitive tools and methods of cultivation which were not very effective or productive. As a result of this, the poor peasants became poorer because massive sums of rent, tax and tributes were to be paid by them to their landlords every year. Moreover, no attempt was made by the government to improve these conditions.

Due to the above economic factors there was an imbalance in the social structure. Due to this, 70 per cent of the Russian population was illiterate. The social structure of Russia was completely devoid of education, medical relief, and public health. Above all the system prevailing in Russia made Russian social life, highly miserable, inhuman and wretched. This created great discontent among the factory workers and farmers who in order to end this economic and social system were ready to revolt against the Tsarist Government.

III. Political causes

Political factors also formed an important cause of the Russian Revolution of 1917. Politically, Russia was subjected to autocratic rule of Tsar Nicholas II, who ruled the country in a ruthless and oppressive manner. No doubt as a result of the 1905 Revolution, a parliament had been established in Russia but sovereignty still rested in the hands of the Tsar and his henchmen. There were no constitutional checks on the authority of the Tsar and the people suffered under the autocratic rule. Even the church extended full support to the autocratic rule of the Tsars through the theory of divine rights of kings. Henchmen surrounding the Tsar were also in favour of the autocratic rule and opposed all kinds of reforms.

The Tsar also secured the support of the army by providing them numerous facilities which enabled them to lead a comfortable life. The masses on the other hand had no legal means of improving the social structure. A strike was considered to be a mutiny. The people had no media to ventilate their grievances. All this was naturally resented by the common people who wanted a democratic system of government on the pattern of western democracies be introduced in Russia. People also insisted on an effective share

NOTES

in the government of the country, and pleaded for the freedom of speech and press as well as equality before law, However, Tsar Nicholas II turned down these demands.

People demonstrated against this ruthless, absolute and repressive Tsarist government in 1905. A peaceful demonstration at St. Petersburg was fired upon by the Tsarist troops. This incident further alienated people from Tsar Nicholas II. Widespread strikes, riots and the famous mutiny on the Battleship Potemkin ensued. Such was the climate in 1905 that Tsar Nicholas saw fit, against his will, to cede the people their wishes. In his October Manifesto, Nicholas II created Russia's first constitution and the Duma, an elected parliamentary body. The Duma (Parliament) had limited powers so it could not intervene immediately in matters relating to the Tsar. Later the growing discontent among the masses manifested itself in all aspects of national life. Till that time the working class became highly receptive to Marxist ideas infiltrating into Russia.

In 1893, the Social Democratic Party was founded and in 1903, this party was split into two; the Bolsheviks led by Nikolai Lenin, and the Mensheviks led by Martov. While the former was revolutionary and supported by Stalin, the latter was evolutionary and was supported by Trotsky. Therefore by 1917, the ground was fully prepared against the Tsar and the growing discontentment among the common people was waiting to burst and turn into a violent revolution. Therefore, historians have observed that the perversity of the Tsar and his blindness to the potential strength of the new forces, which were surging round him, produced the Revolution.

IV. Impact of liberal Western ideas

The material revolution in Russia was followed by a revolution in the realm of liberal thoughts and ideas. The Russian intellectuals were now divided between the two opposing groups of slavophiles and westernizers. Peter the Great was a westernizer much ahead of his times and that is why influences of Western culture are still apparent in St. Petersburg, a city created under him. The slavophiles and westernizers had completely opposite views on the Russian civilization and how it was to be carried forward. The slavophiles believed in the superiority of the Russian culture over the Western culture, and though they supported the emancipation of serfs and valued the freedom of speech and press, they still believed in an autocratic form of government. The westernizers, as the name suggests, were of the view that western technology and ideals of democracy should be adopted by Russia to march on the road to success. They also believed in socialism, liberalism and political radicalism.

Large number of Russians especially the middle class came in contact with the ideas of progressive writers and they were particularly influenced by the writing of Karl Marx who pleaded for the abolition of capitalism and establishment of a regime where power would be in the hands of the workers and the labourers. The other notable writers and intellectuals whose writings influenced the Russians included Tolstoy, Turgnev and Dostovesky. These writings revolutionized the minds of the Russians in such a way that the educated and the enlightened people called the support of the intelligentsia and demanded political reforms along Western lines. On the other hand, the radicals and the followers of Marx and Bukanin stood for socialism. The Russians at the same time also came in contact with the Western ideas of democracy.

During the First World War, the Allies declared that they are fighting the War for the welfare of general people. The Russians were greatly impressed by this declaration and were determined to fight for the establishment of people's rule in their country. As a result of the 1905 Revolution in Russia people were assured of some sort

NOTES

of participation in the administration of the country. However, it was not conceded. So the people were determined to get this in actual practice. Under these circumstances nationalism also made its way into Russia which aimed at destroying everything in the existing order of the country. As a consequence of the above factors, demands started becoming louder for the establishment of constitutional and liberal form of government in Russia.

V. Emergence of revolutionary parties

After 1912, various revolutionary parties, especially the Bolsheviks and Mensheviks, fortune revived. Both these groups developed from an earlier Marxist movement, the Social Democrat Labour Party, and Karl Marx's ideas influenced them. Karl Marx was a German Jew (1818–83) and his political ideas were mentioned in the *Communist Manifesto* in 1848, and *Das Kapital* in 1867. According to Karl Marx economic factors are the main reason for the historical change and that the capitalists bourgeoisie exploited proletariat (workers) everywhere. It contended that in a fully industrialized society, workers will 'inevitably rise against their exploiters and take control themselves, running the country in their interests'. According to Marx this was 'the dictatorship of the proletariat'.

Vladimir Lenin was one of the social democrat, who helped edit the revolutionary newspaper *Iskra* (The Spark). In 1903 over an election to the editorial board of *Iskra* the party had split into Lenin supporters, the Bolsheviks, the Russian word for the majority and the rest, the Mensheviks means the minority. The Bolsheviks wanted a small-disciplined party of professional revolutionaries who would work full time to bring about revolution, because the industrial workers were in a minority in the country. Therefore, Lenin believed that they must work with the peasants as well, and get them involved in revolutionary activity. The Mensheviks, on the other hand, were happy to have party membership open to anybody who cared to join. They believed that a revolution could not take place in Russia until the country was fully industrialized, and industrial workers were in a big majority over peasants. They had little faith in cooperation from peasants who were actually one of the most conservative groups in society. The Mensheviks were the strict Marxists, believing in a proletarian revolution, whereas Lenin was the one moving away from Marxism.

The Social Revolutionaries were another revolutionary party. They were not Marxists and they did not approve of increasing industrialization, and did not think in terms of a proletarian revolution. After the Tsarist regime, they wanted an agrarian society based on peasant communities operating collectively.

VI. Military debacle in the First World War

The military debacle suffered by Russia during the First World War also provided a great impetus to the revolutionary movement in Russia. Historians also agree that Russian failures in the War made the revolution certain and caused the troops and the police to mutiny, as there was nobody left to defend the autocracy. The common people held the Tsar responsible for the miseries suffered by Russia. The suffering caused due to shortage of food and heavy loses of life and money further agitated their minds. They appealled to the Tsar to bring the necessary improvement in the condition by assuming personal responsibility for the affairs of the government. However, the Tsar did not bother about the demand and indulged in fanciful luxuries. His officials also ignored the wishes and interests of the people. All this forced the people to think in terms of getting rid of the Tsar and this made the Revolution inevitable.

NOTES

The War also exposed the incompetence of the government, corrupt organization, shortage of equipment and poor transportation and distribution system in the country. Although there was plenty of food in the country during the War, it did not reach the big cities in sufficient quantities, because most of the trains were being monopolized by the military. Bread was scarce and very expensive. By January 1917, most groups in the society were disillusioned with the incompetent way the Tsar was running the War. Sensing the outcome of the War, the aristocracy, the Duma, industrialists, and the army began to turn against the Tsar Nicholas II, realizing that it would be better to sacrifice the Tsar to avoid a revolution that might damage the entire social structure.

7.2.2 Course of the Russian Revolution

The first important event of the Revolution in Russia was the March Revolution or the February Revolution. It was a chaotic affair and it marked the termination of over a century of civil and military unrest. It is important to mention that the March and November revolutions are till date known as the February and October revolutions in Russia. This is so as the Julian calendar was being used by the Russians, which was 13 days behind the Gregorian calendar which was used by the rest of Europe, and in 1918 Russia adopted the Gregorian calendar.

In 1905, Russia suffered humiliating losses in the Russo-Japanese War and, during a demonstration against the War in the same year, firing was opened by the Tsarist troops on an unarmed crowd and this further isolated Nicholas II from his people. Not only were there strikes and riots but also a mutiny on the battleship Potemkin. The atmosphere was so tense in 1905 that Tsar Nicholas had no option but to give in to the wishes of his subjects. Nicholas was responsible for creating the first Constitution of Russia as well as the State Duma, which was an elected parliamentary body in the Tsar's October Manifesto. However, in trying to safeguard his 'divine right' to reign in Russia, Tsar Nicholas ended up spending a lot of time and effort to check the Duma's powers so that autocracy could be retained to the maximum possible extent. In 1914, following the assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand by Serbian political activists, the empire of Austria-Hungary waged war against its neighbours. The Serbians turned to the Russians for support. This was seen as an opportunity by Tsar Nicholas II to stir up his subjects against a common enemy, and avenge the humiliation they had faced in the war between Russia and Japan.

First World War

Russian participation in World War I was nothing short of a disaster. It also put an end to the Tsarist regime that had existed for almost three hundred years. In their first clash with the Germans (who had supported the Austro-Hungarian Empire), at the Battle of Tannenberg, Russia had to accept defeat after losing 120,000 men as compared to Germany's loss of merely 20,000. In the autumn of 1915, Tsar Nicholas decided to travel from St. Petersburg with the aim of taking charge of the army personally and try and check the heavy losses. At about the same time, new recruits and untrained force were being dispatched to the front by Russia. They were ill-equipped to boot. In 1916, the morale of the people was almost zilch. Also, the pressure of war was mounting on proletarian families, whose men were being unfairly killed at the front while their families back home faced starvation. The Tsarist regime was blamed for the situation and there was civil disturbance which strengthened with each passing day.

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The February–March Revolution (1917)

As per the Russian calendar, the March Revolution began on 23 February 1917. However, the first revolution actually began on 08 March. On that day, there were bread riots in St. Petersburg, which soon grew into a large-scale demonstration with enraged industrial workers leaving the factories and protesting against the lack of food. Before long, the rioters came out to support them and with encouragement from politicians and social activists, a day later, the number of protestors had grown manifold. All shops, industries and enterprises came to a standstill as the masses went on strike. Tsar Nicholas had hoped for some intervention by the police and military, but the military had lost its faith in the Tsar and many raised mutinies and lent their support to the demonstrations. The entire city was in awry with conflicts going on everywhere. Five days later, more than 80,000 from the army rose in mutiny and there were extensive riots and incidents of loot. The Duma and the generals were very sure that the Tsar would have to step down. The older generals advised Nicholas to renounce the crown in order to save the monarchy. As a result of this feeble scenario, Tsar Nicholas stepped won on 15 March, announcing Mikhail as his successor. However, Mikhail declined the throne. He preferred to be elected as the leader by the Duma. He put in his resignation the following day, leaving the Russians without a leader.

The Provisional Government

The leaders of the Duma did not waste any time and formed a Provisional Government. This happened soon after the Romanov dynasty stepped down. The Provisional Government was recognized as Russia's legal government all over the world, till Russia had its elections. However, this government was not vested with any absolute or stable power. The Petrograd Soviet organization, which was a radical trade union of workers and soldiers, was more influential and powerful. It lent support to socialism on a full scale instead of simply democratic reforms, as preferred by the Provisional Government. Following three centuries of autocracy, Russia was consumed with political fervor. However, there were too many parties, groups and factions with varying ideas, which was bound to slow down the process of attaining stability.

Emergence of Lenin

Vladimir Ilyich Ulyanov or Lenin as he was popularly known, was keen to turn the chaotic situation at St. Petersburg to his advantage. He spent maximum time in working, travelling, and campaigning in Europe. This was probably because he was scared for his own life, as it was common knowledge that he was an enemy of the Tsarist regime. However, after the arrest of the Tsar, and the turbulence that the political scenario in Russia went through, Lenin got the right chance to become leader of his party: the Bolsheviks, and bring it to power. He aimed at taking help from the Germans to make it back to Russia from Switzerland, his home.

He wanted Russia to back out of the Great War, which made the Germans want to give Lenin a safe passage via a 'sealed train'. Russia welcomed Lenin with open arms in April 1917. Instead of aiming at unifying the various parties, Lenin denounced the Provisional Government and the Petrograd Soviet policies and ideologies. In his 'April Theses', published in the Bolshevik newspaper *Pravda*, he expressed his belief in non- cooperation with the liberals (i.e., non-hardline Communists) and putting a stop to the War immediately. At first, his opinions led to the isolation of the Bolsheviks and Lenin

NOTES

himself. However, slogans, such as 'peace, land and bread', helped Lenin win over the Russians who were getting fed up with poverty, war and starvation.

In the summer of 1917, Lenin tried to start another revolution, with the objective of removing the Provisional Government. He tried to maneuver the Machine Gun Regiment which was unwilling to leave Petrograd (then St. Petersburg) for the front. But, the coup was foiled by Kerensky, one of the most significant faces at the time and a person who was part of the Provisional Government as well as the Petrograd Soviet. Trained and experienced forces entered the city to stifle any dissidence. The Bolsheviks were accused of conniving with the Germans and many were arrested, while Lenin fled to Finland. But this did not stop Lenin from continuing to strategize, plot and scheme. In the meantime, Kerensky had to face political setbacks and also had to request the Bolsheviks to lend him military support when he was afraid that Kornilov, his War Minister, was looking at a military dictatorship. By the time autumn set in, the Bolsheviks were back in terms of popularity. They won maximum votes within the Petrograd and Moscow Soviets and Leon Trotsky was elected president of the Petrograd.

The October–November Revolution

According to the Julian calendar used by Russians then, the Revolution occurred in November 1917, which is why the October Revolution is often called the November Revolution.

Politically, Russia was still unstable when Lenin thought of taking advantage of the popularity of his party. His plan was to get rid of the Provisional Government through a coup. He planned to replace the ineffective Provisional Government with the Bolsheviks. He called a meeting of twelve of his party leaders on 10 October, to convince them about the need for a revolution. Even though only ten out of the twelve supported him, he still continued to plot.

Differences between the Provisional Government and the Soviets

It was only with the arrival of Lenin from Switzerland and Trotsky from America on the scene that the Russian revolutionary movement assumed new direction. They denounced the provisional government of the country as subservient to the bourgeois of England and France, and laid emphasis on true revolution. They demanded for ending the War without annexation and indemnities, and pleaded for the transfer of all powers to the Soviets and abolition of army, the police and the bureaucracy. They supported confiscation of all estates, nationalization of all land and merger of all banks into a national bank under the Soviet control.

On the other hand, the provincial government headed by Kerensky continued to work for the introduction of parliamentary institutions on the Western pattern in Russia. However, the provisional government and the Soviets were sharply divided on the issues of democratization of the army and Russian foreign policy. The provisional government was opposed to democratization of army while the Soviets favoured it.

On 1 March 1917, the Soviet issued an order which provided for establishment of elective committees in every army unit, the sending of delegates to the Soviet by each unit, the control of all political activities in the army and army committees by the Soviet, the abolition of compulsory salute and simplified formulas for addressing the officers, etc. On the issue of foreign policy sharp differences existed between the Soviet and the provisional government. While the government considered the revolution as a protest

NOTES

against the ineffective conduct of the War by the imperial regime and insisted on pursuing till victory, the Soviet measure stood for ending of the War with immediate effect and demanded peace without annexation and indemnities. It aimed to put necessary pressure through mass demonstrations to bring the imperial foreign policy to an end.

In view of the sharp differences between the government and Soviets, much could not be accomplished. However, it goes to the credit of the provisional government that it succeeded in ending the autocratic rule of the Tsars. It declared Russia as a Republic and courageously tackled the problem of nationality. It also put the Poles and the Finns on the road to independence, encouraged cooperatives in place of private enterprises, and passed a number of laws concerning civil right, prison reforms, equal rights for women, universal suffrage, and religious freedom. But its policies in the field of land reforms were not encouraging. It also failed to exercise proper control over the armies.

Rise of the Bolsheviks

The growing unrest among workers, peasants, soldiers, and the prevailing anarchical condition in the country were fully exploited by the Bolsheviks under Lenin. They promised nationalization of land as well as banks and industries and won popular support. Due to this, the Bolsheviks came out victorious in the elections to towns and provincial Soviets. By promising the much desired peace they also won over soldiers to their side. Encouraged by its growing popularity, the Bolsheviks decided to start an armed uprising. They intensified propaganda for direct action and formed their own Red Guards. As a result, a large number of soldiers left the ranks and peasants continued to capture lands from the proprietors through plunder and violence.

In October 1917, Lenin created the Military Revolutionary Committee which gave the Bolsheviks an effective control over the troops in Petrograd. The Bolsheviks had already raised the armed factory workers as the Red Guards. Lenin wanted to take full advantage of the existing national mood and favoured a revolt at an early date. A Politburo, an inner group of the Committee, was formed to take necessary decision in this regard. On the other hand, the Provisional Government of Russia led by Kerensky proceeded with certain counter measures to meet the Bolshevik threat. But as the provisional government did not enjoy sufficient authority, it could not succeed in containing the Bolsheviks.

Provisional government overthrown

Before the Revolution, the common people of Russia expected the autocracy of the Tsarist system to be replaced by a democratic republic with an elected parliament. As per the wishes of the people, Duma was set up in 1906 under the pressure of the Russian Revolution of 1905. In July 1917, Alexander Kerensky a moderate socialist took over as the Prime Minister. But, due to his limited authority, the Duma also faced several problems like the Tsars.

Taking advantage of this atmosphere on 20 October 1917, the Bolsheviks executed the long planned coup and overthrew the Kerensky government. On 24 October crucial positions in the city were taken over by the troops loyal to the Bolsheviks. These included the main offices of telephone and telegraph, banks, railroad stations, post offices, and major bridges. Guards who were commissioned by the Provisional Government, and who had got wind of the plot, fled or surrendered without a fight.

NOTES

By 25 October, Bolsheviks controlled every key building in St. Petersburg, except the Winter Palace where Kerensky and the other ministers were hold up. Before the Bolsheviks could catch Kerensky, he fled the Palace, never to return to Russia, but his ministers were arrested. On the 26, the Palace was seized with barely a shot fired, and October Revolution of Lenin achieved its objective with the bare minimum of violence or bloodshed. Pre-Parliament was abolished and the power passed on to the hands of the Revolutionary Military Committee. Apart from Georgia, Ukraine and Cossack, the Bolsheviks did not encounter much resistance from any other part of Russia and easily captured power.

Formation of Soviet Government under Lenin

The All Russians Congress of the Soviet of Workers and Soldiers, which met on 25 October 1917, approved the coup, which was accomplished by the Bolsheviks with success. Subsequently the Congress authorized the setting up of a new government under the leadership of Lenin. The new government was to be known as the Soviet of People's Commissars. This confirmed that the Bolsheviks had acquired full control over Petrogard and Moscow.

However, most of the country was still independent of control. Fighting lasted a week in Moscow before the Soviet won control and it was the end of November before other cities were brought under control. Very few people expected the Bolshevik government to last long because of the complexity of the problems facing it. As soon as the other political groups recovered from the shock of the Bolshevik coup, there was bound to be some determined opposition. At the same time, they had somehow to extricate Russia from the War and then set about repairing the shattered economy, while at the same time keeping their promises about land and food for the peasants and workers.

Causes for the victory of Bolsheviks

Despite trouble in various parts of the country and active intervention of the Allied powers, the Bolsheviks came out victorious in the October Revolution. Various factors contributed to the victory of the Bolsheviks. First, the opponents of the Bolsheviks were dis-united and as a result the Bolsheviks were able to shift their focus on the front where they were most needed.

Second, the Bolsheviks control over the interior lines of communications and railways greatly helped them in meeting the challenges. Third, the Bolsheviks carried on an effective propaganda against their enemies, which created dissent in the ranks of the opponents.

Finally, the Red Army which was raised by the Bolsheviks fought with missionary zeal backed by Communist party members who were inspired by high sense of discipline and were willing to undertake any task assigned to them by the Party without any hope of reward. It contributed to the ultimate victory of the Bolsheviks in the Revolution.

7.2.3 Lenin's Leadership

Lenin's success as the leader of the Russian Revolution was mainly based on his comprehensive knowledge of Marxist theory. After analyzing the aims and intricacies of deteriorating capitalism and increasing socialism, he derived certain sensible conclusions. Lenin wished to guide the Communist Party across the world through the path of liberty and prosperity. Marxism had benefitted a lot from Lenin's analyses and theoretical studies.

Lenin can be credited for the following:

- Study of the parasitic nature of imperialism
- Analysis of crumbling capitalism
- Evaluation and assessment of various branches of science in the light of dialectical materialism
- Elaboration of the theory of irregular development of capitalism and its influence on imperialist war, proletarian revolution and the establishment of socialism in one country
- Explanation of the technique of transformation of imperialist war to civil war
- Analysis of the capitalist state and the domination of the proletariats
- Clarification of the role of the peasants in the revolution
- Solutions to several theoretical and practical issues
- Annihilation of pseudo-revolutionary groups through strong arguments, such as the Narodniks, Economists, Mensheviks, etc.
- Theoretical and organizational strengthening and unification of the Bolshevik Party, which ultimately became responsible for its success

Lenin was known to be a bold and resourceful politician who showed a great deal of flexibility when it came to political strategizing. He emphasized that the Revolution would survive on separate mass actions or general policies. In fact, the originality of this policies amazed one and all. There were several instances where Lenin had to put in extra effort to convince the majorities who went against his policies in Central Committee of the Party. He managed to convince everyone of the need of his proposals and how correct they were. He even managed to thwart the attempts of sabotaging elements, such as Zinoviev, Kamenev, Bukharin and Trotsky.

He proved to be a great leader when the struggle of the masses after the war transformed into armed rebellion. His leadership skills led to the successful boycott of the first Duma and the conversion of the imperialist World War into civil war in Russia. He managed to resolutely support the Party against the Provisional Government in 1917. He was bold in allowing the development of the Soviets into the mass bodies or agencies, which caused the downfall of the capitalist, war-making regime. He mobilized the masses to thwart the Kornilov revolt, and simultaneously continued the revolt against Kerensky. Lenin was good at making political strategies and managed h to successfully determine the right time and way of achieving the October Revolution. He proved to be the most accurate and able Marxian leader for the Party and the commoners.

Lenin tried to save the revolution from an attack from the imperialists by signing the Brest-Litovsk Peace Treaty, in the years that followed the struggle of the revolution in Russia. He was at the helm during the Civil War and during the complications of War Communism. He took on the challenge of not only drawing up but also elaborating on the New Economic Policy, which would help reconstruct the economy in the crumbling country. He also checked the rise of the Leftist revolutionaries who were not willing to work within the trade unions and middle class parliaments.

7.3 ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL RECONSTRUCTION IN SOVIET UNION UNDER LENIN AND STALIN

After assuming power, the Bolshevik Government acted with great synergy and speed under the leadership of Lenin. One of the first actions which the government took was to conclude an amnesty without annexations or indemnities, with right of self determination

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Check Your Progress

1. Fill in the blanks with appropriate words.
   (a) The Russian Revolution of 1917 which is popularly known as _____ is one of the most significant events in the history of the twentieth century world.
   (b) Vladimir Ilyich Ulyanov—also known as _____ was one person who was eager to take advantage of the chaotic state of affairs in St. Petersburg.
2. State whether the following statements are true or false.
   (a) The material revolution in Russia was followed by a revolution in the realm of liberal thoughts and ideas.
   (b) It was only with the arrival of Lenin from Switzerland and Trotsky from America on the scene that the Russian revolutionary movement assumed a new direction.

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for all the people. But as France, Great Britain and the United States were not willing to negotiate peace on the terms announced by the Bolsheviks, the later proceeded to conclude the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk with Germany. No doubt the terms of the Treaty were dictated by Germany, and it was a severe blow to the working class of Russia, the Russian Government accepted these terms to remain in power in Russia.

Also in the domestic sphere, the Bolsheviks introduced a number of changes. All estates of state, church and private owners were confiscated and handed over to the Volost land Committee. These lands were acquired without giving any compensation to the landlords. The banks, industries and means of transport and communication were nationalized. Laws were passed for the protection of women, minors and mineworkers. The working hours were fixed at eight hours a day. Civil ranks and classes were abolished. Insurance and price regulations were introduced. All pre-war loans of the Tsarist regime were declared null and void. Registration of births, marriages and deaths were made compulsory. Only civil marriages were recognized.

Religious institutions and Church were separated from the state and religious education in the schools was stopped. In the army all titles and class distinctions were abolished. Committees of soldiers were set up and elections of the officers were introduced. The inheritance of property was abolished and a programme to abolish illiteracy was launched. The courts were abolished and replaced by people's tribunals. The extraordinary commission or *Cheka* replaced the police system, which had completely collapsed during the Revolution. The Red Army was created and was charged with the defence with the socialist fatherland. The problem of nationalities was solved by promising the right of self-determination to all groups of the empire.

After coming to power, the Bolsheviks continued the formal Assembly proceedings of the constituent. However, ultimately in 1918 when the Assembly met the Bolsheviks; a demand was made that the Assembly should surrender all its powers to them and acknowledge the authority of the Congress of Soviets. After Assembly's unwillingness to do so, the Bolshevik entered the Hall of the Assembly and dissolved it. The action of the Bolsheviks was opposed by the civil servants, church, peasants and even the general public. Due to their strikes the whole administrative machinery was out of gear. However, unmindful of all this opposition the All Russian Congress of the Soviets which met four years after the dissolution of the Assembly adopted 'the Declaration of the Rights of Labouring and Exploited Masses'. Russia was declared, 'Republic of Soviets, of Workers, Soldiers and Peasants Deputies' and a 'free union of free nation'.

Under the new communist government, Russia's imperialist ambitions took a new form in the shape of the Treaty of Non-Aggression between Germany and the Soviet Union, also known as the Nazi–Soviet Pact and the Molotov–Ribbentrop Pact. The treaty was a non-aggression pact that was ratified by Soviet foreign minister Vyacheslav Molotov and German foreign minister Joachim von Ribbentrop on 23 August 1939. During this period, the Soviet Union was involved in a war with Japan over Nomonhan.

The Molotov–Ribbentrop Pact offered non-interference by the Russians in the Germans' invasion of Poland a week after the Soviets were triumphant over the Japanese. Germany promised under the pact that it would not get into a military alliance with Japan. This way Stalin did not have to fear Germany in its war with Japan. The Soviet Union also offered to stay away from any war in Europe. When the war with Japan was concluded, the Soviet forces invaded Poland on 17 September

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1939. The pact was honoured by both sides until 22 June 1941, when Germany invaded Soviet Union.

The pact had not only offered promises of non-aggression; it also comprised a secret protocol dividing Romania, Poland, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia and Finland into German and Soviet spheres of influence, anticipating potential 'territorial and political rearrangements' of these countries. Soon, Poland was divided between Germany and Soviet Union. The Soviets also captured Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Bessarabia, Northern Bukovina and the Hertza region later.

7.3.1 The Communist Party and its Socio-Economic Policies

In March 1918, the Bolsheviks, which were hitherto known as the 'Russian Social Democratic Labour Party', renamed themselves as the Russian Communist Party. Slowly they captured all major posts in the government, army, trade unions and other similar organizations. The Communist Party then proceeded to reshape the entire national system. It adopted social policies, and passed a number of laws to this effect. Private ownership of all lands including that of the peasants was abolished. Rigid food controls were introduced and the prices were fixed.

The State started collecting a share of the grain directly from the farms with the help of armed forces. In February 1919 the first state farm was created. The key industries were nationalized and private trading, banks and private property were abolished. All foreign trade was nationalized. These changes introduced with a view to protect and promote the interest of workers proved disastrous. The rule that farmers had to handover the surplus foodgrains to the government without payment further encouraged them to produce only as much as was sufficient to meet their bare necessities.

7.3.2 Framing of the Constitution

The Communist Government worked without a constitution for some time. However, in April 1918 it appointed a committee to draft a constitution which was duly prepared and rectified by the Fifth Congress of Soviets on 10 July 1918. The Constitution declared Russia 'A Republic of Soviets, of Workers, Soldiers and Peasants Deputies' and gave it the name of the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic or RSFSR. This Constitution remained operative till 1936 when it was replaced by a new Constitution.

The Constitution was mainly a statement of the principles based on the Communist Manifesto and a conformation of what had been done by the Bolsheviks since the assumption of power. The Constitution started with the declarations of the rights of the toiling, and exploited masses and asserted that the objective of the Soviet government was to establish a Socialist society not only in Russia but also in other countries. It sought to suppress the bourgeoisie and prevent exploitation of man by man. It also granted to the Soviet citizens certain civil rights including the right to freedom of religion and anti-religious propaganda, freedom of assembly, right of the workers and peasant to have free education, etc.

The Constitution retained the existing political structure based on Soviet system. All authority remained with the Soviets elected through open voting by all persons above the age of 18. The Chief Legislative Authority of the country was vested with the Constitution in the All Russian Congress of Soviets. But in reality, the real power rested with the eighteen People's Commissioners chosen by the Central Executive

NOTES

Committee. Thus, the Constitution which was created to strengthen democratic values concentrated all authority in the hands of Bolsheviks or Communists.

Under the leadership of Lenin, Russia was now world's first Communist State, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republic (USSR). Power was held by the Communist party and no other parties were allowed. The main political problem now for Lenin was disagreement and criticism inside the Communist party. In March 1921, Lenin banned factionalism within the Communist party. This meant that discussion would be allowed, but once a decision had been taken, all sections of the party had to stick to it. Anybody who persisted in holding a different view from the official party line would be expelled from the party. During the rest of 1921, about one-third of the party members were expelled with the help of the ruthless secret policy. Lenin also rejected the claim of the trade unions that they should run industry. Traders unions had to do as the government told them and their main function was to increase production.

In May 1922, Lenin suffered a stroke and after this he gradually grew weaker, suffered two more strokes, until he died in January 1924 at the age of 53. His mission of completing the Revolution by introducing a fully Communist State was not finished, and the successful Communist revolutions which Lenin had predicted in other countries had not taken place. This left the USSR isolated with an uncertain future. Though his health had been falling for some time, Lenin had made no clear plans about how the government was to be organized after his death and which meant a power struggle was inevitable. Lenin remains a controversial figure to date but some historians admire him. To quote A.J.P Taylor, 'Lenin did more than any other political figure to change the face of the twentieth century world. The creation of Soviet Russia and its survival were due to him'.

7.3.3 Impact of the Russian Revolution

The Bolshevik Revolution of 1917 was an event of great significance. It not only uprooted the autocratic rule in Russia which had existed for many centuries, but also abolished the class distinction which characterized the Russian society. It laid the foundations of a new society in which the church ceased to be an important political factor. Private property, ownership of land and wealth of every other kind were abolished. The means of production and most of the distribution system came under the direct control of the state. Every peasant was given sufficient land to support his family. The management of the factories was entrusted to a council of the workers which worked under the supervision of the national labour organization. Better education facilities were provided to all sections of the students and military education became compulsory. National education which was controlled by the church was nationalized. Department of Education was set up which looked after the education system of the country. The wards of peasants and workers were provided free education. All the treaties concluded by the autocratic government of Russia were annulled. Even the loans taken by the farmers were waived.

The new Bolshevik government tried to build a technologically sound economy through the instrument of economic planning. With the support of the State through the Five Year Plans the industrialization of the country was expedited. With a view to attain social and economic equality the entire resources of the country were mobilized to attain an accelerated rate of economic growth.

In contrast to the policies of the autocratic Tsarist regime, the new government tried to eliminate discrimination towards non-Russian nationalities. All the nationalities

NOTES

were assured equal representation in one or two chambers of the USSR legislature. The republics formed by these foreign nationals were given considerable autonomy. They were given the freedom to develop their languages and cultures.

The Bolshevik Revolution also had many negative impacts. The Revolution led to institutions of censorship of press, speech and assembly. The Bolsheviks outlawed all the middle-class political parties as well as other Socialist parties. It also marked the beginning of the establishment of first secret policing system. In the international sphere as well, this Revolution left a profound influence. The successful accomplishment of the Revolution in accordance with the ideas of Marx provided a platform to similar revolutions in other parts of the world. The Russian leaders organized the Comintern and tried to promote revolutions on an international scale. The Comintern deliberated 'by all available means, including armed force, for the overthrow of the international bourgeoisie and for the creation of an international Soviet republic as a transition stage to the complete abolition of the State'. They encouraged the formation of the Communist parties in other countries which were affiliated to the Comintern.

As a result of all these measures, Socialism became one of the most widely practised ideologies within a few decades of its emergence. The spread of socialist ideas greatly contributed to the growth of internationalism. The nations of the world came to realize that they must not merely try to promote their narrow interests and must look at problems in the broader world context. This outlook was totally opposed to the policy of imperialism and greatly contributed to its abolition. The Russian Revolution also struck terror in the minds of the ruling class of capitalist states. Analyzing its impact historians have opined that, 'Certainly nothing has let loose such a deluge of condemnation and eulogy and nothing has so completely challenged orthodox theories since the France revolutionists overthrew the Bourbons. The Russians in a few years have set up standards for a new way of living and thinking'.

The communist ideology that prevailed in the Soviet Union during this period was Marxism-Leninism. This ideology sought to create an international communist organization under a vanguard party leadership having a revolutionary socialist state at its core being dictated by the proletariat. The ascension of Joseph Stalin brought with it the spread of this ideology in the Soviet Union. The leadership tried to eliminate everything that represented bourgeois culture. It tried to promote universal atheism and dedicated its efforts towards the abolition of religion. It had no place for bourgeois democracy and empowersed the proletariat. It endorsed socialist form of economy where the state owns the means of production.

György Lukács, the Hungarian Marxist scholar, Lukács concentrated on developing Leninist ideas in the field of philosophy. His basic works in this duration were the essays collected in his magnum opus *History and Class Consciousness*, first published in 1923. Though these essays showed signs of what Lenin described as 'ultra-leftism', they debatably carry through his attempt of providing Leninism with a better theoretical basis than did Lenin himself.

As a Hungarian exile, he continued to be active on the left wing of Hungarian Communist Party, and his 'Blum theses' of 1928 called to put an end to the counter-revolutionary regime of Admiral Horthy by a strategy that was similar to the Popular Fronts of the 1930s. He promoted a 'democratic dictatorship' of the proletariat and peasantry as a transitional stage that lead to the dictatorship of the proletariat. Lukács's strategy was rejected by the Comintern and after that he drew back from active politics and concentrated on theoretical work.

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The Institute for Social Research at Frankfurt with its scholars like Max Horkheimer, Theodor Adorno and Herbert Marcuse provided a fresh perspective to Marxism, with their Hegelian perspective. These Marxists scholars believed that the social system is a totality in which all the aspects reflected the same essence. When they analyzed the modern culture, they talked about the one dimensional nature of modern cultural existence. Their experience of Fascism in Germany and commercialism in America made them have that kind of a view. It is important to note here that the Institute was exiled in 1933, and was relocated in New York, but finally returned to Frankfurt in 1950.

Marxism was seen in a positive light by the Leninist and social-democratic thinkers too. The theorists of the Frankfurt School relied fundamentally on the epistemology of Karl Marx's theories. They emphasized that Marx tried to establish a branch of critical analysis that was aimed at unifying theory and practice. Therefore, what was aimed at was the prevalent ideology that was to be critiqued in comparison with the social realities of the time predominantly social inequality and exploitation. This was referred to as the dialectical method created initially by Hegel and Marx.

7.3.4 Russia under Stalin

Joseph Djugashvili, after joining the Bolsheviks in 1904 took the name Stalin or 'man of steel'. He was born in 1879 in the small town of Gori in the province of Georgia. His parents were poor peasants. Joseph's mother wanted him to become a priest and he was educated for four years at Tiflis Theological Seminary, but he hated its repressive atmosphere and was expelled in 1899 for spreading socialist ideas. Due to his administrative qualities, Djugashvili was able to build up his own position under Lenin. When Lenin died in 1924, Stalin was Secretary-General of the Communist party and a member of the seven member politburo, the Committee which decided government policy. At first it seemed unlikely that Stalin would become the dominant figure in Russia after Lenin. Trotsky called him 'the party's most eminent mediocrity or a man who is destined to play second or third fiddle'. Lenin thought him to be stubborn and rude, and suggested in his will that Stalin should be removed from his post. The most obvious successor to Lenin was Trotsky, an inspired orator, an intellectual, a man of action and the organizer of the Red Army. However, Trotsky's brilliance worked against him and circumstances arose which Stalin was able to use to eliminate his rivals.

As Secretary-General of the party Stalin had used his position. He had full powers of appointment and promotion. He used this power to place his own supporters in various key positions of the party, and at the same time removed the supporters of others to distant parts of the country. Later, a split occurred between Bukharin on the one hand, and Kemenev and Zinoviev on the other, who were feeling unhappy about New Economic Policy (NEP). In this situation Stalin supported Bukharin and Trotsky, Kemenev and Zinoviev voted out of the politburo replaced by Stalin's supporters and they were finally expelled from the party in 1927. When Bukharin protested against the NEP, he too was expelled in 1929 and Stalin remained as the supreme leader. Having reached the pinnacle, Stalin found that Russia was facing many problems in the economic front, in the political and social front, and in foreign relations.

Stalin who was considered as Russia's supreme leader further developed Marxism-Leninism through various invaluable theoretical accomplishments. His principal contributions to the theory of Marxism lie in pointing towards the path of the actual building of Socialism in the USSR. Thus, his 'powerful polemics against Trotsky, Zinoviev, Bukharin and their counter-revolutionary affiliates comprised the greatest ideological

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struggle of the age'. They specified every aspect of the vast and unique problem of building Socialism in one country, and surveyed international capitalism whole position. They resulted in a decisive victory for the Communist Party leadership and, thereby, of Socialism.

The foundations of Socialism were laid by Marx and Engels by establishing its primary scientific principles. Lenin was the theoretician of 'the revolutionary seizure of power and the establishment of the fundamental institutions of Socialism'. The profound Marxist analysis of the capitalist system and the class struggle was further developed by him, carrying it into the era of imperialism. The complete Marxist-Leninist structure was raised by Stalin to another level by exposing the path to the actual building of Socialism and the development towards Communism.

Stalin was a great strategist and showed a high intellect of political strategy. Stalin had Lenin's boldness, flexibility and clear-sightedness. It was important to note that in the various difficult strategical moves that Lenin worked out, Stalin found himself in agreement with him, despite the fact that at times many Central Committee members were uncertain, unsure or in opposition. This quick glance of the true meaning of policies formulated by Lenin was a sign of the Stalin's great strategical ability which he displayed after Lenin's death in 1924.

Stalin's greatest masterpiece of political strategy, similar to his main theoretical work, was that of building Socialism in Russia. Under his leadership there was an intense drive to industrialize the USSR and to collectivize its agriculture. He started the First Five-Year Plan which began in 1929, and made the Soviet Union the second industrialized country of the world with the most advanced agricultural organization. Important complementary features of this great task of Socialist construction were the timely economic and political liquidation of the *Nepmen* (small traders) and the *kulaks* (rich farmers).

7.3.5 Socio-Economic Reconstruction of Soviet Union under Stalin

Though Russian industry was recovering from the impacts of the First World War, production from all the major industries was still surprisingly low. In contrast, the production of countries like Germany, France and USA was way ahead. At this point Stalin believed that a rapid expansion of the heavy industry was essential to enable Russia to deal with the attack from the Western capitalists who hated communism.

Stalin realized that industrialization was indispensable to gain the support for the government because he believed the industrial workers were the real communists in relation to the peasants and considered peasants as the enemies of Socialism. However, at that point of time the industry workers were less in number in comparison to the peasants. One serious obstacle to overcome this situation was lack of capital for industrial expansion, since foreigners were unwilling to invest in Russia under a communist rule.

The primitive agricultural system which was allowed to continue under NEP was incapable in providing good harvest and create surplus resources for the country. Although Stalin had no economic experience, he explained in 1931 that why Russia was 100 years behind the advanced countries. He said 'we must make good this distance in 10 years by taking both the industry and agriculture firmly under government control'. For that he had introduced many economic reforms designed to overcome the economic problems in the shortest possible time. The key initiatives by Stalin for the socio-economic reconstruction of Soviet Union had the following major ingredients:

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1. Five-Year Plans

The series of Five-Year Plans tackled the industrial expansion. In 1928–32, the First Five-Year Plan was introduced, and in 1933–37 the Second Five-Year Plan; and these were said to have been completed the tasks a year ahead of schedule, although both of these never reached the full target. 'The First Plan concentrated on heavy industry, coal, iron, steel, oil and machinery including tractors for cultivation and emphasized to raise the level of output.' Some increase in consumer goods as well as in heavy industry was provided by these two subsequent plans.

Despite shortcomings and some exaggeration of the official Soviet figures, the plans succeeded remarkably. The USSR had overtaken Britain in iron and steel production by 1940, but not in coal, and it was within the reach of Germany. Many factories were built, many of these in new towns on the east of the Ural Mountains, for example the iron and steel works at Magnitogorsk, tractor works at Kharkov, and Gorki, hydroelectric dam at Dnepropetrovsk and the oil refineries in the Caucasus, where they would be safer from invasions. The investment on these projects was entirely paid by the Russian government by charging heavily from the peasants and from exporting grain. By recruiting thousands of foreign technicians and ruthlessly enforcing discipline in factory, Stalin achieved the Five Year Plan targets.

Commenting on the successful implementation of the Five-Year Plans Ivar Spector said, 'In spite of all obstacles, the Five Year Plans laid the foundation of a powerful iron and steel industry in the Soviet Union, including the establishment of the new centers of heavy industry in Siberia. In complete contrast with efforts under the Tsarist regime to Westernize Russia the new industrial offensive was conducted without recourse to foreign loans and without returning to the policy of foreign concessions, characteristic of the new economic policy, although quantities of industrial equipment were obtained on credit terms ranging from six months to several years.'[1]

2. Industrialization

Resources mobilization by state planning expanded the industrial base of the country. From 1928 to 1932, peak iron output, necessary for the industrial infrastructure's further development rose from 3.3 million to 6.2 million tonne per year. Coal, the essential product fueling modern economies and industrialization, successfully rose from 35.4 million to 64 million tonne, and iron ore output rose from 5.7 million to 19 million tonne. Many industrial complexes such as Magnitogorsk and Kuznetsk, the Moscow and Gorky automobile plants, the Urals and Kramatorsk heavy machinery plants, and Kharkov, Stalingrad and Cheliabinsk tractor plants were constructed during the time.

In reality, the standards of living of workers' tended to drop, rather than rise during the industrialization. Stalin's laws to 'tighten work discipline' made the situation worse for example, a change to the labour law code made in 1932 permitted firing workers who had not been present without a reason from the workplace for just a day. Being fired meant losing 'the right to use ration and commodity cards' as well as the 'loss of the right to use an apartment' and even 'blacklisted for new employment' which together denoted risk of starving. Since managers frequently needed to hire new workers, those measures were not fully enforced.

In contrast, the legislation of 1938 introduced labour books, and this was followed by major revisions of the labour law which were enforced. For example, being absent or not being present or even if the worker was 20 minutes late, covered grounds for becoming

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fired; criminal prosecution was faced by managers who failed to enforce these laws. Later, the Decree of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet on 26 June 1940, 'On the Transfer to the Eight-Hour Working Day, the Seven-day Work Week, and on the Prohibition of Unauthorized Departure by Laborers and Office Workers from Factories and Offices', replaced the 1938 revisions with obligatory criminal penalties for quitting a job (2–4 months imprisonment), for being late by 20 minutes (6 months of probation and pay confiscation of 25 per cent), and other draconian measures.

According to the Soviet government the Five Year Industrial Production Plan had been fulfilled by 93.7 per cent in only four years because of these strict measures, while parts devoted to heavy-industry were fulfilled by 108 per cent. In December 1932, Stalin declared the success of the Plan to the Central Committee, as increases in the coal and iron output would fuel future development. Due to the huge investments made in the First Five-Year Plan, industries under the second Five Year Plan expanded extremely rapidly, and nearly reached the Plan. Coal output was 127 million tonne, pig iron 14.5 million tonne, and there had been very rapid developments in the armaments industry by 1937.

This no doubt marked a massive leap in industrial capacity, but the first Five Year Plan was extremely tough on industrial workers; it was difficult to fulfil quotas which required that miners put in 16- to 18-hour workdays. If these quotas were not fulfilled it invited charges of treason. Conditions of work were poor, and even hazardous. By some estimates, 127,000 workers died from 1928 to 1932. A famine broke out due to the allocation of resources for industry along with decreasing productivity. Labour camps inmates were used as expendable resources for industrial complexes construction. However, during the second plan conditions improved. Throughout the 1930s, industrialization was joined together with a rapid expansion of education at schools and in higher education.

From 1921 until 1954, 'during the period of state-guided forced industrialization, 3.7 million people were sentenced for alleged counter-revolutionary crimes, including 0.6 million sentenced to death, 2.4 million sentenced to labor camps, and 0.7 million sentenced to expatriation'. Other estimates show these figures much higher. However, the evidence supporting these high numbers is disputed by some historians, much like with the famines. This is a minority view. The peak of the repressions was during the great Purge of 1937–38, and it greatly slowed down production in 1937.

3. Collectivization

This process strongly dealt with the problems of agriculture. The idea of collectivization was, small farms and holdings belonging to the peasants should be merged to form large collective farms jointly owned by the peasants. The main reasons behind this decision were, first, the existing system of small farms was inefficient, whereas large farms under state direction, using modern machinery, were expected to raise grain production. Stalin wanted to eliminate the class of prosperous peasants, because he saw *Kulaks* or the peasants as the biggest enemy of communism. Often he had said, 'We must smash the *Kulaks* so hard that they will never rise to their feet again'. This policy was launched in 1929 and had to be carried through by sheer brute force.

So determined was the force in the countryside that it proved disaster, from which probably, Russia took long time to recover. In their reaction when peasants refused to join collective farming, they were arrested and taken to labour camps or shot. When newly collectivized peasants tried to sabotage the system by producing only enough for

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their own needs, local officials were instructed by the government for seizing the required quotas at the time of harvesting. Due to this system the overall production of grain did not increase at all, in fact it was less in 1934 than it had been in 1928. This led to famine in various parts of Russia during 1932–33 and especially in the Ukraine. The collectivization turmoil was particularly heavy in Ukraine and the heavily Ukrainian adjoining Volga regions, and this fact led many Ukrainian scholars to argue that there was a deliberate policy of starving the Ukrainians. In Ukraine alone, the number of people who died in the famines was estimated at between 3 and 10 million. The other countries dispute about the actual number of estimated 'victims'. 'Soviet sources vary between denying the existence of the famine and estimating much smaller numbers of dead. Yet one and three quarter million tonnes of grain were exported during that same period, while over five million peasants died of starvation.' But collectivization did not end and by 1937, around 90 per cent of all farmland had been collectivized in the country.

7.3.6 Socio-Political Changes under Stalin

During the ruling period of Stalin the socio-political problems, were to some extent, his own creations. According to Stalin under his totalitarian regime, there was need to control socio-political activities just as much as there was need to control economic life. He aim was to attain complete and unchallenged power and he became increasingly suspicious and intolerant of criticism.

In 1930, there was growing opposition in the party which aimed to slow down industrialization, allowed peasants to leave collective farming, and removed Stalin. However, according to Stalin the political opponents and critics must be eliminated forever. According to them life's social and cultural aspects needed to be 'brought into line and harnessed to the service of the State'. The non-Russian states wanted to become independent, but Stalin did not sympathize with nationalist ambitions and was determined to hold the union together. Stalin faced many socio-political problems, however, he took stringent action to control all of them.

1. 'Using the murder of Sergei Kirov in 1934, one of the supporters of Stalin in the Politburo as an excuse, Stalin launched what became known as the Purges.' Over the next 4 years many officers of the government and political critics were 'arrested, tortured, made to confess to all sorts of crime of where they were largely innocent and forced to appear in a series of show trials at which they were invariably found guilty and sentenced to death or sent to labour camp'. By using this brutal method of Purges, Stalin eliminated possible alternate leaders successfully and in terrorized the masses into obedience. But there were serious consequences as many of the best brains in the government, in the army, and in industry disappeared. That hampered the rapid progress of Russia.
2. To suppress the public anger a new and comparably more democratic constitution was introduced in 1936 in which everybody was allowed to vote by secret ballot to choose members of the national assembly known as the Supreme Soviet. The Supreme Soviet also chose the Union Soviet of Commissars, a small group of ministers of which Stalin was the secretary, and which wielded the real power. There was mention of freedom of speech but anybody who ventured to criticize Stalin was quickly purged.
3. As per its socio-cultural policies, writers, artists and musicians were expected to produce works of realism glorifying soviet achievements. This is known as socialist realism. Anyone who did not obey the rules was prosecuted. Education like every other thing, was closely watched by the secret police. Although it was compulsory and free the quality had deteriorated. However, at least the literacy rate increased which was an achievement for Stalin. Finally, an attempt was made to clamp down on the Orthodox Church. Churches were closed and the clergy persecuted, but until 1940, probably more than half of the Russian population were believers.
4. The problem for the Communist government in holding the union together was that its 47 per cent population were non-Russian and it proved difficult to hold them all together as they were bitterly resentful of the rule from Moscow. Stalin adopted two methods. On the one hand national cultures and languages were encouraged and the republics had a certain amount of independence, but on the other hand Moscow had the final say in all important decisions and force was used to preserve control by Moscow.

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7.3.7 Changes in Soviet Society under the Communists

Soviet society experienced many changes under the Communists. The Communist government paid attention to the social welfare of people. Not only facilities like medical and healthcare were made available to the people during sickness, disability, old age, but attention was also paid to create parks, rest houses, cultural centers and canteens were established for the recreation of workers in factories and agricultural farms. To enable women to work, crèches were established for their babies. These measures went a long way in improving the general living conditions of the workers and peasants. Although the Communist government under the leadership of both Lenin and Stalin took various repressive measures to establish its hegemony, nevertheless, the Soviet Union went through great transformation in the Socio-Economic sphere during their rule.

Under the Communist rule there was rise in employment; '3.9 million jobs per year were expected by 1923, but the number was actually an astounding 6.4 million. By 1937, the number rose yet again, to about 7.9 million, and in 1940 it was 8.3 million. Between 1926 and 1930, the urban population increased by 30 million.' While the Tsars were reigning, NEP unemployment was seen as a big issue. However, it ceased to be so after the implementation of Stalin's industrialization programme.

The need for labour rose when resources were mobilized to bring about the industrialization of the agricultural society. This brought unemployment down to nil. Unemployment was taken care of by fixing wages, which, in actual terms, reduced by half, from 1928 to 1940. This made it feasible for the state, in financial terms, to give jobs to the workers. Several ambitious projects were established and supply of raw materials was done to the military for weapons and also for consumer products. The automobile plants at Gorky and Moscow manufactured automobiles for the use of the public. When production of heavy plants and steel expanded, cars began to be manufactured in bigger numbers, and with ease. By 1931, production of cars and trucks touched an unbelievable 200,000. Several schools came up to provide education to the industrial workers. In 1927, 7.9 million students went to study in 118,558 schools. By 1933, a whopping 9.7 million students attended 166,275 schools. By 1933,an additional 900 specialist departments along with 566 institutions were functioning smoothly. The rate of literac went up significantly, particularly in the Central Asian republics.

The Soviet people gained from social liberalization too. Women were to be given equal treatment in terms of education and employment. However, this was not put into practice completely even though in trying to do so, women did end up enjoying better

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status in the society and the economy. Stalin also ensured that healthcare facilities were developed and improved from what they were during the Tsarist regime. He ensured that the Soviets received free healthcare and education. He encouraged large-scale immunization programmes, which rid the masses of the fear of typhus and cholera. As a result, very few cases were reported and there was a sheer drop in infant mortality rates. The life expectancy for men as well as women went up by more than 20 years from the middle of the 1950s.

In the 1920s, anarchism, internationalism, the nuclear family being a bourgeois concept, and other such fashionable social and political ideas were done away with. The schools began focusing on a more nationalistic course, which emphasized on the history of Russia and its leaders. Of course, Marxism was never lost sight of. Stalin started creating a Lenin cult. During the 1930s, the Soviet society adopted the basic shape or format, which it continued with till 1991.

Another field wherein some improvement was seen, other than economic development, was the field of technology. The generation that was fortunate enough to be born during Stalin's reign was almost the universally literate lot. Engineers got the opportunity to travel abroad to be educated on the latest in industrial technology. Several engineers from abroad were invited to Russia on contract too, to share their knowledge. Transport links saw massive improvements when several new railway lines were built, albeit with forced labour, which cost thousands of lives.

At the beginning of the 1930s, the Soviet government waged a war against organized religion in the country. Several churches and monasteries were closed and many priests were put in prison and even faced execution. The State promoted atheism denouncing religion as a of relic of capitalist society. Pope Pius XI condemned these religious attacks in the Soviet Union in 1937. By 1940, there were just a handful of churches left, which were open. At first, Lenin's anti-religious campaigns were majorly directed at the Russian Orthodox Church, because it was a symbol of the Tsarist government. However, in the 1930s, all faiths, such as the Christian minority as well as those following Islam, Judaism, and Buddhism came under attack.

Following World War II, the western part of European Russia was destroyed. With roads, railways, and industries being devastated, 25 million people were rendered homeless. Stalin's reign continued for eight more years in Russia. He was determined not to relax government controls and also to reconstruct the economy. 1946 saw the commencement of the Fourth Five-Year Plan, which successfully restored industrial production to the level it was in 1940. Stalin passed away in 1953, before beginning another purge. Needless to say, those close to him were relieved. Historians have not been able to reach an agreement regarding the extent of Stalin's achievements or indeed, whether he attained more with his brutal ways than what he could have achieved through less severe techniques.

Check Your Progress

3. Fill in the blanks with appropriate words.
   (a) After assuming power the Bolshevik government acted with great synergy and speed under the leadership of _____.
   (b) In March 1918, the Bolsheviks, which were hitherto known as the 'Russian Social Democratic Labour Party', renamed themselves as the _____.
4. State whether the following statements are true or false.
   (a) Joseph Djugashvili, after joining the Bolsheviks in 1904 took the name Lenin or 'man of steel'.
   (b) Soviet society experienced many changes under the Communists.

ACTIVITY

1. Find out the differences between the Julian calendar and the Gregorian calendar.
2. Find out the differences and similarity of opinions between Lenin, Stalin, and Marx.

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DID YOU KNOW?

Tsar Nicholas II was the last representative of the Romanov dynasty, whose three-centuries old reign had started in 1613, with Mikhail Feodorovich being elected as the monarch of Russia. Nicholas had ascended the throne in 1894, and during his rule there were not only social disturbances but many conflicts with the lower classes. Even the wars entered into during his time proved to be disastrous. In March, 1917, he nad to denounce the throne. Along with his wife Alexandra, and children Olga, Tatiana, Maria, Anastasia and Alexei, the Tsar was kept imprisoned in Tsarskoe Selo, a royal residence south of Petrograd (Saint Petersburg).

7.4 SUMMARY

In this unit, you have learnt that:

- The First World War placed an unbearable strain on Russia's weak government and economy, resulting in mass shortages and hunger. In the meantime, the mismanagement and failures of the war turned the people and particularly the soldiers, against the Tsar, whose decision to take personal command of the army seemed to make him personally responsible for the defeats.
- The first revolution in February overthrew the Tsar on 15 March 1917, and set up a moderate provisional government. When this government also failed to live up to the expectations and proved no better than the rule of Tsars, it was overthrown by the Bolshevik Revolution in October 1917.
- The Russian Revolution of 1917 which is popularly known as Bolshevik Revolution is one of the most significant events in the history of the twentieth century world and ranks in importance in the category of the French Revolution.
- There were various factors and forces which were responsible for the Russian Revolution in 1917. The main factors were the series of bad judgements by the Tsar, the resentment at the treatment of peasants cruelly by the landowners, experience of poor working conditions by labourers and workers in the industries, and an increasing sense of political and social awareness of the people in general because of democratic ideas that reached Russia from the West. Proletarian dissatisfaction was further combined by some immediate events of the time like shortages of food and successive military failures.
- Economic factors like poverty, misery and exploitation of the masses by the nobility played a major role in the Revolution. Political factors also formed an important cause of the Russian Revolution of 1917. Politically, Russia was subjected to autocratic rule of the Tsar Nicholas II, who ruled the country in a ruthless and oppressive manner. No doubt as a result of the 1905 Revolution a parliament had been established in Russia but the sovereignty still rested in the hands of the Tsar and his henchmen. There were no constitutional checks on the authority of the Tsar and the people groaned under the autocratic rule.
- The material revolution in Russia was followed by a revolution in the realm of liberal thoughts and ideas. The Russian Tsars had attempted to check the infiltration of liberal and radical ideas of the West. But inspite of that the liberal ideas of the

NOTES

West infiltrated into the Russian soil and produced movements which ultimately resulted in the overthrow of the Tsarist system.

- After 1912, various revolutionary parties, especially the Bolsheviks and Mensheviks, fortune revived. Both these groups developed from an earlier Marxist movement, the Social Democrat Labour Party, and Karl Marx's ideas influenced them.
- Vladimir Lenin was one of the social democrat, who helped edit the revolutionary newspaper *Iskra* (The Spark). In 1903 over an election to the editorial board of *Iskra* the party had split into Lenin supporters, the Bolsheviks, the Russian word for the majority and the rest, the Mensheviks means the minority.
- The military debacle suffered by Russia during the First World War also provided a great impetus to the revolutionary movement in Russia. Historians also agree that Russian failures in the War made the revolution certain and caused the troops and the police to mutiny, as there were nobody left to defend the autocracy.
- In 1905, Russia suffered humiliating losses in the Russo-Japanese War and, during a demonstration against the War in the same year, firing was opened by the Tsarist troops on an unarmed crowd and this further isolated Nicholas II from his people. There were widespread strikes, riots, and the famous mutiny on the Battleship Potemkin.
- The first important event of the Revolution in Russian was the March Revolution or the February Revolution in Russia. It was a chaotic affair and it marked the termination of over a century of civil and military unrest.
- According to the Russian calendar, the March Revolution started on 23 February 1917. However, the first revolution actually started on 8 March. On that day, there were bread riots in St. Petersburg. Soon it became a city-wide demonstration as furious industrial workers left factories and protested against shortage of food.
- Vladimir Ilyich Ulyanov—also known as Lenin was one person who was eager to take advantage of the chaotic state of affairs in St. Petersburg. Most of the time of Lenin was spent travelling, working, and campaigning in Europe—partly because of fear for his own safety, as he was known Socialist and was considered as an enemy of the Tsarist rule.
- The growing unrest among the workers, peasants, soldiers, and the prevailing anarchical condition in the country were fully exploited by the Bolsheviks under Lenin. They promised nationalization of land as well as banks and industries and won the popular support. Due to this, the Bolsheviks came out victorious in the elections to towns and provincial Soviets.
- The primary basis of Lenin's brilliant successes as the Russian Revolution leader can be attributed to his deep mastery of Marxian theory.
- After assuming power the Bolshevik government acted with great synergy and speed under the leadership of Lenin. One of the first actions which the government took was to conclude an amnesty without annexations or indemnities, with right of self determination for all the people. But as France, Great Britain and the United States were not willing to negotiate peace on the terms announced by the Bolsheviks, the later proceeded to conclude the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk with Germany.
- In March 1918, the Bolsheviks, which were hitherto known as the 'Russian Social Democratic Labour Party', renamed themselves as the Russian Communist Party. Slowly they captured all the major posts in government, army, trade unions and other similar organizations. The Communist Party then proceeded to reshape the entire national system. It adopted social policies, and passed a number of laws to this effect.
- The Bolshevik Revolution of 1917 was an event of great significance. It not only uprooted the autocratic rule in Russia which had existed for many centuries, but also abolished the class distinction which characterized the Russian society. It laid the foundations of a new society in which the church ceased to be an important political factor. Private property, ownership of land and wealth of every other kind were abolished. The means of production and most of the distribution system came under the direct control of the state.
- Joseph Djugashvili, after joining the Bolsheviks in 1904 took the name Stalin or 'man of steel'. He was born in 1879 in the small town of Gori in the province of Georgia. His parents were poor peasants. Joseph's mother wanted him to become a priest and he was educated for 4 years at Tiflis Theological Seminary, but he hated its repressive atmosphere and was expelled in 1899 for spreading socialist ideas. Due to his administrative qualities, he was able to build up his own position under Lenin.
- Soviet society experienced many changes under the Communists. The Communist government paid attention to the social welfare of the people. Not only facilities like medical and healthcare were made available to the people during sickness, disability, old age, but attention was also paid to create parks, rest houses, cultural centers and canteens were established for the recreation of workers in factories and agricultural farms. To enable the women to work, crèeches were established for their babies.

7.5 KEY TERMS

- **Bolshevik Revolution:** The Bolshevik Revolution was the overthrow of the government of Russia, which took place in the fall of 1917
- **Comintern:** The Communist International which later came to be known as Comintern
- **Communism:** Communism (derived from Latin *communis* - common, universal) is a revolutionary socialist movement to create a classless, moneyless, and stateless social order
- **Duma:** The Duma was the council assemblies and was created by the Tsar of Russia
- ***Pravda*:** Pravda is a Russian Political Newspaper and Official Mouthpiece of Communist Party of the Russian Federation
- **Socialism:** This is a social and economic doctrine that calls for public rather than private ownership or control of property and other natural resources

7.6 ANSWERS TO 'CHECK YOUR PROGRESS'

1. (a) Bolshevik Revolution; (b) Lenin
2. (a) True; (b) True
3. (a) Lenin, (b) Russian Communist Party
4. (a) False, (b) True

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7.7 QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Short-Answer Questions

1. What was the main cause that led to the Russian Revolution of 1917?
2. What kind of economic reforms were brought under the rule of communists after the fall of the Russian Tsar?
3. Explain the course of the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917.
4. Write a short note on the Russian Communist Party.
5. What socio-political changes were introduced under Stalin's rule?

Long-Answer Questions

1. Discuss the causes and course of the Russian Revolution.
2. Describe the February–March Revolution (1917).
3. Give a detailed account on the emergence of Lenin and Stalin.
4. List the causes for the victory of the Bolsheviks.
5. Explain the impact of the Russian Revolution.
6. Identify and discuss the various changes in Soviet Society under the Communists.

7.8 FURTHER READING

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Endnote

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NOTES

UNIT 8 THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

Structure

8.0 Introduction
8.1 Unit Objectives
8.2 Origins of the League of Nations
8.3 Objectives of the League of Nations
8.4 Organizations of the League of Nations
8.5 Important Incidences Related to the League of Nations
8.6 Achievements of the League of Nations
  8.6.1 Successes of the League in the Social Sphere
  8.6.2 Failures of the League to Preserve Peace
8.7 End of the League of Nations
8.8 Summary
8.9 Key Terms
8.10 Answers to 'Check Your Progress'
8.11 Questions and Exercises
8.12 Further Reading

8.0 INTRODUCTION

In Unit 6, you read about the events that led to First World War. The most important contribution of the War was the creation of an international organization—the League of Nations. Its main motive was to encourage peace, harmony and international cooperation.

Many world leaders like Woodrow Wilson and Jan Christian Smuts, began advocating the need for an international organization to bring about permanent peace and dispute settlement by arbitration during the First World War. Robert Cecil, who was a member of the British government, wrote a memorandum in September 1916 where he contended that civilization's survival was possible only if it could form an international system that would ensure peace.

America entered the First World War in 1917 and was horrified to see the devastation that had occurred, that too in a part of the world considered to be the most civilized. American President Woodrow Wilson realized that to avoid a repetition of such a disaster, it was essential to form an international body whose main objective would be to maintain peace in the world, and sort out international conflicts if they took place.

However, the biggest weakness of the League was that America refused to join it. Despite President Woodrow Wilson being the main force behind the formation of the League, his own country, which was undoubtedly the most powerful nation in the world, opted for an isolationist policy. This was not the only weakness of this international body. There were other reasons too which you will read in the following pages. In fact, three strong nations of the world refrained from lending support to the League.

In this unit, you will learn about how the League was formed, study its achievements and assess its rise and fall.

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8.1 UNIT OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to:

- List the origin and aims of the League of Nations
- Categorize organization and achievements of the League of Nations
- Assess success, failure and the collapse of the League of Nations

8.2 ORIGINS OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

During the First World War, in October 1918, when peace negotiations started, Woodrow Wilson was adamant that his Fourteen Points should form the basis for the signing of the Armistice. Formation of the League of Nations was included in this. So the League of Nations is often talked about as being the brainchild of the American President. Although Wilson certainly supported the idea, the League was actually the result of a union of similar suggestions, formulated by different reputed leaders during the First World War.

Lord Robert Cecil of Britain, Jan Smuts of South Africa, and Leon Bourgeois of France presented detailed schemes to show how such an organization might be established. Lloyd George also referred to it as 'one of Britain's War aims'. The greatest contribution of Wilson was to include the League Covenant or the list of rules by which the League was to operate or function, in each of the separate peace treaties. This was to actually ensure that the League of Nations came into existence instead of remaining merely a topic of discussion just on paper.

In April 1919, the Paris Peace Conference adopted the League of Nations constitution and the League of Nations formally came into being on 10 January 1920, the same day when the Treaty of Versailles became operative. The League became the first truly international organization to have responsibility for managing international peace. After the turmoil of the Treaty of Versailles, many expected the League to bring stability to the world.

The headquarters of the League was in Geneva, Switzerland, and Sir Eric Drummond was its first Secretary General. The choice of Geneva was natural as Switzerland was a neutral country, and had not participated in the First World War. No one could challenge this choice especially because the Red Cross was already based in Switzerland.

After the initial jolts, the League started functioning successfully during the 1920s. It resolved minor international disputes, and also succeeded in performing valuable economic and social work. For instance, it helped thousands of refugees and former war prisoners to find their way home again. In the 1930s, after the peace treaties, the League of Nations supporters felt optimistic about its future and statesmen like Jan Smuts observed that, the League was a 'miracle' of history'.

However during the 1930s, the authority of the League was challenged. It was the Japanese invasion of Manchuria in 1931 that challenged it first. This was followed by the Italian attack on Abyssinia in 1935, and later several times by other countries in the late 1930s. The aggressors did not bother about the League's order to withdraw, and for many reasons, it was impossible to force them to follow such orders. After 1935, the value of the League dropped as its weaknesses came to light. The League was not consulted during Germany's dispute with Czechoslovakia and Poland, which led to the Second World War, and it was unable to influence, even slightly, or prevent the War. It did not meet again after December 1939 and it was dissolved in 1946 as it failed to prevent the War.

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8.3 OBJECTIVES OF LEAGUE OF NATIONS

The Constitution of the League of Nations had several objectives. The League had to:

- Maintain peace through collective security. According to this provision, if one state attacked another state, the League members would get together and control the invader either by economic or military sanctions.
- Prevent outbreak of war again
- Settle international disputes before they became unmanageable.
- Peacefully sort out disputes by arbitration.
- Encourage/Prescribe open, just and honourable relations between nations.
- Firmly establish an understanding of international law as the actual rule of conduct among governments.
- Encourage international cooperation, in order to solve economic and social problem.

The League of Nations, under its Covenant, could do three things if a dispute occurred. These were known as its sanctions which were as follows:

1. It could request the states involved in the dispute to sit down and discuss the problem in a systematic and peaceful manner. This was to be done in the League's Assembly which was essentially the League's Parliament. Here, the disputes would be heard and a course of action would be decided. To the offender nation, the League could issue a warning that it needed to get out of another nation's territory or to face serious consequences.
2. If the states in dispute failed to obey the decision made by the Assembly, the League's Councils could introduce economic sanctions aimed at financially hitting the invading nation; so that there is no option but to obey the League's order. The logic behind this was to push an aggressor nation towards bankruptcy, so that the frustrated and angry people in that state would force their government to accept the League's decision. The League could order its members not to trade with an aggressor nation in an effort to check that aggressor nation.
3. In case of failure of these steps, the League could resort to physical sanctions. This meant that military force would be used to put into place the decisions made by the League. However, there was no military force at its disposal and no League member had to provide one, unlike the United Nations today.

Therefore, no threats could be carried out and any country defying its authority would have been very aware of this weakness. Britain and France were the only two member countries in the League that could have provided any military might but both these countries were severely depleted in strength in the First World War. They were in no position to provide the League of Nations with the required level of backing or support. In addition, Great Britain and France were not financially sound to pay for an expanded army after the War.

NOTES

8.4 ORGANIZATIONS OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

The three main constitutional organs of the League of Nations were: the General Assembly, the Council, and the Secretariat. The two essential wings of the League were the Permanent Court of International Justice and the International Labour Organization.

The Assembly and the Council relations were not explicitly defined and their competencies, with a few exceptions were more or less the same. Each body was competent to deal with any matter within the ambit of the League of Nations or affecting world peace. Particular questions or tasks were to be referred either to the Council or to the General Assembly and reference was to be carried forward from one body to another. There were 42 member states at the beginning, and it increased to 55 by 1926 when Germany was included. Its important sub-organizations were as follows:

1. **The General Assembly:** It comprised representatives of all Members of the League. There were three representatives and one vote for each state. The Assembly had its headquarters in Geneva and met once a year on the first Monday of the month of September (for its session) according to the Rules of the Procedure of the Assembly, which was adopted at its Eleventh Meeting on 30 November 1920. If a member made a request, a special session of the Assembly was summoned, provided the majority agreed to it.

   The Assembly's special functions included admitting new members, electing non-permanent Council Members regularly, electing the Council of the Permanent Court judges, and controlling the budget and ensuring unanimous approvals before finalizing decisions. In practice, the General Assembly became the general directing force of League activities.

2. **The Council:** A much smaller body, which met more often than the General Assembly. It met at least thrice a year with Britain, France, Italy and Japan as its permanent members. The United States of America was to be a permanent member, but it decided not to join the League. Four other members were also elected by the Assembly for three years.

   By 1926, the number of non-permanent members increased to nine. The Council's task was to deal with specific political disputes as they arose; even in this case the decisions had to be unanimous. The Council also prepared disarmament plans and the Secretary-General was nominated, subject to the Assembly's approval. Owing to its small size and regular meetings the Council went on to act like an executive body. However, the role of the Assembly was limited to primary action and the determination of the principles.[1]

3. **The Secretariat:** The Permanent Secretariat, comprised a body of experts from various backgrounds or fields under the Secretary General's direction. The Secretariat was established at the seat of the League at Geneva.

   The principal Sections of the Secretariat were: Politics, Finance and Economics; Communications and Transit; Minorities and Administration (Saar and Danzig); Mandates; Disarmament; Health; Social (Opium and Traffic in Women and Children); Intellectual Cooperation and International Bureau; Legal and Information. Each section owed a responsibility towards all official secretarial work related to its particular subject, and organized all meetings and conferences held in that connection.

   The League's Secretariat staff was responsible for preparing the Council and Assembly agenda and publishing meeting reports and other routine matters, effectively acting as the civil service for the League. The Secretariat was considered to be too small to handle all the administrative affairs of the League. For example, the total number of members of the Secretariat was 75 in September 1924. The total staff, including all clerical services approximately, comprised 400 peoples. In short, the Secretariat looked after all the paper work, preparing agendas, and resolution writings and reports for carrying out the decisions of the League.

4. **The Permanent Court of International Justice:** The Permanent Court of International Justice, often referred to as the World Court, was an international court which was attached to the League. This was created in 1922. It was based at Hague in Holland. Court of International Justice consisted of 15 judges of different nationalities; and it dealt with legal disputes between states, as opposed to political ones. In the beginning, the Court met with a good response both from the states and academics, with many cases submitted to it in its first 10 years of operation. By the 1930s, however, international tension heightened, the Court was used with decreasing regularity. By a resolution, which was passed by the League of Nations on 18 April 1946, the Court ceased to exist, and was replaced by the International Court of Justice.

   There were three sources from where the Court's mandatory jurisdiction came. These were: (i) the optional clause of the League of Nations, (ii) the general international conventions, and (iii) the special international treaties. States could directly submit the cases, but they were not forced to submit material or evidences unless it fell into those three categories. Either judgments or advisory opinions could be issued by the court. While judgments were directly binding, advisory opinions were not. In practice, the members of the League followed advisory opinions, fearing the fact that to not do so could weaken the moral and legal authority of the Court and the League.

5. **Commissions and Committees:** A number of commissions and committees were there to deal with specific problems, some of which had arisen out of the First World War consequences. The main commissions were those, which handled the mandates, military affairs, minority groups, peacekeeping and disarmament. Committees were formed for international labour, health, economic and financial organization, child welfare, drug problems and women's rights.

8.5 IMPORTANT INCIDENCES RELATED TO THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

The League wished was to put an end to the war. The only way to measure success was to see whether war was avoided or the degree to which a settlement could be reached peacefully. The League managed to resolve some political disagreements presented before it in the early 1920s.

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1. The Aaland Islands (1920)

These islands situated equidistant from Finland and Sweden, were originally part of Finland, but most of the occupants wished to be governed by Sweden. However, both Sweden and Finland found it difficult to arrive at a decision regarding the ownership of the islands. Ultimately, in 1920, the League was requested to arbitrate. The League ruled that Finland should govern the Aaland Island, but should not keep any weapons there. The decision was acceptable to both Sweden and Finland, and the same has remained so till date.

2. Upper Silesia (1921)

Through the Treaty of Versailles, the people of Upper Silesia enjoyed the right to a referendum on whether they wished to be part of Germany or Poland. The referendum, in which 700,000 people cast their votes in support of Germany, was held over the rival claims of Germany and Poland to the industrial area of Upper Silesia. The referendum saw only 500, 000 people voting for Poland. A riot ensued between those who favoured Germany and those who favoured Poland. Again, the League was requested to be the arbitrator and resolve the issue. Their inquiry lasted six weeks following which the League made the decision to divide the area of Upper Silesia between the two countries. The decision was thought to be a fair one by not only the Germans and the Polish but also the people of Upper Silesia.

3. Memel (1923)

This port in Lithuania was occupied mostly by Lithuanians. Thus, the Lithuanian government was of the view that the port should be governed by it. However, according to the Treaty of Versailles, Memel and its surrounding area were to be controlled by the League. A French was made governor of the port for a period of three years. In 1923, however, there was an invasion by the Lithuanians. At once, there was an intervention by the League, which decided to give the area surrounding Memel to Lithuania and make the port an 'International Zone'. The decision was acceptable to Lithuania, and thus, the issue was successfully resolved, thanks to the League. However, some also believe that the situation was an outcome of the use of force and the League responded positively, that is, in favour of the Lithuanians.

4. Turkey (1923)

The League was unsuccessful in stopping a war from happening when Turkey tried to claim the province of Mosul. At the time, Mosul was a part of that territory of Iraq, which was under the British. The outcome of the war was that there were approximately 1,400,000 refugees, most of whom were women and children. There was an outbreak of typhoid and cholera. The League sent doctors to help check the disease from spreading. £10 million were spent to build farms, homes and shelters for the refugees. Seeds were bought, wells were dug and digging tools were also purchased. By 1926, 600,000 people had work, a state that was referred to as 'the greatest work of mercy which mankind has undertaken', by the League.

5. Greece and Bulgaria (1925)

Greece and Bulgaria shared a border. In 1925, the guards on patrol at this border opened fire at each other, killing a Greek soldier. The outcome was an invasion of Bulgaria by the Greeks. Bulgaria turned to the League for help. The League responded at once by intervening and ordering both the armies to stop fighting. The Greek withdrew their forces from Bulgaria.

Further afield, in South America, squabbles were settled between Peru and Columbia, and also between Bolivia and Paraguay. However, it is significant to note that world peace was not seriously threatened by these disputes, and none of the decisions went against a major state, which might have challenged the League's verdict. In fact, during this same period, the League found itself twice overruled by the Conference of Ambassadors which was based in Paris, which had been set up to deal with problems starting from the Versailles treaties. In 1920, there were first the rival claims of Poland and Lithuania to Vilna, and this was followed by the Corfu incident of 1923. This was a quarrel between Mussolini's Italy and Greece. The League did not respond to these 'acts of defiance' and this was not a good sign for the League's future.

8.6 ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

It would, not be fair to dismiss the League as a total failure. Valuable results were achieved by many of the committees and commissions and much was done to promote international cooperation. One of the most successful achievements of the League of Nations was the formation of the International Labour Organization (ILO) under its French socialist director, Albert Thomas. Its main aim was to improve labour conditions all over the world by convincing governments to—fix a maximum working day and week, specify adequate minimum wages, introduce sickness and unemployment benefits, introduce old age pensions, etc. It also collected and published a vast amount of information, and various states were asked to take action.

The Refugee Organization was led by Fridtj of Nansen, and solved the problem of thousands of former war prisoners who were stranded in Russia at the end of the war, about half a million were returned home. After 1933, valuable help was given to thousands of people fleeing from the Nazi persecution in Germany.

The Health Organization of the League did good work in investigating the causes of the outbreak of epidemics, and succeeded in combating a typhus epidemic in Russia, which at one point of time seemed likely to spread across Europe.

The Mandates Commission supervised the government of the territories which were taken from Germany and Turkey, while yet another Commission was responsible for managing the Saar. It did this very efficiently. The 1935 plebiscite was organized, wherein a large majority voted in favour of Germany and wanted the Saar to be returned to it.

Some of these commissions performed successfully, however, the Disarmament Commission made no progress in the near impossible task of persuading members to lessen armaments, even though they had all promised to do so when they agreed to the Covenant.

8.6.1 Successes of the League in the Social Sphere

At a social level, the League gained success and most of this was forgotten with its failure at a political level which actually dominated the discourse. Many of the groups that worked for the United Nations now grew out of what was established by the League. Many teams were sent to the Third World to dig fresh water wells, and the Health Organization started a campaign to wipe out leprosy. This idea of wiping out a disease

Check Your Progress

1. Fill in the blanks with appropriate words.
   (a) During the First World War, in October 1918 when peace negotiations started, Woodrow Wilson was adamant that his Fourteen Points should form the basis for the signing of the _____
   (b) There were three sources from where the Court's mandatory jurisdiction came. These were, the Optional Clause of the League of Nations, _____ and special international treaties.

Check Your Progress

2. State whether the following statements are true or false.
   (a) The League was consulted during Germany's dispute with Czechoslovakia and Poland, which led to the Second World War, and it was unable to apply the slightest influence to prevent the outbreak of the War.
   (b) The Treaty of Versailles gave the people of Upper Silesia the right to have a referendum on whether they wanted to be part of Germany or part of Poland.

NOTES

like leprosy from the world was taken up by the United Nations along with its smallpox campaign.

Work was also conducted in the Third World to improve the status of women and prevent child labour/slavery. Drug addiction and drug smuggling were also attacked.

These problems still exist in the twenty-first century, so it would be incorrect to criticize the League for its failure to eradicate them. If we find it a challenge today, the League had a far greater challenge then given the limited resources.

The League was successful in informing the world that these social issues did exist and that they should be tackled or handled carefully. No organization had done this before the League. Although these social problems still continue, the fact remains that they were now being actively investigated by the League and were then focused on by the United Nations and this must be viewed as a success.

8.6.2 Failures of the League to Preserve Peace

In 1923, at the time of Corfu incident, many people wondered what would be the result if a powerful state were to challenge the League on a matter of foremost importance, like, invasion of an innocent country. How effective would be the League, then? Unfortunately, there were several such challenges during the 1930s, and on every occasion the League failed to rise to the occasion.

1. **It was rejected by the USA:** In its initial stage, the League received a serious blow in March 1920 when the United States of America senate rejected both the Settlement of Versailles and the League. It was a serious blow because President, Woodrow Wilson who had actually dreamt of the League and initiated the idea, had refused to join it. With America being a powerful nation, this refusal was a blow to the League's prestige. This refusal by America was in synchronization with its wish to follow an isolationist policy throughout the world. The League had to make do without a powerful member, America, whose membership would have given a lot of financial as well as psychological strength and support.
2. **The League did not allow Germany to join:** Germany was not allowed to join the League in 1919. As Germany had started the war, one of its punishments under the Treaty of Versailles was that it was not to be considered as a member of the international community and, thus, Germany was not allowed to join until 1926. This came as a great blow to Germany but it also showed that the League could not use whatever strength Germany had to support its campaign against aggressive nations.
3. **The League did not allow Russia to join:** Russia was also not allowed to join. In 1917, it had a communist government that generated fear in the minds of the people of Western Europe; and in 1918, the Russian royal family, the Romanovs, were murdered. Such a country could not be allowed to join the League. Russia became a member only in 1934, when Germany left the League. Therefore, during the first few years of its existence, three of the world's most powerful nations: United States of America, Germany and Russia, stayed out of the League. The two most powerful members were Britain and France. During the War, both Britain and France had suffered financially and militarily. Neither wished to get involved in disputes that did not affect Western Europe.

   Therefore, the League had a 'fine ideal to end war for good'. However, if an aggressor nation had decided to ignore the League's verbal warnings, all that the League could do was enforce economic sanctions; and hope that these worked as it could not enforce its decisions using the military force.
4. **It was closely linked with the Treaty of Versailles:** The League was closely linked with the Treaty of Versailles. It also had to defend a peace settlement which was far from perfect. Some of its provisions were bound to cause trouble, for example, the disappointment of Italy and the inclusion of Germans in Czechoslovakia and Poland.
5. **The League played no part during Crisis**
   - **A. Italy (1919):** Italian nationalists in 1919 were angered that the 'Big Three' powers had broken promises to Italy at the Treaty of Versailles and had captured the small port of Fiume. Under the Treaty of Versailles this port was given to Yugoslavia. Fiume was governed by an Italian nationalist called d'Annunzio for 15 months but the newly created League did nothing. The situation was finally solved by the Government of Italy who could not accept the fact that d'Annunzio was seemingly more popular than they were. So, the Italian government bombarded the port of Fiume forced a surrender. In all this, the League played no role despite the fact that it was set up with the specific task of maintaining peace.
   - **B. Teschen (1919):** Teschen was a small town situated between Poland and Czechoslovakia. It was important as it had valuable coalmines and both the Poles and the Czechs wanted these mines. Both Poland and Czechoslovakia were newly created nations, and both wanted to make their respective economies as strong as possible and rich coal mine acquisition would certainly help in this respect. Polish and Czech troops fought in the streets of Teschen in January 1919. Many people died. The League was asked to help and it decided that the 'bulk of the Teschen town should go to Poland, while Czechoslovakia should have one of Teschen's suburbs'. This suburb included the most valuable coalmines and the Poles refused to accept this decision passed by the League. Though there was no more major violence, still the two countries continued to argue over the issue for the next 20 years and the League failed to decide about Teschen's fate.
   - **C. Vilna (1920):** Many years before 1920, Russia took over Vilna. Historically, Vilna was the capital of Lithuania—the state that existed in the middle ages. After the First World War, Lithuania was re-established and Vilna became its capital. However, by 1920, '30% of the population was from Poland with Lithuanians only making up 2% of the city's population'. In 1920, Vilna was seized by the Poles. Lithuania asked for the League's help but the Poles could not be persuaded to leave the city. Until the outbreak of the Second World War, Vilna remained with Poland. The use of force by the Poles led to triumph.
   - **D. War between Russia and Poland (from 1920 to 1921):** In 1920, Poland occupied the land held by Russia. The Russian army was overwhelmed by the Poles and made a swift advance into Russia. By 1921 the Russians had no choice, but to sign the Treaty of Riga, under which nearly 80,000 square kilometres of Russian land was handed over to Poland. This one Treaty doubled the size of Poland.

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There were questions on the sincerity of the League in dealing with this violation of another country by Poland. Like in several other crises, the League did nothing in this issue. By 1919, Russia was a communist country and the West was greatly feared by this development. After the League had been set up, Britain, France and America sent troops to attack Russia. According to the British War Minister, Winston Churchill the plan was to strangle Communist Russia at birth. Once again, it seemed to outsiders as if League members were selecting which countries were acceptable and which were not. Russia's allied invasion was a failure and it only served to make Communist Russia even more antagonistic to the West.

E. **The Invasion of the Ruhr (1923):** Under the Treaty of Versailles, Germany was ordered to pay reparations either in cash or kind for war damages. The Germans failed to pay an installment in 1922. They claimed that 'they simply could not rather than did not want to'. However, the Allies refused to accept this as the anti-German feeling at this time was still strong. Both the French and the Belgians believed that they had to take some strong action to 'teach Germany a lesson'.

Contrary to the rules formulated by the League in 1923, Germany's most important industrial zone, Ruhr, was invaded by France and Belgium. Within Europe, France was considered a senior League member like Britain, and the anti-German feeling that was felt throughout Europe allowed both France and Belgium to break their own rules which were introduced by the League. The League needed the support of its major alliances in Europe, Britain and France to enforce its will. France was one of the invaders and Britain was its major supporter. Other nations believed that if you wanted to break the rules formulated by the League, you could. Few countries criticized what France and Belgium did. However, the example that they set for others in future years was obvious. The League failed on this occasion, primarily due to its involvement in breaking its own rules.

F. **Italy and Albania (1923):** The border between Italy and Albania was not clear and this issue was never addressed by the Treaty of Versailles. It was a continuous source of irritation between these two nations. A mixed nationality survey team was sent out to settle the issue in 1923. The section of the Italian survey team became separated from the main party while traveling to the disputed area. The five Italians, who had been in hiding, were shot by gunmen. Greece was accused by Italy of planning the whole incident and it demanded payment of a large fine. But Greece refused to pay. In response, navy was sent to the Greek island of Corfu by the Italians and bombarded the coastline. Greece requested the League for help but Italy, which was lead by Benito Mussolini, refused to recognize its competence to deal with the problem or issue. Mussolini threatened to withdraw Italy from the League, and persuaded the League through the Conference of Ambassadors, to fine Greece 50 million lire.

To follow-up this success, the Yugoslavian government was invited by Mussolini to discuss the ownership of Fiume. Under the Treaty of Versailles, Fiume was given to Yugoslavia but with the evidence of a bombarded Corfu, the Yugoslavs handed over the port to Italy with little argument.

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6. Serious Weaknesses in the Covenant

Article 11 of the League's Covenant stated, 'any war or threat of war is a matter of concern to the whole League and the League shall take action that may safeguard peace'.

Therefore, any conflict between nations which ended in war and the victory of one nation over the other must be considered as the League's failure. And immediately the League must take action to make peace. These made it complicated to ensure that decisive action was taken against any aggressor. It was very difficult to get unanimous decisions as the League had no military power of its own and though under Article 16 members were to supply troops if necessary, a resolution was passed in 1923 that each member would decide for its own self whether or not to fight a war in crises. This clearly presented the collective security issue which was a non-serious one. There were several attempts made to strengthen the Covenant, but it failed to get unanimous vote. In 1924, the most notable attempt was made by the British Labour Prime Minister, Ramsy MacDonald. He introduced a resolution which was known as the Geneva Protocol. This pleaded arbitration to be accepted by the members and to help any victim of unprovoked aggression. But unfortunately, a resolution which was proposed by one British labour government was actually rejected by the Conservative government of the same country and the League was left still lacking real power.

7. The World Economic Crises

This also contributed towards the League's decline. 'It brought unemployment and falling living standards to most countries and caused extreme right-wing governments to come to power in Japan and Germany, together with Mussolini in Italy, they refused to keep to the rules and took a series of actions which revealed the League's weaknesses'.

8. The Japanese invasion of Manchuria (1931)

Japanese troops invaded the Chinese territory of Manchuria in 1931. China appealed to the League after this aggression, which condemned Japan and ordered to withdraw its troops. On Japan's refusal, a commission was appointed by the League under Lord Lytton and in 1932 it decided that there was fault on both the sides and it was suggested that Manchuria should be governed by the League. However, this proposal was rejected by Japan and it withdrew from the League in March 1933. Britain and France without American help were reluctant to boycott Japan in trade in case it led to war as they were ill equipped to win. Therefore, Japan had successfully defied the League.

9. The Failure of the World Disarmament Conference

During 1932–33, the World Disarmament Conference met under the auspices of the League, and its failure came as a grave disappointment. The Germans demanded for equality of armaments with France, but France demanded that this should be postponed for at least 8 years. Hitler used the attitude of the French as an excuse to withdraw Germany from both the Conference and the League.

10. The Italian Invasion of Abyssinia

This caused the most serious blow to the League of Nations. In 1935, after the invasion of Abyssinia, Italy was condemned by the League and economic

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sanctions were imposed. However, exports of oil, coal and steel to Italy were not included in this. Italy completed the Abyssinian conquest without much inconvenience. A few weeks later, these economic sanctions were lifted and Mussolini successfully flouted the League. Britain and France, which were the powerful member states, were not interested in antagonizing Mussolini too much, so as to keep him as a supporter against the real danger: Germany. However, the results were devastating. First, the sanctions annoyed Mussolini who began to draw closer to Hitler. Second, small states lost all faith in the League and Hitler broke the Treaty of Versailles. After 1935, the League was never taken seriously again.

8.7 END OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

The League of Nations gained a reputation for failing as a peace-keeping organization. However, where the parties to a dispute were well disposed towards acts of mediation and arbitration, the League was able to facilitate agreements using its limited powers. In the border conflict in 1925 between Greece and Bulgaria the League was able to affect a troop withdrawal and arrive at an arrangement for maintaining peace to which both parties could subscribe. In 1921, it was able to mediate in the dispute between Finland and Sweden over the Aaland Islands. However, reputation of the League of Nations suffered, mainly due to European dictators. They flourished throughout the remaining years of its existence.

After the First World War, a parliamentary representative democracy and federal republic was established in Germany. Most scholars are of the opinion that this was bound to fail as Germany had suffered a major humiliation at the War and accepted crippling terms of the Treaty of Versailles under this leadership. The fall of Weimer Republic was responsible for the rise of Hitler and Nazi Party. The Nazi Party came to power in the 1930s. The Nazis supported dictatorship and ended Germany's fourteen year experiment with democracy. In Germany, the Weimar Republic of the 1920s coexisted peacefully with the League, but in the 1930s, the Nazi Government exposed its weakness in the face of determined aggression. The organization's inadequacy was amply displayed in the Saar, in Rhineland, and in the takeovers of Austria and Czechoslovakia.

Under Mussolini, the Italian Government showed a disregard for its strictures during the Abyssinian crisis, disregarding the League's attempts at conciliation and its threats of sanctions. Later, the League was still undermined further by the Hoare-Laval Pact, under which Abyssinia was handed over to the Italian dictator. The League of Nations legacy to its successor, the United Nations, was a varied one. Clearly it had been very weak to solve the problems which were posed by the aggressive dictators. On the other hand, it made encouraging progress on a number of humanitarian fronts or grounds.

Undoubtedly, the establishment of the League was a revolutionary step, as it created the belief that 'aggressive war is a crime against humanity and it is the duty of every state to prevent it'. Although the League could not achieve much success during its existence, yet it greatly succeeded in spreading the idea of international cooperation. Though the League was unable to preserve the security and peace of the world, still one must not lose sight of the excellent work done by the League of Nations and its agencies in various fields. The League's greatest achievement was that it did not die but merged with the UNO as Lord Cecil said, 'The League is dead, Long Live the United Nations'.

Check Your Progress

3. Fill in the blanks with appropriate words.
   (a) The Refugee Organization was led by _____.
   (b) In the earlier creation stage, the League faced a serious blow in March 1920 when the United States of America senate rejected both the _____ and the League.
4. State whether the following statements are true or false.
   (a) Three of the world's most powerful nations, the US, Poland and Russia, played no part in supporting the League.
   (b) After the First World War, Lithuania was re-established and Vilna became its capital.

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ACTIVITY

1. Write an essay on the USA's role in the genesis of the League of Nations.
2. Conduct a research on the Internet and find out more about the UNO.

DID YOU KNOW?

In 1935, the League completed its successful 15 year administration of the Saar territory conducting a plebiscite under the supervision of an international military force. But even this success was not sufficient to offset the failure of the Disarmament Conference, Germany's withdrawal from the League (1933), and Italy's successful attack on Ethiopia in defiance of the League's economic sanctions (1935).

8.8 SUMMARY

In this unit, you have learnt that:

- Many world leaders like Woodrow Wilson and Jan Smuts, began advocating the requirement for an international organization to protect permanent peace and dispute settlement by arbitration during the First World War.
- America entered the First World War in 1917 and was horrified to see the devastation that followed.
- In April 1919, the Paris Peace Conference adopted the League of Nations constitution and the League of Nations formally came into being on 10 January 1920, the same day when the Treaty of Versailles became operative. The headquarters of the League were in Geneva in Switzerland, and Sir Eric Drummond was its first Secretary General.
- During the 1930s the League of Nations authority was first challenged by the Japanese invasion of Manchuria in 1931, Italian attack on Abyssinia in 1935, and later several times by other countries in the late 1930s.
- The three main constitutional organs of the League of Nations were, the General Assembly, the Council, and the Secretariat. The two essential wings of the League were the Permanent Court of International Justice and the International Labour Organization.
- The principal Sections of the Secretariat were—Political; Financial and Economic; Communications and Transit; Minorities and Administration (Saar and Danzig); Mandates; Disarmament; Health; Social (Opium and Traffic in Women and Children); Intellectual Cooperation and International Bureau; Legal and Information.
- The League's desire was to end war, and the only criteria that can be used to classify success or achievement was whether war was avoided and a peaceful settlement formulated after a crisis between two nations. Some of the political disputes were resolved by the League. In the early 1920s, several political

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disputes were referred to the League and in many cases the decisions of the League were accepted.

- It would be unfair to dismiss the League as a total failure. Valuable results were achieved by many of the committees and commissions and much was done to promote international co-operation. One of the most successful achievements of the League of Nations was the formation of International Labour Organization (ILO) under its French socialist director, Albert Thomas.
- At a social level, the League gained success and most of this was forgotten with its failure at a political level which actually dominated the discourse. Many of the groups that worked for the United Nations grew out of what was established by the League. Many teams were sent to the Third World to dig fresh water wells, and the Health Organization started a campaign to wipe out leprosy.
- The League of Nations gained a reputation for failing as a peace-keeping organization. However, where the parties to a dispute were well disposed towards acts of mediation and arbitration, the League was able to facilitate agreements using its limited powers.

8.9 KEY TERMS

- **Armistice:** A situation in a war where the warring parties agree to stop the fight
- **General Assembly:** A body that consisted of representatives of all members of the League of Nations
- **Geneva Protocol:** The Protocol for the Prohibition of the use of asphyxiation, and poisonous gases in War; it also prohibited bacteriological methods of warfare, including chemical and biological weapons
- **League Council:** This was a much smaller body which met more often than the General Assembly, at least thrice a year and Britain, France, Italy and Japan were its permanent members
- **League of Nations:** An international body that came into being after the end of First World War, and whose task was simply to ensure that war never broke out again
- **Leon Bourgeois:** A French statesman whose ideas influenced the Radical Party regarding various issues
- **Paris Peace Conference:** The meeting of the Allied victors following the end of First World War to set the peace terms for the defeated Central Powers
- **Permanent Court of International Justice:** Often referred to as the World Court, it was an international attached to the League
- **Permanent Secretariat:** A body established at Geneva, comprising experts from various spheres under the Secretary General's direction
- **Treaty of Riga:** Under this Treaty, nearly 80,000 square kilometres of Russian land was handed over to Poland

8.10 ANSWERS TO 'CHECK YOUR PROGRESS'

1. (a) Armistice; (b) general international conventions
2. (a) True; (b) True
3. (a) Fridtj of Nansen; (b) Settlement of Versailles
4. (a) False; (b) True

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8.11 QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Short-Answer Questions

1. Write a short note on Geneva Protocol.
2. How far was the League of Nations a success in the social sphere?
3. What were the functions of the General Assembly of the League of Nations?
4. Write a short note on any two achievements of the League of Nations.
5. Which were the major events that led to the collapse of the League of Nations?

Long-Answer Questions

1. Discuss the origin of League of Nations.
2. What were the aims of the League of Nations?
3. Explain the organization of the League of Nations.
4. What were the achievements of the League of Nations and committees and commissions?
5. Discuss the failure of the League of Nations.
6. Discuss the failure of the World Disarmament Conference (1932–33).

8.12 FURTHER READING

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Endnote

1. Vandenbosch and Hogan. *The United Nations, Background, Organization Functions, Activities.* p. 68.

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UNIT 9 RISE OF FASCISM AND NAZISM

Structure

9.0 Introduction
9.1 Unit Objectives
9.2 Causes for the Rise of Dictatorship or Totalitarianism in Europe
9.3 Rise of Fascism in Italy
9.4 Rise of Nazism in Germany
9.5 Civil War and the Rise of Dictatorship in Spain
9.6 Military Dictatorship in Turkey
9.7 Summary
9.8 Key Terms
9.9 Answers to 'Check Your Progress'
9.10 Questions and Exercises
9.11 Further Reading

9.0 INTRODUCTION

History is replete with examples where dictators have left nations exhausted, overturned and on the verge of a social, cultural, economic and political breakdown. Dictatorship is a concept that has its origins in the mind of a person, who solely wants to achieve a state of total control over all the intricacies of a nation, and visualizes himself to be the only source of political, social and economic emancipation.

The history of the world very conspicuously reflects the above stated scenario. The world has been a witness to the nature, scope and effects of dictatorship in almost every century. However, the most prominent of all the dictatorships have been seen in the post-First World War era. After the First World War, nations of the world geared towards creating amnesty between the nations, especially Europe.

The first decade post-First World War saw rampant changes in the cultural, social and political ideologies of various nations. This period saw the breakdown of old nations, old ways of thinking, and the formation of new nations with new identities and territories, including various political and social changes. Various international organizations too were set up which helped in establishing global peace and the phenomenon of democracy especially in Europe was received with open arms. The European nations saw the fall of most monarchies and the consequent establishment of a system where people elected their own representatives, had rights to vote along with a governmental system which catered to the newly established social and cultural set-up.

However, this reform was short-lived. There was a persistent conservative authoritarianism in smaller nations of Central and Eastern Europe, and nations like Germany, Soviet Union and Italy were dominated by radical dictatorship. Dictatorship in these countries led to an unprecedented control over the masses by the dictator, who vehemently rejected all forms of parliamentary rule. Europe in particular witnessed totalitarian dictatorship in various forms. Apart from affecting the political nature of the nations, these states also affected the overall workings of other sovereign states

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and openly flouted the norms established by the League of Nations which was primarily formed to maintain international peace.

The one characteristic feature of the dictatorial states is the belief in the supremacy of the state and everything it constituted, except for the sovereignty of the individuals who were a part of it. It believed in doing 'everything for the state, everything within the state and nothing outside the state'. According to a few writers, totalitarianism and dictatorship constituted a tendency to subordinate all institutions and classes to the state for achieving the supreme objective and victory of control. Lenin, in this context stated that a 'dedicated minority could take over control from a less dedicated majority', which exemplified a type of totalitarian control. He also projected how human rights and institutions were subordinated to the needs of a single group, like the Communist party.

However, other historians claimed that the totalitarian or dictatorial states used modern means to use complete political power. The state tried to control the economic, social, intellectual and cultural aspects of the lives of the people. Any deviation in art, music, or even family behaviour was considered criminal. There was nothing that was politically neutral, and nothing that was outside the scope or control of the state. This was in total contrast to the principles of the American and French Revolutions, which had sought to limit state power and protect the rights of individuals. 'Totalitarians were disgusted by liberal ideals such as peaceful progress and individual freedom.' They believed in the power of the 'will', preached conflict and used violence as an effective tool. The individual was infinitely less important than the state, and there were no lasting rights, only individual rewards for services rendered loyally to the state. A form of modern totalitarianism or dictatorship is the concept of fascism, a term that glorified war and militarism, most commonly associated with Hitler and Mussolini. Fascism dominated nations shared characteristics of ethnocentrism, extreme nationalism, often to the extent of expansionism, antisocialism—intended to destroy working class movements, and association with powerful capitalists and landowners, mass parties, etc., which appealled to the middle class and peasantry.

Dictatorship, totalitarianism or fascism—all have common elements and characteristics, however all these ideologies have a common result—defeat, in all parameters and aspects. However, if the dictators see the people as important catalysts for reforms, dictatorship can be perceived to be good in many ways. The present unit details the various causes and implications of dictatorship in countries like Germany, Italy, Spain and Turkey.

9.1 UNIT OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to:

- Recognize and assess the causes behind the rise of dictatorship or totalitarianism in Europe
- Identify the causes of Fascism in Italy, Nazism in Germany, and dictatorship in Spain
- Identify how dictatorship led to the modernization of Turkey

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9.2 CAUSES FOR THE RISE OF DICTATORSHIP OR TOTALITARIANISM IN EUROPE

Various factors were responsible for the rise of dictatorship or totalitarianism in Europe. In the first place, the democratic governments established after the First World War proved to be disappointing as they failed to resolve social, economic and political problems facing their countries in the post-war period. Their failure was fully exploited to establish dictatorial regimes. Also, the worldwide Economic Depression of 1929 caused enormous hardships and sufferings to people and gave rise to feelings of frustration, despondency and despair. Similarly, the failure of the League of Nations to check aggression and preserve world peace also greatly contributed to the rise of totalitarian regimes. Japan, Italy and Germany committed aggression with impunity and the League of Nations was incompetent in taking any action against them.

In addition to the general causes which contributed to the growth of totalitarian regimes in various countries, there were also some specific causes, which augmented dictatorship in Europe. First, the humiliating treatment meted out to Germany by the Treaty of Versailles immediately after the First World War, created a sense of hatred and revenge amongst the Germans. The Treaty had mutilated Germany physically, humiliated her emotionally, suffocated her economically, and encircled her territorially. This greatly offended the popular sentiments of Germany and Hitler fully exploited these sentiments to establish his dictatorship in Germany.

Secondly, in Italy, the Treaty of Versailles was also seen in a negative light. Though Italy fought on the side of the bigger nations, it could not gain whatever had been promised to her during the War. On the other hand, Italy had to face poverty, discontentment and disorder. The Italian leaders felt that though they had won the War, they had lost peace. Naturally, the people of Italy sought help from those who could alleviate them to achieve national ambitions. And they found such attributes in Benito Mussolini, who established his totalitarian rule in Italy.

Thirdly, the successful bid by America and other European powers to curb the growing power of Japan by imposing restrictions on its navy and other ambitions in China, through the Washington Conference of 1921–22 was exploited by the military leaders in the name of ultra-nationalism in Japan to bring discredit to the democratic government and establish a totalitarian rule in Japan.

Fourthly, Communism came to Russia during the First World War period. After the War, Communist leaders were determined to spread Communism all over the world. They crushed all the anti-revolutionary forces within the country with firm hands, tried to promote Communism in other countries of world by resorting to all types of methods.

9.3 RISE OF FASCISM IN ITALY

During the First World War, though Italy fought on the side of the victorious Allies, it emerged from the War as a dissatisfied nation. Italy was not happy by the Paris Peace Settlement (1919) because it was not given what had been promised by the Allies in the Treaty of London (1915). When the interests of Italy and Yugoslavia conflicted, the Allied powers decided in favour of Yugoslavia. This was the main reason of Italy's discontent in the post-First World War period. Italy comprehensively failed to secure

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anything tangible at the Paris Peace Conference and was left humiliated, disappointed and wounded. Elaborating the situation of Italy, historian J.H. Jackson summarized that, 'Italians felt themselves disgraced in the eyes of the world, swindled by their own politicians. The War had cost Italy dearly, draining her of money, saddling her with a budget deficit of over twelve thousand million Lire thereby, increasing the cost of living. The political party in power in 1919 was pacifist, its leaders old and cynical. It is little wonder that the Italians turned to violence. A crop of secret societies, blood brotherhoods, terrorist gangs of every sort, sprang up all over the country in soil traditionally fertile for such growths.'[1] The people of Italy felt that the country had failed to secure anything favourable for itself due to the incapability of its leadership and thus, they supported Fascism.

Totalitarianism emerged in Italy in the shape of Fascism under the leadership of Benito Mussolini. The word Fascism had its origin from the Roman word *Fascio* which means a bundle of rods which was once the emblem of Roman authority.

In the post-First World War period, the Italian government was faced with a plethora of problems, which were beyond its capacity to solve. Demobilization after the War increased unemployment and the country faced economic bankruptcy, starvation and inflation. Strikes, lockouts and riots by people became the order of the day. The value of national currency fell steadily and the cost of living rose very high. The uneasiness of the government to tackle these mounting problems was quite evident. Between 1919 and 1922, six-coalition governments mostly of heterogeneous character were formed in Italy. This situation prepared the ground for Fascism and the resulting autocracy was the product of the prevailing situation where democratic sentiments proved incompatible with effective parliamentary government.

The Russian Revolution also inspired the authoritarian leadership of Italy. The socialist leaders of the country tried to use the fragile economic condition to their advantage and tried to imbibe the Soviet system of Communism in Italy. Daily strikes and lockout of these socialist leaders further created a chaotic condition, which the Fascist fully exploited.

The faulty system of franchise prevailing in the country and the programme of the Fascists that promised people 'order and glory' also greatly attracted them and they extended their wholehearted support to its leaders. Some of the main principles emphasized by the Fascists were:

(i) Democracy was not suitable for the country because it widens the gap between the rich and the poor, therefore the country could make progress only under one leader.

(ii) The interests of the country must get precedence over individual interests.

(iii) Quality was more important than quantity.

(iv) The Fascist leaders who embodied the will, sentiments and emotions of the people were symbols of the nation's pride.

(v) It favoured equal control over all sections of society.

(vi) It favoured aggressive foreign policy and regarded war as an instrument of national interest.

Role of Benito Mussolini

Mussolini and the fascist party were attractive to many sections of society because Mussolini himself said that he aimed to rescue Italy from the existing feeble

NOTES

government. He played an important role in establishing a fascist rule in Italy. Mussolini was born in 1883 as the son of a blacksmith in Romagna. Politically, he was a socialist but began to make a name for himself as a journalist, and became the editor of the socialist newspaper *Avanti.* He separated from the socialists because they were against Italian intervention in the war, and finally started his own newspaper, *Popolo d'Italia.* Before the formation of the fascist party, he was not well known in Italy and outside. Commenting on Mussolini JH Jackson said, 'Who was this Mussolini? He was totally unknown outside Italy, and not well known within. The outside world was not much reassured when they heard his record. Son of a village blacksmith, christened Benito after Benito Juarez, the Mexican revolutionary; a firebrand Socialist in his young days; eleven times imprisoned; leader of an abortive coup in June, 1914, during which "red days" twenty men were killed; editor of the Socialist paper *Avanti* until November, 1914, when he was expelled from the party for advocating war against Austria; then editor of the *Popolo d'Italia*, a paper directed by himself and founded, it has been said, with French funds; creator of the Fascist groups; leader of riots against the Socialists who had once been his colleagues it was not a comforting record.'[2]

During the First World War, Mussolini joined the army. The War greatly aroused his patriotic feelings and after the War in 1919, he founded the fascist party with a Socialist and Republican programme and showed sympathy with the factory occupations of 1919–20. The local party units were known as the *fasci di combattimento* or fighting groups. The word *fasces* meant the bundle of rods with protruding axe which used to symbolize the authority and power of the ancient Roman consuls.[3] He tried to arouse national sentiments of the Italian people and inspired them to work for a progressive and powerful Italy. Taking full advantage of the prevailing discontent in the country, Mussolini organized a march to Rome, where the King, Victor Emmanuel III, terrified by this action, dismissed Prime Minister Luigi Facta and invited Benito Mussolini to form the government.

On 30 October 1922, Mussolini came to power in a constitutional manner. Having won over big business houses, Mussolini began to make conciliatory speeches about the Roman Catholic Church which he had earlier criticized. Seeing him as a good anti-communist weapon even Pope Pius XI swung the Church into line behind Mussolini. When Mussolini announced that he had dropped the Republican part of his programme in 1922, even the king began to look more favourably on the fascists. The anti-fascist forces on the other hand failed to cooperate with each other and made no determined effort to drive the fascists out from Italy.

After assuming power, Mussolini devoted himself to make Italy a powerful nation. During that time, the economic condition of the country was awful. Describing the condition of Italy, historian J.H. Jackson observed, 'Now was the time to begin the real work of Fascist reconstruction of Italy. Mussolini had achieved power by force; he could hold it only if he succeeded in improving the economic conditions of his people. Italy was a poor country; with two thirds of land as sterile and mountainous not enough wheat could be grown to feed her population; mineral deposits were low with and no colonies rich in raw materials, she had to rely on exports from foreign countries for the raw materials to industries such as coal, iron, petrol, and cotton. To pay for these imports, she exported mainly wine, olives and fruit, leatherwork, woodwork and glass; the products of the traditional skill of Italian husbandmen and craftsmen. These exports were not enough to pay for the imports, and the balance was made up, before the war, in a rather humiliating way by the remittances sent back to their families by [the] Italian emigrants, and by the money spent in the country by

NOTES

foreign tourists. During the war the tourist traffic ceased, and after the war foreign countries had further no use for Italian emigrants. Poverty increased in Italy, and the resultant dissatisfaction was behind the strike epidemic of post-war years.'[4]

To change the fate of Italy, Mussolini carried out administrative reforms and balanced the national budget. He took measures to stall further devaluation of Italian currency. He tried to eradicate illiteracy by making elaborate provisions for education. He introduced compulsory military training and tried to enhance the naval power of Italy to match it with the naval powers of other European countries, particularly Germany and France. He tried to improve the condition of workers by nationalizing all factories and mills and set up syndicates to improve relations between the capitalists and workers. He brought more lands under cultivation and tried to improve and expand transport system and railways. Apart from these, he took several other steps to make Italy economically self-sufficient.

In 1929, Mussolini concluded the Lateran Treaty with the Pope by which the Pope agreed to accept a subordinate position to Mussolini. The Pope was compensated for giving up his political rights. He was permitted to keep in his possession the Vatican and the Cathedral of St. Peters. He was authorized to appoint bishops and teachers to teach religion. Under the pact, the fascist government recognized the Roman Catholic religion as the state religion and religious instructions were made compulsory in all schools. Some historians see the ending of the long breach between the church and the state as Mussolini's most lasting and worthwhile achievement.

Benefits of the Fascist Rule

Much of the Fascist policy was concerned with improving the economy, though Mussolini knew very little economics. The big drive was for self-sufficiency which was essential for a warrior nation. The early years of Mussolini's rule were successful. Industry was encouraged with government subsidies so that the iron and steel production doubled by 1930, and during this period other industrial productions had also gone up. The 'Battle for Grain' in the 1920s encouraged farmers to concentrate on wheat production and by 1935 wheat imports had been cut by 75 per cent. A programme of land reclamation was launched involving irrigation and planting of trees in mountainous regions, as part of the drive to improve the agricultural yield.

An impressive programme of public work was designed to reduce unemployment. It included the construction of roads, bridges, railway lines, flats, sports complex, schools and new townships on reclaimed land. Due to these infrastructural advantages, education and sporting activities grew manifold and the country performed exceedingly well in sports during the fascist rule as the Italian Soccer Team won the World Cup twice in 1934 and 1938. The 'after-work' organization or *Topolaboro* provided the Italian people many options like cheap holiday packages, cruises for tours, theaters, dramatic societies, libraries, orchestra and sporting organizations to do in their leisure time. To promote the image of the country as a great power, a pragmatic foreign policy was carried out.

However, the promise of the early years of Mussolini's rule was in many ways far from being fulfilled. Little was done to remedy its basic shortage of raw materials like coal and oil. Therefore as an iron and steel producer, Italy could not match even a small state like Belgium. Though the 'Battle for Grain' was a successful endeavour, it was achieved only at the expense of dairy and arable farming. During that period, the wages of farm labourers fell by 20 to 40 per cent. As a result, agriculture remained inefficient and farm labourers became the poorest class in Italy.

NOTES

In order to show that Italy had a strong economy, Mussolini revalued the currency of Italy, Lira, far too high at 90 to the pound instead of 150 in 1926. Unfortunately, this made Italian exports more expensive in the world market and led to reduced orders. The Great Depression which occurred during the rule of Mussolini in 1929 made matters worse. Exports fell further, unemployment rose to 1.1 million and yet the government refused to devalue the Lira. The regime of Mussolini was inefficient and corrupt, so many of its policies were not carried out properly. Part of the problem was Mussolini himself because he tried to do everything himself and refused to delegate power to others because he wanted total control. On this, DM Smith has observed that, 'By trying to control everything, he ended by controlling very little'.

Mussolini's Foreign Policy

The failure of Italy to secure the land promised to it at the Paris Peace Conference had caused much bitterness and dissatisfaction in Italy. Mussolini was determined to revive the past glory of Italy and to make it a great nation by addressing the concerns of injustice meted out to it after the War and he followed an aggressive foreign policy. He himself asserted, 'The main duty of fascist Italy is to keep her army, navy and air forces ready. We shall have to be alert so that we can rearm the five million people at a moment and only then our rights and demands will gain recognition'. In fact, Mussolini wanted to demonstrate to the world that Italy had enough strength not only to protect herself but also attain the lands she had been promised. An aggressive foreign policy was also helpful in diverting the attention of people from domestic politics. Italy was also keen to regain her Roman inheritance by establishing a Mediterranean and African empire. Mussolini openly declared, 'We are hungry for land, because we are prolific and intend to remain so'.

The objectives of Italy's foreign policy during the fascist regime were summarized by Katharine Duff, 'As things were, the Mediterranean far from being her empire was her prisons; Corsica, Malta, Tunis and Cyprus formed that prison's bars while Gibraltar and Suez guarded its gates and Greece, Turkey and Egypt were ready to complete the chain encircling her. Determined first to break her prison bars and then to march to the ocean without access to which she must be considered only half independent. Italy's might push towards the Indian Ocean by linking Libya with Ethiopia through the Sudan towards the Atlantic through French North Africa'. Thus, Italy was keen to have control over the South Eastern Europe, Africa and even further ahead.

Italy and South-Eastern Europe

Mussolini first concentrated his attention on South-Eastern Europe and took various aggressive steps to strengthen Italy's position in this area. By the Treaty of Laussane in 1923, Italy got back the Dodacanse Islands, which it had surrendered to Greece in 1920. In the same year the Italian army bombed the Corfu Island and occupied it. After the League's intervention and receipt of compensation from Greece, Italy left Corfu. This was a boost to the prestige of Mussolini.

Italy concluded the Treaty of Rome with Yugoslavia in 1924 by which the free state of Fiume was divided between the two. The city of Fiume went to Italy and neighbouring Porto Baros went to Yugoslavia. Likewise, in 1926 the Treaty of Tirana with Albania was signed by which Albania became a dependency of Italy and in 1939 it was annexed to Italy. At the London Naval Conference in 1930, Mussolini demanded naval parity with France, and in 1931 he advocated the revision of the peace treaties.

NOTES

By these aggressive foreign policy measures Mussolini was able to strengthen Italy's control on the Adriatic, increase her prestige in the Mediterranean, and extended its diplomatic and commercial influence in South-Eastern Europe.

Seizure of Abyssinia

Abyssinia was the next victim of the expansionist policy of Mussolini. Italy was prompted to undertake this action because:

(i) It needed more territory for the growing population of the country.

(ii) It needed raw materials for its growing industries and markets to get finished products.

(iii) This step was essential to divert the attention of the people from the miserable economic condition of the country.

(iv) A war against Abyssinia could arouse patriotic spirit of the Italians who had suffered a defeat at the hands of Abyssinia in 1896.

(v) The region of Abyssinia was of strategic value to Italy. It could link the Italian possession in Somaliland, Eritrea and South-East Africa.

Although Mussolini had nourished designs against Abyssinia for a long time, he did not actually undertake this project till he was sure of a military victory against it. The attitude of the League of Nations and other big powers towards the conquest of Manchuria by Japan convinced Mussolini that despite the principle of collective security, nobody was going to stop him from conquering Abyssinia.

Further, due to the Great Economic Depression, the great powers of Europe were preoccupied with their domestic problems. Internationally, they were occupied with problem of Hitler's rise to power and the pursuit of an aggressive policy by him. Taking this opportunity into consideration, the Italian troops entered into Abyssinia in October 1935. Immediately the League of Nations declared that, 'Italy had resorted to war in disregard to its obligations under Article 12 of the Covenant'. The League appointed a Coordination Committee and asked every member of the League to prohibit all loans or credits to Italy and place an embargo on export to Italy. However, the Italian forces continued to penetrate into Abyssinia and ultimately occupied it in May 1936.

Italy until the Second World War

During the inter-war period, Mussolini opposed the Union of Germany with Austria, because such a union was likely to restrict the Italian influence in Europe. In 1931, he opposed the tariff union between these two countries, and in 1934 Nazis revolted and wounded the Chancellor of Austria. Mussolini immediately ordered the Italian Army to help Austria. Thus, Austria was saved from German annexation.

In South Eastern Europe, Italy tried to steal a march over France by impressing on the states of the region to form alliances with Italy rather than France. Initially Italy was able to outwit France by forming alliances with both Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia. However, later France was able to increase its political influence over small states in Europe. Italy made efforts to destroy political influence of France by the dissolution of the Entente and substituting it with a combination directed from Italy. When Italy was unable to have a monopoly over these alliances, it encouraged Germany against France's plans of reconstruction. Even in the matter of disarmament, Italy supported Germany's stand of parity between Germany and France. Italy was convinced that it would give the Italian army balance of power in the European continent.

Though Italy was keen to secure German cooperation, Italy's stand on Austria against Germany made it practically impossible for the two to come closer. Consequently, on 7 January 1935, Italy signed a pact with France in Rome. By this Agreement, France met the main demands of Italy in Africa in return for concession by Italy in Central and Eastern Europe. The two parties also undertook to respect their mutual frontiers and abstain from meddling in the internal affairs of one another. Both Italy and France also agreed to oppose any unilateral revision of the Treaty of Versailles particularly with respect to German rearmament. However, after France participated in the economic sanctions enforced against Italy on account of her intervention in Abyssinia, the friendly relations suffered a setback.

After the emergence of Hitler, and the rise of Germany under his leadership, Italy started improving its relations with Great Britain. At the Stresa Conference (1935), Italy had aligned itself with France and Great Britain. In January 1937, Great Britain and Italy issued a declaration that they had agreed to preserve status quo in the Mediterranean region. Another agreement was concluded by the two countries in April 1938 by which they regulated a number of issues in the Mediterranean and the Near-East arising out of Italy's conquest of Abyssinia.

Mussolini by philosophy and attitude was closer to Germany. Therefore, in 1937, Italy joined the anti-Comintern Pact, concluded by Germany and Japan in 1936, as a result of which the Berlin-Rome-Tokyo Axis came into existence. Hitler referred to this Axis as 'a great world political triangle and determined to protect decisively their right and vital interests'. In March 1938, Hitler occupied Austria. Mussolini had assumed the self-imposed role as protector of Austria. He informed Hitler that 'Austria did not interest him at all'. By this act, Mussolini was able to earn the gratitude of Hitler but lost his cherished dream of following an independent policy and establishing protectorate over Austria.

Though the Second World War started in September 1939, Italy remained neutral in the initial phase. Its plan was to attack when the Allies were almost exhausted, because that would save Italy from the destruction of the War and would entitle it to share in the spoils of the victory. In 1940, when France was on the verge of collapse, Italy declared war against Britain and France. It formally joined the Triple Alliance with Germany and Japan on 27 September 1940. Italy declared war against Russia in June 1941 and against USA in December 1941. However, after 1942 the course of war changed and the defeat of Mussolini and Italy became imminent, due to continuous defeats and internal economic crisis. In 1943, Mussolini was arrested but later the German army freed Mussolini and put him back into power. But, when the Allies attacked North Italy in 1945, Italy unconditionally surrendered to Allies. This marked the fall of Fascist Italy.

9.4 RISE OF NAZISM IN GERMANY

The First World War ended disastrously for Germany. The collapse of Germany led to political turmoils in the country. Kaiser William II, the last German Emperor, was held responsible for the debacle of the German army and the miseries of people. A countrywide anti-monarchist revolution compelled Kaiser to abdicate his throne. To take shelter, he fled with his family to Holland. With his abdication, a Provisional

Rise of Fascism and Nazism

NOTES

Check Your Progress

1. Fill in the blanks with appropriate words.
   (a) The failure of the _____ to check aggression and preserve world peace greatly contributed to the rise of totalitarian regimes.
   (b) The _____ believed that the interests of the individuals must get precedence over state's interests.
2. State whether the following are true or false.
   (a) Mussolini separated from the socialists because they were against the Italian intervention in the First World War.
   (b) Mussolini concluded the Lateran Treaty in 1929 with the Pope by which the Pope agreed to accept a subordinate position.

NOTES

Democratic Government was established under the socialist leadership of Elbert and Sehidemann to manage the affairs of the state simultaneously. The Provisional Democratic Government conducted elections on the basis of adult franchise to elect members to the Democratic National Assembly. The Assembly was entrusted with the responsibility of drafting a Democratic Constitution for the German Republic. The Constituent Assembly met at Weimer on 6 February 1919 because Berlin was still torn by political unrest and drafted a new Constitution. This Constitution came into effect on 11 August 1919 and was known as 'Weimer Constitution'.

The Weimer Republic, which bridged the years between the Hohenzollerns and the Nazis, had a number of outstanding achievements to its credit. Due to the introduction of the Dawes Plan in 1924, Germany witnessed unprecedented prosperity in all sectors. Industrial production recorded an enormous increase. Huge foreign contribution and aid enabled Germany to re-establish the currency and rationalization of its industrial and business life. The establishment of branches of the foreign firms in Germany not only led to the utilization of the German raw materials but also provided employment to the massive unemployed German labourers.

In the sphere of foreign policy, Germany, during this period pursued three aims: (1) to induce the Allies to evacuate areas of Germany, which they had occupied; (2) to restore the sovereignty of the Reich, and recovery of Danzig and the frontier in Upper Silesia; and (3) settlement of the reparation problems to strengthen Germany's capacity. Through these aims, Germany wanted to make her own decisions. For the achievement of the above mentioned objectives, Germany signed the Locarno treaties, by which her frontiers with France were settled. Germany concluded the Treaty of Rapallo with Soviet Union in 1922, by which both the states renounced their respective demand against each other and agreed to cooperate in the commercial sphere. In 1926, Germany was admitted to the League of Nations council with a semi-permanent seat.

She succeeded in getting a promise of withdrawal of foreign troops from the Ruhr in 1924 and the valley was freed in 1930. Germany convinced Great Britain, France and Belgium to withdraw their troops from the Rhineland region. The problem of reparation was also largely settled by the Young Plan. In 1932, the Lausanne Conference further cut down Germany's obligations of reparation to $750 million. During the Weimer rule Germany began to rearm itself after the economic and diplomatic revival.

Till the first part of 1930 the economic revival of Germany started and in 1931, when economic depression was at its worst, Germany was spending $700 million on arms. Despite all these achievements, the Germans, especially the younger generation was not happy with the Republican government and continued to nourish ambitions for a powerful Germany. The attempt on the part of officials to denigrate the ideals and heroes of imperial Germany also greatly irritated young students, above all, people were not happy with the way the democratic parliamentary system was functioning in the country. The people still remembered the days when order and discipline prevailed in the Reichstag which was in sharp contrast to the bickering and quarrel going on in the lower house of the Republic, and they felt that only a strong man could restore prosperity and prestige to Germany.

Formation of the Nazi Party

Hitler and his associates formed the Nazi Party in 1920 after the end of the First World War. In the same year, the party announced the Twenty-five Point Programme,

NOTES

which emphasized the need of scraping the Treaty of Versailles which had been imposed on Germany, establishment of vast German empire after bringing back the lost colonies of Germany, increase in the military power of the country, non-recognition of Jews as German citizens and their removal from all important positions, ban on the entry of foreigners into Germany, imposition of ban on parties which propagated against nationalism, opposition to communism and opposition to the Parliamentary system of government which was detrimental to the interest of the country.

In the economic sphere, the party stood for increasing incomes, limitation of profits from wholesale enterprise, land reform, nationalization of all trusts, departmental stores and ban on land speculation. Similarly, in the social sphere, the party favoured old age and maternity benefits, reorganization of higher education and government control of press. It may be noted, that apart from the so-called Twenty-five Point Programme, the Nazis did not possess any positive philosophy. However, by demagogic appeals to latent emotions, fear of communism and resentment against the Treaty of Versailles, the party soon gained considerable recognition among the lower-middle classes who as a result of widespread unemployment and extreme frustration were suffering inexplicable agony.

The Nazi party was to have its own army. The army constituted two types of members; one who wore the brown shirt and the other wore the black shirt. The members of the army were requited from ex-soldiers, veterans and hoodlums, and took part in all types of demonstrations. They were expected to disturb the meetings of other parties and ensure that their party meetings were not disturbed. The Nazi party also started its own paper entitled *Radical Observer*, which awakened the emotions of common people against Communism and the Treaty of Versailles. The extreme nationalists, who could never reconcile themselves to Germany's defeat, firmly supported the ideology of the Nazi Party.

Rise of Adolf Hitler

The leader of the Nazi Party and the Nazi movement in Germany, Adolf Hitler was an Austrian citizen. He began his career as a political agitator after the First World War. Before embarking on a political career in September 1919 at the age of 30, Adolf Hitler had been an insignificant person in Germany. Hitler had no formal qualifications, and he was an aimless drifter and a failed artist before joining the army on the outbreak of war in August 1914. In the army he was not considered worthy of promotion as there was 'a lack of leadership qualities', although his award of the Iron Cross First Class proved that he was very courageous.[5] He succeeded in gaining and exercising supreme power in Germany during the next 26 years and, in the process, arguably left more impact on world's history in the twentieth century than any other political figure. 'The explanation for this remarkable transformation rested partly on Hitler himself, in his particular personal qualities and gifts, and partly in the situation in which he found himself, with a nation in deep crisis.'

In 1920, Hitler joined the German workers party, the National Socialist German Worker's Party, popularly known as the Nazi Party. Hitler's skills for publicity and as a speaker gradually popularized the Nazi Party. Soon Hitler succeeded in ousting the leader of the party Drexter and assumed supreme power over the party. In 1923, he attempted to overthrow the Bavarian government at a coup but this attempt was unsuccessful. During his trial he made the remark, 'There is no such thing as high treason against the traitors of 1918', which attracted much attention. He was sentenced to five years imprisonment, but was actually released after nine months in prison.

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During his imprisonment, Hitler wrote the *Mein Kampf* or 'My Struggle' in which he repudiated the parliamentary practice of majority rule and foreshadowed the future programme of Germany's territorial ambitions. According to Hitler there were easy solutions to the complex problems which the people of Germany faced in the 1920s. He blamed Germany's weak government and stated that Germany lost the war because of 'a stab in the back'. He further argued that if pure Germans who were also known as Aryans controlled Germany's destiny, it would return to greatness. Hitler blamed Jews for many of Germany's problems.

During the imprisonment of Hitler, the Nazi party was proscribed and its disintegration was set in. The party participated in the elections of 1924, but the number of its supporters fell considerably. In 1925, Hitler rebuilt the Nazi Party, and decided that he had to obtain power by democratic means rather than by force. The Wall Street crashed in 1929 because of the Great Economic Depression and the subsequent worldwide depression also hit Germany hard. Hitler used this situation and blamed Jews and Communists, using them as scapegoats to gain support for himself. Hitler spoke in a charismatic style that impressed the people of Germany. He blamed outsiders for causing troubles in the nation. Due to his charisma, the popularity of the Nazi party started increasing. In the election of 1932, the Nazi Party captured 230 of 608 seats in the Reichstag. However, Hitler was restless to capture power. In 1932, he contested the presidential elections but lost to Hindenburg by a narrow margin. Therefore, during the primary part of the 1930s, the Nazi movement had grown quite powerful in Germany.

In early 1933, Hindenburg dismissed his Chancellor Schleicher and he was succeeded by Hitler as the chancellor by forming a coalition with the Nationalists and others. Hitler dissolved the Reichstag and ordered for a fresh election on 5 March 1933. The Nazis, now in power, were able to use all the apparatus/devices of the state, including the press and radio to try to whip up a majority. Senior police officials were replaced with reliable Nazis and the second private army got instructions to show no mercy to Communists and other enemies of the state. Six days before the ballot, the Reichstag building was burnt, Hitler accused the Communists of arson and bloody revolution.

He ordered the arrest of thousands of Communists and Social Democrats and suppressed the campaign activities of the anti-Nazi parties. The Nazi party was able to secure 44 per cent of the votes polled. The Nazis won 288 out of the 647 seats, 36 short of the magic figure for majority. The Nationalists again won 52 seats. This turned out to be the best performance of the Nazis in a free election, and they never won an overall majority.[6] However, Hitler managed a majority in Reichstag by putting all Communist deputies in prison. Within hundred days, all opposition was suppressed. In August 1934, Hindenburg died and Hitler himself became the president of Germany and by the Enabling Act of 1933, he also got dictatorial powers.

Factors for the Rise of Nazism in Germany

Adolf Hitler, who was almost unknown until 1929 in or outside Germany, emerged as the unchallenged leader of Germany in 1934. Several factors contributed to the rise of Nazism and Hitler to power in Germany and these were as follows:

1. **Treaty of Versailles:** After the First World War, Germany was filled with a sense of discontent, hatred and revenge, as the Treaty of Versailles crippled her physically, exhausted her economically and weakened her emotionally. The humiliating treatment meted out to Germany under the Treaty of Versailles was greatly resented by the Germans, and they wanted to see Germany rise to the glory which it once enjoyed.

No doubt, during the Republican rule, Germany's terrible amount of war indemnity was reduced, reparation was divided into 58 installments and the allies withdrew their armies from Rhineland, yet the Germans nourished a feeling of resentment against the humiliating and insulting behaviour meted out to them by the Allied power and eagerly looked for an opportunity to avenge the same.

These sentiments were fully exploited by Hitler, who in the words of Benns, 'was an adept psychologist, a clever demagogue and a master showman, he was a resourceful agitator, a tireless worker and an able organizer'. He openly encouraged the Germans 'to consign the Treaty of Versailles into the wastepaper basket'. The humiliating treatment was also the major factor, which Hitler exploited to win popular support. As Langsam said, 'The continuing hostile attitude of France, the quarrel over the Ruhr, the Rhineland occupation, the Saar and the Reparation, the wrangling over disarmament-all these fed the anger of many Germans'.[7]

2. **Growing Danger of Communism:** The growing strength of the Communists in Germany was also exploited by the Nazis to strengthen their position. After the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia, the Communist influence in Germany considerably increased. The Communists organised themselves effectively and succeeded in capturing a number of seats in the Reichstag. Hitler expressed grave concern over these developments and warned people that the Communists of Germany on getting power shall become the orderlies of the Russian masters and Germany shall be clouded by destructive doctrines of Communists. He impressed on the people that Nazism alone could keep the growing influence of Communism under check. Hitler asserted, 'If the National Socialist Party collapses there will be another ten million Communists in Germany'. By taking an open anti-communist stance, the Nazi Party succeeded in securing the support of the big industrialists and wealthy people who were greatly scared of the Bolshevik ideals. Highlighting this point Schuman says, 'Industrialists and Junkers subsidized the brown shirt Nazi storm troopers hoping to make use of them against Communists, Socialists, the trade unions and other threats, real or imaginary, to prosperity and privilege'.
3. **The Economic Crisis and growing Unemployment:** The economic crisis, which confronted Germany in the post First World War period, and the growing-unemployment, also considerably contributed to the rise of Nazism in Germany. No doubt as a result of the Treaty of Versailles, Germany was forced to suffer in agricultural production, colonies, foreign investments, merchant marine and foreign trade contracts. However, after 1923, Germany staged a remarkable recovery and made considerable industrial progress.

By the end of 1929, as a result of commercial boom, the standard of living of Germans rose very high. However, this position did not last long and after the middle of 1929, the country witnessed a steep economic decline. The reparation quarrels continued and Germany was not able to secure any foreign loans. The foreign countries raised tariff walls against the German goods. As a result, there was considerable increase in the number of unemployed youth.

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During the period of Economic Depression following the 1930s, unemployment figures reached an all time high. In a population of 64,000,000 there were around 10 per cent people who were unemployed. Even the condition of the farmers and shopkeepers was miserable. The Nazi Party fully exploited this and asserted that it would see that no one walked without a job in Germany. Hitler said that the day the entire German race happened to abide by the Nazi ideology; it would recapture its lost glory, power and prosperity. Fortunately for the Nazis, when they came to power, the world began to recover from the Economic Depression. This greatly appealled to the Germans and they extended full support to the Nazi Party.

4. **Resurgence of Militant Nationalism:** The Germans by nature and temperament had weakness for prestige and glory. They could not reconcile with the weak democratic parliamentary system prevailing in the country and still remembered with pride the days when order and discipline prevailed in Reichstag. They felt that only a strong man could restore the past prosperity and prestige of Germany. When they found such a strong man in Hitler, who promised them glory, they welcomed him with open arms. The Germans felt the need for a strong man to check the growing popularity of Communism in the country, due to swelling ranks of the discontented workers.
5. **Nazi Propaganda against Jews and Absence of Unity among the Opposition**: The anti-Semitic propaganda carried on by the Nazi Party also contributed to its popularity. The Nazi Party described the Jews as traitors who conspired with the Allies during the war and had the potential to commit treason against Germany. It was impressed on the people that their hardship was due to the exploitation by Jews, who dominated the German economy. It called upon the people to settle the accounts with the Jews. In view of this anti-Semitic propaganda, all the anti-Jews thronged the Nazi Party. Also, the rise of Nazi Party in Germany was facilitated due to a lack of any strong opposition party or unity among the opposition parties. As a result the Nazi Party did not encounter any effective resistance and gained smooth popularity.
6. **Establishment of Volunteer Corps:** The development of Nazism in Germany was greatly facilitated by the establishment of volunteer corps. Under the Peace Settlement, the number of forces of Germany was considerably curtailed and a large number of German soldiers were thrown out of employment. The Nazi Party roped in all these soldiers and organized volunteer corps, which served as party army. The party army was divided into two wings. One wing wore brown shirts and red batch on the left arm with *swastika* sign. The other wing, which consisted of the chosen members of the party, wore black shirts. These party army members propagated the programme of the Nazi Party and worked for safeguarding its interests. These cops rendered great service to the popularization of the Nazi Party in Germany.
7. **Leadership of Adolf Hitler:** The personality of Hitler was one of the major factors in the rise of Nazism in Germany. As historians pointed out, Hitler was an adept psychologist, a clever demagogue and a master showman. He was a resourceful agitator, a tireless worker and an able organizer. He was convinced that a political revolution must be preceded by a psychological revolution. He tried to create this psychological revolution through his autobiography *Main Kampf* and mentally prepared the young Germans to avenge the wrong done to them by the Allies in 1918.
8. **Contrast between the Weimar Republic and the Nazi Party:** The Weimar Republic, which was the name given to the parliamentary representative democracy of Germany after the First World War, was dull in working and unable to maintain law and order. On other hand, the Nazis promised strong, powerful, and decisive government for the restoration of national pride. People were impressed by this irresistible combination of the Nazi Party.

Moreover, the Germans favoured Nazism as it provided a sense of normality after the Weimer Republic instability. Therefore, any violent act committed by the Nazis, whether directed or aimed against the Jews, Communists or any opposition faction of German society, was legitimized and this in turn led to both active and passive consent from the German population, whose attitudes were already finely tuned by propaganda. The success of Nazis, whether in foreign policy, matters of economy or the creation of a sense of national community explains peoples' active consent throughout most of the Nazi regime or period. The impact or effect of Nazism was so much on the German population that even when the tide began to turn against the Nazis in 1942–43, Nazism was not actively resisted by the German population; instead, they remained passive with some informal resistance.

Although many different interpretations concerning the extent of Nazism's social-political impact are there, it is unreasonable to state that partial inroads were made into wider German society. Significant and important changes took place in mentality among the general population as well as the creation of a national community, but at the same time there was no change in the basic class structure. These inroads can be explained by the successes of the Nazi regime in the fields or areas of foreign policy, increased economic prosperity and political stability, as these were manipulated by Nazi propaganda and there was terror to create a society that either actively supported the regime, or was too afraid to openly resist it.

For millions of Germans, the feeling of insecurity and instability of Weimar was replaced by a sense of normality and strong leadership, and for rest of the world this was the violence and injustice of the Nazi regime or period. The rise of Nazi Germany and the aggressive policies pursued by it encouraged the growth of revisionist sentiments that strengthened the status quo. This led to a division of the world in two hostile camps, which ultimately culminated in the Second World War.

9.5 CIVIL WAR AND RISE OF DICTATORSHIP IN SPAIN

Spain formed a part of the Roman Empire before the barbarians conquered it in AD 406. In AD 720, it passed into the hands of Arab Muslims and remained under their domination until 1492. By the sixteenth century, it developed into a leading power and became a rival of Great Britain in the race of colonization. However, due to its internal conflicts, the decline started and during the next 300 years, Spain remained a relatively insignificant power. But, with the dawn of the twentieth century it began to consolidate itself though it remained neutral during the First World War.

Spain lacked a strong middle class, which traditionally forms the backbone of representative institutions. So the soil of Spain was unfavourable for the growth of parliamentary institutions at the time of War. Political corruption, illiteracy and revolutionary conspiracies made the prospects of democratic regime unviable. The crisis was further aggravated when the Riff tribes in the Battle of Annual defeated the

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Check Your Progress

3. Fill in the blanks with appropriate words.
   (a) Hitler got the dictatorial powers through the _____.
   (b) Hitler attempted to overthrow the _____ government at a coup in 1933.
4. State whether the following are true or false.
   (a) In Mein Kampf, Hitler repudiated the Parliamentary practice of majority rule in Germany.
   (b) The Treaty of Versailles was greatly resented by the German people and was one of the factors that led to the rise of dictatorship.

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Spanish army in 1921. The people held King Alphonso XIII responsible for this defeat. King Alphonso was a weak, inefficient and incapable ruler. He lacked wisdom and statesmanship. In 1923, General Primo de Rivera seized power in a bloodless coup, with Alphonso's approval, and ruled for the next seven years. The king called him 'My Mussolini',[8] but though Primo was a military dictator, he was not a fascist.

On seizing power, Primo declared a state of war in the country, and imposed strict press censorship, and all political activities were banned by him. Once he had restored law and order in the country, he introduced many ambitious schemes for public works, railways electrification, irrigation schemes and road development. He also introduced income tax and this in turn improved the national finances. Primo encouraged and stimulated home industries, channelled investments, and created state monopolies. In 1923, industrial production jumped threefold and the most impressive of all, Primo managed to end the war in Morocco in 1925.

In his zeal for carrying out reforms, Primo suppressed the dissidents and unwilling people. There were frequent student riots in the universities against the dictator. Finally, the world Economic Depression of 1929–30 caused the collapse of Spanish industries, unemployment increased to an all time high leading to the collapse of the national economy. On 28 January 1930, admitting his defeat, Primo resigned from office, and died in Paris, on 16 March 1930.

In April 1931, municipal elections were held in which the Republicans won control of all the large cities. As huge crowds gathered on the streets of Madrid, Alfonso decided to abdicate to avoid bloodshed on 14 April 1931, and a democratic republic was established. But as Spain never had a strong democratic tradition, from 1931 to 1936, democracy was able to maintain itself by a somewhat precarious balance between the Royalists and other Reactionaries on the Right, and Anarchist and Communists on the Left. During this period, the finances of the country were in shambles and the public order was frequently threatened. However, the Radicals and Socialists were defeated by the Moderate Republicans in the elections of November 1933, and Lerroux was their leader. A Popular Front was formed by the Anarchists. It violently opposed the Moderates government. In the elections of 1936, the Popular Front obtained a majority in the national legislature and formed the government. The Popular Front government was not willing or was unable to prevent its Communist and Anarchist allies from executing destructive activities. On 19 July 1936, General Franco and some important officers rebelled against the Popular Front government. The clergymen, royalists, rightists, landlords and conservative republicans fully supported General Franco.

Factors behind the Civil War

The factors behind the Civil War are as follows:

1. **The New Republic faced Serious Problems:** With the inception of the republican system, the new Republic of Spain faced a number of serious problems. Firstly, provinces like Catalonia and the Basque wanted independence. Secondly, the Roman Catholic Church was bitterly hostile to the Republic, which in return disliked the Church and was determined to reduce its power. Thirdly, the economic crisis caused by the Depression created more problems. Agricultural prices were falling, wine and olive exports declined, land went out of cultivation and peasant unemployment rose manifolds. Before the state resolved these problems, the Republic was likely to lose the support of the workers.

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2. **The Right-Wing opposition:** The solution to these problems was not acceptable to the Right-wing parties, which became increasingly alarmed at the prospects of a Social Revolution. Firstly, the dominant groups in the Parliament (*Cortes*) like the Socialist and the middle class radicals introduced reforms. Catalonia province was allowed self-government. Secondly, Church was attacked and separated from the state, the government would no longer pay priests and the religious education was ceased. Thirdly, large numbers of army officers were retired, and an attempt was made to raise wages of the industrial workers. Each measure infuriated one or the other Right-wing groups. In 1932, some army officers tried to depose the Prime Minister, Manuel Azana, but the rising was easily suppressed by the government. But a new Right-wing party, the *Ceda,* was formed to defend the Church and the landlords.
3. **The Left-Wing opposition:** Opposition from two powerful Left-wing groups, namely, the Anarchists and the Syndicalists, who favoured general strike and overthrow of the capitalist system from the country, further weakened the Spanish Republic. They organized strikes, riots and assassinations. In January 1943, the condition was serious when some government guards set fire to houses in the village of Casas, to smoke out some Anarchists. In this incident, 25 people were killed due to which the government lost the support of the majority section of the working class. This forced the Socialists to withdraw support from Azana. In the following election of November 1933, the Right-wing parties won a majority and the new Catholic Ceda emerged as the largest group under the leadership of Gil Robles.
4. **Actions of the New Right-Wing Government:** The newly elected Right-wing government cancelled most of the Azana's reforms, interfered with the working of the new Catalan government and refused to allow Basques provinces self-government. The Right-wing government by refusing the self government made a serious error because the Basques had supported the Right-wing in the elections but after this decision they switched their support to the Left.

As the government moved further Right, the Left-wing Socialists, Anarchists, Syndicalists and Communists came closer to form a Popular Front. With it, revolutionary violence grew, there were rebellions in Catalonia and Asturia, and there was a general strike in 1934 called by the newly created Popular Front. The miners of Asturias fought bravely but were crushed ruthlessly by the troops under the command of General Franco. The financial as well as political situation of the country deteriorated, the Right-wing fell apart and in the elections of February 1936 the Popular Front came out victorious.

The Popular Front hoped to seize power when the middle-class government failed. But from the very beginning, the Socialists decided not to support the government and the government seemed incapable of maintaining law and order. The condition got aggravated in July 1936 when a leading right wing politician was murdered by the police. This incident terrified the Right and convinced them that the only way to restore order was by a military dictatorship. A group of generals conspiring with the Right had already planned a military takeover. Using the right wing politician's murder as an excuse, they began a revolt in Morocco where General Franco soon assumed leadership and a civil war ensued.

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The Spanish Civil War (1936–39)

Taking advantage of internal dissensions, the nationalists under the leadership of General Franco, the Commander of Troops in Spanish Morocco, raised the banner of a revolt against the government and crossed into Spain with an army in 1936. The army mainly comprised the Moorish Troops. Franco controlled much of the area of North and the whole of Western Spain without much resistance.

In October 1937, the capital of Spain was moved from Valencia to Barcelona which implied that the fall of the government seemed imminent. The struggle was a bitter one in which both sides committed terrible atrocities. The Church suffered horrifying losses with over 6,000 priests and nuns murdered at the hands of the Republicans. The nationalists were helped by Italy and Germany who sent arms, men, food supplies and raw materials. The Republican received some help from Russia. However, Great Britain and France refused to intervene, merely allowing volunteers to fight in Spain. The nationalists captured even Barcelona and the whole of Catalonia in January 1939 and the civil war ended in March 1939 when the nationalists captured Madrid.

Franco came out victorious in the war because he was extremely skillful in holding together the various right wing groups like the Army, Church, Monarchists and Falangists. Also, the Republicans were much less united and anarchists and Communist actually fought each other for a time in Barcelona. The nationalists on the other hand fought unitedly under the leadership of Franco. Further, the extent of foreign help for the nationalists played a decisive role; this included 50,000 Italian and 20,000 Portuguese troops, a large Italian air force and hundreds of German planes and tanks.

End of Civil War and Emergence of Franco

After the end of the civil war, General Franco taking the title of *Caudillo* or leader, set up a government which was similar in many ways to those of Mussolini in Italy and Hitler in Germany. His rule was marked by repression, military courts and mass executions. However, in other ways it was not a Fascist government because Franco supported the Church and which was given back its control over education that would have never happened in a true Fascist state.

Franco was also shrewd enough to keep Spain out of the Second World War, though Hitler expected Spanish help and tried to persuade Franco to get involved. When Hitler and Mussolini were defeated, Franco survived and ruled Spain until his death in 1975. During the 1960s, he gradually relaxed the repressiveness of his regime, military courts were abolished, workers were allowed a limited right to strike, and elections were introduced for some members of Parliament, though political parties were still banned. Franco's regime after the 1960s also took steps to modernize Spanish agriculture, industry and evolved techniques to fully exploit the tourist potential of the country. Eventually Franco came to be regarded as standing above politics. Franco died in 1975 and Juan Carlos, the son of the former king, became the king and with this the all-party democracy once again returned to Spain and the first election took place in 1977.

9.6 MILITARY DICTATORSHIP IN TURKEY

Turkey emerged as a modern nation under Mustafa Kemal Pasha (Ataturk) who is regarded as the Father of Modern Turkey. He was born in 1891 in an ordinary family and his father was a government servant. Since the beginning, Pasha was greatly impressed by the writings of Rousseau and Voltaire, and came to believe that Turkey could be brought on the path of progress only through revolutionary changes. He was imprisoned for his revolutionary ideas by the Government of Turkey. However, in 1911–12 he was set free, after which he took an active part in the Balkan War as a military officer. He demonstrated his remarkable qualities during the First World War and won the admiration of people by scoring victory over the British at the Battle of Gallipoli (1915–16).

The enormous losses suffered by Turkey during the War and the humiliating terms accepted by the Sultan of Turkey in the form of Treaty of Serves, greatly enraged Kemal Pasha. According to the Treaty, Turkey was left in possession of only one-fourth of its total area and many limitations were imposed on its sovereignty. It was not permitted any military, judicial, economic or financial independence. Though the terms of the Treaty were quite humiliating, the Sultan and his advisors believed that the only hope for salvation of Turkey lay in strict compliance with these terms.

Kemal Pasha was quite unhappy with the Treaty of Serves, so he assembled his Turkish followers to oppose the Allies. He launched a massive struggle in the remote areas of Anatolia and set up an independent government at Angora, and thus the authority of the Sultan was automatically restricted to the areas around his capital. In 1920, he freed Smyrna from the Greeks, and in 1921 he occupied western Anatolia. These victories provided a great boost to his prestige and greatly contributed to the revival of national spirit of Turkey. Pasha also won a series of victories against France, Italy and Great Britain. He then waged war against the Greeks and liberated Izmir on 9 September 1922. At the Mudanya Conference which took place in October 1922, he recovered Thrace from the Greeks without any bloodshed and even the Allies agreed to evacuate Istanbul and Straits. He thus, succeeded in achieving the goals of national integrity and independence, and virtually tore off the Treaty of Serves. The Allies began to treat Turkey with great respect and offered them a new treaty which was signed at Laussane on 24 July 1923. As a result of this Treaty, Turkey regained all the territories in Europe and Asia-Minor which it held in 1914.

Turkish Republic—A Modernized Nation

The Turkish Republic was proclaimed on 29 October 1923 and Kemal Pasha became its first president. Though, in theory the new government was a Republic based on liberal principles, in actual practice it operated as a one party dictatorship under Kemal Pasha. However, he was determined to make Turkey a westernized power, and therefore carried out various reforms in a number of fields. Kemal's main principle was the complete independence of the country. He stated that, 'By complete independence, we mean of course complete economic, financial, juridical, military, cultural independence and freedom in all matters. Being deprived of independence in any of these is equivalent to the nation and country being deprived of all its independence.'[9] Pasha led wide-ranging reforms or changes in social, cultural, and economical aspects, and with this established the backbone of legislative, judicial, and economic structures in this new Republic.

Economic Reforms in Turkish Republic

In the economic sphere, Kemal Pasha adopted a new policy and the government was called upon to play a leading role in the development of country's resources. He insisted that all the companies operating with foreign capital must have a national

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Check Your Progress

5. Fill in the blanks with appropriate words.
   (a) Political corruption, illiteracy and revolutionary conspiracies made the prospects of _____ regime unviable in Spain.
   (b) In 1936, the _____ obtained a majority in the national legislature and formed the government in Spain.
6. State whether the following are true or false.
   (a) The Spanish Republic was weakened by the opposition from the Anarchists and the Syndicalists.
   (b) In October 1937, the capital of Spain was moved from Valencia to Granada.

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capital to the extent of 50 per cent. He tried to encourage industrialization and encouraged the manufacturers to import duty-free machinery from the foreign countries. Vital industries were exempted from taxation for the first 10 years or given tax concessions. He set up a Supreme Economic Council at Angora consisting of economic experts to keep a watch on the execution of vast economic plans of reconstruction and to suggest necessary reforms. For the first time, he also set up national commercial banks in Turkey.

Kemal also tried to develop railways. He also paid attention to the construction and improvement of harbours and roads, and latest techniques were adopted for the construction and maintenance of roads. He also paid attention to the development of public works and for the first time built quarters, villas, and offices in large numbers. The building programme launched by him opened-up fresh avenues for employment and provided work to thousands of workers and labourers.

Agricultural Reforms in Turkish Republic

Realizing the mediocre agricultural productivity, Kemal made efforts to improve the state of agriculture. To meet the requirements of the growing population, he introduced the use of modern techniques and encouraged cultivation of cash crops like tobacco, cotton, flux, opium and raisins as well as for an increase in the overall food production. He encouraged cattle breeding, sheep rearing, and dairy industry, and set-up various experimental agricultural stations, arranged for and promoted cooperative societies to prevent exploitation of peasants.

To exploit the natural resources, he allowed foreign investment and due to his efforts the rich chromium deposits of western Anatolia, copper mines of Arghana and coal fields and other mineral resources like silver, manganese and lead were exploited. Even oil explorations were undertaken during this period. As a result of his economic and agricultural reforms, Turkey made great economic progress under him.

Military Reforms in Turkish Republic

Like other sectors, Kemal Pasha also tried to rebuild Turkey's military power. His main motive behind the military reforms was not his ambition to conquer new territories or to reconquer what had been lost, but he merely wanted to ensure that the other powers should not be encouraged to take advantage of the weak position of Turkey as they have done it in the past. Soon after the Treaty of Lausanne, he reorganized the Turkish army on modern lines. Pasha first changed their uniform and provided them with sophisticated equipments. He laid emphasis on the training and education of military officers and tried to inculcate qualities of initiative. They were provided technical instructions in railway, transport, wireless, telephone and telegraph.

To strengthen the defence of the country, Kemal Ataturk developed the air force and to protect the coastline he developed the navy. He took the help of foreign experts to train the general staff in supplying war materials in time of emergency. Through all these reforms he created an excellent Turkish force.

Reforms in the Judicial System in Turkish Republic

The legal and judicial system of Turkey was defective and was based upon old traditions and, therefore, it was necessary to change this system thoroughly. Kemal Pasha was of the opinion that Turkey must rid herself of her old and inherited legal system in order to emerge as an advanced country of the world. It goes to the credit of Kemal that he moved away from tradition and based the administration of justice on Swiss and

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German codes. The civil, penal and commercial codes were elaborated. He based the commercial laws of Turkey on the German code, the criminal law was based on Italian and French codes. He got certain decrees passed by the Great National Assembly in March 1929 regarding private debts which permitted their collection with great speed. He also passed bankruptcy laws and abolished the system of arrest and imprisonment of debtors. Kemal Ataturk adopted the Swiss system of registration for the protection of immovable property.

Reforms in Religion in Turkish Republic

Kemal Pasha also made some new and revolutionary changes in the religious system of Turkey. He abolished the Caliphate in Turkey. Before his abolition, the Caliph made a statement to the effect that he would not interfere with the political affairs of the country. On 1 March 1924, at the Assembly, Mustafa Kemal said, 'The religion of Islam will be elevated if it will cease to be a political instrument, as had been the case in the past.'[10] On 3 March 1924, the Caliphate was officially abolished and its powers within Turkey were transferred. Other Muslim nations debated the validity of Turkey's unilateral abolition of the Caliphate as they decided whether they should confirm the Turkish action or appoint a new caliph.

A Caliphate Conference was held in Cairo in May 1926 and a resolution was passed declaring the Caliphate 'a necessity in Islam', but failed to be implemented. However, as a matter of fact, the abolition of the Caliphate was only a beginning in this field. The ultimate goal of Kemal Pasha was to bring about complete religious toleration. Accordingly, all religions were given an equal standing before the law. Now, the people were free to accept any religion according to their will. The fez and turban were outlawed in favour of hats and caps. Women were forbidden to wear veils; and the Turkish people were told to take surnames. At first Kemal Pasha himself took the name of 'Ataturk' or the Chief Turk.[11]

Reforms in Educational System in Turkish Republic

Kemal Pasha was much eager to promote and change the system of education in Turkey according to the Western pattern. However, it was not an easy task to accomplish. A majority of the people living in Turkey were illiterate. There was an acute shortage of school buildings, teachers, funds to name only a few. Thus, it was very difficult to introduce a new system of education. However, he introduced radical reforms in education and laid down a comprehensive plan to achieve this goal.

He made the elementary education compulsory and provided books and equipments at the expenses of the state. Provisions were also made for the training of teachers according to the Western pattern of education. He established a law school in Angora and special attention was paid to technical and agricultural education. The government erected many new buildings to provide better infrastructure for education. The second attempt in this respect was made to abandon the intricate Arab alphabet. It was replaced by the Latin alphabet which affected complete cultural revolution. This difficult job was successfully accomplished by some experts of the government. The role of newspapers and every form of print media also proved helpful in this field.[12] Kemal encouraged the Turkish students to visit foreign countries to acquire higher education and scholarships were made available to brilliant students for higher education in Western countries.

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Emancipation of Women in Turkish Republic

The condition of women was highly deplorable in Turkey. Their social status was very low in comparison with the women of other countries of Europe. It was a characteristic oriental evil in the social life of Turkey. Pasha realized that the task of national reconstruction could not be accomplished unless the cooperation of women was secured. Kemal Pasha, therefore, decided to adopt some effective measures to uplift the social status of women. He abolished *Pardah,* and opened up all kinds of career for women, except admitting them to the parliament. Kemal did not introduce female suffrage because he felt that time was not ripe for that. He wanted to provide modern education to women before granting voting rights to them. Polygamy was abolished. Civil marriage was imposed in place of religious marriage. A significant change was also introduced in the dressing code of women. They were encouraged to adopt Western dress and to throw away the old, traditional dress, which was the symbol of cloistered womanhood. They were given freedom to choose their husband; the personal property they brought with them in marriage was secured to them and many other changes along these lines were introduced. As a result of the liberation of women, they came to play a prominent role in the country's art, literature and education.

Reforms in Press in the Turkish Republic

Kemal also contributed to the development of a Turkish press which wielded great political powers and possessed great educational value. The press was organised along European lines and had its press correspondents in all the important European capitals to supply reliable information. A government telegraphic agency was also established to supply the press with the latest news. The introduction of Latin alphabets on 1 January 1929 also greatly contributed to the growth of Press by reducing the cost of printing. As a result of all these efforts, the number of newspapers and periodicals showed steady increase. The character of press also underwent great transformation. Whereas the earlier papers were devoted to literary criticism, the modern newspapers dealt with numerous aspects of the country such as science, art, social life and even political issues. Magazines for children were also introduced. As a result, the modern Turkish press came to play a great role as educator to modern society.

In this way, Kemal Pasha successfully introduced reforms in the economic, religious, judicial and political spheres of Turkey. He made his best efforts to transform the nation along Western lines and largely succeeded in establishing this. As a matter of fact, Turkey was regenerated after the First World War and the credit for this transformation goes to Kemal Pasha. His various reform measures succeeded in transforming Turkey into a modern nation and so he has rightly been described as the Father of Modern Turkey.

ACTIVITY

1. Enlist the nations that are still under some form of dictatorship, and research the background of the dictators.
2. Hitler and his associates formed the Nazi party in 1920 after the end of the First World War. In the same year, the party announced the Twenty-five Point Programme. Form two groups and prepare a list of pros and cons of this Twenty-five Point Programme.
3. Collect information on the present political scenario of Spain.
4. Conduct a research and elaborate more on Weimer Constitution.

DID YOU KNOW?

Of the nine million Jews who had resided in Europe before the Holocaust, approximately two-thirds were killed.

9.7 SUMMARY

In this unit, you have learnt that:

- In the post-First World War era democracy received a great boost in the world and in the European countries in particular. In most of these countries, monarchies were abolished and demand rose in favour of democracy, representative assemblies, universal suffrage and people friendly representative governments.
- The concept of modern totalitarianism arose in the 1920s and 1930s. It was a new kind of state. Even today many scholars have trouble defining it. According to the early writers it originated with the total war efforts of the First World War, and that the War called forth a tendency to subordinate all institutions and classes to the state so as to achieve the supreme objective—victory.
- Various factors were responsible for the rise of dictatorship or totalitarianism in Europe. In the first place, the democratic government established after the First World War proved to be a miserable failure as it failed to solve the social, economic and political problems facing countries in the post-war period. This failure was fully exploited to establish dictatorial regimes. Also, the worldwide Economic Depression of 1929 caused enormous hardships and sufferings to the people and gave rise to frustration, despondency and despair.
- Totalitarianism emerged in Italy in the shape of Fascism under the leadership of Benito Mussolini. The word Fascism had its origin in the Roman word *Fascio* which means a bundle of rods which was once the emblem of Roman authority.
- Mussolini was born in 1883 as the son of a blacksmith in the Romagna. Politically he was a socialist but began to make a name for himself as a journalist, and became the editor of the socialist newspaper *Avanti.* He fell out with the socialists because they were against Italian intervention in the War and started his own newspaper, *Popolo d'Italia.* Before the formation of the fascist party, he was not well known in Italy and outside Italy. During the First World War, he joined the army and took active part in it. The War greatly aroused his patriotic feelings.
- To change the fate of Italy, Mussolini carried out administrative reforms and balanced the national budget. He took measures to stall the further devaluation of the Italian currency. He tried to eradicate illiteracy by making elaborate provisions for education. He introduced compulsory military training and tried to enhance the naval power of Italy to match it with the naval power of other European countries and particularly of Germany and France. He set up hydro-electric power plants to overcome the shortage of coal. He tried to improve the condition of workers by nationalizing all factories and mills. He set up syndicates to improve relations between the capitalists and workers. He brought more

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4. (a) True; (b) True
5. (a) democratic; (b) Popular Front
6. (a) True; (b) False
7. (a) Mustafa Kemal Pasha (Ataturk); (b) Treaty of Lausanne
8. (a) True; (b) True

9.10 QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Short-Answer Questions

1. What was the main cause that led to the rise of dictatorship in Europe?
2. List the drawbacks of Fascist rule in Italy.
3. What were the achievements of Nazis in Germany?
4. What was the nature of reforms brought in the press during the military rule in Turkey?

Long-Answer Questions

1. Explain the causes for the rise of dictatorship or totalitarianism in Europe.
2. Discuss Fascism in Italy.
3. Explain Nazism in Germany.
4. Describe dictatorship in Spain.
5. Describe modernization of Turkey.
6. Compare the ideologies of Benito Mussolini, Adolf Hitler and Mustafa Kemal Pasha.

9.11 FURTHER READING

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UNIT 10 SECOND WORLD WAR AND UNO

Structure

10.0 Introduction
10.1 Unit Objectives
10.2 From Munich Conference to the Second World War
10.3 Causes of the Second World War
10.4 UNO: Birth and Objectives
  10.4.1 Birth of UNO
  10.4.2 Commencement of UNO
  10.4.3 Objectives of UNO
10.5 Organization of the United Nations
  10.5.1 Emergence of Independent Nations
10.6 Summary
10.7 Key Terms
10.8 Answers to 'Check Your Progress'
10.9 Questions and Exercises
10.10 Further Reading

10.0 INTRODUCTION

The First World War and the subsequent Economic Depression considerably weakened many erstwhile European powers but it also led to the rise of dictatorships in several countries. The tensions and resentments resulting from the First World War and the interwar period in Europe made a bigger conflict unavoidable. The culmination of all these events led to the outbreak of the Second World War. Unlike the 1914–18 (First World War), the Second World War was a much more complex affair with major campaigns taking place in the Pacific and the Far East, in North Africa and Russia as well as in Central and Western Europe and the Atlantic. This War later turned out to be even more horrific and disgraceful compared to its earlier version.

Many historians still believe that the Second World War was Hitler's personal war, and that he always intended to fight a war—as a re-run of the First World War. However, it is difficult to accept that the Second World War started only because of Hitler's assault on Poland. In fact, it was a continuation of the First World War and the chain of political crisis that followed from 1919 to 1939. The main cause of the two world wars was definitely the desire of Germany to become the greatest world power.

But the Second World War was also a war of revenge initiated by Germany. It cannot be denied that Germany stood first and foremost for revenge. It also stood first for rearmament and then for loot and German domination. But historians like AJP Taylor do not agree. According to them, Hitler never intended a major war, and at most was prepared only for a limited war against Poland.[1] However, many historians believe that the policy of appeasement adopted by England and France towards the dictatorial powers, largely contributed to the commencement of the War. From the mid 1920s until 1937 there was a mistaken notion that War must be avoided at all costs, and Great Britain and even France drifted along, accepting the various acts of aggression and

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breaches of the Treaty of Versailles. In May 1937, when Chamberlain became the British Prime Minister, he gave a new drive to appeasement. He took the initiative to find out what Hitler wanted and further wanted to show him that reasonable claims could be met by negotiation rather than use of force. Chamberlain went to the extent of observing at the time of Locarno treaties that, 'no British government would ever risk the bones of a single British grenadier in defense of the Polish Corridor', the German's thought that Great Britain had turned her back on Eastern Europe. Appeasement reached its climax at Munich, where Britain and France were so determined to avoid war with Germany that they made Hitler a present of the Sudetenland, setting in motion the destruction of Czechoslovakia. This act of Britain and France emboldened Hitler even more who had decided to destroy Czechoslovakia as part of his *Lebensraum* (Living Space) policy as he hated the Czechs for their democracy as well as for the fact that their state had been established under the controversial Versailles settlement.

In this unit, we will be discussing the causes and the course of the Second World War in detail. In this unit, you will also be reading about the United Nations Organization (UNO) and the emergence of independent nations. The United States had a powerful navy in the Pacific, and it was friendly with some of the colonial powers based in Europe, including the Netherlands and Great Britain. After consecutive unilateral military actions, the United States, along with Australia, Great Britain, and the Dutch government in exile, boycotted Japan through a trade embargo. Thus, Japan resorted to military force to get the raw materials it required.

10.1 UNIT OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to:

- Discuss the causes of the Second World War
- Assess the significance of the Munich Conference, 1938
- Describe the German occupation of Czechoslovakia, 1939
- Explain how Axis Forces began to lose
- Discuss the Midway Island Attack, 1942, El Alamein, 1942, Stalingrad, 1943
- Describe the fall of Italy, Germany and Japan
- List the factors that led to the birth of the UNO
- List the causes of the emergence of Independent Nations

10.2 FROM MUNICH CONFERENCE TO THE SECOND WORLD WAR

It has already been made clear to the learner that the Treaty of Versailles was being seen by Germany as a mark of humiliation. When Hitler came to power in Germany, he decided not to honour the treaty that was a source of mortification for Germany. Under Hitler, Germany had become an aggressor and a totalitarian regime. Hitler had his own expansionist plans and he had strengthened his army and navy to carry out his plans. But Great Britain and France wished to avoid a repeat of the First World War, and so adopted the diplomatic policy of appeasement. Under this policy, they allowed Hitler to capture territories.

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The Treaty of Versailles allowed the demilitarization of Rhineland. Hitler gave excuses of Germany feeling threatened and hence sent German forces to capture Rhineland. He feared the interference of France and Great Britain, and had ordered his forces to retreat if they faced resistance by France. But both France and Great Britain failed to act and Hitler was encouraged to capture more territories. The Treaty of Versailles also forbade Germany to capture Austria, but Austria was Hitler's birth country. So, Hitler decided to integrate Germany and Austria. And even here, Neville Chamberlain, the Prime Minister of Great Britain and the allied Powers adopted the appeasement policy to secure peace, which the League of Nations had clearly failed to do. Part of this inaction can be attributed to the economic slump that most economies were facing at that time. This inaction by the Allied Powers instilled more confidence in Hitler.

The Treaty of Versailles had made provisions for the creation of Czechoslovakia that also comprised Sudetenland. Sudetenland was mainly occupied by the German population. The Nazi influence had spread even in Sudetenland, and in April 1938, a demand for autonomy came from the Sudeten Nazis. At this point, Chamberlain feared German invasion of Czechoslovakia. So, he issued a warning of Britain's interference to Hitler if Czechoslovakia was captured by him. Hitler ordered his military forces to launch an attack on Czechoslovakia.

Chamberlain tried to hold peaceful negotiations with Hitler to prevent the invasion of Czechoslovakia. But Hitler had a new demand— that of absorbing Sudetenland into Germany. The Czech president was advised by Britain and France to hand over all German territories that had a majority of German population. But this meant a huge loss to Czechoslovakia.

Hitler warned that he would occupy Sudetenland and will expel all Czechoslovaks living there. Soon, events turned in a different direction, and a four-power conference was held on 29 September, comprising Hitler, Chamberlain, Édouard Daladier (the Prime Minister of France) and Benito Mussolini (the Prime Minister of Italy) in Munich. They allowed Hitler to carry on his invasion of Sudetenland, but allowed that an international commission would be established to decide the fate of other disputed areas. Czechoslovakia was denied support from all other countries, and so, it had no alternative but to comply. A peace treaty was signed between the United Kingdom and Germany. Chamberlain believed that he was able to establish peace now that the peace treaty had been signed. However, contrary to his belief, a month later Czechoslovakia ceased to exist, and was divided among Germany, Hungary, Poland and an independent Slovakia. (refer Figure 10.1).

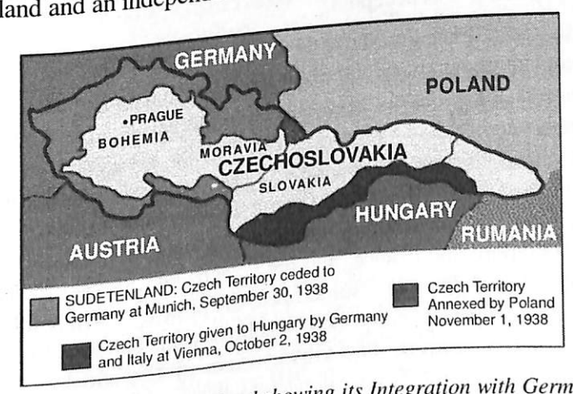


Fig. 10.1 Map of Sudetenland showing its Integration with Germany

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The act of appeasement and capitulation before Germany that unfolded in Munich exposed the vulnerability of the erstwhile European powers like Britain and France, and paved the way for more such acts of aggression. The policy of appeasement helped in temporarily averting the War but gave Hitler an effortless way of furthering his policy of aggression through the 1930s. In his book *The Origins of the Second World War* (1961) AJP Taylor argues that, 'Appeasement was a logical and realistic policy, but the mistake made by Chamberlain was of abandoning it which brought the war on'.

Propaganda Campaign in the Sudetenland

Hitler's excuse for the opening propaganda campaign in the Sudetenland was that 3.5 million Sudeten Germans under their leader Konrad Henlein, were being discriminated against by the Czech government. It is true that unemployment was higher among the Germans, but apart from that they were probably not being discriminated against.

The Nazis organised massive protest demonstrations in the Sudetenland, and clashes occurred between the Czechs and the Germans. The Czech president, Benes, feared that Hitler was stirring up disturbances so that the German troops could march in to restore order. The British Prime Minister Chamberlain and the French Prime Minister Daladier were afraid that if this happened, war would breakout. They were determined to go to almost any lengths to avoid war and they put tremendous pressure on the Czechs to make concessions to Hitler. Chamberlain flew to Germany twice to confer with Hitler, but no progress could be made.

The Munich Conference, 1938

In a conference held in Munich, Germany, an agreement was negotiated among the major powers of Europe without the presence of Czechoslovakia. This Agreement was signed by Germany, France, the United Kingdom and Italy. The main aim of the Munich Conference was to discuss the future of Sudetenland in the face of territorial demands that were made by Adolf Hitler. In other words, it was an Agreement that permitted Nazi Germany's annexation of Czechoslovakia's Sudetenland. Sudetenland comprised areas along the borders of Czechoslovakia, which were mainly inhabited by orthodox Germans. These areas were of immense strategic importance to Czechoslovakia, as most of its border defenses and banks were situated or located there. When it seemed that war was inevitable, Chamberlain and Daladier were invited by Hitler to a Four-power Conference which met in Munich on 29 September 1938. Here a plan that was actually written by the German Foreign Office was produced by Benito Mussolini and it was accepted.

According to the Plan unveiled at the Conference, Sudetenland was to be handed over to Germany immediately, but Germany along with the other three powers had to assure that the rest of Czechoslovakia will remain intact. Neither the Czechs nor the Russians were invited to the Conference. The Czechs were told that if they resisted the Munich decision, they would receive no help from Great Britain or France, even though France had guaranteed the Czech frontiers at Locarno. The state of Czechoslovakia which was not even invited to the Conference felt betrayed by this act of United Kingdom and France, and the Czechs and Slovaks called the Munich Agreement the 'Munich Dictate'. Sometimes, the phrase — Munich Betrayal is also used because the military alliance which Czechoslovakia had with France and United Kingdom was not honoured. The Government of Czechoslovak realizing the hopelessness of fighting the Nazis alone reluctantly agreed to abide by the rules mentioned in the Agreement. According to the Settlement, Germany got the

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Sudetenland starting 10 October 1938 and also had de-facto control over the rest of Czechoslovakia as long as Hitler agreed to go no further. After some rest on 30 September, Chamberlain went to Hitler and asked him to sign a peace treaty between the United Kingdom and Germany. After this was interpreted to Hitler, he happily agreed. When Chamberlain came back in Britain, he was given a rapturous and joyful welcome by the public who thought the war had been averted. Chamberlain himself remarked, 'I believe it is peace for our time'. Though the British, the French, the Nazi military and the German diplomatic leadership were pleased, Hitler was furious. He felt as if he was forced into acting like a bourgeois politician by his diplomats and generals. He shouted furiously soon after the meeting with Chamberlain and said, 'Gentlemen, this has been my first international conference and I can assure you that it will be my last'.[2] However, everybody was not so enthusiastic like Britain and France. Churchill called Munich 'a total and unmitigated defeat'. Duff Cooper, the First Lord of the Admiralty, resigned from the Cabinet, saying that 'Hitler could not be trusted to keep the agreement'. Later it was proved that they were right.

The German Occupation of Czechoslovakia, 1939

As a result of the Munich Agreement, Czechoslovakia was crippled by the loss of 70 per cent of its heavy industry and almost all of her fortifications to Germany. Slovakia began to demand semi-independence and it looked as if the country was about to fall apart. Hitler pressurized the Czechoslovakian President, Hacha, into requesting Germany for help to restore order. Consequently in March 1939 German troops occupied the rest of Czechoslovakia. Britain and France protested but as usual took no action. Chamberlain said the guarantee of the Czechoslovakian frontier given at Munich did not apply, because technically the country had not been invaded rather German troops had entered by invitation. However, the German action caused a great rush of criticism. Even for the first time the appeasers were unable to justify what Hitler had done because he had broken his promise and seized non-German territory. Even Czechoslovakia felt this was going too far and for that it hardened its position. After taking over the Lithuanian port of Memel, Hitler turned his attention to Poland.

Hitler's Demand for the Return of Danzig

Germany resented the loss of Danzig and the Polish Corridor at Versailles, and now that Czechoslovakia was safely out of the way, Polish neutrality was no longer necessary. In April 1939 Hitler demanded the return of Danzig and a road and railway across the Corridor, linking East Prussia with the rest of Germany. This demand was not unreasonable, since Danzig was mainly German speaking. However, after the seizure of Czechoslovakia the Poles were convinced that German demands were only preliminary to an invasion. Already strengthened by the British assurance of help in the event of any action which threatened Polish independence the Foreign Minister, Colonel Beck rejected the German demands and refused to attend the conference. The British pressure to surrender Danzig had no impact on the Poles.

The only way to save Poland could have happened through a British alliance with Russia but the British response was slow and they were hesitant in their negotiations for an alliance, which allowed Hitler to reach out first and sign a non-aggression pact with the USSR. It was also agreed to divide Poland between Germany and the USSR. Hitler was convinced that with Russian neutrality, Britain and France would not risk intervention. When the British ratified their guarantee to Poland, Hitler took it as a bluff. When the Poles still refused to negotiate, a full-scale German invasion

Check Your Progress

1. Fill in the blanks with appropriate words.
   (a) In his book _____ AJP Taylor argues that, 'Appeasement was a logical and realistic policy, but the mistake made by _____ Chamberlain was of abandoning it which brought the war on'.
   (b) The phrase _____ is used because the military alliance which Czechoslovakia had with France and United Kingdom was not honoured.

NOTES

began on 1 September 1939. Even on this situation, the British Prime Minister Chamberlain had still not completely thrown off appeasement and suggested that if German troops were withdrawn, a conference could be held, but Germany preferred to remain silent on this. Only when pressure mounted on him in parliament and in the country did Chamberlain send an ultimatum to Germany. When this expired on 3 September, Britain declared war with Germany. Soon afterwards, France also declared war.

10.3 CAUSES OF THE SECOND WORLD WAR

World War II, which started in 1939, continued for a period of six years. The major European powers were involved in this War and there were battles taking place in all corners of the globe. This war spread far and wide involving over 100 million people. The countries participating in the war lent their support completely — economic, industrial, and scientific — to the war. Therefore, there was nothing to distinguish the civilian resources from the military ones. The War saw the mass death of civilians, including the holocaust and the only use of nuclear weapons in warfare. The War saw more than 70 million fatalities. This loss of lives led to the Second World War being referred to as one of the most deadly conflicts in history. Even though it was Polish invasion of Germany that led to the breaking out of War, the actual factors that led to the War varied and deep.

1. Follies of Victors in the First World War

The Second World War originated from the First World War itself. When the First World War came to an end, not all the disagreements and differences of opinion had been settled. Following their surrender, the Germans harboured ill feelings for other countries for their intervention in their affairs. The rift that appeared between the Germany and the other countries became so wide that Germany did not get invited take part in the peace treaties that were signed when the War ended. The Treaty of Versailles, which was particularly concerned with the future of Germany left no room for discussion on the part of Germany. The outcome was that the Germans ended up harbouring feelings of bitterness and were full of loathing for all those who tried to put it down. Hitler took it upon himself to avenge Germany's defeat. He was hungry for power and he justified this hunger by claiming that he wished to do away with the government that surrendered in the First World War. He wanted his own National Socialist German Workers' Party or the Nazi Party to form the government. This way, he thought of gaining complete control over the powers of Europe that had defeated Germany after 1918. Therefore, it would not be wrong to say that the First World War was a prime factor responsible for the occurrence of the Second World War, because it the first in the series of events that ultimately culminated in the war being declared in 1939.

2. The Treaty of Versailles

In 1919, the Treaty of Versailles came to an end just after the First World War. However, this enraged Germany for more reasons than one. The first reason was that Germany had no role to play in preparing the Treaty, which was a Diktat or the Dictated Peace settlement. Germany was forced to consent to the terms of this ruthless Treaty and the mass opinion which was not in its favour. Over a period of time, other European powers realized that the original terms had been very strict. The underlined basis of the Treaty was mainly the spirit of revenge. Germany was deprived of her colonies, territories and natural resources and was also burdened with reparations which were beyond its capacity to honour. This humiliation led to the spirit of revenge. Germany started looking for a chance to disobey the Versailles treaty and finally when Hitler broke the Treaty after many years, it was taken as an indication that many people agreed with Hitler that the Treaty had been wrongly imposed on the Germans. The consequence of the Treaty of Versailles was that it did not settle any dispute; it created more conflicts between countries which were already restless and trying to recover from the previous war. Had the treaty of versailles been less harsh on Germany, it may have seen possible to avert the second world war.

Check Your Progress

2. State whether the following is true or false.
   (a) When it seemed that war was inevitable, Chamberlain and Daladier were invited by Benito Mussolini to a Four-power Conference which met in Munich on 29 September 1938.
   (b) In April, 1939 Hitler demanded the return of Danzig and a road and railway across the Corridor, linking East Prussia with the rest of Germany.

3. Aggressive Nationalism of Germany

Another reason was the desire of German leaders to see Germany as a world power and to take on the policy of militarization which greatly added to the Second World War. After Hitler's position was consolidated, he the embarked on the path of the expansion of German empire. He occupied Rhineland, Czechoslovakia and annexed Austria. After this, Hitler focused on Danzing and Poland. Hitler could pursue aggressive policies due to an attitude of indifference on the part of Great Britain and France. This 'aggressive nationalism' of Germany ultimately led to the Second World War.

4. Rise of Fascism in Italy

The growth of extreme nationalism in Italy in the form of Fascism was another factor responsible for the Second World War. Benito Mussolini, the Fascist leader glorified war. He said, 'war alone bring to their highest tension all human energies and puts the stamp of nobility upon people who have the courage to meet it'. It was under Mussolini that Italy began to think of restoring the glory of the Old Roman Empire. Italy annexed Abyssinia and in Spain the Italian volunteers were able to place General Franco in the saddle. In 1937 Italy joined the Anti-Comintern Pact to strengthen its position and concluded a 10 years alliance with Germany in 1939. It was agreed by both the countries to help each other if any of them was involved in war.

5. Japanese Imperialism

Another cause of War was the Japanese imperialism. After the First World War, Japan obtained many concessions at the Peace Conference. However, these were to some extent taken away from Japan by the Washington Conference of 1921–22. But Japan had decided to dominate the Far East. In 1931, Japan intervened in Manchuria and in spite of opposition from the League occupied it. Japan started an undeclared war against China in 1937 and conquered many cities one after other. When the Second World War began the Chinese war was still going on. Japan had joined Berlin-Rome-Tokyo Axis, and this gave a further momentum to the Japanese programme of expansion and conquest. A war was inevitable under such circumstances.

6. The Great Economic Depression

An economic strife throughout the world was caused due to the Economic Depression which was triggered by the stock market crash in America in the late 1920s. America could not finance Germany to meet the obligations of reparations, and instead they wanted the money back from Germany. As a result of this America went into isolation as it wanted to nurse its own economy and avoided being dragged into another costly European war. Economic crisis was being faced by countries all over the world, and distrust started to develop again between countries. There was unemployment all over the world, and this problem was solved by countries by creating large armies.

NOTES

NOTES

In Germany, Adolf Hitler's Nazi Party sought to establish a fascist government. With the beginning of the Great Depression, domestic support for the Nazis rose and, Hitler was appointed the Chancellor of Germany in 1933. In the aftermath of the Reichstag fire, a totalitarian single-party state was created by Hitler and it was led by the Nazis.[3] During that time in order to overcome the serious problem of unemployment some of the countries started arms manufacture, but this gave a serious setback to disarmament efforts and promoted military competition among the states. Therefore, the global Economic Depression which surrounded the world for some years after 1929 was also a contributing cause of the Second World War and this gave Germany an excuse to break away from the Treaty of Versailles and establish larger armed forces on their own turf.

7. Failure of the League of Nations

An international organization called the League of Nations was established in 1919, to ensure peace in the world and do away with war as an instrument of policy. The objective was to ensure that all countries became members of the League and in case disagreements arose between countries, they could opt to negotiate instead of using force. If this failed to work, the successful countries would refrain from indulging in trade with the invader country. If this too failed, then countries would employ their armies to fight. In theory, it was very sensible to have the League of Nations, which was successful too, initially. But finally, it turned out to be a failure. In the late 1920s, the entire world was affected by a depression.

Depression results from a fall of the economy of the country, which leads to fall in trade, loss of income by businesses, drop in prices, and rise in unemployment. Japan was affected seriously the Economic Depression of 1931. People lost faith in the government and look towards the army to resolve the situation. The mineral-rich area of China, called Manchuria, was attacked by the Japanese army. China turned to the League of Nations for aid and a way out of the problem. The League of Nations ordered the dictatorial Government of Japan to withdraw its army and leave Manchuria. However, the army did not heed the orders. Then the League asked all the other countries to stop trade dealings with Japan. However, the Economic Depression kept several countries from taking the risk of losing out on trade. Therefore, they did not respond positively to the call. Following this, the League again ordered Japan to move out of Manchuria, but Japan responded by leaving the League of Nations.

Italy attacked Abyssinia in October 1935. The Abyssinians were not able to fight the Italians and appealed to the League of Nations for support and a solution. The League condemned the invasion and requested the member states to restrict trade dealings with Italy. However, these restrictions were not carried out because they would not have affected Italy much. The Italians would still have been able to continue trading with the non-member states, especially America. In addition, The French and the British were in no mood to risk and attack from the Italians. A meeting was called by the French and British leaders to discuss how to check Italy's aggression. A decision was taken to allow Italy to possess land in Abyssinia on the condition that there would be no more attacks on the African country. Even though Benito Mussolini agreed to the plan, it had to be finally dropped because it had led to a public protest in Great Britain. In 1935 Italy occupied Ethiopia and Albania in 1936. Though economic sanctions were imposed by the League upon Italy yet the other members did not apply them.

Encouraged by these developments Germany defied the Treaty of Versailles in 1936 and rearmed itself. In 1938 Germany occupied Austria and Czechoslovakia by

NOTES

using force. The League remained silent. In 1939, Russia attacked Finland, and this led to Russia's expulsion from the League.

There were many reasons for the failure of the League of Nations. These were as follows:

Firstly, though the idea of formation of the League of Nations came from the American President Woodrow Wilson, there was a change of government in the United States before the Treaty was signed and the new Republican government refused to join it. An early blow was suffered by the League when USA could not join it. Germany was not allowed to join the League as a punishment for having started the First World War and Russia was also not included due to a growing fear of Communism. Some of the other countries decided not to join and some joined but later left the membership. The main idea of collective security was that when one country attacked another, the aggressor would have sanctions imposed against it.

Firstly, there would be material sanctions and then military sanctions. The trading with that country would be stopped. This process was known as collective security, as all the other countries were supposed to support the League and contribute to stopping the aggressive country from waging a war. Even those states who accepted membership of the League showed indifference to this principle of collective security.

Secondly, the League of Nations was powerless. The main weapon or tool of the League was to ask member countries to stop trading with an aggressive country. However, this did not succeeded as countries could still trade with non-member countries. When the Economic Depression in the late 1920s hit the world, countries were unwilling to lose trading partners to other non-member countries.

Thirdly, the League had no army of its own. Member states were to supply the soldiers. However, countries were reluctant to get involved and risk provoking an aggressive country into taking action directly against them and failed to provide troops.

Fourthly, the League was not able to act quickly. The Council of the League of Nations only met four times a year and its decisions had to be agreed by all nations. When countries called for the League to intervene or mediate, the League had to organize an emergency meeting, hold discussions and gain the agreement of all its members. This process meant that the League could not act quickly or rapidly to stop an act of aggression.

And finally, as the League of Nations was unable to maintain international peace, the European countries lost faith in its efficacy and entered into mutual political and military alliance. Therefore, the weakness of the League of Nations was a major cause for the outbreak of the Second World War because if it had worked, then there would have been peace within Europe, and there wouldn't have been a Second World War. However, as it was unable to fulfill its promise to protect member states, countries broke the rules to get what they wanted or desired.

8. Failure of Disarmament

Another major cause, intimately connected with the League of Nations was the failure of disarmament. The Cold War between the United States of America and the Soviet Union led to the beginning of an arms race. America knew that it had become a superpower mainly because it was able to crush Japan's imperial designs by dropping an atomic bomb on Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Moreover, the rising feeling of insecurity

NOTES

among nations after World War II made them find new ways of establishing supremacy and avoid containment. The two World Wars had made it clear that annihilation of countries was possible with bombs, and so efforts were made to establish peace in the world by following the policy of disarmament. Thus, the Security Council was created in the United Nations.

The council tried to enforce the policy of nuclear disarmament. But the Soviets and the Americans did not trust each other, and entered an arms race. Article 8 of the Covenant had restricted the member states to take steps for the reduction of national armaments to the lowest point consistent with national safety. But as the League members had no faith in the system of collective security guaranteed by the League they entered into a race of rearmament. Due to mutual distrust of the members the various conferences for disarmament failed to achieve much both within and outside the League. Apart from Germany, which was compulsorily disarmed, the other country to reduce arms was Great Britain. After 1935, even Germany introduced conscription in violation of the Treaty of Versailles. The other totalitarian states also followed the principle of 'guns before butter'. This race for armaments had disastrous results for the security of peace loving countries.

9. Ideological Conflict

Another major cause of the Second World War was the ideological conflict between Dictatorial States of Germany, Italy, Japan and Democratic States like Great Britain, France and USA. Commenting on the ideological conflict Mussolini remarked, 'The struggle between the two worlds can permit no compromise—either We or They'. This conflict was inevitable due to the different approaches and worldviews clashing with each other and trying to outwit each other. While the democratic countries stood for maintenance of status quo, the Fascist countries were keen to expand. Japan was land hungry and was determined to establish its supremacy in the Far East. Germany and Italy also wanted to expand their territories. This inevitably invoked a clash with the powers who were not willing to sacrifice their colonial empires.

10. Attitude of the Western Powers towards Russia

The Western powers continued to treat Russia as an outcast. They were scared of Bolshevism and encouraged the Fascist and the Pro-Fascist politicians in the West against Bolshevik expansion. The Western powers failed to realize that the Fascist aggression was directed not only against Russia but also against them. It was a folly on the part of the Western powers to have spurned the offers of friendship and truce made by Russia. Ultimately Russia got frustrated with the attitude of Western powers and concluded a no war pact with Germany.

11. Failure of the Policy of Appeasement

The appeasement policy taken up by Great Britain and France towards the dictatorial states also contributed significantly to the outbreak of Second World War. In the 1930s, many of the makers of the appeasement policy as well as British and Fench politicians realized that that the terms of the Treaty of Versailles had imposed unfair restrictions on Germany. The dictators had a proper reason to grieve. Hitler's moves were considered justifiable. Even when the Germans started to rearm in 1934, there were many politicians who felt that Germany possessed the right to rearm for its own protection. The argument was that if Germany became stronger, it would be able to stop Communism from spreading

NOTES

to the West. In 1936, Hitler's argument was that since the French had signed a new treaty with the Russians, the Germans felt threatened by both France and Russia. Therefore, it was essential for Germany to protect is forces deployed in the Rhineland. The French were not sufficiently strong to tackle the Germans on their own without the support of the British but Britain was not in favour of a war at that juncture. Also, most people were of the belief that since Rhineland was part of Germany, it was quite reasonable for the German troops to be stationed there.

Chamberlain was made the Prime Minister of Britain, in May, 1937. In his opinion, Germany stood to lose from the Treaty of Versailles and there were several issues pertaining to the Treaty that required rectification. Chamberlain felt that conceding to Hitler's demands would stop another war from breaking out. The policy adopted by Chamberlain's government was referred to as the Policy of Appeasement. A well known example of appeasement is the Munich Agreement of September 1938, which was signed by German, French, Italian and British leaders. They all agreed that the Germans would get back the Sudetenland, and Germany, in turn, would not try to claim any further territories.

The Government of Czech did not receive an invitation to the Conference. They protested over the Sudetenland loss. They felt cheated. According to them, the British and the French, with whom they had made alliances, had let them down. However, in general, the Munich Agreement was seen as a victory and a great opportunity to secure peace by negotiating rather than declaring war. In March 1939, Hitler broke the terms of the Munich Agreement when he attacked the rest of Czechoslovakia.

Though it was clear that the Policy of Appeasement had failed, Chamberlain did not wish to take the country to war, over a dispute that occurred in a distant nation between people who were not very well known to them. Instead, he guaranteed help to the Polish if they were attacked by Hitler.

According to the critics of the Policy, this Policy was based on wrong assumptions and should have been disposed of as soon as the designs of Axis powers became clear. It was a folly to have persisted or continued with this Policy after 1937 when the designs of Nazi Germany became clear. However, according to the defenders of the Policy of Appeasement the Policy was necessary and important to postpone the war to gain time for the Western powers to grid themselves for the expected struggle. By perusing this Policy after 1937, Chamberlain played for time and made available the Western powers the much needed time for preparing for the struggle against the Fascist power. This no doubt gave the Western powers the time to increase the military strength. But, at the same time Germany and other Axis powers were not sitting idle. The time was more in favour of the Axis powers rather than the Allies as Germany was able to increase the number and strength of its army relatively in a more effective way. According to some historians if war had started in 1938 it was almost certain that Germany would have been quickly defeated. By their inaction countries like Great Britain and France created a situation under which the democracies had to go to war under much worse or bad conditions.

Thus the Second World War was the result of the follies of the victors, rise of Fascism in Italy, Japanese imperialism, collapse of collective security, failure of disarmament, ideological conflict and the Policy of the Appeasement persuaded by Great Britain and France. Above all the Second World War was a 'war of revenge initiated by Germany and definitely the growing ambitiousness of Germany to become the greatest

Check Your Progress

3. Fill in the blanks with appropriate words.
   (a) The Second World War which began in _____, lasted for 6 years.
   (b) The growth of extreme nationalism in Italy in the form of Fascism was another factor responsible for the Second World War. _____, the Fascist leader glorified war.

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world power'. In 1937, although Japan was already at war with the Republic of China,[4] the Second World War is generally said to have begun on 1 September 1939, when Poland was invaded by Germany, without a declaration of war. Great Britain and France declared war on Germany on 3 September and all the members of the Commonwealth of Nations, except Ireland, quickly followed suit.

10.4 UNO: BIRTH AND OBJECTIVES

After the Pearl Harbour attack, in three separate areas of fighting, at the Midway Island attack in 1942, El Alamein in 1942, and Stalingrad in 1943, the Axis forces were defeated and began to lose ground.

1. The Midway Island Attack, 1942

At Midway Island in the Pacific the Americans beat off the powerful Japanese attack in June 1942, which included 5 aircraft carriers, nearly 400 aircrafts, 17 large warships and an invasion force of 5,000 troops. After heavier odds the Americans came out victorious because they had broken the Japanese radio code and knew exactly when and where the attack was to be launched. On the other hand the Japanese were overconfident and made some fatal mistakes. Midway proved to be a crucial turning point in the battle for the Pacific. The loss of their carriers and strike planes seriously weakened the Japanese and from then onwards the Americans maintained their lead. Gradually the Americans under General MacArthur began to recover the Pacific Islands, beginning in August 1942 with landing in the Solomon Island. The struggle was long and bitter, and continued through 1943 and 1944 by a process known as 'Island hopping'.

2. El Alamein, 1942

This great battle at El Alamein in Egypt was the culmination of several engagements fought in the El Alamein area. First, the Axis advance was temporarily checked; when Rommel tried to break through he was halted again at Alam Halfa in September 1942. But 7 weeks later in October battle of 1942 Alam Halfa was chased out of Egypt for good by the British and the New Zealanders. The Allies were successful partly because during the 7 week pause massive reinforcement had arrived, so that the Germans and the Italians were heavily outnumbered, 80,000 men and 540 tanks against 230, 000 troops and 1,440 tanks. In addition the Allied air power also played a vital role by constantly attacking the Axis forces and sinking their supply ships crossing the Mediterranean, so that by October there were serious shortages of food, fuel oil, and ammunition.

At the same time, the air force was strong enough to protect the Eighth Army's own supply routes. Montgomery's skillful preparations probably clinched this issue, though he has been criticized for being over cautious and for allowing Rommel and half his forces to escape into Libya. However, there is no doubt that the El Alamein victory was another turning point in the Second World War. Firstly, it prevented Egypt and the Suez Canal from falling into the hands of Germany; secondly, it ended the possibility of a linkup between the Axis forces in the Middle East and those in the Ukraine. Thirdly, it led on to the complete expulsion of Axis forces from North Africa. It also encouraged landings of the British troops in the France territories of Morocco and Algeria to threaten the Germans and the Italians from the West, while the Eighth Army closed in on them from Libya. Trapped in Tunisia, 275,000 Germans and Italians were forced to surrender in May 1943 and the Allies were well placed for an invasion of Italy.

Check Your Progress

4. State whether the following is true or false.
   (a) If the Treaty of Versailles was drafted with magnanimity, and foresight, and Germany was meted with a light treatment, the Second World War might have been turned away.
   (b) The main weapon or tool of the League was to ask member countries to stop trading with an aggressive country.

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3. Stalingrad, 1943

To capture the Stalingrad in Russia in 1943 Germany had penetrated deeply through Crimea and captured Rostov, but at Rostov Germany was checked by Russia. The Germans had reached Stalingrad at the end of August 1942, and partially destroyed the city; however the Russians refused to surrender. In that same year in November the Russians counter attacked ferociously, trapping the Germans, whose supply lines were dangerously extended, in a large pincer movement. With his retreat cut off the Germans had no alternative but to surrender with about 1 lakh men on 2 February 1943. If Stalingrad had fallen the supply route for Russia's oil from the Caucasus would have been cut off, and the Germans had hoped to advance up the River Don to attack Moscow from the South east. The Germans had to abandon their plan but the defeat was a catastrophe for the Germans and boosted the Russian moral.

Defeat of Axis Forces

1. The Fall of Italy

This was the first stage in the Axis collapse. The British and the American troops landed in Sicily from the sea and air on 10 July 1943, and quickly captured the whole island. This caused the downfall of Mussolini in Italy, who was dismissed by the king. The Allied troops crossed to Salerno, Reggio, and Taranto on the mainland and captured Naples in October 1943. Marshall Badoglio, Mussolini's successor signed an armistice and brought Italy on to the Allied side. The elimination of Italy did contribute towards the final Allied victory. Because it provided air bases for bombing the Germans in Central Europe, and the Balkan and the German troops were kept occupied when they were needed to resist the Russians.

2. The Fall of Germany

Though focused attack on Germany was started just after the fall of Italy, but the end was delayed by desperate German resistance and by disagreements between the Americans and the British. Montgomery wanted a rapid thrust to reach Berlin before the Russians, but the American General Eisenhower favoured a cautious advance along a broad front. The British failure at Arnhem in Holland in September 1944, further proved Eisenhower's view, though in fact the Arnhem operation might have worked if the troops had landed nearer the two bridges. Consequently Eisenhower had his way and Allied troops were dispersed over a 600 mile front, with unfortunate results.

Hitler was able to launch an offensive through the weakly defended Ardennes towards Antwerp and secondly, the Germans broke through the American lines and advanced 60 miles, causing a huge bulge in the front line in December 1944. However, determined British and American action stemmed the advance and pushed the Germans back to their original position. But the Battle of the Bulge was important because Hitler had risked everything on the attack, and had lost around 2.5 lakh men and 600 tanks which at this stage could not be replaced. Early in 1945 Germany was being invaded on both fronts, from east and west. The British still wanted to push ahead and take Berlin before the Russians, but the Supreme Commander Eisenhower refused to be hurried and Berlin fell to Stalin's forces in April 1945, and Hitler was so much disgusted that he committed suicide on 30 April 1945. Thereafter the Germans made an unconditional surrender to the Allies on 7 May 1945.

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3. The Defeat of Japan

In the South East Asia, the Japanese had won amazing victories and occupied Malaya, Singapore, Hong Kong, Burma, the Philippine islands and parts of New Guinea, French Indo-China and Dutch East Indies (Indonesia). After the defeat of Germany, the Japanese were forced to evacuate all these territories. However, Japan continued the fight till the United States dropped atom bombs. On 6 August 1945, the Americans dropped an atom bomb on Hiroshima, killing around 84,000 people and leaving thousands more slowly dying of radiation poisoning. Three days later on 9 August 1945 America dropped another atom bomb on Nagasaki which killed around another 40,000 people; and after this the Japanese government surrendered and it signed the surrender documents on 2 September 1945 on the battleship Missouri in Tokyo Bay. This marked the closer of the ghastly chapter of the Second World War.

10.4.1 Birth of UNO

Many changes in the life of the people were brought about by the Industrial Revolution in Europe. Many big factories were established in Europe and America to produce goods on a large scale. These factories purchased raw materials at a very low price from their colonies and sold them the manufactured goods at a high price. With this the countries became very rich and powerful. They created all types of weapons but these powerful countries fought among themselves and these small battles led to big wars. There were two world wars in the early part of the twentieth century, which involved many countries of the world. 'The First World War was fought from 1914 to 1918, and the Second World War was fought from 1939 to 1945. Millions of people were killed and much property was destroyed during these major wars. Prior to that human beings had never seen wars of this magnitude. They were worried and terrified due to its terrible consequences.'

Countries like the United States, Great Britain, and other great powers after the First World War thought that there should be an international agency to maintain peace in the world. Therefore, the League of Nations was formed to stop another world war. But the League failed comprehensively and it was unable to stop the Second World War, which was even more destructive. The War caused the completely ruined cities, villages, industries and means of transport and communication. Towards the end of the Second World War, two atom bombs were dropped by the US on the Japanese cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. About 2 lakh people died and the two cities were reduced to ashes in minutes. It was because of this that many nations of the world wanted to have an organization that would work more effectively than the League of Nations and save the human race from wars. This feeling of the common people gave rise to the UNO, now popularly called the United Nations (UN).

The UNO came into existence officially in October 1945 after the Second World War ended. It arose on the ruins of the League of Nations. The failure of the League to prevent war and to promote peace, strengthen the conviction of the people that an effective system of collective security was absolutely essential. By this time, the United States of America was willing to enter a system of collective security. However, no effort was made to revive the League of Nations and it was decided to start all over again. The main reasons for this attitude were as follows:

- The psychology was that it would be better to establish a new organization than to try to revive the old one which was attached the stigma of failure.

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- The covenant which was drafted in the first quarter of the twentieth century was in any case to be revised and it was felt easier to draft a new document than to drastically change the old one.
- The American President Roosevelt probably felt that the American people would be able to join a new world organization more easily than the League of Nations, which had raised a bitter political controversy in USA.
- The experience of the League of Nations had proved that no security organization could be effective unless all the great powers became its member. It was virtually impossible for Russia to join back the League from whose membership she had been expelled in 1939. Therefore, a new security organization had to be established.

However the dialogue for a new international organization in place of the League of Nations had started much earlier. The Atlantic Charter was signed by Winston Churchill, the British Prime Ministers, and Franklin D Roosevelt, the American President, in August 1941. This proposal for maintenance of peace through international collaboration was signed off the coast of Newfoundland, Canada. In addition to peace, it aimed to ensure security and economic stability.

In 1942, American President, Franklin Roosevelt, coined the phrase 'United Nations' while making a reference to the 26 Allied nations warring against the Axis powers, such as Germany, Japan and Italy. The nations who signed the Declaration were:

- The United States
- The United Kingdom
- The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
- China
- Australia
- Belgium
- Canada
- Costa Rica
- Cuba
- Czechoslovakia
- The Dominican Republic
- El Salvador
- Greece
- Guatemala
- Haiti
- Honduras
- India
- Luxembourg
- The Netherlands
- New Zealand
- Nicaragua

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- Norway
- Panama
- Poland
- South Africa
- Yugoslavia

As the Second World War progressed, people had to suffer the violence and carnage that ensued. The concept of the United Nations, as an international organization, began to grow and be accepted. On 30 October, 1943, at the Moscow Conference, a declaration was signed by the Soviet Union, the USSR, USA, China and Great Britain stating that these countries would together form an organization which would work towards maintaining peace and security. After a month, in Teheran (present-day Iran), these countries expressed their wish create such an organization, once again. But it was only in 1944, at Dumbarton Oaks, that the countries got down to actually discussing ways to create and operate such an institution, and outline the tasks it would perform. the participants were cautious about not repeating the mistakes made by the League of Nations but at the same time, adopted some of its positive points. For example, they were clear that only a two-thirds majority would be required to pass a resolution, which was not the case with the League of Nations. In this manner, the United Nations could avoid being impacted even if there were disagreements between the countries due to contrasting policies, as the League of Nations had encountered.

For maintenance of the world's powerful nations in the United Nations, the US, the USSR, China and Great Britain were granted veto power. The features with respect to each of these countries that led to this were:

USA	-	strong economy and powerful military
USSR	-	military strength
China	-	huge population
Great Britain	-	widespread colonial interests

These four powers were given permanent membership of the Security Council. Simply put, it would not be possible for the UN to decide on anything without receiving a unanimous approval from all four. At that time, France was occupied by Germany. Therefore, it was did not get permanent membership of the Security Council, despite its large colonies in Africa, Asia, the Pacific, and the Caribbean. Later, post-War, France became free and managed to obtain the same powers as the other four countries.

10.4.2 Commencement of UNO

World War II came to an end on 2 September 1945. This happened after the Japanese surrendered aboard the American ship, USS Missouri, in Tokyo Bay.

There arose many issues that needed to be resolved by the international organization. A large part of Japan, sections of China and most of Europe were devastated. Several cities, especially Tokyo, London and Berlin were destroyed in the carpet-bombings and millions of people were rendered homeless and displaced due to the genocide. The scale of the Second World War was so big and widespread that it was impossible to get the exact death toll. However, it is estimated that more than 50 million people lost their lives. Famine and epidemics also took their toll during the War. When the US used the atomic bomb usage, on the cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki in Japan, it became quite clear that

NOTES

with such weapons of mass destruction, a Third World War could turn out to be an even bigger disaster. Thus, the necessity for an international organization became even more strong so that violence should never happen again. The objective was to restore peace and order in the world.

On 25 April, 1945, the United Nations Charter was signed by 50 countries in San Francisco, USA. These countries were the founder members of the UNO. A little later, Poland became the 51st founding member. At first, certain misunderstandings did crop up among the countries. The Soviet Union and the US were afraid that the organization had the potential to overpower them. One reason why San Francisco was selected as the venue for the event was to remove these fears and suspicions from the hearts of the Americans. Their backing was crucial for the American government to give its consent to join the UN. And without the US, the UN would have failed like the League. Some sections of Great Britain were also reluctant to join fearing that the United Nations may lead to Great Britain losing control over its colonies.

Most importantly, the smaller countries believed that they may not get treatment equal to the powerful nations, and rightfully so. But several small nations consented to join the Charter seeing it as an opportunity to make their voices heard across the world.

On 24 October 1945 the United Nations was finally created, with the Charter receiving approval from the governments of the founder members.

On 10 January 1946, the first General Assembly got together in London, England. Then, the Security Council met on 17 January 1946 for the first time. On 24 January 1946, the UNOs first resolution was passed. The objective was to check weapons of mass destruction, the atomic bomb in particular. The foundation stone of the UN's headquarters was laid in New York City on on 24 October 1949. Since then the UN has had a permanent location.

10.4.3 Objectives of UNO

The main objectives of the UNO are:

- To ensure peace in the world
- To develop friendly relations among countries
- To resolve economic, social, cultural and humanitarian issues
- To promote respect and dignity for human rights and freedom

A war is a result of the rivalry among the big powers. Therefore, it is necessary for all the powers to unanimously carry out the policies mentioned. Therefore, it was decided that the Security Council's five permanent members would veto, that is, annul any step, if they do not approve of it. In addition to the political aims, the UNO also put forward a plan to promote the welfare of the people through its subsidiary bodies including the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the United Nations Education, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), the World Health Organization (WHO), the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (UNRRA), the United Nations International Children's Education Fund (UNICEF), the International Labour Organization (ILO) and the Atomic Commission. The United Nations Charter's Constitution stated the primary objectives of the UNO as security and development. The UNO was to promote the following:

1. Peace and security for all countries of the world
2. Friendly relations among the member countries

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3. Human freedom and rights: The United Nations drew up a list of human rights, known as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. It was adopted on 10 December 1948, a day celebrated as the Human Rights Day across the world.

   Some of the important rights are as follows:

   - The right to live as free citizens of a country
   - Equality before the law
   - The right of free speech and writing
   - The right to education
   - The right to employment
   - The right to freedom of religion
   - The right to freedom from discrimination based on religion or sex
   - The right to equal pay for equal work
   - The right to freedom to travel from one place to another

   The United Nations is putting in all efforts to make these rights a reality in all the countries of the world.

4. Development of member states by producing more food, providing medical facilities and resolving the problems of children and refugees
5. Removal of the causes of conflict by encouraging economic, social, educational, scientific and cultural progress all over the world, particularly in the underdeveloped countries.

10.5 ORGANIZATION OF THE UNITED NATIONS

To achieve the aforementioned objectives, the United Nations Charter provided some organs or bodies. The UNO has six main organs. These are as follows:

1. The General Assembly
2. The Security Council
3. The Secretariat
4. The International Court of Justice
5. The Trusteeship Council, and
6. The Economic and Social Council

Out of these six organs four were developed by the League of Nations, and were adopted by the UN Charter with certain changes. These four organs are: the General Assembly, the Security Council, the Secretariat, and the International Court of Justice. The other two organs of the UN, viz., the Trusteeship Council, and the Economic and Social Council are newly created.

The General Assembly: This is the meeting place of the representatives from all the member nations. Though there is a rule of one vote per member nation but each member nation can send up to five representatives. The General Assembly meets once a year, which starts in September and remaining in session for about 3 months. However, special sessions can be organized in time of crisis by the member states themselves or by the Security Council.

The General Assembly's aim is to discuss and make decisions about international problems, to consider the UN budget, and what amount each member state should pay,

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to elect the Security Council members and to supervise the work of the many other UN bodies.

Decisions of the Assembly do not need a unanimous vote as they did in the League of Nations Assembly. Sometimes a simple majority is enough, though on issues which the Assembly thinks are very important, a two-thirds majority is needed. These include decisions about admitting new members or expelling any existing members and about actions to be taken to maintain peace. All speeches and debates are translated into the six official UN languages that are English, French, Russian, Chinese, Spanish, and Arabic.

For the performance of its extensive duties the General Assembly has created committees and subsidiary organs. The prominent among these committees are the Political and Security Committee, the Economic and Financial Committee, the Social, Humanitarian and Cultural Committee, the Trusteeship Committee, the Administrative and Budgetary Committee, the Legal Committee, the General Committee, and the Credentials Committee. In addition, the General Assembly can set up ad hoc committees to handle specific problems. Thus, the General Assembly has been assigned both political and legal authority.

The Security Council

It is the enforcement wing of the United Nations. It is continuously in session and takes prompt action to ensure international peace and security. The Security Council is a much smaller body than the General Assembly. Earlier it consisted of 11 members, among them 5 are permanent which included the UK, USA, the USSR, France and China, and included 6 non-permanent members elected by the General Assembly for a term of 2 years. The non-permanent members are not eligible for immediate re-election. In 1965, the number of non-permanent members was increased to 10. Decisions need at least 9 of the 15 members to vote in favour but these must include all 5 permanent members. This means that any one of permanent members can veto a decision and prevent any action being taken. In practice it has gradually been accepted that abstention by a permanent member does not count as a veto but this has been written in to the Charter.

In order to secure some action in case of a veto by one of the permanent members, the General Assembly introduced the 'Uniting for Peace' resolution. This state that if the Security Council's proposals were vetoed the General Assembly could meet within 24 hours and decide what action is to be taken, even military intervention if required. In this case a decision by the General Assembly would only need a two-thirds majority.

Unlike the General Assembly, each member of the Security Council can send a representative. It also ensures that different geographical regions get equal distribution. The Presidency of the Security Council is held by all the members of the Security Council in alphabetical order for a period of one calendar month. The Security Council also participates in the election of judges of the International Court of Justice. Similarly, its recommendations are necessary for the appointment of the Secretary General.

The Secretariat

This is the office staff of the United Nations and it consists of over 50,000 employees. They look after the administrative work preparing minutes of meetings, translations and information. The Secretary General is a chief administrative officer of the secretariat. He is appointed by the General Assembly up on the recommendation of the Security

NOTES

Council. The Council holds a private session to find out a candidate for the office who is acceptable to all the permanent members. Though the General Assembly reserves the right to reject the name recommended by the Security Council, it can't make its own choice. In such a case the Assembly has to wait until another candidate is recommended by the Council. The UN Charter is silent about the term of the office of the Secretary General but as per the decision in 1946 the Secretary General has come to assume a term of 5 years in office which can be renewed and extended. In order to ensure some degree of impartiality the Secretary General is not expected from one of the major powers. The Secretary General acts as the main spokesperson for the UN and is always at the forefront of international affairs trying to sort out the world's problems.

The Secretary General of the UN is more influential and powerful than his counterpart under the League of Nations. The Secretary General performs important functions in the political sphere which greatly influence the formulation of the policies. As per the Article 99 of the Charter, 'the Secretary General may bring to the attention of the Security Council any matters which in his opinion may threaten the maintenance of international peace and security'. He is the chief representative of the UN in negotiations with other agencies and governments. He also represents the interests of the UN before the International Court of Justice. Though the Secretary General was not given very extensive powers by the UN Charter he has come to assume wide-ranging powers. While the First Secretary General took the interest in political affairs and neglected the administrative aspect, the subsequent Secretary Generals have devoted much attention to the administration. In the political sphere they preferred to follow quite diplomacy and therefore enhanced the prestige of the UN secretariat and made it less controversial.

The International Court of Justice

The principal judicial organ of the United Nations is the International Court of Justice at Hague in Holland. It was set up by a statute which is based on the Permanent Court of Justice stature. All members of the United Nations are also members of the Court. A state which is a non-member of the United Nations can also become a party of the Statute of the International Court of Justice on conditions which are to be determined in each case by the General Assembly up on the Security Council's recommendation.

According to the Statute the International Court of Justice shall consist of fifteen judges elected regardless of their nationality from among persons who are of high moral character, who have the qualifications need in their respective countries of appointment to the higher judicial office or are jurist consultants of recognized competence in international law. Although the court judges are to be elected regardless of their nationality, no two of them can be nationals of the same state. These judges are elected for a term of 9 years (five judges retiring every third year) by the Assembly and the Security Council jointly.

The International Court of Justice has dealt successfully with number of disputes including a frontier dispute between Holland and Belgium and a disagreement between Britain and Norway over fishing limits but in many other cases it was not so successful. Although in theory the Security Council has the power to take appropriate measures to enforce the Court's decision it has never done so. In spite of various limitations it cannot be denied that the International Court of Justice has contributed significantly in the maintenance of international peace through resolution of transnational disputes.

NOTES

The Trusteeship Council

This replaced the League of Nations Mandates Commission which had originally come into existence in 1919 to keep an eye on the territories taken away from Germany and Turkey at the end of the First World War. Some of these territories, known as mandated territories or mandates, had been handed over to the victorious power, and their job was to govern the territories and prepare them for independence.

The Mandates Commission which was later replaced by the Trusteeship Council did its job successfully and by 1970 most of the mandates territory had gained their independence. However, Namibia remained a problem, since South Africa refused to give the territory of Namibia independence. South Africa, ruled by a government representing the white minority of the population, was unwilling to give independence to a state right on its own frontier which would be ruled by a government representing its black African majority. The United Nations on its part repeatedly condemned South Africa for its attitude and after the United Nations intervention the International Court of Justice in 1971 ruled that South Africa's occupation of Namibia was a breach of international law and that South Africa must withdraw immediately. South Africa ignored the verdict of United Nations, but as the other states of Africa gradually gained independence under black governments, it became more difficult for the South Africa to maintain both its position in Namibia and its own white minority rule. At last the pressure of black African nationalism and world opinion forced South Africa to release its grip on Namibia in 1990.

The Economic and Social Council

This Council is one of the six principal organs of the United Nations. It operates under the authority of the General Assembly. Article 55 of the Charter enjoins on the United Nations to create conditions of stability and well being which are necessary for peaceful and friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self determinations of the people by promoting:

1. Higher standards of living, full employment and conditions of economic and social progress and development,
2. Solutions of international economy, social, health and related problems and in international cultural and educational co-operation, and
3. Universal respect for and observance of human rights and fundamental freedom for all without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion.

The Economic and Social Council at present consists of 54 members of the United Nations, elected by the General Assembly for a term of 3 years, but initially there were 18 members and subsequently it was raised to 27. One-third members of the Economic and Social Council are replaced every year. A retiring member is eligible for immediate reelection. Each member of the Council has one representative. No criterions have been laid down by the General Assembly regarding the qualifications, etc., for the election of members of the Economic and Social Council. However, in actual practice an attempt is made to represent a variety of social, economic, cultural and geographical interests.

The Economic and Social Council generally meets twice a year. However, when necessary, special sessions can be convened by the Council. All the decisions are taken by the Economic and Social Council by the majority vote. It organizes projects concerned

NOTES

with health, education, and other social and economic matters. It has appointed four regional commissions; that are Europe, Latin America, Africa, Asia and the Far East, as well as commissions on population problems, drug problems, human rights and the status of women. The Economic and Social Council also co-ordinates the work of an astonishing array of other commissions and specialized agencies. At present the following specialized agencies work under the broad supervision of the Economic and Social Council:

1. International Labour Organization (ILO)
2. Food and Agricultural Organization (FAO)
3. International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO)
4. United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO)
5. International Monetary Fund (IMF)
6. World Health Organization (WHO)
7. Universal Postal Union (UPU)
8. International Telecommunication Union (ITU)
9. World Meteorological Organization (WMO)
10. International Finance Corporation (IFC)
11. Inter-Governmental Maritime Consultative Organization (IMCO)
12. International Bank of Reconstruction and Development (IBRD)
13. United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF)
14. United Nations Relief and Works Agency (UNRWA)

Each of these specialized agencies of the United Nations has its own constitution, sphere of action, budget and staff in accordance with the principle of functional organization. Though each of the agencies has a separate and distinct identity, they are not completely autonomous and unrelated to each other.

The scope of the Economic and Social Council expanded in such a remarkable way that by 1980 more than 90 per cent of the UN's annual expenditure was devoted to the Economic and Social Council activities. The actual working of the Council for all these years has fully demonstrated that the Council has done a commendable job through its agencies, as per the original planning of the UN. So, during the time of drafting of the Charter of the UN, Chairman Settinius of US said, 'The battle of peace has to be fought in two fronts. The first is the security front where victory spells freedom from fear. The second is the economic and the social front where victory means freedom from wants. Victory on both fronts can definitely assure the world of a lasting peace'.

10.5.1 Emergence of Independent Nations

One of the outstanding events of the mid-twentieth century after the culmination of the Second World War and the formation of the UNOs has been the emergence of independent nations in Asia and Africa. The countries in these two continents emerged from the clutches of colonial rule and the obscurity inflicted by the foreign rulers. Between 1945 and 1960 almost one quarter of the world's population won political independence in these two continents. The collapse of colonialism marked the dawn of a new era. Commenting on the significance of this development G. Barraclough observed, 'Never before in the whole of human history had so revolutionary a reversal occurred with such rapidity'.

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Even in the post Second World War period the nations of Europe continued to claim ownership of vast areas of the rest of the world, particularly in Asia and Africa. Great Britain's empire was the largest in area consisting of India, Burma, Ceylon, Malaya, enormous tracts of Africa and many islands such as Cyprus, Hong Kong, the West Indies, the Falklands and Gibraltar. Likewise, France had the second largest empire, with territories in Africa, Indo-China and the West Indies. In addition, Britain and France held land in the Middle East taken from Turkey at the end of the First World War. Britain held Transjordan and Palestine, and France held Syria. They were known as 'mandated' territories, which meant that Britain and France were intended to look after them and prepare them for independence. Other important empires were those of Holland (Dutch East Indies), Belgium (Congo and Ruanda Urundi), Portugal (Angola, Mozambique and Guinea), Spain (Spanish Sahara, Ifni, Spanish Morocco and Spanish Guinea) and Italy (Libya, Somalia and Eritrea).

Over the next 30 years of the establishment of the UNO remarkable changes took place. By 1975 most of these colonies had gained their independence. In some cases, as in the Dutch and France colonies, they had to fight for it against the determined European resistance. The problems involved were often complex. Most of the Afro-Asian countries on the eve of their independence were poor, lacked infrastructure, communication, people were generally illiterate and their banking systems were very poor. Therefore, after their independence most of the Afro-Asian countries embarked on the path of achieving democracy and liberation in their economy and social spheres.

Majority of the countries like India, Burma and Sri Lanka in Asia and Guinea, Mali, Congo, Tanzania and the UAR in Africa planned their development on socialistic lines, some other countries also stood against socialism. Thus, the Asian and the African continents witnessed a contest between socialism and capitalism. But these countries got maximum support from various agencies of the UN in their development. While in India there were bitter religious differences to resolve, in some areas like Algeria, Kenya, Tanganyika, Uganda and Rhodesia, etc., a large numbers of whites had settled and they were relentlessly hostile to independence which would place them under black rule. But Britain was prepared to grant independence when it felt that individual territories were ready for it. The other colonial powers were at first determined to hold on to their empires by military force. However, they all gave way in the end.

Colonies that gained independence after 1945

British Colonies

The main British colonies which gained independence after the establishment of the UNO were 6: India and Pakistan in 1947, Burma and Ceylon (Sri Lanka) in 1948, Transjordan (Jordan) and Palestine in 1948, Malaysia and Gold Coast (Ghana) in 1957, Nigeria, Somaliland and Cyprus in 1960, Tanganyika and Zanzibar (together forming Tanzania) in 1961, Jamaica, Trinidad and Tobago, Uganda in 1962, Kenya in 1964, British Guiana (Guyana), Barbados and Bechuanaland (Botswana) in 1966, Aden (South Yemen) in 1967, Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) in 1980, and British Honduras (Belize) in 1981.

French Colonies

Syria got independence in 1946, Indo-China in 1954, Morocco and Tunisia in 1956, Guinea in 1958, Senegal, Ivory Coast, Mauretania, Niger, Upper Volta, Chad, Madagascar

Check Your Progress

5. Match the following:
   - (a) 1942 (i) 40,000 killed in Nagasaki
   - (b) 1943 (ii) British and American troops land in Sicily
   - (c) 1945 (iii) Midway Island Attack
   - (d) 1947 (iv) Pakistan gets independence

(Malagasy), Gabon, Sudan (Mali), Cameroun, Congo, Oubangui-Shari (Central Africa), Togo and Dahomey (Benin) got independence from France in 1960.

Dutch Colonies

East Indies (Indonesia) got independence from the Dutch control in 1949 and Surinam in 1975.

Belgian Colonies

Congo in 1960, Ruanda-Urundi in 1962 became free from Belgian control.

Spanish Colonies

Spanish Morocco in 1956, Guinea in 1968, Ifni later became part of Morocco in 1969 and Spanish Sahara later divided between Morocco and Mauretania became free in 1975 from the Spanish control.

Portuguese Colonies

Guinea in 1974, Angola and Mozambique in 1975, and East Timor in 1975 got independence from Portugal.

Italian Colonies

Ethiopia in 1947, Libya in 1951, Eritrea later became part of Ethiopia in 1952, and Italian Somaliland later became part of Somalia and got independence in 1960 from Italian control.

Emergence of Israel

In 1948 the creation of the State of Israel was preceded by struggle of more than five decades to set up a sovereign state as a homeland for Jews. Theodore Herzl, founder of the Zionist movement initiated these efforts, and these were given added impetus by the Balfour Declaration of 1917, which declared the British government's support for the creation of a Jewish homeland in Palestine.

With the defeat of the Ottoman Empire in World War I, the British assumed control of Palestine. The British government issued the Balfour Declaration in November 1917, announcing its intention to facilitate the 'establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people'. In 1922, a mandate was granted to Britain over Palestine by the League of Nations which included, among other things, provisions calling for the establishment of homeland for Jews, facilitating Jewish immigration and encouraging their settlement on the land.

The Arabs opposed Jewish immigration to Palestine and increased their attacks against the Jews. Following this, in 1936 the British appointed a royal commission to investigate the Palestine situation and circumstances. According to the Peel Commission partition of the country should be made between Arabs and Jews. This idea was rejected by the Arabs while the Jews accepted the principle of partition.

At the end of the Second World War, 'the British persisted in their immigration restrictions and Jewish survivors of the Holocaust were violently turned away from the shores of Palestine. Underground cells of Jews, most notably the Irgun and Lehi, engaged in open warfare against the British and their installations. The British realized that they could no longer manage Palestine and handed the issue over to the United Nations.' On 29 November 1947, after much debate and discussion, the UN recommended for Palestine partition into two states—one Jewish and one Arab. The UN resolution was accepted by the Jews while the Arabs rejected it.

In the meantime, since the time of the British Mandate, the political, social and economic institutions that governed daily life in Palestine was formed by the Jewish community in Palestine and served as a pre-state infrastructure. Zionist leader David Ben-Gurion worked as head of the pre-state government. On 14 May 1948, the British mandate over Palestine officially terminated and David Ben-Gurion proclaimed the formation of the State of Israel, and became its first prime minister. On 15 May, the United States recognised the State of Israel and the Soviet Union soon followed it. Soon after the State of Israel was proclaimed, armies from neighbouring Arab states who had not accepted the UN partition plan invaded it. In 1949 this conflict, Israel's War of Independence, was concluded by an armistice between Israel, Egypt, Jordan, Lebanon, and Syria.

Causes of the Emergence of Independent Nations

Although the European powers claimed to have brought the benefits of Western civilization and culture to their colonies, there was a general feeling among the colonies that the European colonial powers were exploiting them for their benefits, who took most of the profits from their partnership.

(i) The development and prosperity of the colonies were being held back in the interests of Europe and most of the colonial people continued to live in poverty and deprivation. So, nationalist movements started in various colonies. In India the Indian National Congress started agitation against the British rule since its inception in 1885 and in South East Asia, the Vietnamese began to campaign against France authority during the 1920s.

(ii) Before the Second World War, people in the colonies believed that it would be impossible to defeat the colonial powers who were superior militarily. Japanese successes in the early part of the War showed that it was not impossible for non Europeans to defeat the European powers and this led to movements against colonial powers in Indo-China, the Dutch East Indies, Malaya, and Burma.

(iii) The Asian and the Africans became more conscious and aware about the social and political matters as a result of their involvement in the Second World War.

(iv) Some European policies during the War period encouraged colonial people to expect independence as soon as the War was over. In 1941, the Atlantic Charter set out joint Anglo-American thinking suggested that, nations should not expand by taking territory from other nations and all people should have the right to choose their own form of government. Though Churchill later said that this only applied to victims of Hitler's aggression, the hope and expectation of other Asian and African colonial states had been raised.

(v) The most important development was the establishment of UNO which came out firmly against imperialism and demanded a step-by-step programme for decolonization. The US and the USSR also added their voice to the chorus and constantly denounced imperialism. By putting pressure on the European states, they encouraged nationalists all over the world to intensify their campaign against colonial powers.

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Check Your Progress

6. Fill in the blanks with appropriate words:
   (i) Guinea, Angola, Mozambique and _____ were all Portuguese colonies.
   (ii) Congo became free from _____ control in 1960.
   (iii) The _____ Council replaced the League of Nations Mandates Commission to keep an eye on the territories taken away from Germany and Turkey at the end of World War I.
   (iv) The _____ is the meeting place of the representatives from all the member nations.
   (v) The _____ Council is the enforcement wing of the United Nations.

NOTES

NOTES

ACTIVITY

1. Find out what were the terms and conditions that were agreed upon in the Munich Agreement.
2. 'In 1936, Hitler argued that as France had signed a new treaty with Russia, Germany was under threat from both France and Germany, and it was important for Germany to provide security for troops stationed in the Rhineland.' What were the terms that were agreed upon between France and Russia? Make a list of these terms and compare these with the Munich Agreement.
3. Make a list of the judges of the International Court of Justice.
4. Make a list of the current and permanent members of the Security Council.

Check Your Progress

7. State whether the following are true or false.
   (a) The British failure at Arnhem in Holland in September 1944, further proved Eisenhower's view, though in fact the Arnhem operation might have worked if the troops had landed nearer the two bridges.
   (b) The Economic and Social Council at present consists of 54 members of the United Nations, elected by the General Assembly for a term of 3 years, but initially there were 18 members and subsequently it was raised to 27.

DID YOU KNOW?

At its founding, the UNO had 51 member states, there are now 193.

10.6 SUMMARY

In this unit, you have learnt that:

- The First World War and the subsequent Great Depression considerably weakened many erstwhile European powers but it also led to the rise of dictatorships in several countries. The tensions and resentments resulting from the First World War and the interwar period in Europe made a bigger conflict unavoidable. The culmination of all these events led to the outbreak of the Second World War.
- The main cause of the two world wars was definitely the desire of Germany to become the greatest world power. But the Second World War was also a war of revenge initiated by Germany. It cannot be denied that Germany stood first foremost for revenge. It also stood first for rearmament and revenge and then for loot and German domination.
- In a conference held in Munich, Germany, an agreement was negotiated among the major powers of Europe without the presence of Czechoslovakia. This Agreement was signed by Germany, France, the United Kingdom, and Italy. The main aim of the Munich Conference was to discuss about the Sudetenland's future in the face of territorial demands that were made by Adolf Hitler.
- As a result of the Munich Agreement, Czechoslovakia was crippled by the loss of 70 per cent of its heavy industry and almost all of her fortifications to Germany. Slovakia began to demand semi-independence and it looked as if the country was about to fall apart. Hitler pressurized the Czechoslovakian president, Hacha, into requesting Germany for help to restore order. Consequently in March 1939 Germany troops occupied the rest of Czechoslovakia. Britain and France protested but as usual took no action.

NOTES

- The Second World War which began in 1939, lasted for 6 years. Major powers of Europe were involved in this War, battles were staged in all corners of the world and 'it was the most widespread war in history, with more than 100 million people engaged in the military exercise that ensued'. In a state of total war, the major participant countries placed their entire economic, industrial, and scientific capabilities and abilities at the service of the war effort, and this erased the distinction between the civilian and military resources. This War was marked by many significant events involving the mass death of civilians, which included the holocaust and the only use of nuclear weapons in warfare. The War resulted in 50 million to over 70 million fatalities.
- Although the immediate cause for the outbreak of the Second World War was the invasion of Poland by Germany but the real causes were much deeper and diverse in nature. Like the follies of victors in the First World War, the Treaty of Versailles, aggressive Nationalism of Germany, rise of Fascism in Italy, Japanese imperialism, the Great Economic Depression, failure of the League of Nations, failure of disarmament, ideological conflict, attitude of the Western powers towards Russia, failure of the Policy of Appeasement.
- The British and the American troops landed in Sicily from the sea and air on 10 July 1943, and quickly captured the whole island. This caused the downfall of Mussolini in Italy, who was dismissed by the king.
- The Battle of the Bulge was important because Hitler had risked everything on the attack, and had lost around 2.5 lakh men and 600 tanks which at this stage could not be replaced.
- Berlin fell to Stalin's forces in April 1945 and Hitler was so much disgusted that he committed suicide on 30 April 1945. Thereafter, the Germans made an unconditional surrender to the Allies on 7 May 1945.
- After the defeat of Germany, the Japanese were forced to evacuate all these territories.
- On 6 August 1945 the Americans dropped an atom bomb on Hiroshima, killing around 84,000 people and leaving thousands more slowly dying of radiation poisoning.
- On 9 August 1945 America dropped another atom bomb on Nagasaki which killed around another 40,000 people; and after this the Japanese government surrendered.
- The UNO came into existence officially in October 1945 after the Second World War ended. It arose on the ruins of the League of Nations.
- The Second World War officially ended on 2 September 1945, when Japan surrendered on board the American ship, USS Missouri, in Tokyo Bay.
- On 24 October 1945 the United Nations was finally created, when the Charter was approved by the governments of the founding nations. On 10 January 1946, the first General Assembly took place in London, England.
- The UNOs primary objective is to maintain world peace, to develop friendly relations among nations, to solve economic, social, cultural and humanitarian problems, and to promote respect and dignity for human rights and freedom.

- One of the outstanding events of the mid-twentieth century after the culmination of the Second World War and the formation of the UNOs has been the emergence of independent nations in Asia and Africa.
- Although the European powers claimed to have brought the benefits of Western civilization and culture to their colonies, there was a general feeling among the colonies that the European colonial powers were exploiting them for their benefits.
- The establishment of UNO came out firmly against imperialism and demanded a step-by-step programme for decolonization.

10.7 KEY TERMS

- **Collective security:** All the other countries were supposed to support the League of Nations and contribute to stopping the aggressive country from waging a war; this was known as collective security
- **Dictat:** An order imposed by a powerful authority without popular consent
- **Fascist:** A radical authoritarian nationalist political ideology. Fascists demand elevation of their nation on the basis of a commitment to an organic national community where its people are bound together as one through national identity
- **Imperialism:** Policy of extending a country's power and influence through diplomacy or military force
- **Mandate**: An official order or commission to perform a task
- **Munich Dictate:** The state of Czechoslovakia which was not even invited to the Conference felt betrayed by the act of the United Kingdom and France, and the Czechs and Slovaks called the Munich Agreement the 'Munich Dictate'. Sometimes, the phrase Munich Betrayal is also used because the military alliance which Czechoslovakia had with France and United Kingdom was not honoured
- **Pincer movement**: A military manoeuvre characterized by double envelopment of enemy forces
- **Statute:** A rule of an organization or written law passed by a legislative body

10.8 ANSWERS TO 'CHECK YOUR PROGRESS'

1. (a) *The Origins of the Second World War* (1961); (b) Munich Betrayal
2. (a) False; (b) True
3. (a) 1939; (b) Munich Betrayal
4. (a) True; (b) True
5. (a) (iii); (b) (ii); (c) (i); (d) (iv)
6. (i) East Timor; (ii) Belgian; (iii) Trusteeship; (iv) General Assembly (v) Security
7. (a) True; (b) True

10.9 QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Short-Answer Questions

1. Write a note on the German occupation of Czechoslovakia, 1939.
2. Write a note on Hitler's demand for the return of Danzig.
3. List the causes of the Second World War.
4. State the factors that led to the failure of the Policy of Appeasement.
5. Explain Midway Island Attack, 1942.

Long-Answer Questions

1. Discuss the propaganda campaign in the Sudetenland.
2. Discuss the Munich Conference, 1938.
3. Describe the fall of Italy, Germany and Japan.
4. Discuss the birth and commencement of the UNO.
5. Explain the organization and objectives of the UNO.
6. Discuss the emergence and causes of emergence of Independent Nations.

10.10 FURTHER READING

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